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Hemlines and Hairdos:

Body Management for the Feminine Ideal in the Canadian Women's Army Corps

A thesis submitted to:

Lakehead University
Faculty of Arts and Sciences
Department of History
in partial fulfilment of the program requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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Thunder Bay, Ontario
1999

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Numerous individuals have contributed to the writing of this thesis. First I would like to thank the members of my thesis committee, Helen Smith and Pam Wakewich at Lakehead University, and Ruth Roach Pierson at OISE/UT, for their detailed critiques and editorial comments from which I have benefited enormously. For encouraging interest in my work and for helpful criticism of the thesis in various draft stages, I acknowledge the contributions of Maureen Ford, Lisa Richardson, and Ernie Epp at Lakehead University. I am indebted to the Thunder Bay Military Museum Archives for lending me several original copies of the primary source documents that inspired much of this thesis.

I am exceedingly grateful for the support of my mother, Cindy Parrington; my brother, Jeff Davidson; and my 'second' family, the Weldons. Their acceptance of my choices and affirmation of my goals has been essential to the completion of this thesis. Finally, for invaluable assistance with the mechanical process of researching and writing, as well as for friendship and emotional support, I thank Mary Maurice, Cheryl Weldon, and Sherry Harburn. You have challenged me with your conversation and ideas, and encouraged me in ways beyond words. Thank you.

INTRODUCTION

The onslaught of World War II (WWII) brought with it an unprecedented mobilization of the female population in both Allied and Axis countries, as well as a rapid "masculinization" of women's roles. In the absence of men, women donned trousers, entered traditionally male fields of employment, brought home sizable paychecks, increasingly supported dependants, and entered military service. Under widespread media coverage and public scrutiny, enthusiasm for women's patriotic efforts was soon dampened by concerns for the maintenance of their femininity on the part of a society anxious for an eventual return to idealized prewar conditions. Nevertheless, as both military and home front demands for labour increased, women continued to be called upon to step into the places that men vacated.

The formation of the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC*) in August 1941[1] marked the first time that women had been officially recruited into the Canadian military. The military embarked upon the task of recruiting women with preconceived notions of their abilities and appropriate roles. The image of womanhood that emerged from recruitment propaganda was shaped not only by these preconceived ideals, but also by the military's need for women to fill 'secondary' roles. To an even greater extent than private sector employers, the military strove to ensure that female volunteers maintained a feminine appearance and presented a stereotypically feminine image to the rest of the world. To no small degree, this necessitated generating an element of sexual allure, of appeal and attractiveness to men, among the women volunteers. On the other hand, the moral integrity of Canada's first force of women soldiers had to be maintained at all costs. This thesis will consider the extent to which the military's desire to maintain the ideal of femininity among CWAC volunteers conflicted with maintaining public

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*Hereafter, CWAC in upper-case letters refers to the Canadian Women's Army Corps organization itself, and Cwac in lowercase letters refers to the individual Corps members.

images of their sexual propriety and resulted in the generation of confusing and frequently contradictory views of the femininity and sexuality of Cwacs.

The term 'sexuality' has been employed by many social historians and academics as a broad and encompassing concept. In *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality*, Mary Adams has presented sexuality as a product of social constructions and social discourse which 'normalize' specific identities, orientations, and behaviours.[2] In this dissertation, I have employed the concept of sexuality in much the same manner. The military and the mass media presented an idealized image of Cwacs which 'sexualized' them in terms of an attractive and sexually alluring physical appearance. Superficially at least, the military directed this sexualized appearance toward the goal of marriage, and not toward non-marital sexual activity. Cwacs' own understanding of and decisions regarding their sexual activities, orientation, and physical appearances did not necessarily correspond with the idealized images. Further, the idealized images themselves were confusing and ambivalent, and could easily have been interpreted as encouraging sexual activity. Thus, the military's sexualized representations of Cwacs may or may not have had much influence over Cwacs' own experiences of their sexuality.

Whatever the impact of the military's sexualized images upon Cwacs may have been, it falls outside of the scope of this thesis. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will be dealing only with the ambiguity and contradiction contained within military-generated images of Cwacs. In no way is it my intent to consider the lived experiences of Cwacs nor to imply that anything concerning Cwacs' sexual behaviours and ideas of sexuality may be inferred from these images. When the term 'sexuality' is employed in reference to Cwacs, it relates only to the extent to which images of Cwacs were sexualized by the Canadian Army as part of its efforts to maintain an idealized image of the femininity of servicewomen.

Historiography

Perhaps the most widely debated issue concerning women's involvement in the industrial war effort is the extent to which wartime alterations in employment patterns and social relations resulted in long-term positive changes in the social status of women. In a theory deriving primarily from the 1970s, such social historians as Arthur Marwick and William Chafe[3] agreed with WWII contemporary writers that many changes in women's lives--most notably regarding patterns of employment--were directly attributable to the war. Essentially, the 'social change' theorists argued that the World Wars operated as a catalyst for unguided social change, bringing significant improvements to women's social status. While it is true that the postwar decades did see an increase in employment of, and legal, political, and educational opportunities for women, the revisionist reaction to this social change theory has come to dominate the historiographical record in this field. The revisionist view holds that wartime changes were for the duration of the conflict only, and that progressive policies and trends failed to outlast the war.[4] Few historians and scholars of women's experiences of the World Wars continue to accept that the wars created an environment conducive to the emancipation of women from their long-standing social, political, and economic constraints.[5] Indeed, many recent histories of women's WWII experiences claim that the wartime alterations actually laid the groundwork for the peacetime reconstruction of women's gender[6] roles.

Over the last two decades, a number of studies have appeared in international scholarship which delve into women's experiences during WWII. A cursory examination of this body of work reveals a heavy concentration on Allied munitions workers. Monographs by Karen Anderson, Susan Hartmann, D'Ann Campbell, Penny Summerfield, Sherna Gluck, Ruth Milkman, and Ruth Pierson,[7] as well as a number of articles,[8] which have chronicled women's wartime experiences in non-traditional female occupations have presented the revisionist argument that

WWII did little to improve women's social status over the long term. These studies show that from mobilization to demobilization, women's wartime employment was characterized more by continuity with prewar patterns of gender constructions than by sweeping changes in prevailing gender ideologies.[9] Even in the face of industrial labour shortages and the desperate need for new sources of labour, employers resisted hiring women. As women workers infiltrated male-dominated sectors of industry, prewar idioms of sex-typing simply shifted to redefine women's war work in terms of domesticity, and new patterns of job segregation developed which were established 'for the duration only'. Mobilization efforts prioritized women's availability for war work according to a patriarchal ideology[10] which insisted that women's place was in the home. The rhetoric of recruitment appeals to women, which emphasized a temporary sacrifice for patriotic causes, facilitated the return of women to their pre-war occupations. Although women workers' difficulties balancing child care and other domestic responsibilities with full-time industrial employment led to crisis levels of chronic absenteeism, solutions offered by government and industry continued to place domestic work firmly in the private--and feminine--sphere. Wartime arrangements for women workers were rapidly withdrawn at the end of the conflict, and ensured that women would return to their domestic responsibilities. These contradictory messages facilitated the postwar return to pre-war dichotomous patterns of gender division.

Such media icons as the American creation "Rosie the Riveter" transcended borders, and was familiar to American, Canadian,[11] Australian, New Zealand, and British ideologies alike. A number of studies which focus on the public images and prevailing ideology of women workers during WWII concur with the revisionist argument, exploring the ways in which wartime images of women set the stage for women to resume their place in the domestic realm at the cessation of hostilities. The earliest of such studies , Leila Rupp's 1978 *Mobilizing Women for War:*

German and American Propaganda, 1939-1945[12] provided an intriguing comparison between German and American mobilization propaganda intended to direct women into industrial employment.[13] Rupp showed that the wartime appeals of both countries were grounded in prewar ideologies which facilitated the return of women to the domestic sphere at the conclusion of the war. Half-a-dozen years later, Maureen Honey's monograph *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II* offered a systematic analysis of the iconography of the wartime woman in American popular fiction and advertising. Honey's work demonstrated that the wartime images of women not only failed to supplant the more traditional image of women, but actually resulted in "the paradoxical spawning of a reactionary postwar feminine mystique by a crisis that necessitated radical revision of traditional views."[14] Melissa Dabakis' "Gendered Labor: Norman Rockwell's *Rosie the Riveter* and the discourses of wartime womanhood" provided a class-sensitive analysis of the most widely circulated image of Rosie the Riveter: Norman Rockwell's May 29, 1943 cover of *Saturday Evening Post*. Dabakis' deconstruction of Rockwell's Rosie explored the ways in which "this popular image registered the contradictions embodied in official wartime ideology and exposed the diversity of women's experiences in the paid work force."[15] Similarly, Deborah Montgomerie's "Reassessing Rosie: World War II, New Zealand Women and the Iconography of Femininity"[16] examined the tensions in New Zealand media images of women during WWII for insight into the failure of wartime changes to produce lasting gender role destabilization. Montgomerie concluded that rather than representing potential for change, the iconography of women's wartime experiences emphasized pre-war domestic ideology.

In the Canadian context, several articles consider the wartime images of women in popular media. Susan Bland's "Henrietta the Homemaker and 'Rosie the Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in *Maclean's* Magazine 1939-50," Yvonne Mathews-Klein's "How They Saw Us:

Images of Women in National Film Board Films of the 1940s and 1950s," and Susannah Wilson's "The Changing Image of Women in Canadian Mass Circulation Magazines, 1930-1970,"[17] demonstrate the continued emphasis on femininity and domesticity in images of women in Canadian wartime media. Similarly, Helen Smith and Pamela Wakewich's "Representations of Women and Wartime Work in the Canadian Car and Foundry Company Newspaper, *The Aircrafter*," has explored mixed messages and ambivalence in wartime representations of women workers in a company publication.[18]

In recent years the sexual aspects of WWII have increasingly become an integral component of studies which consider the impact of WWII on the social status of women in western countries. In the American, British, Australian, and New Zealand contexts, such scholars as Karen Anderson, D'Ann Campbell, John Costello, Christine Gledhill, Susan Hartmann, Maureen Honey, Marilyn Lake, Jill Matthews, Elaine May, Deborah Montgomerie, Sonya Rose, Penny Tinkler, and Gillian Swanson have discussed ways in which WWII affected women's experiences of sexuality.[19] These studies have tended to focus on the erosion--real or imagined--of moral restraints during WWII, and on the postwar resurgence of a traditional model of femininity and female sexuality which centred on monogamous marriage, children, and domesticity.[20]

Although female military service embodies the most extreme extension of women's wartime foray into traditionally male fields of employment, and in spite of evidence that much of the social concern for women's newfound sexuality centred on the women in military uniform, the majority of the studies cited above have made only passing reference to women in the military. This is not to say that accounts of women's military experiences during WWII do not exist. Notable exceptions include Ruth Pierson's work on the CWAC[21] and Leisa Meyer's work on the American Women's Army Corps (WAC).[22] Pierson's work on the CWAC focuses on the

preoccupation with the femininity and sexual morality of the women in uniform. Leisa Meyer's *Creating G.I. Jane* deals primarily with the issue of sexuality and the exercise of power in the context of the creation of the WAC in the United States during WWII. However, the majority of those works which do focus on the women who served in WWII armies locate themselves firmly outside the realm of academia, and lend themselves readily to classification in one of two categories: memoirs or collections of primary documents.

In the Canadian context, Jean Ellis' *Facepowder and Gunpowder*, first published in 1947, is among the earliest examples of the former category. It is the informally written memoir of a member of the Canadian Red Cross Nursing Corps and describes her overseas mobilization experiences. Not until the middle of the 1970s did similar memoir-style accounts begin to appear. Kathleen Robson Roe's 1975 publication, *War Letters from the C.W.A.C.* is a collection of her letters, which recount her experiences as a Cwac. Phyllis Bowman's account of her experiences in the CWAC, *We Skirted the War!* appeared in the same year. Ada Arney's *Here Come the Khaki Skirts...the women volunteers* is a personal collection of photographs of inspection and parade, groups, bands and army shows, trades work, off-duty, athletic teams and reunions. Ruth Tierney's *Petticoat Warfare* differs from other memoirs in its sometimes bitter edge, as she recounts male opposition. Among the recent personal accounts of life as a Cwac is Sue Ward's 1996 *One Gal's Army*.[23]

Carolyn Gossage's work on the Cwacs bridges the gap between memoirs and primary document collections. *Double Duty: Sketches and Diaries of Molly Lamb Bobak Canadian War Artist* is based on Canada's first official female war artist's memoirs, in the form of diary excerpts, and numerous reproductions of her original pages and art. *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots: Canadian Women at War (1939-1945)* is primarily a collection of short excerpts from Cwac's oral histories, organized into topical chapters. Each chapter is prefaced with a brief

introductory essay by Gossage, and occasionally augmented by archival documentation.[24]

Outside of these two types of accounts of women's military experiences of WWII, there also exists the official history. W. Hugh Conrod's officially commissioned history of the CWAC, *Athene Goddess of War: The Canadian Women's Army Corps, Their Story*, was published in 1983.[25] The first section of the book is chronological, and follows the Corps through its inception, formative months, basic training, recruitment propaganda, the promotion of Margaret Eaton to Director General of the CWAC, mobilization overseas, repatriation, and disbandment in 1946. The second section adopts a more topical approach, and focuses on awards of merit, CWAC Bands, off-duty occupations, marriages, and CWAC humour. *Athene* is based on personal accounts, Corps memorabilia, and correspondence, as well as some references to official records held by the National Archives of Canada.

The body of works by Ruth Roach Pierson remains the most thorough and detailed examination of women's experiences during WWII in the Canadian context.[26] Pierson's work considers both civilian and military women's experiences of war work, and prevailing ideologies of femininity and sexuality. Pierson's arguments as she explores the liberating potential of wartime changes to Canadian women's social status place her firmly among the revisionists.

Pierson's work which focuses on the enlisted woman is of particular significance to this study. Questioning the broader implications of women's military participation on the power and status of Canadian women, she argues that far from altering prevailing gender constructions, the cautiously restricted and controlled manner in which women gained access to the military, actually served to strengthen their subordinate status and the primacy of their domestic roles.[27] Her work in this area examines the care exercised by the military to ensure the feminine appearance of enlisted women, to persuade the public of the continued femininity of the women in uniform, and the contradictions inherent in the military's efforts to reflect and reinforce

prevailing social attitudes regarding female sexuality.

Historians of women's experiences of WWII have been very much preoccupied with the question of war as an agent of social change for women. The tendency among earlier historians in this field to herald the vast social alterations of WWII as harbingers of unprecedented positive changes in women's lives has been replaced by a revisionist view which adopts the opposite argument. The revisionists claim not only that the changes of WWII failed to outlast the conflict, but also that the wartime mobilization of womanhood contained within itself the elements necessary to ensure a return to prewar ideologies of femininity at the end of the conflict. Women were not moved into, and then out of, their various masculine occupations during the war so much as they were moved *through* the world of men. For the duration of their participation in the war effort, widespread concern for a loss of femininity and female morality dictated that emphasis would be placed on their ability to maintain all appearances of femininity than on their demonstrated ability to compete successfully in a wide variety of traditionally masculine arenas.

Focus and structure of this dissertation

This dissertation accepts the revisionist premise that the WWII alterations to women's social status were largely short-lived, and moreover, that the wartime changes themselves laid the groundwork for a return to an idealized version of prewar social conditions and especially gender ideologies. This study builds on the foundation laid by these earlier studies. Focussing exclusively on the less-explored area of women's military service during WWII, I propose to take the revisionist argument one step further, and examine the extent to which the desire for a return to the prewar ideal of femininity resulted in the generation of conflicting and confusing images of the feminine ideal during the war.

Numerous feminist scholars have examined the tensions between war work and ideologies

of femininity through a consideration of wartime images of women in the media, and questioned why the media's support of women's war work failed to replace the traditional view of woman as homemaker.[28] Overwhelmingly, the conclusion among such studies has been that the majority of mass media images of women during WWII actually reinforced prewar ideologies of femininity. Articles and advertisements stressed traditionally feminine appearances and behaviors, and continually reiterated the temporary nature of women's wartime roles. Comparatively little attention has been given to an examination of the extent to which the existence of women's services represented an alteration of pre-war gender constructions and gendered divisions of labour operating in the civilian sector.[29] The purpose of this study is to address this particular gap by considering and comparing images of Cwacs in a variety of source materials. Much of what this thesis brings to the field that is new or unique relates to the novelty of source materials and to a methodological approach which compares and contrasts images of servicewomen in a variety of contemporary text sources. The internally published and circulated military newsletters discussed below have, to date, not been used in their entirety by researchers in the field. I have examined the contents of the newsletters, and considered the extent to which the military employed the internal military media as a tool to help regulate the sexuality and femininity of Cwacs.

Chapter One, "The Army will make a man out of you," provides the broad historical and social context into which the CWAC was introduced. The WWII establishment of official women's services did not mark the first time women had served in a military capacity in western history, nor did Canadian society's ideas of women soldiers occur in a vacuum. The female soldier was part of a long history of gender constructions which dictated not only that soldiering and masculinity were interrelated, but also that women could not remain feminine, and respectable, and also make efficient soldiers. Historical constructions of women who had

soldiered emphasized that these women sacrificed their femininity and/or sexual respectability to their martial skill. Competent female soldiers were constructed as masculine, and suffered defamation as Amazons or cross-dressers. Women who retained some degree of femininity while affiliated with the military institution were widely believed to be sexually immoral, and were labelled "camp-followers" and prostitutes. The fact that women's labour--combat or otherwise--has repeatedly been mobilized on a large scale and has even been essential to the military's ability to function is largely ignored, or deemed to have little real value. The historical record of the female soldier has made it clear that soldiering and femininity were incompatible constructs according to prevailing Western gender dichotomies.

Chapters Two through Five consider the images of Cwacs in mass-circulating and internal military publications, and in military policies and regulations. Particularly, I wished to examine the portrayal of the CWAC in terms of the feminine ideal as it appeared in these sources. While the female soldier presented a wide divergence from the feminine ideal, mass media images of Cwacs highlighted the temporary nature of this divergence as a response to a crisis only, and simultaneously sought to minimize the potential for 'masculinization' inherent in women's military presence. Instead, the mass media image of servicewomen was one which focussed on the femininity of their behaviours and physical appearance, and anchored it all to the domestic ideal of marriage and family. This media image of Cwacs was firmly rooted in the prewar discourse of (hetero)sexuality as a defining tenet of femininity. Thus, when WWII began to move women out of their "traditional" sphere and into the intensely masculine world of military participation, the question of whether they retained their femininity or subverted the established gender order centered on the maintenance of appearances of heterosexual attractiveness more than any other aspect of their new experiences.

The images of Cwacs generated by the Army during WWII evolved not only out of the

context of Western received traditions, but also within the milieu of representations of servicewomen already existent in the Canadian popular press. In the second chapter, "They haven't forgotten dancing, perfume, moonlight...or men," I will be exploring the images of Cwacs in several popular Canadian mass circulating magazines from 1941 through 1946. The advent of sexological science in the decades between the late Victorian era and the beginning of WWII had done much to reshape the popular ideology of femininity. By WWII, an active female sexuality--provided it was confined within monogamous marriage--had become inextricably intertwined with the feminine ideal. An essential component of true femininity was the element of sexual attractiveness to men, who set the terms of feminine physical attractiveness. The mass media images of Cwacs reflect this newly sexualized appearance of femininity. Even in the face of wartime restrictions on time and consumer goods, the media stressed maintaining a [hetero]sexually attractive feminine appearance through clothing, hairstyles, and especially cosmetics regimes. The emphasis on femininity as a woman's most important asset not only undermined the value of their contributions to the war effort, but also emphasized the temporary and aberrant nature of women's presence outside of the domestic realm. The mass media's generation of images of Cwacs which centered around femininity, [hetero]sexuality, and domesticity established the cultural context into which the army introduced its own images of CWAC volunteers.

The mass media's emphasis on the [hetero]sexual components of the feminine ideal for Cwacs, in conjunction with the historical conceptualization of the female soldier, helped to foster a "whispering campaign" of slanderous gossip that maligned the sexual morality of women in uniform. Primarily as a result of this poor public opinion, CWAC enlistment rates began to drop at precisely the same moment when the military's demand for Cwacs was increasing. In order to combat this poor opinion, the Army had to construct a public image of the CWAC that

simultaneously met prevailing standards of femininity, was morally respectable, and still managed to convey the value of the services that women could perform in a military capacity.

Chapter Three considers contradiction and ambiguity in the Army's most widely circulated images of "The girls behind the boys behind the guns"--the recruitment propaganda. In this chapter, I will argue that the mass-circulated recruitment propaganda presented an idealized image of the Cwacs which differed significantly from privately circulated recruitment propaganda. Mass-circulated recruitment propaganda generated a remarkably homogeneous image of Cwacs. Echoing the mass media context in which it occurred, the military recruitment propaganda series which ran in *Maclean's Magazine* reflected an ideal version of the woman in uniform as white, young, and conventionally attractive. The ideal Cwac enlisted for strictly patriotic reasons, and longed for the day when she would be able to return to a more domestic role. This version neither represented the average volunteer nor reflected the range of volunteers which was acceptable according to the parameters set in official military policy and regulations. As a result, military recruitment propaganda pamphlets, which were distributed directly to potential recruits and did not receive the same broad public circulation as the mass media recruitment advertisements, presented a significantly different and much more diverse version of the CWAC. The pamphlets focused on the concerns and motivations of the potential enlistees whereas the magazine series appears to have been far more concerned with reassuring the public that Army life was compatible with femininity and moral respectability.

Although the mass media offers a rich and intriguing medium through which to examine images of Cwacs, this study was inspired in a large part by the discovery in the Thunder Bay Military Museum Archives of a handful of military newsletters published under the title of *Khaki: The Army Newsletter*.[30] Scattered throughout the newsletter were numerous references to--and even entire articles devoted to--both civilian and military women. Additionally, the

"Mademoiselle in Khaki" column, devoted to members of the CWAC, was a regular feature.[31] Archival research readily revealed the remainder of the collection, as well as an "offspring" publication entitled *The CWAC Newsletter* (*NEL*).[32] Together, *Khaki* and *NEL* contain a wealth of information on military attitudes toward the femininity and sexuality of women in uniform.

These two internal military publications serve as an effective tool for examining the military's generation of a confusing and contradictory view of the femininity and sexuality of women in uniform for a number of reasons. First and foremost, their value lies in the fact that they are a relatively 'undiscovered' source in the context of academic studies of women in the military in WWII. Secondly, the collections were available in their entirety. However, their particular value to this project is that they were internally produced and circulated military documents. Both publications were subject to a centralized Army editorial process, and therefore are much more reflective of the officially sanctioned views of the military institution as opposed to service personnel's own opinions. This value is augmented by their inclusion of submissions from the rank and file of the military, which demonstrates the extent to which military images of women and women in uniform had been internalized by the soldiers and Cwacs themselves. Although there were a variety of other internally produced and circulated Army publications in existence at the same time as *Khaki* and *NEL*, these were the only two that purported to include all Military Districts. Most other publications were localized to one particular Military District. The fact that *Khaki* contains the "Mademoiselle in Khaki" column consistently, yet offset within the broader (and often contradictory) images of military life increases the effectiveness of the column for this study.

Given that the average Cwac did not necessarily resemble the ideal version, and given that the army desperately needed to combat poor public opinion of the femininity and morality of women in uniform, it had to try to ensure that Cwacs behaved respectably, and appeared

feminine in the public eye. Rather than open itself up to criticism of its regulations, the army officially permitted a number of signifiers of femininity other than the uniform, but remained ambiguous on the subject of degree. Military regulations and policy functioned as the obvious medium through which the Canadian Army was able to promote the feminine ideal among Cwacs. Regulations did dictate particular aspects of Cwac appearance and behavior. However, the effort to both encourage expressions of femininity, and simultaneously restrict the "degree" of femininity to a respectable and conservative level took place in internal military culture. In much the same way as the mass media presented an image of the feminine Cwac to the civilian public, the internal military media encouraged Cwacs to mimic the ideal. Problematically, in presenting the image of the CWAC in terms of the feminine ideal, the military had to negotiate the fine line between promoting their femininity and undermining their sexual respectability. Chapter Four, "'When you go out, remember you're a lady': Maintaining the ideal from within", focuses on the Army's efforts to encourage Cwacs to maintain the appearance of both feminine attractiveness and sexual respectability. Where these two concerns--femininity and morality--entered into conflict, the Army generated confusing, ambiguous, and often contradictory regulations and images of the CWAC.

Although WWII contemporary standards of femininity included a strong element of sexuality, Chapter Five, "Soon the skirts will be flirts once again" concentrates on the contradiction and ambiguity of Army messages of Cwac sexuality, particularly as this sexuality related directly to sexual behaviours. In spite of its overt efforts to both protect and generate an appearance of the sexual morality of Cwacs, a consideration of the Army's efforts to regulate the sexuality of its female personnel in both policy and practice reveals a deep-seated ambiguity. The Army's overt attempts to ensure a public perception of Cwac sexual morality were counteracted by less explicit encouragement to Cwacs to present themselves in an essentially sexual fashion.

Policies of sexual regulation among servicemen which tacitly encouraged the perception that Cwacs were sexually accessible operated in direct tension with policies which purported to protect the sexual morality of Cwacs. Where Cwacs crossed the line between sexual innocence and immorality, these policies of protection revealed themselves to be little more than superficial illusions. The Army's tacit endorsement of the idea that Cwacs were sexually accessible to soldiers was reinforced in the military media which not only permitted submissions which presented Cwacs as sexually objectified, but even encouraged both male and female personnel to subscribe to this belief. The particular evidence of this ambiguity and contradiction regarding the sexuality and sexual behaviours of Cwacs lies in a consideration of the "pin-up in khaki" contest which ran in *Khaki*. The khaki-clad pin-up sat at the nexus of all the Army's contradictory messages of Cwacs' femininity, domesticity, sexuality and sexual behaviour to both male and female personnel, and epitomizes the Army's ambiguous attitude toward the woman in military uniform.

It is not in the one image or even in the combined images of one set of source materials that contradiction and ambiguity in military messages on the femininity and sexuality of Cwacs emerges most clearly. Rather it is through comparing and contrasting these images in a range of sources that the mixed message emerges most clearly. This dissertation has been structured so as to highlight the ambiguity and contradiction as it unfolds through the public and military source materials considered here. The first chapter presents the historical foundation for the Army's concern with maintaining femininity and sexual respectability among CWAC volunteers. The second chapter will explore images of femininity and [hetero]sexual appeal in mass media representations of Cwacs. The third chapter will argue that the distinction between public and private CWAC recruitment propaganda highlights contradiction and ambiguity in Army messages of sexuality and femininity to Cwacs. The last two chapters explore the extent

to which the internal military media both reinforced the ideal image of Cwacs' femininity and sexuality and also generated confusing and ambiguous messages that were open to individual interpretation.

Endnotes

1.At inception, the Army's women's service was actually an auxiliary organization, the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (CWAAC). Full military status was granted in March 1942, and 'Auxiliary' was dropped from the Corps name.

2.Mary Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

3.Chafe and Marwick's work is notable as the earliest to be devoted to the "social change" theory, as well as presenting the most thorough arguments in favour of the theory. See for example: William Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920-1970.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); *Women and Equality: Changing Patterns in American Culture.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); Arthur Marwick, *War and Social Change in the Twentieth Century: A comparative study of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States.* (Great Britain: Hazell Watson and Viney Ltd., 1974); and *Women at War 1914-1918.* (London, Great Britain: Croom Helm Ltd., 1977).

4.Harold Smith's 1986 article "The effect of the war on the status of women," while representing the most direct form of opposition to the social change theory, is also characteristic of the revisionist view. Harold Smith, "The Effect of the War on the Status of Women" in *War and Social Change in British Society in the Second World War.* ed. Harold Smith, 208-229. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).

5.Although women's labour was not mobilized by either industrial or military labour needs during WWI to the same extent as it was during WWII, some academic studies have similarly considered the long-term impact of WWI on women's roles and status in society. Marwick and Chafe apply the same theory that war acts as a catalyst of positive of social change to their analysis of women's experiences of WWI. Nevertheless, many other writers are not so willing as Marwick to attribute these changes directly to the Great War, nor to categorize them as entirely positive. See Dierdre Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty: Women between the Wars, 1919-1939.* (London: Pandora, 1989); Gail Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War.* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1981); Susan Kingsley Kent "Gender Reconstruction After the First World War" in *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century.* Harold Smith (ed.) (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990) 66-83; Jane Lewis *Women in England, 1870-1950: Sexual Divisions and Social Change.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); and Harold Smith, "The Problem of 'Equal Pay for Equal Work' in Great Britain during World War II", *Journal of Modern History,* 53 (December 1981), 652-672, for examples of the British revisionist argument, Maureen Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States.* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980)for the similar American argument, and Mary Vipond *The Mass Media in Canada.* (2nd edition). (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Publishers, 1992) 116-124 for the Canadian context.

6.Gerda Lerner has distinguished 'gender' from the biological term'sex', and has defined gender as "the cultural definition of behaviour defined as appropriate to the sexes in a given society at a given time...a set of cultural roles." Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) 238. It is in this sense that the term 'gender' will be employed throughout this dissertation.

7.Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women during World War II.* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981); D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era.* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984); Sherna Berger Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War and Social Change.* (New York: Meridian Books, 1988); Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s.* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982); Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation*

by Sex during World War II. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Ruth Roach Pierson, *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood.* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986); Penny Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War.* (London, Croom Helm, 1984).

8.See for example: Deborah Hirshfield, "Gender, Generation, and Race in American Shipyards in the Second World War" *International History Review*, 19, 1 (February 1997) 131-145; Alison Prentice et al. "The 'Bren gun girl' and the housewife heroine," in *Canadian Women: A History.* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988) 295-317; Jim Rose, "'The Problem Every Supervisor Dreads': Women Workers at the U.S. Steel Duquesne Works during World War II." *Labour History* 36, 1 (Winter 1995) 24-51; Karen Beck Skold "The Job He Left Behind: American Women in the Shipyards During World War II," in *Women, War and Revolution.* Berkin and Lovett (eds.) 55-75.

9.Ellen Scheinberg's "The Tale of Tessie the Textile Worker: Female Textile Workers in Cornwall during World War II" (*Labour/Le Travail*, 33, (Spring, 1994) 153-186) is one of the few articles to consider women's wartime employment in a traditionally female field which was not designated an essential war industry. Nevertheless, alongside the studies of women's wartime employment in traditionally "male" areas of industry, Schienberg finds that the interests of capitalism and the patriarchal ideology of unions and management intersected to maintain a sex segregated workforce during WWII.

10.In *The Creation of Patriarchy*, Gerda Lerner has defined 'patriarchy' as "the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children...It implies that men hold power in all the important institutions of society and that women are deprived of access to such power." (Lerner, 239.) Throughout this dissertation, I will be using 'patriarchy' in much the same manner, especially in relation to the manifestation of male dominance in the military institution.

11.Rosie the Riveter's Canadian counterpart was Veronica Foster, the "Bren Gun Girl". See for example Alison Prentice et al.

12.Leila Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda, 1939-45.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

13.The historiographical record concerning the impact of WWII on the status of women in Axis countries is, as yet, relatively sparse. Thomas R. Havens' "Women and War in Japan, 1937-1945" (*American Historical Review.* 80 (October 1975) 913-934) is among those studies attempting to redress this gap. Havens offers the following explanation of some of this lack: "Estimating the precise impact of WWII on Japan is complicated by two abnormal postwar factors: first, the military occupation by a conquering nation for six and one-half years, leading to more rapid social reforms than might otherwise have been the case; and second, the extraordinarily fast economic development after 1952, which probably changed people's lives more dramatically than the social engineering of the occupation." 933-934.

14.Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda During World War II.* (USA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984) 1.

15.Melissa Dabakis, "Gendered Labour: Norman Rockwell's *Rosie the Riveter* and the Discourses of Wartime Womanhood." In Barbara Melosh (ed) *Gender and American History since 1890.* (New York: Routledge, 1993. 182-204) 183.

16.Deborah Montgomerie, "Reassessing Rosie: World War II, New Zealand Women and the Iconography of Femininity" in *Gender and History.* 8, 1 (April 1996) 106-132.

17.Susan Bland, "Henrietta the Homemaker and 'Rosie the Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine, 1939-1950," *Atlantis*. 8, 2 (Spring 1983) 61-86; Yvonne Mathews-Klein's "How They Saw Us: Images of Women in National Film Board Films of the 1940s and 1950s," Atlantis. 4,2 (Spring 1979) 20-33. Although Susannah Wilson's "The Changing Image of Women in Canadian Mass Circulating Magazines , 1930-1970," *(Atlantis*. 2,2 (Spring 1977) 33-44) does not address images of wartime women directly, it does demonstrate the extent to which ideologies of femininity remained constant through the period.

18.Helen E.H. Smith and Pamela Wakewich, "Representations of Women and Wartime Work in the Canadian Car and Foundry Company Newspaper, *The Aircrafter*," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* 25 (1997) 64-77.

19.Anderson; Campbell; John Costello, *Virtue Under Fire: How World War II Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes*. (Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1985); Christine Gledhill and Gillian Swanson (eds). *Nationalizing Femininity: Culture, Sexuality and British Cinema in the Second World War*. (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995); Hartmann; Honey; Jill Julius Matthews, *Good and Mad Women: The Historical Contsruction of Femininity in Twentieth Century Australia*. (Boston: George Allen and Unwin, 1984); Elaine Tyler May, "Rosie the Riveter Gets Married," in Lewis A. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsch (eds). *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness During World War II*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Montgomerie; Sonya O. Rose, "Girls and GIs: Race, Sex, and Diplomacy in Second World War Britain," *International History Review* 19, 1 (February 1997) 146-161; Penny Tinkler, "Sexuality and Citizenship: the state and girls' leisure provision in England, 1939-45," *Women's History Review* 4, 2 (November 2, 1995) 193-211.

In the Australian context, Marilyn Lake has argued that this tendency to focus on the postwar resurgence of traditional models of femininity fails to recognize that femininity itself is a constantly changing construct, and downplays a newly sexualized model of femininity. "Rather than characterize the triumph of marriage and domesticity in the 1940s and 1950s as a conservative retreat, a return to old ways, we should rather understand these phenomena as the triumph of modern femininity, youthful adventurism and a path embarked on by women attempting to live as female sexual subjects and explore the possibilities of sexual pleasure." Marilyn Lake, "Female Desires: The Meaning of World War II", in Joan Wallach Scott (ed.) *Feminism and History*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.) 429-444. 444.

20.As yet, relatively little has been written about lesbians' experiences of WWII. Scholars who do discuss lesbians have tended to do so in the context of military service. See for example Allan Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II*. (New York: Plume Books, 1991); Leisa Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps during World War II*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

21.See Ruth Roach Pierson, *Canadian Women and the Second World War*. (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1983);. "The Double Bind of the Double Standard: VD Control and the CWAC in World War II," *Canadian Historical Review* 62, 1 (1981) 31-58; "Ladies or Loose Women: Tha Canadian Women's Army Corps in World War II," *Atlantis* 5, 2 (Spring 1979 Part II CRIAW Issue) 245-266; and *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood*.

22.Meyer, *Creating GI Jane*.

23.Ada Arney, *Here Come the Khaki Skirts...the women volunteers: A pictorial review of the Canadian Women's Army Corps during the Second World War*. (Cobalt, Ontario: Highway Book Shop, 1988); Phylis Bowman, *We Skirted the War!* (Prince Rupert, British Columbia: Superior Printers (author published), 1975); Jean Ellis, (with Isabel Dingman), *Facepowder and Gunpowder*. (Toronto: S.J. Reginald Saunders & Company Ltd., 1947); Kathleen Robson Roe, *War Letters from the C.W.A.C.*

(Canadian Women's Army Corps). (Toronto: Kakabeka Publishing Co., Ltd., 1975); Ruth Tierney, *Petticoat Warfare*. (Bellville, Ontario: Mika Publishers, 1984); Sue Ward, *One Gal's Army*. (Prince George: Caitlin Press, 1996).

24.Carolyn Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots: Canadian Women at War (1939-1945)*. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991); *Double Duty: Sketches and Diaries of Molly Lamb Bobak Canadian War Artist*. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992). For examples of other works that bridge the gap between these two styles, see Jean Bruce, *Back the Attack!: Canadian Women during the Second World War--at Home and Abroad*. (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1985) and Ruth Latta *The Memory of All that: Canadian Women Remember World War II*. (Burnstown, Ontario: General Store Publishing House, Inc., 1993).

25.Hugh Conrod, *Athene; Goddess of War: The Canadian Women's Army Corps, Their Story*. (Dartmouth: Writing and Editorial Services, 1983).

26.See note 21.

27.Similar to Pierson's work with the CWAC, Leisa Meyer's excellent study is concerned primarily with the irreconcilability of the prevailing constructions of femininity with the prevailing constructions of soldier as a masculine category in the context of the creation of the Women's Army Corps (WAC) in the US during WWII. In addition, she also examines the impact of constructions of race, class, sexual orientation, and sexuality, and the struggle for control over defining ideological constructions of women soldiers on the part of Army and WAC leaders, and the Wacs themselves.

28.For some notable examples, see Bland; Dabakis; Gledhill and Swanson; Honey; Lake; Mathews-Klein; Meyer; Montgomerie; Pierson; Prentice et al; Dierdre Rowe-Brown, "Public Attitudes towards Canadian Women during and Immediately After WWII," (MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1992); Rupp; and Wilson.

29.Although Susan Bland has conducted a larger study of images of women in *Maclean's* advertising over the period from 1939 to 1949, her study includes no specific category focusing on servicewomen. See also Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*; Rowe Brown.

30.Hereafter referred to as *Khaki*. The subtitle varied among *The Army Weekly*, *The Canadian Army Weekly*, *The Army Magazine*, and *The Canadian Army Magazine*. On May 5, 1943 the Research and Information Section of the Directorate of Special Services released the first issue of *Khaki: The Army Bulletin*. With the exception of the last months of publication, between January 22 and September 25, 1945, when *Khaki* was published on a biweekly basis, issues of *Khaki* appeared weekly until the final issue was published on September 25, 1945.

31.The "Mademoiselle in Khaki" column did not debut until *Khaki's* second volume.

32.Hereafter referred to as *NEL*. The acronym *NEL* emerged from the editor's unwillingness to use "I" or "we" when referring to the newsletter. (Bridget Pearse, From the Editor, *NEL*, May/44, 2.). While there were numerous CWAC publications already in existence at the time of its debut, *NEL* was purportedly the result of overseas Cwacs' requests to be kept informed of Cwacs and CWAC events in Canada, and Canadian distribution was limited. (Lt. Col. Margaret Eaton, *NEL*, January/44, 1.) *NEL* was compiled by the *Khaki* staff, but--with the notable exception of the editor's pages--was comprised primarily of columns written by representatives from CWAC Companies both in Canada and overseas.

CHAPTER ONE:
'THE ARMY WILL MAKE A MAN OUT OF YOU': THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF CONSTRUCTIONS OF SOLDIERING AND FEMININITY IN WESTERN CULTURAL TRADITIONS

Introduction

The WWII establishment of official women's services in Canada did not mark the first time women had served in a military capacity in western history. The Canadian Women's Army Corps was born into the context of a long history of dichotomous gender constructions which dictated that military service and respectable femininity were wholly incompatible. This Western received tradition exercised a strong influence over mass-media, public, and military preconceptions of the WWII female soldier.

This chapter will survey some of the most basic constructions of Western cultural ideals of soldiering and femininity from the Classical era through to the advent of the CWAC in WWII. Throughout history, the incompatibility of constructions of the masculine military ideal and the ideal of respectable femininity has meant that the historical treatment of the female soldier has been problematic. And while the historical record has largely ignored the existence of female soldiers, women who have served in military capacities have occasionally succeeded in attaining some degree of historical renown. The historical record has attempted to situate these women's exploits within the dichotomy which dictates that women sacrifice femininity and/or sexual respectability to their martial skill.

While Classical male warriors have been celebrated as heroes, the goddesses, Amazons, and women warriors who have served as their female counterparts have been evaluated on the basis of their adherence to traditional gender roles, not their martial successes. The introduction of the Christian ethic and chivalry to the ideal soldier reaffirmed the incompatibility of the masculine soldier and the feminine ideal by establishing a firm dichotomy between the protector and the 'protected'. Similarly, the "camp follower" label, which has dogged military-

affiliated women throughout their history, is indicative of the tenacity of constructions which dictate that soldiering and femininity are incompatible. The camp follower tradition reinforces the emphasis on the sexual immorality of the female soldier by presuming that the primary function of the camp follower has been to provide sexual services to soldiers. The historical emphasis on the non-military function of the female soldier has also contributed significantly to the maintenance of the idea of combat as a central tenet of military masculinity. WWI presented an opportunity to re-instill the value of combat as a component of an ideal masculinity, and in essence, to 're-masculinize' a manhood grown 'effeminate' with the increasing urbanized and industrialized lifestyle of the twentieth century.

Finally, a consideration of the Canadian woman warrior tradition demonstrates the extent to which the incompatibility of soldiering and femininity have been in evidence in the Canadian context. It was into this context, and within the larger context of Western received traditions of the female soldier that the CWAC was born. Within this context, the organization of officially recognized women's services was greeted with reluctance on the part of the military. In view of the evident incompatibility of prevailing constructions of 'soldiering' and femininity, it is remarkable that women's services came into existence at all.

The soldier ideal

Throughout Western thought and history, military service has been maintained as an emblem of masculinity, male privilege, and citizenship. Boys have been sent to military schools, or enlisted in the Army in the popularized belief that 'the Army will make a man out of you'. The warrior/soldier has long stood in western cultural traditions as an icon of an idealized masculinity, embodying strength, courage, bravery and civic responsibility. "Of all the sites where masculinities are constructed, reproduced, and deployed, those associated with war and the military are some of the most direct. Despite far-reaching political, social, and technological

changes, the warrior still seems to be a key symbol of masculinity."[1] The battlefield has been the ultimate testing ground of all those characteristics central to socially condoned constructions of masculinity.

In particular, the idea of combat has consistently remained one of the most central and enduring aspects of the construction of heroic martial masculinity. Combat is representative of one of the highest tests of male courage, stoicism, strength, and virility. "The military plays a special role in the ideological structure of patriarchy because the notion of 'combat' plays such a central role in the construction of concepts of 'manhood' and justifications of the superiority of maleness in the social order."[2] Yet combat has become increasingly illusory. As military technology continues to distance the battle front from the weaponry, constructions of combat become problematic. There is an ever decreasing distinction between combative and non-combative roles, between soldier and civilian. Nevertheless, this "myth of combat dies hard."[3]

As a group, women have been remarkably absent from the history of Western warfare and military service. There are a number of ideological reasons for this exclusion. First, the exclusion of women from access to the prestige involved with participation in the military institution contributes toward the maintenance of military service as an icon of male privilege.[4] Secondly, constructions of the military ideal of masculinity are dualistic, and rely on the exclusion of all characteristics related to femininity. The "womanish" is that which the true soldier strives to excise from himself, and thereby the "effeminate" and the martial are rendered mutually exclusive. "The epithets of drill instructors or fellow soldiers--'maggot,' 'faggot,' 'snuffy,' 'pussy,' or simply 'woman'--left no doubt that not becoming a soldier meant not being a man."[5] This presents yet another reason that women have been historically excluded from military service.

In addition to the central defining role of combat, the notion of protection has also been an

essential component of western constructions of the martial ideal of masculinity. Historical constructions of military service as a crucial measurement of, and the exclusive domain of "masculinity" have been partially grounded in the concept of a chivalrous male protector. Throughout western warfare, it has been predominantly women who have been portrayed as being in need of military protection. The female soldier would not only infringe on the bastion of masculine culture and privilege,[6] but also raises the question of exactly whom the soldiers would then be expected to protect. Allowing women access to the masculine institution of the military increases public concern that women's presence in the army would rewrite the prevailing gender and sex ideologies. The female soldier would become increasingly masculinized, while her presence would simultaneously feminize that bastion of masculine privilege--the army.

Western received tradition from the Ancients

The iconography of the warrior/soldier derives from ancient constructions. The Classical Western world prized an aggressive and violent masculinity, and idealized battle whether in glorious victory or ignoble defeat. The ancient Spartan society was inherently militaristic. Plutarch records that the education and lifestyle of the Spartan male was entirely directed toward the production of efficient and combat-ready soldiers.[7] The role of women within this society was essentially two-fold: to reproduce healthy male children, and to inspire men to heroic acts with their praise.[8] Although the ancient Athenian social traditions focused far less on developing combat-readiness skills, the historian Thucydides notes with pride that Athenian men were as capable as their Spartan counterparts in battle.[9] The ancient Greek and Roman heroes were depicted as formidable warriors. The heroic figure of Achilles , immortalized in Homer's Classic epic *The Iliad*, serves as an archetype of the warrior of antiquity, and sets the tone for much of Western received tradition concerning constructions of military masculinity.[10]

The Classical world did accord women a position of martial honour among the pantheon by

relegating the arts of war and the hunt to female goddesses. The Greek Athena and her Roman counterpart Minerva were the patron goddesses of war and Artemis/Diana was goddess of the hunt. Nevertheless, their role in both of these martial arts was to act as patron goddesses of the male hunters/warriors, and not to empower women to pursue combat skills. Further, the preservation of an inviolate virginity has been central to constructions surrounding both these goddesses, setting them apart from the gender roles of mortal women. Athena/Minerva also transcended gender in effect by having been born of a man alone, in the sense that she sprang fully grown and armed from the head of Zeus/Jupiter, her father.[11]

The concept of female military skill which results from a temporary transcendence of gender is a recurrent theme among Western constructions of the female soldier. In spite of the various classical constructions which firmly establish women as being external to military and soldiering culture, Classical western literature also mentions a small handful of real women who did manage to infiltrate the historical record of military incursions. Although the Classical Western world admitted that women could make efficient soldiers, this was depicted as a rare occurrence. Women who did so had temporarily risen above their gender. Plutarch's *Moralia* mentions a battle in which a number of young Argive women, under the leadership of Telesilla the poetess, successfully took up arms against a Spartan attack. Telesilla's accomplishments were so unusual that the anniversary of the battle was commemorated annually by the "Festival of Impudence", which was celebrated by male and female transvestitism.[12] Herodotus was intrigued with the Persian King Xerxes' reliance on the advice of Artemisia, a woman who took up her deceased husband's role as leader of a contingent of war ships against the Greeks. Herodotus noted that Artemisia was not a typical woman. He credited her with having a "spirit of manly adventure and courage"[13] and remarked upon Xerxes' own comment "'My men have turned into women, my women into men.'"[14] Artemisia's military prowess was enabled in no

small degree by her status as widow and heiress of a country who was left without male sons to do her military duty.

Queen Boudicca was among the earliest female warrior heroines of Anglo-Saxon history in the Common Era. Boudicca was the British Queen of the Iceni, who led half of Britain in violent insurrection against the tyranny of Roman rule in the first century CE. Boudicca, who was a widow like Artemisia, has appeared as the enraged mother figure, who seeks to avenge her daughters' stolen virginity.[15] This transcendence of the feminine gender role based upon another gendered role–widow or mother–is not uncommon among historical depictions of women warriors.

Situated somewhere between myth and history are the Amazons, an entire 'tribe' of women warriors whose notable queens included Penthesilea and Hippolyta. The Amazons have made a lasting impression on the woman warrior tradition in Western culture, although the historical existence of the Amazon tribe is dubious.[16] Amazonian iconography often reemerges into popular culture during periods of intense revolutionary conflict, and in the iconography of martial women throughout history.[17] Unlike many of the flesh-and-blood women warriors, the Amazons have often been used to epitomize all that is immoral about women warriors. Although they quite clearly transcended their gender, it was a willful transcendence. In many literary accounts of their legend, Amazonian martial prowess has been constructed as being attained only at the expense of their femininity.[18] Some historical accounts claim that the Amazon warriors had their right breast removed at a young age so as to enhance their skill with the bow. So popular is this reconstruction that numerous etymologies have translated their name as *a-mazon*, Greek for "breast-less one".[19]

Amazons have been depicted both as chaste and as possessing voracious sexual appetites.[20] Their aversion to men and male company points to a heterosexual chastity, while

their willingness to procreate without exercising discretion in their choice of sexual partners has been offered as evidence of sexual immorality. However, both constructions of their sexuality are equally problematic. According to their legend, the Amazons were powerful and to be feared. Classical heroes were often pitted in battle against an Amazon. Success served to reinforce the hero's masculinity and offered proof of his skill as a warrior. Significantly, the hero never met with defeat at the hands of the Amazons.[21] Defeat of an Amazon often entailed rape, a signifier that the status quo of gender order had been restored, and perhaps that the transcendence of gender was symbolically ended. This type of reprisal for crimes against the gender order has also been a recurrent theme in historical constructions of other woman warriors and female soldiers.[22]

The Classical Western world held that martial arts and femininity were incompatible. Although women were accorded a position of martial honor among the ancients, in that the pantheon awarded the martial arts of hunting and war to female goddesses, these goddesses were the helpmates of mortal men, and did not serve as a indication that women were generally accepted as warriors. Furthermore, both goddesses were transcendant of the traditional gender role of women in the classical world. Both preserved their virginity intact, removing them from mortal women's role in marriage, childbearing, and child-rearing. Athena/Minerva, the patron goddess of war, further transcended gender in that she was born of a male god, and has no mother. The handful of mortal women recognized in the historical record as having been warriors and soldiers have also been portrayed as transcending their gender. Telesilla's martial accomplishments were celebrated annually in a festival of cross-dressing. Artemisia's and Boudicca's transcendence of gender is based in part on their roles as widows without sons who adopted a traditionally male role in defence of their people and property. Conversely, the quintessential women warriors, the Amazons, have not been portrayed as having transcended

their gender so much as they have been seen to have rejected the classical feminine ideal in favor of the masculine role. They have been much maligned in Classical literature, indicating the essential incompatibility of cultural ideals of femininity and soldiering in Western thought.

Received Western tradition of Christian chivalry

Very little distinguished the early Medieval knight from his Classical counterpart. Feudal knights were violent aggressors, reminiscent of their Classical predecessors. Once Christendom was assured of preservation from invaders, however, this group of feudal knights remained, with their volatile and violent masculinity poised to turn on their own rulers, religion, and citizens to fulfil their warring and battle-hungry functions.[23] The Crusades contributed to the introduction of a new military ideology of masculinity. This new ideology did not entirely supplant its Classical predecessor, but rather represented an alteration of the characteristics considered essential to the male military ideal. The Council of Clermont, at which the first Crusade was declared in 1095 CE, enjoined the nobility to defend the oppressed, and protect all noblewomen, thereby introducing the concept of chivalry and protection of the feminine ideal into the codes of knighthood. It was primarily the introduction of this Christianized military ethic and the chivalric ideal which distinguished the military culture of the Middle Ages from that of Classical antiquity. Combat remained a central defining tenet of the ideal of military masculinity.[24]

The concept of chivalry revolved around the dichotomy of a protector and those in need of protection. As the protector ideal was male, women were designated as those to be protected. However, the Christianized chivalric warrior was not expected to extend his protection to all women, only those who represented the ideal of womanhood. The feminine ideal which was worthy of chivalric devotion and served as a source of inspiration to the Christian knight was closely tied to class and race. In spite of a shift in the constructions of the military male ideal,

true femininity was still constructed so as to be incompatible with soldiering.[25]

Although the chivalric code continued the tradition of excluding women from serving in any meaningful military role, save as an inspirational icon, some women warriors were able to employ the newly Christianized side of the code of knightly ethics to create a place for themselves within the medieval military. As early as the Second Crusade, Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine emerged in the tradition of the woman warrior. Eleanor served as the epitome of the inspirational lady to whom feudal knights pledged their loyalty. Nevertheless, flying in the face of chivalrous conventions which dictated that women inspired knights, but had no place in the midst of the crusading knighthood, she joined the Crusade. Although her inspiration to do so was firmly grounded in pious motivations, her behaviour was considered in bad taste and the papal bull which proclaimed the next Crusade expressly forbade women from following her example.[26]

Constructions surrounding Eleanor of Aquitaine demonstrate how the woman warrior gained access to renown as a soldier within the confines of this chivalric ideal, primarily through a transcendence of gender based on piety. Deliberately donning male apparel and adopting the guise of the Amazon Queen Penthesilea, she constructed herself as having transcended her gender. "In a bold gesture, Queen Eleanor had thus separated herself from the category of mortal women, mere concubines...and other female companions; by her plumes and her bold buskins she had appealed ostentatiously to the past, and declared in so doing her right to accompany the Crusade."[27] Ironically, in dressing as an Amazon, Eleanor of Aquitaine appears to have been more empowered by the Amazonian legend than by Christian chivalric conventions. However, Eleanor of Aquitaine's intriguing combination of elements of the Classical woman warrior and the Christian military ethic is a recurrent theme in the constructions surrounding many other notable military women.

Like Eleanor of Aquitaine, Elizabeth I deliberately constructed herself as transcendent of her gender. Elizabeth I's masterful manipulation of rhetoric facilitated not only her apologia of her reign as an unmarried woman, but also her efforts to establish herself as Elizabeth *Rex*. Elizabeth I emphasized her paternal lineage and affected similarities to her father in defence of her right to reign. She built a kingship on the platform of her sex by engaging the maternal and conjugal trope in conjunction with her country and its citizens, and employing the ideology of chivalry in her favour. Emphasis on her unmarried state allowed her to retain some claim to virgin status of woman warriors, and simultaneously allowed the essential construction of herself as mother and family of her people and country. Furthermore, she used the potential of a marital alliance to her advantage, turning potential enemies into would-be suitors, not only avoiding costly wars, but also neatly sidestepping the necessity of appointing a male military commander to oversee the deployment of troops in her stead. Elizabeth I employed multiple constructions of the woman warrior. She presented herself as only a woman, but with the heart of a king; marriageable, yet unwaveringly devoted to her country as her only spouse and family; figurehead only of the British fleets, yet pledged herself to fight, if need be.[28]

Although the Medieval period saw the introduction of a Christian ethic and the concept of chivalry into the ideal of militarized masculinity, femininity and soldiering remained as incompatible as ever. Chivalry was based on the concept of protection, and broadly speaking, the feminine ideal was designated as that which was to be protected. Within this dichotomy, the historical record has emphasized that the few women who attained respect as soldiers did so primarily on the basis of their piety. Eleanor of Aquitaine particularly exemplified this element of pious transcendence based on devotion to God and the religious symbolism of the Crusades.[29] Her cross-dressing and deliberate adoption of Amazonian iconography visibly reinforced her transcendence of gender. Conversely, Elizabeth I's transcendence of traditional gender roles

was based on her own skilful emphasis of her paternal heritage and her 'kingship'.

Received tradition of the transvestite female soldier

Historical constructions of soldiering indicate that it is primarily gender ideology which excludes a woman from becoming a soldier. For this reason the woman soldier has been portrayed as an exception who has--however briefly--transcended her gender. One of the simplest ways that this transcendence has frequently been attained is through the act of cross-dressing, as in the case of Joan of Arc and Madelaine de Vercheres. Although the act of adopting male clothing seems to offer confirmation that soldiering is, in fact, a masculine accomplishment, the sexual morality of the cross-dressing female soldier has still been questioned in the historical record. Maintenance of chastity and the willingness to resume the life and attire of a woman once the crisis has passed are the most enduring characteristics which separate the exemplary transvestite female soldier from the immoral one.

Undoubtedly there have always been women who have served as soldiers in disguise, with varying degrees of success at concealing their gender. Julie Wheelwright's monograph documents the historical evidence of the transvestite female soldier in popular culture.[30] Whether in ballad, theatre, or folk literature, the legends of the cross-dressing female soldier indicate an almost formulaic desire for the protagonist to surrender her weapon and trousers, and resume life as a woman.

Most famous of the transvestite female soldiers--and indeed of all women warriors in Western history--Joan of Arc emerged in the fifteenth century to lead the French troops at Orleans to victory against the English. Constructions surrounding Joan of Arc[31] epitomized much of the characterization of the woman warrior in Western tradition. Her status as a heroine, and her life, was cut short by her conviction of heresy based primarily on her transvestism. Joan defended her adoption of male clothing as being under God's own instructions. The

problematic and enigmatic status of Joan as heroine or heretic was debated for centuries, and culminated in her sainthood, awarded in 1920. Her virginity and piety have been central to those constructions which allowed this rise to sainthood, and her assumption of an uncontested place among those woman warriors revered by Western culture. Similarities to Joan of Arc have been underscored by supporters of other women soldiers in later history, and Joan was even revived as an inspirational icon by CWAC recruitment propagandists during WWII.[32]

Women warriors have been accorded a very tenuous status in the historical record. While the unusual nature of their martial deeds in times of crisis may well have made them ideal icons of loyalty to the state, patriotic self-sacrifice, and dedication to nation building, their sexual morality has often been suspect. Whether real or imagined, any sexual activity outside of heterosexual marriage has been seen to compromise their transcendence of gender and detract from the value of their military contributions. As a result, the virginity or chastity of many of the most enduring idealized woman warriors has been emphasized in the historical record.

The 'camp follower' construction in Western received tradition

In spite of the numbers of women who have managed to achieve some historical notoriety as military women, prevailing constructions of soldiering have continued to emphasize that femininity is inherently incompatible with the military. Nowhere is this more evident than in the manner in which they have been re/constructed in the historical record. Western history has consistently distinguished between exemplary and immoral women warriors. This has not always been a simple or easy distinction. There is a fine line dividing the exemplary from the immoral woman warrior, and the difference between the two is cautiously negotiated on the basis of their sexuality and sexual relationship with men.[33]

> The presumed sexual voracity of a Warrior Queen, at least up until the twentieth century, will be found to be one of the recurring themes of her treatment at the hands of her contemporaries and of history. Conversely, but not contradictorily,

> another theme will be found of her chastity: on occasion maintained, according to myth, under the most remarkable circumstances--against all the available evidence. Sometimes the same woman...bears both accusations. This treatment of the Warrior Queen as a supernaturally chaste creature, put against that other image of her as preternaturally lustful (the Voracity Syndrome) seems to indicate that, because her sex is first and foremost what makes the Warrior Queen remarkable, her sexuality must always be called into question as well.[34]

The historical record appears to have noted the existence of only a handful of women warriors. It has been on this particular construction of women's limited military experience that historical and contemporary arguments concerning women's presence in the military have been based. As tends to be the case with many such carefully constructed images, the reality has been far different. In spite of the implication that there have been only a limited number of female warriors and soldiers in western history, the reality is that thousands of women have served openly as women in and with the military, whether in combat roles or other vital military-related functions.

"Camp follower" has been the label given to women who have been on the fringes of countless military battles throughout history. Camp followers have been regarded as synonymous with prostitutes, and they were widely believed to have engaged in a variety of deviant practices, including cross-dressing, along with prostitution and other non-marital sexual relations. The camp follower has been treated by the historical record as little more than a military whore. "The very fact that she was a woman who allegedly *chose* [original emphasis] to make her life among 'rough' men was presumed proof enough of her loose character."[35] In reality, these women provided integral support systems to the Army from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries.[36] The number of camp followers frequently exceeded the numbers of the fighting forces, although not all camp followers were women. They have been nurses, wives, cooks, laundresses, and stores keepers, in addition to providing sexual services. "The most striking fact about women's activities in the army is how little they differed from the ordinary run

of women's work outside it".[37] Their services were highly valued by soldiers, who vied for positions as husbands.[38] The presence of camp followers allowed the military to maintain combat as its central function, while providing essential services which armies generally preferred to ignore. In fact, they were often regarded as an expendable reserve of labour, and were purged from the army whenever their presence interfered with military manoeuvres, or the military reputation. "Camp followers are kept ideologically marginal to the essential function of militaries--combat. The archetypal image of the camp follower is a woman outcast from society, poor but tenacious, eking out a livelihood by preying on unfortunate soldiers. She is a woman in a 'man's world'."[39]

The myth of combat

This exclusion of women from combat has operated as an explanation of the absence of women from military history, and which has ensured their vilification as camp followers. Combat continues to be an integral and divisive issue in contemporary debates concerning women's role in military institutions.[40] Nevertheless, thousands of women have served in active combat roles as soldiers. Thousands more have experienced active combat zones in both military and civilian roles. Because so many women are in the front lines, "the military has to constantly redefine 'the front' and 'combat' as wherever 'women' are not."[41]

The American Revolutionary War offers a particularly poignant example of how fallacious the ideological separation between women and combat really is. Thousands of women served in active combat roles in American armies during the American Revolutionary War, in a women's branch, among regular Continental troops, and, as men continued to enlist in the Continental Army, increasingly in the fighting force of local militias.[42] Molly Pitcher has attained historical renown as a heroine of the Revolutionary War. Although 'Molly Pitcher' is a legendary figure, she is an amalgamation of the lived experiences of countless women who served as

water carriers to gun crews.[43] The Molly Pitchers' water-carrying role has been constructed through historical tradition to mean they brought water to gun crews to drink. However, the water these women carried served a function more essential to combat: cleaning the cannons before they could be reloaded.[44] Whether the real Molly Pitchers were involved directly in combat is debatable. Certainly, given their placement in the battle zones, and their constant exposure to loading and firing techniques, many of them would have been capable of engaging in cannon combat.

The history of military nursing also offers confirmation that the separation between military women and combat is an ideological construction. Although army nursing had a long tradition as women's work, militarized nursing began with Florence Nightingale's efforts during the Crimean War, and WWI saw further steps towards the generation of official women's military branches of the military.[45] Save for a handful of officers' wives and some of the women warriors of note, until the advent of Florence Nightingale's nursing corps, very few middle-class women had ever been involved in the military. Despite this element of class, nurses' exposure to combat remained high.[46] Even with the overseas mobilizations during WWII, the majority of enlisted women exposed to combat during WWII were nurses.[47] In spite of strong evidence that women have increasingly been exposed to combat and combat zones, combat has been retained as one of the central defining tenets of the male soldier ideal.

WWI and the "re-masculinization" of a nation

The expansion, colonization, and defence of Empire, and the various European and North American[48] wars provided ample opportunity for several generations of men to test and establish their masculinity through combat. However, the prevalence of combat warfare decreased with the relative stabilization of the British Empire and the settlement of the North American frontiers. This wrought a crisis in Western culture where combat was an essential rite

of passage into manhood and true masculinity. Even the relatively recently colonized Canada was not exempt from this crisis for traditional gender constructions. In the years preceding WWI, many Canadians suggested that the qualities of the masculine soldier ideal needed to be reinforced.

> In order to stand effectively alongside Britain in its various campaigns to spread democracy and other qualities associated with Anglo-Saxondom, leading Canadian imperialists promoted the need for men of strong bodies and possessing a martial spirit, such as acquired through militia service. They believed these characteristics would preserve a tough, disciplined and self-reliant manhood once forged by a harsh environment, but perceived as imperilled by the various negative manifestations of urbanization and modernization...For even among the most wretched civilians, it was maintained, a sharp uniform, army discipline and clean living would create a more handsome, chivalrous and gentlemanly Christian motivated by praiseworthy concerns such as destroying evil, promoting freedom and protecting the sanctity of women.[49]

Increasing urbanization added fuel to the fire of a social imagination which foresaw generations of masculinity grown increasingly soft, effeminate and 'sissified.' The sedentary lifestyle of the urbanized inner city man was remedied by an increasing emphasis on sport. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Boy Scouts, and organized athletics proffered ready solutions.[50]

Boys and men alike continued to define and assert their masculinity on the battlefield of sport until the advent of WWI rekindled the romantic notion of soldiering, and offered a generation of men grown effeminate and flaccid in a settled urban lifestyle the opportunity to test their manhood in real combat. In the context of WWI, it is appropriate to speak of this ideal in terms of pre-enlistment innocence and naivete. WWI demoralized men and debunked the combat mythology which claimed that war was glorious. Trench and chemical warfare, which made their entrance into twentieth century combat during the 'Great War', destroyed the image of and potential for heroism in battle. "Volunteers who had envisaged military life as providing physical and spiritual enhancement, discovered themselves in a setting where profanity,

drunkenness and sexual promiscuity became release mechanisms."[51] Women were once again excluded from serving in a meaningful military role, except in a sexual capacity.

Canada's geographical detachment from the morale-sapping carnage of WWI front lines contributed to the maintenance of ideological constructions of soldiering on the home front. "Those fortunate enough to survive the carnage returned to a place where press copy, books, and other post-war ideological indicators suggested that despite 60, 000 dead, idealistic conceptions about the war still dominated."[52] In the aftermath of WWI, however, the image of combat as glorious and ennobling suffered under the disillusionment of returning veterans, and in the silent testimony of the war dead. Entertainment and news media struggled to reinforce and rebuild the traditional image of the heroic male warrior. It was in this context that the advent of WWII proffered another generation of men the opportunity to succeed to their father's legacy of honour and glory attained on the battlefield.

Western received tradition and the Canadian woman warrior

The Canadian woman warrior tradition has been shaped by the European received tradition during the process of colonization and nation-building. As Colin Coates' work demonstrates,[53] the historical record of Madeleine de Vercheres presents an excellent opportunity to examine the Canadian woman warrior tradition, and the extent to which historical accounts have attempted to reshape women's military exploits within prevailing gender ideologies of femininity and respectability. Madeleine de Vercheres, the French-Canadian heroine who successfully defended her family fort against Iroquois attack at the end of the seventeenth century, wrote two accounts of her exploits herself. The differences between the two are indicative of her own awareness of the woman warrior tradition, and of the importance of emphasizing her continued femininity and morality.

In her earliest account, Madeleine narrowly escaped a would-be rapist by leaving her scarf

in his hands. Once inside the fort, she disguised herself by donning a soldier's cap. She fired a cannon, which ended the fight. In this account, Madeleine made reference to other historical woman warrior figures, and mimicked the tradition by cross-dressing and taking up arms herself. In her second account, written decades later, the cross-dressing and cannon firing remain central elements of her experience. However, there is no mention of the rapist, and her scarf remains intact. As well, in this second narrative, the conflict is not ended with the firing of the cannon. Rather, the fight continues until the arrival of military reinforcements, at which point Madeleine willingly surrendered arms.[54]

Madeleine de Vercheres has often been referred to as the "Canadian Joan of Arc".[55] Like Joan, much of the controversy surrounding Madeleine de Vercheres has centred on the fact that she disguised herself as a male soldier. The differences between Madeleine's own accounts of the battle are reflected in the differences between contemporary and later records of her story. As her popularity increased, the emphasis on both her transvestite behaviour and her role in combat decreased, and even disappeared. Later records, both written and pictorial, place far more importance on her youthful innocence and her virginity. The intact scarf became symbolic of Madeleine's defence of her virginity, and central to her iconography. Her biographers and historians have also stressed the second narrative's report of her ready surrender of arms to her rescuer, and even her later marriage as symbolic of the temporary nature of her role as soldier, and evidence of her return to a more appropriate feminine role.[56] The historical reconstruction of Madeleine de Vercheres transformed her from a cross-dressing female combatant reminiscent of many of the women warriors who preceded her to a feminine virginal youth in need of military protection.

As Madeleine de Vercheres' only real Canadian peer, Laura Secord has undergone a similar reconstruction at the hands of historians in search of an idealized feminine icon of

patriotism. Laura Secord, who brought the British troops news of an impending American attack, has been successfully elevated to a national symbol of patriotism in Loyalist history. Cecilia Morgan's work situates Secord's popularity within the discourse of Canadian Loyalist history narratives.

> Like her walk, Secord herself was constructed in many ways as the archetypical "British" pioneer woman of Loyalist history, remembered for her willingness to struggle, sacrifice, and thus contribute to "nation-building." These historians also suggested that patriotic duties and loyalty to the state did not automatically constitute a major threat to late-nineteenth-century concepts of masculinity and femininity. Secord could undertake such duties, but still had to be defined by her relations to husband and children, home and family. She did not, it was clear, take up arms herself, nor did she use her contribution to win recognition for her own gain.[57]

Although Secord momentarily transcended gender role prescriptions by carrying essential military information through enemy lines to Loyalist troops, the historical record has immortalized this transcendence as temporary. Perhaps the most poignant reminder of the temporary nature of Secord's masculine show of bravery is to be found in the historical reminder that Secord fainted immediately after delivering her message to the troops.

Janice Potter-MacKinnon's study of Loyalist refugee women demonstrates that the concept of chivalry has also had an impact upon Canadian women's experiences of the military. Female loyalist refugees' petitions for support to British government and military officials were shaped within a "language of enfeeblement"[58] which emphasized their own weakness, helplessness and suffering. According to Potter, this rhetoric minimized the courage and competence exhibited by these women through their experiences as women alone in combat zones, and as exiles, refugees, and settlers. The prevalence of this language of enfeeblement in Loyalist women's petitions demonstrates that these women had learned to depict themselves as needing protection. Their expressions of helplessness invoked the chivalric protector ideology, and served to remind the men who received these petitions of their Christian duty to protect and

defend those weaker beings in need of help.[59]

The establishment of the woman warrior tradition in Canada demonstrates the Euro-Canadian acceptance of Western cultural traditions which dictated that femininity and respectability were incompatible with soldiering and the masculine soldier ideology. It was within this context of Western received traditions that the CWAC was formed. The long history of emphasis on the femininity and sexual morality of the female soldier was to have a significant effect on the Canadian Army's attitude toward the feasibility of women's services, and later on its attitude toward female military personnel.

The formation of the CWAC

Although the formation of the CWAC marked the first time in Canadian history that women had been mobilized into official military services,[60] there were precedents for the formation of such a Corps. WWI had seen the Canadian Nursing Sisters mobilized into overseas service. Civilian women had also served in a military capacity--primarily in health-related areas--during WWI, but they were never mobilized into the military itself. Similarly, women's WWI volunteer organizations made significant contributions to the military. In 1918, Canada's Militia Council submitted a proposal which would have set in motion the formation of a women's auxiliary. Women in this corps would have been engaged strictly in traditionally female labour, as typists and laundresses, for example, and as unskilled labour. However, the cessation of hostilities put an end to all discussions of a women's military corps.[61]

Over the course of WWII, in addition to the shortage of industrial labour, the Canadian government and military were faced with a growing shortage of military manpower. As early as 1942, they were confronted with essentially two options--male conscription or opening military service up to women. By mid-1942, it was reluctantly decided that the most favourable of the two options was to create women's branches of the military services. In many ways this

reluctance was misplaced and even unfounded. The Canadian military had already established a policy of utilizing women's labour, albeit in civilian roles. Furthermore, numerous women's paramilitary corps had been in existence since as early as 1938, and had been insistent in lobbying the government for some form of official recognition. These civilian women on military payrolls, and the civilian women's paramilitary corps provided the army with ready sources of potential female recruits who already had some experience with military training, discipline, and policies.[62]

Canada was not alone in its reluctance to create opportunities for women to serve in and with the national military. Faced with similar crises, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States all demonstrated a similar hesitance to create official women's military organizations, rooted in the same traditional Western dichotomous constructions which dictated that the military was a masculine institution, and therefore that soldiering and femininity were mutually exclusive. Nevertheless, British women set the pace for the mobilization of women into the military. In September 1939, the British Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS) was formed. The ATS was soon joined by the Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS), and the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF). Australia followed suit by allowing women to enlist in the army, navy and air force in 1940.[63]

Not only did the British women's services set a precedent for the mobilization of women into the Armed Forces, but they also served as a pressure group which provoked and encouraged the Canadian government to follow suit. In 1940, the Transport division of the ATS proposed to coordinate an empire-wide women's organization, although the Canadian government refused to support recruitment in Canada.[64] Even Prime Minister Churchill brought pressure to bear on the Canadian government to form a women's corps. When he appealed to Ottawa in 1941 for more men, and Ottawa responded that they were sending as many men as they had available,

Churchill countered with the question "'What about your women--why are they not replacing men as cooks, waitresses, stenos, telephone operators and so on?'"[55]

Long before this pressure had been brought to bear on the government, Canadian women had decided to take matters into their own hands. The first Canadian women's paramilitary group was formed in Victoria, British Columbia on October 5/1938. Taking their cue from this early organization, thirteen other women's paramilitary groups were soon underway in British Columbia, and were eventually amalgamated into the British Columbia Women's Service Corps under the leadership of Mrs Joan Kennedy. Other similar groups formed across Canada. Not only were these women's paramilitary organizations unpaid, but they were also usually charged a nominal fee for membership dues. Those groups which had uniforms, paid for their own. Training, which occurred during spare time, included any combination of regulation basic drill and physical training; first aid; clerical, cooking and transportation skills; map reading; signaling and decoding; gas precautions; and military rules/regulations/administration.[56]

Virtually as soon as a draft proposal of rules and regulations could be drawn up, the first women's paramilitary group from Victoria began lobbying the government for official recognition as part of the Canadian Military Forces. As early as December 7/1938, the "Auxiliary Militia Service of Canada" requested governmental recognition as a unit of coastal defense, and proposed that more units could be organized nationwide.[57] The request was politely rejected by the Military Members of the Defense Council, on the grounds of the cost involved. "While recognizing the potential value of such an organization...[it] must entail expenditures which cannot be met by the Department."[58] The lobby efforts of the paramilitary groups continued throughout 1939, and gained impetus under the amalgamation into the British Columbia Women's Service Corps.[59] As late as May 1940, this Service Corps was still lobbying for recognition, citing international precedents, services already rendered by the Corps to the

Canadian Forces, and the beginnings of the war as reasons for such recognition.[70] Once again the "very patriotic offer" was refused, this time on the grounds that policy would not permit official recognition.[71]

Whatever the rhetoric of the reasons offered for refusing official recognition of the women's paramilitary organizations by the Department of National Defense, much of this resistance was undoubtedly related to the issue of military needs. While the paramilitary organizations were lobbying for DND recognition, the military was already mobilizing civilian women's labour in some fields, especially secretarial, as short-term needs arose. In this aspect, the recruitment of women into the Armed Services followed a similar pattern to mobilization of women into war industries. Women's own desires to work or volunteer their military services were rebuffed until manpower needs exceeded available supplies.[72]

From the military standpoint, the major drawback to the system of utilizing civilian women's labour was the issue of control. Voluntary labour was only as reliable as the goodwill of the volunteers. While the paid labour of civil servants was utilized in crisis situations, they could not be compelled to move around to meet Army needs, could not be compelled to work after hours or overtime, and the military exercised no control over hiring and employment practices. In short, the military would have much preferred to have controlled access to these women if they were to be used in any military function rather than allow the government to administer them as civilians. Thus, the major advantage to militarizing these women would be one of access and control. The Army could select the most desirable candidates, could train them to respond appropriately to military authority, and could call on their labour and transfer them at will. Militarized women would be available to be assigned to a wider variety of tasks than would civilian women.[73]

One of the major objections to the lobby efforts by the paramilitary groups was the argument

that much of the training provided by the paramilitary corps was not necessary to the uses that would be made of these women if they were mobilized by the military. When the CWAC was formed, basic training included unarmed squad drill, saluting, badge rank recognition, first aid, gas defense, and branch-specific training. Clearly the Army had a definite idea of what a female corps would do, and it differed significantly from what the women themselves had in mind. Nevertheless, ignoring the efforts of the paramilitary groups would have been ill-advised, especially considering the urgency of the military's need of women's services, and the lobby efforts of these groups prior to the formation of the CWAC. On the other hand, the military wanted to retain complete control of all aspects of the newly formed corps, and so token recognition only was granted the paramilitary groups who enlisted. Early recruits drawn from the ranks of already existing paramilitary groups were permitted to wear their volunteer corps uniforms until a CWAC uniform was issued to them.[74]

On June 20/1941, the government released its first policy statement on the formation of a women's corps. "'The government has now decided that, in view of the ever increasing demands upon Canada's available man-power...Canadian women should now be organized to fill these positions. Among other things this will release considerable numbers of men already in the services, for combatant duties elsewhere. The government has therefore decided to enlist within the next few months, several thousand women volunteers to serve as full time Auxiliaries in our Armed Forces for duty in Canada.'"[75] This first women's Army Corps was authorized only in a subordinate and supportive role, as the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Army Corps and operated as such from its official formation on August 13/1941 until the auxiliary status was shed in March 1942.

Conclusion

In spite of a long tradition of women serving in and with the military, the historical record has

largely ignored their presence. Nevertheless, in spite of the male monopoly on soldiering throughout Western history, the female soldier is not unknown. What little record of military women exists implies that military women only occur under the rarest of circumstances.

Historical constructions of women who affiliated themselves with the military have been fraught with difficulty and contradictions. From the Classical era through to WWII, prevailing constructions of the soldier have remained incompatible with cultural ideals of femininity. Even in the face of the significant--and often essential--military contributions made by women throughout Western history, the historical record has continued to emphasize the femininity and sexuality of the female soldier. Both historical and contemporary reflections have assessed the merit of the women warriors in fact and fiction--as well as those who lie somewhere in between--on the basis of the extent to which they maintained the morally respectable ideal of femininity. Very few of these women have been presented in a positive light. The woman with military aspirations and affiliations has generally been regarded as something "other" than the respectable feminine ideal. For the most part, women who have been affiliated with the military have been castigated as rejecting their femininity, or as sexually immoral. If women retained the trappings of femininity and respectability, they could not possibly make competent soldiers. Conversely, if a woman was a good soldier, she must have become either masculine or immoral.

The officially approved introduction of women into the military took place within the confines of these Western received cultural traditions which dictated that military service and masculinity were inextricably linked, and respectable femininity was virtually incompatible with cultural notions of what military service entailed. The advent of official women's military services during WWII highlighted the difficulty of retaining the prewar ideological constructions of femininity in the face of wartime disruption and chaos. Throughout the existence of the women's military

services during WWII, constructions of femininity and soldiering did not experience a unification into the category of female soldier.

Endnotes

1.David Morgan, "Theatre of War: Combat, the Military and Masculinities," in Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman, (eds), *Theorizing Masculinities*. (London: Sage Publications, 1994) 165-182. 165

2.Cynthia Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You?: The Militarization of Women's Lives*. (Boston: Pandora Books, 1988) 12-13.

3.Ibid., 13.

4.Leisa Meyer makes this argument in the American context. (Meyer, Prologue.)

5.Mark Gerzon, *A Choice of Heroes: The Changing Faces of American Manhood*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982) 35.

6. "To *allow* women entrance into the essential core of the military would throw into confusion *all* men's certainty about their male identity and thus about their claim to privilege in the social order...Women as women must be denied access to 'the front', to 'combat' so that men can claim a uniqueness and superiority that will justify their dominant position in the social order." Enloe, 15.

7.Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. (Translated by Bernadotte Perrin) (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1914) Vol 1, 255-257.

8.Ibid., 245-247.

9.Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian Wars*. (Translated by C. Foster Smith) (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1925) Vol 1, 323-327.

10.Homer, *The Illiad*. (Translated by E. V. Rieu) (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1950).

11.See Sarah Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1988) 4-5.

12.Plutarch, *Moralia*. (Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt and Harold Cherniss) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927) 245 c-f.

13.Herodotus, *The Histories*. (Translated by Aubrey De Selincourt) (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1954) Book VII.

14.Herodotus, Book VIII.

15.Boudicca's husband died without a male heir. To curry favor with Rome, he divided his kingdom between his daughters and the Empire. The daughters were raped and dispossessed. Boudicca led Britain in an unsuccessful uprising. For more information see Antonia Fraser, *Boadicea's Chariot: The Warrior Queens*. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988).

16.The majority of evidence is derived from Herodotus, Book IV.

17.Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 205-207. For example, a WWI women's paramilitary was named "Toronto's Amazons" (Kori Street, *Toronto's Amazons: Militarized Femininity and Gender Construction in the Great War*. Master's Thesis: University of Toronto, 1991)

18.Both Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* emphasize the erotic appeal of Amazons.

19.Mary Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth*. (Baltimore: John's Hopkins University Press, 1986) 19; Pomeroy, 24.

20.Queen Maeve, who used her sexuality to seduce men into military alliances, exemplifies the voracious sexual appetite which often appears as an aspect of the Celtic warrior woman. Fraser, 16.

21.Lefkowitz, 19-20; Pomeroy, 24.

22.Before committing suicide herself, Boudicca is reputed to have killed her two daughters to prevent a second rape at the hands of the Roman victors.

23."The prime problem of the age...was how to escape from it, how to reduce it to civility; how to convert it to new uses...by discovering a fresh inspiration and another sphere of activity for those dangerously unemployed anachronisms, the feudal knights errant. The solution of the problem was the Crusades." Edgar Prestage (ed), *Chivalry*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1928) 7.

24.For more on chivalry, see Richard Barber, *The Reign of Chivalry*. (St. New York: Martin's Press, 1980); Walter Clifford Meller, *A Knight's Life in the Days of Chivalry*. (London: Northumberland Press, 1924); and Prestage.

25.For more on chivalry and devotion to an ideal womanhood, see Barber, 187-189; and Meller, 56-58.

26.See Fraser, 23-24; Meller, 225-6, 237.

27.Fraser, 24. Eleanor of Aquitaine's transvestism is also noted by Georges Duby, *Women of the Twelfth Century* (Volume 1). (Great Britain: University of Chicago Press, 1997) 15.

28.See also Ilona Bell, "Elizabeth I--Always Her Own Free Woman," in Carole Levin & Patricia Sullivan (eds), *Political Rhetoric, Power, and Renaissance Women*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) 57-82, and Lena Orlin, "The Fictional Families of Elizabeth I," ibid., 85-110.

29.Nevertheless, Eleanor was not exempt from accusations of immorality. See for example Duby, 6-7.

30.Julie Wheelwright, *Amazons and Military Maids: Women who Dressed as Men in the Pursuit of Life, Liberty and Happiness*. (London: Pandora, 1989).

31.Warner's *Joan of Arc* provides an excellent study of various historical constructions of Joan of Arc.

32.See the DND recruitment poster for the CWAC, reproduced in Marc Choko, *Canadian War Posters, 1914-1918, 1939-1945*. (Canada: Meridian Books, 1994) 25.

33.Fraser delineates a link between sexuality and historical constructions of many women warriors.

34.Fraser, 11-12.

35.Enloe, 2.

36.During the nineteenth century, the military institution underwent a transformation. Support services were brought under military control, and women's roles disappeared from military life. Barton C. Hacker, "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance," *Signs*, 6, 4 (1981) 643-71.

37.Hacker, 653.

38.See Hacker.

39.Enloe, 1-2.

40.For some examples of the contemporary positions on women and combat, see M.D. Feld, "Arms and the Woman: Some General Considerations," *Armed Forces and Society* 4,2 (August 1978) 557-568; Nancy Goldman, "The Changing Role of Women in the Armed Forces," *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (January 1973) 892-911; Nancy Goldman (ed), *Female Soldiers--Combatants or Noncombatants?: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives.* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982); and Joseph Revell, "WACS in Combat," *Times Magazine* (February 1976) 11-14.

41.Enloe, 15.

42.Linda Grant De Pauw, "Women in Combat: The Revolutionary War Experience," *Armed Forces and Society* 7,2 (Winter 1981) 209-226.

43.Margaret Corbin, a transvestite soldier attached to a Revolutionary War Corps under her own name, is often credited as having been the original "Molly Pitcher". See De Pauw.

44.As Linda De Pauw notes, because of the high number of fatalities among Continental soldiers caused by heat stroke, a woman who offered cold water to an overheated artilleryman "would have been considered guilty of attempted murder." De Pauw, 215.

45.Women served in limited numbers with the United States Navy and Marine Corps, and in paramilitaries and the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) in Britain during WWI, but with civilian status. Patricia Thomas, "Women in the Military; America and the British Commonwealth: Historical Similarities," *Armed Forces and Society* 4,4 (August 1978) 623-646, provides a useful overview.

46.Philip Kalisch and Margaret Scobey, "Female Nurses in American Wars: Helplessness Suspended for the Duration," *Armed Forces and Society* 9,2 (Winter 1983) 215-244.

47.Stephen Dienstfrey, "Women Veterans' Exposure to Combat," *Armed Forces and Society*. 14, 4 (Summer 1988) 549-558.

48."The equation of masculinity with soldiering was readily adopted in America. We brought with us to the New World a military tradition that had changed relatively little since Caesar's time. When America was born, battle was still considered the most basic and universal rite of passage into manhood." Gerzon, 36.

49.Jeffrey Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War.* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996) 130-132.

50.Ibid., 128-130.

51.Ibid., xvi.

52.Ibid., xv.

53.Colin M. Coates, "Commemorating the Woman Warrior of New France, Madelaine de Vercheres, 1696-1930," in Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld (eds.) *Gender and History in Canada*. (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996) 120-136.

54.Ibid.

55.Ibid.

56.Ibid.

57.Cecilia Morgan, "'Of Slender Frame and Delicate Appearance': The Placing of Laura Secord in the Narratives of Canadian Loyalist History," in Parr and Rosenfeld, 103-119. 114.

58.The phrase "language of enfeeblement" is borrowed form Janice Potter-MacKinnon, *While the Women Only Wept: Loyalist Refugee Women*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993). See for example page 150.

59.Ibid. See especially Chapter Five.

60.Conrod, 15.

61.See Bruce, Chapter Two; Conrod, Chapter One; and Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamourboots* Chapter One.

62.For more on women's paramilitaries, see note 60 and Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*, 97-100.

63.See Thomas.

64.Conrod, 17-18.

65.Prime Minister Winston Churchill, cited in Conrod, 20.

66.For more on paramilitaries, see note 61, and Correspondence from Mrs. Hugo Rayment, "Auxiliary Militia Service of Canada for Women", December 7/1938, NAC, RG 24, Vol. 6280, file HQ 32-1-443.

67.Correspondence from Mrs. Hugo Rayment, "Auxiliary Militia Service of Canada for Women", December 7/1938, NAC, RG 24, Vol. 6280, file HQ 32-1-443.

68.Memorandum from Major General, C.G.S. to Deputy Minister, February 22/1939, NAC, RG 24, Vol. 6280, file HQ 32-1-443.

69.NAC, RG 24, Vol. 6280, file HQ 32-1-443.

70.Correspondence from Joan B. Kennedy of the British Columbia Women's Service Corps to Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, May 11/1940, NAC, RG 24, Vol. 6280, file HQ 32-1-443.

71.Correspondence from H. Desrosiers, Acting Deputy Minister of the Militia, May 29/1940, NAC, RG 24, Vol. 6280, file HQ 32-1-443.

72.See Bruce, Chapter Two; Conrod, Chapter One; Gossage, *Great Coats and Glamour Boots*, Chapter One; and Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*, Chapter Three.

73.See for example Gossage, 29.

74.Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*, 103.

75.Cited in Conrod, 25.

CHAPTER 2
"THEY HAVEN'T FORGOTTEN DANCING, PERFUME, MOONLIGHT...AND MEN": THE FEMININE IDEAL AND THE CWAC IN CANADIAN MASS-CIRCULATING MAGAZINES

Introduction

In spite of the novelty of female military service, the image of Cwacs which predominated in Canadian mass media representations emphasized the more traditional aspects of servicewomen's lives. The Canadian popular press maintained a strong preoccupation with promoting a public image of the enlisted women which did not operate in tension with prevailing ideologies of femininity. In particular, the media's emphasis on the centrality of femininity and (hetero)sexuality in appearance and the domestic ideal of marriage and family to servicewomen's postwar lives underscored the temporary and aberrant nature of Cwacs' wartime roles and reminded the public and servicewomen alike that prewar gender ideologies would prevail. This chapter will consider the prewar feminine ideal, and the extent to which the Canadian popular press contributed to constructing and redefining this feminine ideal during WWII. A brief survey of the emphasis on femininity and sexuality in media images of civilian women during WWII will be followed by an exploration of the emphasis on sexuality and femininity in popular culture images of Cwacs in a number of Canadian mass-circulating magazines. The magazines selected for this survey were *Chatelaine*, *Maclean's*, *National Home Monthly*, and *Saturday Night*. Some Canadian Press articles found in the *Fort William Daily Times Journal* have also been used. Each issue between January 1941 and December 1946[1] was examined for images, articles, advertisements, and other items related to the CWAC. Some images and text relating to civilian women and wartime femininity have also been used.

The ideal of femininity which is prevalent in WWII media was rooted in the shifting constructions of female sexuality in the prewar period. By WWII, the prevailing discourse

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[1]Lotta Dempsey, "Sisters in Arms," *Maclean's*, April 15/1943, 19-23. 19.

surrounding female sexuality had been reshaped by the work of sexologists in the preceding decades to allow for the inclusion of active sexuality and sexualized appearance as elements of true femininity. As a result, an essential component of the wartime ideal of femininity was sexual allure to men, who set the terms of feminine physical attractiveness.

An examination of mass media can contribute to developing an understanding of the cultural ideals of a particular society within a specific historical context. The popular press presented the most prevalent images of the CWAC to Canadian society during WWII, and thus offers an exceptionally rich source from which to explore the gender ideologies of that era. The image of the CWAC volunteer generated by Canadian mass-circulating magazines maintained a strong preoccupation with depicting volunteers in terms of the feminine ideal. Women in military uniform were encouraged to identify with the same popular ideology and images of femininity that were presented to their civilian counterparts. The fact that the mass media stressed the importance of maintaining femininity, and even prioritized this over wartime roles, served to normalize the feminine ideal, and underscore the transitory nature of the wartime roles. In particular, the media emphasis on the style of uniforms, cosmetics, and other cultural signifiers of femininity reminded the public and servicewomen alike that women's military presence was a temporary aberration, whereas femininity and the domestic ideal would shape the rest of their lives.

The mass media generated an idealized image of Cwacs as heterosexually attractive and actively seeking the domestic ideal of husbands, children, and homes. This not only contributed to formation of ideological perceptions of the CWAC, but also provided the social/cultural climate into which the military introduced the actual Cwacs. It was within this context that the military attempted to negotiate its own constructions of uniformed femininity.

Sexuality and the feminine ideal at WWII

By the advent of WWII, popular conceptions of femininity had shifted radically from their Victorian precursors, and representations of women as sexualized beings were widespread throughout popular culture. According to the prevailing gender ideology of the Victorian era, the truly feminine woman led a relatively cloistered existence; first within her father's house, and then within her husband's, where she was enshrined as the "Angel in the House",[2] and her role was one of conspicuous leisure.[3] As in Britain, popular North American gender ideology during the latter half of the nineteenth century leaned heavily toward "biology is destiny" arguments for women's separate and subordinate position in society, and revered piety, purity, domesticity, and motherhood as the feminine ideal.[4] The Victorian ideal of femininity precluded the notion that women could participate in an impassioned and active sexuality. Remnants of Victorian morality facilitated the pathologization of active female sexuality within prevailing medical, scientific, and popular discourse.[5]

The period from the 1880s through the 1930s marked a significant alteration in popular discourse concerning female sexuality. By the late 1800s, the sexual order was being reshaped by the ideas of the new sexual theorists, and the new medical/scientific sub-discipline of sexology rapidly reformulated many long-standing concepts of female sexual biology and sexuality.[6] Under the influence of Darwinian evolutionary theories,[7] Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1887), Havelock Ellis' *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1890s), and the early twentieth century popularization of Freudian psychoanalytical theories, the Victorian ideal of a passionless female sexuality began to give way to a more active and engaged understanding of female sexuality. Nevertheless, in spite of the potentially liberating effect of such a radical new conceptualization of women, the promise of sexological literature was lost in the implicit assumption that sexual activity would take place within the confines of a heterosexual marriage

based on the traditional patriarchal and heterosexual model. If wives did not participate in sexual intercourse willingly and passionately, or if women chose not to marry at all, then they were subject to classification as "frigid", lesbians, and spinsters.[8] Despite the sexologists' claim that sexual desire and sexual appetite in women was natural and healthy, women's sexuality and sexualization were still expected to be directed toward attracting a man for marriage, children, and domesticity. The terms of female sexual allure continued to be dictated by men's ideals, and not by women's own desires, ideals, and experiences of their own sexuality.

Advertisers increasingly used sex and the female body as a marketing ploy to both male and female consumers. They employed the female body and the implicit promise of sexual activity to market products to men, and held out the promise of the ideal body and the realization of their romantic dreams to market products to women. "One new, modern, pervasive and invasive cultural form that played a prominent part in the construction of femininity in these [prewar] years was advertising...The secret of the success of advertising, and the accompanying rise in consumerism, was its promise to secure sexual fulfilment and identity."[9] By the 1940s, femininity had become increasingly reconfigured around prevailing concepts of (hetero)sexual attractiveness. The advent of the war was accompanied by new opportunities to participate in the public realm as employees, volunteers, or servicewomen. As the circumstances of women's lives were increasingly conducive to expressions of sexuality and sexual activity, WWII seemed to be contributing to speeding up the process of liberalization of women's sexuality that had begun in the prewar decades. Simultaneously, women's usurpation of a variety of masculine roles and privileges served to heighten the public focus on femininity and gendered differences.

> The wartime reaction to the possibility of increased social and sexual freedom for women mirrored the response to all changes in women's roles and circumstances fostered by the war. Women's conduct received constant

> scrutiny, which reflected considerable anxiety over the continuation of a marriage and family system predicated on the willingness of women to subordinate their needs and aspirations to those of others.[10]

In view of women's newfound social and sexual freedom, and the move away from the Victorian ideal of women as moral guardians, society began to fear that the wartime woman would destroy social moral fiber and demolish traditional and prescribed gender roles.[11]

Mass media and government in WWII

WWII saw the mobilization of women into a wide variety of public roles that had previously been considered to belong exclusively to men. In order to mobilize women into non-traditional occupations, and then to convince an apprehensive public that women's usurpation of these roles was a temporary necessity, and would not effect a permanent alteration to the gender status quo, various government bodies undertook massive publicity campaigns. In many cases, direct connections between the mass publishing industry and government propagandists were established.

In Britain, magazine editors formed the Group of Editors of Women's Magazines, and both volunteered or were recruited to inform their audiences on the subject of British wartime policy.[12] British cinema, which reached its all time attendance high of 31.4 million per week by 1946,[13] was also utilized to spread British wartime policy and propaganda. In the United States, the Office of War Information was created in 1942, followed almost immediately by the creation of the Magazine Bureau.[14] American pulp publishers, motivated by their fear of being shut down as a non-essential industry, proved eager to cooperate with government propagandists. The Magazine Bureau's monthly publication, the Magazine War Guide, functioned as a go-between and provides documentation of the influence the American government exercised over the magazine industry during the war.[15] The Hollywood silver screen also did its share to promote and glamorize the women's services.[16]

Although the connections are less clearly delineated in the Canadian context, the Mackenzie King government utilized newspapers, magazines, radio, and the newly created National Film Board (NFB) in its efforts to manage the public image of women during WWII. However, the print mass media operated as the primary means by which wartime policy and ideology was expressed. During the war, the Magazine Publishers' Association of Canada estimated that Canadian magazines reached one out of every two Canadian homes,[17] an estimate that demonstrates the immense propaganda potential of magazines. Government offices such as the Public Relations Office of the Department of Labour and the Department of National War Services coordinated massive publicity campaigns to facilitate women's contributions to the war effort. Additionally, the military utilized the mass media in its recruitment campaign by running recruitment advertisements and feature articles promoting the women's services.[18]

Mass media and the feminine ideal during WWII

As the wide governmental interest in mass media indicates, mass media can function as both a passive and active agent in defining societal gender ideals. As a passive agent, media merely reflects gender ideals as they have existed in their contemporary context. Numerous feminist scholars have shown, however, that media does not always present an accurate reflection of the lived experiences of women during WWII.[19] Conversely, mass media can also be viewed as taking a much more active role in *promoting* specific ideologies, operating as an agent of socialization.[20] Propagandists' reliance on mass media during WWII demonstrates the extent to which media can be used as an agent of socialization.

However, there are limits to the extent to which mass media can actively construct and redefine prevailing gender ideologies. The power of popular culture to influence is limited by the preexisting ideologies and motivations of the target audience. Although media is subject to the interpretation of the individual reader, it would not be very successful as an agent of ideological

formation if its intended meanings were not also understood and implicitly internalized by many of the recipients. Mass media is replete with value-laden semiotic systems, layered and ideologically weighted messages and images. These images are coded with particular concepts and values which are intended to inspire a specific attitude and behavioral response in the intended audience.[21] To be successful, any mass media which seeks to [re]shape societal ideologies must be at least partially grounded in the social realities of the intended audience. In particular, advertisers and propagandists have been very invested in the reception of their intended message, and have very specific goals in which the audience interpretation is central.

> The campaign to mobilize women through popular fiction and advertising provides a model of how artists can attempt subtly to shape cultural attitudes...Whether this attempt indeed produced the desired results is impossible to prove...What is important is that media people and government officials *believed* their efforts would produce behavior that would help the wartime economy run smoothly.[22]

In any examination of wartime ideologies of femininity presented in magazines, it must be remembered that these images only tell us what magazine editors and advertisers themselves believed was important to women and society, and not what women and society thought and believed.[23] The success of wartime propaganda was limited by the extent to which it was both grounded in prevailing ideology, and reflected the perceived concerns of its intended audience.

Transience and sexuality in media images of wartime women

Media images of wartime women emerged in the context of concern for their newfound social/sexual license, and fear that a loss of femininity would result from their wartime roles. Because of this, the media emphasized the transitory nature of women's new participation. The female war worker or servicewoman was indeed a 'woman in a man's world', but she was there for the duration only. Precisely because her position was temporary, mass media encouraged women not to neglect their femininity in terms of physical appearances, behavior, and goals.

Domesticity and the pursuit of the heterosexual ideal of attractiveness were to remain central to wartime women's daily lives; their newfound public roles were only contingencies.

The challenge media and advertisers faced was to acknowledge the unprecedented changes in both the public and private roles of women, and yet to do so in a way which did not completely alter the existing ideological dichotomies of a gendered society. Women were encouraged to take up industrial war work by a cultural and media enthusiasm which commended patriotism and glamorized war work, yet simultaneously stressed its innately feminine characteristics of repetition and minute manual dexterity. Wartime rhetoric likened women's industrial skills to baking cookies, running household equipment such as vacuums and sewing machines, and other traditionally domestic chores.[24] Women might well have demonstrated themselves capable of undertaking "men's" work, but nonetheless, the work itself remained firmly entrenched in the realm of masculinity. Women were on alien ground. They had been invited into the male sphere, but in such a way as to channel their contributions there through traditional views about women's capacities. Although the media largely celebrated women for adopting non-traditional roles in the military or war industries, women's opportunities for participation in these fields were cautiously restricted, underpaid, and undervalued.

In fact, women were increasingly encouraged to identify with an idealized "feminine" role, with particular attention paid to feminine appearance, domesticity, and romantic interests. "While validating women's new activities, the wartime media also fastened those departures to a context of conventional femininity and domesticity."[25] Both the mass media as well as more private workplace publications cautioned women against becoming too masculine in their new roles. "Narratives of heterosexual romance and courtship were frequently used by wartime advertisers, reflecting popular ideas about appropriate futures for women and encouraging women to imagine domestic futures for themselves."[26] This forward-looking emphasis also

reinforced the understanding that women's roles were not permanent.[27] Work-related publications further reinforced this mass media emphasis on heterosexual coupling and the domestic ideal. "[T]he women's sections of union and employer publications included advice on homemaking, personal appearance, and personal relationships, notably those involving men."[28] Factory-employed women were frequently offered classes in dress and cosmetics, personality and deportment. Problematically, the war had removed men from the home front, although the man in uniform offered a substitute--if remote and idealized--focus for romantic fantasy. Not only did the lack of men make the ideal less attainable than before, but it also demonstrated that women were competent on their own and could manage without male help.

> As a result of their culture's attempt to graft certain 'masculine' attributes onto an otherwise conventional model of womanhood...women received conflicting signals during the war. They were urged to demonstrate physical strength, mechanical competence, and resourcefulness for eight hours a day, while being told to be 'feminine' and attractive, weak and dependant on men during their free time.[29]

Advertisers, alongside employers, offered women help in interpreting the complexity of roles they were expected to play during war, and promised that the model war worker could also be the model housewife if she just used the right products to ease her load. She could also maintain femininity in appearance. In fact, the maintenance of a heterosexually attractive appearance was construed as being central to the wartime woman's life. Femininity and sexual attractiveness were essential first to attaining a husband, and then to continuing to remain sexually desirable to him.[30] While women were increasingly represented in sexualized images in the mass media, female sexual allure was still determined by male ideals, not women's own ideals and understanding. Moreover, according to the wartime ideology of femininity, it was a woman's duty to remain an icon of peace, normalcy, and femininity, in order to bolster the fighting man's morale.

The ideal of femininity, in its constantly shifting historical and social context, is not an attainable state. The feminine woman is a socially created being, specific to her social and period context. There is no single culturally transcendent quality of femininity which, once achieved, defines a woman as truly feminine for all time. "There is no specific behavior which in itself will fulfill the ideals of femininity...[A] woman is always in a process of becoming".[31] This endless process of 'becoming' feminine lends itself well to a consumer culture in which individual products promise to aid and alleviate many of the difficulties in the process of seeking femininity. In particular, advertisers of women's products are specifically invested in instructing women in the pursuit of femininity.[32] Advertisers encourage and facilitate women in the discovery of physical and personal inadequacies which can be eliminated--or at least concealed--by consuming the appropriate products. In addition to persuading women to purchase specific products, advertisers attempt to convince women that the very essence of who and what they are--or ought to be--is inextricably tied into particular patterns of consumption.

Part of this ideology of femininity involves a specific set of appropriate behaviors, appearances, and thoughts which Jill Mathews has argued can be categorized as an "inventory of femininity".[33] In the context of WWII, the "inventory of femininity" included a range of behaviors which centred around the heterosexual ideal of marriage, childbearing, child-rearing, and domesticity. Maintaining a feminine appearance was integral to the attainment of this ideal, and the wartime "inventory of femininity" in the mass media included a veritable checklist of products devoted to this end. Problematically, the rhetoric of patriotic devotion to the war effort prioritized demands on women's time, and the manufacture of feminine consumer products was increasingly curtailed. Much of the inventory of femininity was limited by these wartime restrictions on the production of consumer goods, as well as the wartime moratorium on

women's time, and the wartime female consumer had to manage her consumption within ever-changing product availability. "Physical beauty and feminine finery took on a mystical quality. Women's bodies were the site for a confluence of desires: the desire for pretty things equated to the desire for peace, desire for absent products evoked in association with desire for absent lovers".[34] While the wartime media celebrated women's contributions to the war effort, women were reminded that their newfound public roles represented only a temporary divergence from the domestic realm. Within this framework, the maintenance of a heterosexually defined ideal of feminine attractiveness was emphasized as essential to their post-war happiness as wives and mothers.

Wartime media and the CWAC

My survey of magazine articles and ads which feature army women revealed a remarkably consistent image of conventionally attractive Cwac: young, slender, fair-complexioned, well-groomed, and competently made-up. In spite of the overriding emphasis on the femininity of her physical appearance, the media is unequivocal in its support of her role: she is patriotic, busy, and efficient in the performance of her appointed job.[35] Nevertheless, her contribution is clearly secondary to that of the man in uniform. Articles reflect this attitude in their reiteration of the "release-a-man" rhetoric prevalent in mass media recruitment materials. Advertisements emphasize her auxiliary status in the ways in which they "position" the servicewoman as secondary and subordinate in both images and text.[36] Images of servicewomen are invariably placed below or behind servicemen, or they are situated in a less central place in the ad.[37] Similarly, a series of Trans Canada Telephone System advertisements urging civilians to clear telephone lines in the evenings so military personnel could place their calls home tacked on servicewomen almost as an afterthought. "Somewhere, anywhere, almost everywhere in Canada, this evening, and every evening, mothers, wives, sweethearts are waiting for long

distance calls from their boys in camp, training centre, port. *The girls in uniform want to call home, too.*"[38]

The secondary and supportive role of the CWAC was taken for granted in wartime media. In fact, the idea that the Cwac's role could be anything *but* auxiliary was seen as amusing. A humor page which was a regular feature in *Maclean's* repeated an anecdote concerning a Canadian military regiment which was delayed in port for several weeks awaiting overseas mobilization. While they waited, a CWAC regiment arrived and departed overseas from the same port, but without experiencing similar delays. "Next morning this large poster appeared in the barracks of the disgusted soldiers: JOIN THE ARMY AND RELEASE A CWAC FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE." *Maclean's* added an accompanying illustration of soldiers in battle gear waving handkerchiefs after the departing CWAC contingent which read "The female of the species is more deadly than the male."[39] While the anecdote and it's publication in the magazine does point to some male hostility as well as some public consternation over the social implications of Cwacs and overseas service for women, much of the media attention to the Cwac presented her as the subordinate and feminine complement to the male soldier rather than his rival.

The influx of women into the industrial workplace raised concerns for their femininity on a variety of fronts. Not only did their usurpation of traditionally masculine occupations and their increasing economic independence threaten the established norms of gender difference, but the clothing they wore to accommodate their jobs also obscured their femininity. As women donned machinery-conscious overalls and trousers, and covered their curls with bandannas, the public began to wonder if women workers were still feminine at heart. The adage which claimed that the clothes "make the man" was now applied questioningly to women--were her clothes also the making of the woman? With the advent of women's services, fears that

femininity was being tossed aside in favor of wartime priorities were exacerbated, as feminine fashion was sacrificed to uniformed regimentation.

The uniform

The concept of women in uniform feminized a traditionally masculine mode of dress. As Deborah Montgomerie points out, women wearing trousers and uniforms were regarded by some contemporaries as a form of transvestitism[40]. Concerns over transvestitism and female soldiers were hardly novel. As we have seen earlier, accusations of cross-dressing have plagued female soldiers throughout Western history. As fashion was one of the modes by which women signified their feminine identity, placing the female body in uniform proved a cultural contradiction in terms.[41] "To reject this in favour of a uniform was to step outside of the feminine realms of...titivation and flirtation into a masculine system of willing regimentation"[42]. Nevertheless, at least one Canadian magazine, *Chatelaine*, regarded this regimentation in a favorable light. "The uniform levels social barriers. This is important in a group embracing all types of racial, religious and economic backgrounds. The uniform is practical. The uniform sets the standard of grooming. The uniform is the visible reminder of the wearer's responsibility to her God, and her King."[43]

Whether the process of placing women in military uniform was received positively or not, the Canadian press anxiously followed all the design details of the CWAC uniform--the first of the Canadian women's services to design a women's uniform--issued in press releases from Ottawa. Nor did mass media interest in the CWAC uniform cease once the original uniform design had been revealed. The press releases and accompanying photographs of the summer uniforms, alterations to the standard issue, and even seasonal changes from one uniform to another all found their way into the pages of the mass media. As other women's services were formed, their uniform designs were of equal interest.[44]

The media interest in uniforms was not entirely limited to the women's services. The announcement in 1941--shortly after the first CWAC uniforms had been issued--that the Army had decided to design new, "smarter" uniforms for its soldiers was also greeted with media curiosity. A comparison between the tone of the interest in the new Army uniforms for men and women is telling. The interest in the servicewomen's issue was predominantly on its femininity: how well it accommodated the feminine figure, and how feminine the volunteers looked in the uniform were particular concerns. In contrast, there was no concern over the masculinity of the new soldiers' uniforms. Rather, the focus was on the extent to which the new uniforms would boost the morale and "self-respect" of the soldiers.[45] The uniform had always been regarded as the "making of the man", the more pressing question was, would the uniform prove the unmaking of the female of the species?

Civilian designers' willingness to adopt military-inspired styles indicated that they found scope enough for femininity in women's military uniforms. Even cosmetics manufacturers designed new shades which did "justice to your trim new outfit" with its "military swing and dash".[46] It must be noted that women's uniforms were not single-handedly responsible for the inspiration to incorporate some "masculinity" into women's clothing designs. The trend toward "man-tailoring" and more masculine styles for women was begun in the 1930s,[47] long before the formation of women's services, and continued throughout the war.[48] Thus some "masculinity" in clothing was actually an indication of up-to-date female fashion. Undoubtedly, this trend toward military severity in fashion was encouraged by wartime textile shortages and restrictions.[49] Although fashion designers had been moving toward a simpler and more streamlined women's style before the war, the wartime restrictions on fabrics rapidly simplified and streamlined women's fashion. Increasing emphasis on convenience, safety in the workplace, and durability all contributed to an increasing "masculinization" and "militarization" of

women's clothing.[50]

Nevertheless, the trend toward military severity was not coincidental. A Kotex advertisement which charted developments in women's fashion trends throughout the twentieth century ended with the image of a nurse's uniform and a CWAC uniform, noting "[s]ervice is the theme today."[51] Deacon Brothers ran an advertising campaign that offers particularly striking evidence that the connection was intentional. The ad series depicted servicemen and women in their outdoor issue. Shadowing these drawings were outline sketches of civilian men, women and children in similar postures, wearing styles which closely reflected the military wear. The accompanying text explained that Deacon Brothers' experience in providing outerwear for the services had resulted in a reconceptualizing of functional outerwear for civilians.[52]

In spite of civilian designers' enthusiasm for military-inspired women's fashions, the focus of the media's attentiveness to women's uniforms was on the extent to which the uniform threatened to "masculinize" the wearers. The media's emphasis was on maintaining femininity while functioning in wartime roles, and stepping into military uniform was perceived to restrict the range of cultural signifiers of femininity Cwacs were allowed access to. One menstrual product ad effectively summarized the popular perception of the impact of military uniformed regimentation on the trifles and accessories which served as indicators of femininity. "No more rosy-red nail polish, no more glamorous hair-do's, no more jewelry--'cause I'm in the army now."[53] [Appendix 2.1]

Cosmetics

From the beginning of the twentieth century, cosmetics had increasingly become not only respectable,[54] but essential cultural signifiers of femininity, and were in widespread use by the advent of WWII.[55] As uniformed regimentation sharply curtailed women's traditional expression of femininity through fashion and jewelry, popular culture and government both encouraged

women to maintain their beauty to help morale--theirs and men's.[56] The "male gaze" was central to much wartime cosmetics advertising.[57] Whether implicit or explicit, the image of male approval frequently entered into such ads. Most frequently this was accomplished by introducing one or more men into the same frame as the well-made-up face.[58] Advertisements that make direct reference to morale are ambiguous as to whose morale is being maintained. Although romantic attention is often presented as being the servicewoman's reward for maintaining a feminine appearance, ads which raise the issue of morale do so in the context of maintaining femininity as a job. "Miss Canada hasn't forgotten the job of being a woman too. She knows that '*beauty is your duty*'...that little things like a radiant smile, a dash of color, and a fresh well-groomed look can add up to a very important thing called *morale*."[59]

Servicewomen were frequently reminded "that the military severity of a uniform can be vastly more attractive without interfering with the war effort if the face above it is properly and competently made up."[60] Cosmetics manufacturers had a vested financial interest in ensuring that the thousands of women in uniform did not neglect their pre-service beauty routines, and the government facilitated and reinforced the media's emphasis on cosmetics by continuing cosmetics production even in the face of extreme ingredient shortages. Engagement in the war effort meant only that women had become "glamour girls with a purpose",[61] and not that they had ceased to be feminine. "'You don't think that we've put out the best beauty kit in our history for the women in uniform and the girls in slacks just as a whim, do you?' the astute advertising manager of one big cosmetic company said. 'Or designed special shades in lipsticks and foundation creams to match service dress and war plant uniforms?'"[62] Most large cosmetics companies designed a beauty kit geared toward servicewomen, and distinguished between on-duty (military) and off-duty (civilian and off-duty servicewomen) shades.[63] Even in the face of wartime restrictions which limited cosmetics manufacturing, and the ever-increasing demands

on their time, women were not to neglect their cosmetic routines. In fact, when the war efforts' demands on women's time and money began to compete with the cosmetic industry's absorption of women's time and money, the cosmetic industry began to pick up on the rhetoric of patriotism so prevalent in other advertising directed toward women during the war. They delineated a direct connection between femininity in uniform and patriotic duty. DuBarry's "Salute to Beauty on Duty" stressed to the Miss Canada in uniform that even with all the increased demands on her time, "'beauty is her duty'".[64] [Appendix 2.2] Similarly, Elizabeth Arden's "Salute to Beauty in the Armed Forces" claimed "it's brave to be beautiful".[65]

Advertisers' tendency to link patriotism and cosmetics was not limited to use among servicewomen. Even before the CWAC was formed, Louis Philipe lipstick advertisements urged women to "Meet danger with lips that are glamorous", and later marketed a "brave new shade" as "Patriot Red".[66] Other cosmetics companies joined in the practice of dubbing their shades in a patriotically inspired vein. DuBarry marketed "a spirited cosmetic color--Emblem Red" which was described as "brave" and "clear as a bugle call", and which it claimed was perfectly suited to all three services' uniform colors.[67] Among Elizabeth Arden's patriotically inspired cosmetic colors were "Red Feather",[68] "Victory Red",[69] and "Winged Victory".[70]

Overwhelmingly, the message which emerged from cosmetics advertisements directed toward women in uniform was that the "right face" for the future was one which was carefully made-up. Although many wartime advertisements and photographs featured the "right face", cosmetics advertisers were especially quick to adopt the iconographic "right face" as their own. This "right face" featured a woman standing straight and tall, with her chin up--both literally as well as figuratively it may be assumed--and her eyes staring into the horizons of the future. Although other cosmetics advertisements featured this icon,[71] the Elizabeth Arden ads offer particularly poignant evidence of the pervasiveness of the "right face". A hand-drawn facsimile

featured in a 1942 is astonishingly like its 1943 counterpart.[72] [Appendix 2.3] The Wren and the Cwac pictured in these ads are respectively labeled as having the "*Right face* for Victory", and the "*Right face* for Freedom".[73]

Cultural signifiers of femininity: lingerie, heels, and hairdos

Even in the face of public support for the Army women's uniform design, the incompatibility of femininity and uniforms became the source of much wartime humor. The contrast between visible signifiers of non-military femininity such as lingerie and high heels, and the uniform, drill and other military things provided a source of endless media humor. Montgomerie notes that in the New Zealand mass media, "[u]nderwear jokes were common. Women soldiers were repeatedly betrayed by what was beneath their uniform."[74] Although the examples of unruly underwear and loose slips that Montgomerie cites were less prevalent in the Canadian media, the femininity of Cwacs' undergarments was often held up as evidence of their continued femininity. Media articles continually emphasized that Cwacs retained their love of feminine finery, and cited the "rainbow of lounging pyjamas and dressing gowns that blossom in the rows of double-decker bunks, after duty hours."[75] In spite of her own severity of fashion sense, Lieutenant-Colonel Joan Kennedy's support of this expression of femininity was also cited with glee. "Off duty, in their barracks, the CWAC's [sic] are allowed to wear what they wish; and what they mostly wish to wear after being in uniform all day is frilly and fancy negligee. Joan Kennedy approves of that--thinks this feminine way of expressing personality is good for morale."[76]

Although the Cwac's lingering penchant for feminine frippery in the form of lingerie provided the mass media with a much sought after visual signifier of the woman in uniform's continued femininity, servicewomen's underwear did not offer as much scope for humour as it did in the New Zealand media. Far more visible in the Canadian media were examples of the servicewoman's femininity being betrayed by what was on her feet. An American cartoonist

whose single-frame series was popular among Canadian newspapers, E. Simms Campbell's women soldiers were generally pictured in ridiculous high-heeled shoes which were not standard military issue. In addition, the love of flighty hats was widely regarded as another signifier of femininity.[77] The army supported this media emphasis on servicewomen's 'feminine desires' by providing press releases which included publicity photographs of Cwacs shopping for shoes and hats.[78]

Somewhat ironically, several popular shoe manufacturers chose to emphasize the military-inspired practicality of their women's shoe designs. Understandably proud of having landed the contract to provide footwear for the women's services, Blachford Shoe Manufacturers based an advertising campaign on the honour. In addition to the ability to provide both regular and special order shoes to comfortably fit all servicewomen,[79] "[m]ore than thirty thousand women in the services and civil life are now wearing these shoes with complete satisfaction and comfort."[80] A Hewetson Shoes ad provides additional evidence that a practical, military inspired shoe was in vogue by promoting its "popular military-type" Oxfords for women.[81]

The idea of women's hairstyles which would comply with army regulations gave the media a moment of concern, as it was noted that Cwacs bravely "passed off glamorous tresses as a war luxury and now more and more appear with boyish and military haircuts."[82] Although the suggestion that the military hairstyles were "boyish" may well have been an overstatement, this statement is indicative of the ambivalence that pervaded much of the media's images of, and attitudes toward, Cwacs. Like the uniforms and restrictions around the feminine trifles that Cwacs were allowed access to, the Army's off-the-collar hairstyles were accepted as being standard components of the military regimentation essential to competent performance of duties. Yet the "masculinized" image of the woman in military uniform, wearing unembellished footwear and lingerie, with streamlined cosmetics and hairstyles proved cause for concern.

Even though the military hairstyles exhibited femininity enough to achieve some popularity among civilians,[83] the intense focus on the femininity of servicewomen remained. The Cwac seemed to embody the potential for a new icon of womanhood, who might not be willing to return to frills and domesticity at the end of her military service.

(Hetero)sexuality and the domestic ideal

Cwacs were depicted as willing to actively seek after and return to the domestic ideal of marriage and family at the end of the war in the mass-circulating magazines. Advertising and other promotional media items which featured conventionally pretty women in uniform and emphasized their continued femininity, contributed toward making heterosexual attractiveness central to publicity about the CWAC. One journalist who wrote often on the subject of femininity and women in the military found that there was no "less handholding and eye-searching and dreamily snuggled head on shoulder because the girl's in uniform",[84] and that servicewomen's off duty conversations were "as feminine a patter of woman-talk as I ever found at any tea or bridge club".[85] Army girls spoke of romance--both real and fictional, marriage, children, and other feminine desires. On the subject of uniformed women, journalist L.S.B. Shapiro reassured himself and his readers that because "[t]hey're still women after all", he foresaw "no difficulty after the war in renewing the tradition that this is a man's world".[86] Articles like these, highlighting Cwac's romantic and domestic yearnings, advertisements which focussed on Cwacs as seeking romance and even dating, and the frequency of media coverage of CWAC weddings,[87] all reinforced sexuality and heterosexual attractiveness as among the central norms of Cwac femininity.

If the uniformed woman did not already have her loved one with whom to share these dreams of a consumer product-filled tomorrow, then she was actively seeking her one and only, and advertisers offered a plethora of products from cosmetics to menstrual products[88] to

facilitate in her search. As the promise of peace loomed on the horizon in 1944, advertisers in many industries began to market their products under the hope that wartime dreams were soon to be made a reality. DuBarry ran such an ad which depicted a Cwac staring longingly at a lacy hat in a shop window. The accompanying text promised "It won't be long", but simultaneously warned "The woman 'who knows' realizes the importance of taking care of herself as well as others, taking care so that the *dreams of tomorrow* may come true."[89] The realization of postwar dreams would only happen for the woman who remained attentive to her feminine appeal. The DuBarry ad was not alone in its juxtaposition of the Cwac (and other servicewomen)--as representative of harsh wartime realities--against the feminine longing for pretty things, romance, and a domestic future. Throughout the war, advertisers reminded themselves and their readers that the uniformed women "who are serving Canada today are the housewives of tomorrow--they are your customers to be. When they return to civil life, they will bring with them a keen appreciation of the value of smartness and efficiency...in products and packages as well".[90] These female consumers of tomorrow were already "[p]lanning the new homes of peace".[91] Even in uniformed service of their country, "[y]ou can't stop them from dreaming" of "new things, new ideas, new conveniences."[92]

The extent to which publicity about the CWAC was successful in generating a perception of servicewomen as feminine, heterosexually attractive, and marriageable was evidenced in the following anecdote, which appeared in *Maclean's* magazine. An army private who appeared on a Toronto game show was asked to give the acronym of the group that "always gets their man". "'CWAC!' snapped out the Private. After the laughter had subsided the announcer mumbled--'The answer is RCMP, but take the five dollars anyway--it's all your's soldier!"[93] While the anecdote highlights positive aspects of CWAC femininity such as attractiveness and the desire for romance, it simultaneously generates the problematic image of the man-hunting Cwac

complete with a sexual appetite which the military sought to avoid.

Conclusion

My survey of Canadian magazine publicity devoted to the phenomenon of the woman in military uniform revealed much about the ideologies of femininity prevalent in Canadian culture during the WWII period. Although advertisers, journalists, and editors naturally exercised a great deal of authority over the image of the female soldier which emerged from the mass media, in order to attain some degree of cultural resonance, this image had to be ideologically rooted in prewar constructions of femininity. Emanating from the late Victorian era, prevailing constructions of respectable femininity had undergone a transformation so as to include the central component of an active sexuality and heterosexual appetite. The increasing social/sexual freedom women experienced as a result of their expanded wartime roles raised public concerns for the potential loss both of femininity and moral respectability. These concerns were only exacerbated by the induction of women into the male bastion of uniformed military service. "Thus, with respect to women's participation in the armed forces, alongside the talk of emancipation, equality, and the overcoming of tradition, recruitment propaganda and wartime advertising also sought to minimize the degree of change required and to hint at and occasionally even stress the expectation of a rapid return to normalcy once the war was over."[94]

To this end, media publicity presented the woman in uniform as a societal and wartime novelty whose ability to be an efficient soldier was secondary in importance to her ability to maintain appearances of femininity under the duress of military service and wartime restrictions. The media spotlight on stereotypical visible signifiers of femininity permeated even articles supposedly focussed on the good job Cwacs were doing, and severely undermined the serious contribution they were making. The masculinity inherent to cultural notions of both uniforms and military service was de-emphasized by such feminine trifles as cosmetics, lingerie, shoes, and

hairstyles. The mass media indulged in endless attempts to trivialize and glamorize women's services by favoring images of service women which tended to emphasize these more trivial signifiers of femininity, undermined their ability to soldier, and ignored the real work of the CWAC. All too frequently, an exaggerated femininity rendered them incapable of understanding military life and abiding by military discipline. The inefficient and comically curtseying female soldier had to be reminded that the appropriate response to a superior officer was to salute,[95] and the feminine Cwac who lounged in barracks reading movie magazines while her hired housekeeper cleaned obviously missed the entire point of military discipline[96]. Nevertheless, any inability to do her job was a readily forgivable offence, particularly if her femininity, and penchant for feminine things was directly responsible for the inability. To ease the concerns of a public who feared female military service would forever change the nature of gender roles and femininity, the mass media promoted a trivialized image of the Cwac. The vision of a woman in uniform teetering about in minuscule and high-heeled shoes, a perfectly made up face, with unruly curls and equally unruly lingerie, provided a charming public reminder that the uniform was only a temporary aberration, and even a war and military service would never stop a woman from pining after feminine trifles. The evidence overwhelmingly emphasized that the soldiering woman was temporary, whereas the feminine woman was forever.

Endnotes

1.These dates represent the CWAC official formation and the CWAC official disbandment. The CWAC was favored over the RCAF-WD and the WRCNS in part because it predominated as the contemporary image of servicewomen, and was the largest of the three women's services.

2.The term was immortalized in Coventry Patmore's poem of the same title. Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House*. (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1905).

3.See for example Sara Ellis, *Women of England: Their Social and Domestic Habits*. (London: Peter Jackson, 1839).

4.See Barbara Maas, "'Women's Nature': Stereotypes of femininity and their scientific legitimation," in *Helpmates of Man: Middle-Class Women and Gender Ideology in Nineteenth Century Ontario*. (Bochum: Universitatsverlag Dr N. Brockmeyer, 1990) 47-75; and Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860" *American Quarterly*, 18 (Summer 1960) 151-174.

5.For example, Wendy Mitchinson's *The Nature of their Bodies: Women and their Doctors in Victorian Canada*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) considers the extent to which Victorian gender ideologies shaped doctors' attitudes towards women, and encouraged the medical establishment to regard women as naturally prone to illness, and to pathologize female sexuality and reproductive functions.

6.John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America. (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Sheila Jeffrey's *The Spinster and her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality 1880-1930*. (London: Pandora Press, 1985);and Roy Porter and Lesley Hall's *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650-1950*. (London: Yale University Press, 1995) provide some insight into the development and impact of sexology.

7.In the early 1870s, Darwinian evolutionary theories placed an emphasis on sexual processes such as natural selection and reproduction which facilitated the rise of the study of sexuality as a science in its own right, separate from medical science. See Charles Darwin *Origin of the Species* (1859), *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871).

8.In particular, see Sheila Jeffrey's *The Spinster and her Enemies*, which considers the impact of the 1880-1930 era on the feminist movement and female liberation in Britain. She concludes that such labels were used as rather effective tools to regulate female sexuality and destroy the credibility of the feminist movement.

9.Lake, 432.

10.Anderson, 111. However, in "Female Desires," Marilyn Lake argues that focussing on a return to traditional, prewar femininity obscures this historically changing nature of femininity. In the pre-war decades, femininity had increasingly begun to revolve around a new concept of sexuality, attractiveness, and youth, and the war continued to emphasize the emerging sexual component of femininity. This (hetero)sexual component of the shifting ideology of femininity and feminine attractiveness was emergent from the work of the sexologists, who argued that an active sexuality was an important component of femininity as well as masculinity, provided--of course--that it was appropriately restricted to within the confines of heterosexual marriage.

11.See Chapter Five for more on societal concern for a perceived lack of female sexual restraint, and efforts to control the sexual 'misconduct' of civilian women during the war.

12.See Janice Winship, "Women's magazines: times of war and management of the self in *Woman's Own*," in Gledhill and Swanson, (eds.) *Nationalizing Femininity*, 127-139, 127; Pat Kirkham, "Fashioning the feminine: dress, appearance and femininity in wartime Britain," in Gledhill and Swanson, (eds.) *Nationalizing Femininity*, 152-174, 154.

13.Christine Gledhill and Gillian Swanson, Introduction, in Gledhill and Swanson, (eds.), *Nationalizing Femininity*, 1-12, 6; Anette Kuhn, "Cinema culture and femininity in the 1930s," in Gledhill and Swanson, (eds.), *Nationalizing Femininity*, 177-192, 178.

14.In the States, the connection between the government and the magazine industry resulted from the difficulties the government experienced in mobilizing women's labour into civilian industries. The defense industries resisted the War Manpower Commission's efforts to encourage the hiring of women as a way to fill labour shortages, and the Commission was without recourse to enforce its recommendations. Consequently, the government enlisted the support of the magazine industry. For more on the wartime connections between American government and the magazine industry, see Maureen Honey's excellent study, *Creating Rosie the Riviter*. See also Dabakis, 185.

15.See Honey, Chapter One.

16.Among the most notable wartime motion pictures, Betty Hutton played a servicewoman in *Here Come the Waves* (1945), Lana Turner was a socialite who joined the WAC in *Keep Your Powder Dry* (1945), and *So Proudly We Hail* (1943) featured nursing heroines.

17.*Saturday Night*, October 23/1943, 26.

18.This recruitment material is considered separately in the following chapter.

19.Prentice et al, "The 'Bren gun girl' and the housewife heroine," clearly delineates a difference between "media messages" 307-311, and "what women really did," 311-316, and Wilson's "The Changing Image" notes the discrepancies between women's lived experiences and magazine images between 1930 and 1970. Similarly, Dabakis' "Gendered Labour" explores Norman Rockwell's "Rosie the Riveter" as a site of the contradictions between official wartime ideology and women's own experiences of war work.

20.In particular, see Ellen McCracken, *Decoding Women's Magazines: From Mademoiselle to Ms.*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

21.More so than other mass media, magazines offer a fruitful context in which to explore the extent to which women collude in their own gender socialization. Magazines are a unique form of mass media in that there are particular elements of consent that do not appear in other forms of mass media. The selection of a particular magazine is suggestive of some degree of collusion with the ideologies representative of that magazine and its contents. In the magazine industry, competition is based on the idea that each magazine offers a specific image and is representative of a specific class, race, gender, interest group, or genre which will attract a particular readership. In this sense, magazines offer an ideological specificity not available in other mass culture media. While the "silver screen," television, and radio compete for audiences in a similar fashion, the primary purpose of the medium is to entertain. Similarly, the primary purpose of news media (print, televised, or radio broadcast) is to inform. The ideological [in]formation which occurs is incidental.

22.Honey, 9.

23.Most scholars of the era concur with this assessment. In her examination of wartime images of women in *Maclean's* magazine, Bland argues that "[b]y the 1940s, advertisers had stopped outlining the attributes of their products and were instead associating a desirable human quality or value, such as popularity, with that product. As such, advertising in the 1940s can tell us much about what advertisers thought was important to women." (Bland, 599.) Antonia Lant's "Prologue: mobile femininity," in Gledhill and Swanson, (eds.) *Nationalizing Femininity*, 13-32, notes that wartime advertisers "needed to recognize the difficult lived experience of women in order to snag their customer". (Lant, 21) Maureen Honey's class-oriented examination of wartime images of women in American magazines noted that the necessity of working within the prevailing norms of American mythology meant that magazine editors selected carefully which aspects of the monthly Magazine Bureau Guide they would emphasize, and which they would ignore, or at least underemphasize. Popular culture must be reflective of the experiences of its audience in order to be successful. (Honey, 8-11.) Similarly, Leila Rupp's comparison of German and American government and magazine propaganda directed toward the mobilization of women in to the war effort also concludes that wartime propaganda was only as successful as its ability to respond to women's actual concerns. She found that the United States was successful in propaganda efforts to encourage women's participation in the war effort where German propaganda failed precisely because the American propaganda addressed the concerns of women themselves.

24.This also occurred in the midst of wartime deskilling of labour processes, to render the work more "feminine". In particular, see Penny Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War*.

25.Hartmann, 205.

26.Lake, 119. Other historians offer evidence that domesticity was presented in wartime media as a normative goal for women. See for example Bland; Hartmann, 163-164, 189-205; May; Prentice et al, 307-11.

27.The use of mass media to reassure public that women's new roles were for the duration only, and did not threaten to usurp traditional gender roles is a running theme through much of the work in the field of women's experiences during WWII. See for example; Hartmann, 211; May; Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*; Prentice et al, 302.

28.Anderson, 60.

29.Ibid., 64.

30.See for example Hartmann, 189-205; May; Prentice et al, 307-9.

31.Jill Matthews, *Good and Mad Women: The Historical Construction of Femininity in Twentieth Century Australia*. (Boston: George Allen and Unwin, 1984) 6.

32.Given that only a small percentage of magazine content is not either overt or covert advertising, ideological formation is central to the magazine industry. See McCracken, 38-41, for an excellent analysis of advertising content in mass-circulation magazines. In particular, she distinguishes between covert and overt advertising (covert are editorials and articles which promote certain products, but without appearing as overt advertising copy).

33.Matthews, 15.

34.Lake, 121.

35.For some examples see: "Women in Uniform," Maclean's, August 1/1941, 17-18; "Jay", "Members of the Canadian Women's Army Corps...Release Able Men for Front Line Duty," *Saturday Night*, January 24/1942, 1, 4-5; Margaret Ecker, "They're in the Army Now," *Chatelaine*, July 1942, 12-13; Bernice Coffey, "She's in the Army Now," *Saturday Night*, August 29/1942, 4-5; Anne Frances, "Now She's Doe Private Jones," *Saturday Night*, May 8/1943, 38; H. Napier Moore, "Women's Call to the Colors," Maclean's, August 1, 1943, 1; "Jill Canuck has become CWAC of All Trades," *Saturday Night*, March 4/1944, 4; H. Napier Moore, "The Women in Khaki," Maclean's, August 1, 1944, 1; Bernice Coffey, "Forty Thousand Canadian Girls who Wear Canada on Their Sleeves," *Saturday Night*, October 28/1944, 37.

36.For more on the significance of position in the advertisement frame, see Irving Goffmann, *Gender Advertisements*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1979).

37.For some clear examples of this, see *Maclean's*, September 15/1940, 4; *Saturday Night*, June 27/1942, 16; 36; July 4/1942, 22; January 30/1943, 10; September 23/1944, 40.

38.*Maclean's*, January 15/1944, 4; and *Saturday Night*, January 15/1944, 8. Emphasis mine. The next set of ads similarly positioned servicewomen as secondary in both image and text, and requested that civilians "Save 6 to 10 for service men--*and women too*!" *Saturday Night*, April 15/1944, np; *Maclean's*, June 1/1944, 3. Emphasis handwritten in original.

39.*Maclean's*, February 1/1944, 48.

40.Montgomerie, 119.

41.Lake, 115.

42.Montgomerie, 114.

43.Norma Gibb, "Women in Uniform," *Chatelaine*. April/1941.

44.See for example *Saturday Night*, June 6/1942, 28; June 20/1942, 21; Bernice Coffey, "'Something New--Something Blue'," *Saturday Night*, January23/1943, 22.

45.See for example, "Smarter Uniforms Wanted," *Fort William Daily Times Journal*, Monday December 22/1941, 4.

46.*Maclean's*, March 1/1941, 48.

47.*Saturday Night*, February 11/1939, 24.

48.See for example, *Saturday Night*, April 18/1942, 28.

49.Kirkham's article "Fashioning the feminine", questions the extent to which British female dress was masculinized/defeminized by wartime restrictions and "utility clothing" schemes. Clothing had joined other rationed goods in Britain by June 1941, and utility garments were introduced in the following year. Utility style prototypes were developed, and manufacturers were allotted specific amounts of utility cloth, 85% of which had to be devoted to the Utility scheme. The emphasis on utility in women's clothing is widely supposed to have meant an increasingly militarized and masculinized style of dress, yet Kirkham argues that this was not the case. Masculinity was an indicator of contemporary female fashion, and excess masculinity was undermined by an emphasis on other visible signifiers of femininity, such as cosmetics, jewelry, and head wear.

50.Thelma LeCocq, a feature writer for *Maclean's*, focussed on the extent to which "[w]ar priorities may put a dint in milady's new spring bonnet", and how wartime regulations had streamlined women's. Thelma LeCocq, "Fashion for War," *Maclean's*. January 15/1942, 9. See also Thelma LeCocq, "War Wear," *Maclean's*, August 15/1942, 16.

51.*Maclean's*, November 15/1944, 26. An almost identical ad which ran over a year earlier depicted a munitions worker and a member of another women's service. See *Maclean's*, February 15/1943, 27.

52.*Saturday Night*, March 20/1943, 25; May 20/1944, 17; and *Maclean's*, June 1/1944, 66. The technique of modeling civilian fashion design on military designs was not utilized exclusively by Deacon Brothers. Eaton's offered women's dresses in "Navy White. The model was shadowed by a naval officer, and the text made the connection clear. "So if you want to look as trim and immaculate as your sub-lieutenant, choose one of these 'Navy Whites'". *Saturday Night*, June 27/1942, 31.

53.*Maclean's*, April 15/1942, 30; *Chatelaine*, June/1942, 34.

54.Nevertheless, respectable and inappropriate degrees of cosmetics use remained distinct one from the other, through the war period and beyond. "According to 'Look your best for him,' published in *Home Notes* in December 1943, the glamour necessary to get your man at the big Christmas dance involved 'exaggerating your makeup ideas quite a lot--using more lipstick, accenting your eyes with just that faintest touch of mascara, using a heavy "film type' powder foundation to give your skin that matt velvet look. The great thing to remember, if you want to look attractive and interesting on the dance floor, is to *dramatize yourself. Forget about being a "nice girl" for a while.*'" Kirkham, *Nationalizing Femininity*, 169. Emphasis original.

55.In "Making Faces: The Cosmetics Industry and the Cultural Construction of Gender, 1890-1930," *Genders*, 7 (Spring 1990) 143-169, Kathy Piess charts the development of the cosmetic industry and the cultural construction of gender in the decades prior to WWII, and traces the use of cosmetics from signifying sexual availability of the wearer to being a central marker of respectable femininity.

56.See for example *Saturday Night*, April 18/1942, 24; March 13/1943, 29; March 6/1943, 24.

57.For example, a representative face powder ad pictured a man staring into a woman's face from a distance labelled the "2 foot line". The subtext queried "Does your face powder lie about your age at the critical '2-foot line'?" The accompanying ad copy made the importance of the male gaze even more explicit. "A man's eyes can be so unkind! They can be like magnifying mirrors that accent every little line on your face--exaggerate every tiny defect of your skin. Never mind how you look across the room or from a distance!...What do *his* eyes see when you're only two feet away?" [emphasis mine] *Maclean's*, October 1/1941, 2.

58.See for example *Maclean's*, March 1/1943, 45; and *Saturday Night*, April 18/1942, 24.

59.*Saturday Night*, April 18/1942, 24, emphasis original. See also *Chatelaine*, December/1942, 30; *Saturday Night*, March 13/1943. 29.

60.Ibid.

61.Montgomerie, 119.

62.Lotta Dempsey, "They're Still Feminine!," *Maclean's*, January 1/1943, 7.

63.Elizabeth Arden, for example, produced a "service kit" which contained makeup and hygiene essentials for servicewomen, and packaged it in a case of each of the three services' colors. (*Chatelaine*, September 1942, 42) Similarly, Cutex put out on- and off-duty shades of nail polish. (*Chatelaine*, September 1943, 49; November 1943, 38) Chanel offered fragrances "for glamour...off duty". (*Chatelaine*, November 1943, 36; *Maclean's*, December 1/1943, 44).

64.*Saturday Night*, April 18/1942, 24; *Saturday Night*, March 13/1943. 29.

65.*Saturday Night*, June 27/1942. 23. See also Elizabeth Arden's Cwac with the "Right face for freedom". *Saturday Night*, October 30/1943. 33.

66.*Maclean's* May 15/1940. 54, and *Maclean's* March 1/1941. 48.

67.*Saturday Night*, April 18/1942, 24.

68.*Saturday Night*, March 21/1942, 23.

69.*Maclean's*, March 1/1943, 45.

70.*Maclean's*, March 1/1945, 22.

71.One Du Barry ad, for example, features four servicewomen, representing each of the women's services, in this pose. *Saturday Night*, March 13/1943, 29.

72.*Saturday Night*, June 27/1942, 23; and *Saturday Night*, October 30/1943, 33.

73.*Saturday Night*, May 1/1943, 29; and October 30/1943, 33. Emphasis mine. For further evidence of this iconographic "right face" in Elizabeth Arden ads, see *Saturday Night*, February 21/1943, 29.

74.Montgomerie, 115.

75.Lotta Dempsey, "Sisters in Arms," *Maclean's*, April 15/1943, 19-20, 23. 20. See also Lotta Dempsey, "They're Still Feminine," *Maclean's*, January 1/1943, 7.

76.Ian Sclanders, "Lady Colonel," *Maclean's*, October 15/1942, 18, 32. 32.

77.See for example *Saturday Night*, June 10/1944, 29.

78.Pierson notes that the purpose of these publicity photos taken by the Army Public Relations division was to reemphasize that women in uniform retained their love of feminine, and impractical things like high heeled shoes and hats, and also underscored the notion that army discipline had not altered the woman's prerogative to change her mind. (Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*, 156-7.)

79.*Maclean's*, April 1/1944, 47.

80.*Maclean's*, March 15/1943, 53.

81.*Maclean's*, September 15/1944, 24.

82.James Anderson, "The Feminine Outlook: Police Women for the Army," *Saturday Night*, April 24/1943. 26.

83.Hairstylists marketed the "new Defense Hairdos" to servicewomen and civilian women alike."Styled for Freedom," *Fort William Daily Times Journal*, Wednesday October 14/1942, 6.

84.Lotta Dempsey, "They're Still Feminine!" *Maclean's*, January 1/1943, 7.

85.Lotta Dempsey, "Sisters in Arms," *Maclean's*, April 15/1943, 19-20, 23. 20.

86.L.S.B. Shapiro, "They're Still Women After All," *Saturday Night*, September 26/1942, 10.

87.CWAC weddings were a frequent and popular feature of local civilian newspapers, and were generally granted a position of prominence in the society pages, the women's pages, or wedding and engagement announcements.

88.Although the above discussion has shown that romance was directly connected to use of cosmetics by advertisers, menstrual product advertising also implicitly promised romance. Throughout the war, menstrual products comprised a significant proportion of ads depicting women in uniform, or directed toward women in uniform. The first advertisement in *Maclean's* to feature a Cwac was also the first ad to depict a member of any of the three women's services, and was for a menstrual napkin. This first ad depicted a CWAC mechanic who extolled the virtues of Modess menstrual napkins for "those days when being a member of the fair sex doesn't seem so fair". (*Maclean's*, April 15/1942, 30) Interestingly, the second and third *Maclean's* ads to feature servicewomen--Cwacs or otherwise--were also advertisements for menstrual products! These promised romance in inset images of young women in the company of young men, as well as in text which promised to help women "carry on", and "keep your secret safe" even in formal dresses.(*Maclean's*, June 15/1942, 31, and August 15/1942, 24) Additionally, a 1945 Kotex ad depicted a Cwac getting married. (*Maclean's*, March 15/1945, 30.)

89.*Saturday Night*, June 10/1944. 29. Original emphasis.

90.*Saturday Night*, October 23/1943, 10.

91.*Maclean's*, April 16/1943, np; *Saturday Night*, April 17/1943, 17.

92.*Saturday Night*, September 11/1943, 29.

93.*Maclean's*, April 1/1945, 42.

94.Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*, 132.

95.*Maclean's*, August 1/1942, 38.

96.*Maclean's*, October 15/1943, 57.

CHAPTER 3
"THE GIRLS BEHIND THE BOYS BEHIND THE GUNS": CONSTRUCTIONS OF RESPECTABILITY IN CWAC RECRUITMENT PROPAGANDA

Introduction

Early recruitment efforts for the newly formed CWAC required a minimal investment of military time and energy. The initial enlistment quotas were low, and the ranks of the paramilitary organizations and the general public supplied enough eager recruits to keep pace with the demand for Cwacs. However, in 1943, CWAC recruitment began to encounter mounting difficulties. Enlistment quotas were raised at the same time that the first wave of enthusiastic recruits appeared to have been exhausted. It became apparent that a more deliberate and organized recruitment campaign would have to be undertaken.

However, the Army faced an additional barrier to enlistment which would not be readily overcome by merely advertising the need for more female recruits. Recruitment efforts were seriously hampered by a negative public opinion of the Corps, which was fuelled by what came to be known as the "whispering campaign" against the moral respectability of women in uniform. In an effort to remedy flagging recruitment levels, the Combined Services Committee (CSC), the body responsible for the combined recruitment efforts for all three women's services, hired a commercial research firm to survey public opinion of the women's services. The Directorate of Army Recruiting (DAR) itself undertook an internal survey of Cwacs' own opinions. Both of these surveys discovered that the major factor inhibiting enlistment was the poor public perception of the morality of servicewomen. Thus the key to increasing enlistment rates lay primarily in convincing the general public that the women's services were respectable.

Although issuing a public statement of servicewomen's inherent morality would seem to have been the most straightforward method of counteracting the rumours, the Army decided not

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*Cited in Bruce, 46.

to publicly acknowledge the "whispering campaign". No doubt the public would have resisted such an overt attempt to sway their opinions in favour of the CWAC on the part of the same institution supposed to have been responsible for the immorality. In addition, to issue a statement of the general morality of the Corps would have necessitated the admission that *some* Cwacs were, in fact, immoral.

While both were produced by the DAR, recruitment propaganda in Canadian mass-circulated magazines differed significantly in tone and image from the pamphlets distributed directly to potential volunteers. The image of Cwacs in the pamphlets matched actual army regulations and CWAC demographics far more closely than the image and audience of the mass media ads. Additionally, although the surveys both clearly indicated that women enlisted for self-interested reasons, the mass media ads encouraged enlistment for selfless and patriotic reasons, whereas pamphlets concentrated much more on self-interested reasons to enlist. Although, at first, it appears self-defeating for the Army to ignore the results of the surveys it had commissioned by recruiting in the wrong audience and promoting the wrong concerns, when the two types of recruitment material are viewed as having distinct purposes and separate audiences, a clearer picture of the Army's intent emerges. The privately-circulated material answered the Army's need to fill enlistment quotas by addressing itself directly to the concerns of eligible women. [Appendix 3.1, 3.2, 3.3] Conversely, the mass-circulated material indicated an awareness of a broad public audience which was extremely concerned for the apparent destruction of prevailing gender roles and the loss of moral restraint represented by enlistment in the women's armed services. The mass-circulating recruitment ad series was directed primarily toward reshaping public opinion and addressing concerns over servicewomen's morality, as opposed to being more directly intended to recruit new Cwacs.

The military clearly perceived a need for the construction of an idealized CWAC whose

volunteers lived up to contemporary standards of moral respectability while maintaining the appearance of the ideal of feminine attractiveness. The Canadian Army utilized mass-circulating recruitment materials to demonstrate its commitment to maintaining prevailing ideologies of femininity and moral respectability, and to upholding the status quo of previously-existing civilian gender relations. This chapter will examine early recruitment efforts, the whispering campaign, the opinion surveys, and the utilization of CWAC recruitment propaganda to address the effects of the whispering campaign. in particular, mass-circulated CWAC recruitment propaganda in *Maclean's* will be surveyed, and compared to privately distributed CWAC recruitment pamphlets.

Early recruitment

Official recruitment for the CWAC began immediately upon formation in August 1941, and ended in October 1945. Unlike the Air Force,[1] which brought in officers from Britain to help with the original organization of the corps, the Army recruited Canadian women to serve as the nucleus of officers who would guide the CWAC through its formative period.[2] Although few of these women had any relevant experience, they were women with good social standing, who would lend the fledgling corps their good reputation and family names.[3]

In its earliest stages, recruitment efforts were low key, primarily because the supply of eager volunteers from the ranks of the paramilitary organizations readily kept pace with enlistment quotas. "Initial brochures promoting recruitment were at first formal and unimaginative. The first pubiication in August, 1941 lacked art work of illustrative treatment."[4] The purpose of these early pamphlets was to inform only, and they contained only enrolment procedures and conditions of enlistment. According to the earliest set of regulations, CWAC recruits were required to be British subjects between twenty-one and forty years of age, without children under sixteen years of age, in good medical condition, and have attained a minimum of Grade

Eight education.[5] Early recruitment efforts were confined to recruitment centres set up in larger urban areas, predominantly due to the lack of suitable facilities in smaller urban areas. Later on, mobile recruitment units were developed in order to access smaller and rural areas.[6]

Recruitment was originally under the auspices of the Department of National War Services (DNWS). Because national level recruitment through the DNWS proved unwieldy, and the DNWS preferred that each individual service conducted its own recruitment, national level recruitment was abandoned.[7] Recruitment under the DNWS continued only until March 13, 1942, when the CWAC gained full status as part of the Canadian Active Militia, at which point recruitment became the responsibility of the individual Military Districts. In July of 1942, recruiting came under the auspices of the Directorate of Army Recruiting (DAR). By early in 1943, demands for Cwacs far exceeded the supply of fresh recruits. Because of the increasing demands for personnel, the DAR adopted an 'open door' policy of recruiting. This type of wholesale recruitment was pursued primarily when the need was for servicemen, so that CWAC recruits could effect massive releases of men for combat duties. In addition, a wide variety of promotional public relations tricks were resorted to in order to raise the profile of women's services and to induce enlistment: interservice sporting events were staged, civilian women were invited to try out military life for a few days, and the CWAC bands went on cross-country tours.[8] However, the Cwac who encouraged friends to enlist held the greatest recruitment potential. Women who were considering enlistment had no real source of information other than the Cwacs themselves and the media. Up until this point, the media had not been effectively tapped into as a deliberate recruitment medium, and media information consisted primarily of feature articles, pictures, and editorials.

Plans for a massive national promotional effort were formulated in late 1942. Not until this point had widespread advertising for recruits been permitted. This massive recruitment publicity

campaign consisted of 1000-line ads in all daily newspapers across Canada, full page ads in magazines, two National Film Board of Canada films (*Proudly She Marches*, and *Canada's Women March to the Colours*), national and local radio spots, store front displays, publicly displayed recruitment posters, and recruitment ads sponsored by advertisers under the guidance of the DAR.[9]

The majority of this recruitment propaganda portrayed an idealized version of the CWAC volunteer. Whether photographed, artistically rendered, or textually described, the image of the CWAC that emerges from the mass-circulated recruitment propaganda is remarkably uniform, in spite of official regulations that included a much broader spectrum of female recruit.[10] She was shown to be a young, white, adult, approximately in her early twenties, slender and conventionally attractive, whose enlistment was prompted primarily by patriotic and self-sacrificing motives. She was never depicted as working prior to enlistment, and her civilian dress and surroundings are reflective of a middle- to upper-class background. Her family and friends were supportive of her decision to enlist. The idealized version of the CWAC volunteer was unarguably intended to recruit at least a few of the ideal types of volunteer. Nevertheless, this mass-media circulated image of the CWAC volunteer differs significantly not only from reality but also from the image of Cwacs presented in the recruitment propaganda which was distributed directly to the potential enlistees. This propaganda reflects a much more diverse range of women volunteers, who enlisted for more self-serving reasons than their idealized versions.

The 1943 whispering campaign

By early 1943, a serious impediment to recruitment had arisen in the form of a rash of slanderous gossip maligning the morality of the women in uniform which permeated the media, civilian society, and both the male and female armed forces. The gossip became so

widespread it was rapidly awarded the dubious label of "the whispering campaign". Canadian, American, British,[11] Australian, and New Zealand servicewomen were all painted with the same brush. Servicewomen were immoral, drunks, and sexually licentious. Reports circulated of exaggerated venereal disease rates and that entire CWAC companies were pregnant in uniform.[12] Some even believed that the women's services were little more than military-organized corps of prostitutes.[13]

The military was at a loss to explain the source of the whispering campaign. The confusion it generated is best illustrated by the original reaction of the US Army. The American military assumed that the insidious rumours were evidence of a massive and covert German intelligence campaign to undermine the morale of servicemen, women, and civilians alike, destroy the reputation of the armed services, and ensure a lack of support for the military war effort. They conducted an investigation to track down the point of German infiltration. What the investigation uncovered seemed beyond believing. The whispering campaign was being generated by American civilians and military personnel, and was being spread primarily by American enlisted men.[14]

Certainly enlisted men were able to find ample reasons to resent the women's services. The whispering campaign coincided with the granting of full militia status to the women's services and the accompanying recruitment push. Servicemen who believed that military membership represented and enhanced masculinity and a privileged citizenship undoubtedly resented women's movement from marginal to full military status. The conversion to full military status also proved confusing to many civilians, who believed that the women's services would now be subject to the same code of discipline and conduct as their male counterparts.[15] Furthermore, the "release a man" motto and its numerous variations was employed to mobilize many of the women's services. Ideally, this meant that the "released" man was now free to be

mobilized for overseas combat duty. However, for the "replaced" serviceman, this meant not only increased risk of exposure to frontline combat, but also often entailed a demotion prior to overseas mobilization. Servicemen and their families often expressed open resentment towards this "replacement".[16] Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the advent of women's services did not change the ratio of approximately three noncombatant roles to one combat soldier. Nor were female personnel considered acceptable replacements for all–or even many–noncombat roles. Thus, despite the 'free a man for more active duty' motto, most servicemen who found themselves replaced by CWAC personnel did not take up their arms and rush off for frontline deployment.

Additionally, perhaps better than anyone else, soldiers themselves understood that military membership and soldier culture often promoted a lowered sexual morality. Some servicemen blamed the military males' sexual voracity for their opposition to servicewomen, and for servicewomen's supposed decline in moral respectability.[17] Servicemen were concerned both that women would become increasingly sexually active when they were removed from traditional parental chaperoning, and that servicewomen would suffer sexual victimization at the hands of military men. These assumptions led many soldiers to oppose the notion of respectable women joining the CWAC. Their attitude is hardly surprising, given the history of military victimization of women and the contemporary emphasis placed on women's central role in maintaining soldiers' morale. Public service and product advertising alike constantly reminded women it was their patriotic duty to maintain an idealized home front, to send cheerful and frequent home front letters to the men on the front lines, and to stoically maintain their cheerful places in canteens and dance lines. Hollywood set the trend for pin-up culture by offering glamorous and sexually provocative publicity shots of its various starlets to the enlisted men, to remind them of what it was they were fighting to preserve.[18] From the acceptance that

women played a significant role in boosting the morale of the soldiers, it was not a great leap of logic to the assumption that the most obvious and important role that militarized femininity could fulfil would be to "boost the morale" of the male GI through sexual accessibility.

Certainly the cross-border permeation of the American media had an impact on the whispering campaign in Canada. Nevertheless, the CWAC experienced an additional complication which did not affect other Canadian women's services. American girls often expressed an interest in joining the CWAC, especially those who were too young to enlist under the age restriction of 21 for the United States Women's Army Corps. In accordance with increasing demands for recruits, the age limit had been dropped from 21 to 18 in May 1942.[19] The condition that CWAC enlistees must be British subjects was lifted on April 1/1943, and many young American women flocked to enlist.[20] This 'open door' policy was widely regarded as ill advised, and the less reserved manner of the American recruits when compared to Canadian girls was soon blamed for lowering Corps morale, decreasing the quality of basic training graduates, increasing discharge rates, and fuelling the whispering campaign. "The consequent influx of undesirable types inevitably caused trouble and the subsequent rise in the discharge rate coupled with an increase in the venereal disease and illegitimate pregnancy rates proved conclusively that recruiting for a Women's Corps must be handled selectively."[21] Enlistment in the CWAC was closed to American women in January 1944.

Whether military , media, or civilian, American, Canadian or British in origination, the ground zero of the whispering campaign was irrelevant. The general public proved ready to buy into the slander. Although the existence of the female soldier was irrefutable, Western society had been well-prepared by centuries of cultural traditions to presume that the military-affiliated woman must be synonymous with sexual immorality. According to ancient constructions of the military, masculinity, femininity and the female warrior, this gossip made sense.

However ideological the problem may have been, the impact of the whispering campaign was undeniably real, and devastating. Family and friends threatened to disown women considering enlistment. Many male military personnel approached Cwacs with a presumption of their sexual accessibility and immorality. Family members begged volunteers to come home--a fact which not only points to the widespread hysteria, but indicates an underlying and related problem--that the public misunderstood the military nature of women's services. Travelling recruiters incurred the wrath of the communities in which they set up temporary centres.[22] Women who did enlist either did not tell their families, or suffered their anger.[23] Enlistment in the CWAC was presumed to be proof enough of a woman's sexual immorality.[24]

Most importantly of all, women stopped enlisting. Just when the women's services had convinced the military of their usefulness and enlistment quotas were on the rise, age-old historical constructions intervened with a convincing argument that women would hardly make efficient soldiers. Grounded in constructions of military masculinity and respectable femininity, the argument that military service and feminine purity were incompatible fostered the understanding that servicewomen were sexual deviants in one way or another. In order to successfully recruit and employ Cwacs, the CWAC leadership had to contest the effects of the slander campaign.

Military officials were faced with a severe quandary. Women were needed, and needed now. The army had to make a convincing argument that women's labour was indeed essential, but without appearing to overturn traditional gender constructions. To help assuage public concerns CWAC and Army leaders had to negotiate a very fine line between validating the existence of the Corps by arguing that they needed women to be soldiers, and simultaneously emphasizing that female soldiers were different from their male counterparts, and retained both their femininity and respectability while in uniform. The primary problem recruiters were faced

with was how to respond directly to the whispering campaign without acknowledging the rumours. Articles and public notices such as those used by other wartime departments to correct misinformation and to educate the public would not work because such a strategy would have meant confronting the gossip straight on.[25] To do so would be to admit that some Cwacs were, in fact, drunks, pregnant, sexually licentious, and infected with venereal disease, offering fuel for the fire. In September 1943, an internal memorandum from the Director of Army Recruiting suggested that a new and more selective recruiting campaign should be adopted. "It is felt that such a policy would: 1. Raise the general standard of enlistment. 2. Improve the prestige of the Corps. 3. Ensure a greater percentage of personnel suitable for trades training. 4. Remove discipline problems which frequently arise in low category personnel incapable of trades training yet unwilling to do general duties."[26] While it was acknowledged that this might have the initial effect of decreasing the already flagging numbers of recruits, selective recruitment processes would increase enlistment in the long run. Although this seemed a logical way to raise the calibre of the Corps, the plan could hardly be employed effectively when the reputation of the Corps was already too low to attract a higher quality of recruit. Furthermore, even though potential recruits could be refused for inferior intelligence or undesirable personality traits,[27] this left wide open the question of how to spot such vaguely defined deficiencies. "The need to develop recruiting techniques that would make it possible to reject 'some of the chaff that comes in with the wheat'...was a matter of concern to officers charged with the responsibility of accepting or rejecting candidates who presented themselves for enlistment."[28]

The opinion surveys

Very few Gallup Polls were conducted on the subject of servicewomen by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion during WWII.[29] Although the Army was quite aware of the detrimental

effect of the whispering campaign, in order to effectively remedy the decreasing enlistment rates, the Joint Committee of Combined Recruiting Promotion commissioned the independent marketing research firm of Elliott-Haynes to conduct a public opinion survey in March 1943. The primary purpose of the survey was "to ascertain from the civilian public the reasons why more young eligible women of Canada are not offering themselves for enlistment into the three armed services."[30] This goal was concealed from respondents by the inclusion of questions on women in war work.

The questionnaire was administered to 7283 civilians from across Canada. The five main findings of the survey were that: (1) only a small portion (7%) of the public believed that women could best serve the war effort by enlisting; but (2) that there was still a small pocket of willing and eligible women; that (3) French and English Canadians differed significantly in their attitudes towards woman's paid labour; (4) that the public believed that adventure and patriotism were the primary motives for enlistment; and finally (5) that female enlistment was hampered by a poor public perception of the morality of women's services, an unwillingness to sacrifice civilian luxuries, and by definite ill-will groups who opposed women's enlistment.

Despite the fact that all three women's services were widely recognized,[31] the Elliott-Haynes survey found that the Canadian public did not believe that there was any urgent need of women in the armed forces. The majority of the Canadian public (62%) claimed that women enlisted for self-interested reasons, primarily (43%) from a desire for escape and adventure. Although 'doing their bit' and releasing manpower were also significant motives, they were only secondary. Ironically, even more (68%) of the public believed that women took war jobs for self-interested reasons, primarily (54%) to make a decent wage. Evidently, then, it was not selfish motives which underlay the public opposition to women joining the armed services. If this were the case, opposition to taking war jobs would have been even higher. To remove all doubt that

the public held moral criticisms of servicewomen, the survey asked respondents what their criticisms of women in war industry and the armed forces were. Fourteen percent offered criticisms of the moral characters of servicewomen.

Certainly self-interested reasons--which the Elliott-Haynes survey termed as "reasons of personal gain"[32]--dominated the list of factors eligible women thought they would enjoy about military life. The potential for adventure, enjoying military life, gaining new skills, new friends, and the prestige of a uniform squeezed the patriotic desire to "do their bit"[33] down to only 9% of the list. As for reasons not to enlist, the public felt that the number one reason women would not enlist was because it was "unladylike"[34] and they would lose their self-respect. More significantly, 21% of respondents objected to their female friends and relatives joining because it was "unladylike".[35] Eligible women themselves ranked the possibility of "unladylike companions"[36] high (17%) on the list of objections they felt friends and family would have to their enlistment. Eligible women also anticipated that family and friends would object to the unsuitability of army life (20%), and because they wanted the women at home (20%). In actuality, family and friends placed far less emphasis on the latter two reasons. Only 5% of parents objected to their daughters enlisting because they wanted them at home. When questioned further, this group of parents elaborated that they wanted their daughters at home because they felt if she enlisted she would fall into "unladylike company".[37] Most of the objections of family and friends to enlistment in the women's services centered on issues of morality.

Of the women who had abandoned the idea of enlisting, the greatest proportion (one-third) did so because their families had objected. Of those who were considering enlistment, home obligations offered the number one determent, followed by the desire to be called to enlistment. Since the Elliott-Haynes survey was intended to help develop recruitment tactics, eligible

women were asked to list things which they felt they would like and dislike about service life. Travel, adventure, novelty and fun topped their lists at 29%, and an additional 3% specified the desire to go overseas. This was followed by liking military life (17%), gaining new experience (16%), forming new friendships (12%), patriotic reasons (9%), escaping present life circumstances (8%), and finally the prestige and uniforms (6%). Their primary dislike was discipline and routine, also at 29%. This was followed at a distance by limited privacy (13%), loss of civilian comforts (10%), dress regulations (7%), and by poor pay and lack of individuality/responsibility, both at two percent. Moral considerations were also included in this list, at 5%, and the disapproval of family and friends were at the bottom of the list at 1%.

The DAR also conducted an internal survey of the CWAC in April-May 1943, entitled *CWAC Report: Why They Join and How They Like It*. It remained confidential and classified until June 1972. The survey consisted primarily of a written questionnaire, and was administered to a cross-section of 1100 Cwacs,[38] including French-Canadians and non-commissioned officers. The majority of Cwacs were young, single, urban dwelling, women who were employed prior to enlistment, primarily as office and war industry workers.[39]

Most of the Cwacs surveyed claimed to have enlisted for patriotic reasons. "They had a man in the services--they did not join to replace a man, but to be near and back up their man--they wanted to travel and go overseas to be near him. They wanted to help win the war to bring him back safely and quickly."[40] Ironically, this devotion to one particular man contradicted the prevalent image of servicewomen's lax sexual morality. Their dedication to "their man" demonstrated that most Cwacs confined their sexuality to one properly monogamous relationship. Many others enlisted to escape their civilian lives: boring jobs, dull lives, unhappy domestic situations. Still others claimed to have joined for self-improvement in the form of trades training and other skills which could be useful in a post-war career. Nevertheless, the

survey found that only 40% of Cwacs were happy with military life. It revealed dissatisfaction among Cwacs with regards to self-interested factors: social recreation opportunities, restricted job opportunities, and poor pay.

The Elliott-Haynes survey concluded that the public had to be reeducated. Selling the Corps to the general public was as important as selling the corps to the potential recruits themselves. "While the public asserted fear that their daughters and sisters would be adversely affected by association with women of different moral standards, the Cwacs themselves viewed the factor of immorality as primarily an 'excuse'...[offered]...as a deterrent to them joining up."[41] Yet the public was scarcely going to respond to overt efforts to convince them they were wrong undertaken by the same military which was accused of running an organized prostitution corps.

Recruitment propaganda

Recruitment problems contained their own answer. The recruitment campaign offered the perfect opportunity to design and publicize a new and more respectable construction of the female soldier--one who appeared to be as feminine, subordinate, respectable, and patriotic as every other woman involved in the war effort. By early in 1943, the Wartime Information Board had already begun to recognize the potential of recruitment propaganda to influence public attitudes.

> The whispering campaign against the morality of women in the services is largely a symptom of resentment against an innovation which is somehow felt to be 'unwomanly'. Opposition will not disappear until the Women's Services are taken completely for granted, but it can be substantially reduced by some of the following suggestions: 1. Appeal to the spirit of sacrifice by giving full weight to the hardships and disadvantages of service life...2...the coy note of most advertising addressed to women must be avoided...3. Appeal directly to the families of potential recruits...4. Emphasize the fact that all the United Nations' women are doing similar service; only the Nazis, with their mediaeval (sic) views of women's place, exclude them from participation in the services...5. Avoid the suggestion that service women are either in close contact with men--'shoulder to shoulder'--or completely cut off from them; emphasize the normal character of their social contacts, and the fact that they have dates, get engaged and married

> just like anyone else. 6. Don't try to make all the service women look like Hollywood stars; that provokes dangerous reactions. Show them as they are--ordinary Canadian girls, doing an important job.[42]

The Wartime Information Board recognized that existing propaganda often contributed to the 'whispering campaign' by generating the impression that all servicewomen were very attractive, by implying that servicewomen were in close contact with men without specifying the "normal character" of this contact, and by adopting a "coy" note in propaganda directed toward potential enlistees. If recruitment for the women's services was to be conducted effectively, the key lay in convincing the families of potential enlistees that the servicewomen were "normal". Based on the findings of the surveys, the CSC and DAR, originally in cooperation with the National Selective Service, began to devise a nationwide tri-service recruitment campaign in the summer of 1943, the first of its kind and scale.

During WWII, the print mass media was the dominant form of mass communication in Canada, and therefore operated as the primary means through which wartime policy, propaganda, and ideology was dispersed.[43] Although the term "propaganda" was rarely used to describe any strategies undertaken by the Canadian government, the judicious utilization of propaganda by the Canadian government was frequently condoned by the media.

> Propaganda...is sinister when it takes the form of lies spread by the enemy to undermine our own, or other's, faith in the rightness of our cause, the soundness of our strategy or will to victory. It can be sinister when it is used by government to conceal the truth from its own people. But propaganda which takes the form of *objective statement of fact is a vital weapon in the arsenal of modern war.* The one effective answer to the enemy's lies is truth. But truth, to be effective, must be made known.[44]

Canada had passed a War Measures Act in August 1914 which allowed for censorship and control of public communication and information, thereby establishing the precedent for the centralization of information control during WWII. From the outset of WWII, the Canadian government "moved quickly to centralize and control everything having to do with war

information."[45] In September of 1939, a branch was created within the DND for this purpose, called the Bureau of Public Information, which came within the control of the Wartime Information Board exactly three years later.[46]

Recruitment propaganda in *Maclean's* and recruitment pamphlets

Magazines, newspapers, fiction, posters, pamphlets, radio programs, movies, and films all offered encouragement to enlist in the CWAC which could be considered propagandist. The range of recruitment propaganda which could have been considered was virtually endless. I chose to limit my project to official, government-produced propaganda, issued under the auspices of the DAR, after the CWAC shed its auxiliary status in March 1942.[47] The series of CWAC recruitment advertisements which appeared in *Maclean's* magazine between July 15, 1943 and December 1, 1944[48] was selected as exemplifying the mass-circulated recruitment propaganda.[49] The three recruitment pamphlets published approximately yearly by the DAR collectively represent the privately-circulated CWAC recruitment material.

Reasons for enlistment cited in the CWAC recruitment propaganda series in *Maclean's* are broadly divisible into two categories: self-interested and selfless. The self-interested category includes those reasons proposed for enlistment which were of direct benefit to the volunteer, although most of these reasons undoubtedly may have proved indirectly beneficial to the army by encouraging enlistment rates. Conversely, the selfless category proposes reasons for enlistment which were far more noble and self-sacrificial. This is not to say that they could not offer some indirect benefit to the volunteer, such as saving her country, her man, her family, earning the respect of others, or even improving a negative self-image. Nevertheless, as such, these reasons emphasize the negative aspects of the unenlisted woman: she lacks self-respect or is unworthy of the respect of others, and fails to respond to the needs of those around her.

Within these categories, a number of themes emerged. The opportunity to make new

friends appeared most frequently as a self-interested reason to enlist, in 47% of the total ads, and in 100% of the ads which contained any self-interested reasons to enlist. Ironically, the Elliott-Haynes survey demonstrated that the desire to make new friends ranked very low on the list of factors the public believed would influence women to enlist (2%). Conversely, the survey found that 12% of eligible women suggested that meeting new friends was an aspect of military life that they anticipated they might enjoy. The new friendships to be made are all same-sex. This is sometimes made explicitly clear--as in "You'll also find a grand group of girls, friendly and helpful"[50]--and other times made more implicitly clear--by emphasizing that the friendships are formed *within* the CWAC, or by picturing groups of women sharing experiences. The idea of forming new friends was the running theme of one ad in particular, which promised a sorority-like atmosphere, and framed the women's bond within a nation-building rhetoric.

> Friends for life...Throughout Canada, and Overseas, Canadian girls from cities, towns, villages and farms are meeting for the first time, and becoming fast friends. They are establishing a bond of friendship and appreciation that never before existed between girls of such widely separated interests. It is a bond that will do much to further better understanding between all Canadians when Victory is won. Join the C.W.A.C. and become a member of this sorority which proudly wears the King's uniform.[51]

The suggestion that the CWAC was a sorority implied that men were not a part of daily CWAC life, and contributed toward further removing the opportunity for sexual activity from the public imagination. In spite of the overt emphasis on the homo-social atmosphere and strong female-to-female bonding, in this ad and others, there appears to be no implications in terms of lesbian relationships in these new friendships.

Although the earliest recruitment pamphlet, *Women in Khaki*, contained photos of Cwacs relaxing in small groups during off-duty hours, there was no direct connection between these informal groups and the opportunity to make new friends. In fact, the corresponding captions and text referred instead to opportunities for recreation. The 1943 pamphlet, *CWAC Digest*

placed much more emphasis on making new friends as an incentive to enlist. The *CWAC Digest* promised that enlistees would meet women from all over Canada, and from all walks of life. The CWAC was portrayed as a "grand fellowship"[52] and a "sisterhood",[53] with an entire subsection devoted to "Opportunities for travel and new friendships". Even so, the underlying emphasis was on the quality and respectable moral character of the friendships to be formed while in the CWAC. One photo caption stressed that Cwacs were "*good* company".[54] Contrary to the whispering campaign, "[y]ou will find that their standards of conduct are those representative of Canadian women, for putting on a uniform does not change them, except insofar as they are imbued with pride in that uniform and would not do anything to bring it into disrepute. They know that they stand apart with many eyes upon them, and that any slight deviation from propriety will be instantly observed."[55] Cwacs were portrayed as a "distinctive group, belonging to that high company of men and women".[56] Furthermore, the *CWAC Digest* promoted these friendships as lasting, and with much potential to do post-war good. "[F]riendships thus formed will not cease when the war comes to an end. The sisterhood of the CWAC will continue long after peace is ensured, and will be a great power for good in the remaking of Canada."[57] Conversely, the 1944 pamphlet, *50 Questions*, made only one direct reference to forming new friendships. The response to question 37, which asked "What kinds of girls will I meet in the CWAC?" did not emphasize the respectability of CWAC friendships, nor their potential for post-war good. Rather, it described only the wide variety of contacts to be made, and concluded that "[t]he pick of Canadian girls are in the CWAC. You will make friendships you will value all your life."[58]

The Elliott-Haynes survey found that a significant number of women would be influenced in favour of enlistment by the potential for new friends. For rural women with limited social life, the promise of new friendships opened their horizons. For urban women, with access to a much

more broad social network, membership in the CWAC would not prove limiting. The Elliott-Haynes survey also found that much of the public objection to women in the services was grounded in the belief that servicewomen would prove immoral companions for their relatives and friends. For those people concerned over the morality of servicewomen, the promise of new friends was clearly portrayed as same-sex friendships, thereby avoiding any suggestion of the opportunity for sexual impropriety. Only one recruitment pamphlet suggests that there was the opportunity for friendships with men.[59] Ironically, any suggestion of lesbianism was carefully avoided with the underscoring emphasis on heterosexuality. The Army had to carefully negotiate the intricate distinction between emphasizing the heterosexuality of its female members, and downplaying their heterosexual activity. The sisterhood of the CWAC might well last into the post-war era, and have a good influence on the future of the country, but it was a future where "they and *their children* might live in security and peace."[60]

In references to friendships to be formed in the CWAC, the primary emphasis was on their moral character, and promised worried family and friends of potential enlistees that their 'girls' would be in the company of other 'good girls'. For friends and relatives of women already in uniform, this offered some reassurance that their girls were not "bad", nor had they fallen in with bad company. For the 17% of eligible women who hesitated to enlist because they thought family and friends would object to her exposure to "unladylike companions", the recruitment pamphlets held forth the explicit promise that she would be in good company, with ladylike and respectable peers. As additional assurance, these friendships were couched in appropriate patriotic rhetoric: the friendships formed today bode well for the unity and nation-building of tomorrow.

The second-most prevalent self-interested reason to enlist promoted within the *Maclean's* recruitment series was job satisfaction at 44% of total ads, 88% of those ads which mentioned

any self-interested reasons to enlist. This emphasis is more in keeping with the findings of the Elliott-Haynes survey, which found that 16% of eligible women felt they would enjoy learning new skills and trades. Further, fears that they would not enjoy army work functioned as a deterrent for 10% of eligible women. The recruitment ads promised that "Yes! Work in the CWAC is bright, happy and interesting." [61] The wide variety of jobs available within the women's services which was frequently promoted within the ads downplayed the potential for misassignment to an incompatible role.[62] Satisfaction with the work performed by servicewomen was often reiterated more than once within the same ad, in terms of the jobs being "interesting", work that the enlistee will like, is best suited for or that makes the most of her capabilities and talents.

Similarly, the recruitment pamphlets also repeatedly mention the wide variety of jobs available to members of the CWAC, and all three contained a listing of occupations open to Cwacs.[63] The availability of further specialization in the form of trades training in traditionally feminine occupations--such as clerical work--and less-traditionally feminine occupations--such as mechanical work--was also stressed.[64] The *CWAC Digest* featured several pages of photographs of Cwacs contentedly engaged in a wide variety of occupations.[65] Seven of the fifty questions in *50 Questions* were devoted to discussion of the work available in the CWAC.[66] The idea of job satisfaction is also present throughout the pamphlets, particularly in the emphasis on doing "congenial" work, and being placed in an occupation for which the applicant was best suited.

According to the survey, family and friends do not appear to have been overly concerned with the type of work performed by servicewomen, provided it was clearly non-combat related. The increasing frequency with which civilian women engaged in non-traditional roles would appear to have paved the way for servicewomen to engage in mechanical work, for example.

Conversely, according to the findings of the survey, the women themselves appeared to have been quite concerned. Therefore, any mention of job satisfaction would appear to have been addressed directly to potential enlistees' own, self-interested concerns.

The prevalence of job satisfaction references in the *Maclean's* series, then, would appear to make a strong argument in favour of the intent of the series appeal directly to eligible women. However, the Elliott-Haynes survey clearly indicated that the public did not believe that women were needed in the armed forces, nor that they could make a significant contribution to the war effort while in uniform. The emphasis on job satisfaction and variety of occupations in *Maclean's* served to reinforce the idea that the Cwacs were, in fact, engaged in meaningful and useful occupations. That the advertising series in *Maclean's* did not offer any detail of information which would have addressed potential enlistees' concerns confirms that it was addressing itself to public, not potential recruits' concerns. The emphasis on job variety and satisfaction in *Maclean's* offered reassurance to the public that the Cwacs' true role was not to serve as companions to servicemen.

The potential for travel was the third most frequently appearing self-interested reason for enlistment, appearing in 35% of the total ads, and three-quarters of the ads which promoted any self-interested reasons for enlistment. In the Elliott-Haynes survey, the desire to travel and escape was consistently ranked the strongest reason for enlistment by Canadians in general and by potential enlistees themselves. Nevertheless, this desire for travel must have posed a complex problem for propagandists. There is much evidence that an overseas posting was the most coveted assignment among Cwacs. However, only a relatively small number of Cwacs were ever offered the opportunity for overseas travel.[67] Furthermore, escape comprised a significant aspect of travel. The Elliott-Haynes survey records the two as the self-same category. Problematically, escape suggested that a certain lack of supervision, a freedom from

previous familial and community restrictions on behaviour went hand-in-hand with the potential for travel. This lack of supervision, the freedom from social constraints on morally acceptable behaviour, was a large part of the public fear that fostered the whispering campaign. Promoting the opportunities for travel within the CWAC reminded an already-panicked public that army life offered many women unprecedented opportunities to engage in immoral and unrestricted sexual activity. Conversely, the failure to promote the travel factor meant failure to capitalize on the single-most popular enlistment encouragement the army had in its arsenal. The army's "protection-in-numbers policy",[68] which provided that Cwacs would not be sent on assignments in groups of less than twelve, no doubt served both to protect CWAC personnel as well as reduce individual Cwac's opportunities for misbehaviour. In addition to protecting Cwacs from others and themselves, this policy also cut down on the number of single and unchaperoned servicewomen in the public view.

The *Women in Khaki* pamphlet opens with an image of the potential for travel. The inside frontspiece depicts a Cwac striding across the globe. The accompanying text begins "for service anywhere...". However there is very little other direct references to travel opportunities. This may well be because the first overseas draft of Cwacs did not arrive until November of 1943, after this pamphlet had already been issued. In the 1943 pamphlet, the potential for travel was made much more explicit, and was much more directly related to the Cwacs' own interests. One photo caption in the *CWAC Digest* tantalized eligible women with the question "These two girls are about to go overseas...Don't you envy them?"[69] Nevertheless, opportunities for overseas postings were limited, and by the time the 1944 pamphlet was written, the Army had adopted a much more realistic attitude. The potential for travel was directly referred to only once, and the potential was tempered with the caution that the "CWAC will try to send you where you want to go, but the needs of the Service must naturally come

first."[70]

The earliest pamphlet, which appeared before the surveys, did not emphasize travel opportunities to potential recruits. After both surveys revealed the interest in travel, the recruitment propaganda began to emphasize this. Nevertheless, there were some problems inherent in this. First, overseas postings fell far short of demand, and the 1944 pamphlet reflected this. Secondly, much of the public felt that travel and the desire to escape their civilian lives were synonymous motivations for enlistment. The desire for escape carried negative connotations regarding the potential for unsupervised immoral behaviour. Consequently, the emphasis on travel in the mass-circulated recruitment ads portrays the potential for travel as a positive desire for new experiences, and carefully avoids any implication that travel involved escaping current life experiences.

Questions concerning pay, benefits, and opportunities for promotion within the CWAC ranks also reflected self-interested reasons for enlistment. With the exception of dependants' allowances, these concerns were clearly practical and self-interested. Nevertheless, pay, benefits, and promotions appeared in one third of the ads in *Maclean's*, 63% of those ads which contained self-interested reasons for enlistment. In the CWAC, actual monetary pay was significantly less than that earned by most civilian women. In spite of the fact that the military touted the notion that Cwacs were releasing male personnel, they were not offered the same pay or benefits as the male personnel they replaced. "While later studies would uncover other inhibiting factors, a survey carried out in July and August of 1942 claimed that 'the greatest deterrent to enlistment appears to be the smallness of the basic and trades pay given to CWAC volunteers.'"[71] The Elliott-Haynes survey reiterated these findings. Twenty-two percent of respondents pointed to poor pay, and seven percent of eligible women who had considered the services and decided against it also cited poor pay. Similarly, the internal survey of CWAC

opinion listed poor pay as eighth of ten reasons why many women did not enroll.[72] Clearly, then, "inequalities in pay and benefits were cause for complaint on the part of women in the services. There was a public outcry, led by the National Council of Women. The Department of National Defence was sensitive to the criticism; for one thing, it was hindering recruitment."[73] Although the Army did respond to disapproval of the low rates of CWAC pay by increasing CWAC wages from two-thirds to four-fifths of comparable regular Army wages, the equalization of pay was not realized during the war.

To compensate for this discrepancy, the army continually emphasized the benefits, allowances, and other living expenses covered by the military. For this reason, pay and benefits appeared coupled in recruitment ads. Virtually the identical statement regarding pay and benefits appears in each of the ads, and emphasized that medical and dental care, dependants allowances, uniforms, and a monthly allowance for personal items would be provided in addition to regular army pay. Similarly, all three pamphlets tout the benefits offered in addition to regular pay as aspects of CWAC life which equalized Army with civilian pay. Although *Women in Khaki* featured living accommodations, attractive uniforms, extra trades pay, good food, and medical/dental care in addition to regular pay, it did not directly compare civilian and CWAC pay. Nevertheless, it did promise that "pay and allowances are adequate to cover hair-dos even at the better beauty parlours."[74] This promise involved a number of implications. First, it emphasized the importance of physical appearance, and assumed that the issue would be important to potential recruits. Second, it promised that Cwacs would not be outdone by their better-paid civilian counterparts in terms of maintaining an attractive appearance. Presumably, this attractiveness was important in the quest for heterosexual romantic attention and attaining the post-war ideal of a husband, a home, and children. Thirdly, it invoked the 'pin-money' ideology by implying that Cwacs had nothing more important than hairdos to spend their

earnings on. The sum total of all these implications was that the direct connection between CWAC pay and hairdos trivialized the work and motivations of Cwacs.

The *CWAC Digest* offered a much more explicit comparison between CWAC and civilian pay. "Pay and allowances in the CWAC compare very favourably with civilian pay...She [the CWAC] does not pay unemployment insurance, nor does she pay for food and clothing. Her lodging accommodation is provided. She travels half fare on the railway lines...A variety of entertainment is provided for her."[75] The passage continues with an itemized list of civilian working women's standard expenses which are provided free of charge in the CWAC. *50 Questions* continues in the same vein. In response to the question "Will CWAC pay look after all my needs?", the pamphlet responds "Just work it out for yourself. When a girl is in the Army she doesn't have to worry about food, rent, or clothing, and if she takes sick the Army pays the doctor...At the end of the month she has her complete pay to spend as she wishes. Just what more could you ask?"[76]

Most potential Cwacs were employed in well-paid defence work as civilians, and needed explicit reassurances that they would not suffer financial repercussions if they enlisted. Given that poor pay was such a contentious issue, recruitment propaganda would ideally have responded directly to these concerns. Certainly the three pamphlets and the increased pay rates indicate that the women's own concerns were relevant to the Army. Although pay and benefits appear frequently in the mass-circulating recruitment ad series, the lack of detailed information offered here suggests that this series of ads was less concerned with answering potential recruits' concerns than the pamphlets were.

The issue of discipline was noticeably absent from the *Maclean's* recruitment series. Surprisingly, the issue of discipline appears far more frequently in the recruitment pamphlets. In all three cases, however, the section on discipline is kept brief and simply states that military

discipline does exist. The mention of discipline is consistently followed up with far more information which emphasizes recreational opportunities and fun to be had in the CWAC. *50 Questions* reassures the potential enlistee that regulations are far less stringent than she expects them to be. "They weren't just made to cramp your style, and you will probably discover there is a lot more freedom than you ever dreamed there would be."[77]

Conversely, the theme of earning the pride and respect of others was mentioned repeatedly in *Maclean's*, but not once in the pamphlets. One of the ads which ran twice[78] depicted a father smiling with pride at his uniformed daughter. The accompanying text ran: "I'm proud of you daughter. In thousands of homes from the Atlantic to the Pacific, proud Mothers and Fathers are daily repeating these stirring words as their daughters don the King's Uniform."[79] [Appendix 3.4] A similar ad depicted proud parents seeing their uniformed daughter off on a train. They are "[t]he proudest parents in Canada! And they should be!" The ad urges "Come on, girls, your parents will be proud of you".[80] Parents were not the only ones who could be proud of women for enlisting. Another ad pictured a civilian woman holding a letter and sitting beside a picture of her boyfriend in uniform. In the background is an image of soldiers in combat. The text queries: "Are you the Girl he left behind? Are you the girl he said he's come back to, just sitting, dreaming of the day when he'll come back home again? Then here's the chance to show him that you are made of the same kind of stuff...There's a job waiting for you in the CWAC, a job he'll be proud to know you are filling".[81] This emphasis on the pride of families and boyfriends in the enlisted woman offered reassurance to the potential enlistee--not to mention the aforesaid boyfriends and families--that not everyone disapproved of women in uniform. Most significantly, it also generated the impression that respectable families and beaus were proud of their women for enlisting, and offered the suggestion that families who disapprove of women in uniform should rethink their position. The idea that the mass-circulated recruitment

propaganda was addressing itself to an audience other than strictly potential recruits is confirmed in the final CWAC recruitment ad that ran in *Maclean's*. Although it is presented in the same format that all other recruitment ads were, it made no mention of enlistment. In fact, it made no guise of being addressed to potential recruits. It depicts Cwacs filling into a church for a Christmas service. The text was addressed to people with family and friends in the CWAC. "Christmas over there!...And there, in little groups of twos and threes, you'll see the brown and khaki of the Canadian Women's Army Corps. It's nice to think that *your daughters, sisters, sweethearts* overseas will join in the celebration of Christmas--that the time-honored customs will be remembered just as far as circumstances allow." All concerns for the morality of servicewomen overseas, and far from home, were swept aside in the image of them entering the brightly lit church, where "old, familiar hymns drift through the open doors". The relatives and sweethearts of these were promised that "service has not changed these brave women. Like you, they look forward to that final lasting peace of which Christmas has always been our promise."[82] [Appendix 3.5]

Fully apprised of this audience of relatives, boyfriends, and friends, selfless reasons for enlistment were far more predominant than self-interested ones in the CWAC recruitment ad series published in *Maclean's*. Although self-sacrificing motives are readily broken down into a number of sub-categories, most of these remain broadly patriotic in tone. The concept of being a part of a team is the selfless theme which appeared most frequently, in 82% of the total ads, 93% of those which reflected selfless reasons for enlistment. Within those ads, the theme of teamwork was likely to be invoked more than once. The concept of teamwork as presented in the recruitment ads invoked less the idea of army tasks mutually shared by male and female personnel than it does invoke the image of women doing their share of army duties. The teamwork theme was often termed as "doing your full share",[83] being "part" of the war effort,[84]

and "can't leave it all to the men".[85] Calling up the image of Madelaine de Vercheres, one *Maclean's* ad which ran twice urged women to "Back the Invasion!" and "stand 'shoulder to shoulder' with their fathers, husbands, and brothers".[86] [Appendix 3.6] Teamwork was often invoked in the CWAC motto "This is our battle, too!", which appears in numerous ads.[87] Although this motto could easily be interpreted as an expression of women's right to military participation, recruitment propaganda was careful to undermine this interpretation by emphasizing that the servicewomen's role was subordinate and secondary, they were *sharing* in the men's military role.

The subordinate role was also reiterated in the theme that servicewomen's contributions were urgently *needed*[88] to release *man*power. Catch-phrases such as "release a man for combat duty"[89] peppered the recruitment series. Duty and guilt were also invoked as non-self-serving reasons to enlist. Rhetoric surrounding patriotism, service to the country, or "should" and "must" appeared to remind the eligible woman of her duty. Rather than emphasizing the positive results of enlistment, guilt was employed to emphasize the negative results of a failure to enlist. The propaganda queried: "are you going to fail your brave brothers on the firing line?"[90]

Women in Khaki repeatedly engaged this rhetoric of replacement. The potential enlistee was constantly reminded that "Category 'A' men are needed for the war front...each recruit for the Canadian Women's Army Corps releases a top-grade soldier for more active service either overseas or in Canada."[91] However, this early pamphlet tempered its insistence on Cwacs' secondary contribution with an emphasis on an equality of status with male soldiers. Cwacs served "beside their menfolk as soldiers".[92] *Women in Khaki* stressed that food allotments, rank insignia, and benefits were provided on exactly the same basis as their male counterparts. CWAC training and regulations were presented as being "carried on along exactly the same

lines as for male soldiers with, of course, due consideration being given to the differences in physique and endurance",[93] and "no privileges are granted to the girls over men".[94]

In spite of this emphasis on the female enlistee's ability to replace a man, the suggestion that she would do so by taking on a "masculine" type of employment was carefully avoided. Far from it, Cwacs were simply relieving men of the necessity of doing women's work. In the frontspiece to the *CWAC Digest*, the Governor General made this explicit in his emphasis on the subordinate and temporary role of Army women. "In the modern army women are a necessity, not in order to replace men in men's jobs, but to take over from men jobs which, in time of war, are much more suitable for women." Like *Women in Khaki*, the *CWAC Digest* picks up on the ideology of replacement. In particular, the pages of Cwacs doing "work that women can do"[95] were accompanied not only by captions that reiterated the replacement ideology, but also by illustrations of armed male soldiers in combat attire marching off the edges of the pages--evidently "released" by the Cwacs. However, guided by the surveys' indications that the public feared that CWAC work was "unladylike", the *CWAC Digest* emphasized that prior to the advent of women's services "men were taking women's places". These men wanted to be on the front lines. The replacement ideology was inverted, and the responsibility was placed on the potential recruit not to allow a man to do her job. "Would you deprive a fighting man of his opportunity to fight? Do you want some fighting man to do *your* job?...Don't let a man take your place if you can help it."[96] The *CWAC Digest* continued the emphasis on replacement, but added the addendum of men doing women's work. "Because she joins the Army, to do a woman's work in the Army, a man who has been doing her work is able to go and fight."[97] Work in the CWAC was far from unladylike, in fact, it had been women's work all along.

50 Questions engaged the replacement rhetoric, too. It began, however, by reminding potential recruits of their subordinate and secondary status, as the girls behind the boys behind

the guns. "When you join the CWAC you are a member of the Canadian Army. No, not actually in the firing line. You do not pull any triggers of throw any hand grenades. But you take over Army tasks that are *essential* to help our fighting men win."[98] Like the *CWAC Digest*, *50 Questions* clearly stated that Cwacs were employed in women's work, on "tasks which can often be done better by women than by men."[99] However, like *Women in Khaki*, it also emphasized an equality of status between male and female soldiers. Potential Cwacs were told that they would "serve *with* your soldiers",[100] and that they would "learn to talk the soldier's language on lots of subjects."[101] Nevertheless, even though the Cwac was "doing a soldier's job",[102] her soldier's job was apparently to back up the soldiers who did the "real" soldiers' jobs. "Important jobs which you can do are now being done by men who are anxious to get into actual combat work. Those men are needed in the fighting zones, but they cannot be released until you are trained to take over this work. The faster you get in, the sooner you will do your part to win this war and bring the lads home again."[103]

This emphasis on servicewomen's secondary, subordinate contribution to the military war effort was a crucial component of the Army's efforts to manipulate recruitment propaganda to assuage public concerns for the respectability of women in military uniforms. Perhaps more clearly than any other running theme which emerges from recruitment propaganda, this "replacement" ideology demonstrates the difficulty that the Army had in reconstructing a recruitment image of the female soldier which emphasized her femininity and respectability while still managing to communicate her usefulness. The "release a man" ideology played upon traditional gender constructions. According to this ideology, all the woman in uniform did was to relieve a man of the necessity of doing "women's work" in the Army. Certainly releasing men for combat was one of the most important objectives of women's services, especially since the majority of army was engaged as support personnel in non-combat duties. The "release a

man" catch phrase was multi dimensional. It served as a reminder to servicewomen and men as well as to the public, that women's military role was secondary and subordinate. It reminded the general public and male soldiers alike that the place of the truly masculine soldier was in the front lines, engaged in combat in defence of his country and way of life. "It is as much your duty to join the CWAC and release the men for overseas service as it is for a man to sign up in the fighting forces."[104]

Somewhat predictably, there were problems with the release-a-man campaign. Its emphasis on "women's work" undercut the potential recruits' desire for adventure and novelty. Also, as we have seen, men did not always want to be released. Paradoxically, women were supposed to enlist because of emotional attachments to someone in the army, but the fact of their enlistment was what made it possible that their loved one would be replaced and sent to die on the front lines. Consequently, both mass- and privately-circulated propaganda emphasized that Cwacs released men who wanted to be at the front lines, and began to reflect a "back them up to bring them back" attitude.

Conclusion

Early recruitment efforts for the newly formed CWAC were fairly minimalist. The numbers of women eager to enlist kept pace with the initial enlistment quotas. In 1943, as the fledgling Corps shed its auxiliary status and enlistment quotas were raised, a "whispering campaign" against the morality of women in uniform exercised a disastrous effect on enlistment levels. The source and accuracy of the rumours proved a moot point. Prepared by centuries-old western gender constructions which dictated that soldiering and respectable femininity were virtually incompatible, Canadian society was more than ready to believe the worst of women in military uniforms.

Two inquiries into public and Cwac opinion revealed few surprises. The poor public opinion

of women in uniform was the primary factor inhibiting enlistment. Having finally accepted that women in uniform had a significant contribution to make, the Army was faced with a predicament: the public image of the female soldier would have to be reconstructed, and flagging recruitment rates had to be immediately improved. Based on the findings of the surveys, a massive recruitment campaign was designed which answered both public concerns and the interests of potential enlistees.

Problematically, the concerns of the public were often in direct contradiction to the interests of potential Cwacs. The public needed to be reassured that servicewomen retained their femininity and respectability, and enlisted only out of a patriotic desire to contribute to the military war effort. While many Cwacs did have patriotic motivations, they chose military over civilian war work out of self-interested concerns, such as a desire for adventure and novel experiences. While promoting strict discipline, hard work, patriotic motivations, and close supervision would have helped allay public concerns, these things would have acted to discourage women's interest in the CWAC.

As a result, military-generated recruitment propaganda existed on two different levels. The mass-circulated recruitment campaign emphasized selfless, subordinate, and patriotic reasons for enlistment. However, the surveys indicated that most volunteers had additional, less altruistic motivations. Although the DAR was fully apprised of this fact, mass media circulated recruitment propaganda continued to reflect these reasons. As with any media advertising campaign, it is plausible that the DAR was prescribing appropriate reasons rather than describing Cwacs' actual motivations. Nevertheless, this would have constituted an ineffective way of conducting a recruitment campaign. The self-sacrificing reasons, featured in the mass-circulated recruitment campaign in *Maclean's*, were directed more to addressing opposition and encouraging public support than to addressing potential recruits' own concerns.

The recruitment pamphlets distributed directly to potential recruits tended to be much more reflective of reasons to enlist which spoke to the recruits' own interests. Contrary to the mass-circulated ideal, women did not enlist for purely patriotic, self-sacrificing reasons. Self-interested reasons for enlistment appeared with far more regularity in the pamphlets than do more altruistic ones. Potential enlistees were offered more and detailed information regarding aspects of military life relevant to them. The pamphlets were more reflective of the real reasons women enlisted, whereas the mass-circulated ads presented an idealistic version which appears to have been far more concerned with convincing the general Canadian public that the Army was committed to traditional gender roles, and upheld high standards of moral conduct for its women in uniform.

Confronted with the deleterious effects of the "whispering campaign", the army recognized a need for the construction of an idealized CWAC whose volunteers measured up to contemporary standards of moral respectability while simultaneously maintaining the feminine ideal in appearance. The military's own need of increasing numbers of recruits, the roles the army needed Cwacs to fill, and even the concerns of potential enlistees themselves, often functioned in direct opposition with the prevalent ideals of femininity and moral respectability. As a result, the army tended to generate confusing, and often contradictory views of servicewomen.

Endnotes

1.Although the RCAF-WD was given official sanction on July 2, 1941, six weeks before the CWAC (August 13, 1941), the two services began recruitment simultaneously.

2.All three services wanted to establish a reputation for acquiring high-calibre recruits, and began by recruiting officers of high social and educational standing. The original officer corps of the CWAC was comprised almost entirely of society women. (Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots*, 55-6.)

3.Only Joan Kennedy, Controller of the British Columbia women's paramilitary organization had experience, but she lacked the same social standing. (Bruce, 37.)

4.Conrod, 52.

5.Ibid., 29.

6.Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots*, 39.

7.Ibid., 30.

8.Bruce, 45.

9.Pierson, "*They're Still Women*," 138.

10. According to official regulations, CWAC recruits ranged in age from 18 to 45. Minimum stature requirements were a height of five feet and weight of 105 pounds. Otherwise, Cwacs had to be within ten pounds of the standard weight for their height. The only racial requirement was that they must be British citizens. See for example *Women in Khaki*, 9; *CWAC Digest*, 31; Conrod, 120; Pierson, *"They're Still Women,"* 112.

11.Although wartime censorship in Britain prevented the mass media spread of the whispering campaign, the ATS was not immune from the scandalous gossip campaign which plagued the WAC AND CWAC during 1943 (Costello, 57) Additionally, the slander campaign had a much more disastrous effect on CWAC and WAC enlistment rates than on the ATS because Canadian and US enlistment for women was voluntary.

12.For some examples of the whispering campaign rumours, see Bruce, 39, 43-4; Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots*, 63-4.

13.This story was particularly prominent in the American media. "In June 1943 the slander campaign reached a peak after the Washington Times Herald leaked a sensational story that Mrs. Roosevelt and 'the New Deal Ladies' were behind a supersecret agreement that 'contraceptives and prophylactic equipment will be furnished to members of the WAAC.'" (Costello, 61.) In part this misconception arose because it was believed that upon conversion to full military status, the WAC would be issued with the same prophylactics as their male counterparts. The following account from Jean Bruce may partially account for the belief that the CWAC was an organized prostitution corps. "After officers' training I was sent to Saint John, New Brunswick, and there we were the lowest of the low. The T. Eaton company put an honour roll in the window, with every CWAC recruit's name in gold paint--and it turned out that the entire red-light district had enrolled! From then on, any CWAC was by definition a streetwalker." (Bruce, 43.)

14.See Campbell, 37; Costello, 62.

15.This was particularly prevalent with regard to regulations governing sexual conduct.

16.See for example Bruce, 85.

17.Meyer, 40.

18.The connection between the wartime pin-up and morale boosting is explored in greater detail in Chapter Five of the present work.

19.Pierson, *"They're Still Women,"* 113.

20.The RCAF-WD and the WRCNS retained the criterion that applicants must be British citizens, but the CWAC eventually accepted any United Nations citizen. (Pierson, *"They're Still Women,"* 113.)

21.Conrod, 237.

22.See for example Bruce, 40.

23.See Bruce, 38 for examples.

24.Jean Bruce cites numerous examples of the prejudice against servicewomen. "If people saw a boy and girl walking hand-in-hand down the Rideau Canal together, they'd say, 'Oh look at that nice young couple.' But if the girl was in Army uniform, they'd say, 'Oh, look at that cheap CWAC.'" (Bruce, 43.) "Civilian women would pull away as you went by so they wouldn't brush against you." (Bruce, 43.) For other examples of the whispering campaign rumors in Canadian media, see Gossage, 122.

25.Although the military did issue statements that the CWAC were not camp followers (Bruce, 43, Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots*, 66), that was the extent to which they were willing to publicly address the whispering campaign.

26.Internal memorandum from Director of Army Recruiting, 28 September 1943. Cited in Bruce, 44.

27.Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots*, 41.

28.Ibid., 40.

29.Rowe-Brown, 28.

30.Elliott-Haynes, *Report: An Enquiry intot he Attitude of the Canadian Civilian Public Towards the Women's Armed Forces.* (Toronto: Elliott-Haynes Research Limited, 1943) 3.

31.French Canadian awareness was more limited than that of English Canadians, particularly of the WRCNS. (Elliott-Haynes, 11.)

32.Ibid., 18.

33.Ibid., 16.

34.Ibid., 20.

35.Elliott-Haynes correctly notes that the french-Canadian opposition on moral grounds (41%) unduly influenced national totals. Nevertheless, at 12%, opposition to women's enlistment on moral grounds also topped English-Canadian totals.

36.Elliott-Haynes, 24.

37.ibid, 24.

38.Approximately 13000 women were enlisted in the Cwac at that time.

39.For a summary of the results of the *CWAC Report* see Conrod, 119-122 and Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*, 135-142.

40.Conrod, 121.

41.Ibid.. 122.

42.Confidential Memorandum, Wartime Information Board, March 19, 1943. Cited in Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots*, 62-3 and Conrod, 112.

43.In 1949, there were only an estimated 3600 television sets in Canada and no Canadian broadcasting stations as yet. Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*. (2nd edition). (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Publishers, 1992) 48. Among print mediums, newspapers were most dominant. However, radio was also popular, newsreels preceded movies, and posters were being used as a means of advertisement. (Choko, 73.) Magazines also presented their case for having the largest readership, most broad appeal, and greatest longevity among Canadian audiences. (*Saturday Night*, October 23/1943, 28. See also *Saturday Night*, July 20/1939, 8, and January 2/1943, 15.) Nevertheless, television has predominated as the mass-culture medium of choice for historians who wish to study this period, thus obscuring the significant impact of print media during the war period. A number of studies which consider the impact of mass media on images and ideologies of femininity during World War II do exist, but few of these focus on print media, and even fewer are specifically concerned with servicewomen. For some notable examples, see Susan Bland; Melissa Dabakis; Christine Gledhill and Gillian Swanson, *Nationalizing Femininity*; Maureen Honey; Marilyn Lake; Yvonne Mathews-Klein; Lisa Meyer; Deborah Montgomerie; Ruth Roach Pierson, *"They're Still Women After All"*; Leila Rupp; and Susannah Wilson.

44."Propaganda", *Maclean's*, September 1/1941. Emphasis mine. Additionally, a 1940 article discussing the Director of Public Information's authorization for the creation of an Advisory Posters Committee supported the use of a "vigorous campaign" of poster propaganda to make public "the vast amount of vital information which the war has made it necessary for the public to know," and extolled propaganda as a mechanism by which men could be drafted and morale could be raised. (Graham McInnes, "Posters Line Up for War Duty," *Saturday Night*, November 2/1940, 27.) The 1941 annual convention of the Association of Advertisers Convention also publicly recognized its responsibility to financially support the propaganda of "those newspapers and other publications which play so important a part in sustaining public morale." ("Association of Canadian Advertisers Convention," *Saturday Night*, November 15/1941, 10.)

45.Choko, 70.

46.A few months later, John Grierson, commissioner of the National Film Board, also became the Director General of this Bureau. The Wartime information Board operated under his guidance from February 1943 to January 1944. In effect his appointment to this office put him in the position of

overseeing most of the government's propaganda.

47.Poster propaganda issued under the DAR during this period is not considered here because it is difficult to determine the chronology and audience of any particular poster campaign. Canadian magazines had broad national exposure which is not duplicated by most local newspapers with their geographically restricted audiences. As the notable exception, the national newspaper *Globe and Mail* was rejected for reasons of manageability. In this case, I found it preferable to consider the entire run of one magazine from 1939 until 1946.

48.The first CWAC recruitment advertisement appearing in *Maclean's* did not run until July 15/1943. Thereafter, the full-page ads ran once per month on average until they ceased altogether as of December 1/1944. The official recruitment propaganda did not mark the CWAC's debut in *Maclean's*. Numerous articles and pictures had documented the history of the CWAC from the very beginning. The first mention of women in Canadian military service was a small article surrounded by a set of pictures of female Red Cross Transport Drivers. ("Women in Uniform," *Maclean's*, August 1/1943, 17-18.) In addition to such feature articles, photographs and editorials, Cwacs had been featured in *Maclean's* advertisements since April 1/1942. Although it is obviously problematic to characterize consumer product advertisements as propaganda, these ads nevertheless served to reinforce the public presence of the newly formed women's service corps.

The first RCAF-WD recruitment ad ran on December 1/1942, and appeared only as a small insert into a full page recruitment of airmen. Recruitment ads exclusively devoted to the RCAF-WD, which ran on a vertical half page, soon followed, and appeared three times before the first CWAC ad. The first was printed in the February 15/1943 issue of *Maclean's*, and the last of these on July 1/1943. Thereafter, they continued to run periodically in *Maclean's*, until the end of 1943. The RCAF-WD recruitment ads ran in alternate issues to those containing CWAC ads. Only once--December 1/1943--did a single issue contain recruitments for both services. This particular issue also marked the last time *Maclean's* carried WD recruitments. With the exception of the August 15, 1943 tri-service recruitment ad, no WRCNS recruitment ads ever appeared in *Maclean's*.

49.*Maclean's* was chosen over other Canadian mass-circulating magazines with similar circulation rates for a number of reasons. The first is because of Susan Bland's consideration of advertisements directed towards women in *Maclean's* during these years--which ironically, makes very little mention of servicewomen, in spite of the significant number of times they are featured. The second is that *Maclean's* carried the most complete run of recruitment ads for the CWAC of the national, mass-circulating magazines, such as *Saturday Night*. Women's magazines such as *Chatelaine* or *Ladies' Home Journal* were surveyed and rejected, not on the basis of their single-gender audience, but because they contained relatively few CWAC recruitment advertisements. Additionally, *Maclean's* circulation was 270,261 in 1940, and its content, the products it advertised, and secondary literature on the magazine indicate that it was probably most widely read by a middle- and upper-middle-class audience. See Bland, 599 and Jon Ruddy, "Magazines: Of Patriotism and Profits," in Walt McDayter (ed), *A Media Mosaic: Canadian Communications through a Critical Eye*. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston of Canada Limited, 1971) 112-121.

50.*Maclean's*, December 1/1943, 36.

51.*Maclean's*, July 1/1944, np.

52.*CWAC Digest*, 16.

53.*CWAC Digest*, 23.

54.*CWAC Digest*, 4. Emphasis mine.

55.*CWAC Digest*, 4-5.

56.*CWAC Digest*, 28.

57.*CWAC Digest*, 23.

58.*Fifty Questions*, 10.

59.*CWAC Digest*, 28. See above.

60.*CWAC Digest*, 28.

61.*Maclean's*, October 1/1944, np.

62.The number of occupations open to servicewomen increased over the duration of the women's service. (Pierson, *"They're Still Women,"* 106)

63.*Women in Khaki*, 31; *CWAC Digest*, 3; *Fifty Questions*, 2.

64.*Women in Khaki*, 15; *CWAC Digest*, 27; *Fifty Questions*, 2, 3-5.

65.*CWAC Digest*, 6-15.

66.See questions 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, and 13.

67.Of over 20,000 members, only approximately 3,000 Cwacs ever served outside Canada. (Bruce, 38.)

68.Pierson, "The Double Bind of the Double Standard," 31.

69.*CWAC Digest*, 20.

70.*Fifty Questions*, 4.

71.Pierson, *"They're Still Women,"* 115.

72.Ibid., 116.

73.Pierson, *Canadian Women*, 7.

74.*Women in Khaki*, 24.

75.*CWAC Digest*, 30.

76.*Fifty Questions*, 6.

77.*Fifty Questions*, 8.

78.Only two ads ever ran twice in *Maclean's*.

79.*Maclean's*, October 1/1943, np.; January 1/1944, inside back cover.

80.*Maclean's*, October 1/1944, np.

81.*Maclean's*, March 1/1944, np.

82.*Maclean's*, December 1/1944, 28.

83.*Maclean's*, December 1/1943, 36.

84.*Maclean's*, April 1/1944, inside back cover.

85.*Maclean's*, September 1/1943, 36.

86.*Maclean's*, June 1/1944, np; August 1/1944, 26.

87.See for example *Maclean's*, July 15/1943, inside back cover; and September 1/1943, 36.

88.The idea that servicewomen were urgently needed and relied on, for important and essential army work appeared in 65% of the ads, 73% of the ads containing themes of selflessness. This emphasis on women's essential and useful role in the armed services is directly related to one of the most significant findings of the Elliott-Haynes survey. The survey reported that only 7% of respondents believed that women could best serve the war effort by joining the armed forces. Comparatively, 26% and 23% felt that maintaining home life and factory war work respectively represented the most significant contribution a woman could make to the war effort. Only 19% of the respondents felt women were urgently needed by the armed forces, although 37% felt that war industries urgently need women.

89.See for example *Maclean's*, March 1/1944, np.

90.*Maclean's*, October 1/1943, np; January 1/1944, 45. (Inside back cover)

91.*Women in Khaki*, 3.

92.*Women in Khaki*, 3.

93.*Women in Khaki*, 11.

94.*Women in Khaki*, 27.

95.*Women in Khaki*, 3.

96.*CWAC Digest*, 2. Original emphasis.

97.*CWAC Digest*, 31.

98.*Fifty Questions*, 1. Original emphasis.

99.*Fifty Questions*, 1.

100.*Fifty Questions*, 1. Emphasis mine.

101.*Fifty Questions*, 3.

102.*Fifty Questions*, 7.

103.*Fifty Questions*, 12.

104. *Maclean's*, September 1/1944, 26.

CHAPTER FOUR
"WHEN YOU GO OUT, REMEMBER YOU'RE A LADY"*: MAINTAINING THE FEMININE IDEAL FROM WITHIN

Introduction

In spite of the overwhelmingly idealized feminine image of Cwacs which emerged from recruitment propaganda and the mass media, much of the Corps did not fall within these parameters. While recruitment propaganda depicted the military's version of the ideal volunteer, it could do little to "educate" volunteers toward military ideologies of femininity, especially since recruitment materials did not circulate as widely among volunteers as they did among the civilian public. Thus the military was faced with the dilemma of promoting the feminine ideal among volunteers after they had enlisted.

To some degree, military regulations and policy functioned as the obvious medium through which the Canadian Army was able to promote the feminine ideal among Cwacs. Regulations dictated particular aspects of Cwac appearance and behavior, such as uniform and hair length. Military policies which made hairdressers, rayon stockings, supplies of cosmetics, and classes in feminine appearance available to Cwacs also provided some avenue for reinforcing the feminine ideal among volunteers. However, the Army was reluctant to issue orders which would dictate exact hairstyles and cosmetics use among volunteers.

The internally produced and circulated military publications served to reinforce and even interpret Army regulations. In the same manner that the mass-media informed the general public of the wartime ideal of femininity, the military media informed Cwacs--along with servicemen--of the army's ideal of femininity for women in uniform. Outside of military policy and regulations, *Khaki: The Army Newsletter*, and its "offspring" publication *The CWAC Newsletter (NEL)*, served to promote the feminine ideal among Cwacs.

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*Sgt. D.B. Fulton, "The Gossip-Mongers," *NEL*, March/1944, 5.

Although *Khaki* purported to be a publication of the Army, by the Army, for the Army, a closer examination of the publication reveals a slightly different shade of truth. On May 5, 1943 the Research and Information Section of the Directorate of Special Services released the first issue of *Khaki: The Army Bulletin*.[1] Issues of *Khaki* appeared on a weekly basis[2] until the final issue was published on September 25, 1945. The cover page of the first issue described *Khaki* in the following terms:

> *Khaki*! This is it. Your paper. It's here to tell your story...what you do...what you think...what you say. It's as close to you as the uniform you wear. *Khaki*. Because you're fighting men, it's a fighting sheet. Because you're Canada, it's Canada. Adolf won't understand it, nor will Benito. They'll take copies of it. Their psychologists will try to interpret what you say. They'll go nuts. They don't think your way. *Khaki* has been born of you and the things you are fighting for: Your way of life - free and unhampered. Decency under God! When you laugh, it laughs. When you are learning, it helps you. *Khaki* is more than your pal. *Khaki* is you - Your paper![3]

Even though *Khaki* purported to be service personnel's own paper, external submissions were few and far between. Twelve issues into *publication, Khaki* was already pleading "whereinhell are those contributions?", and reminding privates, non-commissioned officers, and Cwacs that "*Khaki* is your paper!...*Khaki* is here to print your brain-storms. It's your record of the war."[4] Perhaps to encourage submissions from Cwacs, the "Mademoiselle in Khaki" column debuted in *Khaki's* second volume. Although the column was greeted by Cwacs as "'a form of recognition of the Cwacs as being a part of the Canadian Army'",[5] and staff writer/editor of "Mademoiselle in Khaki", Corporal Chris Findlay,[6] added her affirmation that "*Khaki* as an Army paper is published as much for the Gals in uniform as it is for the Joes in battle dress",[7] "Mademoiselle in Khaki" suffered the same lack of personnel input that *Khaki* itself did. While "Mademoiselle in Khaki's" debut column contained a submission by an anonymous Cwac,[8] by the tenth column it was also pleading for submissions alongside *Khaki*.[9]

Whatever the original intentions of the Army, *Khaki* was largely produced by staff writers and

editors whose primary military function appears to have been the publication of the newsletter. Although *Khaki* regularly pleaded for submissions from the rank and file, most of the material published in *Khaki* was written by staff. Even those submissions which were published were subject to the editorial staff's scrutiny. As a result, *Khaki* is much more reflective of military ideology than of the opinions and experiences of the rank and file enlisted personnel.

While there were numerous CWAC publications already in existence at the time of its debut,[10] *NEL* was purportedly the result of overseas Cwacs' requests to be kept informed of Cwacs and CWAC events in Canada.[11] *NEL* was compiled by the *Khaki* staff, but--with the notable exception of the editor's pages--was comprised primarily of columns written by representatives from CWAC Companies both in Canada and overseas.[12]

This chapter will consider some of the efforts in military regulations, policies, and routine orders to maintain the feminine ideal among Cwacs, and the ways in which the internal military media served to reinforce the maintenance of this ideal. In particular, the military's concern with maintaining femininity and moral respectability in terms of uniforms, cosmetics, hairstyles, and other visible signifiers of femininity, along with encouragement toward specific ideals of Cwac behavior will be examined. Problematically, the military had to negotiate a fine line between promoting Cwacs femininity and undermining their sexual respectability. Where these two concerns--femininity and respectability--entered into conflict, the army and its media generated confusing, ambiguous, and often contradictory regulations and images of the CWAC.

Diversity in Cwacs' appearances

The physical appearance of Cwacs whose images were used to publicly represent the CWAC was important to the army. For example, while Cwacs selected for overseas service had to be twenty-one, healthy, and have an excellent character, her "appearance and general smartness"[13] were also considered to be relevant factors. Whether drawn or photographed,

Khaki and *NEL* cover girls were invariably young, slim, well-made-up, and conventionally attractive.[14] [Appendix 4.1] *Khaki* even boasted that the Queen "referred to Canada's army girls as a fine, smart-looking group of young women".[15]

However, Beulah Jaenicke, whose drawings of Cwacs were frequently run in *Khaki* and *NEL*, wrote that the "CWAC, like all Armies, is a melting pot. In its fluid flux the happy and fat jostle the sour and lean".[16] Her accompanying illustrations present such fictional Cwacs as: "Pruneface"--older and wrinkled, "Butch"--heavyset and masculine but smiling and sporting lipstick, and "Dottie"--young and vivacious. [Appendix 4.2] The artistic contributions of such Cwacs as Molly Lamb Bobak[17] and Beulah Jaenicke indicate that Cwacs came in an array of appearances, many of which were widely divergent from the ideal.[18] [Appendix 4.3] In attempting to describe the average Cwac, "Mademoiselle in Khaki" also acknowledged the diverse range of Cwacs' appearances.

> The Average Cwac is somewhere between five and six feet tall; she is blonde, brunette, red-headed, grey-haired; she wears her hair up, down, in a roll, in a bun, in a feather-cut, in a boyish-bob; she is fat, thin, middling, curvaciouss [sic], bean-polish, just-rightish;...she is happy, sad, old, young, beautiful, homely;...she is married, she is single. In fact, she is just a side slice of feminine life anywhere.[19]

The military exerted itself to ensure that female volunteers maintained a feminine appearance and presented a conventionally feminine image to the rest of the world. The image of womanhood that emerged from recruitment propaganda, media releases, training programs, assigned duties, and regulations regarding the physical appearance of female soldiers was shaped by preconceived ideals, and reflected an overriding concern with the preservation of the "feminine" qualities of women in military uniform. The internally produced and circulated "military" media encouraged Cwacs to ascribe to this ideal of femininity in terms of physical appearance, off-duty behavior, and future aspirations. Cwacs were reminded that they were

always in the public eye, and while the poor public opinion of them may have been unfounded, it was up to the Cwacs themselves to prove otherwise. One poem written by a Cwac and published in *NEL* summed up this attitude well.

> "The Khaki-skirt is just a flirt"
> Or so you'd think to hear
> The population of the town,
> So come and lend an ear.
> "Those awful girls in uniform".
> It keeps them mighty busy
> Talking about the Cwac's [sic] in camp.
> It really makes you dizzy.
> Now they will gossip all they can
> Of Mary, Jane and Sadie,
> So think of this when you go out--
> Remember, you're a lady![20]

The uniform

The uniform was the most visible element of the women's service. As such, it was a vital component of the Army's efforts to maintain the feminine ideal among Cwacs. The military took special care to reinforce a traditional femininity in developing the uniform. As the first of the military services to create a women's corps, the Army was also in the unique position of setting the tone for female uniform design. The task before the designer was to successfully combine femininity and military requirements into a uniform which did not become the subject of humorous pokes. As always, serviceability was the Army's priority. However, femininity was also to be an essential component of the design. Rather than create an entirely new design, the designer hired by the military for this purpose decided to model the CWAC uniforms upon those already in use by the British Women's Transport Corps,[21] but with several innovations to give it a distinctly Canadian style.[22] The designer's identity was not revealed in any of the press releases.[23] The information that he was married was released because his marital status implied that his design expertise would be augmented by "an experience of feminine foibles".[24]

The final result was a two-piece khaki suit. The skirt was gored to allow for freedom of movement. The jacket was long, fitted, beltless, and accentuated with beech brown epaulettes. The accompanying shirts were also khaki. The outfit was completed by a peaked khaki cap, khaki lisle stockings, beech brown tie and gloves, a khaki shoulder satchel, and low-heeled brown oxfords. Other regulation issue included a khaki greatcoat, a pullover sweater and wool scarf for winter; a raincoat, rubbers and overshoes for inclement weather. The official press release describing the new uniform was followed by several photos of women modeling the various items of dress issue.[25]

The CWAC uniform was designed along tailored lines, to emphasize the feminine figure. Without a properly fitting uniform, this aspect of the uniform design would have been wasted. Thus, ensuring a proper fit for each volunteer was an integral part of issuing a uniform. To facilitate the process of tailoring individual uniforms, the designer decided on semi-ready uniforms.[26] "Because of the various bulges which must be accounted for in fitting women it is impossible to have a straight issue of uniforms and have them look smart and natty at the same time,"[27] he was quoted as having said.

Both *Khaki* and *NEL* present evidence that weight, in particular, was important to the Army and individual Cwacs themselves. Cwacs often complained of weight gain which resulted in an ill-fitting uniform,[28] and this weight gain was repeatedly made fun of.[29] The tendency to put on weight was most noticeable over the winter months,[30] but was generally blamed on the high-calorie soldier's meals Cwacs ate without getting the same amount of exercise.[31] The military dieticians took these complaints seriously enough to design "streamlined diets" for CWAC personnel which reduced caloric intake and offered more of the "glamour foods"[sic] like fruits and vegetables.[32]

Once the uniform was perfectly fitted, regulations also dictated the standard by which it was

to be worn, generating a homogeneous appearance. Hem lengths were carefully dictated, caps and satchels were to be worn at correct angles, ties and pockets had to lie flat and neat, and the uniform and shoes must be clean and carefully maintained. *Khaki* and *NEL* reinforced the ideal of femininity regarding uniforms by printing frequent reminders of these regulations, and emphasizing the maintenance of neatness and femininity while wearing the uniform.[33] [Appendix 4.4]

The dress regulations contributed to the difficulty of fitting the Cwacs' uniforms, especially those regarding hemlines. The skirt hemline was to fall between sixteen and seventeen inches from the ground, and outerwear hemlines an inch below the skirt. These hemlines were widely regarded to be "dowdy" and "old-fashioned".[34] The additional length served no military purpose, as it would only have proved more cumbersome than a shorter length skirt on marches and parade. The fact that the hem length set by army was considerably longer than was popular among civilian women, suggests that the military was still more concerned with a morally respectable appearance than with contemporary ideals of feminine attractiveness or with serviceability. The Army's conservative attitude toward hemlines was reinforced by its refusal to allow the CWAC pipe bands to wear the traditional kilts because their knees would show.[35]

Yet another indication of the Army's determination to maintain a conservative ideal of respectable femininity among the Cwacs was the caution exercised in issuing trousered uniforms to servicewomen. The Army proved reluctant to mimic the trend toward trousers in civilian women's fashions--even where they would have been beneficial to and welcomed by Cwacs.[36] Although trousers were issued to some Cwacs as early as the end of 1942,[37] the wearing of slacks was restricted to CWAC drivers and mechanics, and the trousers were to be worn only in specific circumstances.[38] Even hospital wear, which was traditionally issued with trousers, was redesigned. Convalescing servicewomen were issued skirts designed to

coordinate with the rest of the hospital suit.[39]

This was clearly a case in which the military chose to set its own more conservative standards of femininity rather than to follow the public lead. Slacks and coveralls were being widely sported by women--most notably factory workers--by 1942. The Department of Munitions and Supplies released a public service message defending the practice early in 1942. The advertisement, which pictured a well-to-do, middle-aged couple staring disapprovingly at a young woman in slacks, pleads "Please don't stare at my pants." The accompanying text supported the women in trousers, whose coveralls prevent accidents as they stand "behind their men in the hour of their country's peril. In the months to come, the uniform of the blue trousers will be seen more and more frequently in our country because girls and women are contributing their skill and their delicacy of touch to the production of instruments of war for our fighting men."[40] The Army's refusal to issue trousers as a part of general issue served as a very visual reminder of the subordinate and gendered roles that Cwacs were filling. Since the majority of Cwacs were engaged in stereotypically feminine jobs, they would have had no need for masculine attire.

In spite of the variety of criticisms directed toward the new CWAC uniform,[41] it was soon receiving accolades as the smartest of all women's services in the war. The *Stars and Stripes*, the official organ of the United States Armed Forces in European Theatres of War was responsible for awarding the title in the first place, but it was repeated with pride by the Canadian Press,[42] "Mademoiselle in Khaki",[43] and the CWAC recruitment propaganda.[44] The challenge of wearing the uniform in compliance with specific regulations was more than compensated for by the fact that "we are wearing what has been acknowledged by leading dress designers as the smartest uniform of any of the Women's services in the world and it is up to us to wear it proudly and correctly."[45] The "smartest uniform" label was not a negligible

privilege. Many Cwacs were reportedly attracted to the CWAC precisely because of the uniform.[46]

Nevertheless, despite the Army's best efforts to design a feminine and attractive uniform, Cwacs valued any opportunity to wear civilian clothing,[47] and greeted with glee the announcement that they would be permitted to wear civilian clothing when off base on 36- and 48-hour leaves.[48] Civilian clothing continued to be a signifier of real femininity. The editor of *NEL* herself wrote that the relaxation of Army regulations on the issue of wearing civilian clothes "will mean that twice a month girls will be able to cast aside the khaki for *something more feminine*."[49]

While part of the function of a uniform may well be the elimination of social distinctions between enlistees, the uniform engendered a different form of status distinction--that of wearers and non-wearers. Cwacs were not immune to this distinction between civilian women and servicewomen. On the CWAC's second anniversary, the tribute in *Khaki* was accompanied by two illustrations. Both were of a row of six seated women. The first was dated 1941, and pictured five civilian women looking with disdain, scorn, and open curiosity on the uniformed woman seated in their midst. The second one was dated 1943, and showed five Cwacs looking disapprovingly at the lone young civilian woman in their midst.[50] The uniform was depicted as evoking a sense of pride in self, while the civilian woman's clothing is employed as a signifier of her failure to make the same patriotic effort her comrades have. Volunteers were not always anxious to shed the prestige of their uniforms. When the Deacon Brothers released a line of CWAC blazers for off-duty wear in the regulation shade of beech brown and complete with CWAC crests, *Khaki* and *NEL* claimed that many Cwacs scrambled to purchase one, even though the sixteen to seventeen dollar price tag "is a lot of money for a CWAC".[51]

Military enlistment reconfigured the female body which was presumed to be unaccustomed

to physical exercise. Not only did basic training and military drill shape and tone the female physique, but the uniform erased volunteers' feminine individuality and introduced the concept of military regimentation to the outward appearance of enlistees. As such, the uniform design was a critical component of the first impressions the public would form of the CWAC. The military exercised extreme care in ensuring that the uniform indicated the Army's commitment to maintaining the femininity of its women volunteers. Regulations, routine orders, and the military media encouraged servicewomen to wear the uniform correctly and with pride.

Cosmetics

In addition to the uniform, membership in the military entailed a number of changes in appearance for Cwacs. During on-duty hours, they were permitted to wear only the regulation issue uniform. Personal items of jewellery were restricted to watches, and signet, engagement, or wedding rings.[52] Hairstyles were restricted to those which could be worn with the kepi cap, and kept off the collar. Even under these restrictions, "Mademoiselle in Khaki" reminded Cwacs that "[c]limbing into uniform isn't the signal for throwing aside your feminine heritage to smartness...You may be in the Army but you retain a woman's right to charm and beauty."[53] As was the case with their clothing and hairstyles, movement of women into the masculine realms of industry and military increased the emphasis on their cosmetics. As women entered the military, the question before the Army regulators was to what extent was use of cosmetics permissible and advisable in the CWAC. When it came to issuing policy on cosmetics, the military could readily have decided either to allow or forbid use of cosmetics. And while forbidding cosmetics altogether would have been more in keeping with the tendency toward military regimentation of appearance, the Army chose to permit cosmetics use among Cwacs.

Nevertheless, official regulations neither encouraged nor discouraged the use of cosmetics by Cwacs, but merely permitted the practice. The wording of the regulations addressing the

issue of cosmetics is extremely ambiguous and open to individual interpretation. Use of cosmetics and nail polish was permissible, provided cosmetics were "inconspicuous" and nail polish was "natural".[54] Ironically, in spite of confusion regarding the use of the term "inconspicuous", the Army chose not to clear up the ambiguity, although, as we have seen, other aspects of Cwacs' appearances were highly regulated and such regulations were strictly enforced. Presumably, the ambivalence was deliberately maintained, as the wording of Army regulations on the subject of cosmetics remained unchanged throughout the war, and Routine Orders consistently failed to define the terminology.

The ambiguity of military policy relating to cosmetics use, and the military's unwillingness to directly address the resultant confusion, was directly related to the perceived function of permitting Cwacs to use cosmetics. Evidence presented in the mass media as well as in *Khaki* and *NEL* suggested that the function of cosmetics use was threefold. First, since cosmetics had become a standard signifier of feminine appearances since the 1920s,[55] it was essential--from a public relations perspective--that the public face of the CWAC should be a properly "made-up" face. Secondly, the military assumed that cosmetics were essential to maintaining Cwac morale. Finally, *Khaki* and *NEL* suggested that the presence of conventionally feminine Cwacs served to enhance the morale of servicemen as well. Rather than impose overt control on individual Cwac's expressions of femininity, regulations thus ambiguously worded allowed the military hierarchy the authority to control what might have been perceived as immoral appearances among Cwacs without delineating an exact description of what constituted respectably feminine cosmetics. To some extent, *Khaki* and *NEL* functioned as subtle interpreters of the military policy on cosmetics.

Although *Khaki* did acknowledge the problematic nature of the ambiguous wording, like the policy itself, *Khaki* avoided offering any concrete interpretation.[56] "Mademoiselle in Khaki"

pointed to the tentative nature of interpretations of the Army's terminology "inconspicuous", claiming that "it's a thin dividing line between conspicuous make-up".[57] However, it neatly side stepped the issue by placing responsibility for interpreting regulations on the individual Cwac, suggesting that all Cwacs "know the score there."[58]

Nevertheless, *Khaki* and *NEL* clearly did have an opinion on the subject, and encouraged cosmetic use in a number of subtle fashions. Both newsletters carried occasional pieces of information about cosmetic availability as "news" items, thereby implying that the information is important. In particular, the military publications promoted the cosmetics classes offered by all three women's services.[59] Secondly, the newsletters featured cosmetics use as part of an everyday Cwac regimen. Although this was done in a non-intrusive fashion, it implied that "normal" Cwacs ought to be using cosmetics. Casual references to lipstick and other cosmetics being worn as part of the daily CWAC routine,[60] and a frequently run icon in the "Mademoiselle in Khaki" column which depicted a woman--presumably a Cwac--with dark-colored fingernails checking her appearance in a compact mirror[61] served as poignant reminders that cosmetics were the "norm" among servicewomen.

Simultaneously, *Khaki* and NEL subtly discouraged what they considered "conspicuous" use of cosmetics. *Khaki* emphasized "natural shades" of cosmetics for Cwacs, and suggested that Cwacs should use less colorful cosmetics than civilian counterparts. Like their civilian counterparts employed in factories, Cwacs also experienced a lack of time in which to maintain their appearance. One *NEL* poem bemoaned the fact that "Out of twenty-four, you get one hour/To keep on looking smart."[62] *Khaki* humour poked gentle fun at Cwacs who spent too much time on their cosmetic routine, suggesting that cosmetics which are time-consuming are excessive.[63] *Khaki* humour also indicated that while it was sympathetic toward Cwacs who erred in their interpretation of cosmetics policy, excessive cosmetics use among servicewomen

was amusing. The extent of the help which "Mademoiselle in Khaki" could offer to the confused Cwac was "just remember, what may look bright and colorful on a civilian can look cheap and gaudy on a girl in uniform, so keep it down to *a reasonable minimum*".[64]

In light of the ambiguity of Army regulations concerning cosmetics usage, and the confusion it generated among the Cwacs, it is hardly surprising that individual members of the Corps, interpreting "inconspicuous" for themselves, should eventually be reprimanded for inappropriate make-up. One private, whose rouge was rubbing off onto the white collar of her jacket was called to task by an officer.[65] It is noteworthy that "Mademoiselle in Khaki" presents the incident in a humorous light, and did not register any shock that a member of the CWAC should have indulged in conspicuous make-up.

In spite of the confusion generated by the Army's ambiguity on the subject of cosmetics, the regulations remained unchanged from the first draft through the last draft. Regulations permitted the use of cosmetics, and the military publications encouraged Cwacs to take advantage of this. Cosmetics had become a crucial signifier of femininity, and servicewomen who wore lipsticks and rouges softened the regimented harshness of the uniform. Nevertheless, it was a fine line distinguishing between the respectable use of cosmetics and appearances of sexual immorality. The Army was unsure how to effectively negotiate the difference, let alone define it in regulations. To this end, the military media simultaneously encouraged Cwacs to apply cosmetics while urging them to exercise restraint. Cwacs were expected to distinguish between femininity and "painted harlot" for themselves. Nevertheless, Cwacs who failed to err on the side of caution were subject not only to reprimand, but also to ridicule in the pages of *Khaki* and *NEL*.

Hairdos

Army regulations on the subject of hairstyles dictated that "[h]air must be dressed neatly and

clear of the collar at all times."[66] Clear of the collar meant at least two inches,[67] so these regulations put an end to the "glamorous" hairstyles popular among civilian women.[68] Long, loose, and detailed hairstyles had to be sacrificed for the duration of military service.[69] More so than most other Army regulations regarding Cwac appearance, *Khaki* credited this item with having generated the "biggest Army head-ache",[70] and *NEL* also made frequent reference to Cwacs being reprimanded because "their hair was getting too chummy with their collar."[71] "Mademoiselle in Khaki" linked the reluctance to comply with Cwacs' longing for civilian freedoms. "As long as a girl can worry about her hair she feels there is one thin straw linking her with the gay civilian days."[72]

Both publications suggested that this disobedience was exacerbated in the springtime. A poem in *NEL* explained "It's pretty grim for any dame/To not let down her hair/.../When spring is in the air."[73] Similarly, both publications ran an almost identical cartoon depiction of Cwacs frolicking in the spring flowers with their hair hanging loose and on their collars. In the *Khaki* caption, the Sergeant explains to the Lieutenant "'We can't do a thing with them in the spring, ma'am." In the *NEL* version, which ran a full year later, the Sergeant explains to the Lieutenant that "We had the same troubie last Spring ma'am, remember?"[74] [Appendix 4.5] Many other cartoons in *Khaki* and *NEL* portrayed Cwacs adorned in hairstyles that fell well past the collar, even when disobedience of the regulations was not central to the incident being portrayed. These comics point to a breakdown in the military order which resulted from the volunteers' own insistence on maintaining femininity while in uniform. While this highlights the belief that women were inherently unable to be effective soldiers, the fact that the incidents were presented as humorous suggests either that the offense was a forgivable one, or that these infractions were unimportant because the women soldiers were less important than their male counterparts.

However, failure to fully comply was not always deliberate. Inclement weather and time

constrictions all affected the ability of Cwacs to control their hair to the Army's satisfaction. *NEL* and *Khaki*'s compulsive complainer, the fictional character Pinky, pleads, "Rain, rain go away--/My hair will not stay up today,/And when it falls down on my collar/The Orderly Room puts up a holler."[75] "Mademoiselle in Khaki" sympathizes with this dilemma, and suggests that a tight roll is the most efficient way to control hair during rainy weather.[76] Additionally, the lack of free time affected Cwacs' ability to maintain their hairdos, and *NEL* suggests that Cwacs were frequently reprimanded "for being in the bathroom putting up my hair after lights out."[77]

In spite of these problems, neither publication suggested adopting a shorter or more masculine hairstyle for the duration. Far from it, "Mademoiselle in Khaki" preferred hairstyles that were "utterly feminine" and decried the "boyish bobs" which "send us screaming to the nearest exit."[78] Femininity coupled with compliance with orders was the Cwacs' priority, and *Khaki* frequently offered suggestions to help alleviate volunteers' difficulties.[79] The feathery brush cut was portrayed as being the easiest style which complied with military regulations. "With a handful of hardware--sold at dime stores under the alleged trade name of bobby pins and curlers--any child can handle the feather cut"[80] proclaimed "Mademoiselle in Khaki". *Khaki* tried to make light of Cwacs' sacrifice of their civilian hairstyles. "Happy those heads that shed their curls for a pert feather cut, for primping and fussing has gone by the boards. Glamour hits a new low and fun hits a new high."[81]

Unfortunately for the Cwacs, the streamlined hairdos of the military required professional upkeep. The recruitment pamphlet *Women in Khaki* promised potential recruits that their pay was sufficient to cover hairstyling at "better beauty parlours".[82] However, it soon became apparent that volunteers could not afford the maintenance required to keep their hairstyles neat and attractive. The Army's response to this dilemma indicates how important the volunteers' femininity was to them. In 1943, it was recommended that "the provision of hairdressers and

suitable hairdressing equipment for CWAC be an Army responsibility".[83] Each CWAC Headquarters was to be supplied with one CWAC hairdresser, and that only a nominal fee would be charged to Cwacs using the service.[84] The plan met with little resistance, and by January 1944, many Cwacs were casting "longing eyes at those barracks where a beauty salon is part of the set up...It's a nifty idea and generally does wonders toward keeping the girls groomed without slashing the pay check."[85] Although Army barbers for servicemen's short and relatively unshaped haircuts were not a novelty, the hairdressing installations in CWAC barracks indicated that a much more complicated styling was anticipated for servicewomen's hairdos in order to maintain femininity. While the Cwacs may have welcomed such establishments, the new hairdressing salons did offer ample opportunity for the mass media to make fun of the femininity of the Army's servicewomen. In one such comic, a Cwac informs her ranking officer that her day's schedule includes an appointment with the hairdresser.[86] This type of humour again highlights the perception that true femininity is incompatible with good soldiering.

Articles in *Khaki* and *NEL* point to the contradictory nature of Army policy and attitudes towards Cwacs' hairstyles. The regulations clearly indicate that most popular civilian women's hairdos were incompatible with military service. Yet the military's insistence on the "clear of the collar" policy proved problematic. Both publications suggest a reluctance among Cwacs to part with their pre-enlistment hairstyles combined with more practical concerns such as weather, and lack of time and money for upkeep of the streamlined military hairdos. In spite of the fact that enforcement of these regulations had proven problematic, the military neither altered the regulations nor relaxed the enforcement of them. Although shorter Cwac hairstyles would have solved many of these difficulties, *Khaki* and *NEL* advised strongly against adopting a more 'masculine' hairstyle for the duration of military service. Maintaining a feminine appearance while in uniform was crucial. Instead, the military decided that the problem of servicewomen's

hairstyles was an Army responsibility, and installed hair salons at a number of CWAC barracks. *Khaki* and *NEL* enthusiastically promoted these salons as being essential to the maintenance of a neat and feminine appearance among Cwacs, as well as a morale booster for servicewomen.

The implementation of Army regulations on the subject of servicewomen's hairstyles proved much less straightforward than the apparently uncomplicated wording suggested. Although Army regulations stated nothing about the femininity of servicewomen's hairstyles, *Khaki* and *NEL* made it quite clear that volunteers were not expected to adopt a short and/or masculine hairstyle. Quite the opposite, both these military publications indicated a strong disapproval of Cwacs who did so. Femininity was expected to be a crucial component of servicewomen's hairstyles. Consequently, Cwacs were required to establish a new standard of femininity in hairstyle which would simultaneously meet Army requirements. *Khaki* helpfully proposed a number of hairstyles which would satisfy both requirements. However, even those hairstyles most heavily favoured by *Khaki* had practical drawbacks. *Khaki* acknowledged these difficulties: some hairdos looked dismal in damp and rainy weather, others required some skill to be worn properly, still others required costly maintenance in terms of time and professional upkeep.

The military policy which established hair salons on all CWAC Headquarters indicated that *Khaki* was speaking with some authority when it claimed that femininity was an essential consideration in complying with orders. Rather than sacrifice either femininity or compliance, the Army decided to take on responsibility for servicewomen's hairstyles. *Khaki* and *NEL*'s enthusiastic support of these facilities reinforced their role as interpreters of military policy and attitudes, and their important function as promoters of the Army's feminine ideal.

Superficial soldiers: signifiers of femininity belie the uniform

Although the uniform was designed with an eye to femininity, and the military attitude toward cosmetics and hairdos allowed for some expression of femininity within the confines of

adherence to regulations, the woman in uniform still bore little resemblance to her civilian counterpart. The small acknowledgments of feminine appearance in uniform design, hairstyles and cosmetics may well have served as visible reminders that the Cwac was still a woman, but the donning of a military uniform seemed to indicate that her femininity had become secondary to her wartime role as a soldier. In the pursuit of good public relations and its own vested interests, this was not what the Army wanted. Far from it, the woman in uniform was expected to remain "a woman first and a soldier second."[87] While the centrality of CWAC signifiers of femininity such as hair, cosmetics, lingerie, and dreams of romance in the mass media may have served to allay public fears that Cwacs prioritized soldiering over their femininity, servicemen and women were lacking these same reminders. *Khaki* and *NEL* supplied this lack by placing emphasis on visible signifiers of femininity like lingerie, hats, and silk stockings. The suggestion that Cwacs did--or should--value these things over compliance with regulations and other soldiering skills served as a reminder that Cwacs only "appeared" to be soldiers. Underneath it all--both literally and figuratively--the Cwac was a woman first and foremost.

The one component of CWAC attire which was not general issue was their underwear. Rather than issue underwear, the military offered Cwacs an initial fifteen dollars upon enlistment and a three dollar quarterly allowance thereafter to purchase their own.[88] While this particular policy may have been put into practice to relieve the Army of the necessity of trying to provide volunteers with a sufficient range of styles and sizes,[89] its effect was to focus attention on Cwacs' underwear as evidence of and an expression of their irrepressible femininity.[90]

The feminine insistence on frilly underthings was highlighted in *Khaki* and *NEL*, in much the same manner it was emphasized in mass media articles. An illustration of lingerie was run repeatedly for no apparent reason,[91] [Appendix 4.6] and Cwac's Christmas wish lists were reported to be topped by items of lacy and colorful lingerie.[92] The feminine penchant for lacy

lingerie provided a source of endless amusement in *Khaki* and *NEL*. One *NEL* comic depicted a CWAC Corporal with her lace-trimmed slip hanging out of her suitcase, while a soldier remarks "Pardon me, Corporal, but I believe your slip's showing!"[93] [Appendix 4.6] Another edition of *NEL* punned: "A corset is something to keep the waves out of CWAC."[94]

While the Army's refusal to make CWAC underwear general issue may have been motivated by practical concerns, both military and mass media used the policy as evidence that women in uniform retained all their pre-war femininity. The emphasis on lacy lingerie undermined the efficiency of the women in uniform, and presented a reminder of the incompatibility of femininity and good soldiering. Underlying the humor was a reminder that women's military presence was temporary, and the appearance of being soldiers was--literally--only superficial.

Aside from feminine lingerie and shoes, the love of hats was widely regarded as a particularly feminine weakness.[95] The hat-shopping Cwac was frequently offered as evidence that the Army's servicewomen retained all their feminine charm.[96] It is hardly surprising, then, that by far the largest proportion of criticism levelled toward the CWAC uniform centered on the headdress.[97] The peaked khaki cap was one of those "distinctive Canadian contributions" which differentiated the CWAC uniform design from that of the British Women's Transport Service on which it was modeled. Unfortunately, worn incorrectly, its style was reminiscent a baseball cap or a busdriver's hat.[98] Detailed regulations specifying the exact position and angle at which the cap was to be worn were issued to combat this difficulty, and were emphasized and amended in routine orders. The correct wearing of the cap was especially significant not only because it would distinguish the style of the CWAC headdress from its less-desirable civilian counterparts, but also because the official CWAC salute marked itself from the cap badge.

Wearing the hat at the appropriate angle was not the only problem the Army experienced

with the general issue hats. *Khaki* reports that the kepi caps did not store well over the winter.[99] In spite of strict regulations regarding the issue of seasonal uniforms, new hats were issued to the entire platoon. The story suggests that the hat was essential to feminine morale.

However, in the opinion of the Cwacs themselves, perhaps the biggest disappointment in the uniform was the stocking issue. Due to military demand, silk supplies were restricted during WWII, so it was inevitable that the CWAC should be called upon to set a good example by wearing stockings other than silk. Nevertheless, perhaps in anticipation of the negative reactions the khaki lisle issue stockings would receive, the uniform designer refused to name the material from which CWAC stockings would be made until the entire design was completed.[100]

Regulations did allow Cwacs to wear silk stockings on certain occasions--with summer issue, for "walking out" and for dressing up--"[i]f you're good".[101] According to *Khaki* and *NEL*, the wearing of silk stockings was closely tied to CWAC morale. The summertime order reinstating permission to wear silk stockings while on duty was reported to have "shot the morale barometer sky high".[102] Conversely, the winter order to return to wearing the issue lisle stockings was greeted as "inevitable but sadly--silk-stockings do so much for CWAC morale."[103]

In spite of the expense and frivolity of silk stockings, many Cwacs resisted wearing the regulation issue lisle ones.[104] Resistance to the winter season stocking orders presented a discipline problem, apparently second only to the discipline problem of hairstyles.[105] Nevertheless, as "Mademoiselle in Khaki" grudgingly admitted, the general issue stockings did suit the uniform,[106] and some Cwacs even preferred them. "The bolder members of the Corps...could be seen gamboling around in silk hose...but such luxury terrifies the more conservative members of the Corps--they don't like to admit it but they're happy in lisle and you'll see them slinking up alleys, content and comfortable in cotton."[107]

Early in 1944 the army conceded a victory to the continued Cwac resistance. *NEL* was pleased to print the "happy rumours" that the Army would issue four pairs of rayon stockings.[108] Soon thereafter, the rayon stockings were issued, and greeted with general jubilation.[109] This issue of rayon stockings was no negligible privilege.[110] Rayon hose were in short supply, and civilian women could count themselves fortunate to have one pair, let alone four. One cartoon in *NEL* showed two contented Cwacs strolling past a mob of civilian women fighting to get rayon stockings.[111] [Appendix 4.6] Even Princess Alice, on one of her inspection tours, remarked that "she thought the Cwacs were lucky to obtain such nice rayon stockings without any trouble."[112]

It is difficult to say why the Army gave way on the issue of silk stockings instead of insisting that CWAC personnel set a good example for the rest of the population. Perhaps the issue of rayon stockings was intended to keep CWAC morale high, while simultaneously providing encouragement not to consume real silk. The rayon stockings may well have been intended as a recruitment ploy in the sense that it demonstrated the military's commitment to maintaining the femininity of its servicewomen. Certainly, both Cwacs' and civilian women's unwillingness to simply give up silk stockings as yet another peacetime luxury confirmed the importance of silk stockings as a crucial signifier of femininity.

The military media's emphasis on signifiers of femininity such as cosmetics, hairdos, and lingerie belied and undermined the importance of the Cwac's role as a soldier. Cwacs were encouraged to view femininity as normative, and soldiering as an aberration. Servicemen and women alike were reminded that the Cwac was only a superficial soldier. She may well have looked and sounded like a soldier at first glance, but stripped of the uniform, her lipsticks and lace revealed her irrepressible femininity.

Behaving like a lady: off-duty recreation

Maintaining the physical appearance of respectable femininity among CWAC volunteers

was an integral component of the Army's efforts to refute the rumors of Cwacs' immorality. Nevertheless, it was not servicewomen's appearances *per se* that was being called into question. Rather, it was their sexual behaviors. As one issue of *NEL* remarked: "There are plenty of people who are only too ready to criticize you, and that is why it behooves you to be especially on your guard when you are off duty. There are many things you can do in Civvies which are quite harmless in themselves but in uniform they somehow become bad form."[113] The Army was at pains to present itself as acting *en loco parentis* regarding Cwacs' off-duty leisure time, and employed a wide variety of supervised and group recreational activities as the most effective way of raising servicewomen's morale and decreasing immoral sexual behaviors.[114]

Each CWAC barracks had a space set aside for indoor recreation where "Corps members entertain their friends, tune in to radio programs, or write letters home."[115] As well, picnicking, bicycling, horseshoes, tennis, archery, movie nights, choir, skiing, snowshoeing, and informal discussions on current events or rehabilitation appeared frequently in *Khaki* and *NEL* as appropriate and popular off-duty activities.[116] Sightseeing was also promoted, not just for overseas Cwacs, but for Cwacs stationed in Canada as well. While it was relatively easy for the military to offer on-base Cwacs supervised recreational facilities and activities, it was much more complicated to supervise recreational activities of Cwacs on off-base leaves. However, the army offered several leave centres for Cwacs, which *Khaki* and *NEL* eagerly promoted.[117]

Reports of the sports activities of the CWAC also appeared regularly in the *Khaki* and *NEL* sports columns, and in "Mademoiselle in Khaki". Organized athletics such as softball, basketball, hockey, track and field, mud football, and swimming comprised a few of the sports that Cwacs participated in. Despite the frequency of references to CWAC athletics, *Khaki* and *NEL* both contain evidence that Cwacs were not as interested in these sports opportunities as the army would have wished. Sports participation not only kept Cwacs occupied during off-duty

hours, but also helped keep their weight down. To this end, "Mademoiselle in Khaki" encouraged readers to

> [l]imber up your limbs, kids, and shake the creases out of your shorts because you're going in for sports...The big problem is to get you interested in what facilities are already available. General opinion seems to be that after working all day you are so-o weary and just can't drag yourselves out to a basketball game...or the other slant is that in off-duty hours you would rather spend your time with your favorite date. Whatever the reason for Cwac's apathy towards athletics Sports Officers are determined to get a greater number of girls interested in developing the body beautiful.[118]

Apparently the concerted efforts of the Sports Officers were successful. A few months later *NEL* observed that "sports interest has reached an out-of-this-world-peak. An interest which is mainly due to pressure exerted by conscientious sports officers across the Dominion."[119] Whether Cwacs were being encouraged to participate in athletics or other supervised recreational activities, the military publications placed a strong emphasis on the elements of comradeship and friendship. "One thing that winter does for girls in barracks is to revive the 'let's-all-get-to-know-each-other' movement in a big way. Apparently skiing parties and snow-shoe hikes are based around the 'more-the-merrier' theme and so with a little prodding from your platoon officer you may suddenly become aware of 'who's who' in the platoon."[120] The promotion of organized athletics exemplified the contradiction in army attitudes toward the femininity and moral reputations of Cwacs. On the one hand, participation in sports was encouraged in order to ensure Cwacs appeared slim and attractive. On the other hand, the organized recreation was intended to help foster same-sex camaraderie, and distract Cwacs' from spending all their off-duty hours with members of the opposite sex.

Besides sports and other supervised recreational opportunities, the army also offered Cwacs educational courses in their off-duty hours. The courses included a range of interests such as: music and art appreciation, handicrafts, languages, piano lessons, journalism,

photography, drama, public speaking, shorthand, typing, and other commercial courses. Whether Cwacs were interested in advancing their army careers, post-war careers, or merely seeking something to do with their off-duty hours, *Khaki* and *NEL* promoted the educational opportunities enthusiastically. Not coincidentally, these educational courses were especially strongly promoted in the winter months, when "Educational Officers are gathering their forces to foil the Devil and make sure that he has no idle hands to exploit."[121]

Khaki and *NEL* did suggest that some CWAC personnel resisted the Army's best efforts to channel their sexual energies into appropriate and supervised recreation. Evidently, some Cwacs preferred to spend their off-duty leisure in more masculine hobbies. In particular rifle practice was popular among Cwacs. In spite of their competence,[122] "Mademoiselle in Khaki" hastened to assure readers who might have been concerned with the notion of servicewomen with rifles, that "the whole project is more of a hobby than anything else."[123] In fact, the rifle-toting Cwac was made the butt of many jokes.[124] Additionally, although Cwacs were forbidden to smoke in public,[125] evidently Cwacs did smoke. "Mademoiselle in Khaki" even suggested that new recruits should bring a wallet and matching *cigarette case* as part of their army kit essentials.[126] Evidently Cwacs also drank,[127] contracted VD, and continued to get pregnant at higher rates than their civilian counterparts.

Femininity and status as soldiers

In July 1944, "Mademoiselle in Khaki" reminisced about

> a time when our leaders were outwardly terrified at the thought of drilling and training girls--they lay sleepless at nights imagining the atrocities that would be committed on the parade square. In nightmares they saw their Guppies dropping coyly out of formation to straighten a stocking seam, interrupting gas drill to touch up their lipstick or breaking off fatigues to experiment with pancake makeup.[128]

Although "Mademoiselle in Khaki" reassured readers that Cwacs had proved more competent than to indulge in any "fluffy feminine act on the parade square",[129] both *Khaki* and *NEL* often

cited incidences of Cwac incompetence related to their femininity and preoccupation with their appearance.

The emphasis in the military media on Cwacs' respectability and femininity in terms of uniforms, cosmetics, hair, feminine trifles, and even behaviour, does more than just indicate the Army's interest in maintaining the status quo of femininity. The Army held a particular ideal of femininity, and made a concerted effort to manage Cwacs toward it. Military regulations, policies, and orders established the terms of the feminine ideal for servicewomen, and the military media reinforced the ideal and encouraged Cwacs to emulate it. Ironically, the pursuit of this ideal often undermined and counteracted Cwacs' efficiency as soldiers. Nevertheless, the preoccupation of Cwacs with femininity was crucial to the Army's desire for a return to pre-war gender ideals. Thus the mistakes Cwacs made as soldiers were often forgiven or even overlooked if the mistake was a result of their efforts to maintain femininity.

Cwacs were demonstrated to wear too much make-up on occasion,[130] worry about makeup at inopportune moments--like bouncing around in the back of a truck,[131] and disrupt military efficiency by taking too long to complete their morning toilettes.[132] [Appendix 4.7] Efficient soldiering often proved beyond the capabilities of the feminine Cwac. She dropped things,[133] [Appendix 4.8] did not understand rank insignia,[134] [Appendix 4.8] and even appealed to Santa Claus for her promotion.[135] Kit inspection was beyond her capabilities.[136] [Appendix 4.8] Cwacs' inability to reach the upper bunk proved an endless source of comic inspiration.[137] [Appendix 4.8] Although saluting for both servicemen and women provided the source of much military humor, the "CWAC-lute"[138] [Appendix 4.8] proved particularly amusing. Cwacs were often portrayed as unable to salute properly, or failing to salute altogether.[139] Interestingly, the Cwac who knew how to salute like a competent soldier was often depicted as unattractive and overweight.[140] Sometimes, when being a soldier got to be too much for a Cwac, she simply burst

into tears.[141] [Appendix 4.8]

One tongue-in-cheek "Mademoiselle in Khaki" column offered recruits advice encouraging insubordination, lack of discipline, and disobedience of orders.[142] *Khaki* and *NEL*'s fictional poetry-writing character Pinky was the epitome of the incompetent Cwac. She was destined to remain forever a private, unattractive, and generally discontent. Her uniform either failed to fit properly, or she could not wear it correctly. She failed to salute superior officers because she was lounging with her hand in her pocket.[143] She provided a foil for the ideal Cwac, who was disciplined, competent, popular, and pretty, while still keeping her beauty regime out of the office.[144] Nevertheless, while a Cwac's concern with her appearance may have interfered with her ability to perform her duty competently, and behave in accordance with strict military discipline, *Khaki* and *NEL* often exempt Cwacs from blame for their small mistakes which resulted from concern over their femininity.[145]

Perhaps Cwacs' minor offences against military discipline and regimentation were so readily dismissed by *Khaki* and *NEL* because their skill as soldiers was of secondary importance to their ability to maintain appearances of femininity. They were not "soldiers" in the true sense of the word. They were *women* whose presence in the military was justifiable because it released a man for more important soldiering duties. In fact, *Khaki* and *NEL* both frequently invoke the "replace-a-man" rhetoric so prevalent in recruitment propaganda.[146] "Mademoiselle in Khaki" proudly repeated the tale of a woman who turned in her deserter boyfriend and enlisted to take his place.[147] While the small number of Cwacs who worked in artillery-related occupations, and those who pursued rifle shooting in their off-duty hours were truly the "girls behind the men behind the guns",[148] CWAC personnel were generally far removed from the combat and combat-related occupations which defined true soldiering. One Cwac's submission to *Khaki* particularly exemplifies the subordinate and secondary position of the CWAC, and the

importance of maintaining her femininity while in uniform. The "Cwac's Prayer" ran: "I fight with files and ink and pens/At each new job I find./I have no gun. You see I'm just/The girl he left behind./.../Make me a soldier, strong and true/Stalwart of heart and mind:/But underneath, God, let me stay/The girl he left behind."[149] The survival of the prewar gender ideal into the postwar years depended on women's willingness to continue to accept a subordinate role, and to regard their femininity as their chief asset.[150] The army had no less vested interest in this return to prewar ideals than did the civilian sector of society.

Rehabilitation plans: management toward marriage as the ideal

Khaki greeted Victory -Europe with a celebration of Cwac's accomplishments over the years since their inception, and a gentle reminder that until victory was won on the Pacific front, there was still work for the CWAC to do. But when victory was finally complete, *Khaki* wondered what demobilized Cwacs' plans would be.

> Most of us will go back to a new life. Some of us go back to old jobs, but a great many girls came straight from school--others have had experience and education that will enable them to find a happier position in the civilian world. And a great many of us will rush to the pots and pans--frilly aprons and Domesticity...But no matter what we finally do in the great future that is ours--we face it with a new confidence, with a wealth of experience, and with a knowledge that we have been a part of something bigger and finer than we can express.[151]

Although observations such as this one seem to indicate that postwar careers and education were as legitimate goals for Cwacs as was marriage, the majority of the Army's rehabilitation efforts, alongside *Khaki* and *NEL*, directed Cwacs' attention toward a traditional model of femininity and domesticity.

Marriage was presented as the ideal goal. *Khaki* could celebrate Cwacs' "masculine" accomplishments, but these were temporary aberrations, and the domestic realm was where the most important accomplishments lay. One "Mademoiselle in Khaki" featured the only Cwac

to work as a machinist, and observed "who said a woman's place was in the home?" Yet this item was directly followed by the observation that "when girls joined the services they merely postponed their domestic interest--not forgetting them--it seems like a nice idea."[152] The idea that Cwacs might aspire to postwar places in the masculine realm was cause for some discomfort.

In 1943, *Khaki* printed the news that "only half of the Cwacs plan to get married after the war. Apparently they prefer the business world to wedding bells."[153] This information was no small cause for concern, and a year later, "Mademoiselle in Khaki" was able to reassure "disturbed husbands who have post-war visions of themselves bathing the young while their wives sally forth to the ship-yards" that "[t]he old Eve instinct to settle down and raise a family is something that still blooms in the hearts of the girls who are at present in the Army. Favorite answer to the question 'what do you want to do after the war' which appeared on an army questionnaire was that the girls wanted to settle down and raise a family. "[154]

All such reassurances aside, the Army was not willing to count on Cwacs to chose domesticity over careers and education. Cwacs were encouraged to view marriage and family as their most viable post-war option. Although they were credited with being ambassadors of a better, more tolerant, nation-building tomorrow,[155] their contribution as nation-builders was contingent on their becoming wives and mothers. The military publications encouraged Cwacs to think of marriage as a career and prepare for it.[156] To this end, the Household Science class was promoted repeatedly in *Khaki* and *NEL*.[157] "[T]he idea behind the classes is to prepare girls for the days when they will return to civilian life".[158] It was anticipated that in these post-war days, when "some chappie boasts of the efficient wife he has taken on strength you can wager your last Victory Bond that she's a graduate from the P.D.S. [Practical Domestic Science] Course."[159]

All this encouragement toward domesticity was fine if Cwacs actually had someone to play the role of husband. But what of those Cwacs who remained single as the end of the war approached? For these women, *Khaki* and *NEL* offered suggestions that might help them find a mate. Servicewomen were instructed in how best to spend the discharge clothing allowance, and what constituted women's fashion.[160] A poem in the final issue of *NEL* proposed remaking the buttons and badges of the uniform into jewelery, to "dazzle a swain/And capture his glance to stay." The poet had set her sights on marriage and domesticity, and the uniform was no longer a functional part of her life. "What good is that brass?/Said G.I. Jill,/I'm finished with Dame Athene;/An apron for me/With a fluffy frill/And a cottage where I am queen."[161]

In spite of *Khaki* and *NEL*'s blatant preference of marriage as a post-war goal for servicewomen, they were forced to admit that not all Cwacs would be getting married immediately following the war. Nevertheless, Cwacs were not encouraged to actively pursue careers as a post-war dream. Rather, this was a contingency only--a back-up plan for those Cwacs who were not fortunate enough to find themselves husbands. On the subject of a rehabilitation questionnaire that had been administered to over one hundred Cwacs, *NEL*'s editor expressed some concern that so many Cwacs were, in fact, counting on getting married.

> Of course it's common knowledge that we all want to get married after the war, and if we all succeed it will lighten the task of rehabilitation a great deal. But just supposing that there are not enough men to go around or that your best girl friend gets there before you and snaps up the one and only man who could possibly fill the position of husband to you--what then? A million and one things can happen, you know, to shatter that dream of a cottage with a man and a baby in it after the war.[162]

Whether Cwacs were planning on getting married or not, they resented intervention in their romantic lives. When they were offered dowries to help them find husbands, most Cwacs were indignant at the implication that they either needed the help of the military, or that marriage was their only option.[163] Further, "Mademoiselle in Khaki" offers evidence that at least some Cwacs

were not looking forward to marriage. Upon getting engaged, Mabel--a frequently-appearing character[164] in "Mademoiselle in Khaki"--complained that her engagement ring was "'the same as a tourniquet. They both stop your circulation.'"[165] Likewise, *NEL* suggests that Cwacs' opinions on marriage varied from "I don't want to get married. Men make me sick!" to "Gee, I'd love to get married."[166]

Conclusion

Historical constructions and the "whispering campaign" which insisted that women could not serve in a military capacity and still retain both femininity and sexual morality confronted and countermanded Army efforts to recruit women into the CWAC. Although recruitment propaganda may have presented the Army with the opportunity to paint an idealistic version of Corps members in order to help assuage public concerns, this ideal version did little to address the femininity and sexual morality of actual Cwacs.

The uniform design and regulations which permitted Cwacs to use cosmetics, or wear silk stockings and lacy lingerie did provide some opportunities for Cwacs to maintain femininity while in uniform, *should they choose to do so*. Nevertheless, Army regulations dealing with the femininity of CWAC personnel tended to be ambiguous in terms of the degree and extent of feminine appearance that was acceptable, and generated some confusion. Since many WWII signifiers of femininity included an element of sexuality and heterosexual attractiveness, urging Cwacs to maintain the feminine ideal often contradicted the Army's efforts to reassure the public that the CWAC was a morally respectable institution.

The internal military media stepped into the breach, urging Cwacs to prioritize the maintenance of a conventionally feminine appearance, while simultaneously interpreting the ambiguity of Army regulations on the subject of degree. Further, *Khaki* and *NEL* reminded Cwacs that this feminine attractiveness was central to attaining--and keeping--a husband, and

idealized the domestic future that awaited them on demobilization. This reminder of the temporary nature of their role as soldiers served to reinforce the status quo of prewar gender roles, and the subordinate role of women in post-war society.

While Army regulations and the internal media may have failed to clearly delineate the exact extent to which Cwacs were expected to emulate the ideal of feminine and attractive appearance, the overall message was clear. CWAC personnel were expected to exercise care and concern for their femininity and moral respectability. The Army strove to encourage Cwacs to emulate a distinct image of an idealized femininity in terms of body, uniform, cosmetics, and hair. Servicewomen were expected to both appear and behave in a 'lady-like' fashion.

Nevertheless, while a clear and specific message concerning the femininity and respectability of Cwacs may have appeared internally in Army documents and publications, as the following chapter will show, the ideal image was not always clear. The military's need to represent the servicewomen as sexually alluring to servicemen in order to maintain male soldiers' morale at times resulted in the generation of images in *Khaki* and *NEL* which could have been read as contradicting images of sexual respectability. As with the recruitment propaganda considered in Chapter Three, it is only in comparison between sources and images that the contradiction and ambiguity of Army messages of sexuality and femininity emerges clearly.

Endnotes

1.The subtitle varied between *The Army Weekly*, *The Canadian Army Weekly*, *The Army Magazine*, and *The Canadian Army Magazine*.

2.Except during the last months of publication, between January 22 and September 25, 1945, when *Khaki* was published on a biweekly basis.

3.*Khaki*, May 5/1943, cover.

4."Calling all Geniuses!," *Khaki*, July 21/1943, 4.

5."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, February 9/1944, 2.

6.The author's name was never given a byline in the "Mademoiselle in Khaki" column. In fact, this was standard procedure for most regular columns in *Khaki*. However, Corporal Findlay's identity as the author was revealed in *NEL*. Corporal Caroline Gunnarsson, "From the Editor," *NEL*, December/1944, 2.

7."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, February 9/1944, 2.

8."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, November 10/1943, 2.

9."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, January 12/1944, 2.

10.Some of these included *Athene*, *Khaki Skirt*, *Puddle Duck*, and *Wise CWAC*. *NEL*, January/1944, 3.

11.Lt. Col. Margaret Eaton, *NEL*, January/1944, 1. Only a limited number were made available for Canadian distribution.

12.Corporal Caroline Gunnarsson, "From the Editor," *NEL*, December/1944, 2.

13.Cited in Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour boots*, 151.

14.See for examples: *Khaki*, August 25/1943, cover; *NEL*, September/1944, cover; May/1945, cover.

15."I went to London to see the Queen," "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, May 28/1944, 6.

16."What's in a Name," *NEL*, September/1944, 13.

17.Cwac Molly Lamb Bobak was Canada's first official female war artist. For more biographical information and a collection of some of her work, see Carolyn Gossage (ed), *Double Duty: Sketches and Diaries of Molly Lamb Bobak, Canadian War Artist*. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992).

18.For some examples of art demonstrating a widely divergent range of Cwac body sizes, see *NEL*, January/1944, 10; June/1944, 7; October/1945 19; *Khaki*, November 24/1943, 7. A similar depiction of male personnel did appear in *Khaki*, April 30/1945, 12.

19."The Average Cwac," "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, November 6/1944, 2.

20.Sgt. D.B. Fulton, "The Gossip-Mongers," *NEL*, March/1944, 5.

21.Gladys Arnold, "Design Khaki Uniforms for Women's Army Corps," *Fort William Daily Times Journal*, July 12/1941, 6.

22.Canadian Press, "Smart Uniform Designed for Women's Army Corps," *Fort William Daily Times Journal*, September 15/1941, 2.

23.The designer was, in fact, Jack Creed of Toronto. His design was carefully supervised and reviewed by a committee established by DND Headquarters, which made significant changes to his initial design. (Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour boots*, 82.)

24.Gladys Arnold, "Design Khaki Uniforms for Women's Army Corps," *Fort William Daily Times Journal*, July 12/1941, 6.

25.See for example "Uniform for Canadian Women's Army Corps," *Fort William Daily Times Journal*, September 16/1941, 7; "Here's What They'll Wear," *Fort William Daily Times Journal*, September 17/1941, 11; and "Uniforms Donned by C.W.A.C. Officers," *Fort William Daily Times Journal*, November 10/1941, 3.

26.There were nineteen different sizes of CWAC uniform to facilitate the process of individually fitting each uniform. "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, November 17/1943, 2.

27.Gladys Arnold, "Design Khaki Uniforms for Women's Army Corps," *Fort William Daily Times Journal*, July 12/1941, 6.

28."CWAC Gripe," "The Soldier's Forum," *Khaki*, September 4/1944, 3.

29.Corporal Bridget Pearse, "From the Editor," *NEL*, April/1944, 2; *NEL*, March/1945, 14.

30.Corporal Bridget Pearse, "From the Editor," *NEL*, April/1944, 2.

31."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, February 19/1945, 6.

32."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, April 16/1945, 6. The streamlined diets were also mentioned in *NEL*, although without reference to weight. Corporal Caroline Gunnarsson, "From the Editor," *NEL*, October/1944, 3.

33.See for example "Look your Best," *NEL*, June/1944, 4; "Look your Best," "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, August 7/1944, 2.

34.Conrod, 33.

35.Canadian Press, June 8/194. Cited in "Canada at War," *The Gazette* (Montreal), November 25/1989, D5.

36.The announcement in *Khaki* that some women drivers had been issued trousers points to the desire of some Cwacs to be permitted to wear the slacks as well. "'Here come the Khaki Slacks--the women volunteers'--No we're not making a big mistake, just changing the old words to fit the new tune. For CWAC drivers are now wearing smartly-tailored barathea slacks that match regulation tunics. So far they have only been assigned to drivers--*but here's to hoping*." (Emphasis mine. "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, October 16/1944, 6.) Similarly, many Cwacs apparently chose to don slacks instead of skirts when they where out of uniform. See *NEL*, July/1944, 15; April/1945, 18; July/1945, 21.

37.Canadian Press, "Fashion Note for 1943," *Fort William Daily Times Journal*, December 29/1942, 6.

38.See Pierson, *"They're Still Women,"* 151-152. Pierson suggests that this caution around allowing CWAC personnel to wear trousers may have been related to the military's efforts to construct a more "genteel" image of the CWAC.

39."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, February 9/1944, 2.

40.Department of Munitions and Supply for Canada, "Please don't stare at my pants," *Maclean's*, March 1/1942, 3.

41.In addition to objections to the hemlines and hats, the summer uniform generated a number of difficulties for Cwacs. One Mademoiselle in Khaki column "denounced the whole summer uniform...the colour was bad, cleaning bills were high...in fact they were a darn nuisance." ("Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, May 13/1944, 2.) *NEL* agreed that the summer uniforms were difficult to maintain. (*NEL*, July/1944, 11.) For examples of other criticisms, see Conrod, 38-9.

42."Smartest Uniform," *Fort William Daily Times Journal* , January 10/1944, 8.

43."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, January 19/1944, 2; May 22/1944, 2; June 12/1944, 2.

44.*Women in Khaki*, 20. (Caption to a photo.)

45."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 4/1944, 2.

46.See Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots*, 54-5.

47.For example, the following anecdote was offered as a "Tall Tale". "'Once upon a time there was a member of the Canadian Women's Army Corps who was satisfied with her job, liked living in barracks, and always wore her uniform on week ends.'" "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, November 27/1944, 2.

48.Corporal Bridget Pearse, "From the Editor," *NEL*, April/1944, 4. Prior to this order, Cwacs (and servicemen) were permitted to wear "civvies" only for sports and leaves over seven days. These items of civilian clothing were not to be kept in barracks, and the uniform was to be worn when entering and exiting base. ("Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, March 6/1944, 7; May 1/1944, 5.)

49.Corporal Bridget Pearse, "From the Editor," *NEL*, April/1944, 4. Emphasis mine.

50.*Khaki*, August 25/1943, 1.

51."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 23/1945, 11. In spite of the price, the CWAC blazers were promoted repeatedly in *Khaki* and *NEL*. See "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 11/1945, 6; June 25/1945, 11; *NEL*, April/1945, 3.

52.See for example Draft Canadian Army Routine Order, May 9/1945, 2. NAC, RG 24, Vol 2255, file HQ 54-27-111-33, vol 3.

53."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, August 7/1944, 2.

54.See for example, Draft Canadian Army Routine Order No. 4434, May 3/1944. NAC, RG 24, VOL 2254, file HQ 54-27-111-33, vol. 2, and Draft Canadian Army Routine Order No. 5671, May 9/1945. NAC, RG 24, VOL 2255, file HQ 54-27-111-33, vol. 3.

55.See Peiss, "Making Faces".

56."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2; December 4/1944, 2.

57."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2.

58."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 4/1944, 2.

59.See for example "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 3/1944, 2. The classes also included instruction in etiquette and poise.

60.See for example: "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki* March 13/1944, 2; March 20/1944, 2; April 17/1944, 2; "Mabel," *NEL*, July/1944, 15; *NEL*, August/1944, 3.

61.See for example, "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, November 24/1943, 2; January 12/1944, 2; *NEL*, February/1944 6; May/1944,15.

62.Pte. Nadine Oliphant, "This is the Army," *NEL*, September/1944, 9.

63.See for examples *Khaki*, January 26/1944, 3; "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, February 2/1944, 2; "Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, September/1944, 12. See Appendix 4.7.

64.Ibid. Emphasis mine.

65."Mademoiselle in Khaki", *Khaki* , February 2/1944, 2.

66.See for example Draft Canadian Army Routine Order, May 9/1945, 2. NAC, RG 24, Vol 2255, file HQ 54-27-111-33, vol 3.

67."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 4/1944, 2.

68.One such article claimed: "Army hair-do regulations of no hair below collars caused a little trouble, but most C.W.A.C.'s [sic] were quick to the occasion, passed off glamorous tresses as a war luxury and now more and more appear with boyish and military haircuts." James Anderson, "The Feminine Outlook: Police Women for the Army," *Saturday Night*, April 24/1943. 26. See also "'I've joined the army'", *Maclean's*, April 15/1942. 30.

69.The idea that hairstyles had to be streamlined during military service appears in a number of articles. See for example: "Here come the Khaki Skirts, the women volunteers," *NEL*, June 1944, cover, and "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, Feb 23/1944, 2. *NEL* also suggested that longer hairstyles would be returned to with demobilization. See Sgt. C.E. Goldsmith, "Reminiscences," *NEL*, Spring/1945, 20.

70.Ibid. See also "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 25/1945, 11.

71.Sgt. Gladys Taylor, "On Parade!" *NEL* Spring/1945, 4. See also Lt. Beulah Jaenicke, "Snatches of 'In' Night," *NEL* June/1945, 19; L/Cpl. M.E. Strathern, "Cinderella Joins Up," *NEL* September/1945, 6.

72."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2.

73."The Sergeant-Major," "Heard in Barracks," *NEL* February/1945, 9.

74."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2; *NEL* Spring/1945, 21.

75."Pinky Says," "Heard in Barracks," *NEL* October/1944, 12.

76."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2.

77."New Year's Resolutions," *NEL*, December/1944, 3.

78."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 4/1944, 2.

79."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2; October 9/1944, 2.

80."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2.

81."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, October 9/1944, 2.

82.*Women In Khaki*, 24.

83.Correspondence to A.G. regarding Hairdressers - CWAC Ottawa, August 13/1943. NAC, RG 24, VOL 2257, file HQ 54-27-111-146.

84.See for example: "Calling all hairdressers," "You Should Know," *Khaki*, June 16/1943, 2.

85."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, January 26/1944, 2.

86.Henry Boltinoff, *Maclean's*, October 15/1943, 66.

87.Internal Memorandum from Director of Army Recruiting, September 28/1943. Cited in Bruce, 44.

88.Regulations and Instructions for the Canadian Women's Service, June 23, 1941. (Draft) NAC, RG 24, Vol. 2252, file HQ 54-27-111-112, vol. 1.

89.Ironically, overseas mobilization of Cwacs resulted in the issue of girdles designed by the army, if not other items of lingerie as well. Corporal Chris Foley, "CWAC Draft," *Khaki*, August 20/1945, 4.

90.Pierson, *"They're Still Women,"* 147-149.

91.The original icon appeared as part of an illustration of a day dreaming Cwac. "Dreams of Jenny G.D." NEL, January/1945, 13. The lingerie icon was reprinted repeatedly. See for example, *NEL*, October/1945, 22.

92."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 22/1943, 2. While this was offered as evidence of their irrepressible femininity, Cwacs may well have needed underwear for Christmas. The monthly allowance was insufficient to keeps Cwacs fully supplied with underwear, (Pierson, *"They're Still Women,"* 149.) so underwear with elastic that worked was often in short supply. See "New Year's Resolutions," *NEL*, December/1944, 3.

93.*NEL*, August/1944, 17.

94."Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, November/1944, 12. For an example of underwear-related humour in *Khaki* see "Duds'N'Bursts," *Khaki*, April 30/1945, 12.

95."Many of us celebrated V-E Day plus One in a purely feminine fashion by buying a fluffy, fancy hat." "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 25/1945, 11. See also Pierson, *"They're Still Women,"* 156-157.

96.For some examples of the hat-shopping Cwac in both text and image of *Khaki* and *NEL*, see "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 1/1943, 2: October 30/1944, 3; 2; December 4/1944, 2; Corporal Caroline Gunnarsson, "From the Editor," *NEL*, November/1944, 2; *NEL*, October/1945, 20; 9.

97.Conrod, 38.

98.Ibid.; "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 4/1944, 2.

99."Mademoiselle in Khaki", *Khaki*, May 8/1944, 2.

100.Arnold, "Design Khaki Uniforms," *Fort William Daily Times Journal*, 6.

101."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2.

102."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 10/1944, 2.

103."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, October 23/1944, 2.

104."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2; October 23/1944, 2; December 5/1944, 2.

105.For examples of disobedience, see: "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, Oct 23/1944, 2; Corporal Bridget Pearse, "From the Editor," *NEL*, April/1944, 2; Cpl Caroline Gunnarsson, "Fiction Feature," June/1944, 7.

106."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 4/1944, 2.

107."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 3/1944, 2.

108.*NEL*, January/1944, 3.

109.*NEL*, February/1944, 3.

110.In fact, one Canadian-born woman of British parentage claims to have chosen the CWAC over the British ATS because Cwacs had these "silk" stockings. (Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour boots*, 160.)

111."Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, May/1945, 12.

112.*NEL*, June/1945, 3.

113."A message from Princess Alice," *NEL*, July/1944, 2.

114.The strategy of increasing supervised recreational opportunities in order to effect a decrease in wartime sexual promiscuity was not unique to the Canadian army. A perceived increase in the number of juvenile offences--especially amateur prostitution--during the war led many American communities to establish new playgrounds, recreation centres, and youth programs which offered supervised recreational opportunities. (See Anderson, 101) The Canadian military believed there was a direct connection between decreased sexual promiscuity and increased supervised recreation. The questionnaire administered to pregnant CWAC personnel (Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour boots*, 117-118.) indicated the degree to which the Army believed that its organized recreation and sex education lectures were operating to decrease sexual indiscretions among servicewomen. Questions such as whether the pregnant woman had been housed in barracks or off-base, if she had been drinking, and whether she had participated in sex education lectures and organized sports and recreation reveal

the Army's hope that the pregnancy did not occur under army supervision, and if it had, that the Army's efforts to cut down on illegitimate pregnancy were working--the woman had been drinking, or had not participated in sex education lectures and military-organized recreation. See also Bruce, 50.

115."Happy Birthday," *Khaki*, August 25/1943, 1.

116.Although images of Cwacs engaging in recreational reading also appear often, apparently no one ever thought to print a suggested reading list, or start a *Khaki/NEL* book club.

117.Dam Lake Recreation Camp was presented as a particularly popular leave centre for Cwacs. "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, September 11/1944, 2; "Holiday Camp," *NEL*, September/1944, 10-11. See also "Away from it all," "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, March 5/1945, 6; "Leave Centres," *NEL*, Spring/1945, 24.

118."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, March 13/1944, 2.

119.Corporal Bridget Pearse, "From the Editor," *NEL*, June/1944, 2.

120."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, November 24/1943, 2.

121.Corporal Caroline Gunnarsson, "From the Editor," *NEL*, October/1944, 2.

122.Corporal Caroline Gunnarsson, "Would make front line soldiers," "From the Editor," *NEL*, February/1945, 2.

123."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, March 20/1944, 2.

124."Quacks behind the guns," Army News, *Khaki*, October 20/1943, 3; "There's danger in that thar town", "Mademoiselle in Khaki," March 20/1944, 2; "Shooting can be fun," "Mademoiselle in Khaki," November 13/1944, 2.

125.One *Khaki* issue cover illustration challenged readers to uncover a number of military mistakes in the illustration. One of the "military mistakes" was that the artist had drawn a Cwac smoking in public. (*Khaki*, January 26/1944, cover.)

126."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, November 17/1943, 2

127.*NEL*, October/1944, 4; "Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, January/1945, 12. Cwacs themselves remember a good deal of drinking. See Bruce 43, 53; Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour boots*, 100-101; 186.

128."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 3/1944, 2.

129.ibid.

130."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, February 2/1944, 2; Anonymous, "Pin Up--Issue,"Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, April 10/1944, 3.

131."Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, September/1944, 12.

132.B. Jaenicke, *Khaki*, January 26/1944, 3; *NEL*, February/1944, 11.

133."Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, November/1944, 12.

134.*NEL*, July/1944, 8.

135."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 25/1944, 6; "Let's be Military Santa," *NEL*, December/1944, 4.

136.See *Khaki*, December 22/1944, 5; June 11/1945, 6.

137."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, March 13/1944, 2; *NEL*, April/1944, 12.

138.The "Cwac-lute" appeared repeatedly in both publications. See for example *NEL*, January 1/1944, 7.

139."Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, June/1945, 13.

140.Lance Corporal R. Bruce, "Further Notes on Saluting," *Khaki*, March 20/1944, 2.

141.*NEL*, June/1944, 8.

142."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 1/1943, 2.

143.For some examples of the appearance of the Pinky character, see in particular "Pinky Says," *NEL*, November/1944, 4. See also "Pinky Says," "Heard in Barracks," *NEL* , February/1945, 9; June/1945, 13; "Pinky says," "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 3/1944, 2; November 27/1944, 2; March 19/1945, 6.

144.See for example "Mabel," *NEL*, July/1944, 15.

145."Signs of the Times," "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, May 29/1944, 3.

146.One *Khaki* editorial which defended Cwac's presence in the military, and praised their competence and spirit of volunteerism, concluded: "So remember, these girls in uniform are the really fine ladies of this generation for everyone of them makes the Canadian Army just **one man stronger**!" "One man stronger," Editorial, *Khaki*, August 4/1943, 3. Original emphasis. For other examples "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, March 6/1944, 7; Lieutenant-Colonel Margaret Eaton, *NEL*, January/1944, 1.

147."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 11/1944, 1.

148."Cwacs in Artillery," *NEL*, May/1945, 10; "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, November 13/1944, 2.

149.Lance Corporal Ruth Carter Lewis, "A 'CWAC's' Prayer," "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, May 12/1943, 3.

150.In her discussion of the reasons why the Toronto branch of the Canadian Women's Home Guard failed to achieve public acceptance during WWI, Kori Street considers the conflict engendered between the image of militarized femininity and the need for women to represent the helplessness of those on the home front, in order to maintain the constructed image of the soldier as protector. (Kori Street, Toronto's Amazons: Militarized Femininity and Gender Construction in the Great War. MA dissertation: University of Toronto, 1991.)

151.*Khaki*, May 14/1945, 6.

152."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, January 5/1944, 2.

153."CWAC's" [sic], "You Should Know," *Khaki*, June 2/1943, 2.

154."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 24/1944, 2.

155.Lieutenant-Colonel Margaret Eaton, *NEL*, January/1944, 1.

156."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, December 18/1944, 2.

157."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, January 5/1944, 2; *NEL*, January/1944, 2; Corporal Caroline Gunnarsson, "From the Editor," *NEL*, October/1944, 2; Private Turner, "Education within the Army," *NEL*, February/1945, 6 .

158.Corporal Bridget Pearse, "From the Editor," *NEL*, April/1944, 2; "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, April 4/1944, 2.

159.Sergeant Del Chekaluk, "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 3/1944, 2; "PDS Course," *NEL*, July/1944, 6. Similarly, in the American context, Meyer reports that the U.S. War Department used slogans which suggested that Army life actually made a woman a better wife. "The Wac who shares your Army life will make a better postwar wife." Cited in Meyer, 55.

160.See for example, Corporal Caroline Gunnarsson, "From the Editor," *NEL*, Spring/1945, 3.

161."The New Order," *NEL*, October/1945, 26. Other issues in *Khaki* and *NEL* proposed remaking the uniform ("Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, September 24/1945, 14-15; *NEL*, October/1945, 17, 27.) and hat ("What to do about it," *NEL*, October/1944,13; "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, March 5/1945, 6.). Some of the suggestions centered on remaking the hat and uniform in keeping with contemporary women's styles for business or leisure. Other suggestions focused on children--remaking the uniform for children to wear, or saving it intact for children to use in plays. Both of these suggestions implied that Cwacs would, of course, have children. Yet another suggestion was more blatant in its promotion of marriage as a post-war option. The hat was remodeled for the "altar bound" Cwac.

162.Corporal Caroline Gunnarson, "From the Editor," *NEL*, February/1945, 3.

163."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, March 29/1944, 1; April 4/1944, 2; *NEL*, April/1944, 3-4.

164.Unlike Pinky, it is difficult to gain a sense of whether Mabel is a real Cwac or not from the context in which she appears. Since real Cwacs who appear in the "Mademoiselle in Khaki" columns generally have last names and/or ranks, it may be safe to assume Mabel is also a fictional character.

165."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, August 28/1944, 3.

166."Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, September/1944, 12.

CHAPTER FIVE
"SOON THE SKIRTS WILL BE FLIRTS ONCE AGAIN": CONFLICTING MESSAGES CONCERNING THE SEXUAL REPRESENTATIONS AND SEXUAL BEHAVIOURS OF CWACS

Introduction

The whispering campaign's devastating effect on enlistment levels served as an indication that the public perception of Cwacs' sexual morality was as important as maintaining appearances of conventional femininity. The Canadian public seemed ready to read any representation of Cwac sexuality as potential immorality. Nevertheless, in an apparent direct contradiction to the poem which warned Cwacs to avoid accusations of being flirts by remembering they were ladies, one popular CWAC marching song seemed to welcome flirtatious behaviour.

> Here come the Khaki Skirts,
> The women volunteers!
> Britain, you've got us on our way,
> Britain, expect us any day.
> Good girls, we've cut off our curls
> And the Nazis, the Blighters will pay,
> Boy...will we get even!
> Churchill, you said you needed tools,
> Watch us, we follow all the rules,
> Chins up...we'll never give up
> And soon the skirts will be flirts once again.[1]

The song implied that servicewomen's sexuality and femininity had been suspended for the duration of the war. The end of the war was heralded as bringing an end to this uncharacteristic suspension of traditional gender roles, and with demobilization, the khaki skirts would resume their feminine appearances and flirtatious behaviours once more. We have already seen evidence that far from suspending femininity in appearance for the duration, the Army actually encouraged, facilitated, and even insisted upon the maintenance of femininity while in uniform.

Maintaining the feminine ideal in terms of appearance was important because it reminded

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[1] *NEL*, June/1944, cover. "Here Come the Khaki Skirts" was a popular WWII CWAC marching song sung to the tune of "Colonel Bogey". It has been printed repeatedly in memoirs and histories of the CWAC.

Cwacs, concerned friends and family, and the civilian public in general that soldiering was a temporary aberration. The domestic ideal remained the central tenet of Cwacs' lives, defining the continuity of their lives as women, not soldiers. As we have seen, the maintenance of this ideal of feminine appearance was far from a straightforward proposal. In its efforts to manage the physical appearances of Cwacs in accordance with a particular preconceived ideal which centred around (hetero)sexual attractiveness, the Army had to negotiate a fine line between maintaining femininity and reinforcing the public perceptions of Cwacs' sexual immorality. Although the Army made a number of concessions to what they saw as Cwacs' need to express their feminine individuality, there were also many instances in which the Army curtailed femininity to ensure the public appearance of sexual respectability. Thus, while military concessions to femininity in terms of uniforms, cosmetics, hairdos, and lingerie were indicative of the Army's intent to reinforce the feminine ideal among Cwacs, the restrictions imposed on these concessions simultaneously reinforced a conservatism which prioritized moral respectability over a feminine appearance. As a result, when moral respectability and feminine appearance entered into conflict, the Army often generated confusing and ambiguous messages to Cwacs about which aspect of the ideal they were expected to emulate. Although the internal military media may have helped to mediate and interpret some of the ambiguity of Army policy and regulations, it did little to address the overriding contradiction between maintaining femininity in appearance and living up to a high standard of sexual respectability.

Where the previous chapter focussed on ambiguity and contradiction in the Army's efforts to encourage Cwacs to maintain a feminine appearance, this chapter focuses on ambiguity and contradiction in the Army's efforts to regulate the sexuality and sexual behaviors of its female personnel. The Army's attitudes toward the sexuality and sexual behaviours of both male and female personnel developed in accordance with the societal double standard of sexual morality

and wartime rhetoric which placed a higher value on the contributions of the male soldier than on either his female or civilian male counterparts. Army VD prevention policies among servicemen demonstrate that the military accepted this double standard of sexual morality by permitting--and even facilitating--the extra-marital (hetero)sexual activity of servicemen. In its efforts to protect the sexual health of its fighting forces, the Army categorized a number of women as placing soldiers at high risk for VD. In this context, the Army's silence on the subject of Cwac personnel as potential sexual partners is suggestive of an implicit approval.

In addition to army policies which failed to discourage soldiers from viewing Cwacs as potential sexual partners, Cwacs themselves were encouraged to present themselves as romantically accessible to servicemen. The army promoted marriage as an ideal goal for CWAC personnel, especially since the marriage of servicewomen offered the ultimate evidence that the Army had been successful in its efforts to encourage Cwacs to maintain a pleasing feminine appearance and domestic aspirations. Problematically, marriage was generally preceded by a period of dating and courtship which entailed unsupervised interaction with men. This unsupervised mingling created ample opportunities for Cwacs to misbehave in the manner the public suspected them of. The Army's conflicting desire for Cwacs to be simultaneously above moral reproach and yet actively seeking the (hetero)sexual liaison of marriage became yet another site of contradiction and ambiguity in Army messages of sexual behaviour to Cwacs. Where the needs of the male soldier's (hetero)sexual appetite conflicted with the Army policy of protecting Cwacs' morality in loco parentis, the latter reveals itself to be little more than an illusion.

It is not any one image, but in the confluence of images, ideologies, regulations, and policies that the ambiguous and contradictory nature of military attitudes toward the femininity and sexuality of Cwacs emerges most clearly. The ideal of 'beauty as duty' took on a whole new

meaning as CWAC personnel were invited to submit pin-up shots of themselves and their friends to the "Pin-ups in Khaki" contest in *Khaki* in order to boost the morale of their male counterparts. The pin-up in khaki sat at the intersection of a number of conflicting military ideologies concerning the femininity, sexuality, sexual morality, and domesticity of female personnel, and the Army's support of a perception of the Cwac as a sexually objectified morale-booster for the men in uniform. The particular incongruities of the image of the Cwac as a pin-up emerge most clearly when approached in the context of the broad societal sexual double standard, the Army VD control policies among servicemen, Army efforts to regulate the sexuality and sexual behaviors of Cwacs, and other Army messages which tacitly and explicitly validated a perception of Cwacs as sexually accessible to servicemen.

Subordinate women and the sexual double standard

In *Good and Mad Women*, Matthews has suggested that by examining those behaviors defined as points of departure from the normative ideal, we can determine that the opposite behavior defines the ideal behavior.[2] This observation certainly held true in the context of the sexual behaviors of women during WWII. Broad societal concern for an apparent increase in women's sexual agency was grounded in a desire to maintain the status quo of sexual morality, as well as the successful restoration of related pre-war gender role "norms". As Pierson notes, "[t]he preoccupation with preserving women's sexual respectability, like the preoccupation with preserving women's femininity, was triggered by the war's destabilization of gender relations and both reflected and reinforced prevailing definitions of womanhood."[3]

Societal censure and governmental control regulations placed the blame for the perceived weakening of sexual morality during WWII squarely on the shoulders of women. Although their behavior may well have been motivated by societal and media pressures towards maintaining heterosexual attractiveness in order to gain male approval, making patriotic sacrifices for the

men in uniform, and even by pressure exerted by servicemen themselves, women who were sexually active outside of marriage were characterized as women of loose morality who posed a threat to contemporary standards of sexual morality. In the United States the perceived increase in female sexual delinquency resulted in the establishment of the Social Protection Division (SPD) of the Office of Community Services. Reminiscent of Britain's Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s, the powers of the SPD extended to the detainment and mandatory VD testing of women who were suspected of being professional or amateur prostitutes.[4] Like the United States, Australia and Britain also resorted to institutions of social control to regulate the perceived decrease in women's sexual morality.[5] Although the perceived increase in female sexual activity was often linked directly to the arrival of foreign American troops, "[a]n actively applied sexual double standard coupled with the needs of wartime diplomacy shielded American men from blame for the presumed breakdown of moral standards among young women and girls."[6] Social attitudes and governmental programs designed to regulate such expressions of female sexual behaviour pointed not only to a desire to maintain the sexual status quo, but also to the widespread acceptance of a clear sexual double standard which protected men from bearing responsibility for their own sexual activities.

A silence that spoke louder than words: VD control and the military male sexuality

The Army both tacitly and explicitly echoed the sexual double standard. The war had attached an even greater value to male activities, especially those related to military service and combat. Soldiers' sexual activity occasionally resulted in the contraction of VD, which created the potential for a crisis of military manpower. The value of military manpower entailed the careful protection of servicemen's health and welfare, and even extended to the prioritization of his sexuality. Costello has suggested that although it was not officially recognized, "the conditioning needed to turn the World War II civilian into an aggressive soldier was a brutalizing

process that often triggered the release of undercurrents of sexual aggression."[7] Whether or not the Army recognized or encouraged this sexual aggression, the Army's unspoken permissive attitude toward male soldiers' (hetero)sexual activity was reinforced and even amplified in VD control policies which shielded soldiers from bearing moral and physical responsibility for the consequences of extra-marital sexual encounters. These VD policies are indicative of the priority placed on the male soldier's sexual agency. The Army's campaign to control the spread of VD among male personnel during WWII consisted of three basic tenets: preventative education, Early Preventative Treatment (EPT), and medical treatment for cases of actual infection.

Inquiries into the problem of VD among servicemen found that most cases were the result of sexual contact with prostitutes and "amateur prostitutes".[8] "Victory girls" , or "amateur prostitutes", as they were widely known, were portrayed by the wartime media as young women who readily engaged in casual sexual relations with servicemen, and who expected no financial compensation for their services. This definition was so broad in scope as to include even "any woman who was sexually active despite the lack of 'sincere emotional content' in the relationship."[9] Their sexual accessibility was usually rooted in a combination of the desire for adventure and excitement, patriotic motivations in the form of boosting the morale of servicemen,[10] and seeking that male approval which was so heavily emphasized in mass media and in general society. Whether her motivations were patriotic or not, the "victory girl" strengthened societal condemnation of the 'loose' woman as a societal 'menace'.

As a result, the educational component of the Army's VD prevention program enjoined soldiers to exercise caution in their choices of sexual partners, and to avoid sexual contact with specific groups of women who were collectively categorized as 'loose' women--prostitutes and "pickups".[11] By not focussing on total abstinence from sex as the best way to avoid contracting

VD, the preventative education offered to servicemen demonstrated a permissive attitude toward soldiers' extra-marital (hetero)sexual activity. Further, the army reinforced this tacit permissiveness by exempting soldiers from blame for the spread of VD. Instead, responsibility for the spread of VD was placed with the 'loose' women who engaged in sexual activity with soldiers. One outline of a VD lecture for soldiers awaiting repatriation exemplifies the military's use of the sexual double standard to simultaneously blame women for and excuse soldiers from repercussions for sexual intercourse which resulted in VD contagion.

> You all know what VD means...You all know how you get it--by having sexual intercourse with women who are infected--and any girl you can pick up or who picks you up and lets you have intercourse with her probably has one or the other or <u>both</u>. Any girl who takes money for it--a prostitute--almost certainly has VD...Don't think yourself a "lady-killer" just because you can "get" one of these girls. You are just one of the many that have been there before and someone certainly has infected her..."easy" girls, pickups and prostitutes will give you VD.[12]

In fact, soldiers were further removed from bearing responsibility for engaging in sexual contact with "easy" girls by army educational materials which stressed that "most men have been drinking when they get VD. Liquor spoils your very best intentions. Then you will expose yourself to VD."[13] Soldiers were not only exempt from blame for spreading and contracting VD, but alcohol was blamed for the poor decisions which resulted in sexual activity with women who were VD infected.

The internal military media reinforced the VD prevention campaign's suggestion that soldiers were not to blame for VD. *Khaki* often presented the suggestion that the woman who initiated sexual overtures was a "menace" to the serviceman's morality and sexual health. In one comic, a soldier who sees a flirtatious woman alone in the countryside, says to his fellow soldier "Tell the Captain I'm a casualty...or something."[14] The reference to becoming a casualty offered a subtle reminder of the risk of VD. Items such as this one not only pointed to the idea that the woman could act as the sexual aggressor, but also implied that the results of a sexual liaison

with these women would not be pleasant.

The educational component of the Army's VD prevention campaign was explicit on the subject of which groups of women soldiers should avoid sexual contact with. The very act of delineating 'off-limits' sexual partners implies that the Army accepted that sexual activity was occurring, and would continue to occur. Presumably, then, the Army held a permissive attitude toward sexual intercourse with those women who were not specified as being 'off-limits'. Obviously this group included the wives and girlfriends of the soldiers and the Army idealized these sexual partners. Soldiers were encouraged to stay VD free for them,[15] to use them as inspiration to fight to return to them,[16] and even to sexually fantasize about them.[17] However, in the word "fantasize" lies the problem. These women were not always geographically accessible to enlisted men, and many soldiers would not have had wives or steady girlfriends.

Local Allied women who did not fall into the category of "victory girls" may have provided logical substitutes. However, the eagerness with which the arrival of the American forces were greeted by Australian and British women[18] suggests that many potential sexual partners overseas would, in fact, have fallen under the broad definitions of "victory girls". Further, even if honorable marriage was the outcome of contact with local Allied women, extra caution was exercised by the military in issuing permission to marry.[19]

As for which groups of women the army did consider to be acceptable sexual partners for servicemen, the Army's silence on the subject spoke louder than words. The one group of women which remained fairly consistently accessible to soldiers stationed in Canada and overseas was the Cwacs--and other servicewomen. Significantly, although Army policy protected the sexual respectability of its female personnel in loco parentis,[20] servicewomen were not explicitly mentioned in the list of sexual partners to avoid. The army's silence on the subject of CWAC personnel as potential sexual partners is indicative of a degree of permission to

soldiers to view Cwacs as sexually accessible, especially in the context of the Army's explicit prohibitions on most other available women. The military media emerged to interpret the Army's silence as indicative of permission to view Cwacs as potential sexual partners. The military media not only permitted submissions which represented Cwacs as romantically and sexually accessible, but even published its own items which underscored this view of Cwacs.[21]

The second tenet of the VD prevention campaign focused on Early Preventative Treatment (EPT). The EPT program actually facilitated (hetero)sexual activities by providing prophylactics and prophylaxis stations, where soldiers could "clean up" after any sexual contact which potentially placed them at risk for VD infection.[22] This policy encouraged the sexual activity of servicemen, while protecting them from the consequences of their actions.

The final tenet of the Army's VD control program centered on treating and curing infected personnel. In spite of the fact that infection with VD had a long history of being entwined with moral attitudes, and was often regarded as a punishment for sin,[23] the Army was among the first Canadian social institutions to move toward lifting the moral stigma attached to VD. The Army coordinated the first mass media advertising campaign to promote a better understanding of venereal diseases.[24] The military was also instrumental in easing public stigmatization for VD infection by removing the punishments for contraction of VD.[25]

Servicemen were not only exempted from responsibility for their sexual indiscretions in terms of morality, but were also exempted from all practical responsibilities. Soldiers were carefully protected from VD infection by military policy. If they contracted a sexually transmitted disease, they received prompt and efficient medical treatment, and were returned to duty without stigmatization. The sexual double standard protected servicemen from accountability for their actions, whether they contracted VD, spread the contagion, or even impregnated a civilian or servicewoman.[26] Not only did this exemption from responsibility both implicitly and

explicitly encourage soldiers in the pursuit of (hetero)sexual activity, but discourse surrounding VD early preventative treatment and medical treatment for servicemen normalized and even facilitated sexual contact with those groups of women designated as high risk sexual partners.

VD control and sexual protection of Cwacs

In keeping with the sexual double standard, broad societal censure of women who were sexually active outside of marriage, and the whispering campaign's particular focus on the sexual morality of the woman in uniform, Army policies of sexual regulation and protection of Cwacs centred on complete abstinence. The problem of supporting a sexual double standard which resulted in the generation of contradictory and ambiguous Army messages regarding the sexuality of Cwacs is at its most evident in an examination of the military's VD control programs for male and female personnel.[27] Although VD control was not a new problem for the Army, VD control among female personnel was. VD among Cwacs was characterized as a problem of "personnel management" on a list which included not only VD, but also illegitimate pregnancy and general emotional instability.[28] The educational component of the VD prevention campaign among both servicemen and women relied primarily on films, lectures, discussions, and pamphlets. The similarity between the VD education of Cwacs and soldiers ended here, however. The materials utilized among servicemen adopted a 'forewarned-is-forearmed' attitude, and spared no graphic details.[29] Conversely, the education campaign for servicewomen was tempered by the fear that explicit sexual education of servicewomen would negate the claim to innocence and ignorance which passed for female sexual purity. A CWAC Officers' conference on VD control argued against this policy of keeping servicewomen uninformed on general sexual matters. "Education about sex should be more general, and not confined to VD alone...[P]ersonnel received too many lectures concerning the signs and symptoms of venereal disease, and not enough on matters of sex conduct and other factors

which lead to exposure and acquisition of infection."[30] Nevertheless, despite the dearth of information offered CWAC personnel, VD continued to be equated with promiscuity and not with ignorance on the part of the infected woman. Although soldiers were instructed to avoid sexual activity with "high-risk" women, Cwacs were instructed that total abstinence from sexual activity was the best way to avoid contracting VD. The Army protective policy toward Cwacs focused on the recreational alternatives to sexual activity.[31] As a result, servicewomen were not offered any form of preventative treatment in the event of a high risk sexual contact. There was no female equivalent to the prophylactics and prophylaxis stations the EPT program offered soldiers. Education and abstinence *was* the VD prevention program for servicewomen.[32]

In spite of this emphasis on abstinence, evidently Cwacs did, in fact, engage in extra-marital sexual relations. Cwacs' extra-marital sexual activity revealed itself in illegitimate pregnancies[33] and the numbers of Cwacs who were treated for VD. The Army policy of removing much of the stigma attached to treatment for VD infection was not applied equally to male and female personnel. In fact treatment measures for servicewomen infected with VD often resulted directly in stigmatization. The original policy, which held that female personnel infected with VD would be discharged, reinforces the lower value placed on female than male military labour, because male personnel were treated and their services retained.[34] Although this policy was officially lifted, in certain circumstances, some VD treatment resistant female personnel were still discharged. However, the reason given for discharge was that "the girls were promiscuous and undesirable persons for the Army",[35] and not simply that they had contracted VD. Additionally, the continued existence of this attitude is evident in recruitment policies. The selective recruitment policy for female personnel indicates that the military maintained a belief that VD-infected enlistees would have a negative effect on Corps' morale, as well as on the public opinion of women in uniform.

According to the replacement policy, a Cwac with VD was to be reposted following treatment for VD. While this was supposed to protect the woman by keeping her identity confidential, in reality the effect was to stigmatize her. Unexplained transfer often revealed her status as a VD patient to both her old and her new comrades. The reposting of female VD patients was ended in September 1944.[36] However, in July 1944, a new stigmatizing measure was introduced. Potential CWAC enlistees would be rejected if they tested positive for syphilis, on the understanding that they would not make good servicewomen on the basis of their immorality.[37] Whatever the Army's intentions regarding the liberalization of attitudes toward VD for servicemen and women, it was unwilling to broach the public double standard of sexual morality.

Policies dealing with the sexual protection of Cwacs were designed primarily with an eye to recruitment and addressing the whispering campaign rumors. In keeping with the sexual double standard, unlike those in operation among the male forces, systems of sexual regulation among Cwacs centred on complete abstinence from non-marital sexual relations. Cwacs were offered supervised recreational activities to distract and impede them from pursuing the potential for sexual relations. Although participation in supervised recreational activities was strongly encouraged as an alternative to sexual activities, Cwacs were not discouraged from dating and even marriage. Far from it, the army encouraged non-sexual dating practices. Cwacs who dated and married provided evidence of the continued feminine desires and heterosexual attractiveness of women in uniform.[38] The CWAC recreation rooms included "dress as you please" areas for dating,[39] dances were organized, and evidence that Cwacs dated was presented frequently in both image[40] [Appendix 5.1] and text[41] in the military publications. The weddings of Cwacs provided no small opportunity to encourage servicewomen to pursue the traditional pattern of marriage, domesticity, and children. Articles

such as "The Bride Wore Khaki"[42]--which featured a romantic wedding in a bombed Italian church--contributed to promoting a romantic ideal among servicewomen.

In spite of such encouragement to pursue romantic relationships, Canadian servicewomen were not issued contraceptives[43] or other protective measures against pregnancy and venereal diseases. Additionally, Army protective policies prevented Cwacs from being dispatched on duty assignments in groups of less than twelve,[44] differentiated between male and female ages of majority, and established higher ages for and shorter durations of overseas postings. These protective policies reflected a military assumption that Cwacs were more in need of protection than their male counterparts. These policies were predicated on the understanding that Cwacs were to be regarded as women before their status as soldiers was considered. Accordingly, they were to be 'protected' from sexual victimization as well as rumours of immorality.

In the American context, Leisa Meyer has argued that the WAC system of sexual protection was a "mirage when viewed within the Army's larger regulatory framework governing both women's and men's sexuality. While the military's masculine culture encouraged men's heterosexual activity, manpower needs dictated that men should not be responsible for their sexual behaviour. The resulting Army protective system shielded male GIs from the consequences of their heterosexual behaviour, including venereal disease and fatherhood, and blamed instead the women with whom they were involved."[45] Systems of sexual protection of Wacs existed within a masculine military structure which afforded her innocence little to no protection, and revealed themselves to be illusions once a servicewoman actually engaged in sexual activity.

In the Canadian context, there is also evidence of the same contention between Army policies purporting to protect the sexual respectability of Cwacs, and the Army's prioritization of the military males' sexual needs. The sexual protection of women soldiers centred on complete

abstinence, and Cwacs were offered no real form of protection from the very real consequences of sexual activity such as pregnancy and VD. Conversely, the sexual protection of male soldiers both implicitly and explicitly encouraged male heterosexual activity and shielded them from the consequences of impregnation, VD, and even rape.[46] Within this paradigm, the military's prioritization of male (hetero)sexuality exempted soldiers from responsibility for their sexual activities, and the Army policy of protecting servicewomen proved little more than an illusion.

The priority placed on protecting male soldiers was predicated on the presumption that the only women who were sexually accessible to soldiers were women who were undeserving of sexual protection.[47] Although "victory girls" were presumed to be civilian women, servicewomen were not exempted by the mass or military media from the potential to act as the sexual aggressors who presented a menace to men's sexual health and morality. An anecdote from *Maclean's* magazine that depicted the CWAC as a group that "always gets their man" was repeated in both *Khaki* and *NEL*.[48] Additionally, a *Khaki* cartoon depicted a disgruntled hillbilly character with a gun and in front of a CWAC company demanding that his son "Show me the she wot kissed ya, Son."[49] [Appendix 5.2] This media image of the Cwac as sexual menaces was reiterated in Army policies. National Defense Headquarters was requested to rule on a case involving "a high profile volunteer who has had V.D. on one or more occasions and who is known to be a 'loose' type, thereby becoming a menace to all male soldiers of the unit to which they are attached, and contributing to the discrediting of the CWAC".[50] While simultaneously branding Cwacs who had sex with servicemen as "loose" and a "menace", this attitude removed all blame from the servicemen with whom they had--or might in the future have--intercourse. In spite of all efforts to keep them ignorant of sexual matters, servicewomen were clearly held responsible for their sexual actions. Conversely, servicemen who received the "lion's share" of army sexual education, were not to be held accountable for theirs. In fact they were cast as

victims of menacing Cwacs. Not only did this ignore the possibility of sexual victimization, but it completely nullified the Army's system of protection of Cwacs if they made themselves sexually available to the male soldiers. In what Pierson refers to as the "double bind of the double standard", the Cwac was "[d]enied effective protection in deference to her innocence", and yet labelled a 'loose' woman if she suffered the consequences of her ignorance.

The sexual double standard operated against the best intents of the Army to "protect" the sexual morality of Cwacs. As long as servicewomen remained uneducated on sexual matters, their innocence was retained, and Army policy protected servicewomen from explicit sexual education. However, if her sexual ignorance led her to make an uninformed decision which resulted in pregnancy or contraction of VD, the attitude of protectiveness vanished. The servicewoman was held responsible for the consequences of her sexual activities. The VD-infected woman had already been cast in civilian and military programmes as the menace to men; the VD-infected servicewoman could not escape the same censure as her civilian counterpart.[51] When Cwacs became entangled in this snare, the Army's policy of sexual protection vanished into thin air. She had crossed the line from innocence to immorality, and as such was no longer worthy of the respect implicit in programmes of protection. She became the same "bad girl" that the whispering campaign had pictured her as, and subject to the same moral stigmatization that Army regulations, policies, and the military media sought so desperately to remove. In juxtaposition to the Army's tacit permissiveness toward soldiers' perception of Cwacs as sexually accessible, sexual protection policies were revealed to be illusions.

Sexualization of Cwacs

As we have seen, military policy, regulations, and internal media urged servicewomen to view themselves in terms of a feminine ideal and prioritize the maintenance of (hetero)sexual

attractiveness. The ultimate proof of achievement of this ideal lay in their ability to compete successfully with civilian women in the feminine quest of "getting" a man to date and marry. Problematically, as a result of its efforts to combat the whispering campaign, military policy and regulations designed to protect servicewomen's morality and the reputation of the CWAC as a whole all focused on the avoidance of situations which might provide opportunities for sexual activity. The military's tolerant--and even indulgent--attitude toward soldiers' sexual activity led the Army into contradictory territory on the subject of the sexual activity and femininity of Cwacs. Efforts to ensure a public image of the CWAC which stressed both sexual attractiveness and sexual respectability generated confusing and contradictory messages to servicewomen and servicemen alike. The emphasis on their femininity in terms of a (hetero)sexual ideal of attractiveness reinforced a perception of Cwacs as romantically and sexually accessible. Not surprisingly, this vision of Cwacs' sexual accessibility often resulted in the sexualization of Cwacs on the part of the military media and servicemen themselves.

Under the influence of contemporary discourse surrounding the sexual harassment of women in the workplace, the phrase 'sexualization' can become imbued with a range of implications in terms of lived experiences. The phrase can invoke connections to abuse, harassment, and victimization. It is not my intent in using this phrase to imply that Cwacs actually were--or 'felt'--abused, harassed, victimized, or even sexualized in accordance with the contemporary usage of the term.[52] The mass media, military publications, and Army policy and regulations used in this dissertation offer no direct or incontrovertible evidence of how Cwacs actually experienced the Army's contradictory and confusing representations of them. The military's efforts to regulate service personnel's sexuality may or may not have exercised a direct influence on soldiers' and Cwacs' actual experiences of and attitudes towards their own and each others' sexuality.[53] In the context of British women's experiences of sexuality in the

Auxiliary Territorial Service during WWII, Penny Summerfield and Nicole Crockett have helped to clarify this argument.

> Whilst it is undoubtedly important to explore male regulatory practices, such an approach in and of itself is one-sided and tends towards a deterministic interpretation of the effects of male behaviour on women. It presents women as the objects of processes designed to subordinate them. It does not allow a view of women as self-determining: that is it does not suggest that women may have had a scope either to resist or negotiate these kinds of control. Further, and very importantly, this perspective precludes consideration of women's own accounts of other, quite different, experiences of wartime relations between the sexes.[54]

Thus, the term 'sexualization' is used in this dissertation in its more literal sense, in that the military publications and several Army policies contributed toward generating images of Cwacs as sexual objects rather than individual persons or even soldiers, and that the images generated centered largely on feminine qualities which related directly and indirectly to sexuality: heterosexual attractiveness, domesticity, and accessibility for dating, marriage, and the romantic/sexual fantasies of soldiers.

The military media presented an image of Cwacs as accessible to servicemen in terms of dating and marriage. As we have seen, military policy and media encouraged servicewomen to view themselves in terms of a feminine ideal and prioritize the maintenance of (hetero)sexual attractiveness. Further, the Army organized dances which facilitated contact between servicemen and women. *Khaki* presented evidence that Cwacs were much more sympathetic to military restrictions on leisure time than were their civilian counterparts. One private submitted a poem mimicking "Mary had a little lamb", in which his problems of dating Mary, a civilian woman, were remedied by dating her Cwac sister. In spite of his adoration, Mary grew impatient and bored waiting for him to get a pass, and she married a "wolf who'd been deferred...But now he's got a *better* girl/A CWAC who's Mary's sister."[55] *Khaki* reminded soldiers that "[t]here are over 21,299 women in the three Services, fellows."[56] The ensuing text

noted that very few of them were already married.

In addition to the suggestion that Cwacs were romantically accessible to servicemen, *Khaki* and *NEL* also presented evidence that single Cwacs who chose not to make themselves available to soldiers provoked some frustration on the part of the servicemen who felt wrongfully refused the romantic attentions of Cwacs. Cwacs stationed overseas occasionally found themselves at odds with the Canadian soldiers who were refused dates.[57] A poem submitted to *Khaki* by a CWAC Private in April 1944 sparked a controversial debate in *Khaki* and *NEL* which lasted for months.[58] The debate brought the issue of Cwacs' romantic accessibility to the forefront. The length of the debate and the interest it apparently[59] sparked suggests that the issue of Cwacs' romantic availability was one which many service men took personally.

In the original poem, CWAC Private Nadine Oliphant professed to be "in love with Alberta's trees".[60] A nameless male Corporal submitted a poem in response which expressed his irritation that "instead/of falling in love with a swell guy like me/This Oliphant gal falls in love with a tree/.../While I'm pining for love in the wilds of B.C./Miss Oliphant squanders romance on a tree."[61] Private Oliphant responded, defending her right to "squander" romance as she saw fit. "If just ONE of you men was as nice as these trees,/I'd gladly exchange, so there, if you please/.../You can have your romance. I'll take a tree!"[62] The injured Corporal's last word on the subject was to wonder "Why, to some scrawny tree, must I play second fiddle?"[63] While one male Sergeant defended her preference for trees over men,[64] other submissions from servicemen agreed with the anonymous Corporal. In one Private's opinion, "[t]rees have their place, but in this world's plan,/They don't count a tinket, when compared with a man."[65] The final submission in the debate was from a soldier who seemed surprised that "[a] hunk of wood, she finds as good/As man:--The once 'Big Cheese'."[66]

The debate would seem to indicate that many servicemen presumed some form of

ownership of, or right of access to, unattached Cwacs' romantic attentions. Servicemen's apparent frustration and confusion that a Cwac might prefer not to date them, and their efforts to convince her that she was wrong, indicated that she had stepped outside her proper designated role. In preferring trees to soldiers she had failed to fulfil her role as morale booster to the male troops. She was romantically inaccessible--not just to the anonymous corporal, but to all soldiers. Her choice to "squander" romance on a tree when their were soldiers who desired female attention was unacceptable. While they may have been intended to be humorous, the poems denoted a very real concern for many soldiers who were refused romantic access to single servicewomen. The submissions indicated an understanding that the role of the single servicewoman was to remain romantically accessible to the man in uniform. Her priority was to be to maintain the morale of the troops, not her own personal preferences.

Although *Khaki* claimed to be "staying out of it",[67] its very refusal to issue editorial comment suggests that *Khaki* did, in fact, have an opinion on the subject. In Private Oliphant's preference for the company of trees to that of men, she presented an image of the ideal of Cwacs' sexual morality: she carefully guarded her sexual respectability, and her choice of companionship remained above the moral reproach of the whispering campaign. Had *Khaki*--or *NEL*--chosen to issue editorial support for Private Oliphant's choice, this would have strongly reinforced the army's efforts to construct the image of a sexually respectable CWAC. The military media's silence on the subject indicated that the servicemen's frustration was not entirely misplaced. While *Khaki* and *NEL* may have appeared to be simply repeating the opinions of Cwacs and soldiers, the idea that dominated the debate was that Cwacs should, in fact, be romantically accessible to servicemen. Once again, the message to Cwacs was contradictory. On the one hand, they were encouraged by military policy and regulations, and military media images to maintain complete sexual respectability. On the other hand, military

media apparently permitted the suggestion that Cwacs who kept themselves above reproach were not fulfilling their responsibility to maintain the morale of the male troops.

The poets were not the only soldiers to express irritation in the pages of *Khaki* and *NEL* with Cwacs who would not--or could not--make themselves available as dates.[68] In particular, one soldier bemoaned in rhyme the loss of his girlfriend, because his "love has a Pip on her shoulder/And I but a Stripe on my sleeve." Because of her superior rank, he "just can't make love at attention/While addressing the loved one as 'Ma'am'."[69] This soldier who lost his girlfriend because of her superior rank highlighted a very significant problem for military couples. Although her subordination to him would not affect the gendered status hierarchy of society, his subordination to her made the relationship impossible. The woman was to remain subordinate to her male partner at all times. Her role was to boost his morale--and ego.

A system of rating your girlfriend on a point scale, based on a test of women's matrimonial desirability taken from *Esquire* magazine, was printed directly underneath an article celebrating the CWAC's second anniversary.[70] That this was a deliberate placement is supported by the title of the second piece--"Speaking of women...". This second article calculated women's value based on a point scale rating of their appearance and romantic accessibility. The *Khaki* version of this point system assigned and deleted points for women's economic situation, beauty, and "juking"[71]--which included "sex, manners, dancing, and drinking"[72]--among other things. No mention was made of women having valid skills, let alone being efficient as soldiers. The Cwacs' accomplishments were effectively undermined by the reminder that, as women, they are fundamentally subordinate.

Much humor in Khaki revolved around images of Cwacs as sexualized objects for the benefit of servicemen.[73] One *Khaki* comic depicted a male Sergeant standing in front of a row of Cwacs, holding two late passes behind his back. The three Cwacs to the right are

unattractive--one short and stocky, one tall and plain, and one bow-legged and wearing glasses, while the two to the left were young and attractive. The Sergeant demanded "I need two volunteers--Fall out you two on the left."[74] [Appendix 5.2] Another depicted two enlisted men with buckets, mops and brooms standing outside a door marked "CWAC personnel only" and wondering mischievously "Shall we knock--or just surprise them."[75] [Appendix 5.2] Cwacs' own efforts to retain their sexual respectability was not exempted from the scope of *Khaki* humor. In one *Khaki* cartoon, a Cwac struggling in a high wind to keep her skirt down and her hat on is left without a free hand to salute a superior officer, who says "'Wind or no wind, you must stand erect and salute, miss!'"[76] [Appendix 5.2] Yet another issue of *Khaki* related the tale of a military police officer who "stopped a pretty Cwac one day after she had passed a group of second lieutenants. 'Why didn't you salute those officers, kid?' enquired the military cop. The Cwac stared at him a moment before replying. Then: 'Would you have saluted if they had called you 'Toots?'"[77] In all of these incidents, whatever efforts Cwacs may have made to maintain their sexual respectability have been thwarted and undermined by military policy and regulations. The Sergeant's rank allowed him to choose whichever Cwacs he wished for special duty assignments, assignment to cleaning duties gave the enlisted men the right to be in Cwacs' quarters, army regulations on saluting superior officers dictated that the Cwac would have to sacrifice her desire to keep her skirt down, and the Cwac who simply refused to salute was technically in the wrong. Whether or not *Khaki* was sympathetic to their dilemmas was not entirely relevant. The humor of each incident developed from placing Cwacs in situations where they were sexualized in order to satisfy the romantic and sexual imaginations and desires of male personnel. The message to Cwacs was ambiguous. Should they have refused to accept military discipline and authority in order to retain their sexual respectability? Or should they have ignored the requirements of standards of sexually respectable behaviour in order to boost the

morale of their male counterparts?

Khaki recognized that the sexualization of women by soldiers might have made women uncomfortable. "If Riding Hood were here today,/The Modern Girl would scorn her./She only had to face one wolf.../Not one on every corner."[78] Nevertheless, the sexualization of women by men in uniform was such a well-entrenched notion, that *Khaki* implied the Army would not be the Army without it. A comic which depicted a soldier in his jeep driving past a pretty civilian woman with her skirt pulled up past her knees, hitchhiking in the middle of nowhere at night, was accompanied by the caption "This Ain't the Army".[78] Although the Army's intentions to protect the sexual integrity and reputation of its female personnel may have been sincere, the prioritization of an active and aggressive male sex drive not only interfered with this protection, but even resulted in the sexualization of Cwacs for the benefit of the men in khaki uniform.

The pin-up in *Khaki*: Icons of accessibility

Perhaps more than any other aspect of wartime femininity and sexuality, pin-up culture highlights the essential incompatibility of true femininity and soldiering. The fundamental function of the pin-up was basically two-fold. First there was the obvious sexual component. In this sense, the pin-up was intended to address only the male soldier, providing a forum for (hetero)sexual fantasizing and desires. Since the pin-up was not intended to promote lesbian fantasies as well, the female soldier was excluded from this popular component of WWII military culture. The second--and most important--function of the pin-up was related to maintaining the morale of the male soldiers. The pin-up filled in as a representative icon of the "girls" at home, and a way of life that reminded the soldiers of what they were fighting for. The morale-boosting nature of pin-ups was directly reliant on the image of femininity they embodied: (hetero)sexually attractive, accessible, and worthy of protection. In this context, the male soldier was obliged to defend the femininity represented in the pin-up, and in their turn, women were obliged to strive

to be worthy of the defense. According to this dichotomy, women could not be true soldiers. Their role was to remain on the home front--feminine, domestic, subordinate, simultaneously respectable with overtones of sexual accessibility, and above all else, an icon worthy of defending. The female soldier had stepped outside this role, and had ceased to be representative of this idealized femininity in need of defense.

The ideal of wartime femininity and female sexual morality was the chaste and domestic girl, whose good looks lacked any sort of bold, gaudy flashiness suggestive of the overt sexual accessibility found in the prostitute or 'loose' woman. Honey notes that in the American magazine industry, in stories that featured soldiers, scenes of traditional domesticity were presented as soldiers' safe haven from the war, and the symbol of all they were fighting to protect.[80] Women were idealized as "guardians of a way of life temporarily disrupted by uncertainty, violence, and prolonged separation from loved ones. The desire for something stable to hold onto is evident in wartime popular culture."[81] The girl who best exemplified the virtues of traditional domesticity and feminine self-sacrifice was most likely to win the heart of the soldier-hero.[82] Just as women were encouraged to emulate this type of woman, soldiers were also encouraged to fix their aspirations and fantasies on this type of a woman. The good soldier would fight to protect not only this ideal of femininity, but also to defend their right to win the heart of--and sexual relations with--such a woman.

> [M]ilitary culture tends to encourage a regression to stereotypical ideas of femininity, in which notions of 'home' and 'front' are synonymous with the dichotomy between women and men, and also between 'wife' and prostitute 'camp-followers'...But that fundamental opposition between masculine and feminine, and within that, 'that women for love' and 'women for sexual release', remains crucial to military ideology...[T]he sexual segregation that still underlies military ideology today has meant that pin-ups have always tended to represent domestic as well as sexual fantasies for male soldiers.[83]

While military culture implicitly encouraged sexual activity and fantasizing among its soldiers, it

also directed soldiers' fantasies toward respectable women--their wives and future wives who were waiting on the home front.[84]

The "pin-up" girl was primarily a WWII phenomenon. Hollywood talent agents sent thousands of mass-produced photographs, often autographed, of actresses to servicemen in order to promote both the actresses and their films. Although "cheesecake" photography had a long history predating WWII,[85] the soldiers' practice of pinning these publicity shots up in lockers, barracks, tanks, and airplanes popularized the term "pin-up".[86] The demand for one photograph of Betty Grable in a bathing suit ran as high as 20,000 per week, making her the war's most popular pinup.[87] Rita Hayworth was the war's second-most popular pin-up girl, and Lena Horne was elected the black soldiers' favorite pin-up.[88]

The Hollywood pinup was a particularly poignant reflection of popular culture's acceptance of sexualized femininity. Yet the pin-up stood at a peculiar intersection of wartime perceptions of femininity. The pin-up was clearly represented as sexual. The revealingly--and sometimes scantily--clad popular starlets were posed provocatively. Nevertheless, despite the prevalence of half-clad women decorating the barracks of the manhood of the nation, few objections were raised. Far from it, the pin-up icons were praised for the patriotic gesture they made by allowing their photographs to boost the morale of the fighting forces, and reminding the boys in the front lines of the home front they were fighting for.[89] Betty Grable offers the primary example of the pinup as representing the home front. Grable was the American men's favorite pinup, "not because she was the most sexy and glamorous, but because she had a rather wholesome look".[90] She represented the "girl next door", who was the soldier's sweetheart or wife. In fact, Grable's popularity increased when she married and became a mother herself. She became the living epitome of the soldier's future domestic life--his sweetheart, wife, and mother of his children.[91]

The wartime pin-up contained a number of contradictory messages of femininity and female sexuality for the male soldier. One submission in rhyme to *Khaki* illustrates a plethora of confusing images all tied into the pin-up icon.

> I have dozens of pin-ups
> On my barracks room wall.
> It isn't that I love them so
> But I care for them all.
> They help me when I'm lonely.
> Cheer me when I'm blue.
> And break the Army's routine up
> Like nothing else can do.
> They're my light in the darkness.
> They're my stars overhead
> And now mother's not with me
> They tuck me in my bed.
> I have dozens of pin-ups
> On my barracks room wall.
> It isn't that I love them so
> But I care for them all.[92]

In the *Khaki* poem, the soldier's collection of pin-ups simultaneously provide company, inspiration, and entertainment. They embody both the obvious sexual aspects of a relationship with a girlfriend or wife, as well as the domestic comforts of his home and mother. That he 'cares' for them indicates some form of relationship and bond with the pin-up, but at the same time, he recognizes that love is out of the question, probably because of their inherent inaccessibility.

The Hollywood starlet style of pin-up was a regular feature in *Khaki* magazine.[93] The pinups which appeared in the pages of *Khaki* were typical of the genre. The first one appeared in the inaugural issue of *Khaki*, and featured Rita Hayworth. The Hollywood pin-ups continued to appear roughly once every two weeks. The pinups which appeared in the pages of *Khaki* offer striking support to the idea that they were representative of the girls the men were fighting to protect. Some pin-ups were subtitled with text that billed the women as "the ideal picnic

companion,", or "nice things to go swimming with," and most notably, "nice things to come home to".[94] Autographed pin-ups were often dedicated "To the Men and *Women* of the Canadian Army".[95] Presumably the Army was not interested in encouraging homosexual fantasies among its servicewomen, so this autograph can be seen as indicating that the pinup was intended as a patriotic icon as well as an incitement to sexual attraction. Nevertheless, the pin-up was primarily addressed to the male soldiers, and served as their representative girlfriends. Pocket-sized pinups were "for Joes who haven't any girlfriends," or who "haven't got a girlfriend's picture to carry next to their hearts."[96] The pin-ups were more than just representative fantasies, however. They were also intended to serve as incitement to fight, to defend, and to protect. One pin-up summed it up in a statement about "only the Brave Deserving the Fair."[97]

Perhaps the best evidence that pin-ups functioned as icons of the "girls at home" comes from a pin-up competition which ran in *Khaki*. In March of 1944, *Khaki* notified soldiers of a letter contest, asking soldiers to choose between Greer Garson and Lana Turner as representatives of "which type of girl is your favorite?"[98] The contest notification was accompanied by a pin-up of both contestants. A scantily-clad Lana Turner reclined on a bed, while a more clothed Greer Garson stood against a backdrop of French glass doors. [Appendix 5.3] The choice of these two women in these two poses was not incidental. "Khaki has selected the two stars in question because we feel that they best represent their two distinctly different types of beauty...both are entirely different in their personalities."[99] The contest ran until the end of May. Despite the publication of a second pin-up shot of Lana Turner in April, which pleaded for more letters because Greer Garson was leading four to one,[100] Greer Garson was declared the soldiers' favorite. The letter which won the contest demonstrated the extent to which soldiers favored the representative girls as pin-up icons, and the extent to which they relied on these icons as inspirations to fight. The letter ran:

> Who could think of a better inspiration than the thought of having a girl like Greer Garson waiting for you when you returned home after an allied victory...Greer Garson did not have to wear a silk negligee or have her legs exposed to produce a glamorous effect; it was just being herself that did it--her eyes and her smile. With the thought in mind that some day we may share our lives with a girl just like Greer, we find faith and ambition fighting for our country's cause, and feel that no matter through what ordeals we may be put, our hardships and discomforts will be more bearable knowing that somewhere there are girls who also possess fine qualities and beauty of character waiting for us.[101]

Like Betty Grable in the United States, Greer Garson was preferred by Canadian readers of *Khaki* because she was more representative of the women on the home front.[102]

Nevertheless, the writer of the letter hit on an important point when he wrote that the inspiration lay in having a woman *like* Greer Garson. In spite of the fact that soldiers, actresses and the public generally perceived the pinup as representing the home front, the "girl-next-door", every man's sweetheart, the truth was that the Hollywood starlet remained an impossible, inaccessible idol. She might represent the girl the soldiers hoped to marry, but very few soldiers actually married Hollywood actresses. *Khaki* acknowledges this in the pin-up subtext which warns "hands off because this dream sequence is strictly R.K.O.'s property."[103] Other subtext pointed to the inaccessibility of Hollywood pin-ups by listing telephone numbers in Shangri-La, and asking Santa for one pin-up for Christmas.[104] Meeting the Hollywood pin-up--let alone dating one--was only a wish at best.[105] Shortly after Greer Garson was declared the winner of the *Khaki* pinup contest, that *Khaki* introduced another type of pinup--the "Pin-ups in Khaki".

In July of 1944, *Khaki* introduced the first, unwitting and unsuspecting, contestant in the CWAC pin-up contest. Sergeant Del Chekaluk's photo had been "mailed off the record by someone who was bright enough to see that here was a C.W.A.C. Pin-Up!"[106] *Khaki* held the photograph until the unsuspecting sergeant sent in a letter describing the CWAC Domestic Science courses, and *Khaki* decided to run her photo alongside the letter. This marked the inauguration of the *Khaki* "Pin-ups in Khaki" contest, "that promises to unearth the Cream of the

C.W.A.C. Your favorite Pin-Up C.W.A.C. may become the sweetheart of the Canadian Army".[107] Entries were not restricted to men, as the Cwacs themselves were encouraged to enter if they had "what it is that makes the boys go Ga-Ga".[108] Over the ensuing months, the Hollywood pin-up appeared less frequently in the pages of *Khaki*, while the CWAC pin-up appeared in virtually every issue. Occasionally Hollywood and CWAC pinups did appear in the same issue, but no direct comparison or competition was implied. Not until November of 1944 did the Hollywood pinup begin to make a regular appearance in *Khaki*, although they did not regain their former frequency until early in 1945. The pin-ups in Khaki ceased to run in May 1945, although the contest was not announced to be over, and no winner was declared.

Unlike her Hollywood counterpart, the CWAC pinup usuallyy appeared in service dress, and generally her photograph was of her head only. [Appendix 5.4] In spite of her more sedate dress, Khaki suggests that the CWAC pinup was well-received by the soldiers. According to one article entitled "Khaki ousts Cheesecake", soldiers felt that "[m]odels and movie stars are O.K. for Pin-Ups but nothing can replace the girls from home."[109] The article was inspired by a letter from eight overseas servicemen who requested pictures of eight Cwacs. According to *Khaki*, the soldiers explained: "As you know, most fellows are writing to movie-stars for pin-ups but we would appreciate it more to have eight pictures of our own Canadian girls to carry with us throughout this war. We miss our own girls in Canada very much."[110] This item in Khaki simultaneously reinforced the ideal of Cwacs' sedate sexual morality, and guided the desires of soldiers toward this ideal.

In an article on representations of women and work in a Northern Ontario warplant company newspaper, Smith and Wakewich suggest that depictions of female workers as pin-ups in the newspaper's photographs and cartoons established a "dual role for women...that is not expected of the male employees--both to carry out work 'efficiently' and also to be

decorative...Emphasizing women's presence as sexualizing the work place distracts attention away from their value as skilled workers and reinforces the prewar ideal of women's decorative rather than productive role."[111] Undoubtedly this reflects one of the underlying messages of the pin-up in uniform--that she is still feminine--while simultaneously reminding both male and female personnel that her role is auxiliary to her femininity, her contributions are secondary, and that she is sexual. The publication of pin-ups drawn directly from the industrial and military workplace underlines the accessibility of these particular icons. Many of the same soldiers who were inspired by the Hollywood and CWAC pin-ups would actually meet the pin-ups in khaki. They could talk to them, date them, and even marry them. While there were scarcely enough CWAC pin-ups to supply every soldier with his very own, the potential access to these particular icons brought the ideal of representativeness one step closer to the average soldier. *Khaki* even teased the soldiers with the tangible accessibility of the CWAC pinups. The text under one entrant taunted "Sorry fellas--but no phone number."[112] To some extent, the Cwacs felt this distinction, and perceived the pin-up as a route to a sweetheart of their own. The fictitious Mademoiselle in Khaki character, a Cwac called Pinky who wrote a frequently appearing poems entitled "Pinky Says", wrote "I want to be a pin-up girl/I want to have a date/.../I'd like to be a Glamour Girl/And I know that I can/In fact I'd be most anything/To get poor me a man."[113]

The pin-up phenomenon was not limited exclusively to servicemen. Although servicewomen were reputed to have pin-ups of their own, Cwacs' pin-ups demonstrated the ideal of accessibility. According to *Khaki*, "Cwacs definitely do have pin-up boys, but they're not clipped from movie magazines...space is scarce and it all goes to Johnnie Canuck. Soldier, sailor, airman or just the old fashioned family group. That's the most popular CWAC pin-up."[114] The ideal of accessible pin-ups was reinforced in the requests of Cwacs for pinups of their own.

Khaki claimed that Cwacs wrote to request pictures not of popular Hollywood actors, but of servicemen for pin-ups of their own.[115]

The khaki-clad pin-up stood at the intersection of a number of convoluted military messages regarding the femininity and sexuality of its servicewomen. The army encouraged its female personnel to maintain femininity according to prevailing standards of (hetero)sexual attractiveness, and then, contradictorily, insisted on the maintenance of appearances of a high-standard of sexual respectability. The Army encouraged a conservativeness in behaviors and physical appearances which often operated in contention with efforts to maintain (hetero)sexually attractive appearances and behavior patterns. Further, the military media encouraged Cwacs to emulate the pin-up phenomenon which was rooted in the iconography of idealized femininity and sexual morality. Part of the Cwac's function as a pin-up was to serve as a far more tangible icon of femininity than her Hollywood counterpart. The phenomenon of the CWAC pin-up placed Corps members in a position of representing a sexual and accessible femininity which undermined Army policies encouraging sexual respectability.

The pin-up in khaki served as a reminder of the Army's prioritization of the military male and his (hetero)sexuality, even at the expense of the reputation and protection of servicewomen. This prioritization was in keeping with the double standard of sexual behaviour prevalent in society at large as well as in other Army policies. The preferential treatment given the male soldiers' perceived sexual desires and the protection of soldiers from the consequences of their sexual exploits frequently resulted in the sexualization of CWAC personnel in the military media, in programs of VD control, and in the practice of promoting them as pin-up icons. Army policies which purported to protect the reputation and morality of Cwacs proved illusory and transitory, and ceased to function effectively when they opposed the perceived needs of the male soldier. Far from encouraging female personnel to suspend flirtatious behavior for the duration of their

military service, many of the Army's efforts to maintain the morale and (hetero)sexuality of the male troops depended on the continued flirtatious behavior and even sexual accessibility of the female soldier.

Conclusion

The Army's efforts to regulate the sexuality and sexual behaviors of female personnel were complicated by the existence of the "whispering campaign" and a sexual double standard. The whispering campaign dictated that concerted efforts would have to be made to ensure that the sexual propriety of Cwacs seemed above reproach. The sexual double standard reinforced this insistence on a high degree of sexual morality for women, while simultaneously exercising a more relaxed attitude toward the sexual activity and indiscretions of men. In theory, the Army should have experienced no difficulty in demanding complete sexual morality from its female personnel while being more permissive toward the extra-marital heterosexual activity of its male personnel. In practical application, however, the Army's desire to maintain the sexual morality of Cwacs occasionally conflicted with the sexual desires of soldiers.

It is difficult to determine conclusively whose sexuality the Army was more concerned to regulate: soldiers' or Cwacs'. Certainly Army policies aimed toward the protection of Cwacs' sexual morality would seem to indicate that the Army was concerned with maintaining at least the appearance of sexual morality among CWAC personnel. The enlistment age was higher for the CWAC than for the Army, the duration of Cwacs' overseas tours was limited, and CWAC personnel were prevented from travelling individually or in small groups. Cwacs were repeatedly reminded to comport themselves as 'ladies' when they were in the public eye. The sexual education offered to Cwacs was limited in deference to their presumed sexual innocence. The VD control program among service women centered on complete abstinence from sexual activity. Cwacs were encouraged to participate in organized recreational activities

as an alternative to sex and activities which might have been perceived as presenting the opportunity for sexual activity. Further, Cwacs who contracted VD or became illegitimately pregnant were treated with far more severity than male soldiers who contracted VD or fathered illegitimate babies. The Army would seem to have been exerting itself to ensure Cwacs maintained their sexual morality, or at least appeared sexually respectable in the public eye.

Nevertheless, there is much evidence in military sexual regulation policies and in the internal military media which suggests that--when the two came into conflict--the Army prioritized the sexual needs of soldiers over the sexual protection of Cwacs. The sexual activity of servicemen placed them at risk for VD infections which, in turn, reduced the strength of the forces. In order to avoid this reduction in strength, the Army undertook a VD prevention campaign among servicemen. Unlike VD control among CWAC personnel, the VD prevention program among servicemen did not focus on complete abstinence. Rather, servicemen were offered preventative treatments, and instructed to avoid sexual contact with specific groups of women which were designated as high-risk sexual partners. The description of 'off-limits' sexual contacts was fairly extensive and left very few women who could, presumably, have been considered as appropriate sexual partners. This latter group of women consisted largely of CWAC personnel. In spite of the Army's apparent efforts to protect the sexual morality of Cwacs, the Army failed to issue a clear statement which reminded soldiers that they were also to regard servicewomen as 'off-limits' as sexual partners. Although CWAC personnel frequently named soldiers as the fathers of their illegitimate babies, no steps were taken to respond to the complaints.

Further, much humor in the military media presented Cwacs as sexualized objects. Certainly many of the Cwacs in these incidents were portrayed as trying to defend their sexual morality, and others were presented as unaware that their sexual morality was potentially being

compromised. Nevertheless, the humor centered on the power of servicemen, under military authority and regulations, to place Cwacs in a position of being sexualized.

Perhaps the strongest evidence that the Army prioritized the sexual behaviour and sexual desires of servicemen over the sexual protection of Cwacs lies in the khaki-clad pin-up. *Khaki* introduced the concept of CWAC personnel as pin-ups of its own accord. While the pin-up in khaki may have addressed a particular sexual desire among servicemen, the multiplicity of possible interpretations of the khaki-clad pin-up did little to reinforce the image of Cwacs' sexual morality. Even though the CWAC pinups were depicted in a far more sedate and 'desexualized' manner than their Hollywood counterparts, the very introduction of this phenomenon jeopardized the public's perception of Cwacs' sexual morality which was already tarnished by the whispering campaign. In fact, the pin-up in khaki phenomenon seemed to place the Cwacs in a position of being sexualized. It may have even served to remind male and female service personnel alike that Cwacs were far more accessible that Hollywood starlets in terms of dating, marriage, and even sexual liaisons. The pin-up in khaki helped to channel the soldiers' sexual desire away from the more dangerously overt sexual representations of Hollywood pin-ups and the women who tried to mimic them.

When viewed in juxtaposition to policies and programs of sexual regulation among servicemen, Army policies purporting to protect the sexual morality of Cwacs revealed themselves to be illusions at best. The images of soldiers' and Cwacs' sexuality in the military media not only reinforced a sexual double standard, but also appeared willing to sacrifice Cwacs' sexual innocence to the sexual needs and desires of servicemen.

Endnotes

1.*NEL*, June/1944, cover. "Here Come the Khaki Skirts" was a popular WWII CWAC marching song sung to the tune of "Colonel Bogey". It has been printed repeatedly in memoirs and histories of the CWAC.

2.Matthews, 21. Matthews argues this in the context of examining the reasons women have been committed for mental illness, and suggests that the reasons for being committed explain what Australian society held as the ideal for women. She does apply her argument to more general observations as well, and it seems applicable here.

3.Pierson, "*They're Still Women*," 168.

4.As Anderson notes, the success or failure of federal policies which resorted to institutions of social control to manage and regulate female sexual conduct depended to a great extent of the cooperation at the local level. (Anderson, 12.) Significantly, one of the Social Protection Division's main goals was to protect the health of the American soldier. See Anderson, 104-109.

5.In the Australian context, Lake claims that "the stationing of foreign troops in a country has the effect of sexualizing the local female population" (Lake, 436.) Arguing along a similar vein, Sonya Rose suggests that, in Britain, public anxiety about female sexual autonomy during the war was amplified by the arrival of the American GIs beginning in summer 1942. Young British women were very much taken with American soldiers, who--in comparison to British men--were well off, had access to wartime luxury items, were eager for female companionship, and proferred a hint of international mystique. (Sonya Rose, 146-9. See also Costello, 229-243.)

6.Sonya Rose, 150.

7.Costello, 76. See also, 91-2.

8.See for example, Venereal Disease Program and Policy, Director General Military Services , Circular Letter No. 249/1943. July/1943. NAC, RG 24, Vol 6617, file HQ 8994-6, vol 2.

9.Anderson, 104.

10.Campbell, 208.

11.Although many references to VD as a menace to war effort in the military media did not specifically target women as being responsible, ("VD," "You Should Know," *Khaki*, June 2/1943, 2; "Services beating 'VD' Menace," "Army all Over," *Khaki*, March 13/1944, 6.) occasionally women were specifically made responsible. ("'V.D.' Snipers!" "You Should Know," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 6.)

12."Outline: VD Lecture for Soldiers Awaiting Repatriation," NAC, RG 24, Vol 6618, file HQ-8994-6, vol 8, Appendix L.

13."Outline: Lecture for Soldiers Awaiting Repatriation," NAC, RG 24, Vol 6618, file HQ-8994-6, vol 8, Appendix L.

14."Jigger," *Khaki*, August 23/1943, 3.

15."Outline: Lecture for Soldiers Awaiting Repatriation," NAC, RG 24, Vol 6618, file HQ-8994-6, vol 8, Appendix L.

16.See "The pin-up in *Khaki*: Icons of accessibility" section below.

17.Costello, 101.

18.See for example Lake, Tinkler.

19.Some of the 'red-tape' included a four-month waiting period, and a background check of the woman and her family. See "Love is a wonderful thing," "The Army All Over," *Khaki*, March 5/1945, 12.

20.Army policies also protected Cwacs through regulations which prevented them from being dispatched on duty assignments in groups of less than twelve, differentiated between male and female ages of majority, and established higher ages for and shorter durations of overseas. (Ruth Roach Pierson, "The Double Bind of the Double Standard: VD Control and the CWAC in World War II," *Canadian Historical Review*, 62,1. (1981) 31-58. 31.

21.See "Sexualization of Cwacs" section below.

22."Outline: Lecture for Soldiers Awaiting Repatriation," NAC, RG 24, Vol 6618, file HQ-8994-6, vol 8, Appendix L.

23.Pierson, "The Double Bind," 35.

24.The campaign included newspapers, magazines and radio spots. NAC, RG 24, Vol 6618, file HQ-8994-6, vol 10, page 150.

25.Punitive measures for VD among service included pay stoppage during treatment for the disease. This practice ended in 1942. Pierson, "The Double Bind," 36.

26.Servicemen were named as the fathers of illegitimate Cwac babies in 86% of the cases. (Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*, 172-3.)

27.As Pierson notes, an examination of the VD control program in the CWAC, and comparison between the Army VD control programs for servicemen and women, "casts light on prevailing notions about, and attitudes towards, female sexuality, and provides insight into the sexual status of Canadian women during WWII." Pierson, "The Double Bind," 32.

28."Problems of Personnel Management and Welfare," DND Memorandum from Major General A.E. Walford, May 1/1945. NAC, RG 24, Vol 16546, War Diaries (May 1945).

29.The VD educational films for servicemen included such titles as "Pick-Up," and "Three Cadets," while, as the titles of films designed for female personnel indicates , VD education of servicewomen centred on other issues such as "Personal Hygiene", "Feminine Hygiene", and "Pregnancy". "VD Control--Programme & Policy," DND Memorandum from Captain W.G. Allison, October 24/1944, NAC, RG 24, Vol 6617, file HQ 8994-6, vol 6.

30."VD Control--Programme and Policy, Report on Inspection Trip to MD 13," June 6/1945. NAC, RG 24, Vol 6618, file HQ-8994-6, vol 8.

31.The reliance on recreation and recreational facilities as a measure of VD control among CWAC personnel was a recurring theme in military correspondences and reports dealing with the CWAC VD control program. See for example "Inspection Report: Venereal Disease Control--Program and Policy, Staff Visit MD 10" (April 24/1944) NAC, RG 24, Vol 6617, HQ 8994-6, vol 4, pages 291, 296; DND

Memorandum "Venereal Disease Control--Program and Policy, Duty Visit Kingston Area" (June 22/1944) NAC, RG 24, Vol 6618, HQ 8994-6, vol 7, pages 23-4; DND Memorandum "Venereal Disease Control--Program and Policy, Duty Visit Camp Borden" (October 24/1944) NAC, RG 24, Vol 6617, HQ 8994-6, vol 6.

32.Pierson, "The Double Bind," 44.

33.For evidence of illegitimate pregnancy in the CWAC see Conrod, 186, 237; Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*, 172-3, 177, 179.

34.Pierson, "The Double Bind," 33.

35.District Medical Officer, MD 12, "VD Control Programme and Policy", May 8/1944, NAC, RG 24, Volume 6617, HQ 89 94-6, vol 5, page 363.

36.Pierson, "The Double Bind," 37-38.

37.Ibid., 38.

38.Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*, 158-160.

39.*NEL*, February/1944, 8. Off-base service clubs also offered date rooms. See "Off Duty", *Khaki*, November 24/1943, 7.

40."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, March 6/1944, 7; July 9/1945, 10; July 23/1945, 11; *NEL*, February/1944, 14; March/1944, 8; May/1944, 4; June/1944, 8; January/1945, cover; February/1945, 9; Spring/1945, 14; May/1945, 17; October/1945, 6. Many of these images are reprints of each other.

41.A Cwac on a blind date was mentioned in "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, March 6/1944, 7. A similar humorous anecdote of a Cwac in search of a shirt because she "had a date with a man--which in itself, is something they give medals for on Basic Training" appeared as "The Tale of a Shirt," "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, October 23/1944, 2; *NEL*, Spring/1945, 14. And while lists of weddings were originally printed in the individual Military District submissions in *NEL*, they were soon featured in their own Matrimonial column. The first time this occurred was *NEL*, November/1944, 9.

42."The Bride Wore Khaki," *Khaki*, September 28/1944, 5.

43.Bruce, 47.

44.Cited in Pierson, "The Double Bind," 31.

45.Meyer, 100.

46.ibid, 142.

47.See Meyer, 118.

48."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, May 28/1945, 6; Cpl. Caroline Gunnarson, "Voice of Experience," "From the Editor," *NEL*, May/1945, 3.

49."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2.

50.Cited in Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*, 196-7.

51.See Pierson, *"They're Still Women"*, 204-6.

52.Other historians of women's military service during WWII have delineated much clearer connections between sexual harassment and abuse of women in the military. In the American context, Meyer has made specific connections between women's military presence in WWII and sexual harassment, abuse, and victimization of female soldiers. (See Meyer, Chapter 6 "'I Want a Man!' Pleasure and Danger in the Women's Corps" 122-147.) Similarly, although she does not specifically use the term 'sexualization', Pierson has shaped much of her discussion of the military's regulation of Cwacs' sexuality within the understanding that "[a]t its deepest level, the fear of war's disruption of the established sex/gender system was the fear of loss of male control over female sexuality." (Pierson, *"They're Still Women,"* 12.)

53.In fact, Meyer examines the American Wacs' choices to resist Army efforts to regulate their sexual behaviour. See Meyer, Chapter 6 "'I Want a Man!' Pleasure and Danger in the Women's Corps," 122-147 and Chapter 7, "The Lesbian Threat," 148-178.

54.Penny Summerfield and Nicole Crockett, "'You weren't Taught that with the Welding': Lessons in sexuality in WWII," *Women's History Review* 1, 3 (1992) 435-454. 441.

55.Pte. H.H. Hulemule, "Mary had a Little Lamb (Army Style 1943)," "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, October 27/1943, 3.

56."Girls! Girls! Girls!" You Should Know, *Khaki*, May 19/1943, 2.

57.Bruce, 49. Similarly, Meyer notes that American servicewomen Wacs stationed overseas were subjected to endless requests for dates. While this reveals an underlying assumption that these women were sexually accessible to male soldiers, Meyer notes that it also allowed the servicewomen to dictate the terms of dates, and even trade their company for real privileges and goods that they would not otherwise have had access to. (Meyer, 128.)

58.The final submission ran in *Khaki* in December 1944. See William Clifton, "Or Wood Yew Rather be a Tree," "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, December 25/1944, 14.

59.Although submissions were printed from a number of servicemen, the debate began between the original CWAC Private and a Corporal who remained anonymous. His initial response included initials only. When the CWAC Private responded, she pointed out his refusal to identify himself. His second submission reinforced the anonymity, as he signed himself Corporal Anonymous. (See *Khaki*, July 31/1944, 3.) Given the Army's vested interest in regulating Cwacs' sexuality, encouraging the image of their romantic accessibility, and the difficulty the military publications experienced in eliciting submissions, it is certainly possible that *Khaki* manufactured the anonymous Corporal and his submissions. Writing the original Corporal's responses would have been an effective way to generate submissions and spark a debate on the issue of Cwacs' romantic obligations to soldiers.

60.Private Nadine Oliphant, "Alberta's Trees," "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, April 3/1944, 3.

61.Corporal C.P.E., "Alberta's Trees...Phooey!" "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, July 3/1944, 3.

62.Private Nadine Oliphant, "Romance...Phooey!" "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, June 26/1944, 3. Emphasis in original.

63.See "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, July 31/1944, 3; *NEL*, November/1944, 13.

64.Sergeant L.B.B., "A Helping Hand," *NEL*, November/1944, 13.

65.Private J.A.I., "Of Trees and Men," "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, November 27/1944, 3.

66.William Clifton, "Or Wood Yew Rather be a Tree," "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, December 25/1944, 14.

67."Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, June 26/1944, 3.

68.See for example: *Khaki*, July 31/1944, 3; *NEL*, November/1944, 13.

69."Star-Crossed Lover," "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, May 19/1943, 3.

70.*Khaki*, August 25/1943, 1.

71."Speaking of Women..." *Khaki*, August 25/1943, 1.

72."Speaking of Women..." *Khaki*, August 25/1943, 1.

73.This attitude extended to civilian women as well. *Khaki* printed a number of comics, jokes, and poems that pointed toward the sexualization of civilian women by the men in uniform. See for examples: "Furlough Farewell" and "Riding Miss Hood," "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, May 5/1943, 3; "Tactics," *Khaki*, May 19/1943, 4; "Furlough Manners," *Khaki*, May 26/1943, 4; Pte H. S. Cameron, *Khaki*, February 2/1944, 6; *Khaki*, July 10/1944, 3; April 30/1945, 12.

74.L. Callan, *Khaki*, May 12/1943, 3.

75.Pte W. Brown, *Khaki*, January 19/1944, 6.

76.*Khaki*, June 26/1944, 7.

77."Hmmmmmmm!!!!," "Duds and Bursts," *Khaki*, May 8/1944, 7.

78."Riding Miss Hood," "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, May 5/1943, 3.

79.Pte H. S. Cameron, *Khaki*, February 2/1944, 6.

80.Honey, 94-97.

81.Ibid., 132.

82.Ibid., 95-6.

83.Jolly, "Love Letters," in *War and Memory*, 109-110.

84.See May, 140. One British army doctor who had no qualms about advising the men in his unit that masturbation was safest and easiest method to obtain sexual relief, also saw no reason not to encourage them to direct masturbation fantasies toward their loved ones on the home front. (Costello, 101.)

85.Although the patriotic pinup was a wartime phenomenon, it did have roots in the prewar decades. Influenced by sexologists' views of heterosexually active relationships as inherently healthy, popular culture gradually moved toward an understanding of the woman as a sexual being, and many of the restrictions on representations of female bodies were lifted. In the late 1850s, the pinup form took off

with the development of the French *cartes postales*, small mass-produced photographs which served as souvenirs. By 1900, the French were producing these post cards in hundreds of thousands. In a mutated form, these Cartes postales began to appear in the 1880s, lining the bottoms of cigarette packs. The term "cheesecake" is said to have developed in September 1915, when a newspaper editor saw a risque photograph of a Russian opera singer, and claimed the photo was "better than cheesecake". (Mark Gabor, *The Pinup--A Modest History*. (New York: Universe Books, 1972) 23.) Although there were very few "pin-ups" during WWI, by the 1930s, representations of women as sexual beings were fairly widespread in popular culture. The so-called "sexual revolution" released the flapper into the public view during the 1920s, burlesque theater and the beauty pageant became increasingly prevalent in the 1930s, and the first *Esquire* magazine was published in 1933. Advertisers increasingly used sex and the female body as a marketing ploy to both male and female consumers. Lake describes this as "the emergence, in the 1930s, of a new understanding of femininity, one which revolved around sexuality, sexual attractiveness and youthfulness" (Lake, 429.) For these histories of the pin-up see Gabor, and Ralph Stein, *The Pin-up: From 1852-Now*. (New Jersey: Chartwell Books, 1974).

86.Gabor, 77; Stein, 12.

87.See Gabor, 151; Costello, 150. Ironically, Grable claimed her famous pin-up shot was an accident, intended for an artist's model only. (Stein, 147.)

88.Hartmann, 199.

89.See for example Meyerowitz, 12.

90.May, 140.

91.Robert Westbrook has presented an intriguing argument that Americans were called upon to support the war effort in terms of moral obligations rather than political ones. For evidence he turned to a consideration of the pin-up as the icon of male moral obligations. Although he does not negate the pin-up's function as an erotic stimulus and object of male sexual desire, he argues that pin-ups "also functioned as icons of the private interests and obligations for which soldiers were fighting." (Harry Westbrook, "'I Want a Girl, Just Like the Girl that Married Harry James': American Women and the Problem of Political Obligation in World War II," *American Quarterly* 42, 4 (December 1990) 587-614. 596.) The immense popularity of the relatively demure and modest shot of Betty Grable is used to support his argument. Her carefully cultivated image, her whiteness in comparison to many other more exotic pin-ups such as her runner-up in popularity--Rita Hayworth, and her rather wholesome "apple-pie" type of prettiness contributed to making her representative of the girl-next-door, a substitute for real and symbolic wives and sweethearts left on the home front. The increasing popularity of the Betty Grable pin-up *after* her marriage and the birth of her first child serves to reinforce his contention that Betty Grable symbolized the average American woman whom the soldiers were morally obliged to defend. Thus, although Costello suggests that "[i]t was one of the sexual ironies of World War II that servicemen transferred the most popular female icons to their machines of war" (Costello, 154.) Westbrook points out that it was not so ironic after all that soldiers would rely on a visual representation of what it was they were fighting to protect.

Westbrook also notes a certain "reciprocity" entailed in the pin-up phenomenon. If soldiers were obliged to defend the representative woman, women themselves were simultaneously obliged to emulate the ideals implicit in the pin-up icon. Women, it seems, were prepared to oblige. Elaine May agrees with this assessment. "To be worthy of similar adoration, women sent their husbands and sweethearts photos of themselves in 'pinup' poses. Betty Grable herself urged women to send their men photos of themselves in swimsuits, to inspire them to fight on and come home to an erotically charged marriage." (May, 140. See also Westbrook, 603-611.) *Maclean's* also noted this trend among women to send their men photos which mimicked the pin-up genre. One comic depicted a refined and middle-aged woman

about to pose for a professional photograph. She requests of the photographer "'Could we make this just the teeniest bit pin-uppy?'" (*Maclean's*, March 15/1945, 24.)

92.Pte. L. Hunt, "Dozens of Pin-ups," "Verse'N'Worse," *Khaki*, May 28/1945, 15.

93.The American weekly army publication *Yank* also regularly ran pin-ups throughout the war. (Stein, 130-147.)

94.*Khaki*, May 26/1943, 4; June 2/1943, 4; July 7/1943, 4.

95.*Khaki*, December 25/1944, 14.

96.*Khaki*, February 15/1945, 14; August 7/1944, 7.

97.*Khaki*, February 19/1945, 14.

98.*Khaki*, March 13/1944, 7.

99.*Khaki*, March 13/1944, 7.

100.*Khaki*, April 10/1944, 7.

101.Sgt. Allan A Pollock, *Khaki*, May 22/1944, 7.

102.*Khaki*, May 22/1944, 7.

103.*Khaki*, July 10/1944, 7.

104.*Khaki*, November 10/1943, 4; December 22/1943, 7.

105.*Khaki*, September 8/1943, 4; November 20/1944, 8.

106."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 31/1944, 2.

107."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 31/1944, 2.

108."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 31/1944, 2. Interestingly, *NEL* avidly supported the pin-up competition, repeatedly urging servicewomen to submit photos. See *NEL*, September/1944, 2; October/1944, 3; May/1945, 9. *NEL* even printed a number of the submissions. (*NEL*, December/1944, 10-11.)

109."Khaki Ousts Cheesecake," "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, May 28/1945, 6.

110."Khaki Ousts Cheesecake," "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, May 28/1945, 6. Although the letter was presented as genuine, the "eight Canucks" who sent in the request were never named. Whether soldiers themselves actually expressed these sentiments is not clear. The military's interest in regulating male soldiers' sexual activity by guiding it away from the flamboyant and overt sexual characteristics of prostitutes and other 'loose' women and toward the restrained and chaste sexual morality represented in the ideal Cwac raises the possibility that this letter was manufactured by *Khaki* staff writers. Whether *Khaki* fabricated or simply repeated the letter, the item reinforces the restrained sexual morality of the ideal Cwac, and simultaneously suggests that Cwacs represent appropriate objects of soldiers romantic, domestic, and sexual dreams and desires.

111.Smith and Wakewich, 71.

112."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, October 23/1944, 2.

113."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, April 2/1945, 6.

114."Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, September 28/1944, 3.

115.Army Mail, *Khaki*, April 30/1945, 7. Once again, it is difficult to determine whether these letters were real submissions or fabricated by *Khaki* staff writers. Certainly *Khaki*'s claim that Cwacs preferred genuine Canadian boys to Hollywood stars offered strong evidence that they emulated the ideal of a restrained sexual morality.

Conclusion

Labour shortages during WWII required that women move into the paid labour force in unprecedented numbers, moving women into roles and arenas conventionally occupied by men. The atmosphere of public enthusiasm celebrating the patriotism of women's contributions to the wartime economy was soon dampened by concerns for their femininity on the part of a society anxious for a return to idealized prewar conditions. The formation of the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC) in August 1941[1] was among the many 'firsts' for Canadian women during the war, as it marked the first time that women had been officially recruited into the Canadian military.

Nevertheless, the WWII establishment of official women's services in Canada did not mark the first time women had served in a military capacity in western history. The female soldier was part of a long history of gender constructions which dictated that military service and respectable femininity were incompatible. The historical constructions of women who had soldiered emphasized that women either made inefficient soldiers when called upon to do so, or else sacrificed either/both femininity and sexual respectability to their martial skill. Only rarely have women attained some degree of historical renown for military exploits and combat skills. In these cases, the historical record has tended to reconstruct the women's images so that feminine appearance and the willingness to conform with and return to traditional gender roles has been emphasized.

The acceptance of women into the Canadian Armed Forces during WWII has been offered as evidence that the war brought about conditions of greater equality for Canadian women. Yet they were consistently paid less than their male counterparts, precluded from collecting some standard army benefits and allowances, restricted in promotional opportunities, limited in occupational opportunities to predominantly traditional female tasks, unequivocally excluded

from holding combat or combat-related positions, and encouraged to set the maintenance of their femininity above all other job requirements. Generally, the women's services reflected prewar patterns of gendered division of labor to an even greater degree than the civilian sector during the war. Cwacs' contributions were maligned by a dubious public, and their presence was consistently resisted by enlisted men and male officers alike. The Department of National Defense's acknowledgments and promotion of servicewomen's extraordinary contributions were intended less as an approval of any alteration to prewar gender role constructions than as a means to redress flagging recruitment rates.

The concern of both civilian society and the Canadian Army for the femininity of women who enlisted was complicated by the whispering campaign. The whispering campaign's malicious gossip, which slandered the sexual morality of Cwacs, evolved largely out of the received cultural traditions concerning women warriors. The whispering campaign served as a focal point for public and media anxiety over the femininity and sexual morality of servicewomen.

The Army's efforts to address public anxiety about the potentially compromised femininity and sexual morality of its servicewomen are indicative of its overriding intent to reinforce existing gender constructions. In the effort to dispel the idea that service life was incompatible with femininity, recruitment materials, advertising, and promotional news items emphasized the femininity of servicewomen, and minimized the degree of change in women's lives created by enlistment. Propaganda and other promotional literature featured conventionally pretty women and emphasized the glamour of their self-sacrifice to their patriotic duty. Similarly, heterosexual attractiveness was central to publicity about the CWAC, as is evidenced by the number of military weddings which were featured in both civilian and military newspapers. To this end, the military ensured that the perception of servicewomen as essentially feminine was enhanced through recruitment propaganda and publicity material which emphasized femininity,

heterosexual attractiveness, and marriageability.

In view of the intense public attention focused on the CWAC, the Army had to take steps to ensure that the Cwacs seemed to measure up to the ideal the Army had promoted. While military regulations, policies, and routine orders all contributed toward maintaining public appearances of the femininity of the CWAC, the Army needed additional forms of reinforcing its ideal of femininity among volunteers. *Khaki* and *NEL*, as the internal military media, served to reinforce the feminine ideal among servicewomen. Not only did these publications serve to remind Cwacs of regulations and orders, but femininity was emphasized in less obvious ways as well.

Army regulations, policies, and routine orders, in combination with the military media, served to reinforce the military version of the feminine ideal among servicewomen. The conservative femininity of the uniform was enhanced by other signifiers of femininity such as cosmetics, hairdos, and lingerie. In addition to appearing feminine, Cwacs were encouraged to behave as respectable women through supervised recreational opportunities. The military's focus on femininity served to emphasize the difference and subordinate status of the CWAC, and reminded the Cwacs themselves that their postwar goal was to return to the domestic realm.

Ironically, the military focus of maintaining femininity among recruits raised the issue of their sexual morality. The Army negotiated a fine line here. Cwacs were encouraged to maintain as much femininity in physical appearance as possible. However, this femininity translated into heterosexual attractiveness, which 'flirted' with the notion of sexual accessibility. Where the Army's concern for presenting an idealized image of the femininity of Cwacs entered into conflict with its concern for presenting an idealized image of the sexuality of Cwacs, the Army generated confusing, ambiguous, and often contradictory regulations and images of the CWAC. Where the Army's efforts to protect the sexual morality of CWAC personnel entered into conflict with

the sexuality and sexual desires of servicemen, the Army generated even more confusing, ambiguous, and mixed messages of Cwacs' sexuality to servicemen and servicewomen alike.

The representation of Cwacs in terms of the feminine ideal 'flirted' with the notion of romantic--and sexual--desirability and accessibility. The Army's silence on the subject of Cwacs as acceptable sexual partners for servicemen generated ambiguity, and seemed to leave the subject open to servicemen's own interpretations. Both overtly and more subtly 'sexualized' images of Cwacs were common in the military media, most notably in comics and in the khaki-clad pin-ups. The Army's intent here may have merely been to 'safely' sexualize Cwacs in terms of matrimonial desirability, and to remind soldiers, Cwacs, and even the general public that domesticity remained the central tenet of Cwacs' lives. Nevertheless, the ambiguity and contradiction in Army regulations and policies, military silence on particularly confusing issues of Cwacs' accessibility, and the multiplicity of possible interpretations of the 'sexualized' images of Cwacs opened the door to a perception of Cwacs as sexually accessible. Whatever the military's intent, its efforts to maintain the feminine ideal among Cwacs operated in contradiction to its efforts to countermand the effects of the whispering campaign which maligned their morality. If any further reinforcement of the auxiliary and temporary status of the female military presence was needed, their complete disbandment at the war's end[2] issued a clear statement that the Cwacs remained "women first and soldiers second!"[3]

Decades later, as we enter a new millennium, it would seem that women's military service is still a problematic issue. Although women have been full members of the Canadian Armed Forces since July 1971,[4] the Canadian military has not yet managed to successfully reconcile prevailing constructions of femininity and female sexuality with soldiering. The most poignant reminder of this failure lies in the charges of sexual harassment, assault, and rape of female service personnel in the Canadian Armed Forces which have recently gained media coverage

and public attention. In May 25, 1998, the *Maclean's* cover story exposed what it termed "a culture--particularly in the navy and combat units--of unbridled promiscuity, where harassment is common, heavy drinking is a way of life, and women, who now account for 6,800 of the Canadian Forces' 60,513 members, are often little more than game for sexual predators."[5] The case studies chronicled in the article opened the "floodgates"[6] to several months of media coverage, most notably in *Maclean's*. Numerous women came forward to publicize complaints of sexual harassment, assault, and rape; their fights for compensation, disability pay, and pensions; and their experiences with a military bureaucracy which repeatedly and effectively silenced or ignored their complaints.[7] Some of the complaints ranged as far back as WWII.[8] The Army's response to media and public attention ranged from denial to establishing crisis lines and a special investigation of the unresolved complaints.[9] The December 14, 1998 cover story in Maclean's, which posed the question "[h]as anything really changed in the Canadian military?", seems to have marked the denouement of the media coverage of the issue.[10] Nevertheless, the 'sexual objectification' of women in the military by male service personnel continues--apparently unabated--and the Army continues to generate mixed messages to female soldiers regarding their femininity and sexuality. Although the military encourages female enlistment, the women who have complained of sexual harassment and assault seem to suggest that there is little incentive or encouragement for women who would choose a military career.[11]

Half a decade ago, Canadian women entered the Army in the midst of much debate about the impact of military service on their femininity and sexual morality. The Army's efforts to present the public with an idealized image of Cwacs' continued femininity and sexual morality often entered into conflict. This conflict was intensified when the sexuality and sexual desires of servicemen were also considered. As a result of its conflicting needs, the Army generated

confusing, ambiguous, and mixed messages of Cwacs' femininity and sexual morality. These conflicting messages remained unresolved until the CWAC was disbanded, and the entire issue of women's military service dissipated. Although several decades have elapsed since women were re-integrated into the Canadian Army, evidently the Army--and Canadian society--has yet to successfully reconcile prevailing constructions of femininity and soldiering. As the recent media attention has indicated, sexuality--especially 'ownership' of female sexuality--has been one of the most contentious barriers to the complete acceptance of women as legitimate soldiers.

This thesis has explored only a very limited piece of the larger issue of societal and the military's inability to reconcile femininity and female sexuality with women's military service. The two components of this thesis that both build upon and enrich the field are the use of infrequently drawn upon primary source materials and the methodology of comparing the various categories of Army materials and the ways in which they attempted to regulate Cwacs' femininity and sexuality. My research in the area has raised many questions, and pointed to many different areas for future analysis. Certainly the recent attention paid by the media to sexual abuse of female military personnel would seem to indicate that an examination of the extent to which the issues surrounding women in the military have changed--or remained the same--from WWII through to the present is needed. As well it would be interesting to explore similarities and differences in the way the three different branches of the Armed Services experienced the accusations of sexual immorality, and whether or not these patterns held true on an international scale. For example, did the differences in the cultural and military situations in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States have a direct impact upon the way women's military service was perceived and represented?

Finally, and perhaps most obviously, there is the question of lived experiences. How did

Cwacs themselves experience societal pressures and Army regulatory efforts? How did both Cwacs and soldiers alike negotiate Army representations of both male and female military personnel's sexuality? To what extent was the military ideal image reconcilable with their own understandings of male and female sexuality? Most intriguingly, to what extent did Cwacs choose to resist the military's efforts to regulate their sexuality and femininity in accordance with an idealized image? How did Cwacs who could not, or would not, emulate the Army's ideal of femininity, including lesbian and heterosexually active Cwacs, negotiate their place within military culture?

Endnotes

1.The Army's women's service retained an auxiliary status until March 1942.

2.The CWAC was officially disbanded on September 15/1946. (Conrod, 238.)

3.Cited in Conrod, 143-4.

4.*Women in the Canadian Armed Forces*, Department of National Defence publication. Cited in Conrod, 381. The only restrictions placed on women's military service at this time were that they were banned from primary combat roles, serving in remote locations, and service at sea. Women had been granted limited access to the Canadian military since October 1951, when they were allowed to enlist in a newly created Reserve Force Corps. (Conrod, 375.)

5.Jane O'Hara, "Rape in the military: women who have suffered sexual assault in the Canadian Forces are speaking out," Maclean's, may 25/1998, cover, 14-21. 14.

6."Floodgates," *Maclean's*, June 1/1998, 2.

7.John Geddes, "Case of procedural confusion," *Maclean's*, May 25/1998, 20; Brenda Branswell, "Pain and Pride; Dee Brasseur remembers the abuse--and the glory," *Maclean's*, June 1/1998, cover, 21; "Taking another hit: charges of rape in Armed Forces," *Maclean's*, June 22/1998, 19; Jane O'Hara, "Abuse of power: critics say the military justice system has failed," *Maclean's*, July 13/1998, cover, 16-20; Robert Lewis, "Dealing with rot at the top," *Maclean's*, July 13/1998, 4; John Nicol, "Mystery at Gagetown: insiders say the Forces have covered up a 1987 assault," *Maclean's*, July 13/1998, 22-4; Brenda Branswell, "Incident at Base Borden," *Maclean's*, July 13/1998, 23; "Scrambling to keep up: new allegations of sexual harassment in Armed Forces," *Maclean's*, July 20/1998, 17; "Sexual allegations up: sex-related complaints by military personnel have increased sharply," *Maclean's*, August 17/1998, 29.

8.Jane O'Hara, "Wartime secret finally revealed: woman who enlisted in 1944 was raped," *Maclean's*, July 13/1998, 20.

9.John Geddes and Stephanie Nolen; "Answering the call: the military responds to allegations of sexual abuse," *Maclean's*, June 8/1998, 28-31; "Responding to allegations," *Maclean's*, June 15/1998, 49.

10.In addition to *Maclean's* articles listed above, see also Robert Lewis, "Wake-up cal l for the brass," *Maclean's*, May 25/1998, 2; Jane O'Hara, "Breaking the ranks: a brother comes to a sister's defence," *Maclean's*, May 25/1998, 24; Robert Lewis, "Forces have a problem," *Maclean's*, June 1/1998, 2; John Nicol, "Breaking the family silence," *Maclean's*, June 8/1998, 28-31; "Society is teaching us to be better," *Maclean's*, June 8/1998, 29; Jane O'Hara, "Military trials: the Forces' embarrassments continue," *Maclean's*, July 1/1998, 58; "Warning from the top," *Maclean's*, July 27/1998, 17.

11.See for example Brenda Branswell, "'It's a moan's world': the army says it has improved, but women continue to leave," *Maclean's*, May 25/1998, 22-3; "In defence of the military: women in the armed forces object to a cover story in *Maclean's* exposing cases of sexual assault in the military," *Maclean's*, June 1/1998, 17. Those women who deny that sexual abuse is occurring, or who would minimize the extent of this abuse, are equally affected by the increasing numbers of allegations and media coverage of the issue. They "resent being perceived as victims" and claim that "[n]ow all of my male colleagues and my staff are afraid to even look at me in case they end up in some harassment case." (John Geddes and Stephanie Nolen; "Answering the call: the military responds to allegations of sexual abuse," *Maclean's*, June 8/1998, 28-31.)

Appendix 2.1

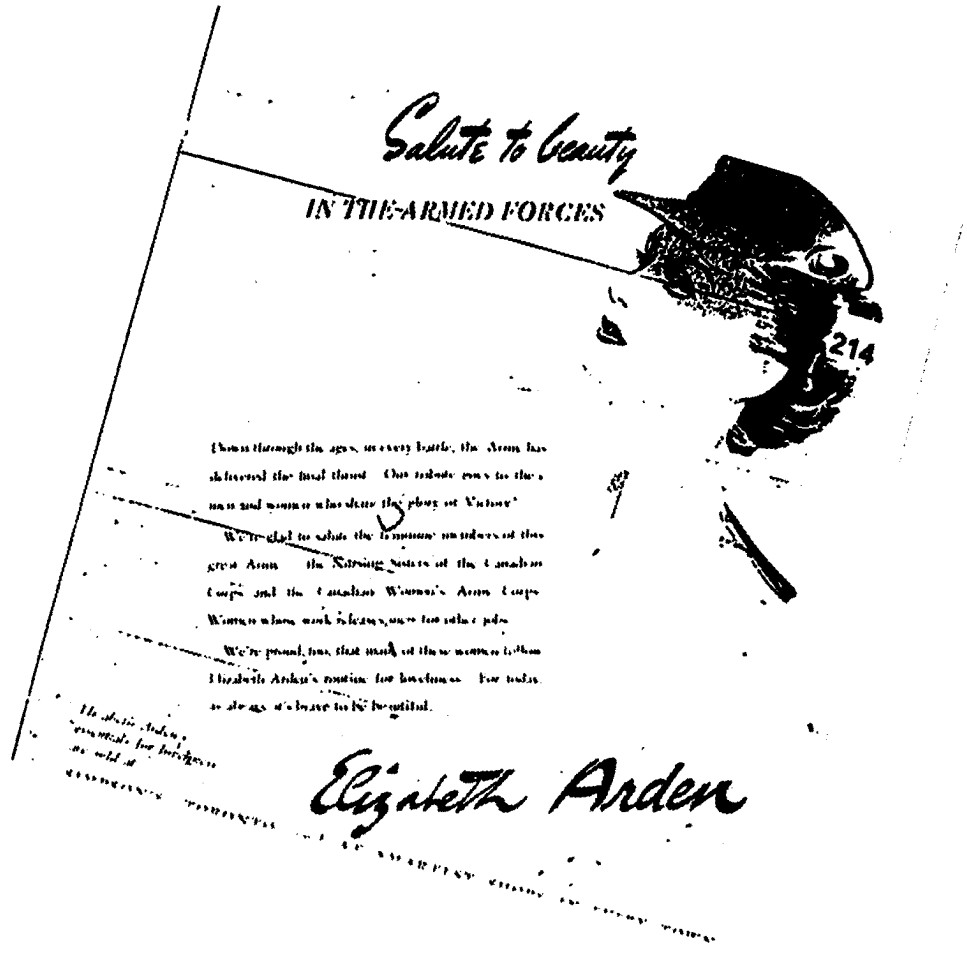
Maclean's, April 15/1942, 30.

Appendix 2.2

See for example *Saturday Night*, March 13/1943, 29.

Appendix 2.3

Saturday Night, June 27/1942, 23.



RIGHT FACE
for
FREEDOM

"SPEED THE VICTORY
BUY MORE VICTORY BONDS"

Saturday Night, October 30/1943, 33.

Appendix 3.1

FOR SERVICE ANYWHERE . . . IN THE CANADIAN ARMY WITH THE CANADIAN WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS

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Colour photograph, front cover — Karsh, Ottawa.
Colour plates — Canadian Home Journal.

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Women in Khaki, inside cover-1.

Appendix 3.2

***CWAC Digest: Facts about the CWAC*, cover.**

Appendix 3.3

Fifty Questions and Answers about CWAC, cover.

Appendix 3.4

Maclean's, October 1/1943, np; January 1/1944, inside back cover.

Appendix 3.5

Christmas over there!

The stars are shining over there. People are going to churches—to little churches, some scarred by shell and bomb, some still trembling to the roar of distant guns. There are lights, and candles, and the sounds of old, familiar hymns drift through the open doors.

And there, in little groups of twos and threes, you'll see the brown and khaki of the Canadian Women's Army Corps.

It's nice to think that your daughters, sisters, sweethearts overseas will join in the celebration of Christmas—that the time-honored customs will be remembered just as far as circumstances allow.

For service has not changed these brave women. Like you, they look ahead to that final lasting peace of which Christmas has always been our promise.

CANADIAN WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS

Maclean's, December 1/1944, 28.

Appendix 3.6

Maclean's, June 1/1944, np; August 1/1944, 26.

Appendix 4.1

Khaki

FEATURES

ACTION AT REGALBUTO

THEN THERE'S THE RIFLE

The STORY of the CWAC,S

BIG WAR MAP

CARTOONS

★

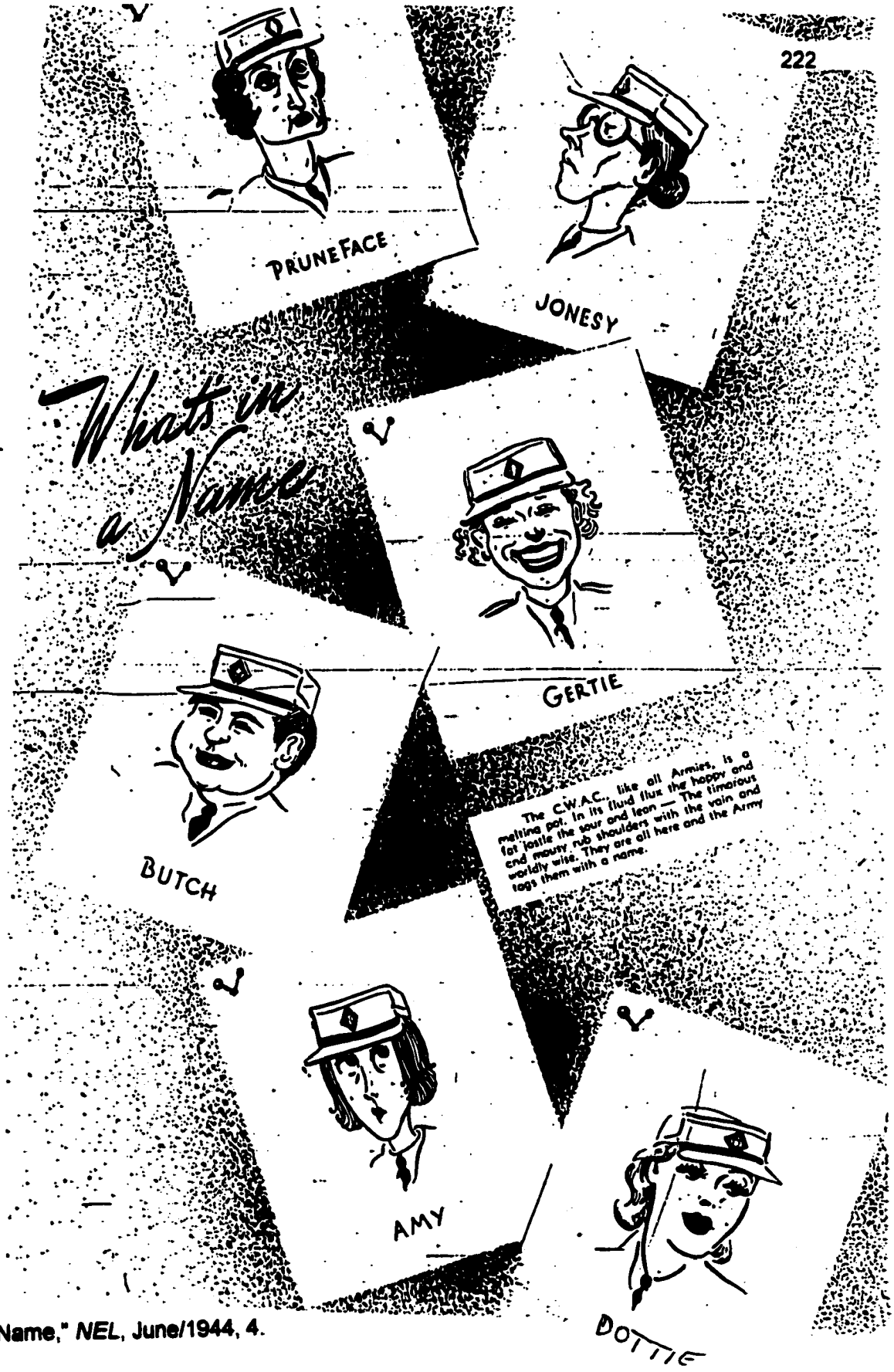
SPECIAL

"BONUS"

EDITION

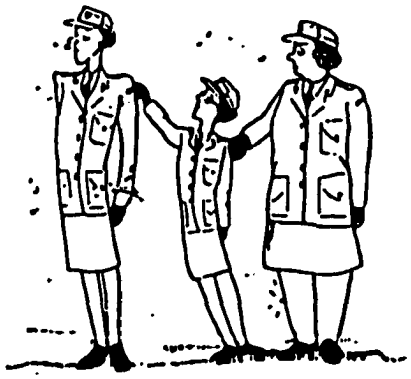
Khaki, August 25/1943, cover.

Appendix 4.2



"What's in a Name," *NEL*, June/1944, 4.

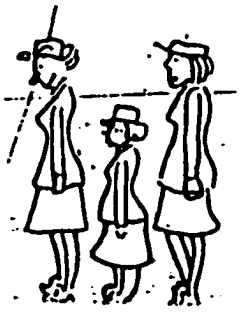
Appendix 4.3



NEL, January/1944, 10.

Cadet Wing markers make a snappy Right Dress — In such a case as this we carry on bravely and stoically as if it were a normal situation.

See for example *NEL*, Spring/1945, 4.



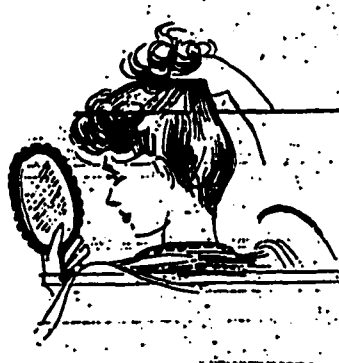
NEL, June/1944, 7.

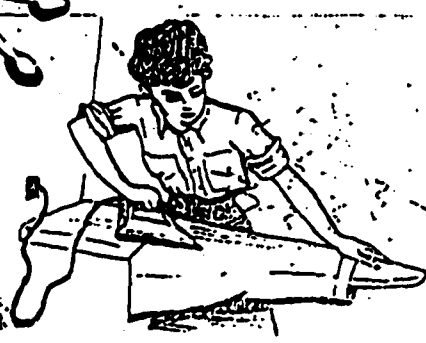
Appendix 4.4

Look Your Best

IT'S QUITE A PROBLEM ON YOUR OWN TIME BUT IT CAN BE DONE. WITH CARE AND A LITTLE GROOMING YOU'LL BE SMART AND FEMININE IN UNIFORM

Climbing into uniform isn't the signal for throwing aside your feminine heritage to smartness. Well-kept hair and hands, a healthy complexion plus the trimness of a well-tailored uniform do wonders for your morale. You may be in the Army but you retain a woman's right to charm and beauty. To get that "all over" smart effect attention must be given to shoes, stockings and gloves. Pressing and washing are things you can't escape. Then there's the problem of hair -- neat and off the collar -- style it to suit your face and brush, brush, brush! Finally, to achieve that polished, radiant look, use lipstick, powder and natural nail-polish.





Drawings by Lt. Beulah Jasnicki

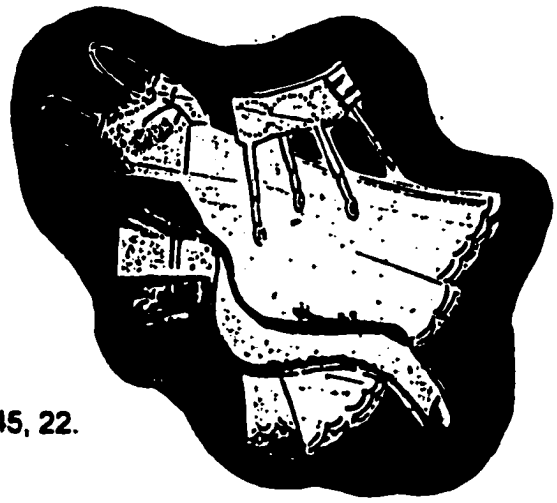
"Look Your Best," *NEL*, June/1944, 4; "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, August 7/1944, 2.

Appendix 4.5

"Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2.

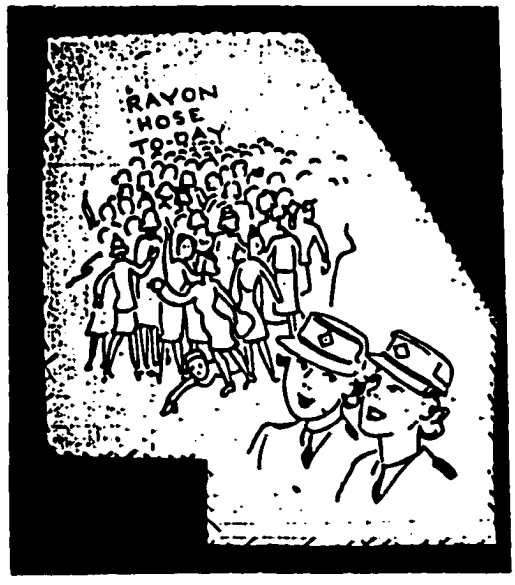
NEL, May/1945, 21.

Appendix 4.6



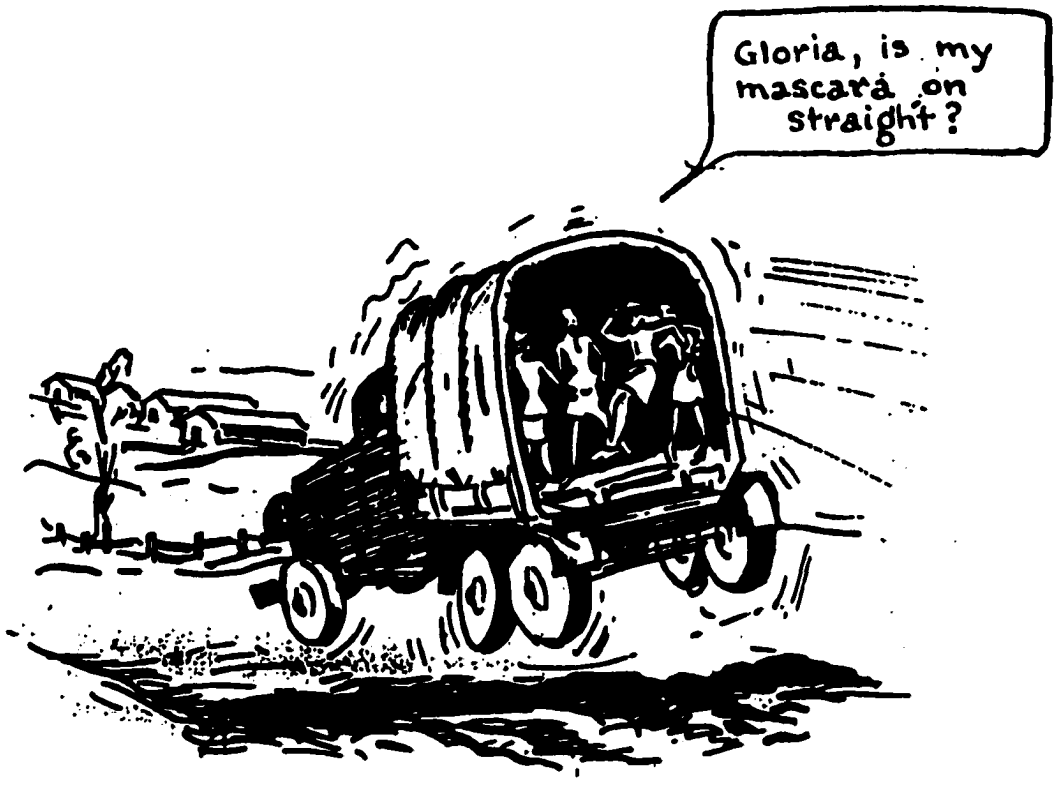
See for example *NEL*, October/1945, 22.

NEL, August/1944, 12.



"Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, May/1945, 12.

Appendix 4.7



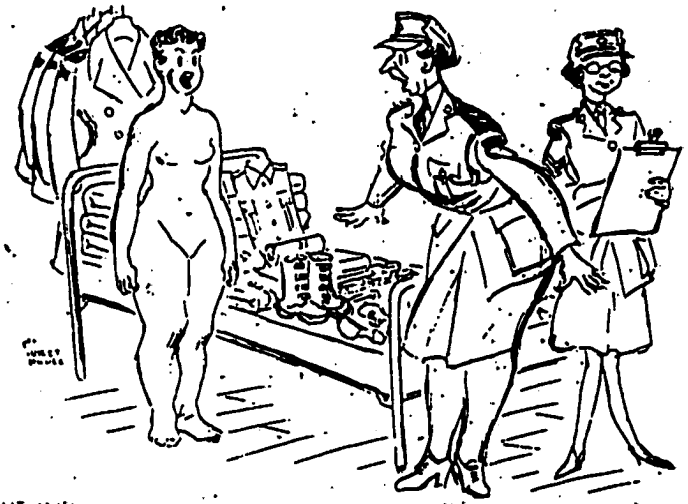
"Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, September/1944, 12.

Khaki, January 26/1944, 3.

Appendix 4.8

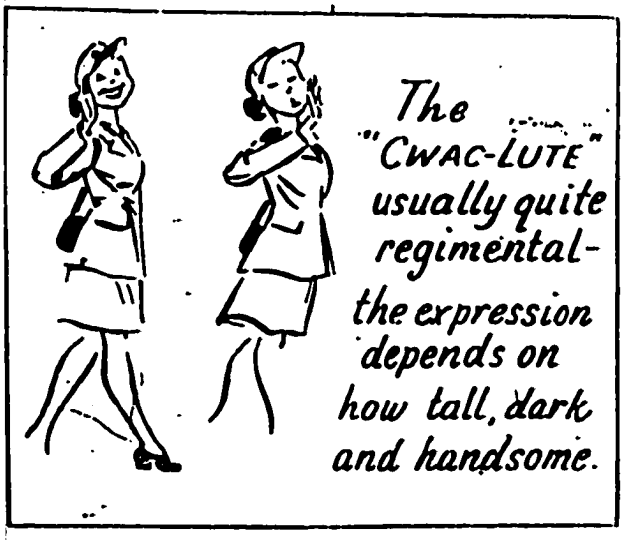
"Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, November/1944, 12.

"Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, October 2/1944, 6.



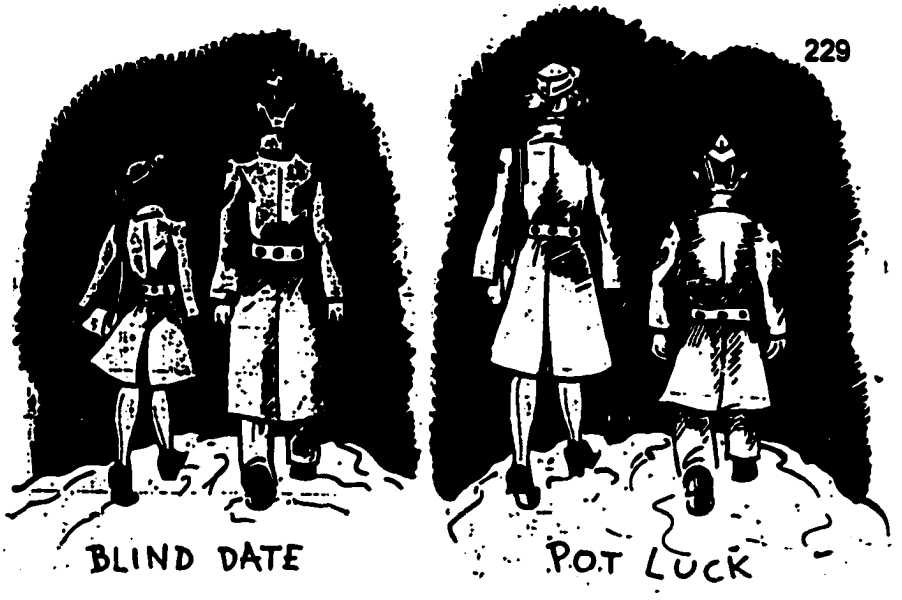
"Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 11/1945, 6.

See for example "Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, September 28/1944, 3.



See for example *NEL*, January/1944, 7.

NEL, June/1944, 8.



See for example "Heard in Barracks," *NEL*, February/1945, 9.

See for example *NEL*, March/1944, 8.

"Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, January 12/1944, 2.

"Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, July 9/1945, 10.

NEL, May/1944, 9.

"Cinderella Joins Up," *NEL*, October/1945, 7.

Appendix 5.2

"Mademoiselle in Khaki," *Khaki*, June 5/1944, 2.

See for example *Khaki*, June 26/1944, 7.

"I need two volunteers
—Fall out you two on the left."

Khaki, May 12/1943, 3.

"Shall we knock — or just surprise them"

—Pte W. Brown
No. 33 C. (B)TC

Khaki, January 19/1944, 6.

LANA TURNER ↑ GREER GARSON →

BIG KHAKI *Letter* CONTEST!!

Which type of girl is your favourite?

DOES GREER GARSON give you that "How-was-heaven-*when-you-left*" *feeling*? Or is LANA TURNER the one who puts your heart in a spin and sends you around "Glazed, dazed and happy"? KHAKI wants to know! In fact, we're so damned set on prying into your emotional-life, that we are making a contest of it.

Send in a letter, not to exceed two hundred words, explaining which one of these two lovelies you really go for... and why. It doesn't matter whether you write it in pencil, pen or, on a typewriter, just so long as its legible and neat.

To the Joes who write in the best letters, KHAKI will award a large personally autographed picture of the star they've selected — suitable for decorating their hut, desk or slit-trench.. No acknowledgement of entries can be made, but the letters of the winners will appear in future issues. Letters must be in by April 30, 1944.

Now look, fellows, before we go any further in this, we want it understood that we're neutral! KHAKI has selected the two stars in question because we feel that they best represent their two distinctly different types of beauty. Both actresses have brains and pulchritude a-plenty, but both are entirely different in their personalities. From this point —you tell us!

Send entries immediately to:—
KHAKI, the Army Bulletin, Truro Bldg.,
10 Albert Street, Ottawa, Ont.

Khaki, March 13/1944, 7.

Appendix 5.4

See for example "Pin-ups in Khaki," *Khaki*, April 30/1945, 14.

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Record Group 24 is an immense collection of Department of National Defence materials. Only written materials relating to the formation (1938-1941) and existence (1941-1946) of the Canadian Women's Army Corps, and records relating to venereal disease control in the Canadian Army during World War Two were consulted. These written materials included regulations, routine orders, programs and policies, military memorandums and correspondences, and CWAC Companies' war diaries.

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