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"Bedroom Problems":
Architecture, Gender, and Sexuality, 1945-63

March 1996

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the
Degree of Master of Architecture

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"Bedroom Problems": Architecture, Gender, and Sexuality, 1945-1963

by

Susan James

Abstract

Postwar North America saw a fundamental change in the function, layout, and location of the parents' bedroom and bathroom in the typical middle-class home. This thesis argues that the representations of bedrooms and bathrooms in house plans published by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), in bathroom advertisements which appeared in women's magazines, trade periodicals, and architectural journals, and, in the 1959 film Pillow Talk, point to women's increased power in the immediate postwar years and constitute a foreshadowing of the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s. By revisiting the domestic landscape of postwar North America, this thesis provides an account of women's changing role in postwar society and suggests that architecture played a part in this transformation.

"Bedroom Problems":
Architecture, Gender, and Sexuality, 1945-1963

par

Susan James

Résumé

Après la deuxième Guerre Mondiale, des changements fondamentaux sont apparus en ce qui attrait à la planification, la location et au fonctionement de la chambre à coucher et de la salle de bain des parents dans la maison typique nord-américaine de classe moyenne. Cette thèse argumente que les plans de maisons publiés par SCHL, les annonces publicitaires de salle de bains, ainsi que le film Pillow Talk produit en 1959, démontrent l'épanouissement du pouvoir de la femme à la suite de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale et précéde ainsi le Movement de Libération de la Femme des années 1960. Cette revision de l'environement domestique de la période après guerre demontre le changement du role de la femme et suggère que l'architecture a joué un role significatif dans ce processus.

Introduction

In North America, the period following the Second World War has been viewed by most people as an era marked by economic prosperity, by the popularization of the nuclear family, by the propagation of the single-family house in the suburbs, and by the privileging of the woman's role in the home over her role in the workplace. Images reinforcing these attributes appeared in the popular press throughout the postwar era, and generally emphasized women's unique and close relationship to their domestic environment.[1] Having worked as a writer for a women's magazine in the 1950s, Betty Friedan stated in her 1963 publication The Feminine Mystique, that the image of woman that emerged from the pages of the popular press was "young and frivolous, almost childlike; fluffy and feminine; passive; gaily content in a world of bedroom and kitchen, sex, babies, and home."[2] The publication of this critique of North-American consumerism, suburban isolation, and female victimization has been construed by some scholars as the beginning of the Women's

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[1]The portrayal of women's close relationship to domestic space pervaded magazines although men and children also shared the family home. This assumption is evident in magazines and advice manuals of the period, as it had been in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

[2]Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1963; New York: Dell, 1974) 30.

Liberation Movement in North America.[3] In it, Friedan suggested that the emphasis placed on topics such as home decoration and other domestic enterprises in women's magazines divorced women from important world events and rendered them victims of their isolated environments.[4] Friedan's views were analogous to those held by architects of feminist housing schemes who, as noted by Leslie Kanes Weisman in her 1992 publication Discrimination by Design, had long "argued that the physical separation of domestic space from public space...had to be overcome if women

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[3]See for example Susan Hartmann, From Margins to Mainstream: American Women and Politics Since 1960 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989) and Donald N. Rothblatt, The Suburban Environment and Women (New York: Praeger Press, 1979). Others have suggested that women's participation in organizations like the P.T.A. and the League of Women Voters in the 1950s shaped the beginnings of the Women Liberation Movement in North America. See William Henry Chafe, The Paradox of Change: Women in the 20th Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Eugenia Kaledin, Mothers and More: American Women in the 1950s (Boston: Twayne, 1984); Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960 (Philadephia: Temple University Press, 1994); Leila J. Rupp, Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1945 to the 1960s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); and Dale Spender, There's Always Been a Women's Movement This Century (London: Pandora, 1983).

[4] Friedan, 28-61. For a close analysis of Betty Friedan's views compared with the real life experiences of a 1950s suburban housewife see Annmarie Adams, "The Eichler Home: Intention and Experience in Postwar Suburbia," Gender, Class, and Shelter: Perspective in Vernacular Architecture, V, ed. Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995) 164-178.

were to be fully emancipated."[5] It would seem, then, that the single family home in the suburbs contributed to the marginalization of women in postwar society by separating women from the world of politics and commerce.[6] That the average woman living in a suburban environment was isolated from the hustle and bustle of the world of business is undeniable. But, a closer look at women's most intimate spaces, the bedroom and the bathroom, in the architecture and popular culture of the postwar era suggests that a different dynamic existed altogether between women and domestic space. This thesis argues that the representation of bedrooms and bathrooms in architectural

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[5]Leslie Kanes Weisman, Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992)124-125. For a pioneering analysis of early feminist housing schemes see Dolores Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighbourhoods, and Cities (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981). For a discussion of feminism and architecture see Judy Attfield and Pat Kirkham, ed., A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women, and Design (London: Women's Press, 1989); Jos Boys, "Is There a Feminist Analysis of Architecture?" Built Environment 10-1 (1994) 25-34; Cheryl Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy: Towards a Feminist Analysis of Women and Design," Design Issues 3 (1986) 3-24; Christine Erlemann, "What is Feminist Architecture?" Feminist Aesthetics, Gisela Ecker, ed. (Boston: Beacon, 1986); and Daphne Spain, Gendered Spaces (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992). See also Matrix, Making Space: Women and the Man-Made Environment (London: Pluto, 1984); and Marion Roberts, Living in a Man-made World: Gender Assumptions in Modern Housing Design (London: Routledge, 1991).

[6]Leslie Kanes Weisman has noted that "feminists have continuously proclaimed that the traditional male-headed family and the single-family dream house are...oppressive." Weisman, 124.

drawings, advertisements, and film points to women's increased power in the immediate postwar years and constitutes a foreshadowing of the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s.[7]

The changing social landscape of the family home provides evidence of this growing power in Chapter One. The architectural drawings used in this analysis comprise the winning entries of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) Small House Competition. A close investigation of the changing function, layout, and location of the parents' bedroom in these typical middle-class homes points to women's changing role in postwar society. This chapter charts the development of the parents'

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[7]This social analysis of domestic architecture relies on the work of Annmarie Adams, "Architecture in the Family Way: Health Reform, Feminism, and the Middle-class House in England, 1870-1900," diss., University of California (Berkeley), 1992: Elizabeth Collins Cromley, Alone Together: A History of New York's Early Apartments (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), "A History of American Beds and Bedrooms, 1890-1930," American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services, ed. Jessica Foy and Thomas J. Schlereth (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992) 120-141 and "Sleeping Around: A History of American Beds and Bedroom," Journal of Design History 3.1 (1990): 1-17; Alice Friedman, Dream Houses, Toy Homes (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture: 1995), and House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History (London: Yale University Press, 1978) and Sweetness and Light: The Queen Anne Movement 1860-1900 (London: Yale University Press, 1977); Dolores Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution; Sally McMurry, Families and Farmhouses in Nineteenth-century America: Vernacular Design and Social Change (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Gwendolyn Wright, Moralism and the Model Home (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press: 1980) and Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981).

bedroom from a space indistinguishable from other bedrooms of the family house, to an architectural expression of increased isolation and sensualization. It argues that the withdrawal of the "master bedroom suite" in the middle-class home granted women power in postwar society by providing them with spatial and psychological separation from family life.[8] Not coincidentally, women's garments intended for home use also point to this changing role of women in the home. An exploration of the Simpson-Sears department store catalogues from 1945 to 1963 shows that the design of women's home fashions also responded to women's changing activities both within, and beyond, the home and family life. Though the separation of women in the suburbs has been construed as a mark of their marginalization in postwar society, the overarching aim of this chapter is to recognize the process of separation (seen in the withdrawal of the master bedroom suite, and the withdrawal of women, from family life) as a mark of women's independence in postwar society.[9]

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[8]That women lacked spatial and psychological privacy in the single-family dream home is suggested in Weisman, 98.

[9]Friedan compared the suburban home to a concentration camp. Friedan, 294-298. That women were oppressed in the suburbs is also discussed in Rochelle Gatlin, American Women Since 1945 (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1987) 49-73; Donald N. Rothblatt, The Suburban Environment and Women (New York: Praeger Press, 1979) 35; and Sara Evans, Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left (New York: Knoff, 1979) 15. Elaine Tyler May has suggested that the political uncertainty in the cold war era fostered the process of confinement within the home

The second chapter delves deeper in the woman's "inner sanctum" by focusing on the master bathroom. Ironically, this investigation relies on bathroom advertisements found in the popular press similar to the ones that had left Friedan cold.[10] The advertisements surveyed in this chapter appeared in women's "home" magazines such as Canadian Homes and Gardens and House and Garden's Book of Building, the builders' periodical House and Home, and the architectural journal Architectural Record, between 1945 and 1963. This analysis focuses primarily on the ways in which advertisers portrayed women in bathroom advertisements to show the changing perceptions of women in postwar society. By considering the roles played out by women in advertisements; the design and portrayed use of bathroom fixtures; the role of colour in bathroom decor; and the methods of depicting women in relation to bathrooms, this chapter suggests that advertisements portrayed and perhaps even popularized an image of woman as independent, sensual, and powerful. Moreover, this chapter argues that middle-class women of the postwar era, as well as achieving independence from family life, also gained power in the housing industry as consumers of bathroom products and as designers of bathroom environments.

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in May, Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era (New York: Basic Books, 1988).

[10]See Friedan's analysis of the images that appeared in women's magazines. Friedan, 28-61.

The third chapter focuses on the treatment of bedroom and bathroom space in the film Pillow Talk, a typical "bedroom farce" produced in 1959.[11] It starred Doris Day as a savvy interior decorator who lived on her own in a New York City apartment. This chapter shows that Day's character regulated her sexuality through interior decoration and spatial regulation.

Moreover, film comprises a complex mix of storyline, architectural setting and character interaction that is inaccessible in more traditional sources such as architectural drawings and textual documents. Thus, as a primary source, film is unique in its ability to portray the dynamic and active relationship between women and their "inner sanctums." This chapter argues that the cinematographic techniques, the dialogue, the decor, and the spatial manipulations of bedroom and bathroom scenes in Pillow Talk point to women's growing control over their sexual freedom in postwar culture.

Together these three chapters argue that the representations of bedrooms and bathrooms illustrate women's growing power in the immediate postwar years and constitute a foreshadowing of the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s. In this way, this thesis suggests that the architecture that supposedly contributed to women's marginalization in postwar society in fact reflected, and may even have contributed to, women's political and sexual emancipation. Thus, by revisiting

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[11]Pillow Talk, dir. Michael Gordon, with Doris Day, Rock Hudson, Thelma Ritter, and Tony Randall, Universal, 1959.

the domestic landscape of postwar North America through the analysis of representations of bedrooms and bathrooms, this thesis provides an account of women's changing role in postwar society and addresses the part played by architecture in this transformation.

The Master Bedroom Comes of Age: Gender, Sexuality, and the CMHC Competition Series

> Gradually, rebelling against the open 'living area,' parents are rediscovering the joy of closed doors...Builders report that the master bedroom has become the single most important room in selling a house. [1]

Postwar North America saw a fundamental change in the function, layout, and location of the parents' bedroom space in the typical middle-class home.[2] Architectural drawings and the popular culture of the postwar era provides evidence of the changing roles of women which contributed to, and was spurred on by, changes in the planning of master bedroom suites. This chapter focuses on the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) Small House Competition Series and on women's garments intended for home use to show how bedrooms in the late 1940s exhibited little consideration to the age, gender, or sexuality of its occupants; how with time, the double-edged parental desire for separation from, and surveillance of, children was expressed spatially; and finally, how the "master bedroom" came to be an insulated, luxurious, and sensual retreat for the woman of the family home.

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[1] "Fortresses with Bath," Time 26 May 1961: 54.

[2] The development of the "master bedroom" is discussed in Robert Kerr, The Gentleman's House (London: John Murray, 1865) 138-140. The social analysis of its development is examined in Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House 150-151 and 230-231.

The CMHC Small House Competition began in 1947 and comprised annual design calls until the late 1960s. The competition solicited built designs by architects. These entries were judged by panels of architects, social researchers, and trade representatives from all regions of Canada.[3] If the drawings met the design criteria, they were compiled, bound, and sold in the form of catalogues entitled Small House Designs.[4] Purchased by contractors, designers, and prospective home buyers, these catalogues comprised numbered design drawings which corresponded to working drawings on file in Ottawa at the CMHC.[5] Upon request, the CMHC supplied reproductions of the working drawings for a fee of ten dollars.[6] These drawings, unlike a custom design for a particular client or an "ideal" house plan, were unique examples of popular architectural

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[3]Minimum cost was a prime criterion in the judging of designs. The design problem for the 1947 Small House Design Competition stated houses had to be built for under 6000$. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 67 Homes for Canadians (Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1947) 74.

[4]The Small House Designs catalogues were issued by the CMHC sporadically from 1947 until the early 1970s. Usually the catalogues were released as specialized compilations, for example, "The Bungalow", "The Split Level House", or "The Two Story House". In later years the designs were bound in book format, under the same title.

[5]The working drawings could be obtained from main or branch offices all across the country. At present, the CMHC in Ottawa still retains some of the original working drawings.

[6] CMHC, 67 Homes for Canadians 11.

production and dispersion. They were intended as affordable homes appealing to everyday people and, as such, were accurate reflections of postwar society and culture.

The design problem for the Small House Competition of 1947 described Mr. and Mrs. Canada:

> The Client, Mr. Canada, an average Canadian in his middle 30's, has needed a house since the end of the war. He, his wife, his daughter aged five, and a son of two years, are now living in overcrowded accommodation. They need a house immediately that will provide them with convenient and healthful living conditions in accordance with their requirements. [7]

The competition brief thus emphasized national identity. This was clearly explained in the introductory remarks to the Small House Design catalogue of 1947 which stated: "The following designs of small houses have been carefully selected to meet average Canadian conditions and the needs of the average Canadian family."[8] The judges went on to explain that none of the designs displayed any particular regional style and suggested, rather, that these houses were appropriate to a variety of locales.

The early years of the competition produced mostly wood-framed, pitched-roof, single-family detached houses of one or two storeys. These houses were generally centred on suburban lots; the front lawns were sometimes defined by a carport or a

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[7]CMHC, 67 Homes for Canadians 74.

[8]CMHC, 67 Homes for Canadians 10.

garage; the backyards were reserved as a children's play area and for entertaining.

Design #130 typifies these entries (Figs. 1 & 2). Architects Kenneth R. D. Pratt and Stewart E. Lindgren from Winnipeg, Manitoba, submitted this standard bungalow plan to the CMHC in 1954. Its shallow pitched roof and bands of windows emphasized the breadth of the 40-foot-wide facade.[9] The bi-focal plan grouped the spatially continuous living, dining, kitchen, and services into one zone, and the discrete volumes of bathroom and bedrooms into another. Divided according to social and sleeping functions, this plan did not overtly express the age, gender, or sexuality of the house's occupants through the placement of its bedrooms.

In her research on American bedrooms, architectural historian Elizabeth Collins Cromley has suggested that single-storey house and apartment designs "force us to ask what functions could go next to a sleeping room and which ones had to stay apart."[10] Cromley has shown a planning arrangement that was typical of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one that placed bedrooms immediately adjacent to social spaces. As Cromley has pointed out using Gervase Wheeler's plans for a cottage and a farmhouse renovation of 1855:

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[9]In SI units the measurement is 12.2 m.

[10]Cromley, "Sleeping Around," 5.

> These designs provide a separate chamber floor for the majority of family bedrooms, but significantly include a chamber on the ground floor attached to the most important reception rooms in the house. While a ground-floor chamber was sometimes appropriated as a guest-room, or as a sickroom to save invalids and their caretakers from climbing stairs, often this ground floor chamber belonged to the heads of the household. The master and mistress had their room linked to the principle reception rooms of the house, asserting their authority through spatial location.[11]

Conversely, the CMHC plans from the early 1950s, such as the Pratt and Lindgren plan, showed that postwar designers preferred "grouping all family bedrooms together in a sleeping zone instead of linking a bedroom with reception spaces."[12] Bi-focal planning typified the CMHC's bungalow, split level, and two-storey house designs from the early 1950s. Yet, bi-focal planning was not an inherent predisposition of any of these housing types. The arrangement of rooms is a function of cultural, rather than geometrical, influences.

Like many houses of its day, the Pratt and Lindgren plan was spare, boxy, and modest by today's middle-class standards.[13] This 960-square-foot house was an average-sized design solution

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[11]Cromley, "Sleeping Around," 5.

[12]Cromley, "American Beds and Bedrooms," 123.

[13]In SI units the measurement is 89 m^2. The average size of a house in the 1980s was 2,000 square-feet (185.9 m^2). Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 50 Years of Innovation, 1945-1993 (Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1993) 21.

for many North American middle-class families.[14] However, given the growing size of families in the Baby Boom era, this popular two-bedroom house often accommodated more than a couple and a child.[15]

Attesting to this fact-of-life, an ad sponsored by Sub-Deb in the April 1946 issue of The Ladies' Home Journal optimistically lauded the advantages and disadvantages of close family quarters.[16] Its headline read: "Families are Fun!" Appealing to teenage girls, the ad empathized with its readers by acknowledging the realities of crowded home life during this period.

> It's all very well to picture the "ideal" girl's room with fluffy curtains, pastel walls, cuddly armchairs and boudoir table flounced in ruffles-but yours doesn't actually look that way. You've got to be contented with split living, sharing bed and boudoir, drawers and closet space and even

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[14] Housing statistics from 1955 list the average house size at 1,100-square-feet (102.2 m^2). CMHC, 50 Years of Innovation 8.

[15] In Canada, the births per woman aged 15-49 increased from 2.8 in 1941 and to peak at 3.9 in 1959. Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Canadian Social Trends Cat # 11-008, 10 (1990) 34.

[16] Ads often promoted family unity during this period. As Lynn Spigel argues in Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1992), the motif of the family circle was used repeatedly in advertisements for television and other technologies that were boasted as promoting "family togetherness." The family united was much more of a reality than an actual choice, judging from the close quarters family members shared. In fact, many Sub-Deb readers probably lived in bungalows like the one designed by Pratt and Lindgren.

your privacy with a disrupting younger sister![17]

Architects of the time were well aware of the potentially close quarters in which families lived.[18] But often the only provision for privacy took the form of strategically placed closets which served as sound buffers. For instance, in their design for the 40-by-24-foot bungalow, Pratt and Lindgren placed the two bedrooms and one bathroom to one side of the plan.[19] The vestibule located at the front of the house and a row of closets at the rear of the house separated the bedrooms from the social spaces.

Like other CMHC plans of the period, the Pratt and Lindgren drawings lacked room names that assigned bedroom space to children or parents. Although not explicitly named the "Master Bedroom," judging from the twin closets "Bedroom #1" was probably the parents' bedroom. In this design, like other houses of the period, the husband and wife were expected to share their bedroom space since middle-class houses rarely allocated separate rooms for spouses.

Cromley has noted that "the 1920s and 1930s saw the rising popularity of twin beds for married couples who did not have the

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[17]"Families are Fun," Ladies' Home Journal April 1946: 8.

[18]On the growing demands for larger homes, see Adams, "The Eichler Home," 167.

[19]In SI units this measurement is 12.2 m X 7.3 m.

budget or the taste for completely separate suites of rooms."[20] After the Second World War, however, there was a considerable change of heart concerning the sleeping arrangement of couples. In 1950, the Roman Catholic Church, in an attempt to allay the rising rate of divorce among Catholics, offered a frank, explicit, and detailed series of lectures on marriage.[21] The teachings included advice on bedroom furniture. The lesson prescribed the following: "A single nuptial bed is highly preferable to twin beds under all circumstances. Much of the persistent discord in certain homes can be traced to the use of twin beds."[22] Not only did these teachings prescribe bedroom furniture, they also gave advice on conjugal relations. "Conjugal fidelity is essential to a happy marriage," the lesson read, "but it is the responsibility of both parties to see that all desires of their mate are completely satisfied."[23] These teachings were dispersed throughout the Church community and reproduced in major publications, thus contributing to the mainstream concern with the state of marital relations in

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[20]Cromley, "American Beds and Bedrooms," 123.

[21]The 1951 census shows that approximately 43% of Canadians were Roman Catholics. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1962) 6.

[22]François Roy,"A Frank Formula For Happy Marriage," Maclean's Magazine 15 August 1950: 6.

[23] Roy, 6.

postwar North America.[24]

In this popular quest to strengthen seemingly frail marital bonds, many stories of marital struggle were published in the popular media. An article entitled "How the Maybury's Saved Their Marriage" stated: "Both parents blamed the youngsters for spoiling what time they might have had together."[25] The Maybury's observations articulated the parental dilemma of the decade by implying that their parental responsibilities were the cause of much of their marital discord.

Many solutions to this all-too-familiar problem were offered in architectural terms. Whereas in the late 1940s and early 1950s privacy was bestowed through the ingenious planning of closets as buffer zones, these "marital crises" called for more drastic measures. The concept of the parental retreat within the family home thus emerged in the popular media, in architectural sources, and in house designs, as an antidote (and preventive measure) to unhappy marital relations.[26]

As noted, during this period children were inextricably

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[24]The article claimed that although the lessons were produced by the Roman Catholic Church in Canada, they were appropriated by other religious groups as well. Roy, 6.

[25]Sidney Katz, "How the Maybury's Saved Their Marriage," Maclean's Magazine 15 April 1951: 22.

[26]The separation of parents and children was prevalent in the nineteenth-century home. This is discussed in Adams, "Architecture in the Family Way," 216.

linked to the parents' "bedroom problems" and the dream of the parental oasis was often marred by custodial responsibility. Although frequently blamed for the couple's alienation, and often banished to their rooms, children invariably needed adult supervision. Significantly, the text accompanying designs in architectural and women's periodicals highlighted the aspects of supervision, control, and contact with the children, while advocating the separation of the parents' bedroom into a third zone: the "parental zone." For example the text accompanying an architectural project in Architectural Record pointed out:

> The Parents' room, a duplex suite consisting of bedroom, sitting room, and bath, is removed from the main activity area but not so completely isolated that control of and contact with the children are lost.[27]

While this was also the case in the nineteenth-century house, the radical separation of children and adults was problematic for the servantless house of the mid-twentieth century.[28] One article on the topic explained that the "segregation of the children's rooms from other rooms may [was] especially desirable in cases where the adult entertainment [attained] fairly noisy levels." But "it [was] possible to lean too far in this

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[27]"A Strong Emphasis on Privacy," Architectural Record April 1958: 199.

[28]For a discussion on the separation and supervision of children in the nineteenth-century house see Adams, "Architecture in the Family Way," 216.

direction," the author cautioned. "Children must have supervision, day and night, and it is not healthy for the child nor does it make for parental peace of mind to carry segregation to the point of ostracism."[29]

Provision for supervision of the children when the era of the maid, the nanny, or the governess had long since past, thus became a maternal and an architectural responsibility.[30] The woman was seen as the parent with whom the custodial responsibilities rested. Yet, while aware of these responsibilities, mothers also longed to fulfil their roles as thinking, feeling, and sexual beings. For example, in a 1956 article in The New York Times Magazine, one young mother who had placed a chaise longue at the top of her Christmas list announced her intention of spending at least one uninterrupted hour each day "feeling luxurious, indolent, and pampered."[31] The CMHC designs from the late 1950s answered these types of needs by providing supervision of, and separation from, children as an intrinsic feature of master bedroom suites.

Designer Forrest W. Sunter of Nanaimo, British Columbia,

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[29]Arthur McK. Stires, "Home Life and House Architecture," Architectural Record April 1949: 106.

[30]For a discussion of the dwindling numbers of women and men entering domestic service after World War I see Claudette Lacelle, Urban Domestic Servants (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1987).

[31] Dorothy Barclay, "Resolved: Parents Need More Time," The New York Times Magazine 1 January 1956: 26.

and architect David L. Sawtell of Vancouver designed a house in 1958 (#288) that exemplified this parental quagmire through the careful juxtaposition of the parents' bedroom and the children's play area (Figs. 3 & 4). Their flat-roofed ranch house measured 39-by-49-feet.[32] A spacious carport, exposed structure, and large living room windows defined the facade. The centrally located atrium of the inward-looking plan was defined by the concrete walls of the carport and the storage room, and by the windows of the dining room and the master bedroom. The major living spaces were located to the front of the house. Grouped together at the back were the two children's rooms and the master bedroom suite.

The parental retreat, sequestered in the deepest part of the house, featured two 29-by-48-inch windows that offered a view of the atrium play space. An article describing an architectural project similarly concerned with the supervision of children considered the question of visibility. It stated: "The master bedroom... looks directly onto the children's sandbox which will be converted to a reflection pool when the children have outgrown it."[33] (Fig. 5) This room with a view was deemed particularly important to the vigilant mother of the house.

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[32]In SI units this measurement is 11.8 m X 14.9 m.

[33]"Design for Living--With Kids," Architectural Record March 1949: 108.

Architectural historian Annmarie Adams' analysis of a postwar suburban ranch house in California uncovered a similar feature in the parents' bedroom: to provide supervision through unobstructed window walls.[34] In the "Eichler" home, of which thousands were constructed in the 1950s and 1960s, the housewife was intended to survey the play areas while performing her daily chores (Fig. 6). This type of architecture allowed for what Adams has called "Spock-style mothering," encouraging the mother to be in constant contact with her children.[35]

Of the four windows facing the courtyard in the Sunter and Sawtell plan, two looked out from the "private" master bedroom zone while the others defined the "public" corridor and dining room. This suggests that during the day the housewife could retreat into the bedroom "apartment" without severing visual contact with her children. Hence, the woman's multiple roles, her routine, and her desires were woven into the architectural fabric of this project through the provision of a view onto the play area from the master bedroom.

The concerns voiced in articles such as: "Safety for

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[34]Adams, "The Eichler Home," 168-72. Adams has argued that windows such as these were frequently curtained. Still, I believe large windows giving onto play areas were an important characteristic of postwar master bedrooms.

[35]Adams' term "Spock-style-mothering" refers to the advice given to mothers by Dr. Benjamin Spock, The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care (New York: Dell, 1946). See Adams, "The Eichler Home," 170; Clark, The American Family Home, 206-7; and Wright, Building the Dream, 255.

Children-Privacy for Adults," "Designed for Living-With Kids," "Planned for Adult Privacy and Supervision of Children," and "Joyous Living and Five Children" were echoed in many of the CMHC plans designed in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. Notably, these articles claimed that inward-looking courtyards and atrium spaces were particularly suitable for this double-edged approach to living with children.[36] Ideally, the children could play outdoors while being safely contained within the confines of the house and observed by the mother from any one of several observation points.[37]

In contrast, American architect Richard Neutra's design for a couple without children avoided any reference to the bedroom looking onto the central outdoor living space. In fact, the caption suggested that the "master bedroom [achieved] maximum privacy by a solid wall on the patio side."[38] Privacy for the adults living in a home with children, then, would require flexible and temporary solutions.

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[36]The CMHC houses produced in the mid 1950s and onward were stylistically different than the houses of earlier years. For more on the modern movement in Canada, see Harold Kalman, A History of Canadian Architecture, vol. 2 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994) 779-869; and Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, "Modes of Modernizing: The Acquisition of Modernist Design in Canada," The Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin 19 (1994): 60-74.

[37]This is also pointed out in Adams, "The Eichler Home," 168.

[38]"House For Two Expands for Guests," Architectural Record July 1953: 145.

Draperies and Japanese-inspired shojii screens were often recommended by architects, authors of advice manuals, and advertisers as "musts" for co-existing peacefully with children, while maintaining a certain amount of privacy.[39] The dilemma of separation and surveillance was sometimes answered through architectural details such as sliding glass and pocket doors. These flexible design solutions responded to the changing needs of women and thus granted them a measure of control over their domestic environment.[40] Examples of flexible design solutions such as these were seen in the CMHC designs of the early 1960s.

Architects Denis and Freda O'Connor of Edmonton, Alberta, submitted plan #811 in 1960 (Figs. 7 & 8). At first glance, the O'Connor's plan made no reference to traditional "zoning" by locating the four bedrooms at the corners of the square plan. This plan, however, was much more complex. Sliding pocket doors converted this family home into three self-contained zones: one

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[39]Adams' interview with the mother and children uncovered that the parents' bedroom draperies were often drawn. Adams, "The Eichler Home," 172.

[40]Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, The American Woman's Home (New York: Ford, 1869). Catharine Beecher pioneered a flexible design solution for women in this book. In it she prescribed the design of a movable screen which could double the usefulness of the room by converting it into a family room by day and a bedroom by night. This type of architecture has been cited by Dolores Hayden as an example of "material feminism," one which empowered women in their architectural milieu. The role of women as reformers of space is discussed in: Adams, "Architecture in the Family Way"; and Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution.

for the adult couple, one for entertaining, and one for the children . A note in a similar project in Architectural Record in 1963 explained:

> The program had clearly stated requirements for: a "parents' wing"...and a "children's wing"...The zoning requirements were respected, with the kitchen placed at the crossing as a control centre and activity focus.[41]

Similarly, the central portion of the one-storey house designed by the O'Connor's contained (from front to back) vestibule, kitchen, dining room, living room, and terrace. The open spatial arrangement between these rooms was interrupted only by a fireplace located between the living room and the dining room. On either side of the interconnected social spaces were the two bedroom wings.

The west side of the plan contained the master bedroom suite. This narrow suite consisted of two rooms joined by a bathroom. A sliding pocket door enabled the parents to close off their domain from the rest of the house. Located on the east side of the plan was another sliding pocket door leading to the children's bedroom area. This zone contained two bedrooms, a washroom, and a laundry room. These two unassuming pocket doors could easily join or separate the two wings, and parents and children, at will.

As such, the sliding pocket doors transformed this family home into three discretely separate zones: the parents', the

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[41] "Logic and Simplicity Give Livability on a Budget," Architectural Record August 1963: 142.

children's, and the shared. This plan not only provided for the union or separation of adults and children, but also illustrated through its partitioning the feminine triad of mother, hostess, and agreeable wife.

Not coincidentally, the roles of woman in the home as revealed in architecture were also seen in other everyday material things.[42] Decorative arts, clothing and interior decor are, like architecture, products of their time. Concurrently, culture and behaviour are enacted through the things that we build, buy, and make. For example, changes in women's fashions, the use of fabrics, and the changing female silhouette point to the increased or decreased mobility of women or to their sexual expression or repression.[43] Hence, the analysis of material

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[42]In this study, the analysis of architecture and other everyday material things is used to gain a clearer picture of how people perceived and engaged with space--a picture that is not accessible when looking at any of these sources on their own. For more on the study of Canadian Material Culture see Gerald Pocius, ed., Living in A Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture (St.John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991).

[43] For more on the social analysis of fashion see: Fred Davis, Fashion, Culture, and Identity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Karal Ann Marling, "Mamie Eisenhower's New Look," As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994) 7-49; Rozsika Parker, The Subversive Stitch (London: Women's Press, 1984); Anita Rush, "Changing Women's Fashions and its Social Context 1870-1905," Material History Bulletin 14 (1982): 37-46; Leila Whittemore, "Theatre of the Bazaar: Women and the Architecture of Fashion in 19th-century Paris," Architecture Research Criticism 5 (1994-95): 14-25; and Lee Wright, "Objectifying Gender: The Stiletto Heel," A View from the Interior 7-19.

things, women's garments intended for home use for instance, can provide evidence of the changing roles of women in the home.

During the postwar period, the Simpson Sears catalogue included a wide collection of women's clothes intended for home use.[44] Until the early 1950s, the catalogue even included the home uniform as an item suitable for the housewife's daily use (Fig. 9). For example, the catalogue described the "White Angel" as a "uniform of linene [sic] finished cotton conveniently styled for the home nurse, beautician or as a working costume at home."[45] Although images of women in uniforms made reference to paid employment during wartime production, an advertisement published in Chatelaine in 1943 suggested that these fashions were unpopular, as well as unfeminine.[46] In this advertisement aimed at encouraging the participation of women in the war effort, a woman was shown walking on the sidewalk wearing work pants while passers-by glared. Its headline pleaded: "Please,

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[44]The Simpson Sears catalogue, like many other North American mail order catalogues, was sent to women across the country, even in the most remote regions. Other popular Canadian mail order department store catalogues included the T.Eaton's Co. which like the Simpson Sears catalogue, appeared in French and English, and Les Frères Dupuis which was circulated in Quebec.

[45]Robert Simpson Co.,Simpson Sears Catalogue (Toronto: Robert Simpson Co., 1951)

[46]"Please Don't Stare at my Pants!" Chatelaine March 1943: 1.

don't stare at my pants!"[47] By the mid 1950s these asexual, utilitarian and austere garments were supplanted by house garb that reflected contemporary ideas about feminine roles in the house.

The "Lounger" and the "Shift" emerged during the early 1960s (Figs. 10 & 11). These were body-conscious, colourful, and comfortable. Whereas the uniform was task-specific, the "Shift" and the "Lounger" were suitable for daytime entertaining, shopping, or housework. The "Shift" was promoted as a versatile dress that, with the addition of a thin belt, converted easily from a housework frock to a pert and proper dress. The caption that appeared with the image stated: "We call it the 'Shift'--call it what you like...you'll agree it's the newest, hottest thing in lounge wear because it can be worn--anywhere."[48] As the name suggested, the "Lounger" was billed as a comfortable leisure suit suitable for home or for vacation. It even came with its own transparent plastic travel case. Their simple lines, washable fabrics, and convertibility were part of

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[47]For a discussion of gender and dress see, for example: Christina Bates, "'Beauty Unadorned': Dressing Children in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario," Material History Bulletin 12 (1985): 25-34; Claudia Brush Kidwell and Valerie Steele, Men and Women: Dressing the Part (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1989); and Barbara E. Kelcey, "What to Wear to the Klondike: Outfitting Women for the Gold Rush," Material History Review 37 (1993):20-29.

[48]Simpson-Sears Catalogue (Toronto: Simpson-Sears, 1963).

a growing language of powerful yet attractive women's wear.[49]

Significantly, these changes in women's clothing pointed to changes in women's role. Postwar women, unrestrained by their garments, could move freely from the home to public settings. The popular, modern, and flirtatious lines of these clothes suggested that women wanted to break through the boundaries of the home, the radius of their power, and the constraints on their sexuality. In a similar way, the master bedroom developed into a space for women that was separate from home life.

To many mothers and young wives, the master bedroom suite was a "sanctum sanctorum useful at any hour of the twenty four."[50] The Ladies' Home Journal published an article on beauty treatments in which the interviewee described the role of the master bedroom retreat in her beauty treatment:

> Five minute periods of complete relaxation at odd times during the day can work wonders in renewing strength and brighten your outlook! Anne Paxton considers her hour's nap each day her biggest beauty treatment "It's heavenly just to be able to kick off my shoes," she says, "and s-t-e-t-c-h out and r-e-l-a-x with the shades drawn and the house

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[49]The relationship of women's fashion and liberation is discussed in Lee Wright, "Objectifying Gender," 7-19 . Recently, the relationship between design and sexual liberation was presented in an exhibition and discussed in the exhibition brochure by curator Rachel Gotlieb, Pop in Orbit:Design from the Space Age (Toronto: Design Exchange, 1995).

[50] Stires, 107.

quiet."[51]

The master bedroom was not only a site of passive contemplation and relaxation, it was described as a site upon which women could make changes. The popular media and authors of advice manuals often suggested ways in which a woman could express herself through architecture and decor. Implementing a new colour scheme through changes in linens, painting, and even furniture was an inexpensive way of doing this. For example, in The Personality of a House, Emily Post suggested a planning arrangement for the master bedroom which took into account its multi-functional character (Fig. 12).[52] Various functional pieces of furniture like chaise longues, comfortable chairs, and even reading lamps, as well as consideration to changing lighting conditions could transform the master bedroom into a 24-hour-a-day room.

Adams has argued that in the Victorian period "the decorators, the department stores, and the exhibitions inspired the practice of a form of "spatial feminism" by encouraging women to view their houses critically and to rearrange it to

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[51]Dawn Crowell Norman,"Prescription for Beauty: A Husband Who Helps; Well-Behaved Children," Ladies' Home Journal June 1955: 136.

[52]Emily Post, The Personality of a House: The Blue Book of Home Charm (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1948). It was first published in 1930, but as noted by Weisman, this book became so popular, "it was reprinted almost annually until 1939, and again in 1948." Weisman, 93.

suit their own needs." Similarly, the popular media of the postwar period taught women to express themselves through the decor of the master bedroom suite. This type of "spatial feminism" was a precursor to the Women's Liberation Movement, just as the activities cited by Adams contributed to Women's Emancipation.[53]

Just as the changing roles, routines, and desires of the housewife can be read in the changes in the layout of the master bedroom suite, so too did changing views on feminine sexuality find expression in the suite's increased isolation and sensualization. During the early 1960s, this room was often referred to as a separate apartment for the adult couple within the family home. In 1961 an article from Time magazine stated:

> As houses grow smaller and families larger, man's home is fast becoming his kiddies' castle. Already teen-agers have overrun the living room, kitchen and den, driving their parents into the last bastion of apartness-the fortress bedroom.[54]

This article suggested that the children were not only taxing marital relationships, as previously articulated by the Maybury's, but that they were now invading all the corners of the house. The only answer, according to this article, was to build a private "apartment" within the family home.

In keeping with this article's stance, Architectural Record

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[53]Adams, "Architecture in the Family Way," 244.

[54] "Fortresses with Baths," 54.

of April 1958 showed a two level parents' suite that embodied this sentiment (Fig. 13).[55] The master bedroom was on the upper level of this two storey house; the parents' sitting room, complete with bar, music cabinet, and private terrace, was on the lower. A spiral staircase connected the two levels. As seen in the plan, this "apartment" was barely connected to the rest of the family home. Of a design even more overtly concerned with the separation of adults and children, the author explained:

> Parental authority is maintained through a master control panel that can turn out lights all over the house and through an intercom system over which parents can give orders--and avoid being answered back by flipping a switch.[56]

Thus the master bedroom had reached new heights of isolation by regulating the contact with the children through radical separation.

"We've made a fetish of being with the children," one mother explained. "I intend to make more time for my husband ...without juvenile accompaniment."[57] This new declaration of parental "apartness" was seen in the master bedroom suites of the CMHC designs. Increasingly these designs provided a luxurious retreat for the adult couple living in the family home.

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[55] "A Strong Emphasis on Privacy," 199.

[56] "Fortresses with Baths," 54.

[57] Barclay, "Resolved: Parents Need More Time," 26.

The lower level of a two-storey house designed by Vancouver architect Geoffrey E.Hacker in 1963 (#614) featured the major living areas in an open-plan arrangement (Figs. 14 & 15). The upper level included one large bathroom, three children's rooms, and a master bedroom, laid out in pinwheel fashion around the centrally located stairs. Its master bedroom showed the transformation from a mere parents' room to a "parents' suite."

The descriptive paragraph that appeared with the drawings in the Small House Designs catalogue boasted: "The main bedroom, with the luxury of its own fireplace and balcony, is well separated from the children's bedrooms."[58] In the master bedroom suite, two identical closets lined the far end of one wall and floor-to-ceiling sliding glass doors opened to the balcony. Located against the window wall was the very large master bedroom fireplace. Acoustic privacy was ensured through bedroom walls abutting the stairway and the bathroom. In this 1,680-square-foot house, the parents were afforded privacy and luxury.[59] The author of an article in Time magazine described an even more lavishly equipped master bedroom suite.

> In this indoor Shangri-La, parents are building themselves a home within a home, including stereo and TV sets,

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[58]Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Small House Designs (Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1965) 252.

[59]In SI units the measurement is 156.2 m^2. The average size of a house in 1963 was 1, 200 square-feet (111.5 m^2). Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Canadian Housing Statistics (Ottawa: CMHC, 1972) 68.

> dressing room, extra closet space, fireplace, bar, refrigerator, and perhaps even a small kitchen. One couple does much of its entertaining in the master bedroom, which is decorated like a living room (The beds are made up like studio couches), has a separate entrance.[60]

This master bedroom suite contained a wide array of amenities that guaranteed its self-sufficiency. In the middle-class house designs published by the CMHC, however, more down-to-earth touches contributed to the privatization and sensualization of the suite.

One development in particular set the master bedroom apart from the other bedrooms of the typical middle-class house: the addition of the master bathroom. This change in the arrangement of the master bedroom suite was seen in the CMHC Small House Competition Series and in other popular culture of the postwar era. A close analysis of the bathroom's changing floor plan and its representation in the popular press provides an account of the popularization of the master bathroom in the middle-class house of the postwar era and of women's power in relation to this change.

The middle-class house plans published by the CMHC in the late 1940s and early 1950s generally included only one bathroom to be shared among all of the occupants of the family home as seen in Pratt and Lindgren's 1954 bungalow design (Figs. 1 & 2). This two-bedroom house featured a bathroom that measured 6-by-8-

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60 "Fortresses with Baths," 54.

feet.[61] On the facade of the house, a small bathroom window set 5-feet-4-inches above grade ensured privacy while allowing natural light to illuminate the space.[62] Bathtub, lavatory, and water closet all fit snugly into the modest space.

Although the early years of the CMHC Competition mostly featured a shared bathroom facility, an article in House and Home from February 1953 suggested that "the buying public [wanted] and [would] pay for ... a deluxe or extra half-bath..."[63] In response to the growing demands of consumers, and the growing size of families, this article devised inexpensive alternatives to the pricey second bathroom.

Discussing the bathroom in terms of family sharing, this author claimed: "Everybody wants to use some part of the bathroom at the same time in the morning, when children are dashing off to school and their father is hurrying to work." And rather than "go all the way and put in a second bath[room]," the author of the article suggested "there [were] several halfway steps" a builder could take. The author recommended breaking up the "present bath[room] into a two-passenger bath[room and] putting the toilet in a separate 3' x 5'

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[61]In SI units the measurement is 1.8 m X 2.4 m.

[62]In SI units the measurement is 1.6 m.

[63] "39 Ways to Build a Better Bathroom," House and Home February 1953: 93.

compartment" to beat the morning rush hour problems.[64]

The compartmentalized bathroom was realized in some of the CMHC plans in the late 1950s. The Sawtell and Sunter 1958 plan for a ranch house (design #288), for example, featured a compartmentalized bathroom with four fixtures: bathtub, toilet and two countertop lavatories (Figs. 5 & 6). The designers situated the bathroom facilities between the cluster of the three bedrooms and the living spaces. The "bath"-room proper included a bathtub and a counter-top lavatory. Immediately next to this bathroom was a space containing a toilet and second countertop lavatory. A sky-light illuminated this smaller room (the lavatory).[65] Parents, children, and guests could use the compartmentalized bathroom spaces simultaneously.

Examples of the desire for, and provision of, extra bathroom space appeared in both architectural drawings and in periodicals during this period. For example, in her August 1952 "Interior Design Data" column in Progressive Architecture, author Suzanne Sekey broached the topic of family needs in her feature on the bath-dressing area. She, too, echoing the suggestions put forth by the article in House and Home, advocated separating fixtures through the compartmentalization of bathroom space in order to increase the usability of the

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[64] "39 Ways to Build a Better Bathroom," 99. In SI units the measurement is 0.9 m X 1.5 m.

[65] The term lavatory is used to denote both the fixture and the bath-less room throughout this chapter.

family bathroom. She suggested that once separated from the shared family bathroom, the lavatory together with a bedroom wardrobe could "develop into a bath-dressing space and, in so doing, considerably enlarged the pleasure and comfort of use."[66] Her article intimated that increasingly, parents were discovering the advantages of having a bathroom of their own. This development of the private, second bathroom was also seen in the plans published by the CMHC.

In 1958, Kenneth D.R.Pratt and Stewart S.E. Lindgren of Winnipeg, Manitoba, submitted their bungalow plan (design #805) (Figs. 16 & 17). This single-storey house, divided according to sleeping and social functions, had a bathroom, a lavatory, and three bedrooms. Of these three bedrooms, the master bedroom stood apart. The entrance to this master bedroom was essentially an ante-chamber of closets which formed a walk-through dressing-room. This dressing room led to the parents' bedroom which in turn led to the last link in the ensuite arrangement: the private lavatory. It comprised a toilet and a sink. In this modestly-sized house, the parents were afforded privacy and luxury. Parents and children, however, still shared the bathtub located in the main bathroom.

The full private bathroom emerged in CMHC plans in the early 1960s. This appeared in Ralph Goldman's 1964 design for a two-storey, four-bedroom house (design #615) (Figs. 18 & 19).

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[66]Suzanne Sekey, "Bath-Dressing Areas," Progressive Architecture August 1952: 113.

Its master bedroom suite comprised a private bathroom, a dressing room, and even a balcony. Abutting the main bathroom, the master bathroom had a tub, a sink, and a toilet, thereby eliminating the need to share the main bathroom with the other members of the household. As the author of an article in House and Home surmised, the "positioning of [an] extra bath off [the] master bedroom rather than off [the] hallway was particularly appealing to buyers. It gave them a feeling of luxury and privacy unexpected in a low-cost mass-produced house."[67] Thus arranged, the private dressing room and bathroom in the Goldman design served to isolate, insulate, and privatize the Suburban Shangri-la.

In a similar planning arrangement, a 1953 article asked: "Why not an open-plan bath?" The author of this article suggested that the bathroom and bedroom, like the living room and dining room, should incorporate their functions. Thus linked, this open en-suite arrangement would maximize small spaces and sensualize the master bedroom suite by combining the care of the body with sitting and sleeping functions. "Citing the result of a survey of what people really wanted in their private bathroom," author George Nelson stated: "The listing of a chaise longue and an oversized tub suggested that, given the

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[67] "Four Bedrooms Solve Space Squeeze," House and Home June 1954: 119.

space, people might use the bathroom for sexual activity."[68] The planning of bathrooms, thus, had begun to address the question of sexuality along with the more obvious functional requirements of the space.

Also pointing to the sensualization of the bathroom were the changes seen in women's bedroom fashions. A close investigation of these garments as they appeared in the Simpson Sears catalogues shows that by the early 1960s, flannel had given way to nylon, modesty to appetite. Supplanting the conservative house coats, nightgowns, and pyjamas of the 1940s and early 1950s, peignoir sets, baby-dolls, and nighties flooded the pages of the catalogue. Nylon was touted as the new modern product because of its ease of care. This sheer, lightweight material was available in a range of colours to complement both the complexion and the female form. The new nylon peignoir set was described in the following way: "How wonderful to be a woman wearing this exciting ensemble! Bewitching nylon peignoir and gown set is lavishly ruffled...thoroughly feminine..."[69](Fig. 20) This innovation in women's garments, as well as the sensual depictions of women in the master bedroom and bathroom, suggest that increasingly, popular culture was "at home" with feminine sexuality.

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68 "Why Not an Open-Bath Plan?" House and Home Feb 1953: 102.

69Robert Simpson Co., Simpson Sears Catalogue (Toronto: Robert Simpson: 1963) 156.

The middle-class house plans published by the CMHC together with the changes seen in women's garments provide a unique glimpse into the world of women in the postwar era. Especially revealing is the changing role of a single room--the master bedroom--in the landscape of middle-class family life. It evolved from a space indistinguishable from other bedrooms of the family home to an architectural expression of increased isolation and sensualization. Although other "feminine" rooms "such as the kitchen, remained public places associated with the care and maintenance of others," the master bedroom suite increasingly gave women the spatial and psychological privacy that they lacked.[70] The progressive isolation of the master bedroom suite thus provided women with a space to which they could withdraw. The withdrawal of this space and women from middle-class family life is evidence of women's increased independence in postwar society. Indeed, this change in the family home foreshadowed the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s.

Typically, the spatial separation of women at home in the suburbs has been construed as a mark of their marginalization in a society that valued motherhood over women's participation in the labour force. A closer look at the master bedroom, however, reveals the process of separation as a manifestation of women's power and independence.

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[70]Weisman, 98.

A Bathroom of One's Own: Women and Bathrooms in the Popular Press, 1945-63

As we have seen, the emergence of the private bathroom was connected to the development of the master bedroom suite in the typical middle-class house of the postwar era. Bathroom space underwent profound transformations in layout and location, namely from a generic shared facility to a space with specific users in mind, as outlined in the previous chapter. During this period, authors discussed this topic in articles that appeared in women's magazines and trade and professional periodicals. The pages of these magazines were also filled with advertisements promoting various brands of bathroom fixtures and fittings. Thus, the popular press provides an account of the way in which advisors and advertisers chose to portray women and bathroom space.

Although not a record of how women actually experienced bathroom space, the popular press tells us about the ways in which some people perceived women's relationship to this component of their so-called "inner sanctum." In this chapter, the analysis of bathroom advertisements shows how women were increasingly perceived beyond the scope of their apparent roles within middle-class family life.[1] Moreover, the portrayal of

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[1]This social analysis of bathrooms relies on the work of Annmarie Adams, "Building Barriers: Images of Women in Canada's Architectural Press, 1924-73," Resources for Feminist Research 23:3 (1994) 29-41; Regina Lee Blaszczyk, "The Aesthetic

women as designers of bathrooms and consumers of bathroom products pointed to their growing power in the housing industry. This chapter thus attempts to expand our understanding of the lives of middle-class women by arguing that these ads reflected and may have even encouraged an image of woman that was independent, sensual, and powerful.

Typically, bathroom advertisements of the late 1940s and early 1950s highlighted the functional and sanitary qualities of products. This is seen in an advertisement for Olsonite from 1948 (Fig. 21). This matter-of-fact diagram linked sober product information to an axonometric rendering of a toilet seat and cover. The accompanying text made the following claims: "Flat under-surface avoids dirt and germ deposit," and "scientifically designed in both proportion and contour."[2]

Movement: China Decorators, Consumer Demand, and Technological Change in the American Pottery Industry, 1865-1900," Winterthur Portfolio 29-2/3 (1994) 121-153; Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller, The Bathroom, The Kitchen and The Aesthetics of Waste: A Process of Elimination (Cambridge: MIT List Visual Arts Centre, 1992); Maureen Ogle, "Domestic Reform and American Household Plumbing, 1840-1870," Winterthur Portfolio 28.1 (1993): 33-58; May Stone, "The Plumbing Paradox: American Attitudes Toward Late Nineteenth-Century Domestic Sanitary Arrangements," Winterthur Portfolio 14.3 (1979): 283-309; and Gwendolyn Wright, "Domestic Architecture and the Cultures of Domesticity," Design Quarterly 138 (Spring 1987) 13-19. See also Gail Caskey Winkler, The Well-Appointed Bath: Authentic Plans and Fixtures from the Early 1900s (Washington: The Preservation Trust, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1989); and Lawrence Wright, Clean and Decent: The Fascinating History of the Bathroom and the Water Closet (New York: Viking Press, 1960).

[2]"Only Olsonite Seats Have All These Selling Features," Architectural Record September 1948: 35.

References to sanitation and modernism were typical of the period.[3] Further, this stark advertisement making reference to grand concepts of hygiene did not depict the day-to-day context in which this seat would ultimately be used, nor did it imply a particular user.

Some advertisements, however, depicted the intended user interacting with the product as seen in an EMCO advertisement from 1950 (Fig. 22). Here, mother bathed and cared for her child in what was claimed to be a safe, germ-free environment. The EMCO brass fittings, the ad suggested, were an integral component of the efficient management of the home and also provided "the essential safeguard of proper sanitation."[4] The woman of the family home was maternal and caring; her bathroom activities, the ad implied, centred around the well-being of her family.

These two bathroom advertisements typified those which appeared in both women's magazines and those intended for trades and professionals working in the construction industry from the mid-1940s to the early 1950s. They emphasized the primary features of the typical family bathroom: that it was a functional and hygienic space and that it was intended to be

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[3]See Lupton and Miller, 25-26. For more on the subject of hygiene and bathroom fixture design, see Adrian Forty, Objects of Desire: Design and Society Since 1750 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986) 166-169.

[4]"Modern EMCO Fittings...So Easy to Keep Clean," Canadian Homes and Gardens June 1950.

shared by family members. By the mid 1950s, as pointed out in the previous chapter, the typical middle-class house began to feature a second bathroom space. It was often part of the parents' growing domain while the "main" bathroom was increasingly used by the children. Concurrently, a new issue appeared in advertisement: the separation of children and adults. School-aged children appeared in advertisements of the period. They were shown using the bathroom space without the help of their mothers. Advertisers even recommended the provision of "a pull out drawer under the lavatory" so children could step up to the sink on their own (Fig. 23).[5] And, as advertisements for the main bathroom increasingly catered to the children of the family home, the popular press promoted the second, "private" bathroom for the use of adults.

The master bathroom of the middle-class house was, like the master bedroom, used by both husband and wife. Examples of bathroom designs with the marital couple in mind appeared in magazines during the mid-1950s. One "his and hers" design scheme devised by Formica featured a built-in console composed of a parallel make-up table and grooming sink (Fig. 24). The "vacation-land" inspired colours (they called it their "Nassau" line of colours) characterised the console, and the parental retreat, as a holiday from home life. The ad claimed to provide

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[5]"Smooth Sailing at Clean-Up Time...in this Bath for Children," House and Garden's Book of Building Fall-Winter 1956.

the couple with a "life-long holiday."[6] Although this particular advertisement showed both husband and wife using the bathroom, typically the female form alone appeared in depictions of the master bathroom.

The use of women in bathroom product advertisements was not new. But the ways in which women were portrayed in postwar ads provides evidence about the roles of women. For example, in the late 1940s, as seen in an advertisement for Crane, women were often shown interacting with bathroom space at a distance (Fig. 25).[7] Here, the woman gazes up at the image of her vanguard bathroom through a telescope. The image of the bathroom was presented with other celestial objects orbiting in a faraway galaxy-- a distanced relationship between the bathroom and the female form that disappeared in later years.

By the late 1950s, these types of images were completely supplanted by new images of women and bathrooms, like the "Blythwood" American-Standard ad, that were so inextricably linked that it was difficult to see where the woman ended and where the bathroom began (Fig. 26).[8] The female form seemed truly "at home" in these depictions. By portraying a full-

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6 "Life-Long Holiday Colors for Your Home-Buyers," House and Home May 1957: 222.

7 "There's More Than Meets the Eye in a Crane Bathroom," Canadian Homes and Gardens November 1947: 62.

8 "The Blythwood Bathroom by American-Standard in Stunning Colours!" Canadian Homes and Gardens April 1958: 46-47.

length body-shot of a woman set within her environment rather than a woman dwarfed by a bathroom that hovered beyond her reach (and perhaps her comprehension), the American-Standard ad hinted that the woman was a discerning user of her increasingly personalised space.[9] The broad-reaching changes in representations throughout this period reveal that the master bathroom was now a feminized site of luxurious and sensual delight.

Even the washbasin featured in the Crane ad provides evidence of this development. The wash basin depicted in the 1947 ad floated atop a bulky pedestal. Narrow rims prevented the storage and display of toiletries. Soon, as noted in a 1955 ad for the Crane "Countess", the wash basin with wasted space underneath and insufficient space on top developed into a "deluxe dressing table with running water... combining the glamour of colourful materials with the efficiency of modern design...".[10] This new design catered to the supposedly feminine desires for efficient space management, tidiness, and most

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[9]These particular examples were drawn from the women's magazine Canadian Homes and Gardens though ads in both the women's and professional press portrayed women in full-length body shots. A difference existed, however, in the ways in which women were dressed. Whereas the women's press generally portrayed fully-dressed women, periodicals geared for builders and architects sometimes showed women in the process of undressing. For a discussion of portrayals of women in the architectural press and its negative impact on women in the architectural profession see Adams, "Building Barriers."

[10] "Preferred Crane Counter-Top Lavatories," House and Home December 1955: 82-83.

importantly, a place to lay out cosmetics. And, while boasting the countertop advantages, this particular ad also depicted a collection of wash basins with names like Elayne and Marcia.[11] In this way, this ad pointed to the increased feminization of the master bathroom.

But it was really the incorporation of the countertop that changed the use of the lavatory and the gender of the bathroom. In 1955, the author of an article dealing with bathroom design stated:

> What used to be the wash basin (practical necessity) has become part of the dressing table (glamour spot for makeup), surrounded by a countertop for spreading out everything from toothpaste to mascara.[12]

The article featured a range of dressing tables. One photo in particular drove the point home (Fig. 27). It depicted a built-in dressing table complete with two lavatories. The middle of the countertop comprised a flip-up lid complete with built-in mirror and "lighting for easy make-up."[13] Thus devised, the countertop catered to supposedly feminine needs. And, as one writer noted, "the bigger the counters, the harder women fall

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[11] For more on the feminization of consumer goods, see Ellen Lupton, Mechanical Brides: Women and Machines from Home to Office (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993) 7-13.

[12] "Today's Better Bathrooms Begin with Better Equipment," House and Garden's Book of Building 1955: 74.

[13] "Today's Better Bathrooms Begin with Better Equipment," 76.

for them."[14]

Transformations responding to consumers' needs such as the ones seen in the design of lavatories also occurred in the design of bathtubs. In the early 1950s bathtub designs responded to women's perceived role as care-giver and safe-keeper. This was seen in a bathtub featured in a 1952 advertisement for Eljer (Figs. 28 & 29). It boasted a rim-seat which was "ideal for bathing children."[15] The ad contrasted sharply with one produced by the same company only three years later (Fig. 30). The wide rim which was intended to serve as a convenient seat from which mother could bathe her children was now depicted as a surface upon which toiletry items such as decorator soap and monogrammed towels could be placed.[16] Note also that the female models assumed two very different roles in each ad. In the earlier ad mother sported an apron. In the later one, the low slung bright red sarong emphasized the woman's bare back and gracefully poised arms. This transformation cast the female form in a different light. The corporeal depiction, in conjunction with the depicted change in the use of the rim seat, suggested that the bathtub and the bathroom were now the sites

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[14] "39 Ways to Build a Better Bathroom," House and Home February 1953: 100.

[15] "Lustrous Beauty to Last a Lifetime," House and Home March 1952.

[16] "The Cool Look of Perfection," House and Home November 1955.

of sensual, rather than maternal, delight.

The woman's taste and personality were also, according to numerous ads, exhibited in the decor of the bathroom. Advertisements, such as one for EMCO from 1958, articulated this relationship by stating: "In a sense your bathroom is the most important room in your home. In the eyes of your guests it reflects *you*...your discernment and good taste."[17] Ads such as this one were reminiscent of Emily Post's 1948 publication The Personality of a House. In this book, Post examined the relationship between a woman and her home and advocated the characterization of the mistress' personality through the decor of her rooms.[18] In effect, Post believed that rooms were settings which, like smartly co-ordinated clothes, enhanced the woman's beauty and also revealed the mistress' good taste and personality. Post and advertisers agreed that colour played a key role in this expression. But while Post recommended this colour philosophy for all rooms, bathroom ads like the one for EMCO claimed that the master bathroom, more than any other room in the house, could reflect a woman's unique personality.

By the mid 1950s, plumbing fixtures were increasingly available in a growing, albeit limited, palette of colours.

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[17] "EMCO Brings Glamorous Modernization to Your Home," Canadian Homes and Gardens May 1958.

[18] Emily Post, The Personality of a House 182-187. For an interpretation of Post's book, see Weisman, Discrimination By Design 92-97.

Coloured fixtures were reported to run at only 10% above the cost of basic white.[19] In 1950, an advertisement for Briggs Bathrooms claimed that the Levitt and Sons Co. from Manhasset, Long Island used coloured fixtures extensively. The Levitts believed that the use of colour was particularly appealing to women. Bill Levitt stated this observation plainly: "You should see their faces light up when the women first walk into this bathroom. There's no doubt about it, the luxury-look of Briggs Sandstone fixtures is a deciding factor in many a "one-look" sale."[20]

As pointed out in Lupton's and Miller's exhibit catalogue, although coloured fixtures were available in the late 1920s tenacious hygienic ideals made white fixtures popular until the late 1940s.[21] These all-white fixtures, often "described as either pure, virginal, sanitary or snowy," cast the bathroom as a reserved, sterile environment.[22] The effect of the modern

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[19] "5000 Briggs Bathrooms in Color," Architectural Record May 1950: 34-35.

[20] "5000 Brigs Bathrooms in Color," 34-35.

[21] Lupton and Miller have also attributed the slow acceptance of colour in the bath to both the costliness of the product and tenacious standards of hygiene. They have pointed out that the first mention of decorating the bathroom appeared in 1911, and that the introduction of coloured fixtures occurred in the late 1920s. They have suggested that it is not until the 1950s that colour gained mainstream acceptance in the bathroom. Lupton and Miller, 32-33.

[22] Lupton and Miller, 32-33.

white bathroom was clearly outlined in a 1935 article in the RAIC Journal. The author remarked that by stripping away "exciting ornament," bathroom designs had become "sound, practical, and also beautiful in a chaste and simple manner."[23] Interestingly, adjectives like modest, virginal and, later, cold used in the description of all-white bathrooms were also terms used to describe a woman's sexual state.[24] In this way, it is fascinating to consider the use of colour in the bathroom as a potential reflection of women's increased sensuality. If, as this author believed, ornament and colour were seen as "exciting" and modern all-white fixtures were seen as "chaste," then one could extrapolate that the use of colour constituted a manifestation of a woman's sexuality.

By the late 1950s the bathroom was said to have been "transformed from coldly clinical to colourfully comfortable."[25] In this move to "warm-up" the bathroom, ads turned their focus away from white to the full-blown use of colour. Often colour was noted for its ability to accent a woman's best features in the same way as cosmetics. As part of this trend, a well-coiffed woman in an advertisement for Rheem brushed her face against

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[23] Earle C. Morgan, "The Treatment of the Modern Bathroom," RAIC Journal September 1935: 144.

[24] Lupton and Miller, 32-33.

[25] "Bathrooms," House and Garden Book of Building Spring-Summer 1957: 97.

colourful and fragrant lilacs (Fig. 31). The image of a woman swathed in a colourful bouquet of purple flowers alluded to the close ties between colour and a woman's complexion. Hence, by association, this ad intimated that a similar relationship existed between coloured bathroom tiles and a woman's complexion. "Delicate lilac has long been a favourite colour with fashion designers and cosmeticians," the ad asserted, "and *never* so lavishly used by interior decorators as now!"[26] Lilac, the ad claimed, provided a new "bewitching" accent for the home. Moreover, it hinted that like cosmetics and clothing, the bathroom played a role in framing, embellishing, and accentuating a woman's best features.

As noted, the comparisons made between the cold and warmth of bathroom were striking since the terms used by advertisers mirrored the ones used to describe women's sexual state. These terms that described colour (and alluded to sexuality) were also employed in descriptions of redecorating. At times, redecorating was called "revamping" and certain decorator accents had supposedly "bewitching" effects.[27] Language in ads played up the sexual undertones of the woman's sexual whiles at

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[26] "An Exciting New Plumbing Fixture Color Fashioned by Rheem," House and Home June 1962: A-1.

[27]See for example "An Exciting New Plumbing Fixture Color Fashioned by Rheem," House and Home June 1962: A-1; and "How to Plan a Modern Bathroom," Canadian Homes and Gardens March 1958: 58.

work in the decoration of her bathroom. The woman of the family home was seen as a woman with "designs".[28]

But it was not the "hesitant introduction of coloured tiles and fixtures" alone that changed the face of the "most starkly antiseptic area in the house."[29] It was other touches such as the inclusion of carpets, storage drawers, and luxury fittings that brought pleasantness and warmth to the bathroom. The availability of single-handle mixing faucets, built-in tissue holders, and shampoo sprays increased the possibilities and permutations in bathroom customization. The shampoo spray, which one builder maintained "was popular with women," was useful although not necessary in the task of personal grooming.[30] An ad for Sherle Wagner fittings even suggested that their ornate faucets made "water flow like champagne."[31] The ad hinted that the bubbly, frothy water added to the sensual pleasures of

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28 For more on women, sexuality, and interior decorating see Peter McNeil "Designing Women: Gender, Sexuality and the Interior Decorator, c. 1890-1940," Art History 17 (December 1994): 631-657.

29 "Bathrooms," Architectural Record 1957: 226.

30 "How to Help Your Baths Sell Your House," House and Home May 1957: 173.

31 "Make Water Flow Like Champagne," Architectural Record Mid-May 1963: 42.

cleaning the body.[32]

The orchestration of these options into a coherent, inviting composition fell, according to the ads, within the dominion of the woman of the home.[33] By the late 1950s and early 1960s ads not only showed women in the context of the bathroom as a sensual setting, but also depicted them as prospective consumers making choices, selecting colours, and making planning decisions.[34] The degree of mastery and control granted to these

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[32]For more on the relationship between women, bathing, and sex see George Ryley Scott, The Story of Baths and Bathing (London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd., 1939) 252-268.

[33] For more on women as interior decorators see Annmarie Adams, "Architecture in the Family Way," 208-267; Peter McNeil, "Designing Women"; Judith Ann Neiswander, "Liberalism, Nationalism and the Evolution of Middle-class Values: The Literature on Interior Decoration in England, 1875-1914," diss. University of London, 1988; and Angela Partington, "The Designer Housewife in the 1950s," A View From the Interior 206-213. The role of women architects is discussed in Annmarie Adams, "Building Barriers: Images of Women in Canada's Architectural Press, 1924-1973," Resources for Feminist Research 23:3 (Fall 1994) 11-23; Ellen Perry Berkeley, ed., Architecture: A Place for Women (Washington: Smithsonian, 1988); Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, "Slowly and Surely (and Somewhat Painfully): More or Less the History of Women in Architecture in Canada," SSAC Bulletin 17 (1991) 5-11; Susana Torre, ed., Women in American Architecture: A Historical and Contemporary Perspective (New York: Whitney, 1977); Lynne Walker, "Women Architects," A View from the Interior 90-105, and Women Architects: Their Work (London: Sorella Press, 1984); and Gwendolyn Wright, "On the Fringe of the Profession: Women in American Architecture," The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession ed. Spiro Kostof (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977) 280-308.

[34]See Adams' analysis of advertisements which appeared in the women's and architectural press. That women were shown making planning decisions for the interiors and exteriors of their homes in advertisements appearing in the women's press, but not in the architectural press, is discussed in Adams,

ad-women was indicative of the manufacturers' acknowledgement of women's growing influence in the housing market during the period.

In 1952 an ad for Mosaic Tiles portrayed a woman-client speaking out about the bathroom (Fig. 32). She was poised with one hand on her hip while the other hand pointed towards her audience, the builder. "Let's talk about beauty and easy care..." she stated.[35] The builder, the ad implied, was to take her advice to heart when he planned and designed the bathroom.[36]

By the late 1950s, a shift in the representation of woman-as-client to woman-as-planner occurred. Ad-women now consulted plans and selected colour schemes. In one ad targeting designing women, a brochure floated atop a grid of vignettes presenting different interior views of bathrooms (Fig. 33). On its cover, a smartly attired woman glanced back, over her shoulder. In her hand she held an open brochure on bathroom design. An array of bathroom plans lay at her feet. Its

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"Building Barriers," 17.

35 "Let the Bathroom Sing of Lifetime Beauty and Ease of Care," House and Home January 1952: 32.

36The builder is most often referred to as "he". For more on the depiction of gender roles in the architectural press, see Annmarie Adams, "Building Barriers"; and Diane Favro "Ad-Architects: Women Professionals in Magazine Ads," Architecture: A Place for Women 187-200.

caption stated: "Bathrooms you dream about..."[37] A small coupon appeared on the lower portion of the ad. It was the order form for a booklet on how to plan a modern bathroom. Bathroom product manufacturers produced innumerable brochures on the decoration and planning of bathrooms in response to the needs of increasingly sophisticated women clients.[38] Booklets such as the one by EMCO provided information on colour, design, and accessories. These brochures were available at a nominal fee, usually to cover the cost of shipping, or at no cost at all.

"Whether you're thinking of revamping your bathroom completely--or simply adding a towel or two, you'll find wonderful ideas in EMCO'S new full-colour 32 page brochure." The text continued: "you'll find inspiration in the dashing but adaptable colour schemes and the intriguing use of new accessory features."[39] The text implied that a woman could extrapolate

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37 "How to Plan a Modern Bathroom," Canadian Homes and Gardens March 1958: 58.

38 For an example of a bathroom design brochure see The Crane Sketch Book of Plumbing, Heating, and Air Conditioning Ideas (Johnstown, Pa.: Crane Co., c. 1962). For more examples of bathroom ads with cut-away coupons see "Could You Sell a Room Full of Color?" House and Home September 1955; "EMCO Brings Glamorous Modernization to Your Home," Canadian Homes and Gardens May 1958; and "Your Bathroom Can Be as Beautiful as This, with Colorful, Durable Consoweld," House and Garden's Book of Building Spring-Summer 1957. The information bureau at Canadian Homes and Gardens, in a similar vein, dispersed product information on request. A list of current product and design brochures appeared at the end of each issue.

39 "How to Plan a Modern Bathroom," 58.

varied and helpful advice for the decoration and renovation of her bathroom: the "most neglected room in the house."[40]

A woman appeared at the bottom of this ad. Positioned with her back to the reader, the woman posed with arms outstretched signalling the breadth and expanse of possibilities within her command. This echoed another ad, by FiLite Ceilings, which depicted a man and woman in a bathroom (Fig. 34).[41] The woman pointed towards the ceiling while the man stood next to her, arms at his side. She seemed to be demonstrating and explaining the features of the bathroom to the man. Both of these ads featured women in command of bathroom space.

Postwar bathroom advertisements are evidence of the changing role of middle-class women within their homes and their growing power in the housing industry as consumers and designers. While early examples of bathroom advertisements featured woman as care-giver to her family, these were soon supplanted by advertisements portraying women as autonomous users of bathrooms. The design and depicted use of bathroom fixtures also responded to women's changing role in middle-class family life. Even the way in which advertisers portrayed women--full-length body shots of women set in bathrooms--empowered

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[40] That the bathroom was the most neglected room in the house was expressed by the Women's Housing Congress of 1956 in "How to Help Your Baths Sell Your Home," House and Home, May 1957: 167.

[41] "FiLite Luminous Ceilings Brighten Appeal of Meredith Village Homes," Architectural Record 1963: 34.

women by portraying them as subjects, rather than objects, in their environments. And, the fact that manufacturers increasingly portrayed and catered to women as consumers and designers in their ads indicated that they wanted women to play an active role in the housing industry.

This chapter has also explicated that the decoration of the master bathroom, more than any other room in the house, was a manifestation of woman's "sensual" personality. Thus, as woman's power as a consumer of coloured fixtures and luxurious accessories increased, so too did her control over the design of her most intimate environment and the expression of her personality that it entailed. In this way, the bathroom advertisements that appeared in the popular press provide evidence of postwar woman's independence, sensuality, and power in a society that supposedly valued woman's subservient roles as mother, hostess, and wife. Indeed, the decoration and outfitting of the master bathroom came to reflect and affect woman's increased independence from family life; her control over her sexual expression; and her growing power in the postwar housing industry.

Pillow Talk: Women and the Regulation of Space and Sexuality in the Bedroom Farce

In 1955 Marilyn Monroe pulled out the stops, and the floorboards, in The Seven Year Itch. In this film Richard Sherman, an apartment dweller played by Tom Ewell, was "left to his own devices, his own impulses, and his own conscience when his wife and child [went] off to the country for the summer."[1] Meanwhile, Marilyn Monroe's character, a nameless out-of-town woman, moved into the apartment upstairs. One night, suffering from the New York summer heat, the girl asked Sherman if she could spend the night in his apartment. Sherman, tempted by her suggestion, contemplated the implications:

The Girl: "I've been thinking about it and I'd like to stay here with you tonight."

Richard Sherman: "Hmm?"

The Girl: "I'd like to sleep here."

Richard Sherman: "Are you sure?"

The Girl: "That is if you don't mind."

Richard Sherman: "It's not a question of minding my dear girl. It's just that we don't want to rush blindly into something. Now if you wanted to spend an hour or so well..."

The Girl: "Please don't make me go back to that hot apartment. I haven't slept in three nights. I'd like to look good for my show tomorrow. I could sleep right here in this chair.. I wouldn't even need a pillow. I'll be as quiet as a mouse. You wouldn't even know that I'm around. Please?"

Richard Sherman: "Well...ha...That's different. Of course

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[1] "Inner Scuffle," Newsweek 20 June 1955: 94.

you can sleep here. Why not? After all we're not savages. We're civilized people."

The Girl: "Oh thank-you!..."

Richard Sherman: "Now wait a minute! Suppose someone sees you leaving the apartment at 8 o'clock in the morning. A lot of people live in this building! Just one person has to see ya and we're dead!"

The Girl:"Alright then, I can get up at 6 and sneak upstairs."

Richard Sherman: "Sneak! That's even worse. Suppose someone sees you sneaking out of here at 6 in the morning."

The Girl: "But we're not doing anything wrong!"

Richard Sherman: "Certainly not. But there is such a thing as society you know...laws, rules. I don't mean I necessarily believe in them, but after all, no man's an island."[2]

The girl retreated to her apartment leaving Sherman momentarily relieved. Determined to spend a cool night in the air-conditioned apartment, however, Monroe's character resolved the problem by pulling out the nails in the floor board blocking the communicating stairs between the apartments. Once the board was lifted, the girl, wearing a seductive nightie with toothbrush and paste in tow, descended the staircase back into Richard Sherman's apartment with hammer in hand (Fig. 35).

The Girl: "Hi"

Richard stares

The Girl: "Forgot about the stairs! Isn't that silly? It was so easy. I just pulled out the nails...You know

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[2] The Seven Year Itch, dir. Billy Wilder, with Tom Ewell, and Marilyn Monroe, 20th Century Fox, 1955.

what, we can do this all summer!"[3]

The girl in The Seven Year Itch transgressed the boundaries of propriety by pulling out the architectural safeguard, the floor boards. By linking the two spaces sectionally, she had not only made an architectural intervention, but had made a sexual advance. This scene shows how architectural space and sexual life were closely related in one film of this era.

Films like The Seven Year Itch were known as sex comedies. Also known as the bedroom farce, the sex comedy developed during a transitional period in Hollywood film-making. It emerged from its tamer predecessor the romantic comedy which set women and men in a highly pitched "battle of the sexes."[4] Often portrayed in a male-dominated office setting, the heroine of the romantic comedy was comically pitted against an unlikely but inevitable mate. The sex comedy genre, however, supplanted the battle of the sexes for one between virginity and virility. "In many of the sex comedies of the 1950s and 1960s, the hero's prime aim [was] to break down the woman's sexual resistance and take her

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[3] The Seven Year Itch, dir. Billy Wilder, with Tom Ewell, and Marilyn Monroe, 20th Century Fox, 1955.

[4] For more on the romantic comedy, see Andrea Walsh, Women's Film and Female Experience 1940-1950 (New York: Praeger, 1984); Elizabeth Kendall, The Runaway Bride: Hollywood Romantic Comedies of the 1930s (New York: Borzoi, 1990); and James Harvey, Romantic Comedy in Hollywood, from Lubitsch to Sturges (New York: Borzoi, 1987).

to bed."[5] Whereas the most common setting for the romantic comedy was the office, bedroom and bathroom scenarios prevailed in bedroom farces.

The spawning of the sex comedy has been attributed to the waning power of the Hollywood Production Code.[6] This set of guidelines governed film-making practices in Hollywood for a thirty year period. It was originally drafted in 1930 in response to censorship pressures by community leaders concerned with the potentially harmful influence movies had on their audiences. In effect, the "Code" was a self-imposed restraining measure meant to restrict the sexual and moral content in movies in order to pass strict local censorship boards in cities and towns across North America.[7] When films followed the "Production Code" guidelines, they received the "Seal of Approval" that ensured broad distribution and hence big box office receipts. It prescribed the limited depiction of sex and

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[5] Steve Neale and Frank Krutnik, Popular Film and Television Comedy (New York: Routledge, 1990) 170.

[6] Neale and Krutnik also attribute the development of the sex comedy to the cultural impact of the publication of Alfred Kinsey, The Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female (New York: W.B.Saunders Co., 1953). See Neale and Krutnik, 169. See also Alexander Walker, The Celluloid Sacrifice: Aspects of Sex in the Movies (London: Michael Joseph, 1968).

[7] For more on the subject of the production code see Leonard J. Leff, The Dame in the Kimono: Hollywood Censorship and the Production Code from 1920s to the 1960s (New York: Borzoi, 1990); and Paul W. Facey, The Legion of Decency: A Sociological Analysis of the Emergence and Development of a Social Pressure Group (New York: Arno Press, 1974)

its contentious site, the bedroom, and advised that when its depiction was absolutely required its treatment had to be "governed by good taste and delicacy."[8]

During the 1950s, its power began to erode. As one reviewer noted: "The Production Code which once bulldogged producers and exhibitors, is being observed... about as often as the whooping crane."[9] In this transitional period in film-making, sex comedies increasingly dealt with the subject of sex and its site, the bedroom, as seen in the bedroom farce Pillow Talk produced in 1959. It was the story of the romantic entanglement of career girl Jan Morrow played by Doris Day and smooth talking bachelor Brad Allen, and his alter ego Rex Stetson, played by Rock Hudson. The misfortunate Jan Morrow was forced to share a telephone party-line with the womanizing songwriter Brad Allen. Much of the story revolved around their telephone conversations.

Early in the film, Jan, an interior decorator, complained to the telephone company that Brad was interfering with her business calls by monopolizing the telephone line for the purpose of seducing women. But her complaint backfired as the telephone company sent a woman agent to investigate the situation. Not surprisingly, Brad--the playboy bachelor who reportedly "had sown so many wild oats he [could] qualify for a

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8 See the "The 1930 Production Code" in Walsh, 206.

9 "Hollywood Decoded," Time 3 November 1958: 78.

farm loan"-- seduced the agent and Jan was reprimanded by the telephone company for lodging a false complaint.[10] In the following scene, Brad confronts Jan.

> Brad: "You're a woman who lives alone and doesn't like it."
>
> Jan: "I happen to like living alone!"
>
> Brad: "Look, I don't know what's bothering you, but don't take your 'bedroom problems' out on me."
>
> Jan: "I have no 'bedroom problems'! There's nothing in my bedroom that bothers me!"[11]

Evocative of its predecessor, the romantic comedy, this sex comedy used euphemistic language to allude to sex. Dialogue riddled with double meanings was a hallmark of the romantic comedy genre which circumvented stringent production code regulations by embedding sexual content within the text rather than describing it overtly.[12] When Brad suggested that Jan had "bedroom problems," this meant "sexual problems," or in Jan's case, a lack of sexual experience. The euphemism "bedroom problems" neatly intertwined sex and its contentious architectural site, the bedroom. Even the title of the movie referred to seduction and bedroom equipment. But in this

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[10]"Pillow Replumped," Time 16 February 1962: 72.

[11]Pillow Talk, dir. Michael Gordon, with Doris Day, Rock Hudson, Thelma Ritter, and Tony Randall, Universal, 1959.

[12] For more on "double language" in Hollywood films, see Walsh, 34.

transitional period in film-making, the euphemistic dialogue frustrated some. "Pillow Talk offers more talk than pillows," lamented one reviewer. [13]

But Pillow Talk differed significantly from the romantic comedy genre by dealing with bedroom scenes in a more open manner. Although not avant-garde in its depiction of sexual content, it did nonetheless go against the prescription of the code which stated that "certain places [were] so closely and thoroughly associated with sexual life or with sexual sin that their use must be carefully limited."[14] The progressive deregulation of film-making made way for the representation of sexuality on the screen. This representation, whether modest or bold, was increasingly regulated by the female character as, in the case of Brad Allen, the playboy bachelor's propriety was never in question.[15] The deregulation of Hollywood films thus placed the onus of the expression of sexuality on women. As was the case in Pillow Talk, this was sometimes achieved through spatial proximity.

For example, cinematically, the split screens in Pillow

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[13] "Pillow Talk," Time 19 October 1959: 106.

[14] "The 1930 Production Code" in Walsh, 216.

[15] For more on gender roles in film, see for example Steven Cohan, "Masquerading as the American Male in the Fifties," Male Trouble, ed. Constance Penley and Sharon Willis (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1993) 202-233; and Steven Cohan and Ina Rae Hark,ed., Screening the Male: Exploring Masculinities in Hollywood Cinema (New York: Routledge, 1993).

Talk accommodated the simultaneous viewing of both ends of the telephone conversations between Jan and Brad which originated from their respective apartments. More significantly, however, was the fact that these exchanges occurred from their bedroom suites. And whether they soaked in their bathtubs, sat on, laid on, or stood next to their beds, invariably both Jan and Brad were filmed from the same vantage point and poised in corresponding settings. They even mirrored one another's movements at times.

Many of the split screen scenes were symmetrically balanced. During one such scene in a bathroom, Jan and Brad (as his alter ego Rex Stetson) spoke to one another on the telephone while soaking in their respective bathtubs (Fig. 36). One film reviewer of the period described the scene:

> Seemingly heel-to-toe in tubs, though they live in separate buildings, the decorator and the songwriter talk on party-line. In film directed by Michael Gordon, a split screen joins scenes.[16]

At this point in the film Brad charaded as Rex Stetson, a gentle Texan on vacation in New York City. Brad concocted the impersonation to both deceive and seduce Jan. During their flirtatious conversation, complete with charming Texan drawl, the boundary between the bathrooms was blurred.

Momentarily, the wall became an intimate site of contact between their feet. The semipermeable nature of the split screen

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[16] "Rollicking Role for Rock," Life 21 September 1959: 74-75.

became particularly apparent when Jan suggestively felt Brad's touch through the wall. As published in Life magazine in 1959: "To heighten effect, when Rock scratches the wall with his toe, Doris pulls back her foot."[17] Although the split screen ensured the separation of bodies in space by establishing their respective bathtubs and assured viewers of Jan Morrow's propriety, it was not an impermeable barrier. When Jan felt the touch of Brad's foot, it suggested that the split screen also linked the spaces. This sensual characterization of the split screen took on profound implications as the film progressed. For some, though, the split screen technique was too meek. It prompted a Time magazine film reviewer to suggest that:

> When these two magnificent objects go into a clinch, aglow from the sun lamp and agleam with hair lacquer, they look less like creatures of flesh and blood than a couple of 1960 Cadillacs that just happen to be parked in a suggestive position.[19]

The tricky bedroom sequences were designed to convey the varying degrees of intimacy between Brad and Jan. For instance, early in the film, a telephone conversation set in the bedroom found Jan and Brad each lying horizontally on their respective beds (Fig. 37). These shots were not captured axially, but rather, they were shot at an oblique angle. Moreover, the screen was not split down the middle but rather, one scene was set

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[17] "Rollicking Role for Rock," 74-75.

[19] "Pillow Talk," Time: 106.

apart from the other in the upper right hand corner. Together, these techniques made the parameters (and perimeters) of their beds quite apparent. This flirtatious seduction scene, conducted in their respective bedrooms, was safeguarded by the asymmetrical split and the oblique shot ensuring the separation and demarkation of bodies in space while evoking a kind of tender bedroom seduction. The effect was to distance the two beds in the eye of the viewer. The oblique angle established the boundaries of the bed and the limits of male and female space.

Later in the film, as the relationship progressed, a bolder cinematography displayed axial shots of the beds. Finally, the semipermeable nature of the split screen exerted its most powerful implication in this film: the simulated marital bed. This split-screen scene showing Jan and Brad discussing an upcoming weekend retreat in the country juxtaposed axial shots of the two beds (Fig. 38). Here, the bedroom space of female and male were momentarily fused into a riské image of a marital bed. Thus, as Jan let down her "barriers," the double bed began to emerge. The progressive dissolution of the boundary between the bedroom space, like Marilyn Monroe's floorboards, pointed to Jan's decision to make a sexual advance.[20]

Immediately following this scene, Jan abandoned the safety

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[20] For more on women, sexuality, and film, see for example Laura Mulvey, "Pandora: Topographies of the Mask and Curiosity," Sexuality and Space, ed. Beatriz Colomina (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992) 53-71.

of the split screen altogether and agreed to a weekend retreat with Rex. She embarked on a late night drive to a remote cottage. In the background, a song sung by Doris Day expressed her secret longings. In it she pined: "Make Love to Me." Once they reached the cottage, it was clear that she had decided to drop the architectural safeguard as she and Rex were intertwined on the couch in a lover's embrace (Fig.39). This scene emphasized a theme which recurred throughout the film. It showed Jan's sexuality regulated through the separation and, later, union of space.

Just as the regulation of Jan's sexuality was mediated through the dissolving boundary between bodies and space, so too was the assertion of her power expressed through her redecoration of Brad's apartment.[21] Jan demonstrated her fluency in the language of decor as an expression of sexuality when she was hired by Brad to redecorate his bachelor pad.

In the denouement of the film, Jan had figured out Brad's deceptive double identity and refused to speak to him. However, Brad had fallen in love with Jan and was determined to win her back. He hired her to redecorate his apartment thinking that they might reconcile during the process of redecoration.

Brad's apartment was a stellar example of proper masculine decor. From the fine wood detailing to the coarse earth toned

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[21]For more on the relationship between feminism and interior decoration see Adams,"Architecture in the Family Way," 258-262; McNeil, "Designing Women," 631-657; and Partington, "The Designer Housewife in the 1950s."

textiles, his apartment epitomized a rugged yet elegant bachelor pad. Its decor was deceptively by the book:

> That every normal man should be repelled by any suggestion of effeminacy is only natural...All rooms of dignity and untrimmed simplicity are suitable for a man. Colours should be either deep or neutral, [whereas] frilly curtains, too many ornaments, fragile furniture, attenuated decorations are obviously unsuitable to the use of a man.[22]

There were, however, some questionable features in the apparently gentlemanly apartment and Jan was quick to locate them:

> Jan: "What style did you have in mind?"
>
> Brad: "Nothing in particular, I'm leaving that up to you...um..here, this is where I do my work...huh, the living room...over here is the kitchen and dining room, over there..."
>
> Jan: "Up here?"
>
> Brad: "The bedroom"
>
> Jan: "And these?"
>
> Brad: "Light switches"
>
> Jan reaches over
>
> Brad: "Ummm!!Just switches!"
>
> Jan: "Aren't they rather inconvenient?"
>
> Brad: " No..um the man who lived here before me had very long arms...Over here um.."
>
> Jan: "Mr. Allen, if I'm going to redo the apartment I have to know what everything is for."
>
> First light switch activates the door lock, dims the lights and starts the record player. Jan glares.
>
> Brad: "Um...now this is the fireplace."
>
> Jan: "But I'd like to see what the other switch does."

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[22] Post, The Personality of a House 414.

Brad: "It's just a light switch, I wouldn't pay any attention to it."

Jan: "Mr. Allen please."

The second switch releases the bed from within the couch.

Shock.

Brad: "Jan, I.."

Jan: "Why redecorate? It's so functional for your purposes!"[23]

This tour of the apartment exposed Brad's deceptive use of elegant and proper decor. The discovery of the hide-a-bed was particulary revealing (Figs. 40 and 41). Because the bed was released from a light switch placed in a location only comfortably reached from a seated position on the couch, it was clear that the hide-a-bed played a role in Brad's seduction of women. Presumably, Brad casually reached over to the switch from a comfortable position on the couch, maybe with his arm around an unsuspecting woman. This scene, as well as springing Brad's trap, also functioned as a characterization of Brad's double identity. It mirrored his shifty charade as Rex Stetson. The elegant decor was a ruse to conceal his carnal intentions. Brad, like the couch, was not as he seemed.

Upon returning to her office, Jan planned her revenge through the redecoration of his apartment. In a conversation with her assistant Matilda, she strategized her next move:

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[23]Pillow Talk, dir. Michael Gordon, with Doris Day, Rock Hudson, Thelma Ritter, and Tony Randall, Universal, 1959.

Jan: "Matilda, call these shops and tell them I'll be coming by. I want to pick up a few things."

Matilda: "But Miss Morrow, we don't deal with any of these shops. You know what their stuff is like!"

Jan: "You bet I do! You should have seen that man's apartment! He's got it down to a science. He pushes a button and the couch becomes a bed with baby blue sheets."

Matilda: "Really!?"

Jan: "And him acting so embarrassed. Big Phony! He's a spider and expects me to redecorate his web! Ha!"[24]

Jan's assessment of Brad's apartment showed that she saw through his deceptive use of decor. Jan (or rather the film-maker) was well versed in decorator axioms like those published by Emily Post in The Personality of a House. Thus, she proceeded to personify Brad Allen as a womanizing playboy through the new decor of his apartment (Fig. 42).

"Walls and furniture coverings writhed and twisted in mustard red, maroon, and a variety of discordant greens, like the serpents of Medusa."[25] Bulbous tassels, African fertility statuettes, ballooning silk draperies, and a player piano were the elements with which she transformed his apartment from an elegant bachelor pad into the "nauseating" harem she felt better suited his womanizing personality.

The use of decor as a reflection of sexuality was also seen

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[24]Pillow Talk, dir. Michael Gordon, with Doris Day, Rock Hudson, Thelma Ritter, and Tony Randall, Universal, 1959.

[25] Post, 177.

in other sex comedies of the period, like Lover Come Back. It starred Doris Day alongside Rock Hudson and Tony Randall in their second of three collaborations.[26] This story written by Stanley Shapiro of Pillow Talk fame comprised a similar plot which prompted one reviewer to note: "But this time the interiors [were] even more giltily decorative, the fashions more spectacularly inconsequential, the colors more hormone-creamy, the lines more jerky-smirky."[27] The relationship of decor and sexuality did not go unnoted. It seemed that this looser comedy--it found Day and Hudson in a compromising position in a hotel bed--demanded looser decor (Fig. 9).

In Pillow Talk, when Jan redecorated Brad's apartment, she demonstrated two things: that ultimately she had a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between bedroom decor and sexual personality, and that she, not he, would have the last word in this game of cat-and-mouse. As noted by a reviewer:

> When he engages her to redecorate his bachelor diggings, she turns it into a decorator's hall of horrors--an act of war that leads to the loving conciliation in which they find themselves, like her slip covers and drapes, beautifully matched.[28]

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26 Lover Come Back, dir. Delbert Mann, with Doris Day, Rock Hudson, and Tony Randall, Universal, 1962. The trio also starred in Send Me No Flowers, dir. Norman Jewison, with Rock Hudson, Doris Day, Tony Randall, Universal, 1964.

27 "Pillow Replumped," Time 16 February 1962: 72.

28 "Rollicking Role for Rock," 73.

Thus, because of her handling of the redecoration of the apartment, their reconciliation occurred on her terms.

Admittedly, film, like an advertisement or an architectural drawing, is prescriptive by nature. However imaginary, a film like Pillow Talk shows a complex mix of storyline, architectural setting and character interaction that is inaccessible in other sources. In this way, film provides historians with a unique glimpse of architecture and decor in action.

By both regulating the "mating" of bedroom space through spatial separation or union, and expressing sexuality through decor, the leading lady in Pillow Talk demonstrated her control over her space and her sexuality. This portrayal of an independent woman in command of her environment and her sexual freedom foreshadowed the sexual and reproductive freedoms to come in the political arena in the 1960s.

Conclusion

Bedrooms are political. John Lennon and Yoko Ono showed the world that this was the case during their anti-war protest at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel in Montreal in 1969.[1] This "bed-in" captured the attention of the world and received round-the-clock media coverage because it echoed what was intrinsic, though not always readily apparent, in the postwar master bedroom. The bedroom was not a sanctuary from the "public" sphere, but rather was the most politicized room in the middle-class family home.

Canadian bedrooms made the headlines on another occasion that year. This time, the message came from a politician. In his motion to decriminalize contraceptive practices in Canada, Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau declared: "The state has no business in the bedrooms of the nation."[2] The amendments Trudeau brought to the Criminal Code were the culmination of a decade of change for Canadian women in their reproductive choices. Some attributed these advances in women's reproductive

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[1]This "bed-in" took place in the "Honeymoon Suite" of the hotel, May 26-June 2, 1969. They had staged a similar protest in another "Honeymoon Suite" at the Amsterdam Hilton, March 25-31, 1969.

[2]Trudeau first made the statement in 1967, but it was not until 1969 that he was able to pass the bill. Angus McLaren and Arlene Tigar McLaren, The Bedroom and the State: The Changing Practices and Politics of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880-1980 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986) 135.

freedom to the availability of the contraceptive pill in Canada in 1961.[3] However, statistics showed that the birthrate had begun to drop three years prior to the availability of the pill.[4] Perhaps this drop in the birthrate, then, was an indication that women had already begun to make personal and political choices. And although Trudeau's memorable statement received media attention in 1967 and again in 1969, this drop may even suggest that the Women's Liberation Movement had been developing quietly in the bedrooms of the nation since the late 1950s. In this way, the master bedroom of the middle-class house echoed what Virginia Woolf had expressed as early as 1929: that if women were to become truly emancipated, they would require a room of their own.[5] It took nearly 30 years for this message to impact the lives of middle-class North-American women.

Magazine advertisements participated in the emancipation process by encouraging women to personalize the master bedroom suite and make it their own. Bathroom ads asked women to examine their personalities and invited them to express themselves through decor. Advertisers set an example by

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[3]McLaren and McLaren, 133.

[4]This is noted by McLaren and McLaren, 134.

[5]Virginia Woolf, A Room of One's Own (London: Hogarth Press, 1929).

portraying women making planning decisions.[6] More than simply advocating a feminization of the master bedroom suite, ads spurred on "a form of 'spatial feminism' by encouraging women to view their [space] critically and to rearrange it to suit their own needs."[7] They did more that just urge women to become consumers of their products, they incited women to design their own environments.[8]

Moreover, by making available to women numerous informative brochures, advertisers of bathroom products demystified the construction industry and building materials. In this way, women became informed not only about colour theories, but about ventilation and plumbing: the more "masculine" (and exclusive) aspects of design.[9] In this way, these ads may have enabled middle-class housewives to build bridges to the "outside"

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[6]Susan Douglas has argued that the persuasive power of the mass media in the 1950s and 1960s contributed to the feminist movement. Susan Douglas, Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female in the Mass Media (New York: Times Books, 1994).

[7]Adams, "Architecture in the Family Way," 244. Note that Adams has argued that Victorian women were encouraged to practice "spatial feminism" nearly 80 years earlier than my example.

[8] Women's resistance to design principles in the decoration of their homes was considered by Partington to be a mark of their power in the 1950s. Angela Partington, "The Designer Housewife in the 1950s," 212.

[9]Adams has argued that ads for exterior building materials, like for roofing and landscaping, in women's magazines typically portrayed women as decision makers, pointing to their "participation in exterior, as well as interior, design." Adams, "Building Barriers," 17.

world.[10]

Whatever insight we may gain from prescriptive sources, we cannot draw a direct correlation between the role of women as played out in these imagined environments and the lives women led in their real bedrooms. An investigation of women in their real-life bedrooms and bathrooms and the ways in which they used and were empowered by these spaces remains to be done.

This study has nonetheless revisited a period in women's history that has been too quickly construed as an era marked by the victimization of women by their environments. This thesis has shown that in the architecture and popular culture of postwar North America, women were depicted and perceived as controlling their sexuality, their identities, and their most intimate domestic environments: the bedroom and the bath. Moreover, by demonstrating that the representations of woman's "inner sanctum" constituted a foreshadowing of the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s, this thesis proposes that architecture plays a vital role in the shaping of society. The bedrooms and bathrooms of the nation not only reflect women's power in postwar society, they may have spurred it on.

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10 In a similar vein, some scholars have argued that the participation of women in social groups and community organizations during the 1950s constituted a foreshadowing of the Women Liberation Movement in North America. See for example Chafe, The Paradox of Change; Eugenia Kaledin, Mothers and More, and Leila J. Rupp, Survival in the Doldrums.

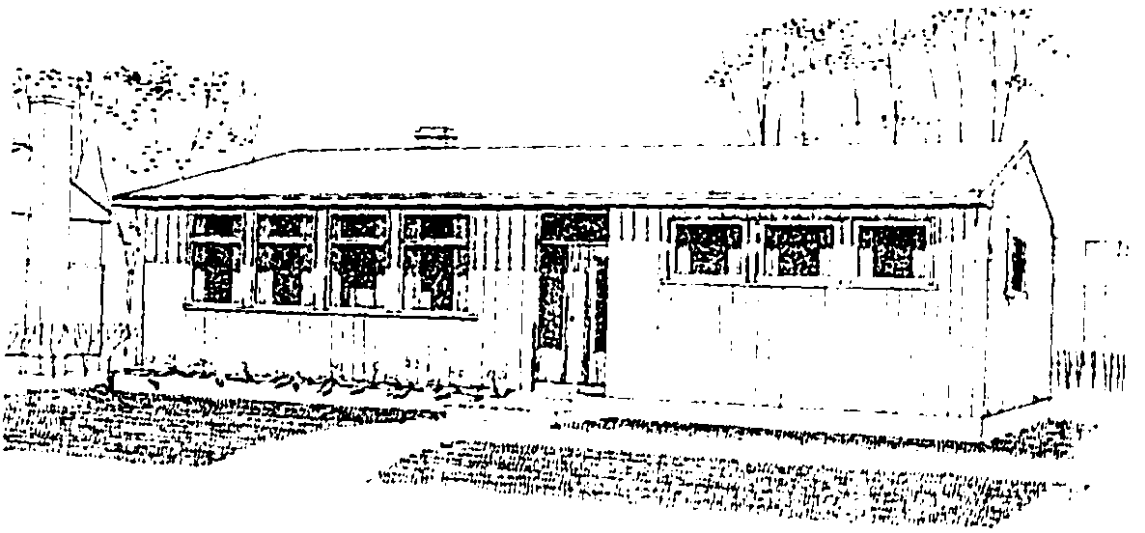


Fig. 1. Vignette of house #130. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1958) 11.

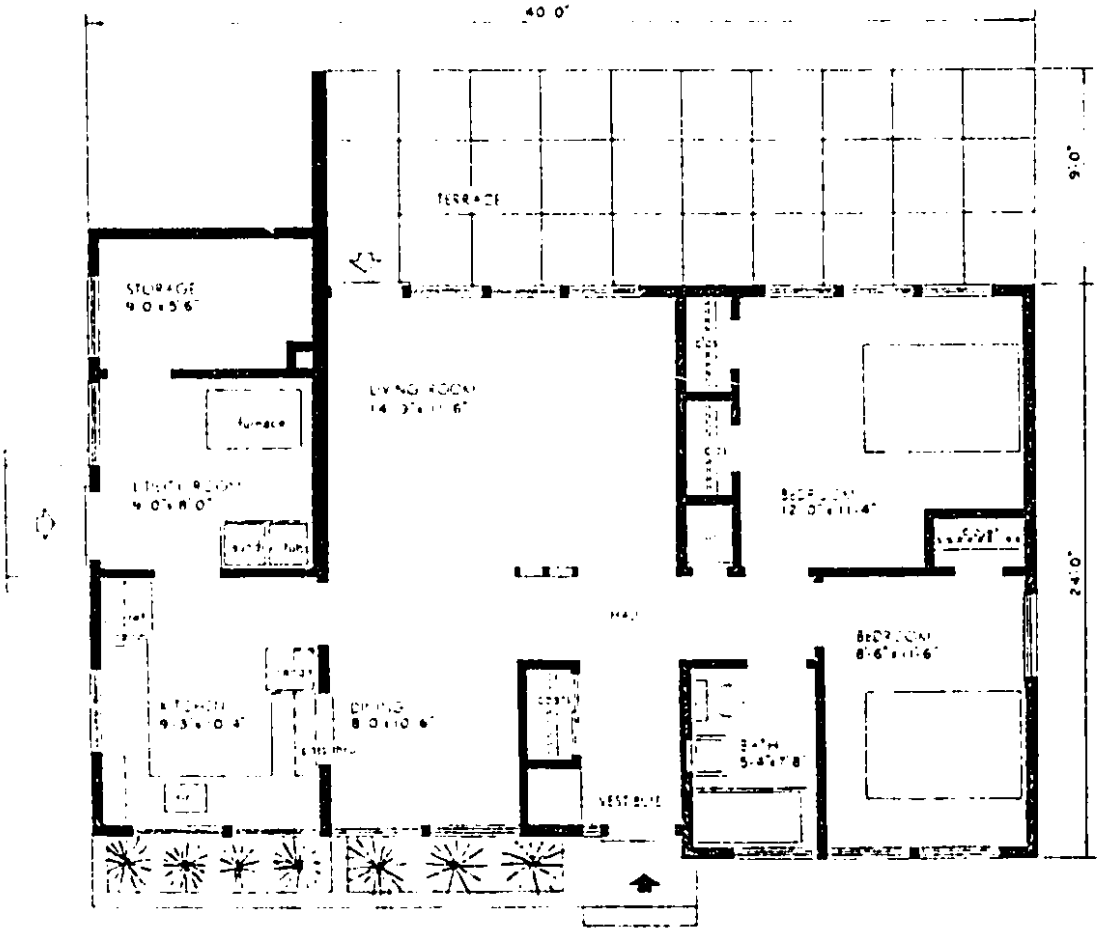


Fig. 2. Plan of house #130. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1958) 10.

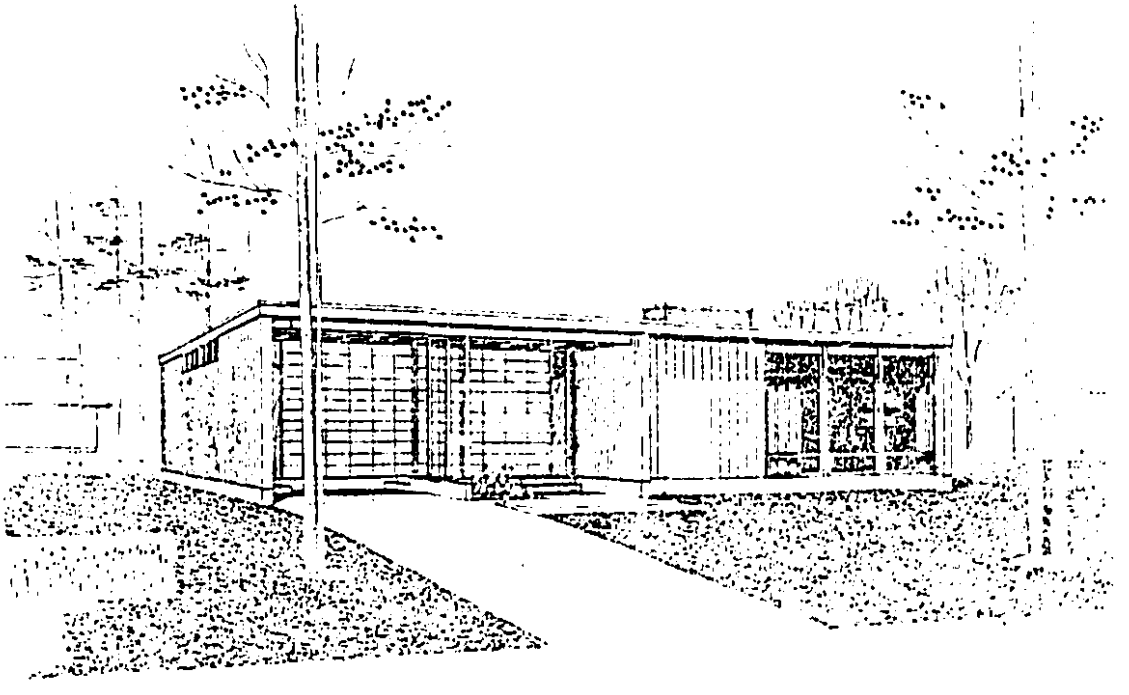


Fig. 3. Vignette of house #288. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1958) 93.

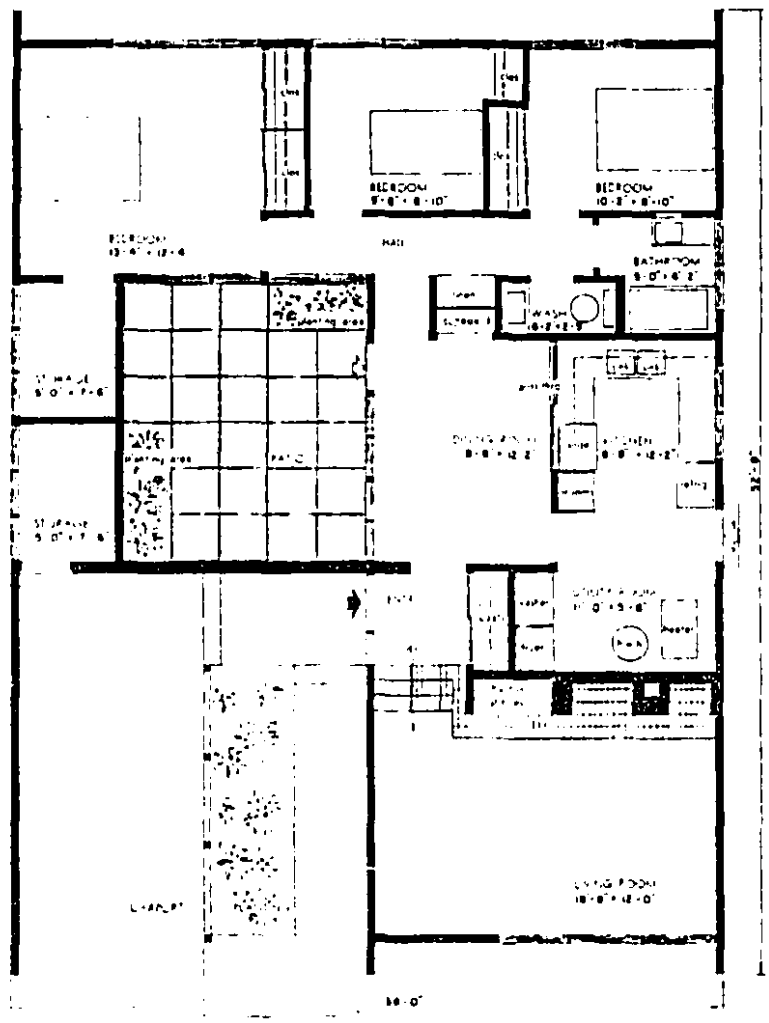


Fig. 4. Plan of house #288. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1958) 92.

Fig. 5. View of children's play area from master bedroom. Julius Shulman, "Design for Living--With Kids," Architectural Record March 1949: 108.

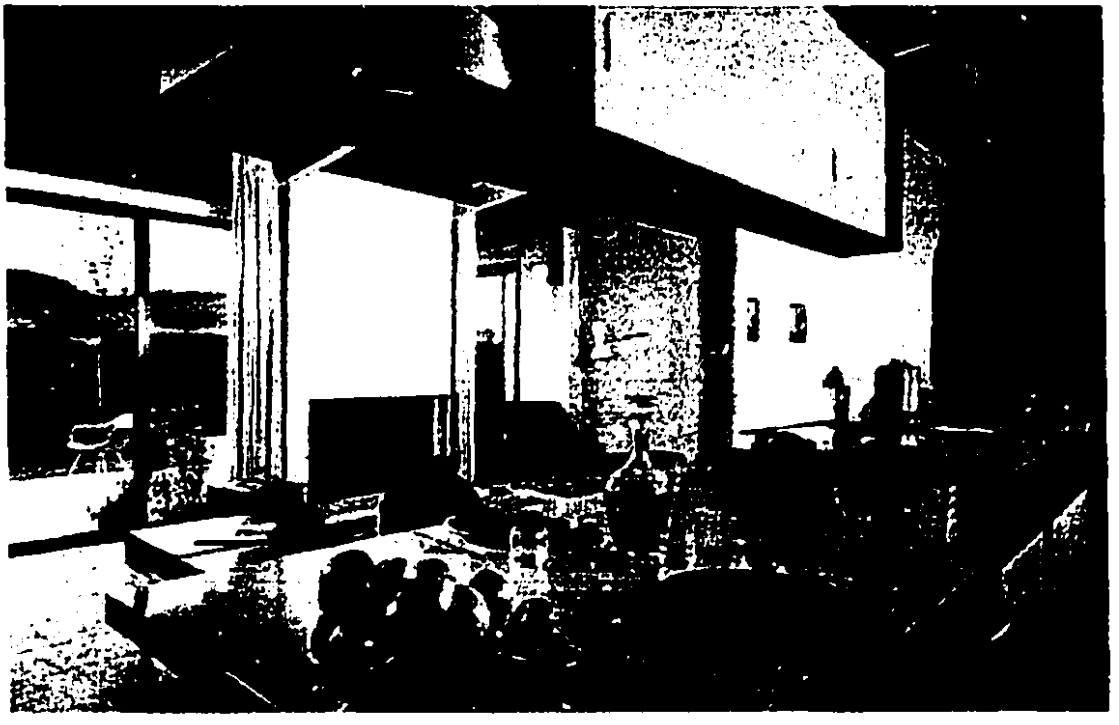


Fig. 6. Eichler promotional postcard showing view of children's play space from kitchen. Annmarie Adams, "The Eichler Home," 168.

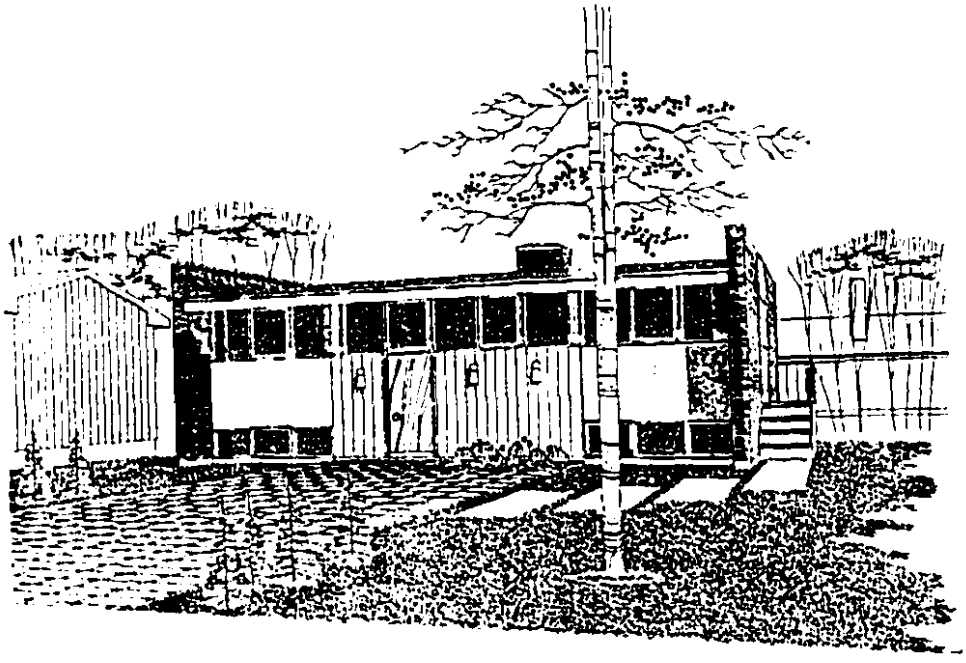


Fig. 7. Vignette of house #811. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1962) 120.

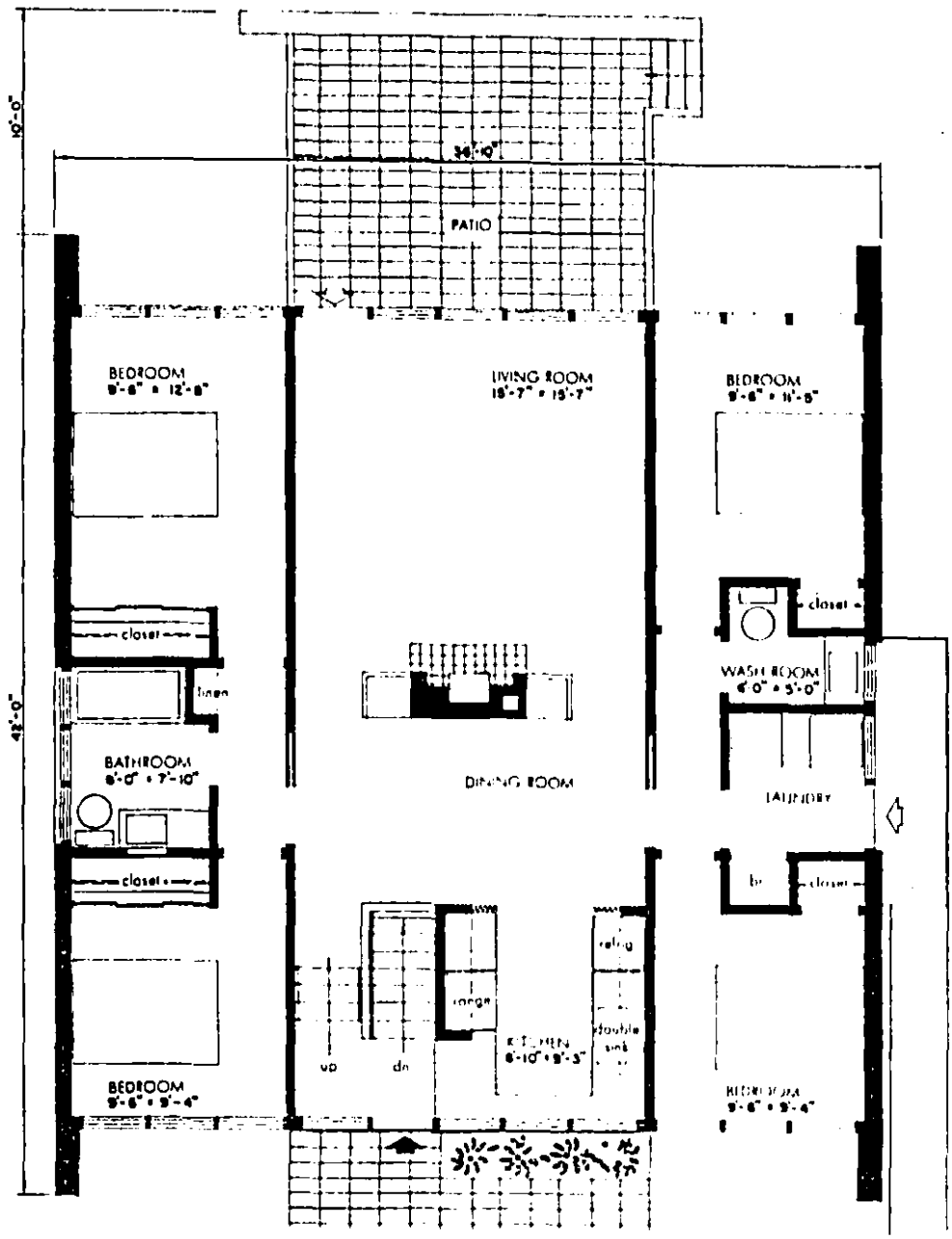


Fig. 8. Plan of house #811. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1962) 121.

Fig. 9. White Angel. Simpsons Catalogue (Toronto: Robert Simpson Co., 1951).

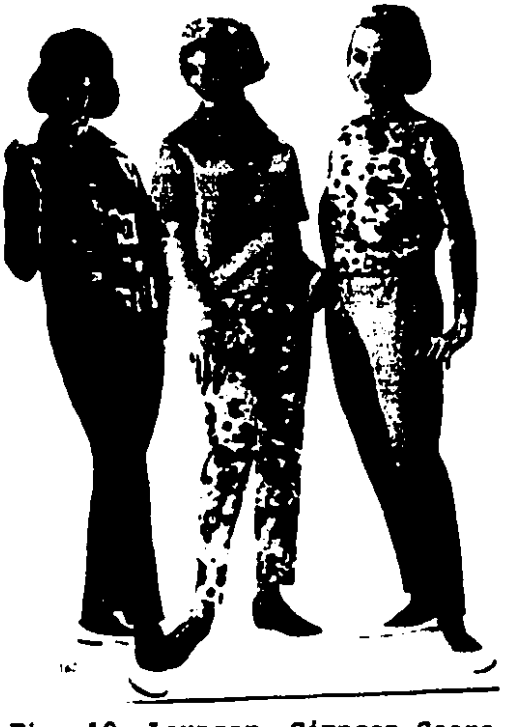


Fig. 10. Lounger. Simpson-Sears Catalogue (Toronto: Simpson-Sears, 1963) 160.

Fig. 11. The Shift. Simpson-Sears Catalogue(Toronto: Simpson-Sears, 1963).

Fig. 12. 24-hour-a-day room. Emily Post, The Personality of a House: The Blue Book of Home Charm (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1948).

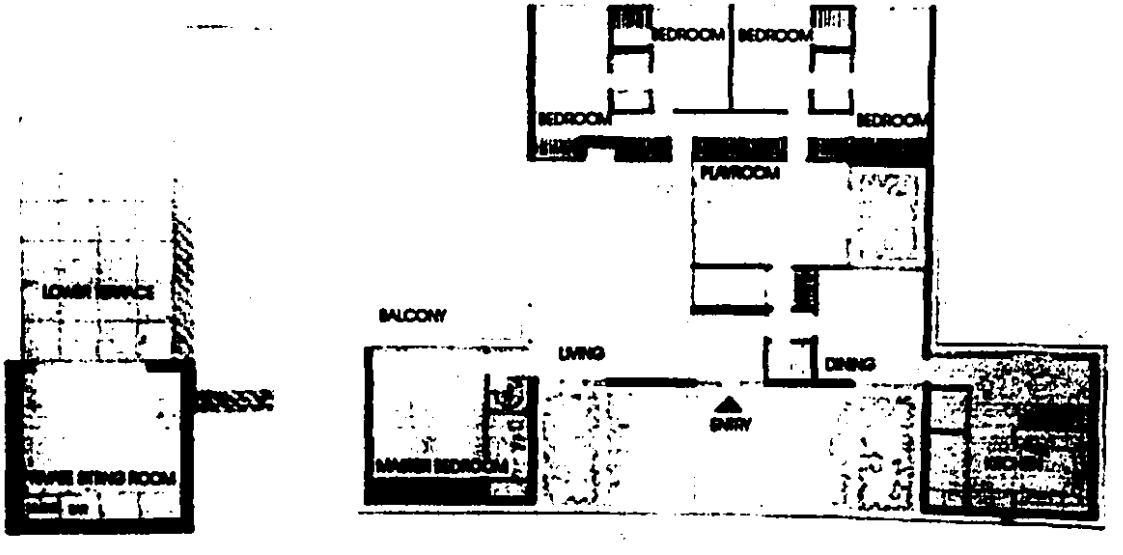


Fig. 13. The isolated master bedroom suite. "A Strong Emphasis on Privacy," Architectural Record April 1958: 201.

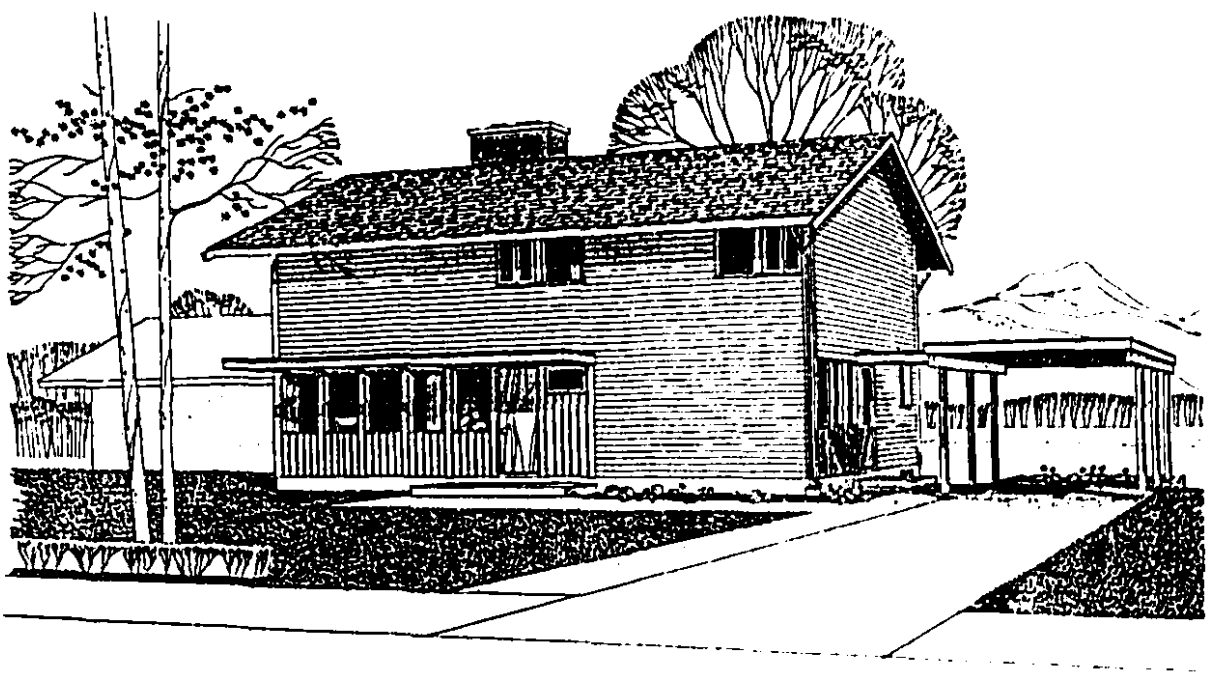


Fig. 14. Vignette of house #614. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1965) 252.

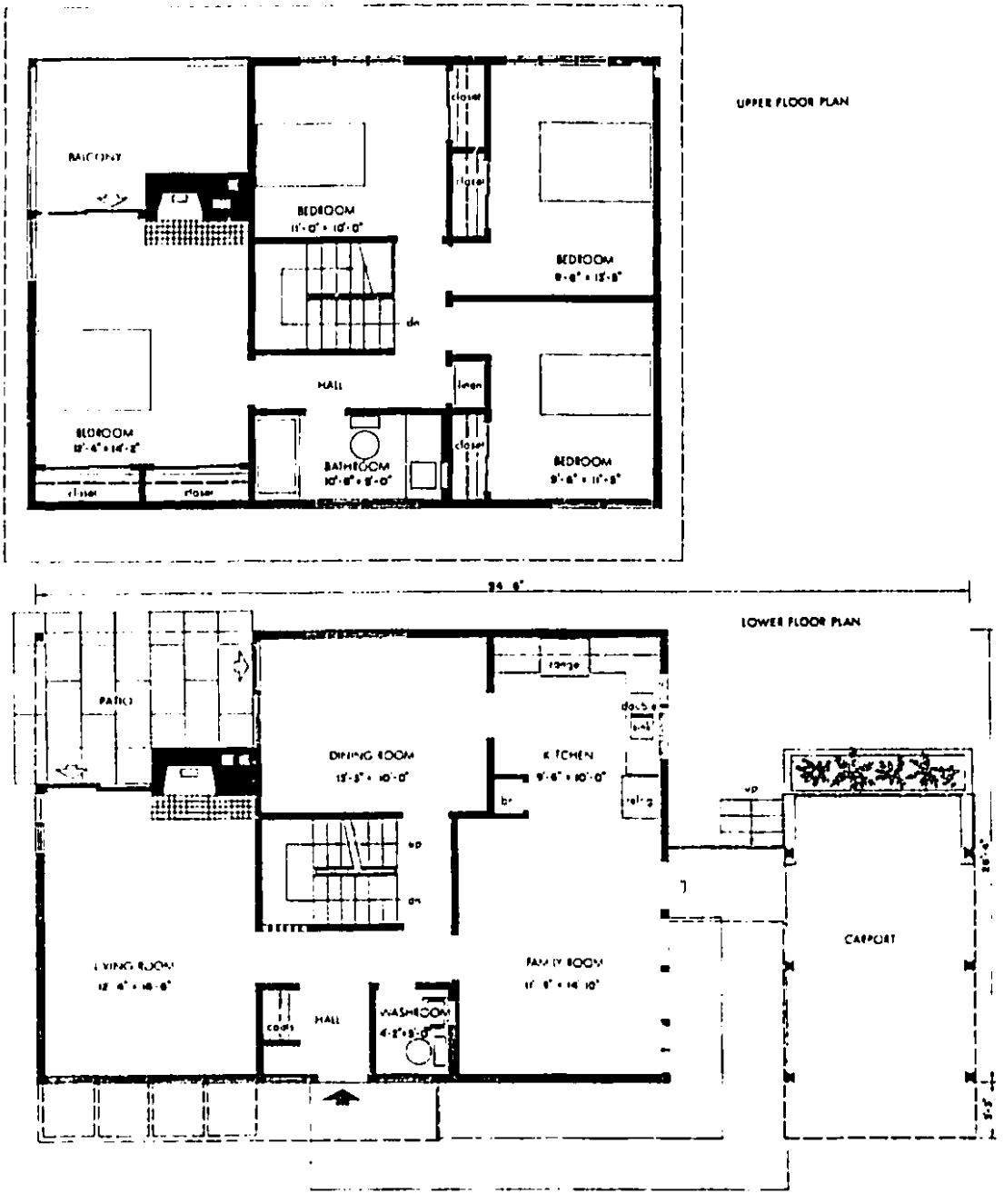


Fig. 15. Plan of house #614. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1965) 253.

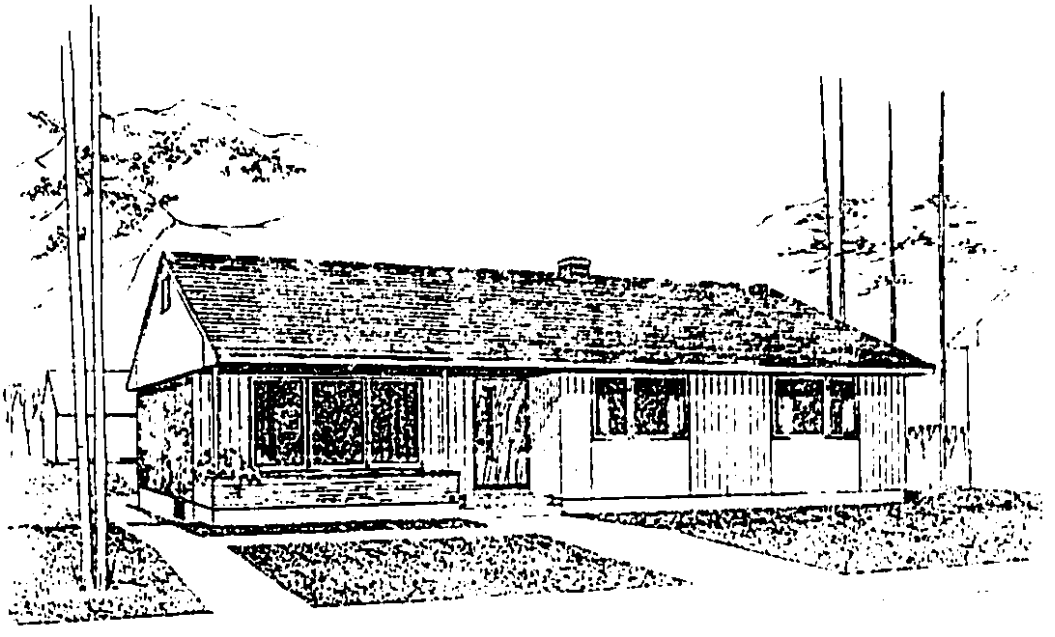


Fig. 16. Vignette of house #805. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1958) 123.

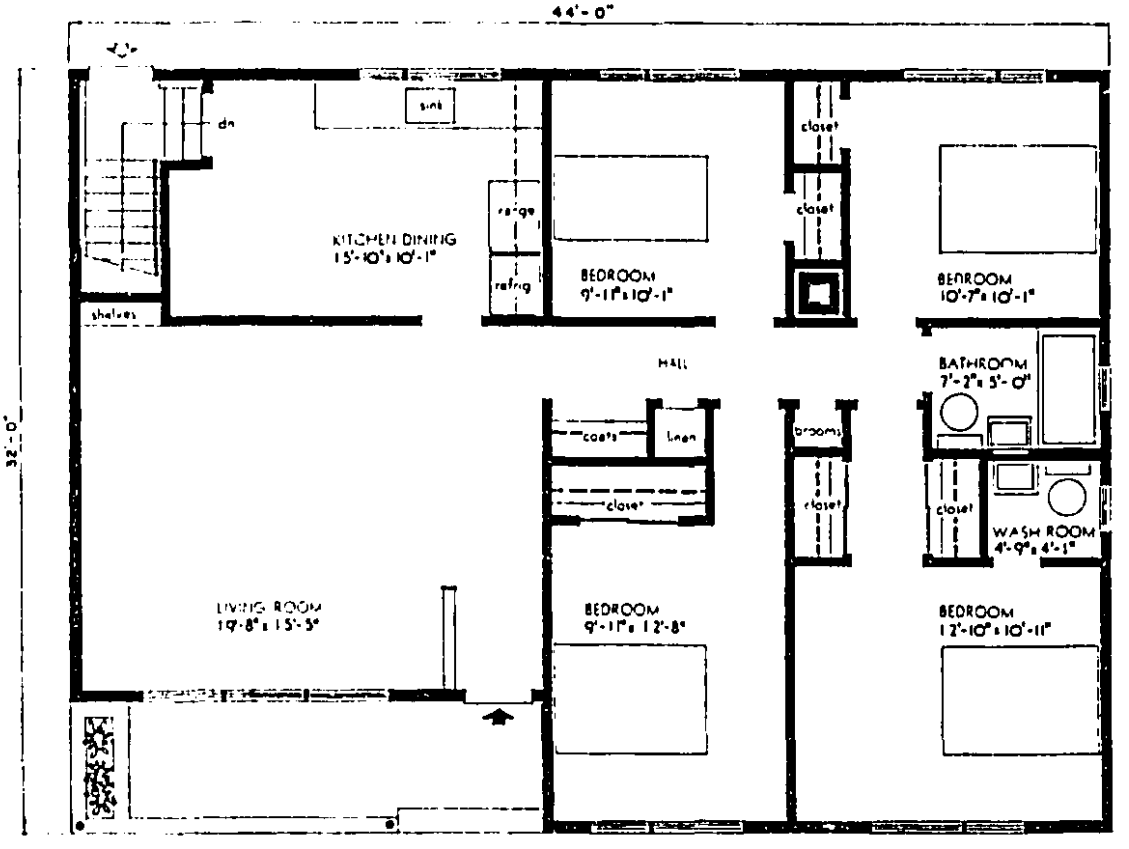


Fig. 17. Plan of house #805. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1958) 122.

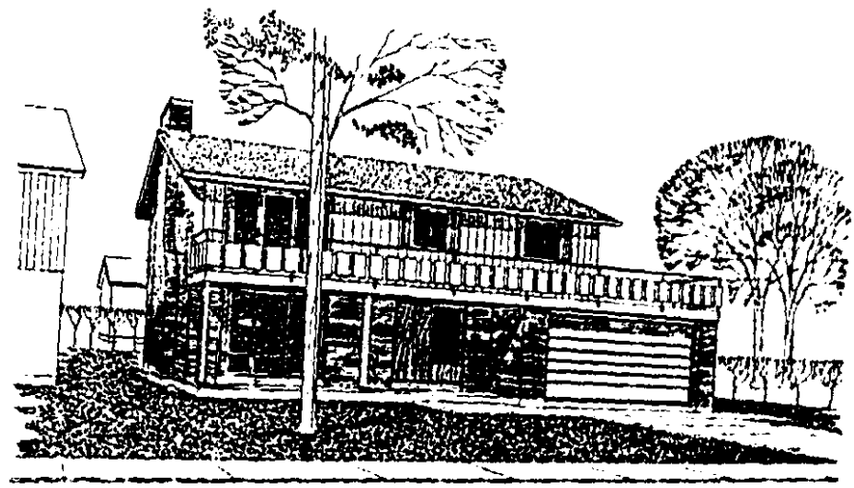
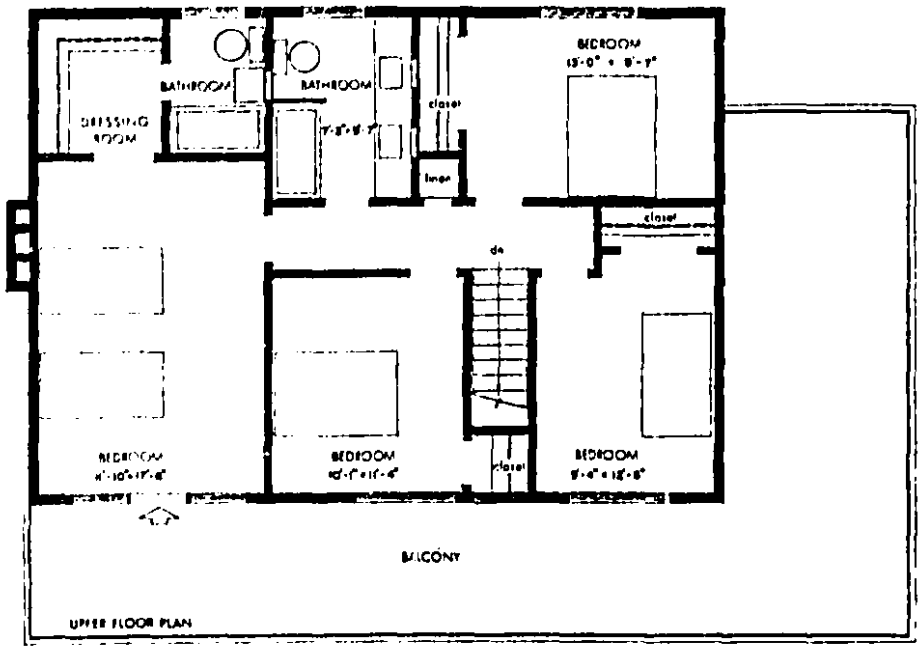


Fig. 18. Vignette of house #615. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1965) 254.



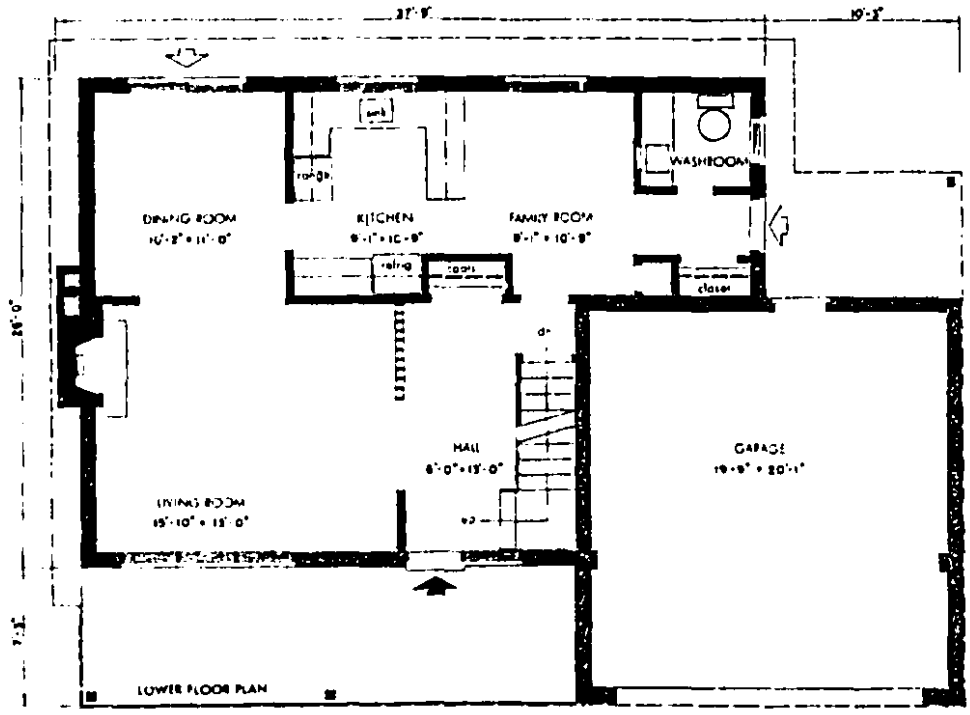


Fig. 19. Plan of house #615. CMHC, Small House Designs (Ottawa: CMHC, 1965) 255.

Fig. 20. Peignoir. Simpson-Sears Catalogue (Toronto: Simpson-Sears, 1963) 156.

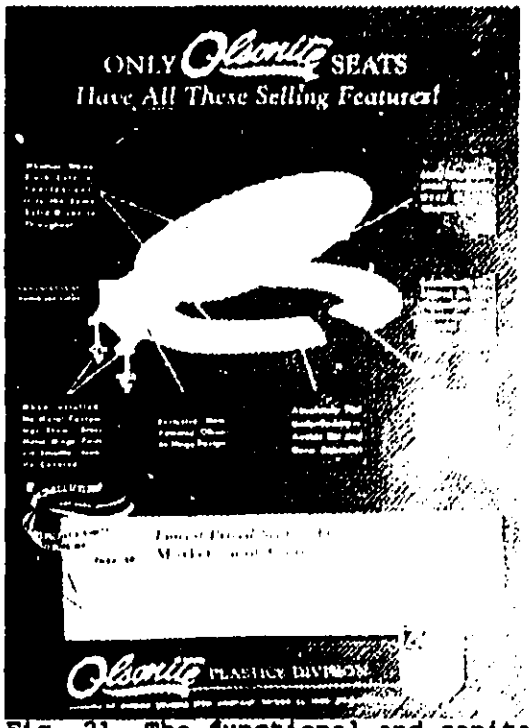


Fig. 21. The functional and sanitary toilet seat. Architectural Record September 1948: 35.

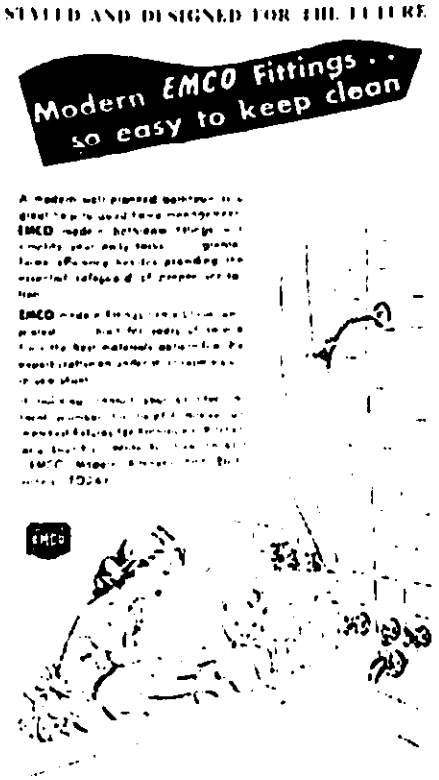


Fig. 22. The safe and sanitary family bathroom. Canadian Homes and Gardens June 1950.

Fig. 23. Bathroom for Children. House and Garden's Book of Building Fall-Winter 1956.

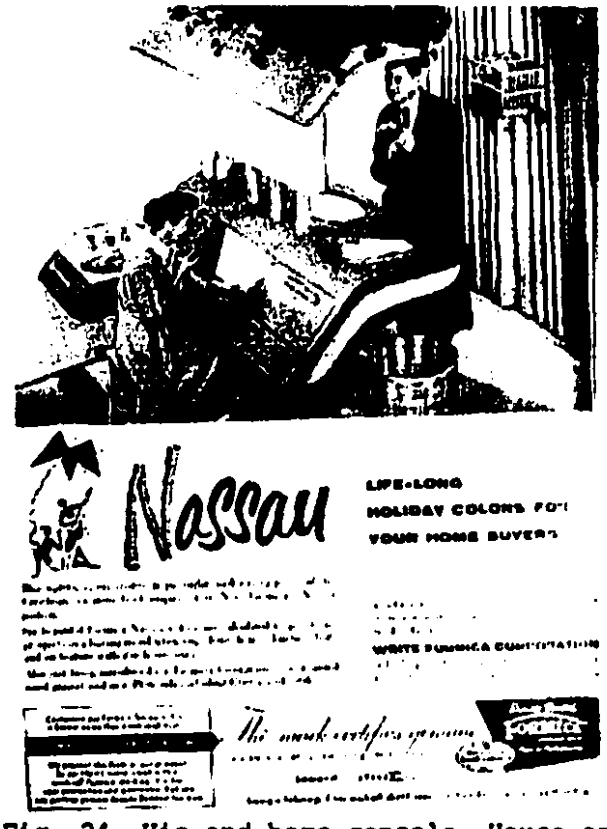


Fig. 24. His and hers console. House and Home May 1957: 222.

Fig. 25. Distanced relationship between a woman and a bathroom. Canadian Homes and Gardens November 1947: 62.

Fig. 26. Close relationship between a woman and a bathroom. Canadian Homes and Gardens April 1958: 46.

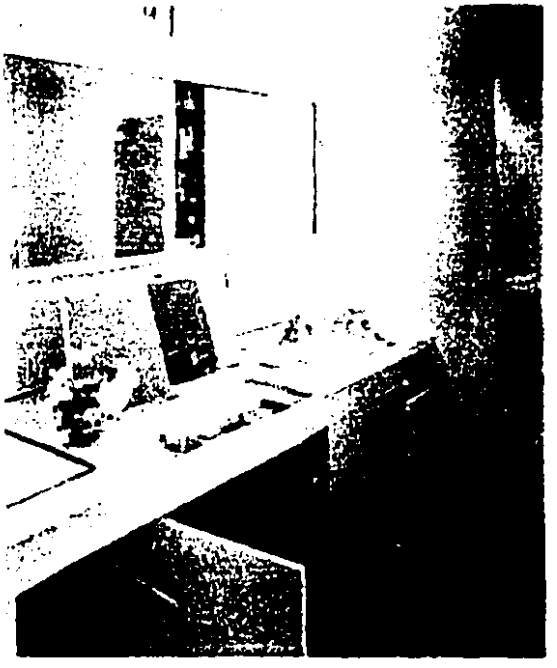


Fig. 27. Double lavatory countertop with mirrored flip-up lid. House and Garden's Book of Building 1955: 76.

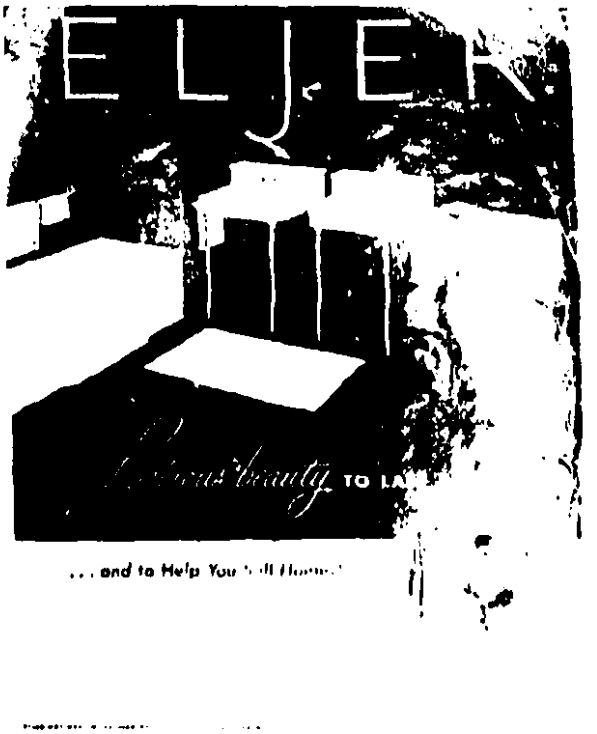


Fig. 28. House and Home March 1952.

Fig. 29. Detail of mother bathing baby while seated on wide rim-seat.

Fig. 30. Wide rim-seat used to display towel and soap. House and Home November 1955.

Fig. 31. Woman and bouquet of flowers. House and Home June 1962: A-1.

Fig. 32. Woman-as-client. House and Home January 1952: 32.

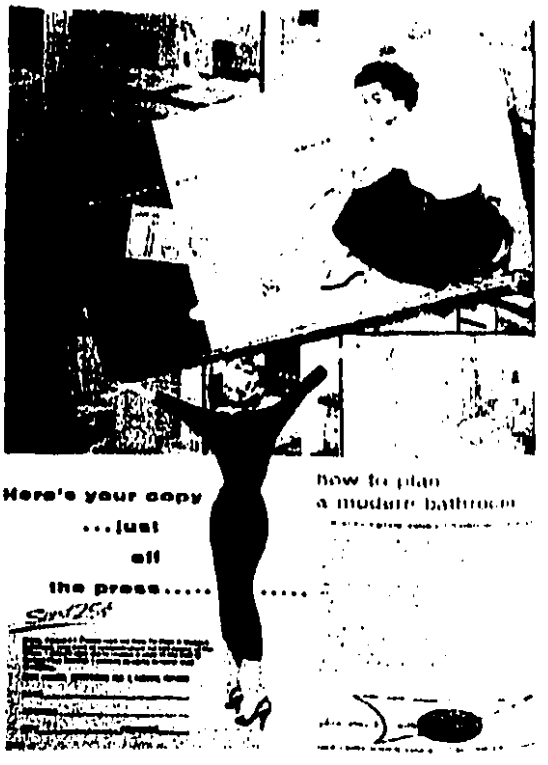


Fig. 33. Woman-as-designer. Canadian Homes and Gardens March 1958: 58.

Fig. 34. Woman pointing out features to man. Architectural Record mid-May 1963: 34.

Fig. 35. The girl has removed the floorboards separating the two apartments. The Seven Year Itch, 1955.

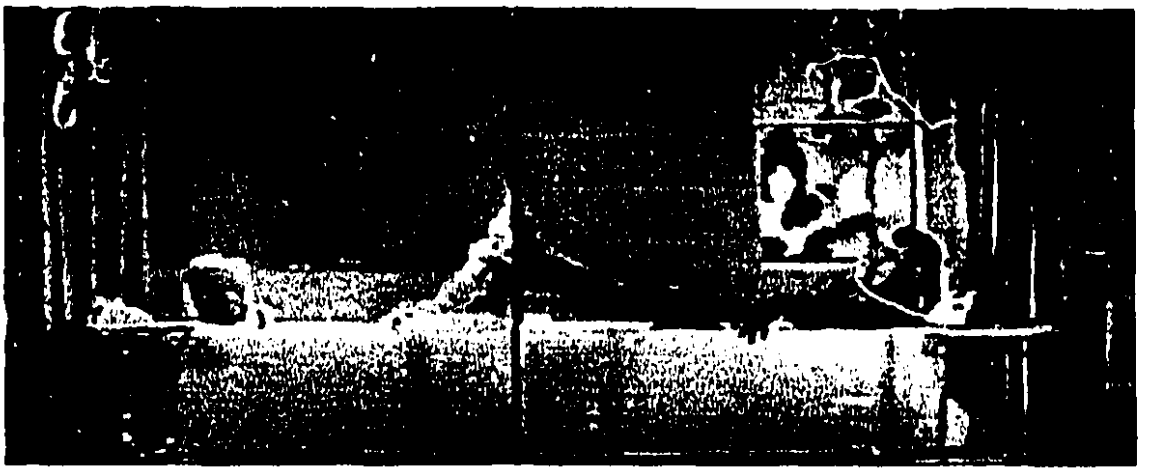


Fig. 36. Semi-permeable split screen. Pillow Talk, 1959.

Fig. 37. Oblique shots show parameters and perimeters of separate beds. Pillow Talk, 1959.

Fig. 38. Axial shots of two beds are juxtaposed to create an image of a marital bed. Pillow Talk, 1959.

Fig. 39. Abandonning the split-screen safeguard. Pillow Talk, 1959.

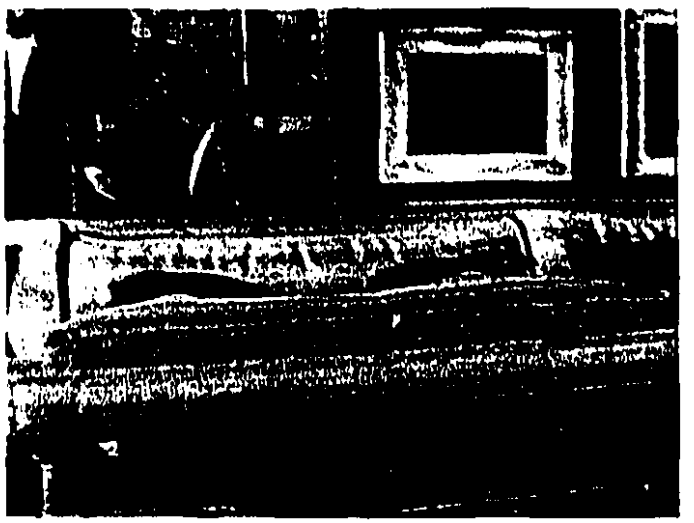


Fig. 40. Switch releases bed from couch. Pillow Talk, 1959.

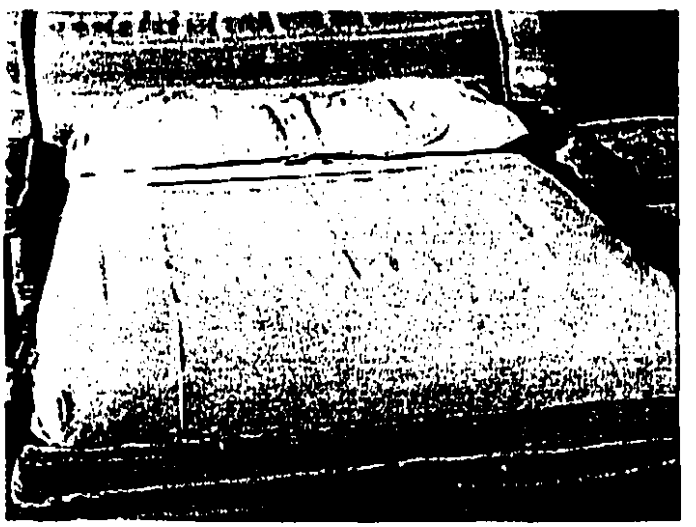


Fig. 41. Bed with baby blue sheets. Pillow Talk, 1959.

Fig. 42. Redecorated bachelor pad. Pillow Talk, 1959.

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