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The Canadian Historical Review, Volume 99, Issue 3, September 2018,
pp. 456-486 (Article)

Published by University of Toronto Press

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Mary Quayle Innis: Faculty Wives' Contributions and the Making of Academic Celebrity

Abstract: Mary Quayle Innis (1899–1972) was instrumental in forging the career and legacy of her husband, Harold Adams Innis (1894–1952). Her labours on his behalf included typing, editing, writing, researching, preparing indices, curating his papers, revising his publications, and bringing his manuscripts to press. Quayle also ran errands, shopped, did laundry, prepared food, and provided care for Innis and their four children. She further often networked and hosted academic gatherings. All of this work made it possible for Innis to publish prolifically, advance his career, and become central to the English-Canadian academic canon. This article argues that it is time to give Quayle the credit she is due. It is also time to re-evaluate the importance of caring labour within the academy.

Keywords: Mary Quayle Innis, Harold Adams Innis, faculty wife, two-person career, gendered division of labour, academic celebrity, caring labour

Résumé : Mary Quayle Innis (1899–1972) a contribué de manière fondamentale à la carrière et à l'œuvre de son mari, Harold Adam Innis (1894–1952). Son aide comprenait des travaux de dactylographie, de révision, de rédaction, de recherche, d'indexation, de classement, de correction et de préparation des manuscrits pour publication. Elle faisait aussi les courses et la lessive et préparait les repas, en plus de s'occuper de son mari et de leurs quatre enfants. En outre, elle entretenait les liens professionnels et recevait souvent les collègues de son mari. Grâce à cela, Innis a pu publier abondamment, faire avancer sa carrière et occuper une position centrale dans le milieu universitaire canadien-anglais. Aussi est-il temps, soutiennent l'auteure et sa collaboratrice, d'accorder à Quayle le mérite qui lui revient. Il est également temps de réévaluer l'importance du soutien des proches au sein du monde universitaire.

Mots clés : Mary Quayle Innis, Harold Adam Innis, femme de professeur, carrière à deux, division genrée du travail, célébrité universitaire, soin d'autrui

Mary Quayle Innis was a remarkable person. In her lifetime (1899–1972), she published over eighty short stories, one novel, three historical books, several historical articles, and four edited collections. She also raised four children, all of whom received university degrees and

FIGURE 1 Mary Quayle Innis, circa 1956 (courtesy of Anne Innis Dagg).

developed careers of their own. Other accomplishments included serving as arts and politics commentator on the radio for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), representing the Canadian government at a conference on education at Oxford University, acting as commissioner on an inquiry into education in Ontario, and being Dean of Women at the University of Toronto's University College from 1955 to 1964. She received two honorary doctorates: one from Queen's University in 1958 and one from the University of Waterloo in 1965 (see Figure 1).¹ This article, however, is not about these many endeavours. Rather, it is about the career support that Quayle gave to her husband, the prolific academic Harold Adams Innis (1894–1952). It argues that Quayle's support for her husband, which included scholarly, social, and domestic labours, was integral to Innis's success. If not for Quayle, Innis's star would have burned less brightly and faded more quickly.

- 1 Barbara Pell, "Innis, Mary Quayle," in *Canadian Writers, 1920–1959*, vol. 88, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, edited by William H. New (Detroit: Gale, 1989); Anne Innis Dagg, "Mary Quayle Innis (1899–1972)," in *A Biographical Dictionary of Women Economists*, edited by Robert Dimand et al. (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2000), 223; Donica Belisle, "Guilty Pleasures: Consumer Culture in the Fiction of Mary Quayle Innis," in *Consuming Modernity: Changing Gendered Behaviours and Consumerism, 1919–1945*, edited by Cheryl Warsh and Dan Malleck (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 258–73.

So influential have Innis's writings been upon Canadian scholarship that the University of Toronto Press has recently published Innis's *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (1930) as part of its Canada 150 collection. This series of thirty books celebrate "scholarship that [has] informed and shaped Canada as a nation."² To this day, Innis's work holds researchers' interest.³ Yet, of those researchers who study Innis, only a few mention Quayle.⁴ Even fewer explore her influence upon Innis's work. Scholar J. David Black is an important exception. In two separate articles – "The Contributions of Mary Quayle Innis" (2003) and "'Both of Us Can Move Mountains': Mary Quayle Innis and Her Relationship to Harold Innis' Legacy" (2005) – Black argues that Quayle had an important influence upon Innis's oeuvre. Specifically, her interest in media, as evidenced in her book, *An Economic History of Canada* (1935), probably guided Innis's later turn to communications scholarship. Black also suggests that Quayle's emphasis on the personal within broader historical narratives influenced Innis's decision to publish a biography of Peter Pond (1930) as well as to edit the diaries of Alexander McPhail (1940) and Simeon Perkins (1948).⁵ Black further notes that Quayle assisted with

- 2 University of Toronto Press, "Canada 150 Collection," <https://utorontopress.com/us/books/by-series/the-canada-150-collection>; see Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).
- 3 Central works are Donald Creighton, *Harold Adams Innis: Portrait of a Scholar* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957); Eric A. Havelock, *Harold A. Innis: Memoir* (Toronto: Harold Innis Foundation, 1982); Alexander John Watson, *Marginal Man: The Dark Vision of Harold Innis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Charles R. Acland and William J. Buxton, eds., *Harold Innis in the New Century: Reflections and Refractions* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).
- 4 Scholars who pay more than passing reference to Quayle include Watson, *Marginal Man*; Charles R. Acland, "Histories of Place and Power: Innis in Canadian Cultural Studies," in Acland and Buxton, *Harold Innis*, 243–60.
- 5 J. David Black, "The Contributions of Mary Quayle Innis," in *Harold Innis*, edited by Paul Heyer (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 113–21; David Black, "'Both of Us Can Move Mountains': Mary Quayle Innis and Her Relationship to Harold Innis' Legacy," *Canadian Journal of Communications* 28, no. 4 (2003): 433–77 <https://cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/view/1391/1471>; Harold Innis, *Peter Pond: Fur Trader and Adventurer* (Toronto: Irwin and Gordon, 1930); James Alexander McPhail, *The Diary of Alexander James McPhail: 1883–1931*, edited by Harold Innis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1940); Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins: 1766–1780*, edited by Harold Innis (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948). Mary Quayle Innis, *An Economic History of Canada*, rev. ed. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1943 [1935]). All of Quayle's works are cited in Appendix 1.

Innis's doctoral research, "visiting libraries, typing manuscripts, and working alongside him as he prepared his dissertation." Black is, finally, appreciative of Quayle's social labour, noting that she "played hostess to graduate students, faculty, and dignitaries." As a result of all of these activities, Quayle's "influence on how" her husband "is read today" has "never been fully appreciated."⁶

To date, Black is the only scholar to assert that Quayle and Innis formulated many of their ideas together. A few others do note, however, that Quayle's other activities made Innis's career possible. Charles R. Acland writes that since Innis cared little for "all things cultural," "his wife [became] keeper of their cultural life."⁷ In his 2006 biography of Innis, Alexander Watson states that Quayle was "an author and editor," but he ignores her long list of publications, stating that her "main contributions" were "as an editor." Nonetheless, Watson does mention that Quayle's domestic management "made it possible" for Innis to travel "without the home front becoming dysfunctional." He also notes her curatorial work, stating that Quayle maintained the card system that kept Innis's research organized as well as prepared his archival records. Yet, for Watson, Quayle's role in Innis's life was emotional. She was a "counsellor" for Innis's anxiety.⁸

Bringing Quayle's many labours to light, this article illuminates and fully recognizes the role Quayle played in her husband's success. It builds upon Black's research, agreeing particularly that Quayle and Innis probably spent time together discussing intellectual issues. Such discussions, moreover, probably took place most often early on in their relationship, before their children were born and their lives became filled with commitments. Indeed, if Innis's oeuvre displays an interest in media and personal stories, so Quayle's oeuvre demonstrates an interest in British North America.⁹ At the same time, this article focuses more on the practical support that Quayle provided to her husband, rather than on their intellectual partnership. This is partially because identifying Quayle's words within Innis's publications is a complex and ongoing project. Although, as Black writes, there is "no apparent formal evidence of collaboration," it must be noted that Quayle herself substantially revised and updated several of

6 Black, "Both of Us," 436, 441, 442.

7 Acland, "Histories of Place and Power," 246.

8 Watson, *Marginal Man*, 16, 94, 103, 104, 107, 109, 119, 256, 279.

9 All of Quayle's publications are cited in Appendix 1. The stories "In the Sugar Bush," "Wood-Box," "Drums," and "Trader" are all set in British North America, as are many of her non-fiction publications, including *Travellers West*.

her late husband's manuscripts, including *Empire and Communications* (1972).¹⁰ Yet, and in addition to Quayle's intellectual contributions, her supportive labours were extensive.¹¹ By foregrounding these specific labours, this article reveals the hidden work that accompanied Innis's rise to intellectual stardom. It thus draws attention to the importance of caring labour within the academy. It also questions the notion that twentieth-century academic celebrity was possible to achieve independently.

Making Quayle's supportive work its focus, this article adds to research by Alison Prentice and Katherine Turk that recovers the history of faculty wives.¹² Today, the term "faculty wife" has dropped out of favour. From the 1910s to the 1960s, though, it was commonly used and understood. Much like the phrase "minister's wife," it denoted a woman who derived status from her husband's position. To be a successful faculty wife, one had not only to marry a professor but also to help his career flourish. Wives' labours in this regard were wide ranging and included typing, editing, researching, hosting, running errands, attending events, mentoring students, raising funds, and performing emotional labours such as sending greeting cards and attending funerals. So important was wives' work that faculty wives' clubs sprang up across both Canada and the United States. These included, among others, the Women's League of the Utah Agricultural College (founded 1904), the Faculty Women's Club of the University of British Columbia (1917), the University Arts Women's Club and the Faculty Wives Association at the University of Toronto (1929 and 1932), and the Faculty Women's Club of the University of Victoria (1960s).¹³

- 10 Black, "The Contributions," 119; see also Dagg, "Mary Quayle Innis," 226; Quayle Diaries, 9 August 1970, 25 June 1953, 8 January 1954, Harold A. Innis Family Fonds, B91-0029/058, boxes 57-9, University of Toronto Archives (UTA).
- 11 We draw especially from Quayle's unpublished diaries, dating 1915-16 and 1921-71 inclusive, which consist of brief, factual notations about her daily activities. Other archival sources cited are the University of Toronto Faculty Wives Association (FWA) Fonds at the UTA and the Mary Quayle Innis Fonds at the University of Waterloo Library.
- 12 Alison Prentice, "Boosting Husbands and Building Community: The Work of Twentieth-Century Faculty Wives," in *Historical Identities: The Professoriate in Canada*, edited by Paul Stortz and E. Lisa Panayotidis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 271-96; Katherine Turk, "'The Hand That Rocks the Cradle Should Rock the U. of C.': The Faculty Wife and the Feminist Era," *Journal of Women's History* 26, no. 2 (2014): 113-34.
- 13 Turk, "The Hand That Rocks," 117; Barbara Cody, "Statement Regarding Formation of Faculty Wives Executive," 5 June 1935, FWA Fonds, file B2013-0008-001-02, UTA; Prentice, "Boosting Husbands," 280-1, 283.

Formalizing many of the activities that spouses undertook, wives' clubs benefited the entire university community, supporting students, raising funds, disseminating scholarship, and building collaborative scholarly cultures. At the same time, they were especially important for women. Until at least the late 1960s, universities functioned as gendered hierarchies, with men dominating the faculty ranks. In 1921, only thirteen of the 132 members of the arts and social sciences faculty at the University of Toronto were women. These numbers were even starker in the sciences, where a woman held only one of 130 faculty positions. By 1941, the figures were nineteen out of 178 and eighteen out of 269, respectively. Women fared better in the social and educational faculties, where females held nine of twenty-six positions in 1921 and twenty-seven of forty-five positions in 1941. Still, these faculties were small. When one compares the total number of female faculty to the total number of all faculty in 1921 and 1941, one can see that female scholars' opportunities were extremely limited. In 1921, women held twenty-three of 188 faculty positions, and, in 1941, they held sixty-four of 492 positions.¹⁴ In this gendered context, wives' clubs enabled scholarly women "to gain a narrow, female-typed foothold in academia," as Turk remarks.¹⁵

Even as the gendered structure of academia prevented women from attaining faculty positions, some wives took pride in their identities. When Quayle served on the "women's committees," as her daughter Anne Innis Dagg writes, she was "known not as Mary, but as Mrs Harold Innis."¹⁶ This nomenclature was common, but its ordinariness does not belie its significance. During this period, women often identified by their husbands' names because doing so accorded them respect. Yet Quayle also recognized that being a famous scholar's wife conferred special distinction. According to the biographical blurb on the back of her book, *Travellers West*, Quayle was not only "the Dean of Women at University College" and a "noted economic historian and author of six books" but also "the widow of Dr. Harold Adams Innis, one of the world's outstanding economists."¹⁷ It is unknown who

14 Alison Prentice, "Bluestockings, Feminists, or Women Workers? A Preliminary Look at Women's Early Employment at the University of Toronto," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 2, no. 1 (1991): 247, Table 4.

15 Turk, "The Hand That Rocks," 117; Prentice, "Bluestockings," 232–62; Quayle Diaries, 22 March 1965, 24 September 1968, 12 November 1947.

16 Anne Innis Dagg, *Smitten by Giraffe: My Life as a Citizen Scientist* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 15.

17 Mary Quayle Innis, *Travellers West* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1956), dust jacket.

authored this passage, but its existence speaks to the connection made at the time between a husband's position and a wife's status.

If the general public appreciated faculty wives, so did many female professors. During this period, female faculty collaborated often with their male colleagues' spouses. In so doing, they cultivated female-friendly support networks, which were important in an era that equated research with masculinity.¹⁸ Renowned University of Toronto astronomer Helen Hogg, for example, maintained contact with faculty wives throughout her career. During the 1930s, she was a faculty wife herself, sharing office space with her husband and receiving "a small salary for her work at the Dunlop Observatory." After her husband died in 1951, she "move[d] into the professorial ranks."¹⁹ Still, she remained close to her unpaid colleagues. During the 1950s, she and Mary Quayle Innis struck up a lifelong friendship that included attending scholarly functions together. In 1956 and 1961, Hogg gave talks on astronomy to mixed gatherings of women.²⁰

Quayle and her contemporaries, though, were among the last of the faculty wives to receive prestige. By the late 1960s, the notion of becoming a faculty wife had fallen from favour. Not only did many emerging female scholars wish to be "identified by their own interests," as one wife put it in 1970, so, too, did many resent the idea that they should put aside their pursuits in favour of their husbands'.²¹ Some also chafed at the assumption that their worth should be measured by their husbands' positions. In 1974, a junior professor at the University of British Columbia wrote to the institution's president, protesting an invitation she had received to a reception of the Faculty Women's Club, which included faculty wives. "I am not prepared to attend ... unless there is a similar reception held for new male members," she said. In her view, the expectation that female faculty should join the wives indicated that female professors were inferior to their male counterparts.²²

The gradual integration of women into faculty positions during the late 1960s and afterwards indeed diminished the status of the faculty wife. Once women were able to attain academic employment, the

18 Prentice, "Boosting Husbands," 283; Turk, "The Hand That Rocks," 117; Donald Wright, "Gender and the Professionalization of History in English Canada before 1960," *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 1 (2000): 29–66.

19 Prentice, "Boosting Husbands," 277.

20 Quayle Diaries, 8 May 1958, 7 January 1960, 12 February 1964, 3 March 1969, 26 March 1969, 4 December 1956, 10 February 1961.

21 Quoted in Turk, "The Hand That Rocks," 128.

22 Quoted in Prentice, "Boosting Husbands," 291.

prospect of becoming a supportive academic spouse became less attractive. Second-wave feminism, too, influenced the faculty wife's status, with some activists arguing that wives' support for their husbands indicated subservience.²³ Nevertheless, earlier generations of women saw wives in different terms. Influenced by a wider cultural celebration of supportive wifedom, as well as by the gendered context of the university, academic women respected faculty wives. And, for those women who valued both scholarship and family, becoming a faculty wife may have been appealing. Becoming a faculty wife would not grant independence, but it would help establish a learned life.

PORTRAIT OF THE SCHOLAR AS A YOUNG WOMAN

Certainly, when Quayle married Innis in 1921, she had been weighing these concerns. In 1915, she had enrolled at the University of Chicago, concentrating in literature and economics. She was an ambitious scholar, receiving top marks and prizes. She interrupted her education in 1917 to do "war work in Washington," then resumed her studies in Chicago. In 1918, she began dating her political economy instructor, Harold Innis, who was recovering from wounds received as a soldier at Vimy Ridge. During this period, Quayle also published a collection of original poetry and became secretary of the Poetry Club.²⁴ Upon graduation in 1921, Quayle had some decisions to make. During the 1920-1 academic year, a women's college in Chicago – Rockford College – offered Quayle a "job." It is not known what kind of job this was, but it may have been a teaching one. That same year, however, the University of Toronto had offered Innis a lectureship position, which he had accepted. Innis moved to Toronto, and the pair embarked on a long-distance relationship. In early January, Innis mailed Quayle his university's graduate calendar, thus forcing the issue of whether Quayle would join him in Toronto. On 26 January 1921, Quayle contacted Rockford and declined its offer. In May 1921, she married Innis and moved to Canada.²⁵

In taking this step, Quayle's journey resembled those taken by other women of the era. While at Queen's University between 1897

23 Prentice, "Boosting Husbands," 287-92; Turk, "The Hand That Rocks," 128.

24 Quayle Diaries, December 1915, June and July 1916; Council of University College, "Bereavement Notice," 10 January 1972, Mary Quayle Innis Fonds, file 9, GA 127, University of Waterloo Library; Mary Quayle Innis, *April: Poems* (Chicago: Print Shop, School of Education, University of Chicago, 1920).

25 Quayle Diaries, January 1921, May 1921, June 1921.

and 1901, Isabel Murphy, who later became a prominent historian, met and fell in love with student Oscar D. Skelton. After they married in 1904, Murphy continued her academic pursuits. She also became a mother and looked after the couple's domestic affairs, while her husband earned the family's money, including for several years as professor of political science and economics at Queen's University.²⁶ Across the Atlantic, Suzanne Dognon married famed *Annales* historian Lucien Febvre in 1921, while she was writing her thesis at the University of Strasbourg. As Natalie Zemon Davis writes, she then "put aside her own research for family life: her three children and Febvre, 'who took much attention.'" ²⁷

Unfortunately, only after getting married did some female scholars realize the extent to which their adult lives diverged from their husbands'. When her children were small, Murphy Skelton chafed against the "greasy domesticity" in which she found herself, worried "that her husband would totally outdistance her intellectually."²⁸ Some women also learned, too late, that institutional sexism was insurmountable. At the University of Chicago, some wives "felt forced into secondary roles in their husbands' careers after sexism ended their own career ambitions."²⁹ In Ontario, discrimination toward married women was egregious. In 1931, Premier George Stewart Henry ordered the University of Toronto to compile a list of married women on staff and asked the university to fire them. The specific consequences of this request are unknown, but at least one married woman, Dr Mossie May Kirkwood, dean of women, had to attend a meeting with the administration to explain her finances. She kept her job, but a 1936 *Canadian Forum* article by Gwethalyn Graham indicates that other female employees did not.³⁰

Whether Quayle intended to apply for work in Toronto is unknown, but it is evident that she planned to continue her studies. A year after arriving in Canada, she applied to graduate school, but she did

- 26 Terry Crowley, "Isabel Skelton: Precursor to Canadian Cultural History," in *Creating Historical Memory: English Canadian Women and the Work of History*, edited by Beverly Boutilier and Alison Prentice (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 169.
- 27 Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women and the World of the 'Annales,'" *History Workshop* 33 (1992): 122.
- 28 Quoted in Crowley, "Isabel Skelton," 169.
- 29 Turk, "The Hand That Rocks," 120.
- 30 Anne Ford, *A Path Not Strewn with Roses: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Toronto, 1884–1984* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1985), 64; Prentice, "Bluestockings," 257; Gwethalyn Graham, "Women: Are They Human?" *Canadian Forum* 16, no. 191 (1936): 21–3.

not enrol, possibly because she became pregnant.³¹ This pregnancy miscarried, but one year later, Quayle gave birth to her first child.³² Three more babies followed. For the next thirty-two years, Quayle did not take on full-time employment. Only after her youngest child had completed her undergraduate degree in 1955 did Quayle begin a full-time position.³³

By staying home with her children, Quayle followed a path similar to many other mothers during this era.³⁴ Nevertheless, she did not give up her pursuits. Rather, Quayle turned her home into a hub of intellectual inquiry, reading and writing whenever she could and teaching her children to do the same.³⁵ In this way, her decisions resembled her contemporaries'. Quayle's close friend Luella Creighton (née Bruce), wife of historian Donald Creighton, combined parenting with writing. After Donald became a lecturer in 1927, Luella did not seek formal employment. Instead, she had two children and published nineteen short stories, an encyclopaedic entry, four novels, and four historical books.³⁶

Quayle saw herself as a "writer and scholar."³⁷ While her four children were at home, she published eighty-two short stories, one novel, three historical monographs, five historical articles, and two secondary school texts.³⁸ She also served as editor of the Young Women's Christian Association's (YWCA) journal.³⁹ By 1950, her stature in the intellectual community had grown to the point where the CBC offered her a job as a radio "specialist," which she accepted. The year previously, she had been a guest on the radio quiz show *Beat the Champs*; she had also delivered a few radio lectures. In Quayle's new position, which she kept until Innis's death, she delivered talks on politics, women, and education.⁴⁰ Esteem for Quayle's efforts was also evidenced

31 Quayle Diaries, 22 November 1922.

32 Quayle Diaries, January 1923, 4 March 1923.

33 Dagg, *Smitten by Giraffe*, 23–4; Quayle Diaries, 16 May 1955.

34 In 1911, 13 per cent of the labour force was female; by 1941, the figure was 20 per cent. Statistics Canada, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectiond/4057750-eng.htm#1>, "Section D: The Labour Force," Table D8–85.

35 Dagg, *Smitten by Giraffe*, 17–18.

36 Donald Wright, *Donald Creighton: A Life in History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 82, 101; Donald Wright, "Luella Creighton, Selected Bibliography," in Wright, *Donald Creighton*, 357–8.

37 Black, "The Contributions," 116.

38 All of these texts are cited in Appendix 1.

39 Dagg, *Smitten by Giraffe*, 15.

40 Quayle Diaries, 13 October 1950, 1 March 1949, 27 May 1949, 14 October 1949, 8 November 1949, 9 January 1950, 13 January 1950, 22 June 1950, 1 September 1950, 29 December 1950, 10 January 1951, 2 February 1951, 7 March 1951, 7 February 1952.

by her receipt of prizes, including first place in the Women's Canadian Club's short story contest in 1928.⁴¹ As well, after her 1943 novel *Stand on a Rainbow* became a bestseller, she accepted speaking invitations to the Press Club, the University Women's Club, the Heliconian Club, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, the Canadian Authors Association, the Granite Club, and the Business and Professional Women's Club.⁴²

In addition, Quayle devoted significant attention to her husband's career. For her, doing so probably made economic sense. From the first days of their marriage, Innis's income supported her. It is true that before Innis died in 1952, Quayle's writings and radio work brought in some income, and when Quayle was editor of the YWCA's journal, she received money to pay a cook. Such funds, however, were not enough to live upon. Quayle's deanship, which began in 1955, paid a living wage; by this point, though, her children had left home, Quayle was receiving her late husband's pension, and monetary issues had become less pressing.⁴³

During the couple's early days, however, financial worries loomed large. Innis was hired on a term position in the Department of Political Economy, with the understanding that after his thesis was published he would become assistant professor. The couple's security hence depended upon the successful completion of his dissertation. On her first day in Canada, Quayle began typing the manuscript, which she continued through the rest of the year. In addition, while she was visiting Chicago in December, she "copied footnotes from Harold's thesis" at her alma mater. The following September, Quayle "helped Harold correct proofs" and mailed them to the publisher. That October, she prepared the work's index – "over a thousand cards and an awful job," as she put it.⁴⁴

Quayle and her children were dependent upon Innis, but Quayle also had a strong sense of familial devotion, one linked to her Christian faith. Scholars debate the role of religion in Innis's work, but

41 Quayle Diaries, 1 May 1958.

42 Quayle Diaries, 19 November 1943, 26 October 1943, 22 November 1943, 2 December 1943, 6 December 1943, 9 December 1943, 10 December 1943, 2 April 1944, 30 May 1944. Mary Quayle Innis, *Stand on a Rainbow* (Toronto: Collins, 1943).

43 Mary Quayle Innis to Anne Innis Dagg, 13 February 1968, Mary Quayle Innis Fonds, file 6; Quayle Diaries, 19 March 1953, 19 March 1953, 14 November 1932, 13 December 1943; Dagg, *Smitten by Giraffe*, 16.

44 Quayle Diaries, 27 May 1921, 16 June 1921, 1 November 1921, 12 November 1921, 1 December 1921, 23 January 1922, 1 September 1922, 16 November 1922, 24 October 1922.

Quayle herself was publicly Christian, having grown up in a Baptist household and, while a student, having taught Sunday School.⁴⁵ Upon moving to Toronto, Quayle started going to the Bloor Street Presbyterian Church; over the years, she also attended the St George United Church, the Timothy Eaton Memorial Church, and the Bloor Street United Church.⁴⁶ So well known were her religious interests that in 1966 the Ontario deputy minister of education asked her to serve on a "six-member commission to study the matter of religious education in the schools." Quayle found the invitation "fascinating" and accepted.⁴⁷

Quayle's diaries indicate that the Protestant virtues of service and selflessness were important to her. Her New Year's resolution at the age of sixteen had been to "Love More and Serve More." She had developed this conviction after attending a "prayer meeting."⁴⁸ Quayle's Protestantism likely extended to serving her family as well. Crucial in this regard was the high status that Protestantism awarded motherhood.⁴⁹ Quayle herself had a deep bond with her own mother, one that she maintained until her mother passed.⁵⁰ When Quayle performed the labours of a faculty wife, then, she did so not only for economic reasons but also because she took her wifely role seriously. Her diary indicates, in fact, that she considered her marriage to be valid not only in life but also in death. In 1971, on what would have been her fiftieth wedding anniversary, she wrote that she had been "married 50 years."⁵¹ This strong sense of kinship helps to explain her commitment to Innis's work.

By performing the role of faculty wife, Quayle fulfilled her own expectations of proper Christian femininity. Simultaneously, she became a member of a scholarly community, albeit one that valued men and women unequally. Quayle herself was aware of this inequality.

45 Michael Gauvreau, "Baptist Religion and the Social Science of Harold Innis," *Canadian Historical Review* 76, no. 2 (1995): 161–204.

46 Quayle Diaries, 8 November 1915, 3 September 1915, 2 April 1916, 18 March 1923, 1 December 1935, 4 October 1942.

47 Mary Quayle Innis to Anne Innis Dagg and Ian Dagg, 6 January 1966, Mary Quayle Innis Fonds, file 6.

48 Quayle Diaries, 1 January 1916.

49 According to the Women's Christian Temperance Union, "motherhood" was "the crown of feminine life . . . the most beautiful stage." "The Mother's Responsibility," *Canadian White Ribbon Tidings*, August 1920, 190.

50 In 1926, for example, Quayle wrote: "This has been a thrilling day . . . a desk came – my birthday present from Mama." Quayle Diaries, April 1926.

51 Quayle Diaries, 10 May 1971.

From the early 1920s onward, her stories reveal discomfort with patriarchal gender ideals, particularly those involving the power imbalance between husbands and wives.⁵² Nevertheless, throughout her life, Quayle remained publicly committed to her husband. In this way, she demonstrated her loyalty to her family and her love of scholarship.

THE SCHOLAR BEHIND THE SCHOLAR

Initially sparked while she was Innis's student, Quayle maintained a lifelong interest in her husband's research. For this reason, she did as much as she could to help him advance his findings. Typing was one facet of this work. From the early years of their marriage, Quayle spent many days converting her husband's handwritten words into typewritten text. Quayle was indeed an accomplished typist, having earned money in college typing for others. After her marriage, she continued this work. In 1938, she typed a review for Luella Creighton. In 1938 and again in 1950, she did some typing for Donald Creighton. She also typed for her children. After her son Donald enrolled at the University of Toronto, she typed at least three of his essays. When her son Hugh started university, she typed at least one of his essays. During the 1950s, she typed her daughter Anne's master's thesis and her son Donald's doctoral thesis; she also typed Donald's first book.⁵³

Quayle also provided research, teaching, and indexing support. In 1921, she prepared notes for Innis's class; she also retrieved maps for teaching. That summer, she travelled with him in Europe, providing research aid. In 1923, she began a scrapbook of "H.'s notices and reviews"; she also worked on a bibliography and conducted research. As she had done a year earlier, Quayle again accompanied Innis on fieldwork. That October, she wrote a "discovery paper for H.'s class"; two months later, she "helped" him "tabulate marks." Between 1924 and 1927, she "worked on bibliog. for Had," "averaged grades for H.," "typed review for Harold," "helped H. correct exam papers," "marked papers," "listed grades," "typed on journal of 1776," retrieved Innis's mail, and went "twice down to the department with papers

52 Belisle, "Guilty Pleasures."

53 Quayle Diaries, January 1916, 19 July 1923, February 1924, 36 July 1927, December 1927, March 1928, 18 April 1936, 7 October 1938, 14 October 1939, 2 April 1943, 3 December 1945, 10 January 1946, 11 March 1946, 23 July 1945, 6 June 1950, 28 September 1950, 2 October 1951, 15 January 1954, 3 February 1965, 26 January 1970.

they sent for." She also "worked" on Innis's *History of the Fur Trade* (1930) "day and night for weeks" before sending it "off to Yale Press." When her husband, in 1946, held a guest lectureship at the University of Chicago, she helped him write talks. A few years later, she "typed [the] index to H.'s book," *The Bias of Communication* (1951). When Innis was terminally ill, she worked hard on the index for his *Strategy of Culture* (1952). One month before he passed, she brought the book to press.⁵⁴

Of all the scholarly assistance she gave her husband, Quayle's authorship of a course text – *An Economic History of Canada* (1935) – was perhaps the most astonishing. According to Dagg, Quayle wrote this book because Innis had asked her to. Innis had wanted a "course textbook on the economic history of Canada," Dagg writes, "so he persuaded [Quayle] to write one." Dagg also notes that Ryerson Press rushed the manuscript because Innis "needed the book for the fall term." As the sole listed author on this work, Quayle has received the credit that is due. Nonetheless, it is also probable that had Innis not asked her to Quayle would not have written this book. During the early 1930s, she was writing fiction. This included a novel set in Upper Canada, which was never published.⁵⁵

After her husband's death in 1952, Quayle began a lifelong quest to finish his many projects. As part of this work, she spent considerable time editing and updating his most significant publications. The fruits of these labours appeared as *Essays in Canadian Economic History* (1956); *The Cod Fisheries* (1954 edition), revised and edited with S.D. Clark and W.T. Easterbrook; *The Fur Trade in Canada* (1956), revised and edited with S.D. Clark and W.T. Easterbrook; and *Empire and Communications* (1972). Quayle also typed her late husband's field notes and select lectures, which were subsequently stored in the University of Toronto's Archives.⁵⁶ All such works have influenced generations of scholars. Yet, had Quayle not performed this work, it is likely that fewer researchers would have read Innis.⁵⁷ In fact, a large body of

54 Quayle Diaries, August 1921, 3 June 1923, 19 July 1923, October 1923, March 1924, March 1924, May 1925, September 1925, January 1927, January 1928, June 1928, 1 January 1935, 15 September 1936, 31 July 1937, 8 December 1939, 12 December 1939, 26 June 1946, 2 October 1951, 23 September 1952, 2 October 1952, 5 October 1952, 14 October 1952; Harold Innis, *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto: Toronto University of Toronto Press, 1951); Harold Innis, *The Strategy of Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952).

55 Anne Innis Dagg, "Memories of Innis," *This Magazine*, June–July 1991, 34; Quayle Diaries, 3 February 1935, 28 December 1928; Watson, *Marginal Man*, 109. Quayle Innis, *Economic History*.

56 Quayle Diaries, 29 September 1954, 3 February 1965.

57 See also Black, "Both of Us."

writing that Innis had originally intended for *Empire and Communications* (1950) had languished, unpublished, throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Innis's colleagues had earlier attempted stabs at deciphering this material, and, in 1968, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission also attempted to do so. All efforts were abandoned, though, because Innis's notes were inscrutable. It was only when Quayle herself began to work on the text that the revised edition of *Empire and Communications* (1972) made it into print. In the three years prior to her death, she worked extensively on the project, bringing it along on summer vacations to Vancouver, where she and her daughter Mary Cates teased out Innis's cryptic notes. Together, these women revised Innis's book, integrating new materials and finessing the prose of a work that is now central to Canadian communications scholarship.⁵⁸

POURING AND SERVING: SOCIAL LABOUR

If scholarship was one kind of labour in which faculty wives engaged, social organizing was another. From participating in wives' clubs to hosting academic events, Quayle boosted her husband's career. Providing the "glue" that enabled Innis to enjoy the life of a public intellectual while actively researching and publishing, Quayle was indispensable to his reputation. During her first two years in Toronto, Quayle focused on homemaking and writing. In 1923, though, she became involved in campus life. She attended wives' teas and meetings; she also joined the executive of what became the University Arts Women's Club (UAWC). In 1925, she was again on the UAWC executive; she also spoke on "politics" at a meeting. In 1927, she attended two "faculty tea[s]" hosted by faculty wives. By the mid-1930s, Quayle was attending several UAWC events. She "made sandwiches" to accompany charity drives as well as continued to attend teas, luncheons, meetings, and lectures. At these events, wives made it a point to pour tea and coffee. When they "poured" and "served," as Quayle put it, they demonstrated their commitment to the university.⁵⁹

58 Wright, *Donald Creighton*, 279–81; Dagg, "Mary Quayle Innis," 226; Quayle Diaries, 25 June 1953, 8 January 1954, 9 August 1970. Innis, *Empire and Communications*.

59 Quayle Diaries, 25 January 1923, 8 March 1923, 12 May 1923, November 1923, October 1923, December 1923, May 1925, December 1925, February 1927, November 1927, 5 January 1936, 26 April 1936, 29 April 1936, 10 February 1938, 29 May 1942, 28 May 1944, 5 January 1946, 19 February 1949, 14 October 1950, 17 March 1951, 2 April 1951, 30 November 1951, 27 March 1952.

In 1937, Innis became head of the Department of Political Economy. For the rest of his life, he accrued titles, including becoming president of the Royal Society of Canada in 1946–7. Corresponding with his growing reputation was an expansion of Quayle's labours. Key in this regard were the gatherings she hosted at home. Quayle spent many Saturdays preparing the house for visitors, cleaning, organizing, and baking. Then, on Sundays, she and Innis welcomed guests. On one February evening, "16 men came in evening to hear Prof. Graham." Quayle "served coffee + cake." By 1935, such gatherings had become common. In March, twelve people came for "tea" with "Dr. Johnson." Quayle "baked, etc." In December, similar events occurred, with "6 men" at one gathering and "5 men" at another. In 1936, Innis had the political economy faculty for tea: "15 – met in here in evening." She "served ginger ale + date bread." Other gatherings included "geography teachers," invited by Innis; eighteen members of the Department of Political Economy; and "history people."⁶⁰

When their children were young, the Innises lived in the suburb of Lawrence Park West. In 1942, they moved closer to the university, after which they began hosting more frequently. Often, for several Sundays in a row, they had gatherings. Sometimes these events were women only, such as when Quayle had wives over. Guests also included mixed-gender groups, particularly couples. Larger gatherings were also held. Thus, on 12 November 1944, Quayle "made sandwiches, cleaned, etc." as that night she and her husband had "25 here for tea." Despite the children's help, she found the evening "nice but tiring." One evening in 1948, "President Truman" came for "dinner + evening"; Quayle made "date bread + cookies." Their largest gathering occurred in 1949, when they had a "department tea for Prof. Ginsberg" for over 100 guests, which was "crowded but went off all right." For the event, Quayle "baked 11 doz. cookies"; her daughter Anne "baked 180." Quayle spent the day before "cleaning house." In 1950, they had "50–60" people over as part of a departmental gathering in honour of the "Dawsons." Quayle "fixed up house" and "got flowers" beforehand.⁶¹

For Innis, the importance of such gatherings cannot be overstated. They demonstrated his social capital, revealing that, in addition to

60 Quayle Diaries, 6 February 1932, 9 March 1935, 6 February 1935, 17 February 1935, 9 March 1935, 1 December 1935, 5 December 1935, 19 December 1935, 29 February 1938, 11 December 1938, 22 January 1939, 19 May 1939.

61 Unfortunately, it is unknown who "President Truman" was. See Quayle Diaries, September 1925, January 1942, 12 November 1944, 27 January 1948, 11 March 1949, 20 January 1951.

having a faculty position, he also had a devoted wife and four children. Hosting such events also indicated that Innis was dedicated to fostering intellectual community, demonstrating his commitment to scholarship. Finally, these events enlarged Innis's influence. Bringing a variety of people into his home, Innis tapped into several social networks. Hence, he created new career opportunities and leveraged his research impact.

Even as the Innises hosted, they also attended other functions. After Innis joined the Royal Society of Canada, they attended that society's events, including sitting at the head table at the annual banquet in 1946. The Innises also went to teas at the university president's residence. Other functions included lectures, convocations, and garden parties. Quayle enjoyed some of these outings. When the couple attended a banquet in the "Great Hall for [the] Marquis of Salisbury," she enjoyed the "lovely dinner." Yet her presence was also integral to Innis's public persona. When she went with him to a "presentation of R.B. Thomson's portrait at Hart House," she "wore [a] new evening gown." She may have appreciated the event, but it is also true that her bodily presentation as a respectable wife enhanced Innis's reputation as a trustworthy colleague.⁶²

For the rest of her life, Quayle was active in the wives' clubs, serving as president of the UAWC in 1945–6. Indeed, as her husband advanced through the academic ranks, so did Quayle advance in the clubs. When Harriet Smith, the wife of the university president Sidney Smith, held a "lunch for Mrs. Fulbright at Ladies' Club" in 1947, Quayle was at the "head table." By the mid-1940s, Quayle was pouring regularly; she also "pinned on names." That Quayle considered herself a member of the wives' establishment was clear when she said in 1943 that she was responsible for "introduc[ing] young wives" at a meeting.⁶³

Whatever boost her persona as wife may have given Quayle, this role also benefited her husband. Both the labour and the social capital that Quayle offered to the academic community were key to Innis's career. By the late 1940s, she and Innis had joined the English-Canadian cultural elite. They had tea with the governor general in 1946; four years later, they had tea with "Sir R. Livingstone." They also attended a reception at the Royal York Hotel in honour of the president of France. When Innis was confined to bed due to cancer in 1952, Governor

62 Quayle Diaries, 17 December 1941, 21 May 1946, 8 February 1947, 3 October 1949.

63 Quayle Diaries, 17 December 1941, 28 October 1943, May 1946, 21 May 1946, 8 February 1947, 8 November 1947, 7 November 1947, 3 October 1949.

General Vincent Massey came to visit. According to Quayle, it was a "great to-do," with "motorcycle police, plain clothesmen etc." After Innis passed away, "piles of letters + masses of flowers" poured in.⁶⁴ For years afterward, newspapers and scholars paid tribute. In a sense, however, such tributes were incomplete. Without Quayle's contributions, Innis would never have become such a luminary.

NURTURING HOME AND FAMILY

It is now well recognized that domestic work performed in the home enables inhabitants to devote attention to external activities. As feminist scholars have pointed out, unpaid work in the home also "reproduce[s]" the labour force in that those who provide unpaid "household services and emotional support" help to "renew and ready its members for another day's work."⁶⁵ In the Innis household, the gendered division of labour determined all aspects of Innis's and Quayle's endeavours. According to Watson, Innis assumed that scholarship and "personal duties" were incompatible; thus, he kept a distance from household work.⁶⁶ Throughout her marriage, Quayle assumed all responsibility for domestic labour.

In this regard, she did have help. In 1924, she began to hire "maids" for assistance. For four years, these women – referred to by Quayle as Margaret Dale and Mrs. Giroux – came on a part-time basis. In 1928, she attempted to hire someone to work full-time. The arrangement only lasted five months. From this point into the 1950s, Quayle was constantly searching for full-time help. Occasionally, such arrangements worked out, as they did with a Mrs Bayley, who worked for Quayle in the 1930s, and with a woman named Doris, who worked in the 1940s. Whenever Mrs Bayley or Doris were unavailable, Quayle had difficulty writing.⁶⁷

Even when she had assistance, Quayle performed a considerable amount of domestic labour. From the early 1920s into the mid-1950s, she did nearly all of the family's errands. Not until the late 1940s, when her son Hugh purchased a car, did she have any assistance in this regard. She walked daily for groceries and, using public transit,

64 Quayle Diaries, 6 April 1951, 28 June 1952, 11–12 November 1952.

65 Marcia L. Bellas, "The Effects of Marital Status and Wives' Employment on the Salaries of Faculty Men: The (House) Wife Bonus," *Gender and Society* 6, no. 4 (1992): 609.

66 Watson, *Marginal Man*, 248.

67 Quayle Diaries, February 1943 through April 1943.

brought all four of her children to their appointments. Quayle shopped for all of the goods that she was unable to make herself, including clothing and home furnishings for a family of six. She grew produce in her garden, which she preserved in large quantities. She provided care for the family's dog, Tigger. Whenever anyone became sick, she nursed him or her back to health. Similarly, when family members were in the hospital, Quayle visited daily. She sewed and knitted as well. Almost every entry of Quayle's diary for thirty years contains a note about which item she was working on. Other responsibilities included organizing the children's many activities and attending their events. During the 1930s, she was active in the Home and School Club. Throughout her children's upbringing, moreover, she organized their many parties, such as in 1943 when "Mary + Don. had friends in + danced."⁶⁸

During these events, Innis was usually absent. He was away often for research, business, and conferences, the latter occurring as many as three times each year. He was also away for fieldwork during eleven summers of his children's younger years. Given these long absences, which began when their first child was a newborn, Quayle managed on her own. When her children were young, she took them to her parents' house for summertime visits. When they grew older, she brought them to a cottage in the Muskokas, which Innis rented from a colleague. At the cottage, Quayle took care of the children all week; Innis joined on weekends.⁶⁹

Innis rarely became involved in home life. In this way, he was similar to many of his colleagues, most of whom performed little to no household labour. Donald Creighton did not know how to cook; he could barely make himself "a cup of tea."⁷⁰ So little responsibility did he have, in fact, that in 1952 he took "a room at Hart House" so that he could finish a book.⁷¹ As for Innis, Dagg recalls that "he would work in his study until dinner time, and after dinner until it was time for bed."⁷² Quayle's youngest son, Hugh, meanwhile, remembers his father as a "one-quarter parent."⁷³ It is true that Innis interacted with his children, taking them tobogganing, canoeing, and for walks.⁷⁴

68 Quayle Diaries, 18 December 1943.

69 Quayle Diaries, 19 July 1923, 12 August 1949.

70 Wright, *Donald Creighton*, 243–5.

71 Ibid., 187.

72 Dagg, "Memories of Innis," 33.

73 Quoted in Watson, *Marginal Man*, 248.

74 Quayle Diaries, 9 February 1923, October 1930, 10 February 1933, 3 February 1935, 3 July 1936, 5 April 1942, 14 April 1950, 7 June 1951; Dagg, "Memories of Innis," 33.

Nonetheless, Quayle either supervised or herself performed all of the labours that enabled the welfare of her husband and children. For Innis, such management was invaluable, releasing him from the tasks involved in his own everyday bodily welfare, including food and clothing preparation. More than this, it created a nurturing home environment, one from which he could emerge refreshed each day. Most importantly, it gave him the luxury of uninterrupted time. This time, in turn, enabled him to engage in extended bouts of thinking and writing. If such time had not been available, Innis may have been less prolific. As Dagg puts it, "the lack of pressure felt by professors of those times was only possible, should the professors choose to marry and have a family, if the wife took over the family responsibilities."⁷⁵

WIVES, HUSBANDS, AND THEIR LEGACIES

In 1992, Marcia Bellas conducted research on male professors' salaries in the United States. Looking at "never-married men, previously married men, men with employed wives, and men with nonemployed wives," she found that the first group "had the lowest annual salaries," while the last had the highest. Hence, "even after controlling for an array of variables known to affect faculty salaries, some men appear to receive an additional '(house)wife bonus.'" In her view, this bonus resulted from the tendency of "professional occupations," including academia, "to promote the ideology of the 'two-person career' and [thus] elicit direct contributions from wives." Bellas did not explore married faculty women's salaries, so it is unknown whether married female faculty enjoyed the same "bonus." However, since other studies reveal that twenty-first-century wives continue to perform more domestic labour than their husbands, such possibilities are slim.⁷⁶

Certainly, Harold Innis benefited from the two-person career arrangement. Given the extent of Quayle's contributions, it is clear that had Innis not married Quayle he would have had to either find other people to fulfill these duties or have done them himself. Either way, his productivity would have suffered. Moreover, since Quayle was an accomplished intellectual, it is doubtful that he would have been able to find someone to tame his prose to the extent that she did. By marrying Quayle, then, Innis brought a brilliant thinker, typist, editor,

75 Dagg, "Memories of Innis, 33.

76 Bellas, "Effects of Marital Status," 610, 611, 618; Anne Milan et al., *Families, Living Arrangements and Unpaid Work* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2011), 21–2.

networker, caregiver, and housekeeper into his life. It was perhaps the best decision he made as an academic, and one that made his illustrious career possible.

Innis, however, was not the only man of his generation to marry such a helpmate. Several male professors across English-speaking Canada, the United States, and France had brilliant, unemployed wives.⁷⁷ These women helped their husbands formulate ideas, publish research, develop networks, and manage teaching. So extensive were their labours that their existence calls into question the notion that intellectual celebrity was possible to achieve independently. Whereas many of today's faculty either perform all of their own work or hire assistants, many academics of Innis's generation had built-in, unpaid labourers who managed their professional and private lives. Had they not had such help, it is probable that the administrative men of this era would have lowered the bar for success. It is certain, as well, that academia would have been a starker place, without the pleasantries that characterized the "gentleman's" world of the early twentieth century especially.

Given that Mary Quayle Innis and other faculty wives contributed to the twentieth-century academy, the question becomes: why is their work largely uncredited? One factor was the strength of the genius concept during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to Beverly Boutilier and Alison Prentice, reverence for brilliant people was widespread during this time. Whereas many scholars today agree that thinkers draw from existing cultural referents when framing their ideas and, moreover, are situated within canons that determine their own definitions of excellence, earlier generations embraced the notion that individuals could be completely inventive. As a result, there was a tendency to elevate named authors of works of greatness and to minimize labours of others who may have contributed to such works. In some cases, as in that of Athénaïs Michelet (1826–99), wife of famed French historian Jules Michelet and uncredited co-author of many of his publications, that erasure was deliberate and carried out over several generations.⁷⁸

77 Prentice, "Boosting Husbands"; Turk, "The Hand That Rocks"; Zemon Davis, "Women and the World."

78 Beverly Boutilier and Alison Prentice, "Introduction," in Boutilier and Prentice, *Creating Historical Memory*, 7–8; Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" in *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Amelia Jones (New York: Routledge, 2003), ch. 26; Bonnie Smith, "Historiography, Objectivity, and the Case of the Abusive Widow," *History and Theory* 31, no. 4 (1992): 15–32.

If the genius concept contributed to wives' erasures, so did the notion that academic enterprise was masculine. As Donald Wright demonstrates, there was a widespread assumption during this era that only men could be scholars. Women, the logic went, were rooted in "emotion, subjectivity, and experience"; they were thus incapable of making contributions.⁷⁹ Given this denigration of femininity, it was difficult for wives, whose identities were rooted in their feminine roles, to achieve recognition. Certainly, such was the case for Jacquelyn Peitchinis, an associate professor at the University of Western Ontario during the 1960s. As an undergraduate there, she had been married to a scholar; after receiving her paper back for "an English course," her "professor asked if her husband had written it."⁸⁰ Similar occurrences happened to Quayle. Despite having worked closely with Easterbrook and Clarke on the 1956 edition of *The Fur Trade in Canada*, when this book was reprinted in 1962, her name was omitted from the credits.⁸¹

In addition to the tendency to see faculty wives more as helpmates than as scholars, some people underestimated wives because they made false equivalencies between their demeanour and their capabilities. According to Protestant custom during this time, exemplary women were compliant. Consider this statement made in 1899 by the Women's Christian Temperance Union: the "Girls That Are Wanted" are "pleasant," "kind and sweet," "ready and anxious to please," and "cheerful."⁸² Thus, when faculty wives demonstrated such characteristics, they not only displayed their Protestant virtue, but they also became vulnerable to displays of superiority, particularly from people who valued freethinking. Unfortunately, Quayle suffered from these dynamics. She was, by all accounts, courteous and kind. After she died, the Council of University College wrote that she had been "quiet," "unassuming," "gracious," "humorous," "witty," "a fine listener," and "understanding and sympathetic."⁸³ While she was alive, meanwhile, a newspaper piece about her life and work referred to her as "quiet" and "pleasant-faced."⁸⁴ Making matters more difficult for Quayle was a tendency for people to judge her by her appearance. In 1999, political economist Irene Spry recalled somewhat condescendingly that Quayle "never looked more than fifteen years old, even when she was dean of

79 Wright, "Gender and the Professionalization," 29.

80 Prentice, "Boosting Husbands," 279.

81 Dagg, "Mary Quayle Innis," 225–6.

82 "The Girls That Are Wanted," *Woman's Journal*, 15 February 1899, 5.

83 Council of University College, "Bereavement Notice."

84 "Dean of Women, Historian of YWCA," undated clipping, Mary Quayle Innis Fonds, file 1.

Women for University College.”⁸⁵ Donald Creighton made similar remarks. In his 1957 biography of Innis, he states that Innis fell in love with Quayle because “there was a pensive loveliness in her features and a dignity and elegance in her slight figure.”⁸⁶ As these statements reveal, some people underestimated Quayle because she was “lovely.” For her part, Quayle found such attitudes irritating. In a letter to Dagg, she described feeling “annoyed” after an acquaintance referred to her “writing” as a “hobby.” “Hobby!” she exclaimed.⁸⁷

In what was indeed a cruel twist of fate, the better faculty wives were at performing their femininity, the more people minimized their contributions. In fact, one American advice book for female scholars published in 1974 warned its readers against “joining faculty wives’ associations.” This was because “faculty men tend to look down on their wives.”⁸⁸ In this way, the book – and faculty husbands – echoed broader patterns. Feminist theorists have well demonstrated that caring labour is consistently undervalued. This is because such work is coded as being feminine. Women, it is assumed, are natural caregivers. When they care for others, they are performing unskilled acts of love. More than this, caregivers receive such rewards as affection and feelings of altruism. Hence, the argument goes, they do not need financial compensation.⁸⁹

Since faculty wives performed supportive labour as an extension of their domestic roles, they were vulnerable to having that work overlooked. Such would have especially been the case when wives took on typing. Certainly, there exist romanticized images of male writers, cigarettes in hand, madly typing out their ideas. Yet typing, for most of the twentieth century, was a low-status, feminized activity. Indeed, as organizations expanded their typing pools, typing became a dead-end job. Little wonder that by the 1970s some professional women refused to learn how to type.⁹⁰

85 Irene Spry, “Economic History and Economic Theory: Innis’s Insights,” in Acland and Buxton, *Harold Innis*, 108. Spry may have been grinding an axe due to a complicated history with Innis; Watson argues the two had an emotional affair in the 1930s. Watson, *Marginal Man*, 194.

86 Creighton, *Harold Adams Innis*, 42.

87 Mary Quayle Innis to “Anne [Innis Dagg] and Ian and all,” 5 November 1969, Mary Quayle Innis Fonds, file 9.

88 Prentice, “Boosting Husbands,” 283.

89 A.R. Hochschild, *The Commercialization of Intimate Life: Notes from Home and Work* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Paula England and Nancy Folbre, “The Cost of Caring,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 561, no. 1 (1999): 39–51.

90 Margery W. Davis, “Women Clerical Workers and the Typewriter: The Writing Machine,” in *Technology and Women’s Voices: Keeping in Touch*, edited by Cheris Kramarae (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988), 26, 27.

Wives' socializing was also vulnerable to critique. Wives' clubs worked hard to make universities inclusive. Beginning in 1936, the Faculty Wives Association (FWA) at the University of Toronto held annual teas to welcome all "new members of staff and their wives."⁹¹ Such events asserted a place on campus for women, but they also led some to believe that wives were engaged in frivolous socializing. The same advice book that said that faculty men looked down on their wives also advised female scholars to avoid wives' "social gatherings" because attending such events indicated they were not serious researchers.⁹²

Despite the scorn to which faculty wives were subjected, wives themselves recognized their own accomplishments. The FWA held annual dinners to celebrate members' service, including a meal at Hart House in 1945 to honour eleven years of work by FWA President Barbara Cody. Clubs also celebrated members' productivity by inviting wives to give lectures. When she was Dean of Women, for example, Quayle spoke to the UAWC about her book *Travellers West*. Other commemorations of wives' accomplishments were also held, such as when the UAWC at the University of Toronto put together packages of "books of faculty wives" for each member in 1947. Through such events, wives' clubs affirmed members' achievements and publicly marked their contributions.⁹³

If the faculty wives valued women's scholarship, so did they recognize the importance of caring work. When they held food-based gatherings on campus and in their homes, they demonstrated their awareness that social connections contributed toward research and scholarly development. In other words, faculty wives built communities of caring, ones that affirmed scholars' worth, cultivated research networks, and enabled academics to thrive. Faculty wives hence nurtured not only their own families but also the entire university community. In this way, they contributed to academic excellence. Some scholars, in fact, were aware of this dimension of wives' work. According to historian Sylvia van Kirk, a woman named Dorothy Burt, married to the professor A.L. Burt, "played an indispensable role as 'mother' and hostess of the [all-male] History Club" at the University of Alberta during the 1920s. Recognizing the exclusionary nature of this club, she also started the "Bluestockings Club" for women. In this way, she fostered the interests of both female and male scholars.⁹⁴

91 FWA Minutes, 6 April 1936, FWA Fonds, file B2013-0008-001-03.

92 Prentice, "Boosting Husbands," 284.

93 Mrs. H.J. Cody Dinner, 1945, FWA Fonds, file B2013-0008-001-04; Quayle Diaries, 12 November 1947, 25 January 1957.

94 Quoted in Prentice, "Boosting Husbands," 277.

Wives' caring labour benefited many individuals, but it also nurtured their own well-being. Absent the formal structures that validated employed faculty's achievements, faculty wives created lasting networks, ones that enabled women to remain in the academy throughout their lives. After Quayle retired from her deanship, these networks took on particular significance. During her late sixties, Quayle's social calendar was filled with events involving female colleagues, including an almost daily attendance of university lectures, teas, and dinners. She also went on trips with other faculty wives, including to Europe in 1971. Each August, moreover, Quayle travelled to see her oldest daughter in Vancouver, where she drew upon her female networks so as to attend events there. For scholars such as Quayle, the wives' networks were invaluable. They validated her choice to be both a mother and a writer, and they enabled her to pursue a lifetime's worth of intellectual development.⁹⁵

CONCLUSION

Much more could be said about Mary Quayle Innis, her writings, and her accomplishments as a parent, colleague, intellectual, and public figure. For now, however, let us return to the gendered paths that Quayle and her husband travelled. After the couple married in 1921, they moved to Toronto where they established successful careers. Quayle was integral to Innis's success, while the same cannot be said for Innis. His faculty position gave Quayle social status and financial security, but Innis himself rarely contributed to Quayle's intellectual and domestic pursuits. Despite this imbalance, both Innis and Quayle enjoyed widespread acclaim. Innis's primary audience was academic; to this day, scholars pore over his writings. Quayle's audience was more diverse. She enjoyed scholarly prestige, but she had another audience: fiction readers. During her lifetime, she garnered widespread acclaim for both her academic and her fictional works.

Despite Quayle's contemporary popularity, her star has now faded. Even within Innis scholarship, little mention is made of her writings. With the exception of Black, little mention is made of her contributions to Innis's career. It is time, this article suggests, to return to Quayle's legacy. Doing so reminds us that many academics have not

95 Quayle Diaries, 21 September 1964, 19 October 1964, 24 March 1965, 6 July 1966, 5 April 1967, 6 March 1968, 1 December 1969, 28 October 1970, May 1971, 9 December 1971.

built their reputations alone. It makes visible the gendered structure of the twentieth-century university, and it shows how this structure rewarded men and women unequally. Finally, renewed attention to faculty wives' work highlights the importance of caring, both inside and outside the academy. Quayle and her colleagues did not receive salaries, but they performed labours that allowed children, students, friends, husbands, and colleagues to thrive. Such efforts have value. It is time for these labours, and the people who performed them, to be properly recognized.

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KIERA MITCHELL is currently working on a book project on the history of Saskatchewan artist, Beth Hone, and her place within feminist art and activism communities. She is starting a Master's degree in history at the University of Saskatchewan in the fall of 2018.

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KIERA MITCHELL travaille en ce moment à un projet de livre sur l'histoire de l'artiste saskatchewanaise Beth Hone et la place qu'elle a occupée dans les milieux de l'art et du militantisme féministes. Elle commence sa maîtrise en histoire à l'Université de la Saskatchewan à l'automne 2018.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was funded by grants from Athabasca University and the University of Regina. We are grateful to Anne Innis Dagg for reading earlier drafts and offering comments. Dimitry Anastakis, Mary-Ellen Kelm, and three anonymous reviewers provided suggestions, as did many who attended the Canadian Historical Association meeting in 2017. Karyn Taylor found key materials in the University of

Waterloo Archives. Staff at the University of Toronto Archives and the University of Waterloo Archives facilitated our long-distance requests. Dasha Chernova and David Taylor provided crucial caring support; Kyla Madden offered much needed early prodding. Thanks, too, to Myra Zubot Mitchell, Jack Mitchell, and the Blechinger family.

APPENDIX I: KNOWN PUBLICATIONS OF MARY QUAYLE INNIS

Single-Authored Publications

April: Poems. Chicago: Print Shop, School of Education, University of Chicago, 1920.

"The Moon Fishers." *Canadian Forum* 2, no. 22 (1922): 694.

"Quarrel." *Canadian Forum* 2, no. 23 (1922): 722-3.

"In the Sugar Bush." *Canadian Forum* 3, no. 29 (1923): 143-4, 146-8.

"Return." *Canadian Forum* 4, no. 38 (1923): 48.

"Wood-Box." *Canadian Forum* 4, no. 41 (1924): 144-5.

"The Forest Wife." *Canadian Forum* 7, no. 83 (1927): 333.

"Drums." *Canadian Forum* 8, no. 86 (1927): 430-1.

"Trader." *Canadian Forum* 8, no. 95 (1928): 752, 754-5.

"Guide to the Sea." *Canadian Forum* 9, no. 100 (1929): 126, 128-9.

"Schooling." *Canadian Forum* 10, no. 113 (1930): 164-6.

"Recital." *Canadian Forum* 11, no. 121 (1930): 14-15.

"Old Man." *Canadian Forum* 11, no. 123 (1930): 94-5.

"Party." *Canadian Forum* 11, no. 129 (1931): 334-6.

"Aunt Belle." *Canadian Forum* 11, no. 132 (1931): 455-6.

"Holiday." *Canadian Forum* 12, no. 136 (1932): 140-2.

"Substitute." *The Midland* 19 (1932): 123.

"Wedding Days." *Canadian Forum* 13, no. 147 (1932): 102-4.

"Two Ears." *Canadian Forum* 13, no. 155 (1933): 418-21.

"Gift." *Canadian Forum* 14, no. 165 (1934): 349-51.

"Brotherhood." *Canadian Forum* 15, no. 173 (1935): 188-9.

An Economic History of Canada. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1935, rev. ed. 1943.

"Geordie." *Publications of the Writer's Club* (1936): 39-44.

"The Record of an Epidemic." *Dalhousie Review* 16 (1936): 55-60.

"Staver." *New Frontier* 1, no. 1 (1936): 173-81.

"Builders of the Nation." *Saturday Night*, 13 February 1937, 1-2.

- "The Industrial Development of Ontario, 1783-1820." *Ontario Historical Society* 32 (1937): 104-13.
- "Philip Henry Gosse in Canada." *Dalhousie Review* 17 (1937): 55-60.
- "Case of Poor Cyril." *Saturday Night*, 23 April 1938, 1.
- "Lambie in the Park." *Saturday Night*, 20 August 1938, 1.
- "Lava with Penny." *Saturday Night*, 6 May 1939, 24.
- "Lady with Ash Tray." *Saturday Night*, 29 July 1939, 20.
- "Coming Back." *Saturday Night*, 12 August 1939, 20.
- "The Wave." *Saturday Night*, 23 December 1939.
- "News from Abroad." *Saturday Night*, 13 January 1940, 20.
- "Romance." *Saturday Night*, 18 May 1940, 36.
- "Vine." *Saturday Night*, 15 June 1940, 28.
- "Club Meeting." *Saturday Night*, 13 July 1940, 20.
- "Chinaberry tree." *Saturday Night*, 24 August 1940, 20.
- "Back Home to a New World." *Saturday Night*, 14 September 1940, 39.
- "Whither, O Ship." *Saturday Night*, 30 November 1940, 33.
- "A Galt Centenary." *Dalhousie Review* 19 (1940): 495-501.
- "Folk Play." *Saturday Night*, 18 January 1941, 29.
- "Valentine." *Saturday Night*, 15 February 1941, 29.
- "Night of the Recital." *Saturday Night*, 28 June 1941, 29.
- "Don't You Hear Me?" *Saturday Night*, 8 November 1941, 29.
- "Mornings at Nine." *Saturday Night*, 31 January 1942, 25.
- "Every Vote Counts." *Saturday Night*, 2 May 1942, 25.
- "Tape Measure." *Saturday Night*, 27 June 1942, 31.
- "Quiet Haven of War." *Saturday Night*, 8 August 1942, 21.
- "End of the Summer." *Saturday Night*, 29 August 1942, 21.
- "Harvest Home." *Saturday Night*, 21 November 1942, 33.
- "Day to Keep Always." *Saturday Night*, 12 December 1942, 48-9.
- "But Peaceful." *Saturday Night*, 26 December 1942, 22.
- "Youngest of the Family." *Saturday Night*, 23 January 1943, 29.
- "Stamp on a White Horse." *Saturday Night*, 15 May 1943, 37.
- "Six or Seven Mice." *Saturday Night*, 7 August 1943, 25.
- "Beauty's Mirror." *Saturday Night*, 4 September 1943, 29.
- "Minister's Cat." *Saturday Night*, 25 September 1943, 32-3.
- "New Plan: One Meal on Sunday." *Saturday Night*, 16 October 1943, 33.
- "Holiday with Accent." *Saturday Night*, 6 November 1943, 29.

- "Opportunists' Day." *Saturday Night*, 20 November 1943, 33.
- "Original Sweater Girl." *Saturday Night*, 11 December 1943, 35.
- "Yam – and Blanche." *Saturday Night*, 18 December 1943, 24.
- Stand on a Rainbow*. Toronto: Collins, 1943.
- "Repentance: An Unimproving Tale Of Canadian Childhood." *Saturday Night*, 26 August 1944, 59.
- "How Foolish to Race When There Are Girls Who Want to Win." *Saturday Night*, 30 September 1944, 25.
- "Lived-In Look; Or Quaint Gourds And Pottery Figures." *Saturday Night*, 2 December 1944, 36–7.
- "Miasm before Breakfast: Godey's Lady's Book and Its Editor." *Saturday Night*, 24 February 1945.
- "One of the Duck Family: Three Cakes of Yeast in a Bag." *Saturday Night*, 28 April 1945, 32–3.
- "White-Winged Treasures and the Sixties' Art of Invective." *Saturday Night*, 5 May 1945.
- "Old Mills and Clay Dishes Are Old Mills and Clay Dishes." *Saturday Night*, 9 June 1945, 32–3.
- "Little Good Music with Some Incidental Off-Stage Noises." *Saturday Night*, 8 September 1945, 36–7.
- "Donna, You're the Oldest, Donna, Come Here, Donna, Sing, Donna." *Saturday Night*, 29 September 1945, 32–3.
- "Holly with Berries for Erie: We Wept When We Remembered Zion." *Saturday Night*, 1 December 1945, 40–1.
- "Grass by the Side of Different Roads Looks Very Much Alike." *Saturday Night*, 9 February 1946, 33.
- "White Skirts Passing." *Saturday Night*, 22 June 1946, 32–3.
- "'Sport' Has His Day." *Saturday Night*, 24 August 1946, 25.
- "Our Motion is Low." *Saturday Night*, 12 October 1946, 49.
- "They Don't Realize." *Saturday Night*, 25 January 1947.
- "'Fine' by Definition." *Saturday Night*, 1 February 1947, 21.
- "Great Uncle with Zebra." *Saturday Night*, 15 February 1947, 37.
- "Hair Ribbon." *Saturday Night*, 1 March 1947, 25.
- "The Advance of Scholarship." *Saturday Night*, 5 April 1947, 29.
- "Pleasures of a Poor Memory." *Saturday Night*, 3 May 1947, 25.
- "Quest for an Uninhabited Quince Eaten with a Runcible Spoon." *Saturday Night*, 11 October 1947, 39.
- "One of the Crowd." *Saturday Night*, 25 October 1947, 37.

- "Morning in Paris." *Saturday Night*, 2 October 1948, 25.
- "Enter with Fanfare." *Saturday Night*, 9 October 1948, 29.
- "Blenheim Palace Is Breathtaking but Tea Is Very Important Too." *Saturday Night*, 22 March 1949, 18-19.
- "There's Still Nothing to Compare with That Voyage 'Back Home.'" *Saturday Night*, 31 May 1949, 13.
- "A Dream under Canvas." *Saturday Night*, 7 June 1949, 29.
- "Night at Miss Koenig's." *Saturday Night*, 2 August 1949, 21.
- Unfold the Years: A History of the Young Women's Christian Association in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1949.
- Changing Canada*. 2 vols. Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1951, 1952.
- Travellers West*. Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1956.
- "From Where I Sit." *United Church Observer*, 15 May 1968, 28.
- "I Like Growing Old." *United Church Observer*, 15 September 1968, 22-3.
- "Little Girls in Good Old Days Wore Pongee." *Globe and Mail*, 16 October 1969, W4.
- "The Sunshine and Shadow of Living Alone." *United Church Observer*, 15 December 1969, 12-13.
- "Once a Loser." *Globe Magazine*, 22 May 1971, 16.
- "Grandma in Wonderland." *United Church Observer*, January 1971, 32-3.
- "Learning about Death." *United Church Observer*, August 1971, 20-1.
- "Lessons from Living." *United Church Observer*, November 1971, 31.

Edited, Co-Authored, and Revised Publications

- Innis, Harold. *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, revised by Mary Quayle Innis. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1930; reprinted 1956.
- Innis, Mary Quayle, A. Cameron, and A. Boggs. *Living in Canada*. Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1954.
- Innis, Mary Quayle, S.D. Clark, and W.T. Easterbrook. "Preface." In Harold Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy*, revised by Mary Quayle Innis, S.D. Clark, and W.T. Easterbrook. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954.
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- Innis, Mary Quayle, S.D. Clark, and W.T. Easterbrook. "Preface." In Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic*

History, revised by Mary Quayle Innis, S.D. Clark, and W.T. Easterbrook. New Haven: Yale University, 1956.

Innis, Mary Quayle, "Introduction." In Elizabeth Simcoe, *Mrs. Simcoe's Diary*, revised by Mary Quayle Innis. Toronto: Macmillan, 1965.

Innis, Mary Quayle, "Introduction." In *The Clear Spirit: Twenty Canadian Women and Their Times*, edited by Mary Quayle Innis. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.

Innis, Mary Quayle, ed., *Nursing Education in a Changing Society*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Innis, Harold. *Empire and Communications*, revised by Mary Quayle Innis. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.