

Magazines and the Making of Photographic Modernism in Canada, 1925-1945

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A Thesis  
In the Department  
of  
Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
Concordia University  
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

September 2013

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**CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY  
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Art History)

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## ABSTRACT

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The history of photography in Canada in the first half of the twentieth century is a field of study that has been only too rarely explored. The current understanding of this period is that Canadian participation in the development and dissemination of the international movement of modernist photography was minor. This thesis aims to correct this understanding by showing that the visual languages of photographic modernism were being manifested in the sphere of popular culture: specifically in Canadian mass-circulation magazines.

My approach to modernism is based on the idea that it was composed of a set of key visual conventions (or languages), which, although pre-existing their exploitation in Canadian magazines, were put to singular use in this context. The six illustrated magazines that constitute my research corpus (*The Canadian Magazine*, *Maclean's*, *Chatelaine*, *La Revue Moderne*, *La Revue populaire*, and *Le Samedi*), studied between 1925 and 1945, all proclaimed their missions in terms of Canadianess and were addressed specifically to a Canadian readership. This nationalist rhetoric acts as a discursive frame for the magazines' photographic content. Although many of the photographs published in these magazines were acquired from foreign sources, they were selected, published, seen, and read by Canadians.

The first two chapters of this thesis describe, respectively, my methodological framework and the discourse of Canadianism at work in the magazines. The different

languages of photographic modernism being employed in the magazines studied are discussed in the following four chapters. In each of these, I endeavour to make links between the images published in Canadian magazines, the discourses significant to the modern period, and the manifestation of these discourses within the canonical history of modernist photography. My intent in doing so is to show the porosity between the local and the international, and to expand the understanding of photographic modernism in Canada.

This is the first wide-ranging study that closely investigates the photographic content of popular Canadian magazines and situates such content within the larger history of modernist photography. Approaching the magazine as a multi-dimensional photographic object, this thesis also aims to contribute to the growing body of knowledge on the history of vernacular photography in Canada.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor, Martha Langford, whose tremendous support has been unwavering, and who has helped me grow both as a scholar and as a person. Her limitless, unshakable passion for Canadian photography has been inspiring.

To all the wonderful women in Concordia University's Department of Art History: your wit, warmth, and energy have kept me going throughout these years. I wish to thank especially Loren Lerner, Catherine Mackenzie, Johanne Sloan, and Anne Whitelaw for their encouragement. I also thank the two vibrant women who keep the department running: Dina Vescio and Anna Waclawek. Your calming influence has been essential.

I wish to thank the friends and colleagues who have all expanded my way of thinking, shown true interest, and consistently made me laugh: Sharon Murray, Corina Ilea, Tammer El-Sheikh, Aurèle Parisien, and Philippe Guillaume. You have made this experience a rich one.

To Anna, my colleague, neighbour, and dear friend: thank you for being here.

To my family: I can't say enough. I thank my sister, Isa Tousignant, and my brother-in-law, Howard Chackowicz. Their respective challenges to the artistic status quo are a daily inspiration.

I thank my father, Claude Tousignant, whose own creativity, confidence, and drive are a lifelong source of motivation for me.

And last but by no means least, I wish to thank my mother, Judith Terry, for her ardent support of me and of this project. Her work ethic, attention to detail, passion for words, patience, and humour have been an essential part of this project's completion.

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5.66 Aimé Plamondon, “À la maison du ‘Samedi’: Une visite mémorable,” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. 10.

5.67 “La maison de La Revue Populaire, du Samedi et du Film à Montréal,” *La Revue populaire*, November 1939, p. 52. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.

6.1 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 50-51.

6.2 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 52-53.

6.3 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 54-55.

6.4 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 56-57.

6.5 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 58-59.

6.6 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 60-61.

6.7 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 64-65.

6.8 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 68-69.

6.9 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 76-77.

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6.13 Installation view of the *Film und Foto* exhibition, Stuttgart, 1929.

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6.16 Lucien Piché, “L’Art de la photographie,” *La Revue moderne*, April 1938, pp. 8-9.

6.17 Lucien Piché, “L’Art de la photographie,” *La Revue moderne*, April 1938, p. 10.

6.18 Fernand de Verneuil, “Si nos yeux ...,” *Le Samedi*, August 24, 1935, p. 3.

6.19 Louis Roland, “Le Centenaire de la photographie,” *Le Samedi*, June 3, 1939, pp. 4-5.

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- 6.21 Royd E. Beamish, “Seeing the Invisible,” *Maclean’s*, April 1, 1939, p. 9.
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- 6.23 Royd E. Beamish, “Seeing the Invisible,” *Maclean’s*, April 1, 1939, p. 46.
- 6.24 Royd E. Beamish, “Seeing the Invisible,” *Maclean’s*, April 1, 1939, p. 48.
- 6.25 Ted Sanderson, “Photography Protects You,” *Maclean’s*, November 15, 1939, p. 17.
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- 6.28 Ted Sanderson, “Photography Protects You,” *Maclean’s*, November 15, 1939, p. 39.
- 6.29 Maurice Bert, “La Photographie du Christ,” *Le Samedi*, January 12, 1935, pp. 22-23.
- 6.30 Maurice Bert, “La Photographie du Christ,” *Le Samedi*, January 12, 1935, p. 40.
- 6.31 Pierre LeBaron, “Ce que l’on invente,” *La Revue moderne*, November 1942, pp. 16-17.
- 6.32 “L’Histoire naturelle au cinéma,” *La Revue populaire*, February 1936, p. 12. Photographs: UFA.
- 6.33 “Existences dévoilées,” *La Revue populaire*, May 1936, p. 55. Photographs: UFA.
- 6.34 “Mascarade ou cauchemar? Non, la vie normale et naturelle,” *Le Samedi*, May 14, 1938, p. 36.
- 6.35 “Le Chien,” *Le Samedi*, November 13, 1937, p. 8.
- 6.36 “Autres têtes, mêmes expressions,” *Le Samedi*, May 13, 1939, p. 12.
- 6.37 *Lilliput*, March 1939, pp. 240-241.
- 6.38 *Lilliput*, March 1939, pp. 244-245.
- 6.39 *Lilliput*, February 1939, pages unknown.
- 6.40 “À propos de singes,” *Le Samedi*, February 17, 1940, pp. 4-5.

- 6.41 “Canada’s Fighting Forces,” *Maclean’s*, January 15, 1940, p. 7.
- 6.42 “Nos officiers et soldats ont droit à leur solde... et même à plus forte solde,” *Le Samedi*, July 13, 1940, p. 6.
- 6.43 “Poison Gas – Manufacture... for Murder,” *The Canadian Magazine*, November 1937, pp. 24-25.
- 6.44 “Things to Come,” *The Canadian Magazine*, October 1937, p. 1.
- 6.45 Beverley Baxter, “Were London Bombed,” *Maclean’s*, April 15, 1937, p. 14.
- 6.46 *La Revue populaire*, August 1939, p. 24. Photograph: Services Nationaux du Tourisme français.
- 6.47 “Renaissance de la bécane,” *La Revue populaire*, p. 10. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.
- 6.48 *La Revue populaire*, May 1938, p. 42.
- 6.49 “École de vacances pour jeunes filles,” *La Revue populaire*, June 1937, pp. 38-39. Photographs: PIX.
- 6.50 “... nobody liked to follow him in the shower ...,” advertisement for Absorbine Junior, *The Canadian Magazine*, June 1933, p. 22.
- 6.51 “Her shoes hid a sorry case of athlete’s foot,” advertisement for Absorbine Junior, *The Canadian Magazine*, July 1933, p. 24.
- 6.52 “Ashamed to get out on the beach,” advertisement for Absorbine Junior, *The Canadian Magazine*, August 1933, p. 25.
- 6.53 Poster for the *Film und Foto* exhibition, Stuttgart, 1929.
- 6.54 “Sky High,” *The Canadian Magazine*, April 1928, pp. 20-21.
- 6.55 “The Sky’s the Limit,” *The Canadian Magazine*, November 1933, p. 16.
- 6.56 “Le 50<sup>e</sup> anniversaire du ‘Samedi,’” *La Revue populaire*, June 1938, p. 29.
- 6.57 “Le port de Montréal,” *Le Samedi*, June 11, 1938, pp. 8-9.
- 6.58 *Le Samedi*, April 10, 1937, cover. Photograph: Mark Auger.
- 6.59 *La Revue populaire*, April 1938, p. 24. Photograph: G. L. Hawkins.

6.60 “Tout le monde lit La Revue populaire,” advertisement for *La Revue populaire*, *Le Samedi*, July 6, 1935, p. 42.



1.1 Conrad Poirier, *Newsstand for Le Samedi*, Montreal, December 22, 1938, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

## Introduction

### CANADIAN MODERNIST PHOTOGRAPHY

The first half of the twentieth century remains the most unstudied period in the history of photography in Canada. A focused and comprehensive account of this phase of Canadian photographic history does not exist. It is a historiographical “black hole” that has been occupied sporadically by small regional histories, monographs on certain dominant figures, and, chiefly, investigations of amateur photography practised within the institutional setting of camera clubs. The sparseness of such studies has created the perception that not much occurred in Canada during this period, or, worse, that what did happen is not worth recounting.

By contrast, for scholars working on the histories of photography in the United States and Europe, this same period represents an extremely productive and innovative time that had a profound impact on the practice, experience, and study of the medium in the latter half of the twentieth century – and beyond. Through the production of significant exhibitions and publications, the cause of modernist photography has been repeatedly advanced.<sup>1</sup> The groundwork of this history having been established at an early stage, recent scholars have endeavoured to broaden the approach to the subject by filling in some of the socio-historical gaps, tracing the dissemination and reception of

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Andy Grundberg, Marta Gili, et al., *Paris, capitale photographique, 1920-1940: collection Christian Bouqueret* (Paris: Jeu de Paume and Éditions de La Martinière, 2009); Christopher Phillips and Vanessa Rocco eds., *Modernist Photography: Selections from the Daniel Cowin Collection* (New York and Göttingen: International Center of Photography and Steidl, 2005); Horacio Fernández, *Fotografía Pública/Photography in Print, 1919-1939* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 1999); and Maria Morris Hambourg and Christopher Phillips, *The New Vision: Photography Between the World Wars, Ford Motor Company Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989).



photographs, paying attention to other types of practitioners, and looking at different kinds of photographic objects – thus complicating the story of modernist photography.<sup>2</sup>

So it was with great anticipation that, in 2007, I made my way to the National Gallery of Canada (NGC) to visit *Modernist Photographs*, the first of a series of exhibitions that were to showcase the museum's extensive photography collection, which had by that time reached the age of forty.<sup>3</sup> Walking through the exhibition, I was immediately impressed by the number and diversity of the works on view. This was an exhibition that presented modernist photography not as a minor chapter in the 170-year-old history of the medium, but as a wide-ranging, international aesthetic phenomenon.<sup>4</sup>

Conceived by Ann Thomas, the NGC's Curator of Photographs, *Modernist Photographs* was divided loosely into such genres as portraits, nudes, urban landscapes and abstract compositions, and brought together more than eighty works by some of the history of photography's most celebrated actors, including Henri Cartier-Bresson, Dorothea Lange, Man Ray, László Moholy-Nagy, Edward Steichen, Alfred Stieglitz, and Edward Weston. A total of sixty-six artists were featured, from some twenty countries.

The overall impression left by the exhibition was one of inclusiveness and diversity, as it also featured “non-artistic” works like Harold Edgerton's 1936 scientific

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<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Joseph B. Entin, *Sensational Modernism: Experimental Fiction and Photography in Thirties America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Michel Frizot and Cédric de Veigy, *Vu: The Story of a Magazine* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009); Olivier Lugon, *Le style documentaire. D'August Sander à Walker Evans, 1920-1945* (Paris: Éditions Macula, 2001); Jordana Mendelson, *Revistas Y Guerra/Magazines and War, 1936-1939* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 2007); and John Raeburn, *A Staggering Revolution: A Cultural History of Thirties Photography* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Théberge, Foreword to Ann Thomas, *Modernist Photographs from the National Gallery of Canada* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2007), 7. Other exhibitions to have showcased the photography collection are *19th-century French Photographs from the National Gallery of Canada* (2010), *19th-century British Photographs from the National Gallery of Canada* (2011), and *American Photographs, 1900-1950, from the National Gallery of Canada* (2011).

<sup>4</sup> *Modernist Photographs from the National Gallery of Canada* was also shown at The Rooms, Provincial Art Gallery Division, St. John's, from January 14 to March 17, 2008; the Glenbow Museum, Calgary, from October 18 to February 22, 2009; and the Art Gallery of Hamilton from September 5 to December 2009.

photograph *Milk Drop Coronet*. It seemed as though the definition of modernist photography being upheld in the exhibition not only incorporated the more self-consciously artistic practices of Stieglitz or Weston, but also accommodated the panoply of photographic images made during the modernist period, which, as it concerns photography, is considered to roughly span the 1920s to the 1940s.

Yet, for all its inclusiveness, there was a lacuna in *Modernist Photographs*, one that was all the more surprising given the number and variety of participants: of the sixty-six artists showcased, only two were Canadian. John Vanderpant (1884-1939), a photographer born in the Netherlands who immigrated to Canada in 1911, and Margaret Watkins (1884-1969), who was born in Hamilton, Ontario, and would leave the country as a teenager, later practicing photography professionally in New York City, were the sole representatives of Canadian modernist photography.<sup>5</sup>

Since *Modernist Photographs* was an exhibition that consisted exclusively of works owned by the NGC, it might be concluded that the museum's holdings in this area were themselves lacking. Or is the problem one of existence: are Vanderpant and Watkins the only Canadian photographers that can be called modernist? If this is so, what conditions prevented other Canadian photographers from participating in this international photographic movement?

Investigating the matter further by tracing the historiographical roots of *Modernist Photographs* back to the establishment of the NGC's photography collection in 1967, I

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<sup>5</sup> See these monographs on Vanderpant and Watkins: Charles C. Hill, *John Vanderpant, Photographs* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1976); Sheryl Salloum, *Underlying Vibrations: The Photography and Life of John Vanderpant* (Victoria, BC: Horsdal & Schubart, 1995); Mary O'Connor and Katherine Tweedie, *Seduced by Modernity: The Photography of Margaret Watkins* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007); and Lori Pauli, *Margaret Watkins: Domestic Symphonies* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2012).

have come to the conclusion that the exhibition was a symptom of a larger problem concerning the writing of the history of modernist photography in Canada: that it is founded on restrictive conceptions of both modernism and photography. In order to comprehend the current state of research on Canadian modernist photography and to understand what has precluded this period from being more extensively explored, a retrospective gaze over the way this history has been written must be cast.

It is important to consider this history here, at this early stage in my thesis on magazines and the making of photographic modernism in Canada, because it represents what inspired me to contribute to the body of knowledge on modernist photography. Although there are fundamental conceptual differences between the way the NGC approaches modernist photography and how I consider my object of study, we are both writing histories of modernism. And although, like the NGC, I greatly appreciate the works that have been admitted to the international canon of modernist photography, my approach to this canon is expansive in a way that is, I hope, profound rather than superficial.

This thesis intends to correct the perception that the history of photography in Canada by-passed the modernist period by showing that photographic modernism was active in the sphere of popular culture – specifically in mass-circulation illustrated magazines published in Canada.<sup>6</sup> Brimming with photographs, these periodicals reached the homes of readers in the hundreds of thousands, and as will emerge, not only

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<sup>6</sup> From now on, I use the expression “photographic modernism” rather than the more limiting “modernist photography” to refer to the imagery composing my research corpus. My use of this terminology, meant to indicate a wider range of photographic production than that circumscribed by art photography, is based on an essay by photography historian Carol Payne. See Carol Payne, “Negotiating Photographic Modernism in USA: *A Quarterly Magazine of the American Scene* (1930),” *Visual Resources*, vol. 23, no. 4 (December 2007): 337-351.

proclaimed their missions in terms of Canadianess, but were addressed specifically to the Canadian public. In other words, this thesis looks for evidence of modernism outside the confines of art-centric structures (both institutional and philosophical) and considers magazines as a site where photographic modernism's multi-dimensional identity as art, commerce, entertainment, and technology intermingled. This is the crux of what I am bringing to the table: the examination of modernist photography in Canada from a perspective that includes not only institutionally sanctioned artistic expression, but also the social, political, cultural, and economic dimensions of photography.

This historiographical review begins with *Modernist Photographs* – still the most recent study on the subject produced in Canada.<sup>7</sup> From there I move back to an earlier essay by Thomas entitled “Between a Hard Edge and a Soft Curve: Modernism in Canadian Photography,” a text published in 2000 that built on the 1984 study *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940*, edited by Lilly Koltun. I then discuss two exemplary books by Charles C. Hill, *Canadian Painting in the Thirties* and *John Vanderpant, Photographs*, published in 1975 and 1976 respectively. I end by investigating the creation, in 1967, of the National Gallery's photography collection and the conception of photography of its first curator, James Borcoman. Though this collection has contributed in important ways to both scholarly research and public appreciation, I argue, finally, that it is time for the perspective on which it is based to be broadened.

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<sup>7</sup> The NGC held a monographic exhibition of Margaret Watkins's work from October 5, 2012 to January 6, 2013. The only physical trace of her professional career in the exhibition was contained in a glass case displaying a few of her photographs as they appeared in advertisements, which were cut out from the magazines in which they were originally published.

*Between Pictorialism and Modernism*

In the catalogue accompanying *Modernist Photographs*, the NGC's director at the time, Pierre Théberge, noted that the exhibition celebrated the fortieth year of the museum's photography collection but also marked the one hundredth anniversary of Picasso's *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J. R. Version O)*, the ultimate modernist work of art.<sup>8</sup> This comment situates the work of photographers within the larger context of the modernist project and provides a yardstick by which the photographs showcased in the exhibition have been measured. He suggests that to qualify as modernist the photographs in the exhibition must, like Picasso's painting, have broken with past pictorial conventions and "revolutionized the Western world's perceptions of what art could be in the twentieth century."<sup>9</sup>

Rather than following the exhibition's organization according to genre, the catalogue takes the form of an inventory of important contributors to the international history of modernist photography. The sixty-six artists included are each represented by one or two reproductions of a work in the museum's collection, which is followed by a short description of their maker's life and practice. General art historical information is presented in the introduction, signed by Thomas.

This account of how modernist photography arose begins with a discussion of the movement modernist photographers are said to have reacted against: Pictorialism. The adherents of Pictorialism, popular in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries in Europe and the United States, sought to gain acceptance for the medium of photography as a form of fine art. Yet they pursued this goal by using the camera

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<sup>8</sup> Théberge, 7.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

“unphotographically” – by attempting, through various techniques, to imitate the look and texture of nineteenth-century painting and graphic arts. Pictorialists, Thomas writes,

aimed to dispel the common belief that photography was merely mnemonic, documentary, and mechanical. They did so by replacing photography’s high informational content and its purportedly mechanical and uniform appearance with soft-focus, painterly forms on textured papers, in the hope that it would thus take its place in the hierarchy of art.<sup>10</sup>

The Pictorialist style became the staple of camera clubs and associations, where it was applied by amateurs well into the twentieth century. To a certain faction of Pictorialists interested in distancing their efforts from those of amateurs, however, it soon became clear that the style was not in tune with the radical developments taking place in other art forms.

The impulse arose among some, notably Stieglitz, to reject the imitative tendencies of Pictorialism and embrace the inherent qualities of the photographic apparatus. As Thomas puts it:

Adventurous photographers, fresh from making photographs for art’s sake, took their next cue from the modernist credo of art for art’s sake and now rallied to the call of photography for photography’s sake. Following the same pattern of assertion and retreat that could be seen in the other arts, these photographers abandoned edge-softening, textured photographic papers and moved away from processes like gum bichromate (...). Instead they began to explore the sharp delineation of form, even lighting, and the smooth, undifferentiated surface of gelatin silver paper.<sup>11</sup>

If Pictorialism signifies the appropriation of pictorial conventions extrinsic to the medium, then, modernism is posited as the exploration of new visual forms through the recognition and exploitation of photography’s intrinsic characteristics. Modernism in photography is thus in line with Clement Greenberg’s articulation of modernist painting,

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<sup>10</sup> Thomas, *Modernist Photographs*, 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

according to which the medium's promise is fulfilled by restricting the means of expression to its bare essentials.<sup>12</sup>

Yet unlike Greenberg's views on painting, the term 'modernism' is not only applicable to photographs that embrace abstraction, but also encompasses those that represent, in one way or another, the conditions of modern life.<sup>13</sup> The various forms that modernist photography has taken and the multiple contexts – artistic and socio-political – that have led to its adoption in such countries as the United States, Germany, the Czech Republic, and the Soviet Union are explained by Thomas. Canadian modernist photography is not part of the analysis, and indeed photography in Canada is mentioned only once in the introductory text, in a passage that alludes to the conservative reaction of Montreal artists to the *Canadian Pictorialist Exhibition* (presented at the Art Association of Montreal in 1907) and its attempt to ratify photography as art.<sup>14</sup> Information on the context that led to a Canadian version of modernist photography is found in the individual entries on John Vanderpant and Margaret Watkins.

The one describing Vanderpant's contribution to the history of modernist photography begins as follows:

John Vanderpant's photographs are typically Canadian modernist, in that while his style evolved from quintessential Pictorialism to modernism he

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<sup>12</sup> Clement Greenberg, "Modernist Painting," in John O'Brian ed., *The Collected Essays and Criticism, Volume 4: Modernism With a Vengeance, 1957-1969* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 86-88.

<sup>13</sup> Indeed, Greenberg's definition of photography's essence, manifest in his 1946 review of an Edward Weston exhibition, was not based on the abstract depiction of form, but on photography's propensity for the anecdotal. For him, Walker Evans rather than Weston, whom Greenberg thought (wrongly) emulated modern painting, exploited the specificity of the medium. See Clement Greenberg, "The Camera's Glass Eye: Review of an Exhibition of Edward Weston," in John O'Brian ed., *The Collected Essays and Criticism, Volume 2: Arrogant Purpose, 1945-1949* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 60-63.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas, *Modernist Photographs*, 13. David Calvin Strong has shown, however, that the public reception of this exhibition was predominantly positive. See David Calvin Strong, "Photography into Art: Sidney Carter's Contribution to Pictorialism," *The Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien*, vol. 17, no. 2 (1996): 14-15.

never entirely abandoned the softness and warmth of the earlier movement for the clean-edged, cooler aesthetic of what would broadly come to be known as the New Vision. Vanderpant did not begin to introduce geometric forms and abstract compositions into his photography until 1929, and even then, as Sandra Shaul notes, “the persistent soft focus, the use of tonal paper, and significant retouching at the time of printing, mark him as an artist that always had one foot firmly anchored in the early precepts of Pictorialism.”<sup>15</sup>

What defines the Canadian brand of modernist photography, in other words, is hybridity: a position between Pictorialism, with its affection for picturesque painterly effects (warmth), and modernism, with its adoption of crisp lines and dramatic compositions that reflect the look of the modern industrialized world (coldness). It is also a stance that is stuck between the past and the present, never fully embracing the features specific to photographic technology, and never entirely letting go of derivative and outmoded aesthetic devices.

The hybrid character of Canadian modernist photography is explained more fully in Thomas’s 2000 article “Between a Hard Edge and a Soft Curve: Modernism in Canadian Photography,” published in *The Journal of Canadian Art History*. At the outset the author again makes clear that it emerged in various geographical and cultural contexts: “Modernist photography,” Thomas states, “did not follow a simple evolutionary path, but was rather the result of diverse influences affecting specific sets of cultural circumstances.”<sup>16</sup> The socio-political revolutions that occurred in the Soviet Union and Mexico, for example, explain the fact that artists in these countries broke down the boundaries of their art and explored new visual forms, in photography and other media. In the United States, opposition to the dogmatism of the Pictorialists and a concomitant

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<sup>15</sup> Thomas, *Modernist Photographs*, 174. The quote by Sandra Shaul is from the catalogue *The Modern Image: Cubism and the Realist Tradition* (Edmonton: The Gallery, 1982), 38.

<sup>16</sup> Ann Thomas, “Between a Hard Edge and a Soft Curve: Modernism in Canadian Photography,” *The Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d’histoire de l’art canadien*, vol. 21, no. 1/2 (2000): 75.



desire to embrace everything associated with the modern world were determining factors for the particular character of American modernist photography.

Despite this multiplicity of frameworks, there is, according to Thomas, a common language of modernist photography, which “evolved out of the instantaneity that new photographic technologies offered, an appreciation of the abstract values of light and dynamic form, and a wealth of new iconography that included soaring skyscrapers, busy city streets, mesmerizing repetition of mass produced objects, and industrial machinery.”<sup>17</sup> This is Thomas’s three-pronged definition of modernist photography. It is defined, firstly, by photographic technology (the tool used to make a picture). To this is added a preoccupation with form, or a desire to explore the aesthetic potential of photographic technology (how a picture is made). The representation of modern subject matter is the final determining characteristic (what is pictured).

This definition of the common language of modernist photography is followed by a series of queries of direct concern to Canadian practices, which Thomas sets about answering in the rest of the article. The question is first posed of how a Canadian brand of modernist photography intersects with those of other countries: based on the examples available, how can the precise character of the imagery produced in Canada be defined, and for which other example did it have the most affinity? Furthermore, are there certain distinguishing features that set modernist photography in Canada apart from these other examples? The last question elaborates on the author’s definition of modernist photography: “And were there Canadian photographers whose work could be described

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 75-76.

as Modernist, and who were primarily interested in ‘refurbishing the language of their art?’”<sup>18</sup>

The quote inserted in this last question is taken from Frederick R. Karl’s 1985 book *Modern and Modernism: The Sovereignty of the Artist, 1885-1925*, in a passage where the author explains his view that the modernist credo is in essence a formal one: “The common thread for anyone who yearns to be Modern, whatever the medium, is the ability to refurbish the language of his art, whether through disruption and new formations, or through colors, tones, sound sequences, visual effects, neologisms.”<sup>19</sup> In his view, each medium is its own language and modernism is the project that will renew or reinvigorate them all. Breaking with the past is again posited as the primary characteristic of the modernist aesthetic. The insertion of this quote in Thomas’s introduction operates as a filter through which the work of Canadian photographers will thereafter be assessed.

The paragraph that follows this series of questions is a response that foreshadows what is argued in the remainder of the essay. “Although the politics of nationalism would strongly influence the direction that Canadian photography took during the period from 1912 to 1939,” Thomas affirms, “it was the continuing presence of the Pictorialist movement that would determine its character. The conduit for the dissemination of Pictorialism in Canada was the camera club.”<sup>20</sup> It is thus asserted from the start that the influence of Pictorialism failed to recede in Canada due to the central role played by camera clubs within the photographic community. During the period under discussion,

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>19</sup> Frederick R. Karl, *Modern and Modernism: The Sovereignty of the Artist, 1885-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1985), xi.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas, “Between A Hard Edge and A Soft Curve,” 76.

camera clubs were the only institutions in Canada to consistently promote photography as an art. But camera clubs were sites where abiding by aesthetic rules and conventions was a matter of course, and were therefore unlikely breeding grounds for the development of modernism.<sup>21</sup> Thomas's last question appears to be answered in the negative: there were no Canadian photographers who were primarily interested in refurbishing the language of their art, because they continued to apply the predicates of Pictorialism.

The Canadian photographers who did move toward more abstract representations of urban or industrial subjects – such as Vanderpant and Watkins – did so too late, as intimated in the already quoted passage from *Modernist Photographs* on Vanderpant, who “did not begin to introduce geometric forms and abstract compositions into his photography until 1929.”<sup>22</sup> After describing the radical visual explorations performed in the 1910s and early 1920s by Alvin Langdon Coburn and Paul Strand in the United States, and Christian Schad in Germany, Thomas asserts that these, along with Stieglitz's public rejection of Pictorialism, “had little or no effect on photography in Canada where the Pictorialist aesthetic was kept alive through the network of camera clubs.”<sup>23</sup>

Not only did Canadian photographers arrive at modernism too late – according to Thomas, they were also never modern enough. At the root of the problem is the idea that Canadian photography in the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by a nationalist impulse, in tune with that felt by members of the Group of Seven, to represent the specificity of the Canadian environment.<sup>24</sup> As the author explains, neither Pictorialism, with its preference for picturesque landscapes, nor modernism, with its

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas, *Modernist Photographs*, 174.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas, “Between A Hard Edge and A Soft Curve,” 79.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 80-82.

preference for abstract, universal forms, was appropriate for the depiction of the characteristically Canadian landscape. Canadian photographers were thus in a tight spot, for neither of these two options could alone satisfy their desire. Rather than forsake one for the other, they chose to embrace both.

Even the photographers who did finally manage to let go of some of the precepts of Pictorialism never fully adopted those of modernism, or at least did not do so the right way:

It is likely that it was a later variant of Pictorialism (...) that eventually motivated Canadian photographers to introduce a sharper focus to their images. This other style within the Pictorialist movement evolved out of a slow and somewhat decorative adaptation to the growing use of sharp-focus photography in advertising. What is certain is that the shift towards “compositions with an emphasis on clarity and design” did not represent a conversion to the Modernist desire to challenge the past and be in synchrony with the modern environment.<sup>25</sup>

In other words, the kind of modernist photography practised by Canadians was not akin to that described at the beginning of Thomas’s article, but one that derived from the last vestiges of Pictorialism, which had taken on some of the visual strategies of commercial photography. Despite the apparent broadness of the definition and frameworks of modernist photography, in light of this final pronouncement the lack of Canadian photographers in *Modernist Photographs* is explained by the simple fact that there were no modernist photographers in Canada.

### *Setting the Precedent*

“Between a Hard Edge and a Soft Curve” is not the only study to make such claims about the nature of Canadian photography in the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed,

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 82-85.

Thomas's primary resource was the 1984 catalogue *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940*. This exhibition and its catalogue, edited by Lilly Koltun, were produced by members of Public Archives Canada (now Library and Archives Canada) and, as part of this institution's exhibition program, were meant to showcase some of its best photographic holdings.<sup>26</sup>

The images investigated in *Private Realms of Light* are those taken by photographers belonging to Canadian camera clubs, in which primarily middle-class individuals with leisure time joined together to practice and discuss photography. The more active clubs, usually located within urban centres, held exhibitions and/or contests wherein members' works were reviewed and judged by their peers. Restricting their analyses to images made by members of the larger camera clubs (presumably because these clubs' activities were better documented), the authors of *Private Realms of Light* focused largely on the activities of clubs located in Ontario.<sup>27</sup>

Behind this concentration on camera clubs is an understanding of such associations or groupings as sites where artists might converge and where artistic production might be found. Put simply, the authors were looking for evidence of an autonomous practice of art photography in Canada. The relevance of amateurs for this

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<sup>26</sup> Christopher Seifried, *General Series Guide 1983: National Photography Collection* (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1984), 9.

<sup>27</sup> Among the images left out by this focus were those made by French Canadians. Their absence is explained as follows: "Amateur photography clubs were almost entirely an affair for English Canadians. The only known clubs in Montreal and Quebec City attracted an almost exclusively English-speaking membership. (...) Differences in social class, educational background, and disposable income – as well as a greater tendency by English Canadians to form clubs in general – may account for part of the difference." See Andrew C. Rodger, "So Few Earnest Workers, 1914-1930," in *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940*, ed. Lilly Koltun (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1984), 78. The absence of French Canadians is also addressed in Andrew Birrell, "Private Realms of Light: Canadian Amateur Photography, 1839-1940: From Acquisition to Exhibition," *Archivaria*, vol. 17 (Winter 1983-1984): 111. For a critique of the project's restrictive outlook on amateur photography in Canada, see Yves Chèvrefils, "Private Realms of Light: Canadian Amateur Photography, 1839-1940," *The Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1984): 130-133.

search is the idea that they are in principle not professionals and therefore not bound by the demands of industry and commerce. Amateurs, as they are characterized in the catalogue's preface, take photographs "for the love of it."<sup>28</sup>

Overall, however, the authors of *Private Realms of Light* highlight the conservatism of the work made by camera club members, and this is due to these members' unremitting promotion of the Pictorialist aesthetic. As Andrew C. Rodger writes in the chapter "So Few Earnest Workers, 1914-1930":

By 1930 pictorialism had been long since abandoned internationally by those who had first taken it up, resolved as they were that photography's justification lay in its own qualities and not in aping the painterly arts. But it was not yet abandoned in Canada. Although some amateurs (...) were working towards a geometrical approach – using graphic design, and variations of light and shade – this movement was slow and was anything but a radical break with the past. Canadian salon amateurs had not developed any particular school or style of photography as the Group of Seven had done in painting.<sup>29</sup>

The main lines of Thomas's argument had thus been already drawn in 1984. But *Private Realms of Light*'s attempt to define Canadian art photography by looking at the work of amateurs is made out, in "Between a Hard Edge and a Soft Curve," to be much more significant than it actually is: the images created by a select group of individuals within a small number of camera clubs become representative of an era, and of a nation.

The origin of this desire to find evidence of an early twentieth-century photographic art practice in Canada – a practice comparable to the Group of Seven – can itself be traced back to a previous, influential Canadian art historical text: Charles C.

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<sup>28</sup> The expression is taken from a quote by Stieglitz, in which he states: "... nearly all the greatest work is being, and has always been done, by those who are following photography for the love of it..." See Lilly Koltun, Preface to *Private Realms of Light*, x.

<sup>29</sup> Rodger, 87.

Hill's 1975 catalogue *Canadian Painting in the Thirties*.<sup>30</sup> Hill's book presents a similar emphasis on the activities of artistic groups and associations during a given period. This emphasis in fact determines the structure of the text; each of the seven chapters is dedicated to one or two artistic groups, despite the informal and transient nature of some of those canvassed, such as the Beaver Hall Group.<sup>31</sup> While examinations of individual artists' works are certainly integral to *Canadian Painting in the Thirties*, they play a secondary role. As with *Private Realms of Light*, there is at the root of Hill's text an understanding of art production as happening in and around artistic communities.

Hill's catalogue can also be said to have served as a model for *Private Realms of Light* and consequently for "Between a Hard Edge and a Soft Curve" because of its focus on specific artistic communities with which several of the photographers discussed in these later texts were involved. Harold Mortimer-Lamb and John Vanderpant, for example, frequented members of the Group of Seven and other painters mentioned by Hill as being active participants in the Vancouver art scene especially.<sup>32</sup>

Vanderpant, whose portraits of artists are reproduced in *Canadian Painting in the Thirties*, is also the subject of a monograph written by Hill to accompany an exhibition presented at the NGC in 1976. As acknowledged in the catalogue's preface, *John Vanderpant, Photographs* was the logical outcome of Hill's extensive research for the previous year's exhibition.<sup>33</sup> While Vanderpant's role in the Vancouver art world and his relationships with Fred Varley and Jock Macdonald in particular were common

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<sup>30</sup> A documentary overview of *Canadian Painting in the Thirties*, which includes contemporaneous reviews, installation photographs, artist interviews, and a PDF of the catalogue, is currently available on the NGC's website. See "Canadian Painting in the 30s," Digital collections, Library, National Gallery of Canada website, [http://www.gallery.ca/cybermuse/enthusiast/thirties/index\\_e.jsp](http://www.gallery.ca/cybermuse/enthusiast/thirties/index_e.jsp) (accessed June 24, 2013).

<sup>31</sup> Charles C. Hill, *Canadian Painting in the Thirties* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1975), 39-43.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 52, 55.

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Martin, Preface to Hill, *John Vanderpant, Photographs*, 7.

knowledge among scholars, his work as a photographer had fallen into obscurity. Hill's 1976 catalogue was thus pioneering and foundational for later texts on Canadian photography.

There is another sense, moreover, in which *John Vanderpant, Photographs* proved exemplary, for Hill's assessment of the photographer's work seems to have influenced the direction of later discussions. In a manner replicated by *Private Realms of Light* and "Between a Hard Edge and Soft Curve," Hill relates Vanderpant's ambiguous combination of the Pictorialist and modernist styles. For example, after likening Vanderpant's images to the sharp-angled and abstracted compositions of Alvin Langdon Coburn, André Kertész, and Albert Renger-Patzsch, he states: "However, unlike the European photographers, Vanderpant still used a soft focus to create an over-all effect, softening the definition of form."<sup>34</sup> This now familiar duality – the neither/nor position between Pictorialism and modernism that would later be claimed as being characteristic of Canadian modernist photography – was an established fact of Hill's trailblazing account of Vanderpant's photographic practice.

#### *Photography at the National Gallery of Canada*

In the preface to *John Vanderpant, Photographs*, James Borcoman, Curator of Photographs at the NGC, is thanked for his advice.<sup>35</sup> Why, as a photography exhibition, it was not organized by the museum's photography curator is worth considering. Aside from being the direct result of the research carried out by Hill, then Assistant Curator of Post-Confederation Art, it may be that a show about a Canadian photographer fell outside

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<sup>34</sup> Hill, *John Vanderpant, Photographs*, 20.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.



Borcoman's jurisdiction. In order to come to grips with how this situation might arise, it is necessary to return to the initial context of the NGC's photography collection.

Although the NGC has a long history of presenting photography exhibitions within its galleries, it only began to officially acquire photographs for the permanent collection in 1967.<sup>36</sup> Formerly the Director of the Department of Education, Borcoman was made responsible for the photography collection and, in 1969, took a two-year leave of absence, which he spent studying at the Visual Studies Workshop in Rochester, New York. This influential visual arts graduate school, which is now attached to the State University of New York in Brockport, was founded by photographer Nathan Lyons in 1969 and provides a photographic education based on the principle that theory is learnt through practice.<sup>37</sup> Aside from studying with Lyons, Borcoman was taught the history of photography at the Visual Studies Workshop by Beaumont Newhall.<sup>38</sup>

The impact that Lyons and Newhall have had on the historiography of photography in the twentieth century and more particularly on the shape the NGC's photography collection would take cannot be overestimated. Newhall's importance as a curator, both at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, from 1937 to 1947, and at the George Eastman House in Rochester from 1947 to 1971, was surpassed only by his role

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<sup>36</sup> Important pre-1967 photography exhibitions presented at the NGC include the annual Canadian International Salon of Photographic Art from 1934 to 1939, Edward Steichen's *The Family of Man* in 1957, and Henri Cartier-Bresson's *The Decisive Moment: Photographs, 1930-1957* in 1958. See Peter C. Bunnell, "The National Gallery Photographic Collection: A Vital Resource," *Artscanada*, vol. 31 (December 1974): 39-40. For a history of photography exhibitions at the NGC before the photography collection was founded, see Andrea Kunard, "The Role of Photography Exhibitions at the National Gallery of Canada (1934-1960)," *The Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien*, vol. 30 (2009): 28-59.

<sup>37</sup> Maria Antonella Pelizzari, "Nathan Lyons: An Interview," *History of Photography*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 152.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 153. James Borcoman's outlook on photography was also defined by French historian and collector André Jammes, who promoted a holistic or contextual approach to collecting. Interestingly, Jammes is responsible for the first French translation of Newhall's influential book *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day* (see Beaumont Newhall, *Histoire de la photographie depuis 1839 jusqu'à nos jours*, trans. André Jammes (Paris: Le Béliet-Prisma, 1967)). See Ann Thomas, "The National Gallery of Canada," *History of Photography*, vol. 20, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 171.

as author of one of the key histories of the medium: his *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present*, first published in 1937 and now in its 5th edition.<sup>39</sup>

Lyons's own considerable contributions to the field, which include founding the Visual Studies Workshop and the journal *Afterimage*, editing the 1966 collection of essays *Photographers on Photography* and curating the exhibition *Photography in the Twentieth Century*, which was produced by the George Eastman House and opened at the NGC in February of 1967, mark him as an incontrovertible figure.<sup>40</sup> A common ingredient in Newhall and Lyons's approaches is the idea that the history of photography is an international one; although some countries may prove to be more relevant than others at certain points in time, they all contribute to the same, singular story. In other words, the issue of whether there can be multiple or regional histories of photography is not addressed.

With this background in mind, Borcoman set out to define the acquisition policy of the NGC's photography collection: "To collect work of international stature in the medium without concentration on any nationality and to represent fully the unfolding of the history of photography since its beginning in 1839."<sup>41</sup> Reiterating the mandate of the collection in a 1996 article published in a special issue of the journal *History of*

*Photography* dedicated to Canadian photography, Thomas writes:

The collection as described today – international in scope, embracing the history of photography as an image-making process from its invention in

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<sup>39</sup> Beaumont Newhall is said to have published as many as 632 books, articles and reviews between 1925 and 1971. See Van Deren Coke ed., *One Hundred Years of Photographic History: Essays in Honor of Beaumont Newhall* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975), x. On the impact of Newhall on the writing of the history of photography, see Douglas R. Nickel, "History of Photography: The State of Research," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 83, no. 3 (September 2001): 548-558; and Marta Braun, "Beaumont Newhall et l'historiographie de la photographie anglophone," *Études photographiques*, no. 16 (May 2005): 19-31.

<sup>40</sup> Pelizzari, 147.

<sup>41</sup> Bunnell, 40.

1839 until our own time and providing, wherever possible, in-depth bodies of work by the principal contributors to the medium's history – is the realization of a vision of over 25 years ago.<sup>42</sup>

Thomas, who was hired as assistant curator in the late 1970s and would come to replace Borcoman as the collection's main curator, here confirms that his initial ambition was carried through. Indeed, the NGC has spent the last forty-five years acquiring exceptional instances of the work of internationally-renowned photographers, which include, in the early holdings alone, Eugène Atget, Julia Margaret Cameron, Nadar, Charles Nègre, August Sander, William Henry Fox Talbot, and many more.

But this desire to acquire “without concentration on any nationality” and therefore to own a piece of the international history of photography is also, within the context of the NGC, an overt neglect of photography produced in Canada. When compared to the general mandate of the museum, which prides itself on having “the largest and most important collection of Canadian art,” the photography collection is at odds.<sup>43</sup> As it turns out, this lack of an active acquisition policy for Canadian photography can also be explained by the fact that the museum was not allowed to infringe on the territory of two other national, government-funded, photography-collecting institutions: Public Archives Canada and the Still Photography Division of the National Film Board. A “to each its own” type of agreement was reached between these three institutions when the NGC established its photography collection.<sup>44</sup> Could the absence of Canadians in *Modernist Photographs* be reduced to a forty-year-old bureaucratic decision?

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<sup>42</sup> Thomas, “The National Gallery of Canada,” 171.

<sup>43</sup> Charles C. Hill, “Collecting Canadian Art at the National Gallery of Canada, 1880-1980,” *Canadian Art*, eds. Charles C. Hill and Pierre Landry (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1988), xi. The NGC's photography collection does include some important nineteenth-century Canadian work. The museum's collection of post-1960 Canadian photographic art is also substantial.

<sup>44</sup> Bunnell, 40. It was agreed that while these institutions would be responsible for preserving historical and contemporary Canadian photography respectively, the NGC would collect the high points of the history of

Although assuredly a contributing factor, this agreement should not be understood as arbitrary, at least as it concerns the NGC. For the mandate of the museum's photography collection begins to make sense when one takes into account Borcoman's conception of photography, which is easily discerned in his 1974 article entitled "Purism Versus Pictorialism: The 135 Years War. Some Notes on Photographic Aesthetics." Implied by his title is the idea that the familiar duality – the opposition between Pictorialism and modernism – has been part of the medium's history since its very inception. The terms "purism" and "straight photography" are preferred to "modernism" here, but their meaning is analogous. All three refer to the use of the camera "photographically," or in a way that exploits the inherent qualities of the photographic apparatus.

To prove the longevity of the debate, Borcoman goes back to some of the earliest texts on photography and shows that its enthusiasts have always been divided into two camps: those who want photography to emulate the fine arts and those who believe in its autonomy as a medium, or who see the beauty of photography in itself. Referring to the differing opinions of three nineteenth-century commentators, Francis Wey, Sir David Brewster, and Henry Peach Robinson (an important advocate of Pictorialism), Borcoman offers:

What Wey suspected, and what Brewster and Robinson overlooked, was that there was something so different about this new medium that to judge it by standards belonging to the long established aesthetics of painting or drawing or other handmade graphic art forms could only result in confusion. Unfortunately, this is a lesson that both photographers and critics have been slow to learn.<sup>45</sup>

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photography, regardless of country of origin. See also Martha Langford, "The Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography," *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 174-179.

<sup>45</sup> James Borcoman, "Purism Versus Pictorialism: The 135 Years War. Some Notes On Photographic Aesthetics," *Artscanada*, vol. 31 (December 1974): 70. Borcoman refers explicitly to Newhall and Lyons's

The catalyst for Borcoman's text is a need to establish – as Newhall and Lyons had already done – a body of knowledge that pertains exclusively to photography, and to articulate an aesthetic, or a mode of image-making, that confers upon photography the status of a distinct art form. But his attempt to do so is accompanied by the castigation of all that appears extraneous to the specificity of the medium, and this includes Pictorialism. As he states, the emulation of other art forms can only lead to confusion. Although Borcoman includes Pictorialism in his history of photography, he makes it an opposing force – the converse of what photography should be all about.

So the acquisition policy of the NGC's photography collection is not based solely on a bureaucratic decision, but also on a conception that considers Pictorialism to be outside – perhaps even against – the true nature of the medium. From this perspective, the quasi absence of Canadian work in *Modernist Photographs* takes on a new significance. Since, as it has been claimed, Canadian modernist photography is characterized by an ambiguous, hybrid position between Pictorialism and modernism, it does not fit within Borcoman's understanding of photography as such. Even though *Modernist Photographs* accommodates a variety of practices and types of images, the bottom line is that they all fall on the "purism" side of the debate. Vanderpant and Watkins are admitted as well, on the condition that their chronological and aesthetic inadequacies be stated from the first.

In these texts, Pictorialism, posited as the converse of what both modernism and photography as such are about, emerges as more than simply an aesthetic practice that

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contributions in the following passage: "The lesson indicated by Beaumont Newhall in *On Photography: A Source Book of Photo History in Facsimile* (1956) and Nathan Lyons in *Photographers on Photography* (1966) has remained largely ignored, which is that discussions took place, a vocabulary grew and attitudes formed about the nature of the medium beginning with the year of its official birth in 1839. If we trace the growth of this literature we find responses to photography which begin immediately to suggest the formulation of an aesthetic peculiar to photography."

was in vogue at the turn of the twentieth century – it becomes symbolic of an entire sphere of photographic production. Pictorialism, in other words, represents the “other” of photography, for it serves to delineate the true nature of the medium. But what is Pictorialism, when it comes down to it? It is a photographic movement whose principles and strategies became highly conventionalized, and whose aesthetic theories, championed by a few vocal individuals, were disseminated internationally, mainly through periodicals and other publications. These characteristics, as this thesis demonstrates, are also true of modernism.

It is time that this neither/nor position on Canadian modernist photography be put aside, and for the idea that modernism is founded on a search for novelty be laid to rest. These are restrictive ways of looking at the wealth of material available in Canada – which includes not only the photographs produced by amateurs but also other kinds of photographic objects, like Canadian mass-circulation magazines.

### *Expanding the Field*

The problem with these texts lies, for me, in the way that they construct their object. But it also lies in their impact. Although in themselves they represent valuable contributions to Canadian photographic history, for all intents and purposes they have been the dominant voices. To date, *Private Realms of Light* is the most comprehensive publication on the period – a distinction undoubtedly not sought by its authors, whose individual activities prove their determination to further develop this collective research.<sup>46</sup> While the catalogue’s exclusion of the activities of smaller, less central camera clubs is problematic,

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<sup>46</sup> See, for example, the special issue of the journal *History of Photography* devoted to Canadian photography, edited by *Private Realms of Light* co-author Joan M. Schwartz: *History of Photography*, vol. 20, no. 2 (Summer 1996): ii-189.

it is unfair to expect what was conceived as a quite narrowly circumscribed study to tell the whole story.<sup>47</sup>

In order to stimulate further research into this period of the history of photography in Canada, the field must be expanded. This thesis is my attempt to do exactly that – to challenge the terms established and in so doing to re-engage the history of photographic modernism in Canada. The theoretical background to this challenge, as well as my particular approach to the corpus examined, is described in the first chapter, where I consider perspectives on photography and modernism that embrace the sphere of photographic production ignored by the texts discussed above. From my reading of these methodological texts emerges my contention – central to this thesis – that photographic modernism was largely a matter of elaborating and exploiting visual conventions.

This thesis is based on over a year's worth of full-time archival research, during which I leafed through (and read) the six Canadian illustrated magazines that constitute my corpus: *Maclean's* (1911-), *Chatelaine* (1928-), *The Canadian Magazine* (1893-1939), *Le Samedi* (1889-1963), *La Revue populaire* (1907-1963), and *La Revue moderne* (1919-1960). These were studied from approximately 1925 to 1945, dates that were established because they encompass both the beginning of the systematic use of photography by Canadian magazines and the Second World War, an event that had the

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<sup>47</sup> Although not specific to the period under study, these texts provide comprehensive overviews of the history of photography in Canada: Martha Langford, "A Short History of Photography in Canada, 1900-2000," in Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss, and Sandra Paikowsky, eds., *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2010), 278-311; and Penny Cousineau and Katherine Tweedie, "Photography," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/photography> (accessed June 24, 2013). For a historiographical survey of Canadian photographic history, see Andrea Kunard and Carol Payne, "Writing Photography in Canada: A Historiography," in Andrea Kunard and Carol Payne eds., *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 231-244.

effect of heightening and consolidating the political and cultural role of photographic representation in Canada.<sup>48</sup>

All three English-language magazines studied were published in Toronto and were associated with the Maclean family. Both *Maclean's* and *Chatelaine* were produced by the Maclean Publishing Company Limited (later Maclean-Hunter), founded by John Bayne Maclean, and *The Canadian Magazine* was headed, from 1926, by Hugh C. Maclean (John Bayne's brother). From the early 1930s onward, all three magazines measured approximately 35 x 27 cm, comprised an average of about sixty pages per issue, and cost between five and fifteen cents per copy. Their covers usually showcased good-quality colour reproductions of illustrations or photographs.

Of the three, *Maclean's* was the only bi-monthly (and cost the least), yet its issues still ran at about fifty pages per issue. Being focused on current affairs of political and economic significance, its content was less varied than the other two and less geared toward sheer entertainment. Like its sister magazines, however, *Maclean's* invariably included a lengthy popular literature section composed of about five short stories accompanied by one or two illustrations. With regard to its use of photography, the magazine, which was edited by H. Napier Moore between 1926 and 1945, distinguished itself by frequently publishing graphically-powerful photo-essays representing Canada's industries.

*Chatelaine* was the most substantial of the three, with its issues often reaching over ninety pages. This women's magazine, which was edited by Byrne Hope Sanders

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<sup>48</sup> On the consolidation of photographic representation during the war years, see Carol Payne, *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941-1971* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013); and Carol Payne, *A Canadian Document/Un document canadien* (Ottawa: CMPC/MCPC, 1999).



between 1929 and 1952, featured habitually humorous monthly editorials signed by Moore, the managing editor. Aside from popular literature, it comprised sections devoted to beauty, fashion, cooking, housekeeping, and current affairs relevant to the contemporary experience of women. While these sections were commonly accompanied by photographs, the presence of photography was most conspicuous in *Chatelaine's* advertising material, which was substantial and often corresponded to editorial content.

The great variety of content found in *The Canadian Magazine* makes it a true general-interest magazine. Edited by Joseph Lister Rutledge from 1928 until its suspension in 1939, the periodical featured articles on such topics as history, politics, travel, industrial development, fashion, hygiene, housekeeping, interior decoration, sport, physical culture, celebrity culture, cinema, radio, architecture, art, poetry, literature, and human interest stories. The occasional presence of puzzles and comics indicates that an attempt was also made to please younger readers. Its use of photography was equally varied and participated in the magazine's desire to both inform and entertain. In its coverage of political events leading up to the Second World War, photographs provided a picture of the outside world to Canadian readers.

The three French-language magazines examined, which were produced in Montreal, all included – like their English counterparts – significant sections dedicated to literature. Except for the beginning pages of each story, these sections were predominantly included at the back of magazines and were printed on thinner, matte (i.e., less expensive) paper. Both *Le Samedi*, a weekly periodical, and *La Revue populaire*, a monthly, were published by the Poirier, Bessette & Cie firm. Despite its weekly appearance, *Le Samedi* was a sizeable publication that averaged at forty-five pages long

and cost ten cents per copy throughout the period covered. Edited by Fernand de Verneuil, it was also a large-format periodical (measuring 35 x 27 cm). Its tone was similar to *The Canadian Magazine* in its inclusion of a great variety of textual and photographic content and its focus on providing readers with a source of both information and entertainment. Like *Maclean's*, *Le Samedi* consistently presented photographs, printed predominantly in black and white, on its covers.

Compared to *Le Samedi*, *La Revue populaire* placed less emphasis on entertainment and more on informing and instructing its readers. Edited by Jean Chauvin between 1929 and 1956, the monthly, which cost fifteen cents per copy and averaged at sixty-five pages, was generally focused on capturing a view of French Canadian culture – though it too included features on beauty, physical culture, cinema, and more. Its use of photography was copious, and was especially significant in the representation of the local events, celebrities, and institutions that together formed a picture of contemporary French Canadian society.

Like *Chatelaine*, *La Revue moderne* catered to a female readership (in 1960 it was bought by Maclean-Hunter from La Revue moderne Limitée and was transformed into the French version of *Chatelaine*), yet its contents were more wide-ranging, or less stereotypically female-oriented. During the period studied, the monthly, which cost fifteen cents per copy and totalled an average of fifty-five pages, included – beyond its important literature section – a large number of articles on visual art, professional sports, industrial development, and international politics. Compared with the magazines produced by Poirier, Bessette & Cie, *La Revue moderne*, whose editor changed several times, was more overt in its identification of French Canadian culture with the catholic

faith. In terms of photography, it was one of the most experimental, frequently publishing photo-essays that favoured asymmetrical layouts and photographic cutouts.

Throughout the research process, I catalogued the photographs that were published in these magazines. In the end, the corpus comprised over 5,000 documented magazine pages, which I recorded in writing and photographically. At a certain point, the enormity of the corpus necessitated a radical reorganization. About mid-way through the research process it struck me that the material should be grouped according to theme. This decision was based on what I saw firsthand: there were certain types of images and visual themes that were consistently repeated, across the years and across magazines.

Reflecting this thematic organization, the structure of the thesis is not linear. It is conceived instead as a constellation, in which each chapter addresses a different aspect of a larger idea – rather like a photomontage. My argument does not build over several chapters until it reaches a culmination point, but is formed from the accumulated investigations of the various sides of a multi-faceted subject. My central hypothesis – that the languages of photographic modernism were manifested in popular illustrated magazines published in Canada – is demonstrated in distinct and diverse ways throughout the thesis.

After describing, in Chapter One, the methodological framework employed, I launch in Chapter Two into a discussion of the discourse of Canadianism at work in the selected magazines and argue that this nationalist rhetoric was accompanied by a belief in the “international” appeal of the medium of the mass-circulation magazine. To be Canadian and international was not a contradiction in terms, but a condition of modern times. This chapter provides the discursive frame for the following four chapters, which

are concerned principally with photographic imagery; it is through the lens of Canadianism as produced by conditions and events of the early twentieth-century that the photographs discussed thereafter are to be viewed.

Chapters three to six investigate the languages of photographic modernism prevalent in the magazines studied. Starting, in Chapter Three, with the language of photojournalism and its representation of the present, I then look, in Chapter Four, at how the self was pictured through advertising imagery. This is followed in Chapter Five by an examination of the machine aesthetic and industrial photography, and then in Chapter Six by an exploration of the photographic articulation of the “strange.”

In each of these four image-centric chapters, I endeavour to make links between the images published in Canadian magazines, the discourses significant to the modern period, and the manifestation of these discourses within the canonical history of modernist photography. My intent in doing so is to show the porosity between the local and the international. In some cases these links are evidentiary and direct, and in others they are inferred from the material in order to enlarge the understanding of what was going on in Canada. The circulation of ideas – as well as photographs – across borders is a premise that runs through this thesis.

Does this constitute simply another definition of Canadian modernist photography? This has not been my aim. In my view, laying down what is specifically Canadian about Canadian photography can only be a limiting approach that essentializes cultural production and obscures difference. But I also believe that the context of reception of visual culture is of the utmost importance. Although Canada and Canadian nationalism play a key role in the magazines examined (and in this thesis), instituting

another restrictive definition would be unproductive. In teasing out the specificities of the Canadian context and its relation to other contexts, imagery, and discourses, my intention has been to expand definitions.

The use of the words “making of” in the title of this thesis reflects what I have also observed firsthand in the magazines: that the languages of photographic modernism emerged over time; that they needed to be worked out and “taught” to the Canadian public, and that this education was achieved largely through repetition. Because of their reach, mass-circulation illustrated magazines are invaluable objects through which to study the formation of photographic literacy in Canada. From start to finish, the knowledge that *Canadians saw these photographs* has for me been an endless source of fascination and instruction. As I hope to show, paying attention to this material cannot *but* change the established picture.

## Chapter One

### BUILDING BLOCKS

*The press photograph is a message. Considered overall this message is formed by a source of emission, a channel of transmission and a point of reception. The source of emission is the staff of the newspaper, the group of technicians certain of whom take the photo, some of whom choose, compose and treat it, while others, finally, give it a title, a caption and a commentary. The point of reception is the public which reads the paper. As for the channel of transmission, this is the newspaper itself, or, more precisely, a complex of concurrent messages with the photograph as centre and surrounds constituted by the text, the title, the caption, the lay-out and, in a more abstract but no less 'informative' way, by the very name of the paper (...).*

Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message"<sup>1</sup>

The lines quoted above are the opening passage of Roland Barthes's 1961 essay "The Photographic Message," his first attempt to establish an ontological basis for the production of photographic meaning – to reveal, in other words, how photographs *work*. In this essay Barthes argues that the photograph is composed of two messages: the denoted and the connoted. Because, as opposed to other depictive media, photography does not transform reality but offers it to view analogously, the photograph bears the trace of reality itself; it is a guarantee that the thing imaged actually existed.<sup>2</sup> This denoted message, however, is never perceived in isolation, but is framed or layered over by the connoted one, summarized as the practical and ideological mechanisms of history and culture. Just as, in the experience of the sign, the signified can never be grasped without the signifier, the denoted and connoted messages carried by the photograph are

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<sup>1</sup> Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in Stephen Heath trans., *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

encountered by the viewer at one and the same time.<sup>3</sup> Yet it is significant, for Barthes, that the photograph gains an unparalleled “reality-effect” from the denoted message; despite the frequently glaring presence of connotation, the photograph still *appears* as a faithful and natural fragment of reality.

It is significant too that the type of image Barthes selects to examine the structural workings of the photograph *as such* is the press photograph. Written shortly after his essay “Myth Today” and the numerous critiques of popular culture assembled in *Mythologies* (1957), “The Photographic Message” can be seen as an extension of his adamant desire to denaturalize culture.<sup>4</sup> In these texts produced in the 1950s, before his official transformation from structuralist to post-structuralist author, Barthes saw the necessity for structural analysis as particularly acute, because the world was being increasingly overrun by modes of communication that too easily took on the sheen of neutrality.<sup>5</sup> As he claimed in “Myth Today,” “the development of publicity, of a national press, of radio, of illustrated news (...) makes the development of a semiological science more urgent than ever.”<sup>6</sup> His use of the press photograph, in “The Photographic Message,” as the basis for an investigation of how photographic meaning is constructed was an act of courage and perhaps even bravado. For, though in all probability the most connoted type of photograph in circulation (and Barthes posits the multiple levels at

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>4</sup> For a fascinating analysis of the context of Barthes’s writing the texts that appeared in *Mythologies* and the role of photography therein, see Jacqueline Guittard, “Impressions photographiques: Les mythologies de Roland Barthes,” *Littérature*, no. 143 (September 2006): 114-134. At around the same time, Marshall McLuhan wrote a similar compendium of reviews of popular culture, focusing more exclusively on print media. See his *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1951).

<sup>5</sup> As Terry Eagleton notes, Barthes’s shift from structuralism to post-structuralism can be located in his 1970 book *S/Z*. See Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 119.

<sup>6</sup> Roland Barthes, “Myth Today,” in Annette Lavers trans., *Mythologies* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 112n.

which connotation occurs in his opening paragraph), the press photograph nonetheless persists in being apprehended as a denoted message.<sup>7</sup> The myth of photographic objectivity is under attack in this essay, and the author wields his most effective semiological arms in his effort to disable its powers of persuasion.

Beyond its value within Barthes's text, the opening paragraph of "The Photographic Message" encapsulates, for me and for the purposes of this thesis, the complexity of the press photograph; it is an exemplary description of the way in which this kind of object is, at the level of production, shaped by a multitude of hands and intentions. The photographer is but one (and usually not the first) agent in a production line whose every step has an impact on how the photograph is to be perceived. And here is another crucial point made by Barthes: the press photograph is made to be apprehended by a public. In order to be successful as a message, it must address its audience in a language that will be understood. The language used to create this message, furthermore, is not purely photographic, but is a combination of various registers including image, graphic design, and text, which together form the support of the newspaper (or magazine).

As I will argue, these "surrounds" should not be stripped away from the press photograph nor, for that matter, from the photograph in general. This affirmation is the backbone of this thesis as a whole, and in the present chapter I shall describe, in three parts, the broader theoretical framework that has shaped my approach to Canadian illustrated magazines published between 1925 and 1945. The selection of authors and texts gathered here can be seen as building blocks whose combination will, I believe,

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<sup>7</sup> Barthes has a similar tactic in "Rhetoric of the Image," in which a (photographic) advertisement takes the centre stage in his structural analysis of the *image as such*. See "Rhetoric of the Image," in Stephen Heath trans., *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 32-51.



form an edifice that can yield new insights into the development of photographic modernism in Canada.

### *The Photograph as Object*

The first two authors who have influenced my approach to the photographs published in Canadian magazines are photography historians Geoffrey Batchen and Elizabeth Edwards. While their “home disciplines” are different (Batchen’s is art history and Edwards’s is anthropology), as are their respective aims, they display several commonalities. Although their views are shared by many scholars involved in the production of alternative accounts of photographic history, Batchen and Edwards are both uncommonly militant in the expression of their beliefs, a rhetorical feature that has proved helpful. Perhaps the most important (to me) point that can be extracted from their work is their opposition to the still dominant understanding of the photographic image as a transparent “window onto the world.”

Batchen’s position is clearly spelled out in the text “Vernacular Photographies,” included in *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History*, his collection of essays published in 2001. This essay can be seen as the foundation for his many subsequent articles and reviews in which an exploration of the writing of photographic history is the ongoing driving force.<sup>8</sup> The various characteristics of photography that the author alternately focuses on in later texts – including the medium’s reproducibility, its role as a commercial enterprise and thus as a product of industry and capitalism, and the

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<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Geoffrey Batchen, “The Labor of Photography,” *Victorian Literature and Culture*, vol. 37, no. 1 (March 2009): 292-296; “Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn,” *Photographies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (September 2008): 121-142; “Dividing History,” *Source*, vol. 52 (Autumn 2007): 22-25; and “Dreams of Ordinary Life: Cartes-de-visite and the Bourgeois Imagination,” in Martha Langford ed., *Image and Imagination* (Montreal: Mois de la Photo à Montréal, 2005), 63-74.

overwhelming conventionality and banality of many of its pictures – are all listed in “Vernacular Photographies,” but in this essay the argument centres on the morphologies of a class of objects ignored by photography’s prominent historians.<sup>9</sup>

I would suggest that the emphasis on morphology, or the shape, density, and haptic impact of photographs, is key to this foundational historiographical critique because it brings to the forefront the greatest lacuna of previous histories, which have paid almost exclusive attention to the photograph as two-dimensional image. As Batchen writes:

The invisibility of the photograph, its transparency to its referent, has long been one of its most cherished features. All of us tend to look at photographs as if we are simply gazing through a two-dimensional window onto some outside world. This is almost a perceptual necessity; in order to see what the photograph is of, we must first repress our consciousness of what the photograph is. As a consequence, in even the most sophisticated discussions, the photograph itself – the actual object being examined – is usually left out of the analysis.<sup>10</sup>

Because of the primacy of image over object, in other words, the “containers” of photographs – frames, albums, postcards, t-shirts, and so on – are seen as being irrelevant, and are thus discarded, often quite literally, from history. It is no accident, either, that the vernacular photographs Batchen chooses to discuss in this essay, which include elaborately encased daguerreotypes, jewellery, and Mexican photo-sculptures called *fotoescultura*, push the envelope as to what can commonsensically be considered images. The point is to argue that these are photographs too, and yet, because their two-dimensional content is overwhelmed by or inseparable from their three-dimensional “bodies,” they remain largely absent from scholarship.

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<sup>9</sup> Geoffrey Batchen, “Vernacular Photographies,” in *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), 57, 59, 77.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 59-60.

It is noteworthy that Batchen appeals to Jacques Derrida's discussion of the concept of the *parergon* in his book *Truth in Painting*, where the philosopher takes Kant to task for his rejection of *parerga* in *The Critique of Judgement*.<sup>11</sup> Seen as non-essential because they are mere adjuncts to the proper object of the judgement of taste, *parerga* are described as that which is beyond the strict contours of the work of art: "ornamentation, frames of pictures, drapery on statues, [and] colonnades on palaces."<sup>12</sup> These are evidently of the same breed as the elements surrounding the photographs investigated by Batchen, yet, not simply wishing to apply the concept to photographic objects, he goes a step further and assigns the status of *parergon* to the entire category of vernacular photography. "As a *parergon*," he writes, "vernacular photography is the absent presence that determines its medium's historical and physical identity; it is that thing that decides what proper photography is not. Truly to understand photography and its history, therefore, one must closely attend to what that history has chosen to repress."<sup>13</sup> The author's interest in the vernacular is thus motivated by a desire to call into question the terms upon which the history of photography rest. Photographs that have an undeniable depth and weight disturb these terms, not only since it is almost impossible to excise from them a pure image, but importantly, because their morphology points to their actual use and therefore to their existence in a social sphere.

To be clear, the history of photography to which Batchen is opposed in this and other essays is the "art history of photography," which, as he states, has been greatly influenced by two early twentieth-century authors: Beaumont Newhall and Helmut

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 58-59.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 58. See Jacques Derrida, *La vérité en peinture* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), 62. See also Robin Marriner, "Derrida and the Parergon," in Paul Smith and Carolyn Wilde eds., *A Companion to Art Theory* (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 349-359.

<sup>13</sup> Batchen, 59.

Gernsheim. It is a mode of writing that places much emphasis on the “progression of styles and technical innovations” and sees images as singular acts of individual expression.<sup>14</sup> Though outmoded, this view of history persists in dominating the field, and especially the museum world, where uniqueness and originality provide the conceptual basis for many collecting practices.<sup>15</sup> The main problem, for Batchen, is that this view actively negates characteristics he takes to be fundamental to photography’s identity. For one, photographs are reproducible and can therefore appear in a variety of forms and contexts. In addition, photographs are often the result of teamwork, and thus cannot easily be reduced to one individual’s intention. The vast majority of photographs, furthermore, are unapologetically conventional and are made to rehearse, for the benefit of their viewers, established aesthetic and social dogmas. These are some of the characteristics that vernacular photographs make plain, and of which the art history of photography cannot make sense.

Elizabeth Edwards has also written extensively on the idea that the primacy of image content underwrites many of photography’s historical texts, but while Batchen’s approach can be situated within a material turn in the fields of art history and visual studies, Edwards’s is framed by a shift toward materiality in history and visual

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 57. For critiques of American photographic historiography, see Marta Braun, “Beaumont Newhall et l’historiographie de la photographie anglophone,” *Études photographiques*, no. 16 (May 2005): 19-31; Larisa Dryansky, “Le musée George-Eastman: Une autre histoire de la photographie américaine?,” *Études photographiques*, no. 21 (December 2007): 74-93; Douglas R. Nickel, “History of Photography: The State of Research,” *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 83, no. 3 (September 2001): 548-558; and Christopher Phillips, “The Judgement Seat of Photography,” *October*, vol. 22 (Autumn 1982): 27-63.

<sup>15</sup> Batchen has also endeavoured to insert his views on photographic history into the museum world. For instance, his exhibition *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance*, which showcased the memorial function of vernacular photographs, was presented between 2004 and 2005 at the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, and the International Center for Photography, New York. A sequel to the exhibition was presented at the Izu Photo Museum, Japan, in 2010.

anthropology.<sup>16</sup> The history of photography she takes issue with is thus not summarized as art historical but is rather defined as resting on a belief in the infallibility of the photograph as visual evidence. Wishing to give photographic artefacts an active role in the performance of social, cultural, and economic relationships, Edwards is opposed to the view that images simply stand for whichever practice, fact, or ideology is, at a given moment, in need of being indexically *proven*.<sup>17</sup> As she argues in her essay “Photography and the Material Performance of the Past,” “photographs exist as history not only on a forensic plane, or as semiotically charged representations (although of course they can be these things), but also as material performances that enact a complex range of historiographical desires.”<sup>18</sup>

Pivotal in Edwards’s work is her questioning of the privileged status given to vision or sight in the experience of photographs, which has led to several investigations of the parts played by other senses, including hearing and touch.<sup>19</sup> Her way of approaching these sensual arenas has been to focus on materiality, in an effort to understand how various senses interact in the phenomenological apprehension of

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<sup>16</sup> Christopher Pinney’s work in visual anthropology has also significantly contributed to the expansion of the scope of photographic history. See his *Photography and Anthropology* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011).

<sup>17</sup> In this context Edwards cites John Tagg’s 1988 *The Burden of Representation*, which, far from presenting the photograph as – in my own words – “infallible,” is nonetheless emblematic of a school of thought in photographic studies that gives much weight to the ideological instrumentality of photographs. See John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth Edwards, “Photography and the Material Performance of the Past,” *History and Theory*, vol. 48 (December 2009): 130-131.

<sup>19</sup> Further scholars have challenged the ocular-centrism of photographic history by investigating the effect of other senses on the experience of photographs. See Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001); and Margaret Olin, *Touching Photographs* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012).

photographic objects.<sup>20</sup> Like Batchen, Edwards disputes the neutrality and transparency assigned to the photographic image as “window,” yet she does so for a distinct purpose: to add not only a physical, but also a temporal dimension to the interpretation of images.<sup>21</sup> The photograph-as-window scenario, she claims, cannot account for the way photographs themselves bear the marks of usage and time.

According to Edwards, the materiality of photographs takes two forms, both of which are integral to the production of meaning, and, as she states, “have a profound impact on the way images are ‘read,’ as different material forms both signal and enforce different expectations and use patterns.”<sup>22</sup> The first is the plasticity of the image, or the manner in which a photograph has been created: the type of paper and chemicals employed, and the alterations and/or additions made subsequently to the image. The second category of materiality is embodied in the presentational forms that act as the photograph’s support: these are the cards, mounts, albums, frames and so on that either surround an image or are affixed to its back. And to both of these is added another kind of materiality: the effects of time on a photograph, which may be seen in the physical marks (writing, drawings, scratches, etc.) it accrues due to simple handling and the

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<sup>20</sup> Edwards defines her phenomenological perspective in “Thinking Photography Beyond the Visual?” in J. J. Long, Andrea Noble, and Edward Welch eds., *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 33.

<sup>21</sup> Edwards also uses the expression “window on the world” to identify a particular approach to the photograph. See Edwards, “Photographs and History: Emotion and Materiality,” in Sandra H. Dudley ed., *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 27; and Edwards and Janice Hart, “Introduction: Photographs as Objects,” in Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart eds., *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 6-7.

<sup>22</sup> Edwards, “Material Beings: Objecthood and Ethnographic Photographs,” *Visual Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1 (2002): 68.

various systems of classification and display in which, at one point or another, it has been inserted.<sup>23</sup>

The temporal factor is important to Edwards, because it allows photographic objects to be understood as functioning in an ongoing continuum rather than in a condition of stasis. When material forms are allowed to enter the picture, the meaning of images will and does change according to when, where, how, and by whom they are perceived. In other words, images do not passively signify one thing, forevermore, for whoever might view them, but are rather active agents in the never-ending construction of meaning. It is imperative, for Edwards, that the material forms of photographs be seen to be “emergent from and constitutive of the shifting sets of social, cultural, and economic relationships” in which images themselves are dynamically involved.<sup>24</sup>

Investigating the materiality of photographs – and the complexity of their role as both causes and effects of these shifting relationships – thus potentially leads to a greater understanding of the way images work, on a multi-dimensional level, within changing contexts.

It also leads to an increased understanding of how photographs function for particular audiences. Another aspect of Edwards’s research is an emphasis on use – or reception – in order to make manifest the sociability of photographs. In her essay “Thinking Photography Beyond the Visual?,” where she argues for an approach to photography that engages with the multi-sensorial and performative aspects of photographic experience, she writes that “materiality is of key importance here, because materiality precisely emphasizes the relational qualities of photography in a social

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Edwards, “Photography and the Material Performance of the Past,” 145. I have generalized Edwards’s point here. In the passage quoted she is discussing a specific body of historical photographs.

context.”<sup>25</sup> Materiality, for Edwards, is a site of mediation between both people and things, and people and people. And because it is also a site where audiences enact or perform certain social rituals and desires, investigating *how* photographs are used in a physical sense can reveal much about the part they play in the formation of identities. Within this view, photographs and their audiences are given an active role; images are no longer seen as purely static evidence of facts or ideology.

Batchen has made a similar argument with regard to the performative social function of photographs, without however focusing on their material forms. In his essay “Dreams of Ordinary Life: Cartes-de-visite and the Bourgeois Imagination,” he proposes that the highly repetitive and conformist nature of carte-de-visite portraits, which generally follow very strict conventions of pose, dress, and demeanour, embodies their subjects’ desire to be affiliated with the bourgeoisie.<sup>26</sup> Cartes-de-visite were the first type of photograph to be widely accessible to the middle (and, to a degree, the lower) classes, and as such mark photography’s emergence as an industrially-produced democratic medium – a product of capitalism. According to Batchen, having a portrait taken in the same manner as everyone else was a way for the nineteenth-century subject to pledge allegiance to the bourgeois class – it was an act of social integration. As he writes, “in taking on that look, in subsuming their individual selves to it, these subjects performed a ritual of class declaration and belonging.”<sup>27</sup>

Whether located within materiality or self-representation (or both), the performative potential of photographs is occluded – as Batchen and Edwards contend in different ways – by accounts that privilege the image over the object. Both these authors

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<sup>25</sup> Elizabeth Edwards, “Thinking Photography Beyond the Visual?,” 33.

<sup>26</sup> Batchen, “Dreams of Ordinary Life,” 63-74.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.



argue for a methodology that allows the image's "surrounds" to be taken as a determining factor in the construction of photographic meaning. Allowing these "surrounds" to enter the discussion means taking seriously the various levels of connotation described by Barthes. And it means accounting for not only the work of culture and history discernible *in* the photograph, but, crucially, viewers' active engagement with photographs as objects *of* culture and history.

### *Reading the Work*

It is useful, in starting this section on semiotic and language-based methods of analysis, to return briefly to Barthes's "The Photographic Message." In a passage where he disputes the apparent purely denotative character of the press photograph, Barthes writes:

Connotation is not necessarily immediately graspable at the level of the message itself (it is, one could say, at once invisible and active, clear and implicit) but it can already be inferred from certain phenomena which occur at the levels of the production and reception of the message: on the one hand, the press photograph is an object that has been worked on, chosen, composed, constructed, treated according to professional, aesthetic or ideological norms which are so many factors of connotation; while on the other, this same photograph is not only perceived, received, it is *read*, connected more or less consciously by the public that consumes it to a traditional stock of signs.<sup>28</sup>

Beyond the already established constructedness of the press photograph, the following point is worthy of further emphasis: there is, according to this excerpt, a kind of circularity involved in the photograph's production and reception, for the various aesthetic, ideological and other codes utilized in the making of the photograph are of the same order as those perceived by viewers. In other words, the image is not just constructed, it is constructed *for and by* a public, whose ability to understand it is based

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<sup>28</sup> Barthes, "The Photographic Message," 19.

on a certain level of literacy with regard to these codes. For Barthes, the photograph implies a reader who can identify and recognize a “stock of signs” that forms the ground from which photographic connotation is produced.

Toward the end of his essay Barthes offers more insight into the particular nature of this “stock of signs” and its relation with readers: these signs are not given or inherently known to a generic type of reader, but are rather learnt by and addressed to specifically situated groups of readers. “Thanks to its code of connotation,” he writes, “the reading of the photograph is thus always historical; it depends on the reader’s ‘knowledge’ just as though it were a matter of a real language [*langue*], intelligible only if one has learned the signs.”<sup>29</sup> Being at the level of connotation, and therefore being cultural/historical, these signs are only significant (and can only signify) within specific socio-historical contexts. And the task of the semiotician, for Barthes, is the establishment of a lexicon of signs that are meaningful within such contexts.

I move now to texts that though they do not pertain exclusively to photography, but engage more generally with semiotics and text-based objects of study, have proven helpful for elaborating my approach to the photographs published in Canadian magazines. The first is the 1991 essay “Semiotics and Art History” by cultural analyst Mieke Bal and art historian Norman Bryson, which was originally published in *The Art Bulletin* and can be summarized as an overview of the conceptual potential of semiotics for art historical inquiry.<sup>30</sup> The authors position the notions put forth by semiotics against the positivism that, they argue, runs through several of the key concepts commonly used

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>30</sup> Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, “Semiotics and Art History,” *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 73, no. 2 (June 1991): 174-208. Excerpts from this essay have also been published in Donald Preziosi ed., *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, 2nd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 243-255, 531-533.

by art historians, including those of the artist, the work of art, context, and viewer. The stability of these concepts' referents – the idea that a work of art, for example, is entirely knowable – is rarely called into question by art historians, and especially those working with the methodologies of connoisseurship and the social history of art.<sup>31</sup> In the case of the latter, the authors hold, even when the work of art is seen as capable of being altered by varying circumstances, the context of production and/or reception of the work is taken to provide an unalterable basis from which to produce a positivist interpretation.<sup>32</sup>

What semiotics can offer, according to Bal and Bryson, is a dynamic perspective on these concepts. Beginning with Charles Sanders Peirce, whose structuralist theory is diachronic and “describes the process of signification,”<sup>33</sup> but acquiring significant momentum with the post-structuralist turn to “thinking of semiosis as unfolding in time,”<sup>34</sup> semiotics is presented as a framework that is capable of ridding art historical concepts of their aspiration to positivist interpretations. The shift required is from understanding the work of art as a stable entity, one whose meaning is the same regardless of where or by whom it is viewed, to understanding it as an event occurring in a concrete time and space, an “utterance” whose meaning is recast each time it is “spoken” and “heard.”<sup>35</sup> The same shift is applicable to the concepts of the artist, context, and viewer, since they too are in constant flux – none can be relied upon to provide a

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<sup>31</sup> Bal and Bryson, 174. The positivist charge brought by Bal and Bryson was (especially) challenged by the art historical community in the years following the essay's publication. See the responses published in the *Art Bulletin* in 1992, which includes a reply by the authors: Reva Wolf, Francis H. Dowley, Mieke Bal, and Norman Bryson, “Some Thoughts on Semiotics and Art History,” *Art Bulletin*, vol. 74, no. 3 (September 1992): 522-531.

<sup>32</sup> Bal and Bryson, 177.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

stable basis for interpretation, for while they can be said to frame the work of art they are also reframed by the work's particular utterance.

I wish to concentrate on a section of the essay entitled "Receivers," which discusses how semiotics can resolve the problems identified with art historical approaches to reception. The section begins as follows:

Semiotics is centrally concerned with reception. As Barthes puts it, semiotic investigation "will not teach us what meaning must be definitively attributed to a work; it will not provide or even discover a meaning but will describe the logic according to which meanings are engendered." Semiotic analysis of visual art does not set out in the first place to produce interpretations of works of art, but rather to investigate how works of art are intelligible to those who view them, the processes by which viewers make sense of what they see. Standing somewhat to one side of the work of interpretation, semiotics has as its object to describe the conventions and conceptual operations that shape what viewers do – whether those viewers are art historians, art critics, or the crowd of spectators attending an exhibition.<sup>36</sup>

So for Bal and Bryson (following Barthes), the goal of semiotic analysis is not to isolate or define the meaning of a work, but rather to describe *how* meaning is constructed – and, crucially, this construction is located not in the work but in the very act of viewing. In other words, there is nothing inherent to the work itself that can lead to semantic completeness, for the "work itself" is a kind of fiction: it does not exist outside of its viewing. The last sentence of this quote alludes to another vital aspect of Bal and Bryson's position, which is that there are several kinds of viewers. Although they are there presented as a group, I wish to explore further the authors' discussion of the difference between viewers – especially between present and past viewers.

Descriptions of the impact of past viewers – the groups of people who see and write about a work at the moment of its emergence – are frequently included in art

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 184-185. The quote by Barthes is taken from his *Critique et vérité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966), 63.

historical investigations that retrace the socio-historical contexts of art.<sup>37</sup> This is not problematic per se, but it becomes so if these viewers are considered to provide a firm basis on which to “pin” a work’s meaning. The key, for Bal and Bryson, is to recognize that the inclusion of exhibition reviews, testimonies, statistics and other forms of evidence of past reception is itself an act of construction or framing by a present viewer: the art historian.<sup>38</sup> How a work was considered at the time of its production and initial reception does not reach the present as an unmediated body of facts; rather, it is a story that is carefully and astutely composed by – and only accessible through – the art historian writing in the present. “The art historian,” the authors assert, “is always present in the construction she or he produces.”<sup>39</sup>

Yet this does not mean that past viewers and the impact they have had on the (past and present) understanding of a work cannot remain a central concern for art historians. Investigating the past is not to be rejected as a fruitless endeavour simply because it will always be determined by present interests and perspectives. According to Bal and Bryson, it is important to be conscious that the evidence of reception available in the archive is necessarily incomplete, or even inaccurate.<sup>40</sup> Even when the data is overwhelmingly convincing and homogenous, it must be remembered that other voices, opinions and experiences of a work existed, or at the very least were possible. Because the semiotic approach focuses on the ways in which meaning is produced, or on the codes of viewing through which a work makes sense, it can potentially engage with multiple and sometimes competing codes of viewing. As they write:

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<sup>37</sup> A prime example is T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

<sup>38</sup> Bal and Bryson, 187-188.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

Semiotic analysis draws attention to the plurality and unpredictability at work in contexts of reception, in the forms of looking that have produced the discursive configurations evident in the archive. Surrounding those forms are other, submerged series of procedures whose traces can be discerned from the forcefulness of the attempts to repress them. Such series of procedures include codes of viewing that represent residual practices edged out by the rise of those later codes; the procedures also include codes that are hardly yet formed, emergent ways of seeing whose coherence has not yet taken root.<sup>41</sup>

For Bal and Bryson, allowing these other codes to become part of the discussion is first and foremost a conceptual stance: what is important is that a space for different voices and experiences be conceptually created by the art historian.<sup>42</sup>

The authors argue, furthermore, that a code of viewing can no more be taken as a given than can the work of art. Because (as Barthes also stresses in “The Photographic Message”) codes of viewing are a matter of learning or literacy, their possession by a group of viewers is necessarily a process – and a variable one.<sup>43</sup> The art historian interested in describing the codes involved in a work’s reception thus cannot assume that the public being addressed has learnt them to the same degree and in the exact same manner. As Bal and Bryson clearly warn, “even when attention to the conditions of reception discloses a particular group, which operates codes of viewing in a unique way, analysis of reception must still distinguish between degrees of *access* to those codes. If it does not do so, it is substituting an ideal case (full possession of cultural skills, expertise, naturalness) for what is in fact an uneven process.”<sup>44</sup> The point is to avoid falling into the trap of conceiving a particular group of viewers as a unified whole that perceives

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 187.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 186; see also Barthes, “The Photographic Message,” 28.

<sup>44</sup> Bal and Bryson, 186.

identically, and concomitantly, of conceiving the work, however intelligibly articulated, as a message that is ultimately successful.

Toward the end of “Semiotics and Art History,” the authors make a brief reference to the work of twentieth-century Russian philosopher of language Mikhail Bakhtin. They suggest that the concepts advanced by Bakhtin, notably in his 1935 essay “Discourse in the Novel,” offer another perspective on the idea that an element of alterity is present in the experience of a work. Bakhtin’s concept of “heteroglossia” in particular, which he applies to the novel but arguably can be extrapolated to all forms of texts, proposes the view that different voices can also be found at the level of the work itself, since it is the product of an author who inevitably makes use (and is the result) of multiple cultural discourses, or languages.<sup>45</sup>

Before expanding upon the ways in which Bakhtin’s theories of discourse have proven helpful in elucidating a theoretical framework for my object of study, I want to turn briefly to a text authored by Bal alone. Entitled “Reading Art?,” this 1996 essay develops some of the propositions discussed in “Semiotics and Art History” and, importantly, presents an argument countering the charge of “linguistic imperialism” brought against the application of semiotics to the interpretation of visual art.<sup>46</sup> She maintains that the notion of “reading,” when brought to bear on works of art, does not simply gloss over the distinction between the linguistic and the visual, but rather has the

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 203. David Shepherd has argued that the significance of Bakhtin’s concepts can only be fully grasped if they are seen to be applicable beyond the novel as a distinct literary genre. See David Shepherd, “Bakhtin and the Reader,” in Ken Hirschkop and David Shepherd eds., *Bakhtin and Cultural Theory*, 2nd ed. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 139. On the fruitfulness of his concepts for the analysis of visual culture, see Deborah J. Haynes, *Bakhtin and the Visual Arts* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>46</sup> Mieke Bal, “Reading Art?,” in Griselda Pollock ed., *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 25-41.

potential to deepen and complicate the understanding of the visual sphere.<sup>47</sup> Central to her position is the concept of the *frame*, as well as the idea that images are made up of multiple discrete signifying units – signs – that are syntactically related.

The foremost frame, for Bal, is the one constructed by the art historian; it is the act of pointing to a particular work, of singling it out and giving it meaning within concrete socio-political circumstances in the present.<sup>48</sup> Yet she also advocates taking into account how the work has been framed in the past. While these frames – for they are usually plural – are again seen through the eyes of the present, recognizing the discursive and material contexts in which a work was presented at various moments in the past allows its meaning to be seen as a process (as semiosis). As Bal writes, “analyzing the way images are, and have been, framed helps to give them a history that is not terminated at a single point in time, but continues; a history that is linked by invisible threads to other images, the institutions that made their production possible, and the historical position of the viewers they address.”<sup>49</sup> Recognizing these other frames, furthermore, helps art historians become conscious that their own act of framing is but one among many – that theirs is equally socio-politically situated.

The idea that images are constituted of discrete signifying units that operate within a syntax is critical to Bal’s conception of reading for two reasons: it allows elements of alterity to be incorporated into the analysis, and it presupposes that images are inherently social. According to Bal, the art historical notion of composition, in which meaning is conceived as the result of the configuration of the various parts of a work, is limiting because it considers incongruous components to be foreign to the logic of the

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 39-40.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 34.



whole.<sup>50</sup> Discordant features in a composition are either taken to be subsequent, inauthentic additions or are rejected as irrelevant. Seeing every element of a work as an individual meaningful sign gives each more weight within the whole and implies that the incongruous can be an active part of how a work signifies.<sup>51</sup>

And the idea that a work is made up of multiple signs that together form a syntax points to sociability, since the basic structure of syntax – and of language – is relational. Signs only have meaning in relation to one another (a sign means one thing because it does not mean something else); meaning can only be grasped by appealing to the entire system of signs of which a given work avails itself.<sup>52</sup> This system, moreover, is shared, though not intrinsically so: it is a matter of acquiring the appropriate cultural knowledge.

Bal explains that

reading is an act of reception, of assigning meaning. The viewer reframes the work (...) not simply as it suits him or her, according to contingent circumstances (...). She reads according to a “vocabulary,” a selection of elements taken to be signs, and connected in a structure that is a syntax in the semiotic sense: a connection between signs that yields a coherent meaning which is more than the sum of the meanings of the individual elements. Vocabulary and syntax can be learned, taught. They guarantee the right to reading, each person’s access to culture.<sup>53</sup>

For Bal, each act of reading is intersubjective. Although an image is read by a particular, situated viewer, it is also read against a social frame of reference – a code or vocabulary that is shared by others. Reading, in this sense, is always a dialogue between both the present and the past, and the individual and society.

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 35. See also Bal and Bryson, 203.

<sup>51</sup> Bal, 36.

<sup>52</sup> The relational (or “diacritical”) structure of language is a proposition put forward by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. See Ferdinand de Saussure, Roy Harris trans., *Course in General Linguistics* (Chicago and La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1986), 67-69, 101-102.

<sup>53</sup> Bal, 32.

The sociability of language is also a prominent feature in Bakhtin's groundbreaking essay "Discourse in the Novel," in which he describes the characteristics of the novelistic genre and the challenge it poses to the traditional conception of language put forth by the philosophy of language and literary criticism.<sup>54</sup> He argues that poetry, or the poetic work, has provided the basis for how language as a whole has been understood, namely, as hermetic, self-sufficient, and *monologic*.<sup>55</sup> The poetic work is a closed system of signification whose language is autonomous and immanent; the only "outside" the work points to is the author, whose intention is thought to be communicated directly, without mediation. As he writes:

Philosophy of language, linguistics and stylistics [i.e., such as they have come down to us] have all postulated a simple and unmediated relation of speaker to his unitary and singular "own" language, and have postulated as well a simple realization of this language in the monologic utterance of the individual. Such disciplines actually know only two poles in the life of language, between which are located all the linguistic and stylistic phenomena they know: on the one hand, the system of a *unitary language*, and on the other the *individual* speaking in this language.<sup>56</sup>

For Bakhtin, the danger of this conception of a unitary language resides in its centralizing force, for to be posited as singular, its opposite – the multifarious and diffuse character of language – must remain unacknowledged or be effectively rejected.<sup>57</sup> In other words, the conception of language based on poetic discourse put forth by the philosophy of language and literary criticism is not an adequate representation of how language actually operates in reality – and in the novel.

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<sup>54</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," in Michael Holquist ed., Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist trans., *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 259-422. For a wide-ranging study of Bakhtinian theory, see Michael Holquist, *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990).

<sup>55</sup> Bakhtin, 270.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 269.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 270-271. There is a clear political dimension to Bakhtin's stance on the centralizing force of a posited unitary language.

Bakhtin submits that traditional literary criticism cannot contend with the genre of the novel, because its use of language is unavoidably *dialogical*: as opposed to the poetic work, the novel is made up of multiple, more or less self-contained languages that interact with one another on a single plane, rather like a collage.<sup>58</sup> These languages are not the author's own – they pre-exist the author, who appropriates and activates them through various characters, types of speech and plotlines. In this way, the author's creative role resides not in expressing an original voice, but on the way he or she brings this panoply of voices together. While Bakhtin describes at length how novelistic discourse functions within concrete examples (he discusses in detail works by Miguel de Cervantes, Charles Dickens, and Ivan Turgenev, for instance), the point that is important for my purpose is that what the novel exemplifies is true of all kinds of discourse.

Specifically, the ideas that language exists in a plural state (what he refers to as *heteroglossia*) and that every language is socio-ideologically determined have been significant, as will be seen in the next section, for my conceptualization of the languages of modernism. As Bakhtin writes, “at every given moment of its evolution, language is stratified not only into linguistic dialects in the strict sense of the word (...), but also (...) into languages that are socio-ideological: languages of social groups, ‘professional’ and ‘generic’ languages, languages of generations and so forth.”<sup>59</sup> “All words,” he continues, “have the ‘taste’ of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 272-274, 291-292. The comparison with collage is my own.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 271-272.

are populated by intentions.”<sup>60</sup> By challenging, through the form of the novel, the notion of language as unitary, Bakhtin argues that languages – and words – are alive: they are conditioned by the time and place in which they are used and by the subject who uses them, but they can also travel and change; languages occur in a variety of contexts by which they are in turn inflected. Rather than being thought to materialize *ex nihilo* in a specific work (or more accurately, in the mind of an author), language is always a matter of *re*-iteration.<sup>61</sup>

Along with heteroglossia, Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism is also important, for it means that multiple languages can interact with one another within a given work and that this interaction has an impact on both each language’s evolution and the overall meaning of the work. Thinking in visual terms (following Bal), each dialoguing language (or signifying unit) can be seen to operate syntactically, producing a meaning that is greater than the sum of its parts. The concept of dialogism does not presume that every language will necessarily be in agreement; the work is a site where different opinions and inflections can come head to head. It is a site, furthermore, where the author interacts with the past. Because, as Bakhtin asserts, language “represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present,” the work can be seen as a place where various views on the world are worked out, or *made*.<sup>62</sup>

A final insight provided by “Discourse in the Novel” concerns the role the author assigns to the reader. David Shepherd has argued in his essay “Bakhtin and the Reader” that although a coherent theory of readership cannot be gleaned from the philosopher’s

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 293.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 278-280.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 291.

body of writing, a clear sense of what his reader is *not* may be acknowledged: Bakhtin's reader is never a passive receptacle for the intention of the author, or even of the work's meaning.<sup>63</sup> While much of "Discourse in the Novel" expands upon the dialogism at play on the side of the work, the reader remains a necessary ingredient in the effective realization of this dialogism. It is in the mind of the reader and in the act of reading that the interaction of different languages comes to make sense, but just as languages are determined by context, so too is the reader.<sup>64</sup> Like Bal and Bryson, and, I would suggest, Barthes, Batchen, and Edwards, Bakhtin is against the fixity of a work's meaning and emphasizes the situatedness of reading. For him, the already uttered word is always directed toward the reader, whose own knowledge or "apperceptive background" provides the basis for active understanding.<sup>65</sup>

### *The Languages of Modernism*

In essence, the previous two sections provide, via diverse yet harmonious approaches, the tools through which to build a case against autonomy – the autonomy of the photograph, of the work of art and, now, of modernism. My interest in these various authors is part of a desire to consider the visual objects of modernism – a category of cultural production in which I include the photographs published in Canadian illustrated magazines – as non-autonomous. The authors selected offer an admittedly one-sided perspective, in that they all, in one way or another, argue for the importance of the "stuff" that is purportedly extrinsic to photographs, works of art or texts; they argue, in sum, that objects and their reception are inextricably linked with history.

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<sup>63</sup> Shepherd, 137.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 144-145.

<sup>65</sup> Bakhtin, 281.

My view of modernism is in line with these authors' perspective: I want to claim that there is such a thing as a modernist language or code of viewing, and that they are potentially multiple; that these modernist languages were bound by socio-historical contexts; that they extended beyond the confines of modernist works of art; and that they were received and learnt by particular audiences. In order to grasp the contours of these languages, one must look to the "stuff" by which images are surrounded. The challenge, of course, is that autonomy – art's separation from life – has been posited as one of the foundational principles of modernism in the visual arts.<sup>66</sup> Yet, as I maintain in this section, it is possible to contend with modernism and its objects while simultaneously disturbing the stability of this foundational principle.

Surprisingly, a clue to the potential unravelling of the concept of autonomy can be found in one of the most influential and persuasive texts of modernist discourse: Clement Greenberg's 1939 essay "Avant-Garde and Kitsch."<sup>67</sup> A review of the state of art in Western industrial society, this essay presents an argument in favour of autonomy through an overt denigration of kitsch, posited as the opposite of that which should be autonomous – avant-garde art. Kitsch, described as including "popular, commercial art and literature with their chromeotypes, magazine covers, illustrations, ads, slick and pulp fiction, comics, Tin Pan Alley music, tap dancing, Hollywood movies, etc., etc.," is

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<sup>66</sup> Michael Fried, "Three American Painters," in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood eds., *Art in Theory, 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992), 772; Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 227.

<sup>67</sup> Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," in John O'Brian ed., *The Collected Essays and Criticism, Volume 1: Perceptions and Judgements, 1939-1944* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 5-22.

examined as a new phenomenon which, due to its pervasiveness and attractiveness, is a powerful force that must not be taken for granted.<sup>68</sup>

A key aspect of the essay lies in the relational dichotomy that the art critic sets up between avant-garde art and kitsch: the former is so because it is not the latter, which means that the characteristics of one cannot be analyzed without referring to those of the other. Kitsch, for instance, is said to function primarily by the superficial appropriation of the styles and strategies of what was once considered “genuine culture,” of which the avant-garde was the current – and ultimate – embodiment.<sup>69</sup> The extent of the difference between avant-garde art and kitsch is reinforced at several points, perhaps most clearly when Greenberg discusses the notion of imitation. While avant-garde art is only allowed to imitate itself (the values that are found in art alone, namely the forms and materials that pertain to each particular artistic medium), kitsch imitates, through techniques based on science and industry, the effects of art (the emotions that genuine culture brings to viewers after much perceptive work).<sup>70</sup> In other words, kitsch is not genuine culture because it appeals to methods that are put to various non-artistic, instrumental uses. “The neatness of this antithesis,” he writes, “is more than contrived; it corresponds to and defines the tremendous interval that separates from each other two such simultaneous cultural phenomena as the avant-garde and kitsch.”<sup>71</sup>

The interval between the avant-garde and kitsch, furthermore, is “too great to be closed by all the infinite gradations of popularized ‘modernism’ and ‘modernistic’

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 11. Having originally appeared in the Trotskyite periodical *Partisan Review* in the Fall of 1939, “Avant-Garde and Kitsch” was later published as the first essay in Greenberg’s 1961 collection *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961). For a contextual summary of this essay, see Paul Barlow, “Clement Greenberg,” in Chris Murray ed., *Key Writers on Art: The Twentieth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 149-155.

<sup>69</sup> Greenberg, 12.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 15-17.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 17.

kitsch.”<sup>72</sup> But here is where things get interesting. For what also characterizes this essay is the forcefulness with which Greenberg sets these cultural phenomena apart, despite the “infinite gradations” that, he admits, fill the spectrum. Forcefulness appears to be required because the lure of kitsch is great: its objects are tantalizingly attractive, both to viewers/readers and artists. The viewer/reader wishing to truly understand and appreciate genuine culture must actively reject the too-easily acquired pleasure afforded by kitsch: “it is not enough (...) to have an inclination towards [genuine culture]; one must have a true passion for it that will give him the power to resist the faked article that surrounds and presses in on him from the moment he is old enough to look at the funny papers.”<sup>73</sup> Because kitsch reproduces the effects (but not the content) of avant-garde art, the danger is that it will fool viewers/readers into believing that the object perceived is equivalent to or of the same value as genuine culture.

With regard to artists, the lure of kitsch leads to what Greenberg refers to as “borderline cases,” artists who, mainly for financial reasons, make art that can be appreciated by those who are not willing to work for it – popular art that manages to please the audience of kitsch: the mass.<sup>74</sup> These borderline cases, Greenberg insists, are always detrimental to “true culture.” And so it transpires that the spectrum that is bounded by kitsch at one end and the avant-garde at the other is mostly filled with kitsch, since any form of “popularized modernism” or “modernistic kitsch” cannot be considered genuine culture. What does, for Greenberg, actually constitute genuine culture finds itself forced into a position of radicalism so extreme as make it dysfunctional with the rest of

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 13. It is hard not to conjecture that the “him” referred to in this passage is Greenberg himself.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. Greenberg’s examples of “borderlines cases” are the novelists Georges Simenon and John Steinbeck.



the spectrum. It is revealing that the essay begins with a question, posed after the author posits the acute difference between such respective examples of the avant-garde and kitsch as poems by T. S. Eliot and Edgar Guest. “What perspective of culture,” he asks, “is large enough to enable us to situate them in an enlightening relation to each other?”<sup>75</sup> If such a perspective of culture were desired by Greenberg, it could not be arrived at by sustaining the severity of the divide between the avant-garde and kitsch.

Literary critic and theorist Robert Scholes discusses Greenberg’s essay in his 2006 book *Paradoxy of Modernism*, in which he examines the most common binary oppositions present in modernist discourse and attempts to complicate them through case studies. What these binary oppositions or “paradoxies” – a term used to question the ostensible clarity and simplicity of the oppositions – share, according to Scholes, is “a tendency to reject or suppress any middle term that might mediate between their extremes.”<sup>76</sup> His view of modernism rests on the idea that contradiction and confusion can be found across the spectrum of such oppositions, and, therefore, that things were not as clear-cut as Greenberg and other producers of modernist discourse argued.<sup>77</sup>

The first chapter, “High and Low in Modernist Criticism,” addresses the primordial binary of modernism – “high” art versus “low” art – and looks into the varying forms it has taken in texts by Greenberg, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, and Georg Lukács, among others.<sup>78</sup> Scholes remarks on the forcefulness, found equally in

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>76</sup> Robert Scholes, *Paradoxy of Modernism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), xii.

<sup>77</sup> Scholes is also the co-author, with Clifford Wulfman, of the important book *Modernism in the Magazines*, which investigates the primacy of magazines (little magazines and general-interest periodicals) in the history of modern culture. According to them, “modernism began in the magazines.” See Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman, *Modernism in the Magazines: An Introduction* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

<sup>78</sup> The texts by these authors examined by Scholes are Clement Greenberg, “Avant-Garde and Kitsch”; Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception,” in John

Greenberg's and Lucáks's texts, with which the distinction between these terms is categorically posited, thus obscuring the possibility of a middle ground.<sup>79</sup> Of particular interest to him is how easily terms like avant-garde/kitsch (Greenberg), serious/light (Adorno and Horkheimer), and representation/entertainment (Lucáks), which are all considered to be synonymous with High/Low, become conflated with such evaluative designations as good/bad, and, especially, how each extreme is consistently associated with a particular social class.<sup>80</sup>

The connections Greenberg makes between, on the one hand, the lower classes and kitsch, and on the other, the upper classes and the avant-garde are plain, and in fact are part of his thesis on the role the upper echelons of society must play as the patrons of genuine culture.<sup>81</sup> As Scholes explains, the same class-based associations can be found in Adorno and Horkheimer's version of the High/Low binary:

There is a problem hidden in the Adorno/Horkheimer formulation – a problem of paradox that we need to notice at this point – and that is the unjustified assumption that all light art is produced by the “culture industry,” and that it is produced for the masses who are too tired from exploitation to enjoy the serious art that is consumed by the leisured members of society, whose leisure is based on the exploitation of those working masses. Actually, there is – and has been in ancient, medieval, and modern times – light art produced by very skilled literary artists for the more favoured classes of society.<sup>82</sup>

Scholes thus questions the basis upon which the High/Low binary has been articulated, which assumes that “light” art or kitsch was not appreciated by the upper classes and that “serious” or avant-garde art could not be enjoyed by the lower classes. He asserts that this

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Cumming trans., *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York: Continuum, 1982), 120-167; and Georg Lucáks, Anna Bostock trans., *The Theory of the Novel* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1971).

<sup>79</sup> Scholes, *Paradox of Modernism*, 8.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 17, 22.

<sup>81</sup> Greenberg, 10-11.

<sup>82</sup> Scholes, 15-16.

is an inaccurate distinction since some forms of “low” art were both produced for and consumed by the elite, and because some “high” artists made concerted efforts to have their work reach the mass.<sup>83</sup> The point is that the High/Low paradox cannot admit any object that does not fit at either end of the spectrum, and so, as a dominant framework of modernist discourse, it obscures from sight a whole range of cultural production that flirted with both sides of the equation.

In his attempt to recover the middle ground of modernist production, Scholes turns his attention to ambiguous cases, yet his ultimate objective is not to reject entirely the discursive framework propounded by the critics of modernism.<sup>84</sup> He contends, rather, that attending to the entire spectrum of modernist literature and art will lead to a fuller understanding of modernism and modernity.<sup>85</sup> In this Scholes is representative of modernist studies, a cross-disciplinary academic field that has, since the 1990s, aimed to reconsider and re-interpret modernism from a perspective of culture large enough to encompass the “good,” the “bad,” and everything in between.<sup>86</sup> Like Scholes, the scholars contributing to modernist studies tend not to reject outright the terms laid out by the critics who were reflecting on modernism as it was taking place, but rather treat these terms as another object of study – a conceptual frame whose structure must be acknowledged yet not thought to be set in stone.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> He discusses Virginia Woolf as an example of a modernist author who consistently attempted to speak to the mass of common readers. *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-32.

<sup>86</sup> Sometimes referred to as “New Modernist Studies,” this movement has been largely centred around the activities of the Modernist Studies Association, which is based at Johns Hopkins University and has been in operation since 1998. Although the association actively promotes an interdisciplinary and international approach to modernism, the bulk of the research carried out so far under the umbrella of modernist studies has been focused on literature produced in the U.S. and Britain.

<sup>87</sup> See, for example, the following collections of essays: Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier eds., *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan,

The potentially confusing outcome of this reconsideration of modernism is captured in an essay by literary theorist Susan Stanford Friedman entitled “Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of *Modern/Modernity/Modernism*,” published in 2009. Friedman incisively describes the difficulties involved in providing useful definitions for these three terms at a time when such concepts are being continually recast.<sup>88</sup> For one, much scholarship within the field of modernist studies is interdisciplinary, which results in a blurring of what these concepts refer to; the fact that “modernity” conjured different meanings depending on whether it was used in the humanities or in the social sciences, or that “modernisms” in literature and in the visual arts were not synonymous are examples of disciplinary boundaries that are no longer tenable.<sup>89</sup> In addition, the fact that studies of modernism are being written from a non-Western, transnational, and non-centric perspective opens these concepts up to a horizon of difference hitherto unseen.<sup>90</sup>

Yet despite these definitional difficulties, or rather because of them, Friedman takes a stance that, I would suggest, is perfectly in tune with Bal and Bryson’s view on the role of the art historian: instead of rejecting “modern,” “modernity,” and “modernism” as categorically unstable, she proposes that scholars take full charge of their definitional uncertainty, and even make this uncertainty a working condition. In other words, if scholars accept that such terms are unstable, they must then interrogate how, why, and for whom definitions are created. As Friedman writes:

We need to ask: Who is producing a given set of meanings for *modern/modernity/modernism*? For what audience? From what position or

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2008); Pamela L. Caughie ed., *Disciplining Modernism* (Basingstoke, U.K., and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz eds., *Bad Modernisms* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006).

<sup>88</sup> Susan Stanford Friedman, “Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of *Modern/Modernity/Modernism*,” in Caughie, *Disciplining Modernism*, 11-32.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-27.

standpoint in space and time? For what purpose and with what effect? What cultural work do these meanings perform? In what way was and is modernity a set of cultural formations with diverse parts and functions, manifesting differently in various temporal and spatial situations, with different effects? How do power relations condition the production, dissemination, and reception of contested meanings? In short, how do questions of power and politics shape both the concept of modernity and the historical phenomena to which the term refers?<sup>91</sup>

These questions, I believe, imply that what constitutes modern, modernity, and modernism is always a matter of *making*, both in the past and the present; each statement on modernism is also a re-making of it, not from scratch, but based, in the Bakhtinian sense, on prior languages that are invoked in accordance with present interests.

This, to pursue my re-summoning of Bal and Bryson, is where I position myself as an art historian writing, in the present, on photographic modernism in Canadian illustrated magazines. In line with the work done under the heading of modernist studies, this thesis is a reconsideration and a re-making of modernism from a perspective that operates within yet questions the terms of modernist discourse. I approach photographic modernism as a language that was used in the Canadian context for a particular purpose and audience. My aim is to take illustrated magazines seriously as cultural objects that were enmeshed in a time and a place – objects of the past that have much to reveal about the present.

### *Photography and Print Culture*

In this aim I am not alone. Within the fields of art history and photographic studies, there is a growing emphasis on print culture in general and magazines in particular – an emphasis that has greatly contributed to enhancing the understanding of the role played

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 25.

by photography during the modernist period. A groundbreaking, late-twentieth-century example is the catalogue *Photography in Print, 1919-1939*, produced to accompany an exhibition held at the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in Madrid, in 1999.<sup>92</sup> A compendium of the various uses of photomechanical printing processes during the interwar period, this catalogue lists the numerous publications that reproduced photographs (including magazines, pamphlets, posters, and artists' books), as well as the hundreds of artists who contributed to them. Although appearing to be international in scope, the publications and artists listed are primarily from Europe, Russia and the United States, with a few exceptional entries on Japan and Mexico. A striking feature of the catalogue is the fact that it illustrates photographs in their printed form – without cropping them out of their context of publication.<sup>93</sup> Possibly because it was based on an exhibition, *Photography in Print* saw fit to treat photographs as artefacts whose presentational forms are essential to their social and aesthetic meaning.

A more recent and more focused project, also produced for the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, is Jordana Mendelson's 2007 catalogue *Revistas Y Guerra/Magazines and War, 1936-1939*.<sup>94</sup> Here too photographs and other visual media are treated as objects, and are reproduced without cropping. The author takes as her main object of study the illustrated magazines that were published in Spain during the Spanish

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<sup>92</sup> Horacio Fernández, *Fotografía Pública/Photography in Print, 1919-1939* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 1999).

<sup>93</sup> This practice has become increasingly common within the genre of comprehensive photographic histories. Notable examples are Thierry Gervais and Gaëlle Morel, *La photographie : Histoire, techniques, art, presse* (Paris: Larousse, 2008); Quentin Bajac, *La photographie: L'époque moderne, 1880-1960* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005); and Gerry Badger and Martin Parr, *The Photobook: A History, Volume 1* (London and New York: Phaidon, 2004).

<sup>94</sup> Jordana Mendelson, *Revistas Y Guerra/Magazines and War, 1936-1939* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2007). This exhibition was also shown at the International Center of Photography, New York, which has long regarded magazines and other objects of print culture as worthy of display.

Civil War. These magazines are not only fundamental to the experience of the war – they also, she argues, “hold as strong a place within the history of modernity as any other singular work of art.”<sup>95</sup> For Mendelson, magazines represent a vital tool in the effort to achieve a greater understanding of the dissemination of modern visual culture. In her catalogue essay she gives special attention to the conditions of production and reception of these magazines, endeavouring to trace the myriad relationships between the editors, journalists, artists, photographers, graphic designers, and distributors operating – in some cases as a form of political resistance and in others with propagandistic aims – during the war.

Michel Frizot and Cédric de Veigy published their case history *Vu: The Story of a Magazine* in 2009. To an even greater extent than the previous two examples, it establishes the huge social and visual impact of the popular illustrated magazine.<sup>96</sup> While both *Photography in Print* and *Magazines and War* include general-interest, mass-circulation magazines in their discussion, they are nonetheless principally concerned with art and the artists who worked for such publications but also for the more specialized, limited edition magazines. Frizot and de Veigy’s book, although it also describes some of the contributions made to *Vu* by the many avant-garde artists working in Paris during the magazine’s existence (1928-1940), delves deep into the realm of popular media and its impact on modern visuality. A wider sense of modernism is thus attained, for *Vu*’s photographic content is levelled out: photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson and Man Ray, for example, are considered on a par with the anonymous images supplied by local

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<sup>95</sup> Jordana Mendelson, “Propaganda Laboratories: Artists and Magazines During the Spanish Civil War,” in *Revistas Y Guerra/Magazines and War*, 340.

<sup>96</sup> Michel Frizot and Cédric de Veigy, *Vu: The Story of a Magazine* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009).

and foreign picture agencies. If the concept of authorship remains of interest to Frizot and de Veigy, it is focused not on the makers of photographs but on the publication's editorial board, and especially its founder, Lucien Vogel.<sup>97</sup>

The unifying thread of *Vu: The Story of a Magazine* is the way the weekly presented visually sophisticated and innovative photographic layouts to a public that participated actively in their reading.<sup>98</sup> Absent from Frizot and de Veigy's take, however, is a holistic conception of the magazine as an entity wherein photography served various distinct yet symbiotic purposes. Although their study also reproduces photographic layouts in their published form and looks at the way multiple images were juxtaposed with text, it pays scant attention to how these layouts may have interacted within a single issue, or across several issues. Nor does it consider advertising imagery to be part of *Vu*'s photographic content – likely because the magazine's editorial staff did not produce it.

My approach to Canadian magazines follows some of the interpretive strategies deployed in these examples and adds others that are based on my reading of the texts discussed in this chapter. A determining feature of my project is a desire to investigate *how* photographic modernism was articulated in Canadian magazines. Like Mendelson's and especially Frizot and de Veigy's, my approach takes magazines to be a compelling medium through which an expanded understanding of modernism was disseminated. My study also investigates – and is structured by – the particular types of photographic imagery used to represent a view of modernity to a Canadian public. While interested to a degree in the producers of magazines and photographs, I am above all concerned with the reception of these cultural objects – both concretely and conceptually. This focus on

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 8-9.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 7, *passim*.



reception inflects the fact that my interest in photographic modernism in Canada is based on the idea of photographic literacy and its propagation by magazines. In other words, I see photographic modernism as a specific mode of expression whose codes were, chiefly through sheer repetition, taught. Furthermore, as the following chapter demonstrates, it is my contention that photographic modernism was a key ingredient in the formulation and reception of the discourse of Canadianism promulgated by the mass media in early-twentieth-century Canada.

## Chapter Two

### CANADIAN MAGAZINES AND THE DISCOURSE OF CANADIANISM

*Because the magazine communicates, the magazine's readership is an ongoing and pervasive force. All the people inside the magazine's structure, and the advertisers outside it, want the reader's full attention. But the flow is not one-way. Readers may telephone or write letters in protest or praise, organize boycotts or fund-raising campaigns, crowd or spurn the newsstand, take out or cancel a subscription. All these are ways of telling the magazine what it's doing right or wrong.*

Fraser Sutherland, *The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines, 1789-1989*<sup>1</sup>

In the December 1928 issue of *The Canadian Magazine*, editor Joseph Lister Rutledge (1885-1957) expressed his gratitude for the numerous letters of appreciation received from the publication's readers and offered these thoughts on the state of the magazine press in Canada:

More and more, we believe, the Canadian public is coming to listen for the voicing of a real Canadian opinion. In the past Canadians have been content to take a good measure of their opinions, ideas and ideals from countries other than their own, but of recent years there has grown up a sentiment that is opposed to such ways; a feeling that our Canadianism is not a matter of mirroring other opinions but of developing them ourselves. With this changed attitude of mind the Canadian press has had much to do, but only of comparatively recent years has the Canadian magazine press taken its just place. The magazine press of the country is faced with a sterner competition than any other industry. They have faced it without complaining and are building up periodicals that are a credit to any country. They ask for no favouritism but only an even chance with the periodicals of other lands. For every magazine a Canadian buys from an outside country he should surely buy at least an equal number of his own. Magazines are made by their readers. The more readers, the better magazines. The Canadian, therefore, who is anxious that his family should grow up with that steady, sane viewpoint which is our national heritage should see to it that this stream of outside periodicals carrying the ideas and ideals, the customs and thoughts of another land, should at least be

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<sup>1</sup> Fraser Sutherland, *The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines, 1789-1989* (Markham, ON: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1989), 5.

leavened by the influence of the ideas and ideals and the ways of thought that spring from our own.<sup>2</sup>

This dense passage, written in a contemplative tone characteristic of end-of-year issues, contains several of the key components of the discourse of Canadianism found in Canadian magazines published from the 1920s to the 1940s. These components will be examined in detail in this chapter, yet can be resumed summarily as follows: a new form of Canadian nationalism was emerging – a nationalism whose popular dissemination the press was in large part responsible for. Yet the press, and especially the magazine industry, was facing stiff competition from foreign (i.e., largely American) publications, which were widely available and successful. The magazine industry, in order to survive, needed to be supported by the Canadian public, whose economic, cultural, and moral interests were served by the very magazines in which it invested. Buying Canadian magazines was, for the reading citizenry, a national duty.

The aim of the present chapter is to establish the significance of the discourse of Canadianism in the period and object under study. As will be seen, much has been written on the close links between nationalism and the development of the mass media in Canada – which are, by all accounts, two sides of the same coin. My contribution to this body of knowledge, based on primary research of a large corpus, is the demonstration of the impact of the visual – and especially photographic – dimension on the Canadian mass media. As I will show in subsequent chapters, the image of Canada as an independent, modern nation that was circulated by popular illustrated magazines was not a neutral one. Rather, it was an image expressed largely via the language of photographic modernism – a set of codes that pre-existed its exploitation by Canadian magazines but that was put to

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<sup>2</sup> Joseph Lister Rutledge, *The Canadian Magazine*, December 1928, 3.

singular use within that context. Approached from the other side, the discourse of Canadianism is vital to an understanding of photographic modernism in Canadian magazines because it provides the discursive frame through which photography was viewed by the reading public. The discourse of Canadianism is part of the “surrounds” that determine how photographic objects – in this case, photographically illustrated magazines – are experienced.

Among the six periodicals investigated, the aptly titled *Canadian Magazine* is the one whose utilization of this discourse was the most extensive, and it will thus remain the focus of this chapter. Founded in Toronto in 1893, the magazine that would come to be known as *The Canadian* and that would survive until 1939 was bought by the Hugh C. Maclean Company in 1926. The younger brother of John Bayne Maclean (1862-1950), who headed the much larger Maclean Publishing Company (which, in 1945, would become Maclean-Hunter), Hugh Maclean (1866-1949) transformed *The Canadian* from a literary-minded, somewhat elitist periodical to a general-interest mass magazine. Along with the other two Toronto-based publications that I have examined (*Chatelaine* and *Maclean's*), and the three produced in Montreal (*Le Samedi*, *La Revue populaire*, and *La Revue moderne*), *The Canadian* became an outlet for the expression of nationalist sentiments. While such sentiments were not articulated identically by the various magazines, there are enough similarities among them to consider Hugh Maclean's publication a paradigmatic example. Its transformation into a widely circulated and richly-illustrated magazine also makes *The Canadian* an exemplar of the development of the modern press in Canada.

*The Development of the Mass Media in Canada*

Chief among the social, economic, and cultural factors that contributed to the development of the mass media in Canada is the overall population growth that occurred in the country during the first half of the twentieth century. More specifically, it was the increase in the urban population that allowed for the media to blossom.<sup>3</sup> In 1901, only 37% of the Canadian population, then totalling 5,371,315, lived in urban centres. Due in large part to immigration, this percentage rose relatively steadily over the next few decades, and by 1951 had reached 62.9% of the overall population, which had climbed to 14,009,429.<sup>4</sup>

As David R. Hall and Garth S. Jowett note, this growth meant not only that the audience for newspapers, magazines, and other forms of mass media was guaranteed, but also that this audience was proximate; material could be distributed easily, without having to travel great distances. The assured financial basis provided by this urban audience, which by the late 1920s had passed the 50% mark, in turn subsidized the distribution of products to rural areas.<sup>5</sup>

As these authors further observe, the particular shape that the country's population growth took entailed an equally particular "pattern of acceptance" of the mass media – an acceptance which was different from that of the U.S. "It is generally assumed," they write, "that the two countries constitute one giant 'media monolith.' This is not in fact an accurate assumption, as each society has been subjected to different

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<sup>3</sup> David R. Hall and Garth S. Jowett, "The Growth of the Mass Media in Canada," in Benjamin D. Singer ed., *Communications in Canadian Society*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1995), 7-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 7. As Wilfrid Kesterton and Roger Bird explain, however, an unparalleled population boom occurred in the first decade of the twentieth century. The First World War put an end to the boom, yet the population continued to grow fairly consistently. See Wilfrid Kesterton and Roger Bird, "The Press in Canada: A Historical Overview," in Singer, 36.

<sup>5</sup> Hall and Jowett, 7-8.

pressures at different times in its history (...). For example, in the U.S. newspaper readership reached its peak in the 1920s, 30 years earlier than in Canada.”<sup>6</sup>

Other significant factors that would contribute to the flourishing of the mass media in general and of the press in particular are industrialization and the rise of literacy.<sup>7</sup> These, as Mary Vipond argues in *The Mass Media in Canada*, were part of a range of interconnected societal conditions that gave rise between 1850 and 1920 to the modernization of Canada.<sup>8</sup> The massive expansion of the railroad, starting in the 1850s, not only made the circulation of goods across vast territories possible, creating a network of distribution between urban centres and rural areas, but also stimulated the development of industry, as most of the equipment and machinery needed to build the railroad was made in Canada.<sup>9</sup>

The increase in industrial production brought a proliferation of factories, located principally in the cities, which created a new demand for workers: “Immigrants arriving from across the Atlantic and migrating rural Canadians began to swell the population of the cities and to find employment in their factories. Montreal grew from 144,000 to 360,000 between 1871 and 1901; Toronto expanded from 115,000 to 238,000 in the same period. By 1921 their populations were 618,500 and 522,000 respectively.”<sup>10</sup> The development of industry in Canada reached its apogee with the First World War and its stimulation of the manufacture of war-related products.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 8, 10.

<sup>7</sup> See Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: James Lortimer & Company Ltd., 2000), 6; and Jean de Bonville, *La presse québécoise de 1884 à 1914. Genèse d'un média de masse* (Quebec City: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988), 253-254.

<sup>8</sup> Vipond, 6, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 8-10.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 10.

With the increase of the workforce came a mounting desire to promote a democratic view of education.<sup>11</sup> Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, education was championed as an answer to the social problems generated by such rapid population growth, including poverty and crime. The aim was to encourage widespread literacy but also to provide the working population with a moral education. Literacy rates in Canada went from 70% in 1850 to 90% in 1900, and up to 95% in 1921. Although these statistics were not even throughout the country (and, when harvested, were not necessarily generated by the same criteria), it appears that in 1900 most Canadians were able to read and write, albeit at a basic level.<sup>12</sup>

These societal changes had occurred earlier in the U.S., and on a much greater scale. By the time the situation was ripe for Canadians to consume mass media products, the American press industry was well established and thriving. As a result of the “New Journalism” or “people’s press,” an approach that would take hold in the U.S. and Britain in the 1830s and 1840s, American newspapers had been transformed from partisan publications that catered to a select readership supporting specific political parties to business enterprises “geared more to the needs, interests and reading-level of the new urban masses.”<sup>13</sup> No longer riding on the back of political allegiance, modern newspapers functioned primarily through advertising, and were thus dependent upon ever-increasing circulation numbers (the greater the readership, the greater the advertising revenue).

The first newspaper of this kind to be published in Canada was the *Montreal Star*, which was founded in 1869. Several more Canadian popular dailies were launched in the

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 11-12. Vipond warns, however, that the available statistics are “less than perfect.”

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 14. On the adoption of the New Journalism in Canada, see Paul Rutherford, “The People’s Press: The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-99,” *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 56, no. 2 (1975): 169-191.

1870s and 1880s, all, according to Vipond, based on the successful American model: that is, they were politically independent, inexpensive, intended primarily for the urban market, and straightforward both in style and content.<sup>14</sup> Judging by their circulation numbers, which had in several cases reached the hundreds of thousands by 1920, these newspapers satisfied the Canadian appetite for a domestic form of mass media.

The same shift from a select to a widespread readership occurred in the magazine industry, which, as Fraser Sutherland put it in his 1989 study of the subject – underwent a transformation from “class to mass.” According to Sutherland, it was in the first decade of the twentieth century that the “growth of mass magazines in Canada, and of the corporate structures to support them” began, and its driving force was John Bayne Maclean.<sup>15</sup> In the U.S., this transformation had taken place in the last decade of the nineteenth century, when such magazine publishing magnates as Frank A. Munsey, owner of *Munsey’s Magazine*, and S. S. McClure, founder of *McClure’s Magazine*, had provoked a revolution by selling their general-interest, consumer magazines for a mere 10 cents, thus forcing other publications of the type to follow suit (and to drop their prices even lower).<sup>16</sup> Such affordable periodicals came to take over approximately 85% of the U.S. magazine market.<sup>17</sup> Maclean, who, by the early 1890s was already publishing a few specialized trade magazines, met both Munsey and McClure on a trip to New York in 1893, and as Sutherland relates, “the examples of both men were not lost” on him:

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<sup>14</sup> Vipond, 16-17.

<sup>15</sup> Sutherland, 129.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Desbarats, “The Special Role of Magazines in the History of Canadian Mass Media and National Development,” in Benjamin D. Singer ed., *Communications in Canadian Society* (Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1995), 77.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*



eight years later he would found the *The Busy Man's Magazine*, which would become *Maclean's* in 1911.<sup>18</sup>

Yet it was not until the 1920s that Canadian publishers were able to compete with the likes of Munsey and McClure. Several circumstances precluded this, including the relatively small size of the Canadian buying public, high distribution costs, and the still developing industrial economy. But perhaps most significant is the fact that American mass magazines were already extremely popular in Canada.<sup>19</sup> It is estimated that by 1925, for every Canadian-made magazine bought, eight were imported from the U.S.<sup>20</sup> This statistic is not surprising, given that Canadian newsstands had, since the 1880s, been largely under the control of the American News Company.<sup>21</sup> The U.S. magazines that were the most successful in Canada were of the general-interest type, since their contents were not, on the surface, culturally or politically specific; they were made to appeal to a uniformly middle-class yet heterogeneous public, and so contained a diversity of content that could potentially please everyone.

It was in the mid- to late-1920s that the shift from “class to mass” became apparent in the Canadian magazine industry. New mass magazines were launched, and already established periodicals were altered, both in form and content, in order to match the allure of the prosperous American competitors. In May 1924, *The Canadian*, which, before having been taken over by the Hugh C. Maclean Company in January of 1926 had been produced by the Ontario Publishing Company, began undergoing such a major transformation. Edited between 1906 and 1926 by journalist, art historian, and critic

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<sup>18</sup> Sutherland, 132-133.

<sup>19</sup> According to Sutherland, the bestselling American periodicals in mid-1920s Canada were the *Ladies Home Journal*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Pictorial Review*, and *McCall's Magazine*. See *ibid.*, 114.

<sup>20</sup> Desbarats, 78.

<sup>21</sup> Vipond, 23.

Newton MacTavish (1875-1941), the monthly periodical had been a predominantly text-based magazine that offered articles on Canadian and international current affairs, as well as Canadian history. Images were few, and those that did appear frequently reproduced works by contemporary Canadian artists like Lawren Harris, Clarence Gagnon, and Emily Coonan, or photographs of Canadian pastoral scenes by American photographer Edith S. Watson (figs. 2.1-2.2).<sup>22</sup> These images were generally presented simply (either alone on the page or, when combined, in a grid), as were the typographic layouts, which followed a standard template.

The most obvious formal change was to the magazine's size, which went from 24 x 17 cm to 36 x 27 cm. Photographs gradually became more prevalent, a steady growth that would occur between the mid-1920s and the mid-1930s. The multiplication of advertisements over this same period contributed significantly to the presence of photographic imagery in the magazine. Aside from those appearing in advertisements, which were interspersed throughout, the majority of the photographs were contained within a dozen or so pages within each issue. The graphic layouts also became more adventurous, as they were used as expressive devices designed to grab readers' attention by rendering photographic and textual content more visually dynamic (fig. 2.3). Other kinds of illustrations, which were normally reserved for the front cover and accompanied the literature sections of the magazine, were frequently printed in colour, as were some of the advertisements (figs. 2.4-2.6).

These formal changes were the result of important technological advances that transformed the newspaper and magazine industries in the second half of the nineteenth-

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<sup>22</sup> On Watson's photographic travels to Canada, see Anna Maria Carlevaris, "Edith S. Watson and *Romantic Canada* (1922)," *History of Photography*, vol. 20, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 163-165.

century, in Canada and elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> The introduction of rotary presses in the 1850s, for one, allowed material to be printed at an extremely cost-effective, rapid pace. The invention of the linotype machine in the 1890s meant that typesetting (a previously time-consuming manual operation in which letters would be arranged one-by-one) could be done much more easily and quickly. Furthermore, improvements from the 1860s onward in the quality and availability of cheap paper also meant that production costs were substantially lowered. However, because the new presses and linotype machines were tremendous investments (the *Montreal Star*, for example, spent \$42,000 on fourteen linotype machines in 1898), it became necessary to maintain production – and consumption – rates at a high level.<sup>24</sup> With regard to images, the invention in the 1880s and dominance by the 1900s of the halftone print meant that photographs could henceforth be printed – cheaply and swiftly – on a curved plate and thus on a rotary press, alongside text.<sup>25</sup>

*The Canadian's* transformation into a mass magazine was also achieved through its content, which was now aimed at a wider, more heterogeneous audience. A systematic reading of all issues published between 1925 and 1939 suggests that variety was editorial policy: the magazine offered a smorgasbord of articles on such diverse topics as history, politics, travel, industrial development, fashion, hygiene, housekeeping, interior decoration, sport, physical culture, celebrity culture, cinema, radio, architecture, art, poetry, literature, and human interest stories. The modus operandi was to present content

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<sup>23</sup> Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, Chicago, and London: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 5-6.

<sup>24</sup> Vipond, 21.

<sup>25</sup> Bryan Dewalt, "Printing Technology," in Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockhart Fleming, and Fiona A. Black eds., *History of the Book in Canada, Volume 2, 1840-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 89-101; Richard Benson, *The Printed Picture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008), 222, 224.

that would be deemed entertaining but was also varied enough to interest readers of different genders, age groups, occupations, and cultural backgrounds. The magazine's most consistent feature, aside from the pictures of pretty girls that would regularly appear on its covers (figs. 2.7-2.8), was the literature section, which took up approximately half to two-thirds of every issue (which totalled, on average, about 50 pages). In this *The Canadian* does not differ from the other five magazines studied: popular literature, printed in the form of short or serialized stories, was the motor that kept Canadian mass magazines of this era running.<sup>26</sup>

The magazine's desire to please a mass of readers is reflected in its changing subtitle around the turn of the 1930s, which included: "A Monthly for Everybody" (1929), "All Canadian and Different" (1930), "Of Interest to Everyone in the Family" (1930), "A Monthly for All Good Canadians" (1930), "A Quality Magazine for the Home" (1931), and "The Family Magazine of Canada" (1931). These repetitive affirmations of *The Canadian's* mass appeal were dropped from the cover in 1932, perhaps an indication that the periodical's aspirations had been realized. Based on the circulation numbers that the magazine itself published, often in advertisements soliciting subscriptions, it was indeed very quickly acquiring a mass status: an advertisement published in 1930 states that in 1927 the magazine had a circulation of 30,757; in 1928

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<sup>26</sup> Among the (still too few) studies that have investigated the dissemination of popular literature in mass-circulation Canadian magazines during the first half of the twentieth century, see Michelle Smith, "Mainstream Magazines, Middlebrow Fiction, and Leslie Gordon Barnard's 'The Winter Road,'" *Studies in Canadian Literature/Études en littérature canadienne*, vol. 37, no. 1 (2012): 7-30; Michelle Smith, "Model Nation: Identity and Citizenship in Canadian Women's Mass-market Magazines, 1928-45," PhD diss., University of Alberta, 2007; and Marie-Josée Des Rivières, Carole Gerson, and Denis Saint-Jacques, "Women's Magazines," in Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon eds., *History of the Book in Canada, Volume 3, 1918-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 248-251. On the literature published in *The Canadian Magazine*, see the research observations of Peter Webb in "Proto-Modernism in the Canadian Magazine," *Editing Modernism in Canada* website, <http://editingmodernism.ca/2011/05/proto-modernism-in-the-canadian-magazine/> (accessed January 9, 2013).

the numbers had grown to 55,971; in 1929 they had climbed to 87,768; and in 1930 *The Canadian* was “reaching over 90,000 homes.”<sup>27</sup> These numbers would eventually in 1939 pass the 137,000 mark.<sup>28</sup>

High circulation numbers were essential for the publication’s survival. While the newsstand price of individual issues suggests competition with other publications – in 1926 it went from 25 cents to 15 cents, and in 1928 it was again lowered to 10 cents, where it would remain for the next eleven years – these sales were not the key. In fact, it was more important that the number of pre-paid subscriptions (which cost \$1.00 per year throughout the 1930s) be high, because it provided advertisers with a guarantee that the magazine – and its advertisements – would be seen and read by a large segment of the buying public. A loyal readership was thus crucial to the magazine’s continued ability to sell advertising space. Mary Vipond’s remark about early twentieth-century newspapers is equally pertinent to magazines: “a double transaction was taking place: publishers were simultaneously selling newspapers to readers and selling audiences to advertisers. The former occurred for the sake of the latter.”<sup>29</sup>

The symptoms of such a transaction can be witnessed in another consistent feature of *The Canadian*, one that is demonstrably characteristic of all publications of this type: the explicit intra-textual dialogue between the magazine and its readers. In all of the periodicals investigated, the “voice” of the magazine – which is usually personified by the figure of the editor-in-chief but which may also include the owner/publisher and occasionally certain prominent journalists – is expressed as a self-conscious ‘we’ that

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<sup>27</sup> “Reaching Over 90,000 Homes,” *The Canadian Magazine*, July 1930, 27.

<sup>28</sup> “The Canadian Magazine Suspends Publication,” *The Canadian Magazine*, April 1939, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Vipond, 20.

addresses a ‘you’: the body of readers.<sup>30</sup> This mode of address is found in advertisements of the kind cited above (which asks the reader: “Do You Realize How Steadily THE CANADIAN Has Been Growing?”) and is present in a variety of articles, but it is most obvious in the editorial pages that introduce the contents of each issue.

For example, in a November 1928 editorial that discusses the success of Canadian author Arthur Hunt Chute in the U.S., Joseph Lister Rutledge, the editor of the magazine from 1928 onward, wrote:

That raises the point that we have raised before – the fact that Canadian writers are making a sound place for themselves, not in Canadian magazines alone, but in the most highly competitive magazine field in the world, across the line [i.e. in the U.S.]. Unfortunately we Canadians are undoubtedly bitten by a form of inferiority complex. ‘Canadian authors?’ we say, with just a slight inflection that points the question in our mind. (...) And so we repeat, Canada is producing writers who can compete in any market. You don’t have to go afield to read good fiction. You can read it in your own Canadian Magazines and you can, at the same time, encourage the development of a real spirit of Canadian nationality.<sup>31</sup>

There is some slippage, in this passage and in the rest of the editorial, among the referents for which ‘we’ and ‘you’ are meant to stand: the ‘we’ is Rutledge (and the magazine), but it is Canadians too; the ‘you’ is the reader, and it is also Canadians. This is surely not accidental, for the result is a close identification of the producer with the consumer; the magazine spoke to its readers, yet it also spoke for them.

As Sutherland reflects in the quote cited as this chapter’s epigraph, the flow between a magazine and its readers is not one-way. In the case of *The Canadian*, the space in which readers could potentially respond was substantial. Beginning in 1930, a

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<sup>30</sup> Jordana Mendelson has reflected upon the self-consciousness of magazines and their relationship with readers. See Jordana Mendelson, *Revistas Y Guerra/Magazines and War, 1936-1939* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 2007), 349.

<sup>31</sup> Joseph Lister Rutledge, *The Canadian Magazine*, November 1928, 3. On the success of Canadian authors in the American literary market at the turn of the century, see Nick Mount, *When Canadian Literature Moved to New York* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

regular item of the magazine was a page entitled “Mister Editor,” which was consistently included at the back and printed dozens of letters sent in by readers. Most were signed with their author’s initials (and place of residence), and each was followed by a short reply from Rutledge. As time went on, readers began to react not only to the contents of the magazine, but also to each other, engaging in dialogues that could span several issues.

One letter, printed in August 1932 and signed anonymously as “100% Canadian,” provoked a ton of reactions that were published in the following months. The initial letter’s subject is particularly germane to this chapter, and therefore bears reproducing in its entirety:

Dear Editor: I have been receiving but not reading your magazine for the past year. It is terrible, and it is great to be able to obtain something good from the good old U.S.A. occasionally.

Give credit to the American people who are making your publication possible and cut out this “All Canadian” bunk and give credit where credit is due.

100% Canadian, *Halifax, N.S.*

The reaction – almost to the dismay of Rutledge, who seemed to prefer debate to consensus – was uniformly against the opinion of “100% Canadian.” Readers’ appreciation of “Mister Editor” also appears to have been unanimous, judging by the passionate response when, in November 1936, Rutledge made the mistake of suggesting that the page be discontinued.<sup>32</sup> Despite these agreements, however, the feature was a space where opinion was divided and criticism could be unsparing.

Another explicit interaction between magazines and their readers came in the form of market surveys. *Le Samedi* and *La Revue populaire*, the periodicals produced in

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<sup>32</sup> Many readers affirmed that they turned to the “Mister Editor” page first. One particularly dramatic individual from London, Ontario wrote: “What, No ‘Mister Editor!’ The first sought page in the best magazine in Canada? What made you suggest this could be allowed without a national wail? We have nothing like it in the land and never will have anything to equal your replies. Never.” See “Mister Editor,” *The Canadian Magazine*, January 1937, 48.

Montreal by Poirier, Bessette & Cie, would occasionally ask readers to send in answers to questions about the kind of products they bought (in order to solicit the appropriate advertisers), but also on their reading habits, and both were justified by a desire to satisfy customers. For example, in a lengthy questionnaire published in the September 21, 1935 issue of *Le Samedi* (fig. 2.9), the editor-in-chief, Fernand de Verneuil (1880-?), reasoned: “LE SAMEDI has but a single goal: to appeal to every one of its readers, man or woman. In order to appeal to them, however, we must know their tastes. So we are taking the liberty of questioning each of you about your likes and dislikes.”<sup>33</sup>

In another example, from the July 1937 issue of *La Revue populaire*, editor-in-chief Jean Chauvin (1895-1958) asked readers to send in their thoughts on all the different features of the magazine, and even inquired into what they did with it once they had finished reading (fig. 2.10). The answers provided in the particular questionnaire reproduced here, which was filled out but not sent, reveals that although the reader was not a subscriber, they appreciated most aspects of the magazine and stored it carefully in a “coffre à revues.”<sup>34</sup> Questionnaires thus gave a concrete dimension to the dialogue between a periodical and its readers, and simultaneously made clear the dependence of the former on the latter.

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<sup>33</sup> “LE SAMEDI n’a qu’un but : plaire à chacun de ses lecteurs et chacune de ses lectrices. Encore faut-il, pour leur plaire, qu’il connaisse leurs goûts. Nous prenons donc la liberté d’interroger chacun de vous sur les choses qu’il aime et sur celles qu’il n’aime pas.” My trans. “Enquête chez nos lecteurs et lectrices,” *Le Samedi*, September 21, 1935, 48. Note that the ‘we’ and ‘you’ mode of address is present here as well.

<sup>34</sup> It is not uncommon to find material evidence of readers in the magazines now stored in library collections. Over the course of my research, I have found numerous budgets and shopping lists scribbled on front covers, illustrations of bathing beauties rendered anatomically correct, crossword puzzles completed, advertisements and images cut out, and entire pages removed. Even when their owners conserved them in boxes, it is clear that these magazines were actively used.



### *The Discourse of Canadianism*

Magazines like *The Canadian* were intended to reach a widespread, national audience, and so endeavoured to speak to – and in the name of – “all Canadians.” Although a sense of nationalism was apparent well before the monthly was bought by the Hugh C. Maclean Company, the discourse of Canadianism as it emerged in the mid-1920s was a key ingredient in *The Canadian*’s transformation into a mass magazine. This discourse was especially vocalized by Rutledge, the Irish-born journalist and author who would eventually publish a book on early Canadian history.<sup>35</sup> From the moment he took up the post of editor in January 1928, the magazine’s nationalist stance was proclaimed with renewed enthusiasm. As this issue’s editorial, which was signed by Hugh Maclean and introduced the new editor to readers, states:

THE CANADIAN MAGAZINE enters upon the coming year with a new and aggressive policy of development. (...) More than ever The Canadian Magazine will strive to justify its name. It will be our policy to represent the Canadian spirit, and to foster and encourage a wholesome belief in ourselves. (...) It will deal with Canadian achievements in literature and art and industry and science, and with the romantic background of our Canadian history. It will, in a word, endeavour to give a full and truthful picture of Canadian life.<sup>36</sup>

Rutledge seems to have taken this policy to heart, and over the next eleven years he would work – against some odds – to sustain the energy with which it is posited here.

The discourse of Canadianism was expressed in two different tones – the one offensive and the other defensive. The offensive strategy was to use the magazine as a space where Canadian culture could be promoted. While Canadian achievements in the fields of art, science and industry were regularly showcased in articles and photo-essays,

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<sup>35</sup> See Joseph Lister Rutledge, *Century of Conflict: The Struggle Between the French and British in Colonial America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956). He also wrote a short history of the Maclean-Hunter company: see *The Story of Maclean-Hunter: 60 Years* (Toronto: Maclean-Hunter, 1947).

<sup>36</sup> Hugh C. Maclean, “A Word About Ourselves,” *The Canadian Magazine*, January 1928, 3.

it was most notably literature that was at the centre of the Canadianist stance. As it was popular literature that kept the magazine's audience coming back for more, Rutledge made it his – and therefore the magazine's – goal to support Canadian authors by publishing a majority of stories by local talent. Among the authors whose work consistently appeared in the magazine were Will R. Bird, Hugh B. Cave, Beryl Gray, Dorothy Purcell Lewis, N. de Bertrand Lugrin, and Anne Elizabeth Wilson. This emphasis on homegrown literature was an anomaly in the industry, which meant that *The Canadian* could publicize itself as different and as performing a valuable national duty for the benefit of its readers.

Of obvious concern to Rutledge was the fact that many gifted Canadian authors were leaving their country of origin and establishing themselves in the U.S., thus continuing the literary expatriation movement begun in the late-nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup> As a result, his definition of what constitutes a Canadian was not based on birth, but on adoption: as he wrote in the August 1928 editorial, “we believe that our field is Canada and the men who have achieved here, whether they be Canadian born, or sprung from other lands. These are the essential Canadians, the people who are helping to make a worthwhile land.”<sup>38</sup>

Describing further the Canadianist policy of the magazine via the promotion of Canadian culture, Rutledge declared, in 1932:

We believe that the development of Canadian literature and art is of vital importance to Canada. And we also sincerely believe that there is ample material of first quality available if Canadian editors have the insight to find it. If the editors of English and United States publications can discover, as they have done, innumerable Canadian writings of outstanding quality, then it might be possible for Canadian editors to do

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<sup>37</sup> Mount, 6.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph Lister Rutledge, *The Canadian Magazine*, August 1928, 3.

the same. It is on that very simple and precise concept that we have based the policy of *The Canadian Magazine*. It is a policy that does not base itself on any narrow idea that there is not good and interesting material available elsewhere, but merely on the thought that there are plenty of voices speaking for those others and few enough speaking for Canada alone. And the aim of this publication is to be an authentic Canadian voice.<sup>39</sup>

His position was that Canadian authors need not go abroad or depend on foreign publications in order to make a living if they are adequately supported in their own country, through channels such as *The Canadian*. Behind his productive advocacy of local authors, in other words, lay a fear that Canadian literature – and, by extension, identity – would be overwhelmed by louder, more dominant cultures. Periodicals, from this point of view, were seen as having the potential to both dissipate and strengthen Canadian identity: within the context of U.S. magazines, Canadian literature risked being lost in the fray, whereas within Canadian ones, it could embody and communicate a national spirit.

When it came to supporting the visual arts, *The Canadian* continued Newton MacTavish's tradition of reproducing works by contemporary Canadian artists, though it did so more sporadically. The most overt visual presence of Canadianism in the magazine was located on the covers, which (aside from featuring pretty girls) occasionally represented such standard fare as winter views, outdoor sports, pastoral scenes, and Canadian "types" (figs. 2.11-2.17). These were signed by one of the handful of illustrators regularly used, which included William Book, J. F. Clymer, Lydia Fraser, N. de Grandmaison, Carl Shreve, and Stanley Smith. The romance of these images seems not to have been appreciated by all, as one reader, reacting to the March 1932 cover illustration of a "Quebec Sugar Camp" (fig. 2.15), condemned its lack of connection to

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<sup>39</sup> Joseph Lister Rutledge, *The Canadian Magazine*, June 1932, 52.

reality. Rutledge's response to this letter in the following issue's editorial was that he preferred the ideal view shown in this image to the "actual fact of a very modern, very scientific and unromantically sanitary industry."<sup>40</sup>

Still, *The Canadian* was presented as being able to strengthen identity by providing its readers with a consistent representation of what it meant to be Canadian – in all its multifariousness. The idea of national unity despite internal geographical, political and cultural differences was a key element of the discourse and was closely tied to the perceived role of the magazine. Reflecting, in an editorial from June 1929, upon the divergent opinions of readers with regard to the accuracy of a previously published illustration of a Canadian winter scene, Rutledge stated that he did not wish to pursue the debate, but remarked on "how wide a difference there is between Canadian and Canadian, and how vastly the very physical experiences of one differ from those of the other. Surely if this sobering thought suggests anything it is the need of some unifying voice (...). It is just such a mission that *The Canadian* has set itself – to be an apostle of a newer and larger Canadianism."<sup>41</sup>

Rutledge's thoughts on the unifying role of the magazine were crystallized and explained in a lengthy editorial published in January 1936, entitled "Magazines and National Unity" (fig. 2.18). It is significant that early on in his argument he refers to the railway and the perception, in the moments leading up to Confederation, that it would have the power to consolidate vast lands and diverse people. The danger was that without such a unifying force, "eyes would naturally turn southward, to a neighbour already growing rich and powerful, a neighbour nearer at hand than any part of our own budding

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<sup>40</sup> Joseph Lister Rutledge, *The Canadian Magazine*, April 1932, 52.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Lister Rutledge, *The Canadian Magazine*, June 1929, 3.

nation.”<sup>42</sup> A new danger, Rutledge argued, was now threatening to disintegrate the Canadian people, and that was the American mass media: “Radio, moving pictures, the influx of foreign books and periodicals, all produced primarily for another audience that serves a different set of loyalties; these are among the forces that have surged across the border. We cannot deny their influence; we cannot determine or control their character.”<sup>43</sup> Because of Canada’s proximity to the U.S., and because the two shared a common language, “we are subject,” he wrote, “to the whole weight of the spoken or written word, of a nation more than ten times as vast as ours.”<sup>44</sup>

The editor was quick to dispel the suspicion that he was prejudiced against publications coming from the south (or that his position was effectively anti-American). His grievances had rather to do with the intended audience of such publications; because they were addressed to the American public and reflected its ways of thought, beliefs, and traditions, they would necessarily be detrimental to Canadian readers wishing to hold on to their own. The trouble was not the superiority of the foreign point of view, but the sheer volume of publications entering the country. “True,” he advanced, “we may hear without agreeing in every particular but, human nature being what it is, where there are a thousand voices shouting one thing and only a modest few shouting another it is our tendency to accept the din for the truth.”<sup>45</sup>

Yet a counteractive force akin to the railroad existed in the form of the Canadian press. Newspapers, according to Rutledge, were able to challenge some of this din, but

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<sup>42</sup> Joseph Lister Rutledge, “Magazines and National Unity: An Authentic Canadian Voice Speaking from Coast to Coast, is Our Best Hope for a United People,” *The Canadian Magazine*, January 1936, 14.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* It is interesting to note that the presence of British publications in Canada is not portrayed as a problem. In fact, the influence of British politics and modes of thought is instead something that must also be protected from the contradictory standpoint presented in U.S. periodicals. As a rule, however, Rutledge seems to have held the view that Canada’s independence from Britain was favourable to Canadians.

their potential was limited because they were intrinsically geared toward specific city- or town-based audiences. Magazines, however, had the full potential to provide the Canadian public with a sense of unity and of cultural synthesis. As he asserted:

It has remained for the national magazine to take this influence, broaden it, give it a denominator common to Nova Scotia and British Columbia, and Quebec; to become the national voice, speaking to the whole nation, helping to hold together widely divergent interests, to be the interpreter of one section of Canada to another, to become an active force set against all those disintegrating influences that spring from our geographical position.<sup>46</sup>

The editorial was not published purely as an opinion piece, but was a kind of call to arms, or a general request for assistance from *The Canadian's* readers, who responded in full force in the pages of "Mister Editor" over the next few months. Rutledge's reply to three corroborating letters, printed in the February 1936 issue, went as follows: "We have been not a little surprised at the warmth of support our modest article has received. A multitude of letters have reached us from people in all walks of life, adding their support to the idea that Canada should have a national viewpoint of her own and that Canadian magazines are an important factor in achieving that end."<sup>47</sup>

An interesting and, as will later emerge, consequential pendant to the conviction that magazines had a uniting power is how Rutledge considered the medium itself. There was, firstly, an acknowledged division between the form and the content of the magazine. Secondly, the form – how a magazine looked, how it communicated, the basic themes explored therein – was thought to be characteristically American and, crucially, of universal appeal. It was in the content, therefore, that Canadianism could be articulated; it

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> "Mister Editor," *The Canadian Magazine*, February 1936, 48.

was because editors such as Rutledge addressed a specifically Canadian audience that the purported American form of the magazine could be used for nationalistic purposes.

This perception of the medium is made explicit in the October 1936 editorial, entitled “What is a Canadian?” Rutledge explained:

It is obvious that as magazine editors we must draw many suggestions and ideas from the great publications across the line. The magazine as a medium of entertainment originated there, and there has come to full fruition. There have been tested out many of the new ideas, that are not sectional but psychological, that gain a response not from Americans alone or Britons or Canadians, but from all humanity. (...) Canadian magazines, then, are likely to look not unlike American magazines, just as many British magazines have assumed the same style without losing their identity. (...) It isn't the outward form that makes a Canadian publication Canadian. It isn't even that all its material deals with definitely Canadian affairs. It is that whatever universality may be achieved must be qualified by the instincts of an individual people.<sup>48</sup>

The significance, for the present chapter and indeed for this thesis as a whole, of the perceived analytical division between form and content cannot be overstated. Put simply, it encapsulates the ostensible contradiction within Canadian magazines between an unequivocally nationalist discourse and an apparently unabashed embrace of non-Canadian photographic imagery. To Rutledge, *it was how and for whom content was framed that mattered*. The implications of this philosophy are profound.

The exploitation of the medium of the mass magazine for nationalistic ends was a strategy, furthermore, that was employed in an effort to counteract not only the cultural, but also the economic and moral impacts of the great influx of U.S. periodicals, which, by 1925, were entering the country at a rate of fifty million copies per year.<sup>49</sup> The economic dimension of the discourse of Canadianism was advanced especially by the

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<sup>48</sup> Joseph Lister Rutledge, “What is a Canadian?,” *The Canadian Magazine*, October 1936, 1.

<sup>49</sup> Vipond, 26. Considering the total population of Canada in 1931 was a mere 10,376,786, this is an astounding amount of magazines.

Canadian National Newspapers and Periodicals Association, whose public service announcements appeared intermittently in *The Canadian* (as well as in *Chatelaine* and *Maclean's*) from the late 1920s to the late-1930s (figs 2.19-2.20).

These announcements focused largely on the economic injustices being suffered by the Canadian press, which can be resumed as follows: whereas foreign publications entered the country free of duty and tax, Canadian publishers were required to pay duties and taxes on all the materials and equipment needed to produce periodicals, including paper, on which 25 to 35 percent duties were charged, in addition to a 2 percent sales tax.<sup>50</sup> Also, much of the plant equipment required for printing was not made in Canada and so needed to be imported at high cost: aside from presses and linotype machines, which were duty free, duties ranging between 10 and 27.5 percent were charged, in addition to a 4 percent sales tax. It appears, as well, that Canadian manufacturers of raw materials charged more to Canadian buyers than to foreign companies. These conditions, combined with the fact that domestic periodicals were made in comparatively small quantities and thus demanded as much work for less profit, meant that Canadians were consistently disadvantaged as compared to American publishers.

In the mid-1920s, publishers began to demand that Mackenzie King's Liberal government impose a magazine tariff. The Canadian National Newspapers and Periodicals Association, as stated in an announcement printed in the February 1928 issue of *The Canadian* (fig. 2.21), also demanded that the government grant a "drawback of

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<sup>50</sup> One would assume that in Canada, with its thriving pulp and paper industry, the cost of paper would have been low. However, because the industries producing raw materials exported their products at a lower cost than that at which it was sold internally, high taxes and duties were imposed on paper in Canada (25% to 35% in 1928). The material was thus more expensive for Canadian publishers than for their foreign competitors. Manufactured paper, in the form of magazines, then re-entered the country free of tax and duties. On the history of the paper industry in Canada, see also Dewalt, 98-101.



99% of the duty applying on the equipment and raw materials used in the production of Canadian periodicals.”<sup>51</sup> The call for a tariff, which was brought to the Advisory Board on Tariff and Taxation in 1926, involved imposing a duty on the advertising pages of foreign publications, which would have resulted in a slight increase in their price. The Liberals were opposed to the tariff (and indeed to tariffs in general), yet they attempted to appease the industry by slightly reducing the postal rates for magazine distribution, and by granting, in 1928, an 80 percent drawback on duties on some printing materials.<sup>52</sup>

More substantial economic support came when Conservative leader R. B. Bennett became Prime Minister of Canada in 1930.<sup>53</sup> The following year the Conservative government enforced a tariff on American magazines based on the rate of advertising matter each contained. According to Sutherland, “U.S. magazines with contents of more than twenty percent advertising were taxed on a per-copy basis; fiction, feature and comic magazines were charged per pound.”<sup>54</sup> This new measure had a direct impact on the circulation of American magazines in Canada, which, over the next four years, decreased by 62 percent; Canadian magazines, meanwhile, increased their circulation by approximately the same amount.<sup>55</sup> When the Liberal government took control again in October 1935, Mackenzie King did away with the tariff, but would continue to appease the industry by giving a 50 percent drawback on duties on paper and removing the duty on printing plates.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> “Canada Taxes Only Its Own Periodicals,” *The Canadian Magazine*, February 1928, 37.

<sup>52</sup> Sutherland, 115.

<sup>53</sup> On the differing attitudes to federal support of the periodical press by the Liberals and Conservatives, see Ryan Edwardson, *Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 43-45.

<sup>54</sup> Sutherland, 115.

<sup>55</sup> Desbarats, 80.

<sup>56</sup> Sutherland, 115.

It is also against this political backdrop that Rutledge's editorial "Magazines and National Unity," which was published three months after Mackenzie King's return to power, should be considered. In this article Rutledge echoed the injustices identified in the Canadian National Newspapers and Periodicals Association announcements and argued that publishers are entitled, to the same extent as other Canadian businesses, to governmental protection in the form of tariffs. In the last paragraph, subtitled "Who Suffers Most?," he answered candidly that it is not publishers but the nation who will pay the price:

Canadian publications may suffer from the special privileges enjoyed by United States publications. But that is not the point. The point is that Canada will suffer more. Canadian publications have, however, in the past few years achieved a strength and influence that no tariff handicap can overcome, and they can face the future with a greater equanimity than we as a people can face the fact that an added stimulation may be given to forces that are inimical to our interests as a nation.<sup>57</sup>

Apart from anything else, the magazine's readers must have understood Rutledge's editorial as a clear repudiation of the Liberal party's Free Trade policy between Canada and the U.S.<sup>58</sup>

It was apparently for economic reasons that *The Canadian* eventually suspended publication in April 1939. The last editorial states that in 1937 the magazine's ownership was transferred from Hugh C. Maclean Publications Limited to Canadian Magazines Limited, "who provided further capital in an endeavour to make the publication of more value to Canada and of some profit to themselves" (fig. 2.22).<sup>59</sup> The transfer did not

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<sup>57</sup> Rutledge, "Magazines and National Unity," 14.

<sup>58</sup> Overall *The Canadian* does not seem to have sided too conspicuously with the Conservative party; however, the general manager, Andrew D. Maclean, did write a biography of R. B. Bennett, which was advertised in the magazine. See Andrew D. Maclean, *R. B. Bennett, Prime Minister of Canada* (Toronto: Excelsior Publishing Co., 1935).

<sup>59</sup> "The Canadian Magazine Suspends Publication," *The Canadian Magazine*, April 1939, 3.

produce the desired effect, however, and the magazine had no choice but to fold “because of unfair legislation, mounting costs and dumping of great quantities of foreign magazines,” and this despite a last-ditch effort in the form of an injection of cash from Hugh C. Maclean Publications Limited.<sup>60</sup> “It has not been easy to reach this decision,” the editors wrote, “but as long as the studied policy of those in power at Ottawa remains definitely hostile to effective national publications, there can be neither commensurate profit nor satisfaction in producing magazines edited exclusively for the benefit of Canadians.”<sup>61</sup> Although changeovers and suspensions are common occurrences in magazine publishing, *The Canadian*’s final words made it clear that the campaign its producers had helped wage had not been successful.

The moral aspect of the discourse of Canadianism was closely tied to the cultural and the economic, in that it also invoked the negative repercussions on Canadians of the great influx of U.S. periodicals, which, as a whole, were believed to be of questionable morality. Although specific titles are never referred to explicitly, the American magazines alluded to – and deemed archetypal – were of the sensationalist variety: magazines, like *True Detective* or *True Romances*, which were devoted to popular fiction intended to thrill the minds and bodies of their readers.<sup>62</sup>

In June 1926, shortly after it was taken over by Hugh Maclean, *The Canadian* printed an advertisement for the publication that made the point explicit (fig. 2.23).

Beneath the reproduction of a watercolour of the Athabasca River, the following warning

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> On the development of the Canadian pulp-magazine industry during World War II, see Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo, “Canadian Pulp Magazines and Second World War Regulations,” in Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon eds., *History of the Book in Canada, Volume 3, 1918-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 255-258.

to Canadian parents was issued: “Your Son’s Future is In Your Hands.” Deliberating on parents’ role in the education of children, the advertisement implored:

But, what ideas, what morality do you and your children expose yourselves to in your reading? Do you have on the library table printed words that you would find impossible to repeat in the hearing of decent men and women? How much of this laxity in morals, that we hear so much about today, is due to the disgusting pictures and sensuous stories that are printed in the foreign magazines that clog our news-stands? You, as a Canadian, must protect your family from the morals of the streetwalker and business standards of a Ponzi. Mr. Parent. Read what you wish in the train, but have on your table at home magazines that amuse and instruct, but harm not the morals nor curb the righteous ambition of your children.<sup>63</sup>

The focus, here, is on the censorship that was to be carried out on an individual basis: that the newsstands were being clogged by distasteful material was an incontrovertible reality that could only be challenged by reading – at least in the home – principled Canadian magazines. Buying Canadian, in other words, was an act that would simultaneously promote cultural unity, economic independence, and moral rectitude. Since the federal government was doing little to counteract the influx of foreign periodicals, *The Canadian* put the responsibility onto its readers.

From the evidence found in the “Mister Editor” pages, it seems that these readers largely (though not unanimously) believed the magazine to be morally correct, and frequently superior to other publications. A woman from Toronto, for instance, wrote that she found the magazine “clean, interesting, and educative,” and was “not ashamed to be seen reading it on the street car or to have it on [her] table in full view of any visitors.”<sup>64</sup> Echoing her sentiments, a reader from Montreal declared that *The Canadian* was “interesting, instructive and clean, from cover to cover, and the kind one likes to

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<sup>63</sup> “Your Son’s Future is In Your Hands,” *The Canadian Magazine*, June 1926, n.p. (inside back cover).

<sup>64</sup> “Mister Editor,” *The Canadian Magazine*, December 1937, 56.

introduce into our Canadian homes, not full of dirty, so-called, sex problems, like so many magazines of today.”<sup>65</sup> One reader from Medicine Hat, Alberta, commented specifically on the abundant murder stories found in U.S. periodicals, and expressed the hope that “Canadian editors are not going to copy the policy of those across the line. The trash some of them print is a subtle poison producing results.”<sup>66</sup> Another reader, from Sherbrooke, writing approvingly on *The Canadian*’s historical features, complained: “What makes me sore is the way Yankee syndicates flood most of our magazine sections every week with junk about Hollywood and actors and lurid tripe, and the big papers pass up all the wealth of early historical stuff lying right inside the country.”<sup>67</sup> The magazine thus appeared to provide a welcome alternative from the predominantly sensationalist popular press.

There were those, however, who did consider the magazine morally questionable (and to conclude, based on the opinions reported above, that it was entirely beyond reproach would be a mistake). It printed its share of romance and murder stories, included many articles on Hollywood actors, and reproduced illustrations and photographs that may well have brought the accepted standards of nudity in national publications forward (fig 2.24).<sup>68</sup> One reader from Shedden, Ontario, taking issue specifically with the nature of the fiction, wrote:

I subscribed for your magazine some time ago. At that time I particularly asked your agent if the contents would be free of the loose moral stories and sensual stuff so common in modern novels. He said that nothing of the sort would be published. Some six or more copies have come to hand, and

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<sup>65</sup> “Mister Editor,” *The Canadian Magazine*, July 1937, 52.

<sup>66</sup> “Mister Editor,” *The Canadian Magazine*, November 1932, 47.

<sup>67</sup> “Mister Editor,” *The Canadian Magazine*, June 1935, 48.

<sup>68</sup> In terms of murder stories, for example, the magazine published Dashiell Hammett’s “The Girl With the Silver Eyes,” which, according to letters in the December 1937 issue, was too graphic for some readers’ liking. This example shows, too, that the magazine occasionally published stories by popular American authors.

I am distressed at introducing this kind of material to my family. Believing the Holy Bible to be our guide in this, it warns us to avoid the appearance of evil, and as a man thinketh in his heart, so he is. I am afraid your *Canadian Magazine* is a real stumbling block to young Christians.<sup>69</sup>

The six issues preceding this letter do indeed contain stories that explored themes of sex and violence: “Middle-Aged Madness,” by Ronald Everson, and “The Stalking Death,” by Lacey Amy. The former also included an illustration of a woman sitting up in bed, startled, her nightgown apparently slipping off her shoulders (fig. 2.25). The contents of the periodical could not please all, therefore, but this did not prevent its producers from putting forward a view of Canadian magazines as morally distinct from those “clogging” the newsstands. Their version of nationalism, in this sense, was built on the assumption that Canadians required a different type of reading matter, because they were themselves different.

In the December 1937 “Mister Editor” page, a young francophone woman from Eustis, Quebec, wrote that her father had recently taken up a subscription to the magazine. She had not read it before, and, believing that it was like other English-Canadian periodicals, had it “classed with the current American” ones.<sup>70</sup> She was surprised to find instead that it was typically English Canadian. “Being French-Canadian,” she added, “most of my reading is of French books, magazines and newspapers, but I do enjoy English reading very much. I am also a sincere friend of the English Canadians and I am interested in their doings. I have found their mentality in your stories and their activities in your articles.”<sup>71</sup> For this reader, *The Canadian* was different from its American counterparts (and their Canadian imitators) and provided an

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<sup>69</sup> “Mister Editor,” *The Canadian Magazine*, December 1932, 51.

<sup>70</sup> “Mister Editor,” *The Canadian Magazine*, December 1937, 56.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

insight into the culture of English Canadians, which, at the same time, she posited as different from that of French Canadians.

Without wishing to present a reductive view of the differences between French and English magazines, many similarities can be observed – in the mode of address, as already noted, and in the logic of the Canadianist stance – among the periodicals produced in Toronto and Montreal. Of the three from Montreal studied, the magazine that expressed its nationalism most loudly was *Le Samedi*. Founded in 1889, the weekly whose newsstand price was ten cents per issue was the oldest periodical published by Poirier, Bessette, & Cie, which also produced *La Revue populaire* and *Le Film*.<sup>72</sup> According to a short article that ran in *La Revue populaire* in November 1939, the three magazines combined were printed in over 300,000 copies per month.<sup>73</sup> Like other Canadian mass magazines, *Le Samedi* also aimed to appeal to the widest possible audience by offering a great diversity of content. The difference, of course, was that its audience was marked out as exclusively French-speaking, and thus as sharing a French cultural background.

*Le Samedi* was also promoted as a magazine that was aimed at a Canada-wide reading public: from 1929 onward, its subtitle, which was consistently printed on the front cover, was “Le magazine national des Canadiens.” On the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, Fernand de Verneuil, reflecting on the publication’s road to prominence, wrote:

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<sup>72</sup> *Le Samedi* is also said to be the oldest francophone magazine in Quebec. See Elzéar Lavoie, “La constitution d’une modernité culturelle populaire dans les médias au Québec (1900-1950),” in Yvan Lamonde and Esther Trépanier eds., *L’avènement de la modernité culturelle au Québec* (Quebec City: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1986), 260.

<sup>73</sup> “La Maison de la Revue populaire, du Samedi et du Film, à Montréal,” *La Revue populaire*, November 1939, 52.

Today, 'Le Samedi' travels every week right across Canada, from sea to sea; it has a large clientele in the United States and readers all over the world, as far away as the Antipodes; its readership increases by the week, and it is with all honesty that it can claim to be the most important French-language magazine of its type on the entire American continent.<sup>74</sup>

*Le Samedi* is thus said to have reached an audience that transcended Canadian borders, and this audience was united, first and foremost, by language. As the next passage makes clear, language was about the only thing that limited the breadth of its mass appeal: "This is because it has discovered the true formula – constantly being refined, moreover, according to circumstance and need – the true formula, I say, for a publication that appeals to people of any social condition and any age."<sup>75</sup> Despite the differences – geographical, economic, or other – that may have divided its readers, the magazine spoke to them as though to the members of one big family.<sup>76</sup>

The conception of the nation is thus not identical in *Le Samedi*, since it refers to a group within a group; an entity based not on geography but on socio-cultural characteristics (language, religion, customs, traditions) in which language is the central uniting denominator. For the producers of francophone magazines, to the threat of the dominating effects of American mass culture was added the internal threat of English Canadian culture: American magazines and English Canadian magazines were lumped

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<sup>74</sup> "Aujourd'hui, 'Le Samedi' parcourt, chaque semaine, le Canada tout entier, d'un océan à l'autre; il a une clientèle nombreuse aux États-Unis et des lecteurs un peu partout dans le monde entier, jusqu'aux antipodes; chaque semaine voit augmenter le nombre de ses fidèles et c'est en toute sincérité qu'il peut se dire le Magazine de ce genre, en langue française, le plus important de tout le continent américain." My trans. Fernand de Verneuil, "La Cinquantième Année," *Le Samedi*, June 18, 1938, 5.

<sup>75</sup> "Cela tient à ce qu'il a trouvé la vraie formule – d'ailleurs sans cesse perfectionnée selon les circonstances et les besoins – la vraie formule, dis-je, de la publication qui s'adresse à toutes les situations sociales et à tous les âges de la vie." My trans. Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> In the August 21, 1937 issue, the magazine thanks its readers for having provided such an enthusiastic response to one of its questionnaires, and states: "Vraiment, les lecteurs du *Samedi* forment une immense famille." See "Résultat de Notre Enquête 'Que Pensez-vous du Samedi'?", *Le Samedi*, August 21, 1937, 44.



together. As an embodiment of French Canada, *Le Samedi* was therefore posited as being different from both U.S. and English Canadian periodicals.

Like in *The Canadian*, however, the notion that magazines have the capacity to unite a disparately located group – within Canada and beyond – is present in *Le Samedi*. The conception of nationalism is thus also federalist: although produced in Quebec, the magazine does not conceptually situate French Canadian culture in the province, since French Canadians are dispersed throughout the country. So while the particular publics *The Canadian* and *Le Samedi* were addressing were not identical, the way they addressed them and the role the producers of the magazines gave themselves as guardians of culture was strikingly similar.

The medium of the magazine was a crucial element of *Le Samedi*'s nationalism. It too pronounced the form of the magazine to be characteristically American (and of universal appeal), while the content was specifically geared toward French Canadians. The distinction between form and content is made unambiguous in an advertisement reproduced in the January 1943 issue of *La Revue populaire* (fig. 2.26), which describes the magazine as follows:

LE SAMEDI, made for our own people, does not only offer the advantage of being written in their language; it meets a fundamental need: that of our mentality, our psychology. Le SAMEDI is only Americanized in its typographical presentation and the novel concept of its layout. As for the content itself, it remains a product whose formula is ideally adapted to our way of seeing, thinking and living.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> “LE SAMEDI, pour les nôtres, n’offre pas que l’avantage d’être rédigé en leur langue; il répond à un besoin primordial: celui de notre mentalité, de notre psychologie. LE SAMEDI ne s’est américanisé que dans le sens de la présentation typographique et la conception nouvelle de mise en page. Quant à la matière proprement dite, elle demeure un produit dont la formule s’adapte idéalement à notre façon de voir, de penser et de vivre.” My trans. “Un magazine que toute la famille peut lire,” *La Revue populaire*, January 1943, 53.

The attractiveness of the form, which was here summarized as visual appearance, was used as a tool with which to represent and disseminate the socio-cultural specificities of French Canadians. For the makers of *Le Samedi*, furthermore, it was the form that enabled the magazine to compete with English periodicals from both the U.S. and Canada, and thus to carry out what it identified as its national duty. As it was boldly put in an advertisement from June 1940: “It is OUR duty to make attractive magazines, attractive and interesting; it is YOUR duty to buy them and to help disseminate them.”<sup>78</sup>

### *Magazines and the Rhetoric of Technological Nationalism*

Whether the producers of *The Canadian*, *Le Samedi*, and others were correct in thinking that the medium of the mass magazine originated in the U.S. and was characteristically American shall not be debated here, since this thesis is centred upon a concern not for origins, but for use. In other words, what matters to me is that the mass magazine pre-existed its utilization by Canadians: it was a means of communication that had already been developed and refined elsewhere, and was already determined by a set of linguistic and visual codes. Whether the magazine was actually of universal appeal can also, for the moment, be taken at face value. What matters is that the medium was used by and for Canadians, for a distinctive purpose.

It is my contention that the medium of the magazine was not merely imitated by Canadian editors, for this view assumes that media are set in stone and, by extension, that the context in which they are consumed is of no importance. That Canadian magazine producers were starting from an existing language is undeniable, as their own discourse

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<sup>78</sup> “C’est notre devoir, À NOUS, de faire de beaux magazines, beaux et intéressants; c’est votre devoir, À VOUS, de les acheter et de contribuer à leur diffusion.” My trans. “Trois revues qui s’imposent,” *Le Samedi*, June 22, 1940, 37.

readily admits. But every instance of the medium's use is necessarily different. Canadian mass magazines, therefore, can be seen as singular "utterances" or "events," to recall Bal and Bryson's terms, intended for and received by a specific audience. This particular instance of this medium's use is distinguished, chiefly, by a dialogue between internationalism and nationalism. If the analytic distinction between form and content is maintained, then the former should be defined as internationalist, and the latter, nationalist. Yet just as media are meaningless outside of their use, form is meaningless without content.

The appropriation of "American" or "international" forms of mass media extends beyond magazines: it is also during the first half of the twentieth century that radio, film, and, a little later, television became prominent in Canada.<sup>79</sup> In his 1986 essay "Technological Nationalism," communication theorist Maurice Charland has actually argued that due in part to the establishment of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1936 (following on from that of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission [CRBC] in 1932), Canadian identity is an essentially mediated one. Drawing on the work of early twentieth-century media theorist Harold Innis and his notion of space-binding media, Charland claims that the discourse surrounding the construction of the railroad provided the foundation for the way Canadian nationalism would later be expressed.<sup>80</sup> "The rhetoric of the CPR," he writes, "seeking to constitute a state, becomes the rhetoric of the CBC, seeking to constitute a *polis* and *nation*."<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Motion pictures took off in Canada in the early 1900s, whereas regular radio broadcasting began in 1920. Television did not enter Canadian homes until 1952. See Hall and Jowett, 11, 14.

<sup>80</sup> Maurice Charland, "Technological Nationalism," *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*, vol. 10, nos. 1-2 (1986): 197. On space-binding media, see the essays in Harold A. Innis, *The Bias of Communication*, 2nd edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008 [1951]).

<sup>81</sup> Charland, *Ibid.*

Though Charland does not address mass magazines as a potentially significant step between the railroad and the CBC, his analysis of their common discourse indicates that the producers of Canadian magazines were singing the same tune.<sup>82</sup> The conviction that technology had the power to unite a heterogeneous land and people, especially, seems to have been voiced with equal fervour. The railroad, he argues, was predominantly an economic venture that extended the federal government's power and allowed trade and the travel of commodities between the urban centres and the "margins." Yet it was also the culmination of a political will. As he writes, "the CPR cannot be viewed as the product or manifestation only of economy. The construction of the railroad was more than an overdetermined response to material and political exigencies; a will to statehood preceded it. It was an element of a strategy based in the belief that a nation could be built by binding space."<sup>83</sup>

For Charland, the fact that this belief in technology as a space-defying, unifying force was at the forefront of the initial conceptualization of the Canadian nation means that technology itself "provides the condition of possibility for a Canadian mind."<sup>84</sup> Yet the rhetoric of technological nationalism as embodied in the CPR could not produce anything resembling a Canadian culture, nor a Canadian public, and so another form of mediation was required.<sup>85</sup> The development of radio broadcasting was crucial, for it provided the means for the nation to be bound by information rather than purely economics – it gave Canadians "an image of Canada."

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<sup>82</sup> The reason for Charland's omission is presumably that, as opposed to the CPR and the CBC, magazines were not state funded, despite the fact that they solicited governmental support.

<sup>83</sup> Charland, 200-201. See also A. A. den Otter, *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 3-31.

<sup>84</sup> Charland, 201.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 202-203.

As with mass magazines, at the heart of the discourse surrounding (and preceding) the establishment of a national broadcasting corporation was a preoccupation with the dominance of American popular culture, which had been reaching Canadian homes via radio airwaves since the early 1920s. The 1929 report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (or Aird Commission), which, according to Charland, put forth a position that can be described as “defensive expansionism,” articulated a view that closely resembles that expressed in *The Canadian*:

At present the majority of programs heard are from sources outside of Canada. It has been emphasized to us that the continued reception of these has a tendency to mould the minds of the young people in the home to ideals and opinions that are not Canadian. In a country of the vast geographical dimensions of Canada, broadcasting will undoubtedly become a great force in fostering a national spirit and interpreting national citizenship.<sup>86</sup>

The Aird Commission, which eventually led to the foundation of the CRBC, thus called for the creation of a common network that could both unite Canadians and provide them with a (non-American) cultural ground on which to base identity.

Charland discerns two contradictions – which he sees as highly problematic – in the rhetoric of technological nationalism as it pertained to radio. The first is that the rhetoric “only defines Canadian ideals and opinion by virtue of their not being from foreign sources,” or, in other words, that Canadian nationalism does not rest on a positive identity, but on a negative one. This means that the only positive basis of Canadian nationalism is technology itself, since the process of communication takes primacy over content. “If radio were to bring forth a nation by providing a common national experience,” he writes, “that experience would be one of communication, of sheer

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<sup>86</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting* (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, 1929), 6; Charland, 206.

mediation.”<sup>87</sup> The second contradiction is related, in that it also has to do with foreign sources: as Charland argues, before radio was instituted as a domestic form of mass media, it had been developed and refined in the U.S., and appreciated by Canadian audiences. The contradiction resides in the fact that technological nationalism “identifies a medium ultimately based upon a foreign economic and programming logic as the site for Canada’s cultural construction.”<sup>88</sup> Here again, Canadian identity is founded upon what is non-Canadian.

Charland’s essay rightly questions the grounds of a rhetoric that implies that culture can only be expressed in a mediated form and, more importantly, that it can only be expressed through state-sanctioned apparatuses. Yet underpinning his argument are assumptions that this thesis seeks to challenge: on the one hand, that a medium’s form and content are, in practice, separable, and on the other, that the source of a medium ultimately determines its destination. To whom mass media are addressed and by whom they are received is not given any weight. What Canadian mass magazines show, at least, is that nationalist discourse can also be a two-way affair. Within the pages of magazines, nationalism was indeed a process – but a dialogical process, with readers constituting a necessary part of the equation.

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<sup>87</sup> Charland, 206.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

## Chapter Three

### THE PRESENT

*The introduction of press photography was a phenomenon of huge importance. It changed the outlook of the masses. Hitherto, ordinary people could only visualize events that happened nearby – on their street, or in their village. Photography opened a window onto the world. The faces of public personalities, events taking place elsewhere in the country or even abroad, became familiar. And as the outlook broadened, so did the world shrink. (...) Photography gave birth to the visual mass media when the individual portrait became the collective portrait.*

Gisèle Freund, *Photography and Society*<sup>1</sup>

One of the important ways in which photographic modernism was expressed in Canadian illustrated magazines was through the language of photojournalism. As will be shown in this chapter, photojournalism as a particular genre or type of imagery was instrumental in the development and flourishing of the medium of the mass magazine in the early twentieth century. Within the context of Canadian magazines, the photojournalistic image acted as a sign of the times; perhaps more than any other type of imagery, it embodied the *present* – or the *now* – and thus ensured that these magazines were perceived as exemplary of a modern form of communication.

Although photojournalism was fundamental to the formation of the mass magazine, and continued to be indispensable to the representation of newsworthy people and events throughout the twentieth century and beyond, it should not be seen as either neutral or eternal. Rather, it is a photographic practice that is heavily codified, and one that emerged in a singular context.<sup>2</sup> While the history of photojournalism has been told

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<sup>1</sup> Gisèle Freund, *Photography and Society* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980), 103. Translation modified.

<sup>2</sup> On the codification of the photojournalistic image, see especially Vincent Lavoie, *Photojournalismes. Revoir les canons de l'image de presse* (Paris: Hazan, 2010); and Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites,

frequently and without great variation, it is worthwhile reviewing it here in order to draw out the genre's defining characteristics. It will then be possible to make links with the photographs published in Canadian magazines and the photographers who produced them.

My aim, to be clear, is not to propose that photojournalism, as a practice whose origins lay outside Canada, was later merely applied or imitated by Canadian magazines. I wish to argue that the photojournalistic image was, from the start, mobile, and that because of the mobility of the periodicals in which it was published and of the photographers and other actors who made it possible, its range of influence was wide. How Canadian magazines in particular used the pre-existing language of photojournalism as a means to signify the present is the main interest of this chapter.

After going through some of the prominent features of the photojournalistic genre, I briefly discuss the varied provenance of the photographs published in Canadian magazines. I then look at three particular photographers whose work significantly contributed to the making of photographic modernism: Henri Paul, who pictured candid moments in the life of Montreal's arts community; Conrad Poirier, who captured the dynamism of local sports and sporting activities; and Willson Woodside, who reported on current political events happening abroad. In different ways, these photographers provided images of the present, and thus played an important part in the magazines' self-identification with the medium's modernity.

In endeavouring to trace the historical and qualitative specificities of photojournalism as a crucial facet of the modern magazine, I am, in a way, disputing the

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*No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007).



remarks made by the editors of Canadian magazines regarding its origins. As was noted in chapter two, the producers of *The Canadian* and of *Le Samedi* both characterized the form of the modern magazine as American – but of universal appeal. While, as discussed, Canadian mass magazines were based on a form developed in the U.S. in the late-nineteenth century (with publications like *Munsey's* and *McClure's*), retracing the particularities of the modern magazine through the practice of photojournalism gives the form another historical dimension.

### *The Histories of Photojournalism*

In his book on the historiography of photojournalism, entitled *Photojournalismes. Revoir les canons de l'image de presse*, Vincent Lavoie establishes that texts about this practice first began to appear during the interwar period, as the increasingly popular news photograph was becoming ubiquitous in the illustrated press.<sup>3</sup> According to his assessment, the first to treat essays on photojournalism as objects worthy of critical analysis, these texts fall into two groups regarding the historical starting point of the practice: there are those that locate its seeds in the very beginnings of photography, and those that consider photojournalism to be an entirely unprecedented phenomenon resulting from the development, in the early twentieth century, of the mass media.<sup>4</sup>

It was also between the wars that a new approach to the history of photography began to take shape. Whereas in the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth texts on photography had been predominantly concerned with technology,

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<sup>3</sup> Lavoie, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 12. See also Lavoie's essay "Photojournalism and Awards: The Aesthetics and Ethics of Press Pictures in Canadian Contexts," in Carole Payne and Andrea Kunard eds., *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 153-162.

during the 1920s and 1930s figures like Heinrich Schwarz, Beaumont Newhall, and Helmuth T. Bossert began to write the history of photography from cultural and aesthetic perspectives.<sup>5</sup> The comprehensive histories penned by these individuals – as well as the more focused studies that would follow later in the twentieth century – generally fall into the camp that finds roots of the photojournalistic image in the infancy of photography.<sup>6</sup> According to Lavoie, this historiographical perspective “aims to credit this field with an honourable tradition mirroring that of art photography.”<sup>7</sup> In other words, by locating the origins of photojournalism at the beginning of the medium’s history, these early-twentieth-century historians wished to endow photojournalism with a status akin to that of art photography, which had long been the sole domain of Pictorialism. The fact that the photojournalistic image was emblematic of the unmanipulated, direct, or “straight” photograph – the pole opposite of Pictorialism – was, for these historians, undoubtedly vital to its attraction and perceived significance.

The texts that considered photojournalism to be an entirely new phenomenon were largely didactic treatises written by and intended for professionals in the field of press photography. As Lavoie argues, even when these texts refer to nineteenth-century

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 19. See Heinrich Schwarz, *Art and Photography: Forerunners and Influences – Selected Essays* (Layton, UT, and Rochester, NY: G.M. Smith, in association with the Visual Studies Workshop Press, 1985); Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*, 4th ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1981); and Helmuth Bossert and Heinrich Guttman, *Aus der Frühzeit der Photographie, 1840-1870* (Frankfurt: Societäts-verlag, 1930).

<sup>6</sup> Among the texts written in the latter half of the twentieth century that locate the origins of photojournalism in the nineteenth century, see: Gisèle Freund, *Photographie et société* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1974); Marianne Fulton, Estelle Jussim, Colin Osman, et al., *Eyes of Time: Photojournalism in America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company in association with the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, 1988); Tim N. Gidal, *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution, 1910-1933* (New York: Collier Books, 1972). Roger Fenton and Mathew Brady (and his collaborators, Timothy O’Sullivan and Alexander Gardner), who produced some of the earliest photographs of war, are the most commonly cited examples of the beginnings of photojournalism. On early photojournalism in Canada, see Peter Robertson, “Canadian Photojournalism during the First World War,” *History of Photography*, vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1978): 37-52.

<sup>7</sup> Lavoie, 11. My trans.

examples, they do so in order to show the failings of earlier photographic technology.<sup>8</sup>

The unprecedented character of photojournalism was seen as residing, above all, in the instantaneity of the techniques of production and dissemination of photographic imagery.

According to Lavoie, these texts' authors

saw photojournalism as a phenomenon of the present, a form of visual communication anchored firmly in modern techniques and media, a practice that broke fundamentally with earlier ways of visually representing topics of the day. Speed, mass circulation, reproduction and efficiency were these authors' keywords (...).<sup>9</sup>

Commenting upon and explaining the phenomenon as it was occurring, these authors characterized modern photojournalism as radically different from any previous attempts at event-based photography.

As Lavoie points out, however, the obsession with instantaneity displayed in these texts did not itself emerge during the interwar period but stemmed rather from the 1880s, when photography was transformed into an industrial practice. The various steps of the photographic process, including the preparation and development of plates and the making of prints, which had previously been the responsibility of individual photographers, were at that time taken over by the industry, thus reducing the effort – but more importantly the time – required to make and disseminate photographs.<sup>10</sup> The industrialization of photography eventually led to the blossoming of the mass illustrated press, and in this sense the late nineteenth century can indeed be said to have provided the seeds of what would become, in the interwar period, modern photojournalism.

Of the texts that reflect from a historical vantage point on the emergence of modern photojournalism – as distinct from its pre-World War I manifestations – many

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 12-13.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. My trans.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 48.

seem to concur that the practice came to fruition in Germany during the Weimar Republic. More precisely, it came about in the late 1920s as a direct consequence of the success of specific illustrated magazines and the innovative spirit of the individuals who shaped them.<sup>11</sup> Weimar Germany represented a time and a place in which, after years of censorship and oppression, a battle for political and cultural democracy was being waged – notably within the press.

In his essay “Pictures for the Masses: Photography and the Rise of Popular Magazines in Weimar Germany,” Hanno Hardt, who wrote about photojournalism from the perspective of the history and theory of journalism and the mass media, encapsulates this context as follows:

The history of photojournalism is located within the cultural discourse of the Weimar Republic, where the emergence of a democratic system of government also resulted in a broadening of social and cultural experiences that expanded the idea of the political far beyond the locus of government. Specifically, the proximity of journalism to intellectual and artistic expressions of its time, the preoccupation with the notion of realism among writers and journalists, and the fascination with the prospects of technology constitute the cultural environment for the advent of photojournalism and the widespread use of picture stories in a rapidly expanding magazine market.<sup>12</sup>

According to Hardt, the idea that photography could be an effective means of representing the contemporary world objectively was gaining ground within the field of journalism, which was itself increasingly concerned with the notion (imported from the United States) that the press could encourage democracy.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Quentin Bajac, *La photographie: L'époque moderne, 1880-1960* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 53-54; Freund, 107; Michel Frizot, *Histoire de voir. De l'instant à l'imaginaire (1930-1970)* (Paris: Centre National de la Photographie, 1989); and Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006), 235.

<sup>12</sup> Hanno Hardt, “Pictures for the Masses: Photography and the Rise of Popular Magazines in Weimar Germany,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1989): 7.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-8.

The illustrated magazine that had the most significant impact on the development of modern photojournalism was the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung (BIZ)*, with the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse (MIP)* coming in at a close second. Founded in 1890, the *BIZ* was a weekly owned, from 1894, by the Ullstein publication company, which also produced such popular magazines as *Die Dame*, *UHU*, and *Der Querschnitt*.<sup>14</sup> With Kurt Korff as editor and Kurt Safranski as publishing director, the *BIZ* was the most successful illustrated magazine in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s, reaching its peak circulation of over 1.9 million copies in 1931.<sup>15</sup> Based in Berlin, the magazine was sold throughout Germany and was available in other European countries, as well as in North America.<sup>16</sup> Intended for a middle-class readership, the *BIZ* contained an average of 40 percent advertisements and 20 percent photographic spreads.<sup>17</sup> Like other magazines of its type, it ensured reader loyalty by offering popular literature in serialized form.<sup>18</sup>

Founded in 1923 and published in Munich, the *MIP* represented the biggest challenge to the *BIZ*'s success, due in large part to the work of Hungarian-born Stefan Lorant, who began as the weekly magazine's Berlin editor in 1929 and was promoted to chief editor in 1932. Although Lorant helped to bring the *MIP* to national prominence, its circulation numbers did not rise above 700,000.<sup>19</sup> Like the *BIZ*, the *MIP* was intended for a middle-class audience and was prolific in its use of photography (approximately 40

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 13; Colin Osman and Sandra S. Phillips, "European Visions: Magazine Photography in Europe Between the Wars," in *Eyes of Time*, 76.

<sup>15</sup> Hardt, 14.

<sup>16</sup> According to Hardt, an audit of its circulation shows that 8,190 copies of the magazine were sold in North America in 1930. It is not clear whether some of these were distributed in Canada. See *ibid.*, 16.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Osman and Phillips, 78.

<sup>19</sup> Hardt, 14, 17.

percent of the editorial space was devoted to photographic layouts), which quickly became a central aspect of the rivalry between the two magazines.<sup>20</sup>

The significance of Lorant, Korff, and Safranski's influence on the burgeoning of modern photojournalism lies in their experimental approach to the photographic image within the field of journalism, as well as their promotion of the work of certain key photographers. Safranski and Korff, especially, believed that photographs had great communicative potential, over and above text. Wilson Hicks, the executive editor at *Life* magazine in the late 1930s and 1940s, described their contribution in the following terms:

[Safranski and Korff] shared the conviction that more could be done with the photograph as a communicative medium than had been done. (...) The new picture thinking may not have been at a rolling boil in the House of Ullstein, but it was at a lively simmer. The venturesome Safranski and Korff probed for novel photographic ideas. They were acutely aware that pictures could show readers things which the readers ordinarily would not observe for themselves, that with pictures an idea could be expanded and its essence interpreted. They understood that the photograph could be a symbol of the "something larger" behind a subject. (...) Safranski and Korff learned to let single pictures of a developing subject, pictures related but becoming available at different times, accumulate for building an eventual story. They saw to it that many pictures, instead of one or two, were taken of an event. They showed acumen in picking pictures for publication, and used them in strip and layout.<sup>21</sup>

Their approach was thus based on the use of several photographs in order to convey something greater than either a single image or text alone could reveal. And Lorant appears to have shared their beliefs: according to Tim Gidal, one of the photojournalists who worked for these magazines, he "underlined the 'essay' character of the photoreportage" and "emphasized graphic presentation and arrangement instead of showing a mere succession of photos, text, and captions."<sup>22</sup> The representation of events

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>21</sup> Wilson Hicks, *Words and Pictures* (New York: Arno Press, 1973 [1952]), 33.

<sup>22</sup> Gidal, 18.

through photographs, organized into meaningful combinations and accompanied by captions, signalled a departure from previous uses of photography in the press, since the image was no longer seen as being secondary to (or merely illustrative of) the text. For some, this attribution to the photograph of a new narrative power marked the starting point of modern photojournalism.<sup>23</sup>

The photographers who published their images in the *BIZ* and the *MIP* went on to become some of the most prominent photojournalists of the twentieth century. Aside from Tim Gidal and his brother Georg, they included Alfred Eisenstaedt, André Friedmann (Robert Capa), Lotte Jacobi, André Kertész, Felix H. Man, Martin Munkácsi, Erich Salomon, Otto Umbehr (Umbo), and Wolfgang Weber. With the exception of Munkácsi, who was the only photographer on permanent staff at the *BIZ*, those named worked freelance for these magazines and for local and international photo agencies (among them Dephot, Weltrundschau, the Associated Press, and Wide World), which, with their ability to supply images rapidly and broadly, were taking on an increasingly important role in the field.<sup>24</sup> According to Hardt's analysis, although Lorant showed a preference for hiring photographers directly, the number of photographs stemming from agencies appearing in both German magazines was significant.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See Freund, 107. It is interesting to note that, like Gidal, Gisèle Freund was a photojournalist who was working in Germany at the very moment modern photojournalism is said to have been born. In both cases, their account of the development of the form within the context of Weimar Germany is often told from a first-person perspective. Freund's book *La Photographie en France au dix-neuvième siècle: Essai de sociologie et d'esthétique*, published in 1936 (and parts of which appear in her *Photographie et société*), was one of the first social histories of the medium to be written. Her approach to photography is said to have greatly influenced both Walter Benjamin and Beaumont Newhall. See Patrizia Di Bello, "Gisèle Freund (1908-2000)," in Mark Durden ed., *Fifty Key Writers on Photography* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 109-114. As Di Bello argues regarding her account of photojournalism in *Photographie et société*, "Freund's approach is rare in considering the magazine as a whole in which photographs and texts, layout and adverts, circulation, cover price and even inflation have an impact upon its meaning."

<sup>24</sup> Gidal, 18.

<sup>25</sup> Hardt, 18. It is worth mentioning that it was the photo agencies that usually came up with ideas for photoreportages, which were then assigned to particular photographers. Editors could therefore purchase a

Two photographers in particular are consistently said to have left a lasting stamp on the visual character of the photojournalistic image: Erich Salomon and Martin Munkácsi. Salomon is presented as the first and most exemplary proponent of what has been called both “candid” and “unposed” photography.<sup>26</sup> The technical possibilities afforded by the new lightweight, medium and small-format cameras – namely the Ermanox and the Leica, which, though they had been available since the mid 1920s, did not arrive on the photojournalistic scene until the end of the decade – were also instrumental.<sup>27</sup> More than their portability, it was the quality and luminosity of these cameras’ lenses that encouraged a different type of press photography, for they allowed photographs to be taken without flash, in low-light circumstances.

It was with an Ermanox, a medium-format camera that used individual glass plates, that Salomon began his career as a photojournalist and took the images that would come to define candid photography (fig. 3.1).<sup>28</sup> Known especially for documenting the behind-the-scenes of political gatherings like conferences or meetings of heads of state, Salomon had a knack for gaining access to such events and for capturing the “naturalness” and ordinariness of the world’s decision makers. Never before had these men been photographed behind closed doors and, more importantly, never before had they been photographed relatively unawares.<sup>29</sup> Because he did not use a flash, Salomon’s presence was often virtually forgotten. As Gidal reports, the photographer

concentrated intuitively and intensely on the decisive moment, which at the same time was the moment of relaxation in a conversation and in the

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series of images that would thereafter be given a set order in accordance with the needs of the particular magazine.

<sup>26</sup> Newhall, 154-155.

<sup>27</sup> Gidal, 15.

<sup>28</sup> The first photograph Salomon published in the *BIZ*, in 1928, was taken illegally at the trial of a student accused of double homicide. See Freund, 111-112.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.



accompanying gestures and expressions. Almost always a relatively brief period, the mood would build to a point at which four or five persons would be listening to the speaker with intense concentration. It was at such a moment that Salomon would release the shutter and keep it open until a split second before the tension ended. He sensed this split second instinctively and was able to wait.<sup>30</sup>

Even though his camera, when operated indoors with only ambient light, still required him to use a relatively long exposure time (and therefore a tripod), Salomon's talent for seizing this fleeting moment of relaxation gave the images he produced an appearance of informality. His "photo ops" did not show important political figures posing stiffly for the camera, but rather represented them chatting, going about their business and looking much like everyone else.

If his images – and those, by other photographers, that he would inspire – seemed unposed, the logistical limitations of taking photographs as people moved around or as an event was unfolding meant that sometimes posing was a necessity. For Gidal, whether or not a scene was actually captured candidly was less important than the effect of candidness produced by the photographer. As he writes, "it was not so much the unobserved moment but the moment of naturalness which the representatives of the new photojournalism seized. As with every photoreporter 'worthy of his camera,' the subject not only *acts* naturally in his presence, he *is* natural."<sup>31</sup> It can be said that the visual revolution spurred by Salomon and capitalized upon by Korff and Safranski at the *BIZ* and by Lorant at the *MIP* was centred on the notion that life need not stop – nor be particularly interesting – in order to be photographed. Life could go on apace, and it was the responsibility of the photojournalist (and the editors) to translate it photographically.

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<sup>30</sup> Gidal, 16.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

The term “decisive moment,” employed retroactively by Gidal in his description of Salomon’s intuitive process, has also been used in relation to Munkácsi’s work, undoubtedly because it greatly influenced the style of Henri Cartier-Bresson, who would define the term for himself in the 1950s.<sup>32</sup> But whereas for Cartier-Bresson the “decisive moment” signified a fraction of time that somehow encapsulates the past, present and future of an action (similar to the “pregnant moment” in narrative painting), for Munkácsi it alluded to the high point or peak moment of an action. Also originally from Hungary, he began his career as a sports photographer, a detail that is said to have rendered him “perfectly suited to expressing the fleeting movement of vivid and commonly experienced life.”<sup>33</sup> After leaving Germany in 1934, he immigrated to the U.S. and became a prominent fashion photographer in New York, where he “developed a style based on this same quality of vitality and natural activity,” frequently photographing his models in mid-air (fig. 3.2).<sup>34</sup>

Like Salomon, Munkácsi championed the new, lightweight cameras: Salomon would add a Leica to his collection in 1932, and Munkácsi used both a Leica and a Rolleiflex, a medium-format twin-reflex camera, from 1931 onward.<sup>35</sup> Even more than Salomon, Munkácsi would take advantage of the technical possibilities offered by his equipment in order to capture the transient and the ephemeral. The fact that his cameras of choice both used roll film – an invention previously associated with amateur snapshot photography – rather than plates meant that he could more easily keep pace with the rapid passage of time; he was able to carry on snapping as an action was taking place, and was

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<sup>32</sup> See Osman and Phillips, 90; and Gidal, 13. See also Henri Cartier-Bresson, *The Decisive Moment* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952).

<sup>33</sup> Osman and Phillips, 88.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>35</sup> Gidal, 20.

therefore sure to seize (among other moments) the desired peak. The visual revolution associated with Munkácsi that largely shaped modern photojournalism had at its heart the representation of time frozen. His images convey a “now” that is devoid of a sense of duration; they represent a fraction of a second that appears to have been extracted from the flow of time.

The work of Munkácsi, Salomon, and most of the other early photojournalists was not confined to Germany but travelled throughout Europe and across the Atlantic, both before and during the blossoming of the practice in the late 1920s and early 1930s. (For example, in 1931, Salomon travelled to the U.S. to make images for *Fortune* magazine, which was owned by Henry Luce, the cofounder of *Time* and later of *Life*.)<sup>36</sup> When the Nazis came to power in 1933, the cluster of magazine producers and photojournalists who had been active in Germany dispersed, effectively spreading their talents internationally. The majority were Jewish, and were therefore forced to leave.<sup>37</sup> Most managed to escape death but an exception was Salomon; although he fled to the Netherlands, he was ultimately captured and died ten years later in Auschwitz.<sup>38</sup>

Those who would eventually emigrate to the U.S. include Eisenstaedt, Gidal, Korff, Lorant, Munkácsi, and Safranski. After having been arrested in Germany and then released with the help of the Hungarian government, Lorant moved to Budapest and became editor-in-chief of the pictorial supplement to the newspaper *Pesti Napló*.<sup>39</sup> In

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<sup>36</sup> Hicks, 40.

<sup>37</sup> Gidal raises the question of why these key actors in the field of photojournalism were predominantly Jewish and speculates, rather unconvincingly, that their particular propensity may have come about as a reaction to the lifting of the old Biblical ban on the creation of images of human beings. See Gidal, 30.

<sup>38</sup> Freund, 121.

<sup>39</sup> In 1934 Lorant published a memoir entitled *I Was Hitler's Prisoner: A Diary*. The book has been republished many times and has sold over a million copies. See “Obituary: Stefan Lorant,” *The Independent*, Monday, November 17, 1997, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/obituary-stefan-lorant-1294687.html> (accessed December 19, 2012).

1934 he relocated to England, creating the *Weekly Illustrated* and *Lilliput*; and later (in 1938) becoming the founding editor of the visually groundbreaking and extremely successful *Picture Post*.<sup>40</sup> Fearful that he would be killed if Hitler succeeded in invading England, in 1940 he immigrated to the U.S., where he became primarily an author of biographies.

Both Korff and Safranski would prove to be very influential in the creation of what is thought of as the ultimate illustrated magazine: *Life*.<sup>41</sup> To a greater extent than the German magazines (as well as those published elsewhere, including England, France, and Canada), *Life* was a periodical in which photo-essays abounded. Investing the experience garnered at the *BIZ* into the weekly, whose first issue was published in New York in November 1936, Korff and Safranski “helped Luce and the staff move closer to making a new American picture magazine a reality.”<sup>42</sup> A few years before *Life* began, Safranski and Munkácsi had produced a prototype picture magazine for Luce’s greatest competitor, the publishing magnate William Randolph Hearst. The latter rejected the prototype, which was later taken up by Luce. Korff is said to have worked closely with *Life*’s staff, imparting to them what he had learned about working with photographs.<sup>43</sup> The magazine *Vu*, which was founded in Paris in 1928 and was itself in part modelled on the German

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<sup>40</sup> Freund, 121; Gidal, 30. On the *Picture Post*, see Gavin Weightman, *Picture Post Britain* (London: Collins & Brown, 1991); and Michael Hallett, “The Picture Post Story,” *British Journal of Photography* (July 2, 1992): 13-15.

<sup>41</sup> Within the histories of photojournalism, *Life* is invariably presented as the climax of photographically illustrated magazines. It might be argued that, like modern art, New York “stole the idea” of modern photojournalism. See Serge Guilbault, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

<sup>42</sup> Marianne Fulton, “Bearing Witness: The 1930s to the 1950s,” in *Eyes of Time*, 135.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

magazines, was also acknowledged by Luce to have made a significant, though more oblique, impact on the formation of *Life*.<sup>44</sup>

It is unlikely – though not impossible – that the *BIZ* and the *MIP*, as the breeding ground of modern photojournalism, had a *direct* influence on the development of Canadian photographically illustrated magazines. At any rate, no tangible evidence of such lines of influence seems to exist. Yet, because these periodicals and those they inspired were continually crossing borders and being recast elsewhere (namely in the U.S., a significant exporter of print culture), the new ideas on photographic communication – and the codes of photojournalism – made their way to Canada, surfacing in the very medium that engendered them.

#### *Photographic Sources in Canadian Magazines*

Like the magazines produced in Berlin and Munich, those published in Montreal and Toronto derived their photographic imagery from a variety of local and international sources. Of the photographs catalogued whose source is credited, which represent only about twenty-five percent of the research corpus, over sixty percent came from agencies or other image-producing organizations and corporations.<sup>45</sup> Among the foreign photo agencies used by Canadian magazines are the Associated Press (though surprisingly rarely), PIX, and Wide World, all of which were based in the U.S. For example, photographs signed by Eisenstaedt for PIX picturing Shirley Temple celebrating her eight birthday at the studio lot of 20th Century-Fox were published in the May 1937 issue of

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<sup>44</sup> Osman and Phillips, 94-95, 99; Freund, 125.

<sup>45</sup> These numbers include not just photojournalistic imagery, but photography in general. For a reason unknown to me, the francophone magazines studied tended to more frequently credit the photographers and agencies from which images were acquired.

*La Revue moderne* (fig. 3.3).<sup>46</sup> Appearing in the Montreal magazine a year after they were taken, these images were accompanied by a description of the young movie star's personality and daily activities by Quebec journalist Yvette Baulu.<sup>47</sup>

Some of the most famous news photographs of the twentieth century were supplied by the Wide World agency and reproduced in *The Canadian*. Headed by the title "Trans-Atlantic Drama," two pictures of the Hindenburg disaster, which showed the Zeppelin in flames and crashing to the ground in Lakehurst, New Jersey, appeared in the June 1937 issue, a few weeks after the accident occurred (fig. 3.4). Interestingly, the caption accompanying the images discusses not only the disaster itself but also the fact that on its next scheduled flight the airship was supposed to have transported photographs of the coronation of King George VI, which had taken place on May 12. As the caption states:

What has already been pronounced as the greatest news story of the year became doubly so, for, on its next westbound voyage, the huge "Zep" was to have carried special pictures of the highly colourful and historic Coronation scene in London for *The Canadian Magazine*. In spite of this difficulty, however, *The Canadian Magazine*, by special arrangement, presents in this issue a unique display of Coronation photographs. Some of these were carried by the NORMANDIE, picked up at sea by airplane and rushed to Toronto for reproduction in our new photogravure section. Others were flown by Dick Merrill and John S. Lambie on the first commercial trans-Atlantic air flight.

Juxtaposing the Hindenburg images with photographs of the ocean liner and of the mentioned pilots (thereby showcasing two other forms of transatlantic travel), the magazine presented the tragedy in part by describing its impact on the ability to provide readers as speedily as possible with pictures of the (Royal) event of the year. The

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<sup>46</sup> It is extremely rare to find images credited to both a photographer and a photo agency. The norm is to credit the agency alone.

<sup>47</sup> Alfred Eisenstaedt's photographs were consistently published in *Life*, yet I found no trace of these images of Shirley Temple until much later, in the July 30, 1965 issue.

solemnity of the coronation is here contrasted to the mad dash involved in expediting the photographs across the Atlantic for the benefit of Canadian readers. Also supplied by Wide World, the coronation images printed in *The Canadian* were symbolic of the magazine's participation in an international photographic network – a network that, incidentally, enabled the broad dissemination of pro-monarchy propaganda in Canada (fig. 3.5).

Canadian-run photograph-producing bodies used by the six magazines studied include the Associated Screen News of Canada Limited, the Canadian National Railway, the Canadian Pacific Railway, the National Film Board of Canada, and Photographic Arts Limited. A number of the photographs published in *Maclean's* and *Chatelaine* in the examined period are credited to Photographic Arts; despite this, very little information is available on the company, which may have been founded in Montreal in 1919 and later taken over by a Toronto firm.<sup>48</sup> The images reproduced in *Chatelaine* are usually single, generic studio shots used to illustrate articles, whereas in *Maclean's* they appear as lengthy assignments organized into photo-essays (figs. 3.6-3.7).

The Associated Screen News, described in 1927 as the “largest photographic organization in Canada,” was incorporated by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1920.<sup>49</sup> The company, which was headed by Bernard E. Norrish, formerly of the Department of Trade and Commerce, had its headquarters in Montreal, with a branch office in Toronto. Associated Screen News was an important producer of still images, but mostly of motion

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<sup>48</sup> A few photographs by Photographic Arts are held in the collection of Library and Archives Canada.

<sup>49</sup> “Screen News Enters its Eighth Year of Progress,” *Canadian Moving Picture Digest*, vol. 19, no. 34 (December 24, 1927): 37. See also “Two Men and a Movie Camera...,” *Canadian Film Weekly* (December 23, 1942): 8, 21; and Gregory Lawrence Eamon, “Associated Screen News of Canada: An Illustration of Corporate and Governmental Influence on Canadian Motion Picture Production” (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1991).

pictures such as newsreels and industrial and commercial films.<sup>50</sup> The still images supplied by the company varied greatly, suggesting that it produced photographs in response to specific needs, or at least that it functioned as an image bank wherein magazine editors could choose from a range of subjects (figs. 3.8-3.9). A 1924 self-published booklet promoting the activities of the company, entitled *Pictures for Industry*, lists “general commercial photographs,” “catalogue illustrations,” “news photographs,” and “enlargements from motion picture films” among the types of images available from the still picture department.<sup>51</sup>

Although the National Film Board’s Still Photography Division has come to be known as the purveyor of the country’s “official picture,” especially during the Second World War, the presence of (credited) photographs stemming from this institutional body is minor in Canadian magazines in the period studied, undoubtedly because the Division was not created until 1941.<sup>52</sup> Though recognized for its contribution to the creation of an image of Canada in the February 1944 issue of *La Revue populaire* (fig. 3.10), the National Film Board, as the mouthpiece of the Canadian government, was, within the context of popular illustrated magazines, just one voice among many. When it came to sourcing photographic material, plurality appears to have been the operational standard.

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<sup>50</sup> A photo-essay offering a behind-the-scenes look at the Associated Screen News’ production of motion pictures was published in the November 1937 issue of *The Canadian*. See “Movie-Making in Canada at Studio of the Associated Screen News,” *The Canadian Magazine*, November 1937, 34-35.

<sup>51</sup> *Pictures from Industry* (Montreal: Associated Screen News of Canada, Ltd., 1924). An in-depth study of the still picture department of Associated Screen News has yet to be undertaken, yet it represents a goldmine for scholars interested in the history of Canadian photography in the first half of the twentieth century. The significance of this firm, as an important forerunner to the National Film Board’s Still Photography Division (and as a non-governmental competitor of the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, the precursor of the NFB), has yet to be fully acknowledged.

<sup>52</sup> See Carol Payne, *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada’s Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941-1971* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2013); and Carol Payne, *A Canadian Document/Un document canadien* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography/Musée canadien de la photographie contemporaine, 1999).



Yet, among the multiple voices acknowledged, a few photographers emerge from the crowd as having had a decisive impact on the visual character of Canadian magazines.

### *Henri Paul and the Candid Moment*

One of these was the photojournalist Henri Paul (1891-1974), who contributed many outstanding photographs to *La Revue populaire*. One of the three illustrated magazines published by Poirier, Bessette & Cie, *La Revue populaire* was a monthly periodical published from 1908 to 1963. Originally set up as a distribution company that delivered newspapers, announcements, pamphlets, and advertisements in Montreal and the surrounding area, the firm was established in 1884 by Ferdinand Poirier and Joseph Bessette, who would found their first magazine, *Le Samedi*, in 1889 in order to fill a gap in the working-class periodical market.<sup>53</sup> From 1926 onward *La Revue populaire*'s managing editor was Jean Chauvin, the art critic who played an active role in Quebec's artistic community in the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>54</sup>

Born in Paris, France, in 1891, Henri Paul immigrated to Canada, and is listed as having resided at no. 222 Milton Street, Montreal, throughout the 1940s.<sup>55</sup> It was during this decade that he worked for Poirier, Bessette & Cie, where he held the position of principal in-house photographer for *La Revue populaire*. He also worked for the Montreal *Standard*, a weekly illustrated newspaper, and later, in the 1950s and 1960s, became known as a theatre photographer who documented Montreal plays (he was a regular

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<sup>53</sup> Elzéar Lavoie, "La constitution d'une modernité culturelle populaire dans les médias au Québec (1900-1950)," in Yvan Lamonde and Esther Trépanier eds., *L'avènement de la modernité culturelle au Québec* (Quebec City: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1986), 260.

<sup>54</sup> Jean Chauvin is one of the key art critics discussed by Esther Trépanier in her in-depth study of the development of the discourse of modern art in Quebec. See Esther Trépanier, *Peinture et modernité au Québec, 1919-1939* (Quebec City: Nota Bene, 1998), 52-65.

<sup>55</sup> "Lovell's Montreal Street Directory, 1842-1999," Collection numérique, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, <http://bibnum2.banq.qc.ca/bna/lovell/> (accessed August 24, 2012).

photographer for the Théâtre du Nouveau Monde, and famously took photographs of the actor Gratien Gélinas as Tit-Coq).<sup>56</sup> A portrait of him was taken by Shanghai-born Canadian photographer Sam Tata in 1973, a year before Paul's death, in which he is seen sitting in his living room, beside stacks of magazines (fig. 3.11).<sup>57</sup>

Paul is said to have been among the first photographers in Canada to use a 35mm camera, though which particular type is not known.<sup>58</sup> His photographs for *La Revue populaire*, which were always published in the form of photo-essays, are consistently in the candid or “unposed” style made famous by Salomon, but rather than showing politically significant figures and events, they depict the foremost people and places of Montreal's artistic community – especially in the field of visual arts, but also in music, design, and literature.<sup>59</sup> As a result, Paul's images constitute a valuable documentary record of Montreal's art world in the 1940s, and have since that period occasionally served as illustrations in art historical texts (although his images are not always attributed).<sup>60</sup> More important, for my purposes, was his use of the genre of candid photojournalism to provide *La Revue populaire*'s widespread readership with a behind-the-scenes look at what was going on, culturally, in the metropolis.

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<sup>56</sup> Penny Cousineau and Katherine Tweedie, “Photography,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/photography> (accessed December 28, 2012); Gratien Gélinas, *Tit-Coq. Pièce en trois actes* (Montreal: Éditions de l'Homme, 1968).

<sup>57</sup> Henri Paul lies buried at the Mount Royal cemetery, in Montreal, in an unidentified grave. It is not known precisely when he immigrated to Canada or whether he practised photography before his arrival. The first records of his presence in Montreal date from the early 1940s.

<sup>58</sup> Cousineau and Tweedie, “Photography.”

<sup>59</sup> It is possible that Paul encountered Salomon's work directly in the magazine *Vu*, which published several examples of the latter's work in the early 1930s. For a listing of Salomon's contributions to *Vu*, see Michel Frizot and Cédric de Veigy, *Vu: The Story of a Magazine* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009), 317.

<sup>60</sup> See, for example, Pierre L'Allier, *Adrien Hébert* (Quebec City: Musée du Québec, 1993), 20-21; and François-Marc Gagnon, “A Borduas Chronology,” *Artscanada*, no. 224-225 (December 1978-January 1979): 3.

A consummate example of Paul's work – and its skilful presentation by the magazine's editorial team – was published in the August 1940 issue under the double title “Adrien Hébert, peintre – Henri Hébert, sculpteur” (fig. 3.12). The photographs, all taken with ambient light, portray the already famous Hébert brothers in the intimacy of their respective studios on Christin and Labelle Streets, in Montreal. The images of the painter on the left-hand page, which show him leaning over his desk, lighting a pipe, tending to works, and standing in his studio doorway, are mirrored on the right-hand page by those of the sculptor pictured in almost identical circumstances. The two poles of the photo-essay are united in the lower-centre image, which, though cut in half by the magazine's crease, shows the artists together and in conversation before Adrien's painting *Les Patineurs*.

These shots are obviously posed, for although the two artists seem busy, neither of them is actually working, a fact that is made explicit by Adrien's factitious “cleaning,” in the image on the lower left, of his 1925 portrait of the composer Léo-Pol Morin. Accompanied by captions that relate each artist's biography (and, surprisingly, reveal the location of their studios), the photographs that make up this photo-essay nonetheless give the impression that private, creative acts are taking place. Taken as a whole, they let the magazine's readers in on what happens behind closed doors – the doors that appear literally on each page.

Another photo-essay representing the inside of an artist's studio was published in the April 1942 issue of *La Revue populaire* (figs. 3.13-3.14). Entitled “La critique chez Pellan,” these images picture discussions among such Montreal art critics, educators, and authors as Jacques de Tonnancour, Roger Duhamel, Robert Élie, Maurice Gagnon,

Émile-Charles Hamel, and Marcel Parizeau in front of a hanging of Alfred Pellan's paintings.<sup>61</sup> The close proximity of Paul's camera to these casually assembled individuals, caught mid-chatter, creates a sense of familiarity; the photographer's privileged position among the group conveys the feeling that we, the readers of the magazine, are part of the action. That the men constituting the "critique" are all identified in numbered captions intensifies the apparent intimacy of the scenes: faces are put to the names that were helping to shape the discourse of modern art in Quebec, and the potential social distance between these critics and their readers is thereby diminished.<sup>62</sup>

A sense of familiarity is also purposefully communicated in a photo-essay that takes readers through a day in the life of journalist Louis Francoeur (fig. 3.15). Printed in October 1940 (nine months before Francoeur's untimely death in a car accident), the narrative begins with the journalist's arrival, at 11:45 am, at the Radio-Canada building, located on Sainte-Catherine Street, in Montreal. He is then seen at various moments throughout the day, preparing and broadcasting his lunchtime and evening radio shows. He is pictured lunching with friends (among them Gratien Gélinas, and French author Henry Deyglun, who was the subject of another photo-essay published in the April 1941 issue) and working in his office on Peel Street. The story ends after the broadcast of Francoeur's programme *La Situation ce soir*, at around 10:45 pm, as he exits the Radio-Canada studios while flipping through the night edition of *The Gazette*.

There is an evident emphasis on time passing in this photo-essay: Paul includes a clock in at least four of the shots (accentuated in two cases, on the left-hand page, by

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<sup>61</sup> Henri Paul also documented the opening of Alfred Pellan's 1940 exhibition at the Art Association of Montreal (shown previously at the Musée de la Province), held shortly after the painter's return from his fifteen-year stay in France. See "Pellan," *La Revue populaire*, January 1941, 6-7.

<sup>62</sup> See Trépanier, *Peinture et modernité au Québec, 1919-1939*.

having the clock jut beyond the image frame), and the majority of the captions state the precise time of day. The frantic life lived by Francoeur – no longer a disembodied voice emanating from the radio – is captured for the benefit of *La Revue populaire*'s readers, who are given a picture of the journalist as he performs his national duty by translating and delivering news of the war.<sup>63</sup>

Paul's photographs documenting the activities of various artistic institutions offer a rare glimpse into the less public aspects of Montreal's art world. For example, a March 1941 photo-essay on the *École du meuble*, which opened in 1935, takes the magazine's readers through each classroom of the school and identifies many of its professors and administrators, including Maurice Gagnon, "professor of art history and curator of the library" (left page, top), Jean-Marie Gauvreau, "the school's director" (left page, top right), and Paul-Émile Borduas, "instructor in observational drawing, documentation and decoration" (right page, bottom) (fig. 3.16). The majority of the images show these individuals in the act of teaching students, who are operating tools or labouring over projects. Overall, Paul's photographs communicate a sense of intense productivity and present the school as a place where hands are anything but idle.

A similar sequence of images devoted to the *École des beaux-arts* and reproduced in the September 1941 issue offers a nice contrast to the *École du meuble* series, for while it also emphasizes productivity, the nature of the work carried out is inevitably less mechanical (fig. 3.17). The absence of machines in this photo-essay, which incidentally also makes plain the large proportion of female students enrolled at the school, focuses

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<sup>63</sup> *La Situation ce soir* offered a highly eloquent digest of the news of the war, directed at French-Canadian listeners. As this photo-essay explains, Francoeur gleaned some of his information from the BBC's news broadcasts. Several episodes of *La Situation ce soir* are currently available in Radio-Canada's digital archives. See *La Situation ce soir*, Archives de Radio-Canada, <http://archives.radio-canada.ca/emissions/375-14526/> (accessed January 2, 2013).

attention on the products of artistic endeavour: the actual objects being produced become additional characters in the narrative. Here, too, the individuals running the school are named: for example, Charles Maillard, the director of the school, is pictured both in his office (right page, top) and in the process of giving a painting class to fourth-year students (left page, right).

Aside from providing a positive image of French Canadian creativity and productivity in a time of war, these photo-essays offered readers a candid look at the people and places that were driving the city's art world. While undoubtedly posed, Paul's photographs captured a mood of informality, allowing viewers to believe that they were witnessing the unfolding of contemporary life. Through Paul's images, the readers of *La Revue populaire* had contact with contemporary art, which, like the very language exploited by the photographer, represented modernity in its form and content.

#### *Conrad Poirier and the Peak Moment*

Among the photographers who contributed substantially to the Montreal magazines, Conrad Poirier (1912-1968) is today the most widely known, largely because in 1972 his personal archive was donated to Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec by cinematographer Guy Côté, who had acquired it after Poirier's death in 1968.<sup>64</sup> The Fonds Conrad Poirier contains a staggering 23,460 photographs (22,921 of which are negatives), as well as the photographer's press clippings, organized in books. In the late 1980s, three exhibitions of his work were organized by the Archives nationales du

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<sup>64</sup> Description, Fonds Conrad Poirier (P48), Centre d'archives de Montréal, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, [http://pistard.banq.qc.ca/unite\\_chercheurs/description\\_fonds?p\\_anqid=201301221533082840&p\\_centre=06M&p\\_classe=P&p\\_fonds=48&p\\_numunide=2029](http://pistard.banq.qc.ca/unite_chercheurs/description_fonds?p_anqid=201301221533082840&p_centre=06M&p_classe=P&p_fonds=48&p_numunide=2029) (accessed August 18, 2012).

Québec and shown in Montreal, and two small catalogues reproducing selections of the images displayed were published.<sup>65</sup> His work has also been the subject of scholarly research, notably by Martin Brault, some of whose findings were published in 1995, in photography historian Michel Lessard's edited collection *Montréal au XXe siècle*.

*Regards de photographes*.<sup>66</sup>

Having worked not only for Poirier, Bessette & Cie's magazines, but also for such publications as *The Standard*, *The Gazette*, *The Montrealer*, *La Patrie*, *Le Petit Journal*, and *Photo-Journal*, Poirier may well have been the most prolific Quebec photojournalist of his generation.<sup>67</sup> His career spanned the years 1932-1960, after which he apparently stopped photographing. He is said to have been a solitary, even eccentric figure whose personal life remains something of a mystery.<sup>68</sup> There exist numerous photographic records of Poirier, including a series of self-portraits taken in April 1939. In one particular portrait he is pictured sporting a hat and holding what appears to be an Ihagee Exakta VP A, a medium format roll film camera that was first manufactured in 1933 (fig. 3.18).<sup>69</sup> This portrait may have been taken specifically for *Le Samedi*, since it was

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<sup>65</sup> The first exhibition, for which no catalogue exists, was shown in the summer of 1987 at the Complexe Desjardins and at the Archives nationales du Québec, Montréal. The second was shown from December 17, 1987 to February 9, 1988 in the Ernest Cormier building, 100 Notre-Dame Street East. The third, entitled *Le Montréal des années '40*, was on view from May 3 to September 11, 1988 at the Centre d'histoire de Montréal, at 335 Place D'Youville.

<sup>66</sup> Martin Brault, "Montréal 1910-1950. La ville animée," in *Montréal au XXe siècle. Regards de photographes* (Montreal: Éditions de l'Homme, 1995), 27-41. See also Martin Brault, "Conrad Poirier, photoreporter," *Vice versa*, no. 44 (February-March 1994): 42-47.

<sup>67</sup> Brault, "Conrad Poirier, photoreporter," 42.

<sup>68</sup> *Le Montréal des années '40, vu par Conrad Poirier, photographe (1913-1968)* (Montreal: Ministère des affaires culturelles et Archives nationales du Québec, 1988), 4; Brault, "Montréal 1910-1950," 34.

<sup>69</sup> Another portrait in the series shows Poirier holding what looks like a Graflex "Pre-Anniversary" Speed Graphic (see Fonds Conrad Poirier, P48,S1,P4306). Speed Graphics were (mainly) large format cameras commonly used by press photographers from the 1930s to the 1950s. They were known for their sturdiness, but also their bulkiness. They were gradually superseded by 35mm cameras. See Larry Millet, *Strange Days, Dangerous Nights: Photos from the Speed Graphic Era* (St. Paul, MN: Borealis Books/Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2004).

published in the June 17, 1939 issue in a photomontage illustrating and naming the magazine's employees (fig. 5.49).

Poirier was identified as *Le Samedi*'s official photographer (though he also worked for *La Revue populaire*), and his contributions to the periodical, which begin to appear in the late 1930s, were of a varied nature. He created several of the magazine's covers, which were frequently portraits of jubilant children (figs. 3.19-3.20). Among the images credited to Poirier, those that best showcase his undeniable talent as a photojournalist and helped to disseminate the photojournalistic genre in Canadian magazines were related to sport and physical culture.

Reproduced in *Le Samedi*'s regular "Dans le monde sportif" feature, penned by the magazine's sportswriter, Oscar Major, a series of snapshots documenting professional wrestling matches held at the Montreal Forum is a testament to the photographer's eye for drama, as well as to his ability to represent raw action. Poirier's images of a fight between Maurice "The Angel" Tillet and Lou Thesz, for example, published in the October 5, 1940 issue, perfectly capture the wrestlers' exaggerated grimaces and the tortuous holds that, according to the caption, inspired the audience to yell "make him suffer!" (fig. 3.21).<sup>70</sup> Taken at the level of the mat, from beneath and between the ropes, these three shots allowed the readers of *Le Samedi* to feel like they too had ringside seats.

In another example, printed on November 4, 1939 and representing a match between wrestlers Yvon Robert and Ernie Dusek, the sense of instantaneity is heightened by Poirier's use of a flash to arrest the action (fig. 3.22). Also taken from a ringside

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<sup>70</sup> "Dans le monde sportif," *Le Samedi*, October 5, 1940, 7. The drama of these images is amplified by the physical appearance of Maurice Tillet, a famous French professional wrestler who, in his late teens, was diagnosed with acromegaly, a condition caused by the abnormal production of growth hormone. His particular physiognomy is said to have provided the inspiration for the animated film character Shrek.



perspective, the first of the two photographs shows Dusek spinning his opponent – whose body is entirely lifted off the ground – around in an attempt to send him flying through the ropes, while the second shows Robert inflicting much pain with a twist hold “under the shocked gaze of expert referee Dan Murray.”<sup>71</sup> Before the advent of television, images like these added an exciting visual dimension to the radio broadcasting of sports entertainment. Poirier in particular made good use of the photographic camera’s ability to seize decisive moments and thus illustrate, in only two or three shots, the high points of an event.

While placing less emphasis on fleeting moments than his photo-reportages of wrestling matches, the photographer’s documentation of local sports shows, tournaments and festivals presents a view, popular at the time, of physical culture as an organized, rational endeavour. In these types of image, Poirier frequently depicts large groups of athletes engaged in a communal activity, from a distance and from above. The effect of such a vantage point is a quasi-abstract pattern created by a mass of virtually identical bodies, where individuality is exchanged for a sense of regularity and order. For example, a photograph published on October 26, 1940, which shows the students of the aviation school housed in the Institut de Nazareth de Montréal during their morning exercises, is taken, appropriately enough, from a bird’s-eye perspective (fig. 3.23). Individual faces or expressions are not visible from this point of view, and the students are represented as forming a single unit.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> “Dans le monde sportif,” *Le Samedi*, November 4, 1939, 9.

<sup>72</sup> The abstracting view of large groups was a common aesthetic, made famous by German filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl in her 1935 Nazi propaganda film *Triumph of the Will*. For a contemporaneous critique of this aesthetic, see Siegfried Kracauer, “The Mass Ornament,” in Thomas Y. Levin ed. and trans., *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 75-86, 356-357.

A similar result is achieved in Poirier's image of the show put on for the Festival des Écoliers de Montréal, reproduced in the June 22, 1940 issue, in which a vast group of students are again pictured carrying out an exercise in unison (fig. 3.24). The caption provides a frame for the photograph by revealing the philosophy behind the magazine's interest in physical culture:

For the past five years, *Le Samedi* and its sports columnist Oscar Major have been supporting all the movements aimed at popularizing physical training among boys and girls. We have published hundreds of articles on the subject, and *Le Samedi* was the first magazine to offer illustrated exercise routines for French-Canadian men and women. Our objective: to make the French-Canadian race a strong race.<sup>73</sup>

The ideal of a healthy nation – a nation that, crucially, will be strong enough to survive the ongoing war – is thus encapsulated by a photograph of French-Canadian youth in a display of organized physical excellence.

This philosophy, which deftly conflates physical, moral and political strength, is also reflected in “Faites-en un Canadien vigoureux,” a photo-essay published in *La Revue populaire*'s August 1941 issue, which encouraged parents to develop a love of sport in their children for the betterment of their soul (fig. 3.25). The photographs, all by Poirier, are closer to his wrestling shots (although the motif of repeated bodies is also present) in that they predominantly show individuals caught in mid-action. Whether running a race, catching a ball, scoring a goal or diving into water, the people photographed appear to be frozen in time. As this photo-essay demonstrates, Poirier, who also documented the various activities of Montreal sports facilities – like those run by the Y.M.C.A. – had a

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<sup>73</sup> “*Le Samedi* et son chroniqueur sportif, Oscar Major, soutiennent depuis cinq ans tous les mouvements favorables à la vulgarisation de la culture physique chez les jeunes gens et jeunes filles. Nous avons publié des centaines d’articles sur ce sujet et *Le Samedi* a été le premier magazine à donner des cours de culture physique illustrés, destinés au Canadien français et à la Canadienne française. Notre idéal: contribuer à faire de la race canadienne-française une race forte.” My trans. “Les à-côtés de la boxe,” *Le Samedi*, June 22, 1940, 13.

knack for conveying the *look* of instantaneity, and his talent was put to good use by the magazines' promotion of a view of contemporary Quebec society as strong and dynamic.<sup>74</sup>

*Willson Woodside, Reporter-Photographer*

Paul and Poirier are examples of photojournalists who presented a view of what was happening at home. At a time when international political events were becoming increasingly ubiquitous in the magazines, the images produced by these two photographers offered *La Revue populaire* and *Le Samedi*'s readers a picture of themselves. Perhaps acting as an antidote to the substantial amount of information, both visual and textual, coming from and about elsewhere, Paul and Poirier's photographs represented not only the now, but also the here.

Willson Woodside (1905-1991), a journalist who worked for *The Canadian*, is an example of an individual who travelled abroad and offered a view from the outside.<sup>75</sup> From January 1936 until the magazine's demise in 1939, Woodside contributed, on a quasi-monthly basis, first-hand reports of his European travels, documenting primarily the political climates he encountered. Though more of a journalist than a photojournalist, he nonetheless accompanied his articles of the European situation with his own photographs – occasionally intermingled with pictures from other sources, most probably

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<sup>74</sup> As André Gunthert has argued, the snapshot (*l'instantané*) as a genre of imagery has, since its inception in the late nineteenth century, been closely tied to the representation of sport and sporting events. See André Gunthert, "Un laboratoire de la communication de masse: le spectacle du sport et l'illustration photographique," in Laurent Véray and Pierre Simonet eds., *Montrer le sport. Photographie, cinéma, télévision* (Paris: INSEP, 2000): 29-35.

<sup>75</sup> Willson Woodside also wrote for such magazines as *Saturday Night* and *Harper's*, as well as working as an announcer and correspondent for CBC radio. During and after WWII, he could be heard on the programme *CBC News Roundup*. The Willson Woodside Collection, which contains the journalist's papers, publications, and biographical information, is located in the library collection of the University of Guelph, Ontario.

photo agencies. Since his “collaborator wife” – pictured with Woodside on a tandem in *The Canadian*’s December 1936 issue (fig. 3.26) – travelled with him, it is possible that she authored some of the photographs credited to the journalist.

Befitting his role as a travelling reporter, his images are much like those of a tourist: they primarily document the urban and rural landscapes of the countries he visited, which included Russia, Germany, Italy, Sweden, England, Denmark, and Austria. Although his articles commonly refer to the friends and acquaintances that he made (and stayed with) on his trips, the individuals pictured are never identified by name. An interest in defining the general “character” of a country’s people – and the impact of this character on politics – is apparent in most of his texts. Very well written and captivating, his articles seem to have been intended to provide a digest of the various political systems existing in Europe – from a Canadian perspective. The rumblings of the approaching World War, discernible even in 1936, were explained to Canadian readers through Woodside’s contact with these systems.

His first two articles, published in January and February 1936, recount his journey throughout Russia and offer a personal account of the realities of communism. An editorial note heading up the January article, which is entitled “Russian Vignette – The Facts of Life – People and Cities” (fig. 3.27), introduces the journalist thus:

Willson Woodside is a young Canadian born in the West, with what we would call a normal Canadian upbringing and outlook. He has been going to Europe for years, going over on freighters and bicycling when he arrived, travelling on a shoestring. This year he went to Russia skeptically trained to see through propoganda, by three summers in Nazi Germany, but with the view: “What can we learn from Russia?” This is what he found.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Willson Woodside, “Russian Vignette – The Facts of Life – People and Cities,” *The Canadian Magazine*, January 1936, 13.

Four images accompany the article: the three on the right-hand page show a street scene in Kiev, the constructivist Palace of Industry in Kharkov (a “striking example of Soviet construction”) and a view of the Kremlin. The fourth, on the left, is a graphically striking image of four men surrounded by large-scale instruments of propaganda, including a giant painted portrait of Lenin. The caption beneath states that these men were “preparing for another big propaganda day. It is typically Russian that three men should be talking and one working.”<sup>77</sup>

Such sweeping generalizations about Russians – concerning, in particular, day-to-day relationship to communism – are repeated throughout the article, apparently substantiated by Woodside’s first-hand account of his experiences. In one evocative passage describing his train travels, he recounts the reactions that he, as an outsider, provoked in his fellow passengers:

How curious they were about everything I wore or had about me. They would feel my cheap grey flannels (of a well-known brand) and my seventy-five cents cotton shirt bought in Berlin and say: “You rich, eh?”. I would protest and say: “No! These are about the cheapest you can buy in Canada.” “In Russia, *nyet*; us *nyet*; Stalin, *nyet*.” No one in Russia could have such good clothes, not even Stalin. They examined my miniature camera with the interest one would bestow on the first camera in the world. Often when I took a picture they would ask me to take it out of the camera immediately and show it to them! When I did show them some small pictures, the young people would read Marxist content into them.<sup>78</sup>

The issue of governmental control is plain here: the fact that the material objects Russians had access to was heavily restricted is used to present communism (and its subjects) as primitive or backward. And that the persons Woodside encountered were unfamiliar with the workings of photographic technology effectively paints a picture of a people devoid

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 12.

of the power of self-expression. They did not know how a camera worked, it is implied, because the government exercised control over the production of photographic imagery.<sup>79</sup>

Although consistently unfavourable, the journalist's take on communism is not always simplistic, for the article also relays his observations of the very real class differences and inequalities that endured in Russia despite the communist system. But the primitivist view of Russians and their relationship to photography is reiterated in the February 1936 article, entitled "Russian Vignette – Farm and Factory" (fig. 3.28). The editorial note that once more introduces Woodside to his readers declares: "All the pictures presented in these articles were taken by the author, and that with considerable difficulty, for the Russian mind is suspicious and resentful of all photographers."<sup>80</sup> The three images accompanying this article, which show "young pioneers" preparing to go off to summer camp, women queuing for food, and men operating farming machinery, are thus presented as having been made somewhat against the will of the subjects photographed, while Woodside is represented as providing an embedded and unsanctioned (and therefore more truthful) view of the realities of a communist state.

Propaganda and the one-sidedness of its subjects – the idea that the image a given country chooses to disseminate to the outside world is not fully representative of what is happening on the inside – are addressed frequently in Woodside's articles. Interestingly, in a few cases the photographs the reporter took were printed alongside propaganda shots. For example, in "New Day or Der Tag," an article on the Nazi regime published in *The*

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<sup>79</sup> The history of photography shows that photographic culture in Russia was anything but primitive. See, for example, Margaret Tupitsyn's important work on the production and dissemination of photography in the Soviet Union, *The Soviet Photograph, 1924-1937* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

<sup>80</sup> Willson Woodside, "Russian Vignette – Farm and Factory," *The Canadian Magazine*, February 1936, 10.

*Canadian's* November 1936 issue, four urban scenes by Woodside are combined with an “authorized” portrait of Adolf Hitler (figs. 3.29-3.30).

Taken in 1925 by Heinrich Hoffmann, Hitler’s official photographer, this portrait is part of a series depicting the dictator in various poses, enacting the dramatic gestures and facial expressions that he would use in his public speeches (fig. 3.31). The portraits, made in Hoffmann’s studio, had initially been intended for Hitler’s consumption only, meant as tools he could use to study the visual effectiveness of a range of oratory poses.<sup>81</sup> Hoffmann was apparently asked to destroy the images (which he failed to do), but only after a few of them had been disseminated.

The reframing of such a photograph in a Canadian magazine, as part of an article partly about Nazi propaganda, obviously puts a different spin on its meaning. In this context the portrait of Hitler, with its clenched fists and grimacing face, seems to embody the fearsomeness and rigidity of the Nazi regime, which is corroborated by evidence, gleaned personally by Woodside, that the situation in Germany was not as simple as it appeared. Referring to the official picture of the country circulated during the 1936 Summer Olympics in Berlin, the journalist stated that:

Behind the Olympic façade of contentment, prosperity and achievement, however, the earnest enquirer could find quite another Germany. He could find possibly half of the population resentful of the dictatorship, and especially the suppression of free opinion, and the compulsion under which everything is done. (...) This “behind-the-scenes” Germany is no more the true Germany than the one painted so boldly on the front drop. A combination of both in the right proportions is Germany, but it is so much harder to find out the real truth and place the proper valuation on the concealed portion.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Charlotte Denoël, “Le charisme de Hitler,” *L’Histoire par l’image*, [http://www.histoire-image.org/site/etude\\_comp/etude\\_comp\\_detail.php?i=464&oe\\_zoom=747&id\\_sel=747](http://www.histoire-image.org/site/etude_comp/etude_comp_detail.php?i=464&oe_zoom=747&id_sel=747) (accessed January 29, 2013).

<sup>82</sup> Willson Woodside, “New Day or Der Tag,” *The Canadian Magazine*, November 1936, 46.

The juxtaposition in this article of an official picture with Woodside's own photographs can be seen as emblematic of this recognition that neither the propaganda image nor the "behind-the-scenes" one could alone tell the whole story. Yet the privileged access to this other Germany that Woodside gave the readers of *The Canadian* was considered to be a vital part of the equation.

The difference that the journalist's on-the-spot presence made to his analyses of the political climate in Europe is manifested in another article, published in September 1936, on fascist Italy (fig. 3.32). Printed alongside an illustrated article on the recently unveiled Vimy memorial – the monument commemorating the Canadian soldiers who died during the Great War – Woodside's text is punctuated by a large cut-out of Benito Mussolini in military garb, gesticulating while delivering a speech. Like the portrait of Hitler, this is a propaganda photograph that was reframed to suit the magazine's purposes. An almost identical photograph in the collection of Getty Images, which shows Mussolini standing on a makeshift stage covered with a carpet and surrounded by a group of high-ranking officers, bears the stamp of the Istituto Luce (L'Unione Cinematografica Educativa), the photo and film agency responsible for the dissemination of a large proportion of fascist propaganda imagery (fig. 3.33).

Although the portrait of Mussolini is not, in this case, counterbalanced by Woodside's photographs (the only other image, a view of a "fascist building," is not explicitly identified as his), the article itself, entitled "Doochay! Doochay! Doochay!," focuses on the potential discrepancy between an insider and an outsider's understanding of fascism. Describing the rousing experience of seeing Mussolini give a speech from the balcony of Rome's Palazzo Venezia, he writes:



Even a Canadian who finds it difficult to take this “dictator” stuff seriously finds himself caught up a little in the excited adoration of his neighbours, who salute, wave their hats, shout at the top of their lungs and gaze upward as though they were seeing a vision. The Canadian is not brought quite so far as the hollering of “Duce!”, but pokes his arm up half-way to a salute and grins around in sympathy with the good humoured crowd.<sup>83</sup>

As the text relates, seen from the outside, the Italian acceptance of the fascist regime seems incomprehensible; Mussolini’s dramatic, “operatic” performances appear exaggerated and dubious. Yet opera, he argues, is exactly what the Italian “character” desires and understands. The image of Mussolini is used in this context to illustrate the difference between Italians and Canadians; the reality of Canadians, he claims, is too far removed for them to fully comprehend how a dictatorship can be tolerated and even embraced.

A final example demonstrates more clearly how Woodside’s own photographs acted as a guarantee, not only of his presence in the places written about but also of his intimate knowledge of Europe’s political map. Published in the April 1938 issue, his article “Trouble in Austria” explains why this country was at the “centre of the European war crisis” (fig. 3.34).<sup>84</sup> He argues that the cracks in Germany and Italy’s alliance, which was largely “put on by them as a show,” become evident on consideration of their divergent interests in Austria.<sup>85</sup> What stands out as the most interesting aspect of this article is the apparent time lag between the images and the text: while Woodside’s observations are largely based on recent developments, the photographs reproduced, which were all taken by him, seem to have been made four years before.

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<sup>83</sup> Willson Woodside, “Doochay! Doochay! Doochay!,” *The Canadian Magazine*, September 1936, 7.

<sup>84</sup> Willson Woodside, “Trouble in Austria,” *The Canadian Magazine*, April 1938, 14.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

For Woodside, the July Putsch – the attempt at a coup d'état by Nazi Austrians against Austrofascists that occurred in July 1934 and led to the death of several hundred people – is an event that reveals the fragility of the alliance between Germany and Italy, since these countries were on opposing sides of the conflict. Despite the assassination by the Nazis of the Austrian chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, the coup d'état did not succeed, due in part to the military support provided by fascists in Italy. About two-thirds into the article, the journalist states that he was in Vienna on July 25, 1934, the day Dollfuss was killed, and indeed the image on the lower left documents the assassinated chancellor's funeral procession. The photograph at the upper left of the right-hand page shows a street scene in Vienna with an "armoured car," brought out by "a Nazi 'Putsch.'" The majority of the captions, however, are written in the present tense, and refer to more generic aspects of Austria's political troubles. The image on the far left, for example, a bird's-eye view of a crowd gathered in the street, is captioned: "Trouble in Austria again! Rioting in the streets becomes increasingly frequent."

It is likely that all the photographs included were taken four years before this article was written and published, yet the effect of contemporaneity is achieved, thanks both to the captions' present tense and to the up-to-date facts relayed by Woodside. If his impulse to define a country's political beliefs according to its people's temperament is questionable, he was nevertheless a source of valuable first-hand information, at a time when the propaganda image was being simultaneously exploited and challenged in the press. If Henri Paul and Conrad Poirier can be seen as examples of photographers who captured the present as it was experienced in Canada, Woodside's texts and photographs

represented an up-to-the-minute view of the outside, shaped specifically for a Canadian audience.

In these three cases, discussed as examples of the impact that particular photographers had on the overall visual character of the magazines and thus on the emergence of photographic modernism, the genre of photojournalism is exploited to great effect. As these examples illustrate, the codes of photojournalism were employed in a way that is specific to the Canadian context, whether they were used to depict Canada for Canadians or to offer a carefully framed picture of elsewhere. Photojournalism, as an already established genre in circulation in a host of widely circulated magazines, was a tool through which the present – encapsulated simultaneously by the candid moment, the peak of an action, and the current event – could be represented and recognized.

## Chapter Four

### THE SELF

*The structural similarity between much advertising and much modern art is not simply copying by the advertisers. It is the result of comparable responses to the contemporary human condition, and the only distinction that matters is between the clarification achieved by some art and the displacement normal in bad art and most advertising.*

Raymond Williams, "Advertising: The Magic System"<sup>1</sup>

"In the General Electric home, lovely hands are free from toil," reads a full-page advertisement published in the June 1937 issue of *Chatelaine* (fig. 4.1). Beneath this statement is a black and white photograph of a woman's left hand, delicately holding an electric plug. An illustration of a large, tree-flanked and probably suburban home floats in a glowing grey field, just below the caption at the upper right. All that can be seen of this woman is her hand, which is close-cropped and appears larger than life on the monthly periodical's 35.5 x 27 cm page. A sharp light beams down onto her smooth, white fingers, accentuating the sparkle of her wedding and engagement rings. This ad for the Canadian General Electric Company, then headquartered in Toronto, encourages the magazine's reader to "Modernize [her] home the General Electric way" by having enough outlets and light switches installed to satisfy the requirements of "modern electric servants." At the bottom of the text box, the reader is invited to mail in for free copies of the illustrated booklets "The General Electric Home" and "The New Art of Living."<sup>2</sup>

Such is the type of imagery discussed in this chapter, which addresses explicitly an as yet only faintly acknowledged aspect of the six publications studied: the fact that

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<sup>1</sup> Raymond Williams, "Advertising: The Magic System," in *Problems in Materialism and Culture: Selected Essays* (London: Verso, 1980), 190.

<sup>2</sup> "In the General Electric Home," *Chatelaine*, June 1937, 3.

they were consumer magazines. The presence of advertising in these periodicals was – far more than reader subscriptions – essential to their economic survival, and, as will be seen, had a major impact on their visual appearance. Not only did photographic advertisements contribute to the elaboration of the language of photographic modernism for a Canadian public, they may even be said to have paved the way, for with advertising comes a desire to be on the cutting edge of communicative norms.

As I was carrying out my research and surveying the three English-language and three French-language magazines that represent its corpus, it became apparent that one very distinct type of advertising image had a pronounced effect on their visual character. What I came to refer to as the “severed hand motif” – close-ups of one or two hands represented alone, seemingly severed from the rest of the body – was so common in the examined periodicals that it presented itself as an opportunity to trace some of the links between advertising in Canadian magazines and international artistic currents, and to investigate the conception of the self underlying each.

A discussion of the development of modern advertising in the early twentieth century, followed by an overview of the use of the severed hand motif in such art movements as surrealism, reveals that the understanding of the self in advertising and avant-garde art was remarkably similar. Of particular concern to me, however, is what this notion of selfhood means within the context of advertising in Canadian magazines, as well as how it is reflected in the rest of their visual and textual content. As will be seen, the codes and conventions of advertising matter were part of the fabric of Canadian magazines.

### *Advertising in Canadian Magazines*

Focusing on the advertisements also provides an opportunity to assess in a concrete way the substantial presence of Americanism, in the form of advertised consumer goods, within the Canadian context. In fact, a large proportion of the ads reproduced in Canadian magazines were for products originating in the United States. For example, in its March 1935 issue, *Chatelaine*, which conveniently provided its readers with an index of its advertisers, listed at least 60 American brands among the 125 enumerated (fig. 4.2).<sup>3</sup> That the 92-page issue comprised such a high number of ads is surprising, yet even more so is the fact that about 50 percent of them were for American products, including Aspirin, Baker's Chocolate, Campana Italian Balm, Campbell Soup, Chevrolet, Crisco, Fleischmann's Yeast, Heinz, Hinds Honey & Almond Cream, Kellogg's All-Bran, Kotex, Kleenex, Listerine, Metropolitan Life Insurance, Midol, and Woodbury Facial Soap. Approximately half of the remaining fifty percent were for Canadian brands (for instance, Canadian Westinghouse, Dominion Textile, Hewetson Shoes, Magic Baking Powder, and Windsor Salt), and the rest were chiefly of British origin.

Many of the products emanating from the U.S. were, however, promoted as being "made in Canada," presumably in subsidiary plants of the parent companies. Baker's Chocolate was announced as being manufactured in Canada, as were Campana's Italian Balm, Campbell Soup, Heinz Baked Beans, Midol, and Woodbury Facial Soap, to name but a few. Others were not explicitly said to be produced in Canada but were made

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<sup>3</sup> *Chatelaine*, launched as a women's magazine in 1928, was owned by the Maclean Publishing Co. Between 1929 and 1952 it was edited by Byrne Hope Sanders. The managing editor, H. Napier Moore, who was also the editor of *Maclean's* magazine and editorial director of Maclean Publishing, signed *Chatelaine's* often humorous monthly editorials. For a short history of *Chatelaine*, see Marie-Josée Des Rivières, Carole Gerson, and Denis Saint-Jacques, "Women's Magazines," in Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon eds., *History of the Book in Canada, Volume 3, 1918-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 249-251. According to these authors, by 1950 *Chatelaine's* circulation numbers had reached almost 380,000.

available to Canadian consumers through branch offices located primarily in Ontario and Quebec. In such cases, only the company's address was changed, as can be seen in an ad for Ipana Toothpaste printed in the May 1935 issue of *Chatelaine* and the March 1935 issue of the American monthly magazine *Woman's Home Companion* (figs. 4.3-4.4). Based on a sampling of evidence, it can be assumed that ads for American products were largely left unchanged and reproduced in Canadian magazines as they appeared in U.S. publications.

It might be expected that the biggest differences between American and Canadian ads for U.S. products would emerge when considering the three Montreal-based magazines chosen, where advertising material was published in French. However, these sources also illustrate the homogeneous character of consumer magazines, and this in spite of the particular editorial and cultural viewpoints of each. It is common to find the same ads reproduced in the anglophone and francophone publications within the same month. Almost identical ads for Hinds Honey & Almond Cream, for example, were printed in the November 1935 issues of *Chatelaine* and *La Revue populaire*, each equivalently pronouncing that “lovely hands/de belles mains” could be acquired “this easy way/de cette façon” (figs. 4.5-4.6). Judging by the parallelism in the remainder of the texts, the potential differences between anglophone and francophone readers were deemed – from an advertising point of view – of no great consequence.

The overwhelming presence, within all six periodicals considered, of ads using the severed hand motif is another indication of the homogeneity of consumer magazines. With the possible exception of *Maclean's*, which lags in the severed hands department, they are as common in publications intended for a general audience as in *Chatelaine* and

*La Revue moderne*, which were geared more specifically toward the female population, and as a result included a higher number of beauty and fashion-related features.<sup>4</sup> Part of the reason for this is that the severed hand motif was not restricted to products that literally involved hands (and therefore beauty and fashion), such as hand cream, nail polish and remover, or watches (figs. 4.7-4.9). Instead, the wide array of items it was used to advertise included shoes, cheese, cameras, cleaning products, toothbrushes, sanitary napkins, beer, spaghetti – and even electricity (figs. 4.10-4.17, 4.1). Clearly, the motif was not reserved for commodities for which, in order to be accurately represented, an image of hands was required.

A severed hand is not necessary to sell electricity, yet one takes centre stage in the ad for Canadian General Electric (fig. 4.1). As in the bilingual Hinds ad, value is put onto hands that are “lovely,” but whereas this goal can be achieved directly with cream, loveliness can result, through a circuitous route, from electricity: it is made possible by the avoidance of manual labour associated with household appliances (or “modern electric servants”), which are themselves made possible by an increased number of outlets or, ideally, the electrification of the entire house. Plugging an appliance into an outlet, the photograph seems to communicate, is the only non-automatic job that will remain post-electrification. But if, as the ad’s slogan indicates, freedom from manual labour is the key selling point of electricity, why should this idea be represented by a single hand, detached from the rest of a woman’s body?

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<sup>4</sup> *La Revue moderne* was the direct ancestor of the Quebec version of *Chatelaine*, which was launched as the circumflexed *Châtelaine* in 1960 after having been bought by the Maclean-Hunter Publishing Co. For discussions of the gender-specific content of *Chatelaine* and *La Revue moderne*, see Valerie J. Korinek, *Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); and Line Chamberland, “*La Revue moderne*, 1945-1960. Une analyse de la presse féminine commerciale au Québec” (MA thesis, Université de Montréal, 1982).



Although the motif is composed of a number of consistently recurring visual features, its most conspicuous is that the hands are represented as though excised from a figure: usually cut off at the wrist level, severed hands jut out from one side of the frame and seem to float, ostensibly acting of their own volition. This feature is even reinforced by examples that do include a head, shoulders, and some forearm, such as an ad for Princess Pat Face Powder, reproduced in *Chatelaine* in March 1938, in which a woman is shown holding up a mirror (fig. 4.18). Though the hand is evidently hers, the woman's long-sleeved black top, which would blend into the dark background were it not for a dim light source behind her shoulders, makes it appear to exist autonomously. This effect of separation between hands and their owners is marked in an ad for Lady Esther Face Cream, published in the October 1935 issue of *Chatelaine*, in which the physical link between a woman's head and hands is absent (fig. 4.19). A close-up of her upward turned face displays her furrowed brow, while her curled fingers, posed on her cheeks, feel for the "little bumps" that are evidence of blemishes. In this instance, her hands come across as almost insect-like, foreign beings.

Long, slightly curled fingers are another recurring feature of the motif, sometimes giving hands the appearance of claws (fig. 4.20) but more often lending them a plant-like quality. For example, one ad for Campana's Italian Balm, printed in *The Canadian's* December 1932 issue, presents a pair of hands daintily holding a small hourglass, as though they were the outer leaves encircling a flower (fig. 4.21). Even when represented carrying out an actual household task – whether taking a bar of soap out of its package, crushing aspirin tablets into a glass of water, or opening a can of spaghetti (figs. 4.22-4.23, 4.17), slightly curled fingers produce an effect of organic gracefulness.

Such hands are also usually youthful, clean, exclusively white, and predominantly female. Among the rare deviations from this last rule are a Molson ad, published in *Le Samedi* on March 26, 1932, showing three superimposed shots of male hands holding beer-filled glasses (fig. 4.16); an ad for Sisman's Scampers from the May 1, 1940 issue of *Maclean's*, in which a pair of male hands can be seen cutting through a shoe vamp (fig. 4.10); and an ad for the Ciné-Kodak Eight that appeared in *The Canadian* on December 1935 and depicts a woman handing the amateur movie camera to a man (fig. 4.12).<sup>5</sup>

What Molson's three superimposed photographs also illustrate is that it was frequently considered effective to use the motif several times within a single advertisement. Perhaps the most striking example of this is another ad for Hinds Honey & Almond Cream, published in *Le Samedi's* October 7, 1939 issue, which invited readers to guess the ages of five severed hands and mail in their responses, care of the "'Hinds Contest,' Toronto, Ontario," for a chance to win cash prizes (fig. 4.24). As though five were not enough, a sixth hand, seemingly attached to a pictured woman, points toward the circular frieze.

Additional images of severed hands also accompanied many Jergens Lotion ads, and while they were occasionally used to reveal the "before" state of what a well-hydrated hand looks like, they could simply offer another (severed) point of view (figs 4.25-4.27). Far from being something to shy away from, repetition – both within single ads and across publications – was evidently seen by advertisers as an effective method of persuasion. In this context, repetition can be seen as the indication of an attempt to

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<sup>5</sup> Sociologist Erving Goffman writes about the difference between the representation of female and male hands in advertisements: he contrasts the "ritualistic touching" depicted in ads with female hands, which are frequently shown caressing or "just barely touching" an object with the more utilitarian grasp of male hands. See Goffman, 29-31.

reaffirm and capitalize on a visual convention.

*The Development of Modern Advertising*

Over the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first three of the twentieth, advertising slowly developed into its modern form, largely as a result of industrialization and the consequent proliferation of branded consumer goods.<sup>6</sup> With the increase in competition between brands, the need to inform, but also to catch the attention of the growing consuming public became vital to manufacturers. As communications historian Roland Marchand explains in *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*, “inventions and their technological applications made a dynamic impact only when the great mass of people learned of their benefits, integrated them into their lives, and came to lust for more new products.”<sup>7</sup> Advertising stepped in to keep products moving and production never-ending.

With the substantial amount of money being poured into advertising, there emerged a need to professionalize the field and give it credence.<sup>8</sup> So came into being the profession of advertising agent. The “adworker” assumed the tasks previously carried out either by the manufacturers themselves or by the publishers of magazines and newspapers. Writing advertising copy, it was claimed, was an activity requiring expertise – an expertise henceforth provided by the new advertising agencies, who acted as

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<sup>6</sup> Robert L. Craig, “Fact, Public Opinion, and Persuasion: The Rise of the Visual in Journalism and Advertising,” in Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt eds., *Picturing the Past: Media, History, and Photography* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 51; Williams, 177-179.

<sup>7</sup> Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-28.

mediators between manufacturers and publishers.<sup>9</sup> These advertising agencies were for the most part located in urban centres, and their workers seemed themselves to embody the tempo and novelty of modern urban living.<sup>10</sup> According to Russell Johnston, author of *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising*, between 1900 and 1914 Toronto became the leading city in the Canadian advertising trade.<sup>11</sup>

With the need to professionalize the field came an impulse to theorize, standardize, and rationalize advertising. From the turn of the twentieth century onward, a spate of publications about advertising (what it was, and what it ought to be) began to appear in both academic sources and trade journals. While much of it was published in the U.S., Johnston argues that Canadian adworkers were both aware of and “grappled with” such literature.<sup>12</sup> If some of these “guides” simply put on paper what had been known and applied instinctually by advertising agents for years, they nevertheless acted as a theoretical – or perhaps lexical – foundation for the field. As Robert L. Craig notes, “from a communications standpoint, these guides codify a visual syntax.”<sup>13</sup> The generation and circulation of such texts, in other words, provided a vocabulary that could be systematically employed and would potentially contribute towards the success of any given ad campaign.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Williams, 178. On the development of the ad agency in Canada, see Russell Johnston, *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 41-42.

<sup>10</sup> Marchand, 2-4.

<sup>11</sup> Johnston, 43.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 144. For a discussion of Canada’s first advertising trade journal, *Canadian Advertiser*, which was founded in Toronto in 1893, see Johnston, 154-156. The most significant American trade journal, *Printer’s Ink*, was launched in 1888.

<sup>13</sup> Robert L. Craig, “Advertising as Visual Communication,” *Communication*, vol. 13 (1992): 166.

<sup>14</sup> Over the course of the twentieth century, key cultural critics have analyzed the codes of advertising as a way of challenging its economic and socio-cultural potency. See especially Roland Barthes, “Rhetoric of the Image,” in Stephen Heath trans., *Image-Music-Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 32-51; Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* (London: Sage, 1998 [1970]); Erving Goffman, *Gender Advertisements* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); Marshall McLuhan, “Ads: Keeping Upset with the Joneses,” in *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (London and New

It was important that advertising be seen as a systematic – and even scientific – practice, so that it might shed its nineteenth-century association with Barnumesque charlatanism and trickery.<sup>15</sup> In an effort to give advertising a scientific basis, the academic texts published in the early twentieth century were written from the perspective of applied psychology, itself a budding field of research.<sup>16</sup> The most influential author was Northwestern University professor Walter Dill Scott, whose 1903 *The Theory of Advertising* was revised and republished in 1908 as *The Psychology of Advertising*.<sup>17</sup> Within the Canadian context, the publication of Scott’s later book stimulated a surge of interest in applied psychology among adworkers.<sup>18</sup>

Scott’s approach to advertising – like those of other writers, including Harold Ernest Burt, whose own *Psychology of Advertising* was published in 1938 – was based on the principles of the behaviourist school and the belief that conclusions about human behaviour could be arrived at through inductive methods of analysis.<sup>19</sup> For Scott, psychology was a fruitful discipline for advertising because they shared a core object of study. “Advertising,” he considered, “has as its one function the influencing of human minds. (...) As it is the human mind that advertising is dealing with, its only scientific basis is psychology, which is simply a systematic study of those same minds which the

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York: Routledge, 2001 [1964]), 246-253; Marshall McLuhan, *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (Berkeley, CA: Gingko Press, 2008 [1951]); and Raymond Williams, “Advertising: The Magic System,” 170-195.

<sup>15</sup> Marchand, 7-8.

<sup>16</sup> Johnston, 144.

<sup>17</sup> A series of articles by Scott also appeared in the magazine *Atlantic Monthly* in 1903. See Craig, “Advertising as Visual Communication,” 167.

<sup>18</sup> Johnston, 164. As the author notes, however, no original work was done in the psychology of advertising in Canada.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 162. The link between modern advertising and behaviourism is often encapsulated in the figure of John B. Watson, the founder of the behaviourist school, and his hiring by the J. Walter Thompson advertising company in 1920. See Deborah J. Coon, “‘Not a Creature of Reason’: The Alleged Impact of Watsonian Behaviorism on Advertising in the 1920s,” in James T. Todd and Edward K. Morris eds., *Modern Perspectives on John B. Watson and Classical Behaviorism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994), 37-63.

advertiser is seeking to influence.”<sup>20</sup> Observing and quantifying how human beings perceive and react to certain types of ads thus became a cornerstone of the advertising system.<sup>21</sup> What agents did with the data gathered, Burt opined, was of no consequence to psychologists; they simply provided the methods and were not accountable for how these were put into practice.<sup>22</sup> With such methods came the belief that human perception could to a certain extent be predicted, and therefore controlled.<sup>23</sup>

And the need to control consumers’ reactions was great. As Marchand argues:

With the maturing of industrialization, the consumer remained the most unpredictable and thus the most disruptive element in the economic system. If advertising agents could induce consumers to answer their needs by depending on more products offered them impersonally through the marketplace and could educate them to a predictable and enthusiastic demand for new products, then they would enhance the rationality and dynamism of the modern business system.<sup>24</sup>

Psychology was used to get into consumers’ heads, signalling an important shift in viewpoint at the level of the fabrication of ads – a shift, identified by Marchand as marking the inauguration of modern advertising, from product to consumer.<sup>25</sup> Over the course of the first three decades of the twentieth century, the content of ads was increasingly focused on the consumer’s subjective desires and emotions, rather than on the objective qualities of the product. Previous to this, ads took the form of two dominant types: the announcement and the “reason-why.” While the announcement simply informed consumers (either politely or brashly) that a product existed and was for sale,

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<sup>20</sup> Walter Dill Scott, *The Psychology of Advertising* (New York: Arno Press, 1978 [reprint of 1913 edition]), 2.

<sup>21</sup> The first systematic market research study was undertaken by the New York firm J. Walter Thompson in 1903. See Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994), 211.

<sup>22</sup> Harold Ernest Burt, *Psychology of Advertising* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1938), 3.

<sup>23</sup> Marshall McLuhan has written about advertising as “a crude attempt to extend the principles of automation to every aspect of society.” See McLuhan, “Ads: Keeping Upset with the Joneses,” 248.

<sup>24</sup> Marchand, 2.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi-xxii.

the “reason-why” type offered a series of arguments describing why a product should be purchased.<sup>26</sup> By contrast, the new focus resulted in ads that spoke directly to consumers – often addressing them as “you” – about the fundamental needs that could be satisfied by a product.

The shift in emphasis from product to consumer was built on the belief, disseminated by the authors of the psychology of advertising, that appealing to the desires and emotions of consumers is an effective method of persuasion because human beings are not guided by reason. “We are not cold, logical machines,” Scott asserted, “who take data in and then, by a logical process, come to a reasonable conclusion.”<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, it is wrong to assume that laying out a number of arguments explaining the benefits of a product will actually lead the consumer to act in the desired manner. Suggesting that a need might be met by a product, however, was thought to be much more profitable a technique. As Scott also claimed, “it was once supposed that suggestion was something abnormal and that reason was the common attribute of men. Today we are finding that suggestion is of universal application to all persons, while reason is a process which is exceptional, even among the wisest.”<sup>28</sup>

The method of suggestion consisted in beginning at the end: rather than showcasing the product’s characteristics, ads revealed first and foremost its outcome. But this outcome was not something concrete, like smooth hands, but an abstract idea usually related to the personal lives of consumers. The theory was that associating certain desires and emotions – such as love, happiness, wealth, and respect – with a given product would lead consumers, through the workings of the unconscious mind, to want and buy said

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<sup>26</sup> Johnston, 145-147.

<sup>27</sup> Scott, 89.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 82-83.

product. “The idea is suggested by the advertisement,” Scott explained, “and the impulsiveness of human nature enforces the suggested idea, hence the desired result follows in a way unknown to the purchaser.”<sup>29</sup> Because consumers were not explicitly encouraged to buy something (Burt, for one, warned against the use of the “blunt command”), they were left with the belief that they were acting with their own free will, unaware that an idea had been planted in their heads.<sup>30</sup>

According to psychologist and historian David P. Kuna, suggestion is the paramount concept in the psychology of advertising.<sup>31</sup> As he explains, the notion was informed by a late nineteenth-century theory of hypnosis, which held that in a hypnotic state behaviour could be brought about through the external suggestion of an idea. As long as the idea was not interrupted or deviated by other, conflicting ones, it would make its way in a direct line, like an arrow reaching its target, and produce the correct behaviour.<sup>32</sup> Hypnosis represented an extreme case of what psychologists considered a state common to all: that people are extremely susceptible to suggestion. According to Kuna, Scott in particular “viewed advertising as involving essentially the same social process as hypnotism. The advertiser sought to influence the mind of the potential consumer, just as the hypnotist sought to influence the mind of his subject. In each case, the desired result was some particular action which would be carried out unhesitatingly, and unthinkingly.”<sup>33</sup> And susceptibility to suggestion is most ripe, Scott believed, when ideas that relate to the emotions are introduced.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>30</sup> Burt, 53.

<sup>31</sup> David P. Kuna, “The Concept of Suggestion in the Early History of Advertising Psychology,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 12, no. 4 (October 1976): 347.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 349.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 350.



The appeal to consumers' emotions could be expressed negatively as well, in the sense that an idea could be suggested by the imagined absence of a product. In such cases, ads presented highly dramatic narratives of personal tragedy or social disgrace that befell those who, due to ignorance or sheer stubbornness, did not use the product. Referred to as "scare copy," these ads functioned by appealing to consumers' supposed inferiority complexes (i.e., you are not married because you do not use deodorant; your family's fate is in danger because you do not have the right tires). As Marchand notes, the product was invariably offered as the easy solution to the negative emotion conveyed.<sup>34</sup>

To some degree, ads no longer even needed to include an illustration of the product, since what was being sold was more an idea (and, of course, a brand name) than an object. Following Raymond Williams's critical account of the history of advertising in his essay "Advertising: The Magic System," the notion that abstract ideas are thought necessary to sell objects can be seen as a sign that materialism is insufficiently valued. He writes:

It is impossible to look at modern advertising without realising that the material object being sold is never enough: this indeed is the crucial cultural quality of its modern forms. If we were sensibly materialist, in that part of our living in which we use things, we should find most advertising to be of an insane irrelevance. Beer would be enough for us, without the additional promise that in drinking it we show ourselves to be manly, young in heart, or neighbourly. A washing-machine would be a useful machine to wash clothes, rather than an indication that we are forward-looking or an object of envy to our neighbours. But if these associations sell beer and washing-machines, as some of the evidence suggests, it is clear that we have a cultural pattern in which the objects are not enough but must be validated, if only in fantasy, by association with social and personal meanings which in a different cultural pattern might be more directly available.<sup>35</sup>

It is these "social and personal meanings" that are desired, in fact, and the objects that

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<sup>34</sup> Marchand, 14.

<sup>35</sup> Williams, 185.

promise to fulfil them are but empty, meaningless decoys. The product, in other words, is a stand in for what the consumer really wants. Williams calls this process of sublimation “magic,” as though advertising involves a disappearing (and reappearing) act.<sup>36</sup>

Yet if an image of the product was becoming optional, other kinds of images were a necessity. From the 1870s onward, as brands multiplied and competition among them escalated, illustrations were used in advertising as a means to grab consumers’ attention.<sup>37</sup> Unlike text, images allowed for idealistic representations of the product, about which exaggerated claims could be made without having to be necessarily verifiable.<sup>38</sup> Because of the ease with which idealizations could be produced, drawings and engravings continued to be in favour long after the half-tone photograph first appeared in the press, in the 1880s; the early 1920s marked the beginning of the consistent use of photographs in advertising.<sup>39</sup>

Burt dedicates a small section of his 1938 *Psychology of Advertising* to the question of whether photographs are psychologically more effective than drawings. Remarking that certain experiments had indicated that photographs were shown to be superior, he wrote: “The only explanation suggested for this finding is that the photograph appears more natural and catches attention because of this realism, just as a living model in a clothing store window attracts more people than does a dummy.”<sup>40</sup> Although drawings could be said to be superior in that they permitted idealized representations of the subject, the fact that photographs could be extensively retouched

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid. Williams also uses the term ‘magic’ to compare the cultural pattern that enables the advertising system to modes of (religious) persuasion found in “simpler societies.”

<sup>37</sup> Craig, “Fact, Public Opinion, and Persuasion,” 51.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 54; Robert A. Sobieszek, *The Art of Persuasion: A History of Advertising Photography* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988), 30.

<sup>40</sup> Burt, 275.

made them a more effective medium. Even when retouched, “a photograph of the product,” he surmised, “has the advantage that it builds confidence because the observer feels that he is seeing the product exactly as it is.”<sup>41</sup>

But whether a photograph actually represented something more truthfully than a drawing was less important than the notion that it was perceived to do so by consumers. Advertising professionals constantly talked about the “sincerity” of the photograph, yet it was acknowledged that sincerity was to be found not in its intention, but in its effect.<sup>42</sup> Consumers were thought to believe in photography despite the fact that the vast majority of advertising photographs were retouched and that they, like drawings, presented a highly manipulated and idealized version of reality. As Marchand explains:

The very ambiguity of the relationship between things-as-they-are and things-as-we-like-to-fantasize-them was the quality that came increasingly to endear the photograph to advertising. The advertiser could use the photograph to select a particular visual “truth” about the product, or to place the product within a staged but “truthfully recorded” social or natural scene of optimum appeal. The photograph, with its aura of literal and objective reproduction, then shouldered the burden of conveying this selective, idealized image to the consumer as a representative, unexceptional, and therefore realizable “truth.”<sup>43</sup>

Since it was thought that consumers trusted in the photograph’s capacity to tell the truth, it was deemed the type of image best suited to represent, in Marchand’s words, an indisputable form of “hyped-up realism.”<sup>44</sup>

Burt maintained that it did not matter to the advertising psychologist whether the way consumers reacted to particular kinds of ads or types of images was innate or acquired; what mattered was that consumers’ reactions occurred consistently and

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Marchand, 150. See also Lears, 324.

<sup>43</sup> Marchand, 152-153.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 153.

universally.<sup>45</sup> In other words, theories of the psychology of advertising were not based on an idea of human nature but were drawn from the evidence garnered from tests involving perception. Still, such evidence was extrapolated and applied en masse to advertising's public, resulting in a surprisingly unchanging conception, if not of human nature, then of the average consumer. Aside from trusting photographs, consumers were seen as being susceptible to suggestion and emotional appeals, and therefore as basically irrational. The supposed irrationality of consumers appeared to justify what may have otherwise seemed overly sensational and sentimental advertising techniques, while at the same time justifying the expertise and mediating role of the advertising agent.<sup>46</sup>

The conception of the consumer included another crucial characteristic: femaleness. As Scott unambiguously stated, "women are, in general, more susceptible to suggestion than men."<sup>47</sup> The approach to advertising espoused by psychology, therefore, was thought to be especially effective on women. But beyond this belief, statistics generated at the time estimated that the female population made up the vast majority of the buying public. According to Marchand, it was commonly printed in advertising journals that eighty-five percent of all spending was done by women.<sup>48</sup> "No facet of the advertiser-audience relationship held such consequence for advertising content," he writes, "as the perception by the overwhelmingly male advertising elite that it was engaged primarily in talking to masses of women."<sup>49</sup> Combining the psychology of advertising's theories, data on female purchasing power, and popular ideas on the emotionality and irrationality of women, advertising agents moulded their ads to fit their

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<sup>45</sup> Burt, 76.

<sup>46</sup> Lears, 212; Marchand, 84.

<sup>47</sup> Scott, 87.

<sup>48</sup> Marchand, 66. The author refers mainly to journal issues published in the 1930s. See also Lears, 209.

<sup>49</sup> Marchand, *ibid.*

perceptions of consumers.

Developing in conjunction with mass magazines and the concurrent emergence of a growing reading and buying public, modern advertising was thus defined by an approach that was focused on the consumer. Based on the theories articulated by applied psychologists, it initiated a mode of address that *spoke to* consumers and their perceived subjective needs and emotions. As the functional backbone of the mass magazine as it expanded in the 1920s and 1930s, modern advertising, with its particular mode of address, presented magazine readers with a new, ubiquitous form of visual and textual communication.

### *The Emotionality of Hands*

Considered from the perspective of the language of modern advertising, the severed hand motif is emblematic of a larger system of representation in which certain types of images become, through repetition, semiologically overdetermined. In a way, hands operate as a blank screen onto which any number of desires and emotions can be projected. How they are framed (by the text, and by the product being advertised) restricts their particular meaning, yet at the core hands are the ideal image via which the subjective – or perhaps the intangible – can be signified. Among the intangibles expressed by this motif, some are more prevalent than others, notably social standing, aging, and love.

Representing social standing are the ads that associate a product with work, or rather the absence of it, and the related social position that a lack of work connotes. Hands are invariably used to symbolize labour – either at home or at the office – and the resulting physical effects on the body, which can be witnessed thereafter by others. The

“Lovely hands are free from toil” ad for Canadian General Electric is included in this category, with its implication that electrified homes enable housewives to carry out housework without its evidence showing on their hands (fig. 4.1).

Another example is an ad for Campana’s Italian Balm, published in *The Canadian* in March 1933 (fig. 4.28). Several efforts have been made to tailor this ad for an American product specifically to Canadian consumers: aside from describing the cream in a line at the bottom as “Canada’s most economical skin protector,” it claims in the main text that “Italian Balm won its laurels here in Canada over 30 years ago. Today its sale exceeds that of any other lotion!” The visual component, divided diagonally, is composed of two pictures, showing two pairs of severed hands seen from above – those at the top doing dishes and those at the bottom typing – thereby cleverly suggesting two kinds of women (the housewife and the office worker, or married versus single). “Working hands *all day long*” reads the heading, followed by “How will they look *tonight?*” Instilling doubt in the minds of those who identify with either lifestyle, this last question implies that the tasks women must perform in their daily lives have an impact on leisure time, the evening, when moments of sociability occur – especially with men. The main body of the text warns against the concrete effect of labour: the premature aging of skin. Yet the emotion indirectly appealed to is the fear that moments of sociability will, along with hands, dry up.

An early example of the motif was printed in *Le Samedi*’s March 1, 1930 issue (fig. 4.29). Two pairs of severed hands are again depicted, this time to represent a contrast between social positions. The upper image, said to be “based on a photograph,” displays the hands of “a woman who has three servants to do all her household tasks,”

whereas the lower, identified as a photograph and thus affirming its truth to nature, shows “the beautiful hands of a woman who does all her own housework.” The hands in the bottom image are, it is stated, doing dishes with the advertised product: Lux soap. Such is the beauty treatment necessary to acquire beautiful hands like those of a woman who has three servants. To the question “Do women with servants have more beautiful hands?,” posed at the top, the answer is no, not if Lux is used. Following the logic of the ad through, the women being addressed are those who do their own housework, and therefore buy dish soap; this is a soap made especially for these women, since it allows them to acquire the appearance of those from the upper echelons of society; Lux soap helps satisfy the desire to defy social strata. The question of how well it cleans dishes is not posed.

During the war, ads using the motif took a different tenor, as can be seen in an example advertising Jergens Lotion, reproduced in *La Revue populaire* in September 1942 (fig. 4.30). Across the top photograph, which shows a young couple sitting together, the man examining the woman’s palms, is written: “Hands he won’t forget.” A few telling details – the woman’s wedding ring and the man’s uniform, signalled by his jacket’s shoulder board – combine to paint the scene of a reunion between a wife and a husband, on leave from the army. The three pairs of severed hands below reveal what she has been up to while he has been away: helping to fabricate a motor in a factory, trussing a chicken, and applying hand cream. Smooth hands here take on patriotic proportions: like other forms of war work, they are a woman’s duty, and a way in which she can support her husband’s sacrifices. On a more personal level, they ensure that he will come back.

Love is perhaps the most commonly invoked intangible and is sometimes invoked negatively, in instances of “scare copy.” In another ad for Lux dish soap, published in *Chatelaine*’s June 1938 issue, the opposite of matrimonial bliss is posited as a danger that can be avoided by the use of Lux (fig. 4.31). Among “Husbands’ ‘pet hates,’” the text reads, are “Curlers: spoil his illusion that you’re just naturally beautiful,” “Greasy face: morning messiness stays in his mind all day long,” and “Dishpan hands: kill romance – make him feel ashamed of you.” The severed hand pictured, whose ruggedness contrasts with the elegance of a wedding ring and matching bracelet, coupled with the caption’s reference to shame, prompts the reader to imagine nights out where husbands are embarrassed by the homeliness of their wives. That washing dishes is the most common and inescapable of household chores guarantees that the fear of dry hands – and their ramifications – will be felt by all readers. As in the previous Lux ad, the activity that leads to a problem can also be its solution.

The idea that hands hold the key to finding love is expressed in an earlier ad for Jergens lotion (fig. 4.32). The top image in the ad, which appeared in *Chatelaine* in April 1938, shows a woman sitting alone at a party, peering at another surrounded by two men, one of whom holds her hand. The first woman, now with a flower in her hair, is represented again in the bottom photograph (she is recognizable by the identical hairstyle and dress, and by a star floating beside her head), in a close-up portrait with one of the men from the top picture. The heroine’s hands, which are visually severed even though her head is included, awkwardly and possessively hold the man’s chin and mouth. Although the images are read as a before-and-after sequence demonstrating that Jergens Lotion leads to love, the caption straddling the two images states that “Romance grows



cold when a girl's hands feel chapped and rough, look old." A nod to the fear of losing love is thus inserted, leaving even those who are already attached feeling vulnerable.

As Williams argued, the product is never enough. In all of these cases, something greater, more abstract is required to persuade readers that a purchase is essential. Severed hands, in this context, act as a kind of doorway to the interior lives of readers; they have the power to stand for hopes, fears, even identities. Together, these ads communicate that hands are more than mere appendages – they are the locus of the self.

### *Modernist Photography and Advertising*

Studies have shown that the relationship between modernist photography and advertising was a close one. The contributions that photographers such as Paul Outerbridge, Man Ray, Charles Sheeler, Edward Steichen, Margaret Watkins, and Clarence White made to the field of advertising are increasingly being interpreted as significant aspects of these individuals' careers.<sup>50</sup> In practice, the distinction between personal and professional work was often tenuous, with both spheres mutually influencing each other. Shifting the perspective from photographers to photographs, a sense of continuity from modernist photography to advertising can also be found.

The severed hand motif was explored frequently in the first half of the twentieth

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<sup>50</sup> See especially Michele H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 171-204; Elspeth H. Brown, "Rationalizing Consumption: Lejaren à Hiller and the Origins of American Advertising Photography, 1913-1924," in Elspeth H. Brown, Catherine Gudis, and Marina Moskowitz eds., *Cultures of Commerce: Representation and American Business Culture, 1877-1960* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 75-90; Patricia Johnston, "Art and Commerce: The Challenge of Modernist Advertising Photography," in *Cultures of Commerce: Representation and American Business Culture, 1877-1960*, 91-113; and Marchand, 149-153; and the following monographic studies: Patricia Johnston, *Real Fantasies: Edward Steichen's Advertising Photography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997); and Mary O'Connor and Katherine Tweedie, *Seduced by Modernity: The Photography of Margaret Watkins* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

century. An early example is a series by American photographer Alfred Stieglitz, who, after having met Georgia O’Keeffe in 1917, began repeatedly recording various fragments of the painter’s body (figs. 4.33-4.36). A selection of 45 of these prints was shown in 1921 in an exhibition at the Anderson Galleries in New York.<sup>51</sup> Many of the images included represented O’Keeffe’s hands (either alone or with other parts of her body), often posed to emphasize the sinuousness or plant-like quality of her fingers. Stieglitz considered these photographs to be a composite portrait of their subject, despite the fact that O’Keeffe’s face was for the most part absent. Critics have also suggested that the series indeed constitutes a composite portrait, but a portrait of *him* rather than of her.<sup>52</sup>

Canadian photographer Eugene Haanel Cassidy (1903-1980), who had a studio in Toronto in the late 1930s and subsequently worked for the Condé Nast Studios in New York (specifically for *House and Garden* magazine), produced a severed hand series around 1943-1944.<sup>53</sup> Entitled *Hands and Torso*, the series comprises nineteen studies of a woman’s hands, making varying gestures, and one reclining female nude (fig. 4.37). Intended to be seen together, the nineteen hand images appear almost like the key to a graceful yet cryptic sign language. According to photography curator Maia-Mari Sutnik, “to fully understand these images, one has to look for the symbolic meanings in each gesture and the overall relationships they draw attention to. (...) For Cassidy, the hands were a way to express his search for spiritual self-definition. It was a vision meant to

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<sup>51</sup> Marcia Brennan, *Painting Gender, Constructing Theory: The Alfred Stieglitz Circle and American Formalist Aesthetics* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: MIT Press, 2001), 81.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>53</sup> Exhibitions devoted to Cassidy were presented at the Art Gallery of Ontario in 1981 and again in 2003, when a donation of his photographs was made to the museum. See Maia-Mari Sutnik, *E. Haanel Cassidy: Photographs, 1933-1945* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1981); and E. Haanel Cassidy Photographs, Exhibition Archive, Art Gallery of Ontario website, <http://www.ago.net/e-haanel-cassidy-photographs> (accessed March 6, 2013).

translate contemplative and aesthetic concepts into photographic form.”<sup>54</sup> Each image, Sutnik explains, represented a particular concept which, though part of a shared spiritual vocabulary, expressed the photographer’s inner state.

Artists who participated in the surrealist movement frequently used the severed hand motif. As art historian Kirsten Hoving (previously known as Kirsten Powell) has revealed, the severed hand took on multiple meanings in surrealist art, and especially in surrealist photography.<sup>55</sup> Employed by among others Berenice Abbott, Hans Bellmer, Claude Cahun, Artür Harfaux, Valentine Hugo, Dora Maar, Lee Miller, Maurice Tabard, and, most frequently, Man Ray, the severed hand can be variously interpreted as symbolic of the fetish, the erotic, the uncanny, the primitive, war and destruction, and formlessness (figs. 4.38-4.48).<sup>56</sup> Above all, however, it was perceived to be the representation of a gateway to the unconscious:

Disembodied hands were potent symbols of the liberated psyche. (...) As the body part that separates humans from other animals, hands are an identifiable symbol for the advanced reasoning capacities of the species – capacities for rationalism that Surrealists (...) were anxious to bypass. (...) For Surrealists, who wished to engage unconscious thought, severed hands symbolized a break from the physical body and a bridge to the dreaming mind.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Sutnik, 21.

<sup>55</sup> Kirsten H. Powell, “Hands-On Surrealism,” *Art History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (December 1997): 516-533; Kirsten A. Hoving, “‘Blond Hands over the Magic Fountain’: Photography in Surrealism’s Uncanny Grip,” in Jennifer Blessing ed., *Speaking with Hands: Photographs from the Buhl Collection*, (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 2004), 93-113. The latter essay was published in the catalogue accompanying an exhibition of photographs from the collection of Henry M. Buhl, who amassed over 1,000 images that in some way emphasize hands. Including examples ranging from the earliest days of the medium to contemporary art, the collection demonstrates that hands have been a perennial subject for photographers. As Hoving’s catalogue essay argues, however, the severed hand held special meaning for artists working in and around the surrealist movement. It is interesting to note that the photograph that marked the beginning of Buhl’s collecting practice was one of Alfred Stieglitz’s images of Georgia O’Keeffe’s hands.

<sup>56</sup> See Powell, 517-518, 520, 529; and Hoving, 96, 98-106, 110. On the fetishistic dismembered female body in surrealist photography, see Hal Foster, “Violation and Veiling in Surrealist Photography: Woman as Fetish, as Shattered Object, as Phallus,” in Jennifer Mundy ed., *Surrealism: Desire Unbound* (Princeton and London: Princeton University Press and Tate Publishing, 2001), 203-223.

<sup>57</sup> Hoving, 95.

From a surrealist perspective, the conscious, rational mind was associated with the ills of modern life, including the ravages of World War I, while the unconscious was deemed a great source of creativity that needed to be tapped into.

But beyond the symbolic, the surrealists – chief among them André Breton – conceived the hand as providing an *actual* link to the unconscious.<sup>58</sup> The technique of automatic writing/drawing, explained and promoted by Breton, was based on the idea that the deep-rooted visual and linguistic images that made their way to the front of the mind could be recorded via the hand.<sup>59</sup> A fitting example is the 1937 book *Les Mains libres*, which brought together Man Ray's drawings and Paul Éluard's poetry (figs. 4.49-4.50). Man Ray kept a notebook beside his bed for a period of about two years and created these drawings either immediately before going to sleep or after waking, while in a semi-dreamlike state. "In these drawings," he apparently said, "my hands dream."

Breton was interested in non-rational practices such as palmistry and other forms of "magic," and in 1935 published an article in the surrealist journal *Minotaure* on the chirollogical technique of Dr. Charlotte Wolff, a medical doctor who had recently emigrated to France from Germany.<sup>60</sup> Entitled "Les révélations psychiques de la main," the article was signed by Wolff and included reproductions and readings of the palm prints of Breton, Éluard, Marcel Duchamp, and several other artists and authors (figs. 4.51-4.52). Duchamp's palm prints, for example, yielded the following compelling

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<sup>58</sup> Powell, 517.

<sup>59</sup> André Breton, "Le Message automatique," in *André Breton. Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 375-392. On the centrality of photography for the concept of automatism, see Michel Poivert, "Images de la pensée," in Quentin Bajac and Clément Chéroux eds., *La Subversion des images. Surréalisme, photographie, film* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2009), 309-313.

<sup>60</sup> Powell, 523. On the problematic role of the occult in surrealism, see Jean Clair, "Le surréalisme entre spiritisme et totalitarisme. Contribution à une histoire de l'insensé," *Mil neuf cent. Revue d'histoire intellectuelle*, vol. 1, no. 21 (2003): 77-109.

reading: “Duchamp cannot apply himself exclusively to a single talent, since he possesses so many. (...) His intuition and sense of orientation are superior even to his intelligence, which is considerable. (...) His need for freedom in ways of thinking and living is fundamental.”<sup>61</sup>

Unlike traditional palmistry, Dr. Wolff’s technique was not devoted exclusively to reading the lines of the palm, nor was it primarily concerned with predicting the future. Her approach represented an attempt to give palmistry a scientific justification and methodology, founded – like early twentieth-century advertising – on psychological theories. In her 1942 book *The Human Hand*, which presented a comprehensive exposition of her research findings, she stated: “Modern psychology is based on experiment and statistics and includes within its purview the investigation of physical signs and their correlations with personality. Carus, Vaschide, and I have shown that the hand contains a great number of such signs that contribute to the interpretation of personality.”<sup>62</sup>

Interested in establishing the “structure of personality” and thus the “constitution of man,” Wolff determined that revelatory physical signs include the overall configuration of the hand, the characteristics of its different parts, the lines of the palm,

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<sup>61</sup> “Duchamp ne peut s’appliquer exclusivement à un seul talent, car il en a un trop grand nombre. (...) Son intuition et son sens d’orientation l’emportent encore sur son intelligence déjà considérable. (...) Son besoin de liberté dans les formes de pensée et de vie est d’ordre primordial.” My trans. Charlotte Wolff, “Les révélations psychiques de la main,” *Minotaure*, vol. 2, no. 6 (Winter 1935): 44.

<sup>62</sup> Charlotte Wolff, *The Human Hand* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), 7. Wolff was born and educated in Germany and had to flee the country when the Nazis came to power in 1933. She went first to France, where she met the surrealists, and then immigrated to England. In her later life she made a significant contribution to the academic discourse on homosexuality and bisexuality. See Harriet Freidenreich, “Charlotte Wolff,” *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*, <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/wolff-charlotte> (accessed March 8, 2013); and Toni Brennan and Peter Hegarty, “Charlotte Wolff and Lesbian History: Reconfiguring Liminality in Exile,” *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, vol. 14, no. 4 (2010): 338-358.

the shape of the fingers, and the appearance of nails.<sup>63</sup> Gesture, furthermore, was another legible sign, which she discussed in depth in her 1945 book *A Psychology of Gesture*.<sup>64</sup> She believed that personality was communicated unwillingly and impartially through these signs: “The form, texture, lines, and subconsciously executed gestures of the hand are (...), unlike facial expression, beyond our control, and therefore possess the valuable attribute of being impartial.”<sup>65</sup>

As well as providing the code that could unmask personality, the hand, Wolff believed, was the most mobile, sensitive, and expressive part of the body, and could thus reveal hidden emotions.<sup>66</sup> Emotions were reflected on the surface of the hand, but were also legible in its movement, demeanour, and even temperature. Drawing a highly evocative analogy, she proposed that “the hand is the seismograph of emotional reactions.”<sup>67</sup> Like earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and other seismic waves, emotions were conceived to be powerful forces rumbling beneath the surface, made visible through the communicative faculties of the hand.

It is doubtful whether Breton and other surrealists would have been concerned with applying Wolff’s method in its full scientific rigour, and indeed the version published in *Minotaure* was preliminary. Yet her work echoed their interest in the hand as a text to be read, or as a sign of what lies beneath. As Hoving notes, “some artists shared Wolff’s clinical interest in the script of the palm. But in general, artists were more taken with the idea of the palm as a metaphor for surfaces whose unexpected transparency reveals something hidden. The eye might be the window to the soul, but the

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<sup>63</sup> Wolff, *The Human Hand*, 9, 32-154.

<sup>64</sup> Charlotte Wolff, *A Psychology of Gesture* (London: Methuen, 1945).

<sup>65</sup> Wolff, *The Human Hand*, 10.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

palm is the window to the psyche.”<sup>68</sup>

On July 8, 1931, four years before Wolff’s article appeared in *Minotaure*, the French illustrated magazine *Vu* published a photo-essay entitled simply “Mains” (fig. 4.53). The two-page spread combined eleven photographs, taken by Henri Manuel, of French notables displaying their palms (including Henri Matisse, lower left centre, and Paul Doumer, then the president of France, upper centre). Each “portrait” was accompanied by a short description, written in conversational prose, of the individual’s personality. An example of the desire to delve into the true identities of celebrities, this visually striking photo-essay demonstrates that palmistry, and with it the idea that the self could be read on the hand, was already current in the popular press. It is notable that in this instance – as with Wolff’s article and book – prints of hands (whether photographic or palm prints) were used to generate readings. It seems that the two types of prints were considered indexically equivalent, and that the mediation imposed by the image was not thought to diminish the ultimate legibility of hands.

### *The Language of Hands in Canadian Magazines*

Though particularly prevalent in the body of work produced by the artists attached to the surrealist movement, images of severed hands were symptoms of a widespread belief in the semiological significance of hands. Considered especially evocative by surrealist artists, this type of image also functioned as a symbol of untapped desires and emotions in advertising photography.<sup>69</sup> Evidence of the supposed legibility of hands, moreover, can

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<sup>68</sup> Powell, 525.

<sup>69</sup> On the close yet sometimes fraught relationship between surrealism and advertising, see Georges Roque, “The Surrealist (Sub-)version of Advertising,” in Ghislaine Wood ed., *Surreal Things: Surrealism and Design* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2007), 161-175.

be found in the editorial content of Canadian magazines. Frequently printed near or alongside ads featuring severed hands, such articles tend to blur the boundaries between editorial and advertising matter.<sup>70</sup>

Explicit references to the linguistic properties of hands are common, as, for example, in “Le langage des mains,” published in the December 4, 1937 issue of *Le Samedi*, a one-page photo-essay displaying the letters of the alphabet in sign language (fig. 4.54). Another feature, entitled “Le langage des gants,” appeared in *La Revue populaire* in April 1937 and presented new glove styles for the spring season (fig. 4.55). “La poésie des mains,” a short article printed in *La Revue moderne* in November 1944, argued that hands must be carefully tended in order to better express the idiosyncrasies of their owner (fig. 4.56). The text concludes:

By paying close attention to the appearance of your hands, you can, without anxiety, use them unrestrictedly to make any spontaneous and graceful movement. Look at the pure hands of children; they move like butterfly-flowers. Prolong the youth of your own by caring for them scrupulously, and, since they sometimes convey thoughts, allow them freely and eloquently to emphasize the diverse sentiments of your heart and mind.<sup>71</sup>

Illustrated with a glamorous portrait of an unidentified MGM actress – possibly Lana Turner – chin in hand, and two views of hands at work, this article encourages readers to let their inner, “pure” selves shine through well-manicured hands.

The idea that hands express character is also put forward in “Look at Your Hands,” an article published in *Maclean’s* on October 1, 1945 (fig. 4.57). Written by

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<sup>70</sup> Raymond Williams remarks upon the common and insidious presence of hidden advertising in editorial matter and the frequently nebulous distinction between journalistic and advertising content. See Williams, 183-184.

<sup>71</sup> “En veillant minutieusement à l’apparence de vos mains, vous pourrez, sans inquiétude, les laisser libres de tout mouvement spontané et gracieux. Regardez les mains pures des enfants; elles s’agitent comme des fleurs-papillons. Prolongez la jeunesse des vôtres en les soignant scrupuleusement et, puisqu’elles traduisent parfois les pensées, laissez-les librement souligner, d’une façon éloquente, les sentiments variés de votre cœur et de votre esprit.” My trans. “La poésie des mains,” *La Revue moderne*, November 1944, 29.



American sculptor Ray Shaw, known for creating sculptures of the hands of famous artists, intellectuals, scientists, and the like, the text is accompanied by a portrait of the artist and photographs of three of her pieces, modelled on the hands of French opera singer Lily Pons, Canadian conductor and composer Sir Ernest MacMillan, and Canadian doctor Allan Roy Dafoe, celebrated for delivering and caring for the Dionne quintuplets. A notorious “maniphiliac,” Shaw also supplied images of her casts for a series of Longines Watches ads, which appeared in the early 1940s (fig. 4.9).<sup>72</sup>

Although the article begins with the statement that “the secret ambition of every woman – young and old – is to possess beautiful hands,” Shaw goes on to reason that in her (expert) opinion, the beauty of hands is not determined by whether they follow imposed standards of physical perfection, but by how they reveal a person’s uniqueness. “Beauty,” she contended, “seems to be measured by the structural formations, size, shape or length of fingers and nails, rather than by the quality of character and personality they express and the dexterity and sensitivity they possess.”<sup>73</sup> It seems that for Shaw, the hands of individuals who made a meaningful contribution to the arts and sciences were emblematic of the inherent distinctiveness of all humans.

The leitmotif among features devoted to hands, however, is the idea that beauty is something to be aspired to and achieved, and numerous instances of instructional articles were published. *Chatelaine*, which showcased severed hands on the first page of one of its “Beauty Culture” sections, even produced a booklet on hand maintenance (figs. 4.58-4.59). Advertised in the June 1935 issue, this specific “Chatelaine Service Bulletin on

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<sup>72</sup> “Sculptor Ray Shaw Obsessed with Hands,” *Ocala Star-Banner*, March 8, 1979, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1356&dat=19790308&id=T8JPAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=ugUEAAAAIIBAJ&pg=3726,2394451> (accessed March 10, 2013).

<sup>73</sup> Ray Shaw, “Look at Your Hands,” *Maclean’s*, October 1, 1945, 12.

Beauty Culture,” entitled “Beautiful Hands,” was promoted with the following lines: “Every woman carries her character in her hands – so why not have yours beautifully cared for?” The magazine’s readers could procure the bulletin, whose cover was illustrated with a photograph of severed hands seemingly holding a crystal ball (perhaps referencing their powers of illumination), for 5 cents.

Composed of seven photographs of severed hands supplied exclusively to *La Revue populaire* in October 1938 by Albert G. Westelin, the photo-essay “Les mains de femmes sont des bijoux” invited readers to guess the occupations of the depicted women (fig. 4.60). Although physically virtually identical, each pair of hands was said, in the accompanying caption, to belong variously to an author, a shopkeeper, a businesswoman, a chemist, a doctor, a dancer, and a “woman of the world.” Aside from the easily identifiable chemist, who manipulates two beakers, and doctor, who is taking a man’s pulse, readers would have been hard pressed to tell which hands belonged to whom. The idea communicated was that regardless of their occupation, women could achieve indistinguishably beautiful hands if they carried out the requisite treatments. Needless to say, such treatments inevitably involved purchasing new beauty products.

Such articles, along with their pendant advertisements, inevitably prompt a feeling of self-consciousness. By the sheer repetitiveness of their message, an awareness of hands – the very hands that turn the pages of the magazine – and their apparent ability to communicate overtakes the mind. Such articles and ads persuade readers to invest more money, time, and care into their hands, encouraging them to think about this part of their anatomy as tools that are useful not only for carrying out work, but for acquiring love, happiness, and a sense of self. Undoubtedly a form of brainwashing, the idea consistently

propagated is that these goals are achievable by all, no matter the occupation or social sphere. Magazine readers are addressed, in this sense, as an undifferentiated mass, on an ostensibly equal footing. It is a form of democracy, however, in which the only valuable signs are those that mask social differences – youth, femininity, and whiteness are the backdrop onto which are projected the non-concrete emotions and desires that magazine readers (should) feel.

Within the pages of Canadian magazines, then, several pre-existing discourses came together in the form of the severed hand motif. Building on the language of modern advertising, as well as on artistic explorations of the unconscious and its visual expression, the motif emerged as a significant form of photographic modernism in Canadian magazines. Within such a context, and thanks to their mode of address, ads using the motif would arguably have been perceived as a direct engagement with the interior lives of their Canadian readers. Contributing to the conception of the modern self, not only within advertising but also in the rest of the magazines' content, photographs of severed hands prompted readers to look inward.

## Chapter Five

### THE MACHINE

*Today, we have machines operated by a single man that can do the work of a hundred, whence the Depression; so we need to invent machines to be operated by a hundred men that would do the work of only one. It's foolproof: there would be no more over-production and no more unemployment. The idea is in fact neither impracticable nor new. It has been the policy for many years in major government departments.*

Fernand de Verneuil, "Machine et crise," *Le Samedi*, May 12, 1934

Rosemary Donegan's book and exhibition *Industrial Images*, produced by the Art Gallery of Hamilton in 1987, highlighted two important features of Canadian industrialization in the first half of the twentieth century: first, that the process was represented by media across the visual arts; and second, that the relationship between art and industry was close. The makers of industrial imagery, she argued, whether working in painting, sculpture, photography, or graphic design, did not simply mirror the structural changes occurring in Canadian society but participated in the very "construction of the 'idea' of an industrial Canada."<sup>1</sup> Based on my own observations, the representation of industrial Canada within the context of popular magazines occurred chiefly through photo-essays that offered a mass public a positive picture of the country's transformation. Although, as the above epigraph intimates, these magazines' producers did not accept industrialization uncritically, the photographs reproduced consistently embody the notions of technological and economic progress associated with the machine age.

The shape and character of the process of industrialization in Canada has unsurprisingly been a function of its particular colonial history and geographical

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<sup>1</sup> Rosemary Donegan, *Industrial Images/Images industrielles* (Hamilton: Art Gallery of Hamilton, 1988), vi.

situation. As Joseph Smucker explains in *Industrialization in Canada*, the country's economic life was founded uniquely on the exportation of abundant, low-cost natural resources or "staples" – goods such as grain, lumber, and metal, which require little transformation before sale and therefore only minimal manufacturing skills and a relatively small labour force.<sup>2</sup> In terms of industrial development, it is believed that manufacture – the production from raw materials of commodities that can be used by consumers – is more advanced, since it necessitates a higher level of technological proficiency.<sup>3</sup> A country that does not develop its own manufacturing sector is at a disadvantage because in order to sustain its labour force it must import manufactured goods (made from cheaply exported resources) at high cost.

Canada's initial role as a supplier of natural resources for its colonial forebears lasted long after Great Britain, having embraced industrial capitalism, made a push to cut economic ties and put an end to preferential trade agreements in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> According to Smucker, the anglophone elites – residing mainly in Montreal – who drove forward Canada's staples-based economy did not consider the benefits of establishing a manufacturing sector until relatively late.<sup>5</sup> As he writes, "they apparently saw the implications of the growing development of industrialization in Great Britain, and later in the United States, only in terms of providing markets for low-cost staples. (...) The chief concerns were not with manufacturing goods, but with devising better

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<sup>2</sup> Joseph Smucker, *Industrialization in Canada* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1980), 63. The impact of the economic dependence on staples – what is known as the "staples thesis" – was identified and described by communications historian and theorist Harold A. Innis, notably in his influential book *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, first published in 1930.

<sup>3</sup> As Smucker notes, however, this is a conventional, evolutionary understanding of industrial development. See Smucker, 72.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 63, 66-67.

<sup>5</sup> For an account of the socio-cultural specificities of Canada's industrialists at the turn of the twentieth century, see T. W. Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910," *Business History Review*, vol. 47, no. 2 (Summer 1973): 189-217.

means for obtaining and transporting goods requiring little processing.”<sup>6</sup> Part of the impetus for the creation of the transcontinental railway, so important to the symbolic unification of Canada and its political future as an amalgamated nation, was to facilitate the shipping of staples internally, from production sites to centres of trade.<sup>7</sup>

Unlike other industrialized countries, the primary sector (agriculture, fishing, and mining) continued to form the bulk of Canada’s economy. Although the manufacturing sector developed substantially in the first half of the twentieth century, due largely to needs provoked by the two World Wars, no more than a third of the labour force was being dedicated to the making of manufactured goods – a very low rate for an industrialized society.<sup>8</sup> The First World War stimulated the growth of the steel industry, as well as those of nickel, copper, zinc, and magnesium. Transportation industries, including shipbuilding and the production of aircraft, were also instituted at this time. While the Depression halted the increase of the manufacturing sector, the Second World War further stimulated the production of war-related goods, and especially metals.<sup>9</sup>

Such developments were depicted and described in the pages of Canadian magazines. Industrial photography, a prominent genre within the history of photographic modernism, played a key role in these magazines’ attempt to capture – and align themselves with – the new visual and cultural manifestations of industrialization. It is no coincidence that industrialization was portrayed chiefly through photography, itself a

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<sup>6</sup> Smucker, 65.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 69. For a critical study of the history and mythology of the transcontinental railway, see A. A. den Otter, *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). On the visual mythology of the transcontinental railway, see Vincent Lavoie, *Images premières. Mutations d’une icône nationale/Primal Images: Transmutations of a National Icon* (Paris: Centre Culturel Canadien in collaboration with the McCord Museum, 2004).

<sup>8</sup> Smucker, 77.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 75.

fairly newly industrialized medium.<sup>10</sup> Among the images that fall under the rubric of industrial photography, a sub-genre can be identified: the “how-to” narrative, or the photo-essay designed to illustrate the efficiency and rationalism of the industrial manufacturing process. As will be seen, the “how-to” narrative was used in Canadian magazines as the embodiment of a modern mode of production – even when such a mode was inappropriate to the object described.

An examination of the icons of industrial photography present in Canadian magazines reaffirms Donegan’s thesis that links can be made between the various visual media that have been employed to promote the idea of industrial Canada in the first half of the twentieth century. Links can furthermore be made between the images published in Canadian magazines and iconic examples reproduced in the American context, disseminated chiefly through print culture. Such examples illustrate the significance of photography as a medium tied closely to the development of industry in the early twentieth century. The “how-to” narrative, an outcome of the relationship between photography and industry, took on a singular meaning in the Canadian context, reflecting the country’s particular pattern of industrialization.

### *Industrial Icons*

On the cover of the May 6, 1939 issue of *Le Samedi*, a familiar scene appeared (fig. 5.1). Taken by Mark Auger (1903-1976), a photographer from Quebec City who contributed artfully composed images to *Le Samedi*, *La Revue populaire*, and *La Revue moderne* in

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<sup>10</sup> Olivier Lugon, “The Machine Between Cult Object and Merchandise: Photography and the Industrial Aesthetic in the United States during the Interwar Years,” in Éric de Chassey ed., *American Art, 1908-1947: From Winslow Homer to Jackson Pollock* (Paris and New York: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux and Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 106.

the late 1930s, the photograph shows a view of Montreal's port.<sup>11</sup> In the dark foreground of Auger's image stand two silhouetted male figures, one wearing a worker's cap, surrounded by an array of cables hanging from boat masts. Between the figures can be seen, illuminated with sunshine, the iconic grain elevator No. 2, which was designed by John S. Metcalf and built between 1910 and 1912. There is an abundance of crisscrossing, diagonal lines in the fore- and mid-ground, yet, with an astute use of light and shadow, the photographer achieves simplicity by dividing the composition into two clearly contrasting zones.

Multiple diagonals, faceless workers, and focus on a grain elevator are pictorial elements that also appear in a group of drawings and paintings executed by Montreal artist Adrien Hébert in the 1920s and 1930s. His most famous work from this series, the 1924 painting *Le Port de Montréal*, displays all of these elements (fig. 5.2). Although the silhouettes in the foreground are absent, grain elevator No. 2 is similarly bathed in sunlight and framed by oblique boat masts and cables. Hébert's proximity to his subject, however, emphasizes the gargantuan size of the concrete edifice, which rises high above the ant-like workers visible in the bottom third of the picture plane. By contrast, Auger's

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<sup>11</sup> Mark Auger's actual Christian name was Paul-Marc. Although originally from Quebec City, the Montreal Lovell Street Directory lists him as having resided at #5, 970 Roy Street East, Montreal, between 1938 and 1952, after which he moved to the West Island of Montreal. His approach to photography was aesthetically-driven, as he participated in several amateur exhibitions, including the *Canadian National Exhibition*, shown in Toronto in 1939. Aside from contributing images to popular magazines, Auger was for a time the official photographer for the Henry Morgan & Co. department store, for whom he made studio photographs of the store's merchandise. Several of the images that appeared in the magazines were taken on the Île d'Orléans, and a 16mm film portraying the island, entitled *Autumn Trip around L'Île d'Orléans*, from 1941, is in the collection of Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (E6, S7, SS2, DFC01581). His fonds, which comprises 1,750 prints and about 5,877 negatives, was donated to the McCord Museum in 2004. See "Annales *Lovell* de Montréal et de sa banlieue (1842-1999)," online collections, BANQ website, [http://bibnum2.banq.qc.ca/bna/lovell/?language\\_id=3](http://bibnum2.banq.qc.ca/bna/lovell/?language_id=3) (accessed July 14, 2012); *Canadian National Exhibition* (Toronto, 1939), n. p.; and "Fonds Paul-Marc Auger (P649)" (acquisitions document), Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal.



dark figures seem to tower practically over the structure, a function of the photographer's vantage point that symbolically gives the worker mastery over this industrial cathedral.

The readers of *Le Samedi* would likely have been able to relate the photograph to Hébert's treatment of the theme, since examples of his work had previously been reproduced in its sister magazine, *La Revue populaire* (which also printed several articles on the painter and his practice, including the photo-essay discussed in Chapter Three). For instance, different versions of *Le Port de Montréal* were featured in the August 1928 and December 1931 issues, and a reproduction of his charcoal drawing *Le Port de Montréal*, from about 1934, appeared in June 1936 (figs. 5.3-5.5). It seems that no text was needed to explain to readers the presence and significance of Hébert's industrial scenes, as this last work, for example, shared its page with an unrelated fiction piece.

Hébert was one of the few local artists to consistently depict the port, which was open to the public at the time, and to revel in the modernity of its urban landscape.<sup>12</sup> Although it appeared regularly in this series, grain elevator No. 2 was but one of the buildings that the artist illustrated, in works “where effects of colour and texture take second place to bold linear interactions that are innovatively framed so as to monumentalize the beauty of contemporary port architecture.”<sup>13</sup> While offering subject matter that allowed the artist to explore complex compositional strategies, the port's industrial structures were among building types valued by Hébert's colleagues in the

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<sup>12</sup> Esther Trépanier, “Cat. 41: *Elevator No. 1*,” in Pierre L’Allier, *Adrien Hébert* (Quebec City: Musée du Québec, 1993), 147.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 146. My trans.

short-lived yet influential Montreal art magazine *Le Nigog* in 1918, for exemplifying the functional beauty of modern engineering.<sup>14</sup>

By the time Auger's photograph was reproduced on *Le Samedi's* May 6, 1939 cover, concrete grain elevators – Montreal's No. 2 chief among them – had acquired an international iconic status as emblems of modern architecture. Photographs of elevator No. 2 had appeared in a 1913 theoretical essay by Walter Gropius, as well as in Le Corbusier's influential book *Vers une architecture*, first published in 1923.<sup>15</sup> Although misidentified as American in Le Corbusier's treatise, the elevator had for both architects admirable qualities that should be emulated by modern architecture: monumentality, the use of primary geometric forms, a lack of ornamentation, and a design that followed the building's function.<sup>16</sup> The actual purpose of the elevator – receiving, storing, and transferring massive amounts of grain to be transported by ship or rail – had little bearing on such aesthetic dictums. Yet for both foreign and local contemporary critics, the elevator's physical properties symbolized architectural modernism.

Contributing to the iconicity of grain elevators was John Vanderpant (1884-1939), the Dutch-born Vancouver photographer who was a strong proponent of the industrial genre.<sup>17</sup> As Jill Delaney explains in her recent essay "John Vanderpant's Canada," the

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<sup>14</sup> Esther Trépanier, "Sens et limites de la modernité chez Adrien Hébert et ses critiques," in *L'Allier*, 89. As Trépanier notes, grain elevator No. 2 in particular was revered in *Le Nigog* as a work of modern art by P.-P. Le Cointe. See P.-P. Le Cointe, "L'Esthétique de l'ingénieur," *Le Nigog*, no. 3 (March 1918): 142-144. On the cultural significance of this Quebec art magazine, see Jacques Blais, Armand Guilmette, Esther Trépanier, et al., *Le Nigog*, Archives des lettres canadiennes VII (Montreal: Fides, 1987).

<sup>15</sup> Patricia Vervoort, "'Towers of Silence': The Rise and Fall of the Grain Elevator as a Canadian Symbol," *Social History/Histoire sociale*, vol. 39, no. 77 (2006): 189-190.

<sup>16</sup> In an attempt to emphasize simplicity of design, the photograph of grain elevator No. 2 in *Vers une architecture* is heavily retouched (to the point of being almost unrecognizable as a photograph), and even omits the dome of the Marché Bonsecours, which should have been visible in the background. See *ibid.*, 190; and Le Corbusier, *Toward an Architecture*, John Goodman trans. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), 104.

<sup>17</sup> John Vanderpant has, since the 1970s, received a relatively large amount of attention from scholars, and because of this can be considered Canada's most prominent modernist photographer. See, for example,

vast majority of the 900 images commissioned by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1930 that he made during a year-long cross-country trip were of industrial subject matter, an approach opposed to the picturesque views typically favoured by the firm.<sup>18</sup> According to Grant Arnold, for Vanderpant grain elevators represented a unique point of convergence of the modernist and nationalist discourses: as symbols of Canadian indigenous architecture and international modernist architecture, they provided opportunities to simultaneously capture the reality of the Canadian industrial landscape and explore new aesthetic ground.<sup>19</sup> So taken was Vanderpant with them that in 1935 he delivered a countrywide series of lectures focusing on such structures. Sponsored by the National Gallery of Canada, the series was intended to make a case for photography as art – an argument that he thought was best made through an exposition of industrial architecture.<sup>20</sup>

As Delaney notes, the John Vanderpant fonds at Library and Archives Canada contains letters from a certain C. B. Stenning, a “strong promoter” of the photographer who worked in the advertising department of the Maclean Publishing Company.<sup>21</sup>

Examples of Vanderpant’s images were indeed printed in *Maclean’s* (though I found

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Grant Arnold, “The Terminal City and the Rhetoric of Utopia,” in Grant Arnold ed., *Rhetorics of Utopia: Early Modernism and the Canadian West Coast (Collapse #5)* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Forum Society, 2000), 30-93; Jill Delaney, “John Vanderpant’s Canada,” in eds. Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard, *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2011), 57-69; Charles C. Hill, *John Vanderpant, Photographs* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada and National Museums of Canada, 1976); and Ann Thomas, “Between a Hard Edge and A Soft Curve: Modernism in Canadian Photography,” *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d’histoire de l’art canadien*, vol. 21, no. 1/2 (2000): 74-92.

<sup>18</sup> Delaney, 66-67.

<sup>19</sup> Arnold, 46. As Arnold mentions, however, the grain elevator in fact originated in the U.S. On the grain elevator as a (questionable) symbol of Canadianness, see Vervoort, 181-204.

<sup>20</sup> Vervoort, 201. On Vanderpant’s involvement in the amateur photography and art worlds, see Andrew C. Rodger, “So Few Earnest Workers, 1914-1930,” in Lilly Koltun ed., *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940* (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984), 83; and Hill, 13-32.

<sup>21</sup> Delaney, 69, note 36.

none in *Chatelaine*). For instance, in the June 1, 1936 issue, Vanderpant's 1934 *The Window* was reproduced, among photographic miscellany, with the caption "another example of modern artistic photography" (fig. 5.6). Taken at an industrial site, it was followed, in the June 15 issue, by his *Temples on the Seashore* (sometimes titled *Castles on the Seashore*), an image of grain elevators from about 1930 (fig. 5.7). Both present their subjects in a quasi-abstract manner by simplifying forms and accentuating the play of light and shadow.<sup>22</sup> The latter image, captioned "a temple built by grain," was accompanied in *Maclean's* by a short text discussing the problem of overproduction in the Canadian wheat trade and the lack of sufficient foreign markets. Within this context, Vanderpant's ode to the classical majesty of grain elevators is overlaid with the voices of a contentious debate concerning the survival of one of Canada's foremost industries.

In *The Canadian's* July 1937 issue, another icon of industrial Canada was presented (fig. 5.8). Entitled "Man Can Make a Tree," the photo-essay comprising five photographs on the left-hand page and one on the right conveys the contrast between the lumber and mining industries. As the text indicates, the images on the left show the planting of new trees as a reaction to the desolation of the landscape caused by clear-cutting. As a primary resource, the article states, lumber can be renewed by responsible replanting. Mining, on the other hand, is non-renewable and purely destructive.

The photograph on the right, printed in dark green ink (one of the few photographs printed full-bleed in *The Canadian*), presents a striking interior view of the

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<sup>22</sup> Vanderpant has been retroactively criticized for continuing to use the techniques of pictorialism – such as soft-focus and textured photographic paper – long after the style had been deemed passé internationally (see especially Sandra Shaul, "John Vanderpant: A Pictorialist's Struggle with Modernism," in *The Modern Image: Cubism and the Realist Tradition* (Edmonton: Edmonton Art Gallery, 1981), 36-40). In the pages of magazines, however, such techniques are largely indiscernible, due to the heightened contrast and loss of detail resulting from photomechanical reproduction. To the readers of *Maclean's*, therefore, Vanderpant's photographs would likely have been read as dramatically abstract – and thus modern – compositions.

Copper Cliff mining plant in Sudbury, Ontario, and is accompanied by the following caption: “Sunlight streaming through the smelter haze and a huge converter, ‘blowing off’ in the background, create unusual light and shadow contrasts in this study of a worker raking off slag. It was taken in the nickel-copper smelters at Copper Cliff.”<sup>23</sup> While the article delivers a socio-economic picture of industry, the caption – although employing some technical jargon – underlines the aesthetic properties of the image, calling it a “study” and drawing attention to how the singular pattern produced by the combination of light and vapour foregrounds the photographer’s artistry.

A smaller version of this impressive image had been reproduced the previous year in the January 1936 issue of *La Revue moderne*, surrounded by other photographs presumably from the same series (fig. 5.9). Entitled “Un métal rare en usage quotidien” and illustrated with other aspects of the Copper Cliff plant, including a view of one of its continuously operating smokestacks, this photo-essay focuses on Canadian nickel and its various uses. Here the tone of the text, which is unsigned and therefore possibly supplied by the plant’s owner, the International Nickel Company of Canada Limited (INCO), is largely positive; organized into bullet points, the article consists in a list of “nickel facts,” notably that Canada produced 90% of the world’s supply of nickel (of which it consumed only 10%) and that although nickel was a metal as valuable as gold, its commercial potential had only recently been exploited. To the right of the photo-essay appears a text explaining the process and purpose of nickel galvanization.

Although Sudbury’s development as a prime site for the mining industry began in the 1880s, it was with the establishment in the region of INCO, in 1902, that Canada

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<sup>23</sup> E. Burnham Wyllie, “Man Can Make a Tree,” *The Canadian Magazine*, July 1937, 17.

became the world's leading nickel supplier.<sup>24</sup> As Donegan argues in her 2007 essay "Modernism and the Industrial Imagination: Copper Cliff and the Sudbury Basin," the rapid development of Canada's mining and smelting industry, which occurred – largely in Sudbury – as a result of the First World War and the increased demand for metals, stimulated a multitude of visual responses that, combined, gave the area an iconic status.<sup>25</sup> "The Sudbury Basin as a whole," she writes, "but particularly the village of Copper Cliff, was the largest and most overt symbol of industrial modernity in Canada and occupied a singular place in the Canadian industrial imagination as part of a larger history of promotion, profit, conflict, and environmental devastation."<sup>26</sup>

Depicted by several artists, among them Group of Seven members Franklin Carmichael, A. Y. Jackson and Arthur Lismer, Sudbury's industrial landscape encapsulated aspects of modernization that were both revered and condemned. In the 1930s, the artist who would most consistently represent the Sudbury Basin, both independently and by commission, was Charles Comfort.<sup>27</sup> Exemplifying the then common practice of working simultaneously in the artistic and commercial spheres, Comfort was hired by INCO in the fall of 1936 to paint a mural that would be displayed in the Canadian Pavilion of the 1937 International Exposition in Paris (the Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne). Entitled *The Romance of Nickel*, the mural was 6.1 metres long and consisted in a kind of painterly montage of

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<sup>24</sup> Donegan, *Industrial Images*, 74. For a first-hand account of INCO's history, see John F. Thompson and Norman Beasley, *For the Years to Come: A Story of International Nickel of Canada* (New York and Toronto: G. P. Putnam's Sons and Longmans, Green & Co., 1960).

<sup>25</sup> Rosemary Donegan, "Modernism and the Industrial Imagination: Copper Cliff and the Sudbury Basin," in John O'Brian and Peter White eds., *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 146.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 147.

various symbols of modernity – a bridge, a train, a plane, skyscrapers, etc. – whose construction presumably relied on nickel.<sup>28</sup>

In 1936 Comfort was also commissioned by INCO to produce a series of advertisements that promoted the household use of nickel and the company's brand, Monel Metal.<sup>29</sup> Produced with a scratchboard technique, Comfort's images were based on photographs.<sup>30</sup> One example, published in *Maclean's* on June 1, 1936 (incidentally the same issue that included Vanderpant's *The Window*), is clearly based on the photograph that had appeared in *La Revue moderne* a few months before and would later appear in *The Canadian* (fig. 5.10). The same raised platform and worker "raking off slag" can be seen in both, though in Comfort's version he is shown wearing a cap, rather than a fedora-type hat, and is pictured leaning dynamically toward the open furnace, rather than standing upright. Another worker, perhaps also hunched toward a furnace, his brow furrowed and forearms straining, is added to the foreground of Comfort's image. The alternating play of sunlight and shadow in the photograph's upper section has been downplayed by the artist, who instead used white areas to delineate the shape of the workers and convey the heat emanating from the furnace.

As Donegan notes, since the start of the Industrial Revolution the firing and shaping of metal has been one of the most represented subjects, due not only to the drama and danger involved in the activity, but also to its association with the wonders of

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<sup>28</sup> On Comfort's commissioned murals, see also Rosemary Donegan, "Musclcd Workers, Speeding Trains, and Composite Figures: Charles Comfort's Murals," in Mary Jo Hughes ed., *Take Comfort: The Career of Charles Comfort* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2007), 34-43.

<sup>29</sup> Donegan, *Industrial Images*, 114; Donegan, "Modernism and the Industrial Imagination," 147.

<sup>30</sup> Donegan, *Industrial Images*, 114. It is not known who took the original photographs, though it is safe to assume that it was not Comfort himself (despite him being an amateur photographer) but a staff photographer hired by INCO to document the workings of the plant. Rosemary Donegan, email message to author, April 18, 2013.

alchemy.<sup>31</sup> Accentuating the spectacular aspects of the scene, the text printed beneath Comfort's work described it as follows:

High on a tower, like a pigmy on a mountain top, stands a solitary figure. At his command a giant ladle swings upward from the furnace and pours its load of molten matte into the converter. Some sand is added. The converter rocks to an upright position. And then, as air is blown into the white-hot matte, intense heat is generated, though no heat is applied. And another step is completed in the many processes necessary to produce pure Nickel, Monel Metal, Copper and precious metals from the Sudbury ore.<sup>32</sup>

Not unlike the photographic version published in *La Revue moderne*, the ad acts as a form of economic propaganda: magazine readers are told of the value and national significance of Sudbury's industries. Despite the fact that only 10% of the country's total output of nickel was used in Canada, its ubiquity in everyday life is affirmed, and though no specific household product is being advertised, the purchasing of items containing Monel Metal is offered as a way of "provid[ing] employment for Canadian labor."<sup>33</sup> Reiterating the familiar image of industrial metalworking, the ad, with its comparative emphasis on human figures, leads magazine readers to believe that supporting the nickel industry is equivalent to helping themselves.

One of the individuals who had a pronounced impact on the industrial genre is American photographer Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971). An iconic figure (in part because of a reputedly exuberant personality), she adopted an approach to the subject matter that heroicized the machine and the industrial site by bringing out their majesty and abstract beauty.<sup>34</sup> Beginning in the late 1920s, Bourke-White was commissioned by major corporations to document – and indeed glorify – the development and increasing

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<sup>31</sup> Donegan, *Industrial Images*, 62, 64.

<sup>32</sup> "Canadian Nickel in the Home," *Maclean's*, June 1, 1936, inside front cover.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Stephen Bennett Phillips, *Margaret Bourke-White: The Photography of Design, 1927-1936* (Washington, D.C. and New York: The Phillips Collection and Rizzoli, 2003), 10; Lugon, 109.



sophistication of industrial production in the United States. One of her earliest series, taken in 1928 at the Otis Steel plant in Cleveland, Ohio, where she first practised photography professionally, includes interior views of metal firing similar to the Copper Cliff images (figs. 5.11-5.12). Though no human figures can be seen, such views also feature large furnaces and platforms, and use light and shadow in a similar way to convey a sense of drama. The president of Otis Steel was apparently thrilled with Bourke-White's renditions of the plant's operations, and her photographs were printed in 1929 in a self-aggrandizing company publication entitled *The Otis Steel Company – Pioneer* (fig. 5.13).<sup>35</sup>

As Terry Smith suggests in *Making the Modern: Industry, Art, and Design in America*, the influence of Bourke-White's photographs on industrial imagery was amplified by the breadth of their dissemination – specifically in magazines.<sup>36</sup> For example, from its inception in 1930, she was the chief photographer for the business magazine *Fortune*, founded by *Time* publisher Henry Luce. *Fortune*'s launch three months after the Crash of 1929 could not on the face of it have been more poorly timed, but its ensuing success in fact illustrated the gulf between business managers (those at the head of American industrial life, to whom the magazine was marketed) and workers – a gulf that would increase as the Depression took hold.<sup>37</sup> This was not a magazine destined for the masses: costing one dollar per issue (as much as a yearly subscription to *The Canadian*), the monthly was a hand-stitched, luxury periodical printed on expensive

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<sup>35</sup> Phillips, 29.

<sup>36</sup> Terry Smith, *Making the Modern: Industry, Art, and Design in America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 186, 192. Phillips also states that by the end of the 1920s, Bourke-White's photographs were being published in newspapers and magazines across the U.S. See Phillips, 34.

<sup>37</sup> Theodore M. Brown, *Margaret Bourke-White, Photojournalist* (Ithaca: Andrew Dickson White Museum of Art and Cornell University, 1972), 35. On the many socioeconomic and other contradictions embodied in *Fortune*, see Michael Augspurger, *An Economy of Abundant Beauty: Fortune Magazine and Depression America* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004).

paper, with colour features and advertisements.<sup>38</sup> Yet the novelty of Luce's idea, to produce a high-quality magazine devoted largely to the photographic representation of business and industry, ensured its success and influence beyond its relatively small group of subscribers.<sup>39</sup>

Bourke-White's photographs reached a wider audience through *Life* magazine, Luce's next wildly successful publishing endeavour, for which she worked intermittently over many years.<sup>40</sup> Costing ten cents, the bi-monthly's first issue, which appeared on November 23, 1936, famously bore her photograph of the Fort Peck Dam in Montana, then still under construction (fig. 5.14). Typical of her approach to industrial subject matter, this impressive image showcases the monumentality of the structure and its distinctive shape, accentuated by bright, lateral sunlight. Two small figures of workers in the immediate foreground provide a contrast to the dam's magnitude and sculptural, otherworldly appearance. The photo-essay linked to the cover did not include more images of the kind, but rather provided a candid glimpse into the lives of the people who worked on the dam, a construction project that was part of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. A controversial photograph of a young child sitting on a bar next to her mother contributed to the unexpected success of this first issue, whose initial print run of 200,000 copies had to be more than doubled.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Phillips, 41.

<sup>39</sup> *Fortune's* initial circulation figure was 30,000. By 1935 it had reached over 90,000, and in 1938 it had 130,000 subscribers. Its readership, however, may well have extended greatly beyond these numbers. See Augspurger, 56.

<sup>40</sup> Bourke-White was initially hired as a staff photographer for *Life*, a post she left in 1940. She continued to work sporadically for the magazine until 1957. See Vicki Goldberg, *Margaret Bourke-White: A Biography* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1987), 226-228, 347, passim.

<sup>41</sup> Phillips, 85-86. For a concise account of the magazine's beginnings, see Terry Smith, "Life-Style Modernity: Making Modern America," in Erika Doss ed., *Looking at Life Magazine* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 25-39. On *Life's* circulation, see James L. Baughman, "Who Read *Life?*: The Circulation of America's Favorite Magazine," in Doss, 41-51.

An image by Bourke-White that was originally published in the July 17, 1939 issue of *Life* within an eight-page photo-essay showing the machines and processes involved in the running of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) resurfaced in *Le Samedi* a couple of months later, on September 9, 1939 (figs. 5.15-5.16). In *Life*'s photo-essay, this photograph of an electrical technician working vertiginously atop a telephone pole that cuts diagonally through the picture was printed full-bleed and figured as the lead image. In *Le Samedi*, it was reproduced on its own in the magazine's sports section. Uncredited, Bourke-White's image bears no relation to the sports feature, which gives a rundown of professional baseball news; the picture's presence is explained by a caption that describes the physical agility required for an electrician to perform such duties.

The fact that *Le Samedi*'s Bourke-White image is slightly cropped at the top – eliminating the words 'The Telephone Company' that appear in the original – suggests that it was rephotographed directly from the pages of *Life* (which might also explain why Bourke-White is not credited). As opposed to its presentation in *Life*, where the electrician is part of a larger narrative on the sophistication of modern telecommunications, in *Le Samedi* the image is used as an example of everyday physical feats – and their amusing photographic representation. As this case tangibly demonstrates, Bourke-White's style was indeed disseminated through magazines – even when the photographer's name was absent.

An important precursor to Bourke-White in the development of the industrial genre was Wisconsin-born photographer Lewis W. Hine (1873-1940), who is perhaps best known for the series of images he made in the first decade of the twentieth century

representing working conditions in American industrial factories. Produced for the National Child Labor Committee, a New York City organization formed in 1904 to advocate for child labour reform, the series is groundbreaking in its unsparing depiction of the subject and constitutes an early manifestation of Hine's contribution to social documentary photography.<sup>42</sup> Photographs from the series, which were published in various magazines, including *Survey Graphic* (originally titled *Charities and Commons*) – the mouthpiece of the social welfare movement – consistently place workers at the centre of the picture, often showing them posing before or operating machinery (figs. 5.17-5.18).<sup>43</sup> As Elspeth H. Brown has noted in *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884-1929*, Hine's foregrounding of workers, who are frequently shown gazing squarely into the camera "suggests a connection, an intimacy, between the subject and the photographer (and by extension the viewer)."<sup>44</sup>

The literature on the photographer has tended to overemphasize the significance of his earlier work, a focus that has contributed to the myth of Hine as a socially righteous yet ultimately unsuccessful underdog.<sup>45</sup> This point of view has skewed the interpretation of his later photographs of industry, which were far more celebratory than critical of the subject matter.<sup>46</sup> But if Hine's perspective shifted as time passed, his particular way of drawing attention to the worker remained constant. His most famous

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<sup>42</sup> Alison Nordström, "Lewis Hine," in *Lewis Hine: From the Collections of George Eastman House, International Museum of Photography and Film* (New York: D.A.P./Distributed Art Publishers, 2012), 17.

<sup>43</sup> Kate Sampsell-Willmann, *Lewis Hine as Social Critic* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), 18-19.

<sup>44</sup> Elspeth H. Brown, *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884-1929* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 124.

<sup>45</sup> Judith Mara Gutman, "The Worker and the Machine: Lewis Hine's National Research Project Photographs," *Afterimage*, vol. 17, no. 2 (September 1989): 13.

<sup>46</sup> Elspeth Brown, 128-129.

image – and probably the most reproduced photograph in the industrial genre – features a mechanic at a steam pump in an electric powerhouse. (fig. 5.19). Taken in 1920, it is part of a series of “work portraits” that Hine would make throughout the following decade that typically picture individuals carrying out a specific industrial task. As opposed to his child labour images, the workers in these portraits are usually fully engrossed in their job, signifying a connection with the machine rather than with the photographer/viewer.<sup>47</sup>

Hine’s book *Men at Work: Photographic Studies of Modern Men and Machines*, first published in 1932, includes many such portraits, along with views of men acrobatically building skyscrapers, operating derricks, or working in mines (figs. 5.20-5.21). Addressed to children, the book was conceived and written by Hine, who honours the role of industrial workers in the hope that “the more you see of modern machines, the more may you, too, respect the men who make them and manipulate them.”<sup>48</sup> There is no hint of criticism in these images, perhaps because everyone is where they should be – the men are working and the children are at home or school, reading this book. *Men at Work* depicts industry as a sphere where jobs are not only available, but also esteemed.

What the example of Hine illustrates, especially when juxtaposed with Bourke-White, is that the incorporation of workers within industrial imagery is never arbitrary, but is rather indicative of the particular stance on industrialization being expressed. Whereas it might be said that Bourke-White mainly used human figures as props that

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 146-147.

<sup>48</sup> Lewis W. Hine, *Men at Work: Photographic Studies of Modern Men and Machines* (New York: Macmillan, 1932), n.p. A facsimile of *Men at Work* is included in the recent Hine catalogue produced by the George Eastman House, International Museum of Photography and Film (see note 43). Although *Men at Work* is Hine’s only book project, the photographer consistently had a hand in the editing, framing, and dissemination of his work. See Maren Stange, “The Pittsburgh Survey: Lewis Hine and the Establishment of Documentary Style,” in *Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography in America, 1890-1950* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 47-87; and Daile Kaplan ed., *Photo Story: Selected Letters and Photographs of Lewis W. Hine* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).

provide a contrast to the abstract grandeur of the machine or industrial site, Hine used them to signify a relationship in which, for better or worse, the worker and the machine were intimately engaged. In other words, if Bourke-White's images give prominence to industry, Hine puts humans and industry on an equal – though not unambiguous – footing. As close study of my corpus has revealed, in a comparable Canadian context the human figure is generally presented neither as an aesthetic foil nor as a somewhat equivocal partner, but rather as an integral and essential part of a *process*.

### *Picturing Industrial Production*

Within the industrial imagery published in Canadian magazines, one type of representation is particularly prevalent: the “how-to” photo-essay. Structured usually as a chronological narrative, it is similar to the “a day in the life” type of photo-essay (see, for example, the spread photographed by Henri Paul on Quebec journalist Louis Francoeur discussed in Chapter Three) in that it traces a subject step-by-step from beginning to end. While “a day in the life” is time-based, recording the various moments that, from morning to night, constitute a person's quotidian experiences, the “how-to” follows the cumulative process of a product's making, from conception to consumption.

Though closely linked with the narrative logic of industrial manufacture, the “how-to” structure was applied in Canadian magazines not only to industrial subjects, but also to features on such themes as fashion, physical culture, and cooking, indicating that it was perceived as a dominant and inclusive way of representing the world. The approach is so pervasive that one might infer that a fascination with *how things are made* is a defining aspect of the use of photography by popular magazines at this time. It

reflects an impulse to not only understand but also to *see* what goes on behind the scenes – another element reminiscent of the “a day in the life” photo-essay, with its candid glimpses into the ordinary realities of the famous. Magazine readers, it seems, wanted to see what went into the thing they were consuming, whether it was a household product or a movie star (figs. 5.22-5.23).

A compelling example was published in the December 1940 issue of *La Revue moderne* (figs. 5.24-5.26). Entitled “La vie d’un billet de tramway,” the four-page photo-essay was composed of seventeen photographs taken by Richard Arless (1906-1995), a professional photographer from Montreal who documented the operations of many local industries.<sup>49</sup> The story told is not that of a tram ticket’s fabrication, but of what happens to it after it has been used: “You drop your ticket into the driver’s box,” the introductory text explains, “and the following photographs illustrate what happens to it afterwards.”<sup>50</sup> Playing up the anthropomorphization of the tram ticket, readers are informed that although it might seem to them that it “dies” once they have paid their fare, in fact it is about to embark on the adventure of a lifetime.

Over the course of the seventeen images, each captioned with a descriptive paragraph, the process of gathering, counting, and eventually destroying used tickets by the Compagnie de Tramways de Montréal is related. Such a process is essential, it is asserted, because the company must calculate the daily revenue for each of its lines,

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<sup>49</sup> The Richard Arless fonds, which contains 26,131 photographs, is held at Library and Archives Canada. See “Richard Arless fonds,” Library and Archives Canada website, [http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam\\_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec\\_nbr=190496&back\\_url=\(\)](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=190496&back_url=()) (accessed May 1, 2013). Richard Arless was a descendant of George E. Arless and George Charles Arless, who successively ran important photographic studios in Montreal from the 1870s to the 1930s. See Jean-Luc Allard and Jacques Poitras, *Les photographes québécois (1839-1950). La première liste officielle* (Longueuil: Les Éditions historiques et généalogiques Pepin, 2006), 11-13.

<sup>50</sup> “Vous laissez tomber votre billet dans la boîte du conducteur, les photographies suivantes montrent ce qui lui arrive ensuite.” My trans. “La vie d’un billet de tramway,” *La Revue moderne*, December 1940, 15.

establish the number of counterfeit tickets, and prevent re-use. The procedure is presented as predominantly manual yet highly organized, with the majority of photographs concentrating on the employees, who, though their faces are often obscured, are named individually in the captions. Seemingly unaware of the photographer's presence in the company's headquarters, the workers are all shown busily carrying out a single, essential task. Though very few machines are pictured (the device that separates tickets from coins and the furnace are the most evident), a sense of the mechanical is conveyed by the concentrated efforts of the succession of photographed employees, as they meticulously sort, weigh, bag, and finally burn the tickets.

A similarly anthropomorphic interpretation of an inanimate object drives "La naissance d'une cigarette," a photo-essay reproduced in the February 1935 issue of *La Revue populaire* (figs. 5.27-5.28). Including seven photographs credited to Associated Screen News, the spread shows the interior of the Imperial Tobacco Canada plant on Saint-Antoine Street, Montreal. The two top images, taken from vantage points that offer dramatic views of the plant's massive maturing and sorting rooms, were also published in a larger format three years later, in *Le Samedi*'s March 5, 1938 issue, though in that case the "how-to" narrative was not employed (fig. 5.29).

In *La Revue populaire*'s photo-essay, each photograph stands for a moment in the industrial production of a cigarette (explained in numbered captions) from raw material to finished product. The accompanying text, written by Jacques Valade, follows the sequence and adds depth by providing atmospheric details concerning the sights, smells, and sounds of the large plant. The photo-essay concludes with a group portrait of Imperial Tobacco Canada's many employees, the vast majority of whom are women



(and, readers are told in the caption, French Canadian). Dressed in white and standing straight, their faces barely visible, these workers are presented as an ordered mass, recalling the rows of cigarettes previously pictured.

The industrial production of cigarettes in Canada was also described in *Maclean's* on August 15, 1937 (figs. 5.30-5.31). Some of the ten photographs included in the article use the dramatic vantage points just described: a view of the large barrels in which tobacco leaves were matured, overhead shots of employees standing at workstations, and a picture of rows of finished cigarettes seen from above. The series is completed by a couple of close-ups of workers. The regularity of the grid layout on the first page encourages a reading of the photo-essay as a smooth chronological sequence, even though midway through the story the order is switched from left-to-right to top-to-bottom. The lengthy text by Frederick Edwards, a regular contributor to the magazine, enhances the chronological reading by describing each stage of the production process. It is not stated where the uncredited photographs were taken, though one assumes that the factory belonged to one of the seven major tobacco companies listed in the article, located in either Ontario or Quebec. As a whole the article discusses cigarette manufacturing as an important Canadian business and, the subtitle asserts, a “story of remarkable industrial ingenuity” of which Canadians should be proud.<sup>51</sup>

Many photo-essays on manufacturing were published in *Maclean's*, and they represent the magazine's greatest contribution to the elaboration of photographic modernism in Canada. As a rule, its use of photography is both less frequent and more conservative (with regard to subject matter and presentation) than the other five periodicals studied, yet its photo-essays on the industrial theme are the most distinctive

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<sup>51</sup> Frederick Edwards, “Cigarette,” *Maclean's*, August 15, 1937, 21.

and graphically powerful encountered. This is due to the frequent presence of colour accents and bold titles, the tendency to cover entire pages with imagery, and the grid-like regularity of the layouts. Whereas other magazines seem to have treated each photo-essay as a unique instance of graphic design, *Maclean's* approach was fairly consistent.

The magazine's preference for the depiction of the industrial in general and of manufacturing in particular, which may be explained by the fact that the Maclean Publishing Company also produced several industrial periodicals (among them *Hardware and Metal*, *Canadian Machinery and Manufacturing News*, and *Modern Power and Engineering*), took on different proportions during the Second World War, when it participated in the dissemination of an image of Canada as a nation ready for war.<sup>52</sup>

Examples from 1940 alone include photo-essays devoted to the fabrication of parachutes for the Royal Canadian Air Force (with uncredited photographs), trainer planes "somewhere in Ontario" (with images supplied by Photographic Arts), shells in a Canadian munitions plant (with images that are unidentified but known to have been commissioned by the National Film Board's Still Photography Division), uniforms for the Canadian army (with images from Photographic Arts), "Wheels for the Army" (with photographs from Associated Screen News), and "Ships for the Navy" (with images by "Dettloff," probably photojournalist Claude P. Dettloff) (figs. 5.32-5.37).

A practically identical formula is applied in each of these examples: the photographs, which cover the pages almost entirely, are individually numbered and accompanied by captions that describe specific operations; the images are presented as a

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<sup>52</sup> In *The Story of Maclean-Hunter*, Joseph Lister Rutledge, previously the editor-in-chief of *The Canadian*, credits the Maclean Publishing Company's *Canadian Machinery* in particular with having galvanized Canadian manufacturers into the production of war-related goods. On the company's industrial periodicals, see Joseph Lister Rutledge, *The Story of Maclean-Hunter: 60 Years. Celebrating the Sixtieth Anniversary of a Company Founded on News and Service* (Toronto: Maclean-Hunter, 1947), 13-22, 45-47.

sequence that follows a cumulative logic and is invariably crowned by a picture of the finished product; and the accompanying texts, which provide some contextual information, are short, suggesting that the images were thought to speak largely for themselves. That the provenance of the photographs varies suggests that the spreads were not received ready-made by the magazine, but that the *Maclean's* editorial staff established the formula for itself.

More common overall than the manufacturing imagery circulated by *Maclean's*, however, were photo-essays that offered a look at the process of transforming primary resources – the staples that were fundamental to Canada's industrialization. Like the articles on the Copper Cliff plant, such features gave readers insight into the interior workings of the country's major industries, but with an added emphasis on *how* such processes of transformation were physically carried out. In other words, a similar step-by-step descriptive narrative was applied to spheres that were not related to the making of consumable products, and thus, strictly speaking, not related to manufacturing. As opposed to photo-essays describing objects that readers could directly consume (cigarettes being one of the most democratic examples), those narrating the transformation of staples such as wheat, lumber, and metal were far removed from most Canadians' everyday experience.

For example, in 1937 the Canadian production of radium was featured in *La Revue populaire*, *Maclean's* and *The Canadian*. The article in *La Revue populaire*, which appeared in September of that year, included photographs that document the chemical fabrication of radium (fig. 5.38). The images, supplied by C-I-L Oval (Canadian Industries Limited, a chemicals manufacturer), focus mainly on the various apparatuses

required to transform the mineral: close-ups of the element being variously treated predominate, taking the reader from its “raw” state as uranium to its “finished” concentrated form, contained in a tiny glass tube. The lengthy text endeavours to explain the complex process in laymen’s terms, but also describes how, six years before, large deposits of radium had been discovered in the Northwest Territories, making Canada one of the world’s leading suppliers of this extremely precious mineral.

Interestingly, James A. Cowan, an Ontario journalist considered to have spearheaded the Canadian public relations industry, signs the article.<sup>53</sup> Cowan is known to have worked for the energy business, and it transpires that the text, which would have been translated into French for its reproduction in *La Revue populaire*, was supplied by C-I-L Oval along with the photographs.<sup>54</sup> A very similar – though not identical – article by Cowan had appeared in *Macleans* four months before, in which several of the same images can be seen (fig. 5.39). To the pictures of “uranium liquor vats” (number 5), “a crockful of chocolate ‘mud’” (number 7), and “a hundred milligrams of radium in a glass tube smaller than a match” (number 10) are added eight more, displayed in the magazine’s signature style.

A generalized public relations campaign seems indeed to have been underway, as another article on radium, this one written by a certain John Graves, was published in *The Canadian* in August 1937 (figs. 5.40-5.41). Taking a slightly different tack from the two features just discussed, “Radium Trail” concentrates on the sourcing of radium in the

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<sup>53</sup> Fraser Likely, “A Different Country, a Different Public Relations: Canadian PR in the North American Context,” in Krishnamurthy Sriramesh and Dejan Vercic eds., *The Global Public Relations Handbook* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), 655-656. See also Dean Walker, “Meet Cowan – Phantom of Canadian PR,” *Marketing Magazine*, April 26, 1963, 10, 12, 14.

<sup>54</sup> An editor’s note at the end of the article states: “Nous devons cet intéressant article d’actualité à l’obligeance du directeur de l’organe des Canadian Industries Limited, le C.I.L. OVAL.” See “Le radium au Canada,” *La Revue populaire*, September 1937, 60.

Northwest Territories, specifically in the mine at Great Bear Lake. The photo-essay begins with a full-bleed horizontal view of dog sleds driving across the snow-covered lake, carrying radium concentrates from the mine to an aircraft runway. The following eight images show different stages in the gathering, packing, and shipping of the mineral. Though not placed in chronological order, the pictures still present a narrative that is composed of discrete steps explained by captions. The accompanying text, which continues for several more pages, offers a romanticized account – delivered in a tone comparable to that found in the magazine’s fiction section – of the discovery of the mineral deposits by Canadian prospector Gilbert LaBine.<sup>55</sup>

While *The Canadian*’s article portrayed radium before its transformation, a four-page photo-essay from September 1940 published in *La Revue moderne* gave readers an opportunity to see it in action, after having been processed (figs. 5.42-5.43). Entitled “La guerre renvoie le radium sous le sol,” it presents the use of radium by a hospital in London, England, with photographs supplied by the Ministry of Information Photo Division.<sup>56</sup> The short introductory text explains how the frequent aerial bombings of London have rendered radium – already a highly hazardous material – a source of great potential danger. The photographs offer a look at the procedures carried out by hospitals to ensure both its safe underground storage and administering to cancer patients. A step-by-step approach is here applied to show one of the ways in which radium is put to good

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<sup>55</sup> The photo-essay recounts only Gilbert Labine’s discovery. It does not address the impact of the mining industry on the land, nor on the First Peoples who inhabited the area.

<sup>56</sup> The images are not credited in *La Revue moderne*, but I was able to locate them in the online collection of the Imperial War Museums website. See “Radium Treatment in a London Hospital, England, 1940,” Collections and Research, Imperial War Museums website, <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/search?query=RADIUM%20TREATMENT%20IN%20A%20LONDON%20HOSPITAL%2C%20ENGLAND%2C%201940> (accessed May 4, 2013).

use in daily yet still extraordinary circumstances, thus making a case for its importance beyond the economic sphere.

This particular way of representing industry in Canadian magazines finds its discursive pendant in the early-twentieth-century development of scientific management, a field that was closely tied to the second wave of industrialization in the United States.<sup>57</sup> Beginning with the experiments of engineer Frederick Winslow Taylor, whose work was based primarily in Philadelphia in the late nineteenth century, methods were devised to render large-scale industry more efficient, productive, and cost-effective.<sup>58</sup> At its root, scientific management was also a way of gaining control, through standardization, over the growing class of industrial workers. Taylor's approach, which became known as Taylorism, focused on the elimination of superfluous movements and wasted time, achieved through the fragmentation of the production process into distinct tasks, which would themselves be conceived as a series of discrete, repeatable gestures.<sup>59</sup> Significantly, the standardization of motion promoted by Taylorism had the effect of reducing the skill and individual judgement required of workers.<sup>60</sup> The impact of Taylor's conceptualization of production continued into the twentieth century, in part through his numerous, often controversial publications.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> As Charles S. Maier explains, the principles of scientific management were believed by European critics to epitomize American culture. See Maier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Industrial Productivity in the 1920s," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1970): 27.

<sup>58</sup> Daniel Nelson, *Frederick W. Taylor and the Rise of Scientific Management* (Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 198-199.

<sup>59</sup> Elspeth Brown, 7. For a summary of the Taylorist system, see also Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (New York: BasicBooks, 1990), 239.

<sup>60</sup> Lindy Biggs, *The Rational Factory: Architecture, Technology, and Work in America's Age of Mass Production* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 38-39.

<sup>61</sup> Nelson, x.

As Elspeth Brown argues, photography emerged as a key ingredient in the drive to rationalize industrial production, in both the elaboration of its methods (through the visual analysis of human motion, for example) and its validation.<sup>62</sup> Even though the large-scale businesses to which scientific management applied formed only a small part of industrial production, these came to stand for the whole structure. As Brown writes:

Although the historical record reveals a great complexity among manufacturing approaches actually pursued in business practice, the spectacular productive capacities of the nation's largest corporations, as well as the managerial and technological innovations that accompanied this massive increase in production scale, nonetheless drew tremendous attention. The emergence of these large corporations coincided with, and helped legitimize, an emphasis on economic efficiency that had become, by the second decade of the twentieth century, a nationwide enthusiasm for the efficient rationalization of all aspects of American social and economic life.<sup>63</sup>

Ignoring other aspects of industry, the image of a rationalized system of mass production was developed and disseminated thanks to the photograph and its supposed evidentiary character.

A similar point is made by Terry Smith in his discussion of the Ford Motor Company's mythical establishment of the assembly line, in which a mass-produced object is made by a process of accumulation and follows an uninterrupted course on a conveyor belt. As the author asserts, the assembly line was first and foremost promoted, through various materials that included photographs, as a new paradigm of production.<sup>64</sup>

Whether its origins preceded its adoption by Henry Ford at the Highland Park plant,

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<sup>62</sup> Elspeth Brown, 4. As the author notes, the photographic experiments carried out by Eadweard Muybridge in the 1880s at the University of Pennsylvania "provided the visual ground for later investigations of American industrial efficiency." See Ibid., 10. On the impact of Muybridge's analyses of motion, see Phillip Prodger, "Make it Stop: Muybridge and the New Frontier in Instantaneous Photography," in *Time Stands Still: Muybridge and the Instantaneous Photography Movement* (New York: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University in association with Oxford University Press, 2003), 112-221.

<sup>63</sup> Elspeth Brown, 3.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, *Making the Modern*, 29.

Michigan, in the early 1910s, and whether it was “authentically” put into practice by the Ford Motor Company matters less than the fact that it participated in the multi-layered representation of mass production as a rational and highly sophisticated manufacturing system.<sup>65</sup> Images of the Fordist assembly line, as Alain P. Michel also points out in his analysis of photographic depictions of the Renault plant in France, are rarely more than the manifestation of an ideal of – and desire for – rational industrial production.<sup>66</sup> There is always a discrepancy, Michel argues, between the actual application of the assembly line system and the apparent seamlessness of its representation.

My point is that these methodological icons – the Taylorist and Fordist modes – found expression in the photographs of industry circulated by Canadian magazines. Like the images of grain elevators and of molten metal, such modes were iconic not only because they were used repeatedly but also because they stood for larger notions of technological and economic progress. These particular ways of framing the industrial were combined in the “how-to” photo-essay and recast for a general audience of magazine readers. This type of photo-essay, however, says as much about the desire to *represent* progress as about the actual circumstances of Canada’s industrialization. The association of modes of mass production – of mass manufacturing – with Canadian industries, even those dedicated to the transformation of primary resources, essentially reflects an effort to convey to readers the *image* of an advanced mode of industrial production.

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 19-21.

<sup>66</sup> Alain P. Michel, “Images du travail à la chaîne. Le cas Renault (1917-1939),” *Études photographiques*, no. 13 (July 2003): 87-88.



“*Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi’*”

On June 17, 1939, Poirier, Bessette & Cie published an issue of *Le Samedi* designed to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the magazine’s existence. By 1939, the three periodicals produced by the firm – *Le Samedi*, *La Revue populaire*, and *Le Film* – had a combined circulation of over 300,000 copies per month.<sup>67</sup> As an advertisement published in 1937 made clear, whereas *La Revue populaire* and *Le Film* were intended for audiences respectively interested in improving their minds and knowing about the latest movies, *Le Samedi* was promoted as a general interest magazine meant simply to entertain (fig. 5.44). Its fiftieth anniversary issue was an opportunity for the editors to reflect publically on the magazine and on Poirier, Bessette & Cie’s history, but also to offer their readers a picture of the company’s self-assigned role as an agent of modernity.

The cover of the celebratory issue bears an illustration by in-house artist Pierre Saint-Loup representing a plane marked by the logo of Trans Canada Air Lines (a company created in 1937), flying upward into the sunset after having written the words “50e anniversaire” in the sky (fig. 5.45). This emblematically forward-looking image is followed by an editorial appropriately titled “Sur l’aile du temps,” signed by editor-in-chief Fernand de Verneuil and illustrated by a portrait of the magazine’s founder, Ferdinand Poirier (fig. 5.46). De Verneuil, whose weekly contributions to *Le Samedi* often took a somewhat dim view of modern life – discernible, despite invariably being couched in metaphorical, allegorical, or sarcastic language – ponders in his editorial the rapidity with which time now seems to pass, due to an increased rate of change.

“Constantly and everywhere,” he writes, “modifications, changes, disappearances and

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<sup>67</sup> “La Maison de La Revue populaire, du Samedi, et du Film, à Montréal,” *La Revue populaire*, November 1939, 52.

innovations crowd the past to such a degree that ten years of life feel like fifty of bygone days, and things only half a century old seem to recede into distant history.”<sup>68</sup>

His impressions are supported in “1889: Année de la fondation du ‘Samedi,’” an article appearing on pages 6 and 7, which offers a brief review of the important international events and people of that year, as well as a look at the state of French-Canadian publishing and literature (fig. 5.47). The assertion that *Le Samedi* is the only survivor of the eighteen French-Canadian magazines and newspapers launched in 1889, serves to promote the publication as a symbol of cultural resilience that has stood the test of time, precisely because it has kept up with the times.

While such commemorative articles appear throughout the issue, several are concentrated in a special section running from pages 29 to 36. A short article recounting the beginnings of the company, illustrated by a group portrait of employees taken before 1900, is followed by a two-page montage of the magazine’s permanent editorial and administrative staff, photographed for the most part by the Montreal studio La Rose (figs. 5.48-5.49). A portrait of de Verneuil is included, as is one of Conrad Poirier, the magazine’s in-house photographer (discussed in Chapter Three). This montage is followed by a four-page photo-essay entitled “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” after which comes “Notre Avenir,” a one-page description, also by de Verneuil, of the recent expansion of Poirier, Bessette & Cie’s building, a symbol of a future that promises further growth and success (figs. 5.50-5.52).

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<sup>68</sup> “Continuellement et partout, ce sont des modifications, des changements, des disparitions et des nouveautés remplissant à un tel point le passé qu’on a l’illusion de vivre en dix années comme en cinquante autrefois et que les choses vieilles d’un demi-siècle seulement semblent reculer jusque dans les lointains de l’histoire.” My trans. Fernand de Verneuil, “Sur l’aile du temps,” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939, 3.

“Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi’” epitomizes the unabashedly self-conscious and self-congratulatory spirit found throughout this anniversary issue, while presenting a view of the company that emphasizes the modernity of its object’s mode of production. The photo-essay includes twelve photographs representing the different steps involved in the magazine’s fabrication, taken by Poirier at the company’s headquarters, located at 975 de Bullion Street, Montreal.<sup>69</sup> The images are linked graphically by an interrupted blue band that divides the layout into triangular segments. The photographs, which are all numbered and commented upon in the text, are not meant to be read from left to right, but rather from top to bottom on each page.

In the first picture, at the top right of the first page, the editorial process is illustrated by a bird’s-eye view of five pairs of hands busying themselves over a paper-strewn desk (fig. 5.53). The second image is a portrait of Saint-Loup, the author of the issue’s cover, putting the final touches to an earlier cover (fig. 5.54). This is followed by a view of Hector Brault, another artist on staff, creating the layout and drawings for a photo-essay entitled “C’est l’avion qui nous mène,” published in the April 22, 1939 issue (figs. 5.55-5.56). The fourth and fifth images show different steps in the procedure of making the plates used to reproduce the magazine’s photographs and illustrations (figs. 5.57-5.58). These are followed, at the bottom of page two and at the top of page three, by two photographs representing men working at linotype machines, creating the rows of text that accompanied images (figs. 5.59-5.60). The next picture shows workers combining within frames the rows of metal text made by the linotype machines and the plates bearing the imagery (fig. 5.61). The following three photographs offer views of the

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<sup>69</sup> Situated near Viger Street, the building still stands today, though its exterior appearance has been slightly altered.

black and white and colour presses used to print the magazine, and the final image shows a crew of women assembling the various sections of the printed magazine (figs. 5.62-5.65).

Taken as a whole, “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi’” manifests a marked emphasis on the different types of machines involved in the magazine’s making. Aside from the first three photographs, which represent intellectual and artistic labour, and the last, which portrays the publication’s final manual assemblage, the manufacture of *Le Samedi* is presented as an operation dominated by the use of ultra-sophisticated, modern machinery. It is significant that almost half the images are devoted to linotype machines and presses – tools that not only stood for the latest in reproduction technology but that were also major financial investments.<sup>70</sup> This is an ode to industrial production, a representation of mass publishing wherein each step in the assembly line appears to follow logically from the other, as though the production process itself were a well-oiled machine.

This emphasis on modern machinery is mirrored in another commemorative article appearing on page ten, signed by author and journalist Aimé Plamondon, the magazine’s Quebec City correspondent (fig. 5.66). “À la maison du ‘Samedi’: Une visite mémorable,” describes the daily functioning of Poirier, Bessette & Cie, comparing the director of publications, Jean Chauvin, to a ship’s captain, and the headquarters to an ocean liner:

Every time I set foot in the office of my excellent friend Jean Chauvin, (...) I have the vivid impression that I am entering the captain’s quarters on a transatlantic liner, as it ploughs full steam ahead across the ocean... The floor vibrates beneath our feet, the hum of machines we guess to be

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<sup>70</sup> Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: James Lortimer & Company Ltd., 2000), 21.

huge, well-oiled and well-coordinated, sings in our ears, muffled shouts echo all around, bells ring out, hurried footsteps resound; even the windows, in their shape and configuration, seem like portholes.<sup>71</sup>

The architectural style of the building, whose recent expansion had been designed by Montreal architects Jean-Paul Bastien and Henri Mercier, indeed emulated the aesthetic of an ocean liner, with its Art Moderne accentuation of horizontal lines and a central circular window (fig. 5.67). It seems that Poirier, Bessette & Cie wished to present itself, both inside and out, as an example of technological progress.

But despite this supplementary description of the company's operations, what is missing from "Comment se fabrique 'Le Samedi'" – what has *not* been selected to represent the making of the magazine – is obvious. Although the administrative staff is pictured and identified in the preceding two pages, the tasks that they carried out, which were surely fundamental to *Le Samedi's* functioning, are not portrayed in the "how-to" article. Neither is the periodical's publicity department represented – again, a key element in its operation and survival. What are missing are the human, messy elements of magazine production, with the exception of the "mess" of papers pictured in the first image, intended to represent the creative spontaneity of an editorial meeting.

Also absent are the moments and tasks in between the twelve steps shown. These can be gleaned from the text, which describes where, in the four-story building, each workstation was situated. It reveals, for example, that the presses were located at the basement level and on the ground floor, while the tables on which the plates and type

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<sup>71</sup> "Chaque fois que j'entre dans le bureau de mon excellent ami, Jean Chauvin, (...) j'ai la sensation très vive de pénétrer dans les quartiers d'un capitaine, à bords d'un transatlantique filant à toute vapeur sur l'océan... Le plancher vibre sous les pieds, un ronronnement de machines qu'on devine énormes, bien huilées et bien rythmées, chante à nos oreilles, des appels indistincts se croisent tout autour de nous, des sonneries variées retentissent, des pas précipités résonnent; jusqu'aux fenêtres dont la forme et la disposition évoquent des hublots authentiques." My trans. Aimé Plamondon, "À la maison du 'Samedi': Une visite mémorable," *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939, 10.

were consolidated into metal frames were on a floor above. Between images 8 and 9, therefore, these metal frames had to be carefully transported downstairs on trolleys, via a freight elevator – an operation that presumably presented many opportunities for error. The seamlessness of the assembly line is thus broken by spatial obstacles.

What the text reveals as well is that Poirier, Bessette & Cie wished to introduce the readers of *Le Samedi* to the individual workers that made the magazine: in many of the photographs' captions, the pictured workers are identified by name and role, and the skill required to operate such machinery is discussed in detail. For example, the caption for the seventh image reads:

“The linotype machine is a marvellous and highly precise instrument, far more complicated than the typewriter and more intricate in its workings. Here you see, seated at his keyboard, Arthur Anctil, an expert linotypist who has been employed by our company for thirty years. The text in these pages explaining how our magazine is made was composed on this very machine.”<sup>72</sup>

In an exaggeratedly self-conscious move (the photograph shows Arthur Anctil in the act of typing the words being read), the company informs its readers, who were largely French Canadian, that the magazine was made by their compatriots, thus inviting them to identify not only with the magazine's content, but also with its very fabrication. Producers and consumers are, in this case, one and the same.

The use of the “how-to” photo-essay in this context effectively serves to imbue the magazine with the qualities of a mass-produced object resulting from a series of discrete steps that, from conception to completion, follow logically from one another.

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<sup>72</sup> “La linotype est un instrument merveilleux et de précision, mille fois plus compliqué que la dactylotype et d'un fonctionnement très minutieux. Vous voyez ici, à son clavier, Arthur Anctil, linotypiste expert, depuis trente ans au service de notre maison. C'est sur cette machine même que fut composé le texte de ces pages explicatives de la manière dont notre magazine se fabrique.” My trans. “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939, (f).

With its foregrounding of sophisticated reproductive technologies and their operation by skilled workers, it promotes *Le Samedi* as an object that can both depict and embody industrial progress. But the photo-essay also makes a point of showcasing the importance of individual employees, who, though shown operating machines, are not mere cogs. The employees of Poirier, Bessette & Cie are not alienated from the object they churn out on a weekly basis, for their singular expertise is recognized, even flaunted. If the company likens itself to the type of large-scale corporation associated with the idea of mass production, it also insists on promoting itself as a business whose small size would generate feelings of familial pride and belonging among its employees and, by extension, its readers.

## Chapter Six

### THE STRANGE

*For it is another nature that speaks to the camera rather than to the eye; “other” above all in the sense that a space informed by human consciousness gives way to one informed by the unconscious. While it is common that, for example, an individual is able to offer an account of the human gait (if only in general terms), that same individual has no knowledge at all of human posture during the fraction of a second when a person begins to take a step. Photography, with its devices of slow motion and enlargement, reveals this posture to him. He first learns of this optical unconscious through photography, just as he learns of the instinctual unconscious through psychoanalysis.*

Walter Benjamin, “Little History of Photography”<sup>1</sup>

Throughout these last chapters, I have been making connections between the photographs reproduced in Canadian magazines and the images and discourses in circulation elsewhere, in an attempt to provide a wider context for the emergence of photographic modernism in Canada. I have endeavoured to show that the producers of Canadian magazines put into practice some of the pre-existing languages of photographic modernism as a way of aligning their product with a modern form of communication. At the end of the previous chapter, I describe how, in the example of “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” the modernity of the magazine was represented as being located within its very mode of production. By using the languages of photographic modernism as signs of modernity, magazine producers could promote a sense of national belonging that was anchored in the present.

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Benjamin, “Little History of Photography,” trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, in Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin eds., *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 277-279.



In this chapter I identify some commonalities among the conceptions of photography at work in Germany during the Weimar period and in Canadian magazines. These commonalities are centred on a conception of photography as a medium that has the potential to expand the realm of the visual and to reveal strange new worlds. Such a conception, encapsulated by Walter Benjamin as the “optical unconscious,” was apparent especially in Canadian magazines’ visual and textual representation of the new experiences afforded by modern technology and science. A desire to *make* the world seem strange can also be witnessed, and can be understood as both simple entertainment – a kind of visual titillation achieved through unusual or confusing imagery – and more broadly a way of seeing that emphasizes the unfamiliarity of modern life; a gaze turned toward the unknown present, and toward the future.

In his “Little History of Photography,” first published in the Berlin periodical *Die literarische Welt* in 1931, Benjamin wrote in overtly nostalgic tones about the beginnings of photography, while simultaneously capturing the essence of modern photographic thought. Coining the term “optical unconscious,” he described the differences between what the eye and the camera see, which, though objectively identical, register differently in the mind.<sup>2</sup> The camera has the ability, explained Benjamin, to reveal and to make one conscious of what had been unwittingly perceived by the eye all along.<sup>3</sup> Using the example of Karl Blossfeldt, whose photographic book of magnified botanical specimens had been published to great acclaim in 1928 and reviewed by Benjamin that same year,

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Within the field of art history, Benjamin’s notion has been most extensively explored by Rosalind Krauss in her book *The Optical Unconscious*, in which the author uses the notion to produce, through analyses of modernist works of art, a counterhistory to the (Greenbergian) history of modernism. See Rosalind E. Krauss, *The Optical Unconscious* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993).

he described the “image worlds” contained within photographs – mysterious and magical worlds that the camera was now making visible.<sup>4</sup>

One of the first forays into the writing of photographic history, Benjamin’s essay can be situated within a larger framework of cultural responses in Germany during the Weimar period to the approaching centenary of the medium’s initial public announcement and the concurrent profusion of photographic imagery stimulated by new technologies.<sup>5</sup> If Benjamin’s essay betrays a marked preference for the early experimentation carried out in the period preceding photography’s industrialization, his concept of the optical unconscious is in tune with contemporaneous reflections on the expansion of vision afforded by the camera. Benjamin’s references to the writings of László Moholy-Nagy in particular act as a frame to this discussion: the essay includes a long quote on the creative potential of new technologies from Moholy-Nagy’s 1925 book *Malerei, Fotografie, Film* (Painting, Photography, Film), as well as an unattributed reference to his statement that the person ignorant of photography will be the illiterate of the future.<sup>6</sup>

It is my contention that a version of Moholy-Nagy’s take on photography – alluded to by Benjamin as the optical unconscious, summarized by the term “New

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<sup>4</sup> Benjamin, 279. Benjamin’s review of Blossfeldt’s 1928 book also appeared in *Die literarische Welt*. See “News About Flowers,” trans. Michael W. Jennings, in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media*, 271-273. On the reception of the English-language version of Blossfeldt’s *Urformen der Kunst: Photographische Pflanzenbilder*, published in Britain in 1929 as *Art Forms in Nature*, see Edward Juler, “The Key to a Hidden World: Photomicrography and Close-up Nature Photography in Interwar Britain,” *History of Photography*, vol. 36, no. 1 (February 2012): 87-98.

<sup>5</sup> As Olivier Lugon has demonstrated, from the mid-1920s a veritable “photo-boom” occurred in Germany, which provoked equal measures of positive and negative criticism. See “‘Photo-Inflation’: Image Profusion in German Photography, 1925-1945,” *History of Photography*, vol. 32, no. 3 (Autumn 2008): 219-234.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin, “Little History of Photography,” 290, 294-295. The latter statement has been identified as Moholy-Nagy’s by Eleanor M. Hight. As she notes, although he never met Moholy-Nagy, Benjamin referred to his texts in several instances and “developed ideas on photography and its effect on art and the public that had striking similarities to those of the Hungarian artist.” See *Picturing Modernism: Moholy-Nagy and Photography in Weimar Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), 3.

Vision,” and put into practice in such outlets as the book *Malerei, Fotografie, Film* and the 1929 *Film und Foto* exhibition – was active in Canadian magazines. Sometimes confounded with the “New Objectivity” movement and the “straight photograph,”<sup>7</sup> Moholy-Nagy’s New Vision articulates photographic modernism in a manner that is especially relevant to the medium of the mass magazine, since it rests on an understanding of photography as an integral part of the image-centric and image-abundant experience of the contemporary world.

### *The Language of the New Vision*

An artist who worked in a variety of media, the Hungarian-born Moholy-Nagy came to believe during his time in Germany that photography and film “provided the supreme language for analyzing all aspects of *Modernismus*, the condition of modernity and contemporaneity in Weimar Germany’s urban life.”<sup>8</sup> After leaving the country in 1934 as Hitler came to power, he lived initially in Holland and then England, and in 1937 emigrated to the U.S., where he would become primarily known for his role as an educator, first as the director of the New Bauhaus in Chicago and later as the founder of the Bauhaus’ descendant, the School of Design (now part of the Illinois Institute of Technology).<sup>9</sup> For his advocacy of the inclusion of photography in arts curriculae and many writings on the medium, Moholy-Nagy can be considered one of the most influential photographers of the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> David Bate, “The New Objectivity,” in *Photography: The Key Concepts* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2009), 122-123.

<sup>8</sup> Hight, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Eleanor M. Hight, *Moholy-Nagy: Photography and Film in Weimar Germany* (Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College Museum, 1985), 139; Krisztina Passuth, *Moholy-Nagy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 69-70.

<sup>10</sup> Hight, *Picturing Modernism*, 4. English translations of many of his essays can be found in Passuth, *ibid.*

First published in German in 1925 while he was teaching at the original Bauhaus, Moholy-Nagy's *Malerei, Fotografie, Film* was translated into English in 1969.<sup>11</sup> The book consists of approximately thirty pages of text and seventy illustrations, which are almost all photographs, followed by a "typophoto" scenario of Moholy-Nagy's never realized film *Dynamic of the Metropolis*. Individually captioned, the photographs are a combination of his own, those of fellow artists, some by anonymous amateurs, and several taken from international photo agencies and illustrated periodicals. His contemporaries showcased include Hannah Höch, Lucia Moholy (then his wife), Man Ray, Albert Renger-Patzsch, and Alfred Stieglitz, while the unidentified images come from such sources as Atlantic, Paramount Pictures, the Keystone View Co., Universum Film AG (UFA), and the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*. Organized into types of images, the seventy illustrations follow a logic of diversity – a logic explained by Moholy-Nagy in the sections of the text pertaining to photography.

Like Benjamin, the author looks back at photography's past, yet he makes the judgement that the present is the more fruitful time. He argues that photography was not used to its full potential in the past, and that the basic principles of the photographic process – the recording of light on a chemically-prepared surface with a camera – were not "sufficiently consciously exploited."<sup>12</sup> "For if people had been aware of these potentialities," he writes, "they would have been able with the aid of the photographic camera to *make visible* existences which cannot be perceived or taken in by our optical instrument, the eye; *i.e., the photographic camera can either complete or supplement our*

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<sup>11</sup> The English edition reproduces the original layout and typography of the second German edition, published in 1927. See Moholy-Nagy, Janet Seligman trans., *Painting, Photography, Film* (London: Lund Humphries, 1969).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

*optical instrument, the eye.*”<sup>13</sup> Although the camera’s potential had been explored in certain scientific experiments, he contended that these endeavours had not been taken seriously, nor had they been considered in relation to one another within the general sphere of the visual.

For Moholy-Nagy, the aim of photography is to expand, in a multitude of ways, the realm of the visible; to produce pictures that are optically true, a feat that the eye alone (coupled with a brush or pencil for instance) cannot achieve. As he wrote:

The photographic camera reproduces the purely optical image and therefore shows the optically true distortions, deformations, foreshortenings, etc., whereas the eye together with our intellectual experience, supplements perceived optical phenomena by means of association and formally and spatially creates a *conceptual image*. Thus in the photographic camera we have the most reliable aid to a beginning of objective vision.<sup>14</sup>

The idea was not only to encourage objectivity in representation, but also to go against any incorrect (or overly subjective) uses of the medium, a point he makes clear in the caption accompanying the book’s first illustration, a “romantic” photograph of a Zeppelin flying over an ocean, in which he asserts that “since the brilliant – but unrepeatable – period of the Daguerreotype the photographer has tried to imitate every trend, style and mode of painting. It took about 100 years before he came to use his own means correctly.”<sup>15</sup>

In this respect, Moholy-Nagy’s approach to photography is in keeping with the “straight photograph,” a theoretical and methodological perspective that similarly

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid. All emphases are Moholy-Nagy’s.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 48. Moholy-Nagy pursues this point on the following page in a caption accompanying a 1911 photograph by Alfred Stieglitz: “The triumph of Impressionism or photography misunderstood. The photographer has become a painter instead of using his camera photographically.” Incorrect uses of the medium are therefore associated with Pictorialism.

advocated an “authentic” use of the photographic camera and in its most general form came to dominate (from about the 1930s onward) the conceptualization of photography in the twentieth century.<sup>16</sup> Yet it is wrong, as Eleanor M. Hight has argued, to interpret his approach as a strictly formalist one, despite his belief that the essential qualities of the camera – its photographic-ness – should be taken advantage of rather than disguised. As Hight claims, the photographic techniques championed by Moholy-Nagy were never meant to be an end in themselves, but were always tied to the accurate representation of the industrialized, urban contemporary world.<sup>17</sup>

Photography’s aptness in reflecting the newness of this world was thus a significant aspect of his approach, and the various types of photographs that he included in *Malerei, Fotografie, Film* seem to have been chosen for their capacity to somehow push the boundaries of visual norms. Among these types are: pattern-driven compositions; photomicrographic images; bodies seized in mid-action; objects seen from unusual viewpoints; architecture taken from above or below; distorted perspectives; astronomical photographs; X-ray photographs; camera-less images or photograms; aerial views; tricked photographs; and photomontages (figs. 6.1-6.12). Representing radically varied uses of the medium, these categories are unified in one respect: they all show different ways of picturing and seeing the world.<sup>18</sup> Moholy-Nagy’s demonstration of

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<sup>16</sup> For an excellent historiographical overview of the parts played by the New Vision, the New Objectivity, and straight photography within the documentary genre, the twentieth century’s central photographic mode of expression, see Olivier Lugon, *Le style documentaire. D’August Sander à Walker Evans, 1920-1945* (Paris: Éditions Macula, 2001), 31-118. On the primacy of the straight photograph, see also Douglas R. Nickel, “History of Photography: The State of Research,” *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 83, no. 3 (September 2001): 552.

<sup>17</sup> Hight, *Picturing Modernism*, 4-5.

<sup>18</sup> On the variety of image types promoted by Moholy-Nagy and others, see Lugon, “Photo-Inflation,” 220.

contemporary photography is encyclopaedic, in the sense that it brings together fragments that outwardly are disconnected.

A comparable view was presented in the groundbreaking *Film und Foto* exhibition, shown in Stuttgart from May 18 to July 7, 1929. As photography historian Beaumont Newhall remarks in his short essay on the event, the catalogue published to accompany the exhibition was expanded that same year into the book *Foto-Auge, 76 Fotos der Zeit* (Photo-Eye: 76 Photos of the Period), which was edited by Jan Tschichold and Franz Roh and published with texts in German, French, and English.<sup>19</sup> Organized by the Deutsche Werkbund, *Film und Foto*, known as *FiFo*, was a collaborative project that also involved the input of such artists as El Lissitzky, Moholy-Nagy, Tschichold, Edward Steichen, Edward Weston, and Piet Zwart, an indication, according to Newhall, “of the serious way in which photography was considered.”<sup>20</sup> Filling fourteen galleries and including over one thousand prints, *FiFo* was a massive undertaking that summed up the new photography.<sup>21</sup>

In the same month that *FiFo* opened, its director, Werkbund member Gustaf Stotz, offered readers of the art periodical *Das Kunstblatt* insight into the show’s philosophy, using words that echoed those of Moholy-Nagy:

A new optic has developed. We see things differently now, without painterly intent in the impressionistic sense. Today things are important that earlier were hardly noticed (...). Highly sensitive plates, lenses of great light-gathering power, permit us to snatch the most swift motion. (...) The results that can be obtained uniquely by these new photographic

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<sup>19</sup> Beaumont Newhall, “Photo Eye of the 1920s: The Deutsche Werkbund Exhibition of 1929,” *New Mexico Studies in the Fine Arts*, vol. 2 (1977): 5. A facsimile of *Foto-Auge* was printed in 1973 by Arno Press.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Victor Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia: Rodchenko, Lissitzky, Moholy-Nagy, 1917-1946* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 156.

means have been published here and there but never systematically compiled. The Stuttgart exhibition will attempt to do this.<sup>22</sup>

Following Stotz's description was a list of the types of images featured in the exhibition, in which he named photojournalistic photographs, scientific photographs (zoological, botanical, medical), photomicrographs, aerial views, photograms, and photomontages.

Although officially Moholy-Nagy's role in the organization was minor, he is now considered to have had a decisive impact on the general character of *FiFo*.<sup>23</sup> Aside from having contributed ninety-seven of his own photographs (the largest number by an individual artist), he seems to have effectively curated the show, having conceived the overall layout and placement of the works, in addition to having been made formally responsible for the conceptualization of the first gallery, a historically-oriented "theme show" that acted as a frame for the rest of the exhibition.<sup>24</sup> On the wall of this first gallery the question "Where is photographic development heading?" was printed in large type (fig. 6.13).

Moholy-Nagy's views on photography are reiterated in the *Foto-Auge* book, which, as an offspring of the catalogue, may be considered to have determined the widespread impact of *FiFo* due to its inclusion of French and English translations (and its re-edition in the 1970s). Entitled "Mechanism and Expression: The Essence and Value of Photography" and written by Franz Roh, the text introducing the seventy-six works claims that photography's history contains two crowning moments: its very beginning

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<sup>22</sup> Gustaf Stotz, quoted in Newhall, 6.

<sup>23</sup> Oliver A. I. Botar, "László Moholy-Nagy's New Vision and the Aestheticization of Scientific Photography in Weimar Germany," *Science in Context*, vol. 17, no. 4 (December 2004): 544-545.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 545-546; Newhall, 6.



and its “end,” the present.<sup>25</sup> Between these moments, as Roh explains, photographers were attempting to mimic the look of other media, especially painting and drawing. Allowing that, to some extent, photography would always keep in step with contemporaneous artistic currents, the medium’s proper aim was not emulation. Evidence of its correct use in the present time could be found both in the images presented in the book and in many anonymous photographs published in illustrated newspapers.<sup>26</sup>

As in *Malerei, Fotografie, Film*, press photographs are among the works reproduced in *Foto-Auge*, including two harrowing photojournalistic images: a crime scene photograph of a blood-covered corpse and a bombed out bridge on which is sprawled a dead horse (fig. 6.14). Reflecting on Moholy-Nagy’s penchant for press photographs, Newhall observed that the artist “was a pioneer in the recognition of what I choose to call the *found photograph*. Just as Marcel Duchamp transformed a utilitarian bottle rack into a piece of sculpture by selecting it and isolating it and exhibiting it, so did Moholy-Nagy elevate a news photograph taken by nobody-knows-whom to esthetic consideration by creating for it a new context in an exhibition, or within the covers of a book.”<sup>27</sup> In the context of *Foto-Auge*, these news photographs are part of an attempt to capture the strange realities of contemporary life.

Citing these two photographs as prime examples (in the German and French texts), Roh asserts: “Our book does not only mean to say ‘the world is beautiful,’ but also: the world is exciting, cruel and weird. Therefore pictures were included that might

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<sup>25</sup> Franz Roh, “Mechanism and Expression: The Essence and Value of Photography,” in Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold eds., *Foto-Auge/Eil et photo/Photo-Eye* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 14.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Newhall, 6.

shock aesthetes who stand aloof.”<sup>28</sup> Newhall’s use of the word “elevation” to describe the inclusion of a news photograph in a book or exhibition is, I believe, inaccurate, for the opposite is closer to what is happening in *Foto-Auge* and *Malerei, Fotografie, Film*: there is a kind of levelling of imagery, prompted by the inclusion of press images but also, for instance, X-ray photographs and aerial shots. Such images, it was believed, represented a truer, more objective use of photography than past artistic endeavours; that press images were allowed to rub shoulders with works by Moholy-Nagy and his contemporaries was meant to positively impact the latter, not the other way round. Since a move away from overly subjective displays of artistic intent was desired, models of objectivity could be found in practices for which manifestations of artistry were of little concern.<sup>29</sup>

There is a difference, as well, between the New Vision and the New Objectivity as characterized by Renger-Patzsch, who, despite having contributed photographs to both publications (and to *FiFo*), is referenced dismissively in the above citation from Roh. Also disparaged by Benjamin for what he saw as superficial formalism disconnected from social reality, Renger-Patzsch nonetheless had a substantial impact on the cultural scene of Weimar Germany with the publication of his 1928 book *Die Welt ist schön* (The World is Beautiful) (fig. 6.15).<sup>30</sup> For Renger-Patzsch, however, the photographic medium was not best suited to the representation of the modern condition, as Moholy-Nagy

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<sup>28</sup> Roh, 16. The French translation of this essay is somewhat better than the English. In French this quote reads: “Notre livre ne veut pas dire seulement: le monde est beau! Mais aussi: il est excitant, cruel, étrange! C’est pourquoi nous y avons fait figurer des pages qui effraieront les esthètes assagis.” See Roh, “Mécanisme et expression. Les caractères essentiels et la valeur de la photographie,” in *Foto-Auge/Ceil et photo/Photo-Eye*, 11.

<sup>29</sup> Which is not say that an aestheticization of non-artistic photographs was not also at work. As Oliver Botar has argued, Moholy-Nagy’s inclusion of such images spearheaded the appropriation of scientific photography by the avant-garde. See Botar, 528.

<sup>30</sup> Benjamin, 293. Benjamin also critiqued Renger-Patzsch in his essay “The Author as Producer.” See *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media*, 86-87. On the reactions to Renger-Patzsch’s book (and his response to criticism), see Ulrich Rüter, “The Reception of Albert Renger-Patzsch’s *Die Welt ist schön*,” *History of Photography*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 192-196.

maintained, but to a form of realism that captured with precision and objectivity the material essence of things.<sup>31</sup>

Also absent from Renger-Patzsch's work was the encyclopaedic impulse displayed by Moholy-Nagy – his desire to chart the multifarious nature of modern life, which he expresses by including photographs taken from the popular press. This decision was not just insightful – it was crucial. For where else could such aggregations of disparate imagery be found other than in the illustrated newspapers and magazines that filled the newsstands? Events such as *FiFo* and the publication of *Foto-Auge* and *Malerei, Fotografie, Film* captured the contemporary photographic spirit by reproducing in exhibition and book form the manner in which photographs were being encountered by the reading public.<sup>32</sup> Photojournalistic images, photomontages, X-ray photographs, aerial views – this was the stuff of the picture press.

### *Seeing the Strange*

Evidence of an interest in the history and nature of photography can also be found in Canadian magazines. Toward the end of the 1930s, as the centenary of photography approached, a few magazines featured articles describing the beginnings and development of the medium. In its April 1938 issue, for example, *La Revue moderne* published the first of a series of articles on photography written by Lucien Piché (figs. 6.16-6.17). Entitled “L’Art de la photographie – art que le progrès a vulgarisé au point de

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<sup>31</sup> Matthew Simms, “Just Photography: Albert Renger-Patzsch’s *Die Welt ist schön*,” *History of Photography*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 198.

<sup>32</sup> My line of thought has been particularly shaped by the book *Montage and Modern Life*, which discusses the centrality of montage during the modern period and suggests that it was not just an innovative artistic technique, but also a shared visual idiom which, more than any other, represented and expressed the fast-paced and fragmented nature of the modern industrialized city. See Maud Lavin, Annette Michelson, Christopher Phillips, et al., Matthew Teitelbaum ed., *Montage and Modern Life, 1919-1942* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

le rendre universel et inséparable de la vie moderne,” the article states that due to new photographic technologies the medium has become hugely popular among laymen: no longer content to simply record family events, amateur photographers were now interested in seizing all subjects candidly, or “sur le vif.” Made easy by the portable and automatic character of the latest 35mm cameras, candid photography is described as a novel genre exemplifying photography’s evolution.<sup>33</sup>

This idea that advances in the fields of technology and optics led to a broadening of vision and of the visual is often addressed in the magazines. As Fernand de Verneuil muses in his editorial for the August 24, 1935 issue of *Le Samedi*, there is much in the world that lies beyond the five senses – in particular the eye (fig. 6.18). Illustrated with an X-ray photograph of a woman (discernible by her high heels and jewelry), the article “Si nos yeux...” imagines how the conception of beauty would change if humans had X-ray vision. Despite the eye’s limitations, de Verneuil remarks, people are now capable, thanks to such instruments as the microscope and the telescope, of seeing far beyond the humanly possible, into realities and galaxies whose existences were previously ignored. Apparently intended as a warning against adopting an egocentric perspective of the world, the editor offers the opinion that the constant advancements of science should be a reminder that knowledge is always relative.

The expansion of the perceivable is discussed in another article celebrating the centenary of the medium, published in *Le Samedi* on June 3, 1939, in which various technological breakthroughs are listed in a passage illustrated by an image of a bullet arrested in mid-air (fig. 6.19). This visualization of a bullet’s path – also mentioned as a

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<sup>33</sup> Lucien Piché, “L’Art de la photographie – art que le progrès a vulgarisé au point de le rendre universel et inséparable de la vie moderne,” *La Revue moderne*, April 1938, 9.

remarkable feat by Stotz in his article in *Das Kunstblatt* – is presented as the ultimate example of the camera’s ability to capture swift motion.<sup>34</sup> As *Le Samedi*’s author, Louis Roland, states:

Over the past century, there have been extraordinary advances in photography (...) Exposure time, around ten hours in the early days, can with certain ultra high-speed cameras now be as little as a thousandth of a second, which makes it possible to photograph the air disturbance created by a bullet travelling at 2,250 feet per second; infra-red photos can be taken in foggy conditions and at night; we are able to photograph the human voice and other sounds, and to penetrate the depths of infinite space. Who knows what might be possible in the future?<sup>35</sup>

While the bullet image is not credited, it is possibly an example of the early research carried out by American engineer Harold E. Edgerton, whose experiments with stop-action flash photography at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology would, beginning in the 1920s, render flying bullets iconic.<sup>36</sup> First undertaken in the 1880s by the Austrian physicist Ernst Mach, who documented the shock waves caused by bullets in flight, such experiments were not recent (though their photographic reproduction in the popular press may have been), yet they seem to have embodied the *idea* of technological progress.<sup>37</sup>

Edgerton’s photographs would appear frequently in such magazines as *Life* and *National Geographic*, and were published in his 1939 book *Flash! Seeing the Unseen by*

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<sup>34</sup> Stotz, quoted in Newhall, 6.

<sup>35</sup> “Depuis cent ans, la photographie a fait d’extraordinaires progrès (...). Le temps de pose qui fut d’une dizaine d’heures au début est devenu, avec certains appareils ultra-rapides, du millionième de seconde, ce qui permet de photographier les remous d’air d’une balle de fusil à 2,250 pieds à la seconde; on fait de la photo à l’infra-rouge au travers du brouillard et dans l’obscurité; on photographie la voix et les bruits divers et l’on sonde les profondeurs de l’espace infini. Que fera-t-on demain?” My trans. Louis Roland, “Le Centenaire de la photographie,” *Le Samedi*, June 3, 1939, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Douglas Collins, “Harold E. Edgerton: The Engineer at Work,” in Roger R. Bruce ed., *Seeing the Unseen: Dr. Harold E. Edgerton and the Wonders of Strobe Alley* (Rochester, NY: George Eastman House, 1994), 30.

<sup>37</sup> On Ernst Mach’s use of photography, see Marta Braun, “The Expanded Present: Photographing Movement,” in Ann Thomas ed., *Beauty of Another Order: Photography in Science* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with the National Gallery of Canada, 1997), 178-180.

*Ultra High-Speed Photography*.<sup>38</sup> His short film *Seeing the Unseen* (1936), which includes many of the same experiments pictured in the book, introduces the imagery as “explorations of the strange and beautiful world of motion that surrounds us unseen by sluggish eyes.”<sup>39</sup> A few of his stop-action images representing athletes and dancers were featured in the October 19, 1940 issue of *Le Samedi* (fig. 6.20). Focusing on the practical application of Edgerton’s investigations, this one-page article, entitled “1/100,000 de seconde,” asks whether his remarkable but specialized techniques will have an impact on the widespread use of photography by amateurs. Still considered too expensive for the everyday practitioner, the powerful electric flash invented by the engineer was nonetheless praised for the quality of the photographs it helped to obtain, described as being of “extraordinary sharpness and relief, the minutest details appearing with a quite unprecedented clarity; looking at them, we have a sense of movement suddenly frozen, as if by some kind of magic.”<sup>40</sup>

Canadian research into the scientific application of photography was discussed in “Seeing the Invisible,” an article published in *Maclean’s* on April 1, 1939 (figs. 6.21-6.24). Signed by Royd E. Beamish, the article describes the invention of two graduate students at the University of Toronto, Albert Prebus and James Hillier, who had “developed an electron microscope that magnifies a grain of sand to the size of a ten-story building and penetrates a barrier which has baffled man since the beginning of

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 184. See Harold E. Edgerton and James R. Killian Jr., *Flash! Seeing the Unseen by Ultra High-Speed Photography* (Boston: Hale, Cushman & Flint, 1939).

<sup>39</sup> Harold E. Edgerton, *Seeing the Unseen* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Electrical Engineering laboratories, 1936), 35mm. Available at “Videos,” Harold ‘Doc’ Edgerton, Visionary Engineer. The Edgerton Digital Collections (EDC) Project, <http://edgerton-digital-collections.org/videos/hee-fv-038> (accessed June 3, 2013).

<sup>40</sup> “D’une finesse et d’un relief extraordinaires, les moindres détails apparaissent avec une netteté inconnue jusqu’ici et l’on a, en les voyant, l’impression du mouvement brusquement figé par quelque magie.” My trans. “1/100,000 de seconde,” *Le Samedi*, October 19, 1940, (c).

time.”<sup>41</sup> While common microscopes magnified objects at a ratio of 1:1500, Prebus and Hillier’s apparatus could magnify 30,000 times – with the aid of an electronic ray instead of ordinary light – and could record the results photographically.<sup>42</sup> Accompanied by a dramatic portrait of the young students working at the large microscope and photographs of objects at varying levels of magnification, the article commends the invention for having given access to “a world beyond the range of light and shadow; a world whose largest object is smaller than the minutest organism ever seen before; (...) a world that may hold the answer to mysteries which science only yesterday believed incapable of solution.”<sup>43</sup>

Prebus and Hillier’s microscope was mentioned again a few months later, in an article enumerating the various ways in which the photographic camera had expanded the realm of the visible (figs. 6.25-6.28). Published in the November 15, 1939 issue of *Maclean’s*, “Photography Protects You” by Ted Sanderson also looks at the medium from a historical perspective, yet concentrates on the new technological developments that have impacted such fields as industry, medicine, criminology, cartography, archival science, and astronomy. The application of infra-red photography to criminology, for example, inspires Sanderson’s remark that “the criminal has a hard life in many ways because of photography.”<sup>44</sup> The protective aspect referred to in the title relates specifically to its use in industry, where the camera’s power to see through metal – X-ray

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<sup>41</sup> Royd E. Beamish, “Seeing the Invisible,” *Maclean’s*, April 1, 1939, 9.

<sup>42</sup> As Edward Juler notes in his discussion of the popular dissemination of photomicrography in Britain, the electron microscope was also featured in *The Times* on November 26, 1938. See Juler, 89. On the beginnings of photomicrography, see Ann Thomas, “The Search for Pattern,” in Ann Thomas ed., *Beauty of Another Order: Photography in Science* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with the National Gallery of Canada, 1997), 96-100.

<sup>43</sup> Beamish, 9.

<sup>44</sup> Ted Sanderson, “Photography Protects You,” *Maclean’s*, November 15, 1939, 38.

photography – has meant that in-depth testing of the strength and durability of materials has improved the safety of cars.

The author becomes increasingly lyrical when he talks about the use of photography by astronomers, who aim cameras “toward the infinite heavens to learn about other worlds and other suns, so great that our own seems insignificant by comparison.”<sup>45</sup> Reminiscent of de Verneuil’s tone in his editorial in *Le Samedi*, Sanderson’s prose conveys a sense of the triviality of human life when compared to the immensity of the universe.<sup>46</sup> The article ends with the following colourful ode to the evolution of photographic technology: “Could it be that, from some of these distant spheres, the shade of Louis Daguerre looks down upon our world today, and marvels at the ramifications and fruitfulness of the vine he planted for us one hundred years ago?”<sup>47</sup>

Attributing to photography an even greater connection to the heavens is the article entitled “La Photographie du Christ,” reproduced in *Le Samedi* on January 12, 1935 (fig. 6.29-6.30). Originally published in the French magazine *Je sais tout*, the article was written by Maurice Bert, “Ingénieur des Arts et Manufactures,” and was illustrated with photographs of the Shroud of Turin, on which the traces of Christ’s body and facial features are believed to be seen. First photographed in 1898, the shroud, Bert claims, had recently been authenticated by comparing its photograph with the infra-red analysis of its twin relic, the tunic Christ wore during his torture. The physical similarities between the various material traces borne by the tunic and the shroud are seen as sufficient proof of the latter’s authenticity, yet the author expresses the desire to apply infra-red technology

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>46</sup> Considering that Sanderson’s text was published shortly after Britain and France had declared war on Germany, it is easy to surmise that the author was making a veiled comment about the (relative) insignificance of such political conflicts.

<sup>47</sup> Sanderson, 39.



to the shroud itself, locked away in Italy. Referred to as “the world’s first photograph,” the image of the shroud, reproduced in large format in *Le Samedi*, is presented as photographic evidence of Christ’s existence.<sup>48</sup>

The knowledge acquired through optics of the infinitesimal, as touched upon in the *Maclean*’s article devoted to Prebus and Hillier, was addressed in “Ce que l’on invente,” another article on the electron microscope – this one reporting on Hillier’s collaboration with the Russian-American scientist Vladimir Zworykin, who worked for the RCA Victor corporation (fig. 6.31). Published in *La Revue moderne* in November 1942, the photographs accompanying this article are extremely magnified views of diverse minute life forms: algae, the scale of a butterfly’s wing, larvae, germs, and the tuberculosis bacteria. Such forms being impossible to recognize without the information provided by captions, the photographs are nothing more than abstract patterns vaguely evoking the structural composition of nature. Yet they are said to reveal new worlds that were previously invisible. Equating the knowledge gained by the newest telescope and microscope, the article’s author, Pierre LeBaron, offered: “Just as modern telescopes,

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<sup>48</sup> It is interesting to note that photography theorists have mentioned the Shroud of Turin in their investigations of photographic ontology. Rosalind Krauss, for instance, lists the shroud as an example – with palm prints, death masks and “the tracks of gulls on beaches” – of the indexicality of the photograph. In a slightly different vein, André Bazin, in his 1945 essay “Ontologie de l’image photographique,” references the Shroud of Turin to illustrate his point about the psychological impact of the photographic trace on the viewer. A study of the impact of the shroud’s photographic dissemination on the theory of photography might well yield important historiographical insights. See Rosalind E. Krauss, “The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism,” in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985), 110; and André Bazin, “On the Ontology of the Photographic Image,” in Hugh Gray ed. and trans., *What is Cinema?, Volume 1* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 14. On the semiotic meaning of the shroud’s photographic trace, see Georges Didi-Huberman, “The Index of the Absent Wound (Monograph on a Stain),” *October*, vol. 29 (Summer 1984): 63-81.

larger and better constructed, allow us to see further and further beyond our old world, the electron microscope (...) enables us to penetrate a new world.”<sup>49</sup>

A one-page photo-essay reproduced in *La Revue populaire* in February 1936 gave readers a cinematic glimpse into the world of plants and insects (fig. 6.32). Entitled “L’Histoire naturelle au cinéma,” the image-dominated spread, consisting of photographs produced by the German film studio UFA, is divided into two segments, the upper half devoted to plant specimens and the lower representing an ant farm.<sup>50</sup> While “La Cité des fourmis” presents non-sequential moments in the life cycle of an ant (mating, laying eggs, building a home, gathering food), “Tour de force des végétaux” is composed of four vertical strips showing various examples of the remarkable process of plant growth, each displaying in a step-by-step narrative the lengths to which a plant will go to grow, despite obvious physical obstacles.

Although published three months later, a short article appearing in *La Revue populaire*’s May 1936 issue gives the background story to “L’Histoire naturelle au cinéma” (fig. 6.33). Illustrated with a portrait of Hertha Jülich, a member of staff in UFA’s documentary section, and based on an interview with her, “Existences dévoilées” explains the workings of micro-cinematography. The novelty of the technique, of course, was that it could record the animation of microscopic beings. The invaluable information it furnished about the activities of them and their world were being chronicled by UFA and distributed as documentary films. Regarding the animal kingdom, the article states: “This whole microcosmic realm, filled with beings that crawl, fly, and jump, on land and

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<sup>49</sup> “De même que les télescopes modernes, plus grands et mieux construits, permettent de voir de plus en plus loin au-delà de notre vieux monde, le microscope à électrons (...) permet de pénétrer dans un monde nouveau.” My trans. Pierre LeBaron, “Ce que l’on invente,” *La Revue moderne*, November 1942, 17.

<sup>50</sup> See Klaus Kreimeier, Rita Kimber, and Robert Kimber trans., *The UFA Story: A History of Germany’s Greatest Film Company, 1918-1945* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1996).

in water, produces the most fascinating shots. Who could fail to be interested in the goings-on of these miniature stars – how they eat, get around, reproduce, their love affairs and their battles!”<sup>51</sup> Once reserved for scientists, the “enchanted land” discovered by the microscope was now, thanks to the micro-camera, being made accessible to all, and appropriately recast in the form of popular narrative film.

Emerging from these examples and many others uncited – from the myriad ways that photographic technologies were exploited to expand the possibilities of the visible and its representation – I have identified a notion of the strange. It is not a notion necessarily associated with the downright bizarre or freakish, but rather with a more general sense of the unfamiliar. Whether the realities made newly visible were far away, close up, on the inside, or occurring in the split of a second, they were all visually foreign, despite having been present all along. The optical unconscious, in other words, was becoming part of the conscious domain of popular entertainment via illustrated magazines. Though frequently the result of scientific research begun in the nineteenth century, these technologies seemed to epitomize the modernity of photography, which, one hundred years into its history, was ready for reassessment. Much like Moholy-Nagy’s approach to the medium, Canadian magazines represented photography as essentially multifarious, and capable of capturing, to use Benjamin’s expression, new “image worlds.”

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<sup>51</sup> “Tout ce domaine du microcosme, avec ses êtres rampant, volant, sautant sur terre et dans l’eau, donne lieu à des prises de vues passionnantes. Qui donc n’est pas intéressé par les faits et gestes de ces stars en miniatures; leurs manières de manger, de se mouvoir, de se reproduire, leurs amours et leurs luttes!” My trans. “Existences dévoilées,” *La Revue populaire*, May 1936, 55.

### *Making Strange*

Imagery made explicitly to appear strange can also be observed in Canadian magazines. In these cases, there has been an overt attempt – either by the magazines’ producers (in the layout, for instance) or by the photographer – to bring out the oddness of the world. Through such visual strategies as the isolation of fragments, juxtaposition, montage, repetition, and unusual viewpoints, this imagery seems to invite readers to look more closely – to look again at a reality they thought they knew. A form of participation is thus being demanded of readers, who are not simply being informed about a given topic but must take the time to make sense of the photograph.

The bizarreness of the animal kingdom was a trope frequently employed in *Le Samedi*. In “Mascarade ou cauchemar? Non, la vie normale et naturelle,” for example, published on May 14, 1938, the curious and sometimes nightmarish physiques of animals are showcased in a one-page photo-essay (fig. 6.34). The largest photograph, a close-up of an “African bat’s” devilish face, sets the tone for how the rest of these creatures are to be interpreted – as monstrous. The bat’s open jaw is echoed in the image on the lower left representing an adder snake showing its fangs, its mouth gaping. Odd physiognomy unites a deep-sea fish, an iguana, and a frog, pictured from below through glass, while a miniature opossum, held in a hand, is included for its freakish size. This, as the title asserts, being what “normal and natural life” looks like, readers are encouraged to view normalcy with fresh eyes.

The most familiar animal of all is treated in a similar way in “Le Chien,” which appeared in *Le Samedi*’s November 13, 1937 issue after first being published in “our Paris confrère,” the magazine *Vu et Lu* (which was the result of the provisional fusion, in

1937, of *Vu* with the text-based digest *Lu*) (fig. 6.35).<sup>52</sup> Consisting of eleven portraits of dogs arranged in a grid layout, the aim of the montage was purportedly to connect the canine character to that of humans. Beneath each portrait is inscribed a personality trait – “quick-tempered,” “sentimental,” “wily,” “bewildered,” “free-spirited,” “determined,” etc. – that encourages a psychological reading of the individual dog’s features. Providing a further cue to how to read the photographs, the caption speculates: “Was the dog created in man’s image? With all due deference, one cannot help wondering after examining the expressions and facial antics of the collection of fine animals pictured on this page.”<sup>53</sup> Though resemblance to humanity is the aim, the comical, oddball aspect of these varied features inevitably comes through.

The comparison of animals and humans reappears in “Autres têtes, mêmes expressions,” another one-page montage, printed on May 13, 1939 (fig. 6.36). Here it is argued that dogs, more than any other animal, have the intelligence necessary for understanding and a sincerity that prevents them from hiding their true feelings. Their juxtaposition with babies, who also reveal their thoughts and desires largely through their facial expressions, proves the similarity between the species. The photographic juxtaposition of the similar demeanours of humans and animals is a visual trick that was used recurrently in *Lilliput*, the British illustrated magazine founded in 1937 by Stefan Lorant, who had previously edited the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse*. For instance, the March 1939 issue of *Lilliput* featured a comparison of the physical characteristics of a sea elephant with the large-nosed English author A. P. Herbert, and another of the goggle-

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<sup>52</sup> Danielle Leenaerts, *Petite histoire du magazine Vu (1928-1940). Entre photographie d’information et photographie d’art* (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2010), 40-41.

<sup>53</sup> “Le chien a-t-il été créé à l’image de l’homme? Sauf votre respect, il est bien permis de se le demander en analysant les expressions ou jeux de physionomie des quelques braves bêtes qui illustrent cette page.” My trans. “Le Chien,” *Le Samedi*, November 13, 1937, 8.

eyed French Foreign Minister Georges Bonnet with a German bulldog (fig. 6.37-6.38). Often carrying clear political messages, the game of unlikely pairings behind this visual trick was also meant to prompt a chuckle.

In *Lilliput*'s February 1939 issue, a photograph of a small dog standing on its hind legs with one paw reaching upward was juxtaposed with a portrait of Hitler executing the Nazi salute (fig. 6.39). Perhaps used as a symbol of subservience, the dog and the eagerness of its stance provides a contrast to Hitler's unflinching pose, despite the obvious parallel between the gestures. A similar tactic was employed in *Le Samedi*'s February 17, 1940 issue, in an article entitled "À propos de singes," in which a cut-out photograph of Hitler is compared with the image of a similarly gesturing chimpanzee (fig. 6.40). These are joined, on the right-hand page, by a saluting Hermann Goering, whose head has been replaced with that of an orangutan. This humoristic comparison is pushed further in the text, written by Louis Roland, whose description of the destructive behaviours of certain apes is clear allusion to the actions of the German army. Illustrated at the bottom of the double-page with a drawing of a mass of saluting primates following others in a marching formation, the article sarcastically suggests that Darwin had it slightly wrong: though all humans descend from apes, some of them feel the need to retrace their evolutionary steps.

The strange new realities brought about by the Second World War appear to have been exemplified in Canadian magazines by images of people wearing gas masks.<sup>54</sup> In a

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<sup>54</sup> The disturbing aspect of gas masks was also explored by Canadian artist Fritz Brandtner in his work *Men of 1939*, now in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada, showing two civilians and a dog wearing masks. See Charles C. Hill, *Canadian Painting in the Thirties* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1975), 129, 142. Marilyn McKay qualifies Brandtner's drawing as puzzling, as his subjects all "stand and face the viewer as if posing for a comical photograph." See Marilyn McKay, "Canadian Political Art in the 1930s: A Form of Distancing," in Alejandro Anreus, Diana L. Linden, and Jonathan Weinberg eds., *The Social*

similar way to the montage of Goering with an orangutan head, the heads of such masked figures seem disconnected from their bodies, giving them an alien-like appearance. In “Canada’s Fighting Forces,” for example, published in *Maclean’s* on January 15, 1940, a Canadian infantryman is shown standing at attention in his “battle rompers,” his head entirely obscured by a helmet and gas mask (fig. 6.41). Since these photographs illustrate an article on one of the “fifty-odd training camps where men of the Canadian Active Service Forces are being taught how to do their jobs the right way,” the sporting of such a mask on Canadian soil would have been solely for the purpose of practice.<sup>55</sup> It is possible that it was chosen as the article’s lead image because it stood for the new types of measures that would need to be taken on the battlefield.

The difference between the second war and the first was summarized in *Le Samedi* a few months later, in the magazine’s July 13, 1940 issue, in a short article accompanied by a photograph of a soldier astride a horse, both of them masked (fig. 6.42). While the text argued for the abolition of the current income tax on Canadian soldiers’ salaries, the photograph’s caption affirmed that “the present war respects nothing – not women, nor children, nor animals, nor the most sacred places.”<sup>56</sup> Obtained exclusively by *Le Samedi*, the photograph, representing a British soldier, offers an eerie

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*and the Real: Political Art of the 1930s in the Western Hemisphere* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 77.

<sup>55</sup> Frederick Edwards, “Canada’s Fighting Forces. Part Two: The New Army,” *Maclean’s*, January 15, 1940, 7.

<sup>56</sup> “La guerre actuelle ne respecte rien, ni les femmes, ni les enfants, ni les bêtes, ni les lieux les plus sacrés.” My trans. “Nos officiers et soldats ont droit à leur solde... et même à plus forte solde,” *Le Samedi*, July 13, 1940, 6.

double vision in which both human and beast appear deformed by the accoutrements of warfare. This, the image seems to say, is what war looks like now.<sup>57</sup>

The look of the approaching war was foretold in *The Canadian*'s November 1937 issue, in an article entitled "Poison Gas – Manufacture... for Murder," itself previewed in the preceding month's contents page (figs. 6.43-6.44). In the latter, a photograph of a crowd of men in civilian dress, seen from above and all wearing gas masks, was reproduced with the caption "Is our world to look like this?" A larger version of an identical image had already figured in *Maclean's* six months before, in an article entitled "Were London Bombed," by Beverley Baxter, the magazine's British correspondent (fig. 6.45).<sup>58</sup> Discussing the threat of air attacks on London, this article presents masks as one course of action against the poison gas – and ensuing widespread death – that would likely be dropped in such attacks.

The two-page photo-essay published in *The Canadian* describes the business of training members of England's public services to act as instructors for the utilization of gas masks in a context of war. Showing scenes of situational training in various locations, the photo-essay affirms that "it is inevitable that poison gas will play a major role in any future wars."<sup>59</sup> Under the photograph of masked men previously published, the longer caption reads: "Is our world to look like this? Reminiscent of monsters from another planet, a group of students wearing respirators are photographed in the throes of becoming qualified instructors. These young men then return home and there spread the

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<sup>57</sup> The use of poison gas as a weapon was not new, however, and a type of gas mask had already been part of Canadians' experience of World War I. See Tim Cook, *No Place to Run: The Canadian Corps and Gas Warfare in the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999).

<sup>58</sup> On the Canadian-born journalist and politician's regular contributions to *Maclean's*, see Neville Thompson, *Canada and the End of the Imperial Dream: Beverley Baxter's Reports from London through War and Peace, 1936-1960* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>59</sup> "Poison Gas – Manufacture... for Murder," *The Canadian Magazine*, November 1937, 24.



anti-gas gospel.”<sup>60</sup> The explicit reference to the alien-like appearance resulting from such disfiguring contraptions did nothing to weaken the certainty of their eventual use.

The presence of the repetition motif is striking in this photo-essay, which, aside from situational scenes also includes photographs of the production of gas masks at a factory located in Blackburn. Showing employees – all of whom are women – busy operating machinery, sewing, and stacking canisters, these images represent the efficiency of the factory’s operations and, by extension, symbolize the preparedness of the nation for war. Joining these is a photograph of half-finished masks hanging from hooks that mirror the eerie crowd of undifferentiated faces on the left-hand side. These unfinished masks, with their globular black eyes and large, seemingly screaming mouths, come across as the manifestation of the type of death caused by poison gas. Showing masks in training exercises and in manufacture, the photo-essay prompts the reader to imagine the deadly results if these things were not being done.

Coexisting with these images of the realities of war were much milder photographs of the everyday – rendered strange by the unfamiliarity of the point of view. These include the pictures taken from above, below, or through other objects that were favoured by Moholy-Nagy and his contemporaries because of their resemblance to the kind of “mistakes” produced by the amateur, whose ceaseless picture-making was the driving force behind the “photo-boom.” As Olivier Lugon writes, “oblique framing, off-centre angles, bird’s- and worm’s-eye shots [were] all incarnations of the virtual infinity of images.”<sup>61</sup> Moholy-Nagy was famous for altering viewpoints, among other instances by climbing up the Transporter Bridge in Marseille in order to photograph its port

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Lugon, “Photo-Inflation,” 223.

through the bridge's structure.<sup>62</sup> A similar type of image was published in *La Revue populaire* in August 1939, showing a view of the Notre-Dame de la Garde basilica as seen through the girders of the Transporter Bridge, considered by some to be an architectural chef-d'oeuvre equal to the Eiffel Tower (fig. 6.46).<sup>63</sup> Supplied by the "Services Nationaux du Tourisme français," the photograph's composition is dominated by a dramatic play of crisscrossing black lines cutting through the background landscape.

Conrad Poirier, whose approach is said to have been akin to the New Vision, offered an unusual vantage point on cycling in the August 1941 issue of *La Revue populaire* (fig. 6.47).<sup>64</sup> Accompanying a text about the recent rise in popularity of the bicycle as a mode of transport and as a hobby (due to its low cost), the square image closely frames a bicycle wheel, through the spokes of which can be seen two young women posed with their bikes. Perhaps wishing to have the image symbolize the "rebirth" of the sport, Poirier got close to the ground to provide readers with a novel take on an old invention.

The use of objects to frame others can be observed in two more examples, both of which present female subjects framed by the body of a horse (figs. 6.48-6.49). In the first, published as an uncredited, stand-alone photograph in *La Revue populaire* in May 1938, a shaded horse's neck and head dominates the upper half of the composition and encircles

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<sup>62</sup> Newhall, 9. See also François Bon, Olivier Lugon, and Philippe Simay, *Le pont transbordeur de Marseille - Moholy-Nagy* (INHA/Collège International de philosophie/Éditions OPHRYS, Paris, 2013).

<sup>63</sup> Bernard Blistene and Bernard Millet, *Le pont transbordeur et la vision moderniste* (Marseille: Musées de Marseille and Musée Cantini, 1991), 7. As this catalogue shows, many artists besides Moholy-Nagy – among them Herbert Bayer, Florence Henri, Germaine Krull, and Man Ray – explored the formal possibilities provided by the particular structure of Marseille's Transporter Bridge.

<sup>64</sup> Martin Brault, "Montréal 1910-1950. La ville animée," in Michel Lessard ed., *Montréal au XXe siècle. Regards de photographes* (Montreal: Éditions de l'Homme, 1995), 34. Many examples of Poirier's body of work, much of which is accessible online, support this argument. See "Photographies de Conrad Poirier," Collections - Images, BAnQ website, [http://www.banq.qc.ca/collections/images/recherche/?keyword=\\*&fonction=search&nbResult=20&tri=&f\\_sous\\_collection\\_f=PH](http://www.banq.qc.ca/collections/images/recherche/?keyword=*&fonction=search&nbResult=20&tri=&f_sous_collection_f=PH) (accessed June 9, 2013).

the woman's upper body, pictured from a worm's-eye view. The sharp sunlight adds contrast to the image, which clearly serves no other purpose than to be appreciated for the unusualness of its composition. In the second example, printed in the upper right of a two-page photo-essay in *La Revue populaire*'s June 1937 issue, a group of schoolgirls can be discerned through the legs of a trotting horse hurtling down a sand dune on horseback. This and the other pictures illustrating the article, supplied by the photo agency PIX and taken at a girls' school in California, demonstrate the dynamism with which these young women – the wives of tomorrow – pursue their pedagogical activities. The typical amateur “mistake” of cutting off the tops of heads is used in the photograph segmenting the body of a horse as a strategy that provides visual interest and signifies the freshness of contemporary female education.

The worm's-eye view was employed in a radical way in a series of advertisements for Absorbine Jr. that ran in *The Canadian* in the summer of 1933 (figs. 6.50-6.52). Although said to relieve an assortment of ailments (sore muscles, cuts, sprains, insomnia...), the product, made by the Massachusetts company W. F. Young Inc., is promoted in these ads as a cure for athlete's foot, and appropriately pictures subjects not just from below, but from actually underfoot. Like the frog in “Mascarade ou cauchemar?” (fig. 6.34), the subjects are photographed through a sheet of glass; they stand virtually on top of the picture plane, their naked feet visible thanks to sole-less shoes. Playing golf, tennis, or dancing, the victims of athlete's foot peer downward, apparently deliberately ignoring the disease they are spreading. The “shock” – referred to in the texts accompanying the two female victims – generated by the knowledge that such subjects are hiding an unsightly affliction is replicated photographically by the extreme

point of view – a point of view that had also been used to promote the *FiFo* exhibition (fig. 6.53).

The opposite perspective – from above – was also frequently featured, as were innumerable articles about the technological developments that enabled this viewpoint: airplanes and skyscrapers.<sup>65</sup> Among such articles can be counted a series entitled “Sky High” that *The Canadian* ran in the late 1920s, glorifying the role of the Canadian pilots who fought in World War I (fig. 6.54). In November 1933, furthermore, the magazine published a similarly glorifying spread entitled “The Sky’s the Limit” on the construction workers (or “roosters”) who built Canadian skyscrapers (fig. 6.55).

Actual aerial views were also published, as can be seen in a preview for *Le Samedi*’s fiftieth anniversary issue published in *La Revue populaire* where Poirier, Bessette & Cie chose to print an aerial photograph of Montreal in which the position of the firm’s headquarters is clearly marked out (fig. 6.56). This image was probably supplied either by Associated Screen News or C.P.R., as other aerial views of Montreal by these companies appeared simultaneously in *Le Samedi* (fig. 6.57). Within the context of these magazines, aerial views are included purely for entertainment’s sake; they offer an alternative to the usual, ground level perception of the city while bringing out the abstract structure of the urban landscape.

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<sup>65</sup> On the conceptual and visual impact of skyscrapers and airplanes, see Meir Wigoder, “The ‘Solar Eye’ of Vision: The Emergence of the Skyscraper-Viewer in the Discourse on Heights in New York City, 1890-1920,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 61, no. 2 (June 2002): 152-169; and Paula Amad, “From God’s-eye to Camera-eye: Aerial Photography’s Post-humanist and Neo-humanist Visions of the World,” *History of Photography*, vol. 36, no. 1 (February 2012): 66-86. Thierry Gervais has argued that although much has been made by art historians of the emblematic character of the view from above in the avant-garde photography of the 1920s and 1930s, it was already in use in the nineteenth century, when photography participated in the popularization of the discourse of cartography. See Thierry Gervais, “Un basculement du regard,” *Études photographiques*, no. 9 (May 2001): 88-108.

An instance that did not deal directly with aviation or architecture but that utilized an overhead perspective in an effort to alter perception is *Le Samedi*'s April 10, 1937 cover image, taken by Mark Auger, whose photograph of Montreal's grain elevator no. 2 was discussed in Chapter Five (fig. 6.58). Entitled "La pêche," it shows a group of three men, two sitting and one kneeling, fishing off a dock. Seen from above, the group and the dock occupy a mere third of the image, while the other two thirds are filled by an expanse of water. As in his depiction of the city's industrial architecture, Auger has again made use of diagonal lines in order to create visual drama: the main diagonal is created by the edge of the dock, repeated in the dark shadows cast by the figures, and offset by the perpendicular angle of the fishing lines. This view from above exploits what could have been a traditional, picturesque scene as an opportunity for formal experimentation.

In "La Première promenade du printemps," another example of a potentially ordinary scene rendered unusual, a couple and a dog are represented strolling down a dirt road (fig. 6.59). Published alone in *La Revue populaire*'s April 1938 issue and credited to G. L. Hawkins (an amateur and Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society who published books and articles on technical aspects of photography), the picture's visual interest lies in the figures' elongated shadows, which are cast by strong lateral sunlight.<sup>66</sup> Despite it being a self-portrait (based on the angle, Hawkins would be the figure on the right), the image consists largely of irregular dark masses against a light background. Though not taken from high above, it nonetheless offers yet another example of the impulse to create a new visual experience by tilting the camera downward.

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<sup>66</sup> G. L. Hawkins contributed articles to such periodicals as *The Miniature Camera Magazine* and wrote *Pigment Printing: The Bromoil Process from the Negative to the Transfer* (London and Boston: Henry Greenwood & Co. Ltd. and American Photographic Publishing Co., 1933).

Acting as a symbolic picture of *La Revue populaire*'s readership was an advertisement for the magazine published in several issues of *Le Samedi* in 1935 (fig. 6.60). Bearing the tag line "Tout le monde lit La Revue populaire," the ad, which invariably filled a whole page, showcased an unidentified photograph of a large crowd taken from above. Were it not for the horizon line at the very top, the entire image would be taken over by this undifferentiated horde of people – seemingly all men. That these people may have been gathered in a stadium for a sporting event or a political rally is less important than the fact that it was used by Poirier, Bessette & Cie to communicate the idea that its magazine was read by thousands. Driving the point home, the ad states:

*La Revue populaire* bears its name well: everyone reads it. Why? Because it is always interesting, and because each month it offers its steadily growing clientele a plentiful and select choice of reading. Its highly tasteful novels, articles and illustrations make it a magazine at once popular and refined.<sup>67</sup>

Representing its readers not as individuals but as a mass, Poirier, Bessette & Cie makes it clear that though the magazine may be distinguished as well as popular, the bottom line is the acquisition of an ever greater readership. In this case, the view from above allows the visual impact of the large crowd to be easily grasped but it also embodies a perspective – an approach to photography – that signified novelty and reflected an interest in exploiting new visual norms.

All of the strategies discussed in this chapter somehow expand the realm of the photographable. My intent has been to draw out the similarities between the discourses and imagery propounded in the writings and publications of those active in Weimar

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<sup>67</sup> "La Revue populaire porte bien son nom: tout le monde la lit. Pourquoi? Parce qu'elle est toujours intéressante et qu'elle apporte, chaque mois, à sa clientèle de plus en plus nombreuse, une lecture abondante et choisie. Ses romans, ses articles, ses illustrations du meilleur goût en font à la fois une revue populaire et distinguée." My trans. "Tout le monde lit La Revue populaire," *Le Samedi*, July 6, 1935, 42.

Germany and the context of Canadian magazines, to demonstrate that Canadians wrote about photography in similar terms, and to show that the Canadian public saw the type of imagery that played with established conventions and expanded the visual world – all as a form of popular entertainment. If Canadian magazines did not overtly concur with Moholy-Nagy and others' rejection of “non-photographic” uses of the camera, they nonetheless embraced the myriad ways in which photography could encourage an objective vision wherein the “optically true” would be brought to the surface.

Like *Malerei*, *Fotografie*, *Film*, *Die Welt ist schön*, and *Foto-Auge*, Canadian magazines were not reserved for a select audience versed in aesthetic matters, but were addressed to a general public. The languages of photographic modernism were thus part of the everyday experience of photography by Canadians. In different ways and from various angles, photographic modernism came in the mail or was absorbed at the beauty parlour. Tracing this category of the strange proves that the languages of photographic modernism were mobile: they travelled across the spectrum of culture, and they travelled to Canada, where they were translated for a specific public. Such languages were not encountered in purity or isolation but rather had to be negotiated in dialogue with other discourses and imagery. Though not the only context where photographic modernism was expressed, magazines represented an especially appropriate site for such a dialogue to take place.

## Conclusion

### INVISIBILITY/VISIBILITY

This study of photographic modernism and its penetration of Canadian society has been presented under four headings that encapsulate the dominant ideas and recurrent motifs in the corpus that I have analysed. Before I close, I want to bring forward a fifth theme that runs like a leitmotif through all the imagery discussed in the last four chapters, and even through this thesis as a whole. It is a theme that has been addressed, either explicitly or implicitly, in every chapter, but has not been explored from the bird's-eye vantage point that would allow the languages of photographic modernism to be perceived in their interrelation – as more than simply different (sometimes radically different) ways of representing modernity. Recurring throughout is the idea that, through various photographic forms, the invisible was being made visible.

This is certainly apparent in Chapter Six, where, following a discussion of several articles from the period that reflect on the medium's past and future, photography as a technology is posited as a tool that has the power to expand the realm of the visible world. Beyond this, it emerges that photographic technology was perceived by the contributors to Canadian magazines as being capable of revealing a whole set of *new* worlds, strange worlds whose existence was known but whose reality had yet to be pictured. In linking these articles – and the imagery that sought to represent or emphasize the strangeness of life – to the discourse of the New Vision put forth compellingly by László Moholy-Nagy and his peers, I have endeavoured to draw out certain key similarities between the way photography was conceived in Weimar Germany and in Canada. Such links have also been made to show how the scientific applications of



photography were of equal interest to artists like Moholy-Nagy and the producers of popular Canadian magazines.

In Chapter Five, I investigate some of the icons of industrial photography and argue that one particular approach to the subject matter recurs especially frequently in the magazines studied: the “how-to” narrative. Taking the form of photo-essays, this way of telling stories about industrial Canada focuses on explaining how products – whether manufactured objects or raw materials – are made. This chapter shows that the language of industrial photography, whose development and dissemination were, I suggest, powerfully influenced by the work of Margaret Bourke-White and Lewis Hine, was used in a way quite specific to the Canadian context. The discourse of scientific management is brought in to explain the logic of the “how-to” photo-essay, which invariably presents production as a rational, efficient process. But beyond the representation of industrial production, this type of photographic narrative indicates a desire to reveal and explain the invisible underside or pre-history of the products readers consumed, including the very magazines they were reading.

The idea of making the invisible visible is also at work in Chapter Four, which focuses on advertising and looks at the image of the severed hand as a trope both in Canadian magazines and avant-garde art, chiefly surrealism. In each of these contexts, the severed hand is symbolic of what lies beneath the surface of the body. For surrealist artists the hand was explored as a kind of link between the outside and the inside – a connection to the interior world of the unconscious. In the realm of advertising, I argue, the hand was employed as a stand-in for the locus of the (female) consumer’s self. Both personality and beauty are imagined – in advertisements and magazine articles – to be

concentrated in the hands. A person's inner nature and inner beauty are seen as somehow manifesting themselves visibly in the outer appearance of hands, which thereby assume great powers of signification. My review of the emergence of the discourse of modern advertising has also helped reveal how the mode of address of advertising material – the direct and personal appeal to the reader – impacted the rest of magazine content.

By analyzing several types of images, Chapter Three investigates the language of photojournalism and its centrality in the development of modern magazines. Articulated in three forms – the candid moment, the peak moment, and the event – these types of images represent different approaches to the capturing of the present. In this chapter I also delve into the production of particular Canadian photographers who are shown to have exerted significant impact on the overall visual character of the magazines studied, and by extension, their readers. There are a few other photographers whose influence on photojournalism could have been discussed, but the bodies of work supplied by these three cases is evidence of extended contributions to Canadian magazines that render them, in my view, exemplary as depictees of an otherwise invisible present.

Henri Paul's photo-essays offered a unique window onto unseen aspects of Montreal's artistic community, thereby revealing a world that was inaccessible to most readers. Although depicting more decisively public activities, Conrad Poirier's images of sports events at the Montreal Forum and of various demonstrations of physical excellence made the immediacy of the present almost palpable. And publication of the travelling journalist Willson Woodside's photographs, alongside his explanations of current political events, made his presence in the countries discussed a concrete and visible

reality, validating his first-hand accounts of what was happening on the ground in Europe.

Such are the ways that the theme of invisibility/visibility runs through the four chapters describing photographic imagery. It is tempting, given its ubiquity, to see it as a defining characteristic of photographic modernism. And so it is, at least in the context of Canadian magazines, which seem to have taken on the role, for the benefit of their readers, of making certain things that were previously invisible, visible. Assuredly, these periodicals were a means of communication intended to inform, perhaps even educate the Canadian public, and so shedding light on a variety subjects (current affairs, commodities, industry, science) was likely part of this instructional motivation. But I think this theme also says something about the desires of readers, who, as explicitly pointed out in Chapter Two, were not merely receptacles for the decisions and opinions of editors but helped direct the orientation of magazines. While a more nebulous object of research than the editorial statements of a periodical, readers' reactions were nonetheless a solicited, necessary, and vocal factor in shaping form and deciding content. This being established, and particularly in light of these magazines' additional function as sheer entertainment, it is fascinating to me that readers were clearly so engrossed by the uncovering of what lay beneath.

Scepticism was keeping pace. It is perhaps not by chance that the era that saw the development of photography as a mass medium was also the era in which an increasingly suspicious attitude towards photographic imagery (but also life in general) began to take root. It was as though "face value" was no longer acceptable: people now wanted to know *how*, and *why*. If the unacceptability of face value was not new, its location in a mass

media was. When the readers of mass-circulation magazines began asking how and why, it must be seen as an indication of a generalized curiosity but also of a widespread distrust. For it was at this time, too, that photography as a persuasive mode of communication – as propaganda, both political and economic – was refined. Perhaps as a reaction to the dubiousness of any kind of official picture, readers now wanted to know everything possible about what had gone into the making of the modern world in which they lived.

If the overarching theme of invisibility/visibility emerges from the four constellated chapters, it should also bear on the preliminary discussions of context and methodology, and it does. Chapter Two is devoted to an exposition of the discourse of Canadianism in the targeted magazines, using *The Canadian* as an exemplary case and *Le Samedi* as its francophone counterpart. I argue there that this discourse was an essential – even driving – factor in how Canadian magazines were editorially promoted, and that as a result it provided a framework for the rest of the content. It was, in fact, the main reason that these magazines were produced in the first place. As I maintain, editors were in a conversation with their readers, who readily debated the merits of the Canadianist stance, and this to-and-fro movement between editors and readers meant that the reception of magazines was an active, dialogical process. Building on the studies that have investigated the unifying role of the mass media in Canadian nationalism, I suggest that readers actually responded, in their own words, to the discourse of Canadianism, thereby becoming part of it.

What I especially hope to have made visible in Chapter Two is the idea that this dialogical operation had, by extension, an effect on the reception of photographic content.

My aim, in other words, has been to show that although deriving from a variety of different sources (some foreign), the photographs published in these magazines were all, in a very real sense, Canadian. They were all Canadian because they were framed by Canadian magazines, and because they were seen by Canadians. Instead of apprehending the presence of foreign imagery as something to steer my analysis clear of, I see it as interesting precisely because it upsets the apparent seamlessness of the nationalist rhetoric. The fact is, the photographic culture in which these magazines participated was an international one, not only because American periodicals were entering the country in the millions, but also because photographs originating elsewhere were knowingly reproduced – even flaunted. This is not simply an instance of cultural imperialism infiltrating the very fibre of Canadian periodicals: rather, it is proof that the perspective of the nation(s) at work was not hermetic, but open to the rest of the world. Interaction between the local and the international was the operational standard, though not always overt, but between Canadian covers.

Which brings me to my first chapter, where I lay out the theoretical foundations of this thesis. In a broad sense, I hope to have presented a view of the history of photographic modernism in Canada that was not previously visible. This is not rogue scholarship, but an established approach to expanding the history of photography. Several of the authors discussed in Chapter One have made it their mission to bring other, hidden histories to the surface. Geoffrey Batchen and Elizabeth Edwards, for example, consistently focus on photographic objects that have been disregarded or undervalued within the academy, as do Jordana Mendelson, Michel Frizot, and Cédric de Veigy. Their work, and that of others, constitutes a most important strand of photographic studies, one

that takes into account the mass that has been reached by this medium. Following their lead, my aim has been to reconsider the history of photographic modernism in Canada by looking at a different kind of object – one that, owing to its taxonomic complexity, inherently questions the conceptual basis on which previous histories have rested. Magazines, as vernacular photographic objects, have a physical, conceptual, and historical depth that should not be ignored.

The second section of Chapter One describes the texts that have enabled me to engage with the magazines and their articulation of photographic modernism in more pragmatic terms. The semiotic approach seemed the most appropriate to me, since it focuses on *how* stories are told, rather than what is told and by whom. These texts taught me to slant my analyses toward reception by looking at the ways in which photographic imagery is constructed, for an audience; they encouraged me to see the traces of reception in the very modes of communication of photographs – and their “surrounds.” Semiotics, furthermore, allowed me to think about photographic modernism in terms of visual conventions. Dismissing the notion that modernism is reducible to a quest for novelty, I looked instead for the repetition and appropriation of certain types of imagery. These languages of photographic modernism, which pre-existed their application in Canadian magazines, were put to work in that context to signify the modern.

In an interdisciplinary spirit, turning to theorists, such as Robert Scholes, who have challenged the conceptual basis of modernism’s primary binaries gave me the courage to consider modernism from a different perspective and to fully embrace the ambiguity of the magazine medium. As I hope to have demonstrated, popular magazines are sites where the “high” and the “low” intersect and intermingle, where the harsh line

often drawn between these two spheres of culture is blurred. This blurring should lead to a reconsideration of *both* these spheres. My aim with this project is not just to give more value to popular magazines, to say that they too must be included into the history of Canadian photographic modernism. I also wish to show that the “high” was always part of the “low,” and that the canonical actors of international photographic modernism, discussed throughout this thesis, were all actively involved in the popular culture of their time. The “popular” history of modernist photography has been there all along. This thesis is a contribution to the growing body of knowledge that helps to make this history visible.

This thesis uncovers and consolidates new information on the history of photography in Canada in the first half of the twentieth century – my concern has been to fill in some of the historiographical “black hole” referred to in the introduction. This approach is rooted in the belief that print culture can reveal a good deal about the nature of photographic experience in Canada. It is an approach that can be extended beyond the material covered in this project.

In the same vein, important research remains to be done in the field of historiography – in the history of the history of photography in Canada. My involvement with the Canadian Photography History research group, which is producing a comprehensive annotated bibliography of Canadian photography to be made available online, has been especially enlightening in this regard. Based at Concordia University’s Department of Art History and led by Professor Martha Langford, this research group has opened my eyes to the wealth of texts on photography written in Canada in the first half of the twentieth century, many of which were published in magazines, newspapers, and

other vehicles of print culture. The existence of this material makes plain the fact that Canadians were active participants in photographic discourse. An in-depth study of the articles *about* photography, published in various sources (some of which I touched upon, only cursorily, in Chapter Six), would undoubtedly yield great insight into how the medium was perceived and used by Canadians during this period.

An analysis of print culture in combination with other sources would surely prove rewarding. For example, a study of photography exhibitions in Canada during this period – shown not only at the country’s national institutions but also in smaller, regional museums and galleries – could expand the current understanding of the reception of photography in Canada. This could be combined with close readings of the reviews of such exhibitions, published in both art journals and the popular press. An investigation that took into consideration exhibitions of foreign as well as Canadian work would also further knowledge of the relationship between local and international photographic discourse. Scholars are just beginning to scratch the surface of this rich terrain.

Similarly, research into the availability and consumption of foreign print culture in Canada would be worth pursuing. In this body of material could be included not only popular magazines, but also photographic books and periodicals. This type of investigation would bring to light the influence of particular sources and traditions. Research into the archival fonds of various Canadian photographers, which occasionally also contain personal libraries, would provide the tools to broaden even further understanding of the role played by photographic print culture. As I have seen for myself, such personal libraries often contain far more than the usual, expected sources (those most commonly discussed in the history of photography): documentary evidence of the



private education of Canadian photographers is, much like Canadian photographic history, highly idiosyncratic.

The relationships between photography and the other arts could also be investigated in depth via the study of print culture. My research on *La Revue populaire*, for example, revealed that it was at the centre of Montreal's artistic community. Proof of this may be found not only in the photo-essays of Henri Paul but also in the professional and personal relationships of Jean Chauvin, the magazine's editor. The fact that he was himself an art critic, but also that he was in contact with such artists, historians, and intellectuals as Marius Barbeau, Ernest Cormier, Adrien and Henri Hébert, Gérard Morisset, and Fernand Préfontaine, mark the editor and *La Revue populaire* as points of convergence on Quebec's cultural map. These individuals were all, in one way or another, involved with photography – as a means of artistic expression, as a documentary tool, or as a personal *aide-mémoire*. Tracing the connections between these photographic practices and the magazine would provide an unprecedented and fascinating cross-sectional view of early-twentieth-century photography in Quebec.

Above all, my close reading of *La Revue populaire*, *Le Samedi*, *La Revue moderne*, *Maclean's*, *Chatelaine*, and *The Canadian* has led me to realize that within such objects lie many new avenues of research for Canadian photographic history. And with a glimpse of these avenues comes a new thirst for knowledge, an intense desire to keep working. The exploration of Canadian magazines that has underpinned my quest to re-engage Canadian photographic modernism has, in this sense, not only expanded the field but also opened the way to unforeseen courses of action.

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# FIGURES



2.1 *The Canadian Magazine*, July 1925, p. 168. Reproduction of the drawing *Winter in the City*, by Lawren Harris.



2.2 Victoria Hayward, "Canadian Home Industries and Simple Handicrafts," *The Canadian Magazine*, March 1925, pp. 34-35. Photographs: Edith S. Watson.



2.3 "Toronto the Good," *The Canadian Magazine*, September 1937, pp. 28-29.



2.4 *The Canadian Magazine*, September 1936, cover. Illustration: Carl Shreve.



2.5 Dorothy Purcell Lewis, "Christmas Eve Gesture," *The Canadian Magazine*, December 1936, p. 5. Illustration: Jack Keay.



2.6 "Blended right!," *The Canadian Magazine*, May 1934, p. 2. Advertisement for Winchester cigarettes.



2.7 *The Canadian Magazine*, July 1934, cover.



2.8 *The Canadian Magazine*, May 1935, cover.



# ENQUÊTE

chez nos LECTEURS et LECTRICES

LE REDACTEUR EN CHEF S'ADRESSE A VOUS

LE SAMEDI n'a qu'un but: plaire à chacun de ses lecteurs et à chacune de ses lectrices. Encore faut-il, pour leur plaire, qu'il connaisse leurs goûts. Nous prenons donc la liberté d'interroger chacun de vous sur les choses qu'il aime et sur celles qu'il n'aime pas...

## Un magnifique cadeau pour tous nos lecteurs et lectrices

qui voudront bien répondre au questionnaire ci-dessous. Quelques minutes vous suffiront pour répondre à toutes ces questions. Cela fait, glissez ce questionnaire dans une enveloppe et adressez-le au: *Redacteur en chef, LE SAMEDI, 975, rue de Bullion, Montréal, P. Q.* Vos réponses sont strictement confidentielles et ne vous engageant à rien. Votre nom ne sera dévoilé à personne.

Adressez-nous vos réponses AUJOURD'HUI même... Plus vite vous répondrez, plus vite vous recevrez votre cadeau. **MERCI MILLE FOIS!**

Qu'est-ce qui vous plaît le mieux dans "Le Samedi"? Inscrivez un numéro: 1, 2, 3, etc., au bout de chaque rubrique, dans l'ordre de vos préférences:

Petits romans d'amour en deux numéros	Pages humoristiques
Grand feuilleton à suivre	Pages d'enfants (contes)
Romans policiers	Notes encyclopédiques
Nouvelles françaises	Articles d'actualité
Nouvelles canadiennes	Mots croisés
Carnet éditorial	Chronique de Bridge
Articles documentaires	Mode
	Cuisine

Quels sont les magazines et les journaux que vous avez l'habitude de lire? Donnez-en ici une liste aussi complète que possible

### ALIMENTATION ET ARTICLES DE TOILETTE

- Quelle sorte de céréales mangez-vous? Indiquez les marques
- Quelle sorte (et quelle marque) de breuvages servez-vous ordinairement? Indiquez par le numéro 1 votre breuvage préféré et par numéro 2 le suivant, etc.
 

Breuvages chauds	Breuvages froids
Marque	Marque
- Quelles sortes de graisse employez-vous pour les usages suivants? (Si vous employez un "shortening", indiquez la marque.)
 

Gâteaux	Haute friture
Frites	Friture dans la poêle
- Quelle marque de fromage achetez-vous?
  - Quelle marque de jambon achetez-vous?
  - Quelle marque de farine employez-vous? Pour gâteaux Pour d'autres fins culinaires
  - Vous servez-vous de lait en boîte pour la cuisson? Oui Non Si oui, quelle marque?
  - Quelle marque de poudre à pâte employez-vous?
  - Vous servez-vous de levure? Oui Non Pour la cuisine? Oui Non Quelle marque?
  - Employez-vous autant de levure qu'il y a deux ans? Oui Non
- Employez-vous de la cire à plancher? Oui Non Quelle marque?
  - Employez-vous autant de savon qu'il y a deux ans? Oui Non
- Quels savons et nettoyeurs employez-vous? (Indiquez les marques.)
 

Pour: Les évier	Le bain
Les bords de cabinets	La boiserie
Le linge	La vaisselle
- Quelle marque de savon de toilette employez-vous? Pour les mains
 

La figure	Le bain
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9. Indiquez ci-dessous quels articles de toilette vous employez et quelle marque vous achetez ordinairement.

Poudre pour visage	Oui ou non	Quelle marque?
Gold-cream		
Vanishing-cream		
Poli à ongles liquide		
Papier pour soins du visage		
Lotion pour les mains		
Désodorisants		
Rince-bouche		
Pâte à dents		
Poudre à dents		

### ARTICLES DOMESTIQUES

- Avez-vous (ou quelqu'un de votre famille a-t-il) une automobile? Oui Non Si oui, de quelle marque? De quelle année?
  - De quelle marque de gazoline vous servez-vous? Quelle huile?
    - Quel système de chauffage avez-vous? Poêle à charbon Brûleur à l'huile Fournaise à l'eau Fournaise à air chaud
      - Pour la cuisine, quel poêle employez-vous? A l'huile Au charbon Au gaz Electrique
    - Quelle est la marque de votre poêle?
  - Quelle sorte de réfrigérateur employez-vous? A glace Au gaz Electrique
    - Quelle marque?
      - Avez-vous un radio? Oui Non Si oui, est-il à batterie ou électrique? Quelle marque? De quelle année?
      - Le lavage se fait-il à domicile? Oui Non
      - Avez-vous une machine à laver? Oui Non
      - Si oui, fonctionne-t-elle à l'eau À la main À l'électricité
      - Quelle marque? Date d'achat
    - Veillez indiquer lesquels de ces appareils électriques vous possédez, les marques et les dates d'achat.
 

Avez-vous?	Marque	Date d'achat
Fer électrique		
Grille-pain électrique		
Percolateur électrique		
Balayeuse électrique		
Repasseuse électrique		
- Quelle marque de peinture employez-vous?
  - Avez-vous une balayeuse ordinaire pour tapis? Oui Non Quelle marque? Date d'achat
  - Quelle marque d'ampoules électriques employez-vous habituellement?
- Quelle sorte de couvre-plancher avez-vous? Dans les chambres à coucher Dans le boudoir La cuisine La salle à manger
- Peinturez-vous votre domicile? Oui Non Quand vous peinturez, quelle marque de peinture employez-vous?

Veillez indiquer ici à quelle adresse nous vous enverrons votre cadeau. Ecrivez vos non et adresse bien lisiblement.

Non  
Adresse  
Adressez par la poste au: REDACTEUR EN CHEF, LE SAMEDI  
975, RUE DE BULLION MONTRÉAL, P. Q., CANADA

2.9 "Pourquoi Le Samedi est-il lu? Enquête chez nos lecteurs et lectrices," *Le Samedi*, September 21, 1935, p. 48.

# Que pensez-vous de La Revue Populaire ?

## Questionnaire à l'usage de tous nos lecteurs et lectrices

En retour du service que nous rendront les lecteurs et lectrices de LA REVUE POPULAIRE en répondant à ce questionnaire, nous tirerons au sort toutes les réponses reçues. Les vingt-trois premières réponses sortantes recevront, dans l'ordre du tirage, les prix suivants :

1er Prix — \$15.00

2e Prix — \$10.00

3e Prix — \$5.00

et VINGT prix de \$1.00 chacun

Les réponses sont tout à fait confidentielles. Seuls les verront MM. Fred et Georges Poirier, président et vice-président de notre maison d'éditions, ainsi que le rédacteur en chef, M. Jean Chauvin. Les QUESTIONNAIRES doivent nous être retournés le 5 août, au plus tard. Les noms des gagnants paraîtront dans La Revue Populaire de septembre.

### QUESTIONNAIRE

Répondre OUI ou NON avec commentaires au besoin

Aimez-vous nos romans ? *Oui*

Nos articles de voyage ? *Si*

Les articles de vulgarisation scientifique de M. de Verneuil ? *Oui*

Nos chroniques d'art canadien ? *Oui*

La critique littéraire ? *Oui*

Les articles de Francine ? *Oui*

Le tricot ? *Oui*

Nos recettes de cuisine ? *Oui*

La Mode ? *Oui*

Les mots croisés ? *Oui*

Nos huit pages en couleurs ? *Oui*

Quelles sont les revues que vous lisez ? *Le Journal de Montréal*

Quels sont les journaux que vous lisez ? *Le Journal de Montréal*

Que faites-vous de votre Revue Populaire après l'avoir lue ? *Je la conserve*

(a) La détruisez-vous ? *Oui*

(b) La prêtez-vous à quelqu'un ? *Oui* Si oui à combien de personnes ? *à moi*

(c) La donnez-vous ? *Oui*

(d) La conservez-vous ? *Oui*

L'achetez-vous au numéro ? *Oui*

Etes-vous abonnée ? *Oui*

LE BUT de cette enquête est de mieux connaître les goûts de nos lecteurs et lectrices.

Redacteur en chef — LA REVUE POPULAIRE  
975, rue de Bullion, Montréal, P. Q., Canada

— Maman, le château d'Ensisval, c'est bien celui du fameux comte Gontran, qui, sous le poids d'une malédiction divine, est mort, il y a deux ans, dévoré par ses chiens ?

— En effet, ma chérie. A ce moment-là, la jeune fille voulant raconter à son infirmière le drame entendu naguère chez les demoiselles Duriez et Plantin, leva les yeux sur celle-ci. Elle la vit immobile, les yeux clos... son visage avait une pâleur de cire.

— Mon Dieu ! qu'avez-vous donc, ma petite mère, s'écria Fabienne essayant de se lever pour aller à elle.

— Ce n'est rien, mon enfant, balbutia la pauvre dame. Un léger arrêt du cœur auquel je suis parfois sujette. Ne vous inquiétez pas, cela passera. Je vous demanderai seulement la permission de me retirer à l'instant.

Louise Orgeval voulut l'accompagner, mais la courageuse infirmière refusa et disparut.

— Cette bonne petite mère s'est trop fatiguée à me soigner, dit Fabienne. Pourquoi que ces nuits de veille n'aient pas ruiné sa santé. J'ignorais qu'elle eût le cœur si gravement atteint.

— Tu me donneras de ses nouvelles en même temps que des tiennes, ma chérie ? Je suis désolée de n'avoir pu la remercier encore.

BLANCHE

TANDIS que Mme Orgeval conversait avec sa fille, la « Dame Mystérieuse » frappait à la porte de la supérieure. Quand elle parut sur le seuil, la figure exsangue, les traits rigides, tenant les mains sur son cœur qu'elle sentait éclater, la bonne Mère comprit qu'une chose grave venait de se passer.

— Que vous est-il arrivé ? ma pauvre amie, demanda-t-elle, en tendant les bras à l'arrivante. Asseyez-vous... Respirez ces sels.

Elle lui bassinait les tempes à l'eau de Cologne, l'obligeait à s'étendre sur le canapé.

— Ma Mère !... ma Mère !... Si vous saviez !... Dieu est juste... Il a puni le coupable, l'assassin de mon Paul, le ravisseur de mon fils !... Gontran d'Anglade, le misérable, est mort, il y a deux ans, dévoré par ses chiens.

Blanche de St-Edme (car c'est elle que nous retrouvons innocente du monde et comme enveinée dans la maison des Annonciades), Blanche parlait avec exaltation.

— Que dites-vous, ma chère fille ? s'exclama la Supérieure prise d'une émotion subite, que dites-vous ?

Elle se demandait si Blanche ne délirait pas... si une nouvelle crise ne lui troublait pas, une seconde fois, la raison. Blanche comprit l'anxiété du regard posé sur elle :

— Je ne divague pas, ma chère Claire, reprit-elle. Ne croyez pas que la folie me quette encore. Dieu m'en a sauvée à jamais, le jour où, en souvenir de votre frère tant aimé, vous avez recueilli sa malheureuse veuve dans votre cloître hospitalier. Dieu a ses vœux... Il vient de soulever, pour moi, un coin du voile. Ah ! s'il voulait me mettre sur la voie... m'éclairer sur le sort de mon cher petit Paul !

— Ma chère Claire, en donnant les nouvelles de Vaziers à Fabienne, Mme Orgeval lui a annoncées que le château d'Ensisval vient d'être vendue à des Américains et, par une permission de Dieu, Fabienne a parlé devant moi, de la mort terrible de son allié et vaillant. J'ai bien cru que je le forçais de me pas me trahir ?

— Je comprends votre émotion, pauvre Blanche, dit Claire de St-Edme aussi émue que sa belle-sœur. C'est la Providence qui, non seulement a permis que cet événement eût lieu en votre présence, mais encore, Blanche, laissons faire le bon Dieu. Il nous a montré, aujourdhui, sa justice, espérons que bientôt nous fera toucher du doigt sa bonté et sa sollicitude d'amour, puisque vous avez mis en Lui votre confiance.

— Hélas ! je ne suis pas assez mise à ses desseins. Hier encore, dans une hallucination de veille je voyais mon pauvre enfant élevé dans le vice, devenu un bandit, un assassin, peut-être... La vengeance du ciel aurait-elle été aussi diabolique en ordonnant d'avancer la perte morale de ce petit innocent ? Je souhaiterais, plutôt, mille fois qu'il fût mort.

— Reprenez courage, ma pauvre sœur. La lumière se fera, un jour éclatante. La façon toute paternelle dont Dieu vous a conduite, me donne au cœur la ferme assurance qu'il a veillé sur notre cher petit Paul comme Il a veillé sur vous. Comprenez-vous la fortune de la famille Orgeval, par laquelle Il voulait vous apprendre la punition du coupable, ne peut-être l'aurore d'une épreuve bien reuse. « Tout tourne au bien de ceux qui aiment Dieu ! ». Méditez cela en paix et en action de grâce, ma Blanche chérie.

A mesure que sa belle-sœur parlait, un rayonnement irradiait à son front et le regard de Blanche de la Ferrière.

— Quel bien vous me faites, ma chère Claire, dit-elle émue. Je sens que, de la-haut, mon cher époux vous a donné la mission d'élever mon âme à la hauteur des vœux divines. Vous avez le timbre de voix, les intonations et le talent persuasif de votre frère... Quand vous parlez, c'est là que je crois entendre bercer ma douleur, adoucir mon angoisse. Quelle grâce j'ai eue de pouvoir vivre sous votre égide, car vous êtes la vraie mère de mon âme.

— Ma plus grande consolation est de pouvoir vous aider à porter votre croix, reprit la Supérieure. Jamais vous ne soupçonneriez la douleur que j'éprouvais, quand au début de ma vie religieuse, j'appris la mort tragique de Paul et l'enlèvement de votre enfant bien-aimé. J'ai tant prié pour vous, quand l'épreuve a fait sombrer votre raison !... Croyez-moi, il n'y a pas de cœurs plus attachés à leur frère que celui des religieuses qui ont tout quitté pour Dieu.

— Vous m'en êtes une preuve vivante, ma chère Claire. Jamais je n'oublierai l'affection avec laquelle vous m'avez tirée de la solitude où je me suis trouvée, quand la lumière se fit enfin dans mon esprit. Personne au monde ne peut concevoir l'impression effarante que me valut le pauvre insensé au moment où, reprenant sa personnalité, il me sure l'étendue du malheur qui m'avait frappé.

Aussi longtemps que, vivant d'une vie factice, dans l'institut où j'étais venue placée mes chers parents, n'avais plus conscience de moi-même, j'étais comme morte à la doublement mauvais dans l'irréel... dans le néant. Des hallucinations me tourmentaient mon époux bien-aimé devant mes yeux. En me voyant, j'étais comme morte à la doublement mauvais dans l'irréel... dans le néant. Des hallucinations me tourmentaient mon époux bien-aimé devant mes yeux. En me voyant, j'étais comme morte à la doublement mauvais dans l'irréel... dans le néant.

— Dites-moi, reprit-elle, que je ne suis pas responsable de ces années de démence... que vous ne m'avez pas trahie ?

(Lire la suite page 31)

2.10 "Que pensez-vous de La Revue Populaire?," La Revue populaire, July 1937, p. 30.

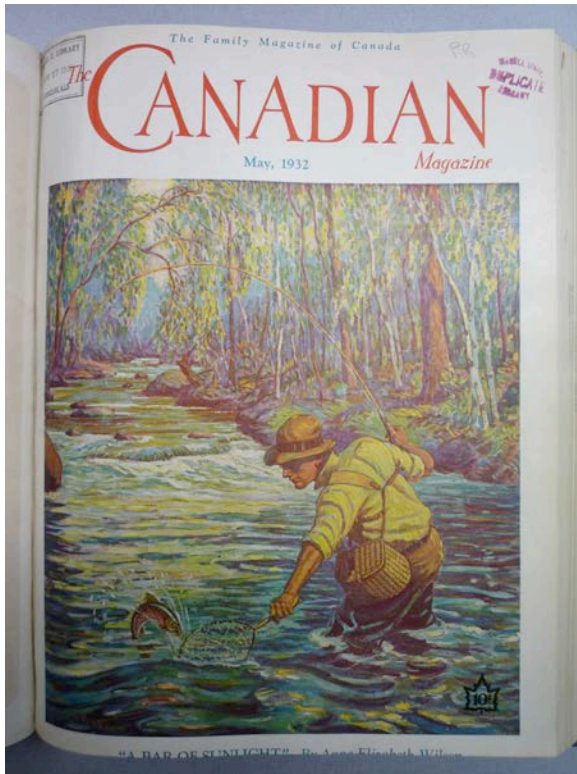


2.11 *The Canadian Magazine*, December 1932, cover.

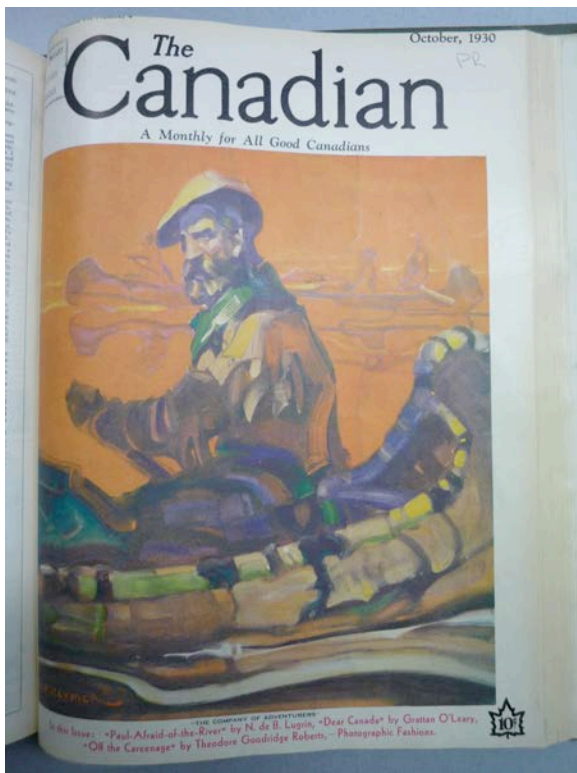


2.12 *The Canadian Magazine*, February 1936, cover.

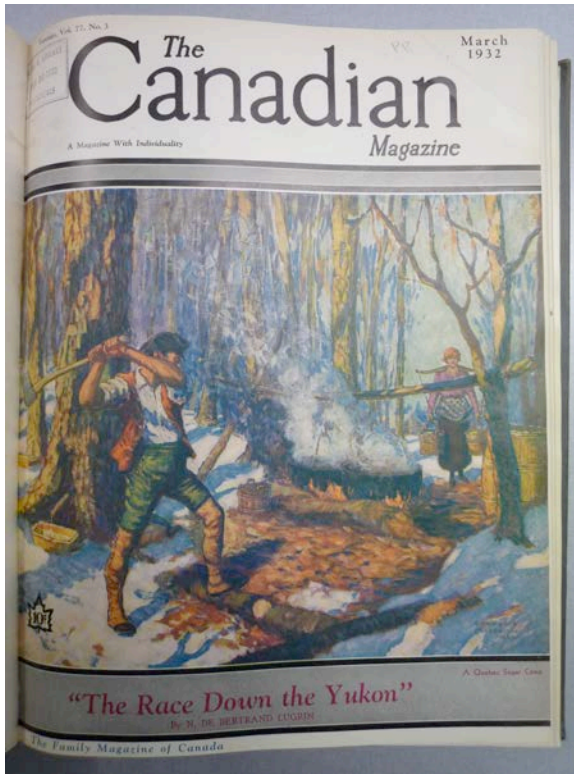




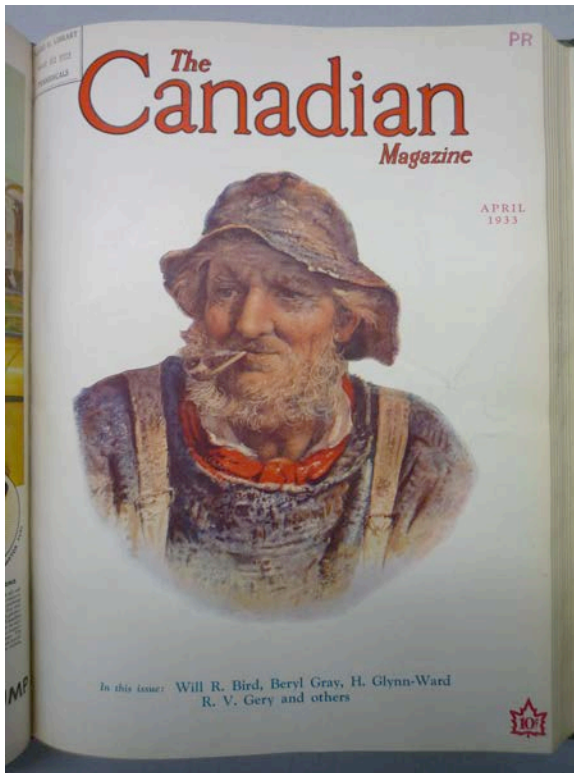
2.13 *The Canadian Magazine*, May 1932, cover.



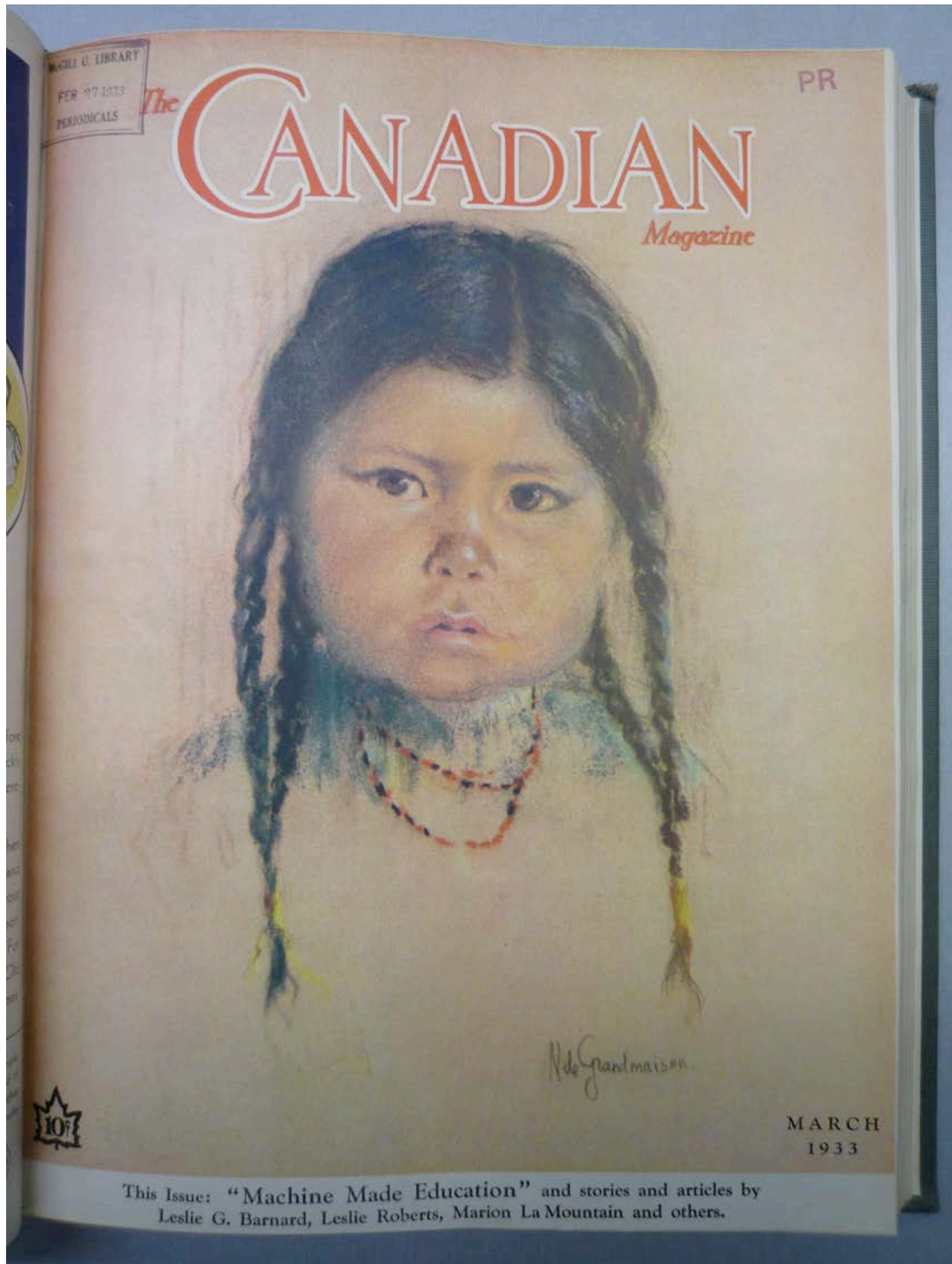
2.14 *The Canadian Magazine*, October 1930, cover.



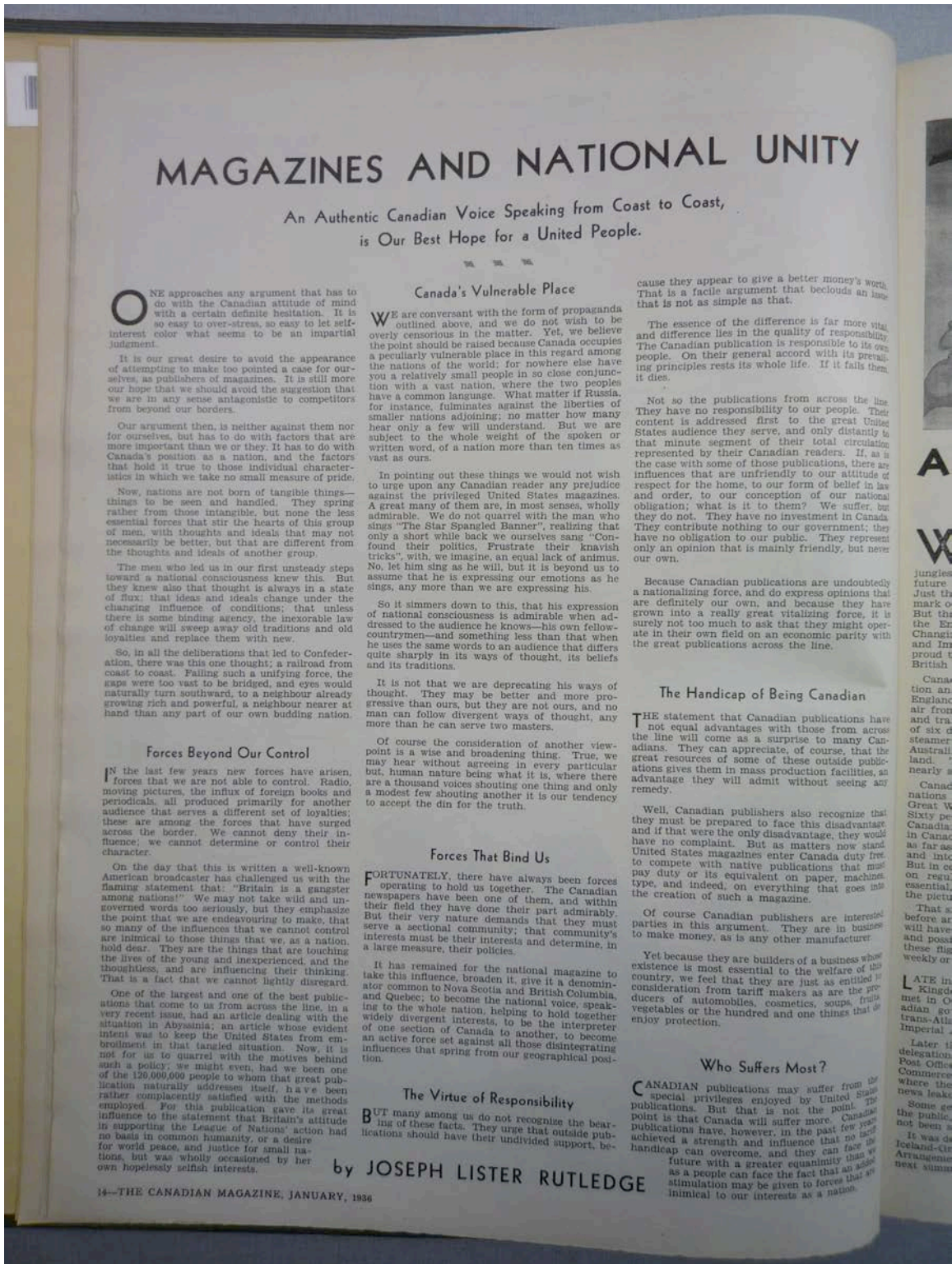
2.15 *The Canadian Magazine*, March 1932, cover.



2.16 *The Canadian Magazine*, April 1933, cover.



2.17 *The Canadian Magazine*, March 1933, cover.



# MAGAZINES AND NATIONAL UNITY

An Authentic Canadian Voice Speaking from Coast to Coast,  
is Our Best Hope for a United People.

## Canada's Vulnerable Place

**O**NE approaches any argument that has to do with the Canadian attitude of mind with a certain definite hesitation. It is so easy to over-stress, so easy to let self-interest color what seems to be an impartial judgment.

It is our great desire to avoid the appearance of attempting to make too pointed a case for ourselves, as publishers of magazines. It is still more our hope that we should avoid the suggestion that we are in any sense antagonistic to competitors from beyond our borders.

Our argument then, is neither against them nor for ourselves, but has to do with factors that are more important than we or they. It has to do with Canada's position as a nation, and the factors that hold it true to those individual characteristics in which we take no small measure of pride.

Now, nations are not born of tangible things—things to be seen and handled. They spring rather from those intangible, but none the less essential forces that stir the hearts of this group of men, with thoughts and ideals that may not necessarily be better, but that are different from the thoughts and ideals of another group.

The men who led us in our first unsteady steps toward a national consciousness knew this. But they knew also that thought is always in a state of flux; that ideas and ideals change under the changing influence of conditions; that unless there is some binding agency, the inexorable law of change will sweep away old traditions and old loyalties and replace them with new.

So, in all the deliberations that led to Confederation, there was this one thought: a railroad from coast to coast. Falling such a unifying force, the gaps were too vast to be bridged, and eyes would naturally turn southward, to a neighbour already growing rich and powerful, a neighbour nearer at hand than any part of our own budding nation.

## Forces Beyond Our Control

**I**N the last few years new forces have arisen, forces that we are not able to control. Radio, moving pictures, the influx of foreign books and periodicals, all produced primarily for another audience that serves a different set of loyalties; these are among the forces that have surged across the border. We cannot deny their influence; we cannot determine or control their character.

On the day that this is written a well-known American broadcaster has challenged us with the flaring statement that: "Britain is a gangster among nations." We may not take wild and un-governed words too seriously, but they emphasize the point that we are endeavouring to make, that so many of the influences that we cannot control are inimical to those things that we, as a nation, hold dear. They are the things that are touching the lives of the young and inexperienced, and the thoughtful, and are influencing their thinking. That is a fact that we cannot lightly disregard.

One of the largest and one of the best publications that come to us from across the line, in a very recent issue, had an article dealing with the situation in Abyssinia; an article whose evident intent was to keep the United States from embroilment in that tangled situation. Now, it is not for us to quarrel with the motives behind such a policy; we might even, had we been one of the 120,000,000 people to whom that great publication naturally addresses itself, have been rather complacently satisfied with the methods employed. For this publication gave its great influence to the statement that Britain's attitude in supporting the League of Nations' action had no basis in common humanity, or a desire for world peace, and justice for small nations, but was wholly occasioned by her own hopelessly selfish interests.

**W**E are conversant with the form of propaganda outlined above, and we do not wish to be overly censorious in the matter. Yet, we believe the point should be raised because Canada occupies a peculiarly vulnerable place in this regard among the nations of the world; for nowhere else have you a relatively small people in so close conjunction with a vast nation, where the two peoples have a common language. What matter if Russia, for instance, fulminates against the liberties of smaller nations adjoining; no matter how many hear only a few will understand. But we are subject to the whole weight of the spoken or written word, of a nation more than ten times as vast as ours.

In pointing out these things we would not wish to urge upon any Canadian reader any prejudice against the privileged United States magazines. A great many of them are, in most senses, wholly admirable. We do not quarrel with the man who sings "The Star Spangled Banner", realizing that only a short while back we ourselves sang "Confound their politics, Frustrate their knavish tricks", with, we imagine, an equal lack of animus. No, let him sing as he will, but it is beyond us to assume that he is expressing our emotions as he sings, any more than we are expressing his.

So it simmers down to this, that his expression of national consciousness is admirable when addressed to the audience he knows—his own fellow-countrymen—and something less than that when he uses the same words to an audience that differs quite sharply in its ways of thought, its beliefs and its traditions.

It is not that we are deprecating his ways of thought. They may be better and more progressive than ours, but they are not ours, and no man can follow divergent ways of thought, any more than he can serve two masters.

Of course the consideration of another viewpoint is a wise and broadening thing. True, we may hear without agreeing in every particular, but human nature being what it is, where there are a thousand voices shouting one thing and only a modest few shouting another it is our tendency to accept the din for the truth.

## Forces That Bind Us

**F**ORTUNATELY, there have always been forces operating to hold us together. The Canadian newspapers have been one of them, and within their field they have done their part admirably. But their very nature demands that they must serve a sectional community; that community's interests must be their interests and determine, in a large measure, their policies.

It has remained for the national magazine to take this influence, broaden it, give it a denominator common to Nova Scotia and British Columbia, and Quebec; to become the national voice, speaking to the whole nation, helping to hold together widely divergent interests, to be the interpreter of one section of Canada to another, to become an active force set against all those disintegrating influences that spring from our geographical position.

## The Virtue of Responsibility

**B**UT many among us do not recognize the bearing of these facts. They urge that outside publications should have their undivided support, be-

by **JOSEPH LISTER RUTLEDGE**

cause they appear to give a better money's worth. That is a facile argument that beclouds an issue that is not as simple as that.

The essence of the difference is far more vital and difference lies in the quality of responsibility. The Canadian publication is responsible to its own people. On their general accord with its prevailing principles rests its whole life. If it fails them, it dies.

Not so the publications from across the line. They have no responsibility to our people. Their content is addressed first to the great United States audience they serve, and only distantly to that minute segment of their total circulation represented by their Canadian readers. If, as in the case with some of those publications, there are influences that are unfriendly to our attitude of respect for the home, to our form of belief in law and order, to our conception of our national obligation; what is it to them? We suffer, but they do not. They have no investment in Canada. They contribute nothing to our government; they have no obligation to our public. They represent only an opinion that is mainly friendly, but never our own.

Because Canadian publications are undoubtedly a nationalizing force, and do express opinions that are definitely our own, and because they have grown into a really great vitalizing force, it is surely not too much to ask that they might operate in their own field on an economic parity with the great publications across the line.

## The Handicap of Being Canadian

**T**HE statement that Canadian publications have not equal advantages with those from across the line will come as a surprise to many Canadians. They can appreciate, of course, that the great resources of some of these outside publications gives them in mass production facilities, an advantage they will admit without seeing any remedy.

Well, Canadian publishers also recognize that they must be prepared to face this disadvantage and if that were the only disadvantage, they would have no complaint. But as matters now stand, United States magazines enter Canada duty free to compete with native publications that must pay duty or its equivalent on paper, machines, type, and indeed, on everything that goes into the creation of such a magazine.

Of course Canadian publishers are interested parties in this argument. They are in business to make money, as is any other manufacturer.

Yet because they are builders of a business whose existence is most essential to the welfare of this country, we feel that they are just as entitled to consideration from tariff makers as are the producers of automobiles, cosmetics, soups, fruits, vegetables or the hundred and one things that do enjoy protection.

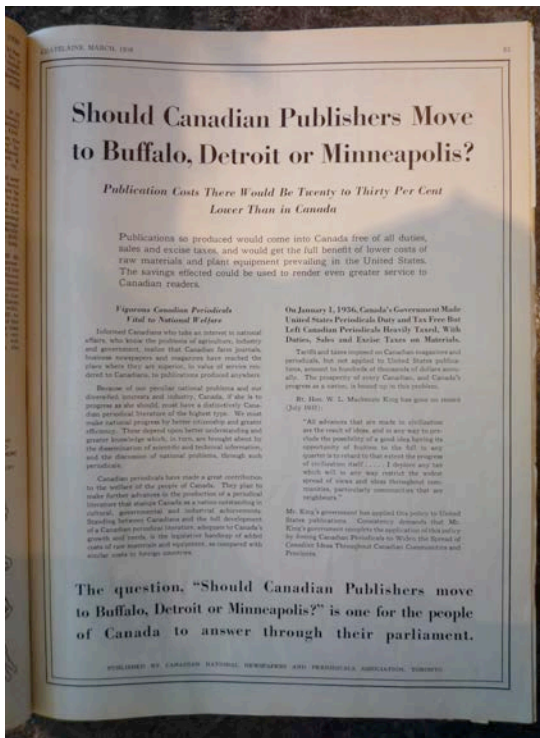
## Who Suffers Most?

**C**ANADIAN publications may suffer from the special privileges enjoyed by United States publications. But that is not the point. The point is that Canada will suffer more. Canadian publications have, however, in the past few years achieved a strength and influence that no handicap can overcome, and they can face the future with a greater equanimity than we as a people can face the fact that an added stimulation may be given to forces that are inimical to our interests as a nation.

2.18 Joseph Lister Rutledge, "Magazines and National Unity," *The Canadian Magazine*, January 1936, p. 14.



2.19 “Should Canadian Publishers Move to Buffalo, Detroit or Minneapolis?,” Canadian National Newspapers and Periodicals Association public service announcement, *The Canadian Magazine*, January 1928, p. 2.



2.20 “Should Canadian Publishers Move to Buffalo, Detroit or Minneapolis?,” Canadian National Newspapers and Periodicals Association public service announcement, *Chatelaine*, March 1936, p. 63.

# Canada Taxes Only Its Own Periodicals

The only taxed magazines and periodicals read by Canadians are those which are published in Canada. Thus the way is paved for foreign periodicals.

Why does the government not give Canadian periodicals an even chance to compete with foreign periodicals?

We do not know. For years all classes of Canadian citizens—public bodies, labor and industrial organizations and patriotic individuals—have been urging the government to take action. Nothing has been done.

How does the government of Canada tax Canadian periodicals?

By imposing duties and sales tax on raw materials and equipment as follows:

- (1) Duties ranging from 10% to 27½% on 80 to 100 items of plant equipment, (newspaper presses and typesetting machines are duty free). These duties add very materially to the cost of necessary machinery and equipment.
- (2) Sales tax of 4% on all plant equipment.
- (3) Duties—25% to 35% on paper; 20% on ink; 20% on engravings; and 25½% on art work—to which are added sales taxes of 2% on paper and 4% on all other materials.
- (4) Duty of 1½c per pound, plus sales tax, on inserts imported into Canada to be inserted into Canadian publications, the same inserts entering Canada duty free when bound in United States publications.

What does a 25% duty mean in increased cost of raw materials?

As an illustration let us consider the principal raw material, paper. It means that Canadian publishers pay \$1.25 where foreign publishers pay \$1.00 for paper. On coated paper it means \$1.35 as against \$1.00 in foreign countries.

As compared with a Canadian publication using \$100,000 worth of paper per year, the foreign publisher would pay \$75,000—a saving of \$25,000. Paper is only one item. Foreign publishers enjoy great advantages in regard to the cost of other raw materials, machinery and equipment—money Canadian publishers should have to pay to Canadian authors, artists and labor. How, in fairness, can this condition be justified or continued?

Cannot Canadians buy equipment and raw materials in Canada?

Equipment, no. Raw materials, yes.

Then why are these duties a burden on Canadian periodicals?

Because the wealthy industries making raw materials are charging Canadians more for these materials than the prices at which they are bought by foreign competitors. This has been proven by the publishers and has been admitted by the manufacturers.

How does this give foreign periodicals an advantage over Canadian periodicals?

Periodicals are composed of reading matter, illustrations, ink and paper transformed into publications through the use of type, plates and equipment. Foreign publishers buy these raw materials and equipment at much less than they are purchased by Canadian publishers. From these they produce foreign periodicals which come into Canada free to compete with Canadian periodicals which are heavily taxed through the increased cost of materials—plus sales tax.

What has this to do with the happiness and prosperity of Canadian citizens?

The happiness and prosperity of Canadians is based upon good government, a proper appreciation of our national problems, and the translation of our natural resources into commercial products through the intelligent application of science and labor.

Canadian periodicals aid in the maintenance of good government by keeping Canadians informed regarding our national problems. They encourage the development of our natural resources by portraying the possibilities of forests, mines and fields. They aid greatly in the application of science and labor to production and business problems by keeping us abreast of new discoveries and developments. Every Canadian, directly or indirectly, benefits from the work and influence of Canadian periodicals.

What should be done?

The government should permit Canadian publishers to use the money now paid, because of taxation, to develop and extend the influence of Canadian periodicals. This taxation is not imposed on foreign publishers—it should not handicap Canadians.

How can a remedy be applied?

By granting a drawback of 99% of the duty applying on the equipment and raw materials used in the production of Canadian periodicals. The principle of drawback of duty, under conditions parallel to those affecting Canadian publishers, has been accepted by all Canadian governments and by Canadian industry generally. If the drawback of duty is granted the requirements of publishers for raw materials will be almost doubled.

When should action be taken?

At the present session of parliament.

In October, 1926, application was made to the Advisory Board on Tariff and Taxation for a duty upon the ADVERTISING PAGES ONLY of foreign periodicals. Labor, industry and public organizations generally joined in hearty support of this request. Every Canadian is anxious to see our periodical literature develop as it should. But certain public and parliamentary opinion seemed opposed to any adjustment which might mean an increase in the price of foreign periodicals. Other remedies were proposed.

Canadian publishers only want a square deal—an even chance in their own country to compete with foreign publications. They are ready to accept any reasonable solution of this problem. They have said to the Advisory Board on Tariff and Taxation that, if they cannot be protected, the minimum measure of relief which should be granted is the removal of their handicaps by the granting of a 99% drawback of duties and the removal of sales tax from their plant equipment and raw materials. This would place them in the same position as foreign competitors.

Is delay serious?

Most serious. The migration of Canadians continues because of the attraction of green fields pictured in foreign periodicals. Sixty million surplus copies of foreign publications with their misinterpretation, and often disrepresentation, of Canada and the Empire are read annually in Canada. Canadian periodicals can and will offset the effect of this foreign literature if given an even chance. They should be enabled, at once, to greatly increase their constructive work. Delay works only for foreign competitors and increases the handicaps of Canadians. The time for action is NOW.

Published under authority of

Canadian National Newspaper and Periodicals Association  
448 Confederation Life Building, Toronto

2.21 "Canada Taxes Only Its Own Periodicals," Canadian National Newspapers and Periodicals Association public service announcement, *The Canadian Magazine*, February 1928, p. 37.

## The Canadian Magazine Suspend Publication

CANADIAN MAGAZINE ceases publication with this issue, as its publishers, Canadian Magazines Limited, cannot justify further commitments to carry on in the face of ever-increasing taxation, uncertainty and the unfair competition of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation which invaded publishers' revenues by methods only possible to a tax-supported institution.

The CANADIAN MAGAZINE was founded in 1823, and was published intermittently until 1893, and with regularity and continued improved service to its readers since that date.

In 1926 it was purchased from the then proprietors by Hugh C. MacLean Publications Limited. From 1926 to 1938 the circulation rose from 9,600 paid subscriptions to over 137,000. During that period upwards of half a million dollars was invested in development, and in November 1937 it was acquired by a newly organized company, Canadian Magazines Limited, who provided further capital in an endeavour to make the publication of more value to Canada and of some profit to themselves. It was anticipated that this additional capital would be sufficient to put the CANADIAN in a paying position, but because of unfair legislation, mounting costs and dumping of great quantities of foreign magazines, their hopes have not been realized.

During the last few months Hugh C. MacLean Publications Limited have loaned a considerable sum to Canadian Magazines Limited in the hope that these additional monies would be sufficient to establish the magazine on a paying basis.

Today, after an expenditure within the last fifteen years of over \$600,000, it has at last been found necessary to discontinue publication of a magazine that has done so much for so many years to foster the spirit of understanding among the peoples of this Dominion.

It has not been the policy of those who have been associated with the publication of CANADIAN MAGAZINE to avoid their responsibilities. CANADIAN MAGAZINE ceases publication with liabilities, which it is planned will be paid in full.

With the co-operation of other Canadian magazine publishers, arrangements have been made to assume responsibility of fulfilling the unexpired portion of the subscriptions with their respective periodicals.

It has not been easy to reach this decision, but as long as the studied policy of those in power at Ottawa remains definitely hostile to effective national publications, there can be neither commensurate profit nor satisfaction in producing magazines edited exclusively for the benefit of Canadians.

Since 1926 CANADIAN MAGAZINE has paid out to the Dominion Government \$135,000 in postage alone. Millions of copies of foreign periodicals are carried in Canadian mails without paying Canadian postage. Although foreign periodicals enter Canada absolutely free of duties or taxes, the cost of materials and advertising in Canadian magazines is increased by duties and taxes not imposed upon their foreign competitors. Almost everything that the Canadian publishers require is taxed. Foreign competitors contribute nothing in duties or taxes.

The suspension of CANADIAN MAGAZINE throws many persons out of employment. It reduces the revenue of Canadian writers and artists, and those who gain their livelihood through the manufacture of engravings, paper and ink, and in actually producing the magazine, will suffer the not inconsiderable loss of a quarter of a million dollars annually.

In a time when the world is full of foreboding, in a time when Canada urgently needs every unifying influence of the CANADIAN and all other national periodicals, the publishers find no other course to follow but to lay down the load.

THE CANADIAN MAGAZINE, APRIL, 1939

### NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

You may have one of five leading magazines for the unexpired portion of your Canadian Magazine subscription.

Arrangements have been made with the publishers of Canada's five leading magazines to complete the unexpired subscriptions to CANADIAN MAGAZINE. This completion of service will entail great cost and subscribers whose subscriptions are almost expired, and who feel that they have been amply repaid by the copies already received, may assist us, if they so desire, by accepting as complete the service already rendered. (In this case no notice is required.)

Those who desire to receive one of the following leading Canadian magazines for the unexpired portion of their subscriptions may do so by attaching the label from this copy to the coupon below. We cannot assure delivery of these magazines if your reply is received after Monday, April 24, 1939.

If you desire continued service, please write the names of three of the following magazines in the space provided and complete the coupon by attaching the label to it: Canadian Home Journal, Chatelaine, MacLean's Magazine, National Home Monthly, Saturday Night.

### COUPON

Please send me one of the following magazines for the unexpired portion of my subscription to the Canadian Magazine. (As only a limited number of subscriptions can be completed by any one magazine, please give below the names of three magazines, one of which we may send, month for month, or copy for copy as the case may be, to complete your subscription. If you already subscribe to these magazines your subscription will be extended.)

Name three of the following:

National Home Monthly	\$1.00 per yr.
Chatelaine	1.00 per yr.
MacLean's Magazine	1.00 per yr.
Canadian Home Journal	1.00 per yr.
Saturday Night	3.00 per yr.

Name of Magazine: .....

Name of Magazine: .....

Name of Magazine: .....

Name of Subscriber: .....

Address of Subscriber: .....

(Please attach label from April issue to this coupon and mail to the CANADIAN MAGAZINE, 349 West Adelaide St., Toronto, Ontario.)

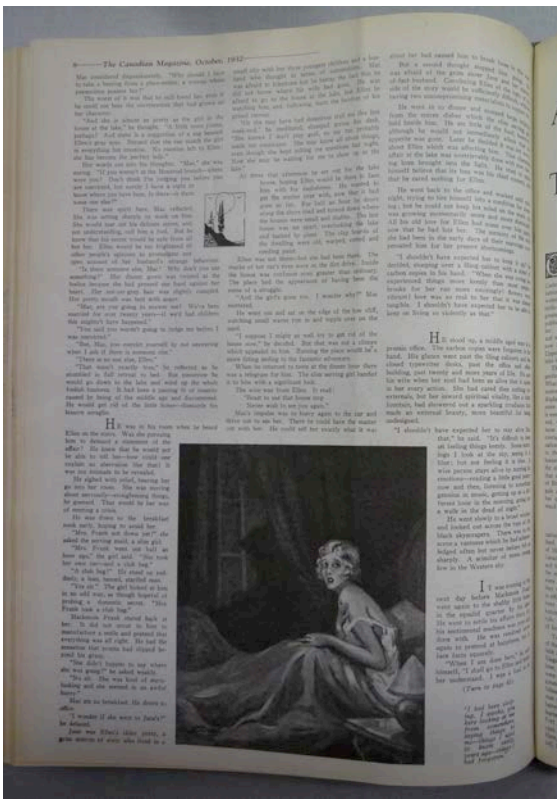


2.23 "Your Son's Future is In Your Hands," *The Canadian Magazine*, June 1926, n.p. (inside back cover).



2.24 "Utah Dynamic," *The Canadian Magazine*, April 1929, p. 39. Advertisement for Utah Dynamic radios.





2.25 Ronald Everson, "Middle-Aged Madness," *The Canadian Magazine*, October 1932, p. 8.

Des MILLIERS de GENS DÉGUSTENT le RICHE et SAVOUREUX BOVRIL

UN MAGAZINE QUE TOUTE LA FAMILLE PEUT LIRE... **Le Samedi**

C'est bien LE SAMEDI qui, depuis plus de cinquante ans, a le mérite de le titre de "magazine national des Canadiens français". LE SAMEDI, pour les enfants, n'offre pas l'avantage d'être rédigé en leur langue; il répond à un besoin primordial: celui de notre mentalité, de notre psychologie. LE SAMEDI ne s'est américanisé que dans le sens de la présentation typographique et de la conception nouvelle de mise en page. Quant à la matière proprement dite, elle demeure un produit dont la formule s'adapte idéalement à notre façon de voir, de penser et de vivre. LE SAMEDI, en ces temps troublés, conserve un caractère d'objectivité qui lui donne une réelle valeur informative. Bref, LE SAMEDI ne déçoit pas de son programme qui consiste à distraire et à renseigner. Demandez à nos lecteurs et ils vous diront ce qu'ils en pensent.

LE NOUVEAU FEUILLETON en cours, depuis le numéro de Noël, à paraître

**L'INFAME TRAHISON**  
par VICTOR CHAUVET

Le samedi est un magazine qui, depuis plus de cinquante ans, a le mérite de le titre de "magazine national des Canadiens français". LE SAMEDI, pour les enfants, n'offre pas l'avantage d'être rédigé en leur langue; il répond à un besoin primordial: celui de notre mentalité, de notre psychologie. LE SAMEDI ne s'est américanisé que dans le sens de la présentation typographique et de la conception nouvelle de mise en page. Quant à la matière proprement dite, elle demeure un produit dont la formule s'adapte idéalement à notre façon de voir, de penser et de vivre. LE SAMEDI, en ces temps troublés, conserve un caractère d'objectivité qui lui donne une réelle valeur informative. Bref, LE SAMEDI ne déçoit pas de son programme qui consiste à distraire et à renseigner. Demandez à nos lecteurs et ils vous diront ce qu'ils en pensent.

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par VICTOR CHAUVET

2.26 Un magazine que toute la famille peut lire," *La Revue populaire*, January 1943, p. 53.



3.1 Erich Salomon, *Hague Conference*, 1930.



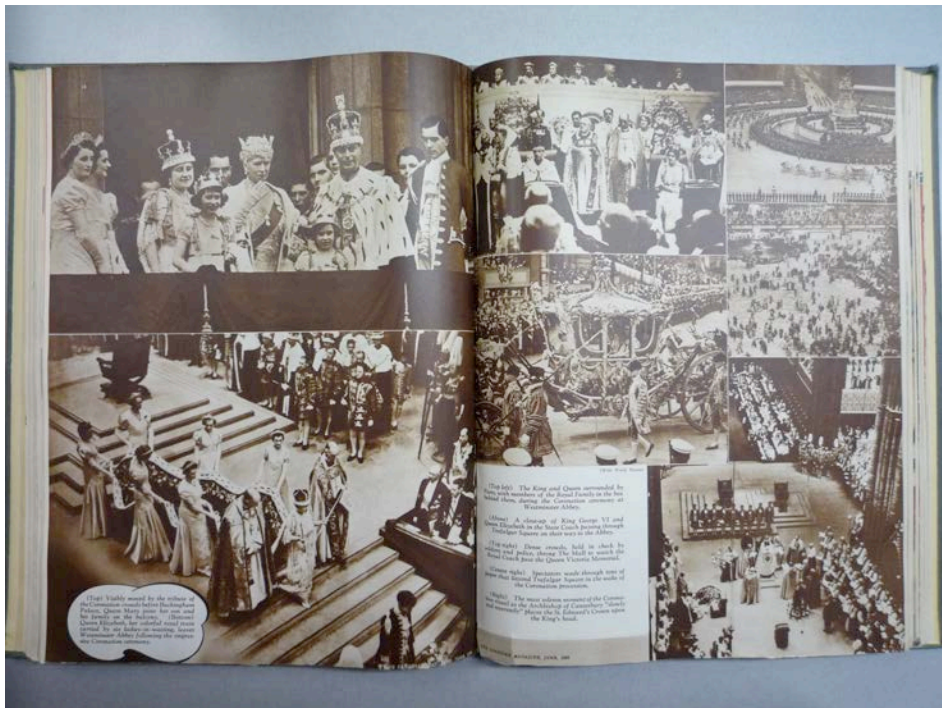
3.2 Martin Munkácsi, *The First Fashion Photo for Harper's Bazaar (Lucille Brokaw)*, 1933.



3.3 Yvette Baulu, “Les Loisirs de Shirley Temple,” *La Revue moderne*, May 1937, pp. 14-15. Photographs: Alfred Eisenstaedt for PIX.



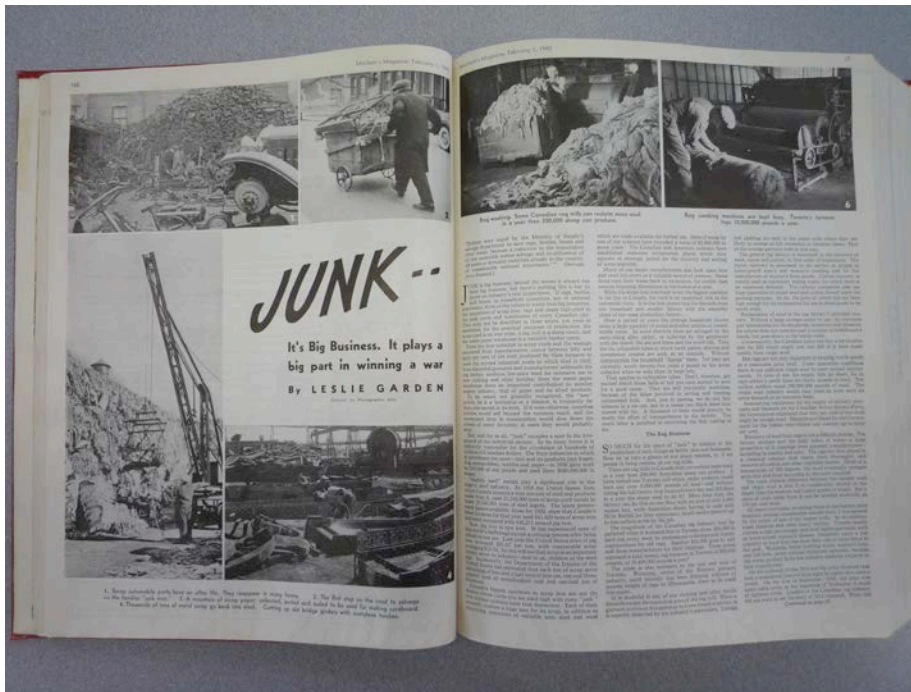
3.4 “Trans-Atlantic Drama,” *The Canadian Magazine*, June 1937, p. 23. Photographs: Wide World.



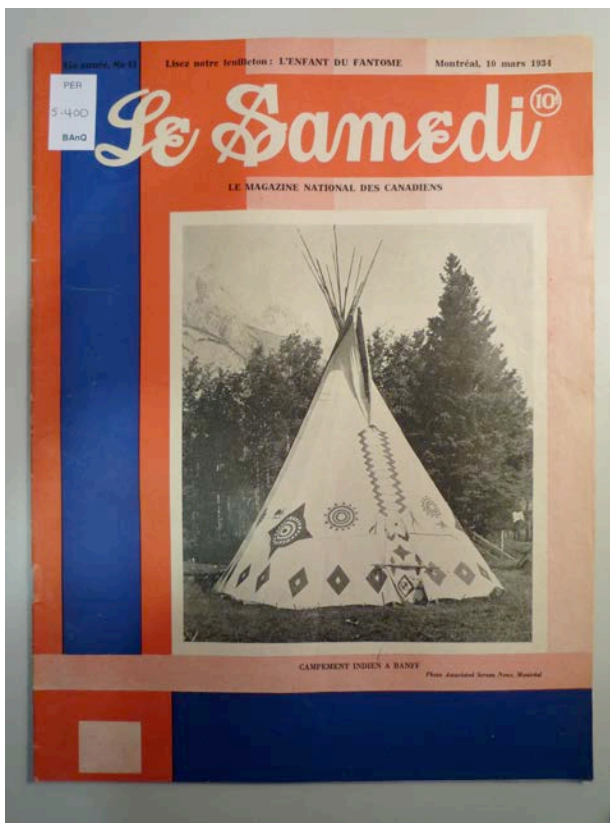
3.5 *The Canadian Magazine*, June 1937, pp. 18-19. Photographs: Wide World.



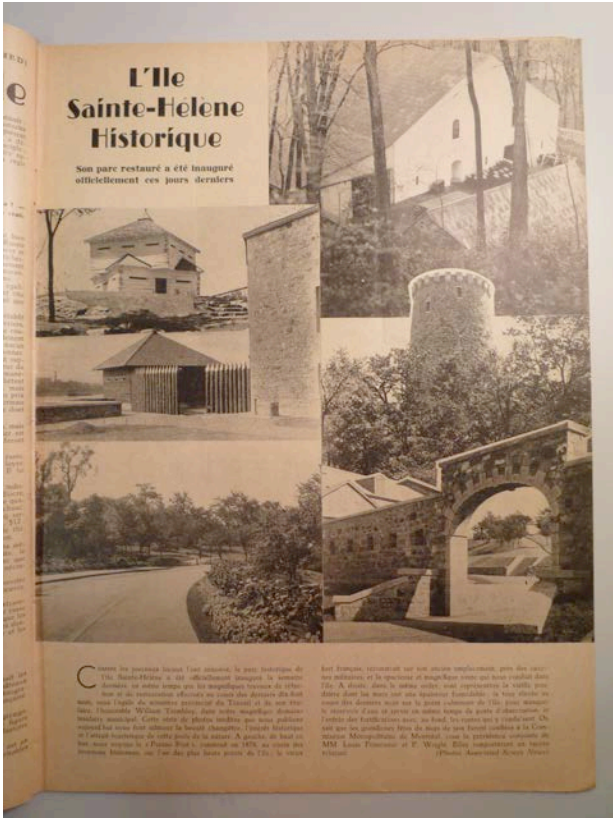
3.6 Mrs. Rip van Winkle, "Flaming Youth Cools Off!," *Chatelaine*, August 1935, p. 15. Photograph: Photographic Arts.



3.7 “Junk – It’s Big Business,” *Maclean’s*, February 1, 1940, pp. 16B-17. Photographs: Photographic Arts.



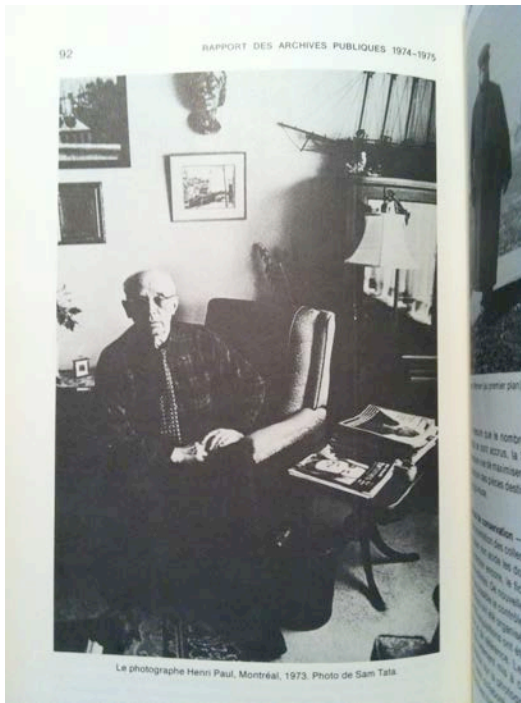
3.8 *Le Samedi*, March 10, 1934, cover. Photograph: Associated Screen News.



3.9 “L’Île Sainte-Hélène historique,” *Le Samedi*, July 9, 1938, p. 9. Photograph: Associated Screen News.



3.10 “L’Office national du film – son organisation, son fonctionnement,” *La Revue populaire*, February 1944, pp. 40-41. Photographs: National Film Board.



3.11 Henri Paul, photographer, Montreal, 1973, *Rapport des Archives publiques 1974-1975*. Photograph: Sam Tata.



3.12 “Adrien Hébert, peintre – Henri Hébert, sculpteur,” *La Revue populaire*, August 1940, pp. 6-7. Photographs: Henri Paul.



3.13 “La critique chez Pellan,” *La Revue populaire*, April 1942, p. 11. Photographs: Henri Paul.



3.14 “La critique chez Pellan,” *La Revue populaire*, April 1942, p. 65. Photographs: Henri Paul.





3.15 “Monsieur Louis Francoeur, journaliste...,” *La Revue populaire*, October 1940, pp. 8-9. Photographs: Henri Paul.



3.16 “L’École du Meuble de Montréal,” *La Revue populaire*, March 1941, pp. 10-11. Photographs: Henri Paul.



3.17 “L’École des beaux-arts,” *La Revue populaire*, September 1941, pp. 10-11. Photographs: Henri Paul.



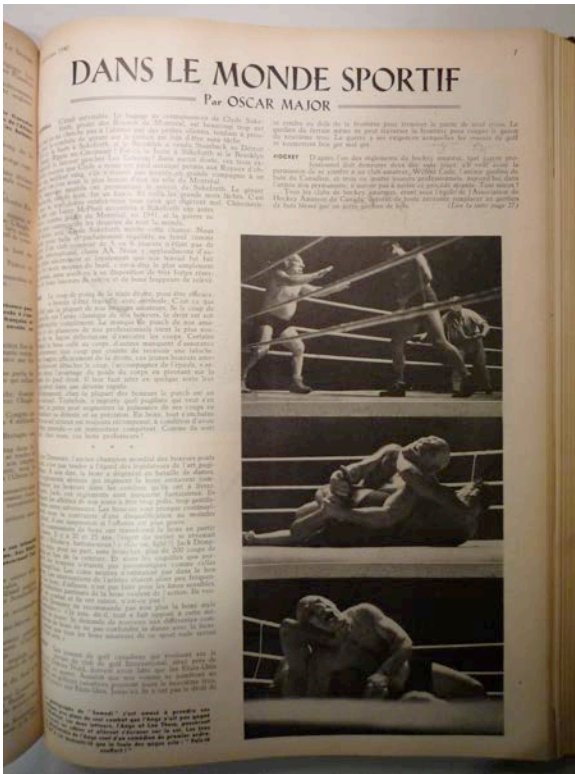
3.18 Conrad Poirier, *Self-portrait*, 1939, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.



3.19 *Le Samedi*, August 3, 1940, cover. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



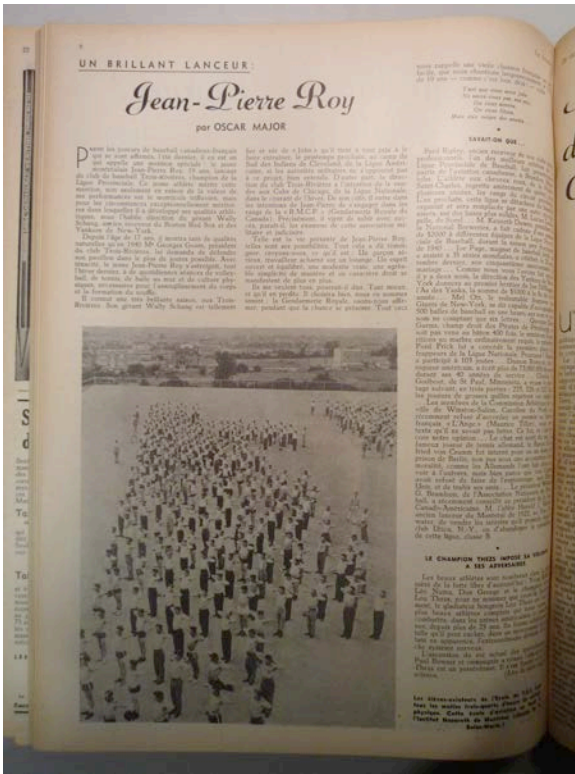
3.20 *Le Samedi*, May 13, 1939, cover. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



3.21 "Dans le monde sportif," *Le Samedi*, October 5, 1940, p. 7. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



3.22 "Dans le monde sportif," *Le Samedi*, November 4, 1939, p. 9. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



3.23 "Un brillant lanceur : Jean-Pierre Roy," *Le Samedi*, October 26, 1940, p. 6. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



3.24 "Les à-côtés de la boxe," *Le Samedi*, June 22, 1940, p. 13. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



3.25 "Faites-en un Canadien vigoureux," *La Revue populaire*, August 1941, pp. 16-17. Photographs: Conrad Poirier.



3.26 Willson Woodside and his wife, *The Canadian Magazine*, December 1936, p. 45.



3.27 Willson Woodside, "Russian Vignette – The Facts of Life – People and Cities," *The Canadian Magazine*, January 1936, pp. 13-14. Photographs: Willson Woodside.



3.28 Willson Woodside, "Russian Vignette – Farm and Factory," *The Canadian Magazine*, February 1936, pp. 10-11. Photographs: Willson Woodside.



3.29 Willson Woodside, "New Day or Der Tag," *The Canadian Magazine*, November 1936, pp. 8-9. Photographs: Willson Woodside and Heinrich Hoffmann.



3.30 Willson Woodside, "New Day or Der Tag," *The Canadian Magazine*, November 1936, p. 47. Photograph: Willson Woodside.





3.31 Heinrich Hoffmann, *Portraits of Adolf Hitler*, 1925.



3.32 Willson Woodside, "Doochay! Doochay! Doochay!," *The Canadian Magazine*, September 1936, p. 7.



3.33 Istituto Luce (L'Unione Cinematografica Educativa), *Benito Speech*, c. 1935. Getty Images.



3.34 Willson Woodside, "Trouble in Austria," *The Canadian Magazine*, April 1938, pp. 14-15. Photographs: Willson Woodside.

# Lovely Hands are free from toil



*Modernize your home the*  
**GENERAL ELECTRIC WAY**

To enjoy the full benefit of modern electric servants, first make sure that you have plenty of outlets and switches, conveniently located.

Have you outlets in your living room so located that you can place your radio and floor and table lamps to the best advantage? Can you conveniently "plug in" such labor-saving appliances as vacuum cleaner, washer, ironer—toaster, percolator and electric clocks?

Consider your lighting, too. Have you "two-way" switches so you can operate hall lights from both upstairs and downstairs? Have you lights in closets and in the garage?

You will be pleasantly surprised to know how little it costs to make improvements and extensions to your electric wiring. Your electrical contractor will give you estimates without obligation. And be sure to specify General Electric wiring materials—they cost no more and ensure the best results.

**TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT LOAN PLAN**

*Banks are co-operating with the Dominion Government by making loans for Home Improvement at very low interest rates, and with as long as three years to pay. Your electrical contractor can arrange all the necessary details.*

Canadian General Electric Co., Limited KM-100  
 212 King St. West, TORONTO

Please send me, without obligation, free copies of the illustrated booklets: "The General Electric Home" and "The New Art of Living".

Name.....  
 Street Address.....  
 Town or City.....



CANADIAN GENERAL ELECTRIC CO., LIMITED

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4.1 "In the General Electric home, lovely hands are free from toil," *Chatelaine*, June 1937, p. 3. Advertisement for the Canadian General Electric Co.

# Chatelaine's Index of Advertisers

ONLY worthy products and services are accepted for introduction to Readers, therefore, can buy the lines advertised in Chatelaine with confidence of satisfactory service. By insisting on trade-marked lines of known quality and value, Chatelaine readers avoid costly mistakes when buying for their homes.

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Computed as a convenience to the readers of Chatelaine; this list is not guaranteed against occasional error or omission, but the greatest care is taken to assure accuracy.



\*CROCHETED BARETTE STITCH BLOUSE No. 122

*This Vogue*  
 for HAND CROCHET

Smartly flattering are those chic crocheted things so highly favored by fashion—things that you yourself can crochet easily. Make them with J. & P. Coats' Mercer-Crochet, the dainty, evenly spun threads of lasting, lustrous color. Black, white, ecru, linen and lovely pastels—at your favorite store.

The coupon below will bring you literature and instructions for crocheting the very newest designs.



Even Williams' brand Crocheted Thread—infamous since 1730



\*CROCHETED JABOT No. 65  
 A smart accessory made with J. & P. Coats' Mercer-Crochet light cream.



\*PLEATED CROCHET COLLAR No. 71  
 An alluring creation fashioned with J. & P. Coats' Mercer-Crochet white.



**J. & P. Coats' MERCER-CROCHET**

Made in Canada by the Makers of Coats' and Clark's Spool Cotton

\*The Canadian Spool Cotton Co., Ltd., Dept. X-99, P.O. Box 519, Montreal, P.Q.

Please send FREE instruction leaflets for crocheting articles illustrated ( ), illustrated instruction leaflet for Empire Modelling Toy Cloth, No. ( ), London for Book No. 30, "Your Home and its Decoration" ( ), Check insurance you want.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_

4.2 "Index of Advertisers," Chatelaine, March 1935, p. 91.

"TERRIBLE!"—SAY THE BOOKS OF ETIQUETTE  
 "EXCELLENT!"—SAYS DENTAL AUTHORITY

IT ISN'T BEING DONE, BUT IT'S *One Way* TO PREVENT "PINK TOOTH BRUSH"

Of course it's terrible to the dictates of etiquette and the adherents of polite society. "Why," you can hear them chime, "such a performance would make any girl a social outcast."  
 But it isn't terrible to dentists—in your own dentist's office. "I wouldn't be emphatic about it," if you and every one of my patients chanted as vigorously, "I'd hate to let her about 'pink tooth brush.' And if my patients all got more custom, had fangs, a big group of modern dental life would probably disappear."  
 Dental testimony is unanimous! Modern girls need more work for health—vigorous work on their teeth, not fangs. Our modern soft and well-cooked foods are no blame for the wide spread of that awful dental warning, "pink tooth brush."  
**DON'T IGNORE "PINK TOOTH BRUSH"**  
 "Pink tooth brush" is a fine warning. But neglected in other parts to be the first dental step towards such serious gum diseases as gingivitis, Vincent's disease and pyorrhea.

Play safe—clean your gums to health with Ipana and massage. Clean your teeth regularly with Ipana—and each time rub a little extra Ipana into your gums. Ipana with the massage speeds circulation through the gum tissue—and helps them back on healthy business. And healthy gums mean whiter teeth and a brighter smile.

**WHY WAIT FOR THE TRIAL TUBE?**  
 Send the coupon below. If you like, on being given a trial tube of Ipana. But a trial tube can be, at best, only an introduction. Why not buy the full-size tube today and begin to get Ipana's distinct advantages today—brighter teeth and healthier gums.

BRISTOL-MYERS COMPANY OF CANADA LTD. 100-108  
 110 Broadview Avenue, Toronto, Ont.  
 Enclose and send a trial tube of IPANA TOOTH PASTE.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Street \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_

**IPANA TOOTH PASTE**

4.3 "It isn't being done, but it's one way to prevent 'pink tooth brush,'" *Chatelaine*, May 1935, p. 3. Advertisement for Ipana toothpaste.

"TERRIBLE!"—SAY THE BOOKS OF ETIQUETTE  
 "EXCELLENT!"—SAYS DENTAL AUTHORITY

IT ISN'T BEING DONE, BUT IT'S *One Way* TO PREVENT "PINK TOOTH BRUSH"

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**WHY WAIT FOR THE TRIAL TUBE?**  
 Send the coupon below. If you like, on being given a trial tube of Ipana. But a trial tube can be, at best, only an introduction. Why not buy the full-size tube today and begin to get Ipana's distinct advantages now—a month of scientific dental care...100 breathings...brighter teeth and healthier gums.

BRISTOL-MYERS CO., Dept. A-55  
 110 West Street, New York, N. Y.  
 Enclose and send a trial tube of IPANA TOOTH PASTE. Enclosed is the stamp to cover postage the cost of packing and mailing.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Street \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_

**IPANA TOOTH PASTE**

Women's Home Companion March 1935

4.4 "It isn't being done, but it's one way to prevent 'pink tooth brush,'" *Woman's Home Companion*, March 1935. Advertisement for Ipana toothpaste.

November, 1935

**Lovely Hands... this easy way**



*Miss Ophelia Howard  
"have pretty, soft"*

**ROUGH HOUSEWORK**  
spends half some, doing much ... all these things in the same sort of purposeful, feeling of duty, and and rough. You finally need the working labor supplied by a fine cream... Hinds Honey & Almond Cream. The more I find use in my domestic duties, the more I find that hands will be in the year round, you must have such fine cream as Hinds Honey & Almond Cream.

**AVOID WINDBURN**... Just and hand apply the Hinds Honey & Almond Cream. It is a liquid cream, not the usual "hand cream" that is too thick to be used. It is the best cream for your face and hands. It is also good for your hair. It is also good for your skin. It is also good for your eyes. It is also good for your nose. It is also good for your mouth. It is also good for your throat. It is also good for your lungs. It is also good for your stomach. It is also good for your intestines. It is also good for your liver. It is also good for your kidneys. It is also good for your bladder. It is also good for your prostate. It is also good for your testicles. It is also good for your penis. It is also good for your urethra. It is also good for your vagina. It is also good for your uterus. It is also good for your ovaries. It is also good for your fallopian tubes. It is also good for your cervix. It is also good for your endometrium. It is also good for your myometrium. It is also good for your perimetrium. It is also good for your parametrium. It is also good for your broad ligament. It is also good for your uterus. It is also good for your ovaries. It is also good for your fallopian tubes. It is also good for your cervix. It is also good for your endometrium. It is also good for your myometrium. It is also good for your perimetrium. It is also good for your parametrium. It is also good for your broad ligament.

**HINDS Honey & Almond CREAM**

4.5 "Lovely hands ... this easy way," *Chatelaine*, November 1935, p. 47. Advertisement for Hinds Honey & Almond Cream.

November 1935

**De Belles Mains... de cette façon**



**LES TRAVAUX DU MENAGE**  
the more you use it, the more you will find it the best cream for your face and hands. It is also good for your hair. It is also good for your skin. It is also good for your eyes. It is also good for your nose. It is also good for your mouth. It is also good for your throat. It is also good for your lungs. It is also good for your stomach. It is also good for your intestines. It is also good for your liver. It is also good for your kidneys. It is also good for your bladder. It is also good for your prostate. It is also good for your testicles. It is also good for your penis. It is also good for your urethra. It is also good for your vagina. It is also good for your uterus. It is also good for your ovaries. It is also good for your fallopian tubes. It is also good for your cervix. It is also good for your endometrium. It is also good for your myometrium. It is also good for your perimetrium. It is also good for your parametrium. It is also good for your broad ligament.

**HINDS Honey & Almond CREAM**

4.6 "De belles mains ... de cette façon," *La Revue populaire*, November 1935, p. 25. Advertisement for Hinds Honey & Almond Cream.



4.7 “Ayez les mains douces,” *Le Samedi*, February 16, 1935, p. 21. Advertisement for Hinds Honey & Almond Cream.



4.8 “N’abîmez pas vos ongles avec un dangereux polish remover à base d’acétone,” *La Revue populaire*, March 1935, p. 33. Advertisement for Cutex nail polish remover.



4.9 “Les mains de Fannie Hurst, auteur,” *La Revue populaire*, November 1940, p. 58. Advertisement for Longines watches.



4.10 “All in one piece – no seams to rip,” *Maclean's*, May 1, 1940, p. 23. Advertisement for Sisman's shoes.



Nowadays.... at any festive hour

**KRAFT**

*Varieties on the tray above:* Swiss Emmentaler, the sharp, spicy one; Philadelphia Cream Cheese, the smooth, rich one; and Swiss Singles, the mild, nutty one.

**KRAFT** CHEESE CO. LONDON  
 107, FLEET ST. W. MONTRAL, P.Q.  
 Sole U.S. Distributors: The Borden Co., New York, N.Y.

4.11 "Nowadays ... at any festive hour," *Maclean's*, September 1, 1934, p. 57. Advertisement for Kraft cheese.

*Christmas for keeps*  
 when you give  
**Cine-Kodak Eight**

**CHRISTMAS MOVIE** that you make your own. It's the only picture you can give as a gift. A 25-foot roll of Cine-Kodak Eight film runs as long as the screen on 16-foot film. 25 to 30 scenes when home movie film. 25 to 30 scenes—each as long as the average scene in the screen—each on a roll of film costing \$2.50, guaranteed ready to show.

The Eight costs only \$19.95. See it, and samples of the movie it makes, at your dealer's. Or write to Cine-Kodak Eight, Christmas and a thousand happy days you want to save.

**GIVE A KODAK**

4.12 "Christmas for keeps," *The Canadian Magazine*, December 1935, p. 53. Advertisement for Kodak cine cameras.



4.13 "The test," *The Canadian Magazine*, April 1933, p. 50. Advertisement for Old Dutch cleanser.

The Canadian Magazine, October, 1932 — 35

... who and all is with its con- by the actors inimitable com- ablet by the Todd. Miss ofage widow in t is really Flor- in the affections y, Zepko.

"The Sign Of ut sets much Hope-Gary combination of "A Farewell way's story is adaptation but the love story none. Another likely to set production and Lubitsch pic- ture "Finner", riam Hopkins, the interesting led for it.

of Fox for the avalanche" has Neel Coward shed with the ut, to be used reference in So exciting correct detail ut three real to be brought try—hundreds ters failed to troyals. They were Amer- f for "Cera- t for early release Gaynor and King. Dawn Dum, Missa Will Rogers in "Sherlock Store Com-

try" with Janet Gaynor, "Salome Jess" and "Hat Check Girl". Universal still retains "Back Sever" as a new release; it is prob- ably to be read-shown in the United States; "Once In A Life Time" has been finished by this studio, and "Merry Go Round" starts production with Shirley Fox in the stellar role; Verna Roney returns to the screen after a long absence with Lois Trinker and Victor Varnum while Tala Birell the lovely Vienna heroine of "The Doomed Battalion" is being groomed for a new picture not yet titled.

WHENEVER Lloyd Ar will makes a picture or stars in a new stage play it is an event of some importance; in "Dr. X" for First National, Mr. Arwill portrays a doctor devoted to scientific research who is involved in helping the police to solve the weird series of Moon Murders committed near his Long Island estate; the production is all in tech- nicolor; the mystery is thrilling from the moment the plot starts to unravel.

"Life Begins" is going to be the most discussed picture of the hour. Also a First National release it tells with stark realism the tale of birth and life's beginning among circum- stances which range from the purely tragic to the ridiculous; from the sordid to the average and touch on widely different types of women all brought together in a maternity ward of a large city hospital.

Loetia Young plays the young con- vict wife who is taken outside prison when her baby is about to be born; she loves her husband madly and when it becomes necessary to have an opera- tion she begs the doctors to save her baby's life rather than hers which will have to be largely spent in prison through a miscarriage of justice.

A daring theme, a pathetic one and a real one; one that happens around us everyday and which we hear little of; fancy the grim humor of the scene in the maternity ward where

Left: Richard Dix in Fisher's "The Hour of the Dragon" in which he is married. (p. 11)

Better Bristles  
Better Shape  
A double value  
at no extra  
cost  
**Tek**  
A Johnson & Johnson Product  
AT ALL DRUG STORES

For Children's Hair  
Your child will have glorious levels hair if you use Evan Williams Shampoo

4.14 "Better Bristles, Better Shape," *The Canadian Magazine*, October 1932, p. 35. Advertisement for Tek toothbrushes.

20

21

Chère Margot -  
Tu te rappelles notre  
conversation de l'autre  
jour? Je viens de  
venir dans un magasin  
c'est qui explique pour-  
quoi Modess est  
beaucoup plus douce  
et plus sûre!  
Lis-le et tu verras  
pourquoi il est plus  
facile à saisir  
Modess!

B. B.

SERVIETTES SANITAIRES  
Modess  
Plus douces! Plus sûres!

4.15 "Modess – Plus douces! Plus sûres!," *Le Samedi*, November 6, 1937, p. 21. Advertisement for Modess sanitary napkins.

3  
bières  
... à votre choix

INDIA PALE  
EXPORT  
STOCK

MOLSON  
La bière que votre  
arrière grand père buvait.  
ÉTABLIE à MONTREAL en 1786

4.16 "3 bières ... à votre choix," *Le Samedi*, March 26, 1932, p. 39. Advertisement for Molson beer.

CHATELAINE, NOVEMBER, 1938

# Step out! LET HEINZ MAKE THE MEALS

There's so much to do in the world today that it's hard to find time to cook. But Heinz makes it so easy. Just open a can of Heinz spaghetti or macaroni and you're ready to eat. And Heinz makes it so easy to eat. Just open a can of Heinz spaghetti or macaroni and you're ready to eat. And Heinz makes it so easy to eat. Just open a can of Heinz spaghetti or macaroni and you're ready to eat.

Heinz spaghetti and macaroni are made from the finest ingredients. They are cooked just the way you like them. And they are so easy to eat. Just open a can of Heinz spaghetti or macaroni and you're ready to eat.

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**Heinz** 57  
COOKED SPAGHETTI  
COOKED MACARONI

4.17 "Step out! Let Heinz make the meals," *Chatelaine*, November 1938, p. 55. Advertisement for Heinz spaghetti and macaroni.

CHATELAINE, MARCH, 1938

## Gull's Flight

Continued from page 11.

Twice the Beauty

—yes, twice the beauty from powder if you use Princess Pat

Almond haze makes the amazing difference

FACE POWDER gives the greatest beauty when it is soft. The characteristic of Princess Pat powder which invariably brings delight in its unusual softness. It gives the skin a new velvety smoothness—cleverly hiding skin imperfections, blending over uneven skin color and making even a poor complexion take on marvelous beauty.

All the many advantages of Princess Pat face powder are due to its almond haze. And these are the many advantages of Princess Pat face powder:

**Free!** PRINCESS PAT FACE POWDER

MAIL THIS COUPON

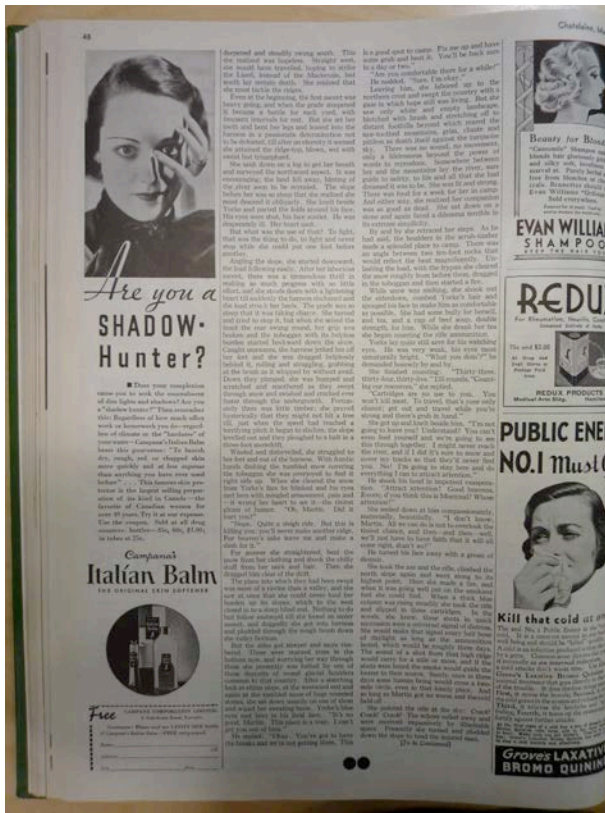
PRINCESS PAT

Princess Pat

4.18 "Twice the beauty," *Chatelaine*, March 1938, p. 51. Advertisement for Princess Pat face powder.



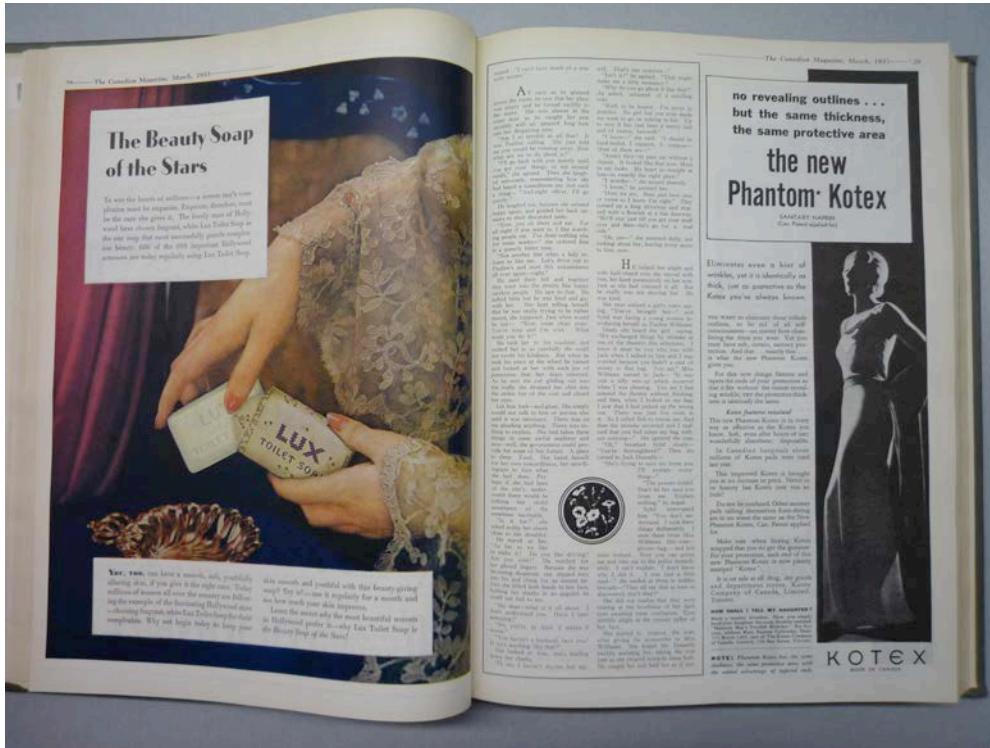
4.19 "Search your skin," *Chatelaine*, October 1935, p. 28. Advertisement for Lady Esther face cream.



4.20 "Are you a shadow-hunter?," *Chatelaine*, March 1935, p. 48. Advertisement for Campana's Italian Balm.



4.21 "Age is told by hands," *The Canadian Magazine*, December 1932, p. 31. Advertisement for Campana's Italian Balm.



4.22 "The beauty soap of the stars," *The Canadian Magazine*, March 1933, p. 28. Advertisement for Lux toilet soap.

MONTECLAIR, MARCH, 1937

# Very Fast Way to Ease Sore Throat

**Pains due to Colds :**





1. Drink and stir 3 "ASPIRIN" tablets in 1/2 glass of water.
2. GARGLE thoroughly -- When your throat feels better, gargling a little, to break down your throat.
3. Repeat gargle and drink one more mouth, after gargle to remove the mucus of the throat. Repeat gargle and drink one more mouth, after gargle to remove the mucus of the throat. Repeat gargle and drink one more mouth, after gargle to remove the mucus of the throat.

**Best Gargle This Way with "Aspirin" for Instant Relief**

Here is the most amazing way to ease the pain of a sore throat. You know you have ever tried to wash and dissolve three "ASPIRIN" tablets in one-half glass of water. Then gargle with this mixture two or three times a day. This medicinal spray will soothe like a hand stroke on the sore, inflamed membrane of your throat. It acts almost instantly; it is not a sedative. Consult your doctor on this way

In case of sore throat. Your doctor, we are sure, will approve it. And you will say it is marvelous.

"Aspirin" tablets are made in Canada. "Aspirin" is the registered trademark of the Bayer Company, Limited, of Windsor, Ontario. Look for the name Bayer in the form of a cross on every tablet.

Repeat gargle and drink one more mouth, after gargle to remove the mucus of the throat. Repeat gargle and drink one more mouth, after gargle to remove the mucus of the throat.

**Demand and Get —**

## ASPIRIN



4.23 "Very fast way to ease sore throat," *Chatelaine*, March 1937, p. 33. Advertisement for Bayer's Aspirin.

**Trouvez l'âge de ces mains!**

**\$1000.00 DE PRIX EN ESPÈCES**

2500  
1500  
1000

CONSERVEZ VOS MAINS JEUNES ET SOUS

**AVEC HINDS HONEY & ALMOND CREAM**

Entrez maintenant!

C'EST AMUSANT! FACILE COMME A.B.C!

Vous pouvez remporter au cours d'un jeu qui vous rendra jeune que chacun aura accompagné d'une d'opéra de genre, ou personnel d'une bouteille de Hinds Honey & Almond Cream.

TOUT CE QUE VOUS AVEZ À FAIRE est d'obtenir l'âge de chaque main destinée à donner et de lui remporter dans l'ordre que vous croyez leur convenir, comme suit par les plus jeunes. Si vous croyez, par exemple, que A a 20 ans, B 41, C 38, D 45, E 65, votre entrée devrait être combinée avec T.A., T.C., S.S., B.R., S.E.

Toutes les entrées doivent porter une marque postale qui ne soit pas postérieure à samedi le 12 novembre 1939.

La décision des juges sera consultable finale. En cas d'ex-aequo, la première entrée reçoit deux fois son prix.

**LES HINDS HONEY & ALMOND CREAM**

Prenez un flacon de Hinds Honey & Almond Cream et appliquez-le sur vos mains. Vous verrez que vos mains deviennent plus jeunes et plus douces.

COMPLÉTES ET POSTER ADDRESSES!

MONTECLAIR, MARCH, 1937

4.24 "Trouvez l'âge de ces mains! \$1000.00 de prix en espèces," *Le Samedi*, October 7, 1939, p. 17. Advertisement for Hinds Honey & Almond Cream.

25

Les mots qui plaisent aux femmes...

"Mon coeur repose dans vos chères Mains"

JERGENS LOTION

GRATIS ! UN REPARILLON

4.25 "Mon coeur repose dans vos chères mains," *La Revue populaire*, February 1939, p. 25. Advertisement for Jergens Lotion.

37

Why do my Hands look so much older than my Face?

Hands have a DIFFERENT kind of skin that roughens and ages faster unless it gets the peculiar kind of moisture it needs to keep it soft, smooth and young.

A FEW DAYS LATER

Lovely soft young Hands

Jergens Lotion

FREE! - Giveaway Free Bottle - Let Jergens make your skin look like you have never aged!

FREE! - Giveaway Free Bottle - Let Jergens make your skin look like you have never aged!

FREE! - Giveaway Free Bottle - Let Jergens make your skin look like you have never aged!

4.26 "Why do my hands look so much older than my face?," *Chatelaine*, September 1935, p. 37. Advertisement for Jergens Lotion.





4.27 “Notre mariage avant tout,” *La Revue populaire*, January 1943, p. 25. Advertisement for Jergens Lotion.



4.28 “Working hands all day long,” *The Canadian Magazine*, March 1933, p. 43. Advertisement for Campana’s Italian Balm.

LES ISOLES  
(Suite de la page 36)

«Les femmes qui ont des servantes ont-elles de plus belles mains?»

Deux photographies montrent les belles mains d'une femme qui fait son ménage, et les mains d'une servante qui fait son ménage.

Deux femmes se regardent les mains. L'une est une femme qui fait son ménage, l'autre est une servante qui fait son ménage.

Nous avons demandé à 305 Fameux Salons de Beauté... «Pouvez-vous dire, en voyant les mains d'une femme, si elle fait son ménage elle-même?»

Cette question fut posée aux experts de 305 des plus beaux salons de beauté de Paris... et voici leur réponse...

Malgré leurs connaissances, nous ne pouvons dire à quel point les mains d'une femme qui fait son ménage sont plus belles que celles d'une servante qui fait son ménage. Mais nous pouvons dire que les mains d'une femme qui fait son ménage sont plus belles que celles d'une servante qui fait son ménage.

La réponse est donc la suivante: les mains d'une femme qui fait son ménage sont plus belles que celles d'une servante qui fait son ménage.

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4.29 “Les femmes qui ont des servantes ont-elles de plus belles mains?,” *Le Samedi*, March 1, 1930, p. 37. Advertisement for Lux soap.

«FEMMES AU TRAVAIL ayez des Mains enchantées»

Les mains sont le reflet de la beauté. Elles doivent être soignées, et c'est pourquoi il est si important d'utiliser un produit qui leur procure une douceur et une fraîcheur.

Jergens Lotion est le produit idéal pour cela. Elle agit rapidement et efficacement, laissant les mains délicatement parfumées et parfaitement soignées.

Utilisez Jergens Lotion tous les jours, et vos mains seront toujours belles et saines.

Jergens Lotion est disponible dans toutes les pharmacies et magasins de beauté.

«FEMMES AU TRAVAIL ayez des Mains enchantées»

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Jergens Lotion est disponible dans toutes les pharmacies et magasins de beauté.

4.30 “Femmes au travail ayez des mains enchantées,” *La Revue populaire*, September 1942, p. 27. Advertisement for Jergens Lotion.

CHATELAINE, JUNE 1938

# Husbands' "Pet Hates."

**CURLERS**  
Spell his illusion that you're just naturally beautiful...

**GREASY FACE**  
Morning messiah stays in his mind all day long...

**DISHPAN HANDS**  
Kill romance—make him feel ashamed of you...

Husbands want to feel romantic about their wives. But it's pretty grim trying to feel that way about hands that look just *ours—dishpan*.

Your needs? They can stay soft and lovely in spite of dishwashing, if you use Lux.

Hands mean content and dry the skin, while gentle Lux prevents it. Lux has an harmful alkali—gives hands real beauty care. Use the economical 8-oz. tin.



**ends dishpan hands...**

*(Small text columns on the right page of the spread are partially visible and mostly illegible due to the angle and resolution.)*

4.31 "Dishpan hands kill romance," *Chatelaine*, June 1938, p. 32. Advertisement for Lux soap.

CHATELAINE, APRIL 1938

## Spring Collection in Its Many Moods

There's a style for every face this year — an within the general outline of these silhouettes.



### Learn from the Girl who wins Hearts



**A man worships Smooth, young Hands**

"Your hands feel so lovely!"

Your hands are, too, the charm of soft, nurturing hands.

Now cover every inch of your skin with the softness of Jergens Lotion. There's a special formula that makes your skin feel so lovely and smooth. It makes your skin feel so lovely and smooth. It makes your skin feel so lovely and smooth.

The Jergens Lotion puts back the lost moisture, because Jergens gives you the skin. Tested against other well-known lotions, Jergens proved to give you the skin. Jergens restores the softness, made by many doctors, and softens and whitens rough skin. The very best application method. Rubbed in, it penetrates deeply. Starts taking work. And Jergens leaves the hands, such as white hands. Only 20c, 50c, 100c, 150c, 250c, 500c, 1000c, 2500c, 5000c, 10000c, 25000c, 50000c, 100000c, 250000c, 500000c, 1000000c.

### Jergens Lotion

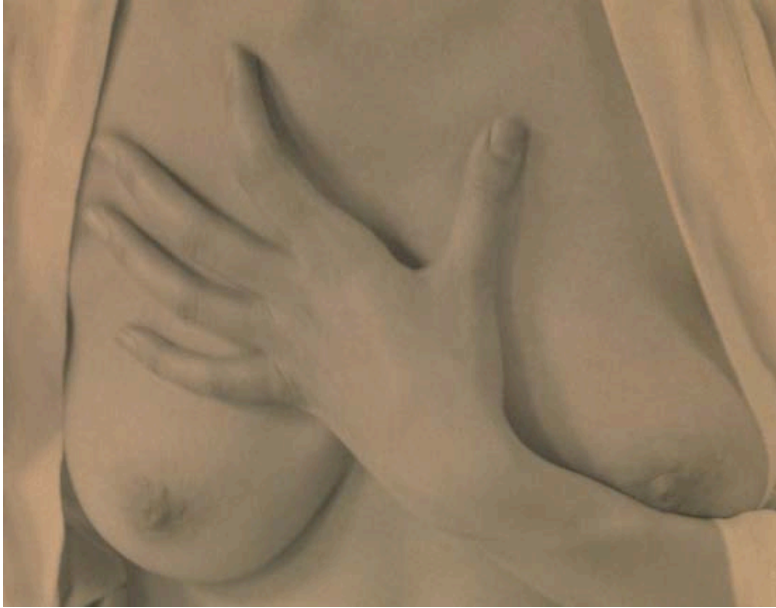
**FREE! YOURS OVER NATURAL NO. JERGENS**

Send me a FREE Jergens Lotion sample and a coupon for my next purchase of Jergens Lotion. I will enclose the coupon and my name and address.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL TO: JERGENS, INC., 100 N. 4TH ST., MILWAUKEE, WIS.

4.32 "A man worships smooth young hands," *Chatelaine*, April 1938, p. 49. Advertisement for Jergens Lotion.



4.33 Alfred Stieglitz, *Georgia O'Keeffe – Hand and Breasts*, 1919.



4.34 Alfred Stieglitz, *Georgia O'Keeffe*, 1919.



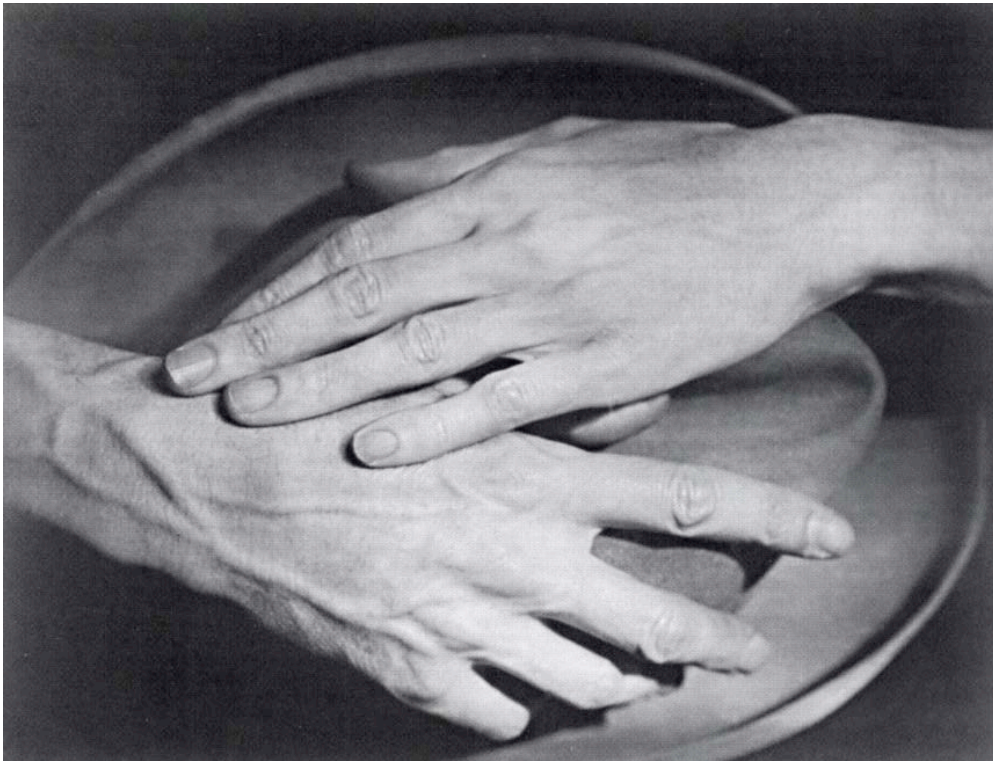
4.35 Alfred Stieglitz, *Georgia O'Keeffe – Hands*, 1919.



4.36 Alfred Stieglitz, *Georgia O'Keeffe*, 1919-1920.



4.37 Eugene Haanel Cassidy, *Hand Sequence*, c.1943-1944.



4.38 Berenice Abbott, *Hands of Cocteau*, 1927.



4.39 Hans Bellmer, *Untitled*, 1934.



4.40 Claude Cahun, from *Aveux non avenues*, 1929-1930.



4.41 Artür Harfaux, *Untitled*, 1927.



4.42 Valentine Hugo, *Object with a Symbolic Function (Objet à fonctionnement symbolique)*, 1931.





4.43 Dora Maar, *Nusch Éluard*, 1935.



4.44 Lee Miller, *Woman with Hand on Head*, Paris, 1932.



4.45 Maurice Tabard, *Untitled*, 1929.



4.46 Man Ray, *Untitled*, c.1924.



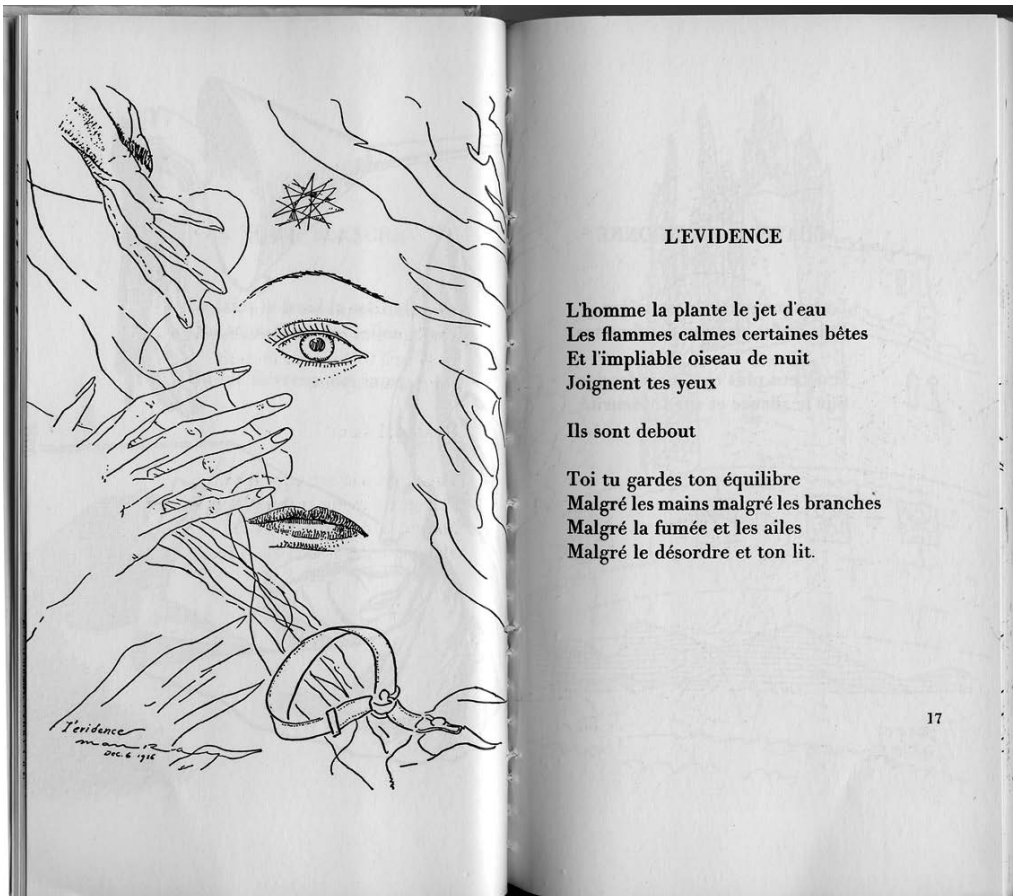
4.47 Man Ray, *Untitled*, 1929.



4.48 Man Ray, *Hands and Rose*, 1949.



4.49 Man Ray and Paul Éluard, *Les Mains libres* (Paris: Jeanne Bucher, 1937).



4.50 Man Ray and Paul Éluard, *Les Mains libres* (Paris: Gallimard, 2009 [1937]). p. 17.

# LES RÉVÉLATIONS PSYCHIQUES DE LA MAIN

Par le DOCTEUR LOTTE WOLFF

La chiromnie est la connaissance méthodique des formes de la main, des doigts, des monts, du réseau de lignes et des signes accidentels.

La chiromnie traditionnelle se sert d'une terminologie symbolique empruntée à l'astrologie. Elle caractérise les doigts par le nom et les attributs des divinités mythologiques. C'est ainsi que Jupiter (l'index) représente le pouvoir, la réputation, le talent organisateur et le sens familial; Saturne (le médium) la connaissance objective du monde et la conscience; Apollon (l'annulaire) la chance et le talent artistique; Mercure (l'auriculaire) le talent diplomatique et l'habileté manuelle. Le pouce symbolise la personnalité et le niveau spirituel et moral du sujet.

Les Monts situés sous les quatre doigts sont complétés par les Monts de Mars et de Lune qui forment le bord extérieur ou frappeur de la main et par le Mont de Vénus qui enveloppe la phalange inférieure du pouce. Le Mont de Mars est le siège de l'agressivité et de la résistance, au sens physique et psychique; le Mont de Lune, le foyer de la fantaisie, des rêves, de la tendance à l'aventure, au voyage. Le Mont de Vénus contient la vitalité, la puissance sexuelle.

La ligne de vie, bordant le Mont de Vénus, confirme les attributs de ce dernier et nous donne une indication sur la durée de la vie du sujet.

La ligne de tête jaillit de la même source, sinon tout près de la ligne de vie. Elle débouche le plus souvent dans la plaine de Mars (espace du creux de la main). Elle nous renseigne sur les facultés intellectuelles de même que sur l'état nerveux de l'individu.

La ligne de cœur qui se dirige dans le sens opposé de la précédente, exprime l'état psychique et les fonctions physiques du cœur.

La ligne de destinée forme l'axe central de la main et détermine l'individu en tant qu'être social.

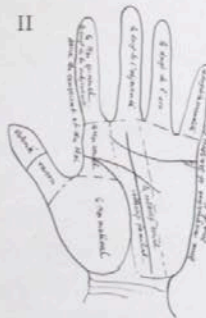
Les lignes de chance et d'intuition sont suffisamment caractérisées par leur nom. La ligne de santé nous informe spécialement sur la fonction intestinale. L'Anneau de Vénus donne une image du comportement érotique du sujet et de la sublimation de sa sexualité.

## LES ZONES DE L'INTÉRIEUR DE LA MAIN

En considérant la main, comme projection de la personnalité, nous l'avons divisée en deux systèmes. Nous nous sommes écartés de la tradition chiromnique en élaborant notre terminologie propre d'après les notions de la psychologie de C. G. Jung et de W. James. Notre premier schéma qui réduit le mécanisme des réactions à sa formule la plus simple, a été établi d'après les données du chiromne Mangin-Balthazar, qui divise la main en trois zones horizontales.

Notre second schéma reproduit exactement notre conception (excepté la notion de la zone imagino-sensorielle, men-

1. Voyez l'explication des lignes du schéma n° III, à la fin de l'article.



tionnée déjà par Mangin-Balthazar). Cette conception représente la personnalité dans ses trois comportements fondamentaux :

1. La personnalité dans ses rapports avec le Moi et la Conscience;
2. dans ses rapports avec la Collectivité;
3. dans ses rapports avec l'Inconscient.

Dans notre schéma de zones horizontales, la première zone s'étend de la racine de la main jusqu'à une ligne idéale allant de la racine du pouce au bord frappeur de la main. Cette zone comprend les réactions instinctives :

1. le Mont de Vénus, siège des instincts sexuels et sensuels;
2. une portion de la plaine de Mars, siège des instincts de défense;
3. le Mont de Lune, siège de l'Inconscient.

La seconde zone s'étend jusqu'à la ligne de cœur. Elle représente les réactions sensibles et comprend la sphère du sentiment (l'espace entre la ligne de cœur et la ligne de tête) et la sphère de l'altruisme.

La troisième zone entre la ligne de cœur et la racine des doigts est celle de la force des émotions. Les émotions diffèrent du sentiment en ce sens qu'elles sont inconcevables sans réflexe physiologique.

La sphère émotionnelle et la sphère instinctive se distinguent l'une de l'autre par le fait que la première se manifeste dans la sensibilité et la perception, la seconde dans la motilité. Les parties émotionnelles et instinctives de la personnalité sont-elles l'une et l'autre également développées, les fonctions animales de la personnalité prédomineront sur celles de l'esprit et de la volonté. Nous sommes alors en présence d'un individu de structure psychique primitive.

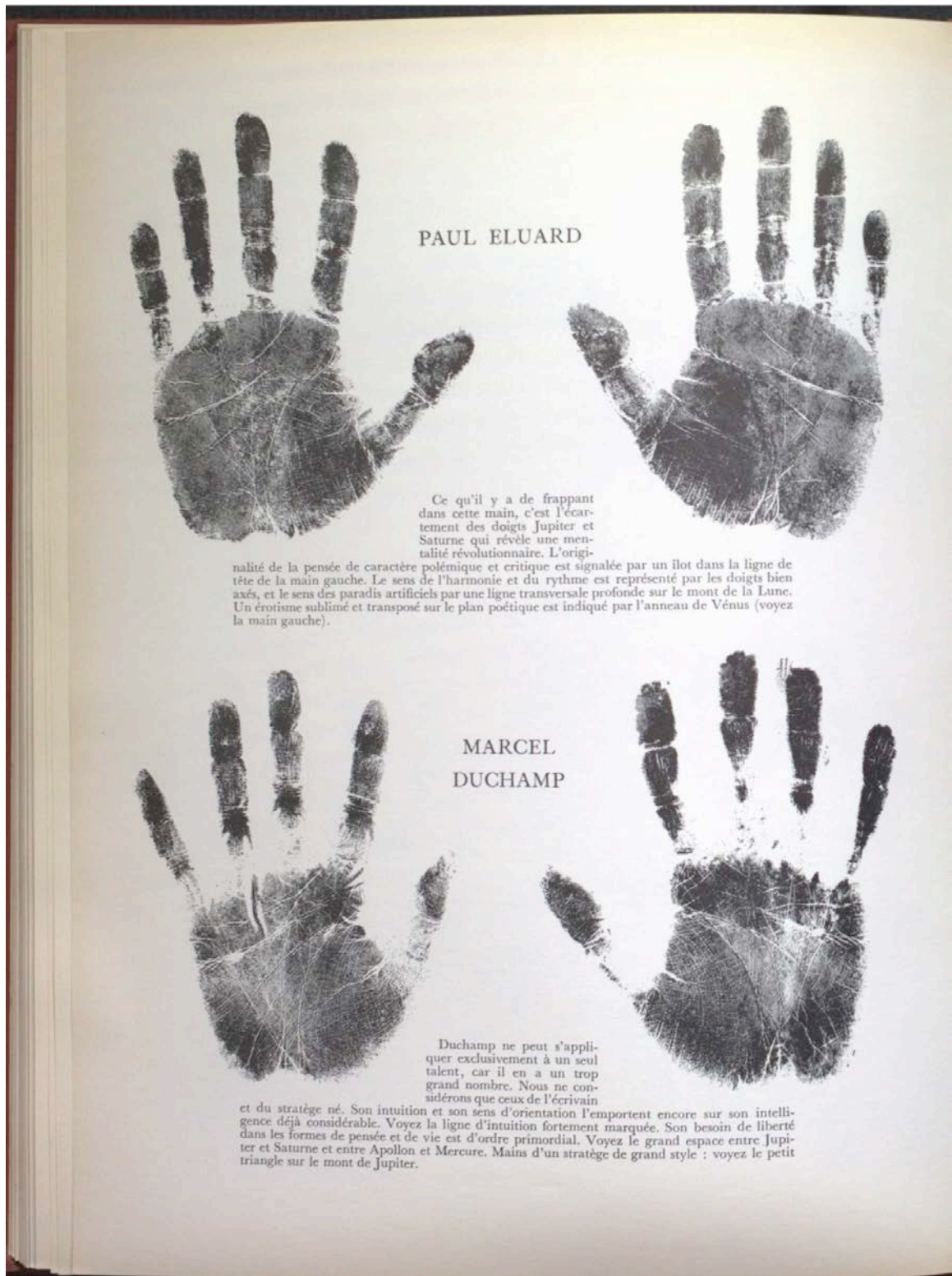
La zone du collectif est-elle au contraire la plus développée des trois, le sujet sera doué d'une réceptivité affinée : nous avons alors à faire à une personnalité de structure complexe.

## LES ZONES VERTICALES

Nous diviserons maintenant la main en trois zones verticales. La première comprend le mont de Vénus avec le pouce, le Mont de Jupiter avec l'index, doigt de la subjectivité. Nous la nommerons la sphère du Moi.

La seconde zone est celle que parcourt la ligne de destinée de la ligne de la main au Mont de Saturne, zone à laquelle appartient également Saturne doigt de l'objectivité. Dans cet espace, nous lisons le comportement collectif de l'homme.

La troisième zone comprend presque tout le Mont de Lune, les Monts de Mars, de Mercure et d'Apollon, ainsi que le bord frappeur de la main. C'est la sphère imagino-sensorielle où se meuvent les forces du Soi, forces de l'Inconscient individuel et de l'Inconscient ancestral. Apollon (ou le doigt de l'art) et Mercure (doigt de la sensualité) appartiennent encore à cette sphère.



4.52 Dr. Charlotte Wolff, "Les revelations psychiques de la main," *Minotaure*, vol. 2, no. 6 (Winter 1935), p. 44.



4.53 "Mains," *Vu*, July 8, 1931, pp. 982-983. Photographs: Henri Manuel.



4.54 "Le langage des mains," *Le Samedi*, December 4, 1937, p. 5.



4.55 "Le langage des gants," *La Revue populaire*, April 1937, p. 10.



4.56 "La poésie des mains," *La Revue moderne*, November 1944, p. 29.





4.57 Ray Shaw, "Look at Your Hands," *Maclean's*, October 1, 1945, p. 12.



4.58 "Beauty Culture – A Department for Style, Health and Personality," *Chatelaine*, February 1936, p. 29.

Sold at High class Drug and Department Stores everywhere.

## Chatelaine Service Bulletins on Beauty Culture

Cosmetic — Authentic — Essentially Helpful

### DRESSING YOUR FACE

Service Bulletin No. 17

Which treats with the subtleties of make-up.

The cream makes out of a finished skin how to make up effectively. Some advice is given on the correct materials, but the right make-up will give a plain face a charmingly lovely face.

Learn the secrets of make-up, of highlighting, of facial structure, of color and correct selection. Learn how to dress your face features and make the best of your nose. Learn about the make-up which is individually yours. Price 15 cents.



How to dress your face, how to make up effectively, how to choose the right materials, but the right make-up will give a plain face a charmingly lovely face.

### HOW TO BE FRESH AS A FLOWER

Service Bulletin No. 19

The facilities beside the cosmetics are given in a woman's charm — an indispensable bulletin to charm. Price 15 cents.



How to dress your face, how to make up effectively, how to choose the right materials, but the right make-up will give a plain face a charmingly lovely face.

### BEAUTIFUL HANDS

Service Bulletin No. 15

Every woman desires her fingers to be beautiful and her hands to be lovely. A little advice and a few simple steps will give you the hands you desire. Daily use and regular maintenance are stressed in the bulletin. Price 15 cents.



Every woman desires her fingers to be beautiful and her hands to be lovely. A little advice and a few simple steps will give you the hands you desire. Daily use and regular maintenance are stressed in the bulletin. Price 15 cents.

Chatelaine Service Bulletins,  
481 East Broadway, Toronto.

Please send me your Service Bulletin No. \_\_\_\_\_ for which I enclose \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

Name and Address \_\_\_\_\_

Please Print or Write Plainly.

4.59 "Beautiful Hands," *Chatelaine*, June 1935, p. 53. Advertisement for the Chatelaine Service Bulletin no. 15.



4.60 "Les mains de femmes sont des bijoux," *La Revue populaire*, October 1938, pp. 34-35. Photographs: Albert G. Westelin.

50e année, No 49

Montréal, 6 mai 1939

PER

S-400

BNQ

# Le Samedi

10¢

LE MAGAZINE NATIONAL DES CANADIENS



Les premiers  
passiers au  
port de  
Montréal  
Photo  
MARK AUGER

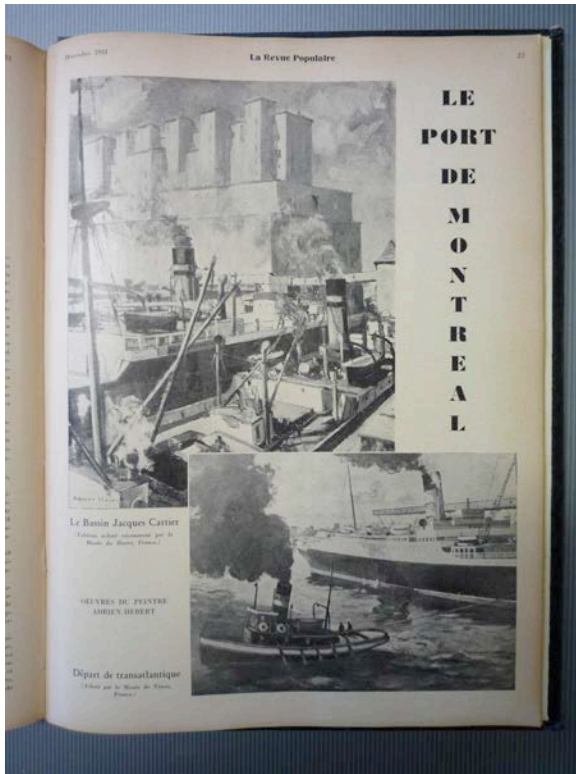
5.1 *Le Samedi*, May 6, 1939, cover. Photograph: Mark Auger.



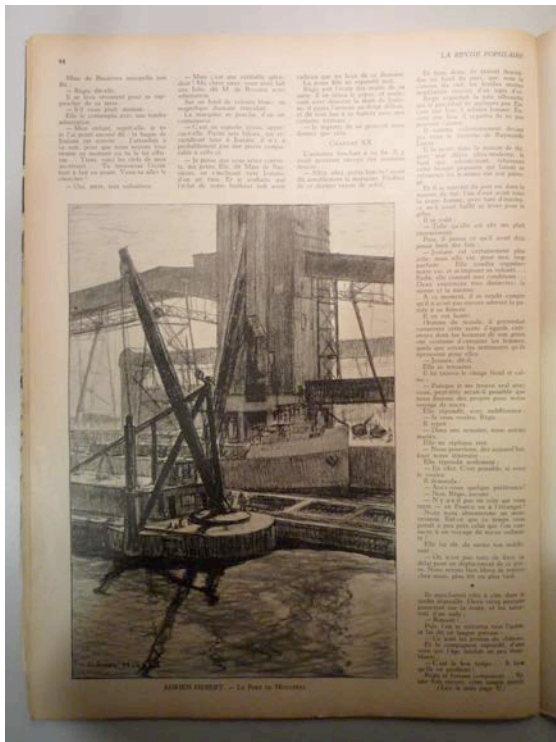
5.2 Adrien Hébert, *Le Port de Montréal*, 1924, oil on canvas, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec.



5.3 *La Revue populaire*, August 1928, cover. Illustration: reproduction of the drawing *Le Port de Montréal* by Adrien Hébert.



5.4 “Le Port de Montréal,” *La Revue populaire*, December 1931, p. 23. Illustration: reproduction of *Le Bassin Jacques Cartier* by Adrien Hébert.



5.5 *La Revue populaire*, June 1936, p. 44. Illustration: reproduction of *Le Port de Montréal* by Adrien Hébert.



Top of page: Dolly. A study of a Dalmatian made by Mr. Armstrong Roberts.

Right: Another example of modern artistic photography, "The Window," by J. Vanderpant.

It won't be long now. Gazing on the French River, Ontario, from the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Waiting up to a temperature is "Patience" here. Myra Kay and Eddie Montgomery.

Above: Jean Harlow and Charles Bick are in "Tinsel," while Cedric Belfrage and Bruce St.

5.6 Maclean's, June 1, 1936. Photograph: John Vanderpant, *The Window*, 1934.



A Temple Built by Greeks. Photo by J. Vanderpant.

**What**  
**THE** Chief Commissioner of Canada's Wheat Board, J. R. Murray, recent witness before the special parliamentary committee on the marketing of wheat, considers our situation to be grave enough to justify an investigation by a "commission of all men who have nothing but the national interest at heart."  
 Such an investigation laid out may have been launched before this as in general will be regarded by some persons as a progress opportunity for making, but it would be better for the country were a commission to spend more time looking into the future than into the past, only a part as it has been.  
 Various estimates are being made as to the amount of carryover of wheat the Dominion will have on its hands at the end of July. Wheat Pool officials say it will not be less than 125,000,000 bushels, probably more. Grain Marketing officials say it will not be less than 125,000,000 bushels. Wheat Board officials hope it will be down to 100,000,000 bushels.  
 Using 125,000,000 bushels as a probable basis of reckoning, the carryover will be sufficient to take care of Canada's own food and feed requirements for the following year.  
 The bulk of this fall's crop will be available for export. Many more large areas of the West have improved production prospects. A crop of from 275,000,000 to 325,000,000 bushels is not impossible, it being accepted that drought, grasshoppers, rust, hail and frost cannot be definitely relied on to keep the yield down to the abnormally low basis of the past two or three years.  
 Where are we going to sell it?  
 Experts estimate that total world requirements for the current crop year will be about 1,000,000,000 bushels of the United States but export 1,000,000,000 bushels. Next year, if an outlet actually, the United States is the largest market of being compelled to export, then Canada and the United States will jointly have enough wheat to meet the entire world demand.  
 It is obvious that with Argentina, Australia, the Danube Basin and possibly Russia offering large quantities for export, it will be impossible for North America to get rid of its potential stock.  
**THE** long-run outlook is not such better. Industry are that for a number of years to come the available world market will be not more than 1,000,000,000 bushels and the available supply up to 1,200,000,000 bushels. In any competitive struggle with Argentina in normal crop years Canada comes with an inferior position. Argentina has lower labor costs, her wheat lands are closer to tidewater and freight costs lower. A large land finally sanctioned has been recommended from exchange profits and is being sold



by the government for the express purpose of subsidizing the former.  
 More than that, in the world wheat picture, dumping being carried on by three forces, Danube and Communist in Persia, and Burgay in Belgium. All three are active in all the wheat-exporting countries except Russia, and in most exporting countries, especially bakers, they now own land, ships, stores, banking companies, etc.  
 British rulers, previously estimate that Danube, Communist and Burgay control from only to seventy per cent of the total international wheat trade.  
 All three firms, and particularly Burgay, have large investments in Argentina. That tells its own story.  
 What is not far from being a quasi-monopoly has established a heavy market in which hundreds of competing sales have to deal with few purchasers.  
 In ALL branches of Canada's wheat trade there is knowledge of their facts. Yet there is no unity concerning possible action.  
 The fact is that there should be some collective machinery capable of directing, and if necessary limiting, the sale of wheat to the West and meeting, through funds to grain.  
 Legal system seems to be that control measures designed to restrict wheat price, create a national economic level will tend only to increase production and aggravate the problem. It goes to follow a belief that eventually will wheat must give way to one hard.  
 Conservative opinion largely is in defense of what was done during the Bennett regime.  
 Fortunately, it is not so serious that the problem is too big and too serious to permit of equal sharing.  
 Therefore, it should be possible to secure unified acceptance of a plan and policies aimed at by competent execution of the situation.  
 And that is the task confronting any commission that may be appointed.

**Must — Underlined**

**FOUR TAPS** on one key of a typewriter may dimly affect the future tax returns of our children. Or, at any rate, our great-grandchildren.  
 These four taps produced an underline. In itself, trivial.  
 Pivoted under the word "must," it became a matter of more national importance to the Dominion.  
 It is as apparent in the official copies of the budget speech of Finance Minister Charles A. Dunning.  
 "I believe that no country can go on indefinitely with heavily unbalanced budgets and continue to function unless the confidence of investors or the loans upon which her economy can function habitually and vigorously. We have now reached the stage where delay should no longer be tolerated. We must make an immediate approach to a balanced budget and we must be able to show that complete application can be reached within a reasonable time."  
 Mr. Dunning himself took the first step by flinging open the chest door and revealing our debt and deficit picture as it is.  
 He dragged it out and strept of the camouflaging language so long favored by politicians.  
 Briefly, he told Parliament exactly where we stand. It shows that our government will not save itself, except that solid men and railway deficits set on back. It is necessary in twelve months that operating departments must be checked, waste and duplication eliminated, other loans reduced.  
 The public knows, too, that it will have to pay out more of its hard-earned money. But there will be less need because of Mr. Dunning's facing of facts and his determination to reduce a pay-as-you-go system

5.7 Maclean's, June 15, 1936, p. 4. Photograph: John Vanderpant, *Temples on the Seashore*, about 1930.



# Man can make a Tree



Left: These logs, cut, then ready to be shipped to markets, are standing in a yard. Above: Making good logs! The logs of one tree are all from a single tree.

by E. Burnham Wyllie

Man has been the great destroyer—now he is beginning to count the cost, and to realize that without trees there remains only desolation.

Our forests have been steadily disappearing. There are now only a few million acres left. The forests of the world are being cut down at a rate that is alarming. The forests of the world are being cut down at a rate that is alarming. The forests of the world are being cut down at a rate that is alarming.



One of the beautiful views from the country. The forests of the world are being cut down at a rate that is alarming.



Photo by Mr. Wyllie. The forests of the world are being cut down at a rate that is alarming.



Photo by Mr. Wyllie. The forests of the world are being cut down at a rate that is alarming.

THE CANADIAN MAGAZINE, JULY, 1937



**NICKEL**  
 Highlight processing through the medium of a large camera, showing off the background, some unusual light and shadow contrasts in this study of a worker riding off a log. It was taken in the nickel-copper smelter at Copper Cliff.

5.8 E. Burnham Wyllie, "Man Can Make a Tree," *The Canadian Magazine*, July 1937, pp. 16-17.



5.9 "Un métal rare en usage quotidien," *La Revue moderne*, January 1936, p. 32-33.

Maclean's Magazine, June 1, 1936

**CANADIAN NICKEL**  
*in the Home*



**A silvery RANGE TOP of lasting brilliance from the GREAT CANADIAN NICKEL MINES**



Conversion in operation in the "Chief Process" department of the International Nickel Company's Smelter at Copper Cliff, Ontario. This process separates the Nickel from the Copper.

**H**OW on a tower, like a pigmy on a mountain top, stands a silvery figure. At his command a giant ladle swings upward from the furnace and pours its load of molten metal into the converter. Some sand is added. The converter rocks to an upright position. And then, as air is blown into the whitest metal, intense heat is generated, though no heat is applied. And another step is completed in the many processes necessary to produce pure Nickel, Monel Metal, Copper and precious metals from the Sulphury ore.

Nickel to be alloyed with steel to make it stronger and tougher. Nickel for your alarm clock, your car, your radio, and for a thousand other uses. And Monel Metal for your sink, your hot water tank, and that gleaming top now being featured on modern kitchen ranges.

Think of a silvery oven top, brass top and back panels on your new range. A top that resists rust and corrosion.

that keeps its soft lustre for the life of the range.

The International Nickel Company's research department is constantly seeking new uses for Nickel and Monel Metal which will help to bring greater efficiency and beauty in home, office and factory. When you purchase articles containing Nickel you help to provide employment for Canadian labor, and a market at the Nickel mines for practically every kind of Canadian product, from electric motors to stoves; from all engagements in boats and groceries; from sand pumps to handles, stamper and supplies.

Ask your store dealer to show you the new ranges with Monel Metal tops.

Write for your free copy of "The Story of Nickel" an interesting booklet dealing with the source and development of Nickel.

**THE INTERNATIONAL NICKEL COMPANY OF CANADA LIMITED**  
25 KING STREET WEST, TORONTO

5.10 "Canadian nickel in the home," *Maclean's*, June 1, 1936, n.p. (inside front cover). Advertisement for The International Nickel Company of Canada. Illustration: Charles Comfort.

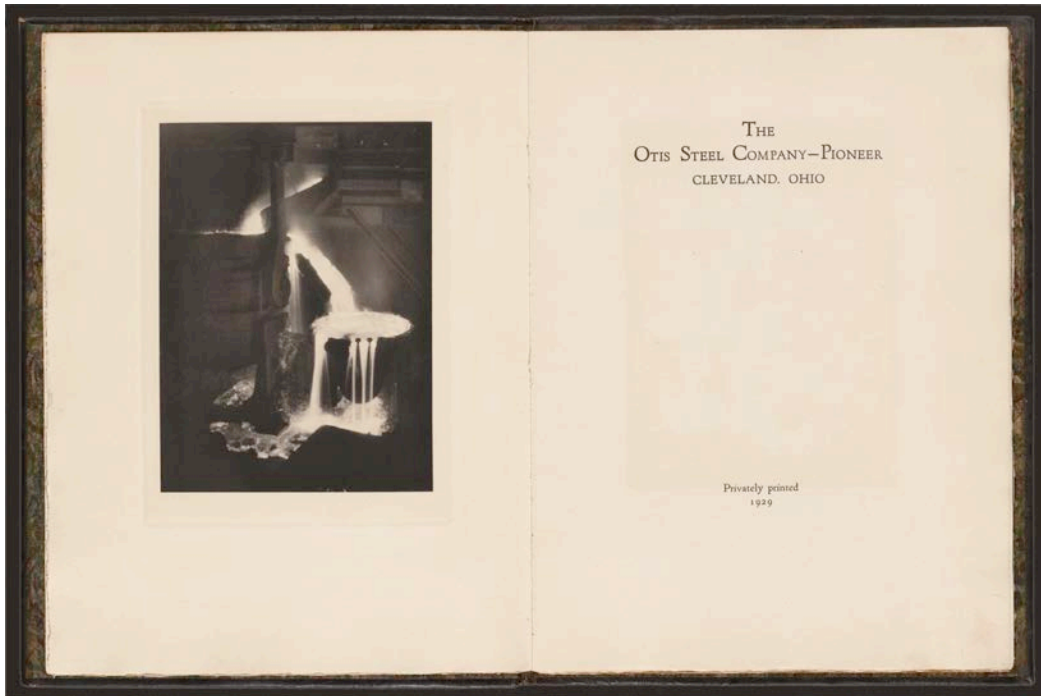




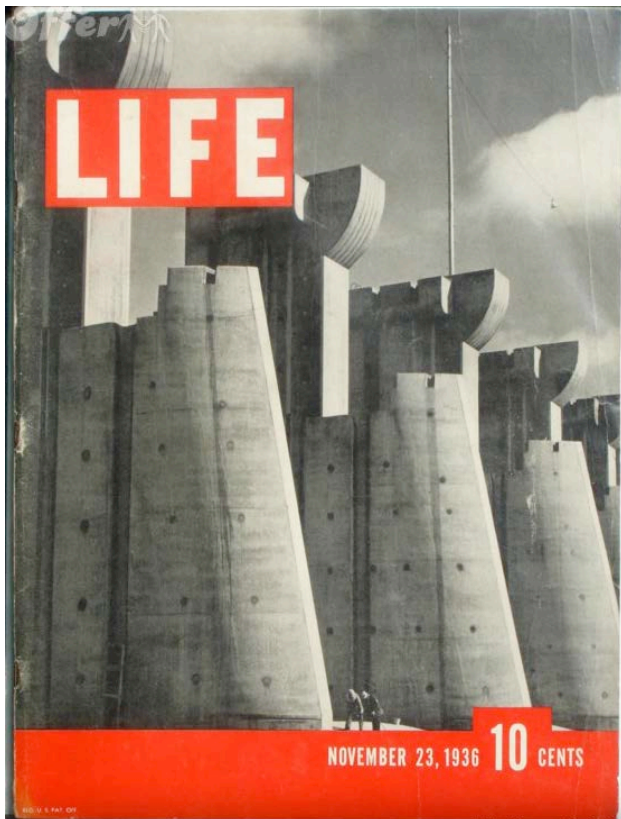
5.11 Margaret Bourke-White, *Otis Steel – 200 Tons, Ladle*, 1928.



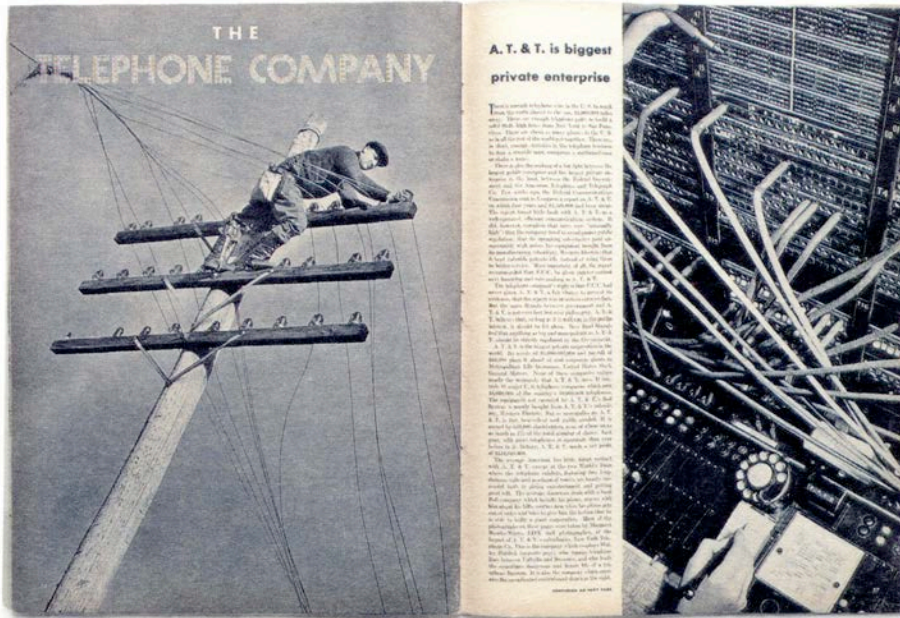
5.12 Margaret Bourke-White, *Otis Steel – Dumping Slag from Ladle*, 1928.



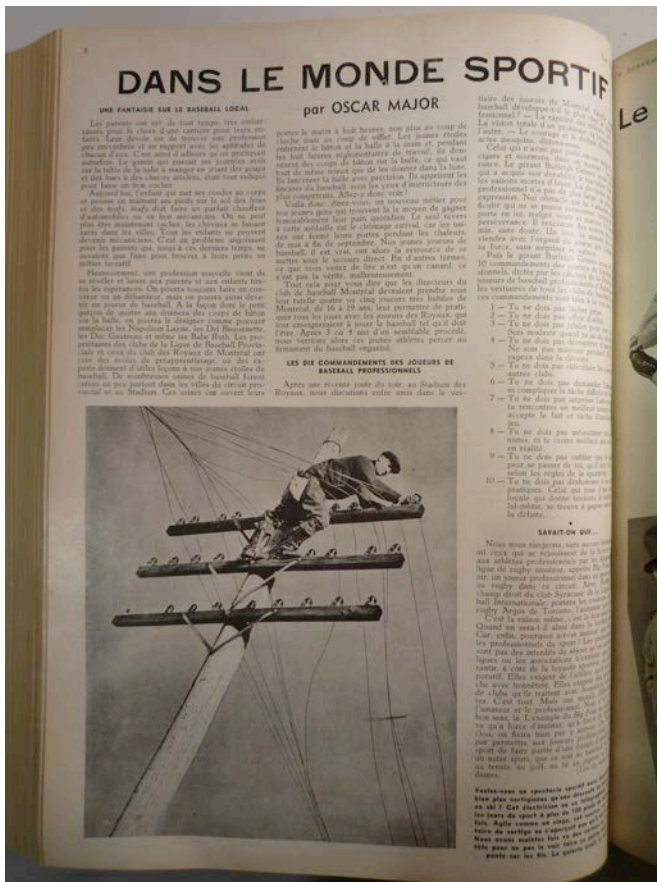
5.13 *The Otis Steel Company – Pioneer* (1929), frontispiece. Photograph: Margaret Bourke-White.



5.14 *Life*, November 23, 1936, cover. Photograph: Margaret Bourke-White.



5.15 “The Telephone Company,” *Life*, July 17, 1939. Photographs: Margaret Bourke-White.



5.16 “Dans le monde sportif,” *Le Samedi*, September 9, 1939, p. 8. Photograph: Margaret Bourke-White.



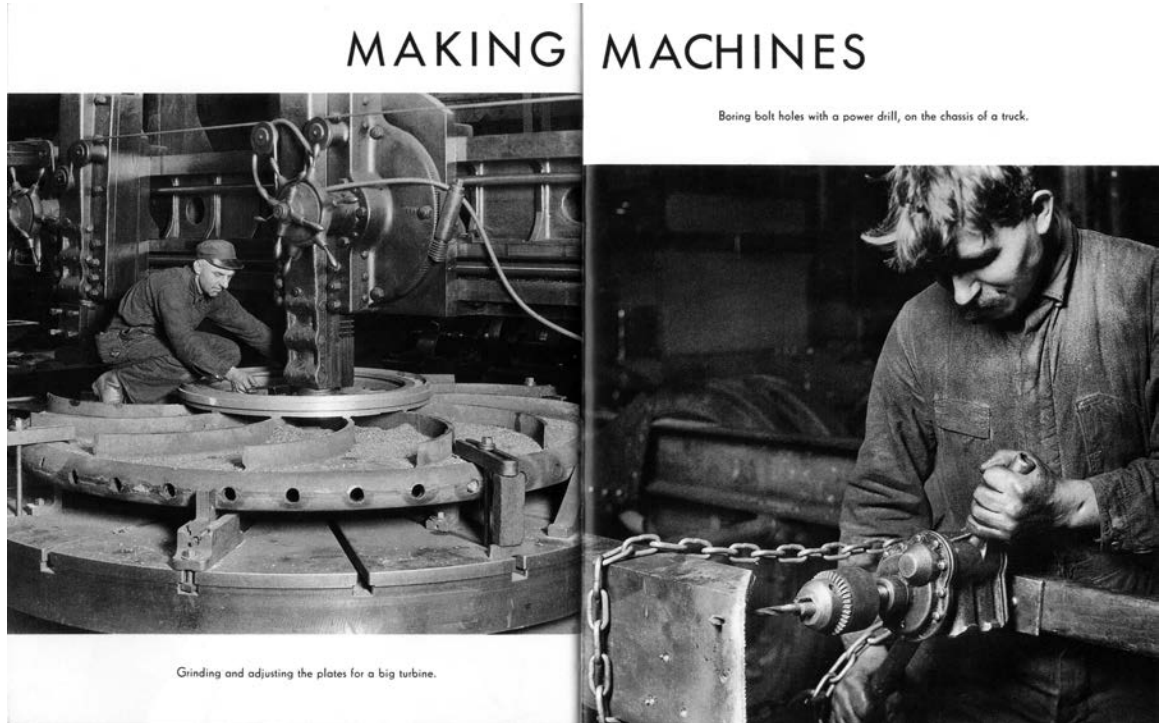
5.17 Lewis W. Hine, *Addie Card, 12 years. Spinner in North Pormal [i.e., Pownal] Cotton Mill. Vt., 1910.*



5.18 Lewis W. Hine, *A young doffer working in Central Mills. Location: Sylacauga, Alabama, 1910.*



5.19 Lewis W. Hine, *Steamfitter*, 1921.



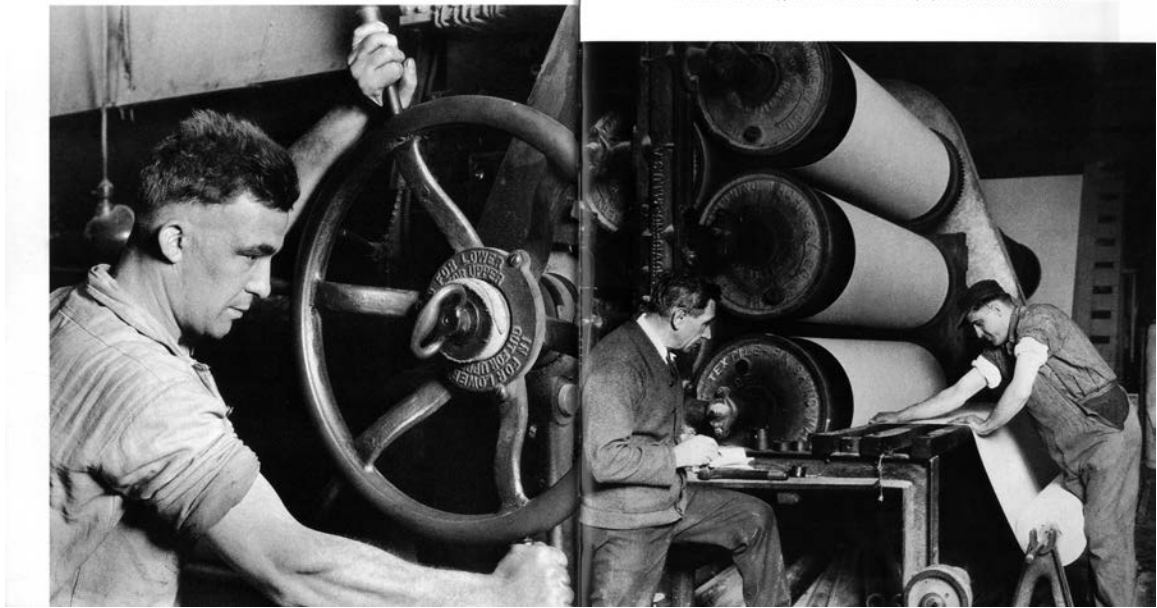
5.20 Lewis W. Hine, *Men at Work: Photographic Studies of Modern Men and Machines* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1932).

# TIRE

# MAKERS

At the control wheel of an enormous calender, making automobile tires.

The foreman checks up, while a skilled workman prepares the fabric for the tires.



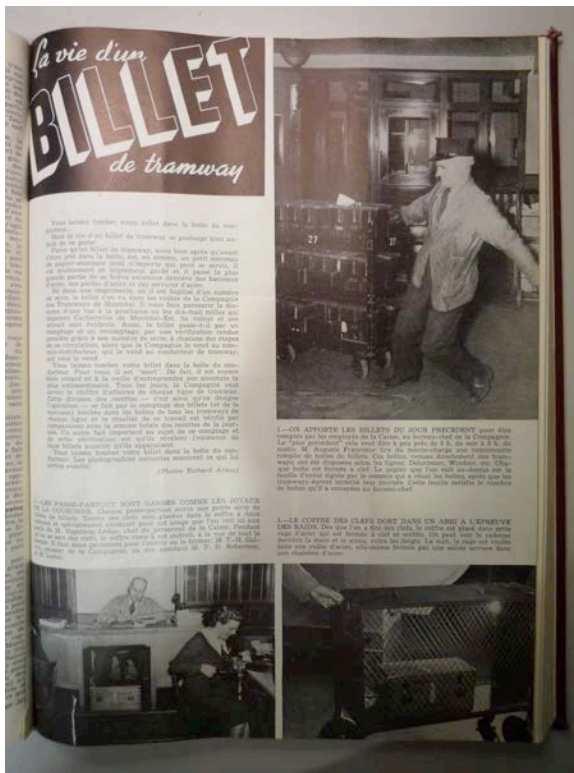
5.21 Lewis W. Hine, *Men at Work: Photographic Studies of Modern Men and Machines* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1932).



5.22 "Allan Jones ... chez lui," *La Revue moderne*, May 1938, p. 21.



5.23 "Marlene sur l'écran et dans la vie," *Le Samedi*, August 14, 1937, p. 20.



5.24 "La vie d'un billet de tramway," *La Revue moderne*, December 1940, p. 15. Photographs: Richard Arless.



5.25 “La vie d’un billet de tramway,” *La Revue moderne*, December 1940, pp. 16-17. Photographs: Richard Arless.



5.26 “La vie d’un billet de tramway,” *La Revue moderne*, December 1940, p. 18. Photographs: Richard Arless.





5.27 "La naissance d'une cigarette," *La Revue populaire*, February 1935, p. 8. Photographs: Associated Screen News.



5.28 "La naissance d'une cigarette," *La Revue populaire*, February 1935, p. 54. Photographs: Associated Screen News.



5.29 "Les ailes du rêve – chronique tabacologique," *Le Samedi*, March 5, 1938, pp. 6-7. Photographs: Associated Screen News.



5.30 Frederick Edwards, "Cigarette," *Maclean's*, August 15, 1937, p. 21.

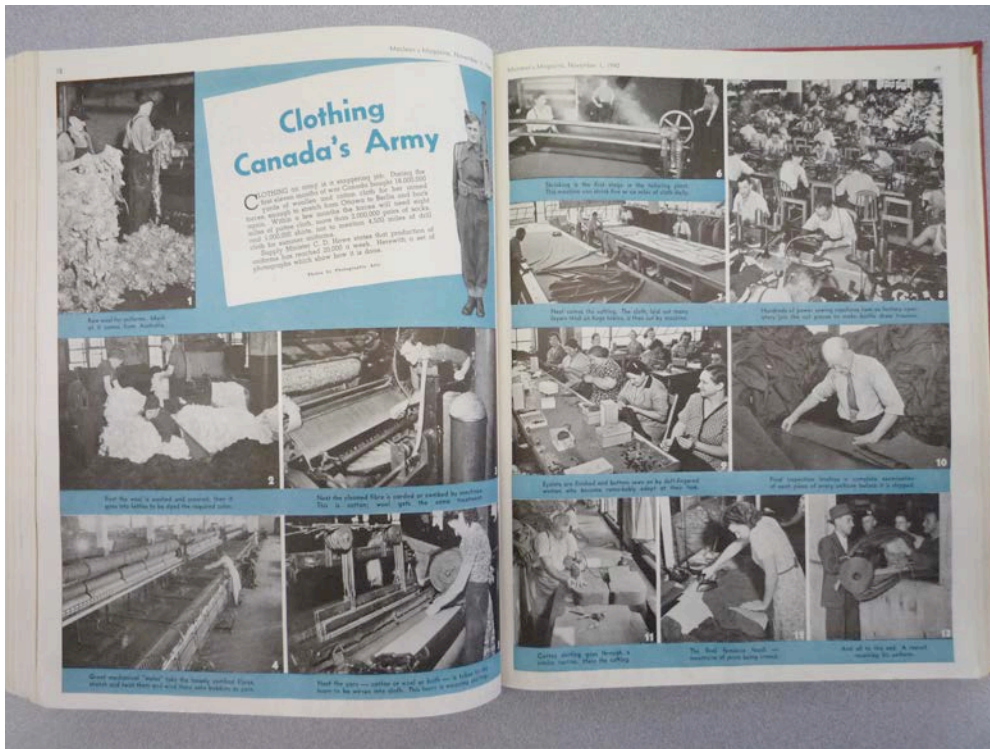




5.33 "Trainer Planes," *Maclean's*, August 1, 1940, pp. 12-13. Photographs: Photographic Arts.



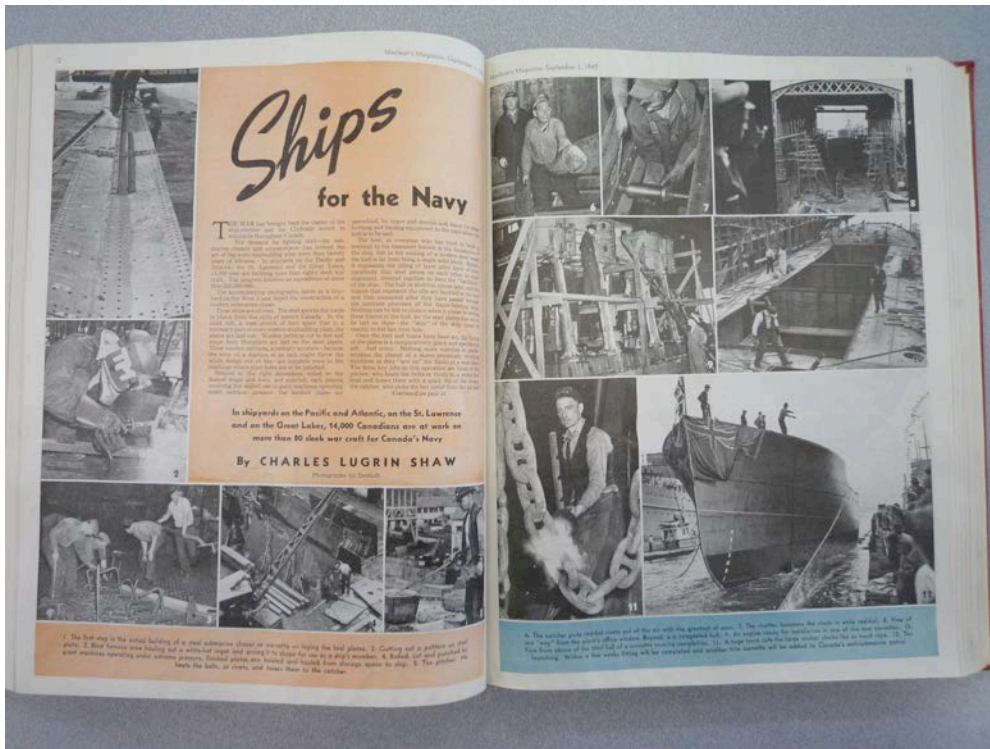
5.34 "Shells," *Maclean's*, August 15, 1940, p. 11. Photographs: National Film Board, Still Photography Division.



5.35 "Clothing Canada's Army," *Maclean's*, November 1, 1940, pp. 18-19. Photographs: Photographic Arts.



5.36 "Wheels for the Army," *Maclean's*, October 1, 1940, pp. 20-21. Photographs: Associated Screen News.



5.37 "Ships for the Navy" *Maclean's*, September 1, 1940, pp. 12-13. Photographs: "Dettloff" (Claude P. Dettloff?).



5.38 "Le radium au Canada," *La Revue populaire*, September 1937, pp. 8-9. Photographs: C-I-L Oval.



1. The source — Laffite Point, Great Bear Lake, about 100 miles from Great Bear Lake.
2. The ore — raw pitchblende.
3. Pitchblende — dark streak — being separated from alum.
4. Rugged concentrate goes from Great Bear to Fort Hope.
5. Tank loads of Fort Hope — uranium liquor with.
6. Six tons of chemicals for every ton of concentrate.
7. From tons of ore — a crowd of chemicals "leach".
8. Decanting to remove barium.
9. Crystals in a flask — "radon" crystal output.
10. The salt. A hundred milligrams of radium is a grain like smaller than a match. Value \$2,000.
11. Dr. Martin Pechin, superintendent of the Fort Hope refinery.

Maclean's Magazine, May 1, 1937

Radium, the element which disintegrates and gives off a radioactive heat, is the most powerful source of energy known to man. It is the only element in the periodic table which has been found to be a source of energy. It is the only element which has been found to be a source of energy. It is the only element which has been found to be a source of energy.

## Radium

**A romance of fantastic fact—The story of how Canada became the most active producer of the world's most precious element**

**By JAMES A. COWAN**

The most direct to Miss Branch has its old mine. The mine has been closed for some time. The mine has been closed for some time. The mine has been closed for some time.

The mine has been closed for some time. The mine has been closed for some time. The mine has been closed for some time. The mine has been closed for some time.

The mine has been closed for some time. The mine has been closed for some time. The mine has been closed for some time. The mine has been closed for some time.

5.39 James A. Cowan, "Radium," *Maclean's*, May 1, 1937, pp. 12-13. Photographs: C-I-L Oval.



**RADIUM TRAIL**  
 The northern caribou (the Eskimo's silver-radium) goes on its flight from Edmonton to the sub-Arctic in this range on Great Bear Lake. The dog team serve as "red caps" carrying radium concentrates from mine to "plane runway."

5.40 "Radium Trail," *The Canadian Magazine*, August 1937, p. 17.



5.41 "Radium Trail," *The Canadian Magazine*, August 1937, pp. 18-19.

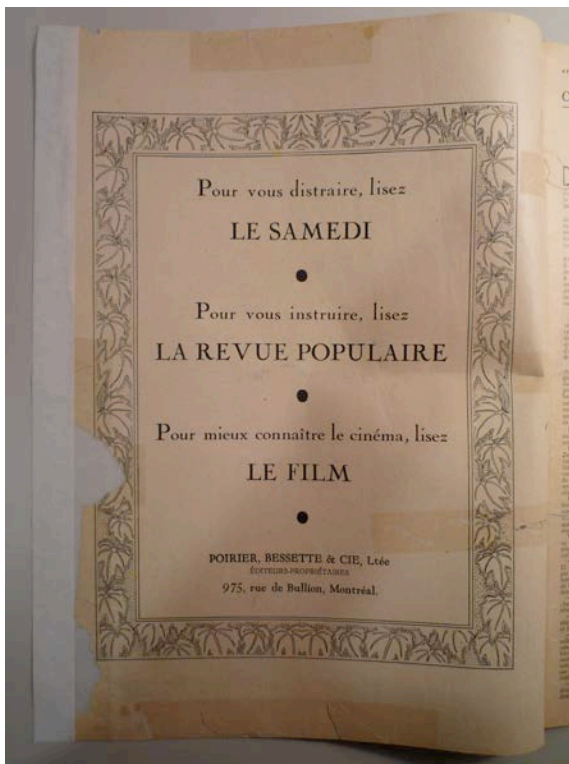


5.42 "La guerre renvoie le radium sous le sol," *La Revue moderne*, September 1940, pp. 12-13. Photographs: Ministry of Information (UK), Photo Division.





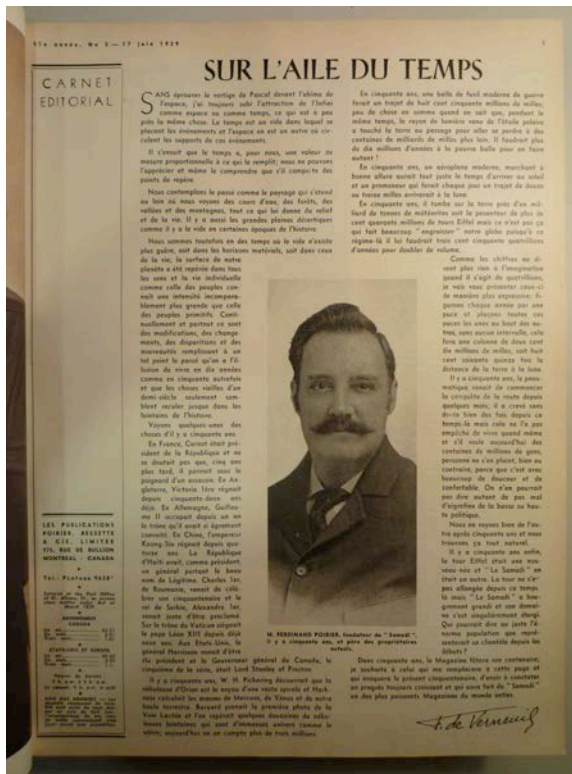
5.43 “La guerre renvoie le radium sous le sol,” *La Revue moderne*, September 1940, pp. 14-15. Photographs: Ministry of Information (UK), Photo Division.



5.44 “Pour vous distraire, lisez Le Samedi – Pour vous instruire, lisez La Revue Populaire – Pour mieux connaître le cinema, lisez Le Film,” *Le Samedi*, September 25, 1937, p. 3. Advertisement for Poirier, Besette & Cie magazines.



5.45 *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), cover. Illustration: Pierre Saint-Loup.



5.46 Fernand de Verneuil, "Sur l'aile du temps," *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. 3.



5.47 "1889: Année de la fondation du 'Samedi,'" *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), pp. 6-7.



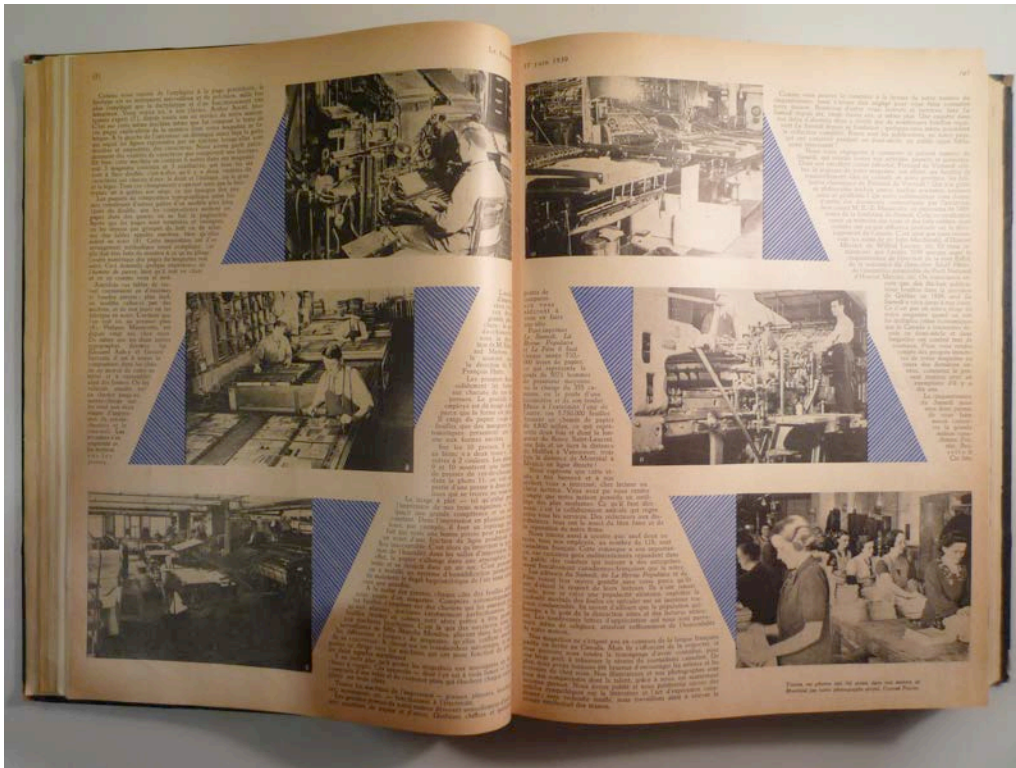
5.48 "Nos débuts," *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (a).



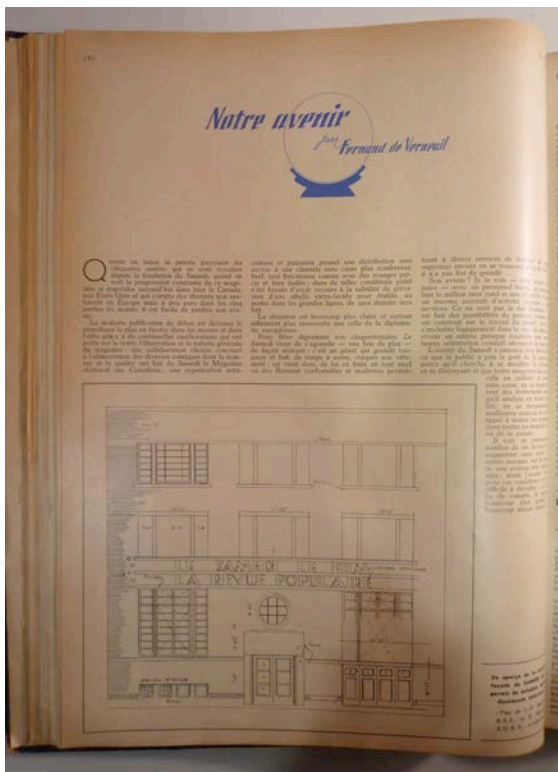
5.49 “Le personnel du ‘Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), pp. (b)-(c). Photographs: La Rose, Montreal.



5.50 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), pp. (d)-(e). Photographs: Conrad Poirier.



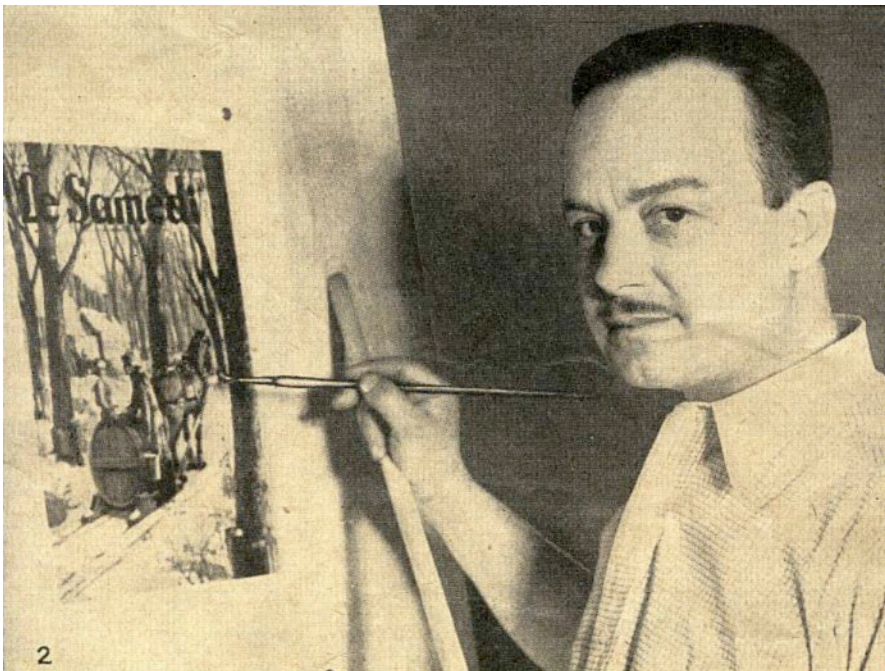
5.51 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), pp. (f)-(g). Photographs: Conrad Poirier.



5.52 Fernand de Verneuil, “Notre Avenir,” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (h).



5.53 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (d), ill. 1.  
Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



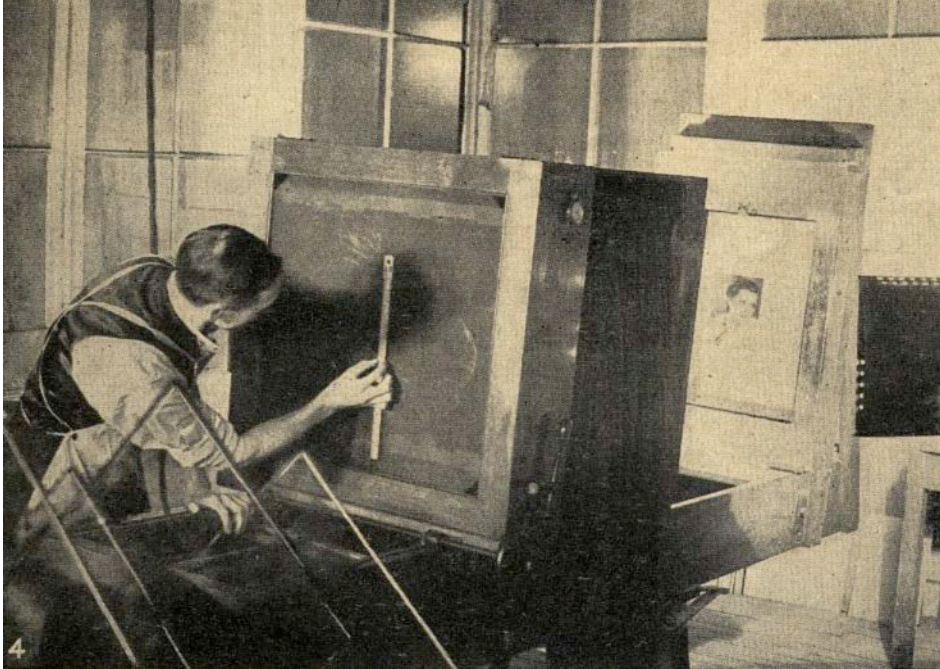
5.54 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (d), ill. 2.  
Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



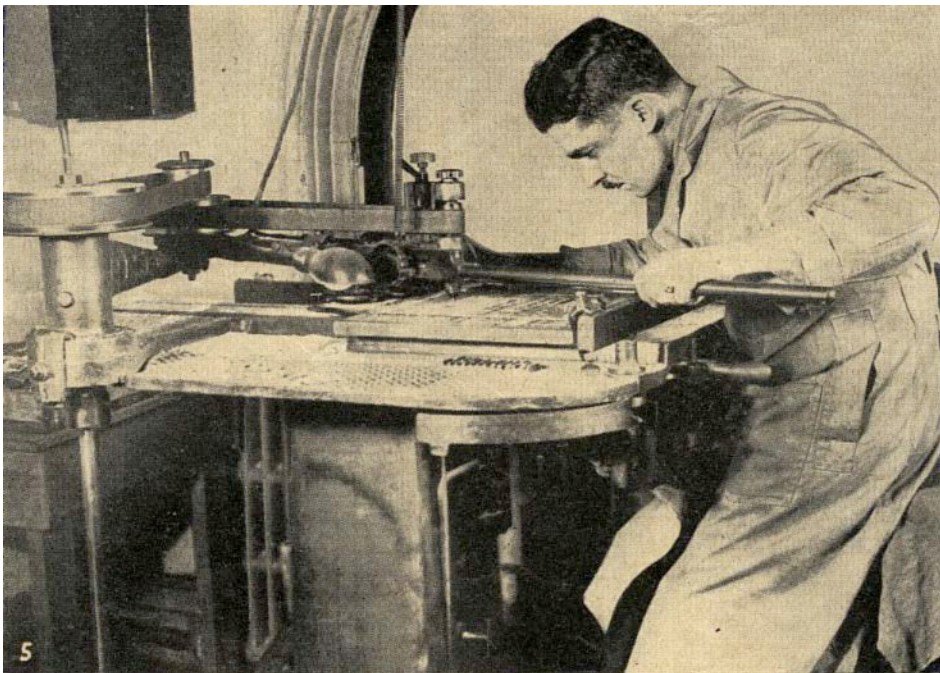
5.55 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (d), ill. 3. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



5.56 “C’est l’avion qui nous mène,” *Le Samedi*, April 22, 1939, p. a).

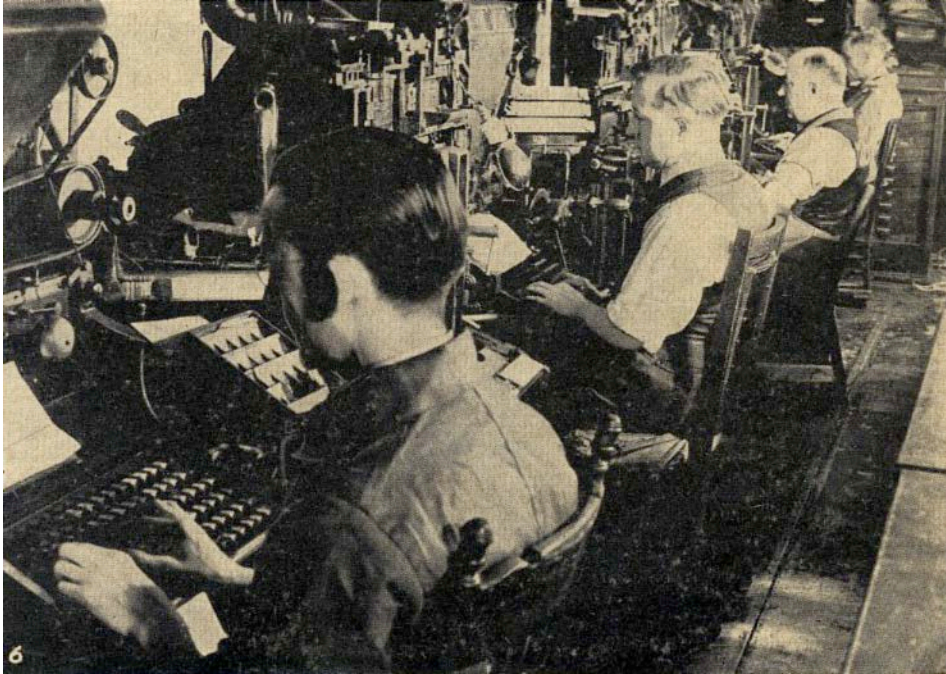


5.57 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (e), ill. 4.  
Photograph: Conrad Poirier.

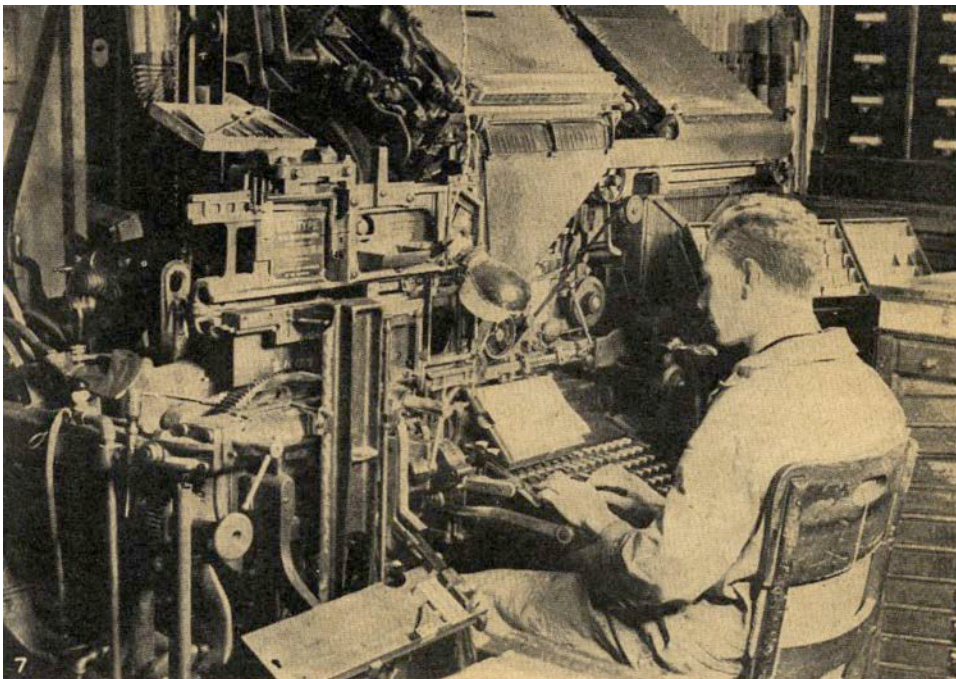


5.58 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (e), ill. 5.  
Photograph: Conrad Poirier.

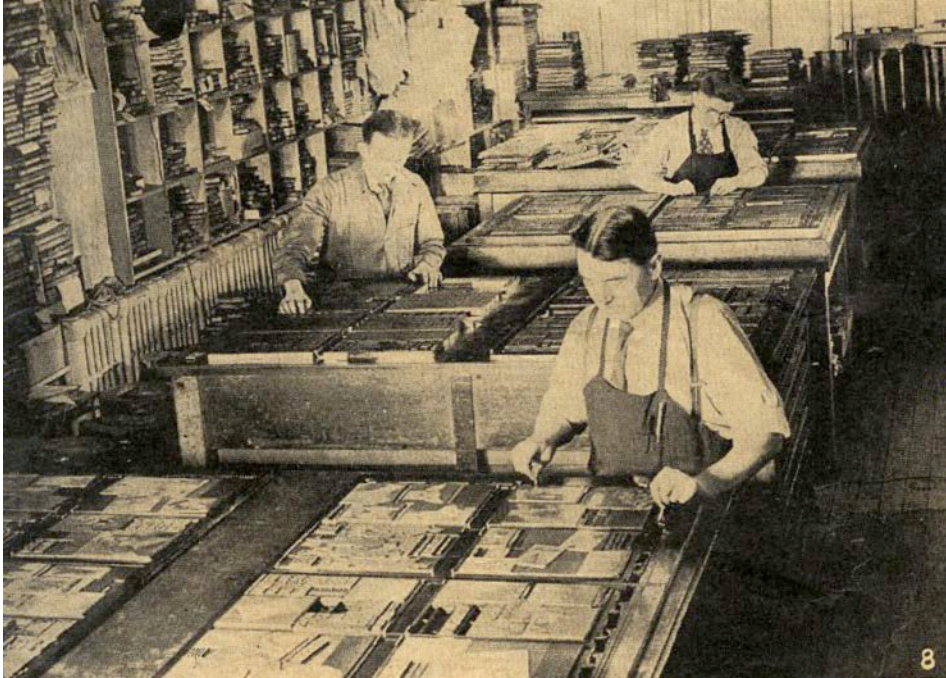




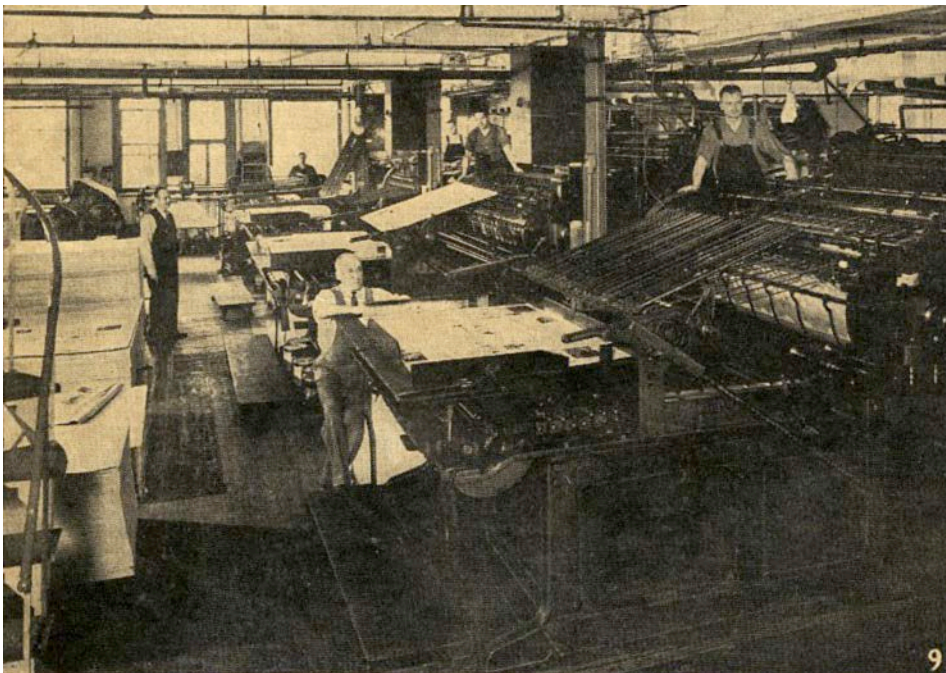
5.59 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (e), ill. 6.  
Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



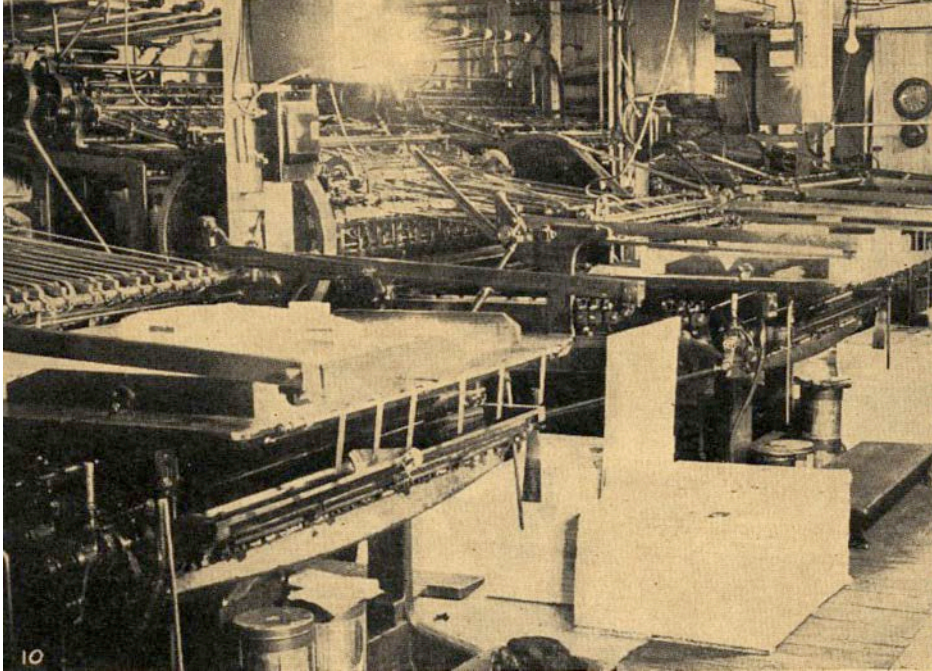
5.60 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (f), ill. 7.  
Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



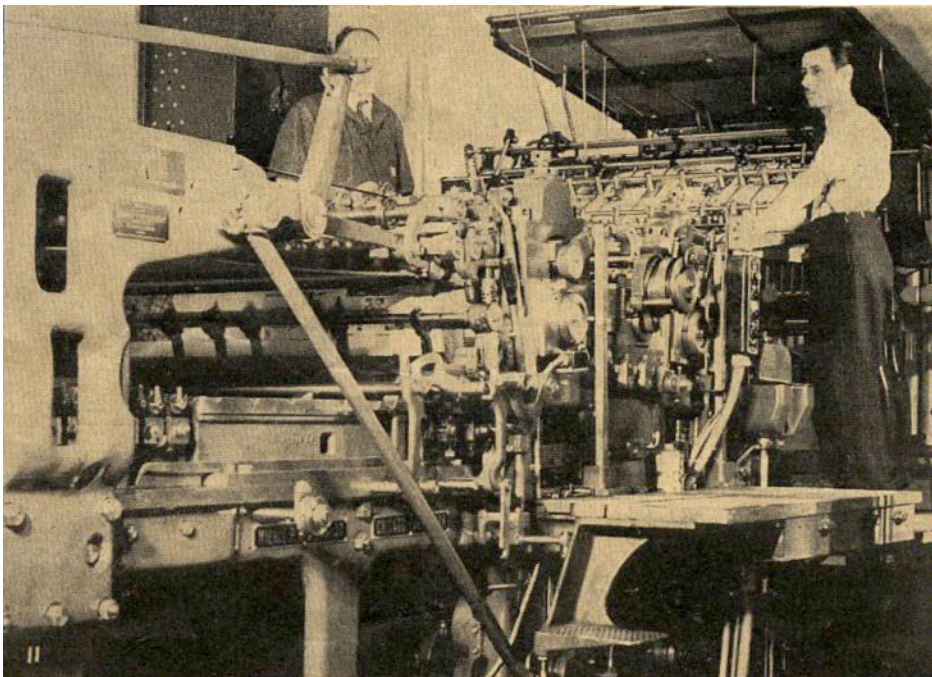
5.61 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (f), ill. 8.  
Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



5.62 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (f), ill. 9.  
Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



5.63 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (g), ill. 10.  
Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



5.64 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (g), ill. 11.  
Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



5.65 “Comment se fabrique ‘Le Samedi,’” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. (g), ill. 12. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



5.66 Aimé Plamondon, “À la maison du ‘Samedi’: Une visite mémorable,” *Le Samedi*, June 17, 1939 (50th anniversary issue), p. 10.



**BISCUITS**

ERMITES  
"SHORTCAKE"  
GÂTEAU AU CITRON  
ANNEAU DIABLE ROUGE  
BISCUITS AUX ÉPICES ET  
AUX PÉCANES, PAIN AUX  
NOIX ET AU CHOCOLAT

Vrais régal qui tentent l'appétit de la famille. Et vous pouvez les faire si facilement quand vous employez le Soda à Pâte "Cow Brand" et suivre les recettes contenues dans notre livre de cuisine qui vous est offert gratuitement ci-dessous. Ce livre contient quantité de recettes toutes éprouvées dans notre propre cuisine.



**UN AMI DE LA FAMILLE**

Le Soda à Pâte "Cow Brand" — Bicarbonate de Soude pur — est une aide d'urgence des moins coûteuses. Il libère de l'indigestion, soulage les brûlures, échaudures et morsures d'insectes, fait un gargarisme ou s'incorpore à l'effaceur.



BROCHURETTES GRATUITES demandées sur simple indication et renvoi au Soda à Pâte "Cow Brand" vous seront envoyées gratuitement par la poste aux adresses indiquées ci-dessous. Remplissez ce coupon et adressez-le à :

CHURCH & DWIGHT LIMITED,  
1205, R-44,  
2115, rue Beaudry, Montréal.

Nom \_\_\_\_\_  
Adresse \_\_\_\_\_

MEYER YON BUREAU ET ALBUMS EN SUÉDE — 1937

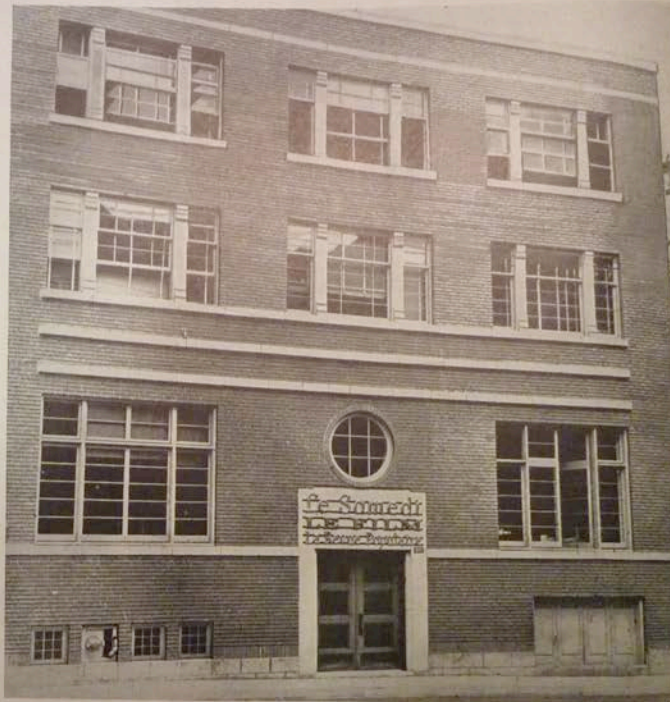


Photo de notre photographe Conrad Poirier

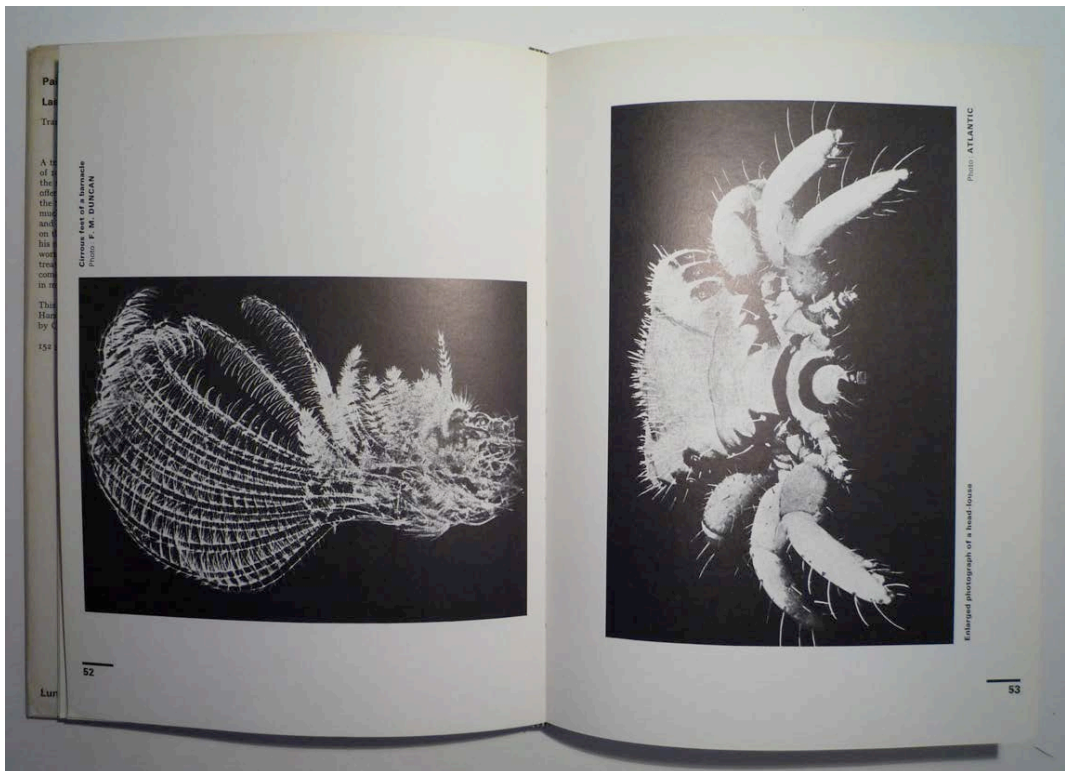
**La MAISON de LA REVUE POPULAIRE,  
du SAMEDI et du FILM,  
à Montréal**

Les travaux d'agrandissement de l'immeuble des Publications Poirier, Bessette & Cie, limitée, sont terminés depuis trois mois. C'est dans cet immeuble d'un style moderne des plus agréables, où la pierre alterne avec la brique, que sont groupés tous les ateliers et tous les services de direction, rédaction et administration. Sa superficie est de 50 pieds de largeur par 110 de longueur. Quatre étages (sous-sol, rez-de-chaussée et les deux étages supérieurs). Les plans en furent établis par deux architectes montréalais, le major J.-P. Bastien, du Régiment de Maisonneuve, et H. Mercier. C'est la seule maison canadienne-française du genre, en ce sens qu'elle n'édifie que ses propres magazines et n'exécute aucuns "travaux de ville". Cette maison a été, cette année, au mois de juin, le cinquantenaire de sa fondation (1889). Les propriétaires actuels, MM. Ferdinand et Georges Poirier, respectivement président et vice-président, sont les fils du fondateur, feu Ferdinand Poirier, décédé en juin 1916. Le personnel et les ateliers sont les mêmes pour notre trio de magazines : LA REVUE POPULAIRE, LE SAMEDI et LE FILM. Nos employés sont au nombre de 118. L'outillage des ateliers de composition, d'impression et de photogravure représente un capital de \$150,000. L'impression se fait sur onze presses modernes (presses à plat) dont quatre presses deux couleurs. De nos ateliers sortent par mois plus de 300,000 exemplaires de magazines.

5.67 "La maison de La Revue Populaire, du Samedi et du Film à Montréal," *La Revue populaire*, November 1939, p. 52. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



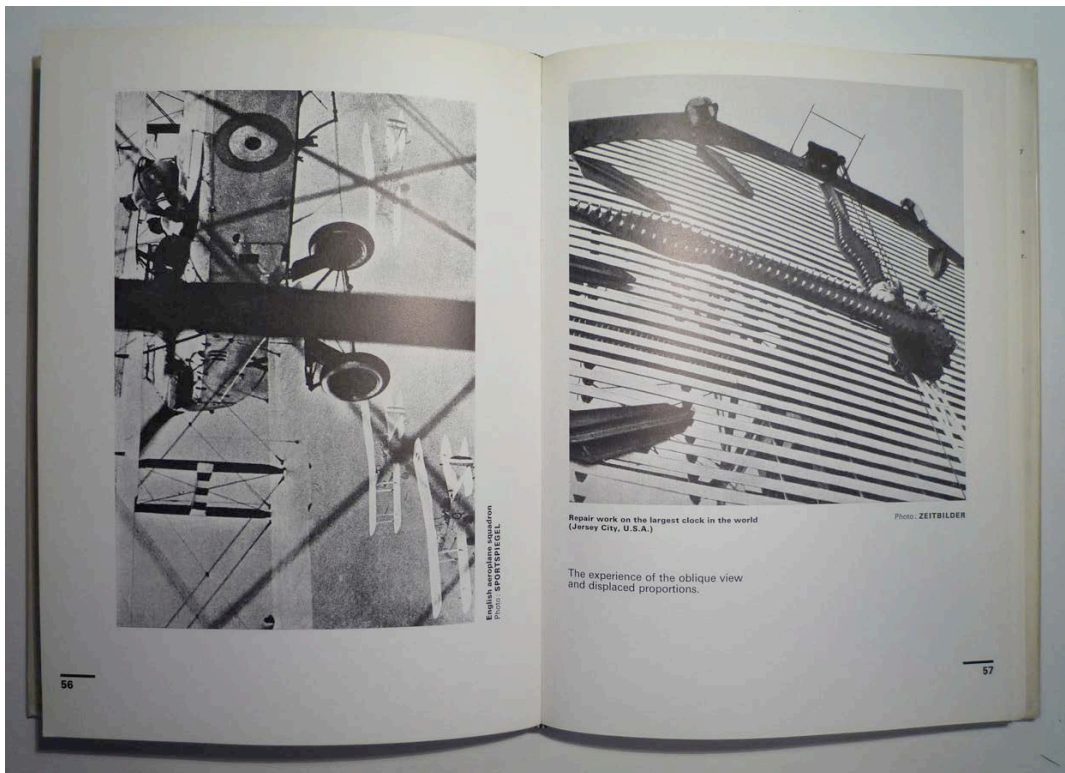
6.1 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 50-51.



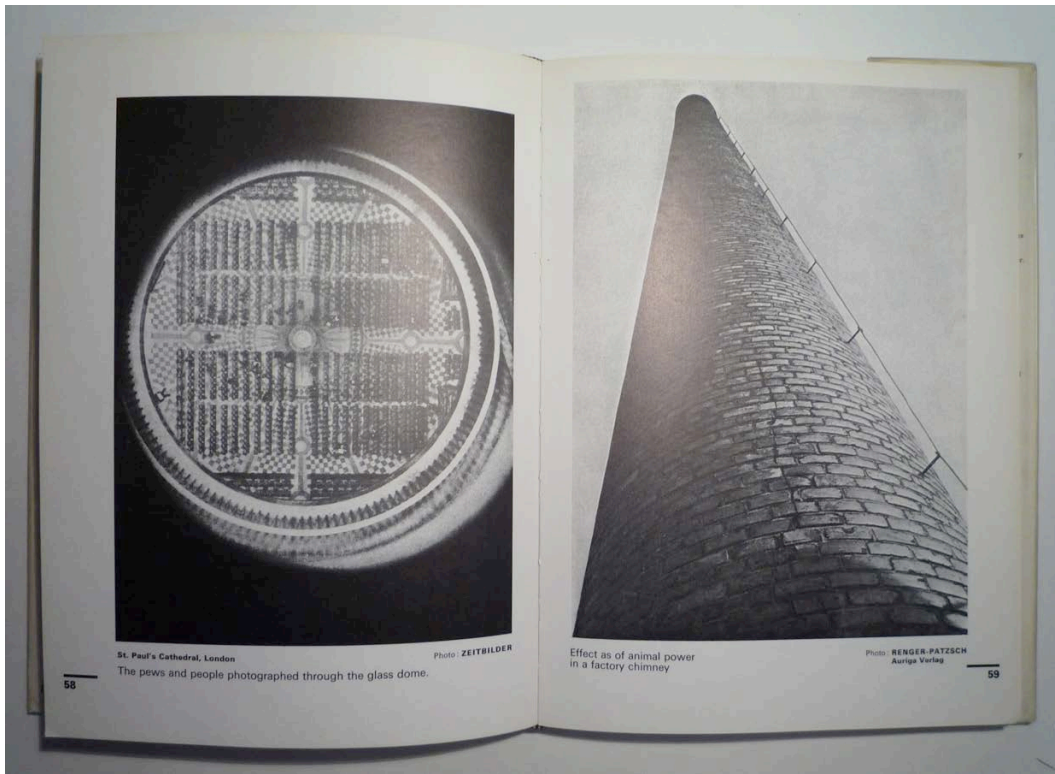
6.2 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 52-53.



6.3 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 54-55.



6.4 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 56-57.

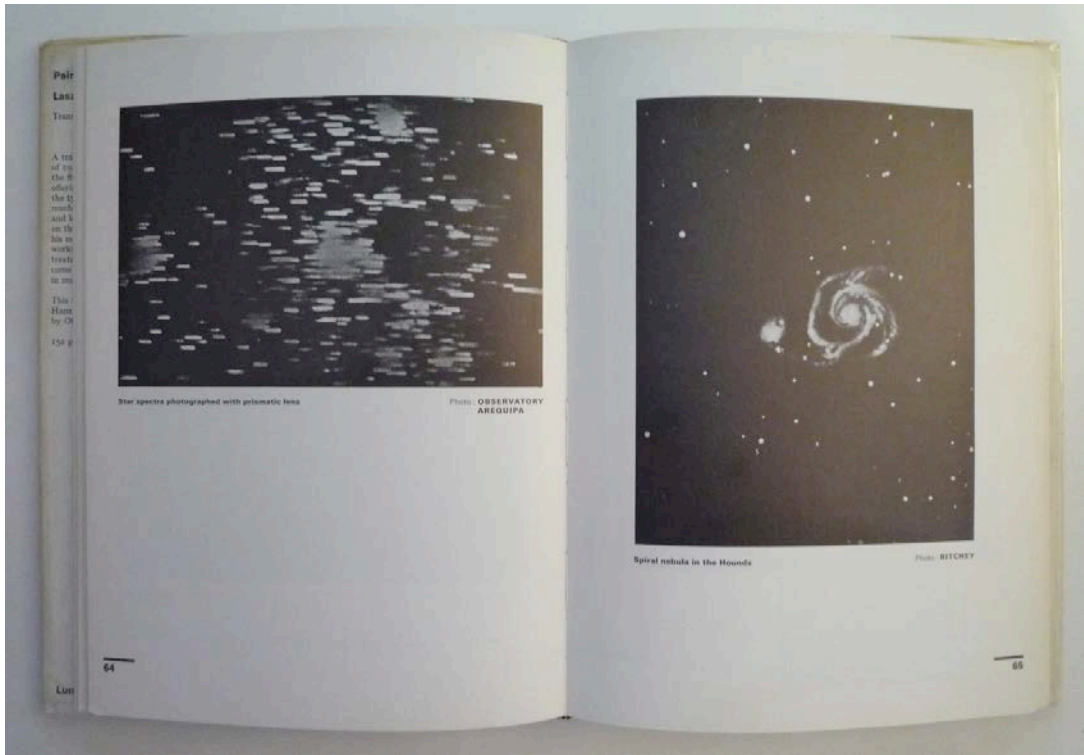


6.5 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 58-59.

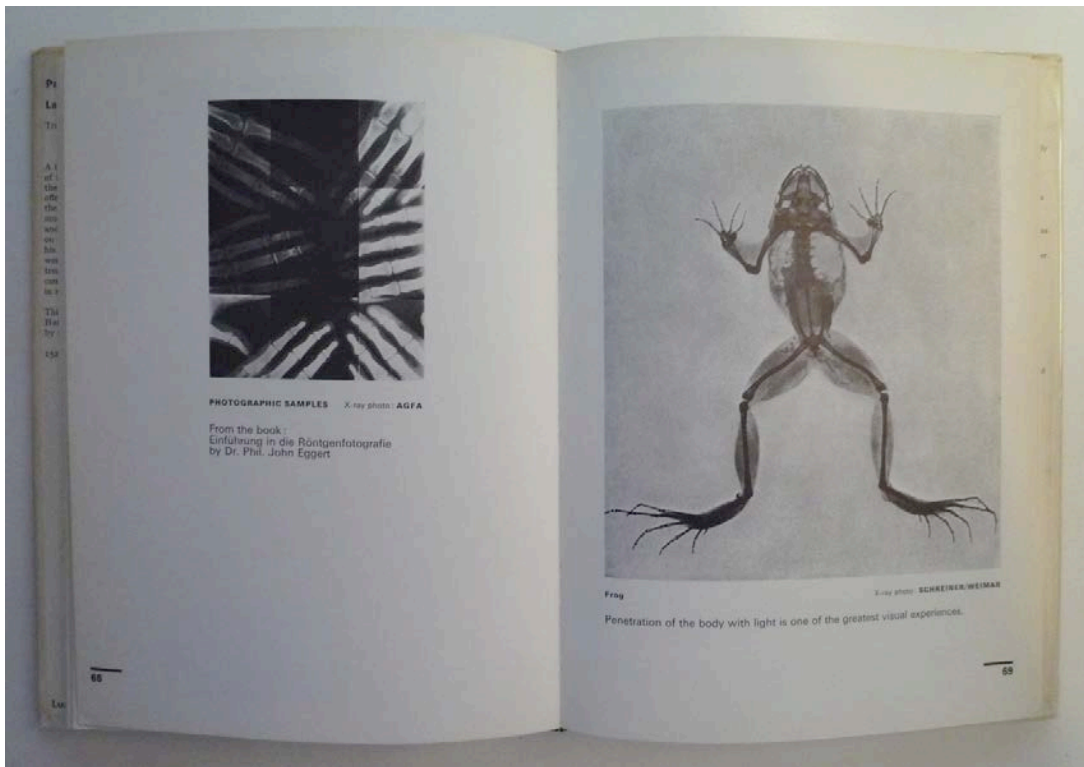


6.6 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 60-61.

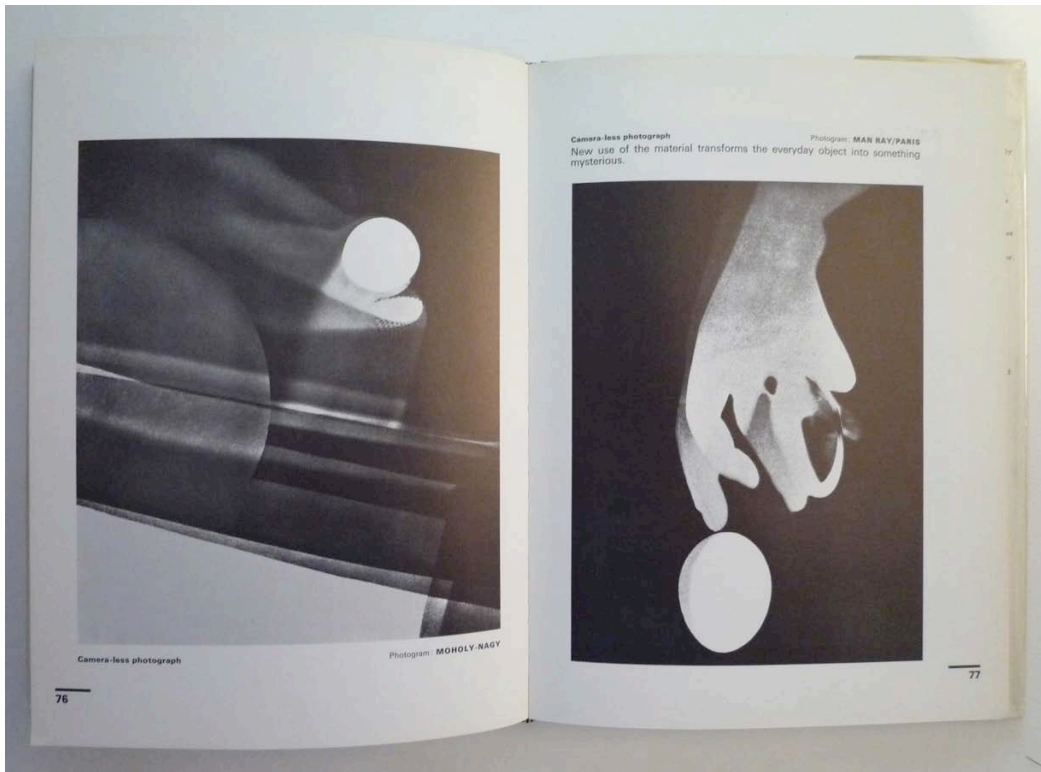




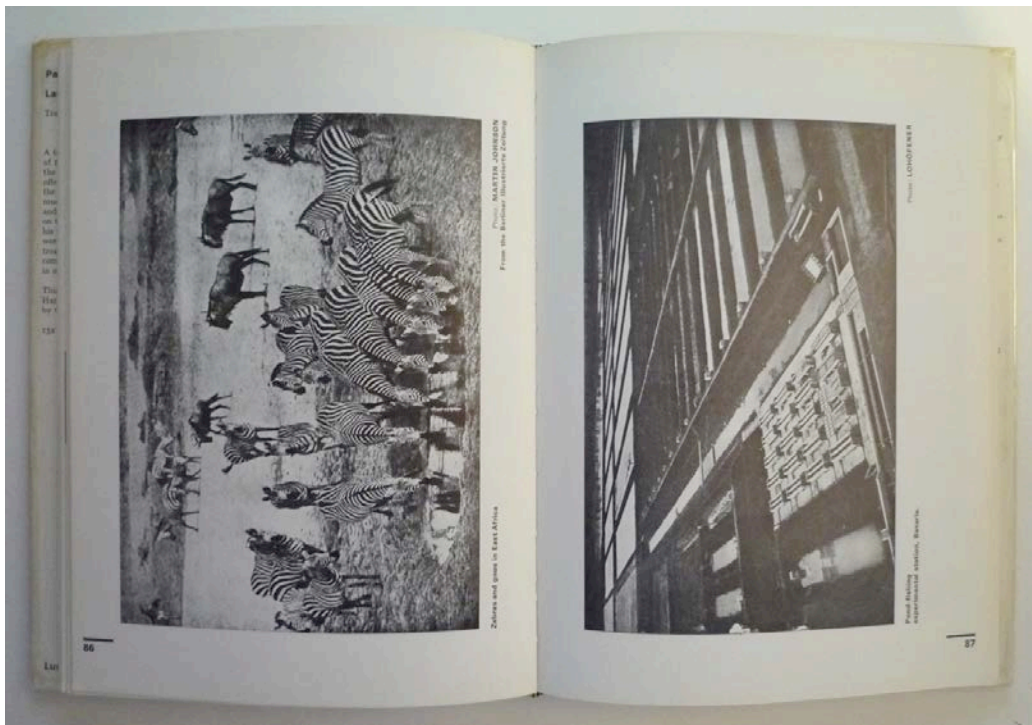
6.7 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 64-65.



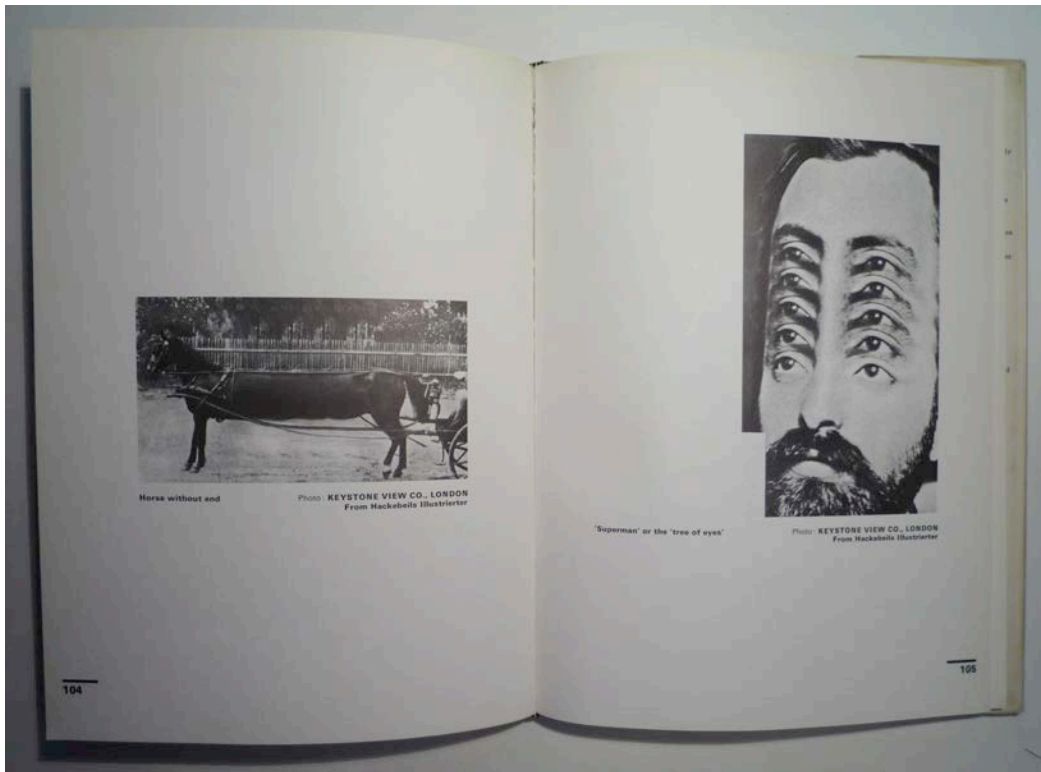
6.8 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 68-69.



6.9 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 76-77.



6.10 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 86-87.



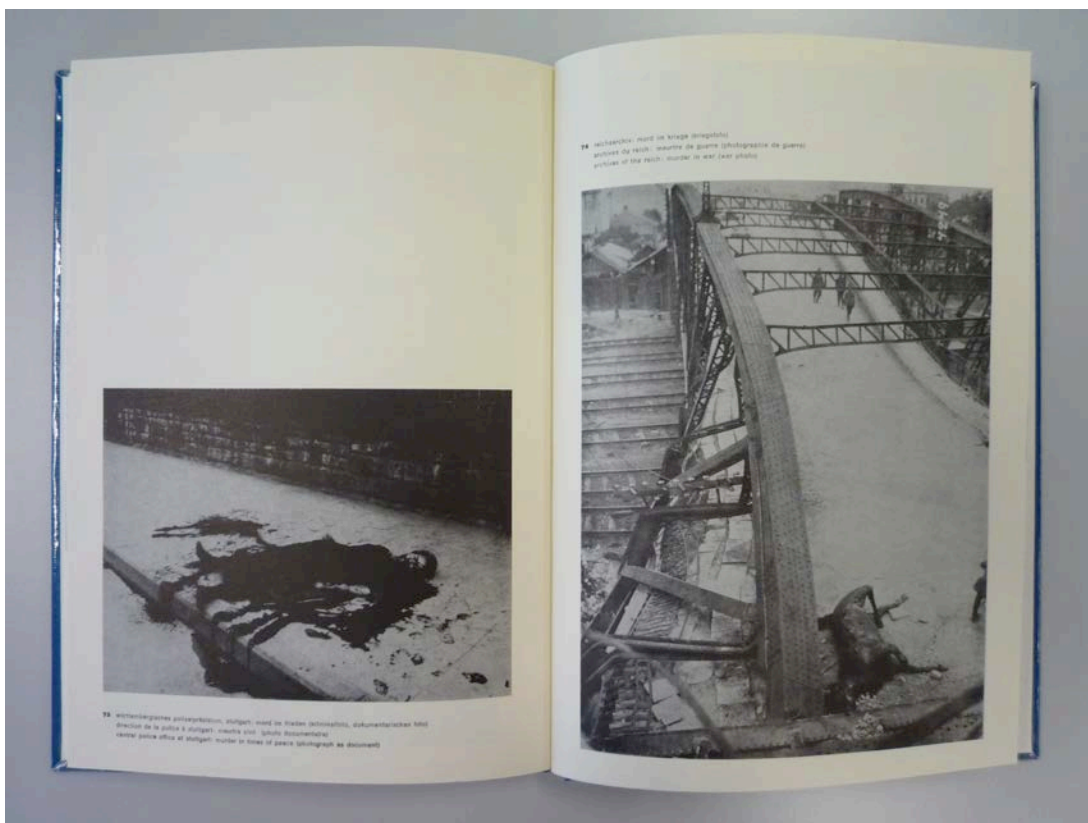
6.11 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 104-105.



6.12 *Painting, Photography, Film*, 1969 [1925], pp. 106-107.



6.13 Installation view of the *Film und Foto* exhibition, Stuttgart, 1929.



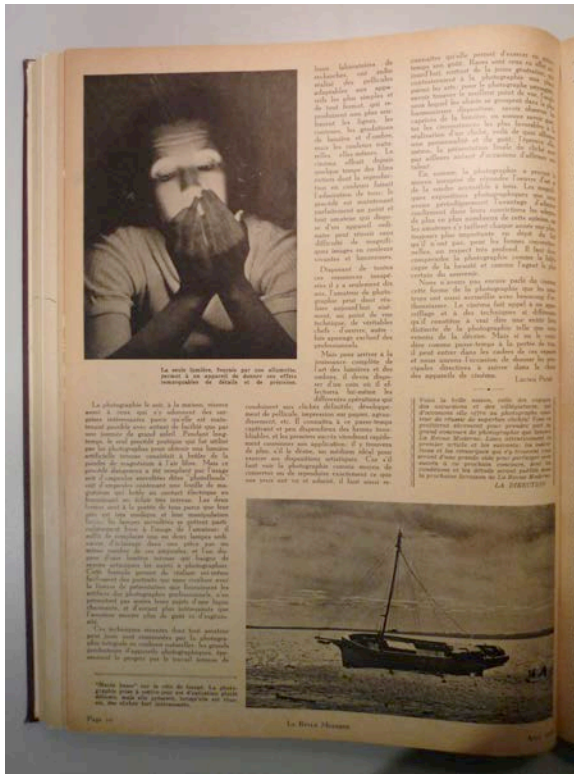
6.14 *Foto-Auge/Œil et photo/Photo-Eye*, 1973 [1929], n.p.



6.15 Cover of Albert Renger-Patzsch's 1928 book *Die Welt ist schön*.



6.16 Lucien Piché, "L'Art de la photographie," *La Revue moderne*, April 1938, pp. 8-9.



6.17 Lucien Piché, "L'Art de la photographie," *La Revue moderne*, April 1938, p. 10.



6.18 Fernand de Verneuil, "Si nos yeux ...," *Le Samedi*, August 24, 1935, p. 3.



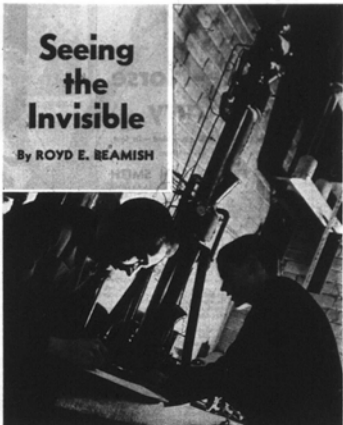
6.19 Louis Roland, "Le Centenaire de la photographie," *Le Samedi*, June 3, 1939, pp. 4-5.



6.20 "1/100,000 de seconde," *Le Samedi*, October 19, 1940, p. (c). Photographs: Harold E. Edgerton.

Making the invisible visible, two young Canadians have developed an electron microscope which magnifies a grain of sand to the size of a 10-story building and penetrates a barrier which has baffled men since the beginning of time

MATCHING stride with the most brilliant progress in Europe, two young University of Toronto graduate students have developed in the past eighteen months a major achievement of revolutionary importance to the world of science...



Seeing the Invisible By ROYD E. BEAMISH

The electron microscope in the McLaughlin Laboratory, University of Toronto, with its builders, Albert Pruss, Edmonton, Alta. (left), and James Hillier, Bradford, Ont. (right).

This is a world beyond the range of light and shadow—a world whose largest object is smaller than the minutest organism ever seen before, and it is a world that may hold the answer to questions which science only yesterday believed impossible to answer.

In 1926 the first German electron microscope had been developed to a state of practical efficiency, but beyond the ordinary utilization of electron beams for light rays as a means of illumination, it showed little to excite the imagination.

At the University of Toronto, a similar structure, as yet but slightly roughly built of heavy brass, cast iron and copper, is being added progressively to the special microscope which is being constructed in the laboratory.

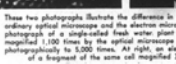
In the early 1930's a group of German scientists, observing the possibility of electron beams being used as a means of illumination, began to work on the development of an electron microscope.

Left: One thousandth of an inch of a woman's cutting edge magnified 25,000 times. Right: Blood serum magnified 15,000 times. The dark crystal masses, from bacteria, at the back of the film, resemble dark particles, even visible in light.

6.21 Royd E. Beamish, "Seeing the Invisible," Maclean's, April 1, 1939, p. 9.

Seeing the Invisible

Continued from page 9... the age of twenty-one, the two young men have made experiments of their own. Their research consisted of the discovery of a device...



These two photographs illustrate the difference in power between the ordinary optical microscope and the electron microscope. At left is a photograph of a single-edged fresh water glass which the diffraction magnified 1,100 times by the optical microscope and photographically to 1,500 times. At right, an electron photograph of a fragment of the same cut magnified 25,000 times.

Further, but already a substance refractive, magnifying power and distance of adjustment which has become almost the two young scientists have measured the individual working power...

NOTE: Since the seventeenth century, when the first crude optical microscope was revealed the presence of living organisms including smaller than the...

Advertisement for EASY Vacuum-Cup Washers. Features include: 'Now... the COMPLETE HOME LAUNDRY', 'WASHES, RINSES, DRIES', 'Sensational New EASY WRINGERLESS WASHER... EXTRA HOURS OF TIME... Does all the Work!', 'There's a crying need in every Canadian home for this new EASY Wringerless Washer...', 'EASY Vacuum-Cup Washers', 'See this Sensational New CLEANER The EASY Hogwash Blaster'.

6.22 Royd E. Beamish, "Seeing the Invisible," Maclean's, April 1, 1939, p. 45.



### 3 VACATIONS in 1 in these Low-Cost All-Expense Tours

## Lake Louise and Emerald Lake

# Banff Canadian Rockies

Three glorious mountain playgrounds are blended into one of the world's greatest scenic spots—the heart of Banff with its beautiful lakes. The charm of Lake Louise with its serene life and Alpine trails. And exquisite Emerald Lake, like a Swiss village in the Alps. Enjoy golf, swimming, tennis, riding, hiking, climbing or keen, clear mountain air—also, game and concert orchestras.

From Rocky Mountaineer Excursion Train.

### New Columbia ICEFIELD HIGHWAY

From Lake Louise, takes you through the heart of the Rockies to the most magnificent mountain peaks.

### Canadian Rockies All-Expense 2 week

2 Glaciers Days... \$175.00  
4 Lakeside Days... \$195.00  
7 Wonderful Days... \$215.00

From June 1st to June 15th at Banff or Lake Louise and Emerald Lake. Includes all meals, travel, and accommodations.

## Alaska

In the heart of the Mid-Pacific Sea and some of the most majestic scenery in the world. From June 1st to June 15th at Banff or Lake Louise and Emerald Lake. Includes all meals, travel, and accommodations.

From June 1st to June 15th at Banff or Lake Louise and Emerald Lake. Includes all meals, travel, and accommodations.

WORLD'S GREATEST TRAVEL SYSTEM

6.23 Royd E. Beamish, "Seeing the Invisible," *Maclean's*, April 1, 1939, p. 46.

## New! Beech-Nut MENTHOL COUGH DROPS

Cool Quick Relief for your throat.

5¢

### GET THIS PILL!

Poisonous FATIGUE ACIDS make Muscles ACHÉ!

For Quick Relief: **Flush them out!**

ABSORBINE JR. A NUGGET SHINE GOES PLACES

NUGGET YOUR SHOES DAILY

Maclean's Magazine, April 1, 1939

There is a magnitude of this discovery... The more fortunate of living also... The new adventures became their own...

### OPPORTUNITY PASS YOU BY

Advertisement text for business opportunities.

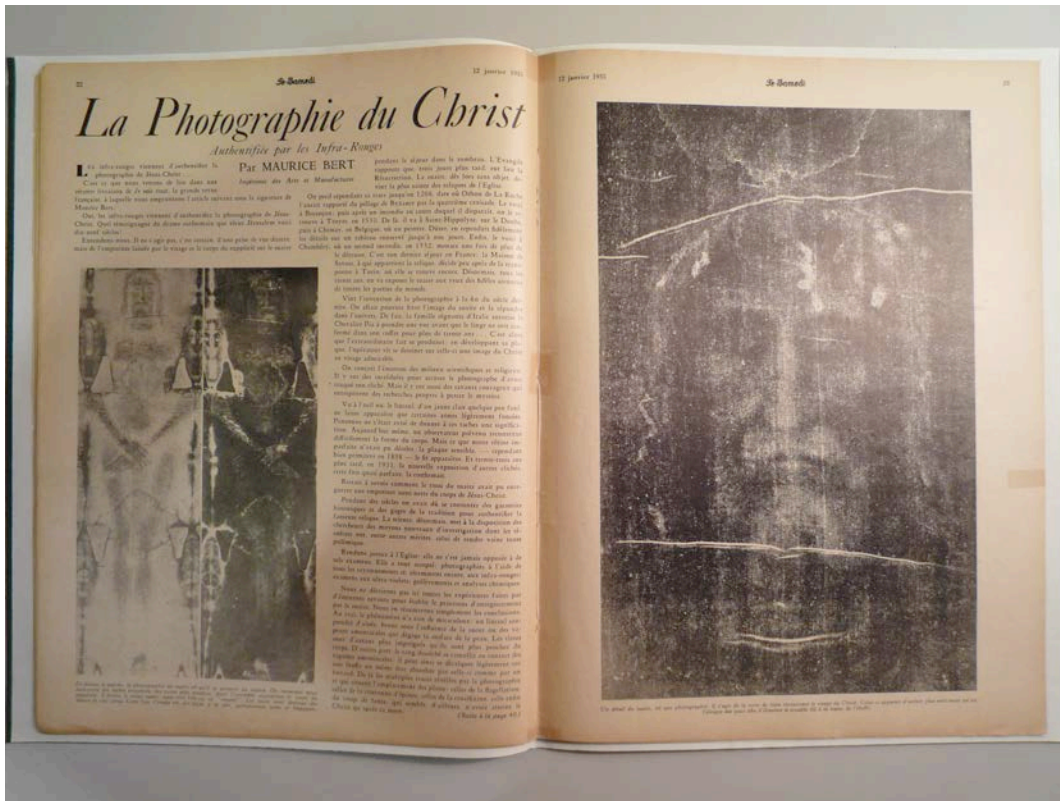
### THE HARD WAY

Advertisement text for a product or service.

6.24 Royd E. Beamish, "Seeing the Invisible," *Maclean's*, April 1, 1939, p. 48.







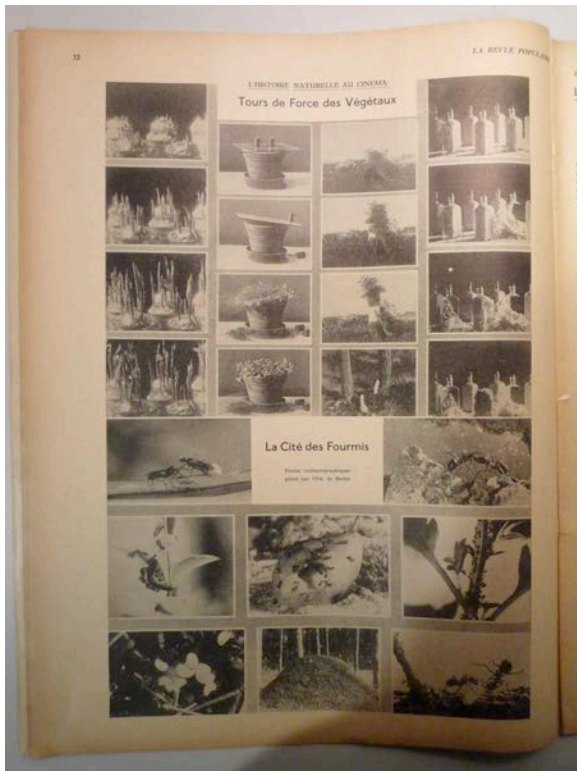
6.29 Maurice Bert, "La Photographie du Christ," *Le Samedi*, January 12, 1935, pp. 22-23.



6.30 Maurice Bert, "La Photographie du Christ," *Le Samedi*, January 12, 1935, p. 40.



6.31 Pierre LeBaron, "Ce que l'on invente," *La Revue moderne*, November 1942, pp. 16-17.



6.32 "L'Histoire naturelle au cinéma," *La Revue populaire*, February 1936, p. 12. Photographs: UFA.

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LES SEIGNEURS DE LA MONTAGNE

### Existences Dévoilées

**Les prodiges de la météorologie.**  
 Les A. de la météo dévoilent les secrets de l'été.  
 Que savez-vous des Météorologistes?  
 Les météorologistes ont pour but de nous renseigner sur le temps qu'il fera demain, la semaine prochaine, le mois prochain, l'année prochaine. Ils nous donnent ainsi un aperçu de ce qui nous attend. Les météorologistes ont pour but de nous renseigner sur le temps qu'il fera demain, la semaine prochaine, le mois prochain, l'année prochaine. Ils nous donnent ainsi un aperçu de ce qui nous attend.

L'AGENT DE CIRCONCRIPTION  
 "Passez votre temps à surveiller les autres." — L'AGENT

**CIGARETTES SWEET CAPORAL**

"La phrase la plus pure que l'anglais ait jamais dite." — L'AGENT

### UN ROMAN COMPLET

par semaine

#### LE SAMEDI

● L'un des plus importants romans parus récemment est le roman de grand succès **LE SAMEDI** de Louis Bédou, un roman d'actualité qui nous fait connaître les conditions de la vie d'un ouvrier.

● Le plus de **LE SAMEDI** est un roman remarquablement écrit. **LE SAMEDI** nous apporte une grande enquête sur la vie de nos contemporains. Le roman est écrit par Louis Bédou, le roman est écrit par Louis Bédou, le roman est écrit par Louis Bédou.

**LE SAMEDI**  
 par Louis BÉDOU

6.33 "Existences dévoilées," *La Revue populaire*, May 1936, p. 55. Photographs: UFA.

36

LE SAMEDI

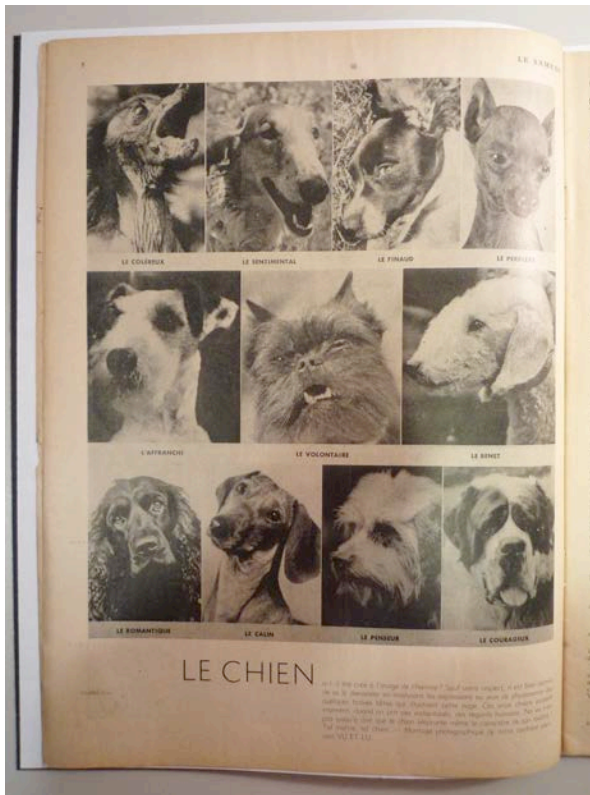
## Mascarade ou Cauchemar ?

### Non, la vie normale et naturelle

L'HOMME  
 N'EST JAMAIS  
 FAIT MEUX  
 OU PIRE

En attendant de trouver enfin l'homme normal et naturel, il faut d'abord se débarrasser de ces mascarades et de ces cauchemars qui nous empêchent de vivre. Le plus grand malheur de l'homme est de se comparer à ce qu'il n'est pas. Il faut accepter ce que l'on est, et se contenter de la vie normale et naturelle.

6.34 "Mascarade ou cauchemar? Non, la vie normale et naturelle," *Le Samedi*, May 14, 1938, p. 36.



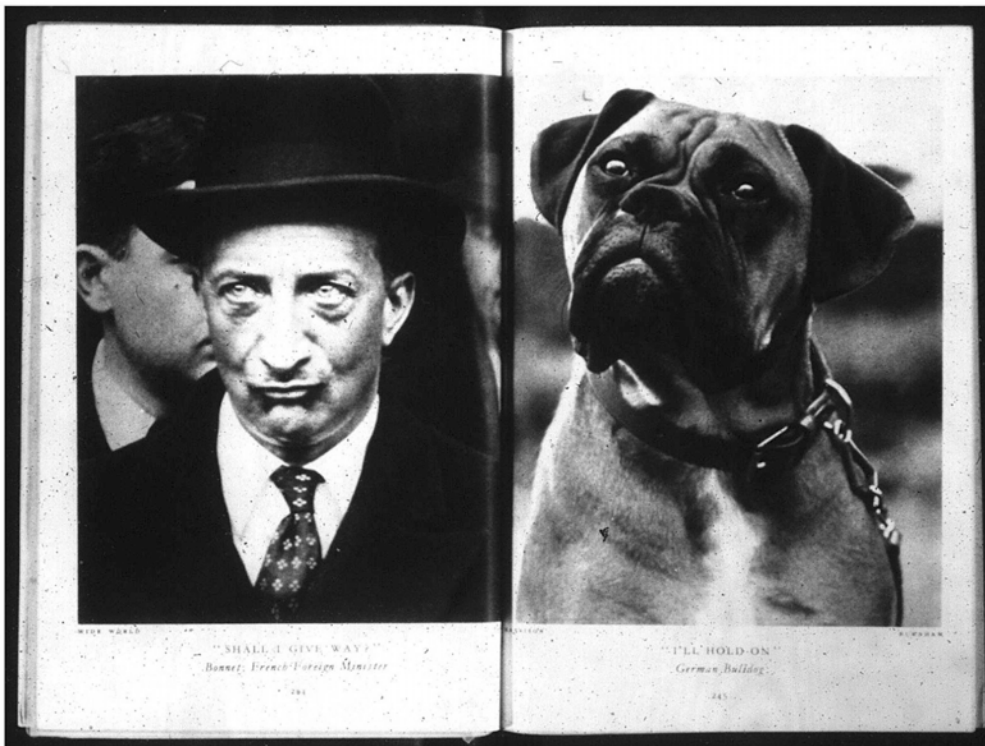
6.35 “Le Chien,” *Le Samedi*, November 13, 1937, p. 8.



6.36 “Autres têtes, mêmes expressions,” *Le Samedi*, May 13, 1939, p. 12.



6.37 *Lilliput*, March 1939, pp. 240-241.



6.38 *Lilliput*, March 1939, pp. 244-245.





6.39 *Lilliput*, February 1939, pages unknown.



6.40 "À propos de singes," *Le Samedi*, February 17, 1940, pp. 4-5.



6.41 "Canada's Fighting Forces," *Maclean's*, January 15, 1940, p. 7.



6.42 "Nos officiers et soldats ont droit à leur solde... et même à plus forte solde," *Le Samedi*, July 13, 1940, p. 6.



6.43 "Poison Gas – Manufacture... for Murder," *The Canadian Magazine*, November 1937, pp. 24-25.



6.44 "Things to Come," *The Canadian Magazine*, October 1937, p. 1.

14 Maclean's Magazine, April 15, 1937

# Beverley Baxter's

## LONDON LETTER

### Were London Bombed

**M**ORE OF THE problems of human life for the world are being solved. London is larger than Toronto. When we are in London we are not in the city, but in the country. London is a city of the sea, and the sea is the life of London. London is a city of the sea, and the sea is the life of London. London is a city of the sea, and the sea is the life of London.

The other night my wife and I went to the theatre. The theatre is a city of the sea, and the sea is the life of London. London is a city of the sea, and the sea is the life of London. London is a city of the sea, and the sea is the life of London.

**Gas Masks and Candles**

SPENT a ghastly hour yesterday afternoon in the presence of the gas masks and candles. The moment of the gas masks and candles is a moment of the sea, and the sea is the life of London. London is a city of the sea, and the sea is the life of London.



A. BEVERLEY BAXTER, M.P.

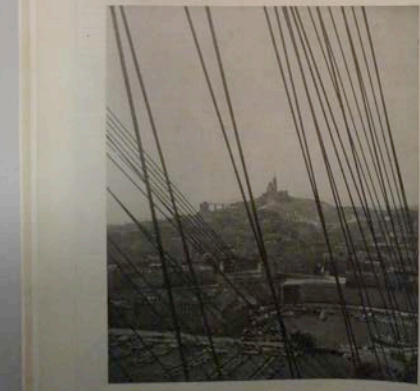



6.45 Beverley Baxter, "Were London Bombed," *Maclean's*, April 15, 1937, p. 14.

24 La Revue Populaire

... La Belgique trop pauvre...  
... La Belgique trop pauvre...  
... La Belgique trop pauvre...

... La Belgique trop pauvre...  
... La Belgique trop pauvre...  
... La Belgique trop pauvre...



**MARSEILLE**  
Port de Mer

6.46 *La Revue populaire*, August 1939, p. 24. Photograph: Services Nationaux du Tourisme français.



6.47 "Renaissance de la bécane," *La Revue populaire*, p. 10. Photograph: Conrad Poirier.



6.48 *La Revue populaire*, May 1938, p. 42.



6.49 "École de vacances pour jeunes filles," *La Revue populaire*, June 1937, pp. 38-39. Photographs: PIX.

22—The Canadian Magazine, June, 1933

## THEY ALL WELCOMED BARLOW IN A FOURSOME . . . BUT NOBODY LIKED TO FOLLOW HIM IN THE SHOWER



Don't try to do it with "ATHLETE'S FOOT" unless you're an expert!

**ABSORBINE JR.**  
 For years has relieved sore muscles, bruises, cuts, abrasions, sprains, insect bites, rashes, burns.

**HERSHE'S FOOT**  
 The unbearable itches, stings, and burns that afflict the feet of athletes and other active people. It is caused by a fungus that grows in the warm, moist environment of the shoe. It is not a disease, but a condition that can be cured by the use of Absorbine Jr. It is a powerful and safe remedy of a potent nature that will kill the germ and prevent its return. It is the only medicine that will cure the itching and burning of the feet. It is the only medicine that will cure the itching and burning of the feet. It is the only medicine that will cure the itching and burning of the feet.

**Be wary of complications**  
 The common mistake is to use a remedy that is not powerful enough to kill the germ. This will only make the condition worse. Absorbine Jr. is a powerful and safe remedy that will cure the itching and burning of the feet. It is the only medicine that will cure the itching and burning of the feet. It is the only medicine that will cure the itching and burning of the feet.

**Use Absorbine Jr. to Kill the germ of "Athlete's Foot"**  
 Lotion and cream.

6.50 "... nobody liked to follow him in the shower ...," advertisement for Absorbine Junior, *The Canadian Magazine*, June 1933, p. 22.

24—The Canadian Magazine, July, 1933

## HIS HEART QUICKENED AT THE SOFT FRAGRANCE OF HER CHEEKS . . . BUT HER SHOES HID A SORRY CASE OF ATHLETE'S FOOT



PIONEERING THE OCEAN LANES  
 (Continued from page 14)

**ABSORBINE JR.**  
 For years has relieved sore muscles, bruises, cuts, abrasions, sprains, insect bites, rashes, burns.

**WORTHY OF COMMENDATION**  
 The story of the life of the late Mrs. J. W. ...

**Be wary of complications**  
 The common mistake is to use a remedy that is not powerful enough to kill the germ. This will only make the condition worse. Absorbine Jr. is a powerful and safe remedy that will cure the itching and burning of the feet. It is the only medicine that will cure the itching and burning of the feet. It is the only medicine that will cure the itching and burning of the feet.

6.51 "Her shoes hid a sorry case of athlete's foot," advertisement for Absorbine Junior, *The Canadian Magazine*, July 1933, p. 24.

The Canadian Magazine, August, 1933 — 25

### Clever Crochet

From Pain comes this novel note—crochet you own and be different!

By JANE DEAN

When I was a child, I was told that pain was a good thing. It was a sign that you were growing up. It was a sign that you were strong. It was a sign that you were brave. It was a sign that you were different. It was a sign that you were clever. It was a sign that you were a crocheter.

... (text continues) ...

### SHE WAS A WHIRLWIND ON THE TENNIS COURT . . . BUT ASHAMED TO GET OUT ON THE BEACH



Don't try to copy "ATHLETE'S FOOT" with Absorbine Junior. Get the real thing.

... (text continues) ...

### ABSORBINE JR.

MADE IN CANADA

For Sunburn, Tans, Eye Irritation, Itching Skin, Stomach, Jr. is cooling and healing. Get yours. Pleasant to use.

6.52 "Ashamed to get out on the beach," advertisement for Absorbine Junior, *The Canadian Magazine*, August 1933, p. 25.

# INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG DES DEUTSCHEN WERKBUNDS

# FILM UND FOTO



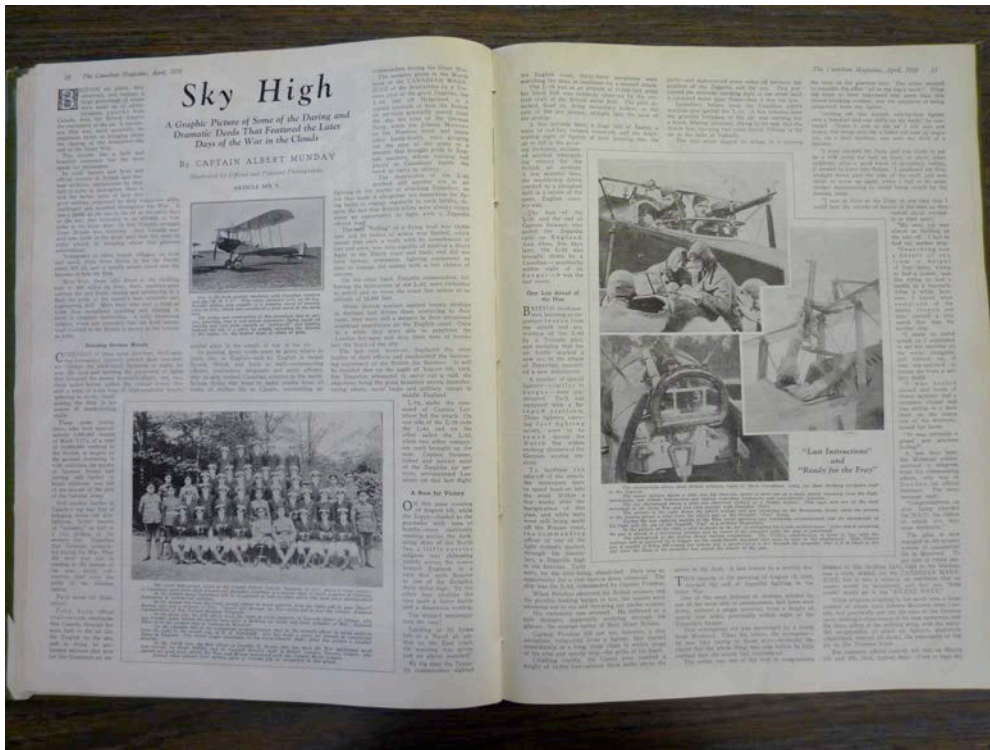
STUTTGART 1929

FOTO-AUSSTELLUNG VOM 18. MAI BIS 7. JULI  
IN DEN NEUEN AUSSTELLUNGSHALLEN AUF DEM INTERTHEATERPLATZ

FILM-SONDERVORFÜHRUNGEN VOM 13. BIS 26. JUNI  
IN DEN KÖNIGSBAULICHTSPIELEN

6.53 Poster for the *Film und Foto* exhibition, Stuttgart, 1929.





6.54 "Sky High," *The Canadian Magazine*, April 1928, pp. 20-21.



6.55 "The Sky's the Limit," *The Canadian Magazine*, November 1933, p. 16.



6.56 "Le 50<sup>e</sup> anniversaire du 'Samedi,'" *La Revue populaire*, June 1938, p. 29.



6.57 "Le port de Montréal," *Le Samedi*, June 11, 1938, pp. 8-9.



6.58 *Le Samedi*, April 10, 1937, cover. Photograph: Mark Auger.

adversaire de tout à l'heure, et l'entraînant par le bras :

— Allez, ouste ! Suzanne. Allons nous faire abreuver au buffet par le petit Lirieux. Je meurs de soif, moi.

Une minute Pierre et Françoise se trouverent seuls face à face, un peu isolés de la foule dans ce coin du salon.

Il prit sa main, et jouant machinalement avec l'anneau d'or tout neuf :

— Françoise, est-ce vrai, dit-il, vous ne savez pas encore bien ce qu'est aimer, ma chérie ! Et cette soif de possession absolue, sans partage sans limites... Et ce besoin d'avoir à soi seul, rien qu'à soi, l'être qu'on aime...

Un reproche léger glissait dans la voix, dans les beaux yeux ardents. Malicieuse, Françoise eut un demi-sourire et, très bas :

— Pierre ? Ne croyez-vous pas qu'il serait l'heure de partir ? Un rayonnement illumina le visage mâle.

— Ah ! Je me trompais, chérie ! Oui, partons, partons vite, laissons

tous ces êtres qui ne sont même pas des indifférents, mais des ennemis pour la plupart... Oui, des ennemis jaloux de votre beauté, de votre grâce, de votre amour, de ma situation, de l'autorité de votre oncle, de ma fortune, de tout ce que nous possédons de rare et de bon ! Venez vite !

Il l'entraîna par la main. Doucement, tristement, Françoise dit en jetant un regard vers la cobue qu'ils fuyaient :

— Oui... on mesure sa félicité aux envieux qu'on se découvre... Eh bien ! mon Pierre, nous devons être bien heureux, car en parlant avec vous, j'ai l'impression de ne laisser ici que deux personnes qui n'aiment : père et Mésange.

#### Chapitre VI

FRANÇOISE, dit Pierre, de cette voix basse et chaude qu'elle ne lui connaissait qu'à peine. N'est-ce pas qu'il est joli, notre « chez nous » ? N'est-ce pas que nous y serons heureux, bien heureux ?...

— Bien heureux... répéta Françoise, appuyée à son épaule.

Une clarté rosée dépençée par les petits abat-jour des flambeaux Louis XVI donnait à ce minuscule boudoir appartenant à la chambre de la jeune femme, cette accueillante physionomie discrète et douce des lieux où le vrai bonheur doit éclore.

Les meubles, adorables de grâce légère et surannée, avaient été dénigrés par Pierre Larnac, amateur éclairé, un à un chez les antiquaires, parmi les collections dispersées, au cours des mois qui avaient précédé leur mariage.

Tout ceci semblait avoir été réuni, assemblé, disposé par la tendresse même de ce grand garçon robuste et fort qui devenait le plus empressé des enfants ou le plus empressé des pages pour satisfaire aux caprices de sa dame.

Surprise délicieusement, Françoise découvrait, depuis leur exquis tête à tête, un Pierre qu'elle ne connaissait pas, et dont la joie cessait d'être exubérante pour devenir religieuse

par brusques bouffées pour se mouvoir à nouveau en enfantillage espagnol.

Depuis le commencement de ce petit souper préparé pour eux dans la solitude de la maison désertée, elle éprouvait une espèce d'émerveillement à le trouver si jeune, si charmant, avec des délicatesses infinies des attentions si tendres.

Tout s'abolissait autour d'elle. Seul lui semblait demeurer au monde, ce petit boudoir suranné qui servait de cadre, d'abri et d'écrin à la plus merveilleuse aventure : l'amour de Pierre et de Françoise.

— Bien heureux ! répétait-elle, serrée contre son cœur, tandis qu'il s'amusait à baiser un à un les doigts roses sur le petit miroir poli de cristal que ongle. Oh ! oui...

Mais ses yeux attachés à la minuscule pendule eurent soudain un éclair, un angoisse.

— Onze heures moins dix : Jean ! Les chèques ! L'argent !...

Tout renaissait d'un seul coup dans son esprit affolé. Hélas ! l'enchantement était fini ! Rompu le cercle magique qui les isolait du reste du monde et où elle eût voulu demeurer tous les jours, toujours...

La vie, tout entière, retomba sur le cœur de Françoise avec un poids écrasant.

Quoi ? Pas même un répit de quelques heures, d'un soir... Pas même comme les autres l'illusion du bonheur solitaire, cette nuit...

Pauvre Françoise !

Sur ses ongles, cependant, vint toujours l'émerveillement des baisers légers... Contre son épaule, elle sent cette épaule protectrice, près de son cœur elle entend ce cœur qui lui appartient...

Et tant de choses déjà la séparent de tout cela, de l'enchantement de la minute précédente... tant de choses qui font entre eux une barrière de mystère ténue, mais infranchissable.

— Mon amour, vous ne savez pas... je vous aimais bien avant que vous me connaissiez, bien avant de vous connaître... J'avais découvert, figurez-vous, ma Françoise, un petit Nartier, chez un antiquaire de Mortagne qui en ignorait au juste la valeur, et ce tableau que j'avais rapporté chez moi précieusement, ce tableau que je regardais, que j'admirais sans cesse, dont le sourire poursuivait mes songes... c'était vraiment votre portrait, chérie ! Il a vos beaux yeux de lumière et de douceur, si clairs, si limpides, dans lesquels on lit comme à livre ouvert toutes les pensées.

Et, les yeux fixés sur la pendule, elle est déchirée par cette pensée raturante :

— Mais je vais lui mentir ! Il faut que je lui mente !

— Ma Françoise, ce portrait de vous que j'ai admiré, adoré bien avant de vous avoir vue, c'est devant vous seulement, devant votre grâce, que j'ai compris soudain le prix que j'y attachais... Voulez-vous le voir ?

C'est à peine, pour le moment, qu'elle aperçoit, comme à travers un brouillard, le visage tendre qui se penche, le regard ardent qui la questionne, surpris.

— Voulez-vous, chérie ? Je l'ai fait apporter et mettre dans votre chambre, tantôt. C'est une surprise... Je voulais que ce soit le sourire de cette petite merveille qui vous accueillît ici.

Onze heures moins trois.

LA PREMIÈRE PROMENADE DU PROJETÉ  
ÉPIQUE DE G. L. HAWKINS



6.59 La Revue populaire, April 1938, p. 24. Photograph: G. L. Hawkins.



6.60 "Tout le monde lit La Revue populaire," advertisement for *La Revue populaire*, *Le Samedi*, July 6, 1935, p. 42.