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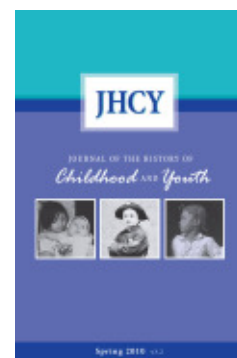
Photographs of the Child in Canadian Pictorial from 1906 to 1916 A Reflection of the Ideas and Values of English Canadians about Themselves and "Other" Canadians

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LOREN LERNER

PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE CHILD IN CANADIAN PICTORIAL FROM 1906 TO 1916: A REFLECTION OF THE IDEAS AND VALUES OF ENGLISH CANADIANS ABOUT THEMSELVES AND “OTHER” CANADIANS

This study focuses on the many photographs of children published in *Canadian Pictorial*, an illustrated English-language magazine produced monthly in Montreal between 1906 and 1916 by the Pictorial Publishing Company. In its ten-year run, the magazine strongly advocated “the educational value of pictures” and exalted the advantages of photography for depicting a wide variety of subjects and themes of “peculiar and vital interest to Canadians.” Three years into its publication, the editors boasted that *Canadian Pictorial* was “Canada’s Popular National Illustrated Magazine” with subscribers from every part of the country, as well as from the British Isles and the United States. “In its chosen field” the magazine was a “leading educator,” reaching “nearly a hundred and fifty thousand people, old and young . . . regularly taking pleasure and profit from its pictures, month by month.”¹

The editors insisted that this “high-class illustrated periodical,” which featured photographs of people of all ages taking part in all kinds of events, had become to Canadians “what the *Graphic* and *Illustrated London News* are to Great Britain.”² However, unlike these two weekly British journals, which contained editorial comments, feature-length reports, summaries of social events, and other articles typical of a newspaper, *Canadian Pictorial*, with its emphasis on pictures of children, obviously catered to the Canadian family. Besides brief captions that accompanied the photos and a cursory overview of news and views, every issue featured regular columns such as “Women and Her Interests,” “The Toilet and the Baby,” and “The Housekeeper’s Page,” and occasionally the magazine printed short stories that mothers could read to their children.

In fact, much like the British and American women's magazines such as *Ladies Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* that proliferated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *Canadian Pictorial* was dedicated to imprinting the public's consciousness with specific ideas about family life.³ This endeavor was in keeping not only with women's magazines but with other genres that interpreted social and cultural values, including etiquette and "conduct" books and treatises on homemaking. Further, although the editors and most of the writers of *Canadian Pictorial* were anonymous, they generally embodied the voice of English Canadians of British origin. I argue that the goal of the magazine was to uphold the ideals of Canada's Anglo-Saxon Protestant citizens who originated from Great Britain and to educate Canadians from non-British backgrounds to be like them. The magazine was strongly affiliated with two similar publications, *Montreal Witness*, "a clean newspaper" and "by far the most influential paper in Canada," and *Northern Messenger*, a religious journal meant to be read by the whole family. The close relationship between the periodicals could be detected in the advertising section of *Canadian Pictorial*, where advertisements for the magazine were usually placed alongside promotions for *Northern Messenger* and *Witness*.⁴ The expectation was that readers would recognize that *Canadian Pictorial's* values and opinions were consistent with the characteristics of these other publications.

Many types of children are presented in *Canadian Pictorial's* images, including royal children, boys and girls in rural environments, French Canadians, recent immigrants, and First Nations and Inuit people. For the purposes of this essay, the method of examining these images involves an iconographic and iconological theoretical framework based on Erwin Panofsky's explanation of how to interpret the content of images.⁵ In his writings, he makes a distinction between iconography, which is the subject matter of the images, and iconology, which is the interpretation of the works. He explains that images can be explored using a systematic outlook organized into three levels. The first consists of the basic identification of the image and the historical conditions and events that affected its forms. The second consists of the iconographical analysis, in which particular images are associated with themes, concepts, and conventional meanings that originate in the history of particular motifs. The third, which is the iconological interpretation, provides the deepest understanding of the image, particularly its symbolic value as a product of a cultural and historical environment.

The opening section of this investigation considers the first two levels: the natural or primary and the iconographic. This interpretive strategy is based on the fact that during the early 1900s, photographs of children were often

choreographed to simulate earlier portrait and genre paintings. They were also designed according to various photographic conventions that were considered to be artistic or ethnographic.⁶ For example, pictorial photography, which took root in Canada during those years, was based on the idea that photographs intended to awaken aesthetic pleasure or emotion in the viewer could be considered works of art.⁷ The assumption of this study, premised on Panofsky's emphasis on the history of image types, is that through choosing a particular type, the photographer and his clients could express their ideas and beliefs.

Also of critical importance is the iconographic analysis—what Panofsky refers to as the affiliation of an image with stories and literal sources. Since *Canadian Pictorial* is mainly pictorial, the caption associated with each image, notwithstanding its brevity, will be perceived as the writer's interpretation of the social and cultural inferences embedded in the photograph. The photograph and caption will also be compared to similar photographs and captions elsewhere in the magazine, the assumption being that meaning is strongly dependent on the repetition of like presentations and opinions.⁸ In addition, instances where photographs of children appear to be strategically placed alongside other images will be discussed to show how this interplay furnishes a particular interpretive paradigm.

The second part of this essay explores the iconological level, which links the human mind and social thought. According to Panofsky, the intrinsic meaning of an image is conditioned both by the viewer's state of being and, more importantly, by the *Weltanschauung*, namely, the worldview that determines our perception of and interaction with the world. To explore the complexities and possibilities of making a multi-faceted interpretation, two different but compatible explanations of *Canadian Pictorial's* photographs of children will be presented.

The first explanation interprets these photographs according to the social norms, attitudes, values, and beliefs that were considered appropriate by English Canadians. Underscoring this treatment is the knowledge that *Canadian Pictorial* contributors were well aware of class structure, particularly as it affected British society. Although they and many others appreciated that Canada should be a classless society with equalitarian values, writings of this era confirm that Canadians retained the class-consciousness they inherited from Great Britain.⁹ This article shows how a society that is diversified can be dominated by a social group or class that is politically, economically, and socially more powerful.¹⁰ In such an environment, social reality can readily be infused with the morals, customs, political principles, and social relationships of the dominant ruling class.

The second explanation provides another reading of these images according to the social theory developed by the French sociologist Emile Durkheim. For example, it is possible that these pictures of Canadian children, despite what they seem to communicate about hierarchical and social classifications, are part of an educational imperative to teach Canadian youth the principles of a "good society."¹¹ Durkheim's ideas, developed when France was experiencing social, political, and economic unrest due to the rise of secularism and industrial capitalism, seem to be particularly relevant to Canada during the early twentieth century, which was also undergoing significant change.

TYPES OF CHILDREN IN CANADIAN PICTORIAL

The Royal Child

Children that belonged to Great Britain's royal families and to European royal families with British relations regularly appeared in the magazine, forming the latest installment in a long tradition of royal portraiture.¹² *Canadian Pictorial* printed a steady stream of photographs of royal children in order to disseminate the complex messages these pictures contained. One of the magazine's goals was to kindle respect and admiration in the Canadian public for the "ideal family" by advancing an inspiring model of leadership. Another goal was less obvious: pictures of royal children reminded the Canadian public that they were themselves the children of Mother Britain. In this way Canadians of British ancestry continued to identify the love they felt for the royals with their feelings of tenderness for the Old Country.

Connecting middle-class English Canadian families with royalty was also part of a domestic ideology. In this chain of associations, the new Duchess of Devonshire, daughter of the former Governor General of Canada and wife of the Honorable Victor Cavendish, who became the ninth Duke of Devonshire, is presented as the ideal of the good Canadian mother (fig. 1).¹³ With a familial link to peerage whose gentility could be traced back for generations and with a decorum and moral piety that was the result of an impeccable upbringing, the Duchess and her girls were model figures for the Canadian family.

Many of the captions that accompanied the royal portraits in *Canadian Pictorial* fulfilled this same function, emphasizing not only the pedigree of the subject but attributes that connected the domestic world of aristocratic society with the English Canadian family. Beneath the photograph "Crown Princess of Sweden and Her Younger Son", the caption establishes her lineage, then states that the Duchess, who "spent a part of her girlhood in the Dominion," has "healthy, happy children, brought up simply and under the personal supervision of their parents."¹⁴ Other captions end with similar observations. Prince Edward of Wales

trains in the navy with "exactly the same regime as every other boy." The Kaiser's daughter is "a pretty modest girl of sixteen years . . . carefully brought up in a simple fashion . . . receiving a sound education, in which a knowledge of the household arts is included." Princess Mary, the fifteen-year-old daughter of King George, is "a healthy, happy girl brought up in simple fashion and fond of the outdoor life."¹⁵ In this emphasis on ideal child-rearing practices, the distinctions of the aristocracy are no longer the exclusive provenance of the powerful and privileged but attributes attainable by people of the middle class.

Thus, *Canadian Pictorial* provided its readers with a range of beautiful royal faces. These portraits usually appeared in the advice column "The Toilet and the Baby" (fig. 1), which offered concrete suggestions on how the Canadian mother could maintain her beauty by taking care of her hair, protecting her face from the sun, and making her hands smooth if they became rough. In the "baby" section of "The Toilet and the Baby," absolute cleanliness, healthy living, and the meticulous care of the child's face and body were strongly advocated. The safeguards for health in children were a suitable diet, bathing, fresh air, and refreshing sleep. "From the very first, accustom the baby to regularity in the hour of going to bed, times of feeding, bath time, and everything else."¹⁶



Figure 1. "The New Duchess of Devonshire"
Canadian Pictorial, May 1908.

Advertisements for commercial products that would satisfy these requirements appeared on the right side of the advice column or on neighboring pages. The ads, which often included illustrations of women and children, promoted beauty and household products and foods that would maintain good health. Accompanying slogans include "Princess Skin Food" for the "ladies of Canada," "a remover of wrinkles"; "Luby's Parisian Hair Renewer" to "quickly restore hair to its natural color and beauty"; "Colgate Comforts—Talc Powder" with its "antiseptic and soothing ingredients"; "Maypole Soap, The Clean, Easy Home Dye"; and "More Quaker, When Energy Flags, This is the Way to Restore It."¹⁷

With its portraits of royal children, columns like "The Toilet and the Baby," and advertisements for women, *Canadian Pictorial* provided a regimen of behavior and a model of appearance that every good English Canadian middle-class family should aspire to. In particular, the woman reader was encouraged to appreciate the worthiness of the royals on display and strive to embody the ideals they encompassed, which would place her and her family in the highest class of people in the Canadian nation. In later issues of *Canadian Pictorial* this connection was made explicit through the occasional replacement of portraits of royalty with photographs of ideal Canadian children. For example, a photograph titled "Untroubled by the Heat" shows a "little maid" digging in the sand at the seashore, "fanned by the ocean breezes . . . the picture of health and contentment."¹⁸

The Country Child

Many genre photographs of children in the country appeared in *Canadian Pictorial*, ideal young Canadians the magazine's adult readers could refer to when bringing up their own children. According to the ideology communicated in these photographs, outdoor rural living was the everyday norm of the Canadian middle-class child. A principle of this belief was the idea that males and females had completely distinct characters that fitted them for separate domains with separate codes of conduct.¹⁹

Unsurprisingly, the magazine's depictions of girlhood are limited in scope. Mostly, they revel in the sweet innocence of the youthful feminine ideal, in keeping with the conventions for representing young girls created in the eighteenth century by Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Gainsborough, in the nineteenth century by John Everett Millais and Adolphe-William Bougereau, and later by the Canadian artist William Brymner.²⁰ The girls exhibited the charm and reserve of expected female behavior, appearing as idyllic children who enjoyed leisure activities and kept to the daily routines of farm life.

A photograph of a "dainty little maid" who is no more than three years old is titled "Dignity and Innocence" (fig. 2). She wears a lightly colored frock and

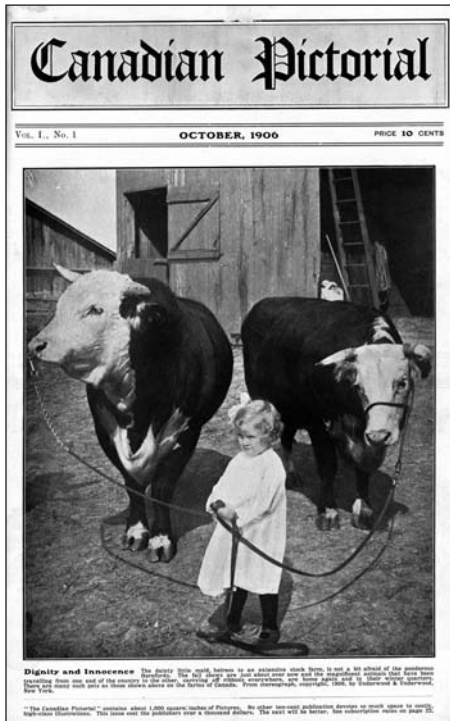


Figure 2. "Dignity and Innocence"
Canadian Pictorial, October 1906.

has a matching bow in her hair. In the palm of her tiny hands she holds the reigns of two bulls that are standing placidly in front of a barn. According to the caption accompanying the photograph, which appeared on the cover of the first issue of *Canadian Pictorial* in October 1906, she is "heiress to an extensive stock farm" whose "magnificent animals . . . have been travelling from one end of the country to the other, carrying ribbons everywhere . . ." The girl is a new form of royalty, a farmer's daughter-heiress, sweet and innocent yet already comfortable with the daily routines of farm life, "not a bit afraid of the ponderous Herefords." The "little maid" exhibits an assortment of commendable traits such as industry, health, cleanliness, filial piety, and stability. The image suggests that she is as pure and as healthy as the prize-winning animals on her farm. The bulls in particular descend from a distinguished breed originally brought from England.

The photograph sets the tone for the way girls will be depicted in the magazine. In subsequent issues they are shown on or near a farm, at ease with one of "many such pets" that reside on Canadian farms. In "Just Chickens" the toddler seated on the grass is surprised by the newborn chicks crowding on her lap. In "Disaster," a little girl, about three years old, is attempting to help out with

the daily chores by gathering the eggs, when to her dismay she causes a little “disaster,” like Humpty Dumpty’s great fall. In “The Goose-Girl,” the subject, who is fifteen or sixteen, is following a gaggle of geese as they wade down the center of a creek on a hot sunny day.²¹

More typically, however, the girls in *Canadian Pictorial* are shown picking, holding, or appreciating flowers. The proximity of flowers intimates pureness, chastity, docility, and peacefulness, all qualities of harmonious nature. One of the magazine’s cover photographs shows a little girl in a bonnet and simple frock holding tight to a branch of a tree in blossom so she can smell the flowers (fig. 3). Her figure is made even more endearingly small and wholesome due to the canopy of blossoms arching above her and the meadow’s tall grass at her feet. As she imbibes the fragrance of the flowers, she seems oblivious to any nearby adults and absorbed in her childhood. The picture motivates the viewer to sympathize with the girl’s pure emotions, to experience the pleasing sensations that come from a carefree childhood and outdoor living, and, ultimately, to emulate her virtues. More precisely, it confirms the “safeguards of health” proposed by the magazine and the advice given in “The Toilet and the Baby” regarding the advantages of fresh air, cleanliness, and play.²²



Figure 3. Cover, *Canadian Pictorial*, May 1912.

The equation of girls with flowers has been a common pictorial theme for centuries, but the trope in this context has special connotations for Canadians: the female is part of the rural population that is rooted in the land, and as such she is connected to stability. This association is made tangible in the coupling of two pictures taken by Reuben Sallows, a professional photographer from Goderich, Ontario, and frequent contributor to *Canadian Pictorial*. His pictures of children documented the seasons, countryside, and outdoor occupations of Canadians. In one, a small grouping of cows is grazing in a field, while in the other, two women and two girls are seated in a vast expanse of daisies, gathering flowers into bouquets, apparently as contented as the cows.²³

Sallows devoted part of his professional practice to artistic photography, or pictorialism. Championed in Britain in the 1880s by Peter Henry Emerson and George Davison and in America in the 1890s by Alfred Stieglitz, pictorialism became popular in Canada in the early 1900s.²⁴ Sallows became well known for his portraits of children posed in bucolic settings, as well as for his lovingly humorous depictions of country youth.

The photographs of country girls have little in common with the photographs the magazine printed of country boys that again and again confirmed the belief that the healthy formation of boys resided in the fun-loving adventures of rural living. Sallows' photographs of the barefoot country boy are particularly noteworthy. Examples include his staged photograph of farm boys sitting by a barn sucking on raw eggs (fig. 4) and three riverside snaps that show boys catching minnows, fishing, and walking through the shallow water.²⁵ The boys, almost always pictured on a sunny spring or summer day, embody a set of middle-class values about boyhood, nature, tradition, and national spirit.

These ideas about boyhood development, very popular in North America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, found frequent expression in the paintings of boys by American artists Eastman Johnson, Winslow Homer, and John George Brown and by Canadian artists George Reid and Frederick Sproston Challenger.²⁶ Adopting these models, Sallows' pictures are meant to call to mind the quintessential country lad who is self-reliant, loves adventure, and lives in harmony, but who can also be impulsive and mischievous. In "Coming Events Cast Their Shadow Before" (fig. 4), two barefoot boys are kneeling over a keg of beer, hoping to sneak a drink using two long straws, oblivious to the man who is angrily approaching with a raised stick.²⁷

As a youngster working on the farm, preparing for adult employment and a role in public life, the country boy also epitomized progress and the quality of fellowship enjoyed by the nation. Females evoked piety by remaining in

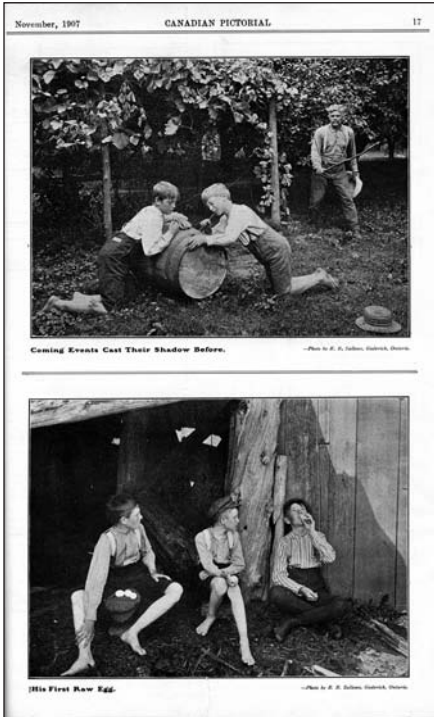


Figure 4. "Coming Events Cast Their Shadow Before" and "His First Raw Egg"
Canadian Pictorial, November 1907.

their sphere: domestic life on the farm. This is certainly the message conveyed in "The Outdoor Farm Girl," a photograph taken by Sallows with the caption that "even such domestic tasks as churning the butter may be performed in the open-air of the early morning of the June days."²⁸ Images of males, on the other hand, correlate the vigorous healthfulness of outdoor life and work with the boy's readiness to heed the call of industry. This theme of cooperation in the workplace and technological advancement surfaced as a significant symbol of an enterprising Canada. A picture titled "Farming by Machinery" shows a boy sitting on the back of a tractor helping to operate the machine while his father steers from up front. The caption says: "The tractor, designed to take the place of several horses, is fast becoming indispensable on the great farms of the West."²⁹

Canadian Pictorial's images of children in the country communicate an intricate set of meanings. At the heart of these meanings is an idealized concept of rural life that includes the belief that country living is the healthy foundation of national life.³⁰ For city dwellers, many newly arrived from the countryside, this powerful bit of nostalgia was based on the conviction that Canada was

and always would be a predominantly agrarian country. In the midst of the growing distress about the repercussions of industrialization and the debilitating effects of urban life, the magazine's photographs showed that the English Canadian middle class was doing what was required to ensure that their offspring were growing up fit and sound. According to the photographs, they were promoting physical and mental health by communing with nature and breathing fresh country air. The family who sojourned outside the city for the summer was partaking in the best kind of healthy living, a way of life that was at the same time prevention and cure.

To preserve this vision of the ideal Canadian family, none of the magazine's pictures of English Canadian children confronts the contentious issue of sickness, particularly tuberculosis and other contagious diseases that were afflicting all classes of Canadians. Instead, photographs were published that, by illuminating the positive world of the Canadian family, acted both as a distraction and as a political representation. From this perspective they had much in common with images of the Romantic child of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whose most prized possessions were the contentment and wisdom no longer available to adults. Central to the characterization was that childhood should revolve around feelings as much as possible, especially feelings of happiness.³¹ Another effect of Romanticism was that it imbued adults with a sense of longing for the innocence of their own forgotten childhood.

The message conveyed in these sweet images of Canadian children was that Canada's youth was being raised to become model citizens to whom nothing bad would happen. No trouble would interfere with their development, and if it did, the interruption would be temporary and easily resolved. From "A Young Mechanic" (fig. 5) we can conclude that no boy training for business could ever become "one of the murderous band of anarchist-burglars at Houndsditch" who murdered three London constables. To cement the connection the magazine printed photographs of the constables' funeral on the same page.³² The toddlers playing in the "shining waters" in "Farewell, Good Old Summer Time" will never encounter the dirt and poverty of the "Bulgarians of a transport column who are having trouble on the muddy roads of Serbia" depicted in the picture below them. The headline reads "Macadam Is An Unknown Thing In Serbia," delivering the obvious message that Canada, a country founded on the British principles of road construction (referring to the Macadam pioneered by the Scotsman John Loudon McAdam), is making sure its children have the right foundation to be the solid citizens of a great nation.³³



Figure 5. "A Young Mechanic" *Canadian Pictorial*, February 1911.

The Newsboy and City Child

Canadian Pictorial's photographs of middle-class country children reveal that Canadians still defined themselves as a rural society. The photographs ignored the hardships of farm life and the fact that by the early twentieth century more and more Canadians were making their homes in cities and towns. The percentage of the population living in urban areas had nearly doubled over thirty years, from 23.3 percent in 1881 to 41.8 percent in 1911.³⁴ The newsboys whose portraits appeared in the magazine under the heading "Portrait Gallery" (fig. 6) in honor of their efforts or of excellent sales were typically city boys. Each photograph was accompanied by a description of the boy, who was anywhere between five and eighteen years of age. If he was not from a well-populated area, special attention was paid to where he lived. The sales of Master Arthur Barlow Whiteside "From Sunny Alberta," for example, "have not been very large each month, for he has not the field that city boys have, but his persistent efforts and business like dealings have brought satisfaction to all concerned."³⁵

The magazine's formulaic portraits of their newsboys—they are consistently half or full-length frontal figures and are usually carrying a copy of the magazine—were evidently taken according to certain specifications. As a set, these



Figure 6. "Our Portrait Gallery" *Canadian Pictorial*, November 1907.

photographs recall the numerous American paintings of newsboys, a category transformed by the American artist Henry Inman in *News Boy* (1841) from a figure associated with acute poverty to an archetype of self-help and entrepreneurial resourcefulness.³⁶ With this in mind, the newsboys in *Canadian Pictorial* are described as "business men of the future." These "successful business-like boys" are understood to be in training as city merchants and financiers.³⁷

These photographs of industrious newsboys, who authentically mirrored the mainly urban readership of *Canadian Pictorial*, were in fact a deviation from the magazine's common practice. Very few photographs hinted that most young Canadians lived in the city. One picture from 1906, "At the Dike Playground" and a second from 1907, "The Delight of Wading" show city children in the summer on the shores of the St. Lawrence River. The caption for the first photograph, which depicts a large group of children, reads: "A merrier, livelier crowd of boys and girls would be hard to find than those who have gathered daily through the summer at the Dike. This playground, conducted by a ladies committee of the Parks and Playgrounds Association, with the help of contributions from citizens, has been a source of much enjoyment and benefit to the children through the hot weather. In the background stretches the St. Lawrence, in which

the youngsters wade, bathe and learn to swim.” The caption for the second photograph, taken a year later, says: “This is not down by the sea, but at one of the playgrounds kept up by the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association for children who cannot leave the city in the hot weather.”³⁸ It is obvious that these children are from poorer households and that their health and welfare is dependent on philanthropy.

The French Canadian Child

Very few photographs showing French Canadian children were published in *Canadian Pictorial* during its decade of operation. This is probably because the magazine shared with the *Montreal Witness* an anti-Roman Catholic bias, so much so that the Catholic Church forbid the reading of that newspaper and any English publication that shared its outlook.³⁹ A typical representation, “A Habitant Family” (fig. 7), depicts a family with two boys, standing idly near their home, staring at the photographer. In the photograph the emphasis is on the awkward physical demeanor and facial expressions of everyone in the family. The photographer has abandoned the artistic practice of portraying people at their best in order to manifest common prejudices about French Canadians. For example,



Figure 7. “A Habitant Family” *Canadian Pictorial*, October 1906.

the woman's frozen smile distorts her visage. The face of the second woman, who is seated behind a spinning wheel, is barely visible, as if the old-fashioned machinery alone defines her character. The graceless pose of the man on the right, one hand on his hip and legs spread apart, suggests that these people have no etiquette. His oddly tilted face, his hat covering one eye, the cigarette perched in his mouth under an overgrown moustache, his eyes averted to one side—all are features that signal difference and even deviance. The older adult male in the center of the photograph is evidently the head of the household. But he, too, is a strange character with his disheveled clothing and eyes that remain hidden in the shadow of his hat. He stands guard at the open door of the house as if to say we are unwelcome to enter his home—something we have no desire to do.

The caption under the photograph reads: "There are still some homes in the Province of Quebec where the hum of the spinning-wheel is heard." Although taken on its own this could be a charming reference to older ways and an indication that for the most part progress on the French Canadian farm is the norm, when read in conjunction with the picture, with its ramshackle, disorderly setting and quality of emptiness, it is plain that progress is a rarity. The family members all stare at the photographer as if they are a class of people who pass the time rather than use it industriously. The two boys standing on the left, possibly the object of compassion from the viewer, will not be allowed to advance from this primitive state of being. Like the other members of the family they are positioned behind the spinning wheel, indicating that they are entrenched in their surroundings and will follow the example set by their elders. This is confirmed in the posture of the boy with the black hat who mirrors the hand-on-hip gesture of the man, who is probably his father.⁴⁰

Everything in the photograph—the lack of status in the poses, the facial expressions, and the family's poor clothing and surroundings—allow the English Canadian readers of *Canadian Pictorial* to test their own perceived superiority. The picture presents a backward people sticking to traditional practices. To underscore their backwardness, the photograph placed above it is a close-up of Mr. W. J. Bryan, "a prominent figure in the next Presidential campaign," engaging with smiling, intelligent-looking men. The counterpart for the image of the Quebec family is not the sensitive paintings of beautiful families by European and North American artists, nor the photojournalist's viewpoint in Mr. Bryan's portrayal, but the kind of picture gathered by anthropologists into collections that record and classify subject races, degenerate bodies, and deviant individuals.⁴¹

A second photograph of a farming French Canadian family, although much more positive, still possesses some of the undertones of anthropological surveillance and classification (fig. 8). Titled "Religion by the Roadside," it shows a



Figure 8. "Religion by the Roadside"
Canadian Pictorial, May 1908.

man and woman and their young son standing in front of a sizable, handsome barn and well-maintained fields. The parents are each holding two large buckets, confirming that the farm is a successful enterprise. But the caption fails to comment on these redeeming features. Instead, it reads: "The stranger travelling through the Province of Quebec is always struck by the number of tall wooden crosses erected alongside the main road. There is usually an image of the Virgin and Child in a glass case four or five feet from the base. The habitants in passing, pause a moment, kneel and say a prayer. These wayside shrines are put up by farmers as near to their farmhouses as possible."⁴² The text is similar to an anthropological description that emphasizes the perspective of a "stranger" who is recording the unusual characteristics of a group of people.

Although "Religion by the Roadside" was taken by Sallows, it is very different from his pictures of rural life in Ontario. We recognize the quality of a snapshot, as if the photographer encountered the family during his travels through Quebec and asked them to pose briefly before he moved on, but the boy in the background is unlike any other boy pictured by Sallows on the pages of *Canadian Pictorial*. He stands simply, hands by his side, neither at work nor at play. He is certainly not helping his parents carry the heavy buckets. In fact,

this French Canadian child has none of the ideal qualities of the average English boy, as is made obvious by comparison with the photograph that sits directly underneath, also by Sallows. Titled "The Pleasures of Youth," we see a little boy in a Scottish beret posed in a forest of maple trees. Appearing alone, thus emphasizing his autonomy and distinction, the boy is not empty-handed like the French Canadian boy, but holds a pail, showing us that he is there to gather maple syrup. Although very young, he has joined in the pursuit of productive labor. But before he starts he sucks a bit of syrup from the pipe inserted into the tree, being not only industrious but playful. His small figure is in the forefront of the picture and is therefore intimate and charming to the viewer, unlike the figure of the French Canadian boy, who was captured on a wide lens and appears at a great distance, so that the viewer is an outsider looking in. Further, in placing "The Pleasures of Youth" next to "The Tasks of Age," which shows an old man husking beans, the viewer is led to believe that in every stage of life these people are always productive.⁴³

The scarcity of French Canadian children in the pages of *Canadian Pictorial*, even though the magazine was published in Montreal, suggests the inferior status of this group and their irrelevance in advancing Canada's future. Nevertheless, by reprinting "Religion by the Roadside" in a 1916 issue, the magazine approaches a tepid accommodation. The picture, now labeled "The Wayside Shrines of French Canada," is presented alongside "An Old-Fashioned Windmill Still Working Away." The editors have created a relationship between these two shrines, one "quite elaborate and highly ornamented," the other a quaint landmark worthy of admiration. The new caption defines French Canadians quite differently, as "workers" who "pay their respects to the shrine" and go to them for solace in times of trouble. However, the third photograph on the page, "a trainload of new threshing machines" destined for the "busy farmer" of the West, offers a stark contrast to the primitive labor of the French Canadian farmer.⁴⁴

It is significant that the most positive feature of the caption about the French Canadian family is the description of them as "country people of French origin." With the recent influx of immigrants, the category of "country people" was expanded to include everyone living in the country, regardless of their type or place of origin. The arrival of so many non-English-speaking immigrants was the result of the Canadian government's failure to attract enough new citizens from Great Britain and the United States, necessitating that it look elsewhere.⁴⁵ For the year ending March 31, 1912, *Canadian Pictorial* reported that "the total number of immigrants received into Canada was 354,237; of these 138,121 were British, 133,710 were from the United States and 82,406 from other countries. Of

these foreigners, 21,651 were Austro-Hungarian, 9,805 Russian, 2,394 Swedish, 5,060 Polish, 7,590 Italian, 1,692 Norwegian, 1,646 Finnish, 4,664 German and 3,295 Bulgarian."⁴⁶

The Immigrant Child

About 1911, *Canadian Pictorial* adopted a new rhetoric that expanded the social role of English Canadians. Not only was it their task to preserve the English qualities of the Canadian family, now they were being asked to educate recent arrivals to become more like them. The August 1913 issue of the magazine, titled "Harvesting Time," encourages Canadians to be welcoming to immigrants. "This year our immigration has been unusually heavy, and it is especially fortunate that the harvest should be large to give it a footing in the country till it is gradually absorbed. Even a momentary shock to immigration such as would send a few thousand back discouraged would be a great blow to our prosperity . . . Let us help whom we can and encourage those whom we cannot aid."

The photographs of a Bukowinian mother and child and a Ruthenian young woman (fig. 9) in the January 1911 issue constitute a tenuous attempt to promote an accommodating attitude. The women are referred to as "ladies" who are "peopling the Great Canadian West." The caption accentuates the fact that they wore exotic costumes "decked up in jewels" and were unaware of manufacturing, "their callings being pasturage, agriculture, and carrying by means of conveyance drawn by animals." The Ruthenians, the caption points out, belong to one of the "Slavonic tribes" of the Greek Church "to whose clergy they pay a blind obedience." Nevertheless, there is still hope for their kind since "their

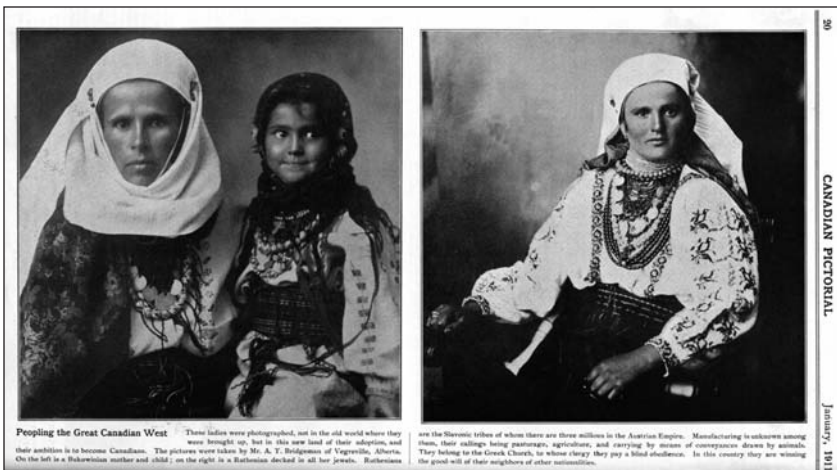


Figure 9. "Peopling the Great Canadian West" *Canadian Pictorial*, January 1911.

ambition is to become Canadians," and "they are winning the good-will of their neighbours of other nationalities."⁴⁷

Unquestionably, the attitude of English Canadians to people who were different was undergoing a transition. This was due to the message they were constantly hearing that the "foreign" family could be transformed. In a picture labeled "Canada's Foreign Problem" (fig. 10) which shows a group of women and children who had recently arrived in Winnipeg, the families are described as "typical of the foreign element in any of the larger Canadian cities." By now *Canadian Pictorial* had owned up to the reality that children lived in cities. At the same time the magazine's editors seem to blame the impoverishment of city living on the "foreign problem." The caption ends with: "It is Canada's business to make good citizens of them. They are promising material."⁴⁸ According to this paternalistic attitude, if Canada was to retain its right character, the established citizenry had a responsibility to instruct this great variety of people in how to look, think, and behave. In the photograph, the easy smiles on the faces of the mothers, the informality of the poses and the fact that the group is portrayed up close appears to demonstrate a warm interaction between the photographer and his subjects.



Figure 10. "Canada's Foreign Problem" *Canadian Pictorial*, August 1912.

"Canada's Foreign Problem" recalls the candid photographs taken in the 1880s by Jacob A. Riis, a police reporter in New York City who had launched a private campaign to reveal the dreadful conditions in the slums of city's Lower East Side.⁴⁹ "In a Foreign Quarter" sits directly under "Canada's Foreign Problem" and is even closer to Riis's perceptive depictions. This picture focuses on the narrow, cluttered street of a slum in which stands a small group of immigrant women and children. The caption attempts to give the picture a positive, sympathetic interpretation: "The people are usually clean and industrious, but they are extremely poor when they arrive, and the authorities have to educate them up to standards of cleanliness and thrift."⁵⁰ According to this viewpoint, immigrants, especially the more receptive and malleable women and children, could, under careful management, become worthy Canadians.

The First Nations / Inuit Child

During this period, *Canadian Pictorial's* optimism about the bright future of poor immigrants spilled over into their attitude towards First Nations children. In the magazine's early years, however, the images it printed of "Indians" were exceedingly negative and racist. For example, the six photographs grouped together on a single page under the titles "The Indians of To-day in Alberta," "Typical Indian Families," and "An Indian Encampment" were taken by an amateur photographer (fig. 11) and were typical of the unusual locations and strange people that were a favorite subject of amateurs during this era.⁵¹ The photographs suggest a nomadic tribal life that will eventually doom Canada's original inhabitants to extinction. The precedent for this type of photograph can be found in the many so-called ethnographic records of Indian tribes, most famously the photographs of Edward S. Curtis, a professional photographer from Seattle. From 1900 to 1903, Curtis traveled across the continent to photograph his vision of "the vanishing race," and in 1907, he published *The North American Indian*, the first of twenty volumes.⁵² One of the six pictures shows an older boy facing the camera, his arms hanging by his side. The accompanying statement reads: "Having his picture taken was a very serious matter with this young chief." This statement belies the general awkwardness captured in the photograph: the "young chief" is standing stiffly to one side, an expanse of dry prairie behind him, while a horse, presumably his own, is waiting in the distance. The fact that Indians were often on display for the entertainment of tourists is not mentioned. This was also true of a group of photographs of women and children titled "A Visit to Caughnawaga," taken by members of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society. The caption reads: "The peaceful descendants of the warlike Iroquois donned holiday attire." What the text makes



Figure 11. "Typical Indian Families" and "An Indian Encampment" *Canadian Pictorial*, November 1907.

explicit is that the Iroquois have donned traditional costumes no longer worn on a daily basis to cater to the expectations of the visitors.⁵³

By 1913, we see a marked difference in the portrayal of First Nations children, a result of the proliferation of government-enforced day and boarding schools. In a photograph taken in York Factory, Manitoba, orderly children are kneeling and standing in three straight lines in front of a schoolhouse. According to the caption, the children have been transformed by Mr. Farries, an Anglican missionary who "has done much splendid work for the Eskimos and Indians." It goes on to say that the school "has been taken over by the Manitoba Government and Miss Griffiths is now the teacher." Unlike the large group of listless Eskimos pictured huddled on the ground under the flag at Fort Churchill, waiting "to receive their treaty money from the government," in the photo printed above, these children are deemed to have a future.⁵⁴

The conviction that First Nations children could be assimilated is proudly documented in a full-page professional photograph of a classroom of students at Mellapolla near Prince Rupert, British Columbia (fig. 12). The banner-like title above the picture reads "Making Good Canadians of the Children of the Red Man." The students, who are of all ages and include a few adults,



Figure 12. "Making Good Canadians of the Children of the Red Man" *Canadian Pictorial*, October 1914.

are sitting at attention, while the female teacher at the back of the classroom stands in front of a very large map of Canada. The caption reads: "Only within quite recent times have the Indians of that part of the country come within close touch of civilization." This statement was untrue. The text continues: "Now there is a well-equipped little school for the Indian children with a young lady teacher from England in charge. The photograph was specially taken for the 'Pictorial' by the first man to penetrate far north of Prince Rupert with a moving-picture camera . . ." The words are loaded with the supremacist connotation that the children, until now isolated, are being civilized by the white race that has come to save them from their non-civilized condition. The children's submissiveness in front of the camera suggests that the experiment is succeeding, though most look unhappy or uncomfortable in the setting. The last sentence of the caption is particularly telling: "The expressions on the faces of the Indian children are worth studying."⁵⁵ The phrase "expressions on the faces" speaks to a longstanding belief that the human face carries signs of character and attributes.⁵⁶ While it may hide a person's true nature, if studied correctly, that nature will be disclosed. The expressions of First Nations people were often said to be wild and savage, but if they changed in an appropriate way, it signaled that the person had been successfully converted into a peace-loving Christian. Similarly, indoctrination in the guise of education could lead to the metamorphosis of First Nations children into acceptable Canadian children.

ICONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Having described the content of these pictures of children, the final step is to consider their symbolic meaning as a collection of images. Panofsky states that iconology is the examination of “those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion.”⁵⁷ If we follow this thinking, one way to understand these photographs is to see the children in them as characteristic of the classes and types of people in Canada. This way of defining society was prevalent in Great Britain and later maintained in Canada by citizens who had emigrated from the Mother Country. Into the 1900s, English Canadians envisioned society as a structure in which class positions were recognizable. Further, they were proud of the social stability this afforded. Their viewpoint was buttressed by the belief that individuals could rise through the system by dint of education and hard work.⁵⁸ While the editors, writers, and artist-photographers of *Canadian Pictorial* refrained from following the English custom of drawing sharp distinctions between social classes, it is apparent that they were comfortable thinking that members of a community could be classified according to types and groupings.⁵⁹ As a result, the pictures in the magazine were categorized according to class, economic status, gender, ethnicity, and race. By assigning each segment of the population a particular position, the magazine reflected the way English Canadians asserted their power as the dominant culture. Further, in the dissemination of these images, this dominant group was attempting to diffuse their attitudes, values, and beliefs throughout the population. Thus, pictures of royal children confirmed that Canadians of British ancestry or any parent who admired the characteristics of this model child could bring up their offspring to be the elite of Canadian society. Pictures of boys and girls in rural environments were a reminder that families living in the country could attribute their health and strength to their agrarian lifestyle. Pictures of French Canadians, recent immigrants, and Native Americans, however, appealed to preconceptions and prejudices that underlay the need to preserve and promote the English nature of Canadian society and its relationship with the British Empire.

Canadian Pictorial's presentation of the royal child and the country boy and girl communicated an array of positive qualities that idealized the middle-class English Canadian. The magazine's ethnographic photographs, on the other hand, played to preconceived notions about the negative characteristics of the immigrant, French Canadian, and First Nations child. Supporting texts—the captions describing the photographs, the articles under the heading “The Toilet and the Baby,” and the features that introduced each issue of the

magazine—served as instructional material to assist the viewer in interpreting the images appropriately. By affiliating English Canadian middle-class children with portraits of royal children, readers could feel entitled to the rights and privileges of the ruling class. Given the inexpensive price of the magazine, often mentioned as a major selling point, even those English readers who were not yet middle class or did not originate from Great Britain could benefit from this instructional guide on how to look and behave.

In focusing on the country child, *Canadian Pictorial* helped English Canadians ignore both the harsher facts of city living and their loss of connection to the agrarian way of life that had molded past generations. When political conditions and social circumstances were difficult, citizens could pretend to immerse themselves in the bliss of family life and the innocence of a Canadian childhood. As cities became more populated by immigrants who were “different,” they could blame the dirt and poverty not on their own kind, many of whom were also poor and struggling, but on people from far-flung corners of the world. However, with much trepidation, they eventually began to accommodate French Canadian children as vestiges of a primitive society that was nonetheless picturesque and benign. When farming communities of recent immigrants were in difficulty, they offered kindness, hoping that when the immigrant children grew up they would become more self-sufficient, and more like Canadians. When they realized that people of ignoble origins, namely Indians and Eskimos, could no longer be ignored, they saw themselves as teachers who could transform the very nature of the First Nations child.

When viewing *Canadian Pictorial*'s photographs from this perspective, it becomes clear that the children depicted in the magazine, while presenting the superior interests and attitudes of English Canadians, constitute a denial of many of the realities of Canadian society. The magazine was published during a turbulent era in the development of the country as an independent nation, and to a certain extent the emphasis on the British royal child indicated a serious concern that more and more Canadians no longer felt an emotional pull to Great Britain.⁶⁰ Images with American precedents such as the “barefoot boy” and the newsboy suggest a citizenry that was becoming enamored of a vision of nationhood that resembled the nationhood of its southern neighbor. Indeed, a number of the photographs in the magazine came not from Canada or Great Britain but from the United States, including the photograph of the “dainty little maid” (fig. 2) on the cover of the first issue, which was purchased from Underwood & Underwood of New York City. In fact, English Canadians recognized that the newsboys who appeared in the advertisement section of the magazine were an accurate reflection of

themselves: a new class of citizens whose livelihood and future had become firmly attached to the city.

English Canadians saw it as their social mission to impose particular meanings on these images of children, and so manipulated them to cohere with a worldview that was embedded with class-consciousness and traditional beliefs and customs. This was a collective vision that seemed to either ignore or reluctantly endorse the new realities of a society that was quickly changing. On the other hand, when viewed through Durkheim's social lens, what surfaces is the possibility that English Canadians were trying, despite their own social limitations, to promote a progressive worldview. Durkheim believed that education was intrinsically linked to a society's notion of an ideal person. The object of education was to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual, and moral states demanded by society.⁶¹ It could be argued that Durkheim's concept of education as the socialization of youth based on moral beliefs and traditions was consistent with *Canadian Pictorial's* objective to educate the Canadian child. The editors of *Canadian Pictorial* clearly identified the "social facts" that were necessary to promote the political solidarity of the new nation. In *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893), Durkheim defined social facts as "a category of facts which present very special characteristics: they consist of manners of acting, thinking, and feeling external to the individual, which are invested with a coercive power by virtue of which they exercise control over him." Also described as "states of the collective mind," they constitute customs, morals, rules, and beliefs, as well as the more elusive currents of opinion.⁶² The obligatory and coercive nature of social facts is manifested in individuals who are educated as children. For Durkheim, these facts are normative, prescriptive patterns for action and constraining norms that the individuals reproduce in their own actions.⁶³

If a goal of the photographs of royal children was to remind the Canadian family of its connection to Mother Britain, a more pressing objective, according to Durkheim, was their useful effect in the education of young Canadians. The utilitarian value of these pictures was to provide a certain human ideal, a model of what a child should be intellectually, physically, and morally. This is the "methodical socialization" that Durkheim explains society requires for its conditions of existence. It begins with the child at home and at school, where he or she is taught the essential conditions of a social environment.⁶⁴ As such, the physical health, cleanliness, and discipline of royal children are part of a collective representation available to every Canadian child. In Durkheim's words: "From his earliest years we oblige him to eat, drink and sleep at regular hours, and to observe cleanliness, calm and obedience; later we force him to learn how

to be mindful of others, to respect customs and conventions, and to work, etc. If this constraint in time ceases to be felt it is because it gradually gives rise to habits, to inner tendencies which render it superfluous; but they supplant the constraint only because they are derived from it."⁶⁵

Durkheim advocated the development of professional groups or occupations as the means by which the interests of different groups could be promoted and collective solidarity achieved. For him, these groups would adhere to the values of society as a whole, not only to one's personal interests or the interests of a specific collective. This was the social cohesion of a society that had evolved through the division of labor.⁶⁶ Although periods of rapid social change could produce tension of the kind reported in *Canadian Pictorial*—of farmers complaining about high tariffs or women fighting for the right to vote—this was a temporary impasse. Such tensions would be quickly resolved when all of society's groups remembered their common goals and values, which were based on shared interests and mutual dependence. Durkheim emphasized that all types of labor require a "normative order" to promote solidarity. For the girl, the norms are located in the domestic labor necessary to maintain a home and bring up a family. As for the boy this means that a farm boy riding a tractor or practicing carpentry or selling newspapers is acquiring the skills required to be a member of an occupational group.

According to Durkheim's social principles, the English country boy and newsboy are examples of social facts that are "normal." The French Canadian child is not such an example. In Book Three of *The Division of Labor*, Durkheim explains that social facts exhibit both normal and pathological forms and that a critical part of sociological method is to provide rules for distinguishing between the two. The practical purpose of sociology is to reveal which causes produce which effects in order to distinguish between social health and social illness. Social facts that are "pathological," Durkheim emphasizes, are found in only a minority of people. The French Canadian child (fig. 7) is "pathological" because he belongs to a backward people intent on preserving traditional practices that have become outdated, such as spinning wool with a wheel. His family is an example of a social type that has remained the same despite the technological progress enjoyed by the rest of society. During a transition period, this social type may persist through force of blind habit. The "fact" continues to exist much like vestigial organs do and eventually becomes pathological because it no longer serves a purpose. Similarly, the second picture of a French Canadian family (fig. 8), titled "Religion by the Roadside," implies a religious social consciousness that is much too basic for a developed society. In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Durkheim explains that religion, the early

basis of a society's moral framework, is a form of "mechanical solidarity."⁶⁷ The limited social integration it enforces, based on shared religious beliefs and sentiment, cannot support a modern society. In the more mature society, what Durkheim calls an "organic society," other more sophisticated forms of social cohesion are necessary, such as the interdependence of specialized groups of people who recognize their need for one another. Only when French Canadians are designated "workers," as was allowed when the photograph was reprinted, can they finally participate in the economic and social solidarity of a shared Canadian identity.

The concept of a less developed "mechanized society" first mentioned by Durkheim in *The Division of Labor* and associated with images of the French Canadian child can also be applied to First Nations and immigrant children. Accordingly, these two social types can only change if the state intervenes in the education of their "conjugal families."⁶⁸ Immigrant children, we are led to believe, are much more willing to change because "their ambition is to become Canadians," as compared with First Nations children, for whom government-enforced day and boarding schools were becoming the norm. For Durkheim, the intervention of the state in the internal life of the family was mandatory because the traditional family had the power to retard social development. He believed that society was created through the development of a collective conscience shared by all different types of children. As such, through education the child could be released from the bonds of a regressive family and learn to become integrated into a social group. This was also true of the immigrant or First Nations child, who could become a functioning member of society by learning to make a living as part of an occupational group. Only when the normative functions once exercised by institutions such as the family and religion turned into a relationship of mutual dependence could these children become real Canadian citizens.

CONCLUSION

Using *Canadian Pictorial* as a starting point for research into how representations of children can further our knowledge about the social history of Canada, we learn that pictures can be manipulated by a particular segment of society. In this case, adult issues were projected onto images of children because the editors of the magazine and its contributors considered themselves educators whose role was to communicate essential cultural messages to Canada's citizenry, and because they saw others in the guise of children who needed to be shaped appropriately. Their intention, which was to promote a particular ideology that favored English Canadians, was revealed using an iconographic

and iconological framework. Missing from this investigation are the historical experiences of the children in the photographs, as well as other visual materials that are sure to reveal social realities different from those embedded in *Canadian Pictorial's* images. As I pursue my research and widen my scope of inquiry, my hope is to broaden my understanding of the contradictions and fictions that shaped these representations and to learn more about Canada's children during this era. For this, I must delve into sources by French Canadians, recent immigrants, and Inuit and First Nations people, whose voices are conspicuously absent from *Canadian Pictorial*.

NOTES

1. *Canadian Pictorial*, June 1909, 2. All subsequent references are from *Canadian Pictorial* unless otherwise noted.
2. June 1909, 2.
3. Patricia Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) and Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of a Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850–1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).
4. *Canadian Pictorial*, advertising section, 1909.
5. Panofsky was a German art historian who immigrated to the United States in 1931 and taught at New York University and Princeton University. His *Studies in Iconology* (1939) and *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (1955) are canonic texts still at the core of art historical studies. Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939) and *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955; Phoenix ed., 1982).
6. See Robert Rosenblum, *The Romantic Child from Runge to Sendak* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988); Anne Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998); Claire Perry, *Young America: Childhood in 19th Century Art and Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Marilyn R. Brown, ed., *Picturing Children: Constructions of Childhood Between Rousseau and Freud* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Erika Langmuir, *Imagining Childhood: Themes in the Imagery of Childhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Anna Green, *French Paintings of Childhood and Adolescence, 1848–1886* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Mirjam Neumeister, ed. *The Changing Face of Childhood: British Children's Portraits and their Influence in Europe* (Cologne: DuMont Literatur und Kunst Verlag, 2008).
7. Lily Koltun, *Private Realities of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839–1940* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984), 32–34.
8. Paul Martin Lester, *Visual Communication: Images with Messages* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 2006); Ernst Gombrich, "Representation and Misrepresentation," *Critical Inquiry* 11, no. 2 (1984): 195–201; Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1976).
9. This reading of the images is derived from the ideas on power and the ruling class discussed by Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Emile Durkheim. See A. Hughes, Wes Sharrock, and Peter J. Martin, *Understanding Classical Sociology* (SAGE, 2003, rev. ed.).

10. Alfred A. Hunter, "On the Historical Development of Class Formations in Canada," in *Class Tells: On Social Inequality in Canada* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), 172–84; John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Power and Class in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965); Richard Charles Helmes-Hayes and James E. Curtis, *The Vertical Mosaic Revisited* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).
11. Emile Durkheim, *Durkheim: Essays on Morals and Education*, ed. W. S. F. Pickering (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).
12. Frances Diamond and Roger Taylor, *Crown & Camera: The Royal Family and Photography 1842–1910* (New York: Viking, 1987).
13. May 1908, 19.
14. February 1911, 21.
15. December 1908, 31; June 1911, 21.
16. May 1908, 19.
17. August 1908, 19; March 1909, 27; May 1909, 32; November 1911, 3; September 1914, 31.
18. August 1912, 23.
19. Langmuir, *Imagining Childhood*.
20. George Dimock, "Children's Studies and the Romantic Child," in *Picturing Children: Constructions of Childhood Between Rousseau and Freud* ed. Marilyn R. Brown (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 189–98.
21. June 1913, 22; April 1913, 15; October 1908, 20.
22. May 1912, cover, 19.
23. July 1908, 12. His work can be seen at The Reuben R. Sallows Digital Library. <http://www.sallows.gallery.ca>.
24. Peter C. Bunnell, *A Photographic Vision: Pictorial Photography, 1889–1923* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1980); Koltun, *Private Realities of Light*, 32–34.
25. November 1907, 17; July 1908, 13.
26. Sarah Burns, "The Barefoot Boys and Other Country Children: Sentiment and Ideology in Nineteenth-century American Art," *American Art Journal* 20, no. 1 (1988): 24–50; Patricia Hills, *The Genre Painting of Eastman Johnson: The Sources and Development of His Style and Themes* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977).
27. July 1907, 17.
28. June 1909, 9.
29. August 1909, 13.
30. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 175: "One of the fundamental features of social thought in Great Britain and Canada was an idealized conception of agriculture and a tendency to regard it as the most healthy foundation of national life."
31. Rosenblum, *The Romantic Child from Runge to Sendak*; Anne Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*.

32. February 1911, 13.
33. September 1916, 13.
34. Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 25.
35. November 1907, 20; April 1907, 23.
36. Perry, *Young America*.
37. December 1906, 6.
38. October 1906, 16; August 1907, 11.
39. "The Reading by Catholics of the *Montreal Witness* Forbidden," *New York Times*, 28 March 1875. The Catholic Church discouraged reading English newspapers and magazines well into the twentieth century.
40. October 1906, 10.
41. Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Photography* (London: Lund Humphries in association with The National Portrait Gallery, 2001).
42. May 1908, 9.
43. May 1908, 9.
44. April 1916, 20.
45. R. G. Moyles and Doug Owsram, " 'A Farm of One's Own': The British Emigrant's View of Western Canada," in *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 115–39.
46. August 1912, 17.
47. January 1911, 20.
48. August 1912, 17.
49. Eventually his photographs, along with others taken by amateur photographers who were helping him, were printed in newspapers and two books published by Charles Scribner's Sons, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) and *Children of the Poor* (1892). Jacob A. Riis, *The Children of the Poor* (New York: Arno Press, 1892/1971).
50. August 1912, 17.
51. November 1907, 13. Koltun, *Private Realities of Light*, 53.
52. Roslyn Poignant, "The Making of Professional 'Savages': From P. T. Barnum to the *Sunday Times* (1998)" in *Photography's Other Histories*, eds. Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 55–84.
53. October 1906, 15.
54. November 1913, 11.
55. October 1914, 16.
56. Hamilton and Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned*.

57. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, 30.
58. Edward Royle, *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750–1985* (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), 105.
59. Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 14.
60. Phillip Buckner, *Canada and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
61. “To socialize the child into the norms and expectations of society, as well as for formal intellectual learning, the separation from the family is necessary and the state must play a role.” Mary Ann Lamanna, *Emile Durkheim on the Family* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001), 124.
62. Margaret Gilbert, *On Social Facts* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 248–50; Jennifer M. Lehmann, *Deconstructing Durkheim: A Post-post Structuralist Critique* (London: Routledge, 1993), 22–25.
63. Emile Durkheim, “A Discussion on the Effectiveness of Moral Doctrines (1909),” reprinted in *Durkheim: Essays on Morals and Education*, ed. W. S. F. Pickering, trans. H. L. Sutcliffe (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 129–39; See also John K. Rhoads, *Critical Issues in Social Theory* (Philadelphia: Penn State Press, 1991), 155–84.
64. Emile Durkheim, *Education and Sociology*, trans. Sherwood D. Fox (New York: Free Press, 1956), 71.
65. Emile Durkheim, “The Rules of Sociological Method,” reprinted in *Classical Sociological Theory*, ed. Craig J. Calhoun (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002), 113.
66. Lehmann, *Deconstructing Durkheim*, 16–17.
67. Lehmann, *Deconstructing Durkheim*, 10, 36, 39.
68. Lamanna, *Emile Durkheim on the Family*, 93–95.