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PICTURING MODERNITY: EXPLORING THE ARCHITECTURE OF PLEASURE IN 1930S NORTH TORONTO¹

MICHAEL WINDOVER is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Art History, Visual Art and Theory at the University of British Columbia. His dissertation project, tentatively entitled Fashioning Modern Citizens: Art Deco and Spatial Economies of Pleasure, explores the reach of Art Deco globally and seeks to expose its political, social, and cultural implications during the fraught interwar years.

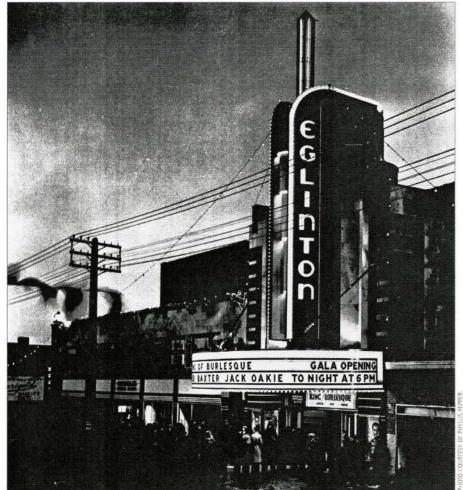


FIG. 1. EXTERIOR VIEW LOOKING WEST, EGLINTON THEATRE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, APRIL 2, 1936.

> MICHAEL WINDOVER

"people go to the moving picture to-day for precisely the same reason that they went nearly forty years ago. They went then because the moving picture moved. They go now because the moving picture moves."

-Gilbert Seldes²

In March 1934, The Architectural Record ran a special edition dedicated entirely to leisure.3 Amidst national surveys on the leisure activities pursued by the American public, a central theme emerged: a crisis in leisure was at hand and architects needed to respond appropriately.4 In the unsettling years of a global economic depression that polarized differences in wealth, just how the masses used their non-labour time was of great concern to prevent social unrest. The places that regulated leisure time, what P. Morton Shand dubbed the "architecture of pleasure," were of the utmost importance socially, politically, culturally, and economically.5

It is of no surprise that Shand began his proposed series on the architecture of pleasure with the cinema. It was a new type of building: one that responded to the unique conditions of modernity rather than the conventions of age-old theatre; one that was seeing unparalleled popularity and would become the incubator for the "movie-made generation;" one that was open to all and was even described as a kind of democratic institution.6 Going to movie theatres became the most popular leisure activity outside the home, particularly among the middle and working classes in North America and Britain.7 By 1930, for example, approximately ninety



FIG. 2. EXTERIOR VIEW LOOKING EAST, EGLINTON THEATRE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, 1936.



FIG. 3. ENTRANCE UNDER MARQUEE, EGLINTON THEATRE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, 1936.

million Americans visited theatres weekly.8 Britain reached the world's highest per capita attendance during the 1930s, with forty percent seeing a show once a week and twenty-five percent frequenting local theatres twice a week.9

Some cultural critics, particularly of the Frankfurt School, recognized the political power of the cinema at the time. 10 However, architectural historians for the most part have remained silent on the importance of the cinema as a site for the fashioning of the modern subject. Indeed, rather than dismiss the cinema as a place of passivity and escape, we should instead understand the movie theatre as a location of cultural production. The cinema was enticing, as Gilbert Seldes noted, because it was a locus of movement: movement of pictures, yes, but also of people, of capital, of ideas, of subject positions. In response to the crisis of leisure, the cinema was not simply a societal pressure valve redirecting frustrations to a fantasy world outside political realities; it was a place of identity formation for the individual and the community.

This essay investigates the little-studied Canadian experience of cinemagoing in Toronto.11 Rather than explore the "movie palaces" of downtown Toronto, a topic which has seen some scholarship,12 I will focus my attention on the terrain of the everyday. My site is a neighbourhood movie house or "nabe" situated in North Toronto, called the Eglinton Theatre. The Eglinton is a prime example of what Arjun Appadurai and Carol Breckenridge in another context have called "public culture."13 That concept avoids blanket terminology such as americanization in favour of a more nuanced understanding of how "nomad technologies and ideologies become renegotiated and relocated in different locales."14 The cinema was embedded in everyday life by being a location of community identification and "placeness" on the one hand and unbounded, timeless flow and placelessness on the other. A modern subjectivity, or citizenship in the broadest sense of the term, was (re)produced in the space of cinemas like the Eglinton. Here the global met the local, consumption met production, the virtual met the material, and citizen met consumer.

SETTING THE SCENE

The Eglinton was the brainchild of Sicilian immigrant Agostino Arrigo. In 1932, he secured the financial backing of the Famous Players Canadian Corporation to build his dream theatre in the newly developing residential and commercial area around Avenue Road and Eglinton. Famous Players was one of the three principal film circuits in Toronto, along with B&F and 20th Century Fox (and later Odeon). Consequently, the Eglinton



FIG. 4. WOMEN'S LOUNGE, EGLINTON THEATRE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, CA. 1936.



FIG. 5. EXTERIOR VIEW LOOKING WEST, EGLINTON THEATRE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, MAY 1938.

played fairly current movies, unlike the independent theatres in the city.¹⁷ The company employed architects Harold S. Kaplan and Abraham Sprachman, Toronto's most prolific and premier Art Deco theatre designers. In 1934, they unveiled the designs for what would be considered Famous Players' flagship theatre in Canada.¹⁸ On the evening of April 2, 1936,

an excited crowd snaking along Eglinton Avenue awaited the one thousand and eighty-seat theatre's grand opening (fig. 1).¹⁹ Besides appealing to popular tastes, the cinema also received acclaim from architects, winning the bronze medal in the Toronto Chapter Exhibition of Architecture and Allied Arts in 1937, as well as the Architectural Institute of

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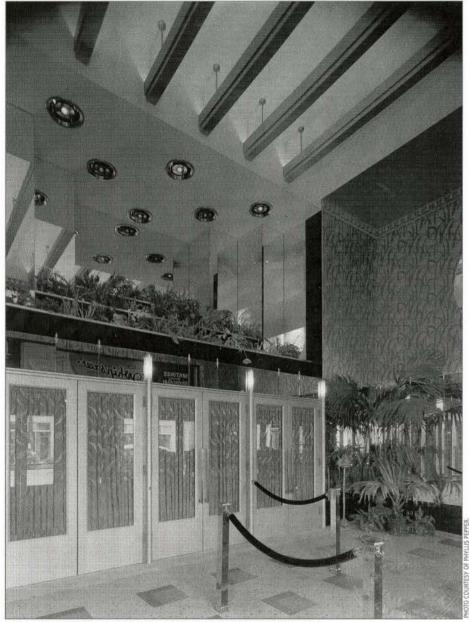


FIG. 6. LOBBY VIEW LOOKING NORTH, EGLINTON THEATRE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, CA. 1936.

Canada Governor-General's Bronze Medal for interior design in the Sixth Biennial Architectural Exhibition the same year.²⁰

Built on Eglinton Avenue just west of Avenue Road, the theatre met the cinemagoing demands of the growing suburbs of North Toronto and the Village of Forest Hill.²¹ North Toronto had been slow to adopt cinemas, in fact banning their construction prior to the town's annexation by Toronto 1912.²² In that year, however, two cinemas were built along Yonge Street—the Royal between Roselawn and Castlefield, which seated three hundred, and the York (known as the York Eglinton) at Castlefield, which seated three hundred and seventy-eight.²³

By 1922, these two theatres had closed and were replaced by the Capitol (1922), followed by the Bedford (1928), the Belsize (1928), the Hudson (1930), the Circle (1933), ²⁴ and the Eglinton (1936). ²⁵ All of these theatres were integrated into developing neighbourhood shopping areas. ²⁶ Gus Arrigo, the son of the Eglinton's original owner, commented that, in his father's estimation,

this was going to be a very viable location for the theatre. Most of your theatres that people were going to were downtown. There was nothing in the upper or north end of the city. And it would be very viable if you did it as a top end or high end theatre. It wouldn't just be an ordinary theatre.²⁷

Consequently, the Eglinton was the first of the North Toronto "nabes" to be built off Yonge Street.²⁸ Its construction also coincided with the lifting of a low-scale residential building by-law that the Village of Forest Hill had established in the early 1930s.²⁹

North Toronto became very much integrated into the metropolis following the paving of Yonge Street—the chief artery for northern growth—and the expansion of the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) by 1922. The area became a popular location for middle- and upper-class Torontonians desiring escape from the noise and pollution of the downtown core.30 Along with new bus routes and streetcar lines, increased automobile ownership contributed greatly to the flow of people and capital throughout the city.31 From 1916 to 1928, car ownership in Toronto rose dramatically from ten to eighty thousand, which allowed for the luxury of living further from downtown. "Auto riding for pleasure," the 1934 survey of "What Are People Doing with their Free Time?" reports, was in the top ten activities residents participated in, both occasionally and often.32 Increasingly, the presence of cars, garages, and gas stations began

to mark the urban landscape. 33 Theatre muralist Anthony Heinsbergen, Sr. attributed the death of picture palaces not to poor quality films and/or television, but chiefly to "no parking." "People started going to suburb theatres so they could park their cars. It's as simple as that." Thus advertisements for the Eglinton's weekly show listings often included a note that the theatre offered "free parking." 35

DESIGNING THE "NABE"

The façade of the Eglinton indicates that Kaplan and Sprachman took the automobile and the movement of patrons into account when designing its exterior. They employed the popular aestheticization and commodification of movement known as streamlining.36 This aesthetic dominated the Chicago "Century of Progress" World's Fair held in 1933-1934, which was attended by Abraham Sprachman and may have influenced the design of the Eglinton.37 On either side of the row of shop windows above doorways that lead to the second-storey offices, vertical elements guide the eye up to a set of horizontal lines (fig. 2). This vertical movement is strengthened by a stylized vegetal motif within the larger black line. The black horizontal bands that glide along the façade of the building frame a row of rectangular windows. This motif is repeated on the third storey toward the roof as well as in the demarcation of the shop signs and between their display windows, though here inversed in colour. The horizontal thrust of these lines follows the traffic's movement on the street, directing a passenger's attention along the façade until it reaches the climatic, upward mobility of the tower, which marks the entrance into the fantasy world of cinema that lies within. Streamlining was perhaps the best choice of ornament for the cinema, as it alluded to



FIG. 7. LOUNGE WITH VIEW OF THREE MUSES BY JOHN CLYMER (ETCHED GLASS AND MURAL), EGLINTON THEATRE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, 1936.



FIG. 8. AUDITORIUM VIEW LOOKING WEST, EGLINTON THEATRE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, 1936.

movement, yet was static: a stable signifier masking the often violent upheavals of modernization.

Integrated physically into the circulatory system of people and capital in Toronto, the Eglinton was also emblematic of the very system of flow. And nowhere else do the physical and symbolic—the

signifier and signified—come together more emphatically than in large pylon marking the theatre's entrance. The modernistic spire climbed some fifty feet (15.24 metres) into the air,³⁸ announcing a modern activity, cinemagoing, and a modern community. This kept with cinema building conventions. As early as 1925, E.C.A. Bullock of

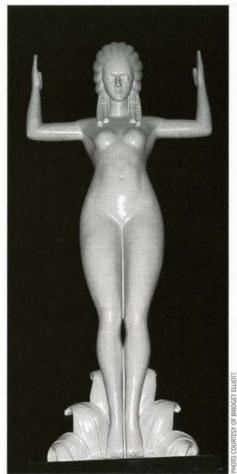


FIG. 9. ALLEGORICAL FIGURE OF THE ARTS OF THE MOTION PICTURE AND THE THEATRE, AUDITORIUM, EGLINTON THEATRE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, 2004.

American architects Rapp and Rapp wrote that:

With a flood of direct, indirect or outline lighting, to blaze the rail to the theatre through many blocks, the entrance must be compelling, it must be inviting, and it must overshadow everything in its immediate neighbourhood. It must be a magnet to draw the people on foot and in vehicles toward its doors.³⁹

P. Morton Shand agreed, making the apt comparison that "[p]ublicity lighting is becoming to architecture what captions and lay-outs are to journalism." Like

a newspaper, the Eglinton headlined ideas and debates and was simultaneously a platform of advertisement and an optical magnet for an "imagined community."41 Unlike their other Toronto commissions, the architects made the pylon part of the building's structure. Its sculptural quality stood in opposition to the more common form of appended signage for movie houses. True to their reputation as "the Vitrolite Architects," a title bestowed upon them with both affection and derision, Kaplan and Sprachman used a great quantity of the coloured glass tiles to make the tower "a symphony of green agate, black and yellow Vitrolite."42 According to the Toronto Daily Star, this component exemplified one of the "newest features in theatre design."43 The Star also included among these features "luxurious chairs," efficient air conditioning, a loge circle for patrons wishing to smoke during the performance, and in one section of seats "a device which enables those who find hearing difficult."44 The Eglinton was both a place of modern communication and an announcement of modernity itself.

COMMERCE OF COMMUNITY

Situated in a new suburban development, the Eglinton's dramatic tower stood out against the domestic houses, low-rise apartments, and commercial buildings that were beginning to constitute the new neighbourhood and shopping district. That contrast mirrored the activity of cinemagoing—a shift out of the everyday into an "other" fantasy space, yet still inscribed on the everyday. The façade can be read as exemplifying a filmic notion of modern architecture, particularly if we accept Donald Albrecht's argument that the film industry popularized elements of modern art and architecture.45 US Art Deco architect S. Charles Lee described

the design decisions behind cinema architecture: "We have attempted to stimulate the escape psychology in the design of our theatre fronts, to throw off the cares of the day and dwell for awhile in the land of make-believe."⁴⁶

Such psychological play ultimately met the interests of business by capturing the attention of pedestrians in the midst of their daily routines and luring them into the magical space within. Like a lighthouse directing ships into port, the quasi-baroque pylon with its dramatic exterior lighting signalled to people in the neighbourhood (fig. 1). The curvilinear marquee, what Ben Hall described as an "electric tiara," illuminated the weekly program while drawing emphasis to the entrance, to the box office where one purchased access to the dreamland beyond the doors.⁴⁷ Below the marquee's canopy, rows of light bulbs divided the space in half, as seen in figure 3. On either side of the light bulbs, mirrors reflected the light and activity of the street while maintaining the linear decorative program. The glossy, black Vitrolite enhanced the sense of depth, pulling the eye in, anticipating the movement from the lit environment of the day to the darkened movie theatre.

The Eglinton also accommodated five shops and, on the second storey, three offices (see fig. 2). The incorporation of rental space is significant for it makes apparent the connection between the theatre and commerce. The stand-alone theatre with its built-in shops establishes the place of the theatre within the shopping community. As Gilbert Seldes noted, films are commodities and are sold, like cars, by appealing to similar desires, including "elegance, comfort and a good position in society" an observation that again links mobility (both physical and social) to the cinema. Anne Friedberg's work

on the development of the "mobilized 'virtual' gaze" corroborates this idea. 49 Though her analysis fails to adequately address the social implications of cinema architecture, her work does usefully highlight the interpenetration of commerce, visual technology, and the modern subject. Friedberg interestingly positions the cinemagoer as window-shopper. Kaplan and Sprachman's architecture situated the audience likewise.

The incorporation of the row of shops and offices visually heightened the moviegoer's anticipation of the theatre. S. Charles Lee, whose unofficial motto was "The show starts on the sidewalk," emphasized the significance of making the cinema stand out from the rest of the street.50 That was particularly important for the suburban theatres, which needed to compete with the excitement and glamour of the downtown movie districts.51 By building the shops into the structure of the cinema, Kaplan and Sprachman established a stylistic foil for the remarkable tower and marquee area, contrasting day-to-day business with the business of magic.

Most importantly, though, the architects integrated the cinema into the new suburban landscape and into the daily life of North Toronto. In fact, such neighbourhood theatres soon established themselves as community centres. In the United States, James Forsher notes, much of the ardent opposition to the proliferation of theatres in the 1920s came from church groups who felt threatened by the growth of cinema as a community meeting place.52 John Sebert suggests that the manager of a "nabe" was "[p]art lawyer, confessor, policeman, banker and often baby sitter, [and that] he was often referred to as the mayor of the district."53 Austin "Casey" Ryan's memories of his local "nabe," the Landsdowne, support Sebert's claim: "As

a young kid, I went once a week. They used to ship us all off—get us out of the house [he laughs]. We were dying of heat, once a week."54

The theatre was much more than just a location for movie-watching. As the furniture of the Women's Lounge in figure 4 indicates, the theatre was a place to stop, sit, and chat with neighbours. Other innovations in theatres, such as the development of soundproof "crying rooms" where mothers could take crying children to watch films without distracting other patrons, also point to the community-oriented thrust of the "nabe."55 Many filmgoers interviewed by Annette Kuhn remembered more about who they went with and why they were there (e.g., as the place for courting teens) than what they saw.56 Just as American cinemas became the backdrops for movie star look-a-like contests, local business "give-aways," and a place for games and community events,57 the Eglinton, too, hosted events like youth talent searches, activities that fuelled dreams of social mobility.58 Jim and Georgie Struthers remember similar contests in nearby North Toronto theatres where patrons could win a set of dishes piece by piece.59 The theatre operated as a scaled-down "entertainment district," one that met the needs of the neighbourhood. Like the larger theatres downtown, the Eglinton had positive effects on the growth of business around it. In figure 5 we see the theatre in May 1938, inhabited by more shops, which indicates the commercial growth of the area.60 And in classified advertisements dating from 1936 and 1937, houses were sold as being in the "Eglinton Theatre District." The theatre with its illuminated signifying tower became the symbol for and centrepiece of that North Toronto neighbourhood: a community centre and place of social identification.

THEORIZING THE PLACE OF OTHER SPACES

This identification of the Eglinton literally conflated a number of spaces and possible subject positions under one roof. It created a kind of heterotopic environment that enlarged and confused imagined and lived experience. Here reference to recent spatial theory is useful. Michel Foucault cites the cinema as exemplary of a heterotopia as it is "capable of juxtaposing in a single real space several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible."61 Audiences existed in the space of the cinema but also in the fantastic space projected on the screen—spaces with differing conceptions of time and space. In her analysis of the "movie-made" generation in Britain, Kuhn characterizes the time of the cinema as "lived" time, one which is "lived collectively as much as individually" and is "somewhat incongruent with the linear temporality of historical time."62 She describes two different aspects of cinematic experiences in relation to time: "cinema in the world" and "world in the cinema." Kuhn's work complicates the Foucauldian model for it highlights how different experiences marked by different temporalities infect and affect one another, which to my mind upsets the idea of cinema as a site of containment to simply manage deviance or crisis, excess and escape.

"Cinema in the world" deals with the role cinema played in the daily lives of the interviewees. It is an experience remembered dominantly "in terms of the temporality of repetition and routine." Kuhn also notes that her subjects make a distinction between the experience of the local theatres, places remembered "as extensions of home," and the more distant, downtown picture palaces, associated more with the exotic and luxurious. Her observations of British audiences seem

relevant to the Canadian experience. For example, "Casey" Ryan, who grew up in the west end of Toronto at Dundas and Bloor, recalls that for ten cents he and the other neighbourhood children would go to the cinema for the Saturday afternoon programs (two features and a Mickey Mouse cartoon) and "they'd give you an Eskimo Pie [he laughs] and you couldn't go wrong, or a comic book."65 Ryan's memories are framed within the timeless space of routine, imbued with the satisfying vision of remembered pleasure. The site of the cinema acted for him as a place of socialization and maturation, but retained a connection to the domestic.

The "world in the cinema" refers to the "other worldly" experience of actual film consumption. 66 This sense of time seemed on one hand infinite and on the other circumscribed by the recognition of "real time" outside the space of the cinema. 67 As the experience of cinemagoing became normalized and thus less strange,

it continued to be experienced as bigger, more perfect, more magical, than the daily life outside. Memories of being "carried away," of feeling oneself becoming part of the world on the screen; memories of merging with the world in the cinema, even of experiencing a temporary ecstasy, a loss of self sometimes expressed in terms similar to that of the rapture of being in love, may certainly be understood in this light. 58

Hollywood perfection, Kuhn argues, influenced life outside the cinema and continues to affect the memory of the past.⁶⁹ That is, the "otherly" world on the screen was woven into the fabric of daily life, just as the theatre, a place of escape, marked the landscape of the neighbourhood—the very site of everyday life. This tension was played out in the Eglinton. With its heterotopic potential to "juxtapose incompatible sites," the theatre blurred the space between

the real (material) and imagined (virtual) notions of the modern.

THE ARCHITECTONICS OF PLEASURE

The architects exploited the fertile, heterotopic ground of identity-construction in the interior of the building. Inside the doors, audiences entered a lobby replete with a continuation and expansion of the mirrored surfaces below the marquee (fig. 6). The high ceiling, rising two storeys, was lit indirectly by flanking long fixtures that echoed the pattern of mirrors and lights below the marquee. The space was enlarged by facing mirrored glass and Vitrolite in a stepped back recess above the vestibule, multiplying the number of round metallic and long narrow light fixtures. Mirrors also flanked the east and west sides of the lobby both at the dado level and on the south side extending to the ceiling above the doors to the street.70 On the east and west walls, circular mirrors of tinted pink glass reflected the light fixtures and expanded the space. The pattern of the lobby's wallpaper reinforced the mirroring effect, representing the green leaves of the plants situated in the recessed space above the vestibule and in the corners. A similar gesture was seen on the fabric of the curtains covering the glass of the doors leading into the theatre's foyer. This motif is not dissimilar to the vegetal image on the exterior of the building. A sense of the exotic was established by the plant imagery, buttressed by a six-nozzle illuminated fountain which sat in the mirrored alcove and sprayed whenever one broke a beam of light from a photoelectric cell while entering the lobby from outside.71 Together with the disorienting mirrors, these images contributed to an atmosphere of illusion and the deferment and confusion of reality. As an introduction to the space of the cinema, this design decision corresponded

to the larger mirror of the cinema screen, a space of fantasy projection and vicarious identification.

Both the L-shaped floor plan and the overall interior décor helped produce a heterotopic experience. Audiences entered from the street passing through the lobby, into the vestibule, down a staircase and through the foyer and into the lounge, then up to the left through the vomitory, and finally into the auditorium.72 The journey through the theatre was marked by different angles and orientations. This might have "warmed-up" viewers to the filmic vocabulary of angles seen on the big screen. Complicating Kuhn's discussion of temporal disorientation symptomatic of cinemagoing, I believe we should read the interior décor as indicating another level of time. In this case, the Eglinton's moderne furniture alongside a black and yellow Vitrolite striped fireplace and local Toronto artist John Clymer's mural Three Muses (1935), perhaps referring to the sculptures representing the "Arts of the Motion Picture and the Theatre" in the auditorium (see figs. 7-9), situated viewers in a time beyond the present, in an "elsewhere" that was simultaneously inscribed on everyday life.73 The sense of being elsewhere echoed the activity of film consumption and infused the space with a rich potential for "trying on" new subject positions.74 The pleasurable, heterotopic dimensions of the Eglinton, as with other cinemas in the city, were instrumental in allowing for the realization of both imagined and real communities.

THE CONSUMER/CITIZEN: NEGOTIATING THE MODERN

As Valentine remarks, the theatre lobbies "served social purposes; they were places to see and be seen and helped make the theatre an important civic and

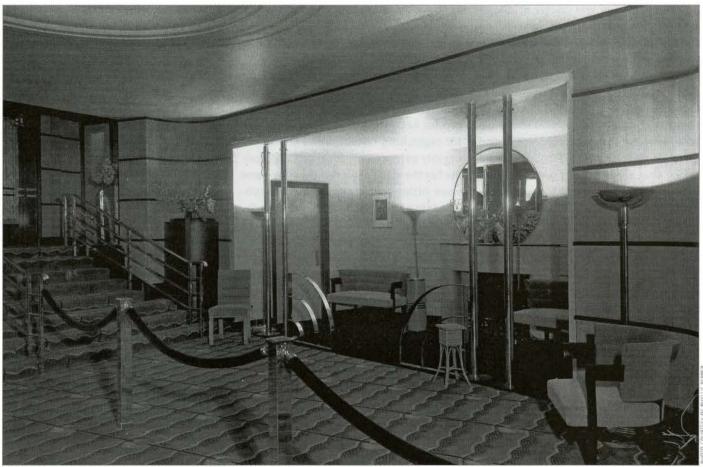


FIG. 10. FOYER VIEW LOOKING WEST, EGLINTON THEATRE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, CA. 1936.

social place."75 She goes on to note that the "surroundings [of the lobby] thrust the ticket holders into the role of actors, causing them to pose and primp before the mirrors."76 Although her comments speak more specifically to the grandiose atmospheric picture palaces of the 1920s, they hold true for moderne settings in cinema interiors like the Eglinton, where the furniture, light fixtures, and general décor were quite different from those in the homes of most moviegoers. Furthermore, the lobby had a function unlike the department store display which it resembled, being "so designed and so equipped that the fascination resulting from it will keep the patron's mind off the fact that he [or she] was waiting."77

The moderne furniture in the lounge had a use value and as such presented cinemagoers with the opportunity to "perform" much like actors on a moderne stage. This promoted a pleasurable, vicarious identification with the Hollywood movie star, a relatively recent invention due to the expansion of mass media, and was exploited by the commodity market. We can easily imagine local residents sitting on the couch and chairs before the fireplace in figure 10 discussing recent films or perhaps some other local event. As a civic space of socialization, I argue that the cinema was an integral stage for the performance and fashioning of modern citizenship. Here residents (re)produced, or perhaps reacted against, the values of

the dominant culture and became the physical embodiment of their consumer culture.

During the period of the Depression, cinema was "the main attraction," as Kuhn discovered in her study of cinema in relation to the everyday.⁷⁸ One of her interviewees, Sheila Black, wrote:

We went because it was such a magical invention packing our lives with glamour and action, with history, reality and non-reality. It was all new and wonderful, just as Internet and computing are today.⁷⁸

This "glamour" was constructed, by and large, in Hollywood, as Anne Massey

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has explored, and was closely affiliated with the growing consumer culture.80 As she noted, Hollywood films guite consciously sold the moderne to the female consumer,81 an idea picked up by theatre designers, like S. Charles Lee, who felt that colours should be "flattering to women patrons."82 Department stores like Macy's in New York marketed Hollywood glamour directly, setting up a "Cinema Shop" that sold clothing which echoed that worn in recent films.83 Lower-middleclass and working-class women had access to this glamour with the purchase of sewing and knitting patterns "produced to imitate the clothes seen on the screen."84 With this increased "social extension of desire," consumers, like Sheila Black, could blur the lines between "reality and nonreality." The connection between film and mass production fuelled the modern belief in social mobility, perhaps the most popular theme in Art Deco films.85

The modernism of the screen-combining elements of the modern movement with the more commercial Art Decocan be read in the interior space of the Eglinton. For example, if we return to the Three Muses (fig. 7), we see emphasized reflective qualities in the mirrors, the lamps and polished black surface of the bar. The reflections operate not only like those of the lobby discussed above, but also highlight a connection with the screen for the audience. The screen itself reflected light: that of the film's projection. As well it offered a view of moderne Hollywood sets, which were themselves often characterized by highly reflective materials. The arrangement of the lounge in fact seems to refer to images seen in the luxurious houses, apartments, and offices of the nouveaux riches in the movies, spaces filled with modern sculpture, reliefs, paintings, and moderne fireplace. However, this sort of modernism likely would not have existed

even in the wealthier houses around Eglinton and Avenue Road. This was partly because of the prevalence of traditional tastes in domestic furnishing and, even more paradoxically, partly because of the immoral connotations of the modern in Deco films.86 The most spectacular Art Deco film sets were reserved for nightclubs, hotels, ocean liners, and big-city penthouses—locations appropriate for the scandalous rendez-vous-and were often contrasted with more subdued domestic interiors.87 Interestingly, streamlined moderne, a style linked more directly to the United States, was seen as less threatening and less corrupting than the more risqué Art Deco designs from France.88 Like the British and Americans, the Canadian public participated in modern activities of shopping and moviegoing, often in moderne spaces, while generally living in more traditional settings.89

The americanization that Massey discusses in relation to Britain had an even greater impact on Toronto's emergent consumer culture. In fact, as Ian Jarvie's research has shown, Canada was considered a domestic market by Hollywood, given its proximity and similar culture. Thus Canadian cinemas played almost entirely American films. In 1926, for example, 99.1% of all films imported to Canada were from the United States.90 With the largest number of theatres, highest revenue and attendance, Toronto was the target market in Canada.91 Jarvie observes that Canadians most often saw the original versions of Hollywood films (and advertisements) and not the editions sent to Britain or Australia.92 The other "benefit" for Canadians, according to Jarvie, was that their major cities (i.e., Montréal and especially Toronto) became showcases for advance screenings along with New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, because of their "high rate of cinemagoing" and their status as "centers of communication [...] to begin word of mouth (the most important element in film promotion)."93 Although the preference of the dominantly Anglo population of Toronto, at least the elite, was for British popular cultural products, little was done to curb American imports.94 Jarvie suggests that this was primarily due to a lack of money to promote filmmaking in Ontario, not to mention the fact that the British films produced at the time were generally of a lower quality and that the Canadian public tended to prefer American films and stars.95

Without a national film industry,96 Canadian audiences (unlike their American and British counterparts) would have found going to the pictures an activity that required them to identify with an "other." However, the fact that Toronto produced Hollywood movie stars, such as Mary Pickford, helped to fuel mythologies of the American dream. Also, a Canadian audience would have identified with the American standard of living and experience of modernity (e.g., having an automobile) represented in many Hollywood films. These same factors, though, may well have alienated some members of the Toronto elite who retained a certain loyalty to British cultural imports, believing them morally superior to the apparently fast and loose values of American films. The Eglinton in fact played host to British film premieres in the city, for instance When Knights Were Bold and Trapped in the Alps opened at the theatre in March 1937 and were advertised as British film premieres in the city.97 An identification with the Empire, particularly in Loyalist Ontario, cannot be underestimated when considering the influences on popular culture in the interwar period. This point upsets a oneway cultural invasion suggested by the term "americanization" and begs further inquiry into spaces such as the Eglinton as examples of public culture.

CONCLUSION

The Eglinton Theatre was a rich ground for identity construction-both community and self. Here, concepts of modern citizenship and consumption were presented, performed, negotiated, and localized by neighbourhood residents. The theatre was woven into everyday life practices as well as the urban fabric and responded to the burgeoning age of "automobility" and its attendant ideas of personal freedom and social mobility. The Eglinton was essentially a place of flow and not just a refuge from economic realities. People went to the cinema because the pictures moved and moved them as they pictured themselves and their community. In exploring the architecture of pleasure and its political dimensions within the everyday, we will come to a better understanding of the experience of modernity and the creation of a modern subjectivity unique to Canada.

NOTES

- This essay is dedicated to the memory of Austin "Casey" Ryan and Elizabeth Scott. Their conversations with me provided an invaluable perspective on the experience of living in the Toronto of the 1930s. I would like to acknowledge the support of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council, the Ontario Graduate Scholarship Program, the University of Western Ontario, and the University of British Columbia. I also extend my special thanks to Dr. Rhodri Windsor-Liscombe and Dr. Bridget Elliott for their thoughtful insights and comments at various stages of this research.
- Seldes, Gilbert, 1937, The Movies Come From America, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons; repr., Aspects of Film Series, New York, Arno Press, 1978, p. 9. Citations are to the Arno Press edition.
- See The Architectural Record 75, no. 3, March 1934, p. 190-235, notably the bibliography of contemporary books discussing leisure, which

- provides various viewpoints on the "problem of leisure" in America (p. 197-203). The issue also contains "A report of a study of leisure time activities and desires conducted by the National Recreation Association" (p. 207-223) and a portfolio of some recent recreational architecture, including "picture houses" (p. 225-235).
- For a recent interpretation of the crisis in leisure in the US, see Currell, Susan, 2005, The March of Spare Time: The Problem and Promise of Leisure in the Great Depression, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Shand, P. Morton, 1930, Modern Theatres and Cinemas, The Architecture of Pleasure, London, B.T. Batsford Ltd. This text was supposed to be the first in series that would include the architecture of hotels, cafés, restaurants, bars, dance-halls, and stadiums, and the architecture of sport and travel.
- 6. John F. Barry and Epes W. Sargent went so far as to call the cinema a "shrine of democracy where there are no privileged patrons" in their « Building Theatre Patronage, 1927 », In Gregory A. Waller (ed.), Moviegoing in America: A Sourcebook in the History of Film Exhibition, Malden, MA, Blackwell Publishers, 2002, p. 110. Similar views were expressed both in Britain (e.g. Shand) and America (e.g. Seldes).
- 7. Although The Architectural Report notes that the dominant leisure time activities tend to be quiet, indoor pastimes, like reading newspapers and magazines and listening to the radio, due in large part to the contemporary economic crisis, moviegoing appears toward the top of the lists of activities both carried out occasionally (third) and often (eighth). See « What are people doing with their free time? », The Architectural Record 75, no. 3, March 1934, p. 210-212. For more on cinemagoing in Britain, see: Kuhn, Annette, 2002, An Everyday Magic: Cinema and Cultural Memory, London, I.B. Tauris Publishers; Massey, Anne, 2000, Hollywood Beyond the Screen: Design and Material Culture, Oxford, Berg; and Jancovich, Mark, and Lucy Faire with Sarah Stubbings, 2003, The Place of the Audience: Cultural Geographies of Film Consumption, London, British Film Institute. For more on American film-going activities in the 1930s, see: Forsher, James, 2003, The Community of Cinema: How Cinema and Spectacle Transformed the American Downtown, Westport, CT, Praeger; Valentine, Maggie, 1994, The Show Starts on the Sidewalk: An Architectural History of the Movie Theatre, Starring S. Charles Lee, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press; Farrand Thorp, Margaret, 1939, America at the Movies, New Haven, CT,

- Yale University Press; and Gregory A. Waller's 2002 compendium of contemporary essays and primary source material, *Moviegoing in America...*, op. cit.
- Forsher: 36. This number is contested by some, including Henry James Forman, who notes the difficulty in enumerating these statistics. See Forman, Henry James, 1935, Our Movie Made Children, New York, The Macmillan Company, repr., New York, Arno Press Inc, 1970, p. 12-27.
- 9. Kuhn, 2002: 1.
- For examples see: Benjamin, Walter [trans. Harry Zohn], 1968, « The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction », In Hannah Arendt (ed.), Illuminations: Essays and Reflections, New York, Schocken Books, p. 217-251; Kracauer, Sigfried [ed. and trans. Thomas Y. Levin], 1995, The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; and Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno [trans. John Cumming], 1973, Dialectic of Enlightenment, London, Allen Lane.
- 11. The closest examples I have found are: Sebert, John, 2001, The "Nabes": Toronto's Wonderful Neighbourhood Movie Houses, Oakville, ON, Mosaic Press (which catalogues and describes the "nabes" of Toronto); and Moore, Paul S., 2004, « Movie Palaces on Canadian Downtown Streets: Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver », Urban History Review, vol. 32, no. 2, spring, p. 3-20 (perhaps the first of a burgeoning field of interest around Canadian movie theatres and their impact on the urban development of Canadian cities).
- 12. The downtown palaces included the Imperial (Pantages) (1920), Loew's Yonge Street Theatre and Winter Garden Theatre (1913), and Shea's Hippodrome (1914). See Moore, Paul S., and John C. Lindsay, 1983, Turn out the Stars Before Leaving, Erin, ON, Boston Mills Press. Lindsay's heavily illustrated book offers a history of film exhibition in Canada and a survey of theatres both in Toronto and in other parts of Canada and the United States, though it is more specifically focused on Ontario.
- Appadurai and Breckenridge first proposed the idea to approach the postcolonial situation in India and abroad. See their discussion: Appadurai, Arjun, and Carol Breckenridge, 1988, « Why Public Culture? », Public Culture, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 5-9.
- 14. Pinney, Christopher, 2001, « Introduction: Public, Popular, and Other Cultures », In Rachel Dwyer and Christopher Pinney (eds.), Pleasure and the Nation: The History, Politics and Consumption of Public Culture in India, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 8.

- 15. Brief histories of the Eglinton can be found at « History », The Eglinton Grand, n.d., [http://www.eglintongrand.com/history.html], (accessed September 19, 2004); and « Eglinton Theatre Background », Save the Eglinton Theatre (STET), 19 March 2004, [http://www.eglintontheatre.com/STETevents/STEThistory.html], (accessed September 19, 2004). Also see Anderson, Kathryn, 1993, Heritage Property Report: Eglinton Theatre, 400 Eglinton Avenue West, Toronto, Toronto Historical Board.
- 16. According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics' Census of Merchandising and Service Establishments from 1937, slightly more than half of the motion picture theatres in Canada (559 of 1044) were owned independently or by a single owner; 119 were the property of owners of two or three theatres; while 359 were operated by corporations or individuals who owned four or more cinemas. The Canadian film distribution was dominated by the Famous Players Canadian Corporation, led by Nathan L. Nathanson. The company was ostensibly owned by Paramount Publix, the American film production and distribution giant, a fact that points to the change in film distribution practices in Canada and the United States. Films were originally presented as part of vaudeville shows, but, with the advent of the feature film in 1912, the film distribution and exhibition became big business. For an in-depth look at the film industry and its impact on Canada, see Jarvie, lan, 1992, Hollywood's Overseas Campaign: The North Atlantic Movie Trade, 1920-1950, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- 17. Sebert (op. cit.: 7) outlines the struggle of some "nabes" that would not be able to show some films for up to four years after they were originally released. This was largely due to the fact that the major film distribution companies engaged in practices of zoning (i.e., keeping first-run theatres from showing the same film concurrently in the same area), block booking (i.e., selling rights to exhibit films in groups, rather than by individual films, which ultimately meant that they would have to play some films of lesser quality), and blind booking (i.e., selling films "sight-unseen"-likely because the films had not been produced yet-to exhibitors in groups with predicted hit films). For more on these practices see Jarvie: 34; as well as Harrison, P.S., 2002, « Give the Movie Exhibitor a Chance! », In Walker, Moviegoing in America...: 211-213. For a firsthand perspective on running an independent theatre in small-town USA, see Beach Roney, Carlie, 2002, « Show Lady », In Walker, Moviegoing in America...: 197-202. It should be

- noted that these practices were banned in Britain with the passing of The Cinematograph Act in 1927.
- 18. For many examples of their work, see Sebert's book, which defines the "nabe" and presents both vintage photographs of them and contemporary shots of their sites today. As far as I can ascertain, Kaplan and Sprachman have received no scholarly attention despite their enormous contribution to the designs of movie theatres in Toronto and across Canada. For another example of their work, see the Capitol Theatre in Sarnia, ON, also dating to 1936, at « History », The Imperial Oil Centre for the Performing Arts, n.d., [http://www. imperialtheatre.net/history.php], (accessed September 19, 2004). For a full list of their theatre output, see « Inventory of Kaplan and Sprachman Theatre Projects », Bulletin, Historic Theatres' Trust/Société des salles historiques (spring/summer 1996); p. 11-14.
- See « Eglinton Theatre Opening To-Night », Toronto Daily Star, April 2, 1936, News 3, as well as the advertisements in the same section on p. 36.
- 20. « History », The Eglinton Grand. Anderson, Kathryn: 3-4. Fionel Scott, a reporter with The Globe, commented that "The Eglinton Theatre, the only moving picture house shown, was awarded a very coveted prize. Not only the architecture of the outside and the auditorium was interesting, but the furnishings of the foyer and rest rooms show a thoughtful attention to detail. The color schemes of these small rooms are very pleasing, too." (« The Architectural Exhibit », The Globe, February 24, 1937, News 5.)
- 21. Anderson, Kathryn: 2.
- Ritchie, Don, 1992, North Toronto, Erin, ON, Boston Mills Press, p. 141.
- 23. Idem: 144.
- This is another example of a Kaplan and Sprachman theatre.
- 25. Ritchie: 144. For a panoramic view of the Capitol, see idem: 142-143. Like the Eglinton, the Capitol still stands today and is also used as an "event" venue. For a longer and illustrated list of theatres in Toronto's north end, see Sebert: 19-33.
- 26. Ritchie: 146. As Ritchie notes, by 1939 there were shopping areas along Yonge at Davisville to Manor, Broadway to Sheldrake, and Ranleigh to Snowdon. There were also areas on Mt. Pleasant (Belsize to Hillsdale), Avenue (north from Brookdale), Bayview (Millwood to Manor), and Eglinton (Oriole Parkway)

- and west). A Woolworths and Canada's first Kresge's sprung up on Yonge between Roselawn and Castlefield, pointing to the expansion and success of chain stores in Toronto's growing suburbs (p. 147).
- « The Eglinton Theatre », Structures, prod. Carolyn Sochaniwsky, 30 mins, Rogers, 2004, videotape.
- 28. Anderson, Kathryn: 2.
- 29. Idem: 2.
- 30. Ritchie: 120. See also Cotter, Charis, 2004, Toronto Between the Wars: Life in the City, 1919-1939, Richmond Hill, ON, Firefly Books, p. 40. Forest Hill and North Toronto became home to many of Toronto's wealthiest, including members of the Eaton family and the company's vice-president J.J. Vaughan. For a description of some of the homes of Toronto's elite, see Ritchie: 137-140.
- 31. Bus routes began to spring up in North Toronto to feed the new network of streetcars, including the Oriole bus route in 1927, the Eglinton in 1930, and the Lawrence in 1934. (Ritchie: 125-126.)
- 32. The Architectural Record 75, no. 3, March 1934, p. 210. Although the survey is American, its findings most likely reflect the dominant views of Canadians at the time, given the similarity in standard of living, including, for example, automobile ownership.
- 33. Ritchie notes that along Yonge Street in North Toronto, in 1914 there were "six garages and one 'horseshoer'" while in 1937 "there were 38 gas stations, 11 per mile, and 11 car sales agencies" (p. 140). Traffic lights, too, entered the urban fabric. The first ones in North Toronto were installed in 1930 at the corner of Yonge and Chatsworth (p. 126).
- 34. Quoted in Valentine: 83.
- 35. For example, see *Toronto Daily Star*, May 9, 1936, News 9.
- 36. For more on streamlining in the United States, see Innes, Christopher, 2005, Designing Modern America: Broadway to Main Street, New Haven and London, Yale University Press; Greif, Martin, 1975, Depression Modern: The Thirties Style in America, New York, Universe Books; and Maffei, Nicolas P., 2003, « The Search for an American Design Aesthetic: From Art Deco to Streamlining », In Charlotte Benton, Tim Benton, and Ghislaine Wood (eds.), Art Deco 1910-1939, Boston, Bulfinch Press/AOL Time Warner Book Group, p. 360-369.

- Mattie, Joan, 1993, "Eglinton Theatre, 400 Eglinton Ave. West, Toronto, Ontario," Ottawa, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada Agenda Paper 1993-34, p. 342.
- 38. Anderson, Kathryn: 5.
- Bullock, E.C.A., 1925, « Theater Entrances and Lobbies », Architectural Forum, vol. 42, no. 6, June, p. 369.
- 40. Shand: 28.
- Anderson, Benedict, 1991, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism, London, Verso.
- 42. Sprachman, Mandel, 1992, «The Eglinton Theatre », *Marquee*, vol. 24, no. 4, Fourth Quarter, p. 4.
- 43. « Eglinton Theatre Opening To-Night », Toronto Daily Star, April 2, 1936, News 3. See Sebert for other examples of the architects' work in Toronto. The dominating tower, however, was later used to good effect in another of their well-known movie theatres—the Vogue theatre in Vancouver (1940).
- 44. Ibid. Anne Massey notes the importance of ventilation systems for germ control in Britain's theatres of the thirties, indicating a common concern not only for comfort but health (p. 73).
- 45. Albrecht, Donald, 1986, Designing Dreams: Modern Architecture in the Movies, Santa Monica, Hennessey and Ingalls, p. xii. In comparing the attendance of World Fairs, like those of Chicago in 1933 and in New York in 1939, as well as the Museum of Modern Art's 1932 exhibition Modern Architecture: International Exhibition, with that of the movies, Albrecht astutely asserts that "[n]o vehicle provided as effective and widespread exposure of architectural imagery as the medium of the movies."
- 46. Valentine: 95.
- 47. Quoted in Valentine: 97.
- 48. Seldes : 9.
- 49. Friedberg, Anne, 1993, Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press. In order to explain the postmodern condition not in terms of a sudden rupture but as a longer development of shifting visual perception in modernity, Friedberg excavates the history of the commodification of the mobile and virtual gaze from the nineteenth century. Turning to the flâneuse as well as the importance of the panorama, she aptly explores the commodification of experience in the meeting of the

- shopper, tourist, and cinemagoer, ultimately situating us in the shopping malls of the late twentieth century.
- 50. Valentine: 9.
- 51. Idem: 91.
- 52. Forsher: 58-59.
- 53. Sebert: 8.
- 54. Austin "Casey" Ryan, interview by author, May 12, 2005. See Sebert: 65, for photodocumentation of the Lansdowne. This particular theatre was originally called the Park and was built in the 1920s. It was renamed the Lansdowne in 1937.
- 55. Forsher: 67.
- 56. Kuhn, 2002: 142.
- 57. Forsher: 66. In order to draw audiences, theatre owners would run "bank nights," lotteries, and other contests. For more on these practices at the time, see H.O. Kusell, « Bank Night », article written in 1936 and excerpted in Moviegoing in America...: 189-202.
- 58. See advertisement in *Toronto Daily Star* for the « Smilers' Club Amateur Contests » held weekly on Saturdays at the Eglinton Theatre, December 19, 1936, News 8.
- 59. Jim and Georgie Struthers, interview by author, February 2, 2005.
- See movie listings from Toronto Daily Star, May 24, 1938, News 18.
- Foucault, Michel [trans. Jay Miskowiec], 1986,
 Of Other Spaces », *Diacritics*, vol. 16, no. 1,
 spring, p. 25.
- 62. Kuhn, Annette, 2004, « Heterotopia, Heterochronia: Place and Time in Cinema History », Screen, vol. 45, no. 2, summer, p. 106. "Moviemade" refers to Henry James Forman's report of the Payne Fund studies of US carried out in the early thirties on American audiences. Forman's book, Our Movie Made Children, warned of the corrupting impact of cinema on America's youth. In his view, "[m]otion pictures are a school" (p. 141) and thus children and teens, who imitate what is seen on the screen, learn "love-making" (p. 148-152), racial hatred (p. 161-163), and bad habits from film, which caused the crime rate to escalate in the years following the widespread adoption of cinema in American communities (p. 196).
- 63. Kuhn, 2004: 109.
- 64. Idem: 107.
- 65. Austin "Casey" Ryan, interview by author, May 12, 2005.

- 66. Kuhn, 2004: 109.
- 67. The experience of cinema viewing was quite different, given that theatres ran continuous programming at the time. This affected time within the narrative structure of films, for viewers might begin watching a film part way through, watch the rest of the reel, then the beginning of the film that they missed. The Eglinton ran continuous programming Saturdays, as seen in the weekly show listings from the Toronto Daily Star.
- 68. Kuhn, 2004: 112.
- 69. Idem: 113-114.
- 70. Anderson, Kathryn: 6.
- 71. Ibid.
- 72. I take the terminology for the different parts of the theatre from the Sprachman article.
- 73. The furniture was provided by and therefore could possibly have been purchased at Toronto's major department stores, Eaton's and Simpsons'. See advertisements in *Toronto Daily Star*, April 2, 1936, News 36.
- 74. In her Designing Women: Cinema, Art Deco, and the Female Form (New York, Columbia University Press, 2003), Lucy Fischer discusses the interest in exotic locations in Hollywood films as well as in theatre designs. See her chapter « Strangers in Paradise: South Seas Films of the Art Deco Era » (p. 151-183) as well as « Architectural Exoticism and the Art Deco Picture Palace » (p. 187-202).
- 75. Valentine: 61.
- 76. Idem: 62.
- 77. Bullock: 372.
- 78. Kuhn, 2002: 220.
- 79. Quoted in *idem* : 221.
- See Massey: 36-42. See also Gundle, Stephen, and Clino T. Castelli, 2006, The Glamour System, New York, Palgrave MacMillan.
- 81. Massey: 76.
- 82. Lee, quoted in Valentine: 97.
- 83. Massey: 76.
- 84. *Idem* : 76-77.
- 85. For examples of Art Deco film, see Albrecht's filmography in *Designing Dreams*, (Albrecht: 179-189). See also Mandelbaum, Howard, and Eric Myers, 2000, Screen Deco: A Celebration of High Style in Hollywood, Santa Monica, Hennessey and Ingalls.

- 86. Anne Massey looks in depth at the controversial reception of *Our Dancing Daughters* (1928), one of the first extremely popular Art Deco films, in Britain (p. 25-36). The film was studied as having a detrimental effect on the impressionable youth of the day by American sociologist Herbert Blumer. In this movie, the "new women," Diana Medford (Joan Crawford) and Anne (Anita Page), who lived the scandalous life of the flapper, were housed in elaborate Deco sets, not unlike the interior of the Eglinton, while the "wholesome" characters lived in dwellings of the Spanish Colonial Revival style.
- See Albrecht's chapter, « The Modern Mystique » (p. 109-166).
- 88. Massey: 75.
- There were exceptions, of course. For example, Los Angeles and Miami Beach in particular had extensive Deco housing.
- 90. Jarvie: 53.
- 91. Idem: 33. In 1936, the year the Eglinton opened, Toronto had 102 operating cinemas, substantially more than Montréal's 62, Winnipeg's 32, or Vancouver's 31. Attendance for Toronto theatres that year was 22,301,324 and they grossed \$5,198,000, compared to Montréal's attendance of 22,006,918 and gross of \$4,797,300, according to Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Motion Pictures Statistics, 1936 (Ottawa: Ministry of Trade and Commerce, 1937).
- 92. Jarvie: 33.
- 93. Ibid.
- 94. Jarvie notes that "[t]he quota powers were not utilized, and the Federal Parliament made no attempt to regulate the film industry by means of a commission, as it would with radio and, later, television" following the failure of the FPCC (Famous Players Canadian Corp.) trial of 1932 (p. 41). The Canadian government did not really act until the creation of the National Film Board in 1939, an organization that sought to capitalize on the aspects of film that Hollywood had not conquered—namely, documentary.
- 95. Jarvie: 41. For more on stars and the growth and power of star fan clubs in the United States, see Barbas, Samantha, 2001, Movie Crazy: Fans, Stars, and the Cult of Celebrity, New York, Palgrave.

- 96. There were attempts at creating a film industry in Canada, but never became economically viable due in large part to the strategies of Hollywood film distributors and makers, as Jarvie explores. Peter Morris suggests that Canada was disadvantaged in two regards. First, its massive geography and low population density meant that efforts to create an indigenous film industry were nearly impossible to coordinate into a centralized structure like Hollywood. Second, the country did not have the "established vaudeville, music hall, and theatrical traditions" present in Britain, France, and the United States. Instead, Canadian cities hosted "stock company productions" on tour from these same nations, which would later dominate the film industry in Canada. See Morris, Peter, 1978, Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema, 1895-1939, Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press. p. 27-28.
- 97. See listing in *The Globe*, March 13, 1937, News 8.