The Exhibition of Art in Montreal's Department Stores, 1900–1945

by

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Abstract

This thesis is the first historical study to engage with the overlooked topic of art exhibitions held in Montreal's department stores between the beginning of the century and the end of the Second World War. Although Montreal was home (though not concurrently) to fifteen department stores, this thesis is limited to four of them: Dupuis Frères, Henry Morgan & Co., Ogilvy's and the T. Eaton Co.. They created an image of themselves not only as spaces for retail, but as active cultural actors within the larger phenomenon of the visual arts in Montreal. By the 1930s, they were essential parts of the Montreal art scene. This dissertation is divided into two chronological periods, 1900–27 and 1927–45. This first period was marked by Morgan's monopoly in the display and selling of visual art, while from the late 1920s onwards other department stores became active in this way. By examining these stores' display of art, and by setting this activity within the larger context of opportunities to view visual art in the city, this thesis recuperates the role of department stores in Montreal as active agents in the production, circulation and consumption of art.

Résumé

Ce mémoire se veut être la première étude historique à s'intéresser aux expositions d'art présentées dans les grands magasins de Montréal dès les années 1900 jusqu'à la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Durant ces années, Montréal compta une quinzaine de ces grands magasins, bien que de façon non simultanée. Cette thèse se concentre sur seulement quatre d'entre eux : Dupuis Frères, Henry Morgan & Co., Ogilvy's et la T. Eaton Co.. Se revendiquant à la fois d'un rôle commercial et culturel, ces grands magasins ont su s'intégrer aux tendances du milieu culturel de leur époque. La chronologie mise de l'avant par ce mémoire est divisée en deux périodes qui se succèdent : 1900–27 et 1927–45. Durant cette première période, la maison Morgan jouit d'un monopole qu'elle se voit contraint de partager vers la fin des années 1920. Ainsi, au courant du vingtième siècle, ces institutions s'immiscèrent dans la scène culturelle montréalaise et en devinrent des agents de modernisation lors des processus de production, circulation et consommation d'objets d'art.

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	ii
RÉSUMÉ.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	vi
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	ix
 INTRODUCTION	 1
 CHAPTER 1. A History of Department Stores and Consumerism	 11
– Department Stores: A Phenomenon.....	12
– Conceptualizing Consumerism.....	16
– Canadian Manifestations.....	19
 CHAPTER 2. The Montreal Art Scene During the First Half of the Twentieth Century ...	 27
– Cosmopolitan Montreal.....	30
– A Gamut of Attitudes; From Conservatism to the Avant-Garde.....	31
– Looking at the Visual Arts in Montreal.....	33
 CHAPTER 3. Art Exhibitions in Montreal Department Stores: Marketing the Image of Cultural Institutions	 44
– The Beginnings, 1900-27.....	50
– Maturity, 1927-45.....	56
 CONCLUSION	 68
 ILLUSTRATIONS	 71
REFERENCES	94
APPENDICES	
I. Department Stores in Montreal	106
II. Chronology of Art Exhibitions in Montreal’s Department Stores (1900-1950)	110

List of Illustrations

- Figure 1** Henry Morgan & Company, “Art Department,” in *Henry Morgan & Company Spring & Summer 1907 Catalogue* (Montreal: 1907), pp. 106-07. McGill University Archives.
- Figure 2** T. Eaton Co.. “Cover.” *Eaton’s Spring and Summer Catalogue 1904*. 1904. Toronto Reference Library, ARCTC 658.871 E13.2—55048.
- Figure 3** Adrien Hébert, *Christmas at Morgan’s*. 1936–1937. Oil on canvas, 64 x 104,1 cm. Hudson Bay Company collection, Toronto.
- Figure 4** Adrien Hébert, *Eaton’s Window/La Vitrine Chez Eaton*, 1937. Oil on canvas, 81.3 x 111.8 cm. Private Collection.
- Figure 5** “Reception Room, Henry Morgan E. Co. Ltd, Montreal.” Postcard. Around 1910. BAnQ Vieux-Montréal – Fonds Laurette Cotnoir-Capponi, P186,S9,P187.
- Figure 6** The Allen Theater. “The Allen.” Advertisement. *Montreal Star* (May 13th, 1921).
- Figure 7** “View of the Art Association Building, Phillips’ Square, Montreal,” Cover of *Canadian Illustrated News* Vol XIX (No. 22, Saturday, May 31st, 1879). BAnQ-Online.
- Figure 8** “Inauguration of the Art Association building, Montreal, by his Excellency the Governor-General and H.E.H Princess Louise,” In *Canadian Illustrated News* Vol XIX (No. 22, Saturday, May 31st, 1879): 340. BAnQ-Online.
- Figure 9** *View of the large exhibition room of the AAM during the Canadian Handicrafts Guild’s first event in February 1905*, 1905. Photograph.C11 D1 024 1905, Canadian Handicraft Guild-Archives; Canadian Guild of Crafts Quebec. Picture from Ellen Mary Easton McLeod, *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild* (Montreal: Published for Carleton University by McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999), 125.
- Figure 10** William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *Crown of Flowers or Parure des champs*, 1884. Oil on Canvas, 162,9 x 89,9 cm. Gift from R. B. Angus, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1889.17.
- Figure 11** Millar Studio (Montreal), *View of a Vitrine “1865–1870” from Henry Morgan & Co. Limited Centennial Celebration 1845–1945*, 1945. Photograph. McCord Museum, 3779-7.
- Figure 12** “La Galerie des Tableaux,” In *L’Illustration, Les nouveaux agrandissements du Bon Marché*, 1880. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes et Photographie (Va 270 j folio).
- Figure 13** Wm. Notman & Son, *Henry Morgan’s store and Phillips Square*, 1916. Silver salts on glass - Gelatin dry plate process, 20 x 25 cm. McCord Museum, VIEW-16079.
- Figure 14** Henry Morgan & Co, *Exposition artistique française; Back cover of the Exhibition catalogue*. Montreal : Henry Morgan & Co., n.d.. NGC—Library and Archives, NX549 E96.
- Figure 15** Henry Morgan & Company, “Art Gallery,” in *Henry Morgan & Company Spring & Summer 1909 Catalogue* (Montreal: 1909), 4. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson’s Bay House Library, Mail-Order Catalogue Collection, H2-163-3-3.

- Figure 16** Henry Morgan & Company, “Art Gallery,” in *Henry Morgan & Company Fall & Winter 1910-11 Catalogue* (Montreal: 1910), 1. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson’s Bay House Library, Mail-Order Catalogue Collection, H2-163-3-3.
- Figure 17** Dupuis Frères. “Visitez l’exposition des produits canadiens chez Dupuis.” Advertisement. *Le Devoir* Vol XVI (No 37, February 14th, 1925) : 8.
- Figure 18** Jas A. Ogilvy. “À l’exposition de tableaux de John Innés chez Jas Ogilvy.” Advertisement. *La Presse* Vol. 46 (No. 80, January 20th, 1930) : 20.
- Figure 19** Dupuis Frères. “L’exposition militaire française à Montréal.” Advertisement. *Le Devoir* (September 13th, 1915).
- Figure 20** *View of Morgan’s Antique Department*, c. 1938. In *The Morgans of Montreal* by David Morgan. Toronto: D. Morgan, 1992, 140.
- Figure 21** Joseph Guibord. *Exposition d'artisanat chez Morgan - Demande J. M. Gauvreau. Aide à la jeunesse (École du meuble)*, July 1950. Photograph. BAnQ Vieux-Montréal, E6,S7,SS1,D50332-50338.
- Figure 22** T. Eaton Co.. “Pictures Take On New Glamour.” In *Entre-Nous; Eaton’s Staff Bulletin* (Montreal: April 1945): 7. Archives of Ontario.
- Figure 23** T. Eaton Co.. “Eaton’s-College Street; The Fine Art Galleries Present ‘Excursions in Abstract.’” In *The Globe and Mail* (Saturday, January 27th, 1945): 34.

List of Appendices

Appendix I: Department Stores in Montreal

Appendix II: Chronology of Art Exhibitions in Montreal's Department Stores (1900-50)

List of Abbreviations

AAM: Art Association of Montreal
CAS: Contemporary Arts Society
MMFA: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
NGC: National Gallery of Canada
RCA: Royal Canadian Academy of Arts
WAAC: Women's Art Association of Canada
WASM: Women's Art Society of Montreal

Introduction

The establishment of department stores in Montreal during the nineteenth century impacted not only the commercial history of the city, but also its social and cultural histories. The stores actively contributed to crafting a modern and cosmopolitan visual culture specific to this metropolis. The broad circulation of their corporate image was key to their commercial success, and required the participation of various artists for advertising, window displays and design. Indeed, although they are remembered primarily as retail spaces, department stores also established themselves as important venues for the display of works of art. In Montreal, in October 1900, Henry Morgan & Co. inaugurated the first art gallery within a Montreal department store. What retailers such as Morgan's exhibited echoed the programming at other art institutions and commercial galleries in Montreal. Not only did department stores introduce Montrealers to exhibitions of traditional and modern fine art, they also presented exhibitions of crafts, popular culture productions and photography, along with scientific and historical displays. These retailers stimulated a public interest in culture in general that increased traffic within their stores, but that also fostered an audience for the arts in Montreal.¹

Between the early twentieth century and the 1940s, exhibitions were regularly held not only in the dedicated art galleries housed at Henry Morgan & Co., Ogilvy's, and the T. Eaton Co., but also to some degree throughout the stores of Dupuis Frères, Simpson's and John Murphy's. To date, I have identified a total of 176 of them. Arguably, such exhibitions were accessible to everyone and served as important public displays of artistic production. During the 1920s, these venues increased in number and importance, becoming essential parts of the Montreal art scene in the 1930s, at a time when Montreal was at the centre of modernization in Canada. Opening their doors to everyone, department stores introduced Montrealers to worlds of abundant goods and to modern ways of life and consumption. As historian Donica Belisle explains, department stores were important historical actors in Canada's industrialization. This was particularly the case in Montreal, which was then Canada's largest city.² By placing department stores front and centre, my thesis presents an enhanced understanding of their social and artistic impacts, and recovers a badly neglected aspect of the history of public exhibitions in Montreal from the beginning of the

¹ Younjung Oh, "Art Into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors of Culture in Modern Japan," (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2012), 1.

² Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), XV.

twentieth century until the 1940s. In order to do so, my thesis concentrates on four stores: Dupuis Frères, Henry Morgan & Co., Ogilvy's and the T. Eaton Co.. These four that were the most active within Montreal's art scene at the time.

Department stores participated in Canada's modernization by helping shape the production, circulation, and consumption of the arts.³ By examining Montreal society in relation to the phenomenon of consumer spectatorship, this thesis thus facilitates a reconsideration of the connection between the history of art in Canada and Montreal's commercial history. By helping to define modern Montreal as a place where all kinds of arts and crafts were available, department stores' art exhibitions encouraged the crystallization of a public culture. Accordingly, this thesis recuperates department stores' role within the history of Canadian art and explores their influence on broad popular exposure to the fine and decorative arts. Widening our understanding of art exhibitions' history, my thesis encourages a reconsideration of that narrow concept of the fine arts that is wary of connections with the realm of consumption. My thesis is the first research to engage with this important but consistently overlooked topic in Canadian art. Doing so, it draws upon bodies of literature that have not necessarily been frequently paired in the past.

Literature Review

The literature on international histories of department stores is large and varied. The ongoing fascination with this mercantile world was first sparked in 1883 by Émile Zola. His novel *Au bonheur des dames* provided a contemporary study of the complex mercantile and social interactions of a Parisian department store, along with its spectatorial universe.⁴ The interest in this modern retail phenomenon reemerged in 1960 out of John William Ferry's exploration of the world of consumption that had been created by Aristide Boucicault in his Parisian department store, Le Bon Marché.⁵ Later scholars pushed beyond Ferry's investigation of department stores' origins, instead considering these modern retailers as active social agents. For instance, Rosalind H. Williams's *Dream Worlds, Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-*

³ Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 7.

⁴ Émile Zola, *Au bonheur des dames* (Paris : Georges Charpentier, 1883).

⁵ John William Ferry, *A History of the Department Store* (New York: Macmillan, 1960).

Century France, now a canonical work on the emergence of the department store and the new commercial universe it engendered, tries to recapture the contemporary experience of this “new way of life” and to explore the origins and moral implications of consumption through the case study of French stores.⁶

Other publications further documented this rise of scholarly interest in consumer culture during the 1990s. In these texts, consumption began to be considered a key element of modern identity formation not only in France, but also in the rest of Europe and in the United States. In a series of 1997 essays, Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell explore the rise of modern consumerism and the phenomenon of shopping, which became an increasingly important axis of personal identification available to a widening audience.⁷ Published two years later, Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain’s monograph, *Cathedrals of Consumption: the European Department Store, 1850–1939*,⁸ along with William Lancaster’s book titled *The Department Store: A Social History*,⁹ further considers these retail spaces as important sites of social interaction emerging out of the profusion of commodities and their power of seduction: aspects that impacted class aspirations in both Europe and the United States.

Additionally, the study of the department store was highly impacted by feminism. During the 1990s and early 2000s, scholars exploring department stores in terms of consumer culture and gender examined these stores as social spaces where the codification of gendered interactions was highly visible. Social historian Susan Porter Benson explores American department stores as microcosms of society, growing along with urban centres. Within them were revealed webs of relationships between different social actors. Acknowledging these different dimensions of the culture of consumption, Benson and others explore the department store in terms of the complexities and larger historical changes of social class and gender. For instance, Erika Rappaport’s seminal publication on women as shoppers considers how the department store and the broader experience of modernity affected both the concept of femininity and the lives of

⁶ Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds, Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

⁷ Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell, *The Shopping Experience* (London: Sage Publications, 1997).

⁸ Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain, *Cathedrals of Consumption: The European Department Store, 1850–1939* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 1999).

⁹ William Lancaster, *The Department Store: A Social History* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995).

women.¹⁰ Doing so, Rappaport conceives of women's roles and their experiences of the department store as instigators of a new female urban culture.

While department stores have been the subject of European and American scholarship, literature on the Canadian context is severely limited. One of the first scholars to look at department stores in the Canadian context is David Monod, who considers the impact of twentieth-century mass retailers on small shopkeepers.¹¹ Monod's 1996 study of Canadian modern mass-consumption inspired historian Donica Belisle to further explore department stores as powerful agents of Canadian modernization. In 2011, in the first monograph dedicated to these stores' history, she portrays early twentieth-century Canadian consumerism as a complex and "multifaceted phenomenon that involves a range of historical agents."¹² However, Belisle's overview of Canada's mercantile history from 1890 to 1940 fails to address all the realms in which department stores were involved. Considering her seminal question regarding how "department store research can illuminate how Canadians worked and lived through the rise of modern consumerism,"¹³ I was left wondering how these retailers participated in the assertion of a Canadian visual culture. This question is also raised by a photograph of a lavish art gallery in which paintings are hung and china cabinets are adorned with figurines, published in Henry Morgan & Co.'s 1907 Spring & Summer catalogue and giving a glimpse of the total experience retailers provided to their customers. (See Figure 1.)

My research has benefited a great deal from the renewed historical interest of Quebec scholars towards commercial institutions as key elements in the elaboration of the modern concept of citizenship. In 1995, the periodical *Cap-aux-Diamants: La Revue d'Histoire du Québec* published a special issue devoted to department stores in Quebec. Department stores are understood by Michel Lessard, the guest editor for this issue, as sites for the negotiation of modernism through the lens of material culture.¹⁴ Of particular interest for my thesis is Hélène Boily's very brief article on exhibitions that were presented in Montreal's department stores,

¹⁰ Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

¹¹ David Monod, *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890–1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

¹² Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁴ Michel Lessard, "Un nouvel art de vivre," *Cap-aux-Diamants: La revue d'histoire du Québec* 40 (Hiver 1995): 9.

“Art, artisanat et exotisme : Magasiner des expositions.”¹⁵ The only known scholarly work exclusively on this topic, the article largely comprises a list of exhibitions without analysis of what was at stake through them. Hence, it provides a great point of departure but does not critically address the topic. Also in 1995, historian Michelle Comeau published an article that focuses on three department stores in Montreal (the Dupuis Frères’s, Eaton’s and Morgan’s stores) and considers the impact they made through their architecture, their presence in the press and the activities they offered. It was written in parallel with an exhibition on department stores held in Montreal at the Centre d’histoire de Montréal.¹⁶ Two years later, another exhibition was held in Montreal at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, focused on the built environment in Montreal from 1880 to 1930. In the exhibition catalogue, Isabelle Gournay’s chapter titled “Gigantism in Downtown Montréal” explores the architecture of department stores. A similar topic was addressed that same year in a journal article written by Angela Carr.¹⁷

My dissertation is also informed by the literature on Montreal’s history and this city’s cultural life during the first half of the twentieth century. Micheline Cambron provides an overview of Montreal’s cultural sphere for the year 1900, at the beginning of the period covered by this thesis.¹⁸ The work of historian Paul-André Linteau on the city’s history and especially on St. Catherine Street is fundamental to my thesis. Other authors have dealt more particularly with aspects of Montreal’s cultural life during the first half of the twentieth century, and in this regard I am particularly indebted to the work André Comeau, Brian Foss, Laurier Lacroix, Hélène Sicotte and Esther Trépanier. None of these authors, however, has dealt with the relationship between department stores and the visual arts.¹⁹

¹⁵ Hélène Boily, “Art, artisanat et exotisme: Magasiner des expositions,” *Cap-aux-Diamants: La revue d’histoire du Québec* 40 (Hiver 1995): 31–33.

¹⁶ Michelle Comeau, “Les grands magasins de la rue Saint-Catherine à Montréal : Des lieux de modernisation, d’homogénéisation et de différenciation des modes de consommation” *Material Culture Review / Revue de la culture matérielle* 41 (No.1, Spring 1995) : 58–68. Retrieved from <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/MCR/article/view/17638/22329>

¹⁷ Angela Carr, “Technology in Some Canadian Department Stores: Handmaiden of Monopoly Capitalism,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 23 (No. 4, 1998): 124–142.

¹⁸ Micheline Cambron (dir.), *La vie culturelle à Montréal vers 1900* (Montréal, Fides et Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 2005).

¹⁹ André Comeau, “Institutions artistiques de Québec de l’entre-deux-guerres (1919–1939),” (PhD diss., Université de Paris 1, 1983); Laurier Lacroix, *Peindre à Montréal, 1915-1930, les peintres de la Montée Saint-Michel et leurs contemporains* (Montréal, Galerie de l’UQAM, Québec, Musée du Québec, 1996) ; Hélène Sicotte, “L’implantation de la galerie d’art à Montréal : le cas de W. Scott & Sons, 1859-1914 : Comment la révision du concept d’œuvre d’art autorisa la spécialisation du commerce d’art,” (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2003) and Esther

There is thus very little literature investigating the involvement of department stores with the arts in the Canadian context. However, department stores and art have been addressed by Younjung Oh in her doctoral dissertation exploring Japanese department stores' role in the formation of modern Japanese culture. This scholar's work is the first extended research to be fully interested in exhibitions held in department stores and with the stores' impact on the production, circulation, and consumption of art.²⁰ Following Oh's work, my thesis examines how art and consumerism coexisted in department stores, and offers a framework for thinking about the relationship between the history of Canadian consumerism and the visual arts. By building on that framework, my thesis broadens our knowledge of the history of Canadian exhibitions, and questions assumptions that downplay the links between art and commercial retail.

Methodology

In order to recuperate this portion of Montreal's department stores history and Canadian exhibition history, the core of my methodology is focused on an examination of primary archival sources. When I began working on this thesis, I hoped that each department store's archival fonds would provide strong information, and to that end I consulted archival documentation (written and visual) spread across Eastern Canada. As the Morgan family's records are divided between different locations and as parts are still being processed, this store's case was a challenging and interesting one to research. First, I consulted archives such as James Morgan's records, which are divided between the McGill University Archives and the McCord Museum in Montreal. In addition, Norma and David Morgan (two of this family's members) wrote, respectively, an MA dissertation and a monograph, and these two documents serve as first-hand information that highlighted the important link that existed between the Morgans and Montreal's art scene. Nevertheless, this interest in a retailer's legacy within the arts did not apply for other stores. For instance, regarding Ogilvy's, I was not able to access any archival holdings. Regarding Dupuis Frères, their fonds, held at HEC Montréal, proved unfruitful for my topic, as did the archives for the T. Eaton Co. (Special Collections Centre, Toronto Reference Library; and the Archives of

Trépanier, "La rue Saint-Denis, au cœur de la modernité francophone montréalaise," *Journal of Canadian Art History*, Vol. XXXII (No. 1, 2011): 63–88.

²⁰ Oh, "Art Into Everyday Life," XV.

Ontario). The Robert Simpson Company's records, along a portion of the Henry Morgan & Co.'s archive, are held at the Hudson's Bay Company fonds in the Archives of Manitoba, in Winnipeg. That fonds unfortunately demonstrated the difficulties that result when economy and culture are conceptualized as two separate fields of study; the fonds is rich in the former, but very weak in the latter. Like Donica Belisle, I soon realized that department stores archives were "themselves a form of advertising, for through selective preservation and destruction of historical records they have constructed their own narrative history."²¹ As department stores' archives were created out of a specific agenda as to highlight a defined aspect of their history, I knew I had to found a way around this archival silence in order to rehabilitate department stores as cultural hubs.

From then on, my research took a different approach, and as I looked for exhibition catalogues I relied mostly on reviews in the popular press and (more rarely) in department stores' internal and external communications. Accordingly, one of the databases on which I relied most heavily was that of the digitized newspapers in the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ).²² My thesis research focused largely on *Le Devoir*, *La Presse*, the *Montreal Star* and the *Montreal Gazette*. Anglophone newspapers clippings are particularly well represented in the Art Association of Montreal's Scrapbooks volumes I to VIII and the Canadian Women Artists History Initiative (CWAHI), which provided me with numerous contemporary reviews of art exhibitions presented in the city's department stores. Beginning searching through newspapers, the daunting task ahead appeared: since I had no idea of the results I was looking for (there was no way for me to have any approximation of the number of exhibitions presented in Montreal's department stores or to know which newspapers covered such events), the research required for my thesis proved very daunting.

Also difficult to find were catalogues for department store exhibitions of art. I was thrilled to find the catalogues of two of the earliest known exhibitions. The publication of such documents emphasized the importance of the exhibitions. The McCord Museum's fonds of the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC) holds two catalogues, from 1900 and 1902, of shows curated by this association and held on the fifth floor of Henry Morgan & Co.'s store. The Library and Archives of the National Gallery of Canada as well as of the BAnQ proved to possess a number of

²¹ Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 48.

²² Digitization practice at the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ) leaned toward Francophone newspapers.

catalogues from exhibitions at Eaton's and Morgan's. Finally, after consulting Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa, the BAnQ, the McLennan Library (McGill University), UQAM's arts library and the McCord Museum, I was able to amass a variety of graphic and textual sources, including photographs, mail-order catalogues, brochures, newspaper and magazine articles, and other key primary and secondary materials relevant to the subject of art exhibitions in department stores. Furthermore, the Canadian Museum of History having created a touring and online exhibition on the topic of Canadian department stores, I was able to consult the exhibition files, although I was disappointed that these focused on mail-order catalogues. Similarly, the archives of the City of Montreal and the Musée d'histoire de Montréal were devoid of any evidence that could have enhanced the aspect of department stores history that I was researching. Nevertheless, in the end I was able to document a total of 176 such exhibitions (see Appendix II). And yet, despite the amount of research done, this project necessarily offers only a preliminary account of the art exhibitions held in Montreal's department stores.

Beyond the kind of primary research described above, the methodology of my thesis derived from the thesis's social art history approach. Department store exhibitions are explained by means of their social, political and economic contexts, which allowed me to consider how these exhibitions were conceived, produced and perceived. My methodological approach partly draws from feminist scholarship addressing the reception of art made by women (this is discussed in Chapter Three) and for a female (shopping) audience. After all, department stores were key spaces for women in the early twentieth century, as is demonstrated by the vast literature on this topic. Reflecting on the observation that the department store is "a woman's world, where she reigns supreme,"²³ It is also essential to acknowledge the upper-middle-class status and whiteness of the ideal viewer, creator and instigator of art productions in the Montreal of the time. The clear majority of the people going through the doors of these modern temples of consumption were white due to the class status valorized and promoted by the retailers. The invisible structures that constructed the racial privileges of the clientele promoted by department stores underpin my thesis. Yet, although race, gender and class are certainly important aspects of the study of department stores, I have referenced them only briefly because my thesis is ultimately focused on the contents of the art exhibitions.

²³ William Stephenson, *The Store That Timothy Built* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 142.

In order to understand the new modern public realm of consumption put forth by department stores as spaces to see and in which to be seen, I rely on theorists who have dismantled the social dynamics within the stores. Considering the impact of mass consumption on the structure of social relations, Jean Baudrillard's conception of consumption as an active form of social relations helped me to comprehend how art is inserted into a space dedicated to consumerism and how this environment affects the common reading of such works. Also, for his concern with the modern experience of the city, I draw upon Walter Benjamin's unfinished *Arcades Project*, and his preoccupation with consumerism's monopoly over urban public space. Moreover, it is essential to my work to understand how social class distinctions emerge from aesthetic choices. To do so, I use Pierre Bourdieu's work and his reading of the impact of class on the construction of taste within society. Appreciation of different art expressions is considered by Bourdieu to be conditional on one's education and origins, which inform a hierarchy of cultural expressions. In this regard, Karen Stanworth explains that the "act of [...] display of objects for public or private consumption inevitably participates culturally in a complex, discursive knot, which binds the artifacts and objects to the subject positions of the collector and viewer."²⁴ However, consumers going through department stores were not necessarily anticipating the experience of art. These public art venues therefore need to be understood as participating in fashioning a common audience for the arts in Montreal, becoming significant venues for showcasing modern artistic expressions in Canada.

Thesis structure

The first chapter of my thesis, titled "A History of Department Stores and Consumerism," investigates both the history of department stores through the historical and social contexts in which they emerged, and the clientele to whom they appealed. A significant portion of the chapter discusses how and why department stores came to be important agents of modernization, establishing the connection between department stores in Montreal, in Canada and throughout the Western world. How did they capitalize on their visuality in order to underscore their importance

²⁴ Karen Stanworth, *Visibly Canadian: Imaging Collective Identities in the Canadas, 1820–1910* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 24.

in Western societies? Doing so, I consider how art contributed to the creation of the spectacle of consumption that department stores tried to convey. Through visual appeal and the aesthetic experience of shopping that they offered, they created and increased consumer desire. Chapter One thus provides a foundation survey and analysis of the phenomenon of department stores and the new space of consumerism they launched.

Chapter Two examines Montreal's art scene during the first half of the twentieth century. This chapter establishes the highly cosmopolitan nature of cultural life in Montreal during the first half of the twentieth century: a life in which the traditional and the modern vied for attention. Where could Montrealers see art? What did that art look like? These two questions define the last section of this chapter in order to demonstrate the cultural milieu in which department stores' art galleries emerged. Along with the Art Association of Montreal, this chapter examines arts clubs, schools, commercial galleries, libraries, universities, social groups, and the multifunctional Monument National as part of the profusion places for Montrealers to experience art.

Chapter Three is the core of my investigation and is my biggest contribution to the field of Canadian art history. It examines Montreal's department stores art galleries, and provides the first chronological survey of this overlooked topic. That chronology is divided into two periods, 1900–27 and 1927–45. This first period was marked by Morgan's near monopoly, whereas in 1927 other department stores became active. The year 1927 was thus a turning point in the history of Montreal department stores selling art. This last chapter considers what was shown in department stores in order to understand how they inserted themselves into the visual art scene. How was department store galleries' programming established? Accordingly, I will question the reciprocal impact of Montreal's cultural sphere onto department stores, and of these retailers onto the city's cultural milieu.

Collectively these chapters reexamine the history of art exhibitions in Montreal during the first half of the twentieth century. Doing so, they recover the active social and cultural role played by department stores in shaping popular taste for the arts. More generally, this analysis should also be perceived as a case study of what I believe to be a wider phenomenon experienced across Canada and throughout the Western world. The following pages will demonstrate that the boundary between art and consumption is more porous than it is often thought to be, and that art history should begin to acknowledge that fact.

Chapter One: A History of Department Stores and Consumerism

Department stores first materialized during the nineteenth century from the convergence of three main advances: mass transportation, industrialization and urbanization. Along with the development of building technologies such as the harnessing of electricity for power and lighting, once these conditions were met cities all around the world erected these modern institutions, which had a significant impact on urban visual culture. Social historian William Lancaster observes that “department stores have existed for so long that they have become embedded into our psyche and they form an integral part of the pattern of everyday life.”²⁵ Because of the role they played in the retailing revolution, department stores are exemplary case studies of how public spaces help shape the societies in which they are located. Department stores crystallized the conventions and conveniences of modern shopping habits. The customer experience that they promoted set new standards for the ways in which a customer should be treated, along with the level of service and convenience that should be offered.

The study of department store history is a field of research in itself, and is the subject of a substantial literature, although much work remains to be done on Canadian stores, including on department stores as cultural actors. Arguing that Canada was a leader of the modern Western retail industry, Norman Patterson states that “[Canada’s] larger stores compare favourably with the larger stores of Chicago, New York, London and Paris.”²⁶ Canadian stores should therefore be considered on a par with their international counterparts.²⁷ This chapter asserts the importance of Canadian, and more specifically Montreal, department stores within a global context. In particular, it demonstrates how retailers’ exhibition spaces conveyed each institution’s desired corporate and cultural identity. Art galleries, in my view, are intricately linked to department stores’ histories.

²⁵ William Lancaster, *The Department Store: A Social History* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 201.

²⁶ Norman Patterson, “Evolution of a Department Store,” *Canadian Magazine* (September 1906): 425.

²⁷ Donica Belisle, “Rise of Mass Retail,” in *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 13–44.

Department Stores: A Phenomenon

Although not the first expression of modern consumerism, department stores were, according to historian of retailing Donica Belisle, “the first mass retailers to appear on the world’s stage.”²⁸ In one of the earliest studies of this modern phenomenon, John William Ferry notes that department stores appeared simultaneously in England, France and the United States.²⁹ Helped by Baron Haussmann’s reconfiguration of Paris’s city plan, Le Bon Marché presided over this retail phenomenon, followed by numerous other Parisian stores.³⁰ Le Bon Marché, a “monument to bourgeois culture,” first opened in 1852, aspiring to “master and organize the material world to its advantage.”³¹ If the nineteenth century was the century of the Parisian department stores, the following one was the golden age of their American counterparts, sparked by A.T. Stewart in New York in 1846 but magnified by John Wanamaker’s (1876–1978) in Philadelphia, Macy’s (1858–) in New York, Marshall Field’s (1852–2005) in Chicago, etc.³² Yet, along with several historians such as Miles Ogborn, Margot Finn challenges department stores’ “totemic status as the quintessential symbol of Victorian modernity.”³³ Specialized dry goods stores (precursors to department stores) are known to have also incorporated some early department stores’ use of advertising and of display windows, especially because most department stores started as small dry goods shops.³⁴

²⁸ Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation : Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 13.

²⁹ John William Ferry, *A History of the Department Store* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), 1–5.

³⁰ La Belle Jardinière, les Grands magasins du Louvre, le Bazar de l’Hôtel de Ville, les grands magasins Crespin-Dufayel, le Printemps, la Samaritaine, les Galeries Lafayette, etc.

³¹ Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869–1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 3.

³² Robert Hendrickson, *The Grand Emporiums: The Illustrated History of America’s Great Department Stores* (New York: Stein and Day, 1980), 58.

³³ Margot Finn, “Sex and the City: Metropolitan Modernities in English History,” *Victorian Studies* 44 (No. 1, 2001): 25; and Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity London’s Geographies, 1680–1780* (New York: Guilford Press, 1998).

³⁴ Selfridges in London and The Emporium in San Francisco are two cases of department stores inaugurated as already mature expressions of the department store phenomenon. Jan Whitaker, *The World of Department Stores* (New York, NY: Vendôme Press, 2011), 80.

Department stores undeniably embodied the economic, social and technological conditions of their times. Promoted through the booming popular press, they emerged out of the confluence of modern developments in public transportation, urbanization, and mass production, which insured their social and economic success. Neil McKendrick, an economic historian, argues that the emergence of consumer society, in which the buying and selling of goods and services became the most prevalent social and economic activity, resides in more than people's capacity to spend large amounts of money. It also derives from their desire to consume.³⁵ The nineteenth century witnessed a demographic shift to urban areas and higher incomes, which led to the growth of the middle class. These conditions were favourable to the rise in standards of living, which were instrumental in the development of a new social class that was targeted by department stores.

Thus, the development of department stores did not depend solely on the size of a city, but also on its level of industrialization and on the wealth of its middle class.³⁶ This explains why cities' size did not necessarily play a determining role in the establishment of thriving department store cultures.³⁷ In a city like Montreal, however, these conditions were well met, and as a result over the course of the twentieth century the city was home (though not concurrently) to fifteen department stores: A.E. Rea, Almy's, Au Bon Marché—Letendre Ltd, Dupuis Frères, Henry Morgan & Co., Hamilton's, Ogilvy's, John Murphy's, La Maison-Viau, P. T. Legaré, Simpsons, Carsley's, Eaton's, Goodwin's, and Scroggie's. (See Appendix I.)

In 1890, the motto of the London store Harrod's celebrated the concept of a department store as a space of everything for everybody.³⁸ Yet, despite their no-obligation policies, department stores were privately owned institutions structured and regulated according to a complex set of conventions revolving around class, race and ethnicity. Paradoxically, at the beginning of the twentieth century, department stores'

³⁵ Neil McKendrick, "Introduction," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, eds. John Brewer McKendrick and J. H. Plumb (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 2.

³⁶ Claudine Chevrel, "Une histoire des Grands Magasins," *Revue de la Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque Forney*, 2012. <http://sabf.fr/hist/arti/sabf193.php>.

³⁷ Whitaker, *The World of Department Stores*, 16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

mass-produced clothing, better known as *ready-to-wear*, mitigated the social differentiation that clothing traditionally performed as a visual identifier of class. Although not without some uneasiness, different classes gradually mingled and shoppers converged around a desire to consume and shop as a leisure activity instead of as a necessity.

Furthermore, the discomfort induced by the mixing of classes that inevitably occurred in department stores was increased by the growing presence of women in the public sphere during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Susan Porter Benson and other scholars studying retail labour and mass consumption question the idea that during the Victorian era women were confined to a domestic role whereas men enjoyed public participation.³⁹ Modern consumer culture, they argue, offered women a place as both shoppers and labourers, with an influence on markets and economies. Significantly, during the 1880s women represented 90% of Le Bon Marché's clientele.⁴⁰ Cultural historian Erika Rappaport therefore considers the rise of consumer culture in the late Victorian era as contributing to a shift: notions of public and private spheres were renegotiated and gender roles and identities were re-examined.⁴¹ Accordingly, the literature on department stores is indebted to numerous studies that explore consumer culture in relation to gender. The diverse objectives of women's different roles within department stores could challenge the gender discrimination enforced by social structures, while the stores' premises often served as headquarters for female associations and movements.

Still, in this safe and decorous space, where women were free to browse, to touch, to become informed and to shop, architecture and advertising encouraged them to indulge in shopping.⁴² Donica Belisle explains that in Canada a "widespread consumer dissatisfaction with gendered paternalism" was evidenced by shoppers' complaints and by employees' actions to gain recognition within the workplace. Both

³⁹ Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890–1940* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

⁴⁰ Chevre, "Une histoire des Grands Magasins."

⁴¹ Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 4.

⁴² This activity was thought to echo the "natural" feminine pastime of nurturing through the purchasing of goods for the needs of the family.

of these phenomena attested to a common dissatisfaction between shoppers and workers regarding the various types of discrimination that they faced.⁴³ At the same time, as “instigators of women’s taste,” department stores were seen as designating how women were to construct their lives and their identities.⁴⁴ Department stores could thus be conceived both as instigators of a certain liberation for women and as a means of confinement into an overtly constructed and manipulated identity shaped by retailers.⁴⁵

What led department stores to become the quintessential expression of modern consumerism was their combination of key elements of modernity on an unprecedented scale: free entry, massive buildings, publicity, a variety of available services and assortments of goods and displays, low and fixed prices, buying and selling only for cash, and free return of merchandise.⁴⁶ Luxurious merchandise was displayed alongside ordinary commodities to entice shoppers to buy items they had not at first come into the store to buy. For example, divers intricate small luxuries handmade in Paris, known as *articles de Paris*, were on sale in department stores throughout the world, and highly appealed to customers. The association of the French capital with fashion and luxury even inspired department stores in Liverpool, Brussels and Montreal to take the name Le Bon Marché or Au Bon Marché, the former being the name of the most famous of Parisian stores.⁴⁷ From Belgium to Canada, department stores bolstered their sophistication by using similar artifices; they offered a cosmopolitan experience.

Because they sourced supplies from all over the world, department stores contributed to a transition from a local economy to an increasingly international one. Their sizeable purchasing power allowed them to sell items at lower prices than smaller-scale retailers could. This required a high turnover of goods, and bargain

⁴³ Donica Belisle, “Negotiating Paternalism: Women and Canada’s Largest Department Stores, 1890–1960,” *Journal of Women’s History* vol 19 (No. 1, 2007):76.

⁴⁴ Younjung Oh, “Art Into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors of culture in Modern Japan” (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2012), 19.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 19.

⁴⁶ Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 13–14.

⁴⁷ In Montreal, the Maison Letendre, Fils & Cie, situated at 567 St. Catherine Street East, also used this name. Interestingly, on a daily basis between 1908 and 1912 it offered its clients a small publication titled *La femme*, which was mostly addressed to women. Whitaker, *The World of Department Stores*, 18.

sales, to ensure a steady disposal of older stock on a tightly organized calendar. Inevitably, having as many goods as possible in only one location transformed people's consuming habits. In 1937, American department store entrepreneur, philanthropist and social reformer Edward A. Filene (1860–1937)⁴⁸ defined the department store as “a holding company for its departments.”⁴⁹ Accordingly, those departments functioned like specialized administrative units, each with a specific product type, head of department, and team of sales clerks. Customers were no longer required to shop at various stores; everything could be found under the roof of the department store. In addition, large-scale stores often had centralized services dedicated to mail order, bookkeeping and procurement.⁵⁰ The number of departments in the stores grew considerably over time: by the 1950s some, such as Dupuis Frères, had over a hundred of them. The resulting carefully selected assortment of merchandise was meant to cushion the unpredictability of sales during seasonal fluctuations in prices and to entice the clientele.⁵¹

Conceptualizing Consumerism

As the nineteenth century saw the emergence of consumer society, customers were turned into spectators. Department stores actively encouraged the impression that they were luxury palaces in which people could imagine themselves as having access to the wealth of Western civilization, and where they could visually absorb the spectacle of things that would supposedly make their lives better. This transforming notion of merchandise and consumption, as argued by Walter Benjamin, emerged out

⁴⁸ He owned Filene's department store in Boston (1881–2006).

⁴⁹ Edward A. Filene, *Next Steps Forward in Retailing* (Boston, 1937), 167. As cited by Harry E. Resseguie, “Alexander Turney Stewart and the Development of the Department Store, 1823–1876,” *The Business History Review* 39 (No. 3, 1965): 301–22.

⁵⁰ Michelle Comeau, “Les grands magasins de la rue Saint-Catherine à Montréal: des lieux de modernisation, d'homogénéisation et de différenciation des modes de consommation,” *Material Culture Review / Revue de la culture matérielle*, 41 (No.1, Spring, 1995): 60.

⁵¹ Whitaker, *The World of Department Stores*, 80.

of the Parisian arcades, the forerunners of department stores.⁵² Further, for industrialization's massive growth in production to enable mass consumption, new marketing strategies were invented. In these ways, department stores transformed everyday life into spectacle.⁵³ Billboards, posters and advertisements in the press stormed modern metropolises and left no space unmarked by consumerism. In this regard, art historian Younjung Oh refers to the "visual enticement" of department stores' "sophisticated display of fashionable merchandise and glamorous advertising as well as monumental architecture and dazzling interior decorations."⁵⁴ The stores' appearance, services and locations made them attractive and practical retail spaces for customers to visit. Yet, what department stores such as Montreal's Henry Morgan & Co. created was more than just space for commercial transactions. What characterized their success was the all-encompassing experience they offered: a fashionable entertainment that presented what Benjamin qualified as "the eternal recurrence of the new in the form of the 'always the same.'"⁵⁵

This notion of the "new" is essential to understanding the mechanism behind department stores' retail apparatus. The concept was drawn by Benjamin from Charles Baudelaire and Friedrich Nietzsche, who conceptualized capitalism as both a negative and a positive opportunity in which newness is reproduced endlessly.⁵⁶ As historian Rosalind Williams explains, having seen the infinite profusion of commodities, and having integrated new notions of standards of living that were made available through material wealth, citizens could not go back to traditional, non-spectacular modes of consumption.⁵⁷ Modern and seductive emporia of goods, department stores were both a symptom and a catalyst of the consumer revolution that characterized the nineteenth century.

⁵² Walter Benjamin, "I. Fourier, or the Arcades," in *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA, and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 15.

⁵³ This concept of the "spectacle" derives from Guy Debord's critique of the phenomenon as the important feature of consumer capitalist societies during the 1960s. Guy Debord, *La société du spectacle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996).

⁵⁴ Oh, "Art Into Everyday Life," 24.

⁵⁵ As cited by Susan Buck-Morss, "The Flâneur, The Sandwichman and The Whore: The Politics of Loitering," in *Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, ed. Beatrice Hanssen (London; New York: Continuum, 2006), 64.

⁵⁶ Nigel Dodd, *The Social Life of Money* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 141.

⁵⁷ Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 17; and Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds, Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 3.

Considering capitalism's early history, Walter Benjamin, in his monumental unfinished manuscript *The Arcades Project*, is interested in emblematic building types of the second half of the nineteenth century. He explores railway stations, world fair halls, and department stores in order to understand the rise of commodity culture. He investigates the post-revolutionary-era architecture (1800–30) of the Parisian arcades as an early experiment in new modern building techniques.⁵⁸ Although privately founded, they provided public spaces sheltered from the weather: spaces that organized retail trade and allowed for the display of luxury products to strolling citizens, now transformed into window shoppers.⁵⁹

This experience of window shopping changed the pleasure of looking at a commodity,⁶⁰ and evidenced the predominance of the gaze in the modern metropolis.⁶¹ Like other modern institutions such as movie theatres, world fairs, museums, zoos, and observatories, department stores invited people to wander, through displays meant to inspire the desire to consume.⁶² Yet this liberty to enter without the obligation to buy was at the cost of a customer's passive attitude.⁶³ Consumers enacted the ritual of a staged narrative in which they were encouraged to indulge themselves through consumption, in a way similar, according to Carol Duncan, to how museums functioned.⁶⁴ Department stores were thus clearly defined settings that reinforced a set of social behaviours.

To foster this desire to consume, department stores borrowed display techniques from world exhibitions: places where Benjamin's fetishism of commodities first thrived. All of Europe came to see the merchandise shown in the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London in 1851.⁶⁵ The resulting phantasmagoria illustrated Benjamin's

⁵⁸ Parisian arcades were the first to incorporate glass ceilings and artificial lighting, using gas lamps, to create a safe pedestrian environment where people could be tempted by new and fashionable window displays.

⁵⁹ Peter Buse, "Arcade Magic," *Canadian Journal of Comparative Literature*, Vol 28 (No. 4, 2001): 4.

⁶⁰ Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

⁶¹ Ibid., 15; and Georg Simmel, *Sociologie*, 4th ed. (Berlin: 1958): 486. Cited in Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1997), 37–38.

⁶² Oh, "Art Into Everyday Life," 49.

⁶³ Williams, *Dream Worlds*, 67.

⁶⁴ Carol Duncan, "The Art Museum As Ritual," in *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 7–20.

⁶⁵ Walter Benjamin, "Paris: Capital of the Nineteenth Century," *Perspecta* 12 (1969), 165.

argument about modern social dynamics being based on capital accumulation; as he notes, “the world exhibitions erected the universe of commodities.”⁶⁶ As Rosalind Williams has argued, the 1900 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris further demonstrated the shift towards the “sensual pleasures of consumption.”⁶⁷ In 1900, the French journalist and writer Maurice Talmeyr anticipated the contours of this new reality. The *Exposition* included exhibits showcasing the peoples of the French colonies performing activities in miniature villages, exemplifying the “primitiveness” of those cultures in contrast to French power, technology, and culture. Emphasis was given to the merchandizing of these cultures, as price tags were affixed to objects, and admission fees were charged. The abstract intellectual enjoyment of contemplation was surpassed by entertainment created to attract spectators who were then made into customers. Talmeyr also believed that the ornamental quality of the colonial exhibits was predictive of the infiltration of mass consumption into every aspect of modern life.⁶⁸ It is thus hardly surprising that department stores were developed and flourished in the nineteenth-century cities in Europe and in North America, acting as spaces where the collective dream of capitalism could thrive and where culture was standardized. Through advertisements and fashionable displays, consumption as promoted by department stores exploited the desires that those stores enforced upon people at the same time as they confined those people to behaviour patterns.⁶⁹

Canadian Manifestations

The impact of these developments can be seen in many aspects of Montreal department stores. For example, the cover of the T. Eaton Co.’s Spring and Summer 1904 catalogue shows two female allegorical figures holding hands and pointing towards Eaton’s impressive modern store. (See Figure 2.) Marking Canada’s borders, they serve as national personifications dressed in the classical tradition of

⁶⁶ Benjamin, “Paris,” 168.

⁶⁷ Williams, *Dream Worlds*, 59.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁶⁹ Theodore. Adorno, “Culture Industry Reconsidered,” in *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, ed, J. M. Bernstein (London: Routledge, 1991): 90.

antiquity. This visual metaphor of Canada asserts the country's respectability as an heir to Western civilization and illustrates the predominant role department stores played in furthering a national discourse. The allegorical women announce that:

thousands of families all over Canada send to Eaton's regularly for their household and wearing needs—our motto; the greatest good to the greatest number—our own factories connect the consumer with the producer thus saving you all the middlemen's profits.

Addressing its customers directly, the T. Eaton Co. portrayed itself as a purveyor of the new standards of living available to all. Throughout the twentieth century, the T. Eaton Co., Simpson's, and later the Hudson's Bay Company, the three main Canadian department stores, used such advertisements, addressed the modern Canadian consumer and set national standards for prices, quality and availability. Like department stores in other countries, this encouraged the emergence of a comfortable and enlightened citizenship on a bourgeois model. The concern for "respectability," and the need for social progress offered Canadians a certain cultural and financial capital: social norms rendered possible through consumption and by the services provided by department stores.

Moreover, the cover of the 1904 catalogue uses the colour red to highlight trans-Canadian territory, emphasizing Eaton's influence across the nation. In other countries, geography tended to be less daunting and the population more evenly distributed than was the case in Canada. Canadian department stores addressed these difficulties by venturing quickly into mail order. In 1884, the T. Eaton Co. led the way and was followed by other retailers. Furthermore, Canadian department stores were distinguished by this establishment of branches throughout the nation. In the early twentieth century, this helped foster a sense of cohesion in a country that spanned such a large territory. On the 1904 catalogue cover, the allegorical figure representing Vancouver, and the one representing Halifax join their hands as a symbol of the omnipresence of the Canadian department store experience: a common experience of modernity across the country thanks to collective acts of consumption. This even became part of the experience of childhood, as old editions of catalogues

were often given to children for creating cut-outs and collages.⁷⁰ Thus, as Belisle notes, major Canadian department stores elaborated a national identity that revolved around the advent of progress, democratization and civilization.⁷¹ As the 1904 Eaton's catalogue attests, between the 1890s and the 1940s Eaton's, Simpson's and the Hudson's Bay Company actively helped confirm Canada's dominant identity, which remained ethnically and racially specific (as was suggested by their all-white publicity), and also class-determined (as implied by their cash-only policy).⁷²

Pierre-André Linteau, Donica Belisle and David Monod, focusing on Canadian history, explain that the adoption of the department store retailing model was slower in Canada than elsewhere. However, a small and geographically scattered population implied complicated distribution systems and it was only at the end of the nineteenth century that mass production and an adequate railway system allowed for consistent supplies to stores across the country. Linking Canada's Atlantic border to its Pacific counterpart, a complex network of railways (1885) and the additional use of steamboats initiated changes in purchasing power, as demand was created for goods that could be sold at cheaper prices. Then, from the 1890s to the 1940s, both the federal and the provincial governments adopted a laissez-faire economic policy, which allowed major retailers to build department stores, employ workers and sell goods without being subjected to regulation.⁷³ As a result, key retail companies came to dominate large portions of the market not only in Montreal, but also elsewhere in Canada.⁷⁴ For instance, this led the T. Eaton Co. to become the world's eighth-largest chain of stores in the 1940s. In 1901, Canada's population of the country was estimated at 5.4 million, while that of the United States was 76.2 million. Nevertheless, Eaton's, Canada's largest department store chain, had annual sales figures that were so significant that, according to Belisle, they were higher than those

⁷⁰ Andrée-Anne de Sève, "Hourra! Le catalogue Eaton est arrivé!" *Cap-aux-Diamants : La revue d'histoire du Québec*, 40 (Hiver 1995): 21.

⁷¹ Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 49–69.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 46.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

of Bloomingdale's, in New York or even those of Harrods' in London, almost approaching Macy's, which totaled US\$7.8 million in 1899.⁷⁵

Furthermore, in Canada, as was the case in the United States, the growth of these modern cathedrals of consumption faced fewer barriers than in many other countries because cities were able to offer large sites of prime real estate to exploit.⁷⁶ Accordingly, department stores actively helped redefine modern North American cities' urbanism in the late nineteenth century. These pan-Canadian factors naturally influenced retail in Montreal, the largest Canadian metropolis until World War I.⁷⁷ In Montreal, as early as the 1850s, family-owned and family-managed waterfront, specialized shops, along with general stores located throughout the city, were the first to incorporate features of modern consumerism.⁷⁸ The effective design and display of consumer goods were marketing strategies already used during the nineteenth century in retail buildings such as the Urquhart Building on St. Pierre Street (1855), the Cathedral Block on Notre-Dame Street (1859-60), and the complex around the Cours Le Royer between St. Dizier and St. Sulpice streets (1861-71).⁷⁹ Some of these novelty shops became increasingly popular and by the 1890s they were effectively department stores.⁸⁰

However, the narrow street pattern of the old city, along with pressure exerted by the real estate industry, the massive growth of the population⁸¹ and the topographical constraints imposed by Mount Royal, created a need for more space for businesses to expand. Businesses were therefore pushed to fashion a new downtown

⁷⁵ Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 13 and 25.

⁷⁶ Whitaker, *The World of Department Stores*, 11.

⁷⁷ Toronto became Montreal's direct rival at the beginning of the twentieth century in the contest for the title of the country's metropolis. Paul-André Linteau, "Dynamique socioéconomique et culturelle," in *Montréal métropole, 1880-1930*, eds. Isabelle Gournay, France Vanlaethem, Centre canadien d'architecture, and Musée des beaux-arts du Canada (Montreal: CCA, 1998), 30. For further investigation, see Benjamin Higgins, *The Rise and Fall? Of Montreal: A Case Study of Urban Growth, Regional Economic Expansion and National Development* (Moncton: Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development, 1986).

⁷⁸ Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 16.

⁷⁹ Angela Carr, "Technology in Some Canadian Department Stores: Handmaiden of Monopoly Capitalism," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 23 (No. 4, 1998):124-129.

⁸⁰ This was also the case of Dupuis Frères, Henry Morgan & Co, and W.H. Scroggie. Carr, "Technology in Some Canadian Department Stores," 129-130.

⁸¹ In the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, Montreal's population grew from 140,000 to over 1 million. Linteau, "Dynamique socioéconomique et culturelle," 30.

core towards to northwest of the old city.⁸² In the 1890s, this led modern retailers such as Henry Morgan & Co. and Dupuis Frères to establish themselves on St. Catherine Street.

The emergence of a low-priced popular press made it possible for these and other Montreal department stores to reach a wide audience.⁸³ In addition, in 1892 the installation of a public electric tramway system enabled people to circulate efficiently throughout the city. From the 1880s, these conditions led department stores to flourish on Canadian soil in general, and in Montreal, Canada's biggest bilingual metropolis, in particular. Catalogues, billboards, flyers, posters, newspapers, postcards, pamphlets, calendars, balloons and all kinds of objects ensured their visual presence. Similarly their massive buildings established them as icons of the city; their physical presence functioned as their *carte d'affaire*. Just as everyone who visited the Galeries Lafayette in Paris remembered the store's skylight, so in Canada they remembered Eaton's colossal Winnipeg store and the red sandstone of the Colonial House (as Morgan's store in Montreal was known). Shoppers at department stores everywhere were welcomed through tantalizing displays that made use of staircases, decorated ceilings, murals, carved paneling and elaborate lighting fixtures to reinforce the prestige of the retail experience.⁸⁴ Cathedral-like monuments, the stores had architecture that combined functionalism and symbolism. Using various architectural trends and advanced building techniques, department stores in Montreal, no less than their counterparts elsewhere, asserted their innovative and modern character through the use of steel, glass, and electric lighting. A factory-like architecture was considered a symbol of trustworthiness on the part of a company that did not overcharge its customers. Impressive exteriors, on the other hand, attracted consumers, while the hustle and bustle of people coming in and out the stores attracted even more customers.

⁸² Isabelle Gournay, "Gigantism in Downtown Montreal," in *Montréal métropole, 1880–1930*, eds. Isabelle Gournay, France Vanlaethem, Centre canadien d'architecture, and Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, (Montreal: CCA, 1998), 155.

⁸³ Around the 1880s, *Le Monde Illustré*, *Montreal Star*, *La Patrie*, *Le Peuple*, and *La Presse*, were among the numerous newspapers published in Montreal.

⁸⁴ Whitaker, *The World of Department Stores*, 114–119.

Trying to capture all this excitement, and the consequent impact of department stores on Montrealers' lifestyles at the end of the 1930s, Adrien Hébert (1890–1967) produced two paintings depicting the Christmas displays of Eaton's and Henry Morgan & Co, two of Montreal's main department stores.⁸⁵ (See Figures 3 and 4.) Hébert's representations of urban scenes are often associated with an urban-themed artistic modernism specific to Montreal, and both paintings exemplify how contemporaries viewed department stores as important sites for experiencing the city as a modern environment. In both artworks, crowds are seen thronging in front of the store windows. In *Christmas at Morgan's*, the clientele is elegantly dressed, assembled in front of an elaborately decorated window where clowns and toys are displayed, enhanced by lavish lighting. Hébert presents an outside view of the bustling city street where all the characters are dressed as if they belonged to the same class. This is made obvious by their wearing of *prêt-à-porter*, ready-made, elegant garments available at department stores, a clothing trend that led to a homogenization of dress for much of Montreal's population and, at the same time, ensured the visual social ascendance of the middle class.

Also depicting a shopping scene, *Christmas at Eaton's* offers a reverse point of view, from inside the store. Esther Trépanier argues that this painting serves as an interesting pendant to *Christmas at Morgan's*, as the juxtaposition illustrates how skillfully Hébert reversed the subject-object relationship to make the viewer part of the toys offered to the avid sight of the Montrealers depicted by Hébert in the Eaton's painting.⁸⁶ The artist placed himself as well as his viewers at the centre of public scrutiny and we, as viewers, have a direct glimpse at the onlookers' own act of gazing. The represented shoppers look at a world of goods skillfully displayed by the department store's team of window designers.

Hébert was noted for his depictions of contemporary daily life in the metropolis: iconic visual records of the city of Montreal during the early twentieth century. These two works by Hébert attest to the importance he gave to department

⁸⁵ The first window display in Canada was produced by Henry Morgan & Co. in 1872.

⁸⁶ Esther Trépanier, "L'apparence et le peintre de la vie moderne," in *Mode et apparence dans l'art québécois, 1880-1945*, eds. Esther Trépanier and Véronique Borboën (Québec: Publications du Québec, 2012), 103.

stores when representing the urban and modern character of Montreal. In both paintings, consumer culture and shopping are presented not only as the common way of life, but also as a theme worthy of fine-arts depiction.

In 1924, not long before Hébert made these two paintings, Timothy Eaton suggested that artists “looking for a subject” should go “to the corner of Yonge Street and Trinity Square, Toronto.”⁸⁷ This statement further demonstrated department stores’ role as a central element of the urban experience and as a modern urban motif. Yet, department stores’ effects on the arts were perceptible not only in their preponderance as a favored subject matter in visual art; they were also active actors on the art scene. In fact, department stores offered not only art exhibitions, concerts, and other novelties. They established themselves as places where people could experience “their first restaurant meal, escalator ride, telephone call, or fashion show.”⁸⁸ Nearly everything they did could be considered advertising, and was designed to appeal to shoppers by comforting them in the myths they held about their own image. Department stores were imagined as worlds of social occasions and modern technologies.

Thus, on an unprecedented scale, department stores offered a multi-sensorial experience where even fragrances conveyed the prestige of the retailer. Indeed, historian Robert Proctor argues that the interior architecture of the buildings, conceived as public spaces conferring specific social experiences, was a significant factor in customers’ decision to shop at particular stores.⁸⁹ Restrooms for both female and male customers, concert halls, theatres, writing rooms, telephone lines, restaurants, day nurseries and beauty salons were among the multitude of services they offered and that furthered their role as active social centres. (See Figure 5.) As Younjung Oh argues, modern department stores seek “to create and increase consumer

⁸⁷ From “Human Side of Eaton Factories,” ca. 1924, Archives of Ontario, Timothy Eaton Company Papers, Series 162, File 682; as cited by Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 50.

⁸⁸ Whitaker, *The World of Department Stores*, 7.

⁸⁹ Robert Proctor, “Constructing the Retail Monument: The Parisian Department Store and its Property, 1855-1914,” *Urban History* 33, (No.3, 2006): 395.

desire through visual appeal and to offer shopping as an aesthetic experience to customers.⁹⁰”

The variety of services offered by department stores was thus an integral part of this *mise en scène* of the new world of consumerism. In a country as young as Canada, department stores established themselves as key spaces of culture, and provided access to public displays of artistic production. The auditoriums and galleries that department stores built served as important venues for such public entertainments as lectures, concerts, demonstrations, and exhibitions. As was the case throughout the Western world, department stores had become key cultural venues at the turn of the twentieth century. In the next chapter I will study set Montreal’s department stores within the larger context of the city’s art scene during the first half of the twentieth century.

⁹⁰ Oh, “Art Into Everyday Life,” 23.

Chapter Two: The Montreal Art Scene During the First Half of the Twentieth Century

*Montreal has always been regarded as the Art Metropolis of Canada, and is the home of more than one internationally renowned collection. In this sympathetic atmosphere, it is confidently expected this latest art enterprise will be accorded a welcome and the support of discerning and discriminating collectors.*⁹¹

In December 1927, the T. Eaton Co. opened an art gallery in its St. Catherine Street store. The retailer foresaw this new feature of the store as “the [Canadian] ‘Mecca’ of those who are at all interested in pictures of quality and distinction.”⁹² Only two years after establishing itself in Montreal,⁹³ Eaton’s quickly took advantage of the city’s unique and dynamic cultural environment. One might argue that the T. Eaton Co. understood that in order to become participant in the arts in Canada during the early twentieth century, succeeding in Montreal was crucial, and that establishing an in-store art gallery was part of that project. The first page of Eaton’s inaugural exhibition catalogue (1927) celebrated the city’s substantial artistic heritage and its well-known collections. The catalogue’s foreword highlighted Montreal’s role as a cultural hub at the time.⁹⁴

As various studies have demonstrated, the history of Montreal’s cultural scene includes key sites for the exhibition of the arts.⁹⁵ This chapter examines the broad visual culture offered to Montrealers during the first half of the twentieth century by highlighting the effervescence of the cultural life of the city, situating department stores within the bigger context of Montreal’s art venues. Where, during the first half of the twentieth century, was art seen in Montreal, and what did that art look like?

⁹¹ T. Eaton Co Limited and Albert L. Carroll, *Inaugural Exhibition: Important and Finely Representative Examples of the Recognized Masters of the 17th & 18th Centuries English Portrait Schools, the 17th Century Dutch School, the “Barbizon” and “Modern” Dutch Schools and the Contemporary Schools of Great Britain, France and the Netherlands: The Fine Art Galleries/The T. Eaton Co. Limited of Montreal, Fifth Floor, Victoria and St. Catherine* (Quebec [Province]: [s.n.], 1927).

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ On April 14th, 1925, the takeover of Goodwin’s by Eaton’s, already familiar from its catalogues, was announced in the newspapers. Eaton later secured the Montreal architectural firm of Ross and MacDonald to design its new store, which opened in 1927. Bruce Allen Kopytek, “Chez Eaton au Québec,” in *Eaton’s: The Trans-Canada Store* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014): 119–122.

⁹⁴ T. Eaton Co., *Inaugural Exhibition*.

⁹⁵ Notably, Brian Foss, Esther Trépanier, Laurier Lacroix, etc. See the bibliography at the end of this thesis.

Using Younjung Oh's premise that art history traditionally (dis)qualifies "artistic realities in which art [is] extensively involved in commercial interests,"⁹⁶ this chapter endeavours to dismantle this hierarchical partitioning in favour of a more comprehensive perspective on exhibitions.

As department stores rapidly expanded, Montreal's population grew from 140,000 in the late nineteenth century to over 1 million inhabitants in the first half of the twentieth.⁹⁷ Intense rural flight, providing the city with an important contingent of people from all over rural Canada, along with immigration from abroad, explains this important demographic expansion. During the period covered by this thesis, the city became home to half of Quebec's population,⁹⁸ and grew into a significant economic and cultural metropolis at the crossroads of North America and Europe. The importance of the city on regional, national and international levels was due not only to its growing population, but also to its manufacturing facilities, and its status as the financial centre of the dominion.⁹⁹ Home to the head office of numerous important companies and businesses, Montreal's economic and cultural dominance in Canada was ensured by a major flow of capital. From 1850 to 1930, two-thirds of Canada's wealth is estimated to have belonged to the Anglophone commercial aristocracy of the Square Mile.¹⁰⁰ This elite's financial success was confirmed by means of massive investments in, and collecting of, art.¹⁰¹ Its impressive collections, comprised largely of European art, ensured Montreal's reputation as a pivotal centre for the arts in North America.¹⁰²

Historians Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers argue that "Montreal elites and reformers shaped the city" in a way that mirrored and perpetuated "their class and ethnic identities."¹⁰³

⁹⁶ Younjung Oh, "Art Into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors of Culture in Modern Japan" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2012), XVI.

⁹⁷ Paul-André Linteau, "Dynamique socioéconomique et culturelle," in *Montréal Métropole, 1880–1930*, eds. Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem (Montreal: CCA, 1998): 30.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 30.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 27.

¹⁰⁰ François Rémillard and Brian Merrett, *Demeures bourgeoises de Montréal: Le Mille Carré Doré, 1850-1930* (Montréal: Éditions du Méridien, 1987): 18.

¹⁰¹ Donald MacKay, *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987): 112.

¹⁰² Rémillard and Merrett, *Demeures bourgeoises de Montréal*, 16–19.

¹⁰³ They founded "cultural institutions such as clubs, cemeteries, museums, and urban spaces like parks and neighborhoods." Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers, "Introduction: Negotiating Identities in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Montreal," in *Negotiating Identities in 19th- and 20th-Century Montreal*, eds. Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, c2005): 16.

They found pleasure and prestige in owning many of the strongest fine-art collections in the dominion. At first, Montreal's elites showed relatively little interest in acquiring work by local artists, and invested heavily in European art.¹⁰⁴ From the 1880s to the 1920s, almost all of the artworks presented at the AAM's annual loan exhibitions of Old Masters and modern European art came from local collections.¹⁰⁵

Montreal's economic and demographic growth led to the rise of a new middle class, and at the end of the 1920s roughly one-third of Montrealers qualified as members of that class. Despite differences in taste, all longed for entertainment.¹⁰⁶ Having more free time and access to more capital, middle-class families flocked to variety theatres, amusement parks, exhibition grounds and movie theatres. The province of Quebec only briefly banned alcohol for a few weeks in 1919, so that during the 1920s (when the United States and the rest of Canada were languishing under Prohibition) people from across eastern North America came to Montreal in order to indulge themselves and be entertained. Montreal became the "nightlife capital of North America."¹⁰⁷ With art clubs, schools, universities and social groups expanding as the century went by, the infrastructure for the consumption and the production of the visual arts played an increasingly prominent role. The development of cultural networks of dissemination (the press, museums, galleries, specialized publications, schools, etc.) during the 1910s ensured the flourishing presence of the visual arts in the city.¹⁰⁸ Although the conservative and romantic language of *romans du terroir* persisted well into the twentieth century, Montreal was—during the period covered by this thesis—a site of urban modernism and excitement.

¹⁰⁴ Georges-Hébert Germain, "The Benaiah Gibb Bequest and the Art Gallery on Phillips Square (1879)," in *A City's Museum: A History of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2007), 36.

¹⁰⁵ Janet M. Brooke and Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1880–1920* (Montreal: Museum of Fine Art, 1989): 11–12.

¹⁰⁶ Brian Foss, "Out On the Town: Modernism, Arts and Entertainment in Montreal, 1920–33," in *1920s Modernism in Montreal: the Beaver Hall Group*, eds. Jacques Des Rochers and Brian Foss (London, England: Black Dog Publishing; 2015): 128.

¹⁰⁷ CBC Music, "Prohibition," *Burgundy Jazz web documentary; Chapter 2*, accessed February 21st, 2018, video, 3 :15, <http://jazzpetitebourgonedoc.radio-canada.ca/en/chapter/9>.

¹⁰⁸ Laurier Lacroix, *Peindre à Montréal, 1915–1930, les peintres de la Montée Saint-Michel et leurs contemporains* (Montréal, Galerie de l'UQAM, Québec, Musée du Québec, 1996), 64–65.

Cosmopolitan Montreal

Especially from the second half of the nineteenth century, Montreal's Francophone community benefited from the influx of rural French-speaking Quebecers. Members of this diverse community generally shared a cultural heritage strongly attached to France and embedded in the Catholic faith. French artistic production was often tied to the Roman Catholic Church, which commissioned church decorations, and ensured the livelihood of artists such as Ozias Leduc (1864–1955) and, in his early career, Paul-Émile Borduas (1905–60). Yet, despite its French-speaking population, the city kept its British character as the main metropolis of the Dominion of Canada. Through most of the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the Anglophone bourgeoisie of English, Scottish, and Irish origin held most of the financial and political power. The well-off Anglo-Scottish Protestant community forged a network of institutions that promoted imperial values and, in the early twentieth century, a growing Canadian nationalism.¹⁰⁹ Abiding by a strict Victorian morality, the elites of Montreal tended to consider art as a virtue and were “convinced that it could and would refine and elevate the mind.”¹¹⁰

Along with the Anglophone and Francophone communities, numerous other groups established themselves in Montreal. Claire McNicoll explains that Montreal's social order is often understood as encompassing two cities: one French-Canadian and one Anglo-Canadian.¹¹¹ However, this marginalizes the active participation of immigrant communities. Although St. Lawrence Boulevard, known as “The Main,” acted as a linguistic and class boundary between Francophones and Anglophones, it was also an “immigrant corridor” in the middle of the city. First Ashkenazi Jews, followed by Italians and other Europeans established themselves around this street, importing their religious, social and cultural institutions.¹¹² For example, Yiddish theatre premiered in Montreal at the Monument National in 1897. The cosmopolitan character of

¹⁰⁹ Margaret W. Westley, “Providing For the Community,” in *Remembrance of Grandeur: The Anglo-Protestant Elite of Montreal, 1900–1950* (Montreal: Libre Expression, 1990), 206–235; and Lacroix, *Peindre à Montréal*, 27.

¹¹⁰ Germain, “The Benaiah Gibb Bequest,” 36.

¹¹¹ Claire McNicoll, “Deux villes en une,” and “deux solitudes,” in *Montréal: Une société multiculturelle* (Paris: Belin, 1993), 157–165, and 166–186.

¹¹² Julie Podmore, “St. Lawrence Blvd. as Third City: Place, Gender and Difference along Montréal's ‘Main,’” (PhD diss. McGill University, 1999), 88 and Figure 2.25; Paul-André Linteau, “La montée du cosmopolitisme montréalais,” *Questions de culture*, 2 (1982): 23–53 (see Annexes 1–2); and Linteau, “Dynamique socioéconomique et culturelle,” 30.

Montreal was reflected in all of the city's thriving cultural sectors (theatre, cinema, dance, opera, and music). The demand for entertainment was such that during the 1920s the theatres served multiple purposes. For instance, proclaimed as "Canada's exceptional theatre," located at 698 St. Catherine Street West, The Allen's opening evening featured a local orchestra, excerpts from operas, a violin duet, classical dance and a film.¹¹³

A profusion of cultural expressions also characterized Montreal's music scene; operas, concerts of all genres, musicals, and other entertainments were offered to Montrealers. Around the mid-1920s, the city's musical activity was particularly rich, helped through the advent of radio.¹¹⁴ Many genres were thus heard through its streets, concert halls, and clubs. Along with Léo-Pol Morin (1892–1941; a Canadian pianist, music critic and composer), travelling jazz bands introduced Montrealers to new, dissonant sounds and rhythms.¹¹⁵

The city's cosmopolitanism was further expressed in the architecture of its cultural venues, which enabled Montrealers virtually to travel around the world.¹¹⁶ For example, the architecture of the neo-Egyptian Empress movie theatre (1927–1992) expressed a fascination with Egyptian culture (Egyptomania) that similarly influenced the art collections of the Redpath Museum, which comprised three mummies, as well as of the École des beaux-arts de Montréal and the Art Association of Montreal.¹¹⁷

A Gamut of Attitudes; From Conservatism to the Avant-Garde

Artists and performers were increasingly experimenting with various forms of expression, but modernism in the arts still faced opposition. In response to the vast array of cultural

¹¹³ Dane Lanken, *Montreal Movie Palaces: Great Theatres of the Golden Era, 1884–1938* (Waterloo, Ont: Archives of Canadian Art, 1993), 7. See Figure 6.

¹¹⁴ Gilles Potvin, "Music in Montréal," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia, Historica Canada, 1985—*. Article published April 12, 2007. <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/montreal-que-emc/index.cfm>.

¹¹⁵ Foss, "Out On the Town," 144; and Nancy Marrelli, *Stepping Out: The Golden Age of Montreal Night Clubs, 1925–1955* (Montréal: Véhicule Press, 2004), 10.

¹¹⁶ Lorraine O'Donnell, "Le voyage virtuel: Les consommatrices, le monde de l'étranger et Eaton à Montréal, 1880–1980," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 58, (No. 4, 2005): 535–568.

¹¹⁷ O'Donnell, "Le voyage virtuel," 537; and Guillaume Sellier, "L'Égyptomanie à Montréal, 1840–2016," *Society for the Studies of Egyptian antiquities — seeamtl.org* [Online], 2017. http://www.sseamtl.org/2017_SELLIER_Egyptomanie_Mtl.pdf

offerings, the various institutions that formed the metropolis's cultural scene targeted different clienteles through diversified programming. For instance, performers such as Adelina Patti, Ellen Terry, Henry Irving, Coquelin, Gabrielle Réjane, Mounet-Sully and Sarah Bernhardt, trained as Shakespearian actors or at the Comédie-Française, visited Montreal and appealed to the taste for traditional theatre.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, the conservatism of traditional rural and Catholic culture ensued the tremendous success of *Aurore, l'enfant martyre* (1921), a play written by Léon Petit Jean and Henri Rollin. *Aurore* was performed 6,000 times before 1951. Heinz Weinmann explains that this moralizing biographical melodrama's success came from its valorization of the family as a symbol of French Quebec's history.¹¹⁹ Present in much of the province's early twentieth-century French literature,¹²⁰ this traditional view of society and its proximity to rural land was also suggested in the work of French-Canadian painters such as Ozias Leduc and Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Côté (1869–1937), whose work was extensively exhibited in Montreal during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Yet rural landscapes appealed to an audience that extended beyond Francophones; Anglophones were also attracted to scenes of rural life. For instance, artists working in the Barbizon and Hague School traditions, both of which originated in the nineteenth century, were interested in capturing the light and atmosphere of such scenes, and were highly collected. Popular Anglophone painters such as William Brymner (1855–1925) and Homer Ransford Watson (1855–1936) produced beloved pastoral scenes that also helped forge the myth of a rustic nation and that entered private collections. Even The Beaver Hall Group, although it promoted modern subjects and styles, showed an interest in similar subject matter; André Biéler (1896–1989), for example, painted many scenes of traditional rural life. Reflecting conservative ways of picturing the world along with the emergence of more modernist approaches to their medium, Biéler and other Beaver Hall artists such as Randolph Hewton (1888–1960) produced work that suggested the complexity of the Montreal art scene.

¹¹⁸ Jean-Marc Larrue, "Entrée en scène des professionnels (1825–1930)," in *Le Théâtre au Québec, 1825-1980: Repères et perspectives*, ed. Renée Legris (Montréal, Québec: VLB éditeur, 1988), 39.

¹¹⁹ The death of *Aurore* by her stepmother was presented as to discourage widows to remarry too quickly. Heinz Weinmann, *Cinéma de l'imaginaire québécois: De La petite Aurore à Jésus de Montréal* (Montréal: L'Hexagone, 1990), 28.

¹²⁰ The roman du terroir in Quebec is a literary movement which celebrates rural life and the working of the land. This type of novel promoting a strong ideology appeared around the mid-nineteenth century when 80% of people in the province lived in the country side. Maurice Lemire, "De Marie Chapdelaine au Survenant : La littérature du terroir," *Cap-aux-Diamants : La revue d'histoire du Québec* 65 (Printemps 2001) : 20–23.

Art historian Esther Trépanier explains that because of the homogeneity of the art market, and because of conservative tastes, the rejection of academicism and nationalism, in Quebec started to appear only during the 1920s and 1930s.¹²¹ For instance, by the mid-1930s Marian Dale Scott (1906-93), exemplified the transition from landscape painting to the exploration of varied subjects rendered in simplified and modernist form. Rejecting nationalist trends and exploring modernist concerns, Scott strove for contemporaneity in her work, something that would eventually lead her to abstraction. In 1939, along with Fritz Brandtner (1896–1969), Prudence Heward (1896–1947), Louis Muhlstock (1904–2001), Goodridge Roberts (1904–74) and Philip Surrey (1910–90), she was amongst the 26 founding members of the Contemporary Arts Society (1938–48), a group founded in Montreal and that sought to introduce Canadians to modern art. The work of such artists was increasingly visible by the end of the 1930s, and shaped Montrealers' experience. So did the writing of art critics such as Robert Ayre (1900–80), Jean Chauvin (1895–1958), Albert Laberge (1871–1960), and John Lyman (1886–1967).¹²² Thus, like the cultural effervescence of Montreal's entertainment scene during the first half of the twentieth century, the visual arts in Montreal were characterized by a cosmopolitanism and a range of themes and styles. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Three, the diverse nature of the visual arts in Montreal during the first half of the twentieth century was well reflected in the diversity of art that was seen in the city's department stores.

Looking at the Visual Arts in Montreal

The profusion and variety of artistic production that existed during the first portion of the twentieth century in Montreal could be seen in numerous venues. As Canada was a fairly young country at the beginning of the century, artists first had only access to a limited number of places to promote their work. However, as the twentieth century went on, the infrastructure for the

¹²¹ Esther Trépanier, *Peinture et modernité au Québec, 1919–1939* (Québec: Éditions Nota bene, 1998) ; Lois Valliant. "Robert Hugh Ayre, 1900-1980 Art, A Place in the Community : Reviews at *The Gazette*, Montreal, 1935-1937 and at *The Standard*, Montreal, 1838-1942," (M.A., Concordia University, 1991); Lois Valliant and Sandra Paikowsky. *Robert Ayre : The Critic and the Collection / Robert Ayre : Le critique face à la collection* (Montreal: Concordia, 1992).

¹²² We can note the work of critics writing for *La Presse*, *La Revue Populaire*, *La Revue Moderne*, *Le Nigog*, *The Montrealer*, etc. Trépanier, *Peinture et modernité*.

exhibition and selling of art rapidly increased. Arts clubs, schools, commercial galleries, libraries, universities, social groups, the multifunctional Monument National (inaugurated in 1893 by the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal) and department stores all played roles in the dissemination of the visual arts across the city.

Montreal's principal site for art exhibitions during this period – the Art Association of Montreal – had been founded decades earlier. In keeping with its wealth and power, the AAM was established by a group of local art lovers and patrons, twenty years before the creation of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts.¹²³ The AAM was intended by its founders to provide opportunities to give art “a greater stature in their emerging city,”¹²⁴ especially because other venues for seeing art were rare. This forerunner of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts moved in 1879 to the new downtown core in Phillips Square, into the first building in the country to be constructed specifically for housing a fine art collection.¹²⁵ The new AAM building was designed by the J.W. & E.C. Hopkins, the firm that in 1860 had designed Montreal's Crystal Palace, an exhibition hall built for the Industrial Exhibition.¹²⁶ This same firm oversaw the construction of exhibition facilities, theatres and mansions, but most notably for my subject it also designed department stores.¹²⁷ The expertise demonstrated in the AAM building project proved useful for department stores, which, like the AAM, were dedicated to the art of display. *The Canadian Illustrated News* of May 31st, 1879, published two lithographs that represented the AAM in Phillips Square as a true civilizing feature for the dominion (Figures 7 & 8). In the

¹²³ Anne Whitelaw describes the creation of the RCA in 1880 as “an attempt to create standards in production and appreciation of the arts.” Anne Whitelaw, “Art Institutions in the Twentieth Century: Framing Canadian Visual Culture,” in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. By Brian Foss, Sandra Paikowsky, and Anne Whitelaw (Don Mills, Ont: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3.

¹²⁴ Whitelaw, “Art Institutions in the Twentieth Century,” 5.

¹²⁵ Robert Mackay, the president of the AAM council, spoke in these terms regarding the “social aims and about the positive moral and educational influence it could not fail to have on the citizens of Montreal.” As cited in Germain, “The Benaiah Gibb Bequest,” 26.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹²⁷ Some of J.W. & E.C. Hopkins architectural firm building projects: an exhibition building in Outremont (1878-79); the conversion into a theatre for music and drama of Nordheimer's Hall on St. James Street (1879); the Hudson Bay Company Store and Warehouse in Winnipeg, Manitoba (1879); Richard B. Angus's mansion on Drummond Street (1882); a hotel for James Morgan in Sorel, Québec (1882); the Windsor Hotel at Dominion Square (1882) and an extension of its Hall and concert room (1889); a mansion for Louis J. Forget in Senneville, Québec (1887); an Opera House on Granville Street in Vancouver, B.C., for Mr. Van Horne (1890); a mansion for Hector Mackenzie on Sherbrooke Street (1891-92); and John Murphy Store on St. Catherine Street West at Metcalfe Street (1894). Information taken from the Ledger Book, which is extracted from the Hopkins & Wily Account Book held at the Salle Gagnon, Bibliothèque municipale de la Ville de Montreal. As listed by Robert G. Hill, “Hopkins, John William,” *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800–1950* [website], accessed February 22, 2017, <http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1525>. The collection has been transferred to BAnQ Vieux-Montréal.

cover lithograph is seen an ornate Renaissance-inspired building of symmetrical classical design, with the human figures drawn towards the rounded arches. These illustrations show how with its classical architecture, the AAM was conceived as an attempt to assert a Western cultural heritage that Canada had inherited from other nations.

William-Adolphe Bouguereau's *Crown of Flowers* was exhibited in 1905 in the AAM's series of loan exhibitions of Old Masters and European art,¹²⁸ all borrowed from local collectors, several of whom were closely involved in the governance and funding of the AAM.¹²⁹ Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot (1796–1875), Charles-François Daubigny (1817–78), Jean-François Millet (1814–75), Sir Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641) and James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1906) were among the major painters whose work was seen at the AAM during its annual loan exhibitions. Bouguereau's painting was lent by the Scottish-Canadian financier, banker, and philanthropist Richard Bladworth Angus (1831–1922). (That same year, during the month of March, this French artist's work was also being exhibited at the W. Scott & Sons Gallery.¹³⁰) Other lenders to the AAM exhibitions included Sir George A. Drummond (1829–1910; a Scottish-Canadian businessman), who exhibited work from his collection in 1918, and Sir William Van Horne (1843–1915; former president of Canadian Pacific Railway), who showed examples from his collection in 1933. Drummond and Van Horne shared an interest in Impressionism, but they also collected widely in European art, and for example owned work by Honoré Daumier (1808–79), Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), Matthijs Maris (1839–1917), and Gabriel Max (1840–1915).¹³¹

This willingness of the economic and cultural elite of Montreal to show their collection at the AAMs, raises the question of whether some of the works presented at department stores' art galleries came from such collections. For instance, in 1933, a collection of Chinese paintings owned by the Kiang family (Dr. Kiang Kang-Hu was head of the Chinese Studies department at McGill University in the early 1930)¹³² was presented at Ogilvy's department store, having been

¹²⁸ Brooke, *Discerning Tastes*, 11.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Hélène Sicotte, "L'implantation de la galerie d'art à Montréal: le cas de W. Scott & Sons, 1859-1914: comment la révision du concept d'œuvre d'art autorisa la spécialisation du commerce d'art," (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2003), 735.

¹³¹ Brooke, *Discerning Tastes*, 20–25.

¹³² Macy Zheng, "Principal Sir Arthur Currie and the Department of Chinese Studies at McGill," *Fontanus* vol 13 (2013): 69–80.

exhibited at the AAM three years before (November 29th to December 14th, 1930) (see Appendix II). Unfortunately my research to date has not located more instances of this phenomenon. It may nonetheless be significant that the European masters and contemporary Canadian artists who were seen not only seen in exhibitions presented at Henry Morgan & Co. and the T. Eaton Co. galleries, and at commercial galleries such as the W. Scott & Sons, were also shown in the AAM loan exhibitions. For instance, James McNeill Whistler and Théophile Emile Achille de Bock, both represented as typical of the overlapping presence of given artists in private collections, were also displayed at the AAM and elsewhere. Whistler, an American artist associated with the English Aesthetic Movement, was shown in January 1907 at the AAM along with over 350 works loaned from local collectors and merchants, such as the W. Scott and Sons Gallery. Having been exhibited previously in February 1902 at Scott & Sons, Whistler's work was again on display in November, 1908 at the Johnson & Copping Gallery. During the 1908 exhibition, Whistler's work was featured alongside that of Théophile Emile Achille de Bock's (1851–1904; a Dutch painter belonging to the Hague School). De Bock's work had previously been shown at the AAM in February 1904 and would be again in December 1908, while he also featured in exhibitions from April to June 1904, and in February 1907 at the W. Scott & Sons Gallery. In 1909 it was Henry Morgan & Co's turn to present the work of Whistler, twice in 1927 and once in 1929, while de Bock's work was presented at the T. Eaton Co.'s galleries.

At the AAM itself, European art characterized the Fall and Winter programming, while Spring and Summer were allotted to contemporary Canadian (and largely local) production. From 1880 to 1965, the AAM presented an annual Spring Exhibition, which showcased contemporary Canadian painting and sculpture by both younger artists and those who had already “arrived.”¹³³ Regulars at the AAM Spring Exhibitions included William Brymner, Maurice Cullen (1866–1934), James Wilson Morrice (1865–1924), Robert Harris (1849–1919), Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Côté (1869–1937), Arthur-Dominique Rosaire (1879–1922), G. Horne Russell (1861–1933), Henrietta Mabel May (1877–1971), Clarence A. Gagnon (1881–1942), etc. Another important annual exhibition, one that made art from artists right across Canada available to Montrealers, was organized by the Royal Canadian Academy, many of whose yearly displays were seen at the AAM. They were shown alternately in Montreal,

¹³³ “Younger Artists Well Represented – Some Leading Exhibitors Are Absent from Thirty-third Spring Exhibition – Many Snowscapes Shown,” *Montreal Gazette* (March 23rd, 1916).

Toronto and Ottawa, and provided Montrealers with an opportunity to see a great deal of Canadian art, much of it from outside of the city.

The range of artists who exhibited at the AAM tended to be smaller than that seen in the RCA annuals (because the AAM focused more on Quebec artists). But both the AAM and RCA combined the work of traditional and modernist artists, and showed the same diversity we found in other cultural expression such as theatre. For instance, in 1925, a review published in the *Montreal Gazette* about the RCA annual exhibition (seen that year at the AAM) stated that “among some of the younger painters there is a tendency towards strident colours and a flatness of treatment which has resulted in decorative themes much along the line of posters.”¹³⁴ Alongside the work of Archibald Browne (1862–1948), Frederick S. Coburn (1871–1960), Maurice Cullen, Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Côté, Clarence Gagnon, William R. Hope (1863–1931), Mabel May, Albert H. Robinson (1881–1956), G. Horne Russell, and Charles W. Simpson (1878–1942) were presented pieces by younger artists such as Marc-Aurèle Fortin (1888–1970), Adrien Hébert, Louis Muhlstock, Sarah Robertson (1891–1948) and Anne Savage (1897–1971). With the exception of Marc-Aurèle Fortin and Albert H. Robinson, work from all of the artists listed above was also shown at the Forty-second Spring Exhibition in April of the same year.

However, cyclical events were not the only occasions on which Montrealers visited the galleries of the Art Association. Encouraging Montrealers’ exposure to the arts,¹³⁵ the AAM presented a wide range of artistic expressions. These included, beginning in December 1916, the AAM’s decorative arts collection.¹³⁶ For example, handicrafts and decorative arts were also shown at the AAM in the Canadian Guild of Handicrafts’s annual exhibitions from 1905 until the 1960s.¹³⁷ In a photograph taken of the first such exhibition, in 1905, we see handwoven

¹³⁴ “Fine Work Marks R.C.A Exhibition,” *Montreal Gazette* (November 20th, 1925).

¹³⁵ In 1887, John Henry R. Molson offered the AAM \$10,000 on the condition that it will open on Sunday like the European galleries did. This donation aimed “to give the poorer classes a chance for innocent amusement and instruction on their day of rest.” Also, as Montreal was a mixed community of Catholics, Protestants and Jews, it applied to all individuals regardless of their religion. Germain, *A City’s Museum*, 38.

¹³⁶ “F. Cleveland Morgan Chronology,” *F. Cleveland Morgan—Le Sabot website*, accessed March 8th, 2018. <http://morganstudio.tripod.com/clevelandmorgan/members/chronology.html>

¹³⁷ The WAAC, formerly the Canadian Guild of Arts, presented exhibitions unregularly at the AAM from 1905 to 1943. This is the same group whose work was seen in 1900 and 1902 in the Morgan’s department store’s new art galleries. In parallel, during the 1930s, the WASM’s studio exhibitions were also held at galleries in Ogilvy’s and Eaton’s department stores. Norma Morgan, “F. Cleveland Morgan and the Decorative Arts Collection in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts,” (MA thesis, Concordia University, 1985), 16.

carpets, portières and lace, all exhibited in proximity to the AAM's collection of European art, including Bouguereau's *Crown of Flowers* from 1884 (see Figures 9 and 10). The AAM also held monographic exhibitions by local artists during the spring and summer. For instance, the Hungarian Canadian painter and poet Charles-Ernest de Belle (1873–1939), who participated in the Spring Exhibition in 1913, 1914, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934 and 1936, also had five solo shows of his pastels, and of his oil portraits and landscapes (in 1913, 1916, 1923, 1926 and 1932). Popular in his time for producing winter scenes and depictions of children, de Belle's work was also shown at the commercial galleries throughout the city such as the W. Scott & Sons Gallery in 1914, the Watson Art Galleries, the Johnson Art Gallery and the Sidney Carter Gallery and, in 1916, at the T. Eaton Co..¹³⁸ In addition to exhibitions of work by local artists, the AAM presented decorative art, prints, European art, Asian art, and so on. For instance, taking two years as typical examples (1906 and 1924), we see that in that in 1906 the Art Association held eleven exhibitions. In 1906, five non-Canadian exhibitions comprised work by some French impressionists loaned by Paul Durand-Ruel, a show titled *Tiffany Favre Glass: Metal Work, Mosaics and Windows*, a display of paintings by F.W. Stokes of New York (the show was described as illustrating the colour effects in the North and South Polar Regions), an exhibition of paintings by Rembrandt and other Dutch painters of the seventeenth century (this was the AAM's Twenty-ninth Loan Exhibition), and the Twenty-third Spring Exhibition. While 1906 programming gave place to more international exhibitions, in 1924 the work of Canadian contemporary artists was heavily presented. In 1924, along with the annual exhibition by students of the Art Association's school, the Spring Exhibition and the annual exhibition of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, these comprised a show of watercolour drawings by David B. Milne (1882–1953), a memorial exhibition of the works of the late Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850–1917), a show of paintings in tempera by André Biéler, an exhibition of drawings entered for an architectural scholarship, a poster competition, an exhibition of drawings of the cenotaph to be erected on Dominion Square,

¹³⁸ Albert Laberge, *Charles de Belle : Peintre-poète* (Montreal: Édition Privée, 1949), 55. For further investigation, consult Charles-Ernest DeBelle, *Exhibition of 63 Paintings and Pastels by Charles de Belle; Under the Direction of A.R.L. Carroll* (Montreal: T. Eaton Co. Ltd., [19—]) NGC—Library and Archives, N0 D286 A4.

a display of early Quebec architecture, and woodblock and linoleum prints by Edwin Holgate (1892–1977), Ivan Jobin (1885–1975) and Maurice Lebel (1909–2006).¹³⁹

While public access to historical Quebec art was ensured by the Château de Ramezay, the collection of which was rich in portraits, access to local contemporary art was further ensured (outside the AAM) by other types of institutions. Founded by the Sulpicians and housed in a Beaux-Arts-style building, the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, located at 1700 St. Denis Street, offered all kinds of activities to the public. These included monographic art exhibitions by Canadian artists from 1916 until 1930.¹⁴⁰ For instance, during its opening year (1916: February 20th to March 15th), it showed paintings and drawings by Ozias Leduc, followed by the presentation of pastels by Yvan Jobin.¹⁴¹ Both accomplished and emerging young artists made up the programming of this earliest Francophone library in Canada.¹⁴² Unsurprisingly, perhaps, the Bibliothèque's programming emphasized the work of Francophone artists, whereas the AAM was more heavily oriented towards their Anglophone counterparts. For example, from 1916 to 1929 the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice held exhibitions of work by Octave Bélanger (1886–1972), Claire Fauteux (1892–1988), Narcisse Poirier (1883–1984) were artists whose work was exhibited there three times while the work of Louis-Philippe Beaudoin (1900–67), Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Adrien Hébert, Ivan Jobin (1885–1975), Marguerite Lemieux (1899–1971), Elzéar Soucy (1876–1970), and Émile Vézina (1876–1942) were shown twice. Furthermore, Georges Delfosse (1869–1939), Rodolphe Duguay (1891–1973), Alfred Faniel (1879–1950), Joseph-Charles Franchère (1866–1921), Charles Gill (1871–1918), Joseph-Olindo Gratton (1855–1941), Henri Hébert, Jean-Baptiste Lagacé (1868–1946), Ulric Lamarche (1867–1921), Ozias Leduc, Edmond

¹³⁹ MMFA, “ Répertoire des expositions du musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 1860 – 2016,” [online]. accessed April 9th, 2018. <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/mbam-repertoire-des-expositions-depuis-1860.pdf>

¹⁴⁰ Jean-René Lassonde explains that this institution made available to the public books, conferences, symposia and congresses, literary evenings, concerts, national events, and collaborations with the Library of the Université de Montréal and with the Montreal Historical Society. Jean-René Lassonde, *La Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, 1910-1931* (Montréal: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1986) ; and Lacroix, *Peindre à Montréal*, 64.

¹⁴¹ Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice and Robert de Roquebrune. *Catalogue des quelques peintures et dessins par O. Leduc, exposés à la Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, rue Saint-Denis, Montréal, du 20 février au 15 mars, 1916* ([Montréal?]: [s.n.], 1916); and Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice. *Exposition de peinture au pastel par Ivan Jobin: Du 23 octobre au 25 novembre, 1916, à la Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, à Montréal* ([Montréal?]: [s.n.], 1916).

¹⁴² Lacroix, *Peindre à Montréal*, 64.

Lemoine (1877–1922), Berthe Lemoine (1884–1958), J. Edmond Massicotte (1875–1929) and Rita Mount (1885–1967).¹⁴³

Another library – this one catering more to an Anglophone audience – opened in 1885 thanks to a bequest from local businessman Hugh Fraser. The Fraser Institute offered Montrealers “a free library, museum and gallery of art, open to all honest and respectable persons of every class without distinction of race and creed.”¹⁴⁴ McGill University’s Redpath Library also presented small exhibitions, such as one of engravings by contemporary Canadian artists in November 1933 and, in November 1937, a show titled *Caricatures of Modern Times*.¹⁴⁵ The Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, the Fraser Institute and the Redpath Library were all non-museum spaces that, with the AAM, offered the opportunity to view art.¹⁴⁶ Meanwhile, the Arts Club, a private institution, was founded at 51 Victoria Street in 1930, on the initiative of Francophone and Anglophone contemporary local artists, art critics and architects. This, the oldest arts club in the city, was launched as a space for visual and literary artists to meet and to exchange views, and was the site of many exhibitions. For instance, from January 25th to February 20th, 1919, it hosted an exhibition of Japanese prints, loaned by Sir Edmund Walker (1848-1924; the former president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce). Schools of art, such as the one at the AAM, as well as the Conseil des arts et manufactures (1877–1928; located in the Monument National),¹⁴⁷ the École des beaux-arts de Montréal (ÉBAM; 1922–69), and the École du Meuble (1935–60) were spaces where students were exhibited. The Young Men’s Hebrew Association (YMHA; 1910–50) and the Young Women’s Hebrew Association (YWHA; 1910–50) likewise offered educational opportunities and presented art exhibitions of their students’ art.¹⁴⁸

Art historian Laurier Lacroix explains that, along with public and private spaces such as these, newspapers’ display windows often presented the work of contemporary artists, and this

¹⁴³ Lassonde, *La Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice*, 282–84; and Esther Trépanier, “Annexe 1- Aperçu des exposition tenues À Montréal de 1919 à 1939,” in *Peinture et modernité au Québec, 1919–1939* (Québec: Éditions Nota bene, 1998) : 322-28.

¹⁴⁴ Edgar C. Moodey, *The Fraser-Hickson Library: An Informal History* (London: Bingley, 1977), 37.

¹⁴⁵ Trépanier, “Annexe 1,” in *Peinture et modernité*, 322-28.

¹⁴⁶ Sicotte, “L’implantation de la galerie d’art à Montréal,” 17.

¹⁴⁷ Started in 1895, the “cours publics du Monument” introduced people to various fields of interests, such as the arts. The Monument National also contained in its basement a wax museum called The Eden. “Monument-National; 125 years of history soon,” *Monument-National website*, accessed May 30th, 2018. <https://www.monumentnational.com/en/monument/>

¹⁴⁸ Trépanier, “Annexe 1,” in *Peinture et modernité*, 313–32.

allowed for large groups of people to have access to the arts.¹⁴⁹ The same was true of store fronts. One could argue that such display windows played an important role in the assertion of a visual culture broadly presented to the citizens of Montreal; windows and store fronts could be seen by anyone at any moment of the day. For instance, in 1935, Eaton's windows announced the *Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo*, which performed in October of that year at His Majesty's Theatre. The display featured a miniature stage design inspired by the forest scenes of the French landscape and portrait painter Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, an artist whose work Montrealers had also seen at the AAM.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, celebrating its centenary in 1945, Henry Morgan & Co.'s store windows offered passersby a historical review of fashion styles through tableaux paired with paintings (Figure 11).

In parallel to these many institutions, commercial galleries also played key roles in the formation of a network of diffusion for visual art in Montreal. Inserting themselves into the local and national markets, they presented artistic agendas curated by their owners' vision. The John Ogilvy Gallery (1897–1909), William Watson's gallery (1920–58), the Johnson Art Galleries, the Sidney Carter Gallery (1907–09; 1916–54) and the W. Scott and Sons Gallery (1859–1939) were all privately owned commercial spaces created by Anglophone owners. The first two (Watson had been a disciple of Ogilvy) developed important partnerships with galleries based in London, such as the French Gallery (1854–1929) and the Vicars Brothers' antiques firm (1907–23), from which they imported European art, mostly Dutch and French. Alongside the AAM, they made European art available not only to collectors, but to the interested public. Hélène Sicotte has demonstrated how W. Scott and Sons played an active role in the dissemination of the esthetic of artists from the Barbizon and the Hague schools, which also highly influenced Canadian production.¹⁵¹ During the 1920s and 1930s, as a modern artistic sensibility emerged, galleries such as the Watson Gallery took it upon themselves to present contemporary work, increasingly supporting local artists. Watson thus became a strong advocate of Canadian artists such William Brymner, Maurice Cullen, George Horne Russell, A.Y. Jackson (1882–1974) and

¹⁴⁹ Laurier Lacroix, "L'art au service de 'l'utile et du patriotique'," in *La vie culturelle à Montréal vers 1900*, eds. Cambron, Micheline (Montréal, Fides et Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 2005), 65.

¹⁵⁰ "Toute une vitrine annoncée, chez Eaton, les Ballets Russes," *La Presse* (October 23rd, 1935) : 12.

¹⁵¹ Sicotte, "L'implantation de la galerie d'art à Montréal," 273–294; and Brian Foss, "Into the New Century: Painting, c. 1890–1914," in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. by Brian Foss, Sandra Paikowsky, and Anne Whitelaw (Don Mills, Ont: Oxford University Press, 2012), 17–37.

James Wilson Morrice.¹⁵² Numerous other galleries also emerged: Antoine's Art Repository (founded in 1936), the Continental Galleries of Fine Art (1934–90), the Frank Stevens Gallery (1939?) and the Dominion Gallery (1941–2000). Of these, only the Dominion Gallery would match the influence of the Watson gallery and W. Scott & Sons.

Most commercial galleries were oriented towards Anglophone collectors. However, in 1906 the Morency brothers inaugurated the Galerie Morency Frères (1906–90). At first a framing shop and art centre, in the fall 1920 the business was relocated to 346 St. Catherine Street East at the corner of St. Denis and St. Catherine streets. There the brothers opened an art gallery. Their inaugural exhibition was of Canadian art.¹⁵³ Through solo and group shows, the gallery put forth the works of renowned and emerging Francophones artists, such as Georges Delfosse, the Hébert brothers, Marc-Aurèle Fortin and members of the Montée Saint-Michel.¹⁵⁴

Commercial galleries were not the only institutions to sell art during this period in Montreal. Art was also sold at the most institutionalized of the art exhibitions venues: the AAM. This was of course the case with the Spring Exhibition, but there were also other examples. These included, during the winter of 1909, an exhibition of French art, some of which was sold. During this exhibition, the Robert Simpson Co. and Henry Morgan & Co. bought three and six works respectively¹⁵⁵ for their stores' art galleries. Nor was this a unique event.¹⁵⁶ Events such as these asserted the active role played by the Art Association in the commercialization of art. This indicates an aspect that the AAM shared with department stores; setting the division between art and consumption was difficult. Such a conclusion allows us to next consider the active role department stores played within Montreal's art scene as they, like the theatre and music scenes, appealed to a range of attitudes, from conservative to modern. In the next chapter, I will broaden

¹⁵² William R. Watson, *Retrospective: Recollections of a Montreal Art Dealer* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974) 40–55; and Sicotte, "L'implantation de la galerie d'art à Montréal," 168.

¹⁵³ Esther Trépanier, "La Rue Saint-Denis, au cœur de la modernité francophone montréalaise," *Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales D'histoire De L'art Canadien* 32 (No.1, 2011.): 67.

¹⁵⁴ Richard Foisy, *L'Arche: Un atelier d'artistes dans le Vieux-Montréal* (Montréal: VLB, 2009), 93–94; and Lacroix, *Peindre à Montréal*, 47–81.

¹⁵⁵ Marc Gauthier, "Les Salons parisiens au Canada : «L'Exposition d'art français» de Montréal en 1909," (MA diss., Université Laval, 2011), 126–127.

¹⁵⁶ The exhibition records of the AAM kept in the MMFA's archives should be further investigated to understand the close relationship these retailers fostered with the AAM. Marc Gauthier explains that James Morgan purchased three works at the AAM: Miles Foster, *Misty Moonlight* (presented at the AAM in 1902), Wyatt Eaton, *Portrait of the Artist at Nineteen* (presented at the AAM in 1908) and Clarence Gagnon, *Autumn, Pont de l'Arche* (presented at the AAM in 1909). While, a work titled *A Road in Spain* by William Henry Clapp belonging to "Morgan & Co." was presented at the AAM in 1913. Marc Gauthier, Email correspondence with the author, December 18th, 2017.

the understanding of what was exhibited in department stores' art galleries, and those venues' relationship to the visual culture available in Montreal at the time.

Chapter Three: Art Exhibitions in Montreal Department Stores: Marketing the Image of Cultural Institutions

This chapter provides the first historical overview of art exhibitions held in Montreal department stores. Newspaper articles and advertisements published in local newspapers, as well as the few exhibition catalogues that were published, have been reviewed during the research process for the chapter. What were department store galleries' modes of organization? How were the exhibitions planned and who was involved in the curatorial choices that were made? Which artists were shown? And what was the relationship between what was exhibited by department stores' art galleries and by the Art Association of Montreal (AAM)? Or by commercial galleries? Scholars have mentioned department store exhibitions, but none has attempted to look into this phenomenon with a special focus on the Canadian context.¹⁵⁷

In October 1900, Henry Morgan & Co. became the first department store in Montreal to venture into operating a facility dedicated to the arts. This retailer would soon be followed by the T. Eaton Co., Ogilvy's, the Robert Simpson Company (commonly known as Simpson's) and to a certain extent Dupuis Frères and John Murphy's. These art venues emerged in the early twentieth century, and increased in number and importance during the 1920s to become essential parts of the Montreal art scene by the 1930s. The exhibitions they presented during the first half of the century offered occasions on which the Montreal public could have access not only to fine art, but — as noted in Chapter One — to other kinds of cultural expression, such as collectable prints, crafts, etc. Yet, as these institutions were first retailers, customers going through the departments of the stores were usually not there solely to look at art. Thus, the experience of art in department store art galleries can be qualified as being comparatively informal.

This chapter is divided chronologically into two sections: 1900–26, and 1927–45. The first period was characterized by the quasi-monopoly of Morgan's gallery; of the 23 exhibitions found to date from 1900–26, 15 were presented at this store's art gallery. The year 1927 marked a turning moment for department store art galleries in Montreal. I argue that with the inauguration of the T. Eaton Co.'s fine art galleries in 1927, followed by those at Ogilvy's in 1929, these exhibition spaces became essential contributors to the Montreal art scene: a role they

¹⁵⁷ Among others, Hélène Boily, Brian Foss, François-Marc Gagnon, Charles C. Hill, Laurier Lacroix, Hélène Sicotte, Esther Trépanier. (See the bibliography at the end of this thesis.)

maintained for years to come. They presented for the pleasure of Montrealers paintings, engravings, decorative art objects, pottery and reproductions of fine-art masterpieces.

The present chapter thus establishes Montreal's department stores as being not just commercial institutions, but also cultural and social actors. As explained in the first chapter, in the 1900s department stores throughout the Western world increasingly emerged as magnificent undertakings meant to enhance the public experience of shopping through a seductive cultural ambiance that went beyond the display of merchandise. In this context, Parisian department stores also inaugurated art galleries inside their premises, and that practice has continued to this day: Le Bon Marché did so around 1880 (Figure 12) and Les Galeries Lafayette still operates today as La Galerie des Galeries. Similarly, Yonjung Oh explains that at the beginning of the twentieth century in Japan, "fine art was increasingly understood as a necessary component of a civilized nation, [and the] cultural literacy needed to appreciate fine art became considered a prerequisite for being a citizen of such a nation."¹⁵⁸ In the United States, Philadelphia department store owner John Wanamaker (1838–1922) imported French artworks to exhibit and sell at his eponymous store, which included a gallery inaugurated in 1881.¹⁵⁹ This illustrates a widespread, international phenomenon as stores throughout the world became exhibition spaces. In Montreal, department stores also exhibited the fine arts, which had the effect of identifying their customers as refined citizens and, by extension, of proposing national sophistication as expressed through the making of cultural achievement available to all modern Canadian citizens.

As early as 1945, in *Sur un état actuel de la peinture canadienne*, Maurice Gagnon stated how important the Henry Morgan & Co. gallery was for the arts scene in Montreal.¹⁶⁰ Along with the Dominion Gallery, it was praised as exhibiting a "peinture vivante," and Gagnon stressed how instrumental it was in publicizing the work of local modernist artists. Of the 35 exhibitions that I have traced for the Colonial House (as the Morgan's store building was known) between 1900 and 1945, 19 of them were focused on contemporary Canadian art. This retailer helped Montrealers appreciate local artists' production at a time when few opportunities existed for most artists to expose their work outside of the annual Spring Exhibitions of the AAM, and

¹⁵⁸ Yonjung Oh, "Art Into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors of Culture in Modern Japan" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2012), 118.

¹⁵⁹ No research on this topic has been brought to my knowledge. See John Wanamaker's department store art gallery records, [ca. 1908]-1941. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

¹⁶⁰ Maurice Gagnon, *Sur un état actuel de la peinture canadienne* (Montréal: Société des Éditions Pascal, 1945), 38.

the relatively small number of commercial galleries such as the William Watson Gallery (1920–58) or later the Dominion Gallery (1941–2000).¹⁶¹

Thus, department stores were important not only as subjects for living Canadian artists such as Adrien Hébert (see Chapter One), but also because they allowed artists a space to exhibit their work. For instance, the Morgan family's strong involvement with the community led the *Montreal Gazette* to picture them as “hav[ing] taken part in every movement for the city corporate and the citizens at large.” James Morgan II (1846–1932), a prominent patron of the arts, made artists feel welcome in his newly built department store art gallery.¹⁶² Such institutions were therefore perceived as more than just commercial endeavours; they played an active role within their society and “all citizens who possess a personal pride in the general advance should be pleased [by their progress].¹⁶³” Morgan's gave Montrealers access to one of the first fully modern department store premises in Canada. Later on, Morgan's son F. Cleveland Morgan (1881–1962) also advocated for public access to the arts. He further worked towards extending the definition of art production by promoting decorative arts and being a strong supporter of the arts in general. As one of many examples, in 1946 the Canadian artist Saul Field (1912–87) highlighted the help he was provided by this member of the Morgan family.¹⁶⁴

Although this thesis focuses mostly on Dupuis Frères, the T. Eaton Co., Henry Morgan & Co., and Ogilvy's, other retailers also exhibited art in the early twentieth century. For instance, in 1913, John Murphy's store presented with great ceremony the painting *A Boyar Wedding Feast* by Konstantin Makoffsky (1839–1915), a Russian historical painter hugely popular in the United States during the nineteenth century. *La Presse* reported that crowds of Montrealers came to see

¹⁶¹ This last gallery was inaugurated at the end of the period studied by this thesis. Founded by Rose Millman in December 1941, and in 1947 purchased by Max Stern, a recent émigré from Germany, it promoted art by living Canadian artists, while also being the first gallery in Canada to guarantee these artists an annual income through contract. Michel Moreault, “‘L’art vivant’ et son marchand,” in *Max Stern, Montreal Dealer and Patron*, eds. Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, and Galerie d'art Leonard & Bina-Ellen (Montréal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2004), 23–31.

¹⁶² David Morgan, *The Morgans of Montreal* (Toronto: D. Morgan, 1992), 92–93; and 140.

¹⁶³ “Morgan Structure Forms a Memorial Steady Growth,” *Montreal Gazette Vol. CLII* (No. 276, November 13, 1923): 17; and Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation : Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 50.

¹⁶⁴ The catalogue of the exhibition, in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada, is signed by Max Stern, owner of the Dominion Gallery. The relation between gallerists and their appreciation of the arts exhibited at department stores should be further investigated. Henry Morgan & Co., *S. Field: An Exhibition of Paintings in Oil Tempera & Water Color* (Montreal: Henry Morgan & Co., 1946) National Gallery of Canada, Library and Archives, N0 F456 M84 1946.

the work, a favourite at the time.¹⁶⁵ Twenty years later, Simpson's also exhibited art in its Montreal store, located on St. Catherine Street. "This Week's Review," a notice in the *Montreal Star*, informed readers that an exhibition of nearly fifty works by Franz Johnston (1888–1949) had opened on the third floor of the store on March 8th, 1933.¹⁶⁶ The article ends by stating that "one thing that [the works] have in common is that they are all unmistakably Canadian." (Johnston had been one of the original members of the Group of Seven.) This went hand in hand with Simpson's 1906 statement to the effect that "the [Simpson's] department store is one of the great developments of the age [and] it will be counted among the great successes achieved in the progress of the world."¹⁶⁷ This retailer, like many, wanted to associate itself with an image of sophisticated progress.

When beginning our research, before having analyzed the results, we expected to find clearly outlined agendas behind each department store's art exhibition programming. We expected a comparative study to enhance our understanding of each retail institution, of its identity, and of its strategies as exemplified by its public image and artistic vision. In the end, however, we found strong similarities between the English stores' galleries and a growing interest in local modernist artistic expression. The programming of the four department stores we researched (Dupuis Frères, Henry Morgan & Co., Ogilvy's and the T. Eaton Co.) showed this trend, along with clear differences between Dupuis Frères and its Anglophone counterparts.

In 1868, Nazaire Dupuis had opened his first store on St. Catherine Street. It soon "became the commercial crossroads of the city's Francophone community," according to historian Marguerite Sauriol.¹⁶⁸ This Francophone institution was the only large-scale department store east of St. Lawrence Boulevard. Known as "the people's store,"¹⁶⁹ Dupuis Frères quickly positioned itself as a business by and for French Canadians.¹⁷⁰ It showcased

¹⁶⁵ "Un superbe tableau de Mokoffsky," *La Presse* (November 29, 1913): 10. See Appendix II.

¹⁶⁶ "Snow and Sun in Canada, by Franz Johnston," *Montreal Star* (March 8th, 1933). See Appendix II.

¹⁶⁷ Norman Patterson, "Evolution of a Department Store," *Canadian Magazine* (September 1906): 438.

¹⁶⁸ "Civilization.ca—Before E-Commerce—Company Histories — Dupuis Frères," accessed November 6, 2017. <http://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/cpm/catalog/cat2402e.shtml>.

¹⁶⁹ The store provided itself with the slogan "Magasin du peuple" during the 1920s. Robert Trudel. "Famille, foi et patrie : le credo de Dupuis frères," *Cap-aux-Diamants : La revue d'histoire du Québec* 40 (Hiver 1995) : 26–29.

¹⁷⁰ Montreal's population of British ancestry was in the majority between 1831 and 1865. Yet, from the 1860s until this day, French Canadians have formed the largest ethnic group in the metropolis. Paul-André Linteau, "Montréal," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historica Canada*. Article last modified September 9, 2017. <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/montreal/#top>

French-Canadian pride by organizing public parades on Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day¹⁷¹ and by holding French spelling contests.¹⁷² The latter were always blessed by the Catholic clergy, with which Dupuis maintained a close relationship as the main supplier of school uniforms and clerical garments. Furthermore, the store enthusiastically advised its customers to support French-Canadian businesses by “buying domestic.”¹⁷³ The store’s traditional values and promotion of French Canada’s identity and language found echoes in the *roman du terroir*, a literary movement strongly present from 1846 to 1945, which celebrated rural life. Family, faith and French-Canadian nationalism were at the centre of Dupuis Frères’ image.¹⁷⁴

This store’s art programming was thus centered on French-Canadian heritage as promoted in the works of community associations such as the Cercles de fermières de la province du Québec, the Association des manufacturiers du Québec and the Atelier Nazareth (1861–1975), a co-educational school for blind children in Montreal, co-founded by Benjamin-Victor Rousselot and the Grey Nuns. Partly, this positioned this retailer as antagonistic to its Anglophone counterparts within the commercial and cultural landscape of Montreal. Of the five known exhibitions presented at Dupuis Frères, three had as their premise the diversity of craft practices in the province of Quebec. As a result, the impact of Dupuis’s exhibitions cannot be likened to those of its Anglophone counterparts, which were informed by different cultural references. In addition to being the only one of the four stores studied that did not have a dedicated exhibition space, the artistic production it presented to its customers was dispersed across the store, blurring the division between art and everyday objects. It thus offered a different experience to its viewers.

On the other hand, Anglophone department stores (Henry Morgan & Co., Ogilvy’s and the T. Eaton Co.) reflected a wide interest in various types of cultural production. In April 1891, Morgan’s – one of the largest dry goods companies at the time in Canada – opened its new store on St. Catherine Street. This location, on the north side of Phillips Square, is significant because St. Catherine Street would soon become the city’s main commercial centre. Upon its opening,

¹⁷¹ Mary Catherine Matthews, “Working for Family, Nation and God: Paternalism and the Dupuis Frères Department Store, Montreal, 1926–1952” (M.A. diss., McGill University, 1997): 62–64.

¹⁷² Michelle Comeau, “Les grands magasins de la rue Saint-Catherine à Montréal: des lieux de modernisation, d’homogénéisation et de différenciation des modes de consommation,” *Material Culture Review / Revue de la culture matérielle*, 41 (No.1, Spring/Printemps, 1995): 64.

¹⁷³ “Civilization.ca—Before e-Commerce—Company Histories — Dupuis Frères.”

¹⁷⁴ Trudel, “Famille, foi et patrie,” 26–29.

newspapers lauded the elegance and luxury of Morgan's "Colonial House" building as well as the variety and abundance of goods available. Even though prices were higher than at other retailers such as Dupuis Frères or Hamilton's, customers were undeterred, as they considered the merchandise to be of better quality.¹⁷⁵ The pricing and the tasteful surroundings reinforced the reputation of Morgan's as a high-end retailer. The red sandstone building was designed by John Pierce Hill in a classic Richardsonian Romanesque style¹⁷⁶ and covers a 15,000-square-foot area. Truly innovative, Henry Morgan & Co. was amongst the first stores in Canada to use its windows to promote sales.¹⁷⁷ The store was situated across from the Art Association of Montreal (today the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts) before the AAM's move from Phillips Square to Sherbrooke Street West. An 1894 article from *La Patrie* suggests that Henry Morgan & Co. and the AAM were closely associated with each other in the minds of many people; "tout le monde, qui est un peu dans le mouvement, connaît les salons de l'Art Association, sur le carré Philippe, en face des grands magasins de Morgan."¹⁷⁸ Art and sales became intricately linked at Morgan's when the store opened its own art gallery 1900: a development that was later and widely shared by other Montreal and Canadian department stores (Figure 13).

Like European and American department stores, Montreal's Anglophone department stores such as Morgan's provided customers with theatres, restaurants, hair salons and resting areas. Thanks to dedicated spaces, they offered a crossover between art, fashion and design that could also accommodate exhibitions devoted to scientific and historical matters as well as popular culture. For example, an exhibition of pomology (the science of fruit taxonomy) took place in November 1926 in the Eaton's store, while a prehistoric exhibition titled *The World a Million Years Ago*, was shown at Morgan's art gallery in November 1933. Also, the Colonial House held an exhibition of an elaborate dollhouse from the collection of Colleen Moore (1899–1988), and later in 1940 at the T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries an exhibition of royal dolls, organized by the princesses Elizabeth and Margaret Rose, was held to benefit the Canadian

¹⁷⁵ Hélène Boily, "Art, artisanat et exotisme : Magasiner des expositions," *Cap-aux-Diamants : La revue d'histoire du Québec* 40 (Hiver 1995) : 31-33.

¹⁷⁶ A Romanesque Revival architecture style named after the architect Henry Hobson Richardson. This architectural style, popular in the late nineteenth century, was inspired in part by Romanesque architecture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which consisted of a revival of earlier classical Roman forms. Used in the construction of Marshall Field's Wholesale Store, this style is characterized by its massiveness and its use of texture and pattern in the stone.

¹⁷⁷ "Ouverture des magasins Morgan," *La Patrie* (No. 48, April 21st, 1891) : 4.

¹⁷⁸ "Art Association," *La Patrie* (No. 54, April 28th, 1894) :1.

National Committee on Refugees. Ogilvy's presented concerts and operas while Eaton's shoppers could enjoy a meal in the art nouveau decor of the Île-de-France restaurant, designed in 1931 by French architect Jacques Carlu (1890–1976). The total experience such department stores created for their customers prompted the establishment of dedicated art galleries facilities where customers could see art and purchase pieces of home decor.

The Beginnings, 1900–1927

In 1897, Henry Morgan's Christmas catalogue claimed that "a room without pictures was like a room without windows,"¹⁷⁹ a statement that illustrates the importance the retailer ascribed to the arts. Such a claim also shows how Morgan's used art as a marketing device for the sale of its merchandise; clearly, art was not only to be seen, it was also to be sold. This was demonstrated in exhibition catalogues in which the prices of works of art are clearly identifiable. As noted above, Henry Morgan & Co.'s Colonial House was known for its higher-end merchandise. It was also the first Montreal retailer to display art. Launched in 1845, the company was transformed into a department store in 1876 and was relocated to St. Catherine Street in 1891. There, on its fifth floor, it inaugurated an art gallery in October 1900. According to the only floor plan available (see Figure 14), the gallery was located outside the fine-dining room where ladies went for lunch and tea. (Similarly, at the entrance of the ninth-floor restaurant at Eaton's, art was shown). James Morgan II appears to have been the main administrator of the Morgan's gallery. As patrons, collectors and art dealers, he and, later, his son F. Cleveland Morgan were important figures on the Montreal art scene. Hélène Sicotte explains that as early as 1897, James Morgan invested in the career of Georges Chavignaud (1865–1944; a French painter who immigrated to Canada in 1884 and who exhibited in 1901 and 1902 at the Colonial House art gallery), Ben Foster (1852–1926; an American landscape artist active in Montreal

¹⁷⁹ In a text titled "Influence of Pictures," signed by a person named Gilbert, Henry Morgan & Co. praised its art department: "A room with pictures in it and a room without pictures differ by nearly as much as a room with windows and a room without windows; for pictures are loopholes of escape to the mind, leading it to other scenes and spheres, as it were through the frame of an exquisite picture, where the fancy for a moment may revel, refreshed and delighted." Henry Morgan & Co. Limited, *Catalogue of Xmas Goods Spring and Summer Catalogue* (Montreal: 1897), 1. This statement derives from John Ruskin as quoted in Henry Morgan & Co.'s Spring & Summer 1907 catalogue.

around 1891), and Clarence Gagnon (1881–1942). Partly in recognition of his support, these artists as well as others provided Morgan with works for his store’s gallery.¹⁸⁰

The first exhibition held at the gallery was entitled *Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts*, and was presented from October 22nd to November 3rd, 1900. Eight thousand people were estimated to have seen the show.¹⁸¹ Organized by the Montreal branch of the Women’s Art Association of Canada, the exhibition consisted of a vast range of artifacts loaned from local collections and representing a variety of cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The exhibition was intended to promote and support women artists and craftswomen by showcasing “home arts” from throughout Canada, but mostly from rural Quebec. Some Indigenous production was also presented. In a rare display of hybridity between Western and Indigenous traditions, a self-portrait by Zacharie Vincent (Telari-o-lin; 1815-86), known as the last of the Hurons, was loaned by J.B. Learmont, a Montreal businessman and member of the Art Association of Montreal.

An article in the *Montreal Gazette* from October 1900 asserts that the “only pity [about the *Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts* then on display at Morgan’s] is that larger rooms were not taken.”¹⁸² Hence, a question arises: what could have been of such importance that it occupied the rest of the gallery space? The answer is that on this newly built floor, people could also purchase reproductions of art by European masters, including Joseph William Allen, Henri-Joseph Antonissen, Rudolf Bauer, Myles Birket Foster, Johannes Bosboom, Louis Coignard, Charles John Collings, Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot, Gustave Courbet, David Cox, Henry Dawson, Charles-François Daubigny, Henri Fantin-Latour, T.B. Hardy, Benjamin Williams Leader, William Maris, Adolphe Monticelli, Albert Neuhuys, John Phillip, Geo Poggenbeek, Nicolas Poussin, Samuel Prout, Henry Van der Velde, John Varley, Wilhelm von Gegerfelt, Jan Hendrik Weissenbrüch, and so on.¹⁸³ Henry Morgan & Co.’s art gallery’s promotion of these artists, and the similarity between the objects on sale on the store’s lower floors to those displayed by the

¹⁸⁰ Hélène Sicotte, “L’implantation de la galerie d’art à Montréal: le cas de W. Scott & Sons, 1859-1914: comment la révision du concept d’œuvre d’art autorisa la spécialisation du commerce d’art,” (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2003), 160.

¹⁸¹ Ellen Mary Easton McLeod, *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild* (Montreal: Published by McGill-Queen’s University Press, for Carleton University, 1999), 95; also Women’s Art Society of Montreal, *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts*, 1900. (Montreal, McCord Museum: Box 16, Activités artistiques [3.24/31 D], Women’s Art Society of Montreal fonds: Communications and public relations [P125/D])

¹⁸² “Interesting Show,” *Montreal Gazette* (October 23rd, 1900): 6.

¹⁸³ Henry Morgan & Company, “Art Department,” in *Spring & Summer 1907 Catalogue* (Montreal: 1907), 106-07. McGill University Archives. (See Figure 1.)

WAAC, would have appeared conspicuous. Morgan's partnership with the WAAC was in any case a great success, as was demonstrated by a subsequent collaboration in 1902.¹⁸⁴

Until World War I, Henry Morgan & Co. exhibited European art on three known occasions, while reproductions of well-known paintings were always available. As was the case twice in 1906 and once in 1907, its exhibitions might combine oil paintings, watercolours and prints. Unfortunately, the names of artists whose work was exhibited often remain elusive. However, in 1908, for example, the art gallery became the Canadian representative of the E. J. Van Wisselingh Gallery, based in London and Amsterdam and renowned for selling work by the artists of the Hague School. This collaboration occurred at a time when these artists' poetic and subjective work, simultaneously shown at the AAM's annual loan exhibitions, was favoured by Montreal patrons, who developed an avid interest in collecting it.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, as H Sicotte explains, this partnership with the E. J. Van Wisselingh Gallery was also sought after by the Little Gallery in Montreal (190608),¹⁸⁶ launched by the Montreal photographer and art dealer Sidney Carter (18801956) in collaboration with the photograph and art critic Harold Mortimer-Lamb (18721970). Van Wisselingh was supposed to furnish a supply of work by modern European artists to the Little Gallery, but these were instead shown at the Colonial House.¹⁸⁷ In this way, the Colonial House's art gallery expressed a similar taste in the visual arts as that found in other exhibition venues, and in private collections in Montreal, during the early twentieth century.

In 1909 a Morgan's exhibition of etchings was described in its catalogue as the "most important that has yet been seen in Canada," made for people "who can admire Art."¹⁸⁸ Several

¹⁸⁴ Acknowledging of the success and importance given by the Morgan family to this event, James Morgan's wife wrote in a letter to her son, F. Cleveland Morgan: "There is an exhibition now going on of the 'Ladies' Association of Arts and Handicrafts,' Dad having loaned the large new Art Gallery of the Colonial House to them. This afternoon Lady Minto was there and Dad gave her and twenty other ladies tea in the new Dining-room.... They say there was a great crowd last evening & likely to be tonight." Norma Morgan, "F. Cleveland Morgan and the Decorative Arts Collection in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts," (MA diss., Concordia University, 1985), 125.

¹⁸⁵ Brian Foss, "Into the New Century: Painting, c. 18901914," in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss, and Sandra Paikowsky (Don Mills, Ont: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1819; and Janet M. Brooke, *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 18801920* (Montreal: Museum of Fine Arts, 1989), 15.

¹⁸⁶ David Calvin Strong, "Photography Into Art: Sidney Carter's Contribution to Pictorialism," *Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales D'histoire De L'art Canadien* vol. 17 (No. 2, 1996): 16.

¹⁸⁷ Sicotte, "L'implantation de la galerie d'art Montrl," 159.

¹⁸⁸ Henry Morgan & Co., *Exhibition of Etchings/the Art Gallery, Henry Morgan & Co. Ltd.: May 7th to June 7th, 1909*. Montreal: H. Morgan, 1909. NGCLibrary and Archives, NE45 M6 M67.

renowned European and North American artists were included, such as Jean-François Millet, Charles Meryon, Joseph Pennell, Sir Francis Seymour Haden, Anders Zorn, and James McNeill Whistler, as well as Clarence Gagnon, the only Canadian artist to be included. (Gagnon also sold at commercial galleries in Montreal including W. Scott & Sons, and the Watson Gallery; see Chapter Two.) In the only book on the history of the Morgan family, David Morgan underlines the close relationship that James Morgan II maintained with Gagnon. In the early twentieth century, advised by William Brymner, who in 1886 became head of the Art School of the AAM, Gagnon presented and sold his paintings at the Morgan's department store art gallery.¹⁸⁹ Shows such as the 1909 exhibition of prints complemented the architectural elegance of the Colonial House. Similarly, in the store's Spring & Summer catalogue of 1909, each of Morgan's departments is said to have been made "as attractive as possible for the display of the world's most beautiful merchandise. As a result, the new Millinery parlours, the Ladies' dressmaking department, the waiting room, the Art Gallery and the Dining room, the Old English cottage and the various furniture showrooms are features well worthy of note."¹⁹⁰ In this same catalogue, and in the later Fall & Winter 1910–11 catalogue, two different views of the vaulted art gallery were published (Figures 15 & 16). Along with the lavish architecture, the reproduction of these two photographs in this retailer's catalogues through the years (even sometimes on their first pages), attested to the importance of the art gallery to the Colonial House.

Beginning in the spring of 1904, the family firm was joined by James's son F. Cleveland Morgan. In 1916, he curated for the AAM an exhibition of Oriental rugs and Chinese vases that was well received by the public. He then convinced the AAM to widen the scope of its holdings by establishing a decorative arts collection: a compilation that remained under his directorship until 1962.¹⁹¹ As a philanthropist, curator and heir to the Morgan fortune, his influence on the programming of the Colonial House art gallery and the Morgan's antiques department was arguably strong. A 1946 exhibition brochure acknowledges his involvement and, although firm documentation is scarce, we can safely assume he had been just as involved in earlier years.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Morgan, *The Morgans of Montreal*, 93.

¹⁹⁰ Henry Morgan & Co. Limited, *Spring and Summer Catalogue, 1909*, ([?]: 1909), 1. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay House Library mail-order catalogue collection; H2-163-3-3.

¹⁹¹ "F. Cleveland Morgan Chronology," *F. Cleveland Morgan—Le Sabot website*, accessed March 8th, 2018. <http://morganstudio.tripod.com/clevelandmorgan/members/chronology.html>

¹⁹² Henry Morgan & Co., *S. Field*.

By the mid-1920s, by which time Cleveland Morgan had been honing his curatorial skills at the AAM for ten years, the Colonial House art gallery had occasionally hosted exhibitions by the former Women's Art Society, of which the Montreal branch had formed in 1907 its own independent organization: the Women's Art Society of Montreal (WASM).¹⁹³ The WASM's commitment to the decorative arts paralleled that of Cleveland Morgan.¹⁹⁴ In 1925, it was again given the lead, this time in coordinating exhibitions held in April and November at Morgan's art gallery. Since 1905 and for approximately thirty years, this same organization and the Canadian Guild of Handicrafts, inaugurated in 1905, held their annual exhibitions at the AAM.¹⁹⁵ Yet in April 1925, it organized an exhibition not of crafts, but of work by Russian painters whose art evoked pastoral scenes in the Barbizon and Hague School traditions. Artists such as Ossip Perelma, who immigrated to the United States from Russia during the late 1910s and whose work was also shown in the AAM Spring Exhibition,¹⁹⁶ were praised for their sharp and colourful winter landscapes, reminiscent of Canadian geography. Seven months later, in collaboration with the WASM, Mrs. F. Cleveland Morgan (the former Elizabeth Marian Thaxter Shaw) orchestrated a show of 200 works by local women artists. This interest in women's art endured throughout the 1930s at Morgan's and other retailers; about a quarter of the 35 exhibitions that I have traced for Morgan's presented the work of women artists. Similarly, T. Eaton & Co. exhibited the work of artists such as Rita Mount (1885–1967), a painter trained at the AAM and abroad whose style combined Impressionism and decorative realism, and Beatrice Robertson (1879–1962), from Toronto, who had trained in Paris. Furthermore, department stores' galleries were also regularly loaned to the WASM for their annual studio week, during which the work of many contemporary local women was presented. (In 1931 and 1932 this

¹⁹³ In 1907, the Montreal branch of the WAAC separated from the head organization based in Toronto. "About the Women's Art Society of Montreal—History," WASM website, accessed March 27th, 2018. <http://www.womensartsociety.com/history.html>.

¹⁹⁴ Morgan's taste for craft even influenced the family's Senneville mansion, Le Sabot, where their numerous collected artefacts were kept and shown. The house was built in 1912 by David Shennan (1880–1968) an architect from Scotland who settled in Montreal in 1906. It is considered a prime example of the residential Arts and Crafts movement in Canada: the same movement that influenced the creation of the WAAC and later the Canadian Guild of Handicrafts. "Le Sabot 1912," in *Belles demeures historiques de l'île de Montréal*, eds. François Rémillard and Brian Merrett (Montréal, Québec: Les Éditions de l'Homme, une société de Québecor média, 2016), 255-261.

¹⁹⁵ McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 5, and 123-125.

¹⁹⁶ "Mr. Perelma exhibited four paintings at the Spring exhibition at the Montreal Art Gallery—among them a portrait of Albert Bartholome, the French sculptor; a Breton fishing group, and a street scene of La Rochelle, France, in aquarelle." In "Portrait Painted by Noted Russian Shown At Henry Morgan & Co," *Montreal Star* (May 6th, 1925).

annual event took place at Ogilvy's, while from 1933 to 1943 it was at Eaton's.) Although many of them are now forgotten, the number of contemporary Canadian women who were able to exhibit their work was significant. Of the 93 exhibitions found during the research process of this thesis, women were included in a quarter of the shows presented in the four researched department stores in Montreal from 1900 to 1945.

Overall, Henry Morgan & Co.'s exhibition programming in the early twentieth century distinguished itself by two major tendencies: its valorization of Canadian artistic expression (out of the 15 shows at Morgan's located from 1900 to 1926 for this thesis over 50% exhibited work by Canadians), and an interest in the decorative arts that lasted throughout the existence of the store art gallery. This contrasted with the Eurocentrism that impacted the collection of the AAM, the permanent collection of which by 1913 comprised 625 works, of which only 33 were by Canadians.¹⁹⁷

Like Henry Morgan & Co., Dupuis Frères, whose earliest known exhibition took place in 1915 (organized by the Consul General of France), held art exhibitions during the first quarter of the twentieth century, including several dedicated to the place of handicrafts in daily life. The proceeds from these exhibitions benefited charitable foundations. For example, in 1924 Dupuis scheduled an exhibition of arts and crafts produced by members of the Grey Nuns religious order, showcasing small artisanal productions made by members of the Atelier Nazareth. This group presented decorative and utilitarian objects, while some of the members animated the exhibition by playing music or performing demonstrations of their crafts.¹⁹⁸ Because Dupuis Frères did not have a dedicated art gallery, displays were not limited to any one area of the store. In February 1925, an exhibition of Canadian products from the Association des manufacturiers du Québec¹⁹⁹ was presented to promote local production and encourage French Canadians to buy domestic goods and be proud of their heritage. All kinds of objects were made available for Montrealers to purchase, while the advertisement for the show reinforced local productions by stating: "Achetez chez-nous les produits de chez nous" (Figure 17). From October 8th to 15th,

¹⁹⁷ Charles C. Hill, *The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation* (Ottawa: National gallery of Canada, 1995), 38.

¹⁹⁸ "Exposition et vente au bénéfice de l'Institution de l'Atelier des Aveugles de Nazareth," *La Presse* (November 19th, 1924): 24; and "L'Exposition des aveugles chez Dupuis," *La Presse* (November 20th, 1924): 27.

¹⁹⁹ J. Laurent Thibault, "Canadian Manufacturers' Association," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historical Canada*. Article published February 7, 2006. <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canadian-manufacturers-association/>

1927,²⁰⁰ Dupuis reinforced its patriotic endeavour by exhibiting domestic artifacts made by the Cercles de fermières de la province du Québec, which had been founded in 1915.²⁰¹ The folkloric ambiance of this event was reinforced by the playing of traditional music in the exhibition.

As noted earlier in this chapter, Dupuis Frères was proud of its French-Canadian heritage, and it quickly differentiated itself from Anglophone retailers by embracing a distinctive identity that was influenced by a strong political agenda. Hence, the art exhibitions presented were indicative of a patriotism strategically linked to the store's corporate image. For instance, a 1927 exhibition of domestic work displayed on different floors throughout the store by the Cercles de fermières de la province du Québec, was described in *La Presse* as aiming to stimulate people's interest in domestic artifacts, and as publicizing the great accomplishments of rural dwellers.

Nevertheless, like Henry Morgan & Co., Dupuis Frères also claimed a space for itself as a venue for fine arts in Montreal. In 1928, for example, Dupuis presented a fine-art exhibition that nuanced the store's interest in handicrafts. On the second floor near the ladies' clothing department in December 1928 were shown paintings by L.-Théodore Dubé, an artist born in Canada and who studied in France under the mentorship of the academic painters Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant, Jean-Léon Gérôme, and Jules Joseph Lefebvre, not only at the École des beaux-arts in Paris but also at the Julian and the Colarossi academies.²⁰²

Maturity, 1927–1945

The year 1927 saw the emergence of a new player in Montreal's retail industry. After purchasing Goodwin's department store in 1925, the T. Eaton Co. inaugurated its chic new six-storey St. Catherine Street store: a building that was reminiscent of French *magasins* through its architecture – notably its art deco dining room design inspired by the Île-de-France ship. Although an exhibition of posters and another of pomology were presented in 1925 and 1926,

²⁰⁰ "L'exposition des ouvrages des cercles de fermières de la province de Québec," *La Presse* vol. 43 (No. 293, October 1st, 1927): 48, and "Une exposition à visiter," *Le Devoir* vol. XVIII (No. 236, October 10th, 1927): 4.

²⁰¹ "À Propos," Les Cercles de fermières du Québec website, accessed December 5th, 2017. <https://cfq.qc.ca/a-propos/les-cercles-de-fermieres/>

²⁰² Sylvain Allaire, "Les canadiens au Salon officiel de Paris entre 1870 et 1910: Sections peinture et dessin," *Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales D'histoire De L'art Canadien*, vol 4 (No. 2, 1977): 141-154.

respectively, the first fine-art exhibition was held in 1927 in improvised galleries. Its great success encouraged the inauguration of a dedicated space for the permanent display of artworks on the fifth floor: the T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries.

Founded in 1869 in Toronto, Timothy Eaton's retail business – Canada's largest department store chain – only set foot in Montreal in 1925. Yet, the presence of the iconic Canadian department store had already been felt because its mail-order service had been in operation since 1884. The T. Eaton Co. exemplified the triumph of modern retailing through technologies and embodied the new conditions of modern life. Thus, when it set foot in Montreal, the name of its Irish founder, Timothy Eaton (1834–1907), who shaped his business according to the Methodist creeds of honesty, self-reliance and hard work, was part of Montrealers' common knowledge.

The store's first Montreal exhibition in 1927, of paintings by old and modern masters, was organized by Albert L. Carroll, head of the Fine Art Department at Eaton's and associated with the Carroll Gallery in London. Open since 1911, the Carroll Gallery, located in Hanover Square, was the exclusive representative of Charles John Collings (1848–1931) a British landscape artist who moved to Canada in 1910, fellow British painter Nathaniel Hughes John Baird (1865–1936), and German artist Robert Gustav Meyerheim (c.1846–1920). Around 1924, the Carroll Gallery ceased its activities.²⁰³ At the same time, the T. Eaton Co. claimed to have acquired the Carroll's "Canadian Collection of fine Paintings."²⁰⁴ "The encouraging reception and satisfying business resulting [from the first exhibition]" led to the permanent appointment of Carroll as the person responsible for art departments in both the Toronto and the Montreal stores. Carroll's directorship continued until 1929, after which no trace of his involvement at Eaton's is to be found.

In October 1927, before Eaton's Montreal galleries were established in December of the same year, an exhibition of work by more than 200 Quebec contemporary artists was organized on the store's fifth floor. As was the case with most Eaton's exhibitions, free access was offered

²⁰³ Pamela Fletcher and David Israel, *London Gallery Project*, 2007; revised in September 2012. <http://learn.bowdoin.edu/fletcher/london-gallery/>

²⁰⁴ T. Eaton Co., *Exhibition of Paintings by Old and Modern Masters; XVII and XVIII Century British Portraits Schools. "Old Masters" of the Continental Schools, Barbizon and Modern Dutch Schools, Contemporary British and European Painters* (Montreal: T. Eaton Co., 1946), 3; in the collection of the BAnQ; Collection nationale — Conservation, 454,838 CON.

to the public. *Le Devoir* described this event as the most interesting exhibition of local art ever put together.²⁰⁵ The thousand visitors attested to the public's enthusiasm. The experiment would be repeated annually until 1930, with a growing number of artists exhibited (it went from 201 in 1927 to 269 in 1930).²⁰⁶ They included Harold Beament (1898–1984), Octave Bélanger, Paul Caron (1874–1941), Georges Delfosse, Berthe Des Clayes (1876–1968), Léopold Dufresne (1902–66), Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Adrien Hébert, Miriam Ramsay Holland (1904–53), Frank Iacurto (1908–2001), Joseph Jutra (1894–1972), Kathleen M. Morris (1893–1986), Rita Mount, A.M. Pattison (1880–1957), Narcisse Poirier, Sarah M. Robertson and William Hughes Taylor (1891–19??). Again, the number of women artists presented at these exhibitions was significant. For example, in the 1929 exhibition around 40% of the artists whose names were printed in the catalogue were women. Accordingly, one can speak of an early example of a nearly gender-balanced art scene, something that reflected the gender parity achieved by the Montreal's Beaver Hall Group (1920–23). These women artists' productions contributed to the creation of a common visual culture shared by many Montrealers. Yet, as it was the case with the Des Clayes sisters, Alice (1890–1968), Berthe and Gertrude (1879–1949), who regularly showed in the Spring Exhibitions of the AAM and the annual exhibitions of the RCA, women's names were often confined to the last lines of exhibition reviews, as has been demonstrated by Esther Trépanier.²⁰⁷

Importantly, these exhibitions at Eaton's involved Émile Lemieux (1889–1967), the new head of decoration at the store and artistic director of the art galleries. *La Revue populaire* from August 1929 recognized the important role he played in the introduction to Montrealers not only of Canadian and Québécois art, but also of modern decorative arts.²⁰⁸ A former decorator at Goodwin's department store, Lemieux was hired following Eaton's purchase of Goodwin's. Émile Lemieux was also an artist (mostly self-taught) who exhibited regularly at the AAM and in the Royal Canadian Academy's annual exhibitions.²⁰⁹ At the time, interior decoration and

²⁰⁵ "Aux Galeries Eaton," *Le Devoir* (October 10th, 1927) : 2.

²⁰⁶ Boily, "Art, artisanat et exotisme," 33.

²⁰⁷ Esther Trépanier, "Les femmes, l'art et la presse francophone montréalaise de 1915 à 1930," *Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales D'histoire De L'art Canadien*, vol. 18 (No. 1, 1997): 73.

²⁰⁸ "Exposition de peinture au magasin Eaton et à l'École des Beaux-Arts," *La Revue populaire*, vol. 22 (No. 8, août 1929) : 62-63.

²⁰⁹ Rosalind Pepall, "Jeannette Meunier Biéler: Modern Interior Decorator," *Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales D'histoire De L'art Canadien* 25 (2004): 130.

work in display departments were often opportunities for artists to earn a living: an important option, given the relative lack of an established infrastructure and market to support them. Lemieux was employed by Eaton's from 1911 to 1949. To ensure the fulfilment of his tasks he was provided with an assistant, Jeannette Meunier Biéler (1900-90), who collaborated with him from 1928 to 1931. She promoted progressive design trends and partook in the creation of the store's design studio, *L'Intérieur Moderne*, which, according to historian Rosalind Pepall, mimicked the decorating studios found in fashionable Parisian department stores.²¹⁰ Eaton's new showrooms were meant to dazzle Montrealers with art deco-style rooms furnished with modern furniture designed (at least in part) by local artists. From 1928 to 1931, the studio's mission was to valorize the craftsmanship of furniture design, and to build a market for it. The line between the promotion of art for art's sake, and art for its value in a commercial setting, was always thin.

Meunier's contribution to the promotion of modern ideas in art was not confined to this design studio. She was also involved, with Lemieux, in Eaton's second exhibition of work by Quebec artists, held from May 6th to 18th, 1929, in the "Special Galleries on the Fifth Floor centre." The work of artists such as the Swiss-Canadian André Biéler, Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Adrien Hébert and Sarah M. Robertson was exhibited "to promote and to create [...] a fuller appreciation of the progress which the artistic movement is making in the Province of Quebec."²¹¹ One might even argue that designers and decorators influenced to some degree the programming of store galleries. For example, while Jeannette Meunier Biéler was employed by Eaton's, André Biéler's (her husband) had his work exhibited twice at the Eaton Fine Art Galleries (in 1929 and in 1930).

Eaton's was not the only department store to hire artists. For example, Omer Parent (1907–2000) the founding director of the Laval University school of visual arts, worked at Morgan's from 1928 to 1931 as the store's chief decorator. Department stores also occasionally partnered with cultural institutions to present art exhibitions. As Henry Morgan & Co.'s art gallery became more active during the inter-war period, it partnered with the National Gallery of Canada in 1935 to present an exhibition of British posters. As the national institution for the

²¹⁰ Pepall, "Jeannette Meunier Biéler," 130.

²¹¹ T. Eaton (Montreal Firm), *Catalogue Second Exhibition of Work by Quebec Artists in the Special Galleries on the Fifth Floor Centre* (Montréal, Québec: T. Eaton Co. Limited, 1929) NGC—Library and Archives, N6545 E139 1929.

visual arts, the NGC was required, by its mandate, to loan exhibitions across the country.²¹² This touring show was organized by the NGC and was presented in Ottawa, at the AAM, as well as at the T. Eaton Fine Art Galleries in Toronto, and at the Hudson's Bay Company store in Calgary. It was aimed at displaying the strong impact and influence of posters "on the everyday life and the development of the people."²¹³ In a similar approach, in March 1937 Eaton's held a show of contemporary French painting. The show had been organized by the NGC and had already been shown at the Winnipeg Art Gallery and at the Edmonton Museum of Fine Arts. The exhibition included mostly landscape paintings by artists such as Albert André, a French post-impressionist figurative painter (1869–1954), Henri le Sidaner (1862–1939; a French intimist painter), and Kees van Dongen (1877–1968; a Dutch-French leading figure of Fauvism). With the exception of Van Dongen, these artists reflected the relatively conservative tastes of many Montrealers in the 1930s.

Exhibitions such as these attracted thousands of people, and raised the interest of other retailers. James A. Ogilvy & Sons was one of the stores that also attempted to position itself as a cultural hub in Montreal. In 1929, the company opened its Van Dyck Art Gallery at the store's Ste. Catherine location.²¹⁴ It was named after Sir Anthony Van Dyck, the prominent seventeenth-century Flemish Baroque painter who became England's leading court painter. Located further west than the other department stores, Ogilvy's still stands as the final jewel of the succession of that street's retail institutions. Founded in 1866 by James Angus Ogilvy, it had a longstanding reputation for quality merchandise and high-end standards.²¹⁵ After thirty years on St. Antoine Street, Ogilvy's established itself on St. Catherine Street at the corner of Mountain Street in a building designed by David Ogilvy, the son of James Angus Ogilvy,²¹⁶ who also was involved in

²¹² Anne Whitelaw, "Art Institutions in the Twentieth Century: Framing Canadian Visual Culture," in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss, and Sandra Paikowsky (Don Mills, Ont: Oxford University Press, 2012): 4.

²¹³ Papers in the exhibition file also testify of F. Cleveland Morgan's involvement in the organization of this exhibition. See NGC-Exhibition file EX 0205.

²¹⁴ This naming, and the cultural legacy it endorsed, further testified of Ogilvy's own marketed images of as a prestigious top-end store. The only secondary source to name Ogilvy's art gallery remains Boily, "Art, artisanat et exotisme." Yet, in contemporary advertisements or reviews of the store's art exhibitions, this gallery is referred as a common public space for Montrealers.

²¹⁵ Elizabeth Sifton, "Montreal's Fashion Mile: St. Catherine Street, 1890–1930" in *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, ed. by Alexandra Palmer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 208.

²¹⁶ Paul André Linteau and Musée d'archéologie et d'histoire de Montréal Pointe-à-Callière. *La rue Sainte-Catherine au cœur de la vie montréalaise* (Montréal: Pointe-à-Callière, musée d'archéologie et d'histoire de Montréal, 2010), 63.

the building project of the store's relocation in 1912 to the north-west corner of the same intersection. Behind its impressive Renaissance palazzo-style façade,²¹⁷ its art gallery was built two years after the store was bought by J. Air Nesbitt: the same year a concert hall, designed by the Ross & Macdonald architecture firm,²¹⁸ was added to cement Ogilvy's leadership in the cultural market.²¹⁹

In 1930, twenty-nine years after Morgan's had opened its art gallery facilities, Ogilvy's Van Dyck Art Gallery presented its first show: an exhibition of work by John Hammond (1843–1939). Originally from Montreal, this Canadian painter and teacher, whose most important patron was Montreal's Sir William Van Horne, was a renowned artist who created landscapes, seascapes and mountain scenes. He spent most of his early career travelling across North America, Asia and Europe, but around 1901 he decided to settle in Sackville, New Brunswick, where he ran the Mount Allison Ladies College until 1919.²²⁰ In a 1929 article in *La Patrie*, the exhibition of sixty paintings was portrayed as one of Montreal's must-see art events, meant to benefit the younger generation of artists.²²¹ Hammond, an early member of the RCA, is presented as a great artist working in the grand tradition of European Old Masters. The work, mostly landscapes, appears to represent foreign countries (at least, the reviewer does not mention any Canadian scenes).²²² In that same month, January 1930, an exhibition of John Innes's (1863–1941) work was held. Although Innes was trained as a painter in England, his work concentrated on the wild nature of Canada.²²³ The next year (November 1931) was the turn of the Swiss artist Carl René Mangold (1901–84) to present his work at Ogilvy's. Mangold had previously showed at Eaton's in 1929 and 1930 in the store's annual exhibition of work by Quebec artists.²²⁴ Visitors agreed that this young artist had a promising future, as was presented by *La Presse* in a review of the 1931 exhibition, and his European roots and training were taken as evidence of his

²¹⁷ Jas. A. Ogilvy & Sons made a point to celebrate its female customers by offering them a lavishly decorated ladies' sitting room detailed in cherry wood, and furnished with writing tables and chairs. Sifton, "Montreal's Fashion Mile," 208–209.

²¹⁸ Linteau, *La rue Sainte-Catherine*, 76.

²¹⁹ "Our History," Ogilvy's website, accessed March 29th, 2018. <https://ogilvycanada.com/en/our-history/>

²²⁰ Dennis R. Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2012), 279.

²²¹ Édouard Baudry, "M. John Hammond — Une exposition superbe du doyen des artistes canadiens — Chez Ogilvy," *La Patrie* 51 (No. 238, December 3rd, 1929) : 4.

²²² Édouard Baudry, "M. John Hammond."

²²³ "À l'exposition de tableaux de John Innés chez Jas Ogilvy," *La Presse* 46 (No. 80, January 20th, 1930) : 20. See Figure 18.

²²⁴ "Trois expositions d'art cette semaine à Montréal," *La Presse* 45 (No. 10, November 18th, 1931) : 7.

talent. In general, Ogilvy's programming at the time focused on relatively traditional, conservative landscape artists trained in Europe. The establishment clientele that Jas. A. Ogilvy & Sons courted was reassured by tradition. Of the six exhibitions of paintings that I have traced for Ogilvy's between 1917 and 1941, four of them presented artists, including some living in Canada such as John Hammond (1843–1939) and Carl Mangold (1901–84), who had trained in Europe.

As Morgan's had done in its earlier years, Ogilvy's also presented exhibitions of works by Old Masters and by modern European painters. An article published in the *Montreal Star* in October 1930 mentioned that a show that had opened in the first week of that month was the first of a series arranged by an individual named R.-F. Grisar from Belgium. This series is described as presenting for the pleasure of the public "a large number of pictures [...] from European collections."²²⁵ Montrealers thought that they were being introduced to renowned Italian and Northern European artists such as Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610), students of Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1574–1625), Sir Anthony Van Dyck and Bonifacio Veronese (1487–1553). These artists' work was exhibited alongside the art of modern artists collected by the City of Paris and the Musée du Luxembourg: Louis and Juliette Cambier (1874–1949; 1879–1949), Paul Mathieu (1872–1932), L.A. Neetesonne (c.1870–?), Eduardo Dalbono (1841–1915) and Charles Verlat (1824–90). Ogilvy's Van Dyck Art Gallery thus participated in the perpetuation of the same Eurocentric values that were also put forth by Eaton's in 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930 and 1932.

Nevertheless, as the century went on, a new trend emerged in the department stores' art galleries. Thanks to the success of the 1927, 1929 and 1930 exhibitions of contemporary Quebec artists at Eaton's, retailers' art departments showed a growing interest in contemporary local artistic expression during the 1930s. Largely, under the influence of John Lyman, a cousin of Cleveland Morgan, these galleries hosted several important exhibitions during this decade. In 1932 and 1933, artists associated with The Atelier (1930–33) exhibited at Henry Morgan & Co.'s art gallery. This group of artists led, by Lyman and aiming to depart from established art

²²⁵ "Old and Modern Paintings on View- Collection of Continental Works Exhibited in Van Dyck Gallery," [*Montreal Gazette*?] (Fall 1930) from the AAM Scrapbook vol. 6 (February 1929-March 1933), 44. "À la Galerie Van Dyck, chez Ogilvy's," *La Presse* 47 (No. 6, October 21st, 1930): 8; and "Old Master Pictures at Ogilvy's Gallery Make Very Attractive Show," *Montreal Star* (October 4th, 1930).

movements, presented what *La Presse* described as deeply personal works “aux tendances un peu avancées.”²²⁶

These exhibitions at Morgan’s were followed in 1935 by one of Soviet art (May 15th to June 1st), sponsored by the Friends of the Soviet Union. “L’art n’a pas de patrie,” was the critic Henri Girard’s claim about this exhibition, and both Francophones and Anglophones made up the committee of artists and critics supporting the project.²²⁷ Thus, behind this exhibition remained the recognition of modernity as a transnational project encompassing social responsibility and awareness. This interest in contemporary events was further illustrated by a 1936 exhibition at Morgan’s of the work of the German-Canadian artist Fritz Brandtner, sponsored by the Canadian League Against War and Fascism. Again the partnership with a leftist organization exemplified a general sympathy for the Soviet Union’s promotion of communism: a sympathy that had emerged in the late 1920s and that bloomed throughout the 1930s. Socially engaged and politically involved, Brandtner made art that was a response to “those forces which tend to bring about the destruction of cultural developments.” Like this artist, many Montreal intellectuals sympathetic to the USSR—Frank (1899–1985) and Marian Dale Scott, Norman Bethune (1890–1939), etc.—considered communism an important corrective to the capitalism of the West, the latter seen as supporting social injustice. Commentary about the exhibition stressed the importance of freedom of artistic expression and of artists’ subjectivity.

This interest in a contemporary context, evidenced by department store art departments as shown through the last two exhibitions, was heightened during wartime. During World War I, Dupuis Frères had presented, from September 20th to 25th, 1915, a military exhibition organized by the Consulat général de France.²²⁸ The advertisement for this event comprised letters by both Dupuis’s administration and the French consul general that highlighted the strong relationship between these two groups. Dupuis’s support of the war was thus a testimonial to its allegiance to France. Displaying a similar attention to contemporary events that impacted Montrealers’ daily lives, Ogilvy’s store had held two years later, in October 1917, an exhibition of work by French painters.²²⁹ This large show comprised 425 paintings by members of the Société des Artistes

²²⁶ “Le Talent divers et précis de H. Britton – Un groupe intéressant, aux tendances un peu avancées, expose chez Henry Morgan,” *La Presse* (May 4th, 1933) :18.

²²⁷ Esther Trépanier, *Marian Dale Scott. Pionnière de l’art moderne* (Québec, Musée du Québec, 2000): 118.

²²⁸ “L’exposition Militaire française à Montréal,” *Le Devoir* (September 13th, 1915). See Figure 19.

²²⁹ Advertisement, *La Presse* (No. 284, October 6th, 1917): 6.

Français and the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and was held to benefit the Séminaire Saint-Sulpice in Paris.²³⁰ An article in *Le Devoir* testified to Ogilvy's war effort relying on its clientele's support for France in terms of cultural heritage.²³¹ Two months later, in December, war relics for the profit of the Red Cross were exhibited and sold.²³²

Two decades later, department stores' programming kept abreast with current affairs during the Second World War. For example, in May 1941 and January 1943, Eaton's presented in its Fine Art Galleries exhibitions related to the war: the *Britain at War Exhibition* of photography and a *Naval Exhibition*. The proceeds from the first exhibition were given to the Queen's Canadian Funds.²³³ The touring *Naval Exhibition* was organized by the Department of Trade and Commerce in collaboration with the Royal Canadian Navy. It attracted 64,454 visitors and raised \$13,209.90.²³⁴ While Ogilvy's also demonstrated its support for the Second World War effort by organizing an exhibition in June 1941, the AAM similarly programmed over five exhibitions that spoke to contemporary events during the conflict.

In the late 1930s, the Henry Morgan & Co. art gallery, which in 1903 had proclaimed that it "always contain[ed] something worth seeing,"²³⁵ was repurposed. This vaulted gallery space was converted into an antiques department²³⁶ (see Figure 20). However, this did not mark the end of Morgan's ventures in the arts. In a modern auditorium situated on the same fifth floor as the antiques department were presented exhibitions such as a 1938 showing of French-Canadian furniture, and a 1946 exhibition of paintings and watercolours by Saul Field (born in 1912). The only records that allude to this new space for the exhibition of art at Morgan's are photographs of the opening of a crafts display organized in 1950 by Jean-Marie Gauvreau (1903–70), first director of the École du Meuble de Montréal (see Figure 21). They show a room with flexible walls that could be adjusted to the new modern standards for the exhibition of diverse artistic media. Henry Morgan & Co. thus invested effort in modernizing its standards of presentation of

²³⁰ Émile Vézina, "Chronique d'art — Exposition d'art français," *Le Devoir* (Octobre 6th, 1917) : 1.

²³¹ Alex Tremblay Lamarche, and Serge Jaumain. *Les élites et le biculturalisme: Québec-Canada-Belgique : XIXe-XXe siècles* (Québec : Septentrion, 2017); and Margaret W. Westley, *Remembrance of Grandeur: the Anglo-Protestant elite of Montreal, 1900-1950* (Montreal: Libre Expression, 1990).

²³² "Dans le monde social — Croix Rouge," *La Presse* (December 6th, 1917) : 2.

²³³ "Store Promotions and Exhibitions to Further Our War Effort," *Entre-Nous; Eaton's Staff Bulletin* (Montreal: Christmas 1941), 15.

²³⁴ "64,454 Visited the Naval Exhibition," *Entre-Nous; Eaton's Staff Bulletin* (Montreal: March 15th, 1943).

²³⁵ Henry Morgan & Co. Limited, *Spring and Summer Catalogue, 1903*, ([?]: 1903), 76. Musée de la civilisation, Quebec City, collection Ronald-Chabot, MCQ007631.

²³⁶ Morgan, *The Morgans of Montreal*, 140.

the arts in its store. Similarly, at around the end of the 1930s, Eaton's "modern picture representation under indirect fluorescent lighting [which] aimed to provide convenience and enjoyment" was praised in the store's staff bulletin (see Figure 22).²³⁷

Contemporary Montreal art was frequently available in department stores during the 1930 and 1940s; to date, I have identified some 88 such shows. Exhibitions by the Montreal Arts Club and members of the Contemporary Art Society (CAS) took place at Eaton's fine art galleries in 1939 and 1941, respectively. Some of these exhibitions challenged the established narrative of Canadian art. In one of them, for example, Montrealers were introduced to Paul-Émile Borduas before he published his manifesto, *Refus Global* (1948). In 1941, he exhibited at the Henry Morgan & Co. gallery as part of the avant-garde collective *Les Indépendants*. His work was also presented along with that of other members of the Contemporary Art Society: Mary Bouchard (1912–45), Stanley Cosgrove (1911–2002), Louise Gadbois (1896–1985), Eric Goldberg (1890–1969), John Lyman, Louis Muhlstock, Alfred Pellán (1906–88), Goodridge Roberts (1904–74), Jori Smith (1907–2005) and Philip Surrey (1910–90). This showing was described by Maurice Gagnon as "sûrement la plus belle vue au Canada."²³⁸ Organized by Father Marie-Alain Couturier (1887–1954, a French Dominican friar and Catholic priest, established in North America from 1940 to 1945),²³⁹ the exhibition was first held at the Galerie Municipale at the Palais Montcalm in Quebec City before it was presented in Montreal in May in the auditorium of the Colonial House.²⁴⁰ The exhibition was titled *Peinture moderne*. It marked the importance of Borduas in Quebec's contemporary cultural expression, and the freeing of artists from traditional art training. Unsurprisingly, it sparked a debate in the press.

By the end of the Second World War, we see a shift in the arts towards abstraction. This was new, but the stores' interest in Canadian art was not. Significantly, half of the known exhibitions presented in Montreal's department stores featured Canadian art. A high point of retailers' advocacy of a modern Canadian artistic expression was the Eaton's Toronto Yonge Street store's *Excursions in Abstraction*, held in 1945. That exhibition presented the work of

²³⁷ At this time the picture department on the fifth floor was headed by J.E. Lucas. "Pictures Take On New Glamour," *Entre-Nous; Eaton's Staff Bulletin* (Montreal: April 1945), 7.

²³⁸ Gagnon, *Sur un état actuel*, 38.

²³⁹ Yvan Lamonde, "Un visa chrétien pour l'art abstrait et pour un affranchissement : Marie-Alain Couturier, o.p. au Québec (1940-1945)," *Voix et Images vol. 37* (No. 2, 2012) : 37.

²⁴⁰ François-Marc Gagnon, *Paul-Émile Borduas (1905-1960): Biographie critique et analyse de l'œuvre* (Montréal: Fides, 1978), 105-10; and 472.

Fritz Brandtner, Henry Eveleigh (1909–99; a British-Canadian graphic designer), Gordon Webber (1909–65; he taught Bauhaus-inspired design at the McGill University School of Architecture), Edna Taçon (1909–80; a noted abstractionist influenced by Wassily Kandinsky), and Lawren Harris (1885–1970; he had been experimenting with abstract art since the 1930s). The didactic tone of the title alluded to the educational mission of the show, as an advertisement in the *Globe and Mail* demonstrated (Figure 23).²⁴¹ This show, according to that newspaper, was about “pointing out the abstract elements in the ‘Old Masters’ and showing the processes by which an artist works from original subject matter to the final graphic.” Definitions of “abstract art” and “non-objective art” were provided, and process sketches for abstract paintings by Fritz Brandtner were shown. Customers were told that they would be guided by explanations that were provided throughout the show. Like the show staged by *Les Indépendants*, this exhibition aimed to open up a public discussion about Canadian artistic modernism and what it should look like. The artists may well have favoured the presentation of such a didactic show in a department store’s art gallery, because of the latter’s accessibility.

However, as I have argued, department stores were also important venues for the arts in Montreal. Along the AAM and other institutions, they proposed to Montrealers a growing diversity of cultural and artistic production, which as the twentieth century went on increasingly broadened audiences’ cultural horizons. To the delight of spectators, Dupuis Frères, Henry Morgan & Co., the T. Eaton Co., and Ogilvy’s all positioned themselves as cultural hubs, with their art galleries contributing to their carefully constructed visual world. Illustrating its active involvement in the culture of Montreal, the apotheosis of Henry Morgan & Co.’s cultural leadership is captured in an illustrated portfolio of Montreal and its surroundings, published around 1935.²⁴² This five-dollar publication, meant to be widely circulated, presented the history of the city through historical places as depicted by the artists Paul Caron and Clarence Gagnon.²⁴³ Like the art exhibition programming of the department stores, this illustrated book

²⁴¹ “Eaton’s College Street; The Fine Art Galleries Present ‘Excursions in Abstract’,” *The Globe and Mail* (January 27th, 1945): 24.

²⁴² Alex McLaren, Clarence Gagnon, Paul Caron, and Geoffrey M. Le Hain. *Historic Montreal Past and Present: A Portfolio of Pictures of Montreal and Surroundings—Comprising Reproductions of Paintings by Canadian Artists Showing Historical Places as They Stand Today—Together With a Collection of Carefully Chosen Photographs, Giving a Comprehensive Panorama of our Great City* (Montreal: Henry Morgan & Co. Limited, 1935)

²⁴³ The Colonial House was even featured at the end of this publication as a pioneer of the movement of the shopping district towards uptown.

demonstrates how stores operated as connecting channels for people, products and knowledge. In other words, one might argue that department stores such as Henry Morgan & Co. not only established themselves as key spaces to purchase goods and see arts, but as active participants in the writing of Montreal's history through visual culture.

Conclusion

The postwar period in Canadian art saw an important shift, as abstraction won ground. In 1948, Quebec's art scene was changed forever with the publication of *Refus Global*, a manifesto with texts by the Paul-Émile Borduas, and co-signed Bruno Cormier (1919–91), Claude Gauvreau (1925–71), Fernand Leduc (1916–2014), and Françoise Sullivan (1925–), with the cover illustration by Jean-Paul Riopelle (1923–2002). *Refus Global* attacked traditionalism's moral constraints against human freedom. The art scene was thus transformed and developed a new artistic vocabulary. Meanwhile, department stores continued to show art exhibitions. But the authority of these stores soon began to decline. After the Second World War, decentralization of downtown cores due to the congestion of urban traffic, along with the growth of suburbs and competition from specialty shops and discounters all led to the decline of department stores and their vast retail powers.

However, at the turn of the twentieth century, department stores had appeared in the Canadian metropolis as quintessential features of urban modernism and purveyors of the new standards of living available to all. These temples of consumption had opened their colossal doors to Canadians in major cities across the country. Customers were attracted by the stores' impressive architecture, which combined modern functionalism and symbolism. Once inside the stores, they were attracted by the vast array of services made available to them. The stores' projection of social progress and "respectability" allowed Canadians to feel the benefits of modern, enlightened citizenship: something in which access to culture and artistic sensibility were intrinsic.

In Montreal, emerging one after another on St. Catherine Street, department stores helped push the new downtown core towards the northwest of the old city. Among the first enterprises to move there, they shaped modern Montreal and became symbols of the city's modern urban experience, making aspects of the refinement that had traditionally been reserved for the elite, available to the public as a whole. The establishment of department stores such as Dupuis Frères, Henry Morgan & Co., Ogilvy's, Simpson's and the T. Eaton Co. epitomized the modernizing values and practices of the Euro-American model. "Once [European and American department stores] secured new customers, [they

were able to offer] services [including cultural ones] that had not immediately brought financial benefits,”²⁴⁴ as has been argued by Younjung Oh. Accordingly, Montreal retailers made their stores’ galleries fixed and decisive features. For over fifty years, in tune with the other art venues in the city, they presented Montrealers with various types of artistic products and helped develop a shared taste for the arts.

My research for this thesis traced six department stores in Montreal that presented art within their premises from 1900 to 1945, and the thesis itself focuses on four of them. I have argued that department store art galleries were integral parts of Montreal’s art scene. Through the presentation of various art exhibitions, the galleries were in constant dialogue with what was taking place throughout the various exhibition spaces in Montreal as a whole. The last two exhibitions discussed in the previous chapter, held at Eaton’s Yonge Street store (Toronto) in 1945, illuminate the importance of the artistic programmes and ambitions of Montreal stores. While the January 1945 show in Toronto was meant to introduce Torontonians to the process of abstraction by Fritz Brandtner, Henry Eveleigh, Lawren Harris (this artist had already introduced Torontonians to modern art in 1926), Edna Taçon, and Gordon Weber, these artists had been shown in department stores in Montreal since the late 1920s. Those stores had been engaged in the debates around modernism and Canadian visual art throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

This thesis is a first attempt to enlarge the scope of Canadian exhibition history. Constraints of time and space have restricted the length of my research and analysis. For example, one might suspect that the difficulties department stores faced during the 1950s and later, eventually brought an end to their artistic endeavours. Further research remains to be done in order to identify the reasons why, and the moment when, they closed their art galleries. In addition, I have focused on four department stores: Dupuis Frères, Henry Morgan & Co., Ogilvy’s and the T. Eaton Co. Future research might uncover comparable histories at other Montreal stores, and in any case the almost two hundred exhibitions that I have documented for these four stores will no doubt grow as more extensive research is completed. Notably, archival documents that will soon enter the archival collections of

²⁴⁴ Younjung Oh, “Art Into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors of Culture in Modern Japan” (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2012), 344.

the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts could provide a clearer sense of the involvement of Morgan family members in the programming of their store's art gallery. The list of exhibitions I created therefore does not aim to be a final product, but an ongoing database which will enhance our understanding of how visual culture developed first in Montreal and more generally in Canada. It is thus a work in progress: one that must recognize that many of the exhibitions have probably been lost forever. In addition, future research can expand the geographical limits that I imposed on my topic. Although I have considered only Montreal, I acknowledge that art in department stores was not unique to this metropolis. It took place throughout the Dominion, especially in Toronto, Vancouver and other large cities. For instance, the Painters Eleven (1953–1960) — Jack Bush, Oscar Cahén, Hortense Gordon, Tom Hodgson, Alexandra Luke, Jock Macdonald, Ray Mead, Kazuo Nakamura, William Ronald,²⁴⁵ Harold Town and Walter Yarwood — had their first show in the fall 1953 at Simpson's in Toronto. Titled *Abstracts at Home*, this exhibition was hugely important in showing the public how abstract and non-objective paintings could be integrated into the home and everyday life as much as into an art gallery. Thus, the phenomenon my work has begun to uncover is broad; more research is required to make sense of the full significance of department stores as defining institutions of modern life in Canada: institutions that set standards for the appreciation of arts based on the cultural capital imbedded in consumerism.

While this thesis is fundamentally about recovering the cultural role played by department stores within Montreal, it has hoped to accomplish a number of different goals regarding the recuperation of the relationship between Canadian art history and its commercial history, and to demonstrate how the emergence of an artistic modernity in Canada is indebted to consumerism.

²⁴⁵ Wilson Ronald worked in 1951 as a display artist for the Robert Simpson Company department store in Toronto.

Illustrations

Figure 1 Henry Morgan & Company, "Art Department," in *Henry Morgan & Company Spring & Summer 1907 Catalogue* (Montreal: 1907), pp. 106-07. McGill University Archives.

Figure 2 T. Eaton Co.. "Cover." *Eaton's Spring and Summer Catalogue 1904*. 1904. Toronto Reference Library, ARCTC 658.871 E13.2—55048.

Figure 3 Adrien Hébert, *Christmas at Morgan's*. 1936–1937. Oil on canvas, 64 x 104,1 cm. Hudson Bay Company collection, Toronto.

Figure 4 Adrien Hébert, *Eaton's Window/La Vitrine Chez Eaton*, 1937. Oil on canvas, 81.3 x 111.8 cm. Private Collection.

Figure 5 "Reception Room, Henry Morgan E. Co. Ltd, Montreal." Postcard. Around 1910. BAnQ Vieux-Montréal – Fonds Laurette Côté-Capponi, P186,S9,P187.

Figure 6 The Allen Theater. “The Allen.” Advertisement. *Montreal Star* (May 13th, 1921).

Figure 7 “View of the Art Association Building, Phillips’ Square, Montreal,” Cover of *Canadian Illustrated News* Vol XIX (No. 22, Saturday, May 31st, 1879). BAnQ-Online.

INAUGURATION OF THE ART ASSOCIATION BUILDING, MONTREAL, BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND H.E.H. PRINCESS LOUISE.

Figure 8 “Inauguration of the Art Association building, Montreal, by his Excellency the Governor-General and H.E.H Princess Louise,” In *Canadian Illustrated News* Vol XIX (No. 22, Saturday, May 31st, 1879): 340. BAnQ-Online.

Figure 9 View of the large exhibition room of the AAM during the Canadian Handicrafts Guild's first event in February 1905, 1905. Photograph.C11 D1 024 1905, Canadian Handicraft Guild-Archives; Canadian Guild of Crafts Quebec. Picture from Ellen Mary Easton McLeod, *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild* (Montreal: Published for Carleton University by McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 125.

Figure 10 William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *Crown of Flowers* or *Parure des champs*, 1884. Oil on Canvas, 162,9 x 89,9 cm. Gift from R. B. Angus, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1889.17.

Figure 11 Millar Studio (Montreal), *View of a Vitrine "1865-1870" from Henry Morgan & Co. Limited Centennial Celebration 1845-1945*, 1945. Photograph. McCord Museum, 3779-7.

Figure 12 “La Galerie des Tableaux,” In *L’Illustration*, *Les nouveaux agrandissements du Bon Marché*, 1880. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes et Photographie (Va 270 j folio).

Figure 13 Wm. Notman & Son, *Henry Morgan's store and Phillips Square*, 1916. Silver salts on glass - Gelatin dry plate process, 20 x 25 cm. McCord Museum, VIEW-16079.

Figure 14 Henry Morgan & Co, *Exposition artistique française*; Back cover of the *Exhibition catalogue*. Montreal : Henry Morgan & Co., n.d.. NGC—Library and Archives, NX549 E96.

Figure 15 Henry Morgan & Company, "Art Gallery," in *Henry Morgan & Company Spring & Summer 1909 Catalogue* (Montreal: 1909), 4. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay House Library, Mail-Order Catalogue Collection, H2-163-3-3.

ART GALLERY

(TOP FLOOR)

*This department is prepared to submit prices on Picture Framing and Gilding.
Old Picture Frames and Furniture regilded.*

Antique appearance retained when so desired.

Art Gallery—Henry Morgan & Co. Ltd., Montreal.

Beautiful specimens of gilt frame mirrors are now being shown in the Art Department and intending purchasers would be well advised to write for quotations from us before coming to a decision.

SEE BOOK SECTION, OF INTEREST TO EVERY BOOK LOVER.

Figure 16 Henry Morgan & Company, "Art Gallery," in *Henry Morgan & Company Fall & Winter 1910-11 Catalogue* (Montreal: 1910), 1. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay House Library, Mail-Order Catalogue Collection, H2-163-3-3.

De la magnifique foire de chez Dupuis Frères retenons l'enseignement d'acheter "chez nous" les produits de "chez nous" en donnant toujours la préférence aux annonceurs du DEVOIR

ANTI-KOR-LAURENCE
ENLÈVE INSTANTANÉMENT LES
CORNS VERTICAUX ET DURAUX.
SANS EFFORT, SANS DOULEUR -
LA VENTE PARTOUT 299 F. - 100%
ECONOMIE PAR L'EFFET
D'ADHÉSION LAURENCE

Figure 18 Jas A. Ogilvy. "À l'exposition de tableaux de John Innés chez Jas Ogilvy."
 Advertisement. *La Presse* Vol. 46 (No. 80, January 20th, 1930) : 20.

DUPUIS FRÈRES, Limitée. DUPUIS FRÈRES, Limitée.

L'EXPOSITION MILITAIRE FRANÇAISE A MONTREAL

(AU BÉNÉFICE DES OEUVRES FRANÇAISES)
SE FERA DANS NOS GRANDS MAGASINS

La Maison Dupuis, toujours prête à favoriser tout mouvement patriotique, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de venir en aide aux familles éprouvées par la terrible guerre européenne, s'est empressée d'offrir gratuitement les locaux nécessaires à cette exposition de trophées enlevés à l'ennemi et d'objets militaires de l'armée française.

LES DEUX LETTRES QUE NOUS REPRODUISONS ICI PARLERONT PAR ELLES-MEMES.

Montréal, 4 sept. 1915.

Monsieur C.-E. Bonin,
Consul Général de France,
Montréal.

Monsieur le Consul Général,

Apprenant par les journaux qu'une exposition militaire française doit bientôt se tenir à Montréal, nous nous l'honneur de soumettre, par votre entremise, aux organisateurs de cette exposition, un local dans notre magasin tout-à-fait convenable à l'installation des objets à exposer.

La position de nos magasins, la popularité de notre maison, nos moyens de publicité, notre désir de prendre part à tout ce qui peut aider une bonne cause, tout ceci est plus que suffisant pour assurer le succès de cette entreprise.

Espérant recevoir une réponse favorable de votre part, nous nous soucrivons,

Vos dévoués serviteurs,
DUPUIS FRÈRES LIMITEE.
par A. Chabot.

Cette exposition s'ouvrira lundi, le 20 septembre et durera jusqu'au 25 inclusive, étant ouverte le jour et le soir.

Les billets, qui sont de 10 sous seulement, sont déjà en vente à notre bureau d'information et chez les principaux libraires, pharmaciens et débitants de tabac de Montréal.

Montréal, le 7 sept. 1915.

Dupuis Frères Lée,
rue Sainte-Catherine Est.
En Ville.

Messieurs.

Par votre lettre en date du 4 sept. 1915 que je viens de recevoir, vous avez bien voulu me faire part de votre offre gracieuse de mettre à la disposition des organisateurs de l'exposition militaire française, qui doit se tenir prochainement à Montréal, le local nécessaire à cette exposition. J'en ai immédiatement fait part au Comité d'organisation, qui est très heureux d'accepter cette proposition et vous en exprime tous ses remerciements au nom de nos œuvres françaises.

Agitez, Messieurs, l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués.

Le Consul Général.
C.-E. BONIN.

**Achetez
votre billet
aujourd'hui**

Dupuis Frères

LE MAGASIN DU PEUPLE

447-449 Rue Ste-Catherine Est, entre St-André et St-Christophe.

J. B. Dupuis, Président. H. W. Beauchamp, Vice-Président. A. J. Dugé, Secrétaire-Général.

DUPUIS FRÈRES, Limitée. DUPUIS FRÈRES, Limitée.

Figure 19 Dupuis Frères. "L'exposition militaire française à Montréal." Advertisement. *Le Devoir* (September 13th, 1915).

Figure 20 *View of Morgan's Antique Department, c. 1938. In The Morgans of Montreal* by David Morgan. Toronto: D. Morgan, 1992, 140.

Figure 21 Joseph Guibord. *Exposition d'artisanat chez Morgan - Demande J. M. Gauvreau. Aide à la jeunesse (École du meuble)*, July 1950. Photograph. BAnQ Vieux-Montréal, E6,S7,SS1,D50332-50338.

PICTURES TAKE ON NEW GLAMOUR

"A Room Hung with Pictures is a Room Hung with Thoughts."

—And with thoughts of Christmas presents now in the spotlight, our Picture Department is the place to visit.

The department, headed by Mr. J. E. Lucas has recently undergone beautifying alterations which now give it the appearance of a veritable Art Gallery. Modern picture representation under indirect fluorescent lighting is aimed to provide convenience and enjoyment. Octagonal-shaped islands and set-in alcoves contain an excellent array of pictures at various prices. In the new setting, against a background of a soft, restful colour scheme, customers may make their selection of pictures. The new department is well worth a special visit to the fifth floor.

Below: Left to right: Mr. H. R. Walker, Miss H. Casselman, Miss R. Vanier, Mr. K. Sirew, Miss M. Asslop, Miss C. Saute, Mr. C. Grignon, Mr. R. Vanderhaeghe, Miss Y. Barbeau, Mr. C. Roy, Mr. R. Gamache, Mr. C. Roache, Mr. R. Newbey, Mr. N. Gurman, Miss C. Hebert.

THREE GATES

By Beth Day

If you are tempted to reveal
A tale some one to you has told
About another, make it pass,
Before you speak, three gates of gold.

These narrow gates: First—"Is it true?"
Then "Is it needful?" In your mind
Give truthful answer. And the next
Is last and narrowest—"Is it kind?"

And if to reach your lips at last
It passes through these gateways three,
Then you may tell the tale, nor fear
What the result of speech may be.

Figure 22 T. Eaton Co.. "Pictures Take On New Glamour." In *Entre-Nous; Eaton's Staff Bulletin* (Montreal: April 1945): 7. Archives of Ontario.

EATON'S - COLLEGE STREET

Commencing Monday, January 29th

The Fine Art Galleries

Present

"EXCURSION IN ABSTRACT"

An important exhibition of abstract and non-objective paintings begins Monday in the Galleries... the non-objective done by Fritz Brandtner, the abstracts by Louise Hahn. The central theme of the show is an exploration of the abstract elements in the "old masters," and showing the processes by which an artist works from original subject matter to the final graphic abstraction. This exhibition on the abstract has been prepared by Messrs. Fritz Brandtner, Henry Foxworth, and Gordon Webster... with their accompanying comments and explanations forming an integral part of the show. It is hoped this whole show will be a key to the layman's appreciation of abstract art... past and present.

- Abstract paintings are often regarded as being recognized from... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)
- Non-objective art is a pure form... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)

PROCESS SKETCHES FOR ABSTRACT PAINTINGS BY FRITZ BRANDTNER

SKETCHES No. 1 - ... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)

SKETCHES No. 2 - ... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)

SKETCHES No. 3 - ... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)

SKETCHES No. 4 - ... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)

THE FINE ART GALLERIES SECOND FLOOR EATON'S - COLLEGE STREET

STORE HOURS: 9:30 a.m. until 5:45 p.m. SATURDAYS: 9:30 a.m. until 11 a.m. Telephone Order Service Open 8:45 a.m. Dial TR. 5111

EATON'S

Black Satin[®] Shines in the Rain

A shimmering black satin raincoat turns a rainy day into a light-hearted affair. This double-breasted simplicity not only keeps you dry in your drooping... but makes you sleek as a fashion plate. Also comes in a wide range of shades and we're calling "Rainbow". Sizes 12 to 18. \$25.00.

FOURTH FLOOR

* Reproduction of dress, presented to be seen and worn in the rain.

Our "Prep" Shop Togs Have an English Background

Again we are proud to call attention to our well-bred clothes for the schoolboy... stemming from school-concoctions, class-conscious England. Among our new arrivals... English trends featured here in our "Warwick" suit and "Ripon" sports coat... and these ship-shape smart-cut "Hydronite" impregnated from England.

A Boy's smart white (S) set of English wool... B. Girl's English "Hydronite" raincoat... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)

THE "PREP" CLOTHES SHOP
SECOND FLOOR

Now About Eaton's

Right now, when all of us are wishing it were spring and could do a thing to hurry it, it does help the fever to deck the house with bright and flowery things and our Restaurant Close and Close Inside a talking head... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)

Party Arrangements

In California, even the world is so busy, you can't wait and wait and wait... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)

Assorted Centres

If you're looking for the new sort of party gift... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)

Hanging Gardens

Turning to see new hanging gardens... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)

Spring Planters

Again for spring and your plants to show shining... (continued to the next page and displayed in a separate section)

Figure 23 T. Eaton Co., "Eaton's-College Street; The Fine Art Galleries Present 'Excursions in Abstract.'" In *The Globe and Mail* (Saturday, January 27th, 1945): 34.

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APPENDIX I
Department Stores in Montreal

Name	Final address on Ste. Catherine Street	Opening on Ste. Catherine	Previous Addresses	Open in Montreal	Close	Founder	Catalogues	Archives
Jas A. Ogilvy Ltd.	1325 St. Catherine Street West	1912	1866: corner of St Antoine and Mountain streets 1896: corner of Mountain and St. Catherine streets (on the north-east corner)	1866	-	James A. Ogilvy	Not an important activity	
Hamilton's	Corner of St. Catherine and Drummond Streets.	1906	1891: St. James Street at Victoria Square (previous Henry Morgan & Co.) 1896: Corner of Peel and St. Catherine streets.	Around 1891 (sufficiently large and prosperous to be considered a department store)	1927	Henry and N. E. Hamilton	Not an important activity	
John Murphy & Co.	977 St. Catherine Street West	1893	1869: corner of Notre-Dame and St. Pierre streets	1869	1904 (acquired by Robert Simpson Company, but retained its name until 1929)	John Murphy	Since 1890	
Robert Simpson Company	977 St. Catherine Street West	1929	-	1904 (1858)	1978 (acquired by HBC)	Robert Simpson	Since 1896	Archives of Manitoba

Carsley's	677 St. Catherine Street West	January 1909	Notre Dame Street between St. Jean and St. Pierre	1871	May 1909 (acquired by A.E. Rea & Co.)	Samuel Carsley	Since 1882	
A. E. Rea & Company	677 St. Catherine Street West	May 1909	-	May 1909	1911 (became Goodwin's Montreal Limited)			
Goodwin's Montreal Limited	677 St. Catherine Street West	1911	-	1911	1925 (acquired by Eaton)	W. H. Goodwin	Since 1884; French version	McCord Museum
T. Eaton Co. Limited	677 St. Catherine Street West	1925	-	1925 (1869)	1999	Timothy Eaton	Since 1884. French version 1928.	Archives of Ontario
Henry Morgan & Co.	585 St. Catherine Street West	1891	1845: 240 Notre Dame Avenue 1853: 208 McGill Street 1866: St. James Street at Victoria Square	1845	1960 (acquired by the HBC)	Henry Morgan	Since c. 1891.	MMFA McCord Museum McGill University Archives of Manitoba
W. H. Scroggie's	The Belgo Building; 372 Ste-Catherine West	1913	1909–1910: Corner of St. Catherine and University Streets	1883	1915 (acquired by Almy's Limited)	W. H. Scroggie	Since c. 1892. French version since 1908	

Almy's	The Belgo Building; 372 Ste-Catherine West	1915	-	1915	1922			
"Au Bon Marché" Letendre limitée — Letendre & Fils; Letendre & Arseneault	625 St. Catherine Street East	1913	1880: around Wolfe Street	1880	1927	Letendre & Arseneault		BAnQ - Vieux-Montréal
Dupuis Frères Limitée	865 St. Catherine Street East	1868; 1882	1868: Corner of Montcalm and Ste. Catherine Streets 1870: Corner of Amherst and Ste. Catherine Streets	1868	1978	Nazaire Dupuis	Since 1912	HEC
P. T. Legaré	-	-	180 Amherst Street	1896	1935	Pierre-Théophile Legaré	French and English versions.	
Maison-Viau	1321–1329 St. Catherine Street East			1909				

APPENDIX II

Chronology of Art Exhibitions in Montreal's Department Stores (1900–50)

Abbreviations

Primary sources

AAM, vol.: Art Association of Montreal Scrapbooks
CF: *The Canadian Forum*
EN : *Entre-Nous* —Eaton's staff bulletin (Archives of Ontario)
GM : *Globe and Mail*
H : *Herald*
LAdN: *L'Avenir du Nord*
LC : *Le Canada*
LD : *Le Devoir*
LEN: *L'Étoile du Nord*
LJ: *Le Jour*
LO : *L'Ordre*
LP: *La Presse*
LPa: *La Patrie*
LPJ: *Le Petit Journal*
LPs: *Le Pays*
LR: *La Relève*
LRM: *La revue Moderne*
LS : *Le Samedi*
MG: *Montreal Gazette*
MS: *Montreal Star*
Nt: *Notre temps*
P-J: *Photo-Journal*
RM: *La Revue Moderne*
S: *Standard*
SN: *Saturday Night*
TC: *The Clubman*
TT: *Toronto Telegram*

Secondary Sources

- BF: Brian Foss, "Out On the Town: Modernism, Arts and Entertainment in Montreal, 1920-33," in *1920s Modernism in Montreal: the Beaver Hall Group*, eds. Jacques Des Rochers and Brian Foss, 126–159 (London, England: Black Dog Publishing; 2015).
- CAS: Edmonton Art Gallery. *The Contemporary Arts Society, Montréal, 1939-1948 = La société d'art contemporain, Montréal, 1939-1948*. Edmonton, Alta: Edmonton Art Gallery, 1980.
- CB: Christine Boyanoski. *Jack Bush: Early Work*. Toronto, Canada: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1985.
- CH: Charles C. Hill, *Canadian Painting in the Thirties*. Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1975.
- EMcL: Ellen Mary Easton McLeod, *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild*. Montreal: Published for Carleton University by McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.
- ET: Esther Trépanier, *Peinture et modernité au Québec, 1919–1939*. Québec: Éditions Nota bene, 1998.
- F-MG: François-Marc Gagnon, *Paul-Émile Borduas: A Critical Biography*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013.
- HB: Hélène Boily, "Art, artisanat et exotisme: Magasiner des expositions." *Cap-Aux-Diamants* 40 (Hiver 1995): 31–33.
- HS: Hélène Sicotte, "L'implantation de la galerie d'art à Montréal: Le cas de W. Scott & Sons, 1859-1914: Comment la révision du concept d'œuvre d'art autorisa la spécialisation du commerce d'art." PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2003.
- JBC: John B. Collins, "'Design in Industry' Exhibition, National Gallery of Canada, 1946: Turning Bombers into Lounge Chair." *Material Culture Review / Revue de la culture matérielle* [Online], 27 (1988).
- LL: Laurier Lacroix, *Peindre à Montréal, 1915-1930, les peintres de la Montée Saint-Michel et leurs contemporains*. Montréal, Galerie de l'UQAM, Québec, Musée du Québec, 1996.
- NGC: National Gallery of Canada, Library and Archives.
- NM : Norma Morgan, "F. Cleveland Morgan and the Decorative Arts Collection in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts." MA diss., Concordia University, 1985.
- RN: Roald Nasgaard. *Abstract painting in Canada*. Vancouver: Douglas & MacIntyre, 2007.
- WASM: Women's Art Society of Montreal fond; Communications and public relations P125/D: Activités artistiques (Boîte 16, 3,24/31D) McCord Museum.

Period 1900-26

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1900			
Inauguration of Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery—Fifth floor				
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	October 22 to November 3	Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts	Women's Art Association	Exhibition catalogue (WASM) MG, October 23 and 24, 1900 HS, 722 EMcL, 95.
	1901			
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	December 19	Private exhibition of watercolours (Landscapes of Holland and Canada)	George Chavignaud	MG, December 19, 1901
	1902			
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	March	Exhibition of Home Arts	Women's Art Association	Exhibition catalogue (WASM)
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	March 25	Exhibition of portraits, including Sir. W. Laurier, Rev. Dean Carmichael, M. Henry Folser, from Kingston, etc.	J. Colin Forbes	MG, March 25, 1902 HS, 727
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	December 6	Private exhibition of watercolours	George Chavignaud	MG, December 6, 1902 HS, 728

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1906			
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	February 12	Exhibition of oil paintings and watercolours	A fine collection	MG, February 12, 1906 HS, 737
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	November 22	Sale of 50 oil paintings and watercolours	A fine collection	MG, November 20 and 22, 1906 HS, 739
	1907			
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	May 24–30	Exhibition of oil paintings and watercolours		LP, May 24, 1907
	1908			
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	November 5	Canadian agent for the E. J. van Wisselingh's Gallery, from London and Amsterdam		MG, November 5, 1908 HS, 746
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	December 8- January 9, 1909	Exhibition of paintings by 10 Canadian artists		MG, January 2, 1909 HS, 747

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1909			
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	January	Exhibition of Ten Canadian artists		MG, January 2, 1909 HS, 206 and footnote 378.
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	May 7 to June 7	Exhibition of etchings	James A. McNeill Whistler, Anders Zorn, Jean-François Millet, Sir Seymour Haden, Joseph Pennell, Felix Bracquemond, Charles Meryon, Cadwallader Washburn, Herman A. Webster, Charles Jacques. W. Witsen, Paul Helleu, Camille Fonce, Matthijs Maris, D. Shaw MacLaughlan, A. Lafitte, Tavík František Šimon, M. Jourdain, M.A.J. Bauer, Clarence A. Gagnon, W.J. Wickenden.	Micro fiche on Archive.org (Original from Gagnon Papers, McC) MG, May 14, 1909 HS, 750
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	September 13	Exhibition of coloured prints and etchings		MG, September 11 and 13, 1909 HS, 751
	1913			
John Murphy (second floor)	November 29— December 13	Exhibition of the painting: <i>A Boyar Wedding Feast</i>	Konstantin Makoffsky	LP, November 27, 29 and December 2, 1913 HS, 770

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1915			
Dupuis Frères Limitée	September 20–25	Military exhibition organized by the Consul General of France	Military trophies from enemies and French military objects	LD, September 13, 1915 LPs, September 25, 1915
	1917			
Ogilvy's store	October 2–10 Auction October 18–23	Exhibition of French painters	Best French painters (Société des Artistes Français and the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris) To benefit the Secours de Guerre in Paris Total: 425 works.	LD, October 6, 1917 LP, October 6, 18, 19 and 23, 1917 LL, 31.
Ogilvy—rooms at the old store	December 8–17 Sale: December 18-	Exhibition and sale of War Relics	Organized by Colonel Doughty Dubé, Louis Maisonneuve, Motley, Henry Tenré To benefit the Red Cross	LP, December 1 and 6, 1917 LL, 31.
	1924			
Dupuis Frères Limitée store	November 20–23	Craft exhibition by the Atelier Nazareth	Under the direction of the Grey Nuns Atelier Nazareth	LP, November 19 and 20, 1924

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1925			
Dupuis Frères Limitée store	February	Exhibition of Canadian products by the l' Association des manufacturiers du Québec		LD, February 14, 1925
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	April 11	Exhibition of Russian painters	Organized by the WASM Ossip Perelma, Iga Delia, Nikolai Krymov, Apollinary Vasnetsov, Alexei Lisenko, Alexei Yasinsky, Stanislav Zhukovsky, Nikolay Bogdanov-Belsky, Grigory Bobrovsky, Abram Arkhipov, Isaak Brodsky, Dmitry Kardovsky and Sergei Vinogradov.	LPa, April 25, 1925 MS, May 6, 1925 (2x) ET, 317 LL, 38
Eaton store (near the dining room)	May	Exhibition of works by Léonard Richmond	Leonard Richmond	LP, May 20, 1925
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	November 9	Exhibition of paintings by female artists	Mrs. Lionel Judah, Misses Phyllis, M. Percival, K. Cochrane, Helen Young, Mrs. Allan Turner, John Allan, Miss Marjorie L. Allan, Mrs. E.B. Luke, Misses Elizabeth, M. Harold Huddell, Mrs. James B. Pringie, Mary E. Mullally, Misses. B. Butler, Eleanor J. Macfariane, Mmes R.O. Sweezey, J.B. D'Aeth, Miss Nina M. Owens, Mrs. G.S. Dingie, Misses Ida Beck, G. Kyle, Mrs. L. A. MacDonald Hingston,	LPa, November 19, 1925 ET, 317 LL, 39

			Misses Mary Phillips, A.B. Swezey, E. Derrick, Sarah H. Williams, H. Ingalls, Beryl Butler, C. Marshall, S.F. Spendioye, Helen W. Lordly and S.A. Phillips from Miss Sanborn drawing class. Total: 200 works.	
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Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1926			
Eaton Store (Fifth Floor)	November 2	Exhibition of pomology	Presided by Joseph-Édouard Caron, Minister of agriculture	LD, November 2, 1926

Period 1927–50

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1927			
T. Eaton Co. Limited store (in improvised galleries)	January 31— February 19	Exhibition of paintings by old and modern masters; XVII and XVIII Century British Portraits Schools. “Old Masters” of the Continental Schools, Barbizon and Modern Dutch Schools, Contemporary British and European Painters.	Under the direction of Mr. Albert L. Carroll Henry Raeburn, Diego Rodriguez de Silva Velasquez, Sir Peter Lely, John Opie, Bernardo Strozzi, Nathaniel Hone, George Romney, Sir Joshua Reynolds, John Russell, George Henry Harlow, Tilly Kettle, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Joseph Highmore, Sir George Hayter, Quirijn van Brecklenkam, John Linnell, John Constable, William Collins, J.M.W. Turner, D.A.C. Artz, Bernard De Hoog, David Schulman, W.G.F. Jansen, Evert Pieters, Hendrik Willem Mesdag, James Maris, W. A. Knip, Jacobs S.H. Kever, W.J. Brandt, J.H. van Mastebroek, Eugène Verbeekhoeven, Théophile Émile Achille De Bock, Willem Bastiaan Tholen, Franz Langeveld, L. van Der Tonge, H.A. Dievenbach, A.M. Gorter, Ch. Gruppe, Anton Mauve, F.P. Ter Meulen, Fritz Thaulow, Stanislas Lépine, Jules Breton, Léon Germain Pelouse, Henri Le Sidaner, Henri de Harpignies, Charles Cottet, Henri de Fantin- Latour, Constant Troyon, Camille Corot, Édouard Frère, A. de Neuville, Léonide Bourges, R. Verdun, J. Chelminski. Albert Bottomley, R.I. Caffieri, Tom Mostyn, John MacWhirter, Sir Alfred East, N.H.J. Baird, George Clausen, Charles Napier Hemy,	Exhibition Catalogue (BAnQ; Collection nationale — Conservation 454,838 CON) Mention in the inaugural exhibition catalogue December 1927—January 1928 LP, February 1, 1927 LL, 41

			<p>Sir James Linton, A. Winter Shaw, Vignoles Fisher, Sir Herbert Hughes-Stanton, G. Ogilvy Reid, Thomas Blinks, Flora M. Reid, Val Davis, E.M. Wimperis, T.B. Hardy, Herbert Rollitt, A.J.W. Burgess, Richard Jack, N.H.J. Baird.</p> <p>Total: 145 works.</p>	
Dupuis Frères Limitée store	October 8–15	Exhibition of domestic works by the Cercles de fermières de la province du Québec		<p><i>Duprex</i>, November 1927</p> <p>LD, October 10, 1927</p> <p>LP, October 1 and 18, 1927</p> <p>LL, 42</p>
T. Eaton Co Limited store (special galleries on the fifth floor)	October 10–22	Exhibition of works by Quebec artists (and sale)	<p>Renowned local artists: E.T. Adney, Wilfred M. Barnes, Harold Beament, Octave Bélanger, Archibald Browne, Paul Caron, Anna G. Cheney, Jeanne de Crèvecoeur, Georges Delfosse, Berthe Des Clayes, Léopold Dufresne, Maurice Forest, Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Marjorie E. Gass, W. Grant, John Greer, Adrien Hébert, Edwin H. Holgate, Miriam R. Holland, Frank Iacurto, Ivan Jobin, J.-Y. Johnstone, Hugh G. Jones, J. Jutras, G.-Y. Kauffman, Charles W. Kelsey, M. Kempton, Wilkie Kilgour, A. Kyles, Émile Lemieux, Paul Leroux, E.J. Macfarlane, George E. McElroy, Mabel May, Edwin E. Morris, Kathleen-M. Morris, Rita Mount, Pegi Nicol, A.D. Patterson, A.M. Pattison, Paul Pepin, Phyllis M. Percival, Hal Ross Perrigard, Narcisse Poirier, Sarah M. Robertson, A. Sheriff Scott, Regina Seiden,</p>	<p>Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: N6545 E138)</p> <p>LD, October 10, 1927</p> <p>LP, October 8 and 12, 1927</p> <p>LPa, October 12 and 21, 1927</p> <p>BF, 130</p> <p>ET, 318</p> <p>F-MG, 32</p> <p>LL, 42</p>

			Chas. W. Simpson, H. Leslie Smith, William Hughes Taylor, Thurstan Topham, Roméo Vincelette, L.R. Bachelor, R. Borduas, Walter Gillespie, Henri Hébert, Alfred Laliberté, Alice Nolin, Miles des Clayes. Total: 201 works; 70 artists.	
Henry Morgan & Co. store (7 th floor)	Exhibition: December 3, 5 and 6 Sale: December 7–8	Exhibition and sale of Baroness Blanche Remy de Turicque's collection of French art	Organized by the Fraser Brothers From the XV th , XVI th , XVII th and XVIII th centuries	LP, December 3, 1927 LL, 42
Inauguration of the T. Eaton Co Limited Montreal's Fine Art Galleries—Fifth floor				
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	December 13, 1927—January 10, 1928	Inaugural Exhibition/ Important and Finely Representative Examples of the Recognized masters of the 17 th and 18 th Centuries English Portrait Schools The 17 th -century Dutch School The “Barbizon” and “Modern” Dutch Schools and the Contemporary Schools of Great Britain, France and	Under the direction of Mr. A. R. L. Carroll Sir Anthony Van Dyck, Sir Godfrey Kneller, Sir Peter Lely, Willem Wissing, Sir William Beechey, Francis Cotes, Sir Joshua Reynolds, George Romney, Alfred Edward Chalon, Sir Thomas Lawrence, John Opie, Thomas Gainsborough, George Henry Harlow, Sir John Watson Gordon, Sir Henry Raeburn, Frans Hals, Giovanni Battista Salvi, Louis Tocque, Cornelis De Vos, Camille Corot, Jean François Daubigny, Charles Émile Jacque, Constant Troyon, Jules Dupre, Henri Harpignies, L. L'Hermitte, Adolphe Monticelli, Frans Charlet, Jan V. Chelminski, J.J. Henner, Felix Ziem, Karl Daubigny, Léon Germain Pelouse, Charles Cottet, V. Dubourg, E. Fichel, R. Verdun, Paul Schaan, Lanfant de Metz, C. Borione, C. Balay, Stanislas Lépine, J. Bosboom, James Maris,	Exhibition Catalogue (BAnQ; Collection nationale: 757.07471428 i359 1927) LP, December 13 and 15, 1927 LL, 42

		the Netherlands	<p>William Maris, B.J. Blommers, Th. De Bock, D.A.C. Artz, H.W. Mesdag, W.B. Tholen, Anton Mauve, J.S.H. Kever, J. Weiland, J.H. Maestenbroeck, F.P. ter Meulen, Evert Pieters, A.M. Goster, Bernard De Hoog, David Schulman, Frans Langeveld, H.A. Dievenbach, J.H. Jurrens, W.A. Knip, W. Van Nieuwenhoeven, C. Vreedenburgh, W.G.F. Jansen, J.K. Leurs, Fritz Thaulow, J.B. Jongkind, G.M. Munthe, J.M.W. Turner, Richard Wilson, George Morland, Eade of Derby, John Constable, William Collins, George Clausen, Laura Alma-Tadema, Edgar Bundy, Winter Shaw, James Webb, J.D. Peddie, G.A. Storey, Sir David Y. Cameron, W. Lee Hankey, Frank Brangwyn, Nathaniel H.J. Baird, B.W. Leader, Julius Olsson, Sir Lafreed East, George Henry, Henry Henshall, Val. Davis, Albert A. Bottomley, Vignoles Fisher, Arthur Lemon, Charles Green, William Brock, Sir James Linton, E.M. Wimperis, Arthur Stocks, G.R. Moretti, Napier Hemy, Sir Hebert Hughes-Stanton, E. Stanhope Forbes, J. Herbert Snell, A. Riccardi, C. Duassut, G.G. Kilburne, Robert Little, Robert Meyerheim, J. Parker.</p> <p>Total: 227 works.</p>	
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Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1928			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March	Exhibition of ancient and modern fashions		LP, March 20, 1928
Eaton — Studio <i>L'Intérieur moderne</i>	March	Exhibition of new furniture and furnishing articles	Organized by Émile Lemieux and Jeannette Meunier	LP, March 17 and October 26, 1928 LL, 42
Henry Morgan & Co. store (7 th floor)	View days: March 23–24 Auction: March 27–30	Antique and Modern Furniture, Priceless Persian rugs, Oil Paintings and Water Colours, Choice China and Cut Crystal, Fine Brassware and Bronzes, Solid Silver and Sheffield Plate, Grandfather and Mantel Clocks	Organized by Fraser Bros. Auctioneers For Estate late Miss Helena Hill by order of the Montreal Trust Co. also for two important estates & other interests by order of the Morgan Trust Co.	Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: N8650 F84 1928 03/27–30)
Dupuis Frères Limitée (2 nd Floor)	December?— 31	Exhibition of paintings by L. Théodore Dubé	L. Théodore Dubé	LD, December 27, 1928 LP, December 26, 1928

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1929			
Eaton — Studio <i>L'Intérieur moderne</i>	February	Exhibition on the modern interior	Organized by Jeannette Meunier	LRM, February 1929 LL, 44
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March 26- April 20	Spring Exhibition 1929: Exhibition and Sale of Fine Paintings Representative of XVII and XVIII Century British and Continental Schools, the Barbizon School, the Modern Dutch School, XIX cEntury and Contemporary British and European Painters	Under the direction of A.R.L. Carroll Jean-Baptiste Van Loo, Sir Godfrew Kneller, School of Van Dyck, School of Gainsborough, James Northcote, Francis Cotes, John Russell, Claude Joseph Vernet, George Henry Harlow, Sir William Beechey, George D. Beechey, Mary Beale, Antoine Pesne, Domenico Feti, Ludovico Carracci, Nathaniel Dance, School of Greuze, School of Luini, School of Murillo, George Romney, Allan Ramsay, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Louis Tocque, Barker of Bath, Thomas Gainsborough, John Inigo Richards, Robert Burford, George Chambers, Thomas Malton, Henry Alken, Robert Tournieres, John Jackson, John Downman, Pannini, John Constable, Constant Troyon, Jules Dupre, Charles Emile Jacque, Victor Dupre, Millet fils, Eugene Boudin, Charles-François Daubigny, Gustave Courbet, Antoine Vollon, Felix Ziem, Jean Louis Ernest Meissonier, Camille Corot, Léon L'Hermitte, Henri Harpignies, Jean Charles Cazin, S. Lépine, Édouard Frère, Mdme. V. Dubourg, Alexandre Gabriel Decamps, Jean Van Marcke, H.C. Delpy, Henri Martin, E. Berne Bellcour, J. Coomans, Firmin Gerard, L.G. Pelouse, Maurice Levis, Frans Charlet,	Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: ND450 S67 1929) BF, 130

			<p>Marie Dieterle, L. Japy, Eugène Joseph Verboeckhoven, P.J. Clays. Josef Israels, Johannes Bosboom, William Maris, B.J. Blommers, H.W. Mesdag, Evert Pietersm J.H. Jurren, F.P. Ter Meulen, Anton Mauve, Th. De Bock, A.M. Gorter, J.S.H. Kever, J.H. mastenbroeck, Zoetelief Tromp, L. Van Der Tonge, W.G.F. Jansen, Bernard De Hoog, J. Scherrewitz, Fritz Thaulow, F.H. Kammerer, Johan B. Jonkind, H.A. Dievenbach. Sir John Lavery, Frank Brangwyn, Sir David Y. Cameron, William Strang, Sir Edwin Landseer, T. Sidney Cooper, Heywood Hardy, Edgar Bundy, Bertram Priestman, Nathaniel Barid, Sir Herbert Hughes-Stanton, A. Winter Shaw, W. lee-Hankey, Archibald Chisholm, John McWhirter, A. Stocks, Jose Weiss, W.P. Frith, A. Stanhope Forbes, Thomas B. hardy, Carlton T. Chapman, R.B. Beechey.</p> <p>Total: 170 works.</p>	
Eaton Art Gallery (special Galleries on the Fifth Floor centre)	May 6–18	Second exhibition of work by Quebec artists	<p>Organized by Jeannette Meunier Marjorie L. Allan, Ernest Aubin, Harold Beament, Ida Beck, Paul Bédard, Octave Bélanger, André Biéler, Maude B. Blachford, Mary E. Bonham, A. S. Brodeur, Beryl Butler, Paul Caron, Nan Lawson Cheney, Alberta Cleland, E.T. Cleveland, Edgar Contant, Emily Coonan, L. Corriveau, J. De Crèvecour, Aline C. Delfosse, George Delfosse, Alice Des Clayes, Berthe Des Clayes, Léopold Dufresne, Paul B. Earle, Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Paul</p>	<p>Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: N6545 E139 1929) LD, May 7, 1929 BF, 130 ET, 319 LL, 44</p>

			<p>Gauthier, Anne-Marie Gendron, Marguerite Giguère, Violet Graham, Mary Grant, John Greer, Elizabeth M. Harold, Adrien Hébert, Ruth B. Henshaw, Lilian Hingston, M.R.Holland, Ida M. Huddell, Frank Iacurto, Jos. Jutra, G.Y. Kauffman, A. Wilkie Klingour, Ernestine Knoff, Agnes Earle Knox, A. Kyles, C.A. Lambert, Emile Lemieux, Marguerite Lemieux, Paul Lemieux, Paul Leroux, Jan C. Luke, Jean M. MacClean, C.R. Mangold, A. E. Martel Mabel May, Kathleen M. Morris, Rita Mount, Jean Munro, Ernest Newman, Pegi Nicol, Cyril Panting, A.M. Pattison, Gordon E. Pfeiffer, M. Narcisse Poirier, Annie Pringle, T. Xénophon Renaud, Henri Richard, William Rigg, Sarah M. Robertson, Margaret J. Sanbron, Annie D. savage, M.M. Scott, Ethel Seath, C.W. Simpson, Marjorie Smith, Frances B. Sweeny, W.H. Taylor, Gaétane Tessier, Thurston Topman, Allan Turner, Pierre Valentin, Romeo Vincellette, Paul Watson, Ema Adelstein, L.R. Batchelor, Sylvia Daoust, Arline Gagné, F.H. Holgate, Simone M. Hudon, Laurent Morin, Nora Power, Herbert Raine, Albert Rousseau, Freda Pemberton Smith, P. Kieran, E.L. De Montigny Giguère, L.W. Ingalls, Mde. Demontigny Lafontaine, A.E. Laliberté, Alice Nolin.</p> <p>Total: 272 works.</p>	
Inauguration of the Van Dyck gallery at Ogilvy—Fifth floor				

Ogilvy-Van Dyck gallery (Inauguration)	December	Exhibition of works by John Hammond	John Hammond	LPa, December 3, 1929 MG, December 5, 1929 MS, December 5, 1929 LL, 45
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Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1930			
Ogilvy-Van Dyck gallery	January	Exhibition of works by John Innes	John Innes	LP, January 20, 1930 MS, January 20, 1930
Ogilvy-Van Dyck gallery	March 5–20	Exhibition of photographs of contemporary cities	Organized by La Ligue du progrès civique (Supposed to be presented at the Galerie des Beaux-Arts)	LP, March 4 and 7, 1930
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	May 12–23	Third exhibition of works by Province of Quebec artists	Phyllis C. Abbott, Ernest Aubin, André Biéler, Jessie Beattie, Beryl Butler, Harold Beament, M. Boyer, A. S. Brodeur, Mrs. M. Burns, Octave Bélanger, Edgar Contant, Alberta Cleland, Paul Caron, Dorothy Rhynas Coles, Aline C. Delfosse, Alice Des Clayes, Berthe Des Clayes, George Delfosse, Léopold Dufresne, Paul B. Earle, J.H. Egan, Claire Fauteux, George G. Fox, Marc-Aurèle Fortin, M.M. Guertin, M. Grant, Adrien Hébert, M.R.Holland, John Humphries, Ruth B. Henshaw, Eve Heneker, Lilian Hingston, Ida M. Huddell, Elizabeth M. Harold, Frank Iacurto, Jos. Jutras, Ernestine Knoff, A. Wilkie Klingour, A. Kyles, Agnes Earle Knox, Jean D. Kyle, Mabel Lockerby, Jan C.	Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: N6545. E14) BF, 130 ET, 320 LL, 45

			<p> Luke, Emile Lemieux, Warwick J. Low, Jean-Paul Lemieux, Marguerite Lemieux, Andre Morency, Kathleen M. Morris, Rita Mount, Mary E. Mullally, J.M. Maclean, Helene McNichols, Jean Munro, T.R. Macdonald, H. Mabel May, C.R. Mangold, Jas. McCorkindale, A. E. Martel, Amy Mulock, Eleanor J. Macfarlane, Laurent Morin, Phyllis M. Percival, Annie Pringle, M. Narcisse Poirier, Jean Palardy, A.M. Pattison, Hal Ross Perrigard, Raymond Pelus, Sarah M. Robertson, Marion Robertson, Richard, Albert Riecker, John A. Ritchie, T. Xénophon Renaud, Belle C. Richstone, F. Ramus, Ethel Seath, J.D. Schaflein, Annie D. Savage, Felix Shea, H. Leslie Smith, M.M. Scott, Margaret Snaborn, Florence Truner, Thurston Topman, Marjorie Thurston Smith, W.H. Taylor, Dudley Ward, R.L. Weldon, M. Boyer, H. Croteau, Dorthy Rhynas Coles, G. Des Clayes, Sylvia Daoust, E.L. de Montigny-Guguere, J.H. Egan Edgar Gariepy, Arline Gèneux, Ethelwyn Holland, Simone M. Hudon, Rachel Julien, Lorna Lomer Macaulay, Laurent Maron, Ernest Newman, Albert Rousseau, Barbara Stephens. Total: 269 works. </p>	
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	June 2	Religious paintings Salon	<p> William Hiller Copies of: Murillo, Van Dyck, Titian, Raphael, Millet, Leonardo da Vinci, Ingres, Ribeta, Reni and Falgnière. </p>	LD, June 7, 1930 LL, 45

Ogilvy-Van Dyck gallery	October 1–12	Exhibition of old European masters (First of a series of exhibitions)	Organized by R. F. Grisar Caravaggio, Procaccini, Roberto Pani, Louis Cambier, Veronese, Dandoy, Paul Mathieu of Dunquerque, L. A. Neetesonne, etc.	ND, fall 1930 LP, October 21, 1930 MS, October 4, 1930 BF, 130
James A-Ogilvy's Limited-Tudor Hall and the Van Dyke Gallery	October 13- (Previously at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto)	Exhibition of Miss Winnifred Guy's (an English school teacher) collection of posters from every corner of the earth	Laura Knight, Charles Pears, Fred Taylor, Sir William Orpen, Frank Brangwyn, Spencer Pryse, Ba Nyan, McKnight Kauffer, A. Mauron Cassandre, J. L. Carstairs, etc.	MG, October 15, 1930 (AAM; 6)
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	December	Exhibition of photographs of New Zealand	Organized by the government of New Zealand, the Canadian Pacific and the Cook and sons agency	LP, December 22, 1930

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1931			
Ogilvy-Van Dyck gallery	November	Exhibition of works by the Swiss artist Mangold	C.-R. Mangold	LP, November 18, 1931 MG, November 17, 1931
Ogilvy-Van Dyck gallery	November 28—December 3	Studio Week-Exhibition on Montreal's contemporary artists	Women's Art Society of Montreal	MS, September 15 and November 11, 1931 MS, 1931 MG, December 2, 1931 BF, 130-32

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1932			
Ogilvy-Van Dyck gallery	April 23–30	Exhibition of water colours by Norman Howard	Norman Howard	MG, April 23, 1932 MS, April 27, 1932
Henry Morgan & Co. (Sixth floor)	March 29- April 9	Exhibition of artists from The Atelier	Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Elizabeth Frost, John Lyman, George Holt, André Biéler and Edwin Holgate.	LP, March 30 and April 4, 1932 BF, 130-32 CH, 133
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	May-June	Contemporary Canadian painting		ET, 321
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	October	Exhibition of many artists, French, British and Canadian, old and new	Carlo Maratti (<i>The Virgin and Child</i>), James Northcole, Allan Ramsay, George Harlow, D.Y. Camerin, Stanley Royle, Bertram Priestman, A.M. Gorter, Stanhope Forbes, Cazin, Boudin, Troyon, Jacque, Harpignies, L'Hermitte, Monticelli, Perrigard, Sheriff Scott, Armington, Charles Simpson, Rita Mount and Kilgour.	MS, October 5, 1932
Ogilvy-Van Dyck gallery	November	Exhibition of products of the Empire		LP, September 7 and 19, 1932
Ogilvy-Van Dyck gallery	November 21	Exhibition on Montreal's contemporary artists	Women's Art Society of Montreal	MG, December 1, 1932 BF, 130-32

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1933			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January	Exhibition of Octave Bélanger's work	Octave Bélanger	ET, 321
Ogilvy-Van Dyck gallery	January 28— February 4	Exhibition of the Chinese paintings from the Kiang family's collection		LP, January 27, February 2, and April 6, 1933 MG, January 25, 1933 MS, February 8, 1933
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	February	Exhibition on Montreal's contemporary artists	Berthe DesClayes, M. Grant, Mabel May, Rita Mount, Kathleen M. Morris, S. Robinson, Sarah Robertson, Jori Smith, and others. Frederick William Hutchison	LP, February 16, 1933 BF, 130 ET, 321
Robert Simpson Company store	March 8	Exhibition of works by Franz Johnston	Franz Johnston	MS, March 8, 1933 ET, 322
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March	Exhibition of the work by Richard Jack	Richard Jack	MG, March 11, 1933
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March	Exhibition "The Gay Nineties" by Miss Therese Bonney of Paris	Therese Bonney	MS, March 29, 1933
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March		Louis Muhlstock and others	ET, 322
Henry Morgan & Co. (6 th floor)	May 1–13	Exhibition of artists members of The Atelier	André Biéler, Elizabeth Frost, George Holt, John Lyman and Goodridge Roberts.	LP, May 4 and 11, 1933 CH, 133 BF, 130
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	May -13	Exhibition of works by Harry Britton	Harry Britton	LP, May 4 and 11, 1933 MS, May 18, 1933

T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	May (after Britton's exhibition)	Exhibition of pictures by William Thurston Topham	William Thurston Topham	MS, May 18, 1933
Ogilvy-Van Dyck gallery	September 16–30	Exhibition of products from the Foreign relations of Canada	Organized by the Ministry of Commerce	LP, September 7, 1933
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	September-October		Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Thomas Wilberforce Mitchell and Frank Hennessey.	ET, 322
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	November	Prehistoric exhibition: <i>The World a Million Years Ago</i>	From Chicago Fair.	MG, November 22, 1933
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	November		F.D. Allison	ET, 322
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	December 4–9	Studio Week	Women's Art Society of Montreal	WASM

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1934			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January		Alexander Bercovitch	ET, 323
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January		Des Clayes's sisters	ET, 323
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	February		Adrien Hébert and others	ET, 323
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March?-17	Exhibition of works by Émile Lemieux	Émile Lemieux	LD, 7, 9 and 16, 1934
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	April		Oils and pastels by women artists	ET, 323
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	April		George Delfosse	ET, 323

T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	October		Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Charles Walter Simpson, etc.	ET, 323
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	December	Studio Exhibition	Women's Art Society of Montreal	ET, 323 WASM
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?		J. Hilperta	ET, 323
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?	Exhibition of French landscapes		ET, 323
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?		G. Shirley Simpson	ET, 323
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?		M. Hubert-Robert	ET, 323

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1935			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January		T. Stone and Frank Hennesey	ET, 324
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	February	Photography exhibition <i>En survolant l'Empire</i>	Organized by the National Council of Education and under the patronage of the Montreal Light Aeroplane Club.	LO, February 7, 1935
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	February	Exhibition of Watercolours by Alfred Joseph Casson	Alfred Joseph Casson	ET, 324
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	April		Clara Hagarty	ET, 324
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	April 23-May 1 Also shown at NGC (Feb. 8-	Exhibition of British posters	Organized by the NGC Edgar Ainsworth, John Armstrong, D.M" Batty, George Bissill, Drake Brookshaw, Edwin Calligan, Austin Cooper, Frank Dobson, Jean Dupas, Rosemary and Clifford	Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: EX 0205 Exhibition File)

	Mar. 26, 1935), AAM (Apr. 2–23, 1935), Eaton’s in Toronto (May 8–24, 1935) and at Hudson’s Bay Company in Calgary (July 26-August 27, 1935).		Ellis, Jacob Epstein, Clive Gardiner, Duncan Grant, John Herrick, E. McKnight Kauffer, Eve Kirk, John Mansbridge, Roy Meldrum, Maurice A. Miles, Cedric Morris, Paul Nash, Brynhild Parker, Henry Perry, Tom Purvis, W.J. Steggles, Graham Sutherland, Fred Taylor, Allan Walton, Hal Wolff, O. Zinkelsen, A.K. Zinkeisen, Doris Zinkeisen. Total: 55 artists.	
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	May 8	Exhibition Walt Disney original drawings for “Mickey Mouse” and “Silly Symphonies”	Walt Disney	LD, May 7, 1935 ET, 324
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	May 15— June 1	Exhibition of Soviet Art	Alexander Bubnov, Poitr Shegolez, Igor Grabar, Georgy Nissky, Peter Williams, Alexander Shevchenko, Yury Pimenov, Saryan Erivan, Kashina Nadezhda, Aleksandr Deyneka, Kasyan Dnieprostroy, Zenkevich Polomensky, Aleksei Ilyich Kravchenko, Mikhail Vasilievich Kupriyanov, Valentin Ivanovich Kurdov, Pavel Sokolov-Skalya.	Exhibition Catalogue CF, 320; 343. ET, 324 CH, 13, 19.
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	September	Exhibition of French art and objects	French artists and artisans	ET, 325

T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	September		Agnes Lefort	ET, 325
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	December 2–14	Studio Exhibition	Women’s Art Society of Montreal	WASM
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?	Exhibition of French Impressionists	Henri Matisse, Édouard Manet, Claude Monet, Pablo Picasso and Vincent Van Gogh	ET, 325
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?		Alice A. Innes	ET, 325
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?	Great Winter Salon of the École des beaux-arts alumni	Former students at the École des beaux-arts	ET, 325

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1936			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January		Frank Panabaker	ET, 325
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January-February		Jean Munro	ET, 325
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	February 15–29	Exhibition of works by Fritz Brandtner	Fritz Brandtner Sponsored by the Canadian League Against War and Fascism.	Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: N0. B821. M84) LC, February 26, 1936 LP, February 22, 1936 MG, February 15, 1936 CH, 13, 129, 134 ET, 325

T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	February	Exhibition of works by Rita Mount and Beatrice Robertson	Rita Mount and Beatrice Robertson	LP, February 22, 1936 ET, 325
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	February		Gordon E. Pfeiffer	ET, 325
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	February		E. Shainblum	ET, 325
Ogilvy	February— Mars 7	Exhibition of French tourism	Organized by the French Chamber of Commerce	LP, February 22 and 28, 1936 LD, February 29, 1936
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March		Frank Hennesey and Sam Borenstein	ET, 325
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March		Miss E.M.B. Warren	ET, 325
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	April		T. Stone	ET, 326
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	April		Alfred Crocker Leighton	ET, 326
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	April	Exhibition of reproductions of works by Vincent Van Gogh	Vincent van Gogh	ET, 326
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	May	<i>Montréal dans l'art</i>	Ernest Aubin, Alexander Bercovitch, Sam Borenstein, Paul Caron, Chicoine, Fleurimond Constantineau, Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Maurice LeBel, Agnes Lefort, Rita Mount, Louis Muhlstock, Robert W. Pilot, Narcisse Poirier, Moe Reinblatt and William Thurston Topham.	ET, 326

Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery (Fourth floor)	May 18–23	Exhibition of French Canadian Handicrafts (and sale)	Collaboration with M. O.A. Bériau, director of the Provincial School for Handicrafts	LD, May 15, 1936 NM, 132.
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	May 28— June 13	Exhibition of Colleen Moore's dollhouse		Scrapbook at McGill's archives H, April 27, 1936 LP, April 24, 1936 LPa, April 24 and 25, 1936 LS, May 30, 1936 MS, April 29, 1936 S, May 16, 1936 TC (Vol III, No. 5), May 1936
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	October		Louis Muhlstock	ET, 326
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	October- November	Exhibition of the Independent Art Association		ET, 326
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	November		Charles Walter Simpson	ET, 326
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	December		P.W. Davis	ET, 327
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	December 7– 19	Studio Exhibition	Women's Art Society of Montreal	WASM

T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?		George A. Cuthbertson	ET, 327
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?		Frank O. Salisbury (G.B.)	ET, 327
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?		Margaret Collins Thompson	ET, 327
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?		Joseph Giunta	ET, 327

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1937			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January	Exhibition of drawings by children		ET, 327
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January- February		Fleurimond Constantineau	ET, 327
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January- February		Gordon E. Pfeiffer	ET, 327
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January- February		H. Palmer and Wilfred Barnes	ET, 327
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March		Robert Tancredi	ET, 327

T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March		Charles Tulley	ET, 327
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March 14–29	Contemporary French Painting	Albert André, Robert Antral, Maurice Asselin, Gaston Balande, Hugues de Beauont, Jacques-Émile Blanche, Bernard Boutet de Monvel, Yves Brayer, Paul de Castro, Paul Chabas, Paul Charlemagne, Louis Charlot, Clément-Serveau, Joseph Communal, Henri Deluermoz, Édouard Domergue, Charles Fouqueray, Othon Friesz, Paul du Gardier, Pierre Gerber, Grigory Gluckmann, René Joly de Beynac, Conrad Kickert, Charles Kvapil, Bernard Lamotte, Henri Lebasque, Georges Paul Leroux, Henri le Sidaner, Maurice Lobre, Pierre-Luc Rousseau, Edgard Maxence, Henri Montassier, Pierre Montezin, Paul Morchain, J.A. Meunier, Louis Neillot, Takanori Oguiss, Georges Pacouil, Picart Le Doux, Lucien Poignant, G.H. Sabbach, Kees Van Dongen, Henry de Waroquier, J. Zingg. Total: 47 artists.	(NGC: EX 0270 Exhibition File)
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March-April		Robert La Palme	ET, 328
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	April		A. and T. Styka	ET, 328
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	May		L. Friedlaender	ET, 328

Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	May	Exhibition of Belgian and Canadian Art	Belgian and Canadian artists	ET, 328
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	October		Marc-Aurèle Fortin	ET, 328
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	October-November		Richard Walter Major	ET, 328
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	November 12–25	Studio Exhibition	Women's Art Society of Montreal	ET, 328 WASM
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	November-December		T. Stone	ET, 328
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	December		A. Manievich	ET, 329
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?		Gordon E. Pfeiffer	ET, 329

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1938			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January		John M. Alfsen and Jack Beder	ET, 329
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	February		Dimitry Licushine	ET, 329
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	February		A. and T. Styka	ET, 329

T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March	Exhibition of contemporary French artists	French artists	ET, 329
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	April		André Morency	ET, 330
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	April-May		Oscar de Lall	ET, 330
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	May		Marc-Aurèle de Foy de Suzor Côté	ET, 330
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	August	Exhibition of contemporary Canadian painting	Rita Mount, Freda Pemberton-Smith, Marian Dale Scott, Agnès Lefort, Sam Borenstein, Kathleen M. Morris, etc.	ET, 330
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	October		Marc-Aurèle Fortin	ET, 330
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	November		M. Lukis	ET, 330
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	November 17–30	Studio Exhibition	Women's Art Society of Montreal	ET, 330 WASM
Henry Morgan & Co. Auditorium	?	Exhibition of French Canadian Furniture	Arranged by F. Cleveland Morgan Organized by the AAM in collaboration with McGill University	NM, 133.
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?		A. Cleland, Lilian Hingston and B. Robertson	ET, 331
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?		R. Muir	ET, 331

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1939			
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	February	Exhibition of Anne Savage's students and Handicrafts	Anne Savage's students	ET, 331
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	March-April		Gerry McCormack	ET, 331
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?	Exhibition of paintings by members of the Arts Club of Montreal	WM Barnes, Octave Bélanger, Paul Caron, RS Hewton, Adrien Hébert, Edwin Holgate, AY Jackson, R.H. Lindsey, James McCorkindale, Hal Ross Perrigard, A. Scott, Felix Shea, WM. Hughes Taylor, Thurstan Topman and Roy Wilson. Total: 57 works.	Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: ND247 M8 A77 1939)
	1940			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	October 8–22	Exhibition of Royal Dolls	For the benefit of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees Organized by the Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret Rose	EN, October 18, 1940
	1941			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	May	<i>Messerschmidt Exhibition</i>	A German aircraft manufacturing corporation (part of the Store Promotions and Exhibitions to further their war effort)	EN, Christmas 1941
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	May	Britain at War-Exhibition of photography	(part of the Store Promotions and Exhibitions to further their war effort)	EN, Christmas 1941

Ogilvy	June 17–22	Exhibition and Contest on Canada's war effort and its needs		LD, June 17, 1941
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	December 1–31	Drawings, Prints and Sculpture by the Contemporary Art Society	Peggy Doernbach Anderson, Jack Beder, S. Mary Bouchard, Miller Brittain, Louise Gadbois, Eric Goldberg, Eldon Grier, Prudence Heward, Jack Humphrey, Sybil Kennedy, John Lyman, Louis Muhlstock, Alfred Pellán, Goodridge Roberts, Marian Scott, Philip Surrey, Fanny Wiselberg and Percy Younger.	CH, 13 CAS, 41.
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	May 16-2 Previously shown at Palais Montcalm in Quebec City (April 26—May 3, 1941).	Exposition des Indépendants	Paul-Emile Borduas, Mary Bouchard, Stanley Cosgrove, Louise Gadbois, Eric Goldberg, John Lyman, Louis Muhlstock, Alfred Pellán, Goodridge Roberts, Jori Smith and Philip Surrey	Exhibition Catalogue LC, May 19 and 28, 1941 LD, May 19 and 26, 1941 LP, May 17, 1941 LJ, May 24 and June 16, 1941 LPJ, 18 May, 1941 LR, June 1941 P-J, 22 May, 1941 CH, 13 P-MB, 106–111; 472.

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1943			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	January 26-February 6	<i>Naval Exhibition</i>	Organized by the department of trade and commerce in collaboration with the Royal Canadian Navy	EN, March 15, 1943 LP, January 21 and 26, 1943

T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?	Studio Exhibition	Women's Art Society of Montreal	WASM
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Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1944			
T. Eaton & Co. store (4 th floor)	January 26	Exhibition of the project for the new Canadian National Central station	Nd.	LD, January 26, 1944
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	December-until Christmas	Exhibition of works by Frantz Johnston	Frantz Johnston	LAdN, December 1, 1944

	1945			
T. Eaton & Co., Toronto store	January 29-	<i>Excursions in abstraction</i>	Fritz Brandtner, Henry Eveleigh, Lawren Harris, Edna Taçon and Gordon Webber	GM, January 27, 1945 CB, 20. RN, 92.
T. Eaton & Co., Toronto store	October	Seventh annual exhibition of the Contemporary Art Society	Paul-Emile Borduas, Fernand Bonin, Charles Daudelin, Pierre Gauvreau, Andre Jasmin, Frenand Leduc, Bernard Morissette, Jean-Paul Mousseau, Guy Viau (Total: 80 works by 24 artists)	GM, October 1945 Nt, December 6, 1945 SN, November 10, 1945 TT, October 27, 1945 F-MG, 175-76

	1946			
Henry Morgan & Co. Auditorium (fifth Floor)	January 19–26	<i>Saul Field: An Exhibition of Paintings in Oil Tempera & Water Color</i>	Saul Field	Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: N0 F456 M84 1946)

Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	November Shown at NGC (Oct. 1946), Eaton in Toronto, Winnipeg and Edmonton (January, March and April 1947)	<i>Design in Industry</i>	Organized by the National Gallery of Canada in co-operation with the Department of Reconstruction and Supply and the National Film Board of Canada.	NGC: EX 0476, Exhibition File JBC, 34.
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Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1947			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	March 22–30	Exhibition of Canadian women painters/ Femmes peintres canadiennes	Sponsored by National Council of Women of Canada. And under auspices of The Montreal Local Council of Women	Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: ND245. E138)
Ogilvy	May	Exhibition of works by the artist Andrée de Groot	Andrée de Groot	LD, May 1947
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	May 12–23	Canadian Small Homes Exhibition	In cooperation with the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation Canadian architects	EN, June 1947
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	June 7–12	Stamp Exhibition	Switzerland's National stamp collection	EN, July 1947

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1948			
T. Eaton Co. (9 th floor-Foyer)	March 22–30	Exhibition of paintings	Organized by the National Council of Women of Canada and the Canadian Women painters. Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Arthur Lismer, Ernst Neumann, René Richard, Raymonde Gravelet and Anne Savage.	LD, March 25 and 30, 1948
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?	Exhibition of textiles	Verdun High School	EN, May 1949
	1949			
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	May 15	Students' Art and Handicraft Show	Students from Baron Byng, Commercial High, High School for Girls, Lachine, Montreal High School, Montreal West, Peace Centennial, Verdun, West Hill and William Dawson.	EN, May 1949
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?	Studio Exhibition	Women's Art Society of Montreal	WASM
	1950			
Ogilvy-painting gallery (fifth floor)	June	Exhibition of paintings by Éric Riordon (A.R.C.A.)	Éric Riordon	LP, June 1950
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	July to August 11	Craft Exhibition	Organized by Jean-Marie Gauvreau, director of the École du meuble. Students at the École du meuble of Montreal	Photographs, BAnQ Vieux-Montréal (E6, S7, SS1, D50332-50338)

Location	Date	Exhibition	Artists exhibited	References
	1958			
T. Eaton & Co., throughout the store	October 3	Italian exhibition		LD, October 2, 1958
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	November	Exhibition of photographs by André Larose	André Larose (the same works were simultaneously exhibited at Les grands magasins du Louvre in Paris)	LD, November 6, 1958

	Unknown			
Henry Morgan & Co. Art Gallery	September 4—	<i>Exhibition artistique française</i>		Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: NX549 E96)
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?	Exhibition of paintings by Tade and Adam Styka	Tade and Adam Styka	Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: N0 S936 A4 E9)
T. Eaton Co. Fine Art Galleries	?	Exhibition of 63 paintings and pastels by Charles de Belle	Under the direction of A.R.L Carroll Charles de Belle.	Exhibition Catalogue (NGC: N0 D286 A4)