Selling Character: Trade Papers, Modernity, and The Maclean Publishing Company, 1887-1910s

by

Kristin Hall

A thesis

presented to the University of Waterloo

in fulfillment of the

thesis requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2025

© Kristin Hall 2025

Examining Committee Membership

The following served on the Examining Committee for this thesis. The decision of the Examining Committee is by majority vote.

External Examiner	Peter Gossage Professor, Concordia University
Supervisor	Jane Nicholas Professor, University of Waterloo
Internal Member	Cynthia Comacchio Professor Emeritus, Wilfrid Laurier University
Internal-External Member	Shelley Hulan Associate Professor, University of Waterloo
Other Member	Robert Kristofferson Professor, Wilfrid Laurier University

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

This dissertation explores the gendered dimensions of the growth of trade papers and trade paper advertising in Canada from 1887 until the 1910s using the lens of the Maclean Publishing Company. In 1887 John Bayne Maclean established *The Canadian Grocer*. The paper advised retail grocers on how best to succeed in the growing, ever-competitive retail environment, but Maclean's ultimate goal was to profit from the paper through the sale of advertising space. In the late 1880s and 1890s, Maclean would establish and acquire additional trade papers including *Books and Notions*, *Hardware*, *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*, and *Printer and Publisher*, creating Canada's most successful trade paper publishing company of the period. Maclean faced many challenges to building his business, including an initial level of distrust surrounding trade papers themselves and manufacturers' initial refusal to purchase advertising space. This thesis seeks to explore the ways in which Maclean sought to overcome these impediments

Employing the Maclean trade journals, the Maclean-Hunter archival records, and the John Bayne Maclean papers as source material, this dissertation demonstrates how notions of manhood that were popularized in success literature beginning in the 1860s were used to sell advertising space, build the company's readership base, Maclean's own reputation, and that of his trade papers. The first chapter establishes context, providing the history of the Canadian trade paper field. The second chapter is a discursive analysis of Maclean trade paper content, demonstrating the ways in which Maclean applied notions of character to build his reputation as a publisher and grow his readership base. The third chapter explores Maclean's use of nascent public relations techniques to publicize company policies to articulate his desire to serve the success of the retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers he served. The fourth chapter explores personal and textual advertising space sales tactics. Here Maclean argued that advertising was akin to masculine performance and provided potential advertisers with the directives needed to articulate who they were as men through their advertising practices. This dissertation contributes to the historiography on gender and

business in Canada by underscoring the ways in which masculinity influenced the emergence of trade paper advertising, trade paper publishing, and consumer culture more broadly.

Acknowledgements

So many people supported me during the research and writing of this dissertation. First of all, thank you to my wonderful advisor, Dr. Jane Nicholas. Her constant encouragement, support, and enthusiasm helped see me through to the completion of this project. While Dr. Nicholas insisted that she was merely a "place holder" after the passing of my first advisor, Dr. Wendy Mitchinson, from our first meeting Dr. Nicholas became a guiding force behind this project. I could not have completed it without her. I am grateful to Dr. Nicholas and Dr. Mitchinson for providing me with guidance and constant support. Both were incredible advisors and I am so thankful that I had the absolute priviledge to learn from them. My committee members were also extremely supportive. I am deeply thankful to Dr. Cynthia Comacchio, Dr. Rob Kristofferson, Dr. Peter Gossage, and Dr. Shelley Hulan for their thorough reading of my dissertation, their insightful questions, and helpful suggestions. Special thanks to Dr. Comacchio who has supported me since the first day of my doctoral program until the completion and defence of this dissertation.

I would also like to thank my fellow students who were part of the Tri-University History Program. In particular, my heartfelt thanks go out to Dr. Lorene Bridgen-Lennie for always being there to listen, encourage, and brighten my day with her contagious positivity. Although we were (and still are) quite literally a province apart, she has always been there to support me, whether it was through our lengthy phone conversations or her thoughtful surprises that arrived through the mail. I also want to thank Dr. Jill Campbell-Miller, Dr. Allan Downey, Dr. Mark Sweeney, Brian Lennie, David Campbell-Miller, Adrienne MacDonald, and Aimee Malyk for their support, encouragement, and friendship during my time in the program. The friendships I forged with each of these wonderful individuals are among the most meaningful parts of my experience in the program.

Financial support for this dissertation was generously provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Waterloo.

I want to thank my friends and family for their patience, understanding, and support while I completed this dissertation. I am so grateful to my dear friend and mentor, Dr. Linda Ambrose for her unwaivering support and encouragement. When “life happened” during the dissertation process, for better or for worse, she was always there for me. Our phone calls and countless lunch/writing dates were a constant source of joy and support that I will always remember and be thankful for. Dr. Ambrose also invited me to join the writing group she established. I am extremely thankful to her and group members including Dr. Sara Macdonald and Dr. Joel Belliveau for providing a collegial space to write each Friday.

Thank you to my mother, Cindy Tessier, my grandmother, Sophie Rudiak, who passed away during the writing of this dissertation, and my sister, Courtney Tessier, for being three of my biggest cheerleaders. I love you so much. My mom, along with my mother-in-law and father-in-law, Debbie and Bruce Hall, provided encouragement and helped with childcare during times I had to write. I am thankful to each of them for all they have done and continue to do for our family. Thanks also to Aaron Vehkala, Heather Hall, Rob Simard, Kayli Tessier, Morgan Spicer, Angel Mannisto, and Janna Doni.

My husband, Matt Hall has always been my primary supporter and best friend. Despite the length of time it took me to complete this dissertation, Matt never questioned me. Instead, he offered endless encouragement, humour, and love. Matt, thank you for everything you’ve done to support me and our family all these years. I love you beyond words. Finally, to my daughter, Sophie, you are my world. Thank you for your patience during times I had to write and for your constant curiosity about my work. I love you.

Table of Contents

Examining Committee Membership ii

Author's Declaration iii

Abstract iv

Acknowledgements vi

List of Figures ix

Introduction 1

1 From Business Press to Trade Press: A History of Trade Paper Development Canada within the Context of International Business Publishing 42

2 The Search for Legitimacy in Print: The Gendered Content of the Maclean Trade Papers 109

3 "Mainly About Ourselves:" Publicity and Policy at the Maclean Publishing Company 156

4 "Every probable advertiser should be followed up closely": Advertising Sales Tactics at The Maclean Publishing Company 205

Conclusion 263

Bibliography 270

List of Figures

1	"It is Well-Known *The Canadian Grocer* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 1 (1 January 1892): back cover.	99
2	Montreal Board of Trade Building as Presented in *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 8 (21 February 1896): 15.	172
3	"John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 55 (July 1889): 1.	181
4	"Dodge the Pessimist! Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 25, no. 35 (30 August 1913): 94	224
5	"YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *Canadian Dry Goods Review* 4, no. 2 (February 1894): 28.	226
6	"Look at This Picture and On That Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 1, no. 2 (February 1891): 5	229
7	"Talk to the Man *Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 26, no. 13 (July 1914) 194.	235
8	AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 37, *Canadian Grocer* file, *Backing Up the Traveller: A True Story* Pamphlet, 1906.	239
9	"*Bookseller and Stationer* Advertising Advertisement," *Bookseller and Stationer* 9, no. 1 (January 1893): 19.	248

Introduction

In 1941, The Association of Canadian Advertisers (ACA), a national association representing the interests of companies that advertised and marketed their goods and services within Canada, presented John Bayne Maclean, founder and then Chairman of the Board of The Maclean Publishing Company, with its inaugural Silver Medal for Distinguished Service to the advertising industry. The award was created to recognize an outstanding contribution to Canadian advertising by a media executive. A commemorative brochure published by the ACA notes that the honour was a lifetime achievement award, given "after 54 years of continuous service by Col. Maclean not only to advertising but especially to the development of media through which the advertising message might be disseminated."[1]

The text of the ACA brochure insists that Maclean's contributions to the growth of Canadian advertising and advertising in Canada through The Maclean Publishing Company were substantial and contributed greatly to Canada's industrial and commercial development. Maclean founded The Maclean Publishing Company in 1887 and it is best known as the creator of *Maclean's*, Canada's foremost current affairs magazine.[2] Due to the celebrity of *Maclean's*, the fact that trade journals comprised the foundation of The Maclean Publishing Company has been overshadowed is not surprising. Yet with regards to advertising it was arguably through these trade publications that Maclean's greatest contributions were made. Indeed, it was Maclean's

[1] Archives of Ontario (AO henceforth), Maclean Hunter Records, Series B-1-1, Box 47, Colonel John Bayne Maclean Distinguished Service Medal Award, 1941 file, *For Distinguished Service: The Silver Medal booklet*, no page number. The title of Lieutenant Colonel was bestowed upon Maclean due to his service with the Canadian militia, serving several units until moving to the Duke of York's Royal Canadian Hussars where he was promoted to commanding officer in 1898. The title would follow him into the business world as employees and business associates alike employed the title in relation to Maclean.

[2] Previous iterations of the company include *The Grocer Publishing Company* (1887-1891) and The J.B. Maclean Publishing Company (1891-1899). The Maclean Publishing Company was incorporated in 1899 and remained as such until 1945 when the company was renamed The Maclean-Hunter Publishing Company.

life-long contributions to advertising through his trade journals that the ACA award was recognizing, noting that, "above all he has provided for Canadian business a group of readable publications in which it may convey to potential customers its advertising messages."[3] The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the growth of Maclean's trade journals and to analyze the highly gendered means he employed to build his readership and sell advertising from the late 1880s when the company was created until the years leading up to the First World War.

The historical importance of Maclean's trade papers and his overall contribution to the Canadian advertising field lies in their contribution to the development of what has been termed business-to-business advertising, or manufacturer (and wholesaler) to retailer advertising. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Canada was becoming a modern nation and, as historian Donica Belisle has rightly argued, the rise of retailing and consumerism was a key characteristic of modernization. As industrialization took hold and transportation networks proliferated, mass-produced, standardized, branded consumer goods were increasingly becoming available to urban and rural Canadians. These new products could be found at the countless small general stores that dotted the Canadian landscape, as well as the large, primarily urban department stores Belisle so skillfully studied. Emergent mass merchandising techniques were employed by both small and large-scale retailers alike in the hopes that consumers would be convinced to purchase them. Getting goods into the hands of the ultimate consumer was crucial to Canada's economic growth, and the ways in which this was done (or at least attempted) has been studied by historians of retailing including Belisle, as well as David Monod and Joy Santink.[4] What has been overlooked in the historiography, however, is that before these new

[3] AO, Maclean Hunter Records, Series B-1-1, Box 47, Colonel John Bayne Maclean Distinguished Service Medal Award, 1941 file, *For Distinguished Service: The Silver Medal booklet*, no page number.
[4] Joy Santink, *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of His Department Store* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); David Monod, *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of

goods could be sold to consumers in retail environments, they first had to be sold to the retailers who placed them on their shelves. Herein lies the importance of Maclean's efforts within the trade paper field in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as his company's publications served as a central means of communication between Canadian manufacturers and the retailers who would be the first to purchase their products.

Though not the first to publish trade papers in Canada, The Maclean Publishing Company was the nation's leading trade journal publisher during the field's formative years.[5] From the late 1880s until the 1910s, The Maclean Publishing Company grew its holdings from its first trade publication, *The Canadian Grocer*, to a roster of 11 trade magazines and three commercial publications.[6] The company's foundational publications served the retail and publishing trades. Each was established in the late nineteenth century and includes *The Canadian Grocer*, *Hardware and Metal*, *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*, *Books and Notions* (which was renamed *Bookseller and Stationer* in 1896), and *Canadian Printer and Publisher*.[7] Together, these publications covered the fields of foodstuffs, general goods, hardware implements, fancy goods (lace, ornamental fabrics, notions, etc.), ready-made clothing, books, stationery, and publishing.

Toronto Press, 1996); Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011).

[5] For a discussion please see chapter 1.

[6] By 1914, The Maclean Publishing Company owned and published trade journals including. *The Canadian Grocer* (est. 1887), *Hardware* (est. 1889), *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* (est. 1891), *Books and Notions* (acquired in 1888 and name changed to *Bookseller and Stationer* in 1896), *Printer and Publisher* (est.1892), *Canadian Machinery* (est.1905), *Plumber and Steamfitter* (est. 1906), *Power House* (est. 1908), *The Sanitary Engineer* (est. 1907), *Canadian Foundryman* (est. 1910), *Men's Wear Review* (est. 1911). The company also published *Canadian Millinery Review* (est. 1909-1910). The Maclean Publishing Company's commercial magazine holdings in 1914 included *Maclean's* (est. 1905 as *The Busy Man's Magazine*, renamed in 1911), *The Financial Post* (est. 1907), and *The Farmer's Magazine* (est. 1910).

[7] John Bayne Maclean, *The Maclean Organization: Being Some Account of the Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, and its Group of Fourteen Publications* (Toronto: The Maclean Publishing Company, 1914), 7.

In 1905 the company began to further diversify its publication offerings. That year Maclean launched *Business*, a commercial magazine, which months later would be renamed the *Busy Man's Magazine*, and renamed once more as *Maclean's* in 1911. In 1907 the company also launched the highly successful *Financial Post*. Some new trade journals were also inaugurated in the early twentieth century, such as *Men's Wear Review* and *Canadian Millinery Review*, which grew out of older publications such as *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*, and served what were increasingly specialized fields of retail. Other new titles of the period such as *Canadian Machinery*, *Plumber and Steamfitter*, *Power House*, *The Sanitary Engineer*, and *Canadian Foundryman* served entirely different markets than had publications the company launched earlier.

For Canadian readers including retailers, publishers, machinists, engineers, and plumbers, the Maclean trade publications acted as guides with which these occupational groups could navigate the growth and modernization of commerce in the context of the second industrial revolution. They provided either weekly or monthly market information (depending on the publication), including wholesale prices current in major markets such as Toronto and Montreal, and eventually Winnipeg, Halifax, and Vancouver; industry-specific news; and advice on topics such as department store competition, store cleanliness, display methods, bookkeeping, and stock-taking. A great deal of emphasis was also placed on the importance of advertising and how to advertise successfully in newspapers and other mediums. Maclean's trade papers were a regular, reliable source of advice on how to do business in a seemingly ever-changing economy. In recognition of the importance of these publications to their industries, prominent provincial and national associations such as the Bookseller and Stationers' Association of Ontario, the

Canadian Packers' Association, Montreal Grocers' Association, and the Canadian Press Association adopted Maclean trade journals as the official publication of their associations.[8]

This dissertation explores the various efforts and means with which Maclean and his employees worked to sell advertising space within the Maclean retail trade papers including *The Canadian Grocer*, *Hardware*, *Bookseller and Stationer*, *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*, *Millinery*, and *The Men's Wear Review* from 1887 until the 1910s. In exploring the growth of business-to-business advertising at the Maclean Publishing Company, this work uncovers the specific tactics that were used to encourage this growth. Therefore, this study does consider the direct means through which the company attempted to sell space to prospective advertisers as this forms the basis of chapter 4; however, it is not limited to an examination of direct appeals. Instead, this work also explores the major challenges Maclean faced. These included but were not limited to the challenges posed by negative conceptions of trade papers and their publishers in the late nineteenth century and Maclean's need to imbue respectability upon his journals and himself in order to inculcate trust and build a strong circulation base. Apathy and even outright disdain of potential advertisers toward trade paper advertising in general was another major challenge Maclean had to confront. In exploring these issues, this work takes a multi-faceted approach, examining Maclean's efforts at overcoming these challenges through an exploration of the content of the Maclean papers, determining central components of early company policy and subsequent public relations efforts to promote them, as well as analyzing the company's print-based and in-person advertising space sales strategies.

[8] Masthead, *Books and Notions* 5, no. 4 (November 1888): 63; "The Canned Goods Industry in Canada," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 13 (25 March 1892): 5; "Montreal Grocers' Association," *The Canadian Grocer* 12, no. 7 (18 February 1898): 24; "Montreal Grocers' Association," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 6 (10 February 1899): 38; This was typical and bolstered the reputation of those trade journals that were selected to be official organs.

In exploring how the Maclean Publishing company attempted to overcome the aforementioned challenges central to its development, I heed historian Béatrice Craig's assertion that "the modern economy was not lurking in the wings, fully formed and ready to spring on the stage at the first opportunity. It was the result of the actions of myriad individuals groping for solutions to problems they understood imperfectly."[9] As a historian of consumer culture, Craig critiques what she considers a central issue within the literature, namely, that the rise of consumer culture is often framed as something that was inevitable, and that actors within the economy were operating to create something that was predestined. Instead, she rightly reminds us that actors working to encourage market growth should be conceived of as "sculptor(s), not a bridge."[10] As such, this dissertation explores the early history of Canadian trade papers from an expository angle, tracing the early history of the genre, its major publishers and papers, and advertising-centered business model using Maclean's company as its lens. This work focuses on why and how the company sought to inculcate trust among its potential readership and advertising bases by imbuing its papers with respectability, casting its owners as upstanding businessmen, and, ultimately selling advertising space in the Maclean papers because success was not preordained.

Manhood, Character, and Modernity

In doing so, I highlight the centrality of gender in Maclean's endeavors, arguing that notions of manhood, and more precisely, the Victorian notion of character, were central to The Maclean

[9] Béatrice Criag, *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists: The Rise of a Market Culture in Eastern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 230-231.
[10] Craig, *Backwoods Consumers*, 231.

Publishing Company's efforts to sell itself, and space in its trade papers, to the retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers that comprised the firm's readership and advertising base. This work also underscores the importance of exploring masculinity as a factor in the development of consumer culture, the Canadian advertising industry, and the business environment of the late nineteenth and twentieth century.

During the late nineteenth century, and into the early years of the twentieth century, an idealized form of masculinity centering on the concept of character permeated the transatlantic world defining what it meant to be, or should mean to be, a middle- and upper-class male, especially in the context of business. While recognizing the danger in reducing conceptions of masculinity to a static list, masculinity as manifested in this contextually specific iteration did have several identifiable traits. Men 'of character,' or manly men as defined by the concept of character, were first and foremost independent, meaning they were their own boss and held complete control over their work. This meant that, firstly there was an intimate linkage between manhood and work, which historians such as John Tosh have asserted. Secondly, as business historian Nikki Mandell has argued, this focus on independence meant that manliness and business status were virtually inseparable as only farm-owners, professionals such as lawyers and doctors, and independent entrepreneurs could attain this level of independence. The notion of character was not limited to independence, however. Other fundamental traits included a strong work ethic, self-reliance, self-denial, thrift, honesty, integrity, and perseverance. [11] As historian Judy Hilkey has explained, in the business environment of the period character was a masculine

[11] Judy Hilkey, *Character is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 5; Nikki Mandell, "Will the Real Businessman/Businesswoman Please Stand Up?: The Historical Implications of Regendering Business Success in the Early Twentieth Century." *Enterprise and Society* 15, no. 3 (2014): 521 John Tosh, "Masculinity in an Industrializing Society: Britain 1800-1914," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 333.

behavioral code that ultimately translated into a priceless form of public capital for those who exhibited its prescribed traits. Through character, a man was deemed to be a paragon of manhood who could achieve success, whatever his station in life. Without character and the gendered capital it bestowed, men were believed to be destined to fail in all aspects of life.[12]

The linkage between character and men involved in business was particularly strong. A sociocultural focus on male character linked to the workplace and business emerged in the transatlantic world in the 1830s and grew to acquire cult-like status with industrialization and the subsequent proliferation of literary works espousing the value and utility of character. In Canada, the United States, and Britain alike, character became the central subject across various forms of literature including advice manuals, biographical compendia, novels, short stories, periodical articles, and published lectures and sermons written (and orated) by ministers, educators, businessmen, and publicists alike. These works were widely consumed. As Hilkey's research has demonstrated, in the United States alone individual titles of advice manuals, also known as success manuals, sold in the tens and hundreds of thousands in each decade between 1870 and 1910. While Canadian writers and orators published book- and article-length works, as well as biographies and speeches, Canadian editions of those immensely popular American (and British) publications were also printed, flooding the Canadian public with success literature during the same period and indicating their popularity in English Canada as well.[13]

---

[12] Although there were challenges to the notion of character by the late nineteenth-century, most notably by the emergence of and reporting on robber barons, as historian Nikki Mandell insists, this ideology linking character to businessmen persisted until the 1920. Also, in cases where corporate forms began overtaking independent ownership, "corporate employers subtly substituted the promise of executive authority for the ideal of Victorian independence." Mandell, "Will the Real Businessman/Businesswoman Please Stand Up?," 521-522.

[13] Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 1; Robert Lanning, *The National Album: Collective Biography and the Formation of the Middle Class* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press 1994); William Mathews, *Getting on in the World, or, Hints on Success in Life* (Toronto: Belford Brothers, 1876); William Mathews, *Getting on in the World, or, Hints on Success in Life* (Toronto: Rose-Belford, 1879); William Makepeace Thayer, *Tact, Push and Principle* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1886); Edward W. Bok, *Successward: A Young Man's Book for Young Men* (New York and Toronto:

Scholars such as Robert Lanning, Hilkey, and Aeron Hunt have demonstrated that although character was framed as a means of achieving success, the actual utility of the ideology was far more nuanced than a prescriptive list of traits. This is especially the case when considering different literary genres and their target readerships. For instance, in examining late Victorian collective biographies in Canada, Lanning argues that these biographies were a purposeful means of consolidating an emergent middle-class consciousness among businessmen and professionals, educators, and authors, while promoting the characteristics they possessed which brought them success among a broader audience, such as self-reliance. In bringing these middle-class characteristics to the public, Lanning argues that these biographies also served as exemplars of behavioral ideals for those of the industrial working classes, "offering measures of proof that if the right opportunities were taken up, there were rewards for service to society and for personifying the virtue of self-reliance, even when bolstered by the well-placed assistance of like-situated others."[14]

For her part, Hilkey explores success manuals and considers their rural audience comprised of young males without the promise of farm or business ownership in the United States who would ultimately assume paid work in the industrializing economy. Like Lanning, she highlights the importance of class, noting that while they perpetuated what were increasingly recognized as middle and upper-class ideals, while some also contained short biographies of such men, that these publications actually held a dual function for the industrial workforce, or those who were destined to become industrial workers. Hilkey establishes that these works were manuals that promised success as defined in the attainment of manhood through the exhibiting of

Fleming H. Revel Company, 1896); Orison Swett Marden, *Architects of Fate, or, Steps to Success and Power* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897).

[14] Lanning, *The National Album*, 198.

character, pecuniary success or, ideally, both. These manuals promised that while financial success might not be available to all, character, and by extension, manhood, was. Hilkey argues that these works had both a disciplinary and democratizing function as they encouraged the exhibition of traits such as honesty and hard work that when applied to the context of industrial work, could create a loyal, hardworking paid workforce. At the same time, manhood was democratized as all men could display the behaviours congruent with character, albeit in very different work environments. [15]

Literary scholar Aeron Hunt concurs that character, as conveyed through literary sources, was intended to have a disciplinary function. In her work on Victorian British fiction, she considers the promotion of character among the business class in the context of risk aversion. Hunt, like Hilkey, argues that character ultimately served two purposes. The first was disciplinary as character became "the form on which hopes for a disciplined, moralized economy were pinned."[16] At the same time, however Hunt notes that "[c]haracter also exerted a power that exceeded – and indeed countered—these reformist aims as character narratives and performances were used to generate income and credit and as character forms were created that mediated new commercial practices and organizations."[17]

Taken together, these multiple interpretations of various literary genres in relation to male readerships indicate the pervasive power of character during the period, especially in the field of business. This was a fluid ideology that shifted to suit various circumstances, contexts, and classes of men. What's more, these transatlantic examples demonstrate the pervasiveness of

[15] Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 24.
[16] Aeron Hunt, *Personal Business: Character and Commerce in Victorian Literature and Commerce* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014): 5.
[17] Hunt, *Personal Business*, 5.

the ideology while also indicating the presence of a male-centered publishing culture based on the centrality of character, exemplars of it, means of its development, and the concomitant promises of the attainment of manhood variously defined, the evasion of risk in business for some, and, ultimately, contextually specific forms of financial success. The Maclean trade papers should be considered part of this canon of male-centered works promoting character in the business environment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[18] Yet the function of the Maclean trade papers differed somewhat. Indeed, in the case of the Maclean company character served as a persuasive tool employed by The Maclean Publishing Company in its efforts to sell its trade papers and advertising space within them.

As the works of historians Keith Walden, David Monod, and Donica Belisle have demonstrated, the Canadian retail landscape was becoming modern in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. New production technologies, modes of selling and promotion, means of delivery, and forms of competition emerged, causing upheaval for retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers alike. As chapter 1 explains in depth, trade papers such as those published by Maclean were introduced to serve a dual function in this context. From a perspective of readership, the Maclean trade papers were created to support independent (non-department store) retailers, helping them navigate the modernizing retail environment by providing advice on facing competition, purchasing and taking stock, merchandising, engaging in cash sales, and, of course, selling. More centrally however, the attention of retailers was required as the trade papers themselves were advertising vehicles from which Maclean would derive a profit. The business of trade papers was the sale of advertising space to those wholesalers and manufacturers who were

[18] Due to the borrowing of articles from American and British trade papers on manhood and character within the Maclean papers, it is likely that the wider body of transatlantic trade papers is also part of this wider body of publications espousing character. Further study is needed, however.

increasingly distanced from the retailers who they needed to stock their goods and sell to the ultimate consumer. In essence, in the case of both readership and advertising, trade papers were modern means introduced to deal with the business challenges brought about by modernity itself.

The sale of trade papers and space within them was not a given, however, as there was much hesitance surrounding the genre. This was especially the case with manufacturers who, among other reasons addressed in chapter 1, distrusted this new literary form as an advertising vehicle. This distrust stemmed largely from the multitude of fraudulent trade paper publishers engaged in advertising schemes that saw the sale of advertising space often without any tangible paper resulting. Recognizing this central challenge from the inception of his company, Maclean sought to legitimize himself as a publisher, his trade papers, and trade paper advertising as a respectable and necessary business practice. To achieve this end, Maclean employed the concept of character.

In this sense, Maclean was employing a highly resonant, traditional notion of manhood to usher in a new type of business publication as well as a new business practice in the form of trade paper advertising. In essence, Maclean was endeavoring to usher in modernity using a socio-culturally traditional concept. In employing a firmly entrenched ideological concept such as character, manhood became a tool with which to assuage the doubts and fears of those Maclean needed to make his endeavor a success. Framing the modern with a traditional veil through the publication of articles and editorials focusing on the importance of character in business, public relations-like features on himself and company policy, and countering objections to advertising both in print and person using the language of character, Maclean presented trade papers as respectable, trustworthy tools for the modern retailer and manufacturer. As such, this dissertation builds upon the notion put forth by historians Jane Nicholas and

Kristine Alexander that there were distinctly conservative elements which hastened the emergence of modernity. Although both Nicholas and Alexander examine the interwar years in their respective studies of the 1927 Diamond Jubilee of Confederation and the international Girl Guide movement, this work aligns with theirs, demonstrating that this (gendered) conservative element was present from the earliest years of modernizing Canada when using the lenses of business history and manhood.[19]

As Tosh has rightly pointed out in his discussion of the centrality of work in the context of character in Britain from 1800 to 1914, for some men, a strong work ethic, and, by extension, character was a "genuinely inspiring personal code," but for others, it was "little more than a camouflage for moneymaking and self-advancement."[20] As Tosh's contention suggests, in constructing one's work identity and path to success through character during the period, whether one internalized the tenets of character did not necessarily matter; what mattered was whether one performed as if he did. It appears that historical actors such as Maclean were very much aware of this for throughout late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Maclean's gendered methods of persuasion in relation to the adoption of trade paper and trade paper advertising were, as will be demonstrated, overt. In addition to filling his paper with gendered messages lauding the value of character in business to ingratiate his publications to potential readers, he published features focusing on him and his business policies, framing himself as a model of masculine character for the upright policies he created and upheld. Within the context of advertising space sales, Maclean and his employees intimated that advertising itself was a central means of

[19] Jane Nicholas, "Gendering the Jubilee: Gender and Modernity in the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation Celebrations, 1927," *The Canadian Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (2009): 247-274; Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).
[20] Tosh, "Masculinity in an Industrializing Society," 333.

conveying one's character to trade partners when undertaken, or rather, performed, as per the dictates of the company.

The notion of masculinity as performance has been central to studies examining the constructions of manhood in Canada, Britain, and the United States during the period and more generally, as the works of historians such as Tosh, Peter Gossage, Robert Rutherdale, and sociologist Michael Kimmel reflect.[21] As Gossage and Rutherdale insist in the introduction to their 2018 edited collection, *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place*, "masculinity involves an active process of performing attributes and expectations that are coded male."[22] While some degree of internalization of the dictates of manhood within a given context were important, what was necessary for a man to be deemed masculine was that he performed according to the tenets of manhood in a given context.

This dissertation directly builds upon these works, demonstrating the ways in which masculine behaviours were both dictated and performed in print through the pages of the Maclean trade papers. In exploring the Maclean example, this study posits that while performance was a face-to-face practice during the period, that both publishing and advertising were also means of gendered performance. Maclean and his editors made decisions regarding what type of content would be included in the Maclean papers, how it would be presented, including its placement within the papers, and why. Publishing was (and is) a self-conscious act with publishers, editors, and writers intentionally creating and presenting content to specific audiences whom they hoped would be receptive. In doing so, Maclean and his employees

[21] Tosh, "Masculinity in an Industrializing Society," 335; Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 26; Peter Gossage and Robert Rutherdale, *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2018), 16.
[22] Gossage and Rutherdale, *Making Men*, 16.

included content that he believed would ingratiate his papers, his business, and himself to his retail readers as chapters 2 and 3 examine. In the business context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century where the product, its presentation, and qualities were considered a reflection and even tangible embodiment of the producer, the notion of publishing as performance would likely have been commonsensical to Maclean.

Recognizing the centrality of performance to the construction of manhood (and gender more generally), this dissertation must also address the path-breaking concept of performativity as articulated by gender theorist Judith Butler. In their 1990 work *Gender Trouble*, Butler posits that "[g]ender ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts."[23] According to Butler then, gender is not something an individual possesses based on sex, but a continual performance of unconscious acts that, within the context of the spectrum of gendered norms and ideals of a specific historical period, constitute one's gendered identity when reproduced over time. Unlike the concept of performance, however, which suggests a high degree of cognizance, performativity is an unconscious or taken for granted act. Therefore, in his efforts to encourage the acceptance and normalization of trade paper advertising in particular by imbuing it with gender, John Bayne Maclean sought to make the act of advertising performative as well.

[23] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity,* 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2002), 179.

Sources and Methodology

To explore the ways in which Maclean and his employees performed through the text of the Maclean trade journals and sought to encourage the emergence of performativity among potential advertisers, this dissertation explores three major primary source bases. The first are Maclean retail trade journals themselves. These include *The Canadian Grocer*, *Hardware*, *Books and Notions* (*Bookseller and Stationer* by 1896*)*, *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*, *Millinery*, and *Men's Wear Review*. These journals represent those publications which Maclean targeted at retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers as readers and manufacturers and wholesalers as potential advertisers, thereby comprising a specific community of businesspeople working within the consumer goods trade. That these journals represent various fields within the trade is highly beneficial for comparative purposes with regards to exploring consistencies and differences in content across the retail environment. From a methodological perspective, six months of each paper was examined from their inception to 1915 (inclusive). In cases, such as *The Canadian Grocer* and *Hardware* where publication was weekly, 26 issues were examined each year while 6 issues per year were examined in those published monthly. In even numbered years, the months from January-June were read in their entirety, and the same was the case for the months from July-December in odd-numbered years. This resulted in a total of 2 046 issues being examined in their entirety. In some instances where specific aspects of the papers were being examined, more issues were studied, but not in their entirety as was the case with each six-month systematic examination.

The Maclean-Hunter Records, located at the Archives of Ontario, comprised the second main source base for this project, providing necessary insight into the company and its functioning. These records are extensive and include presidential and vice-presidential papers,

John Bayne Maclean's business correspondence, daily memos to staff, company financial records, company memorabilia, divisional records including that of the advertising and popular magazine divisions, as well as British and American branch records. Temporally, the records span the 1890s to the 1970s, with the bulk being from the latter part of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, these records proved invaluable in providing insight into the daily workings of the company from Maclean's perspective in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Financial and advertising records also allowed for the tracing of The Maclean Publishing Company's growth that, until now, has been anecdotal only while the preservation of confidential company bulletins has provided much-needed insight into internal company culture.

Finally, the John Bayne Maclean Records, also located at the Archives of Ontario, provided vital correspondence between Maclean and his brother, Hugh Cameron Maclean, who helped his elder brother run the company in the 1890s. These records also contain John Bayne Maclean's journal from the late 1880s, providing insight into Maclean's life and finances during the early years of his business. Business records are also present in these records, for, like the Maclean-Hunter Records, these too contain internal and external business correspondence, business speeches, issues of the confidential company bulletin, and news clippings pertaining to company history.

This study employs critical discourse analysis as articulated by theorist Norman Fairclough. Critical discourse analysis entails the close examination of texts within their sociocultural and historical contexts. According to Fairclough, the purpose of critical discourse analysis is "to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events, and texts and (b) wider social and cultural structures,

relations and processes."[24] This methodology seeks to uncover the relationship between discourse and sociocultural context to discern the meaning of texts beyond what is written and how it has been influenced by and how it might influence the context in which it was created and exists. In essence, critical discourse analysis is concerned with the "interactive processes of meaning-making." As such, the methodology explores three elements: the production of the text, the text itself, and the reception of the text. [25] The reception of text is not always simple or even possible to ascertain. Nevertheless, it is a key element in the process of meaning-making which this work strives to incorporate into its analysis as much as possible.

There are possible limitations to this methodological approach that must be recognized. In addition to the potential inability to determine reader reception, there is its inherent selectivity with regards to both sources and analytical perspective.[26] This dissertation is necessarily selective in its source base as well as in its analytical lens in employing a gendered approach. Therefore, not all possible facets of the discourses examined can be discerned. Nevertheless, because this study seeks a level of specificity in exploring the gendered nature of the history of the Maclean Publishing Company and its efforts to sell advertising space, this is not a hindrance. I am motivated by the desire to explore the relationship between gender and the development of trade paper advertising and require a methodological approach that permits for a heightened, specialized focus while permitting for contextualization, which critical discourse analysis insists upon. In this sense, critical discourse analysis is an ideal methodological tool for this study on the gendered nature of the Maclean Publishing Company's efforts to sell trade paper advertising.

[24] Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 26.
[25] Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 10-11.
[26] Fairclough, 14.

Historiography

In employing a gendered approach, this study builds on that of previous historians of advertising and consumer culture, as well as scholars within the wider field of business history. Within the Canadian context, historians utilizing gendered approaches to the history of advertising and consumer culture have produced an impressive and important body of work. The earliest of these studies, including Susan M. Bland's work on images of women in *Maclean's* advertisements in the World War II and immediate post-war years and Cynthia Wright's work on department stores and class and gender-based consumer desire in the early twentieth century emerged alongside the rise of women's and, later, gender history in Canada.[27] These contributions were followed by a spate of studies from the mid-1990s until the present day, which focus on the multiple ways in which gender influenced how goods were advertised and marketed through magazines, advertisements, and at retail stores, the gendered dynamics of retail workforces, who purchased which goods and why, which goods were deemed decidedly gendered, and how the gendered nature of goods changed over time thanks largely to marketing efforts.[28] Studies surrounding the

[27] Susan M. Bland, "Henrietta the Homemaker and 'Rosie the Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine, 1939-50," *Atlantis* 8, no. 2 (1983): 61-86; Cynthia Wright, "'Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance': Writing Gender into the History of Consumption," in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992): 229-260.

[28] Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, "Smoke and Mirrors: Gender Representation in North American Tobacco and Alcohol Advertisements Before 1950," *Social History/Histoire sociale* 32, no. 63 (1999): 183-222; Sharon Anne Cook, "'Liberation Sticks' or 'Coffin Nails'? Representations of the Working Woman and Cigarette Smoking in Canada, 1919-1939," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 24, no. 2 (2007): 367-401; Meredith Quaile, "Dairy Pin-Up Girls: Milkmaids and Dairyqueens," *Material Culture Review* 66 (2007): 19-31; Penny Tinkler and Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, "Feminine Modernity in Interwar Britain and North America: Corsets, Cars, Cigarettes," *Journal of Women's History* 20, no. 3 (2008): 113-143; Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Penny Tinkler, "In Vogue: North American and British Representations of Women Smokers in *Vogue*, 1920s-1960s," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 24, no. 1 (2007): 9-47; Denyse Baillargeon, "Medicine Advertising, Women's Work, and Women's Bodies in Montreal Newspapers, 1919-1939," in *Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behaviour and Consumerism Before the Baby Boom*, edited by Cherly Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 76-100; Jane Nicholas, "Beauty Advice for the Canadian Modern Girl in the 1920s," in *Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behaviour and Consumerism Before the Baby Boom*, edited by Cherly Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 181-199; Kristin Hall, "Selling Lysol as a Household Disinfectant in Interwar North America," in *Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behaviour and Consumerism Before the Baby Boom*, edited by Cherly Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck (Vancouver: University of

gendered nature of consumer agency and the ways in which advertisements were read also emerged. Although these studies have various temporal and thematic foci, together, they underscore one thing: gender mattered within the histories of advertising and consumer culture. Gender influenced who made purchasing decisions, enforced the parameters of how spending decisions were made, affected the ways in which goods were presented both in stores an in advertisements, as well as the mediums in which advertisements would appear, and dictated who could sell certain goods. Gender must therefore be considered a central means of understanding the historical dynamics of topics relating to these subfields, including, as this dissertation argues, the history of Canadian trade papers.

The same argument can be made for the importance of gender analysis in the field of business history. Indeed, from the American perspective, Walter A. Friedman and Geoffrey Jones insist in their 2017 article, "Debating Methodology in Business History," that gender has become one of the foremost approaches within the field.[29] While gender has not been so dominant an approach within the Canadian business historiography, those using a gendered approach to business history in the United States have unquestionably demonstrated its value. Since the 1990s, American business historians have employed a gendered lens in their study of the business environment. In addition to producing important conceptual pieces on gender and

British Columbia Press, 2013), 55-75; Graham Broad, "Advertising to Win the War and Secure the Future," in *A Small Price to Pay: Consumer Culture on the Canadian Home Front, 1939-1945* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 88-124; Kristin Hall, "Selling Sexual Certainty? Advertising Lysol as a Contraceptive in the United States and Canada, 1919-1939," *Enterprise & Society* 14, no. 1 (2013): 71-98; Anne-Marie Kinahan, "'The Colored Lady Knows Better': Marketing the 'New Washer' in *Canadian Home Journal*, 1910-1912," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 38, no. 2 (2013): 187-205; Wendy Mitchinson, "Educating Doctors about Obseity: The Gendered Use of Pharmaceutical Advertisements," in *Bodily Subjects: Essays on Gender and Health, 1800-2000*, edited by Tracy Penny Light, Barbara Brookes, and Wendy Mitchinson (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014): 268-302; Cheryl Thompson, "'I'se in Town Honey': Reading Aunt Jemima Advertising in Canadian Print Media, 1919 to 1962," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 1 (2015): 205-237.

[29] Walter A. Friedman and Geoffrey Jones, "Debating Methodology in Business History," *The Business History Review* 91, no. 3 (2017): 451-452.

business history as Kathy Peiss, Joan Wallach Scott, and Hannah Dean, Linda Perriton, Scott Taylor, and Mary Yeager have done, American historians have also analyzed a myriad of topics ranging from the gendering of office work, consumption, gendered conceptions of entrepreneurship and business success, to the rise of the beauty industry.[30] But while these important works have clearly demonstrated that gender matters in the context of business history with regards to understanding workforces, workplaces, producer-consumer relations, business culture, and entire industries, for the most part, they have limited their analysis of gender to examinations of women. [31]

This is largely the case in the Canadian context as well. While only a handful of works exist, Canadian historians exploring business from a gendered lens have also tended to explore the experiences of women. For instance, the works of historians Elizabeth Jane Errington, Brian Young, Peter Baskerville, and Melanie Buddle have revealed the existence of self-employed female entrepreneurs from the pre-Confederation period to the mid twentieth century. Together, these works have demonstrated a long tradition of female entrepreneurialism in various fields

[30] Conceptual works include Wendy Gamber, "Gendered Concerns: Thoughts on the Business and the History of Women," *Business and Economic History* 23, no. 1 (1994): 129-140; Kathy Peiss, "'Vital Industry' and Women's Ventures: Conceptualizing Gender in Twentieth Century Business History," *Business History Review* 72, no. 2 (1998): 219-241; Joan Wallach Scott, "Comment: Conceptualizing Gender in American Business History," *Business History Review* 72, no. 2 (1998): 242-249; ; Hannah Dean, Linda Perriton, Scott Taylor, and Mary Yeager, "Margins and Center: Gender and Feminism in Business History," *Business History* 66, no. 1 (2024): 1-13.

[31] Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870-1930* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), ix-256; Wendy Gamber, *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), xiii-300; Wendy Gamber, "A Gendered Enterprise: Placing Nineteenth-Century Businesswomen in History," *Business History Review* 72, no. 2 (1998): 188-218; Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women: A History of Women and Business in the United States* (New York: Twayne, 1998), xv-275; Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt, and Company, 1998), xii-334; Mary Yeager, ed. *Women in Business*, vol. I-III (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 1999), xciii-661; x-465; xxii-691; Philip Scranton, *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 1-340; Tracy Deutsch, *Building a Housewife's Paradise: Gender, Politics, and American Grocery Stores in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), i-337.

including millinery, dressmaking, education, retail, and boarding in the Canadian context.[32] Additionally, historian Donica Belisle's pathbreaking body of work, including her 2011 monograph *Retail Nation*, examines female retail workers and female consumerism in relation to the rise of Canadian department stores in the late nineteenth and twentieth century. While Belisle does not ignore men, providing an excellent analysis of paternalistic labour management strategies men employed in department stores in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, much of the gendered analysis in her work understandably focuses on women's experiences.[33]

Masculinity has not been completely overlooked by historians studying Canadian business. Joy Parr examined the gendered generational dynamics of manhood and management in Hanover's Knetchel Furniture Company from 1880 to 1950 in her 1990 book *The Gender of Breadwinners*. Here, Parr demonstrates the ways in which owners and managers became increasingly divided from the male workforce, with a physical separation of the office and shop floor leading to new definitions of middle-class manhood having to do with pay.[34] Jane Nicholas has also focused on paternalistic management practices in her work on the business of carnivals. Nicholas explores the concept of the self-made man, insisting that, like the department store owners in Belisle's work, carnival owners took on father-like roles, attempting to create familial

[32] Brian Young, "The Persistence of Customary Law: Married Women as Traders," in *The Politics of Codification: The Lower Canadian Civil Code of 1866* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994),141-156; Melanie Buddle, "'You Have to Think Like a Man and Act Like a Lady': Businesswomen in British Columbia, 1920-1980," *BC Studies* 151 (2006): 69-95; Peter Baskerville, *A Silent Revolution? Gender and Wealth in English Canada, 1860-1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 190-235;
[33] Donica Belisle, "Negotiating Paternalism: Women and Canada's Largest Department Stores, 1890-1960," *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 58-81; Belisle, *Retail Nation*, ix-308; Belisle, "Sexual Spectacles: Women in Canadian Department Store Magazines between 1920 and 1950," in *Writing Feminist History: Productive Pasts and New Directions*, ed Catherine Carstairs and Nancy Janovicek (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 135-158.
[34] Joy Parr, "Manliness, Craftsmanship, and Scientific Management," in *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 140-164.

atmospheres.[35] Each of these studies has provided examples of the gendered nature of management practices in the furniture, retail and entertainment sectors in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century. Nevertheless, more historiographical attention has been given to the roles of women in Canadian business history and while necessary, this has led to a lack of understanding of the ways in which men and masculinity shaped the Canadian business environment historically.

As early as 1998, Joan Wallach Scott noted the tendency for business historians to focus on the experiences of women in her commentary published in a special issue of the *Business History Review* focusing on gender in American business history. Scott argued that "gender is a useful category of analysis in business history," but that the project of integrating gender into the historiography "is incomplete as long as the analysis rests exclusively on the emancipatory impulses of women's history."[36] Historians' propensity to study the experiences of women within the context of business history has continued both over time and across borders, as noted. Because masculinity and manhood remain so understudied, much work needs to be done to understand the gendered dynamics of business history as the important and continuing work on women's experiences does not exploit all the possibilities of gender analysis.

This is, of course, a somewhat contentious claim. As Melanie Buddle has argued, all business history is essentially the history of men. Because of this, Buddle insists that business historians using a gendered approach should consider only "businesswomen and to privilege only

[35] Jane Nicholas, "The Carnival Business in Canada: Paternalism, Belonging, and Freak Show Labour," in *Canadian Carnival Freaks and the Extraordinary Body, 1900-1970s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 78-114.
[36] Joan Wallach Scott, "Comment: Conceptualizing Gender in American Business History." *Business History Review* 72 (1998): 242.

their stories over the already-established historiography of male businessmen." [37] But while men have been the focus of business historians for decades, in very few cases have Canadian men been given exclusive consideration as gendered beings in the context of business. Notable examples of this developing historiography include historian Marguerite Van Die's examination of the ways in which religion influenced the business and family life of Methodist businessman Charles Colby in the late nineteenth century.[38] Likewise, in his 2007 book *Craft Capitalism*, historian Robert B. Kristofferson brings masculinity to the centre of analysis. Kristofferson offers an examination of craftworkers and their adaptation to industrialization in Hamilton, Ontario from 1840 to 1872. In doing so, he explores craft culture and the ways in which masculinity was defined and practiced socially and in the workplace through concepts such as character, the self-made man, and self-improvement, all of which were previously believed to be predominant only within the emerging middle-class.[39] Finally, in her 2017 study of Edmonton's post-World War II meat packing industry, historian Cynthia Loch-Drake examines how prevalent notions of middle-class masculinity in business such as bureaucratic rationalism, technical expertise, and professionalism were employed to bolster the status of white-collar workers.[40] Otherwise, the historiography reflects British historian of masculinity John Tosh's 1994 contention that "[i]n the historical record it is as though masculinity is everywhere but

[37] Melanie Buddle, *The Business of Women: Marriage, Family, and Entrepreneurship in British Columbia, 1901-51* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 15.
[38] Marguerite Van Die, "A 'Christian Businessman' in the Eastern Townships: The Convergence of Precept and Practice in Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Gender Construction," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 10, no. 1 (1999): 103-127.
[39] Robert B. Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism: Craftworkers and Early Industrialization in Hamilton, Ontario, 1840-1872* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).
[40] Cynthia Loch-Drake, "'I am still the Supt. in this plant': Negotiating Middle-Class Masculinity in Edmonton Packinghouses in an Era of Union Strength, 1947-66," in *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place*, ed. Peter Gossage and Robert Rutherdale (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 85-105.

nowhere."[41] This lack of understanding of male experiences has served to convey an essentialist impression of men within business history while also limiting our historical understandings of business itself.

Like Van Die, Kristofferson, and Loch-Drake, as well as Parr, Nicholas, and Belisle, I demonstrate that studying manhood and masculinity in the context of business history is necessary and permits for a much fuller understanding of individual gendered experiences and business processes. As business historians Philip Scranton and Patrick Friedman argued in their 2015 work *Reimagining Business History,*

> if developed [gender analysis] could provide robust connections between enterprise and society through the lens of gender – both male and female articulations of social structures, performances, and representations. In addition to bringing women into our analysis, gender studies are useful for business history because they open questions about masculinity's place in social relations within and among enterprises and associations, about gendered constructions of agency and competence, and about long-term shifts in expectations and opportunities for men and women with highly variable attributes and capabilities.[42]

To fully explore these historical possibilities and end the perpetuation of the gendered homogenization that currently exists within business history, men must also be studied as the historically gendered beings they are.

Various theories have been advanced as a means of understanding masculinity in historical context. This dissertation employs the concept of 'communication communities' as articulated by British gender historian Ben Griffin. According to Griffin, a communication community is a locus of "shared engagement in the mechanisms through which individuals were

[41] John Tosh, "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain." *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994): 180.
[42] Philip Scranton and Patrick Fridenson, *Reimagining Business History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 138.

socialized into particular sets of norms, values, and expectations," such as schools, businesses, or, in the present case, publications. The identification and historical investigation of these communities are a means of exploring masculinity with a high degree of historical specificity that "recognizes the variegated and uneven dissemination of particular sets of cultural norms and relates this to the historically specific mechanisms of socialization through which those norms were propagated."[43] This means that unlike the model which posits that masculinity has historically been in a state of crisis, which has led to changes in dominant forms of masculinity, the notion of communication communities introduces a heightened level of specificity.[44] The same holds true in comparing the concept of communication communities to R.W. Connell's highly influential theory of hegemonic masculinity which holds that dominant forms of masculinity emerged and were sustained through a system of, complicit, marginalized, and subordinate masculinities. Even in the case of Connell's more recent revision of the theory of hegemonic masculinity conceptualized alongside sociologist James W. Messerschmidt that indicates that such hegemonies manifest on global, regional, and local levels, the notion of communication communities with its focus on individual communities and their contexts offers a more precise analytic lens.[45]

While the ccommunication community theory does not negate the presence of dominant or hegemonic manifestations of masculinity or hierarchy, it does demand that each cultural

[43] Ben Griffin, "Hegemonic Masculinity as a Historical Problem," *Gender & History* 30, no. 2 (2018): 385.
[44] For notable examples of this interpretation see E. Anthony Rotundo, "Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of American Middle-Class Manhood, 1770-1920," *Journal of Social History* 16, no. 4 (1983): 23-38; E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993; Micheal Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 81-104.
[45] R.W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987),183-190; R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 76-80; R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender & Society* 19 (2005): 849

community, the forms of masculinity present, and gendered beings more generally, be examined in their own right without the presupposition of a given hierarchical outcome. Thanks to its strong focus on contextual specificity, the theory underscores that the masculine traits that are valued within one communication community may not be valued in the same way within another, or at all. Moreover, while it does not negate the historical propensity for men to exercise power over women or downplay its impact, it does not automatically assume women were subordinate to men. It underscores the importance of context in uncovering the gendered dynamics of power between and among men and women. In doing so, the theory re-centers the way gender is conceptualized historically, especially when exploring masculinity. It harkens back to the works of the earliest gender theorists and historians of the late 1980s and early 1990s, who insisted that gendered power relations are fluid and contextually dependent.[46]

Another benefit to exploring masculinity through the concept of communication communities is that the theory goes beyond the examination of historical masculine ideals. Indeed, the communication community is conceptualized as a place where gendered norms and ideals are disseminated, but it is also a site of shared engagement, where gendered beings are offered the ideals, tools, and opportunities to interpret gender ideals and perform gendered acts. Allowing historians to connect ideologies and representations with what actually took place is imperative because what male bodies did matters in shaping an understanding of how gender was constructed, understood, and conveyed in a tangible sense.[47] Building upon Butler's conception

[46] Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 42-43; Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," in *Gender and History in Canada*, edited by Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1996), 16.

[47] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 179. The concept of masculinity-as-performance in particular was first articulated by Tosh in 1994 when he argued that "masculinity is inseparable from peer recognition, which in turn depends on performance in the social sphere." Butler, however, was the first fully theorize performativity as it related to gender construction. See Tosh, "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? 199.

of gender construction, the communication community thereby becomes the site of gendered performance where other community members act as both public observers and fellow performers. It must be recognized that the theory cannot determine the degree to which these gendered performances were internalized (an instance of performativity) or if they were merely an exercise in complicity for those wanting to reap the perceived and/or tangible benefits of performing a given gendered act, which is an understandable shortcoming. Nevertheless, in emphasizing engagement the communication community should be seen as both a mechanism for the dissemination of the particular techniques and resources that define masculinity within the given community, as well as a well-defined public site of gendered performance.

As a work of business history, this dissertation is also situated within the historiography of consumer culture. While not studying consumers per se, this work examines the development of Canadian consumer culture from a neglected perspective. It studies the ways in which Maclean attempted to build central business-to-business relationships between his company and retail readers, his company and potential advertisers, and between retailers and trade paper advertisers, that would result in the sale of goods to retailers which, would ultimately be sold to Canadian consumers. In essence, I turn the study of consumer culture on its head somewhat, examining the gendered efforts at appealing to retailers as targets of both trade papers and the advertisements they contained, as opposed to examining the history of the consumer.

As Cynthia Wright contends in her 1992 work "'Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance'," "[w]e need a history of consumer culture in Canada, not just because it is a 'gap' that urgently needs to be filled, but because it is a key component of understanding the reorganization of class and gender relations in the twentieth century."[48] Beginning in the 1990s, historians of women

[48] Wright, "'Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance'," 251.

and gender have enthusiastically heeded Wright's call, producing a rich scholarship that both uncovers and analyses (primarily white, working- and middle-class) women's complex relationships to sites of consumption, producers, sales staff, advertisers and marketers, as well as regulatory bodies all the while uncovering the intricacies of pleasure, agency, protest, modernity, and affect.[49] While the history of male consumers is continually developing, historians have placed much more emphasis on women's historical experiences. This is likely due to historians' recognition of women's predominance as household consumers throughout much of Canadian history, women's historians being the first to produce histories of consumerism, and the fact that Canadian historians have only recently turned toward the study of the histories of manhood and masculinities.[50]

---

[49] Joy Parr, *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), ix-368; Julie Guard, "Women Worth Watching: Radical Housewives in Cold War Canada," in *Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies*, ed. Gary Kinsman, Deiter K. Buse, and Merecedes Steedman (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000), 73-88; Joan Sangster, "Consuming Issues: Women on the Left, Political Protest, and the Organization of Homemakers, 1920-1960," in *Framing Our Past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O'Rourke (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001): 240-247; Magda Fahrni, "Counting the Costs of Living: Gender, Citizenship, and a Politics of Prices in 1940s Montreal," *The Canadian Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (2002): 483-504; Magda Fahrni, "A Politics of Prices: Married Women and Economic Citizenship," in *Household Politics: Montreal Families and Postwar Reconstruction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 108-123; Donica Belisle, "A Labour Force for the Consumer Century: Commodification in Canada's Largest Department Stores, 1890-1940," *Labour/Le travail* 58 (2006): 107-144; Donica Belisle, "Crazy for Bargains," Inventing the Irrational Female Shopper in Modernizing English Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review* 92, no. 4 (2011): 581-606; Hall, "Selling Sexual Certainty?,"71-98; Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck, eds. *Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behaviour and Consumerism before the Baby Boom* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), vii-294; Jane Nicholas, *The Modern Girl: Feminine Modernities, the Body, and Commodities in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), ix-299; Julie Guard, *Radical Housewives: Price Wars and Food Politics in Mid-Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), vii-298; Donica Belisle, *Purchasing Power: Women and the Rise of Canadian Consumer Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), vii-262.

[50] For examples of histories of male consumerism see, Robert Rutherdale, "Fatherhood, Masculinity, and the Good Life During Canada's Baby Boom, 1945-1965," *Journal of Family History* 24, no. 3 (1999): 351-373; Jarrett Rudy, *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Jane Nicholas, "Representing Modern Man: Beauty Culture and Masculinity in Early Twentieth Century Canada," in *Canadian Men and Masculinities: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, Christopher J. Greig and Wayne J. Martino eds. (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 2012), 42-60; Nicholas Hrynyk, "Strutting Like a Peacock: Masculinity, Consumerism, and Men's Fashion in Toronto, 1966-72," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 3 (2015): 76-110.

In exploring female consumerisms in cultural, economic, and political contexts, historians have revealed much regarding individual and collective consumer experiences and this focus in particular, has likely been a factor leading to the creation of the trend to which Craig eluded. Indeed, in privileging the consumer, historians have by no means neglected to contextualize the rise of Canadian consumer culture, but instead, they have not problematized its ascendency, inadvertently framing it as 'a given.' As a result, and likely by contextual necessity, consumer culture has typically been framed as 'something' that has been on a relatively constant ascent since the late nineteenth-century, hastened by industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. There are some exceptions, but more generally, the market, its mechanisms, and especially the individuals that were both part of and played a part in building Canadian consumer culture are less understood than the experiences of the consumer.[51] This is the heart of Craig's critique, which, it must be emphasized, in no way diminishes the significance of any previous works. This was simply not the foci of these historians' studies as these works sought to explore consumers' experiences within the system they were operating in at certain historical moments. And, after all, consumers and their experiences should be a central focus within the history of consumer culture. The point here is to illustrate that there are potential avenues of research yet to be explored within the history of Canadian consumer culture; explorations, such as this work, that builds upon these valuable studies.

One way of doing so is to turn toward the examination of the multiple actors and institutions that, alongside consumers, served to develop Canadian consumer culture.[52] Scholars

[51] Noteworthy recent exceptions include Belisle, *Purchasing Power,* vii-262 and Graham Dawson, *Selling Out or Buying In? Debating Consumerism in Vancouver and Victoria, 1945-1985* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), vii-215.

[52] While some have described these actors and institutions as 'producers' or the 'producer side' of the market, this creates a false dichotomy between final consumers and other actors as all were directly involved in the production of consumer culture itself. What's more these same actors are all also consumers despite the fact that in studies they are

studying retailers and retail structures in particular, have taken us some way toward understanding this crucial element of consumer culture. For instance, the works of Joy Santink, Steve Penfold, and Donica Belisle, have served to uncover the development of major department stores in Canada, their pervasiveness throughout the twentieth century, their highly complex relationships with female customers, their (gendered) internal dynamics from the perspective of the workforce and management, and even their influence on holiday culture.[53] For his part, David Monod has demonstrated how small shopkeepers adapted to the cultural shifts and pressures of the mass market of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[54] Other works vary in both topic and approach. In their respective monographs, Joy Parr, Graham Broad, and Michael Dawson explore the ways in which political processes and world events shaped Canadian consumerism, examining the central roles consumers played within these processes.[55] Steve Penfold takes the donut as his focus in his 2008 product-centered history, adding to our understandings of product invention, donut shop culture, franchising, and consumer culture's connection to national identity.[56] In her work, Bettina Liverant approaches consumer culture from the perspective of intellectual history and uncovers the frameworks of understanding Canadian intellectuals presented as means of conceptualizing the consumer and consumer values before 1960. Together, these works underscore that consumer culture was built, not in a linear

not examined as such. It also belies the fact that multiple complementary and sometimes competing actors and interests were actively involved in consumer culture, but not necessarily 'producing' in the traditional sense of the word, such as government bodies, psychologists studying consumer behavior, journalists, fiction writers, business school educators, intellectuals, etc.

[53] Santink, *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of His Department Store*; Belisle, *Retail Nation*; Steve Penfold, *A Mile of Make-Believe: A History of the Eaton's Santa Claus Parade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

[54] Monod, *Store Wars*.

[55] Parr, *Domestic Goods,* ix-368; Graham Broad, *A Small Price to Pay: Consumer Culture on the Canadian Home Front, 1939-45* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014), vii-224; Dawson, *Selling Out or Buying In?,* vii-224.

[56] Steve Penfold, *The Donut: A Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); In his work, Jarrett Rudy also takes a product-centered approach to the culture of smoking, but unlike Penfold, uses it as a means to analyze the consumption practices and identity among consumers. See Jarrett Rudy, *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

way, but haphazardly, not only by consumers, but by individuals including small store owners, department store magnates, government officials, and intellectuals. These individuals made decisions in situations that were imperfectly understood and where outcomes were highly uncertain, underscoring, as Dawson has described it, "the contested and contingent nature" of consumerism and consumer culture more broadly.[57]

In focusing on Canadian trade paper advertising through the Maclean Publishing Company, this work seeks to expand the conversation surrounding the contingent nature of consumer culture. By the mid-twentieth century, business-to-business advertising in Canadian trade papers was firmly entrenched as a normative marketing practice among Canadian (as well as American and British) manufacturers, considered a central means through which to attract attention to new products, establish and maintain brand recognition, and introduce firms' salesforces to retailers. As reflected by the recognition bestowed upon him by The Association of Canadian Advertisers near mid-century, Maclean's business played a central role in establishing this practice in the Canadian context. Yet, when John Bayne Maclean established the *Canadian Grocer* in 1887, manufacturers did not conceive of trade paper advertising in this way. Most expressed apathy towards the practice, while others were distrustful or downright hostile. Like so many other entrepreneurs of the period, Maclean faced significant challenges in establishing and maintaining a profitable venture and success was far from certain. This work explores these challenges and analyzes the Maclean Publishing Company's efforts to grow the firm's readership and advertising bases.

[57] Bettina Liverant *Buying Happiness? The Emergence of Consumer Consciousness in English Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018); Dawson, *Selling Out or Buying In?,* 11.

As much as this dissertation is an analytical examination of Maclean's trade paper advertising business and a foray into a new facet of consumer culture, it is also a work of historical resurrection. Despite being hailed as one of the most successful publishing ventures in Canadian history, there remains no scholarly assessment of John Bayne Maclean, his publishing company, or his trade papers. While Valerie Korinek masterfully explored *Chatelaine*, one of Maclean's commercial publications, there are no other full-length studies on the company's consumer magazines. Given the fact that *Maclean's* has been published continuously for well over a century, having emerged in 1905 under the title *Busy Man's Magazine*, and continues to be published today (albeit by Roger's Media) and has been recognized as Canada's news magazine, the lack of studies about *Maclean's*, John Bayne Maclean, or his company in particular among not only historians, but communications scholars, is quite surprising. Aside from Korinek's monograph and articles on *Chatelaine*, and Donna Braggins' 2008 Master's thesis which explores the ways in which *Maclean's* employed nationalism within its self-promotion efforts during the mid-twentieth century, the few studies that explore the history of the Maclean Publishing Company's output employ the news magazine as a lens through which to analyze wider sociocultural and political issues as opposed to considering these magazines as sites of investigation in their own right. Publication covers and contents of *Maclean's* have been used to explore representations of women, race, and conceptions of ageing, while a few scholars have considered these magazines in relation to the creation of political policy and nationalism.[58] Yet, significantly, there are no studies of the Maclean trade or technical papers themselves.

[58] Valerie Korinek, *Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine in the Fifties and Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Valerie Korinek, "The *Chatelaine* Legacy," *Canadian Woman Studies* 26, no. 7 (2007): 14-21; Donna Braggins, "*Maclean's*: The Accidental Nationalist: How Hustling for Ads Built a National Icon," MA Thesis, York University, 2008; For sources that use Maclean's commercial publications as windows into sociocultural issues see M. Susan Bland, "Henrietta the Homemaker and 'Rosie the Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in *Maclean's* Magazine, 1939-50," *Atlantis* 8, no. 2 (1983): 61-86; Robert M. MacGregor, "The

There are a handful of biographical works that, while focusing on individual experience, do shed light on the history of the company. These include the autobiographies of past Maclean Publishing Company president Floyd Chalmers and *Chatelaine* editor Doris Anderson, as well as the biographies of John Bayne Maclean (written by Floyd Chalmers) and former *Maclean's* writer and editor W. Arthur Irwin. Together, these works provide insight into the founding of the company, paths to leadership roles, the dynamics of editorial decision-making, and instances of internal discord, which, is valuable, but also somewhat limited in nature. For instance, while the Maclean biography does present some of the early history of the company, it is by no means complete, is bereft of analysis, and focuses on glorifying Maclean in a very teleological way. The biography contains details about Maclean's personal life and accounts of major events within the company, but offers no real insight into the company structure or day-to-day-operations. In addressing the business these monographs focus largely on the company's commercial magazines, and in doing so, give the impression that publishing popular magazines such as *Maclean's* and *Chatelaine* was the fundamental purpose of the business.

From a wider historiographical perspective, the fact that Maclean's trade papers have not yet been examined is not surprising. Trade paper scholars Kathleen Endres and Abe Peck have lamented the lack of attention given to these media not just historically, but within the scholarship more generally. Endres and Peck attribute the state of the field to several factors including a lack of awareness of trade papers among scholars, uncertainty of their historical role,

Distorted Mirror: Images of Visible Minority Women in Print Advertising," *Atlantis* 15, no. 1 (1989): 137-143; Susan Crawford, "Public Attitudes in Canada Toward Unmarried Mothers, 1950-1996," *Past Imperfect* 6 (1997): 111-132; Liette Gilbert and Leela Viswanathan, "Covering Multiculturalism: Popular Images and the Politics of a Nation as Reflected on the Covers of *Maclean's* and *L'Actualité*," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 39, no. 3 (2007): 189-205.

and uncertainty surrounding the genre's significance and influence.[59] Additionally, scholars studying print media have tended to focus primarily on publications directed at the general public, or at least a significant subsection of the public, such as daily newspapers or women's magazines, which had large circulation figures. Given the strong influence of social, and in recent decades, cultural history, a desire to situate studies on what is deemed 'the popular,' or that which is perceived as culturally influential, is understandable. Nevertheless, scholars' propensity to examine 'the popular' has led to far less attention being given to specialized forms of print media such as trade papers.[60] As such, other forms of print media have been relegated to the margins of an already underrepresented field.

Therefore, the international literature on trade papers is constituted by a handful of works produced by American, British, and Nordic researchers. The historiography itself is multi-disciplinary as historians, communications and journalism scholars, and marketing specialists have engaged in the historical investigation of trade papers. The result has been a number of primarily article-length studies focused not only on retail trade journals, but those published in the interests of publishers, journalists, booksellers, bankers, and farmers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[61] Their authors largely do not recognize the existence of

[59] Kathleen L. Endres, "Research Review: The Specialized Business Press," *The Electronic Journal of Communication* 4, no. 2-4 (1994): online; Abe Peck, "Business-to-Business Media: The Informational Needs of Professional Life," in *The Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research: The Future of the Magazine Form*, eds. David Abrahamson and Marcia R. Prior-Miller (New York: Routledge, 2015): 100.

[60] Exceptions include Michelle Denise Smith, "Soup Cans and Love Slaves: National Politics and Cultural Authority in the Editing and Authorship of Canadian Pulp Magazines," *Book History* 9 (2006): 261-289; Dean Irvine, *Editing Modernity: Women and Little-Magazine Cultures in Canada, 1916-1956* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), xi-345.

[61] Homer E. Socolofsky, "The Capper Farm Press Experience in Western Agricultural Journalism," *Journal of the West* 19 (April 1980): 22-29; David J. Moss, "'Circular to Bankers': The Role of a Prototypical Trade Journal in the Evolution of Middle-Class Consciousness," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 15, no 3 (1992): 129-136; Laurel Brake, "Doing the Biz: Book-Trade and News-Trade Periodicals in the 1890s," *Media History* 4, no. 1 (1998): 29-47; Stuart W. Shulman, "The Progressive Era Farm Press: A Primer on a Neglected Source of Journalism History," *Journalism History* 25, no. 1 (1999): 26-35; Patrick Lee Plaisance, "'A Gang of Pecksniffs Grows Up': The Evolution of Journalism Ethics Discourse in *The Journalist* and *Editor and Publisher*," *Journalism Studies* 6, no. 4 (2005): 470-491.

each other's works. This may be attributed to their multi-disciplinary, as opposed to interdisciplinary, nature. It may also be due to the absence of any overarching historical examination of the field as a whole, or any subfield for that matter, such as those of retail trade journals or farm journals. David Forsyth's book, *The Business Press in America*, is the only such example of an attempt at an overview. While it provides important insights into the very early years of American business publishing, trade papers were not the only form examined in his survey. The result is that Forsyth's monograph serves primarily as a reference of important figures and papers in the wider business publishing field, which is not always useful in the specific context of trade paper studies. Forsyth's study only covers the 1750-1850 period, and trade papers were only just emerging in America during the mid-nineteenth century. Meanwhile, Frank Luther Mott's examination of trade journals in both volumes IV and V of his *History of American Magazines* provides some context, but it is basic. Like Forsyth, Mott focuses primarily on listing trade papers from various fields. The multi-disciplinary nature of trade paper studies combined with a lack of contextual works have likely contributed to the literature being characterized by a handful of stand-alone, article-length studies that do not interact with or acknowledge each other. While some works exist then, trade papers have been almost entirely overlooked as sites of investigation in their own right.

A single unpublished study addresses Canadian trade papers, Yves Saint-Germain's 1975 PhD thesis, "The Genesis of the French-Language Business Press and Journalists in Quebec, 1871-1914." Focusing largely on the economic thought of journalists and editors, as the title suggests, Saint-Germain explores the French-language business press within Quebec, focusing on the general weekly business publications *Le Négociant Canadien* and *Le Moniteur du commerce,* not trade papers *per se*. Trade papers are examined only briefly in a chapter

surveying the French Canadian business press as a whole, which includes monthly trade journals, weekly business papers, and publications of business organizations. The examination is by no means in-depth and, problematically, factual errors exist, such as his notion that no monthly trade paper had a direct rival during the period.[62] For his part, historian Keith Walden explored the history and content of Maclean's *The Canadian Grocer* in his 1989 work on grocery store window dressing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Here, however, *The Canadian Grocer* is not the site of investigation in its own right. Instead, Walden employs content analysis of its feature articles to discern what grocers were being advised and why, while comparing this advice to what grocers were actually doing. Walden thereby provides a welcome, yet limited glimpse into the *Grocer's* emergence and content.

Other than the two aforementioned studies, scholars studying various facets of Canadian business and consumerism have turned their attention to trade papers only as source materials. Notable works such as Michael Bliss' pathbreaking 1974 *A Living Profit* makes extensive use of the trade press, employing papers such as *The Canadian Grocer*, *Canadian Lumberman*, and *Canadian Journal of Fabrics,* to ascertain the collective thought of the Canadian business community during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Likewise, Monod employs numerous journals including the *Hardware*, *Shoe and Leather Journal*, as well as *The Canadian Grocer* and *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* in his 1997 investigation of how shopkeepers navigated and adapted within the developing mass market. Penfold looked to the *Canadian Baker*, *Canadian Hotel Review*, and *Canadian Hotel and Restaurant* in researching his product-centered history of the donut in Canada, while Jarrett Rudy and Keith Walden employed the

[62] Yves Saint-Germain, "The Genesis of the French-Language Business Press and Journalists in Quebec, 1871-1914," PhD Diss., University of Delaware, 1975.

Canadian Cigar and Tobacco Journal and *The Canadian Grocer* in their respective monographs on smoking culture in Montreal and the Toronto Industrial Exhibition in the late Victorian era.[63]

Dissertation Structure

In filling what is an obvious historiographical void then, I move trade papers to the center of analysis. A series of four chapters explores their history in Canada, the major impediments they and their publishers faced in selling both journals and advertising space, and the ways in which gender, and more specifically, notions of male character, were employed to overcome these challenges, using the history of the Maclean Publishing Company as a lens. This dissertation is also an important piece of reconnaissance as there is no historical examination of Canadian trade papers or the field, and no scholarly examination of the Maclean Publishing Company from its establishment. As such, the first chapter is contextual and comprised of a history of the Canadian trade paper field, detailing its emergence. Here I introduce trade papers in the context of the wider business press which emerged in Antwerp in the sixteenth century before being developed in Britain in the mid-seventeenth century and established in North America in the eighteenth century. Because the Canadian business press, including both its general commercial journals and later trade papers, aligned so closely with American models, this chapter considers American developments alongside the Canadian. This chapter also introduces the first narrative history of the development of the Canadian trade paper field from its emergence in the mid-nineteenth

[63] Walden, "Speaking Modern," 287, 289, 290-303, 305, 307-308, 310; Monod, *Store Wars*, 370-371, 375-376, 379, 381-382, 385, 388, 391-397, 400-401, 403, 406-409, 411-414, 416-419, 421-425; Rudy, *The Freedom to Smoke*, 177, 181-185, 187-192, 197-202, 205-206; Penfold, *The Donut*, 198, 202, 204-207, 213-215, 217-220, 227, 233, 238. While employing the wider business press as opposed to trade papers, in her 1988 study on liberal thought among French speaking businessmen in Quebec in the late nineteenth century, historian Fernande Roy employs *Le Moniteur du commerce* and *Le Prix courant* as source material.

century to the late nineteenth century when major publishers such as John Bayne Maclean established their first publications and into the early twentieth century.

The subsequent chapters go behind the narrative provided in chapter one. Building on this developmental narrative, these chapters explore the highly gendered means through which Maclean sought to overcome the reputational impediments trade journals encountered in their early years and sell trade paper space. Chapter two focuses on how gendered notions of character were infused into the Maclean papers, largely by borrowing from American trade papers and success literature of the period, in efforts to assuage readers regarding the respectability of the papers. Contextualized within the historiography on business reputation in the late nineteenth-century, this chapter explores not only the lack of trust surrounding trade papers, but the fact that, as an outsider in the fields of retail he sought to serve, Maclean required a common ground upon which he could relate to readers and build respectability. This was partially done through the inclusion of features focusing on the centrality of male character in business as they related to the retail trade, allowing Maclean to establish a degree of commonality with readers. Exploring themes including retailers' struggles to succeed, definitions of business success, and the achievement of success through the display of character, this chapter demonstrates how Maclean appealed to readers through a specific ideal of middle-class manhood, as well as how these features were potentially regulatory in nature. In advocating a notion of manhood specific to the retail world that was based on character virtues, Maclean was encouraging a level of conduct that demanded honour, civility, and adherence to trade boundaries, something which was not being respected in the context of the period and which would benefit both readers and Maclean in his efforts to sell trade papers and advertising space.

Chapter three builds upon Maclean's need to develop trust among readers, potential advertisers and current advertisers as well, and explores the ways in which Maclean attempted to do so through public relations efforts. As was the case in chapter two, Maclean sought to build upon commonly held notions of manhood, but in this case, his efforts were directed at making himself representative of the masculine respectability needed to achieve the desired success. This was crucial, for, as a trade paper publisher, Maclean was essentially positioning himself as a gatekeeper to the trades he served and because of this, he had to build a strong personal reputation. Due to the distance between himself and his readers and advertisers, this had to be achieved in print. Because Maclean was not a producer himself, he adopted a strategy common to advertising workers in the United States, namely, claiming to serve the success of others. As such, Maclean used his journals as public relations tools whereby he, firstly, highlighted his own history and character, and secondly, company policies. Through the development and promotion of subscription, advertising, and editorial policy, Maclean demonstrated the ways in which he protected the interests of readers and advertisers through his everyday practices and how these practices would benefit his customers. His insistence on paid subscriptions, refusal to print fraudulent advertising matter, and adherence to editorial independence allowed Maclean to craft an image of himself as a businessman of character who could and should be trusted as a publisher and advertiser. It also reminded readers and advertisers that he acted consistently in the gatekeeper function expected of a successful man in his position.

The fourth and final chapter examines the central challenge for Maclean's company: the sale of advertising space. Chapter four explores the main reasons why potential advertisers were hesitant to purchase space in the Maclean papers. These included a general apathy toward advertising, a lack of understanding of the importance of retailers in the modernizing consumer

goods market, the belief that advertising was unnecessary due to the employment of commercial travellers, a lingering distrust of trade papers, and general uncertainty surrounding how exactly to advertise in trade papers. This chapter summarizes these issues and examines who was actually performing the duty of selling space for Maclean, then turns to a systematic examination of the ways in which these objections were overcome. Overall, this chapter demonstrates that notions of character, success, and manhood were rigorously employed to sell the notion that potential advertisers risked their masculine status by not advertising in the Maclean papers. At the same time, they reinforced that trade paper advertising provided the opportunity to publicly perform manhood in a way that was becoming increasingly difficult as the consumer goods market expanded.

Taken together, then, this dissertation underscores two central themes. The first is that Béatrice Craig was correct in her assertion in that modern consumer culture was not predestined and that its ascendance was not a given. As the objections to trade papers, a central means of communication between the retail trade and essential sales tool by the second decade of the twentieth century, demonstrate, publishers had to find the means with which to develop what only gradually became central communicative and sales mediums for retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers. The second important theme is the role that gender, and manhood more specifically, played within this battle for legitimacy. I will now discuss these elements in this case study of the Maclean Publishing Company during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Chapter 1

From Business Press to Trade Press: A History of Trade Paper Development in Canada

Introduction

As the historiography reflects, a complete historical overview of the rise of the trade paper field in North America has yet to be written. While Forsyth's work explores the nascent American context until the 1850s, historians have not yet fully examined the latter part of the nineteenth century from an industry-wide perspective. Mott's work does provide much-needed guidance as to the papers published after 1850; however, as noted, his holistic approach to the magazine industry more broadly means that he provides little contextualization pertaining to the inception and development of the field itself. The Canadian context is more problematic as there is no overview of the field. While less numerous than those papers emerging in the American context due to differences in population density and state of economic development during the period, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Canadian trade papers emerged as a central, modern communicative resource for retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers alike. Indeed, in the wake of the development of domestic consumer goods manufacturing, shifts in distributive networks, and increasing competition between an ever-growing number of retailers, trade papers acted as advisors, educators, community forums, and advertising vehicles for a field undergoing profound change. In addition to the importance they held within the trades they served, the Canadian trade paper field is also significant in that several major turn-of-the-century Canadian publishing firms, such as the Acton Publishing Company, H. Gagnier Limited, and most notably for this study, the Maclean Publishing Company were established as trade paper publishers.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the history of the Canadian trade paper publishing field, focusing on the period prior to 1914. Using the historiography of the trade press alongside broader contextual sources, it places the Canadian trade paper industry within the context of the international business press while also considering the wider business and economic environments in which business publishing emerged in England, the United States, and, ultimately, Canada. In doing so, the goals of this chapter are twofold. The first aim is to provide a broad overview of the history of the business press, explaining the various forms of business publications that emerged. From the initial price-currents of the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries to the trade papers of the 1890s, this chapter outlines the ways in which new forms of business publications materialized, often as slightly modified emulations of previous forms. It also explores the interconnectedness between the rise of new forms of business publications and the shifts in national business environments that facilitated their development. This exploration comprises roughly the first half of the chapter and is integral to the understanding of the emergence of trade papers as modes of business communication in the Western world. The latter part of this chapter seeks to fulfill a second, yet equally important goal: to provide an initial account of the emergence and development of the English language Canadian trade journal field. It provides an overview of Canada's first trade journals (at least those that have been accounted for up to this point), identifies and explores the emergence of the field's major publishing firms, and analyses the functions they played, or attempted to play, in the working lives of the retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers of this country. This section is foundational as it provides the necessary contextualization upon which the remainder of this dissertation will be based.

It should be noted that throughout this chapter, much of the development of trade publishing in Canada is considered in relation to and contextualized within the norms that

developed in the United States. While the emergence of trade presses was a transatlantic phenomenon, Canadian trade journals appear to have been most closely influenced by their American counterparts. In studying the case of the Maclean Publishing Company, this becomes clear through the prevalent practice of borrowing from other trade publications. Editors working within the Maclean organization did borrow content from British, and, to a much lesser extent French and German papers. However, they aligned themselves most closely with American editors and the advice and ideologies they promoted as their features were frequently published in Maclean papers. This was especially the case in relation to features pertaining to advertising practices.

It appears that publishers on both sides of the border also viewed trade paper publishing as a North American concern as evidenced by the formation of The Federation of Trade Press Associations. The association, which was formed in 1906, was created to unify the field and to rectify trade-wide issues such as how best to handle relationships with emergent advertising agencies. Editors and publishers from both the United States and Canada participated in the Association.[1] There is no evidence of any comparable transatlantic or international body that existed during the period. Of course, when possible and applicable, comparison is made to other countries, especially Britain.

[1] Julien Elfenbein, *Business Journalism: Its Function and Future* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1945), 97; AO, John Bayne Maclean Records F4533-3-10, Business Writing & Speeches file, John Bayne Maclean speech to The Federation of Trade Press Associations of the United States, 1908.

The Beginnings of the Business Press

The history of trade papers and the trade press in North America is irrevocably intertwined with the history of the larger business press and the development of business journalism. According to journalism and communications scholar Chris Roush, in its simplest terms business journalism "refers to reporting and writing about business and the economy."[2] Such reporting has its roots in mid-sixteenth-century Antwerp.[3] In 1540 a publicly-oriented business press was established Antwerp, likely by the Antwerp Buers (the Antwerp Exchange) whose goal was to channel news to its membership of merchants. Based on later documented practices in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and other cities, historian David McCusker surmises that the first business paper was licensed by the committee of the broker's guild of the Antwerp Exchange to members of the guild who published the paper for profit. The paper was sold by both subscription and individual copy. It provided readers with a listing and prices of all commodities sold on the local market, establishing the first form of business publications known as the price-current.[4] In publishing the goods available for sale and purchase, the Antwerp paper announced that the city had a market,

[2] Chris Roush, "Business Journalism," *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, edited by Christopher H. Sterling (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 2009), 225; Chris Roush*, Profits and Losses: Business Journalism and Its Role in Society* (Portland, Oregon: Marion Street Press, 2011), 8.

[3] There is some debate as to the actual birthplace of the business press. In their works, Elfenbein, Forsyth, Roush, and Peck posit that the beginning of the business press should be traced to Germany in the 1560s by the Fugger family of Augsburg. As prominent merchants with world-wide commercial and financial interests, the Fuggers established a commercial intelligence reporting network which facilitated private communications with their merchants known as the *Fugger News-Letters* (1568-1605). However, because the Fugger letters emerged after the Antwerp paper, and because it was not a public medium indicates that the Antwerp publication should be considered the beginnings of the business press.

[4] John J. McCusker and Cora Gravesteijn, *The Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism: The Commodity Price Currents, Exchange Rate Currents, and Money Currents of Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1991), 86; John. J. McCusker, "The Demise of Distance: The Business Press and the Origins of the Information Revolution in the Early Modern Atlantic World." *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 2 (2005): 300-303.

and in announcing the specific commodities traded there, the paper helped to attract buyers and sellers to the city, thus increasing business for the city and its merchants.[5]

As evidenced by examples in the Netherlands and later, England, the Antwerp paper is the model upon which the rest of Europe would base its business publications throughout the following two centuries. The Dutch and the English came to recognize the benefits of the Antwerp business press, especially the economic efficiency it brought through the regular provision of comprehensive, reliable, and timely business intelligence. For individual firms in Antwerp, the presence of a business press reduced business costs as they required fewer correspondents to gather and write out such information. Publications could also serve to solidify relationships with clients as they served to verify what a firm's correspondent had written regarding prices and market conditions. Because they no longer had to attend the exchange to verbally obtain information, business owners spent less time gathering information, allowing them to focus their energies elsewhere. As other centers came to realize, these advantages translated to a more macro-level, creating more business for the economies in which a business press existed by lowering the cost of doing business in that city while increasing both productivity and profitability. [6]

By the latter half of the seventeenth-century, developments in the merchant economy in Britain led the English to adopt the practice of publishing of price-currents, as well as other forms of business publications.[7] While the earliest English price-current was dated from 1608, by the end of the century, London-based price-currents would dominate the world business

[5] McCusker, "The Demise of Distance," 303.
[6] McCusker, "The Demise of Distance," 305.
[7] McCusker and Gravesteijn, *The Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*, 44-45.

information market.[8] Such dominance was hastened by economic changes occurring in the decades after mid-century. By the 1660s, English foreign trade was being revolutionized as the country was undergoing the first stage of commercial revolution. Although other European commercial centers introduced business publications in the early-to-mid eighteenth century, due to England's continued commercial supremacy, it was these London-based papers that dominated the business press in England, Europe, and throughout the British colonies.

In the case of North America, London price-currents would retain their supremacy until the American Revolution. This was commonsensical, for, as McCusker has aptly noted, "given that the London commodity price-current governed London markets and that London markets governed imperial markets, it is easily understood why no business papers were published in the colonies before the American Revolution."[9] It should be mentioned that Forsyth has actually identified three price-currents predating the pre-Revolutionary era, one, which was established in Halifax in 1752, one originating in South Carolina in 1774, and the other in Philadelphia in 1775. They appear to have been short-lived, however, and North American businesspeople remained almost entirely reliant on London-based business publications for their commercial and financial information until the 1780s.[10]

The Emergence of the American Business Press

The North American business press emerged in earnest after the American Revolution that began in the city of Philadelphia. Whereas Boston had once been the commercial hub of British North

[8] John J. McCusker, "The Business Press in England before 1775," *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 8, no. 3 (1986): 215.
[9] McCusker, "The Demise of Distance," 312.
[10] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America*, 21-23.

America, by the 1770s, Philadelphia had risen to prominence as the most important port city in the American Northeast, which explains why the business press took root there. Due to its central geographical position, its increasing engagement in transatlantic trade, and its status as the birthplace of the Revolution, during the 1770s Philadelphia had become the political and economic center of America. As direct British influence waned in the immediate post-Revolutionary period, demand grew for commercial and financial news not only from outside America as had been the case previously, but within and among American business centers as well. Unsurprisingly, Philadelphia businessmen were the first to recognize this demand and in 1783, a group of brokers headed by John Macpherson introduced *The Philadelphia Price Current*.[11]

Over the next three decades, the city of Philadelphia would become the (albeit fledgling) business publishing center of the nation. Publishers introduced an additional seven price-currents prior to 1812.[12] These price-currents were very much in line with their European forerunners, primarily because this was the form which American readers had become accustomed, and, as American broker-publishers recognized, it was crucial to present potential readers with a publication that was both recognizable and easily understood to ensure usability. Therefore, the American price-current took the form of an 8 ½ x 12-inch publication set in two columns that alphabetically listed wholesale commodity prices. Some slight innovations were also introduced to facilitate utility, such as the use of asterisks to indicate price shifts. By the end of the eighteenth century more changes were integrated as shipping information was published within the price-currents. This is understandable given the upswing in shipping in Philadelphia and

[11] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America*, 23.
[12] Forsyth, 23-32; McCusker, "The Demise of Distance, 312

other major American ports thanks to increased trade with countries such as Holland and China in the 1780s and 1790s. [13]

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century, price-currents were introduced in other American port cities such as Boston, Baltimore, and New York, some of which with notably successful runs. This was possible because by this time American business and business cultures were undergoing significant shifts. With the dramatic expansion of business in the early nineteenth-century in particular, with the rise of entrepreneurial manufacturing thanks to trade embargoes with Britain and France during the 1807-1814 period, the development and growth of the banking and insurance industries, the rise of interstate transportation, and a general drive to increase interstate commerce, business became increasingly decentralized.[14] Additionally, for American business people, the embargoes placed upon shipping to London (and France) had given national business new relevance as much of the money once invested in the export trade was being spent developing national factory production. Instead of turning solely to business intelligence from England then, Americans increasingly recognized the importance of their own business news.[15]

The business press that emerged in the immediate post-Revolutionary era brought a number of benefits to American business. In addition to informing local readers of trade conditions, these new publications were circulated widely within the United States and abroad by the merchants and brokers who did business in cities where the currents were published. As such, the early American price-currents served as a means of publicizing the merchant communities of

[13] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America*, 23-27.
[14] Ronald E. Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States from 1607 to the* Present (New York: Routledge, 2006), 91-102.
[15] McCusker, "The Demise of Distance," 318.

Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and New York, thereby stimulating outside interest in their economies and leading to the growth of these port cities. Just as importantly, through the interchange of publications within and among American cities, the nascent business press also connected the business community on a national level, providing readers with an increased awareness of the growing economies other than their own, while seemingly decreasing the distance between them through a new means of communication.

The Diversification of the American Business Press

Thanks to the changing business environment of the early nineteenth century, by the 1810s and 1820s, the business press had become firmly entrenched within American business culture and these decades saw the development of other forms of American commercial publications. Established both alongside and building upon the price-currents of the era, publishers introduced three new, noteworthy forms of commercial publishing: shipping lists, public sale reports, and transitional price-currents. The emergence of these publications and their relatively immediate acceptance among members of the business community was significant, reflecting not only the growing recognition of the importance American business press to commercial life, but the diversification of the press as well. Importantly, each form served a distinct need for members of the business community including, but not limited to merchants.

Despite having to look inward for new economic opportunities during the early years of the century, after the War of 1812, trade was given new impetus, thus rejuvenating the American mercantile community. To serve the needs of business, publishers introduced shipping lists. Shipping lists first appeared in New York, with the first widely successful list, *General Shipping*

and Commercial List (1815-1927) modeled after the English archetype characterized by *Lloyd's List of London*.[16] Like *Lloyd's List*, the *General Shipping and Commercial List* as well as other shipping lists launched in New York and Boston, these papers detailed ship arrivals and departures from port, stock prices, details of ships' cargoes, information on duties, insurance, and postage rates, importations at major ports, as well as listings of current commodity prices.[17] As such, they served the needs of merchants as well as all those involved in the shipping industry.

Public sale reports reflect the growth and significance of auctions within American business culture during the period. During the first two decades of the nineteenth-century, auction sales became a preferred way for American merchants, commission merchants, and brokers to purchase imported goods. Although auctions had primarily been employed to dispose of damaged goods, by the 1810s and 1820s, they were an increasingly popular means for agents to sell any and all goods they imported to merchants, commission merchants, and brokers. American buyers preferred auctions to purchasing directly from import merchants as they found they could buy more cheaply at auction. Public sale reports were a means of helping buyers navigate auctions and to obtain the best possible prices on goods. The most basic form of these publications therefore revealed past auction sale prices for specific goods, the dates of upcoming sales, as well as lists of goods for sale at future auctions. Some also included information now found in American price-currents, such as lists of wholesale commodity prices, stock prices, bank note exchange rates, and shipping information.

Perhaps the most important new form of business publication to emerge during the period, however, was the transitional price-current. Emerging in cities such as New Orleans,

[16] John McCusker, "European Bills of Entry and Marine Lists: Early Commercial Publications and the Origins of the Business Press, Part I: European Bills of Entry," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 31, no. 3 (1984): 212.
[17] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America*, 47-52.

Philadelphia, New York and Baltimore in the 1810s and 1820s, like previous price-currents, transitional price-currents served the interests of merchants and commodity brokers. They provided listings of goods, their prices, and characteristics, as well as maritime lists. Building upon these traditional features of earlier American price-currents, the transitional price-currents also offered comparative quotations for various cities and gave far more detailed maritime information, noting which vessels were currently at sea and in port, while also providing statistical figures on shipping fluctuations. The provision of such detailed maritime intelligence was likely possible though the introduction of shipping lists.[18]

By the 1840s, transitional price-currents became increasingly significant to the development of the business press as they had begun to include editorial content. Unlike all previous forms of business publications that were statistically-oriented, the transitional price-current offered readers editorial commentary on the intelligence collected and presented within the periodical. Although transitional price-currents were not replete with editorial content, as factual news items and statistical information remained central, readers were increasingly provided with analytical commentary. This would be a central component of business publications going forward.

Because of this, the role of the editor (who was often the publisher as well) gained a new importance in the business publishing field. He (and he always was a he) was no longer expected to simply collect and print business intelligence. Now, the editor was expected to interpret the news, providing commentary and analysis to assist readers in understanding increasingly complex business environments. Some, such as the *New Orleans Price Current* (est. 1822) even included an editorial column, the first to be included in an American business publication. The

[18] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America,* 58.

works of Forsyth and historian Bradford W. Scharlott have demonstrated that the transitional price-current would remain a central and necessary form of business periodical from the 1840s to 1860s.

But like the economy itself, the business press remained in a state of flux at mid-century, with seemingly constant changes occurring in response to the shifting needs of business. Because of this, the press continued to diversify and another type of publication, the commercial journal emerged. It would come to dominate the business press during the period and into the late nineteenth century.[19] The commercial journal had two characteristics which differentiated it from other business publications. The first was a strong focus on editorial commentary. Whereas the transitional price-current introduced editorial commentary but included far more statistical information, the commercial journal reversed this practice, incorporating much editorial commentary and advisory articles and supplementing these features with information on prices, exchange rates, and shipping information.

The second important change reflected in the commercial journals was their audience. Although the merchant still held a central place of importance during much of the nineteenth century, during the first half of the nineteenth-century, the role of the non-specialized, all-purpose merchant who had once veritably ran all aspects of the economy, acting as an exporter and importer, buying and selling a broad array of goods at both wholesale and retail, who owned their own ships, and financed and insured the transport of goods, while also loaning funds to small-scale American producers, was on the descent. As historians Glenn Porter and Harold C. Livesay have noted, the role of the merchant changed significantly and they would essentially

[19] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America*, 58-68; Bradford W. Scharlott, "The Role of the Business Press in the Commercial Life of Cincinnati, 1831-1912," *Ohio History* 119 (2012): 67-81.

specialize, becoming either "importers or exporters, wholesalers or retailers, and generally concentrated on a single line of goods such as hardware or dry goods." This shift was attributable to the increased volume of trade during the period, thanks largely to the material demands caused by the United States' dramatic population increase from the turn of the century to the 1860s, as well as the British Industrial Revolution and the country's subsequent demand for billions of pounds of American cotton. New institutions in commercial banking and marine insurance, as well as innovations in transportation, especially railroads and communications in the form of the telegraph, were also established, serving to either create or support growth.[20] Publishers at both regional and national levels therefore presented commercial journals as publications of interest not only to merchants, but to all those interested in any and all aspects of business, commerce, and the generation of wealth, regardless of their area of specialization.

From the late 1830s to 1861, eight regional papers were published across the U.S., along with one national paper, publisher Freeman Hunt's widely popular New York-based *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine.* Hunt's paper and those like it presented readers with a variety of topics, from mercantile law to the acquisition and accumulation of capital, business forms, and protectionism, while also including book reviews, navigation schedules, and miscellaneous commercial news. Although some specialized content pertaining to specific industries appeared, publishers' intent to appeal to businessmen in the most general sense meant that content would reflect as much. Yet despite (or perhaps thanks to) their general nature, commercial journals appear to have resonated with readers as a form of business periodical as many, such as *Hunt's*

[20] Glenn Porter and Harold C. Livesay, *Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of Nineteenth-Century Marketing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), 5-8.

Merchant Magazine, the *St. Louis Price-Current*, and the *Baltimore Price-Current and Weekly Journal of Commerce*, were published for several decades. [21]

As a type of business publication, commercial journals hold significance for several reasons. They were the first type of business periodical to recognize that the American economy was moving away from the merchant-driven model that had dominated for so long. In serving the diverse groups mentioned above, these papers gave formal, public recognition to the rise of multiple American industries, thereby imparting consistent acknowledgement of their legitimacy and importance. Additionally, commercial papers were the first type of business publication based on editorial content. As such, their rise marked a central shift in the function of the business periodical as they moved away from fact-based informational matter toward content that took the form of articles and editorials and was event- and advice-based. Instead of solely presenting readers with listings or statistics, the publishers/editors of these papers recognized the increasing complexities of business and the potential utility of in-depth reports and features for businessmen. Editors therefore provided readers with interpretations of the business environment which was a significant change from readers being provided primarily with numerical and price-based data that they were to interpret on their own. This change resulted in the creation of a type of business periodical that served various functions: providing readers with a broader, more in-depth awareness of local, national, and international business events and practices, educating and advising readers on best business practices, shaping the milieu in which American business operated in a more overt way than had previously been the case. [22] As the following section underscores, by mid-century, both transitional price-currents and commercial journals would be

[21] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America*, 70-87.
[22] For instance, see "Commerce and Commercial Character," *Hunt's Merchant Magazine* (February 1841): 129-146.

established in Canada. These mediums would offer Canadian businessmen similar benefits, providing information on local and regional wholesale prices and manufacturing developments, while providing editorial insight and most centrally, providing a voice to nascent Canadian industries.

The Beginnings of the Canadian Business Press

Although they were not the first business publications in British North America, commercial journals were especially significant in that they were the foundational publications in the establishment of the Canadian business press. Prior to the rise of Canadian commercial journals, two business periodicals were published. The first was the aforementioned price-current established in Halifax in 1752. The second (at least the second known) was the *Toronto Market Review and Weekly Price Current*, a transitional price-current. The *Toronto Market Review* was established in 1857 by Erastus Wiman, a publisher, editor, and commercial reporter for the *Daily Globe*. Wiman's weekly paper, however, appears to have been short-lived as there is no evidence indicating it lasted beyond its year of establishment and there are no known transitional price-currents following his publication.[23]

In 1857, William Wier, a former commission merchant, exchange broker, and leather goods merchant from Montreal moved to Toronto to establish Canada's first commercial journal, *The Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*.[24] Like its American counterparts,

[23] *Toronto Market Review and Weekly Price Current* (9 December 1858): 1; Jones, 531; Henry James Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), 1093.
[24] Robert W.S. Mackay, *The Montreal Directory* (Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1850), 259; Robert S.W. Mackay, *The Montreal Directory* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1852), 250; Robert W. Stuart Mackay, *The Montreal Directory*

the monthly *Canadian Merchants' Magazine* represents an attempt to appeal to as broad a readership as possible by focusing on various sectors of the diversifying British North American economy. It was subdivided into sections including "Mercantile Law," "Banking, Currency and Finance," "Trade and Commerce," "Mines and Manufactures," "Agriculture," "Railroads," "Bank Note Reporter," "Railway Returns," "Commercial Summary and Review," and "Miscellaneous." These sections were comprised of a mix of both original and borrowed content, with much of the latter coming from American newspapers and business periodicals, British publications, as well as Canadian newspapers, journals, and government reports.[25]

Like Wier's previous business ventures, *The Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* was short-lived, with a publication run spanning from 1857 to 1859. But it was only a few years before numerous business papers would be established along the same lines. During the 1860s three commercial journals were introduced, including M. Longmoore's *Trade Review*, W.B. Cordier's *Intercolonial Journal of Commerce*, and Edward and John Trout's *Canadian Monetary and Commercial Times and Insurance Chronicle*.[26] The 1870s saw the introduction of Canadian commercial journals such as F.L. Jones' *Maritime Trade Review* and

(Montreal: Robert W.S. Mackay, 1853), 264; R.W.S. MacKay, *The Montreal Directory* (Montreal: Owler & Stephenson, 1855), 256.

[25] For examples of borrowed content see: "Canada Versus the Unites States," *The Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* (April 1857): 23-25 (from *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*); "The Origins of the Bank of England," *The Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* (April 1857): 44-5 (from T.H. Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. 4); "Canada as an Outlet to the Ocean," *The Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* (April 1858): 17-19; (From the London *Morning Chronicle*); "Reversion of Western Trade from New York to Canada," *The Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* (April 1858): 53-54; "Observations on the Present Trade with Siam," *The Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* (October 1859): 177-180 (from *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*); "Lumber in the Northwest," *The Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* (October 1859): 204 (from the Chicago *Tribune*). As Mary Lu MacDonald has explained, the "borrowing" system was not confined to the editing of commercial journals and was characteristic of many early nineteenth-century Canadian periodicals. See Mary Lu MacDonald, "English and French-Language Periodicals and the Development of a Literary Culture in Early Victorian Canada," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 26, no. 4 (1993): 224.

[26] W.H. Trout, *Trout Family History* (Milwaukee: W.H. Trout, 1916), 276; *The American Newspaper Directory* (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1869), 121.

the M.S. Foley's *Journal of Commerce, Finance, and Insurance Review*. Based out of Montreal, (*Trade Review*, *Intercolonial Journal of Commerce, Journal of Commerce, Finance, and Insurance Review*) Canada's major business center, as well as Toronto (*Canadian Monetary and Commercial Times and Insurance Chronicle*), and Saint John (*Maritime Trade Review*), it was with this first generation of periodicals that the business publishing took hold in Canada.

Like Wier's paper, some of these commercial journals, including the *Trade Review* (1865-1866), *Intercolonial Journal of Commerce* (1866), and the *Maritime Trade Review* (1874-1875) did admittedly suffer short-lived runs. These papers did not, however, technically fail. For their part, the Montreal-based *Trade Review* (est. 1865) and the *Intercolonial Journal of Commerce* (est. 1866) amalgamated in late 1866. The new journal, which was continued in Montreal by M. Longmoore, was published under the title *Trade Review and Intercolonial Journal of Commerce*, but only until 1870. That year, Longmoore sold his publication to the Trout brothers who united it with the *Canadian Monetary and Commercial Times and Insurance Chronicle* to create the newly titled *Monetary and Commercial Times: Insurance Chronicle*. Like the *Trade Review* and *Intercolonial Journal of Commerce*, the *Maritime Trade Review*, which was established in 1875, amalgamated with two other Saint-John-based papers, the *Trade Review* and the *Carleton Monthly*. [27]

From this initial group of commercial journals, two papers emerged as clear successes, although more research is needed into the Canadian business press to ascertain why this was the case. Under slightly altered titles, the Trouts' publication was quickly recognized as an authoritative voice in Canadian business, gaining both trust as well as contributions from

[27] Trout, *Trout Family History*, 276; Jones, 302, 372; 535-536.

members of business and government.[28] It would become Canada's most popular commercial journal of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and with a publication run spanning from 1867 to 1970, it was also Canada's longest running commercial journal (although not its longest running business publication). For its part, Foley's *Journal of Commerce, Finance, and Insurance Review* was also well-received. Though it did not have the same degree of popularity or longevity as the *Monetary Times*, it had a noteworthy publication run, spanning the period from 1875 until 1913.[29]

General commercial journals such as the *Canadian Monetary and Commercial Times* and the *Journal of Commerce* were able to thrive during the period due to the advances taking place in Canadian business in areas such as manufacturing, trade, transportation, and banking. While clearly nowhere near the level of development reached in the United States, Canadian business was growing and diversifying. As Michael Bliss has explained in the case of production, by the Confederation era Canadian manufacturers large and (predominantly) small were fulfilling much of the domestic demand for consumer goods. Having slowly developed in the 1840s and 1850s in industries such as sawmilling, flour milling, woolen and cotton milling, and boot and shoe production, British North American manufacturing was able to further develop into the 1860s thanks in part by the American Civil War, which caused a significant retrenchment in foreign

[28] Trout, 276; J. Don Vann and Rosemary VanArsdel, *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 112.

[29] The *Trade Review* and the *Intercolonial Journal of Commerce* merged to form the *Trade Review and Intercolonial Journal of Commerce* in 1866. In 1871, the *Canadian Monetary and Commercial Times and Insurance Chronicle* was purchased from its original publishers, John Ross Robertson and James Beaty Cook by editor and business manager Edward Trout and his brother, John Malcom Trout. The Trouts appear to have purchased the *Trade Review and Intercolonial Journal of Commerce* as well, merging it with the *Canadian Monetary and Commercial Times and Insurance Chronicle* in 1871 to form the *Monetary Times, Trade Review, and Insurance Chronicle*. See "Robertson & Cook," "Trout, Edward," and "Trout, John Malcom," in Elizabeth Hulse. *A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, Publishers, Booksellers and the Allied Trades, 1798-1900* (Toronto: Anson-Cartwright Editions, 1982), 218, 266-267; *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Montreal: A. McKim & Co., 1899), 108; Vann and VanArsdel, *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire*, 112.

competition.[30] During this decade, homegrown manufacturing, while small in comparison to major manufacturing nations such as Britain, Germany, and the U.S., became increasingly varied and competitive. By the first years of the 1870s, Canadian producers offered a multitude of consumer goods including furniture, paper, soap, sugar, tobacco, oil, alcohol, textiles, and agricultural implements.

During the 1860s and 1870s dynamic wholesale distribution networks had developed to ensure the regular movement of consumer goods throughout Canada. Based out of central distribution centers including Montreal, Toronto, Halifax, Hamilton, and Québec City, wholesalers procured goods, primarily from England and the United States, but also from Canadian manufacturers, which they sold to retailers on credit terms.[31] The development and expansion of wholesale networks largely depended on the railway development of the second half of the century, which had become an industry unto itself. Beginning with the establishment of minor and major railways such as the Saint Lawrence and Atlantic, the ambitious Grant Trunk during the 1850s, and continuing into the later decades of the century with the founding of transcontinental lines such as the Intercontinental, and of course, the Canadian Pacific, the railways allowed wholesalers to continually expand their reach either through the establishments of entrepots or by sending out commercial travelers.

At the same time, the Canadian banking industry was taking shape. As E. P. Neufeld demonstrates in his classic work on the Canadian financial system, prior to 1867, the industry was in the midst of formation with the rise of chartered banks and the trading of stocks

[30] Michael Bliss, *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 248.
[31] Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, *Histoire économique du Québec, 1851-1896* (Montreal: Fides, 1971), 362; Douglas McCalla, *The Upper Canada Trade, 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanan's Business* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 112-114; Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 288-289.

(primarily bank stocks) on the nascent exchanges in Toronto and Montreal. [32] After Confederation, chartered banks and their branches proliferated, with thirty-five chartered banks and 127 branches while the stock exchanges in both Toronto and Montreal, which were small and operated on a haphazard basis, became much more functional.[33] Life insurance too, previously dominated by British providers, grew to become a Canadian industry all its own. The first Canadian company, Canada Life, was established in 1847. By 1870, Canada Life alone had 4270 policies totaling $6 404 437, outselling both British and American companies operating in Canada at the time.[34]

While these developments are important, the size and scope of Canadian business differed significantly from the American context and this led to differences within the business presses of both countries, particularly in the publication of commercial journals. This was especially apparent in the number of journals published and the audiences they sought to serve. In the United States, business had reached a point, especially in cities along the Northeast coast, where individual cities or regions could support their own commercial papers in addition to some that were nationally oriented.[35] These papers varied in frequency, but many were weeklies, and some were even dailies, suggesting a high volume of activity taking place within these business communities. Canadian publishers simply did not have an audience base to support the countless publications found in the States. Nor were Canadian businessmen so numerous that local,

[32] E.P. Neufeld, *The Financial System in Canada: Its Growth and Development* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972), 39-44.
[33] Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 258; Christopher Armstrong, *Blue Skies and Boiler Rooms: Buying and Selling Securities in Canada, 1870-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 10-13.
[34] Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 271.
[35] For the titles published in the late 1860s see, *American Newspaper Directory* (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1869), 191. Significantly, some publications were even intended for an international audience, for, as an advertisement for the *Detroit Journal of Commerce* indicates, it was intended for businessmen in Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio, as well as "Many in the Villages, Towns, and Cities throughout the Northwestern United States and Canada…" See "Detroit Journal of Commerce Advertisement," *Geo. P. Rowell & Co.'s American Newspaper Directory* (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1870), 603.

regional, or even provincial papers could be supported, especially on a daily basis. Instead, Canadian commercial journal publishers focused on serving a national, or industry-wide readership, primarily on a weekly basis. The country's major business interests were clustered in Montreal, and to a lesser extent, Toronto which meant that Canada's commercial journals focused on business in these cities. Even as the economy grew to encompass more of Western Canada and local and regional business continued to grow in the 1880s, the small audience size and uneven level of economic activity meant that Canada's commercial journals would remain national in orientation, or at least purport to be. This became a defining characteristic of the Canadian business press more broadly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries.[36]

Despite these differences, one crucial commonality shared by the commercial journals of the United States and Canada was their desire to include advertising. As Forsyth has noted, advertising was not a primary means of garnering revenue in business publishing prior to mid-century, noting that in the years before 1865 "subscription receipts were, for all practical purposes, the sole means of support for early business papers."[37] The specialized nature of business publishing meant that these periodicals were intended for a comparatively small (even smaller in Canada), relatively wealthy readership that could afford the hefty subscription costs publishers charged. Publishers therefore worked tirelessly to promote their papers, issuing free

[36] In observing the titles from the business publications published in Canada during the period under investigation, this tendency also becomes clear. For examples, see especially the titles under "Trade and Manufacturing" in *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Montreal: A. McKim & Co., 1892), 23 (21/43 overtly national, 2/43 overtly regional due to title, 3 from Quebec were French-language, suggesting these were intended for a predominantly Québécois readership); "Trade and Manufacturing" in *The Canadian Newspaper Directory*, 1899 edition (Montreal: A. McKim & Co., 1899), 255 (24/57 overtly national; 2/57 overtly regional due to title, 3 from Quebec were French-language, suggesting these were intended for a predominantly Québécois readership); "Trade and Manufacturing," The Canadian Newspaper Directory, 4th edition (Montreal: A. McKim & Co., 1905), 269 (24/68 overtly national, 3/68 overtly regional, 4 from Quebec were French-language, suggesting these were intended for a predominantly Québécois readership); *The Canadian Newspaper Directory*, 6th ed. (Montreal: A. McKim & Co.,1909), 281(26/68 overtly national; 6/68 overtly regional due to title; 5 from Quebec were French-language, suggesting these were intended for a predominantly Québécois readership); Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 232.

[37] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America*, 315.

copies to non-subscribers and offering premiums ranging from wood engravings to encyclopedias to build business. Unfortunately for many publishers, even if these tactics were successful in getting subscribers, subscription fees were notoriously difficult to obtain, with many simply failing to pay for their subscriptions for reasons ranging from apathy, to the mistaken belief that these publications were in fact free. Because of this, by the 1860s, publishers recognized that to survive, they would have to find revenue elsewhere.[38] Those publishing commercial journals, as well as other forms of business periodicals, therefore sought to establish their papers as or turn their papers into advertising vehicles in a way that had not been done by previous forms of business publications. It is important to emphasize, however, that this by no means meant that business publishing became advertising-driven during the period. Instead, these commercial papers and other business periodicals that integrated advertising began to slowly include increasing amounts of advertising content. Forsyth estimates that by the 1860s the ratio of advertising to editorial content was only 25/75, but after this period the proportion of ad content began to climb considerably.[39]

A systematic study of advertising in Canadian commercial journals has yet to be written, but an examination of issues of *The Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, *The Monetary and Commercial Times,* and *The Trade Review and Intercolonial Journal of Commerce* indicates a vast difference among journals in the early years of the Canadian business press. For instance, there were no advertisements present in the September 1859 issue of *The Canadian Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review*. While this is the latest available issue

[38] This is evidenced by direct appeals to advertisers and commentary surrounding advertising content in Canadian business papers in the late 1860s and early 1870s. See for instance "To Advertisers," *The Trade Review and Intercolonial Journal of Commerce* 2, no. 46 (30 November 1866): 549; "No Title," *The Monetary and Commercial Times: Insurance Chronicle* 3, no. 32 (25 March 1870): 500.
[39] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America*, 315-319.

of *The Canadian Merchant's Magazine*, making an examination of change over time impossible, an examination of the earliest available issue of *The Trade Review and Intercolonial Journal of Commerce* (30 November 1866), indicates the growth of advertising in business publishing as seven and a half of the paper's sixteen pages (44%) contained advertising. Yet advertising in *The Trade Review* waned over the next four years and while it remained a significant portion of the paper at 37.5%, this is misleading as it represents three of the eight pages that were published that issue. There was simply not enough interest among readers or advertisers to make *The Trade Review* viable, resulting in its sale to *The Monetary and Commercial Times: Insurance Chronicle* despite the high proportion of the paper being comprised of advertising.[40] The month after taking over *The Trade Review*, *The Monetary and Commercial Times: Insurance Chronicle* had nine pages of advertisements which represented 45% of its twenty pages. These advertisements were largely in the fields of insurance, which comprised two full pages of advertising, finance, wholesaling, and imports.[41]

As *The Trade Review* indicates, the move from a subscription to an advertising-based revenue stream was not simply a matter of deciding to sell space and integrate more advertising content. Publishers had several obstacles to overcome, most notably apathy among some potential advertisers. This was especially the case as North American domestic economies became more manufacturing-driven in the late nineteenth-century. Indeed, within certain sectors of the economy prior to the Civil War, most notably manufacturing, many firmly held the belief that demand would always surpass supply, thereby making advertising an unnecessary expenditure. In her study on consumer advertising in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-

[40] "To the Public," *Trade Review and Intercolonial Journal of Commerce* 6, no. 17 (30 April 1870): 231.
[41] *The Monetary and Commercial Times: Insurance Chronicle* 3, no. 38 (6 May 1870): 593-608, plus four-page supplement.

century, historian Pamela Walker Laird has shown that this mentality was prominent in the United States. In his study of shop keeping culture in Canada, historian David Monod demonstrated that, when manufacturing developed here, this mentality was prevalent as well and carried well into the later decades of the nineteenth-century.[42] What's more, during much of the nineteenth century, advertising carried negative connotations among many North Americans due to its strong association with patent medicine purveyors. As the largest group of advertisers prior to the 1870s, patent medicine advertisements were clever and lively, yet as many recognized, they were also hugely dishonest as their promises to cure ills of all kinds were blatantly untrue.[43]

Complicating matters further, throughout the business publishing field, publishers did not have any systematic advertising policies in place to attract potential advertisers. Whereas much organized planning and effort was put into obtaining subscriptions, it does not appear that the same was true with advertising. Although advertising content was desired, it appears to have been encouraged only haphazardly, with some publishers failing to even publish advertising rates.[44] Even when rates were advertised, there was no guarantee that they would be followed as publishers and editors would strike deals with advertisers who were willing to pay for space in their papers. Additionally, murky advertising policies meant that many publishers indiscriminately published advertisements that were wholly unconnected to their paper's content,

---

[42] Pamela Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 17; Monod, *Store Wars*, 137. An examination of *The Monetary Times, Trade Review and Insurance Chronicle* in the mid-1880s suggests that this was the case in the business press. Advertising categories such as insurance banking, loan companies, railway and steamship boasted pages of advertisements whereas the manufacturing category contained very few advertisements. For instance, in *The Monetary Times, Trade Review and Insurance Chronicle* 18, no. 50 (12 June 1885): 1383-1410, only four advertisements were present in the 'Leading Manufacturers' category.

[43] James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), 205-225.

[44] This was in fact the case in the Canadian context as the country's central business papers, *The Monetary Times, Trade Review and Insurance Chronicle* did not publish its advertising rates throughout the 1870s and 1880s.

thereby potentially undermining the effectiveness these ads might have as well as the journal's reputation as an advertising medium.[45]

The Introduction of Trade Papers in North America

Publishers of commercial journals increasingly sought to include advertising content in their papers, setting the stage for developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that saw advertising emerge as the primary revenue source for business publications. This was due to both the efforts of publishers at obtaining advertising contracts and a period of significant growth in American business after 1865, and by the late 1880s and early 1890s in Canada. And although commercial journals would remain a cornerstone of the business press in both countries until well into the twentieth century, the development of a business press that derived the majority of its revenues from the sale of advertising space would encourage innovations in business publishing. The most notable advance was the introduction of trade papers, publications that would serve small, specialized audiences of retailers within the consumer goods fields as well as the manufacturers and wholesalers who increasingly needed to gain their attention in order to harness their buying power.

The 1850s saw American manufacturers increasingly engaged in scaling up production; after 1865, the pace intensified further. Production began to outpace demand, however, driving down prices. Manufacturers searched for ways to reassert order by establishing their own distribution networks. Wholesalers had previously been the center of the distribution chain, and

[45] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America*, 319-323; Stephen R. Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 15-19; Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 22.

had been charged with the distribution of manufacturers' goods, in addition to ensuring that manufacturers' goods were ordered and paid for by retailers. Wholesalers also served as financiers for both retailers and manufacturers, extending credit when needed. However, after 1865 in many industries manufacturers found it more expedient and less costly to create their own distribution networks, thereby taking over the role of wholesale intermediaries. This was especially the case with businesses dealing with perishable goods, such as ice, beer, and other foodstuffs requiring refrigeration during shipment, or those dealing with complex technical products such as industrial and agricultural machinery and office equipment. For manufacturers in perishables, wholesalers were not equipped to distribute their goods, so many simply resorted to building their own refrigerated storage and transportation mediums. Those producing technical goods found it necessary to bypass the wholesaler as they required direct relations with retailers and consumers so that they could provide instruction in product operation, service goods, and replace parts when needed. Even in those areas where specialized marketing was not needed, such as non-perishable foods, hardware, dry goods, furniture, and liquor, manufacturers began to overshadow the sales function once performed by the wholesaler through the creation of brand names and advertising.[46]

Whether distributed by manufacturers or wholesalers, the manufactured goods that flooded the market also had a profound effect on the retail environment. Prior to the 1860s, the American retail landscape was characterized by rural and small-town general stores that carried a limited and inconsistent stock of goods due to their sporadic availability from wholesalers, who

[46] Porter and Livesay, *Merchants and Manufacturers*, 10-12. As historian Vicki Howard has also argued, by the early 1880s, the rise of various forms of mass retailing, including mail order and department stores also hastened the decline of the wholesaler in the United States. Although some wholesalers adapted to the needs of independent, small-scale departmentalized retailers, many larger retailers sought to cut costs and did so by bypassing wholesalers and purchasing directly from manufacturers. See Vicki Howard, *From Main Street to Mall: The Rise and Fall of the American Department S*tore (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 10-11.

depended on what was available from both importers and domestic producers.[47] Goods were typically purchased through barter or on long credit terms. In urban areas craftspeople engaged in small-scale production and merchants dealing in narrow product lines also had specialty stores, selling groceries and men's clothing. Like their general merchandise counterparts, long-term credit (ranging from six to twelve months) was extended to customers. And much to the chagrin of retailers, who relied on margin as opposed to turnover to generate profit, customers were apt to haggle before settling on a final price.[48]

The population increase of the latter part of the century led to increased demand and production in growing cities, influencing retail in several ways. Firstly, the influx of an abundance of low cost consumer goods on the market, made available thanks to efficiencies in manufacturing and, in some cases, the elimination of the wholesaler, helped reduce a major barrier to entry for many wanting to start their own retail business. Because population was increasing so rapidly, many decided to capitalize upon the opportunity presented by the availability of low cost goods and growing markets to either establish retail operations or expand upon those they were already operating.[49]

During the late-nineteenth century then, the shape of retailing underwent significant alterations. As historian Susan Porter Benson has argued, American retail establishments took two dominant forms at mid-century: the rural general store, and the urban specialty retailer that offered groceries, dry goods, pharmaceuticals, and hardware. Both were affected by the growth

---

[47] Richard S. Tedlow, *New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), 186.
[48] Tedlow, *New and Improved*, 186-187; Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 13; Belisle, *Retail Nation,* 18
[49] Porter and Livesay, *Merchants and Manufacturers*, 155; M.S. Moyer, "The Roots of Large Scale Marketing," *Journal of Marketing* 26, no. 4 (1962): 55; Benson, *Counter Cultures*, 13-15.

of retail after 1865. Rural retailers continued to serve their immediate localities. But as historian Susan V. Spellman has pointed out, retail establishments grew in the case of groceries. Thanks to the rise of commercial travelers, rural retailers were also able to stock an increased breadth of goods.[50] In urban retail, specialization accelerated as did competition between these specialized sellers. As both the breadth and depth of manufactured products increased, and as wholesalers increasingly specialized in particular areas, urban retailers could carry increasingly narrow product lines. Their numbers also grew. While most specialty retailers remained small-scale, into the later nineteenth-century, some urban specialty retailers grew to become large-scale operations. In fact, some, such as dry goods retailer Lord & Taylor, grew so large that they have historically been conflated with department stores. Yet despite specialization becoming further entrenched as a hallmark of urban retailing through the offering of increasingly narrow product lines and the immense growth of some outlets, during the period some retailers decided to adopt a more generalist approach. Individuals such as John Wannamaker and R.H. Macy offered never-before seen assortments of goods at low, set prices, which grew into the country's first large-scale department stores.[51] And because retailing was a relatively easy business to enter due to the factors noted above, the era also saw the proliferation of other small-scale sellers such as peddlers and streetcar vendors. It also saw the rise of mail-order retailers, who reached into urban and rural areas alike. This myriad of retailers all operated in conjunction, and in competition with one another. Ultimately, in the urban context, the proliferation of retailers

[50] Benson, *Counter Cultures*, 13; Susan V. Spellman, *Cornering the Market: Independent Grocers in American Small Business* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 95-97.
[51] Benson, *Counter Cultures,* 12-13.

brought America's primarily small-scale, independent specialty operators into direct competition with each other as never before, as well as with larger, wider reaching competitors.[52]

At the same time, retailers now faced the complication of having to make choices surrounding the goods they would carry and from whom they would purchase. Previously, retailers, especially those operating in rural environments, were at the mercy of wholesalers who dictated the price and availability of a limited amount of goods. Many rural retailers had made it a regular practice to travel to the closest town or city twice yearly to order their stock from whatever the wholesaler(s) there had to offer. This practice continued, albeit with far more choice in products, with increased transportation opportunities and the rise of mass production in the 1860s and 1870s, but a reversal of custom also began.[53] Manufacturers and wholesalers hired representatives who used the country's extensive rail networks to visit far-flung retailers with suitcases full of samples in the hopes that retailers would decide to order their wares for their next season's stock. As Walter A. Friedman has argued in his work on the history of selling in America, commercial travellers, or 'drummers' as they were also called, "were relentless in their search for new stores to carry their lines." As such, rural retailers in particular would become bombarded by these representatives who, in an effort to simplify the purchasing process for retailers, also complicated the task by offering an abundance of choice. [54]

---

[52] Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 63; Alfred D. Chandler Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Bu*siness (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), 209, 224-227; As William Leach as argued, this trend of retail competition at all levels and intensified growth, continued in the following decades, leading to what he has described as "the retail wars of the 1890s," further exacerbating the stresses that emerged earlier. See William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 16. In the Canadian context see Bliss, "The Flight From Competition," in *A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 33-54.

[53] As Chandler has noted, beyond simple availability, the speed and reliability of communication with manufacturers and improved means of transportation meant that wholesalers could handle a larger volume of goods by the 1860s and 1870s. See Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. *The Visible Hand*, 216.

[54] Walter A. Friedman, *Birth of a Salesman: The Transformation of Selling in A*merica (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 56-59. Quote from page 59; Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 216.

Within this context of shifting norms and practices, publishers perceived two sets of interconnected, unmet needs on the part of manufacturers (as well as wholesalers) and retailers. For their part, retailers had to overcome competition to survive. Publishers believed that they could help retailers engaged in both general and specialized trades to navigate competition through the regular provision of advisory and educational material. In the midst of rapid economic change, publishers recognized a knowledge gap among those small-scale retailers who found themselves in heated competition with each other, departmental, and mail-order retail operations. Many retailers began engaging in detrimental practices in the hopes of remaining solvent. For instance, one popular custom was to 'cut prices,' meaning a retailer would sell goods below cost in an effort to win customers away from competitors. Of course, competitors reciprocated and eventually all involved would find themselves in deficit, unable to continue in business. This was particularly problematic financially, but failure also held distinctly gendered social threats as well. Success was closely linked to notions of male character and as Judy Hilkey has demonstrated failure was equated with a complete lack of manhood. Success, contemporaries held, was a function of manly character and if men failed to exhibit qualities such as honesty and industry, as in the instances described above, it was their own fault. Failing in business was a devastating experience that led some men to move to different locations so that they could have a chance at starting again as this would not have been possible in the areas in which they had failed. Others believed their lives to be completely ruined and resorted to suicide, meaning that for some business failure was quite literally a matter of life or death.[55] Therefore, through their journals, publishers and editors discouraged potentially destructive and devastating practices.

[55] Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 88-89; Scott A. Sandage, *Born Losers: A History of Failures in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 6-7, 255. Sandage has found evidence of failed businessmen committing suicide throughout the nineteenth century beginning in the 1820s.

They argued that competition could be overcome through the adoption of emergent modern retail practices such as modern window dressing, store lighting and display methods, and of course, advertising. Ironically, these methods were being developed by the larger retailers that journals intended to help readers confront.[56]

In positioning retailers as the target readers for trade journals, publishers could also offer manufacturers and wholesalers a solution to their biggest challenge, namely, the marketing of their products. Despite the creation of complex distribution networks that ensured ease of communication and expedient deliveries, manufacturers and wholesalers required means for establishing sustained demand for their goods. Historians such as Pamela Walker Laird and Susan Strasser have examined the development of manufacturer advertising, detailing the creation of branded goods, which manufacturers hoped would generate demand not only for the type of product they produced, but for their particular brand when advertised nationally. This, Laird has rightly argued, was a necessity for, "as remarkable as the manifestations of material progress were, people could not very well want and buy what they did not know existed, did not understand, or did not perceive as a need."[57] But what historians of late-nineteenth century advertising have overlooked is that in order for products to be available for purchase by the final consumer, demand also had to be created among retailers, those who ordered the goods and stocked the shelves of the retail outlets consumers frequented. As chapter four makes clear, trade journal publishers such as Maclean recognized this as he positioned his papers as the fundamental means through which manufacturers and wholesalers could harness the attention of and, ultimately, demand among individual segments of the retail field. The chapter also

[56] As Strasser notes, this practice, and trade journals' condemnation of it, was still occurring in the United States into the 1910s. See Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), 227-229.
[57] Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 31. Also see Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, xii-339.

underscores the distinctly gendered nature of Maclean's arguments. Like those retailers whose manhood and livelihoods were intricately intertwined within the notion of success, this was also the case with potential advertisers, manufacturers and, to a lesser extent, wholesalers. Producers were deemed the epitome of manhood in business during the period and as such, they were warned that they had to maintain this position through advertising or risk failure and by extension, the undermining of their manhood.

By presenting their publications as specialized, targeted advertising media, publishers argued that trade journals could act as a foundational means of communication between manufacturers/wholesalers and retailers within the context of consolidating regional and national market distribution systems. While it is true that the rise of the commercial traveler created a direct means of communication between manufacturers and wholesalers and the retailers with whom they traded, periodic visits, ranging from once a month to twice per year, meant that, with some exceptions, suppliers were not in constant contact with retailers. As Friedman also reminds us, in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the frequency with which travelers visited certain retailers within their territory varied as travelers working on commission in particular opted to call only on those they believed would place large orders. [58] Trade papers could effectively supplement manufacturers' and wholesalers' sales efforts. As a vehicle for presenting advertisements to retailers in a targeted, consistent manner, trade papers were a means for manufacturers and wholesalers to create and maintain constant awareness surrounding their firms and products, and to directly support the work of commercial travelers.

American trade papers seeking to fill the informational needs of retailers and to support the marketing efforts of manufacturers and wholesalers first emerged in well-developed

[58] Friedman, *Birth of a Salesman*, 63-66.

industries, such as grocery, dry goods, and hardware, which amassed retail sales in the hundreds of millions of dollars in the 1860s. According to economist Harold Barger, independent grocery outlets accounted for the highest proportion of retail sales, with $985 million in sales in 1869. The closest competitor for sales that year were country general stores, accounting for roughly half the amount of grocery stores.[59] It is therefore not surprising that one of the earliest post-Civil War trade papers, the *American Grocer*, was published in the interests of the grocery trade. Published by John Darby, a manufacturer-turned publisher from New York, the *Grocer* was introduced in 1869 as "an organ of communication between buyers and sellers, between producers and consumers."[60] Thanks to its promotion of the professionalization of the trade in advocating modernity through the application of progressive approaches and ideas, the *Grocer* was hugely popular among retailers wanting to learn of innovative ideas and means through which to combat competition. The *Grocer* was so popular in fact, that it attracted a readership of five thousand by 1872. This was a significant number for any specialized trade journal in the late nineteenth century. At the same time, the presence of advertisements for manufacturers' packaged, branded goods indicates that the *Grocer* was indeed becoming the type of communicative marketing tool Darby had envisioned.[61]

The *Grocer* was followed by a flurry of other retail trade journals, some, such as the *Retail Grocers' Advocate* and the *New England Grocer and Market Current*, also covered the grocery field, while other papers emerged, catering to both well-developed and emergent retail sectors. These included but were not limited to the dry goods, millinery, ready-made clothing, hardware, confectionary, meat, ice, milk, liquor, tobacco, stationary, upholstery, carpet,

[59] Harold Barger, *Distribution's Place in the American Economy since 1869* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 148-149.
[60] Quote from *American Grocer* from Spellman, *Cornering the Market,* 13.
[61] Spellman*,* 13-14.

furniture, jewelry, stationary, and bookselling trades. As Mott has noted, due to the specialized nature of these papers, there was no "great over-all merchants' magazine in this period." Instead, there were numerous successful city, state, regional, and national trade papers serving niche retail sectors at each level.[62] Based in major commercial centers in the northeast including Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York (which had become the business publishing capital of the country by the late nineteenth century) as well as St. Louis in the Midwest, many trade-specific journals met with great success. And unlike earlier forms of business publications, longevity characterized the career of a number of these papers. While many were published for over a decade, which was noteworthy for any new periodical during the period, others surpassed fifty years in print indicating their utility to the retailers, manufacturers, and wholesalers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. [63]

Developments in American business were central to the emergence and success of these new publications. As Mott makes clear, however, the development of trade papers in North America must also be contextualized within a broader framework of specialization taking place within the publishing industry during the period. A trend toward specialization in periodical publishing took root after 1865, and culminated in the mid-1880s, when, as Mott explains, "there were few occupations, activities, or interests which did not have their own groups of periodicals."[64] A boom in magazine publication characterized the period, leading to the introduction of specialized magazines serving highly targeted readerships including specific religious denominations, physicians, lawyers, farmers, educators, mechanics, manufacturers,

---

[62] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885,* vol. 4 (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), 186.
[63] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885,* vol. 3 (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1938), 133-136; Jesse H. Neal, "A Review of Business Paper History." In *N.W. Ayer & Son's Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son's, 1922), 1245-1246.
[64] Mott, *A History of American Magazines,* vol. 3, 104.

retailers, reform groups, children, and those involved in art and theatre. From 1865 to 1885, the number of periodicals in the United States rose from 700 to 3300, with specialized periodicals accounting for a large proportion of this exponential growth.[65] These papers became indispensable in many fields, including business, and trade more specifically, for, as Mott insists, they had become "intimately associated with practical problems in their own fields."[66]

The Canadian Publishing and Business Context of the Late Nineteenth Century

Trade journals emerged slowly in Canada roughly a decade after their American counterparts, due to similar, yet contextually specific shifts in publishing and business. As was the case in the United States, in the 1860s to 1880s the Canadian periodical field began to specialize as well, thereby creating a literary culture which encouraged the production of targeted magazines for diverse groups of readers. Prior to mid-century, the Canadian literary landscape was limited. It was characterized by two basic types of publication: the newspaper and the mixed content periodical, with content focusing on moral and material improvement, and including fiction, poetry, with local commentary.[67] Beginning slowly in the 1840s with the rise of religious and agricultural periodicals, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, this would change as hundreds of specialized periodicals had been published. As historian Brian Dewalt has argued, population growth and increased literacy rates created a wider demand for specialized forms of

[65] Mott, *A History of American Magazines,* vol. 3, 3-5. Although periodicals serving particular segments emerged prior to the 1860s, as Mott has noted, during this time increased specialization took place. In the case for religious periodicals, for instance, these papers were once general news magazines with religious content and after 1865, they became religious (denominational, spiritualist, and undenominational) periodicals in their own right, the contents of which were devoted primarily to theology, scholarship, and, to a lesser extent, philosophy. See Mott, *A History of Magazines*, vol. 3, 64-89.
[66] Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, vol. 4, 2.
[67] MacDonald, "English and French-Language Periodicals," 222.

reading material while the widespread adoption of American-made technical innovations in printing, such as the cylinder and web-fed rotary press, allowed for increased output capacity in printing. Because of this, Dewalt insists that "these forces would animate a sophisticated printing and publishing industry defined by specialization and segmentation."[68] While Dewalt is making direct reference to the emergence of distinct sectors of the printing trade (newspaper, book printers, job printers, engravers, lithographers, etc.), historian Merrill Distad has demonstrated that content specialization, especially in the periodical field, emerged alongside the technical. As Distad has noted, "[v]irtually every special-interest group either produced or was supplied by entrepreneurial publishers with at least one periodical forum." This was especially apparent in the field of business publishing as over two hundred periodicals were launched, many of which were trade journals.[69] In this era of specialization, the number of business publications to emerge was only second in number to religious periodicals.[70]

These specialized form of business media emerged due to a set of interdependent shifts in Canadian manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing took place and likely hastened the receptivity of trade journals in the business community. With regards to domestic production, the 1880s was a watershed period for Canadian manufacturers. As Bliss has demonstrated, a great deal of manufacturing was in fact occurring prior to the 1880s. While some was still local, much

[68] Brian Dewalt, "Printing Technology," in *History of the Book in Canada, Volume II, 1840-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 90-91. With regards to literacy, Michel Verrette and Yvan Lamonde have rightly argued that there are few sources which allow historians to make any overall definitive statements regarding a rise in literacy in Canada from 1840-1918. However, case studies, including detailed studies of Hamilton and Elgin, Ontario in 1861, Verrette's study of signature analysis in Lower Canada and Quebec prior to 1869, as well as indicators such as specialization in the bookselling, the implementation of technological advances in print, and the 1882 Ontario legislation on 'free' libraries, suggest that there was a veritable increase of literacy during the late nineteenth-century. See Michelle Verrette and Yvan Lamonde, "Literacy and Print Culture," in *History of the Book in Canada, Volume II, 1840-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 451-458.
[69] Merrill Distad, "Newspapers and Magazines," in *History of the Book in Canada, Volume II, 1840-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 301; See also N. Merrill Distad and Linda M. Distad "Canada," in *The Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 98-129.
[70] Distad and Distad, "Canada," 111.

of this manufacturing was regional in nature with producers serving the needs of their products' final markets.[71] It was only with the maturation of the Canadian railway system, which not only permitted for increased access to distant markets, but hastened declining shipping prices as well, that manufacturers were able to increase output, productive capacity, and offer their retail customers lower prices.[72] What's more, in 1879, the Macdonald government implemented a tariff system to facilitate the growth of national manufacturing by lessening or completely eliminating competition, especially that coming from the economically powerful United States. Beginning with a 30 percent duty, the tariffs on most manufactured items reached 35 percent by the late 1880s. Additionally, manufacturers enjoyed reduced customs duties on imported raw and semi-processed materials needed for production.[73]

During the 1880s, manufacturing growth occurred in Ontario, Quebec, as well as the Maritimes, with each area developing specialties that contributed to the rise of domestic consumer goods production in Canada. In Ontario, where early large-scale manufacturing was most diversified, production included the processing of agricultural products (food), finished clothing, household goods, furniture, brewing, and cotton textiles. Ian Drummond also demonstrates that from the 1870s onward, immense growth was taking place in already-established capital goods industries, producing items such as furniture, boilers, and iron. Together, the Ontario capital and commercial goods sectors grew 267 percent from 1870 to 1890.[74] Additionally, entirely new industries emerged during this period, including canned

[71] Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 232; Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism*, 14, 33. In his work, Kristofferson insists that in addition to smaller, local economies, regional, and even national markets for certain manufactured goods existed by the 1870s. In fact, in the case of Hamilton, the city was a "regional metal centre" as early as the 1840s.
[72] Monod, *Store Wars*, 22.
[73] Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 300.
[74] Ian Drummond, *Progress Without Planning: The Economic History of Ontario from Confederation to the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 103-107.

produce, rubber goods, and elevators. In Quebec, attention was placed on the manufacture of food such as flour and sugar, in addition to the production of textiles and cloth. Like Quebec, much of the industrial production taking place in the Maritimes was based on sugar refining and cotton textiles, with the addition of iron and steel refining.[75] As Bliss notes, in the 1880s, the number of manufacturing firms across Canada rose 52 percent, the capital invested in production rose by 114 percent, while wages rose by 68 percent. [76]

These developments in manufacturing had important ramifications throughout the chain of distribution, altering the relationships between manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers. With regards to wholesalers, the relationship between them and manufacturers was relatively neutral from mid-century; however, it became increasingly competitive as consumer manufacturing grew. Prior to the 1880s, wholesalers had a veritable monopoly in the provision of goods to retailers. Based in central distribution centers including Montreal, Toronto, Halifax, Hamilton, and Quebec City, wholesalers procured goods primarily from England and the United States, which they sold to retailers on credit terms.[77] In his important work, *The Upper Canada Trade*, which is the only full-length study of Canadian wholesaling, historian Douglas McCalla has argued that while dependent upon orders from retailers, it was the wholesaler who was the paramount figure in trade up to the 1870s due to the many functions he performed. As McCalla notes:

> Between merchant and customer, town and country, businessman and farmer, there was a reciprocal in some respects an unequal, relationship of mutual dependence. Merchants provided real services to settlers and bore real risks. They relayed Upper Canadian demand to remote producers when they selected goods in British and

[75] Robert Sweeny, *Guide to the History and Records of Selected Montreal Businesses Before 1947* (Montreal: Centre de Recherche En Histoire Economique du Canada francais, 1978), 97, 199; Graham D. Taylor and Peter A. Baskerville, *A Concise History of Business in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), 317-319.
[76] Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 300.
[77] Hamelin and Roby, *Histoire économique du Québec,* 362.

> American markets, arranged to have them finished, packed, shipped, transshipped, delivered, and displayed; and apart from the risk of loss or damage, against which insurance could be purchased, they bore the risk that they could not sell these goods profitably. In selling goods on long credits, they lent money, in effect, for about twelve months, and their customers in turn extended such credits to the farmers and tradesmen who comprised the largest part of the colony's population.[78]

As a group, wholesalers were ambivalent to the development of domestic manufacturing and the relationship between the two groups was complex. Many overtly rejected Canadian goods, refusing to sell them because they came into direct competition with the goods they imported. Some made it a conscious practice to avoid Canadian-made goods, as they viewed themselves as importers and considered the business relationships they had forged with overseas manufacturers and their loyalty to them to be of the utmost importance. Ironically, McCalla notes that even if they were hostile to domestic manufacturing, wholesalers played a role in its ascendance. Through the importation and sale of capital goods and the extension of credit, wholesalers sold items such as pig iron to foundries and wool to clothing manufacturers, thus hastening their development. [79] And as manufacturing developed, the competitive element that existed between wholesalers and manufacturers would escalate in the late nineteenth century as Canadian manufacturers sought to increase their market share by various means. In addition to partnering with wholesalers and issuing catalogues, manufacturers also began to employ their own commercial travelers as wholesalers had been doing for much of the late nineteenth century. Though not a widespread practice until the turn of the century, in the late 1880s and in the 1890s in particular, manufacturing firms were beginning to hire their own travelers, thereby bypassing the wholesalers and forging their own direct relationships with retailers.[80]

---

[78] McCalla, *The Upper Canada Trade,* 152.
[79] McCalla, *The Upper Canada Trade*, 156.
[80] Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 291; A. Emerson Belcher, *What I Know About Commercial Travelling* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1883), 120; "Mr. J.C. Black," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 1, no. 3 (March 1891): 20;

As manufacturers began producing for national markets in the 1880s and competition between domestic producers and wholesalers escalated, retailers found themselves in a position similar to that of their American counterparts a decade or so earlier with regards to the growth of the trade and the difficulties it wrought, albeit on a lesser scale. From the 1870s until the end of the century the number of retailers as an occupational group was increasing steadily. For instance, in the case of food retailers in Ontario, the number of businesses rose from 3674 in 1871 to 7710 in 1891, more than doubling the number of grocers serving the population. Similar growth occurred in the case of Ontario drug stores, while dry goods stores enjoyed a 30 percent growth rate, expanding from 729 outlets in 1881 to 1087 in 1891. [81] Though offering only a rough estimate of the actual number of retailers in business during the period due to the incomplete availability of sources, statistics for Ontario indicate that in the late nineteenth century thousands would enter the trade, with 11 919 retailers operating in Ontario 1871, a number that would jump to 18 752 by 1891.[82]

While the retail trade as a whole was undergoing growth, there was a great deal of diversity among retailers and their businesses. As historian Gaetan Gervais has suggested, in the 1870s and 1880s, many retailers, especially those operating in rural areas, were small-scale in nature, engaged in general storekeeping and serving the needs of their immediate localities. Rural shopkeepers had diverse offerings, including basic foodstuffs such as flour, tea, and sugar, as well as dry goods such as textiles as rural Canadians were still producing much of their own food and clothing. There did remain some general merchants in cities such as Toronto and

"Personal Mention," *The Canadian Grocer* 9, no. 8 (22 February 1895): 30; "Toronto Master Plumbers' Association," *Hardware* 8, no. 17 (25 April 1896): 55; "St. John Notes," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 41 (9 October 1896): 29; "Traveler Wanted," *The Canadian Grocer* 12, no. 48 (2 December 1898): 28.

[81] David Monod, *Store Wars,* 353; Gaetan Gervais, "Le commerce de détail au Canada (1870-1880)," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 33, no. 4 (1980): 531.

[82] Monod, *Store Wars*, 353.

Montreal, but for the most part, by the end of the 1880s, urban retail was entering an era of specialization characterized by retailers offering increasingly narrow product lines. Thanks largely to the increased availability of manufactured goods, in the late 1880s and into the 1890s, these included groceries, dry goods, hardware, men's and women's clothing, boots and shoes, drugs, and books and stationery.[83]

At the same time, retail outlets were becoming increasingly varied. As historian John Benson has noted, small-scale, generalized retail operations were also popping up in cities and industrializing towns as many working-class Canadians were entering the retail trade. Operating in small, rented spaces or from rooms in their homes, retailing was a means for poorly paid industrial workers to make additional income.[84] At the same time, the department store, an entirely new type of large-scale retail establishment was emerging alongside these tiny makeshift retail establishments. By the early 1880s, Canada's largest retailers, most notably Henry Morgan in Montreal and Robert Simpson and Timothy Eaton in Toronto, were operating out of multi-story buildings, covering tens of thousands of square feet, carrying a multitude of merchandise lines, and employing hundreds. In addition to being a pioneer in department store retailing, in 1884 Timothy Eaton also extended the reach of his business into rural areas by introducing mail-order catalogues. These catalogues allowed Eaton to extend the reach of his retail business far beyond Toronto and introduce a new mode of product selection and delivery into the already complicated field.[85]

[83] Gervais, "Le commerce de détail au Canada," 522.
[84] John Benson, *Entrepreneurism in Canada: A History of 'Penny Capitalists'* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellin Press, 1990): 53-54.
[85] Monod, *Store Wars*, 25-26; Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 21.

The growth of retailing had mixed results. Thanks to its pervasiveness and the increased importance retailers held within the communities both near and far that relied upon them, retailing was emerging as a recognized and respectable profession. At the same time, intense competition emerged among retailers fighting for market share. This led to ruin for many. As *The Canadian Grocer* indicated in 1889, retail failure rates were on an increase by the late 1880s with 1186 retailers going out of business in 1886, 1350 in 1887, and 1730 in 1888.[86] As Bliss has rightly noted, the central issue attributed to retail failure during the period was simply that "there were too many small businesses struggling for shares of limited trade."[87] Due largely to the credit system that characterized the trade, it was easy for new entrants to obtain credit from banks or wholesalers who supplied stock. Credit was extended for months on end, and in some cases, up to a year, without any sense of whether or not it could be repaid. This meant that even if they were destined to fail, new entrants could remain in business for extended periods of time.[88] By the 1880s, the growth of retail establishments was outstripping population growth. Although retailers would publicly pronounce that competition was the lifeblood of the trade, once slow-moving stocks threatened their businesses, they openly recognized their difficulties, decrying the evils of excessive competition.[89]

Uncertain of how best to survive in such an environment, anxiety-stricken retailers undertook a variety of strategies to avoid failure.[90] As was the case in the United States, price-

[86] "The Year's Failures," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 2 (11 January 1889): 2.
[87] Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 37. As Linda Biesenthal has also argued, the rise and intensification of competition in the retail of foodstuffs also led to the decline of public markets in Canada. See Linda Biesenthal, *To Market, To Market: The Public Market Tradition in Canada* (Toronto: PMA Books, 1980), 28-29.
[88] "Dry Goods Credits," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 2 (11 January 1889) 1; "Competition," 3, no. 38 *The Canadian Grocer* (20 September 1889): 1; Gervais, "Le commerce de détail au Canada," 542.
[89] "Trade Congress: The First Ontario Merchants' Convention," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 34 (23 August 1889): 2- 3.
[90] Michael Bliss, "'Dyspepsia of the Mind': The Canadian Businessman and His Enemies, 1880-1914," in *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), 175; Taylor, 71-72.

cutting was common.[91] Another popular strategy was to organize into protective associations, which led to the rise of groups such as the Dominion Grocer's Guild, Toronto Retail Grocers' Association, Retail Merchants' Association of Canada, and the Bookseller and Stationers' Association. These associations would enter into price-fixing agreements to combat price-cutting amongst their members, although they were not always successful. They also lobbied local governments and civic leaders such as clergy to decrease competition by means of creating an even playing field by establishing early-closing by-laws, ensuring all retailers kept the same hours. Another tactic retailers used to compete with one another was to enter into other lines of trade. Despite the late nineteenth century being the era of retail specialization, much of the time the lines of demarcation between various types of retailers became blurred as struggling grocers carried dry goods, druggists stocked household goods, and jewelers carried hardware, creating further competitive pressures and dissent among retailers.

Factors outside the control of the small-scale retailer exacerbated their plight. This was especially the case with regards to the development of department stores as these far-reaching retail powerhouses offered a one-stop-shop for many consumers while offering their goods at comparable, if not lower prices than non-departmental retailers.[92] In addition, trade boundaries, the lines of demarcation that differentiated the roles of those in the supply chain, including retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers, were being transgressed by wholesalers facing competitive pressures of their own. While many wholesalers also had retail establishments prior to the period, the competitive pressures of the period made their presence seem far more

[91] "Compromises," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 2 (11 January 1889): 3; "Competition," 3, no. 38 (20 September 1889): 1; "Do Cut Prices Increase Consumption?" *Hardware* 1, no. 11 (31 May 1889): 2; "Master Plumbers' Association," *Hardware* 1, no. 11 (31 May 1889): 12.
[92] Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 38; Monod, *Store Wars*, 24; "Early Closing," *Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 40 (4 October 1889): 1.

pronounced. As such, retailers not only had their peers to contend with, they also had to compete with wholesale establishments, many of whom, like department stores, could offer a wider variety of goods at much lower prices.[93]

By the late 1880s then, the Canadian retail trade was in a state of disarray. The landscape had become characterized by unprecedented growth and unwieldy competition both within and between all levels of distribution in consumer goods industries. Despite the prevalence of commercial travelers, as the number of retailers proliferated and the geographic distance continued grow between Canadian manufacturers, wholesalers, and the retailers they sought to serve, more effort was needed to create and maintain connections with retailers. As these conditions coalesced, they created an environment which, publishers believed, would make retailers receptive to the potential benefits of trade publications.

Early Canadian Trade Papers

The earliest Canadian retail trade periodicals were introduced in the 1870s and early 1880s. Their emergence can be attributed to periodical specialization, developments in the consumer goods trade, and the entrepreneurial tenacity of publishers who seized the opportunity these presented. Given Canada's relatively small periodical publishing arena, only a handful of journals covering a limited number of retail trades was introduced during this early period.

The bookselling trade appears to be the first to have been represented by its own trade journal. Established in 1870, *The Canada Bookseller* was introduced by the Toronto-based book

[93] Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 38.

importers, retail and wholesale booksellers, and publishers, Adam, Stephenson & Co.[94] Initially, the company created a hybrid publication, something of a fusion of the trade paper and the literary catalogue. The *Bookseller* was created "in the interest of the Booksellers of the country, by placing at their service a serial which will be a medium of inter-communication between Publisher and Dealer and also be of service between Book-seller and Book-buyer."[95] After publishing the *Bookseller* for two years however, Adam, Stevenson & Co. left the retail trade, focusing solely on their wholesale import operations. As the firm's business interests became more specialized, so too did the nature of the publication. In 1872, the company issued the newly-titled *The Canadian Bookseller Miscellany and Advertiser,* in which the firm announced that its "interest in continuing a gratuitous publication for the information of readers generally has ceased." Although available evidence indicates that the new manifestation of the *Bookseller* was short-lived, lasting only a year, it was actually more in line with the emerging modern Canadian trade journal. The modern version was intended to serve the trade as well as "to make public the announcements of those publishers who may favour them with advertisements."[96]

In 1878 Canadian booksellers would find their interests represented in another trade paper, *The Canadian Bookseller and Stationer*. This paper was published by the firm W. Warwick & Son. The firm's founder, William Warwick, was a very active member of the bookselling and publishing community, working as a bookseller, stationer, blank book

[94] *The Canadian Bookseller* was issued previously on a very irregular basis. Early surviving issues include one published in 1865 and another in 1867. These publications, however, were merely catalogues of the books the company offered at retail and wholesale, not a trade paper per se. See *The Canadian Bookseller* (March 1865): 1-8; *The Canadian Bookseller* (December 1867): 1-4; Although they were involved in retailing and publishing, *The Canadian Bookseller*, Adam, Stevenson & Co. appear to have focused primarily on their book importing business as the company was self-identified as "book-importers." See *The Canadian Bookseller* 1, no. 1 (March 1870): 1; Hulse, *A Dictionary of Toronto Printers* 1.

[95] "Prospectus," *The Canada Bookseller* 1, no. 1 (March 1870): 3.

[96] "The Canada Bookseller," *The Canada Bookseller Miscellany and Advertiser* 1, no. 1 (January 1872): 1; Hulse, *A Dictionary of Toronto Printers*, 1.

manufacturer, bookbinder, printer, and publisher. This level of involvement in the trade positioned Warwick as an ideal publisher and editor of such a paper. But like Adam, Stevenson & Co's earlier effort, *The Canadian Bookseller and Stationer* was short lived, ceasing after only two years due to Warwick's death in 1880.[97] By 1884, J.J. Dyas, an advertising agent for the *Canadian Illustrated News* entered the field with his publication, *Books and Notions*, filling the void left by *The Canadian Bookseller and Stationer*. *Books and Notions* would prove to be far more successful than its predecessors, possibly due to Dyas' personal experience in advertising. He published *Books and Notions* until 1888, when it was purchased by John Bayne Maclean. Under the Maclean banner, the paper (renamed *Bookseller and Stationer* in 1896) would be published continuously until 1945, when it was divided to form the *Canadian Bookseller* and the *Canadian Stationer*. Both papers were published under various titles until 1950 and 1960 respectively.[98]

In 1879, the Toronto-based Trader Publishing Co. began publishing *The Trader* in the combined interests of the jewelry and hardware fields.[99] This 'doubling up' in focus was likely due to *The Trader's* business model. From its inception, *The Trader* did not collect subscription fees. Instead, it was "distributed free of expense to every Jeweller and Hardware Dealer in Canada," likely in the hopes that the paper would attract advertising dollars from manufacturers and wholesalers by means of a guaranteed non-paying readership. The introductory article in *The Trader's* first issue suggests as much, as the paper openly declared that its free circulation was

[97] Hulse, 273.
[98] *Bookseller & Stationer and Office Equipment Journal* ceased in late 1945. It was split into *Canadian Bookseller* and *Canadian Stationer*. The first issue of *Canadian Bookseller* was published in January 1946. The paper continued until December 1949. In 1950 the *Canadian Bookseller* became *Books in Review*, which ceased in April 1950. See *Books in Review* 66, no. 4 (April 1950); For its part, *Canadian Stationer* became *Canadian Stationer and Office Equipment Buyer* in 1949. In 1950 it became *Canadian Stationer & Office Equipment Dealer*, then, *Stationary and Office Products* in 1965. The publication ceased in May 1967.
[99] "Introductory," *The Trader* 1, no. 1 (September 1879): 3.

made possible because "revenue is derived entirely from advertisements." The publisher formally requested advertising patronage, noting that:

> [W]e do not think it unreasonable if we venture to direct the special attention of our readers, not only to the original and selected matter, but also to the advertisements of the well-known and first-class houses that it contains…In this connection we would ask the consideration of the manufacturing and wholesale trade, who wish to reach the retail trade with the least possible expenditure, to the facilities which our paper offers as an advertising medium.[100]

Having just recovered from the international financial crisis that began in 1873, and in view of the paper's advertising revenue model, not charging for its issues helped to ensure that it drew the numbers of readers to attract advertisers. It was a combining of buyer and seller interests that would prove mutually beneficial.

During the early 1880s, the paper continued to serve jewelers and hardware merchants, and the advertisers who wanted to reach them. However, a shift in focus in editorial and advertising content soon signified that it was becoming a jewelry trade paper. This could have been due to several factors, such as a more enthusiastic reception to the paper among jewelry retailers. Or perhaps jewelry manufacturers, who were particularly hard-hit during the economic downturn and now looking to recover business were more apt to using *The Trader* as an advertising vehicle than were hardware producers.[101] Regardless of why the change occurred, the shift was becoming apparent in other ways. As the paper's new masthead denoted, *The Trader* had gone from being "Distributed free to every Jeweler and Hardware Merchant in Canada" in 1879 to being "The recognized organ of the Jewelry and kindred Industrial Trade of Canada," which was "Published on the first of every month and sent free to every dealer in Jewelry and

[100] All quotes from "Introductory," *The Trader* 1, no. 1 (September 1879): 3.
[101] "The Jewelry Trade," *The Trader* 1, no. 1 (September 1879): 4.

kindred goods in the Dominion of Canada."[102] By 1890 this shift was further solidified with the paper's renaming as *The Trader & Canadian Jeweler*.[103]

Three years after the *Trader*'s introduction, the *Dominion Dry Goods Report* was established. The *Report* was published by Emerson Bristol Biggar, an experienced journalist, assistant newspaper editor, and former manager of the Evangelical Churchman Publishing Co. of Ontario. Initially, Biggar's paper, based in Montreal, focused on serving both retail and wholesalers involved in the "dry goods, clothing and men's furnishings, millinery, ladies' furnishings and fancy goods and hat an fur trades."[104] While retaining the dry goods focus, by the early 1890s, the paper had changed its title to the *Canadian Journal of Fabrics*. It eventually became a journal for manufacturers.[105] Was this change at least in some measure attributable to the 1891 introduction of Maclean's competing Toronto-based paper, *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*? Biggar does appear to have become increasingly interested in manufacturing prior to this time. Indeed, in the mid-1880s he began publishing a Canadian textile directory in the

[102] *The Trader* 1, no. 1 (September 1879): 3; *The Trader* 7, no. 1 (January 1886): 3.

[103] As there are no issues available between 1886 and 1890 it is uncertain as to the exact date of this change of title; The significance of the *Jeweler* lay not only in the fact that it was one of Canada's earliest trade journals, but, because it is still in publication today. Published digitally on a bi-weekly basis and with a weekly newsletter, both under the title *Canadian Jeweller Magazine*, it is Canada's longest-running trade publication. See the 'About Us' page of *Canadian Jeweller Magazine* notes that "It is a matter of pride that for over 135 years, *Canadian Jeweller Magazine*, the longest running Canadian trade publication and first read information source, has been helping our industry and peers achieve business success." See http://canadianjeweller.com/about-us/.

[104] "*The Dominion Dry Goods Report*," *The Dominion Dry Goods Report* 1, no. 7 (May 1884): 169.

[105] The beginning of this shift becomes apparent in the early 1890s as Biggar's description of his journal reads: "A journal devoted to textile manufactures, and trade in dry goods, clothing, men's furnishings, hats, furs, millinery, and ladies' wear." See "*Canadian Journal of Fabrics*," *Canadian Journal of Fabrics* 8, no. 7 (July 1891): 1. Contents also indicate that the paper caters largely to manufacturers by this point, as features focus on technical topics dealing with the production of textiles, engineering issues, and textile design. See "Friction," *Canadian Journal of Fabrics* 8, no. 7 (July 1891): 1; Steaming Woolen Goods," *Canadian Journal of Fabrics* 8, no. 7 (July 1891): 3 "Textile Design Section," *Canadian Journal of Fabrics* 8, no. 7 (July 1891): 15, "Automatic Feeders," *Canadian Journal of Fabrics* 8, no. 7 (July 1891): 17; On this shift see also Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 82.

interests of producers suggesting that this shift was happening regardless of emergent competition.[106]

The very early years of trade paper publishing in Canada were clearly uncertain ones, as evidenced by the failures, shifting target audiences, and the diverse and shifting foci of publishers. But as the Canadian economy developed in the 1880s, so too did the number of publishers willing to serve the interests of business through trade papers. After 1885, in particular, a number of papers began to target food retailers. The centrality of food manufacturing to the Canadian economy, and by extension, the opportunity for advertising revenue for papers serving the grocery trade, encouraged this development. Early publishers who were also members of the trade were acutely aware of the exponential growth in the area during the last decades of the century. In 1871, there were 3 922 manufacturing establishments (many of which were small-scale, as Bliss pointed out), with an output of $56 689 227. By 1881, there were 5 100 establishments producing $75 137 755 in goods. The inaugural food trade papers were introduced at a time when the trade was in the midst of significant growth that publishers likely recognized as robust: by 1891, 12 177 food manufacturing interests were producing goods valued at $108 915 647.[107]

The first trade paper dedicated to the grocery trade was published by the wholesaling firm Lightbound, Ralston & Co. of Montreal, which introduced its monthly publication, the *Dominion Grocer,* in 1886. It appears to have been a popular publication, garnering support from the provincial government and attracting attention from the Quebec business and daily press. The

[106] Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, 82.
[107] "Table XLVII. Statistics of Industries, 1871," *Canada Year Book 1907*, second series (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1907), 124; "Table XLVIII. Statistics of Industries, 1881,' *Canada Year Book 1907*, second series (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1907), 128; "Table XLIX. Statistics of Industries, 1891," *Canada Year Book 1907*, second series (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1907), 132.

latter also reprinted articles from the *Grocer*. The *Dominion Grocer* also appears to have been the country's first grocery trade paper to integrate bilingual content, including borrowed pieces from the Quebec commercial paper, *Le Prix courant*.[108] No known issues survive, but it seems that the paper ended its run in either 1897 or 1898 when the company itself became insolvent.[109]

The same year that *The Dominion Grocer* was founded, the firm Bryant & Gibson introduced *The Canadian Grocer and General Storekeeper*. The recently-established pickle processing company was also a sales agent for Canadian brands such as Ganong Bros. and John P. Mott & Co. Edited by R. Sparling, who was also employed as a school principal at the time, *The Canadian Grocer and General Storekeeper* appears to have originated as an early company organ directed at the grocery trade. Only three issues were published before the firm abandoned its publishing efforts. In 1887 the title was acquired by journalist John Bayne Maclean, who subsequently turned the publication into a full-fledged trade paper.[110]

Unlike his contemporaries, Maclean was not working or even directly experienced within the industry he would serve. Instead, as a commercial editor and journalist-turned-publisher, Maclean sought to establish himself as a publisher of trade papers as opposed to an industry member putting out a single publication for his own trade. After Maclean acquired *The Canadian Grocer*, other publishers began to emulate this publishing model. From the late 1880s until the 1910s, numerous trade papers were introduced, covering the fields of dry goods, shoes, leather, baking, confectionary, hardware, tobacco, alcohol, harnesses, furniture and upholstery, printing

---

[108] "Ce qu'il faut boire," *La Presse* (28 juillet 1892): 2; "Petites notes," *Le Prix courant* 15, no. 4 (28 September 1894): 113; "*The Dominion Grocer*," *La Presse* (24 janvier 1895): 1; "Notes," *Le Prix Courant* 16, no. 1 (8 mars 1895): 36; "Entretenue avec les rouges," *Le Courrier du Canada* (27 mars 1897): 4.
[109] *Gazette officielle du Québec* 25, no. 30 (25 juin 1898): 1356; *Gazette officielle du Québec* 27, no. 30 (9 juillet 1898): 1437-1438.
[110] *Industries of Canada: Historical and Commercial Sketches of Toronto and Environs* (Toronto: M.G. Bixby & Co., 1886), 178-179; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series B, B-1-2-a, Box 54 Letter from John Bayne Maclean to Hugh Cameron Maclean, 27 July 1945.

and publishing, paint and décor, musical instruments, men's ready-made clothing, and agricultural implements. Some papers, such as the *Canadian Bookseller* and the *Canadian Harness and Carriage Journal* were published either by members of the trade itself or as single issues for individual publishers whose larger interests lay elsewhere. Yet for the most part the ownership of Canada's trade journals was concentrated in the hands of a few major trade paper publishers, most notably John Bayne Maclean, James Acton, and Harold Gagnier.

Soon after his acquisition of *The Canadian Grocer* in 1887, Maclean began to procure and establish other titles. In 1888, as noted, Maclean began catering to the bookselling trade, purchasing J.J. Dyas' *Books and Notions*. He was also quick to establish papers to serve other major manufacturing sectors and the retailers that carried their goods. The same year that he acquired *Books and Notions*, Maclean established *Hardware*, a paper serving hardware retailers and advertisers who produced or wholesaled goods such as boilers, engines, cutlery, tools, screws, and wire. Although not the first trade paper to serve the hardware field, it was the first journal dedicated exclusively to the trade. In 1891 Maclean went on to introduce *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*, a paper serving those dealing in clothing, millinery, hosiery, fancy goods, and wallpaper. The following year *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* was established and was the final paper Maclean introduced prior to the turn of the century. While not a retail journal per se, it was an important trade organ for the press, acting as a voice for all areas of periodical publication, including the trade press itself. It was also an advertising outlet for the producers of paper, inks, and various forms of printing technologies. From the early 1890s until the 1910s, Maclean did not establish or acquire any further retail trade titles, choosing instead to focus his company's resources on growing the trade papers he already owned and establishing commercial publishing and technical trade divisions. By the 1910s he perceived opportunity in the growing

ready-made clothing trade and established the *Canadian Millinery Review* (est. 1910), an offshoot of *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*, as well as the *Men's Wear Review* (est. 1911).

James Acton of Toronto also played an early and important role in developing the Canadian trade journal field. Acton established the *Canadian Shoe and Leather Journal* in 1888 and became manager of the Journal Publishing Co. briefly in 1889. It seems that the *Shoe and Leather Journal* was actually owned by the Journal Publishing Co. during Acton's time there (the company also owned the monthly, *Ladies' Bazaar*), suggesting that Acton was a partner in the firm, likely with publisher George Walton. The same year Acton left to pursue business under his own name, taking his paper with him.[111] After this transition, Acton dedicated himself largely to the publishing of trade journals, introducing the *Canadian Baker and Confectioner* in 1889 and the *Canadian Furniture and Upholstery Journal* in 1894. He presented general storekeepers with *The Canadian Merchants' Review* in 1899 and in 1904, Acton acquired the *Canadian Painter and Decorator* (est. 1896) from the Trades Journal Publishing Co. By 1911, Acton and Maclean would come into direct competition with one another (and, as will be seen, with Harold Gagnier as well) as Acton introduced *Men's Wear* and *Ready to Wear*, which served the men's and women's ready-made clothing trades. Like Maclean, Acton also entered the popular magazine field, establishing *The Home Journal* in 1905. Acton would not continue in the field for long, choosing to focus on his trade papers. Three years after its inception, he sold the *Home Journal* to the paper's advertising manager, Bill Rooke. [112]

---

[111] Elizabeth Hulse, *A Dictionary of Toronto Printers*, 1, 140, 272.

[112] Hulse,1; *American Newspaper Directory* (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1891), 792; "Canadians Read," *The Globe* (9 November 1899): 7; *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Montreal: A. McKim & Co., 1899), 112-113, 379; *The Canadian Newspaper Directory*, 4th ed. (Montreal: A. McKim & Co., 1905): 112, 114-115, "James Acton, Publisher Dies," *The Globe and Mail* (9 November 1942): 4; Fraser Sutherland, *The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines, 1789-1989* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1989): 156.

In the late 1890s, Harold T. Gagnier, manager of the Journal Publishing Co., which had introduced the *Canadian Cigar and Tobacco* Journal in 1894, entered the field on his own accord. Whether or not Gagnier had a share in the Journal Publishing Co. is unclear, but what is known is that in 1898 Gagnier established his own publishing company, H. Gagnier Limited of Toronto, and in either 1898 or 1899, he brought the *Canadian Cigar and Tobacco Journal* under the umbrella of this newly formed company.[113] The *Wine & Spirit Journal* was added to Gagnier's roster in 1898, followed by *Clothier & Haberdasher* in 1900, an early entrant to the ready-made clothing field. In the early twentieth-century Gagnier also made efforts to capitalize on the growth of the motor vehicle trade in Canada, establishing the *Motor Magazine of Canada* in 1905 and *Canadian Motor Cycle* in 1913. Gagnier also acquired the long-running *Trader and Canadian Jeweler* sometime in the years spanning 1905-1915. Like Maclean, Gagnier entered the technical trade paper field, with the publication of *Construction* in 1907, a paper which served the interests of architects, engineers, and contractors.[114] Gagnier would also become involved in the popular magazine field, acquiring *Saturday Night* from E.E. Shephard in 1906 and the *Canadian Home Journal* from Rooke in 1912.[115]

While the central importance of the periodicals established by publishers such as Maclean, Acton, and Gagnier lay in their contributions to business, they are also significant in that they challenge the idea that with the exception of the dailies, Canadian periodicals were

[113] In her work on the journal in the 1940s, Cheryl Warsh indicates that the journal was in fact established by Gagnier, although it seems that this was under the auspices of the Journal Publishing Co. See Cheryl Warsh, "*The Canadian Cigar and Tobacco Journal* in the Forties: A Remembrance," *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 21, no. 1(2006): 23; In Elizabeth Hulse's pre-1900 dictionary of Toronto printers, Gagnier is only identified as the manager of the Journal Printing Co. See Hulse, *A Dictionary of Toronto Printers*,104, 140; *The Canadian Newspaper Directory, 1899 Edition: A Complete List of the Newspaper and Periodicals Published in the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland, With Full Particulars* (Montreal: A. McKim & Co., 1899), 111.
[114] Ivan S. MacDonald, "Editorial," *Construction* 1, no. 1 (October 1907): 15.
[115] Sutherland, *The Monthly Epic*, 91-92, 156.

unsuccessful and short-lived. In comparison to other areas of periodical publishing during the period, the trade papers, especially those published by emerging major publishers, were characterized by their longevity. Due to significant obstacles to their commercial success, such as a small, geographically disperse population/readership base, insurmountable competition from American periodicals, and lack of copyright protection, Canadian periodical publishers struggled to turn their papers into viable business endeavors. As historians Merrill Distad and Linda M. Distad have argued, because of these factors, a "[p]recious few survived more than three years."[116] Trade papers are an important, yet unrecognized exception to this contention. Despite some failures, by 1915, seven Canadian trade papers had been in publication for five years or more, six for ten years or more, four had been published continuously for twenty years or more, eight had reached a quarter century in publication, and one, the *Trader and Canadian Jeweler*, had been published continuously for thirty-six years. Many of these papers thrived well into the twentieth century and papers such as Gagnier's *Trader and Canadian Jeweler* and Maclean's *The Canadian Grocer* are still published today. Each has had a consistent run of nearly 140 years.[117]

Why were Canadian trade journals generally an exception to the common trend of short publication runs within the larger area of periodical publication? The answer may lie in the nature of trade magazines more generally. For the target readership, these trade papers informed readers in distinct markets of news, events, and conditions (including local wholesale markets, local, provincial, and national legal, political, and social contexts) specific to that market. Periodicals aimed at a wider general readership, those that focused on literature, music, and

[116] Distad and Distad, "Canada," 64-65. See also Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 4th ed. (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 2011), 32.
[117] *The Canadian Grocer* even remains available in print alongside its digital format while the *Trader*, now known as *Canadian Jeweller Magazine*, is available online only.

fiction, as well as the emergent mass market publications in the English speaking North Atlantic had a much broader cross-border appeal. Trade journals lacked this degree of geocultural interchangeability. Although much American and British cultural production was readily consumed by Canadians through imported periodicals during the period, the utility of foreign trade journals to Canadian business people was limited because they usually did not cover conditions in their own markets. Canadian retailers may have read or subscribed to foreign trade journals. But in the absence of subscription data, it is reasonable to argue that market reports on local wholesale prices were far more critical in purchasing stock and other practical dealings for their own businesses. [118]

In any case, in the Canadian trade papers retailers were presented with local content but also many articles culled from international papers. As indicated, borrowing content from other trade papers, as well as the wider transatlantic business press, was common. Forsyth points out that despite the passage of the first national copyright law in 1790, the American trade press was essentially established upon the practice of stealing content, as "editors were more or less content to pilfer and let pilfer." By the mid-1800s the practice had not changed, but many editors began crediting the writers of their borrowed content, especially from domestic sources.[119] From an international perspective, the lack of international copyright legislation in America until 1891 meant that it was simple and legal for editors to take content from publications outside their own country, further encouraging the practice. The practice had become customary in trade paper

[118] There is clear indication that publishers such as Maclean did indeed recognize that their audiences read and admired foreign trade papers. See "No Title," *Books and Notions*, 5, no. 5 (December 1888): 79. Here, the editor notes that "Many letters from subscribers and advertisers unite in asking us to adopt the style of the English *Bookseller*, which they unanimously declare to be, for many reasons, the best."
[119] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America*, 333.

editing once the field was established in Canada.[120] But because editors here commonly credited their sources we know that much of the advisory and marketing-related content in Canadian trade papers was derived from American, and to a lesser extent, British sources. British copyright regulations extended to the colonies, acknowledging the copyright of Americans as early as 1868.[121] As such, Canadian trade papers presented timely, regionally specific content alongside features from pertinent American and British papers that editors deemed relevant to Canadian readers.

From the perspective of readership, these regionally specific trade papers served several functions which would have made them indispensable to retailers in the competitive, ever-changing retail environment of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, benefitting their longevity. In his 1945 study *Business Journalism*, Julien Elfenbein insists that the primary function of the trade paper was to serve as a form of adult education.[122] Although writing from the standpoint of the mid-twentieth century, this belief about the trade papers' purpose was true from the genre's inception in Canada. In addition to fulfilling a news delivery and research function through the collection, analysis, and provision of market-specific information, trade

[120] For instance, in the introductory editorial piece for *The Trader*, the editor openly states that the paper would use borrowed content, presenting readers with both "original and selected matter." See "Introductory," *The Trader* 1, no. 1 (September 1879): 3; For its part, J.J. Dyas' *Books and Notions* opened with an introductory essay by Canadian publisher and writer, Graeme Mercer Adam, but the feature that followed, "The Norse Discovery of America," was borrowed from the August issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Likewise, other features including "Cholera," (*San Francisco Chronicle*) "A Beetle's Forest," (*Flowers and their Pedigrees*)"The Outlook," (*Canadian Agriculturalist*) much of the contents of the paper's "Trade Notices" (*London Press News*, *Western Paper Trade*) section, and some of the entries under "Book Notices," (*London Bookseller*) were openly borrowed from other sources. See *Books and Notions* 1, no. 1 (August 1884): 3-14; In the case of Maclean's *Hardware*, only the 31 May 1889 issue survives from its initial year in publication and in it much of the content including "Beneficial Effects of Protection," (from an 'English Paper'), "Sheffield Trade with America," (from the *Iron and Steel Trades Journal* of London), "England's Best Customers," (also from the *Iron and Steel Trades Journal*), "Do Cut Prices Increase Consumption?" (*Geyer's Stationer*), "Value of Courtesy in Business," (from *Metal Worker*), "City vs. Country Boys," (from *The Office*), "No Title," (from *Carriage Monthly*), "Washing Up," (from *Painters' Magazine*), "Fashion and the Carriage Trade," (from *Barker's Trade and Finance*) were borrowed. See *Hardware* 1, no. 11 (31 May 1889): 2-6.
[121] Sarah Bannerman, *The Struggle for Canadian Copyright: Imperialism and Internationalism, 1842-1971* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 32.
[122] Elfenbein, *Business Journalism*, 3.

papers also delivered specialized instruction and information regarding emergent marketing, accounting, stock-taking, and purchasing practices, as well as detailing product-specific information regarding production processes and product characteristics. Retailers, held up as experts in the eyes of customers, increasingly required such specialized knowledge. Publishers actively encouraged readers to recognize their papers as educational sources as well. As advertisements for specially-made *The Canadian Grocer* protective binders indicate, publishers wanted readers to conceptualize their papers as educational tools worth preserving and keeping on hand for continual reference. One advertisement, entitled "It Is Well-Known," from a January 1892 issue of *The Canadian Grocer,* attempted to firmly entrench the educative benefits of trade journals by likening retailers' regular study of their contents to doctors' use of medical texts and journals and their travel abroad for professional development. [123] Modern businessmen were informed professionals. (See Figure 1)

[123] "'To Subscribers' *Canadian Grocer* Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 1 (2 January 1891): back cover; This advertisement appeared each week in the 1891 volume of *The Canadian Grocer* until the Sept 25 issue. See also "'Strike Out' *Canadian Grocer* Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 18, no. 4 (22 January 1904): 50; "'It is Well-Known' *The Canadian Grocer* Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer*, 6, no. 1 (1 January 1892): back cover.

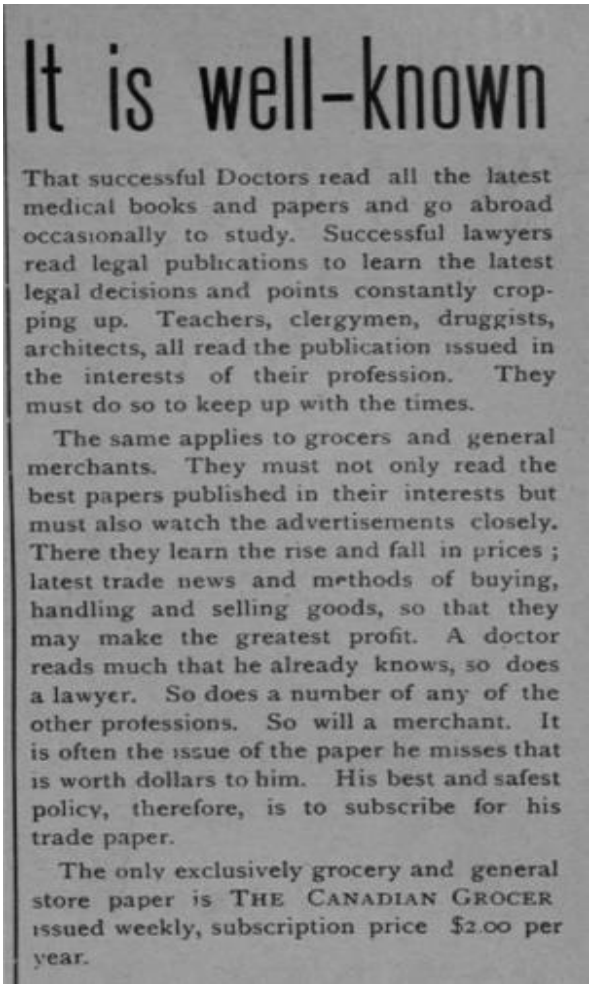


Figure 1: "It Is Well-Known *The Canadian Grocer* Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 1 (1 January 1892): back cover.

The educative function of trade journals is reflected in the Canadian historiography on trade papers as well as in works exploring retail marketing and business practices during the period. For instance, in his work on store window displays, Walden demonstrates how through the 1880s to 1920s, *The Canadian Grocer* served a textbook-like function in the area of window dressing. The *Grocer*, Walden explains, provided "a substantial body of advice" on window dressing on a consistent weekly basis. This included instruction on construction, encompassing the technicalities of lighting, which elements to include and which to avoid displaying, the need for and rationale behind including price tickets, the importance of originality, and the ideal

length of time for displays to be mounted.[124] For his part, Monod, whose work, *Store Wars*, explores the development of mass marketing from the perspective of the retailer from the 1890s until the 1930s, takes a broader view, elucidating the myriad of ways in which small-scale retailers adapted to the realities of the mass market through the adoption of new, 'modern' practices. Relying on trade journals such as Maclean's *Canadian Grocer*, and *Men's Wear Review* and Acton's *Shoe and Leather Journal* and *Furniture Journal* as source materials, Monod details how shopkeepers were instructed in the ideals and practices of modern merchandising, ranging from store presentation with regards to cleanliness, ventilation, and lighting, to creating unobstructed, orderly display of goods, implementing set, clearly marked prices, shortening credit terms and gradually implementing cash-only sales, and modernizing accounting practices, including the departmentalization of accounts, which would aide in the monitoring and ordering of stock. As Monod notes, in the process of retail modernization, "shopkeepers were following the advice of suppliers and retail experts who had become convinced that mass manufacturing and marketing should serve as models for merchandising."[125] As a communicative medium, retail trade journals were a modern means through which these experts, including domestic trade paper editors and international commentators, provided retailers with a continuous flow of specific, directive advice required to adapt to the mass market.[126]

Trade papers not only connected retailers with experts, they also connected retailers to each another, further enhancing their appeal. Trade papers openly solicited reader opinions, criticism, and queries in their correspondence sections. As readers enthusiastically responded to

[124] Walden, "Speaking Modern" 288-295.
[125] Monod, *Store Wars*, 171.
[126] Monod, *Store Wars*, 155-171.

editors' invitations to contribute to the creation of trade paper content through their letters, correspondence columns became a prominent feature of many late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian trade papers. Many letters were addressed to trade paper editors, and in them, readers revealed their opinions and analysis on pertinent issues relating to their retail specialty, remarked (both positively and negative) on features found in previous issues, and made their views known on the utility of the paper itself. However, the correspondence column also turned into a forum where retailers directly engaged with one another. This most commonly took the form of advising one another of trade conditions or debating the merits of practices and proposed industry-wide changes advocated either by the trade paper itself, trade associations, or individual readers. Others also used the correspondence section to ask fellow readers for their advice and opinions on business practices, including where to purchase certain goods and how to manage employees.[127] The correspondence section thereby became an important means of idea-sharing while also fostering community among increasingly geographically-disperse readerships who, for the first time, could easily communicate with one another in a way that was not previously possible.

The connective, forum-like role Canadian trade papers played in the lives of readers was further enhanced by their relationship to the multitude of trade associations that formed during the period. The late nineteenth century witnessed the rise of many Canadian business associations, communities of business owners and operators with common interests and issues.

[127] For instance, see "Letter to the Editor from A.C. Osborne," *Books and Notions* 1, no. 12 (July 1885): 190; "Letter to the Editor from Geo. Mason," *Books and Notions* 1, no. 12 (July 1885): 190; See entire "Correspondence" section *Books and Notions* 2, no. 4 (November 1885): 58-60; "Letter to the Editor from Merchant, Exeter, Ontario,"; "Why Don't You Write?" *Books and Notions* 2, no. 11 (June 1886): 156; *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 3 (18 January 1889), 4-5; "Letter to the Editor from Hamilton," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 5 (1 February 1889), 2; "Letter to the Editor from the Secretary of the Toronto Retail Grocers' Association," 3, no. 5 (1 February 1889), 2-3; "Our Correspondence Columns," *Hardware* 4, no. 9 (27 February 1892): 3; For 2-issue discussion on the problematic nature of credit system within the retail trade see "Correspondence Section," *Hardware* 4, no. 13 (26 March 1892): 3 and "Correspondence Section," *Hardware* 4, no. 14 (2 April 1892): 3.

They were formed to serve the interests of all levels of the distribution chain and existed on local, provincial, and national levels. Trade papers quickly became the organ of many wholesalers' and retailers' associations. Trade papers served association members by publishing regular news and occasional features on executive or other prominent members of these groups. Detailed, sometimes verbatim reports of association meetings were also published shortly after each meeting. For readers who were also members of these associations, the news and special features published in the journals connected them to their association on a consistent basis, much more so than if they relied on in-person meetings that were yearly, or seasonal at most.[128] As such, members could learn of items deemed to be of importance to the association soon after the association provided its information to the editor. In some cases, factors such as distance, the inability to leave one's business for any length of time, or even lack of desire, meant that members could not, or did not, attend meetings. In these cases, trade journals also became the primary means through which members could learn most of, if not all, of what was discussed and decided at each meeting, thereby providing a degree of connectivity they would not have had otherwise.[129]

[128] On news and biographical features see: "A Collecting Agency," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 5 (1 February 1889), 3; "Toronto Grocers," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 6 (8 February 1889), 3; "Toronto Retail Grocers' Association," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 11 (15 March 1889), 3; "Chat By the Way," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 29 (15 July 1892), 10-11; "Hamilton Retail Grocers' Association," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 43 (21 October 1892), 26 For examples of meeting accounts see: "The Guild's Annual Meeting," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 45 (4 November 1892), 5.

[129] Of course, publishers also benefitted from serving associations. These partnerships lent increased legitimacy to the trade paper as an official, trusted source of trade information. This also aided publishers in maintaining subscription numbers as association members were expected to subscribe to the journal representing the group for the reasons detailed above. As Elfenbein also notes, there was a strong, reciprocal relationship between trade associations and the trade press that extended well into the twentieth century. He notes that "These contemporary association are important sources of news and statistical information for businesspapers [sic]. Conversely, the business press is itself utilized by trade association officials, both as a carrier and as a source of information." See Elfenbein, *Business Journalism*, 85.

The longevity of many late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canadian trade papers must also be attributed to their centrality as marketing tools for Canadian manufacturers and wholesalers. Indeed, despite claiming to represent entire retail subspecialties on a national level, circulation alone could not guarantee a paper's continued success from an economic standpoint. By the 1890s, Canadian trade journals had subscription-based readerships ranging from 750 to 4 000, although most claimed between 1 000-3 000 subscribers.[130] Most publishers charged between $1.00 to $2.00 for a single subscription, meaning it was unlikely that publishers could have derived much profit from subscription rates alone.[131] Yet despite their relatively small circulation rates, because these papers grouped together not only retailers, but specific categories of specialized retailers, they provided a means through which manufacturers and wholesalers could reach highly concentrated pools of potential buyers.

Despite their increased usage over the period, the adoption of trade papers as advertising media by Canadian manufacturers and wholesalers was by no means a simple trajectory toward growth. In the late 1880s, these papers were relatively new forms of media, and while they were

[130] *The American Newspaper Directory* (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1891), 943; *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Montreal: A McKim & Co., 1892), 118-119, 122-123, 126, 145; R.W. Rexford, ed., *National Newspaper Directory and Gazetteer* (Boston: Pettingill & Co., 1892), 172; *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* indicated that the *Canadian Grocer* had the highest circulation of any Canadian trade paper with between 3750 and 4000 subscribers. This was followed by *Books & Notions* with between 2500 and 3000 subscribers, *Hardware*, the *Canadian Shoe and Leather Journal* and the *Dominion Grocer* with between 1500 and 2000 subscribers, and the *Canadian Baker & Confectioner*, *Canadian Bookseller*, and the *Trader and Canadian Jeweler* with between 1000 and 1500 subscribers. It seems that the circulation numbers from *The Canadian Newspaper Directory*, rather than its American counterparts, was likely closer to actual circulation figures as those from both Rowell's and Pettingill's directories indicate that circulations were notably higher. In the 1891 issue of the *American Newspaper Directory*, *The Canadian Grocer* had a rating of G** indicating over 5000 subscriptions, *Hardware* was rated an H, as were *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* and *Books and Notions*, indicating over 3000 subscriptions. *The Canadian Shoe & Leather Journal*, *Trader & Canadian Jeweler*, *Canadian Baker and Confectioner* were rated a J, indicating over 1000 subscribers. Pettingill's *National Newspaper Directory* indicated similar numbers the following year for the only Canadian trade papers included, the *Grocer* and *Hardware*, listing them with 5500 and 3900 subscribers respectively.

[131] *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Montreal: A. McKim & Co., 1892), 118-119, 122-123, 126, 145. In 1892, the *Canadian Grocer* and *Hardware* (both weeklies) were each $2.00 for a yearly subscription, *Books and Notions*, *Canadian Baker and Confectioner*, *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*, *Trader and Canadian Jeweler* (all monthlies) were $1.00 per year, and the monthly, *Canadian Bookseller*, was $0.50 per year.

likely familiar to some through exposure to more established American and British trade papers, these were likely used for information rather than as advertising forums. Therefore, Canadian trade paper publishers were essentially asking the producers and distributors of the retail trades they represented to invest in a new form of Canadian media that, to potential advertisers, were as yet unproven as advertising outlets. As will be discussed in chapter three, manufacturers in particular displayed significant hesitance about trade journal advertising due to a distrust of trade papers as advertising media and a lack of confidence in the benefits of advertising itself.

Even for those who did want to advertise, trade papers were not without competition. As historians Paul Rutherford and Minko Sotiron have demonstrated, at the end of the nineteenth century, daily newspapers were becoming an integral advertising medium for manufacturers. Although retailers had been the first to capitalize on newspaper advertising, by the 1890s, Canadian manufacturers, many of whom were adopting brand names, turned to the pages of newspapers to reach their markets. As daily newspapers became increasingly advertising-driven businesses, publications lowered insertion rates, offered volume discounts, and made display ads available, while also aggressively promoting themselves as advertising mediums. As such, by the turn of the twentieth century, the newspaper became a central advertising medium for retailers and manufacturers alike.[132]

In addition to newspapers, a plethora of printed advertising media was becoming available, fostering a highly competitive field through which manufacturers and wholesalers could present themselves and their goods. Non-periodical forms of advertising, such as trade cards, catalogues, and promotional booklets proliferated largely thanks to 'jobbers,' printers

[132] Minko Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-19*20 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 58-61; Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 103.

specializing in printing publicity materials. Many of these jobbers were printers who had left the newspaper field after recognizing the economic opportunities in offering various forms of print advertising to all levels of the consumer goods trade. Some of the mediums jobbers offered, such as trade cards and handbills, had been in use in British North America since the eighteenth-century and their use merely increased with Canadian industrialization and market development.[133] Others, such as catalogues, billboards, and promotional booklets and pamphlets were relatively newer forms of publicity texts. Catalogues in particular, which evolved from simple listings of products and technical descriptions to high-quality, image-laden compendiums that could be directed at either retailers or final consumers were a popular advertising outlet. The catalogue was extolled as a means of representing the style and character of firms due to increasing expectations surrounding printing methods, artistry, and the availability of space for write ups pertaining to company history and development while also acting as a means of enticing direct sales.[134]

As communications scholar Claire Badaracco has argued in the American context, the most "amorphous pervasive, and important of the so-called 'new' publicity products," was the house organ. House organs, or house magazines, were periodicals published by manufacturers

[133] Robert Jay, *The Trade Card in Nineteenth-Century America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 7-12; Patricia Lockhart Fleming and Sandra Alston, *Early Canadian Printing: A Supplement to Marie Tremaine's A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints, 1751-1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), xix, 495; Philippa Hubbard, "Trade Cards in 18th-Century Consumer Culture: Circulation, and Exchange in Commercial and Collecting Spaces," *Material Culture Review* 74-75 (2012): online; Michael Brisebois, "Posters and Handbills," in *History of the Book in Canada Volume Two: 1840-1918*, edited by Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockhart Fleming, and Fiona A. Black (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 111-115.

[134] Demand for catalogues was so high that many printers began specializing in the printing of catalogues alone. See "A Model Printing Establishment," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 1, no. 1 (May 1892): 7; "The Tendency Toward Special Lines," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 6, no. 3 (March 1897): 6; On quality and illustrations see: "Fine Catalogue Printing," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* "Catalogue Work," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 6, no. 3 (March 1897): 11; "A Word for High Grade Cuts," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 9, no. 3 (March 1900): 10, 12; "Specimens of Job Work," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 9 no. 12 (December 1900), 10; "Some Newsy Notes," *Economic Advertising* 1, no. 3 (Nov 1908): 31; "'Something Your Customers Will Read' Economic Advertising Book and Catalogue Department Advertisement," *Economic Advertising* 2, no. 2 (October 1909): 36.

and wholesalers on a yearly, quarterly, monthly, and, in some cases, weekly basis. These organs were primarily sales tools sent directly to all those the firm deemed to be prospective buyers. They contained a continuous flow of the manufacturer or wholesalers' advertisements in addition to features on manufacturing methods, sales strategies, window display pointers, and retailer-to-consumer advertising ideas. Because house organs included much information pertaining to sales and marketing, they also acted as an important educational resources for the retailers who received them. [135] Given that their use essentially mirrored that of trade papers, albeit in the interests of a single firm and pertaining to a specific product or product line, house organs constituted the most direct form of competition trade paper publishers faced. It does not appear that house organs were as ubiquitous in Canada as they were in the United States, especially in the earlier years of the period examined. They were, however, used by some national manufacturing and wholesale firms, including Massey-Harris, Gordon, Mackay & Co., the Canadian Consolidated Rubber Company, Canada-West, as well as publishing firms such Southam Press.[136]

During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries, the development of older and appearance of new advertising mediums promoted choice and promise for manufacturers, wholesalers, retailers, and emergent Canadian advertising agencies, but this created a highly competitive atmosphere among the advertising outlets themselves. As these new media appeared,

---

[135] "The House Organ," *Economic Advertising* 4, no. 10 (October 1911): 7; "The Retailer as the Manufacturer's Partner," *Economic Advertising* 4, no. 10 (October 1911): 31; "Co-operation in Advertising," *Economic Advertising* 4, no. 10 (October 1911): 40.

[136] "The House Organ," *Economic Advertising* 4, no. 10 (October 1911): 5. For examples of Canadian house organs see *Massey-Harris Illustrated* 1, no. 1 (January 1897)-1921(?); Canadian Consolidated Rubber Company Limited's *Foot-Prints* 1, no. 1 (20 September 1911)-2, no. 8 (June 1914)-This is the latest obtainable issue, not to say it was the end of publication; For Canada-West's house organ see "Some Newsy Notes," *Economic Advertising* 1, no. 3 (November 1908), 30; Mention of Gordon-Mackay's Monthly is made in Paul Fitzpatrick, "The 'House Organ' in Canada," *Economic Advertising* 1, no. 5 (January 1909): 22; An illustration of a Southam publication, which is assumed to be a house-organ entitled *Quality Printing* is found in "The Educational House Organ," *Economic Marketing* 4, no. 11 (November 1911), 41.

newspaper publishers, jobbers, specialized printers, trade paper publishers, and, in the case of house organs, manufacturers and wholesalers themselves all entered into competition with one another, either directly or indirectly. Not all forms competed directly, as newspaper advertising, advertising booklets, and pamphlets were directed at consumers, trade papers and house organs were useful to retailers, and catalogues could benefit both audiences, but ultimately they all still competed for the precious advertising dollars of Canadian manufacturers.

Conclusion

In the competition for both readers and advertisers, trade journal publishers had distinct challenges to overcome. This analysis suggests that the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a period of development for publishing companies such as that of Maclean, Acton, and Gagnier, as evidenced by their increasing number of titles. This was the case, but in addition to competition, trade paper publishers had specific challenges to face in order to sell both subscriptions and advertising space. The very newness of the genre combined with the prevalence of fraudulent activities undertaken by those seeking to unscrupulously capitalize on the promises of trade papers, especially with regards to advertising, meant that trade paper publishers had to convince potential subscribers and advertisers of their legitimacy and respectability. For those operating outside the retail fields they sought to serve, their task would also extend to proving their own legitimacy.

How would trade paper publishers overcome these challenges? The answer, for Maclean at least, lay in a particular notion of manhood based on Victorian norms of masculinity surrounding character and business success. Maclean would use the notion of character, its

inherent virtues, and their cultural linkages to business success as presented by success literature. Success literature is a body of publications including success manuals, biographical compendiums, novels, and published speeches used to promote the ideals of male character and success in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and prior). Maclean would use the concepts this literature espoused, character and success, as a touchstone, a means through which to cast respectability upon his journals, create an air of commonality between himself and readers, while also offering retail-specific direction on how to achieve success in business. This would prove to have a potential regulatory effect on readers as both retailers and the target of advertisements. The following chapter focuses on how Maclean attempted to carry out his objectives.

Chapter 2

The Search for Legitimacy in Print: The Gendered Content of the Maclean Trade Papers

Introduction

John Bayne Maclean was well aware that, in selling advertising space to manufacturers, he was also selling their access to a highly specialized readership. Like the sale of advertising space itself, however, amassing a strong readership base was not automatic or guaranteed. As company lore holds, in its first months of publication, *The Canadian Grocer* was an utter failure. Despite sending out ten thousand free copies to grocers throughout the Dominion, only a handful of retailers subscribed. Why was this the case? The newness of the trade paper genre itself in the grocery field was undoubtably a factor. Maclean was presenting a new mode of communication to a dispersed field of retailers unsure of the utility and trustworthiness of the publication. What's more, Maclean himself was not a fixture in the grocery field. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the owners and editors of previously established journals were typically members of the fields they served, making them insiders and giving them a level of credibility that Maclean simply did not have.

Maclean therefore had to devise tactics to both attract readers and to establish a level of trust and a reputation for himself and his journals within the grocery trade and other fields he eventually sought to serve. Certainly, this was done through the delivery of reliable trade information including the provision of timely news items and prices current. However, this chapter explores another central content-based approach Maclean employed, namely, the integration of features focusing on male character and success as they related to the retail trade.

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Maclean used largely borrowed content from American retail trade journals and popular success manuals of the period for publication in his journals. Through the publication of this content, Maclean articulated his own adherence to a particular brand of middle-class manhood in business. Maclean espoused a variation of manhood based on character as a means of attaining success, such as that discussed in the introduction to this dissertation. Focusing on themes such as retailers' struggles, definitions of business success, and the achievement of success through the possession and display of character virtues, this recognizable rhetoric paralleled that of the popular character-based advice literature of the day and acted as an important means through which Maclean sought to assure readers of his own respectability and that of his journals. Maclean thereby encouraged the increased adoption of his papers among the trade through the provision of culturally resonant advisory materials found in wider North American culture, but in trade-specific language.

Maclean used long-held, highly recognizable gender norms to demonstrate his personal respectability and consequently that of his trade papers, but the inclusion of such content served other ends too. This chapter argues that the goals of integrating such content were also regulatory. In the midst of the commercial upheavals of the late nineteenth century, competitive pressures led retailers and wholesalers to engage in destructive competitive practices such as lowering prices to unsustainable levels and transgressing trade boundaries between fields and levels of trade (ie: retail, wholesale, and manufacturing). The highly gendered content Maclean included urged readers to adapt to a specific form of manhood based on character, embrace a specific form of success, and to conduct business according to the dictates of character, thereby encouraging stability and cooperation within the trade. Such encouragement was framed as being

in the best interests of readers. It was also very much in Maclean's interest, as a cooperative and compliant readership would more likely be receptive to both trade papers, and the advertisements they contained.

Reputation, Character, and the Success Ethic in the Late Nineteenth Century

As historian Roland Marchand contended in his 1998 *Creating the Corporate Soul*, "[t]he late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries spurred a corporate quest for social and moral legitimacy."[1] This quest for legitimacy was central to North American businesses that were expanding with regards to both depth and breadth. According to Marchand, in the American context, the ever-increasing size of corporations and the growing geographic distance between companies and their customers, left customers feeling disassociated from businesses, eventually leading to castigations of corporate "soullessness." As the works of historians Ken Lipartito and Pamela Laird have demonstrated, businesses in the growing service sector in particular were facing questions surrounding their legitimacy not for their size, but for the nature of their business. Examining the emergent credit reporting and advertising fields in the late nineteenth-century, both Lipartito and Laird demonstrate that as new, largely untrusted services, both types of businesses were faced with widespread accusations of unscrupulousness, necessitating their own search for legitimacy.

The type of legitimacy businessmen of the late nineteenth century both desired and required could only be conferred through the establishment of a respectable reputation. As historians Rowena Olgario and Christopher McKenna explain in their work on corporate

[1] Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 3.

reputation, there is no consensus regarding the definition of corporate reputation, yet they indicate that that of management scholar Charles Fombrun is most widely used. According to Fombrun, reputation is "a collective assessment of a company's attractiveness to a specific group of stakeholders relative to a reference group of companies with which the company competes for resources."[2] Like Fombrun, Lipartito has argued that reputations are open to the interpretation of various stakeholder and convey a sense of a person or organization's trustworthiness, something that is generally attractive within market economies. The historiography on corporate reputation has highlighted that it served to facilitate market exchange by increasing confidence among business partners and customers, especially in times of uncertainty. Reputation, then, has historically conferred a level of legitimacy to business which, in turn, bestowed individual firms with increased trade opportunities while also restricting opportunities for those not held in high esteem by stakeholders.

Of course, business reputation was, and remains contextually-specific, and as Lipartito rightly insists, "[r]eputation in the nineteenth-century sense is best defined as the public knowledge or understanding of character." [3] In the context of the late nineteenth century, character was considered the essence of a man and was comprised of a multitude of virtues including integrity, honesty, industriousness, will power, sound judgement, perseverance, and diligence. While Lipartito's assertion pertains to the United States, the works of Andrew C. Holman and Robert T. Kristofferson demonstrate that the same held true in Canada with the ideology holding sway among craftworkers and the emergent middle class alike from the 1870s. The ideology permeated public discourse through the daily press and success literature: manuals,

[2] Rowena Olgario and Christopher McKenna, "Introduction: Corporate Reputation in Historical Perspective," *Business History Review* 4, no. 87 (2013): 643.
[3] Kenneth Lipartito, "Mediating Reputation: Credit Reporting Systems in American History." *Business History Review* 4, no. 87 (2013): 659.

biographical compendiums, public speeches, and, as this chapter demonstrates, trade papers.[4] From the perspective of the middling classes in the late 1880s and 1890s, the continual demonstration of character was itself framed as a form of masculine success. Character was also considered the ultimate moral and social capital needed to build a successful, lasting business. Not only did the virtues inherent in character supposedly provide those who possessed them with the necessary requisites in running a business, but character also translated into public trust through the formation of a positive reputation, leading to support among business partners and customers.[5] Importantly, as historians such as E. Anthony Rotundo and Scott Sandage have demonstrated, work-related failure among the middle class was typically attributed to a lack of character and, therefore, would lead to an utter undermining of a man's reputation.[6]

The necessity of public recognition meant that there was a distinctly performative component to character and its translation into reputation. This was reflected in the cultural 'products' of the period as men were advised that character, while innate to some, could and should be cultivated, and, just as importantly, demonstrated publicly. As Lipartito notes, the performative aspect of reputation could be problematic as it "might be mere popular belief – delusional and unstable – and thus the opposite of solid character," therefore false representations could be made.[7] Nevertheless, public displays of character in business, including everyday acts ranging from the treatment of employees, to interactions with customers and

[4] Rev. John Potts, *The Royal Path of Life; or, Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness* (Toronto: G.M. Rose & Sons, 1879 and Republished by J.S. Robertson in 1883), 89-91, 185, 192-193; Judy Hilkey, *Character is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. As the work of Andrew C. Holman demonstrates, these notions of manhood also permeated the popular press during the era. See Andrew C. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 32; Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism*, 141-142; 148-153.
[5] Michael Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 32; Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*, 32-33.
[6] Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 179; Sandage, *Born Losers*, 232-233.
[7] Equally problematic was the fact that those who were financially successful were upheld as men of character, because, as the ideology held, only men of strong character could attain any level of lasting financial success.

suppliers, and maintaining consistent, fair prices were how a positive reputation could be cultivated.

As size and distance continually separated businesses and their owners from trading partners, associates, and customers, those public acts that supposedly reflected character and fostered reputation were increasingly difficult to display. This means that business owners had to find alternative means of communicating who they were and their character in the hopes of either forming or maintaining a positive reputation. In his work on public relations, Roland Marchand demonstrates how late nineteenth century manufacturers imbued trade cards with their own images and that of their factories in an effort to convey personal characteristics. While their images were a means of both vouching for the strength of their character and putting their character on the line, the factory image supported the notion that business owners were in fact men of character, for, as the ideology held, only upstanding men could attain this level of financial success.[8]

While such self-promotion could be useful for those who had already attained a certain level of success, as historian Edward J. Balleisen insists, new start-ups such as Maclean faced increased reputational challenges. Working from what Balleisen has termed the "entrepreneurial margin," new entrants had to find ways to essentially boast about themselves and their actions while keeping in-line with the prescriptions of propriety as dictated by the ideology surrounding character. This meant that new entrepreneurs had to find a way to communicate their character, their abilities, and intentions for their business, without an already-established reputation, proof of success, such as a large manufactory, or, in many cases, without the opportunity to meet potential trading partners and customers face-to-face. To compound matters, new owners would

[8] Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul*, 26-29.

have had less access to the means of engaging in this type of promotion such as the funds to pay for promotional items such as trade cards. Nor would they have had membership within business networks whose members could assist them through vouching for their character if and when necessary.[9]

New entrants in emerging sectors, again, like Maclean, would have had additional challenges as not only was their own character unproven, but so too was the very nature of the business they conducted. This made it extremely difficult to establish a sound reputation. This was especially the case for those within emergent service-based fields such credit reporting, public relations, and advertising. Success was measured materially, but not just in relation to financial gain. In the late nineteenth-century, the concept of productiveness, or industry, was central within business and society more generally. Both productiveness and industry had intricately related double meanings, as they were at once related to character as synonyms of diligence and hard work, while also indicating the tangible act of producing. Both meanings were fundamental to understandings and measures of success, and it is important to understand that the act of production, or being a producer was equally important to the ways in which business success was defined. In an era that extolled material and technological progress, manufacturers, the producer of goods were lauded for advancing society by increasing employment, ensuring the availability of goods, and using new pioneering technologies to introduce innovative products and bring about material and human progress. Production was idealized as the epitome of business and many perceived the new service fields as potentially threatening to manufacturers,

[9] Pamela Walker Laird, *Pull: Networking and Success since Benjamin Franklin* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 23. In her work Laird notes the detrimental consequences of being excluded from business networks, noting that "Membership in, or even just access to a consequential network can nurture an individual of talent and ambition, whereas lack of access can defeat any hope."

or, at the very least, that new entrepreneurs would leach off them for profit. This further complicated service workers' relationships to business associates, customers, and the public.[10]

As Olegario and McKenna have argued, based on the premise of stakeholder theory, firms have historically had to establish simultaneous reputations among various interest groups, including customers, investors, and employees, and a firm will therefore have multiple reputations depending on which group is being considered.[11] Examining the Maclean company's efforts to establish strong reputations among their two groups of customers, readers and advertisers (both of which were not necessarily mutually-exclusive) demonstrates the veracity of Olegario and McKenna's contention. Taken together, chapters two, three, and four of this dissertation reflect how Maclean endeavored to appeal to each group. These appeals were generally complementary, couched as a means of serving both their joint and individual interests, while employing the gendered language and behaviours so heavily associated with business character and success as these were defined and redefined throughout the period.[12]

While the fact that Maclean was a new publisher of a relatively new business communication medium meant that he had the challenge of ingratiating himself, his company, and his trade journals to both readers and potential advertising patrons, his vocation also proved advantageous. As early as the 1830s, businesses, most notably railroads, sought to communicate with the public in an effort to establish and manage their reputations and the practice intensified and spread to other business fields by the late nineteenth-century. Marking the emergence of the field of public relations, by the late 1880s companies sought media exposure and many hired

[10] Laird, *Advertising Progress,* 106-107.
[11] Olegario and McKenna, "Introduction," 654.
[12] Historian Chris Kobrak has argued that as social and institutional contexts change, so too do the perceived valuable attributes employed to build reputation. See Christ Kobrak, "The Concept of Reputation in Business History," *Business History Review* 4, no. 87 (2013): 779, 783.

press agents who both responded to negative publicity and perceptions while also disseminating corporate policy to the public. For press agents this required a good deal of 'working the press' as Tedlow describes it, even giving gifts to reporters and paying for outlets to publish features on behalf of firms.[13] Maclean was fortunate in that he owned and operated the very mediums that went directly to the stakeholders he needed to address. In owning a publishing firm Maclean had the power to, at the very least, attempt to craft his own image and that of his journals.

John Bayne Maclean, His Trade Journals, and the Success Ethic

To attract and keep subscribers, and to attract advertisers, Maclean recognized the importance of his papers' content. At the same time, Maclean had to make efforts to purposely differentiate his papers from those advertising sheets that claimed to be trade papers. These imitation trade papers of the era were created to sell advertising space to unsuspecting advertisers who were promised large audiences. At their core, the Maclean papers were created to serve the same purpose, however, unlike those running fraudulent journals, content was a central concern for Maclean as he actually intended to create a sustainable business which made a healthy network of subscribers a necessity. Content was therefore a central concern for Maclean when he began the *Canadian Grocer* and his subsequent papers. Like other North American trade papers, Maclean gathered original content on general trade activity, market reports, and lists of wholesalers'

[13] Richard S. Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image: Public Relations and Business 1900-1950* (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1979), 7-8. On the rise of public relations see also Scott Cutlip, *The Unseen Power: Public Relations, As History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1994), ix-807; Karla Gower, "US Corporate Public Relations in the Progressive Era," *Journal of Communications Management*," 12, no. 4 (2008): 305-318; Cayce Myers, "Early US Corporate Public Relations: Understanding the 'Publicity Agent' in American Corporate Communications, 1902-1918," *American Journalism* 32, no. 2 (2015): 412-433.

current prices, but he also utilized a great deal of borrowed content from American and British trade journals in the same lines.

While the practice of borrowing content was common and becoming increasingly so into the 1890s as trade journals proliferated in North America and Britain, it was especially crucial for Maclean when he began his journals. Unlike those owner-editors who had previously worked within the fields they served with their trade journals, such as William Kirkpatrick McNaught of the *Trader & Canadian Jeweller*, and even Lightbound and Ralston, the wholesalers who launched the Montreal-based *Dominion Grocer*, Maclean was somewhat of an outsider in relation to the fields he served. Maclean had worked as the editor of the commercial section of both the *Mail* and held the same post from 1887 until 1890 on the Conservative organ, the *Empire*, and as such came into contact with wholesalers in ascertaining market prices on certain goods. However he did not have experience within the grocery, bookselling, hardware, or dry goods fields from a retail perspective. By extension, Maclean did not have direct experience or an established reputation within the trades from which he hoped to draw his primary readership. Given the importance of reputation as established in the previous section, in addition to the challenges faced by those on the 'entrepreneurial margin,' and those within the emergent service fields, Maclean was at a distinct disadvantage.

Regardless of his work as a commercial editor for the Toronto dailies, Maclean was not a trade insider as he embarked upon his publishing career. Nor does his background prior to entering suggest any real connection to retail, further underscoring his lack of connection. Maclean came to journalism haphazardly as his original ambition was to become a soldier. When he recognized the difficulties of being admitted to the Royal Military College, however, he decided to pursue teaching, not journalism. Maclean obtained a three-year teaching certificate

and in 1879 was appointed to teach at the model school in Durham, Ontario, then moved to teach in Glenelg Township. In 1881 Maclean left the school for Toronto to pursue a Normal School certificate. At the end of his program, however, Maclean found himself having to find a new vocation as he, somewhat ironically, did not pass his final exams having obtained subpar marks in English.[14]

Without any recorded explanation, Maclean transitioned to from teaching to journalism in 1882 when he was hired at the Toronto *World* at the age of 20. His uncle, James Cameron, with whom Maclean, his mother, and younger brother Hugh lived in Chatsworth, Ontario after his father's passing in 1873, edited the *Canada Christian Monthly*, which may have influenced Maclean's decision. Former Maclean employee and biographer Floyd Chalmers has also contended that Maclean wrote pieces for the *Owen Sound Times* while teaching in Glenelg, indicating his interest in journalism. Maclean himself has not left records explaining his decision to change careers. What is known is that for the first two years of his career in journalism, of which only a few weeks were spent at the *World* as Maclean was working at the *Mail* by December 1882, much of his time was spent reporting on a range of topics including school board meetings, fraternal societies, religious organizations, and police activity. Maclean was also named editor of the paper's two-column marine intelligence section for a brief time. [15]

Once he became assistant-commercial editor of the *Mail* in 1884, Maclean became increasingly familiar with the Toronto business environment. He gained both knowledge and contacts by reporting on grain and livestock prices, the latter becoming his specialty. He traveled

[14] AO, RG 2-128-4-35, Principals' Reports of Teachers in Training, 1883, Candidates for Special Examinations, Toronto, January 1883. Records indicate that Maclean failed his examination in the areas of spelling and composition in March 1882.
[15] Chalmers, *A Gentleman of the Press*, 17.

to major American livestock trade centres such as Chicago and Buffalo, and was also hired to write pieces on the livestock trade for American newspapers.[16] Maclean gained an understanding of the fluctuation of wholesale prices from his work at the *Mail* and the importance of relaying this information to retailers on a regular basis. This experience was undoubtedly an invaluable initiation to the world of business, but it did not give him the experience or expertise other trade paper editors, who were also either retailers or wholesalers, could claim.

Maclean's strength as a trade paper owner-editor lay not in editorializing about the intricacies of the inner workings of the trades he served, but in his ability to acquire and communicate current trade information such as current prices, reporting on which products were in demand on a given week or month and why, as well as detailing happenings among the trade, such as business sales and failures. But while these specialized features provided definitive value to his readers, they did not fill the pages of the trade papers to create the voluminous journals Maclean envisioned. He therefore turned to outside sources, including articles gleaned from (and credited to) American and British trade journals, magazines, and success manual content, especially during the early years of the company, to help fill the pages of his papers.

The borrowing of trade journal content had additional significance, however. Because he did not have direct experience within the retail trades, Maclean lacked an element of common ground with his readers that could typically be established editorially through first-hand accounts of trade experience. Maclean consequently used borrowed content as a way to both establish a certain character for his journals while also finding a necessary degree of commonality with readers. To do this, Maclean used retail-specific content, including features on stock and account

[16] Maclean-Hunter Files, Series B-1-1, Box 47, Col. John Bayne Maclean – Personal Accounts Journal, July 7, 1887-Mar 3 1889 file, Account Journal, see entries from 9 July 1887, 11 July 1887, 12 July 1887, 19 July 1887.

keeping, store management, and cleanliness, that when combined with his current prices, trade news, and original pieces on Canadian-based businesses, gave his papers an air of expertise. Just as importantly, the material Maclean borrowed centered largely on the notion of character and the interrelated success ethic of the period, a concept that, given its cultural popularity, was likely to have resonated strongly with readers across the trades.

From the mid-nineteenth-century, character, the success ethic and published works lauding these paradigms had become a veritable industry unto itself. As noted previously, success literature, including success manuals, biographical compendiums of American political and business leaders, success-themed novels, short stories, articles, and published lectures permeated American, Canadian, and British culture during the period. These works were targeted specifically at English speaking male readers of moderate means who were either beginning in or seeking encouragement and direction within their chosen vocations. Success literature was written almost entirely by men, especially Protestant ministers, educators, and publicists such as Samuel Smiles, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Orison Swett Marden. Smiles was essentially the father of success literature, publishing the hugely popular, *Self Help* in 1859, followed by *Character* (1872), *Thrift* (1875), and *Duty* (1881).[17] Smiles' work and the publications of those who followed promised to guide men who read them to find success in life. This was especially true for those entering business.[18] The key to success was said to be simple. Men had only to

[17] Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 21; Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance*, popular edition (London: John Murray, 1897), v; Smiles, *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (London: John Murray, 1859), xii-343; Smiles, *Character* (London: John Murray, 1872), vii-388; Smiles, *Thrift* (London: John Murray, 1875); Smiles, *Duty: With Illustrations of Courage, Patience, and Endurance* (London: John Murray, 1881): xvi-430. As Hilkey explains, Smiles' body of work sold over a million copies in the United States alone. His books were also translated into various languages including French, Dutch, and German.

[18] Irvine J. Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1954), 121, 127; Richard Weiss, *The American Myth of Success* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), 4, 65; Theodore P. Greene, *The Changing Models of Success in American Magazines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 109; Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 13-54.

exemplify the virtues of character as espoused in the manuals. As Judy Hilkey's research demonstrates, in the United States alone, individual titles of success manuals sold in the tens and hundreds of thousands in each decade between 1870 and 1910. While Canadian writers and orators published book- and article-length works, as well as biographies and speeches, Canadian editions of those immensely popular American and British publications were also printed, flooding the Canadian public with success literature during the same period.[19]

The success ethic first emerged in North America in the 1830s, but it was not until the rise of industrialization that it became what historian Irvine J. Wyllie describes as a "cult."[20] As Hilkey has argued, the resurrection and popularization of the success ethic served a very specific function within American society from the 1870s onward. Industrialization, rapid economic growth, the proliferation of transportation systems, the emergence of socioeconomic hierarchies and the visible emergence of extreme wealth and extreme poverty, and erratic business cycles resulting in depressions in both 1873 and 1896 led to much uncertainty and anxiety. As industrialization and its forces took hold of the American economy, opportunities for self-employment, which had been a marker of full adulthood for young men, especially in business, began to dwindle. Success literature was directed at males of income-earning age including farmers, skilled workers, tradesmen, and small proprietors, many of whom, had much to be anxious about. The manuals themselves were presented a means of assuaging men's fears,

[19] Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 1; William Mathews, *Getting on in the World, or, Hints on Success in Life* (Toronto: Belford Brothers, 1876), v-340; William Mathews, *Getting on in the World, or, Hints on Success in Life* (Toronto: Rose-Belford, 1879), iii-340; William Makepeace Thayer, *Tact, Push and Principle* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1886), 1-369; Edward W. Bok, *Successward: A Young Man's Book for Young Men* (Fleming H. Revel Company, 1896), 1-184; Orison Swett Marden, *Architects of Fate, or, Steps to Success and Power* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897), iii-305.
[20] Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America*, 4.

helping them come to terms with the upheavals of the age while offering hope for what the future might hold by promising success to all who read and applied their teachings. [21]

Success manuals and success literature more broadly were extremely formulaic in nature and offered readers a simplified means of coming to terms with a complicated new order. From the perspective of success manuals, each work characteristically included an introduction in which the author acknowledged the challenges of the age, and typically framed life as an "uphill battle." Often couched in militaristic language, authors insisted that readers would, after reading their work, be equipped with the necessary weaponry in the form of character virtues, to succeed in life. The opening chapter of success manuals also typically included a discussion of the nature of success itself. Insisting that there was still "room at the top" for all, financial achievement was acknowledged as but one form of success. But authors underscored that the attainment of manhood through consistent demonstration of character virtues was the true measure of success. Additionally, authors emphasized that financial success was, in actuality, a reflection of sterling character meaning that while money was a form of success, manhood was its true measure.[22] With this dual definition of success, all men, whether they reached their economic goals or not, could make claims to success although those who were believed to have combined manhood with financial prowess, such as the business men and politicians highlighted within the pages of success manuals, were held in particularly high esteem within the success ethic.

Focusing on the centrality of individual virtue, the body of success manuals read like a list of character traits that would assist readers in becoming successful, or reaching true manhood. Each chapter typically focused on a single virtue, including but not limited to honesty,

[21] Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 24.
[22] Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 138.

integrity, duty, industry, discipline, self-reliance, self-help, self-denial, punctuality, and perseverance. Chapters focused on describing each virtue, their importance in the world, the necessity in their cultivation, and provided examples as to how they might be applied. Manual content was bereft of any real type of instruction, such as how to run a business. This is likely because the function of these works was not to act as a practical guide, but as a means of ensuring that all could have a means to succeed through the democratization of success. Through the application of these virtues, which were familiar preindustrial values selectively employed, and technically available to all, all men, whether rich or poor, could hold a common set of beliefs regarding the definition of success and manhood.[23]

As Irvine J. Wyllie has rightly contended, the success ethic in all its various literary forms was used for divergent interests and purposes.[24] For the everyday boy or man who felt the anxieties of the age, the success ethic served as a means of democratizing success, at least rhetorically, as the ethos underscored that through character, success in the form of manhood was available to all. From the perspective of authors and the publishing houses that distributed their works, the ethic was used to sell their writing, especially once they became aware of the wide demand for the genre. The success ethic certainly served business magnates who were building commercial empires in the creation of a compliant workforce. What's more, through biographical features, success literature served to bolster the rich, not only defending their wealth, but placing their lives within a framework that idealized and celebrated acquisition of wealth.[25]

[23] Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 5.
[24] Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America*, 151.
[25] Wyllie, 162.

The plethora of success literature available meant that, from an editorial perspective, Maclean, and later, the editorial staff of his individual papers could be, and arguably were, highly selective of the borrowed materials they published. In the American context David P. Forsyth has noted that the borrowing of content was a highly common practice among trade paper editors of the period and prior, and one that was deemed acceptable so long as the original sources were properly credited.[26] The sources Maclean and his editors employed included issues of established, largely American trade papers, as well as emergent mass-circulation magazines, daily papers from large centers such as New York and Boston, and even success manuals themselves.

While the sources Maclean and his editors published reflected the general trends in success literature, the success columns in the Maclean papers were specific to the needs and interests of the company's readers, recognizing their specific challenges. As such, success content was a means through which Maclean could claim common ground with his readers in the hopes of gaining respectability for himself and his journals. Its inclusion also aided in differentiating the Maclean papers from the pithy advertising sheets that fraudulent trade journal publishers were trying to pass off during the period. At the same time the content was highly advisory in nature, thereby addressing how readers might define success and present themselves within the business environment to achieve the definition of success with which they were presented. Therefore, this familiar, yet contextually specific rhetoric was also used to encourage readers' use of trade papers, to adopt character-driven, compliant behaviours beneficial to the

[26] Forsyth, *The Business Press in America*, 99, 202. See also "The Real and the Unreal Business Paper," *Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 2 (10 January 1896): 10.

very functioning of the trade and to The Maclean Publishing Company. The remainder of this chapter examines the ways in which this was attempted.

The Competition of Life: The Retailer's Plight

Success writers established a trope that cast life as an uphill battle to frame their works. While success literature was ultimately meant to uplift and encourage, writers did not shy away from warning readers about the perils of the age and actually helped to create a perilous, turbulent vision of the world, undoubtedly as a means of convincing readers of the need for their books. Success writers identified the "dangers" and "troubles" of the age variously, pointing to uncertainties such as the newness of the age in the form of electrification and the seemingly backward ways of even the immediate past, the rapidity of daily life, especially the accumulation of wealth among the few, the growth of cities, and the heavy and incessant increase in business competition. [27]

In editing his journals, Maclean and later, his editors, also employed the notion that life was an uphill battle. However, unlike success authors, Maclean papers focused specifically and solely on the notion that ceaseless competition was its cause. As the Maclean trade journals continually reiterated to retail readers, theirs was "a day of ardent competition," and most of the hardships of the age were caused by "the tide of competition," whose "flood will be felt with greater force as the years roll on."[28] These articles were pertinent for, as discussed in the

[27] Weiss, *The American Myth of Success* 101-103; John Cawelti, *Apostles of the Self-Made Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 170-171.
[28] "Conditions for Success in Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 5 (1 February 1889): 3. For an example of a feature employing religion see "The Market Value of Character," *Hardware* 4, no. 38 (September 1892): 15; "An Age of Hustlers," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 2 (13 January 1893), 27.

previous chapter, the unprecedented growth of the retail sector had led to unwieldy competition both within and between all levels of trade. As retailers proliferated in cities and towns across Canada, competition was rife, and retailers were further impacted by many competitors who undertook what were deemed unscrupulous actions to avoid failure. This included cutting prices below cost to attract customers, a practice which commonly led to failure for retailers and losses for wholesalers who had sold them stock. Many retailers who had specialized in distinct areas of trade such as hardware or dry goods for instance, were stocking goods outside their lines in the hopes of increasing sales. Similarly, retailers were being challenged by wholesalers and department stores. For their part, many wholesalers were undermining their retail customers and selling direct to the very customers retailers served, while departments stores offered a plethora of goods, engaged in aggressive advertising techniques, and established modern premises that came to challenge the utility and relevance of independent retailers.[29] Readers' experiences were therefore being recognized, indicating that Maclean and the editors of the Maclean journals understood the plight of their readers, selectively editing the papers in a way that capitalized on both the norms of success literature and the specific realities of retailers.

The features published in the Maclean papers not only emphasized that competition was the ultimate challenge for retailers, but that it was a distinctly masculine challenge. As was common in the success ethic tradition, the articles chosen for the Maclean papers masculinized life's uphill battle by employing militaristic terms which also served to underscore the gravity of men's plight, insisting that the retail merchant's life in particular "is a perpetual warfare" due to competition and the means with which some retailers tried to overcome the challenge it posed.[30]

[29] Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 37-38; Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 290-292; Monod, *Store Wars*, 26-27; Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 21-26; Wright, "Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance," 240-241.
[30] "Tact in Business," *Hardware* 5, no. 32 (12 August 1893), 2; "Development of Character," *Hardware* 5, no. 43 (28 October 1893): 3. See also "Don't Do Things by Halves," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 34 (21 August 1891): 18;

As a May 1893 feature from *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* also underscored, "[t]he essence of modern trade is competition. It is the warfare among the strugglers for wealth…"[31] In reference to direct retail competition and the transgression of trade boundaries, readers were told that they had "foes within and foes without to contend against," and these were "competitors who are armed with steel," likening competitive practices to weaponry. [32] Although Darwinian references were few within the success genre, likely due to efforts to democratize success and seemingly fulfill the promise that there was room at the top for all, Maclean readers were warned that within the battlefield that was Canadian retail in the 1890s, "only the fittest will survive," and "therefore every preparation should be made to step into breaches which are left open in the enemy's defenses."[33]

The use of such militaristic metaphors is significant as it served various communicative purposes for Maclean. This language undoubtedly represented the harsh realities retailers faced and reinforced to readers that Maclean and his editors understood that like warfare, the retail landscape was brutal and unceasing. In choosing to frame competition as a battle, Maclean was also setting out the distinctly gendered parameters of his journals and the reading culture he sought to foster through them. In calling men to action in retail, insisting that they engage in a battle for survival against armed opponents, Maclean was clearly addressing male readers within the gendered constructs of the period.

"Truth or Falsehood," *Hardware* 4, no. 27 (2 July 1892): 4; "The Abuse of Competition," *The Dry Goods Review* 3, no. 5 (May 1893): 1; "To Be Enterprising," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 28 (14 July 1893): 9; "Drops from the Editor's Pen," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 38 (25 September 1896): 7; W.L.E., "A Young Man's Chances at Success," *Hardware* 9, no. 18 (1 May 1897): 12; "Persistency," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 8 (24 February 1899): 26.

[31] "The Abuse of Competition," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 3, no. 5 (May 1893): 1.

[32] "Truth or Falsehood," *Hardware* 4, no. 27 (2 July 1892): 4; "Love Your Business," *Hardware* 9, no. 26 (26 June 1897): 1.

[33] "The Dingy is Out of Date," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 7, no. 5 (May 1899): 76; "Persistency," *Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 8 (24 February 1899): 26.

Features also emphasized the type of man that made the ideal retailer/reader, or at least the men that they were expected to become. Within business culture during the period, there was a fear that as more men left artisanal and agricultural work that involved manual skill and physical strength, they would become effeminate. This was especially the case with those within the professions, the growing white-collar occupations, and emergent managerial class. While retail technically did not belong to any of these categories, it was a calling that was not deemed physically strenuous, where its practitioners were largely using their minds as their work tools, and unlike other vocations, had the tendency to do much of their business in service of female customers. Wider culture, and business culture in particular, saw the emergence of sporting contests, hunting, and wilderness escapes as means of escape from types of work that might undermine men's strength and manhood, turning them soft and effeminate.[34] In framing retailing as a militaristic exploit however, the Maclean papers cast retailers as men who were the opposite of effeminate: bold, individualistic, aggressive, and unafraid to compete in the retail trade, especially if using the advice dispensed by Maclean's papers.

The Definition(s) of Success

To underscore the imperative in forcefully engaging in the war on competition in all its forms, the Maclean papers consistently promoted the ultimate reward for doing so: success in business. Yet as aforementioned, success was defined somewhat ambiguously within the broader success literature. Success could mean both the acquisition of money through continuous displays of

[34] T. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 47-59; Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 111-113.

manhood, as well as manhood in and of itself as displayed through character. While historian Richard Weiss has argued that there has been some "semantic confusion" regarding the usage of the term "wealth" in success literature and that authors were not employing the word only to mean money, others have convincingly demonstrated that, in most cases, "wealth" referred to economic success.[35] As Judy Hilkey has argued, however, the notion that success did not have to include the amassing of wealth served to democratize success and ensure that men across the emerging industrial and managerial class structures could fit within the paradigm. Michael Bliss also reveals additional definitions of business success, including the satisfaction of creating an institution, although this would have to be tied to the pecuniary as well as the more general love of doing business.[36] Like those found in the success literature, these definitions of success point to the belief that wealth in and of itself should not be the ultimate goal. As Bliss concludes, "[n]owhere in the representative sources…are there naked statements advocating materialism, greed, or concentration on getting wealthy."[37]

Significantly, this was not the case in the Maclean papers as the journals shed much of the ambiguity surrounding the various definitions presented in the wider success literature. Unlike success manuals and moralistic novels which tended to emphasize manhood in and of itself as the pinnacle of success, the Maclean papers took the opposite stance. Maclean and his editors reconfigured the gospel of success through shrewd editing, focusing on including those pieces, or at least excerpts of pieces from American trade journals and success literature, that openly acknowledged and encouraged the material basis of success. These sources did not advocate materialism or the acquisition of wealth for wealth's sake, nevertheless they did insist

[35] Weiss, *The American Myth of Success*, 97; Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 17; Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 53, 96-99.
[36] Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 28.
[37] Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 17.

that success could, and should be defined as making money through one's business, and staying in business long-term, which necessitated the continual profits derived from one's business.[38]

As the Maclean journals addressed a readership comprised mainly of retail merchants, wholesalers and manufacturers, the notion that success could be defined materially made much sense, especially given the competitive climate of the day and the purpose of Maclean's trade papers. As an informational and educational source that was intended to support retailers in the running of their businesses, trade papers played a different role in the lives of readers than success manuals, success novels, or biographical compilations. The latter forms of success literature were intended to uplift and encourage in an inclusive manner that encompassed as broad a readership as possible with the goal of selling more volumes. Trade papers, on the other hand, were targeted at a highly specific group of businessmen whose livelihoods and, by extension, definitions of manhood were squarely tied to their remaining in business. To Maclean's readers, profit and making money mattered. Maclean and his editors clearly

[38] "About Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 13 (28 March 1889): 2-3; "Brains in Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 26 (28 June 1889): 2; "Brains in Business," *Hardware* 2, no. 48 (29 November 1890): 2; "Business Tenacity," *Hardware* 3, no. 31 (1 August 1891): 14; "Push Needed in Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 33 (14 August 1891): 5; "Push Needed in Business," *Hardware* 3, no. 33 (15 August 1891): 14; "Judgement in Business," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 2, no. 2 (February 1892): 26; "Business Practicability," *Hardware* 4, no. 28 (9 July 1892): 8; "The Gospel of Getting There," *Books and Notions* 8, no. 8 (August 1892): 6; "The Race for Wealth," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 3, no. 2 (February 1893): 9; "The Successful Merchant," *Hardware* 5, no. 13 (1 April 1893): 4; "The Race for Wealth," *Hardware* 5, no. 14 (8 April 1893): 10; "The Abuse of Competition," *The Dry Goods Review* 3, no. 5 (May 1893): 1; "What are You Worth?" *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 18 (5 May 1893): 7; "Wealth and Laziness," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 39 (29 September 1893): 16; "Essentials to Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 40 (6 October 1893): 20; "Success, How to Win It," *Hardware* 6, no. 19 (12 May 1894): 5; "The Value of Responsibilities," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no 29 (17 July 1896): 38; "Drops from the Editor's Pen," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 30 (24 July 1896): 7; "How to Get a Profit," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no 49 (4 December 1896): 10; "How to Succeed as a Grocer," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 3 (15 January 1897): 43; "Money and Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 23 (4 June 1897): 17; "Money and Success," *Hardware* 9, no 23 (5 June 1897): 3; "Aggressiveness in Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 12, no. 38 (23 September 1898): 34; "Courtesy in Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 9 (2 March 1899): 33; "Ultimate Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 12 (24 March 1899): 11; "A Fortune in Good Manners," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 15 (14 April 1899): 26; "A Successful Man's Verdict," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 33 (25 August 1899): 50; "The Gauge of Success," *Bookseller and Stationer* 21, no. 4 (April 1905): 128; "Successful Men as Business Leaders," *Bookseller and Stationer* 27, no. 4 (April 1911): 34.

recognized this and ensured that the journals also supported and advocated this very logical definition of success.

Beginning with the earliest available issues in 1889 and continuing throughout the 1890s, Maclean consistently published articles such as "The Race for Wealth," "How to Get a Profit," and "Money and Success," across his trade papers. Recognizing the position of readers and the necessity of profits with regards to staying in business and therefore maintaining one's identity as a businessman, these features emphasized that profit was both a legitimate and necessary means of gauging success. As the May 1893 feature "The Abuse of Competition," from *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* explained to readers, "There is no use being in business if you cannot make a decent profit. Make a profit or make nothing. Make a good profit, or else in short time you will be worth less than nothing."[39]

This latter point was very much in-line with failure rhetoric that existed alongside the success ideals of the period. As demonstrated in the work of Scott A. Sandage, failure affected businessmen in particular, and during the period definitions of failure shifted from what was once considered an isolated personal ordeal to undermining man's identity. Indeed, Sandage and Hilkey have argued that failure in business was detrimental to a man's identity and therefore his manhood. [40] Although the economic downturns of the period and ever-increasing competition meant that failure was rife and influenced by circumstance, success literature perpetuated the notion that success and failure were personal choices. Therefore, if a man failed by circumstance, it was nevertheless framed as a personal choice because there was supposedly always "room at the top" for those who chose success.[41] Given this context and the myriad of

[39] "The Abuse of Competition," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 3, no. 5 (May 1893): 1.
[40] Sandage, *Born Losers:* 4; Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 88-89.
[41] Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 33-54; Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 82-83.

reports on actual business failures within the Maclean papers, warnings like those described above that told men that they were in danger of becoming "less than nothing" would likely have resonated deeply with readers.[42]

Whereas the above excerpt takes an ominous tone with readers, warning of the dangers of not purposefully seeking out profit, other articles had a more celebratory quality. For instance, the unnamed author of the article "The Race for Wealth," also published in *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* in 1893, emphasized that wealth should be pursued and celebrated for the benefits it wrought the individual and society more generally. It read: "The pursuit of wealth, once a subsidiary part of a man's or nation's life, has become the one occupation of all. Wealth it is that opens the portals to pleasure, fame, and power…Truly this great race for wealth has made the world an entirely enterprising one."[43] Another of these celebratory articles, entitled "The Gospel

[42] "The Abuse of Competition," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 3, no. 5 (May 1893): 1. For examples of reports of failure in the Maclean papers see: "Business Changes," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 28 (12 July 1889): 12; "Failures in Canada and the United States," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 59 (November 1889): 13; "Failures in Canada and the United States," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 45 (8 November 1889): 2; "Embarrassments," *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 11 (14 March 1890): 16; "Embarrassments," *Hardware* 2, no. 12 (21 March 1890): 8; "Failures in 1889-90," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 1, no. 1 (January 1891): 3; "Recent Failures," *Books and Notions* 7, no. 5 (May 1891): 9; "A Heavy Failure," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 3, no. 2 (February 1892): 31; "Business Failure in Canada," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 1 (6 January 1893): 9; "No Title," *Hardware* 5, no. 40 (7 October 1893): 1; "A Bad Failures," *Books and Notions* 10, no. 1 (January 1894): 17; "A Heavy Failure," *Hardware* 6, no. 21 (26 May 1894): 10; "A Bad Failure," *The Canadian Grocer* 8, no. 39 (28 September 1894): 9; "A Desperate Failure," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 5, no 3 (March 1895): 74; "The Vanzant Failure," *Hardware* 7, no 14 (6 April 1895): 3; "Toronto Failures," *The Canadian Grocer* 9, no. 43 (25 October 1895): 17; "A Heavy Failure," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 34 (21 August 1896): 37; "Three Months' Failures," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 15 (9 April 1897): 16; "A Heavy Failure," *Hardware* 9, no. 25 (19 June 1897): 9; "Heavy Dry Goods Failure," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 7, no. 9 (September 1897): 60; "Six Months' Failures," *The Canadian Grocer* 12, no 27 (8 July 1898): 13; "Failures in Canada for 1899," *Hardware* 12, no. 2 (13 January 1900): 7; "Wholesale Grocery House Fails," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 8 (24 February 1899): 8; "Failures for Three Months," *The Canadian Grocer* 15 no. 31 (26 July 1901): 30; "Failure of a Hardware Firm," *Hardware* 14, no. 18 (3 May 1902): 12; "Managing the Business Failures," *The Canadian Grocer* 16, no 37 (12 September 1902): 7-8; "Failures in Canada," *The Canadian Grocer* 17, no. 16 (17 April 1903): 39; "Business Failures in 1903-04," *The Canadian Grocer* 18, no. 44 (28 October 1904): 50; "Business Failures," *The Canadian Grocer* 19, no. 15 (14 April 1905): 30; "Montreal Failures," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 16, no. 1 (January 1906): 108; "Business Changes," *The Canadian Grocer* 20, no. 1 (5 January 1906): 43; "Failures in 1908," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 18, no. 8 (August 1908): 110; "Price Cutting and Failures," *The Canadian Grocer* 27, no. 40 (3 October 1913): 30-31

[43] "The Race for Wealth," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 3, no. 2 (February 1893): 9.

of Getting There" from the August 1892 issue of *Books and Notions* posed readers the question "[w]hat are we here for?" The answer, the author insisted, was simple,

> To make some sort of mark; to be at the head; to benefit ourselves and incidentally, our neighbours; to arrive, as the French say. The measures of a man are in the end he reaches…result speaks for itself. Money talks; position and power and popularity need no apologist. Attain these in any notable degree, and you are a benefactor of the species…[44]

To be sure, the primary focus on monetary success found within Maclean's journals was a departure from the dual definition of success found within the wider success literature. Like trade journals authors, however, the authors of other forms of success literature also recognized that men engaged in business had to make a profit. In a genre of literature which was created to help men deal with and bolster the new industrial norms of the period, this should come as no surprise. In fact, the adulation of wealth was central to the formula of the success manual as those 'great individuals' who were presented as models of success were typically drawn from the emergent industrial élite. The same held true with those chosen to be highlighted in biographical compendia. As much as these sources insisted that manhood was the ultimate form of success, those men who were rich in manly virtues and lacking in financial prowess were noticeably absent from these works.

Success authors justified the promotion of wealth as a form of success using both moral and religious arguments. Authors' justifications were crucial as Protestants, those religious groups which made up the majority of American and Canadian society during the period believed that the overt amassing of wealth for the sake of wealth was incongruent with religious

[44] "The Gospel of Getting There," *Books and Notions* 8, no. 8 (August 1892): 6.

piousness.[45] Yet Protestants did ascribe to what Weber has termed the Protestant work ethic. This ethic dictated that when businessmen saw their vocations as their earthly callings and wealth was achieved through hard work, diligence, and devotion, that the accumulation of wealth could actually be a means through which to glorify God.[46] Many success authors were themselves Protestant ministers who emphasized that there was in fact no contradiction between wealth and morality so long as wealth was both obtained and used responsibly. From a religious perspective, widely selling authors such as American author William Makepeace Thackarey insisted that God expected men to become wealthy and that the Bible should actually be considered a business manual, setting out the ways in which men might achieve the success God envisaged for them.[47]

From a moral standpoint, success authors underscored that wealth and wealth-seeking did not, as it was feared, undermine a man's moral character so long as wealth was acquired properly and spent with duty in mind. Authors emphasized that money in itself was not problematic for, in the hands of benevolent, moral men, it had the power to alleviate poverty and suffering. The potential threat, authors noted, was some men's attitudes toward money and the acquisition of wealth. While acknowledging their conviction that most men acted honourably when earning money, being economical, working diligently and, above all, slowly, to earn profits, others, they explained, sought to acquire money as quickly as possible. These men, readers were told, tended to look to immoral methods such as gambling and speculation to make money and once rich, would become idle. On the other hand, once they acquired wealth, it was believed that the slow and honourable accumulators would continue to be economical and with regards to spending,

[45] William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), *passim*; Wyllie, 88.
[46] Matthew Hollow, "A Wesleyan Work Ethic? Entrepreneurship and Weber's Protestant Work Ethic in the Case of Isaac Holden, c. 1807-1897," *Business History* 64, no. 7 (2022): 1349.
[47] Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 97.

approaching money as a sacred responsibility that was being entrusted to be used not for their own enrichment, but for the benefit of society. This was not the case with those looking to get rich quick. Readers were told that these men were essentially morally bankrupt, acquiring riches simply for the love of money and for reasons of self-aggrandizement. Success writers established a clear binary differentiating the right, slow, moral means of wealth acquisition from the fast, immoral methods that lead to idleness and eventually, as all writers argued, their eventual downfall. From the perspective of definitions of success, writers underscored that wealth acquired dubiously or quickly, could not truly be deemed as such.

As was the case within the larger success genre, the Maclean papers also included content that justified the acquisition of wealth. The trade journals, however, were largely bereft of religious justifications, with editors opting to focus on the moral dimensions of earning money. The reason for this is likely because of the tone of the papers more generally. Very few features made reference to God or religion within the Maclean papers during the period, whether dealing with success or any other theme, and with only a handful of articles borrowed from religious periodicals.[48] Since their inception, the Maclean papers were distinctly secular in nature, and while Maclean, whose father was a Presbyterian minister, by no means denied the importance of religion, it was not something he openly promoted within his journals.

In harnessing moral arguments to support the amassment of wealth, the Maclean papers focused largely on the ways in which wealth was accumulated. The binary established between 'good' and 'bad' ways of earning money established in the wider success literature were

[48] "The Market Value of Character," *Hardware* 4, no. 38 (17 September 1892): 15; "Christianity in Business," *Books and Notions* 9, no. 2 (February 1893): 10; Christianity in Business," *Hardware* 5, no. 5 (4 February 1893): 16; "A Man in Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 8, no. 9 (2 March 1894): 10; "A Man in Business," *Hardware* 6, no. 9 (3 March 1894): 6; "Don't Give Up," *Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 33 (13 August 1897): 34; "Don't Give Up," *Hardware* 9, no. 14 (14 August 1897): 8.

prevalent within the Maclean papers, with the concept of slow wealth accumulation being a central theme. Readers were told that the only way to build a lasting business, and hence one that continually turned a profit, was through years of patience, ongoing economy, and diligence. As readers of *The Canadian Grocer* were told in the 1889 article "Bustle and Business," "Rome wasn't built in a day; the oak doesn't grow in a week; neither is a business founded in a short time upon bustle, which is not business, and sharpness, which is not shrewdness."[49] Throughout the 1890s, numerous articles echoed this assertion, explaining the importance of slowly building a business and continually having an eye toward permanency. Readers were therefore encouraged to internalize the notion that they were "not in business for a week, but for a life's success."[50]

While some articles acknowledged that money was occasionally made quickly, authors attempted to dissuade readers from pursuing any means they believed would yield fast results emphasizing that this was not actually true wealth, or, by extension, true success. True wealth had staying power, was not fleeting, and grew continually over time in proportion to the time and effort one put into their business. The Maclean editors included features that emphasized that those who made money quickly would simply not have the business acumen to sustain such growth. In employing the concept of failure that was so prevalent within the pages of the Maclean papers and which was a real continual threat to merchants, many features emphasized that the pursuit of quick wealth was a guaranteed road to disaster. As the article "Business Ambition" from the August 1890 issue of *Books and Notions* underscored, "The ambition to become wealthy is laudable, but must be held within the bounds of propriety. 'By this sin the

[49] "Bustle and Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 13 (28 March 1889): 3. That business should be built slowly (and with struggle) was also intimated in the feature "The Secret of Success," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 6, no. 3 (March 1896): 26.
[50] "Foundations of Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 12, no. 41 (14 October 1898): 16.

angels fell,' and is undoubtedly the cause of many failures to-day – that is, the ambition to get rich too fast."[51] The feature "No Unalloyed Success," from the 9 September 1892 issue of the *Canadian Grocer* provided readers with a similar ominous warning, noting that "[h]e who embarks in any line of business under the impression that a few swift, fleeting months will find him rolling in wealth and no effort spent to acquire it, is doomed to disappointment most grevious [sic]."[52]

The threat posed by endeavoring to accumulate a fortune too quickly also went beyond the risk of financial failure to include permanent reputational damage and complete loss of manhood. Men who followed the hasty road to wealth were cast as bustling, rushing, exhibiting nervous energy, and denying themselves the time to think in the context of business. Because of their demeanors, these men were said to be bereft of logic, which is why they engaged in poor decision making and acted irrationally in the pursuit of wealth. As the works of historians Elaine S. Ableson and Donica Belisle have demonstrated, castigations such as those above, especially that of irrationality, were highly gendered within the context of retail in nineteenth century North America. In fact, such chastisements were widely used to describe female consumers and shoplifters.[53] As Belisle explains, Canadian women were believed to be destroying the retail world (and society more generally) during the period by frequenting the plentiful world of department stores in search for endless bargains. Individual greed was central to this argument as female shoppers, faced with the abundance of consumer society, were seen as being unable to control themselves.[54] As Ableson has argued, this supposed lack of control over oneself was also

[51] "Business Ambition," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 69 (August 1890): 18.
[52] "No Unalloyed Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no 37 (9 September 1892): 6.
[53] Elaine S. Ableson, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 7; Donica Belisle, "Crazy for Bargains: Inventing the Irrational Female Shopper in Modernizing English Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 92, no. 4 (2011): 597.
[54] Belisle, "Crazy for Bargains," 582-583.

apparent in representations of the female middle-class shoplifter who, due to women's supposed biological inferiority, were driven to steal. In employing similar language to male retailers seeking quick wealth that was typically reserved for the basest female behaviors in the retail environment, the Maclean papers intimated that such men were "apt to be effete," were unsuccessful, and therefore belonged to an inferior class, bereft of manhood. [55]

The derogatory gendered language used to describe men seeking quick wealth would have been familiar to readers of the Maclean journals. The same would have held true regarding the language surrounding female shoppers and shoplifters.[56] The Maclean papers contained features which frequently addressed the role of female shoppers and framed women as the bane of store owners and their clerks. Women were, above all, depicted as greedy, wanting to obtain

[55] "Bustle and Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 13 (28 March 1889): 3; "Business Ambition," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 69 (August 1890): 18.

[56] "Mrs. Maloney and Her Pail," *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 43 (26 October 1890): 49; "Supercilious Women," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 33 (14 August 1891): 2; An Ideal Clerk," *Books and Notions* 7, no. 9 (September 1891): 12; "She Missed it Once," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 1, no. 12 (December 1891): 20; "She Wanted Glass," *Hardware* 5, no. 50 (12 December 1891): 6; "Of Interest to Women," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 2, no 5 (May 1892): 20; "Understood Woman Nature," *Hardware* 3, no. 52 (26 December 1891): 14; "Where the Joke Comes In," *Hardware* 4, no. 27 (2 July 1892): 20; "Where the Joke Comes In," *Hardware* 4, no. 29 (16 July 1892): 16; "Shopping," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 3, no. 5 (May 1893): 7; "She Was a Daisy," *Hardware* 5, no. 34 (26 August 1893): 26; "When She Goes Shopping," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 38 (22 September 1893): 14; "Aired Her Knowledge," *The Canadian Grocer* 8, no. 4 (26 January 1894): 38; "Courtesy in Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 8, no. 38 (21 September 1894): 10; "A Novel in One Chapter," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 4, no. 11 (November 1894): 30; "Knew What She Wanted," *Hardware* 7, no. 8 (23 February 1895): 18; "Inattention," *Canadian Bookseller and Stationer* 12, no. 1 (January 1896): 3; "A Woman Who Stole from Stores," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 6, no. 1 (January 1896): 17; "Stealing from Stores," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 6, no. 4 (April 1896): 6; "After a Bargain," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 6, no. 4 (April 1896): 44; "Not What She Wanted," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no.17 (24 April 1896): 29; "Did Not Get What She Wanted," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 38 (18 September 1896): 30; "Drops from the Editor's Pen," *Hardware* 8, no. 39 (26 September 1896): 3; "Women Who Steal from Shops," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 6, no. 11 (November 1896): 32; "The Tendency of the Sex," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 6, no. 12 (December 1896): 36; "An Artistic Shopper," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 9 (26 February 1897): 33; "She Didn't Succeed," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 17 (23 April 1897): 46): 46; "Her French," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 23 (4 June 1897): 6; "A Smart Trick," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 40 (1 October 1897): 39; "The Woman Shopper's Foibles," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 8, no 7 (July 1898): 24; "The Lady Shopper," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 8, no. 7 (July 1898): 48; "Women Frontier Smugglers," *The* Canadian *Dry Goods Review* 8, no. 7 (July 1898): 44; "True to Life," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 2 (13 January 1899): 26; "What She was Waiting For," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 17 (28 April 1899): 10; "Treatment of Lady Buyers," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 9, no. 6 (June 1899): 55; "Marriage Inducements," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 41 (13 October 1899): 8; "Marriage Inducements," *Hardware* 11, no. 42 (21 October 1899): 22; "Lady Customers are Hard to Please," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 9, no. 12 (December 1899): 12.

as many goods as possible for the lowest price, which led to aggressive price competition among retailers. Articles in the Maclean papers also cast women as being extremely onerous to serve, frequently challenging shopkeepers' patience by asking numerous questions, wanting to see a variety of goods amid their own uncertainty, and not knowing the proper terms for the goods they sought, leading to confusion and disagreements. These women were chastised for their ineptitude, while others were alleged to be downright suspect in their search for bargains, engaging in outright trickery or theft to obtain the goods they wanted. Features underscored that these behaviours undermined retailers' chances of obtaining a legitimate profit and destabilized the wider retail trade.[57]

In charging men with effeminacy in business, the Maclean papers were using gender as it was understood within the success ethic as a means of punishing those who transgressed what the papers were trying to establish as acceptable male gendered behavior in the world of retail and disciplining those who might be tempted to act in a way that was contrary to prescriptions. As Hilkey has argued in the case of the ideals perpetuated in American success manuals,

> This definition of success not only excluded women, it equated success and manhood in a way that depended on the corollary equation of failure and the feminine. Success writers associated failure with women and effeminacy and used a pejorative form of the feminine to shame men who did not measure up.[58]

The Maclean papers were doing the same. While women were not excluded from the trade papers overall, the publisher employed gendered chastisements, creating a regulatory binary in order to restrain male behaviors so that they would act in ways that suited their needs and those of the business community.

---

[57] "An Artistic Shopper," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 9 (26 February 1897): 33; "She Didn't Succeed," *Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 17 (26 April 1897): 47; "A Smart Trick," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 40 (1 October 1897): 39.
[58] Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 5.

The success articles Maclean published contended that, in being driven by unchecked greed, men wanting quick wealth would behave in ways that transgressed the sociocultural norms of propriety in the business world. This was unacceptable for very practical reasons. For one, the business world only functioned, and avoided falling into chaos, so long as businessmen behaved according to the dictates of character such as honesty, tenacity, enterprise, industry, integrity, push, and patience. Trust and reputation were central elements in the extension of credit, the purchasing of what was hoped to be quality stock, on-time delivery dates, pricing, and the advisory role retailers played in the lives of customers. Traders had to trust one another while also gaining the trust of customers, and character was believed to be central to the way in which business functioned. Greed, the argument held, led men to engage in dishonest behaviours that undermined their manhood and the business world. [59]

The potential decimation of character, or what the trade journals came to describe as "business principles," was threatening to Maclean's business as well. Based on the aim of bringing together the various levels of trade as producers, distributors, and buyers, encouraging integrity, as well as the appearance of integrity within the retail trade, was of the utmost importance. And while Maclean's ultimate goal was to sell advertising space, the sale of space and efforts to forge trade connections were by no means antithetical. In fact, the opposite was true. Without some level of inter-trade decorum, or at the very least, the expectation and appearance of such within the pages of the Maclean's trade papers, retailers might hesitate to trust the advertisements within his journals. This was especially true in an environment where there was already much uncertainty surrounding the practice of advertising.

[59] "The Market Value of Character," *Hardware* 4, no 38 (17 September 1892): 15; "Requisite for Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 40 (2 October 1896): 10; "The Successful Business Man," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 20 (19 May 1899): 13; Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 19.

Acting in Accordance with "Business Principles"

Like the success literature of the period, Maclean offered direct advice on how readers could avoid these threatening gendered castigations while still holding a financial definition of success. The answer, which readers would likely have found familiar, lay in the notion of character. Much of the content in the Maclean papers centering on success addressed how it should be pursued, not in a tangible, how-to manner, but from the perspective of advising men on the general virtues they had to exhibit consistently if they wanted to become legitimately successful as defined within the journals. As was the case in success manuals, descriptions and general discussions of character virtues and their importance permeated the pages of the Maclean papers. Articles centered on specific virtues including honesty, diligence, self-help, enterprise, courtesy, push, and industry. These virtues were the constituents of character and authors argued that they were the weapons with which businessmen would conquer the uphill battle that was the world of retail. As the feature "Business Tenacity" from *Hardware* noted, while other factors could play into the equation, a man's ability to make money was foremost "limited by his character."[60]

Understood as character virtues and described as such in the wider success literature and within the Maclean papers, they were also referred to as "business principles," "business rules," or "the moral code of honest business."[61] Taken together, these were the elements of success that readers were told they had to possess or develop for, as authors noted it was necessary to convey these virtues regularly over time through their everyday behaviours to establish a successful

[60] "Business Tenacity," *Hardware* 3, no. 31 (1 August 1891): 14; See also "Development of Character," *Hardware* 4, no. 43 (28 October 1893): 3.
[61] "Brains in Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 26 (28 June 1889): 2; "Business Habits," *Hardware* 2, no. 5 (31 January 1890): 17; "Jealousy in Business," *Books and Notions* 9, no. 2 (February 1892): 12; "The Market Value of Character," *Hardware* 4, no 38 (17 September 1892): 15; "Business Rules," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 22 (28 May 1897): 10.

business.[62] The articles indicated, and as has been rightly argued by gender scholars such as Peter Gossage and Robert Rutherdale, gender, and more specifically, masculinity was, and is a performance.[63] As a representative feature from the *The Canadian Grocer* from January 1896 entitled "He Made Himself A Man," underscored, all business men must recognize that "the eyes of the world are upon him, that he must not deviate a hair's breadth from the truth and right."[64] The feature "Drops from the Editor's Pen" from *The Canadian Grocer* in July 1897 underscored the same, insisting that behaving in accordance with the character virtues that amounted to business principles was central. Addressing the virtue of diligence, the piece noted that this quality "saves a man from ruin and his friends from humiliation."[65] As this quote suggests, the individual was responsible for saving himself, or attaining success through his personal conduct. Moreover, it emphasized the public nature of gendered performance in business, intimating that if a man failed to be diligent in his work, it would, of course reflect poorly upon him, but that his behaviour also reflected poorly upon the men with whom he associated as he was engaging in

[62] Of course, men did not necessarily have to internalize these virtues, but certainly had to appear to have internalized them and behave in accordance with them. For examples of general articles encouraging character in business see "Business Habits," *Hardware* 2, no. 5 (31 January 1890): 17; "The Kind of Man," *Hardware* 3, no. 33 (15 August 1891): 14; "An Ideal Businessman," *Hardware* 4, no. 3 (16 January 1892): 16; "The Market Value of Character," *Hardware* 4, no. 38 (17 September 1892): 15; "A Successful Man's Career," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 10, no. 9 (September 1900): 40; "Essentials to Success," *Hardware* 13, no. 23 (8 June 1901): 32; "Character as a Factor in Business," *Hardware* 16, no. 12 (19 March 1904): 36; "How Young Men May Rise," *The Dry Goods Review* 14, no. 4 (April 1904): 10; "Twelve Things to Remember," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 16, no. 1 (January 1906): 97; For examples of specific virtues see "Business Tenacity," *Hardware* 3, no. 31 (1 August 1891): 14; "Judgement in Business," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 2, no. 2 (February 1892): 26; "Push and Pluck," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 2, no. 11 (November 1892): 14; "Integrity in Business," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 6, no. 12 (December 1896): 7; "Persistency," *Hardware* 11, no. 8 (25 February 1899): 22; "Laziness vs. Energy," *Hardware* 12, no. 10 (10 March 1900): 8; "Room for the Persevering," *Hardware* 12, no. 27 (7 July 1900): 10; "The Man Who Succeeds," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 14, no. 5 (May 1904): 32; "Integrity as a Credit Basis," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 15, no. 2 (February 1905): 35; "The Gospel of Work," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 15, no. 12 (December 1905): 74; "His Capital Was Character," *Hardware* 18, no. 5 (3 February 1906): 28 "Honest Toil Essential," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 16, no. 3 (March 1906): 65; "Courtesy in Business," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 26, no. 11 (3 June 1914): 22.

[63] Gossage and Rutherdale, *Making Men*, 16; "For Business Men," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 4 (25 January 1889): 2; "A Factor in Business Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 41 (13 October 1899): 17.

[64] "He Made Himself a Man," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 5 (31 January 1896): 18.

[65] "Drops from the Editor's Pen," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no 27 (3 July 1897): 7.

these behaviours under the public gaze. Through the perpetuation of the importance of these virtues, the success articles published in the Maclean papers amounted to the establishment of a public, performative masculine code of behaviours that set out the gendered ideals for businessman in the retail sector as well as the ideal reader.

As means of highlighting the importance of character virtues in business and encouraging what Maclean and his editors defined as positive, manly business behaviors, features detailing individual virtues explained how certain behaviours linked to specific virtues were morally right and beneficial to the trade. They also underscored how each virtue was individually linked to pecuniary success. Maclean and his editors chose features that singled out specific virtues, explaining to readers that while moral in nature, they also served material functions in business. As such, success features from the Maclean papers during the period reflect the presence of a three-pronged argument surrounding why businessmen should follow the dictates of character: for their own manhood and morality, for the benefit of the business community (which also benefited individual business men), and, as the following examination of content centering on honesty, courtesy, and self-help demonstrates, for their own financial success.

In the feature "Requisite for Success," published in the 2 October 1896 issue of *The Canadian Grocer*, an unnamed author addressed the virtue of honesty in this sense, addressing both the communal value of honesty and the financial benefit for the individual businessman. In emphasizing the importance of honesty to the trade, the author discusses the threat of dishonesty to the retail trade, noting that "the absence then, of honesty, integrity, and reliability, with their natural accompaniment, confidence, would demoralize and disorganize all business." In addressing the function of honesty for the individual, however, the author, like others whose work was published within the Maclean journals, argued that honesty was directly related to

one's ability to obtain credit. The article reads: "[h]onesty and integrity are the chief requisites of a business career," because "[h]onesty is capital." [66] This assertion was not merely a rhetorical tool bolstering the virtue of honesty. As the author explained citing the case of young men seeking to enter business of their own accord, they had to seek out a lender and a reputation for honest behaviour was necessary in convincing a benefactor to lend the necessary funds to start a business. Two other articles, also from *The Canadian Grocer* in 1896 made the same direct link between honesty and credit, noting that honest men can obtain "almost unlimited credit,"[67] and that honesty might even save a man from lifelong failure, as "[t]he man who acts a dishonest part is soon found out; the strain to reputation may outlive him. A clean record is the best recommendation to a renewal of credit after it once has been lost."[68]

Like honesty, other virtues such as courtesy were also directly linked to financial success for retailers. Courtesy was deemed central to the attraction and retention of customers. In addition to being an ethical means of behaviour which was expected of men of character, retailers were told that "[c]ourtesy courts trade; and it is sure to win it other things being equal."[69] As a feature by D.T. Mallett, extracted from his work *Ideas for Hardware Merchants* and republished in *Hardware* in 1893 reiterated, the successful merchant "is courteous in manner, and appreciates the commercial value of cordiality."[70] This was especially important for

[66] "Requisite for Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 40 (2 October 1896): 10. See also "Credit is Capital," *Bookseller and Stationer* 19, no. 10 (October 1903): 279; "His Capital Was Character," *Hardware* 18, no. 5 (3 February 1906): 28 "Character: Its Relation to Credit," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no. 7 (2 April 1913): 20

[67] "He Made Himself a Man," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no 5 (31 January 1896): 18.

[68] "Why Some Men are Successful," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 18 (1 May 1896): 12.

[69] "Drops from the Editor's Pen," *Hardware* 8, no. 29 (18 July 1896): 3. See also "Courtesy in Business," *Hardware* 12, no. 10 (10 March 1900): 9; "Courtesy in Business," *Hardware* 15, no. 7 (14 February 1903): 21; "Courtesy Demanded," *Bookseller and Stationer* 22, no. 3 (March 1906): 21; "Essential Qualifications," *Bookseller and Stationer* 23, no. 12; (December 1907): 18; "Editorial Comment," *Bookseller and Stationer* 27, no. 3 (March 1911): 9; "The Old-Time Virtues," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 26, no. 3 (4 February 1914): 26.

[70] D.T. Mallett, "The Successful Merchant," *Hardware* 5, no. 13 (1 April 1893): 4.

small retailers seeking to compete within a crowded market with limited resources. As one author underscored, "[r]emember that civility, while it may be one of the scarcest articles in the market, is also one of the cheapest, and the net profit on it to you in the end will be greater – not only from a social and moral point of view, but in dollars and cents…"[71] In recognizing the plight of the small dealer who had to deal not only with heavy competition from other small retailers, but from wholesalers and department stores as well, the author invoked the militaristic language so frequently used in success literature, and insisted that courtesy was a defence mechanism well within the control of the retailer. Insisting that "pleasant manners do not by any means imply servility..." and that, in fact, "[p]oliteness is one of the few weapons against the competition of the larger dealers, as the larger the business the greater number of assistants required, and the less chance of the customers being treated with uniform deference…"[72]

As this example intimates, courtesy had a distinctly gendered dimension, but the gendered argument was not limited to its use in power dynamics between men. As the feature "Courtesy in Business" from the 21 September 1894 issue of *The Canadian Grocer* emphasized, courtesy was also framed as a means of manipulating female customers into making purchases. Playing into the negative tropes surrounding the unthinking and irrational nature of female customers, the article provided readers with the following scenario:

> A lady stops in at her grocer's to leave an order. Perhaps she has been shopping, and is on her way home, tired and disappointed in not finding on her shopping tour just exactly what she desired. Or, perhaps, there has been some unfortunate trouble at home – a trifle, it may be, but it is enough to make her irritable.[73]

[71] "Politeness in Business," *Hardware* 4, no. 36 (3 September 1892): 8.
[72] "Politeness in Business," *Hardware*, 8.
[73] "Courtesy in Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 8, no. 38 (21 September 1894): 10.

The woman needs to place an order, but the author insists that this woman's frame of mind is an opportunity for the perceptive grocer wanting to increase his sales. The article continues, advising grocers to "flatter the lady" with "[a] pleasant, respectful bearing – not over-obsequious – and a self-evident desire to save the lady time." Such courtesy, grocers were told would, would "smooth out the furrows of irritability from the lady's fair brow, and she will be absolutely cheered and rested without exactly knowing why," leading her to having left the grocer an order "including several important items which she surely would have forgotten if the grocer's diplomatic good nature had not been hypnotically employed."[74] Clearly then, even men of character could take financial advantage of the supposedly unthinking, irrational female shopper and as this example demonstrates, they were encouraged to do as much.

To develop the character traits necessary to be deemed worthy of credit, deal with competition, attract customers, and increase sales, retailer readers in particular were encouraged to continually seek out means of self-help through self-education. Self-help was at the core of the success ethic and was framed as the means through which men could learn about and develop the virtues which, in turn, would lead to success. During the late nineteenth-century young men were told that higher education was not necessary for success in business and success manuals, emergent American mass market magazines, and biographies emphasized that self-education was the central means through which men could develop into the type of men who would ultimately succeed in all walks of life, and especially in business.[75] Very much in-line with character

[74] "Courtesy in Business," *The Canadian Grocer* 8, no. 38 (21 September 1894): 10.

[75] Daniel A. Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press 2010), 30. After the turn-of-the-century education would be more acceptable and even promoted for businessmen, however, this was generally not the case until after 1900. Also, while educational institutions did not emphasize the importance of self-education the work of Charles Holden demonstrates, there was still a strong focus on continual self-improvement within the American universities. See Charles Holden, "Manliness and the Culture of Self-Improvement: The University of North Carolina in the 1890s-1900s," *History of Education Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2018): 122-151.

virtues such as hard work and self-denial, while also reflective of the ethos of individualism within success culture, those exposed to the success ethic were encouraged to spend their leisure time continually working to better themselves and their chances of success through self-improvement such as the study of and internalization of the success ethic.[76]

The ethos of self-improvement was imbued in North American culture, having been articulated by intellectuals, most notably writer and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson, who had advocated the ideal in speeches and essays since the mid-nineteenth century and into the 1880s. While not the first to advocate what he termed 'self-culture,' the continual self-improvement of the mind, body, soul, and intellect, Emerson argued that mental self-improvement and self-education was the ultimate act of self-reliance and individualism that led to success.[77] As one the first great public intellectuals, Emerson's speeches and writings greatly influenced the generation that would come of age in North America in the 1870s and 1880s.[78] Men of this generational cohort were those who penned the success manuals of the late nineteenth-century and built their works upon Emersonian principles of self-improvement.

The doctrine of self-improvement as advocated in both Emersonian thought and success manuals in the later part of the nineteenth century held that individual men were responsible for engaging self-education and self-improvement. The ethos of individualism held that men should want to help themselves, and because of this, should strive for success through self-betterment as self-improvement through the development of character virtues was deemed the only true path to

[76] Cawelti, *Apostles of the Self-Made Man* 77.
[77] Cawelti, 86; Lawrence Buell, *Emerson* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 67.
[78] Buell, *Emerson*, 69-70; A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), 217, 227; Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 42, 199.

success.[79] Men who did not take initiative in attaining success through self-improvement were deemed deviant, cast as lazy, undeserving of pecuniary success and bereft of true manhood. Essentially, such men were deemed failures and the fault was theirs alone. The link between personal responsibility and the drive for financial success was clearly expressed by Emerson in his 1860 work *Conduct of Life* where he wrote, "[t]here is always a reason, in the man, for his good or bad fortune, and so in making money."[80]

The content of the Maclean trade papers reflected the success literature, encouraging readers to utilize their spare time to improve upon themselves, internalizing the virtues that would supposedly lead them to success. As the feature "The Value of Hard Work," published in *Hardware* in May 1892 demonstrates, readers were encouraged to avoid squandering their leisure hours, the article's unnamed author arguing that "[a]ll of us have leisure hours between the time of ordinary business…Let all cultivate the habits of punctuality, promptness and dispatch, and they will find leisure hours that may be turned to golden account."[81] As this quote indicates, the practice and time needed for self-improvement was framed as something that was available to all. Like the very virtues that the author encouraged readers to foster, the author's suggestion that the practice would turn leisure hours to "golden" account indicates that the doctrine of self-help was logically also linked to financial success. What's more, just as the wider literature underscored the individualistic nature of self-improvement and that those problematic, lazy men who did not take initiative to self-educate were doomed to fail, so too did

[79] In his work on industrializing Hamilton, Rob Kristofferson demonstrates that this dual notion of self-education and character was established in the Canadian context prior to the late nineteenth-century. Nor were these notions unique to the middle class. Kristofferson demonstrates that by mid-century Hamilton craftworkers also believed in the centrality of character and engaged in self-education from ideological and experiential standpoints in efforts to attain their own definition of transmodal masculinity. See Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism*, 149, 160-200.
[80] R.W. Emerson, *The Conduct of Life* (Boston: Tickner and Fields, 1860), 86; Sandage, *Born Losers,* 45-46; Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 94.
[81] "The Value of Hard Work," *Hardware* 4, no 22 (28 May 1892): 14.

the content of the Maclean papers. As the author of the same article notes, "[t]ime is stock and trade. One man makes use of it, another allows it to waste away; one extracts from it wonderous wisdom, the other lies in the dust. It is also life's ladder, up which one is led to honor and immortality, down to depravity and obscurity."[82] As the author's use of the terms "make use" and "allows" indicates, engaging in self-improvement was an individual choice (completely overlooking factors such as availability of resources and literacy levels) and that men choosing not to take part in self-improvement deserved nothing more than to fade into obscurity. As this use of language makes abundantly clear, the rhetoric of individualism and failure permeated discussions self-improvement, telling male readers that their failure to succeed in life was their own doing due to their own poor choices, negating the role of circumstance.

It is unsurprising to find that the concepts of self-help, as well as the link between self-help and failure were central components of Maclean's trade paper content. As a new media form, trade papers were introduced during the period when self-help and self-education were being popularized. The self-improvement ethic emerged in earnest in the last third of the nineteenth century through the proliferation of the success genre. It is possible, and even likely, that the success genre, with its focus on self-improvement, normalized the expectation that men engage in self-education in their leisure hours, paving the way for popular media containing both practical information and character-based advice, such as the trade papers. The threat of failure would have merely acted as a negative impetus for readers, further encouraging them to engage with trade papers as the consequences of not doing so were clearly dire both financially and from a gendered perspective.

[82] "The Value of Hard Work," *Hardware* 4, no 22 (28 May 1892): 14. On the importance of self-help see also "Self-Reliance a Good Teacher," *Hardware* 16, no. 46 (12 November 1904): 64.

The way in which the Maclean organization itself capitalized upon the self-improvement ethos of the period also speaks to its likely cultural currency among target trade paper readers, many of whom were retailers. Whereas the Maclean trade paper content did mirror the wider body of success literature with regards to the dictates of self-improvement, some of which also directly quoted Emerson, the publisher also deviated from the literature.[83] In doing so, Maclean blended the recognizable, well-worn concept of virtue cultivation through self-improvement with features that expressed an imperative to engage in self-education to learn about all aspects of one's business and the world of retail. Indeed, as the feature "Drops from the Editor's Pen," published in *The Canadian Grocer* and *Hardware* on 17 and 18 July 1896 respectively conveyed to readers, "[h]e who would be a wise merchant must have a knowledge of his business, and to obtain a knowledge of his business it will be necessary for him to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest everything appertaining thereto."[84]

The Maclean papers underscored that while character was central, business knowledge could not be overlooked on the road to success, and that trade papers were a central means of obtaining this information. As the unnamed author of "Success, How to Win It," from a May 1894 issue of *Hardware* insisted, "…however good a man you may be, you cannot attend to your business unless you have studied it by personal and earnest application, educating yourself increasingly in every detail…"[85] Readers were encouraged to study the day-to-day workings of their business and that of others, as well as taking a "healthy interest in the world" to seek

[83] "An Interesting Sketch of the J.B. McLean Publishing Co.," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 22 (27 May 1892): between pages 16 and 17; "An Interesting Sketch of the J.B. McLean Publishing Co.," *Hardware* 4, no 22 (28 May 1892): between pages 10 and 11; "An Interesting Sketch of the J.B. McLean Publishing Co.," *Books and Notions* 8, no. 6 (June 1892): 19-21 "Essentials to Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 40 (6 October 1893): 20.
[84] "Drops from the Editor's Pen," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 29 (17 July 1896): 7; "Drops from the Editor's Pen," *Hardware* 8, no. 29 (18 July 1896): 3.
[85] "Success, How to Win It," *Hardware* 6, no. 19 (12 May 1894): 5.

"education both inside and outside of business."[86] Some ideas for self-study were to "[i]nspect new stores. Keep thoroughly posted on new goods. Know the progressive manufacturers. Listen to the advice of sensible salespeople."[87] While these means of self-education were encouraged, the trade paper was framed as the ultimate means of consistently obtaining reliable, timely business information. Although other businessmen were possible resources, there was an inherent danger in consulting those who were not "up-to-date" as they could lead retailers astray. Employing the perceived stressors of the period such as fast, continual change in business to bolster their argument, authors argued for the need to consult a dependable, ever-current source for information: the trade paper.[88] The author of "Success, How to Win It" clearly linked the use of trade papers to success and the imperative for ongoing, timely self-improvement and self-education as follows:

> You will not deserve to succeed, or have any right to expect success, unless you know your own trade thoroughly; and the knowledge of to-day will not do for three months hence. You must be up-to-date, familiar with the very latest matters of interest affecting your business, and to have this knowledge, one essential is the most careful and regular perusal of the trade paper.[89]

To underscore the need to continually consult trade papers, Maclean and his editors employed the works of authors who argued that while retailers had to display what were deemed traditional character virtues in the form of business principles, their business methods had to be nothing short of utterly modern if they were to succeed. While still recognizing the centrality of character, readers were told "[d]epart not from your grandfather's quality of honesty, but adapt

[86] D.T. Mallett, "The Successful Merchant," *Hardware* 5, no. 13 (1 April 1893): 4.
[87] "Brush Up," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 7, no. 9 (September 1897): 62.
[88] "Should Employes [sic] Read the Business Paper," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 27 (3 July 1896): 8.
[89] "Success, How to Win It," *Hardware* 6, no. 19 (12 May 1894): 5. See also "Study Your Trade Journals," *The Dry Canadian Goods Review* 18, no. 2 (1908): 53.

yourself to the modern man's business methods," meaning that they would have to balance both requisites to succeed. [90]

Conclusion

Although its roots were in the early to mid-nineteenth century, the notion that manhood and success could be won through the demonstration of character virtues permeated North American society well into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries thanks to success authors such as Smiles, Emerson, and Marden, bibliographers such as Henry James Morgan, and, as this chapter has underscored, trade paper publishers such as John Bayne Maclean. While paralleling the broader success literature of the period with regards to the themes presented, Maclean also ensured that the advice presented to his readership was specific to their experiences and goals, most notably how to succeed in business, especially from a financial perspective. Through shrewd editing, Maclean used the success ethos and its connection to male character as a tool through which to convey his understanding of the trades he served, giving him and his journals an air of respectability and expertise he could not otherwise claim due to his position as a relative outsider in the fields he served. At the same time, the inclusion of such content was doubly beneficial for Maclean as it presented behaviour ideals and expectations for readers. These ideals, articulated as character virtues such as honesty, courtesy, and self-help not only presented the means through which male retailers could succeed in the competitive environment without engaging in unruly practices, they also served to encourage a cooperative and compliant readership. This readership would also likely be more apt to be accepting of advertising from the

[90] "The Man Who Succeeds," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 31 (4 August 1899): 20.

various levels of trade if they did not view themselves as being in direct competition with them (this was especially the case with wholesalers). As Maclean hoped, advertisers and potential advertisers were also readers, meaning this content was also likely to indicate to them that the readership was in fact being encouraged to follow the dictates of character, potentially making them more receptive to advertising.

Yet the question remains: what did readers make of this content? Reader reaction is difficult to ascertain. The company claimed to have satisfied readers throughout the period and provided some evidence of this, such as the testimonial of once-grocer James Pickett who found "*The Canadian Grocer* as necessary to a merchant in running a business as oil is to machinery." For his part, grocer G.W. Mahon, writing to *The Canadian Grocer* in 1889 noted that while he wished there were more extensive price quotations that "I never skip an article."[91] The company also claimed an ever-increasing paid circulation base and available evidence revealing the payment of subscription dues indicates that company claims were in fact true as subscription dues generally climbed over the period.[92] While not direct evidence pertaining to readers' adulation of the journals' success-based content, this speaks to readers' adoption of and satisfaction with the Maclean journals as a whole, of which this content was a part.[93] Additionally, there were no negative remarks pertaining to the character and success content within the journals' correspondence sections which, once again, suggests that this content likely resonated with readers, or, at the very least, that it was not rejected by them.

---

[91] "Extending Our Sphere of Usefulness," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 44 (1 November 1889): 3; "A Necessity to Grocers," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no 29 (17 July 1896): 28; See also "Would Not Like to be Without It," *Hardware* 3, no. 25 (20 June 1891); "A Friendly Encouragement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 7, no. 11 (November 1897): 64; "Worth $10 a Year," *The Canadian Grocer* 27, no. 7 (January 1898): 29;
[92] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-2-1, Box 5, Journal 1895-1900.
[93] "We Cover the Ground," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 36 (8 September 1893): 3; "No Title," *The Canadian Grocer* 8, no. 1 (5 January 1894): 3; "Largest Circulation of any Grocer Paper in the World," *The Canadian Grocer* 9, no. 14 (5 April 1895): 7 "The Grocer Abroad," *The Canadian Grocer* 9, no. 43 (25 October 1895): 17.

Maclean recognized that gaining the reputation he sought for his journals, and just as importantly, himself could not be achieved through the inclusion of retail-specific character and success-based content alone. This is evidenced by Maclean's efforts at capitalizing on the emergent field of public relations. Through his journals, Maclean would continue to publish the content examined in this chapter, but at the same time, he also sought to tell readers about himself, his company, and the policies he created and enforced. Based equally on notions of character and success, as a publisher and advertising worker, Maclean had to adhere to the virtues of character, but because he was not a retailer or producer, his path to success, and the way in which he presented himself, by necessity differed from those retailers and manufacturers he sought to serve. Instead, Maclean attempted to convey his own respectability and deservedness in being a gatekeeper to the fields he sought to serve by defining his success and that of his business through the ways in which he served the growth of production, and by extension, the consumer market. In examining the subscription, advertising, and editorial policies Maclean chose to highlight, the following chapter analyzes how Maclean sought to establish a strong reputation through public relations efforts that demonstrated the ways in which he served the success of readers and advertisers alike.

Chapter 3

"Mainly About Ourselves:" Publicity and Policy at the Maclean Publishing Company

Introduction

In the 1892 feature "An Interesting Sketch of the J.B. McLean Publishing Co., LTD," an unnamed author recounts the rise of Maclean's company and his strategies for success. Here, Maclean, who was joined in running the company by his brother Hugh Maclean in 1888, is cast as an unlikely success in the publishing industry who, through adherence to the principles of the success ethos and the continual demonstration of character, was able to establish a growing trade paper publishing company. As the article reads,

> The ideal set themselves by the brothers was to take the lead with their publications, to conduct their business on honest business principles, to give clients the utmost value, to gain the confidence of the trade, to live up fearlessly to their convictions and to be independent of any clique, house, association, or other guild, and to allow no one to dictate the policy of their papers, to give subscribers adequate value and impartial attention, and to resort to no schemes or use undue influences to secure advertising patronage. It was their intention to be in business for a life time [sic] and not for a day, and the confidence of the trade was desired as a permanency. [1]

The article from which this passage was gleaned is a central example of the Maclean Publishing Company's early public relations efforts, conveying the character of Maclean and his brother through the pronouncement of principles regarding the ways in which the company was run. The piece makes promises to readers as well as advertisers, insisting that the brothers were editorially independent, sought to give their readers good value for their subscription fees, and would only

[1] "An Interesting Sketch," *The Canadian Grocer*, between pages 16 and 17; "An Interesting Sketch," *Hardware*, between pages 10 and 11; "An Interesting Sketch," *Books and Notions* 8, no. 6 (June 1892): 19-21.

use legitimate means to sell advertising. In addressing the editorial, subscription, and advertising components of their business, here, the brothers began to lay out guiding policies that would become cornerstones of their business and their public relations efforts throughout the period under examination. As adherents to the emerging practices of public relations, the Macleans published features regarding themselves and the growth of their business as was normative during the period. They also diligently reported their developing company policies within their papers, seeking to establish a positive reputation, and differentiate themselves from unscrupulous trade papers and advertisers. These efforts were undertaken with the ultimate aim of selling subscriptions and advertising space to establish the "permanency" the brothers desired. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the Macleans' early public relations, examining general publicity efforts as well as the company's publicization of their subscription, editorial, and advertising policies. An analysis of the ways in which the Macleans, and after 1899, John Bayne Maclean alone, employed the concept of serving the success of others within their public relations features, is central to this exploration. As the following discussion illustrates, for advertising workers and publishers such as the Macleans, claiming to serve the success of others was a crucial means to legitimizing oneself and one's business within an economy and sociocultural context that lauded the producer. In claiming to serve the growth of the consumer economy by supporting both manufacturers and retailers through the services they provided, the Macleans could demonstrate that they did not in fact belong on the entrepreneurial margins from which they came.

Advertising Success: Serving the Success of Others

While no Canadian works examine the subject, historian Pamela Walker Laird's work on the emergence of mass marketing in the United States explains the ways in which advertising practitioners sought to legitimize the field and establish themselves as respectable members of the business community. Because they could not make claims to character and financial success like producers, nor did they produce goods in the same manner, advertising practitioners had to find means to demonstrate their value and reflect their character. As Laird demonstrates, beginning in the 1850s and continuing into the twentieth century, ad workers primarily employed the notion of service, and more specifically, serving the success of others, as their claim to success and character. For American advertising practitioners, this meant that while acknowledging that they were in business to make money, their primary goal was to render service that would ultimately benefit the advertiser. Only if and when the advertiser benefitted could the advertising practitioner be deemed a success.[2]

In claiming to serve the success of advertisers, ad practitioners who framed their business and their field in this way, including important late nineteenth-century American industry pioneers who established early advertising agencies, such as George Rowell and F. Wayland Ayer, were tapping into widely-held cultural ideals surrounding the nature of business and the success ethic. While individuals were responsible for their own success through the development and display of character, contemporaries also underscored that individual businessmen were part of a larger interdependent structure and that it was their duty to assist one another. This was the case throughout both the United States and Canada. As success manual writer and biographer

[2] Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 322-328.

William Thayer insisted in a Canadian reprint of his popular 1886 success manual *Tact, Push and Principle*, "commerce is a system of mutual services. The very structure of it protests against making self your [sic] center. He receives the greatest reward who most successfully adapts his services to the general need."[3] In linking their own success to their service and the subsequent success of manufacturers, advertising practitioners could situate themselves centrally within the producer ethic in which their success, like that of manufacturers, hinged upon production and the circulation of goods. They claimed that their service facilitated the very progress that manufacturing wrought. In doing so, ad men could lay claim to an appropriate form of success which, eventually led to acceptance and legitimacy within the business community.[4]

As discussed in the previous chapter, as trade paper publishers, the Macleans were more than merely advertising practitioners and consequently had to serve multiple audiences. Historian David E. Nye has demonstrated that public relations efforts tend to be multiple, with companies having to construct a plurality of corporate identities, depending on which audience is being targeted by company messages and why. For the Macleans, audiences targeted by public relations efforts included prospective readers, retail subscribers, potential advertisers, and advertisers, who also received the Maclean papers in which their ads appeared, meaning they were likely also readers. The Macleans were clearly aware of their multiple audiences as efforts were made to address each segment throughout the period. Nevertheless, as this chapter demonstrates, these efforts were typically complementary. The success ethic provided the Macleans with a context within which to couch their efforts, meaning that the notion of serving the success of others permeated the brothers' public relations efforts regardless which audience

[3] William Thayer, *Tact, Push and Principle* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1886), 236.
[4] On the prevalence of the service ideal more generally, see Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul*, 1.

was being addressed. Because the ultimate goal of the company was to sell advertising, the policies of the subscription and editorial departments, as well as that of the advertising department, typically reinforced one another, allowing the Macleans to create an arguably unitary image of their own identity as businessmen in capitalizing on the service ethic while highlighting notions of honesty, integrity, and independence.

In *Keeping the Corporate Image*, historian Richard S. Tedlow defines public relations as "the controlling of news about an individual or organization by planned organized effort through informing and cultivating the press and through encouraging the corporation itself to alter its policies in accord with perceived public desires."[6] While public relations became a mainstay in corporate business by 1914, the practice emerged slowly in the late 1880s and 1890s. As noted previously, Marchand has contended that public relations emerged because the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries "spurred a corporate quest for social and moral legitimacy."[7] This quest stemmed from public castigations of soullessness among ever-growing American big businesses. As companies grew, the American public became increasingly suspicious of business motives, the amassment of exorbitant profits, and unethical practices. Combined with the rise of journalists criticizing the excesses of American businesses and uncovering instances of corruption in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, business leaders recognized the need to engage with the public in efforts to resuscitate their image. As historian David Chalmers

[6] Richard S. Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image: Public Relations and Business, 1900*-1950 (Greenwhich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1979), xviii.

[7] Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul*, 3. It should be noted that Scott M Cutlip, Allen H. Center, and Glen M. Broom have argued that North American public relations practices stem back to the American Revolution. Recognizing public relations as any act intended to sway public perception, Cutlip, Center, and Broom argue that the first uses of public relations were in the political realm. They explain that Samuel Adams and his compatriots used "pen, platform, pulpit, staged events, symbols, news tips, and political organization," to mobilize public opinion in support of the revolutionary cause. See Scott M. Cutlip, Allen H. Center, and Glen M. Broom, *Effective Public Relations*, 9th edition (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2006), 89.

found, over 2 000 articles were published from 1903-1912 on the excess and corruption of American corporations.[8]

Initially termed 'publicity,' public relations emerged haphazardly in the late nineteenth-century. Some companies engaged in public relations to avoid negative publicity and others sought to create positive publicity to gain support and legitimacy for their companies. The latter practice was spearheaded by the railroads, which sought positive publicity through newspapers, either by coaxing reporters through 'deadheading,' the practice of gifting free rail passes in exchange for positive stories, or through the outright purchase of a newspaper to control its contents. The result was content that became known as 'puffery,' news items appearing to be regular newspaper features that were thinly veiled advertisements, or pieces supporting the intended image of the companies. By the 1880s, the practice of newspapers publishing puff pieces in exchange for some form of material or financial benefit was common. In fact, newspapers began accepting direct payment to print puffs during the decade.[9]

In both the United States and Canada, companies also began to hire press agents before the turn of the century. Companies such as Mutual Life Insurance and Bell Telephone hired agents, largely former newspaper editors and reporters who were paid to communicate on behalf of the businesses they represented. Using their networks, agents were tasked with "working the press" for free publicity, while also responding to public and journalistic criticism and, if necessary, keeping their employers' names out of the paper in instances of corporate

[8] Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image*, 6-7; Kevin Stoker and Brad L. Rawlins, "The 'Light' of Publicity in the Progressive Era: From Searchlight to Flashlight," *Journalism History* 30, no. 4 (2005): 177; Karla Gower, "US Corporate Public Relations in the Progressive Era," *Journal of Communication Management* 12, no. 4 (2008): 309; David M. Chalmers, "The Muckrackers and the Growth of Corporate Power: A Study in Constructive Journalism," *The American Journal of Sociology and Economics* 18, no. 3 (1959): 297.
[9] Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image*, 7.

wrongdoing.[10] Efforts to shape public opinion through press agentry were haphazard due to the uneven and nascent nature of the practice as well as editors' and journalists' mixed reaction to agents' efforts. As communications scholar Karla Gower has revealed, "[s]ome journalists saw the hiring of press or publicity agents by corporations as a step in the right direction; others saw these agents as a way to deceive the public rather than a way to be truly more open."[11] Nevertheless, the practice continued and by the early twentieth century, many companies recognized that they could not do without the services of the press agent in their quests for social and moral legitimacy.

The practices of public relations and image crafting stemmed from earlier nineteenth-century practices employed by manufacturers to introduce themselves and their businesses to increasingly distant customers. As Canadian advertising practitioners and historians H.E. Stephenson and Carleton McNaught have demonstrated, early efforts to connect with far-flung customers were primarily done through the publication of trade cards. As a strategy of overcoming anonymity, these cards presented the name of the company and its owner (which, much of the time was one in the same) as well as company mottos or slogans regarding their product. [12] When imagery was employed, trade cards often carried the likeness of manufacturing factories, which, as Roland Marchand has argued, served to embed a company's name in a "concrete image of a particular place." Just as importantly, employing factory imagery was a means through which owners could "convey whatever claims they might wish to make for their products and their entire enterprise – whether size, stability, efficiency, or cleanliness," while

[10] Scott M. Cutlip, *The Unseen Power: Public Relations, A History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1994), 2; Gerald D. Brown, "A Brief History and Review of Public Relations in Canada," in *Public Relations in Canada: Some Perspectives*, Walter B. Herbert and John R.G. Jenkins, eds. (Markham, ON: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984), 8.
[11] Gower, "US Corporate Public Relations in the Progressive Era," 310.
[12] H.E. Stephenson and Carleton McNaught, *The Story of Advertising in Canada: A Chronicle of Fifty Years* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1940), 12.

also indicating that the firm was both stable and prosperous.[13] Given the cultural weight of male character and its assumed relation to success, the trade card and factory imagery were also an important tool of communicating the business owners' character. To be sure, within the context of the widely understood success ethic of the period, such images would likely have conveyed that the owners of these firms were ideal businessmen of stellar character whose businesses could be trusted. This contention is supported by historian Dominic T. Alessio's work on industrial images of Hamilton in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Alessio argues that artist-created images of manufacturers' factories were often exaggerated to ensure they conveyed the very values company owners wished to communicate.[14]

With the emergence of general interest and women's magazines in the United States late in the nineteenth century, periodical advertising also became a means of getting one's company name before the public, albeit one that was less trusted, for reasons discussed. While trade cards remained a popular advertising vehicle for manufacturers, American publishers seeking to increase the sale of advertising space among hesitant manufacturers capitalized on the firms' recognition of the need for positive publicity. Communications scholars Kevin Stoker and Brad Rawlins have demonstrated that publishers were offering firms positive publicity in return for the purchase of advertising space in their periodicals. Firms were promised that features would be printed as editorials or reading matter and would not appear as advertisements so that the public would not know the company was involved in the placement of this content.[15]

[13] Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul*, 29.
[14] Dominic T. Alessio, "Capitalist Realist Art: Industrial Images of Hamilton, Ontario, 1884-1910," *Journal of Urban History* 18, no. 4 (1992): 442, 444-445, 452.
[15] Stoker and Rawlins, "The 'Light' of Publicity in the Progressive Era," 181.

While their aims were similar, the practices of advertising and public relations differed. The fields developed in tandem, but public relations, or publicity practices, were deemed to be less overt than advertising. In the context of late nineteenth-century North American, where notions of character and reputation were paramount, public relations was a means through which business owners could attempt to craft their reputations while maintaining a public air of propriety. Although some were choosing to engage in national advertising, especially in the US where magazine outlets were emerging, those who did not want to advertise could engage a press agent and work the press for positive publicity. This was facilitated by the fact the American Press Association offered an arrangement that saw firms pay $20 per year, per paper, for publicity, with the guarantee that the "company does not appear in the matter at all."[16]

The promise of secrecy on the part of the APA was likely because, as Stoker and Rawlins have demonstrated, the perceived purpose of corporate publicity shifted after the turn of the twentieth century. Once strongly associated with curbing corporate abuse by exposing unfair practices, as companies increasingly adopted its practices to bolster their reputations, public relations were increasingly understood as an instrument to influence the public.[17] Despite this negative perception, publicity had become a necessity for business people as the social system in which they laboured was changing around them. The journalist "muckrakers" had placed businesses in such a position that they could not remain aloof to the public. Companies had to be accountable for their actions and pre-emptive in attempts to shape opinions out of concern that others outside the business would have too much influence over the ways in which companies were perceived.[18] Some businesses only engaged in public relations begrudgingly, but adoption

[16] Quote from a letter from the treasurer of the APA from Stoker and Rawlins, "The 'Light' of Publicity in the Progressive Era," 181.
[17] Stoker and Rawlins, "The 'Light' of Publicity in the Progressive Era," 178-183.
[18] Gower, "US Corporate Public Relations in the Progressive Era," 310.

became prevalent by the 1910s. This resulted in a flurry of newspaper and magazine articles, books, speeches, lectures, and public appearances on the part of businessmen seeking to bolster their own public perception and that of the businesses with which they were associated.[19]

In Canada, very little is known about early publicity practices; however, it is clear that the 1890s and early 1900s saw the Maclean company engaged in public relations practices reflective of those developing in the United States. In particular, these efforts included the publication of favourable articles regarding the company, its owners, and building, but more centrally, the publication of features that revealed, explained, and exemplified developing company policy. For the Macleans, such efforts were needed not because of critiques aimed at their company in particular, but because of negative perceptions surrounding the trade paper field itself. As previously mentioned, trade papers were deemed suspicious within the retail trade due to the potential that they were owned and operated by fraudulent advertising concerns. The fact that the Macleans sold advertising space cast a dubious shadow upon the business due to the negative association the practice carried. This misgiving afflicted the field well into the 1890s and early 1900s. Efforts to communicate with the retail fields about the character of the company the Macleans hoped to convey was also paramount for, as explained in the previous chapter, entrepreneurs in nascent fields such as the Macleans were at a disadvantage in building the reputations necessary to thrive in the late nineteenth-century business environment.

Despite these challenges, the Macleans had a distinct advantage when engaging in public relations. Unlike other businesses that had to engage press agents and/or pay publication outlets for positive publicity, the Macleans owned the very outlets they would use to reach their customers, meaning they had complete control over the content that was published. From a

[19] Gower, "US Corporate Public Relations in the Progressive Era," 311.

logistical standpoint, owning the means of publication simplified efforts at direct communication with existing customers. To reach those who were not subscribers or readers, the company employed the practice of providing sample copies to those they wanted to reach.[20] A trade paper was provided free of charge to a prospective subscriber or advertiser, sometimes over the course of several issues. This method did not ensure that those who received sample copies actually read them, or that their attention was drawn to pieces about the company or its policies if they were read, but getting the paper into the hands of targeted prospective readers who were part of the retail trades increased its likelihood.

The Macleans' approach to public relations was two-pronged, as discussed. The first approach was using the pages to publish positive publicity pieces. This included articles focusing on the history of the company, which was typically told as a history of the Macleans themselves, its premises, and the direction in which the company and individual papers were headed. The second was to print features outlining the company's policies, those developing and increasingly formalized principles set out by the Macleans that dictated the ways in which the company should be run. In both cases, these public relations pieces underscored the company's commitment to serving the success of its readers and advertisers.

Telling Readers About Themselves: General Publicity Efforts

As Marchand has noted, early public relations efforts typically revolved around the concept of personalization, whereby company owners would imbue their companies with their own histories and personalities as though they were individuals. This, Marchand asserts, was done to convey to

[20] "Sample Copy Published Letter to Recipients," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 40 (2 October 1891): 4.

potential customers that they were dealing with a person who, through publicity and public relations efforts, would become familiar, even friendly. Depending on the way in which the feature or advertisement was rhetorically framed, such publicity efforts could depict the owner and, by extension, his business, with an air of dignity, strength, integrity, respectability, friendliness, or a combination of honorable traits.[21]

From the early 1890s, the Macleans adopted this publicity tactic, publishing features that informed readers about themselves personally, or at least that version of themselves that they wished to convey. The first of such features appeared in various 1892 issues of *The Canadian Grocer, Hardware*, and *Books and Notions*.[22] In the previously noted "An Interesting Sketch of the JB McLean Publishing Co. Ltd.," the lengthy three-page feature detailed the establishment of the company and *The Canadian Grocer*, the early years of the company, and the brothers' stance on business operations. In doing so, it reflects three central themes found within general Maclean public relations pieces, namely that the brothers were outsiders within the field who were not expected to succeed, that they were men of the highest integrity (and thereby manhood), and that they were dedicated to serving the success of their readers and advertisers.

The first theme, prevalent throughout much of the company publicity, focused on John Bayne Maclean and his idea of establishing *The Canadian Grocer*. The 1892 piece opens by painting a picture of John Bayne Maclean, then commercial editor of *The Mail*, walking down Front Street in Toronto in the summer of 1887 and entering a wholesale firm where two wholesalers complained of the lack of information pertaining to the grocery trade within the

[21] Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul*, 26-27
[22] "An Interesting Sketch," *The Canadian Grocer*, between pages 16 and 17; "An Interesting Sketch," *Hardware*, between pages 10 and 11; "An Interesting Sketch," *Books and Notions*, 19-21.

daily newspapers. This, the article underscores, was the impetus to the establishment of *The Canadian Grocer* that would be published "[w]ithin two months of the date of discussion."

Despite Maclean's response to what he believed to be a need for reliable, consistent trade news within the grocery field, the article emphasizes that it was not an initial success. Maclean, the article conveys, sent out 10 000 copies of the inaugural September 1887 issue to retail grocers and general storekeepers throughout Canada. Despite this heroic effort, the feature noted that "it must be confessed that the appeal for support that accompanied the initial copy met with anything but encouraging success, one solitary subscriber being the result of the mountains of labour."[23] The difficulties the Macleans faced were reiterated in the feature. In recounting the launch of the second and third issues of *The Canadian Grocer*, the unnamed author insists that Maclean met the same outcome. Of course, (and as will be seen) the article served to highlight the ways in which the Macleans overcame these initial obstacles, yet the feature underscores that those unfamiliar with the challenges of publishing trade journals might think that "as soon as issued a rush was made by both advertisers and subscribers to help the journal along." The author claims that this was not the case, "[f]ar from it, the exact opposite was what occurred. They were not wanted, particularly by probable advertisers. "[24]

The rhetorical positioning of John Bayne Maclean, and eventually his brother Hugh, served an important function in company publicity. By highlighting their challenges, the brothers' success appears much more impressive. Given the intricate connection between male character and business success, this positioning, when juxtaposed with the successes the brothers had by 1892 in publishing five journals with an ever-growing staff, and operating (small) offices

[23] "An Interesting Sketch," *Books and Notions*, 19.
[24] "An Interesting Sketch," *Books and Notions*, 21.

in London, New York City, and Montreal, was an ideal means of conveying their exemplary characters. As the feature underscored, despite their challenges, "[t]he success attending the efforts of these young men is remarkable." That success was attributed to their "concentration of ideas, efforts, and push that placed this firm in the race of trade journalism and the controllers of one of the largest and most influential trade publishing houses on the American continent." In addition, it was also "their confidence in themselves and the worthiness of their intentions and high goals that made them so successful."[25] Their personal efforts, then, brought about by their character traits wrought their initial and continued success.

As such, the brothers were framed as men of strong moral character, imbued with idealized traits that were said to enable success including persistence, industriousness, self-trust, and push. The printing of this laudatory feature therefore allowed the brothers to position themselves firmly within the masculine success paradigm of the period as it related to business.[26] In addition to employing culturally resonant content in the discussion of character traits, the presentation of such traits in biographical form would have been especially salient for readers. Indeed, the feature mirrors those contemporary biographies of the late nineteenth-century discussed in the work of historian Robert Lanning. Lanning explores the ways in which the lives of successful middle-class male subjects were idealized and set within a pattern detailing men's struggles in early life that were overcome through the display of character.[27] In an era when ideal character and success were defined by the very traits with which the brothers were imbued and

[25] "An Interesting Sketch," *Books and Notions*, 21.
[26] Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 18; Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty,* 32; Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 179; Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 5
[27] Lanning, *The National Album*, 60.

biography acted as a recognizable means through which to convey these traits, there is little doubt that the Macleans had solidified their reputation using both content and form.

The Macleans' ultimate goal of serving the success of their readers and advertisers was also emphasized, which further highlighted their character and explained to readers how the brothers' respectably fit into the emerging consumer goods market. Addressing their aims for advertisers, "An Interesting Sketch…" reads:

> Although their advertising rates were higher than other papers, and it was an uphill struggle against low rates and so-called trade or private papers, the new and excellently carried out ideas of advertising implanted into the firm by Mr. Hugh C. McLean – who made that department a special study, looking after all advertisers' interests as if they were his own, the desired aim being to make the advertisers' space, no matter how large or small, profitable, ultimately a continuation of all advertisements – at last received recognizance, and as an evidence of the proper appreciation of these ideas one need but glance at the advertisements of the largest and shrewdest business men that appear week after week in the columns of their publications.[28]

In vowing to serve the advertisers who paid for space in their journals, the Macleans associated themselves with the success of these powerful men and their contributions to the consumer economy. In assisting manufacturers to generate profit through advertising, they cast themselves as a necessary addendum to the retail supply chain, especially for producers. The last line regarding advertisers' appreciation, while perhaps not completely accurate as the company still faced difficulties and strived to increase its advertising base into the later 1890s, indicated to readers that manufacturers too viewed the Macleans in this light, reinforcing the service ethnic to which the brothers laid claim.

[28] "An Interesting Sketch," *Books and Notions*, 20.

Another central publicity tactic the Macleans capitalized upon and directly linked to their claim to service was highlighting the physical space of their company. Company lore and publicity pieces alike consistently describe the office spaces initially occupied by the company as small, and modest, which, they were. This included the firm's first Toronto office which was "a modest space of a 9 x 12 room at 5 Jordan St." that was only large enough for a small desk, stool, and John Bayne Maclean himself, and the Montreal office, described as inhabiting "an old-fashioned building on St. Francois Xavier street."[29] These descriptions, of course were contrasted with the firms' new buildings that were either purchased or rented when necessitated by growth.

When the company moved to a new Montreal office from its initial St. François Xavier street location, the 1896 feature "Our New Offices" insisted that larger premises were required "if the subscriptions and advertisements should continue to pour in from every part of the Dominion."[30] Describing the company's growth and subsequent needs, the unnamed author noted that the new office had to be located on the bottom floor of a building as "[n]othing else will suit the great number of subscribers and advertisers." Describing the Macleans' ultimate choice of the Montreal Board of Trade building, the writer highlighted both the exclusivity and high cost of the space, which was "the choicest offices in the city – and most expensive too…"[31] This was reinforced by an image of the impressive building, designed by esteemed American architects George Forter Shepley, Charles Hercules Rutan, and Charles Allerton Coolidge with construction supervised by Edward Maxwell.[32] (See Figure 2)

---

[29] "An Interesting Sketch," *Books and Notions*, 19; "Our New Offices," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no 8 (21 February 1896): 15.
[30] "Our New Offices," *The Canadian Grocer,* 15.
[31] "Our New Offices," *The Canadian Grocer,* 15.
[32] McGill University Archives, Canadian Architecture Collection, Montreal Board of Trade Building, 1891, Photograph and Archival Description, online, https://cac.mcgill.ca/maxwells/details.php?recordCount=305&Page=8&id=167&pn=&cn=&pr=&ct=&str=&mj=&mn=&sta= .

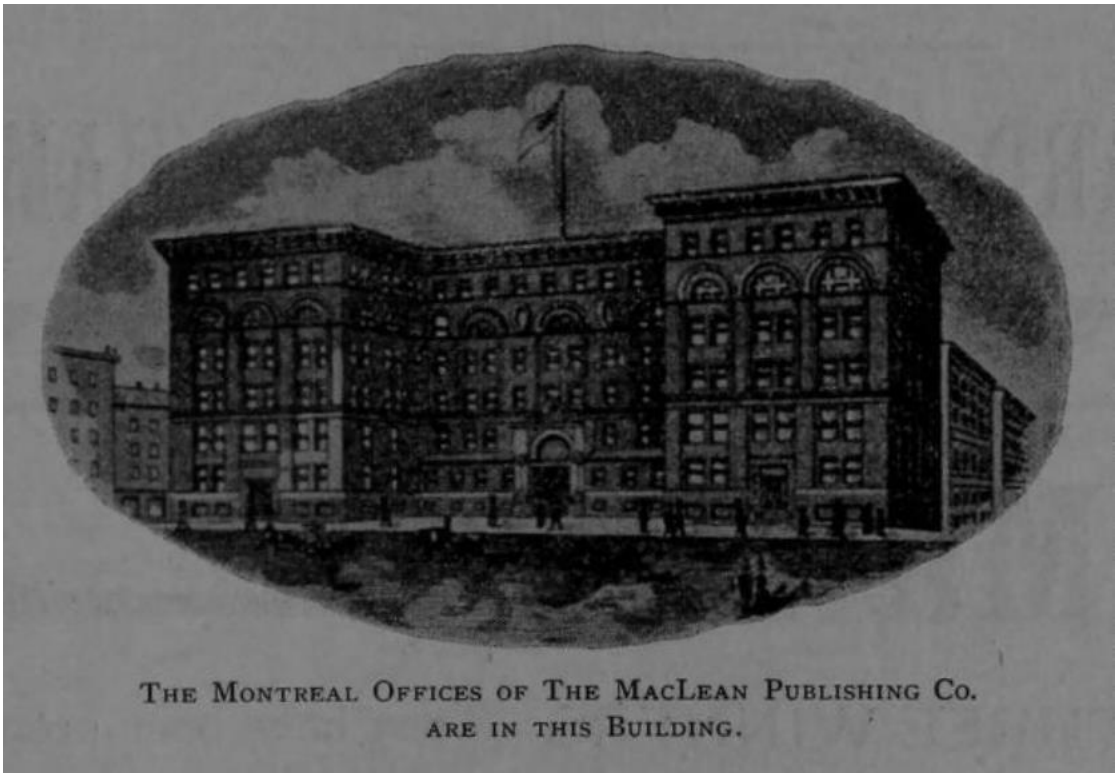


Figure 2: Montreal Board of Trade Building as presented in *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 8 (21 February 1896): 15.

As Marchand explains, highlighting the physical size of a company was a typical practice among manufacturers that emerged earlier in the century as "a way to evade the seeming abstractness and anonymity of the distant corporation. A factory panorama embedded their name in a concrete image of a particular place."[33] This was certainly a function the practice served for the Macleans, but it was also a means of underscoring the company's service ethic and facilitating its extension of services. These descriptions and images were also meant to identify the company's multiple physical spaces so that readers and advertisers could visit them. Additionally, as this description of the 1896 Montreal office indicates, these features were

[33] Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul*, 29.

comparative in nature, emphasizing concepts such as improvement and progress, and, by extension, the growing strength of the company.[34]

Some of the features focusing on Maclean office space were found in what were, by mid-1904, regular publicity features pertaining to the company. With various section titles including "Gossip About Ourselves," "Mainly About Ourselves," "Some Facts Mainly About Ourselves," and "Facts of Interest – Mainly About Ourselves," that varied across each paper and over time, the Maclean company regularly published publicity pieces about itself each week or month, depending on the paper. In addition to discussions of company spaces, these sections boasted much celebratory content, telling readers of special features in upcoming issues, highlighting company growth, providing statistics of increasing numbers of pages per journal over time, expanding advertisements, and numbers of employees, the enthusiastic adoption of the Maclean papers abroad, and the inauguration and results of various competitions held by the journals. They also presented testimonials and congratulatory statements from prominent readers who were either members of government or well-known businesspeople.[35]

---

[34] See also "Our New Offices," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 5, no. 4 (April 1895): 3; "Gossip About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 14, no. 7 (July 1904): 240; "Some Facts Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 18, no. 12 (December 1908): 19; "MacLean Company's New Offices in Montreal," *The Canadian Grocer* 23, no. 17 (23 April 1909): 29; "Facts of Interest – Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 19, no. 5 (May 1909): 22; "The MacLean Publishing Co. in Europe," *Men's Wear Review* 3, no. 5 (May 1913): 84; "The MacLean Publishing Co. in Europe," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no. 10 (21 May 1913): 84; "The MacLean Publishing Co. in Europe," *Bookseller and Stationer* 29, no. 6 (June 1913): 8; "The Maclean Publishing Co. in New Quarters," *Men's Wear Review* 4, no. 9 (September 1914): 82; "The Maclean Publishing Co. in New Quarters," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 26, no. 18 (16 September 1914): 82; "The Maclean Publishing Co. in New Quarters," *The Canadian Grocer* 28, no. 39 (25 September 1914): 46; "The Maclean Publishing Co. in New Quarters," *Bookseller and Stationer* 30, no. 10 (October 1914): 37.

[35] "Gossip About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 14, no. 6 (June 1904): 129; "Gossip About Ourselves," *Hardware* 16, no. 30 (23 July 1904): 9; "Gossip About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 15, no. 1 (January 1905): 227; "Among Ourselves," *The Canadian Grocer* 19, no. 21 (26 May 1905): 154; "Some Facts Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 19, no. 1 (January 1909): 31; "Facts of Interest – Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 20, no. 1 (January 1910): 22; "Mainly About Ourselves," *Bookseller and Stationer* 27, no 3 (March 1911): 7.

In addition to their celebratory content, these features were also a central means of telling readers about the company's focus on service. In the early 1900s in particular, the provision of service and the publicization of such centered on the hiring of experts to serve readers and advertisers alike. The feature "Mainly About Ourselves" from *Hardware,* 7 May 1904, reflects this theme. Discussing the paper's "Machinery" department, the editor notes that "[t]he point of development has been reached which makes it possible to make this department of even more practical service that it has been in the past." The editor then announced the hiring of McGill engineering graduate Fraser S. Keith, noting that, as he would be overseeing the department editorially, readers had "every reason to expect that this department will be strengthened materially and in the most practical manner."[36]

Pronouncements such as this were also present in *The Dry Goods Review*. In both June and September 1905, readers were reminded of the experts who served their interests. In discussing preparations for the 1905 fall number of *The Dry Goods Review*, "Mainly About Ourselves" insisted that "Miss Dixon, one of the best authorities on materials and fashions in Canada, is contributing an authoritative article…" Likewise, as "Mainly About Ourselves" from the September 1905 issue reveals, Maclean hired "well-known" fashion writer, Mrs. Nellie Gunn McClelland to write a monthly fashion letter from New York for the publication. According to the writer, Gunn McClelland's "special publication in the United States is the highest authority there." In underscoring the service that such an expertly written letter would render readers, the author insisted that "[b]y this means the readers of the paper are kept fresh and original in their work. We trust our readers will be benefited by the New York fashion letter."[37] A similar

[36] "Mainly About Ourselves," *Hardware* 16, no. 19 (7 May 1904): 13.
[37] "Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 16, no 6 (June 1905): 15; "Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 15, no. 9 (September 1905): 17.

contention was reiterated in the July 1908 issue of *The Dry Goods Review* as, in the section "Some Facts Mainly About Ourselves," the editor noted that the issue was the "first authoritative forecast on styles for Spring 1909." The journal had hired a special (unnamed) correspondent who traveled across Europe for the paper to report on upcoming spring fashions. Highlighting both his expertise and the value his article provided readers, the author noted that "[h]e is the highest paid fashion writer in Canada, and no paper has ever undertaken to give Canadian drygoodsmen [sic] the service that *The Review* is furnishing in this issue."[38]

The above examples indicate that *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* readers were certainly provided with a number of expert writers, especially women. But although Dixon and Gunn McClelland were considered qualified to write as fashion experts, the fact that a male expert was hired to travel across Europe as a correspondent suggests that the company reinforced certain gendered parameters surrounding women's work. Indeed, Dixon wrote from company offices in either Toronto or Montreal while Gunn McClelland wrote from New York. Despite their experience in major North American cities, and the fact that the company clearly acknowledged women as being specially equipped to write as fashion experts, it seems that company decision makers believed it inappropriate to hire a woman to travel independently across Europe, opting instead for a male correspondent and highlighting this fact.

These sections focusing on Maclean's 'good news' items also made reference to another major theme, company policy. As aforementioned, the publicization of company policy in the areas of advertising, subscription, and editorial were central to the Macleans' (and after 1899, John Bayne Maclean's) public relations efforts. As "Facts of Interest – Mainly About Ourselves" from the March 1909 issue of *The Dry Goods Review* reveals, the company did employ their

[38] "Some Facts Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 18, no. 7 (July 1908): 214.

general publicity columns to spread word of official policy. Addressing the journal (and company's) editorial and advertising policies, the paper reads: "[i]n its editorial column *The Review* endeavors to print the news of the dry goods trade and associated lines of business. From those columns free advertising 'puffs' are carefully eliminated."[39]

While these generalized company publicity sections played a role in the dissemination of company policy information, articles pertaining to policies were prominently publicized throughout the papers prior to the introduction of these features. They were publicized within individual pieces beginning in the late 1880s, and throughout the 1890s, 1900s, and 1910s. Together, such features presented a vision of a principled, service-oriented, reputable publishing company led by respectable owners (and after 1899, owner) that aligned well with those notions of success and manhood presented in the previous chapter. This chapter now turns to an examination of the company's publicization of its advertising, subscription, and editorial policies to demonstrate how this was achieved.

Advertising Policy

In the 1890s, the Macleans embarked on a campaign against what they, and other advertisers had termed 'fake,' 'fraudulent,' or 'fakir' advertising.[40] There were several manifestations of

[39] "Facts of Interest – Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 19, no. 3 (March 1909): 21.
[40] The term 'fakir' originated in the Muslim tradition and has also been applied to Hindus denoting a mystic or saint with miraculous power who relied only on God to provide for them. The term was appropriated by Western culture and used in multiple, derogatory racialized ways including to denote someone who takes advantage of another for profit through fraudulent displays. The term was widely used in advertising in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to describe advertising fraudsters. See Timothy S. Dobe, *Hindu Christian Faqir: Modern Monks, Global Christianity, and Indian Sainthood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 13; Philip Deslippe, "Fakir: How a Word From India Moved Through American Popular Culture for Nearly a Century," in *The United States and South Asia from the Age of Empire to Decolonization: A History of Entanglements*, edited by Harald Fisher-Tiné and Nico Slate (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022), 69-81.

fraudulent advertising in the 1890s, characterized by either advertising content or schemes. From the perspective of content, fake advertising referred to advertisements that made deceptive claims. For instance, in some cases readers were told that if they purchased a product, they would be mailed a gift (that would never arrive), or readers would be promised a gift in exchange for money; however, fraudsters took their money without any intention of sending gifts.[41] Fraudulent advertising schemes were various. Some involved solicitors selling space for mediums such as railway guides, business directories, or illustrated city booklets, with the promise of quality printing and high circulation, neither of which were delivered. Other schemes involved placing advertisements for actual products in newspapers or other periodicals, some even going so far as to open fake advertising agencies through which to make their arrangements, then not paying the outlet for the space used.[42]

John Bayne Maclean took a very public stance against all types of fraudulent advertising on behalf of readers, advertisers, and potential advertisers alike. As early as 1889, Maclean made a very public pronouncement, revealing his awareness of the problematic nature of some advertising in *The Canadian Grocer*, insisting that "[i]t is the aim of the publishers that none but reputable firms be represented in our advertising columns."[43] Through this preliminary assertion, Maclean was positioning himself and his paper against deceptive advertising, assuring his readers that he would act as a gatekeeper of sorts to protect them and their business interests by only admitting truthful advertising from respectable businessmen upon whom they could rely.

---

[41] "Advertising Gift Enterprises," *Canadian Printer and Publisher* 1, no. 7 (November 1892): 7.
[42] "Advertising Fakes," *Hardware* 2, no. 2 (10 Jan 1890): 1; "Home of the Fakes," *Canadian Printer and Publisher* 2, no. 5 (May 1893): 5 "Fake Advertising Agencies," *Canadian Printer and Publisher* 2, no. 10 (October 1893): 5; "The Advertising Fakir," *Hardware* 5, no. 44 (4 November 1893): 3; "The Advertising Fakir," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 44 (3 Nov 1893): 4; "Don't Advertise," *The Canadian Grocer* 12, no. 30 (29 July 1898): 34
[43] "No title," *The Canadian Grocer* (4 January 1889): 1. Such proclamations could have been published sooner, but no earlier issues are available of *The Canadian Grocer* or *Hardware*. No such assertions exist in the 1888 issues of *Books and Notions* after Maclean purchased the trade journal.

Maclean's assertion was also a pronouncement to both current and potential advertisers regarding the character of his paper. As such, Maclean's statement signaled that his trade journal was not in and of itself an advertising scheme, nor would it be associated with such schemes, or any other type of fraudulent advertisers. *The Canadian Grocer*, according to Maclean, was a safe, respectable advertising outlet where advertisers could be assured their advertisements and good names would not be tarnished by appearing next to the advertisements of a questionable or fraudulent nature. Just as was the case with readers, Maclean pledged to take on a gatekeeping role to protect the character of those who advertised in *The Canadian Grocer*.

The 1890s saw an intensification of this stance as the Macleans used their trade papers to chastise the evils of fake advertising, thereby disassociating themselves and their business from the practice.[44] Scathing articles with titles including "Advertising Fakes," "The Advertising Fakir," and "Caught by Fakirs," served to warn readers and advertisers alike (of course, the two were not always mutually exclusive) of the existence of deceptive advertisers and their practices. As one 1893 article from *The Canadian Grocer* cautioned, "The advertising fakir is a queer individual. He sallies forth in the morning with many schemes in his head and he returneth at night with the names of many victims on his list. He promiseth much and fulfilleth little; and then the advertiser ariseth with much wailing and says that advertising payeth not."[45] Likewise, another article from *The Canadian Grocer* in 1897 warned that:

> The advertising fakir goeth about as a roaring lion seeking whose dollars he may devour. He never sleeps and he is omnipresent. He may change his tactics, but behind the mask is the same old fakir. But everybody does not recognize him all the

[44] Also, in the feature "Progress," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 4, no. 2 (February 1894): 7, the Macleans overtly insisted that they "[w]ill never allow to appear in its pages any advertisement in which it has not the fullest confidence…"

[45] "Advertising Fakes," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 61 (November 1890): 8; "The Advertising Fakir," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 44 (3 Nov 1893): 4; "Caught by Fakirs," *Hardware* 5, 46 (18 November 1893): 2. Quote from "The Advertising Fakir," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 44 (3 Nov 1893): 4.

> time, and consequently there are some people who are being victimized nearly all the time.[46]

Some of the schemes the papers identified included the sale of space in publications including time tables, calendars, railway guides, souvenir books, church fair programmes, maps, and hotel registers that had little to no circulation. They also included hangers, which were essentially advertisements for one's own place of business that were put up in the very business they advertised, catalogues put out by fake manufacturers and sold by the thousands to unsuspecting wholesalers who were permitted to place an ad in what was largely a useless catalogue, the painting of advertisements on the tops of circus tents, and the promise of dropping circulars from hot air balloons in flight.[47]

Those who engaged in any such behavior were chastised and were said to have no place within the trade, just as their advertisements had no place in the Maclean journals. Using a highly recognizable figure against which to compare fraudsters, the Macleans likened advertising fakes to the notorious P.T. Barnum whose extravagant entertainment-based publicity campaigns were created to dupe audiences into purchasing ineffective nostrums. Capitalizing on Barnum's infamy to decry the evils of fraudulent advertising, the Macleans insisted that deceptive advertising had no place in the ad world, despite the success of Barnum's carnivalesque endeavors. The Macleans warned that all advertisers had to remember that there was a significant difference between Barnum's business model and that of Canadian businessmen as Barnum's

---

[46] "A Fake Advertising Scheme," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 45 (29 Oct 1897): 51.

[47] "Advertising Fakes," *Hardware* 2, no. 2 (10 Jan 1890): 1 "Advertising Fakes," *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 2 (10 Jan 1890): 4; "The Advertising Fakir," *Hardware* 5, no. 44 (4 November 1893) 3; "Give Them a Wide Berth," *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 48 (28 Nov 1890): 14; "Does Fake Advertising Pay?" *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 4, no. 9 (September 1893): 14; "Caught by Fakirs," *Hardware* 5, 46 (18 November 1893): 2; "No Title," *Hardware* 6, no. 5 (3 February 1894) 1; Nathaniel C. Fowler, Jr., "Money-Wasting Advertising," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 4, no. 7 (July 1894): 28 "A Fake Advertising Scheme," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 45 (29 Oct 1897): 51; "Don't Advertise," *The Canadian Grocer* 12, no. 30 (29 July 1898): 34.

was "a matter of amusement" whereas the other was "a stable and stationary business."[48] In likening fraudsters to Barnum, and thereby deceptive advertisers' to businesses to a form of amusement in contrast to those that were "stable and stationary," the article emphasized that fraudulent advertisers should not be taken seriously.

The Macleans underscored that there were natural consequences to deception. In another 1892 feature, this time from *The Dry Goods Review*, the unnamed author once again likens the 'humbuggery' of fraudulent advertisers to the activities of circus managers who deceive their audiences. In adopting these methods, the businessman "apparently forgets that the circus comes but once or twice a season…while his customers are the same year in and year out…His store doe snot [sic] move away from the reach of patrons who consider themselves cheated." Those that were deceived, the author contends are "ready to treasure up any unfair treatment and to make him suffer the consequence," meaning the loss of business and eventual failure.[49]

Just as there were penalties for deceptive advertising within the trade, the Macleans also demonstrated the consequences of trying to insert dishonest advertising material within their papers. In the fall of 1890, readers of *Books and Notions* complained to the Macleans that New York-based ink manufacturer and *Books and Notions* advertiser, Underwood & Co. was, despite advertising to the retail trade, overstepping retailers and selling directly to consumers. Underwood & Co., which also had a Toronto branch whose manager was charged with its Canadian advertising, had been a consistent advertiser with *Books and Notions* since July 1889. The company held a privileged position, with its advertisement appearing on the cover of the journal from the time the company inserted its initial advertisement until October 1890 (with the

[48] "Mystery in Advertising," *Books and Notions* 8, no. 12 (December 1892): 22.
[49] "Avoid Misstatements in Advertising," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 2, no. 9 (September 1892): 15.

exception of March 1890 when no ads appeared on the cover).[50] A highly successful company, Underwood & Co. supplied ink to the Dominion government, provincial governments, the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Grand Trunk Railway, insurance companies, financial institutions, in addition to distributing its product through wholesalers such as Butin, Gillies & Co. and direct to retailers.[51]



Figure 3: "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 55 (July 1889): 1

[50] "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 55 (July 1889): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 56 (August 1889): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 57 (September 1889): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 58 (October 1889): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 59 (November 1889): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 60 (December 1889): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 61 (January 1890): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 62 (February 1890): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 63 (March 1890): 1 "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 64 (April 1890): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 65 (May 1890): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 66 (June 1890): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 67 (July 1890): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 68 (August 1890): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 69 (September 1890): 1; "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 70 (October 1890): 1.

[51] "Butin, Gillies & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 58 (October 1889): 16; "Butin Gillies & Co. Advertisement," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 59 (November 1889): 4; "Trade Chat," *Books and Notions*," 6, no 63 (March 1890): 12; "No Title," *Books and Notions* 6, no. 64 (April 1890): 15.

After receiving their readers' complaints regarding the Underwood's advertising practices, the Macleans investigated their claims, publishing its findings in the November 1890 issue of *Books and Notions*. The publisher found that unbeknownst to the company owner in New York, the Toronto-based manager was in fact advertising to retailers in journals including *Books and Notions* while selling direct to consumers, thereby reducing retailers' opportunities to sell any Underwood stock they had purchased. Upon hearing the Macleans' accusations, Underwood's Toronto manager promptly removed the company's advertisement from *Books and Notions* and threatened the publishers with a libel suit. The suit does not appear to have materialized and company owner John Underwood came to Canada to appoint a new manager, Frank Tinnning.[52]

After the incident, Underwood & Co. advertisements did not appear in the paper again until 1902.[53] Whether the Macleans refused to publish further Underwood advertisements or Tinning was directed (or chose) to not to advertise with *Books and Notions* after the incident is unknown. The Macleans had made clear that they welcomed Frank Tinning's promotion noting that, "Mr. Tinning, who has been with Messrs. Underwood & Co. for some time is very popular with the trade generally and the steady increase in business has been due to his exertions" and that under his care "retailers will have no further cause of complaint."[54] Nevertheless, Underwood & Co. advertisements would not be the fixture in the paper as they had been previously. John Underwood and Frank Tinning likely stopped advertising with the Macleans due to the offence and damage to company reputation (perceived or real) caused by the publicization of the incident. But it was in the act of publishing the story of the incident that

[52] "Trade Chat," *Books and Notions* 8, no, 12 (December 1892): 12
[53] "John Underwood & Co. Advertisement," *Bookseller and Stationer* 18, no .9 (September 1902): 55.
[54] "No Title," *Books and Notions* 6, no 71 (November 1890): 18.

demonstrated that the Macleans upheld their policy and guarded their readers' interests, even when threatened with financial loss and legal action.

Maclean extended his crusade to include the protection of publishers who were themselves targets, especially of those seeking to place fraudulent advertisements. In 1892, Maclean established *The Canadian Printer and Publisher*, which became the official organ of the Canadian Press Association (CPA henceforth). The *Printer and Publisher* was used to disseminate the proceedings of the CPA, act as a communicative forum through the paper's correspondence section, present news items of interest to publishers including technological advances in printing and emerging publications, and to educate publishers on all matters related to advertising, including fraudulent ads, ad schemes, and their purveyors. By the early 1890s, Maclean believed it was especially important to help publishers discern between legitimate and fraudulent advertisers and ad agents, as publishers, advertisers, and potential advertisers alike were suffering significant consequences related to both their reputation and finances. As an 1893 *Printer and Publisher* article entitled "Home of the Fakes," referencing Toronto, noted:

> …how much publishers have lost is a conundrum we are not prepared to grapple with. The outcome of the whole business is a sad refection on the integrities of our business men, as hereafter publishers will be very chary in accepting advertisements from houses or firms unless they are well-known.[55]

Not only did Maclean use *Printer and Publisher* to warn the industry to avoid advertisers who held prize competitions, or who sent around agents who attempted to purchase space at discounted rates (or supposed agents), he also worked to expose those he deemed fake

[55] "Home of the Fakes," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 2, no. 5 (May 1893): 5.

advertisers.[56] Rather than potentially sully the reputation of honest advertisers and potentially lose advertising contracts, subscribers were encouraged to consult with the journal's staff through private correspondence when they had concerns regarding the legitimacy of an advertiser or agency. As the journal's editorial notes from October 1893 indicates, many publishers were in fact relying on Maclean's staff as a means of finding out more about the businesses with which they engaged, especially with regards to advertising agencies and patent medicine manufacturers seeking to place advertisements.[57] What's more, once Maclean felt certain an advertiser or agent was engaging in fraudulent activity, he did not hesitate to expose them in the pages of *The Printer and Publisher*. This was the case with the Newspaper Advertising Agency, which, according to the journal, "[f]or some time past, *Printer and Publisher* ha[d] been in receipt of letters enquiring as to the reliability of a certain Newspaper Advertising Agency."[58] *Printer and Publisher* insisted that the agency actually represented two concerns, the *Ladies' Pictorial Weekly* and The Exquisite Toilet Co. The latter company had purchased advertising space to publicize a prize Bible competition, to which *Printer and Publisher* insisted that "[e]verybody knows what kind of concern these are that hold prize Bible Competitions and give away tooth powder and low priced [sic] magazines…The Exquisite Toilet Mfg. Co. looks to be a genuine fake."[59]

In exposing fraudulent concerns, Maclean took definite risks, as was illustrated in his castigation of the *Ladies' Pictorial Weekly* and The Exquisite Toilet Co. Maclean's accusation resulted in a libel suit being lodged against the company, which he in fact welcomed. As the

[56] "Advertising Gift Enterprises," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 1, no. 7 (November 1892): 7-8; "Fake Advertising Agencies," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 2, no. 10 (October 1893) 5; "Medical Ads at Low Rates," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 4, no. 10 (Oct 1895): 7.
[57] "Editorial Notes," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 2, no. 10 (October 1893): 1.
[58] "A Queer Agency," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 1, no. 6 (October 1892): 8.
[59] "A Queer Agency," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher*, 8.

editor of *Printer and Publisher* noted in 1893, "[b]y endeavoring to warn its subscribers concerning fake advertising agencies and papers which run gift enterprises, *The Printer and Publisher* got into trouble" as owner of both companies, H.W. Fox "brought legal action for libel against the J.B. Maclean Publishing Co."[60] Whether it was performance or genuine conviction, Maclean vigorously defended his position, spending hundreds of dollars in court. When Fox eventually dropped the charges, Maclean openly addressed his readers and tied his actions to his own character and that of his journal. He emphasized that his duty to his readers and conviction to do what was right were far more important than the monetary loss he had suffered. Like success manuals of the period, Maclean indicated that he hoped the reward for this performative sacrifice would be the recognition that "subscribers feel that they have a journal which has tried to guard their interests even at a sacrifice to itself." In other words, he hoped that readers recognize the strong character of the journal and, by extension, the J.B. Maclean Publishing Co. and Maclean himself. Maclean also insisted that he would have made this sacrifice regardless of personal cost. In further positioning himself as a protective gatekeeper, Maclean emphasized that "the journal which tries to perform a public function must make its performance thorough, no matter at what expense of time or capital," which he had proven to readers throughout the legal battle.[61]

Subscription Policy

Many advertising fakes of the period lured advertisers with the promise of large circulations, and while the advertisements themselves materialized, they were never seen by the number of readers

[60] "The *P&P*s Libel Suit," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 2, no. 12 (December 1893): 9.
[61] "The *P&P*s Libel Suit," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher*, 9.

advertisers were promised. This also held true in trade journalism, as fraudsters posing as publishers sold space in supposed journals which promised to reach wide readerships, or at least those readers who would be most likely to purchase a given product. While some of these papers were published and only circulated to those who advertised in them, others were circulated to a limited number of retailers and wholesalers free of charge. However, because these papers were largely bereft of editorial content, and circulated for free, American advertising specialist Nathaniel C. Fowler insisted that recipients saw them as "nothing more nor less than advertisements bound together in pamphlet form," meaning they were not likely to be trusted or read.[62]

Fowler, like Maclean who printed his work in his journals, believed that, "[t]he legitimate trade paper, the trade paper of character," was one that "pays the advertiser," and to do so certain content-based requirements had to be met surrounding the services it provided readers. According to Fowler, it was of the utmost importance that the paper be balanced, containing advertisements as well as original editorial matter and reading matter gleaned from other relevant sources, such as subject-specific trade papers from other counties. As Fowler argued, the provision of editorial opinion and analysis, accurate and timely trade information, and advertisements from respectable, trustworthy businesses would serve the needs of retailers and wholesalers, and, in exchange, these retailers and wholesalers would become regular readers, subscribing to the journal. Maclean too was a proponent of this position. Recognizing as much, Maclean set his staff a goal of having a third of his papers be comprised of editorial content.[63]

[62] Nathaniel C. Fowler, Jr., "The Real and Unreal Business Paper," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 2 (10 January 1896): 10.
[63] Maclean-Hunter files, Series B, B-1-2-a, Box 54, Maclean, H.C. (1) file, Letter from John Bayne Maclean to Hugh Cameron Maclean, 26 July 1898.

As noted, some journal publishers gave copies away as a means of circulating their paper. These papers, such as *The Trader and Canadian Jeweler* in Canada and *Clothier and Haberdasher*, an American paper Maclean considered competition for *Canadian Dry Goods Review*, claimed to have subscribers, which it technically did, yet these subscribers were not expected to pay for the journal they regularly received.[64] This was, admittedly, the easiest way to cover a given specialized retail sector, which is what publishers and, increasingly, advertisers recognized they needed to do in order to provide the type of targeted advertising trade journals were created to provide. The circulation of trade papers at the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century was quite low in relation to that of other publications such as daily newspapers or even general business papers because of their specialized nature. Instead of total circulation, which became more significant when comparing two journals in the same retail category, it was the percentage of field that a journal covered that mattered. A journal might only have a circulation of two thousand, but if those two thousand readers constituted a large percentage of the retailers within the trade, then the journal could claim to have a thriving subscription base. Publishers providing free subscriptions, or continually giving out countless 'sample copies' found it easiest to make claim to serving the entire field by simply giving it out to every retailer in a given category.

Critics such as Fowler decried the practice of free circulation. Paid subscribers were essentially indicating that a paper that they were willing to pay for served their needs in some, or multiple ways, and by rendering payment subscribers signified that they valued the given journal. This benefitted the advertiser, as it was believed that these subscribers were more likely

[64] AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F 4566-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence (2), Letter from John Bayne Maclean to David Burnside, 29 November 1902; Letter from John Bayne Maclean to David Burnside, 14 January 1903; Letter from David Burnside to John Bayne Maclean, 9 February 1903; AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F 4566-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence (2), Letter from David Burnside to John Bayne Maclean, 20 March 1903.

to read their papers. The same could not be said of those who did not pay for a subscription and as the 1890s continued, the question of circulation and padding circulation became a contentious issue within the trade paper field and among Canadian publishers more broadly. As such, the practice of giving away subscriptions and sample copies was deemed dishonest as it duped the advertiser.[65]

In the 1890s, the Macleans began to develop policy surrounding subscriptions, most notably, that all subscriptions would be paid for by readers. As early as 1888, the Macleans insisted that those who read their publications should be fully paid subscribers. Upon taking over *Books and Notions* in 1888, the Macleans launched an initiative to get subscribers to pay for their journals, as the ailing J.J. Dyas had evidently not enforced the remittance of subscription dues. In fact, the Macleans claimed that the paper was owed two thousand dollars in unpaid subscription fees. In the December 1888 issue, the Macleans published an editorial noting that many readers failed to pay for their subscriptions that year and reminded readers that while the amount each reader owed was small, it was crucial income for the journal and enclosed an envelope with which readers should "send their remittances upon receipt of their paper."[66]

Throughout the 1890s and early twentieth century journals emphasized the paid subscription policy, insisting that "The value of legitimate paid circulation cannot be overestimated. It is the basis of everything."[67] Using both advertisements and articles to convey their policy, the Macleans were clear: one could not access a Maclean paper on a regular basis

[65] "Subscription Bait," *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 48 (28 November 1890): 1; Nathaniel C. Fowler, Jr., "The Business Paper," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 5, no. 11 (November 1895): 8,; "Nathaniel C. Fowler, Jr., "The Real and Unreal Business Paper," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 2 (10 January 1896): 10; "The Circulation Question," *Printer and Publisher* 5, no. 5 (May 1896): 10; "The Circulation Question," *The Canadian Printer and Publisher* 7, no. 10 (October 1898): 3.
[66] "Subscription Info," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 5 (December 1888): 79.
[67] "Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 15, no. 11 (November 1905): 19.

without becoming a paid subscriber. From the earliest days of the company, the Macleans also insisted that subscription fees be paid "invariably in advance" as was indicated on the cover of *The Canadian Grocer*.[68] To further differentiate themselves from what they deemed to be unscrupulous means of gaining subscriptions, the Macleans refused to provide material, or gift inducements, usually in the form of a free subscription to another publication, as was a practice employed by some pay-for-subscription papers. Giving Christmas presents was another means of attracting readers. Dubbed 'subscription bait,' the Macleans insisted these practices indicated that a paper was not strong enough editorially to induce readers to subscribe while also weakening "the motives to good work in the paper itself."[69] Instead, as articulated in the *The Canadian Grocer* in November 1890, "The *Grocer* embodies, in every issue, ideas that we consider essential to its usefulness, and it is on this intrinsic usefulness we have relied – so far without disappointment – for it to float."[70]

To purchase these essential ideas, subscribers were expected to pay a standard yearly fee that varied across the Maclean papers. For the weekly-published *The Canadian Grocer* and *Hardware*, subscribers were expected to pay two dollars yearly for their fifty-two issues. While it launched at a cost of a dollar for twelve yearly issues in 1891, by 1895 subscribers to *The Dry Goods Review* were also charged two dollars per year. For its part, *Bookseller and Stationer* charged subscribers a dollar a year for twelve issues and sold individual issues for ten cents apiece. *Hardware* also sold individual issues for ten cents each. Subscription costs were printed in each issue, sometimes more than once. Throughout the period the subscription rates were typically found within the masthead of each paper alongside publication information and staff

[68] Masthead, *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 1 (4 January 1889): 1.
[69] "Subscription Bait," *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 48 (28 November 1890): 1.
[70] "Subscription Bait," *The Canadian Grocer*, 1.

listings. On occasion subscription cost was also published on the cover of *The Canadian Grocer*. This may have been indicative of these issues being circulated as sample copies although this was not stated within the papers themselves.[71]

Based on the notion of their papers' intrinsic value, and, by extension, the fundamental service the Macleans provided to subscribers, the company adopted an approach that intimated to readers that given the combination of practical information and advertising matter the papers contained, refusing to pay for a subscription and accessing this invaluable content was to their detriment. In a strongly worded, confident pronouncement, the Macleans emphatically told readers "You can lose more than we do by not subscribing to this journal." Similar assertions, such as "you cannot afford to be without it," "it would pay you to subscribe," "if you are alive to your own interests, you will place a trial order," and "[o]ne year's subscription to *The Canadian Grocer* will pay you One Hundred per cent. at the least. Such has been the experience of others," were frequent refrains within the Maclean papers in both articles and advertisements.[72]

To further convince potential subscribers of the value of the Maclean papers, the company published circulation claims to demonstrate that they were being adopted by the trades they represented. This would presumably reinforce that non-readers were potentially missing out on crucial trade information that was being read by ever-increasing numbers of their peers. These

[71] For instance see: Front Cover, *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 1 (3 January 1890): cover; Masthead, *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 1 (3 January 1890): 1; Front Cover, *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 52 (26 December 1890): cover; Masthead, *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 52 (26 December 1890): 1; Masthead, *The Canadian Grocer* 9, no 1 (4 January 1895): 7. For its part, the subscription price and price per issues of *Hardware* were printed on the cover from 1890-1892 but the practice ended after this time.

[72] Subscription Blurb, *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no 11 (14 March 1890): 16; Subscription Blurb, *Hardware* 2, no. 21 (21 March 1890): 8; Subscription Blurb, *Hardware* 2, no. 39 (27 September 1890): 4; *The Canadian Grocer* Subscription Advertisement, *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no 40 (2 October 1891): 4; *The Canadian Grocer* Subscription Advertisement, *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 40 (2 October 1891): 42; *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Subscription Advertisement, *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 3, no. 2 (February 1893): 63; *The Canadian Grocer* Subscription Advertisement, *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 40 (6 October 1893): 89; *The Canadian Dry Goods Review Subscription Advertisement*, *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 13, no. 1 (January 1903): 213; *Hardware* Subscription Advertisement, *Hardware* 16, no 48 (26 November 1904): 21.

circulation claims were made year-round, but they were especially prevalent in New Year issues, anniversary issues, and special editions including spring and fall special issues. Here, the company would make grand claims regarding the prevalence of circulation among the respective trades. For instance, the October 1890 special fall issue of *The Canadian Grocer* boasted of the paper's subscriptions, highlighting "the continuous and rapid expansion of our subscription list…That list has now become an excellent and all but exhaustive directory of men in the grocery and general store business of this country."[75] Likewise, a January 1892 New Year edition of *The Canadian Grocer* insisted that "It is the paper of the trade and the trade gives its sanction to it by its all but unanimous subscription."[76]

These features did not include specific subscription numbers, but in addition to claiming that the majority of the trades subscribed to their papers, the Macleans adopted a number of public relations techniques to emphasize the papers' successes in attracting subscribers, which, of course, were employed to attract those who had not yet subscribed. These included publishing pieces highlighting that their papers dwarfed other papers' circulation numbers. In the case of *The Canadian Grocer* in particular, the Macleans claimed that this paper boasted double the paid circulation of any other trade paper in Canada. The company was also intent on proving as much. In advertisements and articles, the Macleans invited anyone willing to challenge their claim to visit their Toronto office to view their subscription lists and payment records. They guaranteed that, if their claim was found false, that they would pay the challenger one thousand dollars.[77]

[75] No Title, *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 43 (24 October 1890): 5.
[76] "Volume VI, No. 1," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 1 (January 1892): 10.
[77] "*The Canadian Grocer* Double the Circulation of Any Trade Journal in Canada," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 50 (11 December 1891) 4; Circulation Blurb, *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 36 (8 September 1893): 3; "*The Canadian Grocer* Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 48 (1 December 1893): 29.

Although the Macleans made no such claim regarding *Books and Notions* dwarfing the circulation of other papers, they did make claims regarding the specific breakdown of their readership, insisting that it covered the entire trade. In 1889, the paper's fifth year of existence and a year after the Macleans had purchased it from J.J. Dyas, the brothers boasted that "we have on our list 930 dealers in fancy goods, 210 druggists, 263 printers and publishers, 305 general storekeepers, and a large number of dealers in music, wallpaper, and other trades. The whole list covers completely the dealers in Books, Stationery, News, Sheet Music, Wallpapers, and Fancy Goods."[78] Like they would later do with *The Canadian Grocer*, the Macleans invited all who were interested to "read over our statements above, and to verify them by a critical examination of our subscription books, and of our loads of letters from subscribers."[79]

Perhaps the most convincing of the Maclean public relations efforts was that they allowed readers to voice their own opinions regarding value of their subscriptions. The publication of subscriber testimonials were a much-used tactic from the inception of the papers until the end of the period of study. While Marchand has explored the significance of testimonials in the context of advertising in the interwar period, historians of public relations have not explored the role of testimonials. The example of collecting and publishing testimonials in the Maclean papers suggests that the practice was not only common prior to the 1920s, but that it had central uses related to, yet outside of the field of advertising. Additionally, the testimonials the Macleans were publishing differed from those that would gain popularity after

[78] "Books and Notions Fifth Year," *Books and Notions* 5, no. 50 (February 1889): 3.
[79] "Books and Notions Fifth Year," *Books and Notions*, 3.

World War I in that they were not publicizing the opinions of celebrities (many of whom were paid for their testimonials), but the supposedly unsolicited views of their subscribers.[80]

In the 1890s subscriber testimonials appear to have been collected haphazardly by company subscription agents and the Maclean business department which handled the collection of subscription dues via mail. By the early 1900s it had become company policy to gather, preserve, and publish all subscriber testimonials in both the Maclean trade papers and in the company's confidential employee newsletter, the *Monthly Bulletin*.[81] Though these published testimonials could be lengthy, for the most part they were short, direct quotes from subscribers' letters that were only a few lines long. They were derived from letters sent to the company as thanks for their subscription that accompanied their remittances. Although complete subscription records are not available, cross-referencing letter writers' names with the Canadian census of 1891 and city directories indicates that these were in fact actual retailers.[82]

Subscriber testimonials served several purposes. Firstly, they acted as evidence that readers were actually purchasing subscriptions for the papers, thereby underscoring the veracity of the company's paid subscription policy. Assertions including "I now enclose the amount for another year," "I enclose subscription," "please find two dollars enclosed," and "Enclosed I have the pleasure, I say have pleasure, in handing you…payment of 1910 subscription to *The*

---

[80] Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 96-97.
[81] AO, F4533-3-4, Interoffice Correspondence (2), "Testimonials," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 3 (December 1904): 2.
[82] For instance the A. Parks, whose letter "Another Speaks," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 32 (5 August 1892): 3, was found in the 1891 *Census of Canada*, District 68, Ontario, Canada, population census, Holland subdistrict, page 1, line 5, Andrew Parks, Storekeeper; H. Rehder, whose letter "The Wide-Awake Tone," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 4 (24 January 1896): 36 was found in the 1891 *Census of Canada*, District 49, South Brant, Ontario, Canada, population census, Paris subdistrict, page 9, line 20, Henry Rehder, Storekeeper; The Plante Bros, whose letter "An Indispensable Journal," *The Canadian Grocer* 24, no. 2 (14 January 1910): 25 were found in "Plante Bros, Grocers," *Windsor City Directory*, 1910 (Windsor, Ontario: Union Publishing Company, 1910), 99; Fred C. Harp whose letter "Worth $10 a Year," *The Canadian Grocer* 27, no. 7 (14 February 1913): 29. Was found in "Fred C. Harp," *Vernon's City of Brantford Directory for the Year 1916* (Hamilton, Ontario: Henry Vernon & Son , 1916), 149.

Canadian Dry Goods Review" were central pieces of information published.[83] In indicating that as subscribers, these writers paid for their subscriptions, these testimonials served to bolster the Macleans' reputation for integrity and honesty as they continually insisted that theirs was a paid circulation. Such claims had great value not only in appealing to potential subscribers, but to potential advertisers as well. Unlike other trade journals that bolstered circulation by mailing free issues to each member of a given trade, the use of testimonials in the Maclean papers demonstrated that subscribers were willing to pay for their papers, meaning they actually wanted to receive them, and also likely read them.

Just as importantly, testimonials were not printed only to demonstrate that subscribers paid for their papers, but were also used to underscore how much subscribers valued the Maclean trade journals. Those who wrote in to the company (or at least those whose comments were published) were those who read and, seemingly, very much appreciated their papers. The journals published testimonials that lauded their contents, such as that from A. Parks who in 1892 wrote that, "…in my opinion it (*The Canadian Grocer*) is the best publication of its kind in Ontario, and deserves the hearty support of every general merchant in the country. For my own part, I consider the $2 subscription the best invested money of the year."[84] In 1896 grocer James Pickett echoed this assertion noting that he found "*The Canadian Grocer* as necessary to a merchant in running a business as oil is to machinery."[85]

---

[83] "A Welcome Visitor," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no 27 (5 July 1889): 5; "A Very Spicy Paper," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 28 (12 July 1889): 4; "A Good Investment," *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 44 (31 October 1890): 2; "Finds Style Information Useful," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 20, no. 1 (January 1890): 252; "An Indispensable Journal," *The Canadian Grocer* 24, no. 2 (14 January 1910): 25; See also: "Would Not Like to be Without It," *Hardware* 3, no. 25 (20 June 1891): 2; "The Wide-Awake Tone," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 4 (24 January 1896): 36; "Worth $10 a Year," *The Canadian Grocer* 27, no. 7 (14 February 1913): 29.
[84] "Another Speaks," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 32 (5 August 1892): 3.
[85] "A Necessity to Grocers," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 29 (17 July 1896): 28.

These testimonials and many others like them served to reinforce that subscribers did desire these papers because of their value to their businesses. As such, subscriber testimonials emphasized the service that the Maclean Publishing Company was rendering its readers. In their pronouncements regarding the company's principles and policies, the Macleans continually emphasized service to their readers. The testimonials noting the central value of the papers to subscribers validated this claim through a means which did not appear to be derived from the company itself. The use of testimonials thus became an ideal publicity tactic, allowing the company to promote the policy of paid subscriptions while also highlighting the fact that subscribers found the papers to be of great value, some even likening them to necessary investments. As the following chapter demonstrates, these became tactics that were integrated into the company's advertising campaigns, thereby ensuring parallel public relations and advertising messages.

The Macleans had a clear public policy surrounding paid subscriptions, and for the most part, this policy was followed. To be sure, the Macleans did use discounted subscriptions and free circulation promotions to bolster circulation. However, this was the exception, not the rule. In the case of new papers, as was the case with *The Canadian Grocer*, retailers identified as potential subscribers were sent free issues. As opposed to 'opting in' to keep receiving the journal, the papers came with subscription forms that indicated that they only needed to be sent back in the case that the retailer did not wish to become a paying subscriber. This was likely in an effort to overcome apathy and forgetfulness among retailers who might not have remained subscribers if they had had to return a subscription form. Should the retailer not send in the necessary funds, the Macleans' subscription travellers would be sent to collect fees. In the case of trial offers, as was the case in the first year of *The Dry Goods Review*, prospective subscribers

were offered discounted subscriptions including paying for twelve months and receiving fourteen monthly papers. This tactic was used to drive subscriptions beginning in October 1891 for the following year.[86]

Although accounting records do not exist for the entire period, evidence from company records indicate that subscriptions were paid. For instance, the company's Montreal cash book from 1896-1906 contains the cash payments received for all items pertaining to or collected at the Montreal office, including advertising contract and subscription payments. Here, subscribers' names, addresses, paper title, and amount paid for each individual subscription are listed.[87] The company's quarterly statements file and Toronto cash book from 1901-1904 also indicate that subscriptions were paid. Unlike the Montreal cash book, these records were used to track income and expenditures per trade journal for each financial quarter, otherwise known as a quarterly income statement. Here, subscriptions were listed under the income category alongside advertising and miscellaneous. The names of individual subscribers were not listed as in the Montreal cash book, and evidence is limited, but available financial statements from the periods spanning 1895 to 1904 indicate that subscriptions comprised between 8.25% and 14.42% of the company's gross income during the period. Advertising therefore comprised the bulk of the company's gross income, as was Maclean's goal. Nevertheless, the fact that paid subscriptions

[86] "Retailers Take Note," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 1, no. 10 (October 1891): 6; See also "*Canadian Grocer* Subscription Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no 40 (2 October 1891): 41 "*Books and Notions* Subscription Advertisement," *Bookseller and Stationer* 18, no. 9 (September 1902): 39; "*Bookseller and Stationer* Subscription Advertisement," *Bookseller and Stationer* 18, no. 9 (September 1902): 55; "Trial Order Advertisement and Order Form," *Hardware Daily Bulletin* 1, no. 2 (22 July 1904): 5.
[87] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-2-1, Box 5, Montreal Cash Book, 1896-1906.

made up such a significant component of the company's income indicates that the Macleans did abide by their professed policy.[88]

Editorial Policy

As discussed in chapter two, an important means of attracting the paid subscribers the Macleans sought was through their editorial offerings. The Macleans clearly understood that the value of their papers lay in the specialized informational and educational content they provided their readers. Writing from the company's Montreal office in 1890 to his brother, Hugh Maclean declared that editorial prowess would be the key to their success, noting that "In a years [sic] time *Grocer* and *Hardware* will be the leading paper down here and in Eastern Canada. It is simply a matter of time and if we can furnish our readers with matter both original and up to the times we will soon be established."[89] The content of the reading matter itself varied across the Maclean papers, yet common policies were developed that guided the ways in which all editors and writers were to approach content creation in an effort to attain the success to which Hugh Maclean alluded.

As explained, borrowing (and crediting) materials gleaned from other related trade journals was a central means of procuring content during the period, but the Macleans also recognized the importance generating original reading material. During the 1890s, this principal became ever more important to the Macleans and they hired increasing numbers of editors and

[88] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-2-1, Box 5, Journal 1895-1900; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-2-1, Box 5, Cash Book, 1901-1904; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-2-1, Box 8, Quarterly Statements, 1898-1904.
[89] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series B, B-1-2-a, Box 54, Maclean, H.C. file (2), Letter from Hugh Maclean to John Bayne Maclean, 21 March 1890.

writers to develop the editorial component of their papers. They also began to develop policy indicating how editorial material was to be generated. Two main policies emerged from the 1890s and 1900s. The earliest to emerge in the 1890s was the guarantee of editorial independence from advertising interests, or any other interests for that matter. The second, developed after the turn of the twentieth century, was a policy of hiring and publishing the work of as many experts as possible.

The notion of editorial independence was central throughout the period, but it took on new emphasis in the 1890s as the Macleans sought to establish themselves and their reputation within the business communities they served. In editorials especially, readers were reminded of the Macleans' claim to editorial independence. As the 1891 New Year editorial for *The Canadian Grocer* insisted, the paper was "well known to speak at all times with the authority of truth and not with the bias of any personal interest," at least according to the editor.[90] Similar assertions were made within *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*. In February 1894, the editor of *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* insisted that from an editorial perspective, the paper's primary goal was "to be independent always." The editor explained to readers that the role of the trade paper writer was to act as a "commercial critic," impartially studying the movements of commerce including its "sympathies, reactions, varyings [sic], and turnings." At the same time, readers were assured that the editor and writers for *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* were impartial judges who "watch, guide, prophecy and deliver judgements."[91]

These assertions regarding editorial independence also addressed the question of whom the Maclean papers sought to be independent from. A frequent line republished in several

[90] "The New Year," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 1 (2 January 1891): 1.
[91] "Progress," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 4, no 2 (February 1894): 7.

publicity features insisted that the company and its publications were autonomous of "any clique, house, association, or other guild."[92] Given John Bayne Maclean's close association to the Liberal Conservative party, insisting that the papers were independent of "any clique" was appropriate. In 1888, John Bayne Maclean agreed to take on the position of the commercial editor for John A. Macdonald's new Liberal Conservative organ, *The Empire* while also building his company. Despite being a staunch Liberal Conservative and a great admirer of John A. Macdonald, John Bayne Maclean did not infuse his political leanings into his papers and seems to have ensured that his staff refrained from doing the same as the papers were bereft of partisan political discussions. What's more, while Maclean was sent an *Empire*-generated publicity piece denoting the paper's launch and staff (including Maclean), there is no evidence within *Books and Notions*, the only paper of which copies from 1888 exist and, given its content would likely have published such a piece, that Maclean acted on *The Empire's* request. [93]

Maclean and his staff were members of numerous associations representing the trades which they served, including the Canadian Packers' Association, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Canadian Press Association, and the Ontario Booksellers' Association, and while these allegiances were not deemed problematic, the Macleans refrained from publishing features lauding these associations or their positions. To be sure, the Maclean papers did publish reports of the meetings of various associations, but these too were non-partisan as they included the reports of both those to which Maclean staff belonged and those which did not boast any Maclean involvement. Maclean's papers promoted general associational participation throughout

[92] "Just Look at Us Now," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 40 (6 October 1893): 11.
[93] AO, Maclean-Hunter Files, Series B, B-1-2-a, Box 52, *The Empire* file, publicity insert for publications from *The Empire*.

the period, but not for any specific association, this was simply a means through which the Macleans' encouraged the further development of the trades.[94]

The brothers' awareness of the potentially problematic optics of their close association with and financial reliance upon advertisers meant that they were also sure to distance themselves from any business "house" with which they did business. In addition to the oft-repeated claim made above, an editorial in an 1894 issue of *Hardware* emphatically asserted that the paper, "[d]oes not let its advertisers run it."[95] Within the context of the Maclean's editorial policy pertaining to independence, this appears to have been the most challenging to uphold, as unlike political parties and trade associations which were not funding the Maclean papers, some advertisers did believe that they had a right to dictate the content of the journals. Nevertheless, John Bayne Maclean ensured that what the company asserted publicly was followed by employees. Writing in 1903 to the company's Montreal office manager, David Burnside regarding the difficulties of dealing with advertisers, Maclean insisted that in reference to advertisers Burnside remember that "[w]e do everything we can to give publicity to their announcements by giving them the best circulation they can get, yet they cannot expect and we do not promise that because they give us an advertisement, our editorial opinions will be

[94] "Building Hardware," *Hardware* 3, no. 2 (10 January 1891): 15; "A Business Men's Association in Rodney," *Hardware* 3, no. 13 (28 March 1891): 5; "Canadian Manufacturers Association," *Hardware* 5, no. 6 (11 February 1893): 3; "The Travelers' Meeting," *Hardware* 7, no. 1 (5 January 1895): 6; "Drops from the Editor's Pen," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 32 (7 August 1897): 7; "Meeting a Retail Demand," *The Dry Goods Review* 7, no. 11 (November 1897): 56; "The Canadian National Convention," *Hardware* 9, no. 27 (3 July 1897): 21; "A Remedy for Cutting Prices," *Hardware* 11, no. 2 (14 January 1899): 5; "Montreal Retail Association," *Hardware* 13, no. 3 (19 January 1901): 16; "The Retail Hardware Association of Montreal," *Hardware* 13, no. 12 (23 March 1901): 56; "Toronto Retail Grocers' Association," *The Canadian Grocer* 16, no. 29 (18 July 1902): 8; "Montreal Wholesale Dry Goods Association," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 15, no. 1 (January 1905): 39; "A Dominion Association Movement," *Hardware* 16, no. 38 (17 September 1904): 28; "The Value of Trade Associations," *Hardware* 20, no. 27 (4 July 1908): 29-30; "Going After Things," *The Canadian Grocer* 26, no. 29 (19 July 1912): 28; "Retail Merchants in Annual Convention," *Hardware* 25, no. 18 (3 May 1913): 47-48; "Bad Debt Problems Were Discussed," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 26, no. 4 (18 February 1914): 81.

[95] "No Title," *Hardware* 6, no. 1 (6 January 1894): 1.

favorable." Maclean remarked that "[w]e are constantly running in our editorial columns contrary to what our advertisers think are their best interests. Fortunately all the old advertisers now realize that unless we are running our papers on this line they would have neither circulation nor influence."[96]

Although Maclean might have been correct in most cases, a 1902 example involving the American Tobacco Company illustrates the ways in which advertisers could behave when content did not reflect their perceived interests. In the December 1902 issue of *The Canadian Grocer*, an article entitled "British Tobacco Trust Plans" was published. The American Tobacco Company was a North American tobacco trust which dominated the market and had been indicted for violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The company established the American Tobacco Company Canada in 1895 and by 1902 the federal government launched a royal commission into their practices.[97] The feature was published in the midst of the royal commission and discussed American Tobacco's plans to expand by vertically integrating through the acquisition of the British Tobacco Trust and bringing its product into the British market while using British tobacco to produce products for the North American market.[98] American Tobacco Company of Canada, whose advertisement appeared on the same page as the article, took issue with the report, complaining that it was unfounded and unfair of *The Canadian Grocer* to publish it given their status as advertisers.[99]

---

[96] AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F 4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence (2), Letter to David Burnside from John Bayne Maclean, 7 March 1903.
[97] Report of the Royal Commission in re the Tobacco Trade of Canada (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson 1903), 4.
[98] "British Tobacco Trust Plans," *The Canadian Grocer* 14, no. 50 (12 December 1902): 40
[99] AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F 4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence file, Letter to John Bayne Maclean from David Burnside, 19 December 1902; AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F 4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence file, Letter to David Burnside from John Bayne Maclean, 20 December 1902; AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F 4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence file, Letter to John Bayne Maclean from David Burnside, 22 December 1902.

When the company complained to Montreal office manager David Burnside on 19 December 1902, Burnside quickly wrote Maclean in Toronto telling him of the situation. Maclean offered a tempered response, insisting that he was aware of the situation and that the article had been published because the paper had been offering too much content focusing on the perspectives of the trusts and not enough from those companies operating outside of them. Maclean believed the article was fair and that it provided necessary insights into the tobacco question. He also indicated that he would not retract or apologize for its publication. In his reply to Burnside, Maclean insisted that "[o]ur aim is to be fair," and in this spirit he instructed Burnside to ask American Tobacco "if they would like to publish something, pointing out the inaccuracy in this week's article."[100] American Tobacco refused, likely because the article was in fact accurate. The company also continued to advertise in *The Canadian Grocer* following the incident.[101]

Conclusion

In 1913, the Federation of Trade Press Associations of America in the United States published a declaration of its principles, which amounted to an unofficial code of conduct for the trade paper publishers of North America. The code was published in *The Canadian Grocer* in October 1913. The first principle was as follows: "1. We believe the basic principle on which every trade paper should build is SERVICE – service to readers and service to advertisers, in a way to promote the

[100] AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F 4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence file, Letter to David Burnside from John Bayne Maclean, 20 December 1902.
[101] While the first six months of 1903 are not available, an advertisement for the American Tobacco Company of Canada was found in *The Canadian Grocer* 16, no. 27 (3 July 1903): 50. See also "American Tobacco Company of Canada Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 16, no. 28 (10 July 1903): 50; "American Tobacco Company of Canada Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 16, no. 29 (17 July 1903): 48; "American Tobacco Company of Canada Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 16, no. 30 (24 July 1903): 48.

welfare of the general public." Other principles included "TRUTH as applied to the editorial, news, and advertising columns," "the utmost frankness regarding circulation," and "keeping the editorial columns independent from the counting room, unbiased and unafraid." As the feature boasted, and which long-term readers likely recognized, these principles had long formed the basis of Maclean policy. Indeed the piece indicated to those who might not be aware, "[t]hese principles, lofty though they may seem, have constituted our platform for years. We preach them and try to practice them."[102]

The service that the Macleans (and after 1899, John Bayne Maclean alone) provided was reflected in these tenets through the development of company policy and publicized through company public relations efforts. At their core, these policies served a crucial purpose. While they were designed to support and protect readers and advertisers, in articulating these policies and providing examples of how they were in fact carried out, the Maclean's, and later, Maclean alone, was able to position himself in ways that would allow him to gain the trust and respectability of readers, potential advertisers, and advertisers alike. What these policies, acts, and subsequently published accounts articulated was twofold. Firstly, they denoted that Maclean was a responsible, protective gatekeeper despite his initial position as an outsider within the retail fields. Maclean's ability to understand and respond to the concerns of current and potential readers and advertisers articulated his understanding of the views and needs of the trade in relation to trade papers and their multiple functions. Secondly, through these policies, Maclean demonstrated that he did indeed strive to serve the success of his current and potential subscribers and advertisers. In each of the above examples dealing with subscription, advertising,

[102] "Declaration of Principles by the Business Press of America *The Canadian Grocer* Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 27, no. 43 (24 October 1913): 66.

and editorial policy, Maclean not only advertised the existence of policies that would potentially benefit his customers, but he demonstrated how he acted in accordance with them, providing concrete examples of such to readers when possible. Maclean clearly conveyed that he was willing to play the necessary role of service provider that would support his customers to ensure that they were able to use his papers to their benefit, without apprehension.

This positioning as a respectable service provider for Maclean was an essential element in building his company's reputation. Nevertheless, at its core, Maclean's company was an advertising outlet and because of this, Maclean had to deal not only with the reputational issues surrounding himself as a new publisher of a new medium, but specific issues relating to apprehension surrounding advertising in trade papers. Therefore, in addition to the content-related efforts at building his and his company's reputation discussed in chapter two, and the public relations efforts examined in this chapter, Maclean and his employees engaged in necessary sales efforts in print and in person, with the goal of overcoming the refusals of potential advertisers. Like the efforts examined in the previous chapters, these sales efforts were gendered. As the following chapter demonstrates, each major reason for refusal to purchase advertising was met with an argument that employed traditional notions of male character to sell the modern notion of trade paper advertising

Chapter 4

"Every probable advertiser should be followed up closely": Advertising Sales Tactics at The Maclean Publishing Company

Introduction

From the inception of *The Canadian Grocer* in 1887, John Bayne Maclean's central goal was to sell advertising space to ensure the survival and profitability of his company. As seen in previous chapters, efforts to establish a respectable reputation for himself and his trade papers was of the utmost importance, as evidenced through content choice as well as the creation and publicization of company policy. To fulfill the goal of actually selling advertising space to wholesalers and manufacturers these practices had to be bolstered by additional efforts, both textual and personal, that directly addressed advertising in the Maclean papers. Such efforts were necessary for a variety of reasons. Perhaps most obviously, wholesalers and manufacturers had to be made aware of the availability of trade paper space for the purpose of advertising. More central to Maclean's experience and that of those who worked for him was the fact that despite having an awareness of its availability, many refused to purchase space in the Maclean periodicals. Indeed, convincing potential advertisers to pay for space in the Maclean trade journals was the central challenge the company faced. This was especially true in the early years of the company's existence. Advertising in a business-to-business context did become more prevalent and accepted as is reflected in the growth of the company and its journals' advertising content, but as the Maclean Publishing Company's ongoing efforts throughout the period indicate acceptance was difficult to garner and gradual. Nor was it ever truly complete, as potential advertisers continued

to refuse to purchase space into the 1910s and others doubted its efficacy after making an initial foray into trade paper advertising.

This chapter explores the Maclean Publishing Company's text-based sales efforts, which included editorial content published specifically for potential advertisers, in-journal advertisements directed at would-be advertisers, and direct mail promotional materials, while examining the tactics that the advertising sales staff were encouraged to use when engaging with potential advertisers face-to-face. In examining these facets, this chapter also considers the concept of performative manhood. More specifically, it identifies and analyzes the messages potential advertisers, advertisers, and advertising sales staff (all of whom were male) were given about advertising as a means of performing masculinity. These men were told that advertising, advertising sales, and engagement with advertisements respectively, offered opportunities for performances of various iterations of manhood that could ensure public recognition of masculinity in the business environment. Through this examination, this chapter expands upon the notion that gender played a fundamental role in the development of advertising in Canada, demonstrating how ideals of manhood were woven into the company's arguments for trade paper advertising that were employed to appeal to hesitant advertisers. Throughout the period, normative concepts pertaining to character, such as honesty and industriousness were employed by the company, but the promise of continued, or renewed independence through control was also a central connecting theme. Indeed, the company countered five common arguments against advertising and in their refutations of each of these, control over facets including one's image, one's company image, one's employees, and one's sales are intimated.

The Problem(s) of Selling Trade Paper Advertising Space

Overcoming potential advertisers' refusal to purchase advertising space and convincing advertisers to sustain their advertising efforts were the central concerns for the company throughout the period under examination.[1] Particularly in the company's earliest days, manufacturers were certainly aware of advertising. Although many did not engage in advertising, by the 1890s, some concerns, especially larger ones, were engaged in direct-to-consumer advertising in newspapers, their ads appearing next to those of the retailers who more frequently populated the pages of Canadian newspapers. Yet this awareness and acceptance of consumer advertising did not translate into immediate or even eventual acceptance of trade paper advertising. For many, the concept of trade paper advertising was foreign and untrusted, with much uncertainty surrounding trade papers as an advertising medium, while for others, the practice of advertising to retailers was considered unnecessary and even wasteful.[2]

Canadian historians have noted that selling advertising space was a challenge in the earliest years of Canadian advertising, but unlike this dissertation, these historians have primarily explored the growth of direct-to-consumer advertising. Historians such as Paul Rutherford, Minko Sotiron, and Russell Johnston have examined the rise of the Canadian advertising industry in the context of Canadian dailies and Canadian advertising agencies. Each makes clear that the early years were not ones of outright acceptance as potential advertisers remained reluctant.[3] These works provide crucial contextual examinations of the early advertising field of the late nineteenth century, including the move away from the patronage model of financing

[1] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series B-1-2-a, Box 53, Letter to John Bayne Maclean from Hugh Cameron Maclean, 27 January 1890.
[2] A.B. Lever, "Wanted – Miraculous Results," *Bookseller and Stationer* 25, no. 10 (October 1909): 12.
[3] Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 97-104; Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 52-69; Johnston, *Selling Themselves*, 6.

Canadian dailies to profitability through the sale of ad space and the identification of major figures and advertising agencies. However, they do not fully address the ways in which aversions to advertising were overcome. Rutherford notes that publishers did explain the merits of newspaper advertising, including wide circulations, but this explanation was not interrogated or elaborated upon.[4] Sotiron explores some of the marketing strategies employed by circulation managers from the 1890s, including competitions and promotions but because advertising sales are not the main focus of the work there is little examination of the actual tactics used in selling advertising space.[5]

This chapter challenges the historiography in three key ways. First, whereas previous works explore the growth of advertising in newspapers, this is the first study to examine efforts at marketing and selling Canadian trade paper advertising space. In this sense, this chapter builds on Sotiron's identification of marketing tactics and expands upon it, exploring what tactics were used in detail while analyzing why Maclean and his staff believed these efforts might have resonated with potential trade paper advertisers. Yet this dissertation also differs from Sotiron's study and the works of other historians such as Rutherford and Johnston as it represents an initial effort to historicize the marketing and sale of business-to-business advertising in Canada as opposed to studying the sale of direct-to-consumer advertising space. The final point of divergence is that this chapter focuses on the means of marketing and sales efforts. Whereas previous works have identified some publishers' efforts, I analyze the sustained, ongoing print-based and in-person sales tactics used to appeal to prospective and current advertisers. As such,

[4] Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 99.
[5] Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 55-56.

this is the first in-depth study into the marketing and sales practices of a publisher selling advertising space in Canada.

The marketing sales tactics used by the Maclean Publishing Company to sell advertising space throughout the period were multiple, overlapping, and ever-changing. The variety of tactics and arguments used, explored in subsequent sections, is understandable given the number of points of opposition facing the company. From the late 1880s and 1890s through to the 1910s (and beyond) these can be categorized into five distinct arguments. These include general apathy toward advertising; misconception of the importance of the retailer within the retail trade; the notion that advertising was not needed when commercial travellers were employed; overriding mistrust of trade journals as advertising outlets; and uncertainty surrounding how to advertise in trade papers.

Much of the evidence indicates that there was a great degree of apathy and uncertainty toward advertising in general.[6] As discussed in chapter 1, for much of the late nineteenth century, producers harboured the belief that supply begot demand. In other words, if a product was produced, the laws of economics dictated that there would be demand for it. That this mentality also affected trade paper publishers is evident in the publication of a March 1897 article from *The Canadian Grocer* entitled "It is Time to Wake Up," directed specifically at potential advertisers. It argued that "[m]any manufacturers and wholesalers never amount to much" because they don't advertise. The unnamed author chastises non-advertisers, arguing that the

[6] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series B, B-1-2-a, Box 54, Maclean, H.C. (1) file, Letter to John Bayne Maclean from Hugh Cameron Maclean, 27 January 1890; AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence file, Letter from David Burnside to John Bayne Maclean,13 November 1902; AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence, Letter from David Burnside to John Bayne Maclean, 5 December 1902; AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence file, Letter to John Bayne Maclean from David Burnside, 25 March 1903; AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence file, Letter from David Burnside to John Bayne Maclean, n.d.; In the case of direct-to-consumer advertising see Stephenson and McNaught, *The Story of Advertising in Canada,* 16.

notion that demand somehow naturally followed production had to be reconsidered, noting that "[p]eople have not the time nor the inclination to skirmish the country over for articles which its producers hide under their apathy."[7] Long-standing firms in particular did not believe in the necessity of advertising. They reasoned that they had been in business for so long and that their names were so well-known that advertising would not prove useful.

The second category of arguments against the purchase of advertising space, those specific to trade paper advertising, can be attributed to the lack of understanding of the retailer's role in the evolving consumer goods trade and the perception of trade papers themselves as advertising mediums. In the first instance dealing with the role of the retailer, potential advertisers were not convinced that retailers were a group to which manufacturers had to appeal. To the frustration of trade paper publishers such as Maclean, those manufacturers who did advertise consistently were doing so through newspapers in the hopes of reaching the final consumer. As R.R. Shuman's June 1913 feature, "Dealer First Vs. Consumer First and Other Matters," from *The Canadian Grocer* indicates, manufacturers reasoned that they could stimulate retailers to purchase their goods by fostering consumer demand, or through the "consumer bludgeon" as Shuman described it.[8] This practice was problematic because of, as Shuman phrased it, "the indisputable fundamental fact that the merchant must have the goods before the people can buy them from him, and that the phrase 'For sale by all dealers' before distribution

[7] "It is Time to Wake Up," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no 10 (5 March 1897): 16. See also "Advertising Blurb," *Hardware* 3, no. 14 (4 April 1891): 17; Converse D. Marsh, "Trade Paper Advertising," *Bookseller and Stationer* 22, no. 8 (August 1906): 81.
[8] "R.R. Shuman, "'Dealer First' Vs. 'Consumer First' and Other Matters," *The Canadian Grocer* 27, no. 24 (13 June 1913): 33.

has been secured is an imposition on the public, and an insult to the merchant and a lie on the face of it."[9]

Manufacturers' conception of the distribution system fed into the belief that advertising to retailers was unnecessary. As Monod has demonstrated, for much of the nineteenth century producers were primarily occupied with the creation of goods, not their distribution. Monod explains that producers envisioned the economy as existing in harmony whereby production and consumption were always in balance. Importantly, within this economic balance, manufacturing existed at the centre of the business world, "the producer of all capital and value in the society and the activity from which all other economic functions took their cue."[10] Into the late nineteenth century manufacturers remained isolated from the actual distribution process that saw wholesalers distribute goods to retailers who then sold to consumers, thereby reinforcing this conception.

Some began to recognize the fallacy of this mentality with increased industrialization and production beginning in the 1870s; but his was not the case with all manufacturers.[11] Whereas some producers were establishing their own sales forces that travelled and met face-to-face with individual retailers, others continued to rely on wholesalers and jobbers who sold directly to retailers. As historians Glenn Porter and Harold C. Livesay have demonstrated in the American context, the latter was the case in many consumer goods industries such as groceries and hardware. Porter and Livesay's work suggests that if this were also the case in Canada, it explains why some manufacturers would have failed to see the value in advertising to retailers.[12]

[9] Shuman, "'Dealer First' Vs. 'Consumer First' and Other Matters," 33.
[10] Monod, *Store Wars*, 137.
[11] Monod, 138.
[12] Porter and Livesay, *Merchants and Manufacturers*, 214-227.

But even those who had control over their own distribution argued against trade paper advertising. This was especially the case with those who hired their own commercial travellers. As the work of historian Gaetan Gervais demonstrates, many consumer goods manufacturers were hiring their own commercial travellers; there were 2 050 members of the Dominion Commercial Travellers Association in 1890.[13] Although such firms clearly recognized the importance of directly communicating with retailers, they reasoned that their own travelling salesmen were the only means they needed to drive sales and that advertising was therefore superfluous.[14] This constituted the third major argument with which the Maclean Publishing Company had to contend in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Apathy toward trade paper advertising, the lack of awareness regarding the role of the retailer, and the perceived lack of utility of advertising with the hiring of commercial travellers, were compounded by the fourth factor specific to the sale of trade paper advertising space, namely, potential advertisers' conceptions of trade papers themselves. Those manufacturers who did wish to promote their goods were rightly hesitant to invest in trade paper advertising because of the dangers presented by those posing as legitimate trade paper publishers whose only intent was to swindle unsuspecting wholesalers and manufacturers out of advertising dollars. Such practices were widespread in the late nineteenth century. Other means of deceiving manufacturers and wholesalers out of advertising dollars also existed within the trade paper field. Among the most prevalent of these practices was making false circulation claims to persuade potential advertisers to purchase space. Circulation numbers were often (problematically) compared to those of major dailies, with potential advertisers finding the much smaller

[13] Gervais, "Le commerce de détail au Canada," 545.
[14] AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence, Letter from David Burnside to John Bayne Maclean, 12 May 1903; "Advertising by Manufacturers and Wholesalers," *Hardware* 3, no. 15 (11 April 1891): 12.

circulation numbers of trade papers lacking. Therefore, the drive to inflate trade paper circulation numbers was strong, a fact that potential advertisers recognized.

The lack of knowledge surrounding how to actually engage in trade paper advertising also served as an impediment, constituting the fifth major objection with which the Maclean Publishing Company had to contend. In the late nineteenth century the role of advertising agents and publication-specific advertising solicitors was that of space-seller. This meant that advertisers were left to their own devices when creating advertisements as beyond selling space, after facilitating the sale agents and solicitors did not assist clients. As Russel Johnston notes, from the agency perspective, "[i]t was assumed that clients knew their products best and would prepare their ads themselves."[15] The services of commercial artists were often available through print shops while freelance copywriters could be hired. However, some potential advertisers did not realize this, have the means or the time to spend on both advertising and ad-related services, or they were too apathetic to search them out. This was such a problem that by the turn of the century publishers were scrambling to hire their own artists and copywriters to solve this significant issue. The Maclean Publishing Company was no exception, recognizing that something had to be done about the problem. As will be discussed, this led to the publication of advisory content within the Maclean journals which provided direction on both content and frequency of insertions.

[15] Johnston, *Selling Themselves*, 40.

Who Was Selling Advertising Space? An Overview

Prior to discussing how the company attempted to overcome the objections of potential and current advertisers, it is important to identify who was responsible for advertising sales at the Maclean Publishing Company. Initially, this responsibility fell to John Bayne Maclean himself. As his journal from the summer of 1887 indicates, he travelled throughout much of Ontario and Quebec to solicit advertising in the months before the first issue of *The Canadian Grocer* was published. Aside from Maclean, the company's first employee, R.M. Choate, who was hired in late 1887, was an advertising solicitor.[16] As the company grew in the last years of the 1880s and 1890s, John Bayne Maclean and Hugh Maclean would solicit advertising alongside a handful of employees, some of whom were dedicated advertising solicitors and others, who, occupied the various positions of editor, ad solicitors, and subscription canvassers simultaneously. For instance, in the mid-1890s one such employee, Arthur P. Colquhoun edited *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*, *Books and Notions*, and *Printer and Publisher,* while also selling many advertising contracts for *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*. Maclean held the belief that all employees should contribute to advertising sales when possible, therefore the expectation that those in editorial positions sell advertising space remained in place into the twentieth century.[17] By 1906, company female stenographers were also expected to look out for potential advertisers in order to help develop advertising revenues and to memorize the rates for inserting

[16] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series B, B-1-2-a, Box 47, Col. John Bayne Maclean – Personal Accounts Journal, July 7, 1887-Mar. 3 1889 file, Account Journal.
[17] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-2-1, Box 8, *The Dry Goods Review* Advertising Record, 1894-1896 file, *The Dry Goods Review* Advertising Record; AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence (2) file, Letter to David Burnside from John Bayne Maclean, 12 March 1903; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 39, Maclean-Hunter Company History, "No Title," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 2 (November 1904): 2.

advertisements to provide quotes to prospective advertisers "in the absence of an advertising man."[18]

Into the 1900s especially, Maclean advertising sales were dependent upon the efforts of the company's dedicated advertising department and its male advertising solicitors. After the turn of the twentieth century, Maclean began to increasingly compartmentalize his growing workforce into advertising, editorial, business, and subscription departments, with advertising being the largest in terms of employees, wage allocation, and wage rates. The bulk of the department was comprised of advertising solicitors who were paid both a regular wage and a commission on their advertising sales. Whereas prior to the early 1900s solicitors worked for all papers within a geographically defined area, after 1902 the company began assigning solicitors to specific papers in larger centers such as Toronto and Montreal. By the 1910s, the Maclean trade journals had regular representatives in the two aforementioned Canadian cities as well as in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Halifax, New York, and London. Additionally, the company sent travelling advertising solicitors on regular routes across Western and Eastern Canada and the Northeastern United States.[19]

Advertising solicitors were responsible for personal dealings with prospective advertisers as well as current advertisers. With regards to amassing new business, solicitors approached potential clients, who were identified on what were termed "probables lists." These lists, unique

[18] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records A, A-4-1, Box 39, "Something for the Stenographer," *Monthly Bulletin* 2, no. 7 (October 1906): 4. Female stenographers were also encouraged to write letters to obtain "a certain class" of advertising including stationery, in-line with their positions as officer workers. See also "Example for Stenographers," *Monthly Bulletin* 2, no. 6 (August 1906): 4.

[19] AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence, Letter to David Burnside from John Bayne Maclean, 6 November 1902AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-2-1, Box 6, Payroll Cashbook, 1909-1913, Cashbook, 1909-1913, 2-299; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 39, "No Title," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 2 (November 1904): 2; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 39, "No Title," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 2 (November 1904): 4; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 39, "Changes in the Staff," *Monthly Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (May 1906): 2.

to each trade paper, were compiled by Maclean advertising managers and solicitors to identify those manufacturers and wholesalers/jobbers within each specialized field who were not advertising in the Maclean papers. The lists therefore indicated those businesses advertising solicitors should approach to purchase space in the Maclean trade journals.[20] Ad solicitors would then call on these businesses, requesting time with whomever oversaw advertising allocations, which, much of the time, was the head of the company itself.

For these meetings, solicitors were expected to conform to specific physical and behavioural norms as established by the Maclean Publishing Company. For instance, solicitors were acting as representatives of the company and were therefore told that they had to dress "neatly," presumably meaning they were to wear a suit with a clean, pressed white collar as was normative for businessmen during the period.[21] They were also directed not to smoke cigarettes or have other odors on their breath prior to meeting with potential advertisers. With regards to engaging in selling advertising space itself, solicitors were warned not to "seek advertising as a contribution," to the trade journal as was frequently the case with other trade papers, but to sell space as a commodity. As such, solicitors were encouraged to show prospective advertisers a long-term plan for how their space would be used by presenting mock-ups of advertisements in the hopes that they would purchase a contract for multiple insertions.[22] Whether or not efforts were initially successful, solicitors were to keep in constant contact with both probable and

[20] AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-6, Business Records file, "Revise Your Lists," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no 3 (December 1904): 6; AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-6, Business Records file, "Study the Dailies," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no 3 (December 1904): 6.
[21] Carole Turbin, "Collars and Consumers: Changing Images of American Manliness and Business," *Enterprise and Society* 1 no. 3 (2000): 507-535; Carole Turbin, "Fashioning the American Man: The Arrow Collar Man, 1907-1931," *Gender & History* 14, no. 3 (2002): 485-486.
[22] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records Series A, A-4-1, Box 39, Company History file, "The Advertising Solicitor," *Monthly Bulletin* 2, no. 6 (August 1906): 2.

current advertisers, continually reminding them of the potential tangible and intangible benefits of advertising with the Maclean papers, which will be discussed in the following section.

In doing so, advertising solicitors were expected to uphold the same ideals of manhood that the Maclean company espoused throughout its papers during the period. Although they were advised to "use every argument and influence" to get advertisers, solicitors were to do so while conforming to the performative behavioral ideals of manhood in business.[23] This included being honest with potential clients, respectful, patient, self-reliant, and aggressive in the pursuit of sales while also "play[ing] the game like a gentleman."[24] In addition, solicitors were encouraged to happily render additional services such as the preparation of other printed materials including mailers for potential and actual advertising clients. They were even directed to place outside advertising on their behalf, underscoring, and hopefully fostering, their own as well as the company's desired reputation for rendering service. Advertising solicitors were also urged to go beyond these efforts and to extend kindness or small courtesies to potential clients such as connecting them with retailers searching for the types of goods they produced or phoning with well-wishes on holidays such as Christmas. Solicitors were told that these efforts would eventually garner both the attention and respect of potential advertisers which were necessary to generate sales.[25]

---

[23] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records Series A, A-4-1, Box 39, Company History file, "Work Hard Now," Monthly Bulletin 1, no. 1 (October 1904): 4.

[24] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records Series A, A-4-1, Box 39, Company History file, W.C. Holman, "The Salesman's Creed," *Monthly Bulletin* 2, no. 6 (August 1906): 2.
2; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records Series A, A-4-1, Box 39, Company History file, "No Title," The Bulletin 1, no. 2 (May 1910): 1.

[25] AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence, Letter to David Burnside from John Bayne Maclean, 6 November 1902; AO, John Bayne Maclean Records F4533-3-6, Business Records file, "The Advertising Manager," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 4-5 (January-February 1905): 9; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Maclean-Hunter Company History, Box 39, "A Favor that Brought Results," *Monthly Bulletin* 2, no. 4-5 (June-July 1906): 3; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Maclean-Hunter Company History, Box 39, "Courtesy Got the Order," *Monthly Bulletin* 2, no. 6 (August 1906): 2.

Editors also played key roles in the growth of advertising sales at the Maclean Publishing Company. As the perceived head of their respective papers, editors, like advertising solicitors, had the responsibility of fostering good relationships with potential and actual advertisers. Editors were encouraged to call on manufacturers and wholesalers, especially those who did not advertise with the papers and ask them if they had any news or concerns. In this way, editors were told, they could encourage interest in the papers by showing that they were interested in the business of these non-advertisers.[26] Advertising solicitors were also told to work with their respective editorial departments to publish "little paragraphs" about potential advertisers to draw their attention.[27] Editors and their teams were also encouraged to personally sell advertising space if they believed they had the opportunity to do so.

More importantly, editors and other members of the editorial department were expected to cultivate advertising by garnering interest in the Maclean papers through the content they published. The goal, editorial teams were told, was to "impress upon them that the paper is live and up to the minute" and that this "should be a distinct help to the advertising department." Editors were therefore expected to print materials that would interest manufacturers and wholesalers while also printing features discussing the pitfalls of refusing to advertise in trade papers, and, of course, extolling its benefits.[28] Advertisements using various appeal techniques were also published alongside features decrying non-advertisers and lauding the benefits of advertising in trade papers and praising men that advertised. Editors then, played an important role in the marketing of space. For one, they were responsible for publishing materials that

[26] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Company History file, Box 39, "No Title," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 2 (November 1904): 2.
[27] AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-4, Inter-Office Correspondence (2) file, Letter to David Burnside to John Bayne Maclean, 16 March 1903.
[28] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Company History file, Box 39, "Advertising Men and News," *The Bulletin* 1 no. 2 (May 1910): 3.

would attract potential advertisers to read the papers, and while doing so they also published articles and features that put forth multiple counter arguments that sought to convince manufacturers and wholesalers to advertise. These features complemented and supported the advertising content found within the papers which, once again, would only be seen if editors were able to include relevant content that attracted potential advertisers in the first place. This content would also support the efforts of advertising solicitors who were advised to overcome the same arguments addressed within the journals.

At the same time, as Maclean advertising records and memoranda indicate, the company also accepted advertising placed by outside advertising agencies. For instance, The Mail Advertising Agency and independent advertising solicitor Edouard Desbarats placed multiple advertisements in *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* in the 1890s.[29] Although such advertising was accepted throughout the period of examination, Maclean sought to limit the role of outsiders and keep as much profit as possible for his own company. As a 1910 article from the company newsletter indicates, the company's goal was always to "offset the influence of the agency and to ultimately get the business direct."[30]

Using trade paper articles, advertisements, published mail-advertising materials, and company direction to solicitors, the remainder of this chapter explores the ways in which the Maclean Publishing Company attempted to appeal to potential advertisers and actual advertisers they desired to keep. It systematically explores the ways in which the company attempted to

[29] AO, Hugh C. Maclean Records, F4566-4, Box B804358, "Fifty-Year Chronological Record of Canada's Advertising Agencies," *Marketing* (7 October 1939): 13. While establishing himself as an advertising agent, Desbarats also worked for Maclean as the business manager for the *Canadian Military Gazette*. See Chalmers, 73.
[30] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 39, Maclean-Hunter Company History, "Effective Cooperation," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (April 1910): 8. Despite Maclean's desire to curb agency influence, as records indicate, advertising agencies continued to place advertisements in the Maclean trade journals on behalf of clients beyond the period of study. See AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-2-4, Box 20, Advertising 1915-1922 file, Advertising file #55, 22 November 1915.

overcome the primary obstacles detailed in the preceding section: apathy, a misunderstanding of the role of the retailer, the notion that commercial travellers negated the need to advertise to retailers, distrust of trade papers, and uncertainty surrounding how to advertise all the while exploring the ways which the company employed ideals of manhood in business including surrounding character, success, and, ultimately, control.

Countering Apathy: Constructions of the Non-Advertiser

Notions of character, success, and manhood were stringently employed as the company sought to counter objections to trade paper advertising in the Maclean papers. Such efforts were especially apparent in efforts to convince those who were apathetic toward trade paper advertising. In the earliest years of the company, articles and advertisements found within the papers served to establish a highly gendered juxtaposition between men who advertised and men who did not. This printed matter played on notions of reputation, character, and manhood to underscore the differences between advertisers and non-advertisers, assigning opposing traits to both categories of men as they related to character and reputation, intelligence, progressiveness, and, ultimately, success. Using these categories, advertisers were cast as the ultimate manifestation of manhood in business, while their counterparts, non-advertisers were deemed deficient and completely lacking in all areas that constituted masculinity during the period.

The difference between the advertiser and non-advertiser was constructed using the notion of action versus inaction, or performance. As explained in the introduction to this dissertation, during the period (and beyond) manhood was deemed an ongoing performance that required the exhibition of contextually specific character traits if a man was in fact to deemed to

be a man. The notion of performance, while central within gender theory, was also an important tool employed by the Maclean Publishing Company within the context of the period. The company used the notion of advertising as an idealized male action and, by extension, performance, and contrasted this with the supposed inaction of those who were cast as being too apathetic to advertise. This inaction, the company insisted, should be interpreted as a lack of enterprise, intelligence, progressiveness, and, ultimately manhood. As an 1889 article from *The Canadian Grocer* entitled "How to Advertise" insisted, "[t]he business man of the present day who doesn't advertise is usually of small importance in the great world of trade." An 1897 article from *The Canadian Grocer* insisted the same, noting that apathy among non-advertisers meant that they would "never amount to much." Non-advertisers were men who were "asleep," whereby in contrast, advertisers were men who were "active" and "enterprising" [31]

As this description indicates, advertising was framed as a necessary behavior that conveyed a man's character to the trade. An unnamed author of article "The Advertiser and the Drummer" from *The Canadian Grocer* in 1892 reinforced this contention, noting that while "it is true that an advertisement is not a certificate of good character…in public opinion is it accepted as a voucher of responsibility and enterprise, which are as necessary in business as a clean collar in society."[32] The message that advertising was a requirement in conveying character (albeit not a guarantee of character) was a theme throughout the period. It was articulated again in *The Canadian Grocer* in 1903 by Maclean advertising copywriter and ad specialist W. Arthur Lydiatt. In his work, Lydiatt insisted that "the one great thought to get firmly in your mind is that largely by your advertising is judged your business character, your fairness, your manners,

[31] "How to Advertise," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 35 (30 August 1889): 14; "Ad Blurb," *Hardware* 3, no. 14 (4 April 1891): 17; "It is Time to Wake Up," *The Canadian Grocer* 11, no. 10 (5 March 1897): 16.
[32] "The Advertiser and the Drummer," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 31 (29 July 1892): 22.

yourself."[33] In other words, one could control the perception of one's character and one's business through advertising.

The non-advertiser supposedly failed to articulate his character to the trade. This silence was filled by the Maclean Publishing Company whose writers encouraged readers to interpret his silence not only as apathy, but as a lack of certain character traits. In particular, because they failed to act through advertising, non-advertisers were framed as lacking bravery. They were said to be "hesitating," "faint of heart," and even "timid," characteristics that ran in opposition to those such as decisiveness and confidence necessary in decision-making and the exercise of good judgement.[34] Therefore this supposed lack of bravery and the castigations that went along with it were largely explained as a symptom of poor business judgement and a lack of intelligence. Whereas advertisers were deemed "commercially wise" with good judgement, this was not the case with non-advertisers. Instead, they were said to be bereft of common sense, and as one advertisement from *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* in February 1896 insisted, non-advertisers were completely dim-witted. The advertisement, which contains an image of an owl wearing glasses reads, "'tis true the owl looks very wise but really is as stupid as the man who doesn't advertise."[35]

In an environment where traits such as aggressiveness, fortitude, self-reliance, enterprise, and good judgement were deemed necessary for success, these castigations were meant to warn

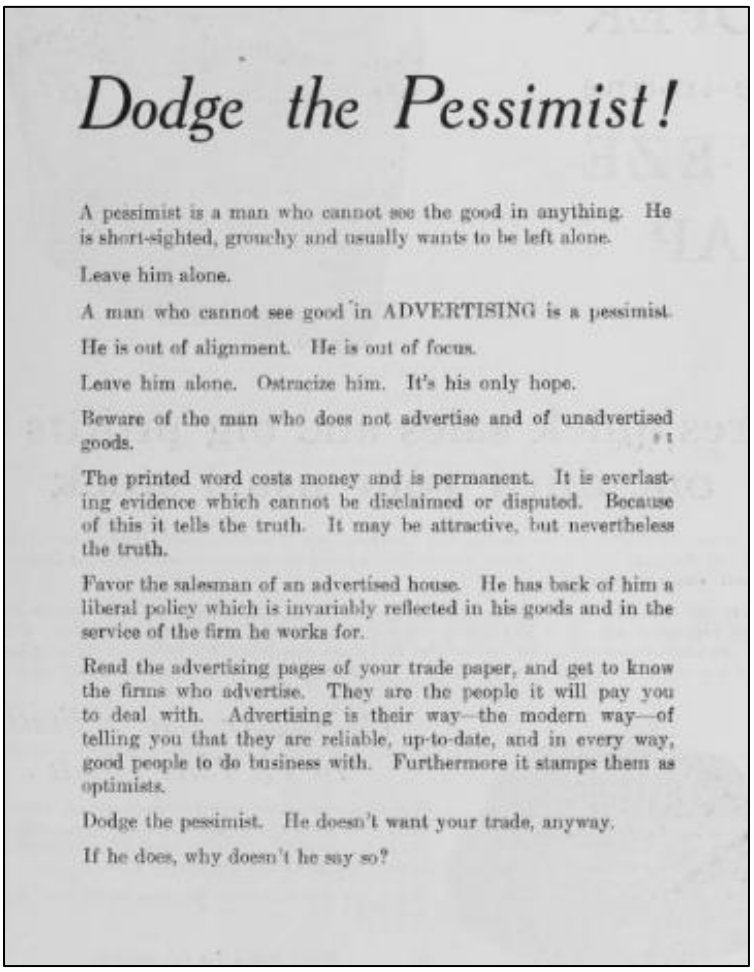
[33] W. Arthur Lydiatt, "Department of Advertising Suggestion and Criticism," *The Canadian Grocer* 17, no. 42 (16 October 1903): 52; Johnston, *Selling Themselves*, 69-70. See also "Drops from the Editor's Pen," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 4 (24 January 1896): 7; "A Basis of Success *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 18, no. 12 (December 1908): 79; "A Basis of Success *Canadian Bookseller and Stationer* Advertisement," *Bookseller and Stationer* 24, no. 12 (December 1908): inner back cover.
[34] "Orthodox Advertising Doctrine," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 50 (11 December 1891): 2; "Advertising Brieflets," *The Canadian Grocer* 17, no. 8 (20 February 1903): 48.
[35] "Get Out of the Prejudice *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 6, no. 2 (February 1896): 35.

readers of the dangers of dealing with such men. The insistence that non-advertisers lacked such fundamental character traits meant that their deficiencies would translate to all areas of business, ultimately resulting in their failure. This was intimated in an October 1891 advertisement for space in *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*. The advertisement contains an image of five ships in a body of water, three of which have crashed into an immense rock with another heading in that direction. The boats that crashed into the rocks are comparatively smaller than a large ship that is sailing toward the horizon. This large boat is headed toward the "promised land" as is indicated in an image of the setting sun. The other boats, however, cannot leave the rocky shore. The reasons, which are inscribed on the rocks are poor advertising practices and failure to advertise. The boat that seems to have hit the rock that reads "non-advertisers" was demolished, its captain lost to the sea, clearly linking the non-advertiser to commercial failure.[36]

To further reinforce the potential dangers of not advertising, non-advertisers were also "unreliable" and, by extension, dangerous business partners as they were almost certain to become failures.[37] Another advertisement printed in each of the Maclean trade journals in 1913 clearly explained as much to readers while also encouraging the downfall of non-advertisers. The advertisement warned readers to "beware of the man who does not advertise…" Men who did not advertise, according to this advertisement were pessimists who were "out of alignment" and "out of focus," who didn't deserve or want the business of retailers. Readers were therefore advised to "Dodge the Pessimist!…Leave him alone. Ostracize him" to protect their own

[36] "*The Canadian Dry Goods* Review Advertising Advertisement," 1, no. 10 *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* (October 1891): back cover.
[37] "Drops from the Editor's Pen," *The Canadian Grocer* 9, no. 26 (28 June 1895): 7.

interests from the failure that would ultimately come of such men and those they dealt with.[38] (See Figure 4)



Dodge the Pessimist!

A pessimist is a man who cannot see the good in anything. He is short-sighted, grouchy and usually wants to be left alone.

Leave him alone.

A man who cannot see good in ADVERTISING is a pessimist.

He is out of alignment. He is out of focus.

Leave him alone. Ostracize him. It's his only hope.

Beware of the man who does not advertise and of unadvertised goods.

The printed word costs money and is permanent. It is everlasting evidence which cannot be disclaimed or disputed. Because of this it tells the truth. It may be attractive, but nevertheless the truth.

Favor the salesman of an advertised house. He has back of him a liberal policy which is invariably reflected in his goods and in the service of the firm he works for.

Read the advertising pages of your trade paper, and get to know the firms who advertise. They are the people it will pay you to deal with. Advertising is their way—the modern way—of telling you that they are reliable, up-to-date, and in every way, good people to do business with. Furthermore it stamps them as optimists.

Dodge the pessimist. He doesn't want your trade, anyway.

If he does, why doesn't he say so?

Figure 4: "Dodge the Pessimist! Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 25, no. 35 (30 August 1913): 94.

The contention that non-advertisers were destined to fail was continually reinforced in the pages of the Maclean trade papers through direct addresses to manufacturers and wholesalers who perhaps read the papers but hesitated to advertise. While the aforementioned advertisement

[38] "Dodge the Pessimist! Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 25, no. 35 (30 August 1913): 94; "Dodge the Pessimist! Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no. 17 3 September 1913): 54; "Dodge the Pessimist! Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no. 18 (17 September 1913): 95; "Dodge the Pessimist! Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 27, no. 38 (19 September 1913): 68; "Dodge the Pessimist! Advertising Advertisement," *Bookseller and Stationer* 29, no. 10 (October 1913): 102.

was printed five times, small blurbs at the bottom of pages as well as larger images of black scrolls with white bold writing that read "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO BY NOT ADVERTISING IN THIS JOURNAL" were printed at least twenty-nine times across *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*, *The Canadian Grocer*, and *Hardware*.[39] Reference is made only to potential loss, the meaning of which could vary depending on the readers. Given the context in which this quotation was continually published, those who read the journals would likely have recognized that its meaning related to both loss of standing within the trade and financial failure. (See Figure 5) On the other hand, readers were told that men who advertised were "the people it

[39] "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 45 (10 November 1893): 33; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 5, no. 45 (11 November 1893): 24; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 46 (17 November 1983): 28; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 5, no. 46 (18 November 1893): 23; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 47 (24 November 1893): 30; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 5, no. 47 (25 November 1893): 19; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 48 (1 December 1893): 27; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 5, no. 48 (2 December 1893): 16; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 49 (8 December 1893): 27; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 5, no. 49 (9 December 1893): 24; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 50 (15 December 1893): 14; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 5, no. 50 (16 December 1894): 23; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 51 (December 22 1893): 37; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 5, no. 51 (23 December 1893): 23; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 2 (13 January 1894): 19; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 3 (20 January 1894):17; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 4 (27 January 1894): 20; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 4, no. 2 (February 1894): 28; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 5 (3 February 1894): 23; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 6 (10 February 1894): 17; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 7 (17 February 1894): 22; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 8 (24 February 1894): 20; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 9 (3 March 1894): 24; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 10 (10 March 1894): 13; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 11 (17 March 1894): 13; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 12 (24 March 1894): 13; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 13 (31 March 1894): 17; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 14 (April 7 1894): 17; "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO Advertising Advertisement," *Hardware* 6, no. 30 (28 July 1894): 9.

will pay you to deal with. Advertising is their way – the modern way – of telling you they are reliable, up-to-date, and in every way good people to do business with."[40]



Figure 5: "YOU LOSE MORE THAN WE DO *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *Canadian Dry Goods Review* 4, no. 2 (February 1894): 28.

The "failure rhetoric" used to create the juxtaposition between the active advertiser of character with the dangerous, inactive, apathetic non-advertiser was also reinforced through the publication of features and advertisements centering on age. Non-advertisers were placed outside the bounds of productive, active manhood by being related to those men who were unable to meet these idealized gendered requisites: children and the elderly. As such, non-advertisers were once again stripped of claims to manhood through business participation, even if they were independent business owners because they were cast as being so intellectually immature or tired and backwards that they were incapable of attaining success.

[40] "Dodge the Pessimist *The Canadian Dry Goods* Review Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no 18 (17 September 1913): 95; "Dodge the Pessimist *Men's Wear Review* Advertisement," *Men's Wear Review* 3, no. 9 (September 1913): 95.

For instance, in the 1891 *Hardware* feature "Advertising by Manufacturers and Wholesalers," non-advertisers were depicted as child-like, lacking the maturity and mental capacity to comprehend the importance of trade paper advertising. In the case of "Advertising by Manufacturers and Wholesalers," the author noted that the response to arguments for advertising were often "a great big 'Why?'," even when it was clear that those around them were achieving high levels of success through advertising This, the author insisted required "an individual kindergarden [sic]" to continually explain the concept of advertising to individual non-advertisers, allowing those selling ad space "to so grade the children in classes that the lessons may not be too difficult."[41]

Non-advertisers were also likened to old men lacking vitality as a February 1891 advertisement found in both the *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* and *The Canadian Grocer* demonstrates. (See Figure 6) The ad contrasts two businesses, "Advertise Never & Co." and "Advertise Always & Co." The business of the non-advertisers, Advertise Never & Co. was owned and run by an "old man" found "amidst a scene of desolation and ruin, waiting Micawbre-like for something to turn up." This description is apt, as the man sits crouched in his chair appearing tired and dejected, surrounded by huge cobwebs, spiders, rats, dirt, and a seemingly empty alcohol bottle on the floor suggesting that he might be inebriated. The front door of the business is replete with holes and a sign stating: "Notice No Advertising Agents Admitted." The image is accompanied by a poem that reads, "Signs of Ruin, Boss asleep, Rats and mice Play Bo-peep. 'Poor old man,' Each one cries, 'Cause he won't Advertise."[42]

---

[41] "Advertising by Manufacturers and Wholesalers," *Hardware* 3, no. 15 (11 April 1898): 13.

[42] "Look at This Picture and On That Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 1, no. 2 (February 1891): 5; "Look at This Picture and On That Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 5 no. 7 (13 February 1891): 18. This advertisement would have had additional resonance with readers as it references the character Mr. Micawber from *David Copperfield* by Charles Dickens. Like the man in the advertisements, Micawber is known for believing that in business, good things were bound to happen without having to do much work for them

In contrast, the image of the advertiser's office reveals a place of business that is bustling with activity. Eleven men occupy the office, each of them either standing or sitting erect and busy at work. These men are clearly much younger than the older man in the previous image, their hair and mustaches dark. Their surroundings are commodious and well decorated with a clean floor and a large rug. Waste is placed appropriately in a waste basket under a clerk's desk and the surrounding office is clean. Significantly, one of the men in the image has a briefcase with the word "agent" on it, indicating that he is likely an advertising agent selling space to the firm. The poem accompanying this image indicates the same: "Signs of Wealth, Boss alert, Clerks at work, None inert. Lesson take, Every man, Advertise All you can."[43]

These dual depictions play into notions of progressiveness and modernity that likely would have resonated with all levels of the trade. For one, the link between age and fatigue was clear, as energy and industriousness were deemed central to male character and the proper running of a modern business. This old, tired man had lost his energy and vigour (if he had ever possessed it), and this, the advertisements intimates, translated to a descent into backwardness as evidenced by his surroundings. What's more, as Pamela Walker Laird has argued, imagery of the physical space of industry and places of business permeated the advertising landscape of the late nineteenth century. According to Laird, these images were widely accepted as reflections of both progress and prosperity.[44] In tying an old, decrepit man and a run-down, filthy space to a policy of not advertising as is made clear in the advertisement, non-advertisers were framed as

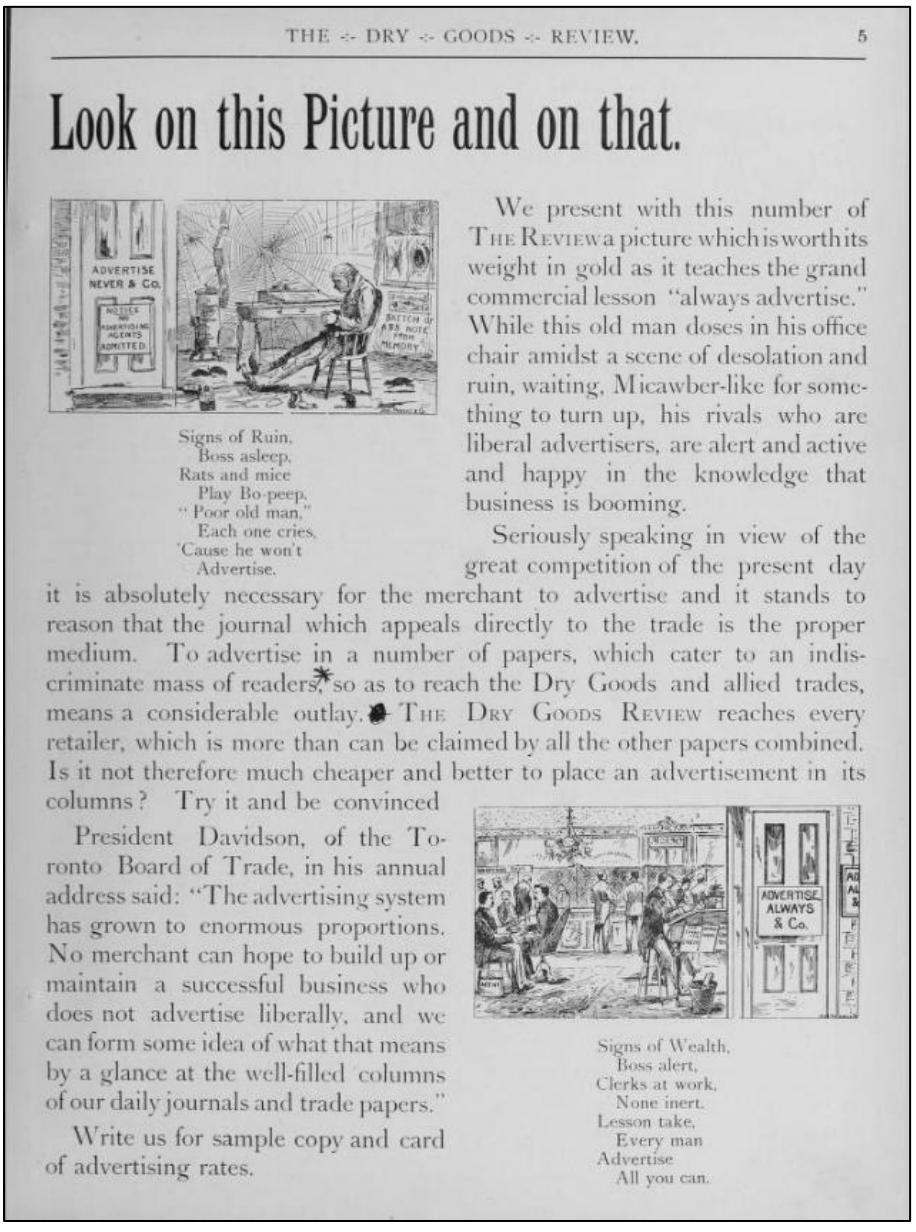
---

and despite his precarious financial position. See Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*, vol. 1 (New York: P.F. Collier & Sons, 1917), 174-175; 179; 184.

[43] "Look at This Picture and On That Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 1, no. 2 (February 1891): 5; "Look at This Picture and On That Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 5 no. 7 (13 February 1891): 18.

[44] Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 122.

antimodern failures. This was especially the case in relation to the modern, physically strong, energetic men working in the modern, clean, well-lit workplace in the accompanying vignette.



THE -:- DRY -:- GOODS -:- REVIEW. 5

Look on this Picture and on that.

Signs of Ruin,
Boss asleep,
Rats and mice
Play Bo-peep,
"Poor old man,"
Each one cries,
'Cause he won't
Advertise.

We present with this number of THE REVIEW a picture which is worth its weight in gold as it teaches the grand commercial lesson "always advertise." While this old man doses in his office chair amidst a scene of desolation and ruin, waiting, Micawber-like for something to turn up, his rivals who are liberal advertisers, are alert and active and happy in the knowledge that business is booming.

Seriously speaking in view of the great competition of the present day it is absolutely necessary for the merchant to advertise and it stands to reason that the journal which appeals directly to the trade is the proper medium. To advertise in a number of papers, which cater to an indiscriminate mass of readers, so as to reach the Dry Goods and allied trades, means a considerable outlay. THE DRY GOODS REVIEW reaches every retailer, which is more than can be claimed by all the other papers combined. Is it not therefore much cheaper and better to place an advertisement in its columns? Try it and be convinced

President Davidson, of the Toronto Board of Trade, in his annual address said: "The advertising system has grown to enormous proportions. No merchant can hope to build up or maintain a successful business who does not advertise liberally, and we can form some idea of what that means by a glance at the well-filled columns of our daily journals and trade papers."

Write us for sample copy and card of advertising rates.

Signs of Wealth,
Boss alert,
Clerks at work,
None inert.
Lesson take,
Every man
Advertise
All you can.

Figure 6: "Look at This Picture and On That Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 1, no. 2 (February 1891): 5.

Although a commentary on the type of men who advertised compared to those who did not, and the potential ramifications of refusing to advertise in trade journals, this advertisement might also be read as a means of pressuring older men at the head of their respective trades who

believed that their prominence spared them from having to advertise. As a feature from *Hardware* in April 1891 indicates, men at leading firms often refused to purchase advertising space because they were already very successful. As this feature warned, "Asleep in his feeling of security, he did not realise the necessity of erecting a fortification of advertising around his business," much like the older man described in the previous example. The unnamed writer of the *Hardware* feature continued, invoking the dual concepts of age and progress, warning that "younger houses grew more active as he grew older…and his declining years were mortified by his taking second place; finally fourth, fifth and sixth place in mercantile rank."[45]

Recognizing the Retailer is King

In addition to presenting constructions of advertisers and non-advertisers, other tactics were employed to counter the beliefs of those who were either unaware of the need or opposed to advertising to retailers. The need for additional efforts stemmed from the issues discussed above, in that many manufacturers did not recognize or believe in the need to foster demand. Another problem for the Maclean Company was that when manufacturers began to recognize the need to adopt some kind of direct marketing, largely due to declines in demand during the economic downturns of 1884, 1890, and the depression of 1893-1896, they tended to conceive of it only as a conversation between themselves and consumers, leaving the retailer out of the equation. In any case, manufacturers, as well as wholesalers, did not consider retailers and their central role in driving the consumer goods trade as the only point of contact between the trade and the ultimate consumer.[46] The Maclean Publishing Company therefore sought to bring about a shift in

[45] "No Title," *Hardware* 3, no. 14 (4 April 1891): 17.
[46] Monod, *Store Wars*, 137-143.

consciousness by emphasizing the crucial role the retailer played in the final sale of manufactured goods. As was the case with advertisers and non-advertisers, the Maclean trade papers did so by discursively constructing the retailer, highlighting his primacy in the world of trade, especially his relationship to the final consumer and the influence he wielded in purchasing decisions. This was clearly demonstrated in a May 1890 feature from *The Canadian Grocer* that underscored that the retailer was as a, if not the, central public figure within the community he served. It reads:

> Not alone are the supplies drawn from the country store – it is a store-house of opinions, a bureau of information, in it the post-office is located, and the storekeeper himself is the leading man of the town…he is a town burgess, director in the bank, and at church at least choir leader, if he is not superintendent of the Sunday-school. His fame is generally well known and his advice eagerly sought through the country. If he endorses anything – it goes.[47]

Retailers were supposed to be pillars of their community, men who were "the cream inhabitants of the land,"[48] who garnered the attention and respect of their respective communities. Because of this, as the May 1890 article insists, if a retailer was to endorse anything, it would be accepted by the community. This was likely meant to intimate to manufacturers that should a local retailer endorse his goods, they would in fact sell based on the retailer's recommendation. This contention is supported by an assertion made in June 1898 by an unknown writer who warned manufacturers and wholesalers that "it must be remembered that the retailer has a large number of customers who will accept his word for anything they buy…"[49]

[47] "What it Costs to Secure a New Customer Through Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 2, no. 22 (20 May 1890):
[48] "Trade Journal Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 5 (31 January 1890): 3; "Trade Journal Advertising," *Hardware* 2, no. 5 (31 January 1890): 3
[49] "Advertising to Consumers," *The Canadian Grocer* 12, no. 25 (24 June 1898): 10.

The intention of these features was to encourage a cognitive shift among manufacturers whereby they would recognize the changing power dynamics within the retail goods trade. In insisting that retailers had much power over customers, and, therefore, sales, as opposed to the laws of supply and demand as many manufacturers believed, these articles indicated to manufacturers that they should engage with retailers with the intention to "establish and maintain an acquaintance" through trade paper advertising for their own good.[50] This is supported by advice to Maclean advertising solicitors found in the Maclean company bulletin. In a feature entitled "The Retailer's Influence" from the January-February 1905 issue, the company's advertising solicitors were told a story of a manufacturer trying to solicit his goods in a specialty retail store where he witnesses numerous customers, described as "fashionable women," leave orders at the store after salesmen had been "suggesting successfully this line and that, the customer acquiescing without a protest." Solicitors were told that goods sold in this manner, through a retailer's suggestion, was a very common occurrence for "while it is true that customers in many instances specify the make of goods they want, it is equally true that in a greater number of instances the grocer's recommendation of an article is enough to secure its sale." As the feature insisted, solicitors should use this as a selling point for advertising space as it was paramount that potential advertisers recognize the power the retailer had over the sale of their goods and ultimately their profit. If they did nothing to direct the situation to benefit themselves and their products, they would be at the mercy of the retailer.[51]

In addition to endeavoring to reorient potential advertisers' conception of retailers and the power they wielded, manufacturers were given outright warnings pertaining to what historian

[50] John C. Kirkwood, "Little Sermons on Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 20, no. 19 (11 May 1906): 28.
[51] AO, John Bayne Maclean Records, F4533-3-6, Business Records file, *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 4-5 (January-February 1905): 7.

Susan Strasser has identified as the "substitution evil." As Strasser explains, in the American context it was common for retailers to substitute one firm's goods for another even when a customer asked for a given brand.[52] The Maclean papers denote that the practice of substitution was prevalent in Canada as well. Features indicate that retailers suggesting an alternative was common when a retailer felt a degree of loyalty to one manufacturer's goods over another, that the quality of one good would better satisfy a customer, or, more deceptively, when the retailer could garner more profit for the sale of one good over another. Manufacturers and wholesalers reading the Maclean journals were made overtly aware of the practice. Potential advertisers in particular were warned that the choice to end substituting was the retailers' alone as "[t]he retailer can and will recommend a substitution to the good a customer asks for if he deems it appropriate."[53]

For their part, manufacturers tried to counter the practice while also fostering demand for their goods through direct-to-consumer advertising, although the authors of features in the Maclean papers warned that this was an error. Writers insisted that "[m]anufacturers and wholesalers make a grave mistake when they think they can compel retailers to lend them their ears" through any means. Retailers were supposedly particularly averse to those who sought to control the trade relationship "using the consumer as a ploy" through direct-to-consumer advertising. Manufacturers and wholesalers were therefore told not to "attempt to pinch the

[52] Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 84.

[53] "Advertising to Consumers," *The Canadian Grocer* 12, no. 25 (24 June 1898): 10; See also "A Temptation Which Should be Resisted," *Hardware* 2, no. 31 (2 August 1890): 8; "An Evil," *Hardware* 9, no. 35 (28 August 1898): 22; "Deception Never Pays," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 8, no. 11 (November 1898): 1; "Substitution Never Does," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 9, no. 11 (November 1899): 1; John C. Kirkwood, "Little Sermons on Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer*, 20, no. 11 (16 March 1906): 20; "The Evils of Substitution," *Hardware* 19, no. 37 (14 September 1907): 32; Words of Wisdom to Manufacturers," *The Canadian Grocer* 22, no. 6 (7 February 1908): 52. In some instances advertisements also warned of the practice. See "Tillson's Pan-Dried Rolled Oats Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 10, no. 10 (26 October 1900): 147; "Elastic Carbon Paint Advertisement," *Hardware* 13, no. 38 (21 September 1901): 5; "The Alabastine Co., Limited Advertisement," *Hardware* 14, no. 18 (3 May 1902): 4.

retailer's ear" through consumer advertising when trying to get him to sell their goods as "[h]e will resent it."[54] Advertisements in the Maclean papers mirrored these assertions. As a May 1913 advertisement from *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* with a bold title reading "Take The Dealer Into Your Confidence" insisted, "approach him, post him about your plans and your merchandise through his trade paper before you advertise to his customers." It continued: "Don't try to force him…Remember that many of his customers knew him before they knew you, and they will most likely take his word as to the quality and superiority of merchandise offered," suggesting that no matter what a producer said in a direct-to-consumer advertisement, the retailer had the power to counter it. Ultimately the retailer would sell what he deemed was appropriate for consumers and himself.[55]

Instead of engaging in what was framed as an unwinnable power struggle with retailers through consumer advertising, manufacturers and wholesalers were advised that they could establish a modicum of control over the trade relationship by securing the retailer's interest and cooperation through trade paper advertising. As an unnamed author insisted in *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* in October 1909, "The day is past when the manufacturer can force the dealer to handle his goods by brandishing over his head the club of Consumer Publicity. His co-

[54] "The Retailer's Ear," *The Canadian Grocer* 23, no. 14 (2 April 1909): 25.

[55] "'Take The Dealer Into Your Confidence,' *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 22, no. 24 (18 December 1912): inner front cover. This advertisement was found multiple times within *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*. See "'Take The Dealer Into Your Confidence,' *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no. 1 (1 January 1913): 132; "'Take The Dealer Into Your Confidence,' *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no 4 (19 February 1913): 61; "'Take The Dealer Into Your Confidence,' *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no. 6 (19 March 1913): 94; "'Take The Dealer Into Your Confidence,' *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no 10 (21 May 1913): 66. This was echoed in direct mail promotional materials as well. See AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 37, *Canadian Grocer* file, *He cannot recommend if he does not know* pamphlet, n.d.

operation has to be secured as a necessary element in the successful selling campaign."[56] A simply worded advertisement imbued with subtext insisted that potential Maclean advertisers must therefore "**Talk to the Man** who has the final say about what goods come into the store…" In insisting that potential advertisers talk to "the Man," retailers were cast apart from the consumers to whom some were advertising. These customers were primarily women who, this advertisement suggests, should not be the authority to whom manufacturers' and wholesalers' advertisements should be addressed. Instead, the advertisement insisted that the authority in what comes into his store was vested in the male retailer and therefore advertisements should be directed at him. Put plainly, business should be undertaken between males. As such, trade paper advertising is framed as a wholly masculine practice that, if they were to have their products purchased and resold by retailers, manufacturers and wholesalers would have to adopt. (See Figure 7)

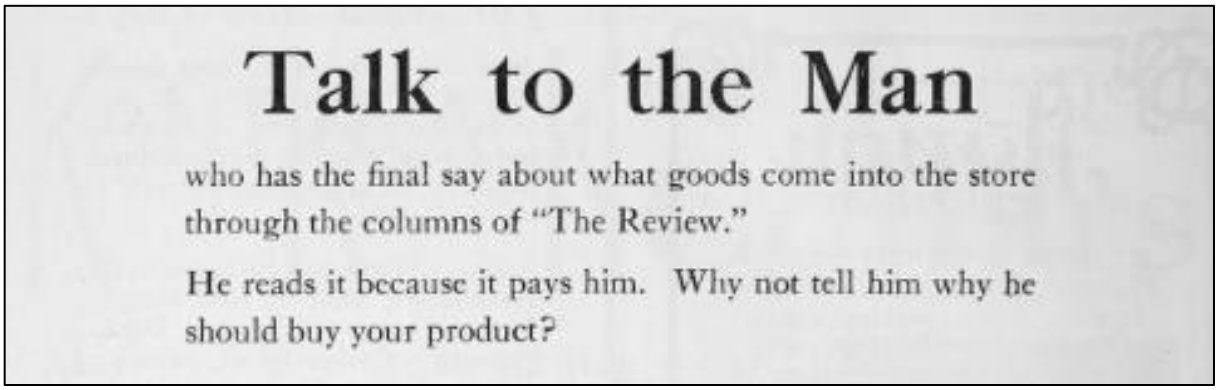


Figure 7: "Talk to the Man *Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 26, no. 13 (July 1914) 194.

It is important that this insistence be interpreted not as a reflection of the state of business but as a means of masculinizing business during the period. As the works of David Monod, Peter

[56] "In Your Advertising Campaign Don't Forget the Dealer," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* (October 1909): 143. Emphasis in the original.

Baskerville, and Melanie Buddle demonstrate, women were present as owners of retail establishments across Canada during the period of study. According to Monod, the number of women retailers in Canada reached 4 000 by 1911.[57] Monod insists that "retailing's masculine image was reasserted" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through the emergence of increasingly technical, scientific marketing techniques and "through the continuing emphasis on store owners' responsibilities to the public."[58] As the above example from *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* demonstrates, assertions in business-to-business advertising also played a role in the masculinization of the Canadian retail business.

In addition to being presented as a necessary masculine business practice, advertising to retailers was also described as simply good business judgement given that retailers were supposedly avid readers of trade papers and their advertising columns. In his "Little Sermons on Advertising," in the 11 May 1906 issue of *The Canadian Grocer*, John C. Kirkwood insisted that the trade paper was a central means of gaining the retailer's undivided attention as it "comes to be looked upon by the retailer as his work of reference" with regards to advertising and the purchasing of stock.[59] In his article, "Dealer First Vs. Consumer First and Other Matters," in the 13 June 1913 issue of *The Canadian Grocer*, author R.R. Shuman made a similar assertion, insisting that retailers read the trade paper advertising columns avidly, "for the purpose of deciding what they shall buy."[60] Significantly, should potential advertisers heed this advice and

[57] Monod, *Store Wars*, 46; Peter Baskerville, *A Silent Revolution?,* 222; 231; Buddle, *The Business of Women*, 70-71.
[58] Monod, *Store Wars*, 45.
[59] John C. Kirkwood, "Little Sermons on Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 20, no. 29 (11 May 1906): 28. This assertion was made in The Maclean Publishing Company's promotional direct mail materials. For instance see AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 37, "A Treasure Chest for You – Just Life the Lid," Direct Mail Pamphlet, 1908.
[60] R.R. Shuman, "'Dealer First' Vs. 'Consumer First' and Other Matters," *The Canadian Grocer* 27, no. 24 (13 June 1913): 33.

exercise what they were promised was good judgement, they were essentially promised a return of the perceived control they once had over the sale of their goods. While much rhetoric surrounding retailer-manufacturer cooperation permeated the Maclean papers, so too did the promise that through advertising, the retailer would essentially be working for the advertiser in a type of subordinate relationship. Potential advertisers were promised that through advertising, they could "get the dealer on your sales force."[61]

The Trouble with Commercial Travellers

Not all potential advertisers required prodding to recognize the centrality of the retailer within the consumer goods trade. Another common argument against trade paper advertising was that manufacturers and wholesalers employed commercial travellers to personally service retailers, therefore negating the need for business-to-business advertising. The commercial traveller became a mainstay of the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century consumer goods trade. Working for manufacturers and wholesalers alike, these salespeople used ever-growing rail lines to visit retailers in all parts of the country, performing a multitude of duties on behalf of their employers including soliciting sales, performing credit checks, extending credit, handling loss and damage claims, and collecting accounts. Servicing smaller-scale retailers as opposed to the rising departmental stores, these travellers became veritable lifelines between retailers in rural and urban areas across the country, wholesalers, and, eventually, manufacturers.[62]

---

[61] "Take The Dealer Into Your Confidence Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no. 4 (19 February 1913): 61; "Take The Dealer Into Your Confidence Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no. 10 (21 May 1913): 66.

[62] Hamelin and Roby, *Histoire économique du Québec,* 349-350; Gervais, "Le commerce de détail au Canada (1870-1880)," 545; Susan Strasser, "'The Smile that Pays': The Culture of Traveling Salesmen, 1880-1920," in *The Mythmaking Frame of Mind: Social Imagination and American Culture*, ed. James Gilbert, Amy Gilman, Donald M.

Because wholesalers and manufacturers employed commercial travelers, many reasoned that they did not need to advertise because they already had a point of contact with retailers, making trade paper advertising not only redundant, but a complete waste of money.[63] While potential advertisers' recognition of the importance of the retailer was an important step in the right direction, the Maclean company sought to counter the belief that hiring commercial travellers was enough to serve the retailers to whom they sought to sell their goods. To do so, the company developed two principal arguments countering the notion that those with commercial travellers did not require any further means of communicating with retailers, such as trade paper advertising. The first of these arguments was that advertising was a necessary addendum to commercial travellers' efforts.

As a 1906 direct mailer to potential advertisers, "Backing Up the Traveller: A True Story" insisted, trade paper advertising was not intended to supplant, but to support commercial travellers. The image on the front of the mailer is that of a sharply dressed commercial traveller with a high white collar, fur-trimmed coat, and brief case at the entrance of a grocery story. He is literally back-to-back with another well-dressed man sporting a top hat, dress coat, and what appears to be a gold chain of a pocket watch. This man's dress is suggestive of wealth and he, of course, represents advertising "backing up the traveller." This was achieved, the pamphlet

---

Scott, and Joan W. Scott (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1993), 156; Freidman, *Birth of a Salesman,* 56-57; Roy Church, "Salesmen and the Transformation of Selling in Britain and the Us in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *The Economic History Review* 61, no. 3 (2008): 700-701; Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 61-62; Monod, *Store Wars*, 22.

[63] "Advertising by Manufacturers and Wholesalers," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no 15 (10 April 1891): 22; "Advertising by Manufacturers and Wholesalers," *Hardware* 3, no. 15 (11 April 1891): 12; "How to Help Your Travellers Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 4, no. 45 (7 November 1890): 14; "How to Help Your Travellers Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 15 (10 April 1891): 22; "Known and Unknown Firms," *The Canadian Grocer* 17, no. 44 (30 October 1903): 28.

insists, through the advertisement getting to the retailer, through the trade paper, prior to the traveller's visit thereby "giving publicity to his goods before he is on the spot."[64] (See Figure 8)

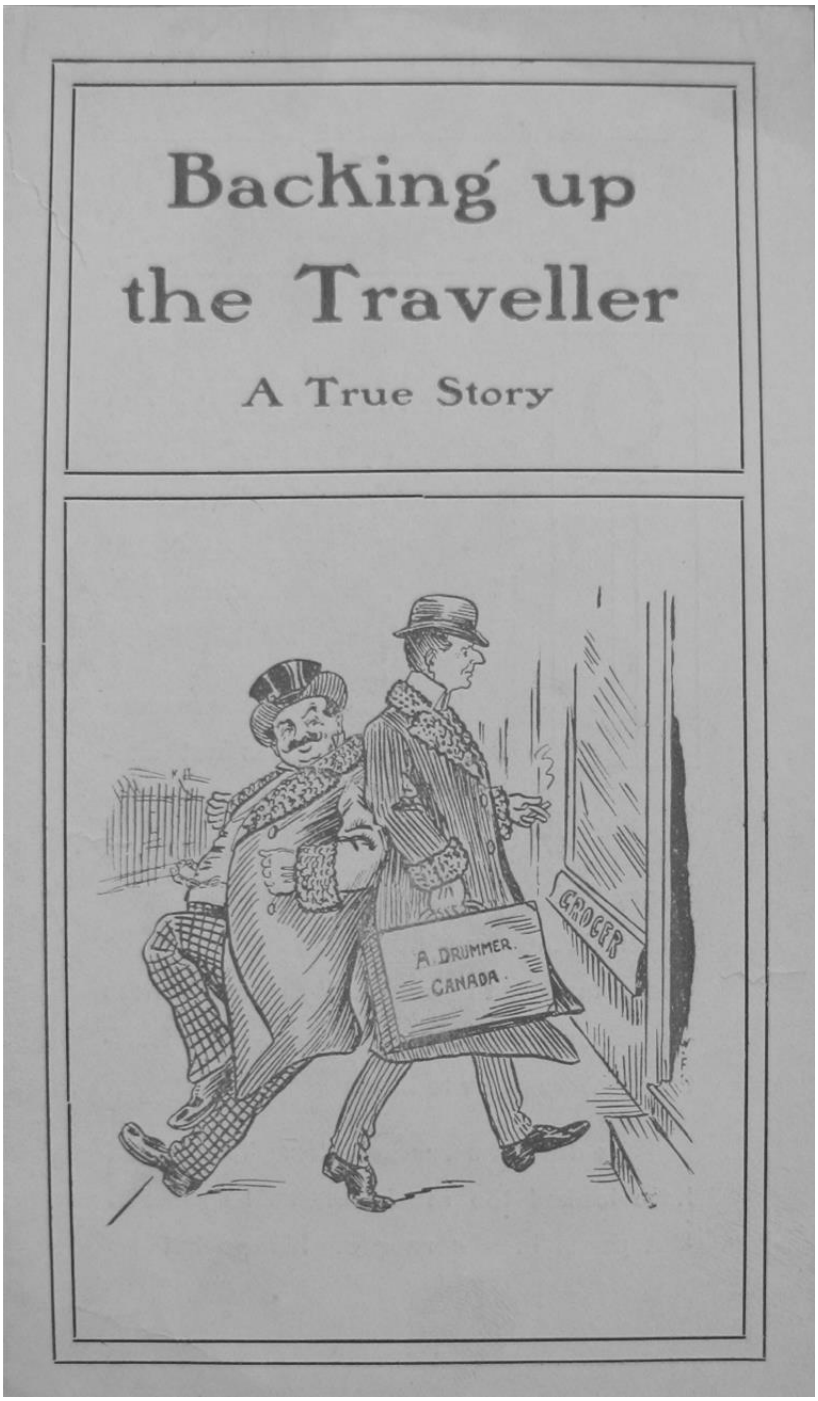


Figure 8: AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 37, Canadian Grocer file, *Backing Up the Traveller: A True Story* Pamphlet, 1906.

[64] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 37, Canadian Grocer file, *Backing Up the Traveller: A True Story* Pamphlet, 1906.

The notion that trade paper advertising supported the commercial traveller was found not only in direct mail publications such as the above example, but in articles and advertisements as well. Like the 1906 pamphlet, these publications reasoned that advertisements helped introduce the traveller's wares, and importantly, that they also acted as a general introduction to the company he represented. As the feature "Advertising by Manufacturers and Wholesalers" from the 11 April 1891 issue of *Hardware* insisted, while introducing one's goods was a central aspect of trade paper advertising and clear benefit to the traveller, so too was the introduction of the firm itself.[65] In the context of the late nineteenth-century, attaching a traveller to a reputable firm would have been essential to his success. As the work of Susan Strasser has demonstrated in the American context, alongside that of Michael French and Andrew Popp writing from the British perspective, prior to the turn of the twentieth century, travelling salesmen, also known as "drummers," carried a reputation for behaviour including heavy smoking and drinking, gambling, and, at the very best, having an ambivalence about family life.[66] This also appears to have been the case in Canada, with numerous Maclean articles identifying such perceptions of commercial travellers and dispelling them to readers.[67] As the commercial market grew, so too did the need for commercial travellers and a movement to banish negative perceptions of them. As such, Strasser argues that companies increasingly endeavored to hire respectable, work-

[65] "Advertising by Manufacturers and Wholesalers," *Hardware* 3, no. 15 (11 April 1891): 12.
[66] Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 62; Strasser, "'The Smile that Pays'," 156-158; French and Popp, 790; 795-797
[67] "A Defense of the Commercial Traveler," *Hardware* 3, no. 16 (18 April 1891): 9; "Is the Salesman Your Friend?" Hardware 3, no. 31 (1 August 1891): 6; "The Commercial Traveller," *Hardware* 4, no. 27 (2 July 1892): 10; "A Successful Salesman," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 2, no 8 (August 1892): 22; "The Travelling Salesman," *Hardware* 4, no. 39 (24 September 1892): 5; "Traits of Commercial Travellers," Hardware 4, no. 28 (26 November 1892): 10; "The Drummer and His Grip," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 4, no. 11 (November 1894): 30; "The Drummer and His Grip," *Hardware* 6, no. 47 (24 November 1984): 11; "The Commercial Traveler," *Hardware* 8, no. 2 (11 January 1896): 10; "The Commercial Travelers," The Canadian Dry Goods Review 8, no. 12 (December 1898): 15; "Traveling Man as Collectors," *Hardware* 11, no. 16 (22 April 1899): 10; I.H. Scates, "The Drummer and the Salesman: The Difference," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 9, no. 6 (June 1899): 32.

focused family men to shed this negative image and support sales efforts.[68] In Canada the 1883 work of commercial traveller, A. Emerson Belcher is an early example of the movement to make commercial travelling respectable. The preface of Belcher's book, *What I Know About Commercial Travelling*, indicates that the text was intended to "provoke discussion by it concerning our 'life on the road,' by which means existing evils may be remedied and improvements brought about."[69] The work itself denounces various types of travellers, including the "Heavies," loud, cigar-smoking, fancily dressed, and boastful; the scheming "Eccenteric" traveller; and the "Lazy," who lacked ambition and work ethic. Belcher also promoted desirable traits for travellers including good manners, diligence, self-reliance, honesty, and honour.[70] In arguing that trade paper advertisements supported the traveller, articles and advertisements in the Maclean papers were very much part of the efforts being undertaken at the end of the nineteenth century to make the travelling salesman a more respectable, accepted part of the retail trade.

In addition to composing features that cast travellers in a positive light, Maclean writers also penned articles chastising retailers for mistreating commercial travellers. Such mistreatment included forcing travellers to wait unnecessarily to see retailers, being discourteous, and even hurling insults at them before an interview even began, practices companies and travellers alike wanted stopped.[71] The Maclean Company reasoned that advertising in trade papers could support travellers, helping to avoid such situations. As R.A. Holmes insisted in "The Traveling Man's

[68] Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*, 63.
[69] Belcher, *What I Know About Commercial Travelling,* v.
[70] Belcher, 14-15, 23-26, 27-28. On the necessary traits of commercial travellers see pages Belcher, 65-97.
[71] "Treatment of Travellers," *Hardware* 2, no. 45 (8 November 1890): 8; "Courtesy to Commercial Travellers," *Hardware* 3, no. 16 (18 April 1891): 13; "Treatment of Drummers," *Hardware* 8, no. 1 (4 January 1896): 23; "Merchants and the Travelers," *Hardware* 11, no. 42 (21 October 1899): 10; "Courtesy to Travelers," *The Canadian Grocer* 14, no. 47 (23 November 1900): 15; "Courtesy to Travelers," *Hardware* 12, no. 47 (24 November 1900): 9; "Keeping the Traveler Waiting," *Hardware* 12, no. 47 (24 November 1900): 14; "Treatment of Commercial Travellers," Bookseller and Stationer 20, no. 3 (March 1904): 109; "Courtesy to Travelers," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 16, no. 3 (March 1906): 70; "Trials of a Traveling Man," *Bookseller and Stationer* 28, no. 12 (December 1912): 17.

Helper" from *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* in June 1909, "While good advertising does sell goods, its proper function is that of co-operation. It prepares the way for the traveling man, walks by his side and introduces him to the merchant." This latter point, the introduction of the traveller, is central in Holmes' work and within other Maclean features as well. In introducing the traveller, advertisements worked to tie travellers, whom many retailers seemingly perceived as being below them in status and importance as suggested by previous features, to a modern, respectable business led by a successful, and, by extension, respectable, businessman if advertising was in fact done correctly (how this was to be done will be covered in the following section). In introducing travellers, advertisements claimed them as their company's representatives, thereby insisting that they, like the company they worked for, and the company's owner in particular, were worthy of the attention and respect of retailers. [72]

In addition to bestowing respectability upon travellers, the Maclean Company also promised that advertising would facilitate their work. The company argued that potential advertisers adopt a specific conception of advertising in relation to their travellers. They were encouraged to view advertisements not as a direct means of selling goods, but as tools in laying an initial educational groundwork, teaching retailers about new and old products alike, their features, and even price, if they so desired. The traveller, then, could then come in and close the sale with far less effort and time.[73] As *Bookseller and Stationer* and *Printer and Publisher* editor J.M. Imrie insisted, this was a necessary, functional conception, arguing that Maclean employees

[72] "The Traveler's Introduction Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 1, no .6 (June 1891): back cover; "*The Canadian Dry Goods* Review Advertising Advertisement," 1, no. 10 (October 1891): back cover; "Chas. E. Bonnell, "Judicious Advertising," *Bookseller and Stationer* 7, no. 12 (December 1891): 10; "*The Canadian Grocer* Letter Order Department Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 27 (7 July 1893): 31; "Known and Unknown Firms," *The Canadian Grocer* 17, no. 44 (30 October 1903): 28; C.R. Lippman, "How Trade Paper Advertising Pays," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 19, no. 5 (May 1909): 46;
[73] Lippman, "How Trade Paper Advertising Pays," 46.

internalize it as well. In quoting the periodical *The Imprint* in 1910 in the Maclean employee bulletin, Imrie insisted that, "In the right order of things a salesman should be a closer, not a canvasser of prospects. Advertising should do the missionary work." This advice was likely given in the hopes that Maclean ad canvassers would share this rationale with potential advertisers.[74] In employing advertising as company "missionary," profits, potential advertisers were promised, would be increased. Author John E. Kennedy insisted the same in "Intensive Advertising," published in *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* in August 1909, noting that "each salesman's services might thus be doubled" if advertising were approached in this manner.[75]

The promise of increased sales and profits was undoubtedly considered a potential benefit of advertising among potential advertisers, but so too was the promise of increased control that advertising held. Because commercial travellers had a high degree of independence on the road, representing their companies as they saw fit free of direct oversight, owners and, increasingly, managers had less control over the way in which their company was represented once they employed travellers. For men accustomed to being the very embodiment of one's company this was, no doubt, problematic especially given the generalized negative conception of commercial travellers in the late nineteenth century. Trade paper advertising promised once again to restore control to those at the head of firms accustomed to complete independence and power over their business. As opposed to leaving their image and that of their company and goods in the hands of sales staff, through advertising, wholesalers and manufacturers could pre-empt travellers, conveying a conception of their company and goods to retailers in the manner they desired. This direct communication ensured that the traveller was, as the Maclean papers had promised, simply

[74] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Maclean-Hunter Company History file, J.M. Imrie, "An Effective Forerunner," *The Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (April 1910): 7.
[75] John E. Kennedy, "Intensive Advertising," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 19, no. 8 (August 1909): 71.

a deal closer with little to no control over the company's reputation. Wholesalers and manufacturers would be given back the control they had seemingly lost through the ascension of the retailer and travellers if they were willing to adopt trade paper advertising.

Importantly, the control over travellers that wholesalers and advertisers were promised through advertising was not limited to the shaping of company image, although this was in itself significant. The Maclean Company also promised that through trade paper advertising wholesalers and manufacturers would have the necessary power to protect themselves from travellers if need be. As explained in *The Canadian Grocer* as early as 1889, without advertising to retailers, potential advertisers were "at the mercy of their travellers."[76] Without advertising, the unnamed author reasoned, travellers were left to their own devices, "they thus improve themselves, and what trade they get they owe to their own personality. They become liked because they studied to that end, and they become influential among their firms' customers." This was desirable when a traveller was content in his position, but as the author continued, "when any rupture takes place between a traveller and his firm, the trade is alienated from the firm and goes with the traveller who worked it up. Wherever he is employed his connection goes with him." As another feature from *The Canadian Grocer* warned, without advertising the

> agent is actually the great lever of power that moves dealers to purchase. There is a serious disadvantage in this, because the accomplished intermediary may at any moment resolve to sell his services to another, or to start in the same line for himself, with the result that he takes a large share of the business acquired by his personal industry with him.[77]

Travellers thereby threatened to take the trade the company had built because they were known to retailers and the company was not. Trade paper advertising was offered as a solution to

[76] "Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 47 (22 November 1889): 3
[77] "The Secret of Business Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 25 (19 June 1891): 18.

build company recognition. The firm, potential advertisers were told, had to build "an individuality of its own by advertising freely among its customers."[78] Only in doing so could potential advertisers build a market for themselves, one which was created through advertising in the image company leaders envisioned, and one which was recognizable to retailers through repeated advertising, and would remain their own should a commercial traveller leave the employ of the company. In addition to providing control then, trade paper advertisements also promised protection, an insurance against potentially rogue travellers.

Defending the Medium

These arguments may have resonated with some potential advertisers, yet there remained hesitance surrounding the medium in which these advertisements would be placed. As discussed in previous chapters, a deep suspicion existed in relation to trade papers as advertising mediums due to the efforts of fraudulent advertisers as well as those trade paper publishers who were willing to admit questionable advertisements to increase profits. This was not a simple matter to overcome. As Maclean himself wrote to staff in a confidential letter to staff in 1911,

> Few people, even those who have been associated with me, realize what a long, fierce struggle it has been to bring this business to its present basis. When we first began there existed here and in the States a strong prejudice against class papers, and not without reason. The methods by which the majority secured business was disreputable.[79]

Maclean went on to note that it was only within "the last few years an ever-increasing number of

[78] "Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 47 (22 November 1889): 3.
[79] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series B, B-1-2-C, Box 58, Stock file, Confidential Letter from John Bayne Maclean to Staff, 19 June 1911.

manufacturers and dealers in our fields have come to realize that to maintain and increase their business it is absolutely necessary to use papers such as ours." In other words, it took the Maclean Publishing Company until the 1910s to inculcate the trust necessary in their papers whereby John Bayne Maclean could deem that the genre had finally been the accepted as a trusted advertising medium among manufacturers and wholesalers.

How then, did the Maclean Publishing Company counter this significant objection among potential advertisers? In addition to the efforts undertaken to inculcate trust and respectability for Maclean and his papers, which formed the basis of chapters 2 and 3 regarding socio-culturally resonant content and the establishment and publicization of stringent policies, Maclean and his employees once again utilized gendered concepts surrounding manhood and business in their efforts to convince potential advertisers of their journals' trustworthiness. This was done by capitalizing upon a prevalent practice found within the manhood and success literature of the period, namely holding individual men up as exemplars of character, manhood, and success. Prominent men, many of whom were businessmen, had abbreviated details their lives published in biographical compendiums, success manuals, and trade papers themselves, alongside the character virtues they supposedly possessed. They were held up as models of masculine achievement to be emulated by others. Maclean and his employees recognized the power of these masculine exemplars and put forth their own examples for emulation, with the company publishing life histories and masculine success stories throughout the period, thereby perpetuating the notion that "successful men are always safe guides." [80] In the context of

[80] "Why it Pays to Advertise in Trade Journals," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 22 (27 May 1892): between pages 16 and 17' "Why it Pays to Advertise in Trade Journals," *Hardware* 4, no. 22 (28 May 1892): between pages 10 and 11.

assuaging the concerns of potential advertisers it was the testimonials of such men that were employed as guides for non-advertisers to (hopefully) follow.

As Pamela Walker Laird has explained in the American context, the testimonial was a common means used by manufacturers in consumer advertising during the period. Laird notes that while before-and-after testimonials became prevalent only after 1910, prior to this, advertisers published comparative content, contrasting those who were intelligent and progressive and used a given product, and those who were backward and did not.[81] This meant that as in the case of biographies, testimonials were used to invoke the notion that individuals who supposedly exercised sound judgement and character as displayed through the use of a given product, should be emulated. The Maclean company therefore built upon cultural understandings surrounding masculine emulation and the discursive form of the testimonial to convince potential advertisers of the wisdom of trusting trade papers for their advertising purposes.

In 1893, the Maclean company published an advertisement intended to sell advertising space published in both *Bookseller and Stationer* and *The Canadian Grocer* which read: "WHAT OTHERS HAVE DONE OTHERS CAN DO…SUCCESSFUL MEN ARE ALWAYS SAFE GUIDES."[82] (See Figure 9) While the concept of looking to those deemed successful as models was conveyed overtly in this instance, and references were made to upstanding men who advertised throughout the Maclean journals in the 1890s, it would only be by after the turn of the century that the company would truly capitalize on the notion of emulation. Although not made

[81] Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 99.
[82] "*Bookseller and Stationer* Advertising Advertisement," *Bookseller and Stationer* 9, no. 1 (January 1893): 19; "*The Canadian Grocer* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 1 (6 January 1893): 7.

official policy, as aforementioned, in 1904 the company did direct employees to systematically collect testimonials demonstrating "the advertising value of our papers," for the purpose of

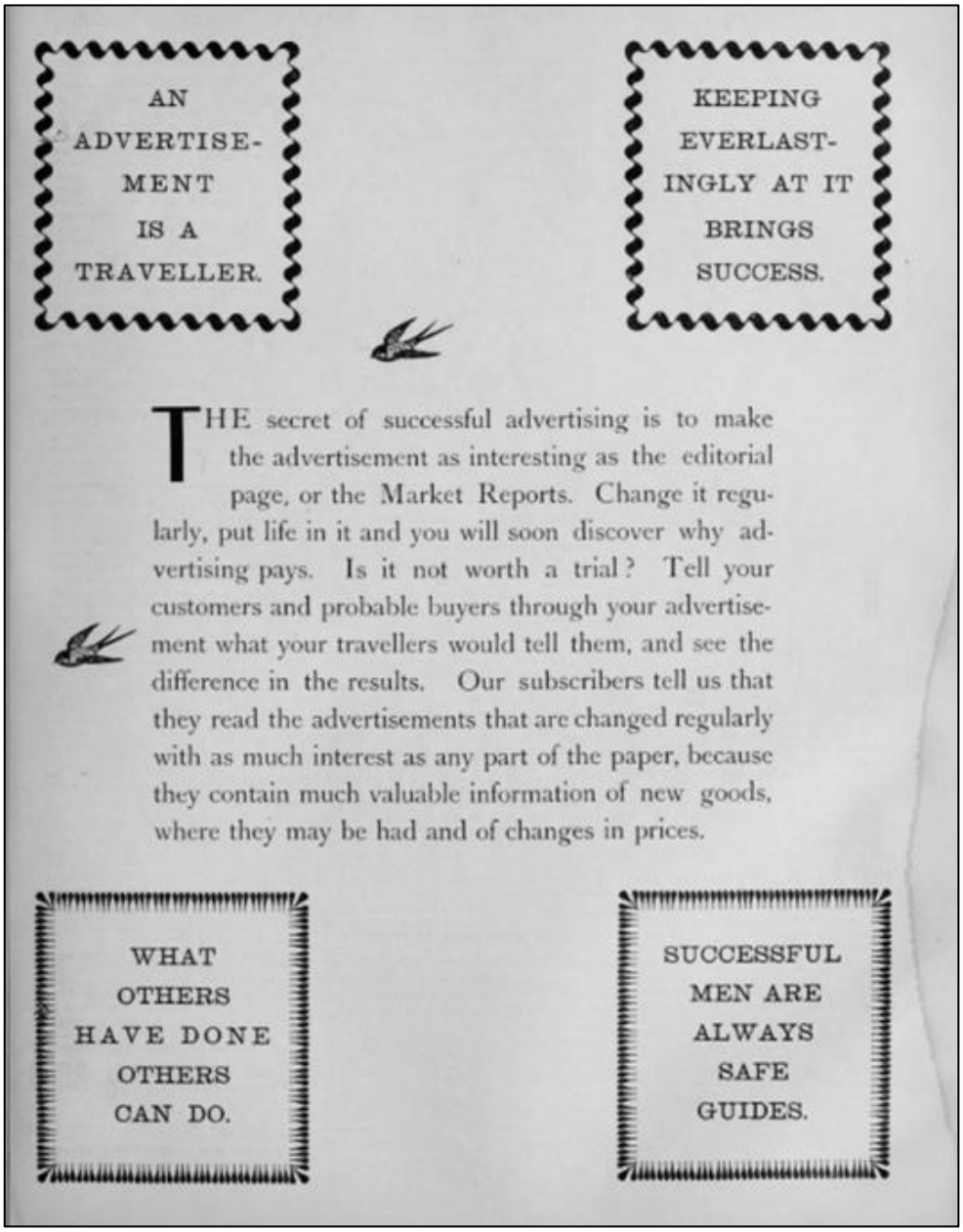


Figure 9: "*Bookseller and Stationer* Advertising Advertisement," *Bookseller and Stationer* 9, no. 1 (January 1893): 19.

publication.[83] After this date, testimonials were commonly found in sections entitled "Among Ourselves," or "Mainly About Ourselves," features in the papers which purported to give readers insight into the papers and company, or, as the company described them: "Editorial confidences of Interest to Subscribers and Advertisers."[84] Here, readers found descriptions of current and forthcoming issues, news about employees who might have been travelling on behalf of the company, and commentary from the trade on all things Maclean, including testimonials from advertisers. These testimonials varied in length, some being a few sentences and others paragraphs-long, some were paraphrased and others reprinted verbatim (or at least supposedly) with the writer identifying themselves or their company as an advertiser in the Maclean journals and lauding the results.[85] For instance, an enthusiastic advertiser from the Peterborough Cereal Co. wrote: "The Special Number of the Grocer reflects credit upon all concerned. We are particularly pleased with our ad., and metaphorically pat you on the back. The ad. has been seen by at least half a dozen people, according to letters of inquiry received."[86]

Testimonials were also found within advertising content, both in the journals and in the company's direct mail materials. These advertising materials appear to have been carefully crafted, with much intentionality regarding whose testimonials would be included. Whereas the testimonial content found within the Maclean journals and the testimonials printed for company use within the company bulletin reveal numerous complimentary statements, those chosen for

---

[83] AO, John Bayne Maclean Records F 4533-3-6, Business Records file, "Testimonials," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 3 (December 1904): 2.
[84] "Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 16, no. 4 (April 1906): 17.
[85] "Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 15 no. 6 (June 1905): 15; "Among Ourselves," *The Canadian Grocer* 19 no. 25 (23 June 1905): 11; "Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 15, no. 8 (August 1905): 17; "Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 15 no. 11 (November 1905) 19; "Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 16, on. 4 (April 1906): 17; "Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 16, no. 6 (June 1906): 17; "Mainly About Ourselves," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 17, no. 5 (May 1907): 101; "Mainly About Ourselves," *Bookseller and Stationer* 28, no. 11 (November 1912): 11
[86] "Among Ourselves," *The Canadian Grocer* 19, no. 25 (23 June 1905): 11.

advertising content were typically representative of major business figures that readers, including potential advertisers, would likely recognize. For instance, a 1907 direct mail pamphlet providing advertising rates for *The Canadian Grocer* included a section entitled "WHAT ADVERTISERS HAVE WRITTEN US." Here, the testimonials from companies including Lake of the Woods Milling Co. (producers of Quaker Oats), William Wrigley Jr. & Co., company of the well-known chewing gum magnate, as well as Jam and Marmalade producer Thomas Upton's T. Upton, Limited, were included. The T. Upton testimonial in particular spoke to the doubtful potential advertiser, noting that despite some uncertainties regarding the class of advertising, that "we are now convinced that your journal is an excellent medium for any manufacturer to use who wants to talk business to the wholesale or retail grocer of Canada."[87] It seems that the company found this strategy of highlighting the fact that prominent men and businesses supported the Maclean journals useful, for it was implemented several times throughout the 1900s and 1910s.[88] In fact, the testimonials of certain prominent advertisers appear to have been deemed particularly useful, as in 1909 the T. Upton, Limited testimonial was reprinted as a stand-alone mailer. The Upton letter was presented at length, seemingly on company letterhead, signed by company secretary-treasurer, W.J. Brigger, and (mis)dated 21 May 1909.[89]

---

[87] A0, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 37, *Canadian Grocer* file, *The Canadian Grocer* Rate Card, 1907.

[88] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-1-4, Box 37, *Canadian Grocer* file, *Backing Up the Traveller* pamphlet, 1906; "Bookseller and Stationer Special Fall Number Advertisement," *Bookseller and Stationer* 23, no. 7 (July 1907): 7; "Otto T.E. Veit *The Canadian Dry Goods* Review Advertising Advertisement*," The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 21, no. 1 (June 1911): 15; "Proof Positive *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 22, no. 3 (1 February 1912): 15; "Here's Direct Evidence *Bookseller and Stationer* Advertising Advertisement," *Bookseller and Stationer* 30, no. 10 (October 1914): 94

[89] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A-A-4-1, Box 37, *Canadian Grocer* file, T. Upton Co. Testimonial mailer, 21 May 1909. This letter appeared in previous *The Canadian Grocer* advertising material in 1907, hence the assertion that it was misdated and purposely so. See AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A-A-4-1, Box 37, *Canadian Grocer* file, *Canadian Grocer* Advertising Rate Card, 1907.

The significance of these written features, advertisements, and direct mail marketing pieces showcasing testimonials was twofold. The Maclean company demonstrated that the businessmen from Canada, as well as the United States and Britain who were advertising in the Maclean trade journals were not only unconcerned about the publications' trustworthiness, but that they applauded them as advertising mediums. Additionally, many of the men who either wrote these letters or whose companies were represented within these testimonials such as A.F. MacLaren of Imperial Cheese, R.R. Sanderson of Sanderson's Limited, and William Wrigley, Jr., were highly successful businessmen. This meant that their word was in fact worthy of the trust of the business community and that their actions, Maclean hoped, would be worthy of emulation. Indeed, the significance of these testimonials was that they were from recognizable companies or men who advertised because they were able to do so. They were prominent men running seemingly lucrative companies as they were able to dedicate money to advertising. Given the logic of the ideologies of character and success of the period, by extension, the men who spoke so highly of Maclean's trade papers were men who, as their standing suggested, were men of character as evidenced by their success. Because they had clearly adopted the practice of advertising in the Maclean trade papers it would only be prudent that those who wanted to emulate their character and level of success do the same.

Trade Paper Advertising: The "How-To"

Even if they found any of Maclean's arguments compelling, many potential advertisers believed themselves ill-equipped to engage in advertising. In the 1890s, advertisers were largely left to their own devices with regards to what they put in print. For many, the prospect of creating advertising content was daunting, and Maclean understood this. Therefore, from the pages of the

company's journals, and through its advertising solicitors, the Maclean Publishing Company communicated the ways in which trade journal advertising should be undertaken, addressing issues such as how one should discuss one's goods, the necessity of periodically changing one's advertising content, and how long one should advertise for. According to the company, each of these elements of advertising presented a unique opportunity for conveying the character of a business, as well as the owner or those running it. In essence, these were the directions to performing manhood through advertising which would assure retail readers that the advertisements were trustworthy and that the houses they represented were trustworthy and run by reputable men. Advertising in the Maclean papers was thereby framed as the ultimate means of presenting oneself to retail trade partners, establishing, and maintaining one's reputation within the trade, so long as it was done according to the dictates of the company.

Content was much addressed in the Maclean journals and above all, advertisers were encouraged to focus on the goods they produced. This was not, as advertisements and features insisted, for the purpose of direct selling, but more so for symbolic value. Like the firm itself, the quality of a manufacturer's goods was a direct reflection of a producer's character. A high-quality, reliable product indicated that the man or men in charge of the firm were reliable, conscientious, and truly desirous of serving the needs of their customers. Because gauging the quality of one's goods was in fact not only possible, but something that retailers did through mail sampling and sample demonstrations by commercial travellers, and it was paramount that advertisers convey the quality of their goods honestly.[90]

[90] Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 291-292; Susan Strasser, "The Smile that Pays," 156.

Advertisers were directed to discuss their products and to be extremely careful in how they represented them textually, only admitting what one "really thinks about his goods."[91] One feature even went so far as to suggest that advertisers present the weaknesses of their goods, for "if the advertiser presents the outs [of the product] he will disarm argument and will take from the mouth of his prospective buyer the opportunity to kick."[92] Though it is doubtful that potential advertisers would print the shortcomings of their goods, the message was clear: only truthfulness regarding the quality of one's products would help build trade relationships, and any exaggeration, misrepresentation, or outright falsity in print had the power to ruin a man's reputation among potential trade partners who had the ability to tangibly measure his claims. As one unnamed author explained in 1903, "[o]ne should always be honest in one's advertising. Some time or another the little deceits in your advertising are going to come out and count against you. Each time these little deceits are exposed part of your good reputation goes, until it is entirely lost."[93]

Potential advertisers unsure of how to advertise were also told that along with honesty, conveying strength in one's advertisements was crucial. This, the Maclean company intimated, was also done through the ways in which one described one's goods. As a September 1899 *Canadian Grocer* feature entitled "Writing Ads," insisted, the advertiser "must have the knack of telling his story in few and simple words – yet with a forcefulness that carries conviction."[94] A man must therefore never be "compelled to go into hysterics in his advertising; he need only state the facts in strong, simple language."[95] The reference to hysterics is significant, for as

[91] "Severn's Advertising Points," *Hardware* 9, no. 26 (26 June 1897): 12.
[92] Nathaniel J. Fowler, Jr. "Honest Advertising," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 5, no. 1 (January 1895): 24.
[93] "Truth is Mighty," *The Canadian Grocer* 17, no. 16 (17 April 1903): 27.
[94] William S. Power, "Writing Ads.," *The Canadian Grocer* 13, no. 38 (22 September 1899): 8.
[95] "A Good Reputation," *The Canadian Grocer* 17, no. 24 (12 June 1903): 42.

historian Wendy Mitchinson has argued, hysteria and the act of going into hysterics were signifiers of losing control over one's emotions during the period. Hysteria was an affliction widely believed to primarily affect women, meaning that the above reference to hysterics contained highly gendered connotations.[96] The message was clear, and it was a warning that once one decided to engage in advertising, one had to attract attention to one's goods through honesty, plain language, and reason. If an image of strength was not emitted in this way as directed, the advertiser could potentially undermine his masculine image.

Another important means of conveying strength in one's ads was to appeal to retailers on the basis of the merit and quality of goods. Advertisers were therefore warned never to ask for orders, but to put forth compelling arguments as to why their goods should be purchased. Asking for retailers' favour indicated that a producer required their assistance, which was clearly not a position of strength. The practice of asking for retailers' support also undermined the very notion of independence that producers so valued. Instead, conveying that their products had value that would benefit the retailer if purchased indicated that the producer could assist the retailer, not the other way around. This way of framing the sales appeal served to cast the producer as the leader within the trade relationship whether or not this was truly the case.[97]

The final directive potential advertisers received concerning advertising content dealt with the necessity of regularly changing one's advertisements. Just as representing one's products in a completely honest fashion was deemed a central means of communicating one's character through advertising, potential advertisers were also advised that the continual changing of advertising would provide a similar benefit. This notion was counter-intuitive to those who

[96] Wendy Mitchinson, *The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 280.
[97] "How to Write Business Paper Advertisements," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 20 (15 May 1896): 8.

believed that reiteration would familiarize readers with their firms' goods. Yet Maclean's journals put forth a compelling argument to convince any cynics. The papers directly tapped into the notion that masculinity, success, and reputation were completely dependent on continual public performance. They argued that because advertisements were intended to reflect the business owner and firm, that changing advertisements (or not) articulated a great deal regarding a man's work ethic, or industriousness.[98]

For instance, it was very little work for a manufacturer to purchase space for six months or a year, devise and place a single advertisement to be run month after month and not have to think about advertising for the duration of the contract. Instead of building familiarity, advertisers who continually presented retailers with the same advertisement risked being deemed complacent, or even insincere in their efforts to form new trade contacts as indicated by their lack of effort. Such behaviour, or lack thereof would certainly be recognized by retailers, many of whom were becoming experienced advertisers themselves.[99] Therefore, the goal of advertising, potential advertisers were told, was to build recognition for one's name and firm, not for individual advertisements. Potential advertisers were actually encouraged to visualize advertisements as living things, such as plants or gardens that required constant cultivation and without attention would "grow stale," which, in turn was a reflection of the advertiser and his

[98] "Legitimate Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 48 (29 November 1889): 3-4; "No Title," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 9 (27 February 1891): 3; "The Advertisement Ranks as News," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. .29 (17 July 1891): 3; "*The Canadian Grocer* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 1 (6 January 1893): 7; "Depew on Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 8 (24 February 1893): 24; "Severn's Advertising Points," *Hardware* 9, no. 26 (26 June 1897): 12.
[99] Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority,* 103; Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 59.

business.[100] As an 1893 feature from *The Canadian Grocer* underscored, potential advertisers and advertisers alike had to recognize that the goal of an advertisement was to demonstrate that it

> is connected with a living original, and like every other live thing, it must change…Those who change oftenest reap the most benefits…This is particularly true to the trade paper, whose readers look upon the advertisements as news, and read them with languor, according as they are fresh or stale.[101]

Frequent changes to advertisements could be as simple as highlighting different products from an existing line, introducing new goods, or even announcing technical factory innovations, all the factual components used to convey strength. In releasing small pieces of information at a time, advertisers would have the opportunity to differentiate themselves from competitors who did not frequently change their advertisements. More importantly, continually releasing new details regarding one's offerings and business provided a fuller view of the firm than a single advertisement could furnish. And whether or not it was the case, potential advertisers and advertisers were told that consistently releasing new information created the image of a highly progressive business, as the continual introduction of new content would give the appearance that a firm was ever-changing and bettering its offerings and methods.[102] This, of course, could only be done if the man at the helm of the firm was diligent in his work with the aim of constantly improving his firm, his goods, and, by extension, himself.

In addition to crafting advertisements, potential advertisers and current advertisers were told that the frequency with which one advertised was a key consideration. As many features

---

[100] "Legitimate Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no. 48 (29 November 1889): 3-4; "No Title," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 9 (27 February 1891): 3; "The Advertisement Ranks as News," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. .29 (17 July 1891): 3; "No Title," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 1 (6 January 1893): 1.
[101] "No title," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 1 (6 January 1893): 1.
[102] "No title," *The Canadian Grocer* 7, no. 1 (6 January 1893): 1; "Legitimate Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer*, 4.

indicate, some who were trying out advertising believed that it was not a long-term commitment. Many believed that it would only be necessary until they established a reputation among readers/retailers while others thought it appropriate to quit advertising if they did not see direct results from a few insertions in a given medium.[103] Features and advertisements in the Maclean journals argued against this mentality, underscoring instead that longevity was the key to success in both establishing one's reputation through advertising and generating sales. The journals emphasized that if an advertiser placed a few insertions expecting to make a great profit or many connections with retailers, that he would be gravely disappointed. As an 1897 article from *Hardware* argued: "in advertising as in all other things, the certainty of success lies rather in patient perseverance and persistent energy than in brilliant but brief effort."[104]

Much like the constructions of the advertiser and non-advertiser discussed above, the Maclean papers also presented images of the consistent advertiser and infrequent, inconsistent, or short-term advertiser. Those falling into the latter category were often referred to as "spasmodic advertisers." These advertisers were men who would not commit to long-term advertising. They had advertised, but did so for a very short period, then stopped, or only committed to advertising in a couple of issues of a given medium per year. Features underscored that this type of advertiser, and by extension, the type of men who advertised in an inconsistent manner, appeared weak, uncertain, and easily defeated because he had failed. As an 1891 feature in *The Dry Goods Review* argued, "[t]he ephemeral feature of such advertising looks as if the

[103] "Business Methods," *The Canadian Grocer* 3, no 19 (10 May 1889): 4; "Legitimate Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 3 no. 48 (29 November 1889): 3; "Advertising Advice," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 3, no. 12 (December 1893): 30; "Bright, Original, Attractive," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 5, no. 12 (December 1895): 1; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Maclean-Hunter Company History file, "Concerning Direct Results," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (October 1904): 2; John Bayne Maclean Records F4533-3-6, Business Records file, "Concerning Direct Results," *Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 4 -5 (January-February 1905): 6; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 37, Booklets file, "Frequent Excuses," *Maclean's Weekly* (28 October 1911): 1-2.
[104] "Assuming Too Much," *Hardware* 9, no. 5 (30 January 1897): 20.

man made a great effort and failed."[105] Another advice piece written by advertising expert Nathaniel J. Fowler Jr. castigated spasmodic advertisers, noting that ceasing to advertise was "documentary evidence that the advertiser is not able to do a good business, and is forced by conditions or his own fault to reduce expenses." Indeed, according to Fowler, through his silence, the spasmodic advertiser announced, "that something is the matter with him."[106]

The implication that one was a "quitter" was also a crucial tool used to convey the problematic nature of discontinuous advertising. Within the context of the period, business success and manhood itself were predicated on key characteristics including dedication, persistence, and hard work. Those who abandoned advertising after a short stint were said to lack these key character traits as evidenced by their behaviours.[107] The quitter was also said to be deceitful to the retail trade and a dangerous trading partner as his initial confidence and commitment to the trade, as expressed through advertising, was disingenuous. As T.H. Cahill explained in *The Canadian Grocer* in 1892,

> To faulter or pause in the first flush of triumphant encouragement is to abandon the grounds of original confidence, and to confess it to be deceitful and illusive rather than trustworthy and substantial. If intelligent advertising is the one right and sure course at the start, the subsequent neglect of it can only be the wrong and fatal one.[108]

---

[105] "No Title," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 1, no. 9 (September 1891): 2. See also "Orthodox Advertising Doctrine," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 51 (18 December 1891): 2; T.H. Cahill, "Suspended Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no. 20 (13 May 1892): 8; "Advertising Hints," *The Canadian Grocer* 9, no. 47 (22 November 1895): 34; Nathaniel J. Fowler, Jr., "Out-of-Season Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 38 (25 September 1896): 36.

[106] Nathaniel J. Fowler, Jr., "Out-of-Season Advertising," *The Canadian Grocer* 10, no. 38 (25 September 1896): 36.

[107] "Not an Enterprise for the 'Quitter' Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 22, no. 16 (21 August 1912): 99; "Not an Enterprise for the 'Quitter' Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no. 2 (15 January 1913): 94; "Not an Enterprise for the 'Quitter' Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 23, no. 14 (16 July 1913): 47.

[108] T.H. Cahill, "Suspended Success," *The Canadian Grocer* 6, no 20 (13 May 1892): 8.

The quitter, therefore, was clearly the type of man who did not internalize the values of character and success. Instead, he had understood them and briefly performed them, then quit, thereby allowing the trade to see character weaknesses.

Conversely, consistent, long-term advertising in trade journals would, potential advertisers and advertisers were told, give retailers the opposite impression. Advertising regularly for long periods would, firstly, communicate an advertisers' commitment to the trade networks to which trade journals provided them access. Just as importantly, consistent advertising in trade journals was said to reflect strength and the good character of the advertiser and his company through the appearance of financial stability. In explaining the necessity of advertising, trade journal features underscored that successful advertising, that which was consistent and long-term, would take a significant and continual financial investment. Continual investment reflected that a business was in a financially successful position and had remained so over time. While proclamations of one's financial success were not overtly stated by businessmen, financial standing was a crucial means of judging men's character. As mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation, the circular argument went that monetary success was a function of good character and good character led to financial success. A long-term commitment to trade paper advertising was therefore framed as a means of communicating one's pecuniary standing, and, by extension, one's character and that of one's business, to the retail trade. Indeed, manufacturers were told that regular and continued advertising conveyed "the impression of strength and soundness," for in trade paper advertising and the wider business environment, "continuity and success [were] one in the same thing."[109]

[109] Nathaniel J. Fowlers, Jr. "Continuous Publicity," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 5, no. 2 (February 1895): 35.

In following the dictates of advertising as set out by the Maclean Publishing Company, abiding by advertising's "reliable rules" surrounding content, the changing of advertisements, and longevity, both potential and current advertisers were told that they could convey central character traits that would lead to business success.[110] Business success was, at times, defined as immediate sales, but more frequently, it was defined as the successful creation of trade relationships which, over time would result in regular trade through the establishment of trust among retailers. In this sense, as in previous arguments the Maclean company put forth surrounding trade paper advertising, the promise of increased control over one's reputation and sales, was present. This promise was made abundantly clear in an 1891 feature in *The Canadian Grocer*. It insisted that that:

> Once having mastered these [the rules of advertising], the advertiser may securely conclude that his coveted fortune is wholly in his own hands. He may safely repose in the strengthening thought that he is henceforth master of his own situation and the architect of his future. He has but to maintain his supply of resources at their highest standard, and steady and unflinching advertising will take care of the rest.[111]

Conclusion

In countering the opposition of potential advertisers who were either apathetic toward advertising, failed to understand the centrality of appealing to retailers directly, believed that trade paper advertising was redundant when they already had commercial travellers, distrusted trade papers as an advertising medium, or were simply unsure of how to engage in trade paper advertising, The Maclean Publishing Company established a broad, yet intricately connected set of arguments. Based on the notion of masculine success through character, in each case the

[110] "Advertising as an Art," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 34 (21 August 1891): 6.
[111] "Advertising as an Art," *The Canadian Grocer* 5, no. 34 (21 August 1891): 6.

company put forth arguments centered on how potential advertisers should reconceptualize not only trade paper advertising, but their role within the trade, and how their manhood might be both protected and articulated through the very act of trade paper advertising. In essence, the Maclean argument gave potential advertisers reasons why and directions on how to perform acts denoting their manhood in a way that would resonate with both advertisers and retail readers.

With the exception of the testimonials collected by the company, potential and actual advertisers did not typically articulate their stance on whether they changed their minds regarding trade paper advertising, or their thoughts on the practice if they did decide to invest in it. Instead, the best evidence of the acceptance of Maclean's arguments on the part of potential advertisers and advertisers is the purchasing of space. Available sales figures suggest that the tactics employed by The Maclean Publishing Company likely resonated with potential advertisers as the company's gross advertising space sales grew significantly throughout the period of study. For instance, in 1895, the earliest year where figures are available, sales were $29 246.68, rising to $59 388.92 in 1900, $93 621.32 in 1904, and $183 035.98 in 1913, the last year where figures are available for the period.[112]

While other factors outside Maclean's efforts could have played a role in advertising space sales, the gendered arguments that were put forth throughout the period were consistent and comprised much of Maclean's sales efforts. This suggests that, at the very least, these

[112] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-2-1, Box 5, Journal 1895-1900; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-2-1, Box 8, Quarterly Statements, 1898-1904; AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-2-1, Box 5, Cashbook, 1901-1904; AO, Maclean Hunter Records, Series B, B-1-2-b, B-F, Box 56 Confidential advertising business sales sheets for 1910-1913, *The Canadian Grocer*, *Hardware*, *The Dry Goods Review*, and *Bookseller and Stationer*, n.d. According to the Bank of Canada's inflation calculator at https://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/, which can only calculate rates as far back as 1914, the 1913 sum of $183 035.98, if calculated in the closest available year (1914), would be worth approximately $5 028 835.99 today.

arguments did not deter readers and that they likely resonated with those who were previously averse to trade paper advertising. And what these tactics undeniably demonstrate is that Maclean believed that ideas of manhood would resonate and that, as argued throughout this thesis, masculinity played a role in the development of the trade paper field and the growth of Canadian consumer culture more generally.

Conclusion

In 1914, the Maclean Publishing Company issued a booklet entitled *The Maclean Organization*. This publication was created to promote the sale of advertising space within the Maclean's group of fourteen publications. The booklet contained a map of Canada that indicated where Maclean offices were located, information about the company's individual publications, descriptions of the company's locations and buildings, a reprint of the "Declarations of Principles by the Business Press of America," as well as testimonials regarding the utility of advertising in the Maclean papers. In addition, the booklet contained a five-page section entitled "The Maclean Organization" written by John Bayne Maclean.[1]

The section itself promoted company services, but more centrally, it was both a report on the state of the business and a retrospective of the past twenty-seven years written from Maclean's perspective. Here, Maclean addressed the beginnings of the company and the growth of the company's earliest papers, *The Canadian Grocer*, *Books and Notions*, *Hardware*, *The Canadian Dry Goods Review*, as well as *The Canadian Printer and Publisher*. In doing so Maclean (unsurprisingly) lauded the remarkable growth of his journals and company more broadly. He insisted that

> It is when we contemplate the days of our own beginnings, and contrast our state at that time with our present development, that we appreciate our own amazing growth and progress; and we get a still better perception of things when we ask ourselves, 'How would you like to begin all over again?' Then the hill of our ascent looms up great and steep before our vision, and the nervous, obstacle-filled way by which we have climbed becomes a foreboding path.[2]

[1] AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series A, A-4-1, Box 47, Booklets file, *The Maclean Organization, Being Some Account of the Maclean Publishing Co. Ltd. and its Group of Fourteen Publications* (Toronto: The Maclean Publishing Company, 1914), 1-36.
[2] *The Maclean Organization*, 7.

Maclean framed his success as a hard-won uphill battle. As chapter two demonstrates, the framing of success as an uphill battle was typical within the context of the period, especially as it related to men and success in business. It is equally significant that Maclean's assertion points to a central contention of this dissertation, namely that consumer culture and the elements that contributed to its eventual growth were not predestined to succeed. As Béatrice Craig argues, consumer culture was not something that was fully formed waiting to be discovered.[3] This contention is especially evident when examining the emergence of trade papers such as those Maclean published, that were meant to foster the ties between producers and retailers that would support and facilitate the growth of Canadian consumer culture. Maclean further supports this contention, insisting that not only was success not predestined, but also that his own knowledge and that of his employees regarding the actual production of trade paper publishing was learned over time. Addressing his early trade papers, Maclean insisted that "Together these five publications…gave us abundant exercises for our energies, taught us lessons that only stern experience can teach successfully, and gave us that exercise of powers which alone can give strength."[4]

Maclean used various approaches to build the Maclean Publishing Company. Although the company's ultimate purpose was to generate profit from the sale of advertising space in the pages of its papers, the ways in which this aim was achieved were complex and multi-faceted. They were also largely the result of Maclean's own innovations for as he rightly notes in *The Maclean Organization*,

> When we began our business of publishing trade and class papers, there was little or nothing worthy of emulation. A low standard governed everywhere…We made our

[3] Craig, *Backwoods Consumers*, 231.
[4] *The Maclean Organization*, 7. That Maclean learned how to conduct his business as he went along through the years is evidenced by a 1915 speech to staff in which he insists that "we have learned our business." See AO, Maclean-Hunter Records, Series B, 1-2-b, B-F, Box 56, Maclean speech to staff, 1915.

> own standards…We were pioneers in many things and have now come to be considered as the *sine qua non* of trade paper publishing.[5]

As this publication is a piece of advertising material it is unsurprising that Maclean made laudatory claims such as the above quote. Nevertheless, there is truth to it. Maclean was an early and strong proponent of policies such as selling subscriptions as opposed to providing them free of charge, advocating and practicing editorial independence, and rejecting and exposing fraudulent advertising. Indeed, as demonstrated in chapter 3, many of those principles that Maclean put in place in the 1890s and 1900s would only be adopted by the Business Press of America in 1913.[6] For Maclean, these policies served to guide his company while also inculcating trust among readers and advertisers. While not a direct means of selling advertising space, they nonetheless served to foster trust in Maclean and his company among stakeholders, which, in turn, would lead to the increased possibility of ad space sales. In his 1914 booklet Maclean also recognized the importance of other factors that contributed to company growth that have been explored in this dissertation. In addition to those noted above, Maclean identified quality, resonant editorial content, strong circulation among the trade, recognition of the primacy of the retailer, and, above all, service to readers and advertisers as being central to the company's success.

In extolling the Maclean Publishing Company's progress and detailing the means he used to develop the company, Maclean did not address the important role that notions of masculinity played in efforts to foster his company. This dissertation has demonstrated that since the late 1880s and into the 1910s, contextually specific ideas of middle and upper middle-class manhood, success, and character played an integral role in the company's development. Company efforts to

[5] *The Maclean Organization*, 8.
[6] "Declaration of Principles by the Business Press of America *The Canadian Grocer* Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer*, 66.

employ this idea of manhood included the promotion of trust among readers, potential advertisers, and advertisers through the publication of highly gendered articles and editorial content. The company also used it to establish a trustworthy service-based reputation for Maclean and, by extension, his company through public relations efforts promoting company policy. Finally, this idea of masculinity in business was used to sell advertising space through the invocation of notions of character and the promise that advertising could act as a necessary means of masculine performance for advertisers.

If gender is overlooked or not addressed as a factor in company growth as was the case in Maclean's writing, the actual efforts put forth by the company can only be partly understood. Contextually specific notions of manhood, character, and success based on the ideologies perpetuated by success manuals and the wider success literature of the period were central in efforts to sell advertising space in trade journals. At the same time, these same notions were adopted and adapted to appeal to readers, who the company sought to turn into permanent subscribers. The Maclean papers advocated readers' adoption of specific character traits that would help them succeed in business through displays of masculine character virtues. Though character alone was framed as a form of masculine success, the Maclean journals recognized that retailers, as well as wholesalers and manufacturers were in business to make a profit. Therefore, the company explained how such middle- and upper-middle-class masculine traits could support the generation of profit, strengthening the likelihood that their appeals would resonate with readers and potential advertisers. At the same time, Maclean used the concept of success through service as a means of building his own reputation. Through public relations articles focusing on company policy, Maclean demonstrated that he implemented and enforced policies that would

serve the best interests of his readers and advertisers. As such, Maclean earned a reputation as a trustworthy gatekeeper of the retail trades he served.

Gender played an integral role in the development of Canadian advertising and consumer history. This contention aligns with that made in the introduction to this dissertation that the Canadian historiography is already reflective of this fact. From Cynthia Wright's gendered analysis of class-based consumer desire in the first half of the twentieth century, to Cheryl Krasnick Warsh's work on the gendered representations of women in cigarette and tobacco advertisements prior to 1950, to Donica Belisle's study of the gendered nature of department store sales staff and customers in the making of modern Canada, the historiography underscores that gender, especially femininity, mattered in the rise of advertising and consumer culture in Canada.[7] This dissertation underscores the same by demonstrating how masculinity placed a central role in the development of consumer culture. The wider significance of this work is that it underscores the need for more studies which explore manhood and its multiple meanings and usages within Canadian business to uncover how the business environment was influenced by constructions of masculinity across sectors and time.

I surmise that examples abound. Looking into the 1914 -1915 period alone in the context of the Maclean Publishing Company reveals a shift in how masculinity was employed in the sale of advertising space at the company. Conceptualizations of business success as they related to manhood and character were still employed, but a new tactic focusing on a more aggressive, militaristic version of the middle-class businessman would be introduced.[8] An illustrative

[7] Wright, "Feminine Trifles," 229-260; Warsh, "Smoke and Mirrors," 183-222; Belisle, *Retail Nation*, ix-308.
[8] "*Bookseller and Stationer* Fall Number Advertising Advertisement," *Bookseller and Stationer* 30, no. 8 (August 1914): 55; "On a War Footing *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 26, no. 17 (2 September 1914): 10; "Deserters *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 26, no. 19 (7 October 1914): 9; "*The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 26, no. 22 (18 November 1914): 65; "Business Logic! The Canadian Grocer Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 28, no. 11 (1 January

advertisement from *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* in October 1914 insisted to potential advertisers that in relation to advertising, "The Best Defensive is an Ardent Attack. In chess, in play, in war, and in business the best defense is an ardent attack…maintenance of attack wears down resistance."[9] As this passage suggests, businessmen were expected to be aggressive in the context of wartime Canada, either establishing or continuing their 'attack' to sell their goods to retailers through advertising. Another example, also from *The Canadian Dry Goods* Review in October 1914 cast those who cut off advertising as "Deserters."[10] In light of how devastating castigations could be against war deserters or those who refused to participate militarily, this chastisement would most certainly had been interpreted as the company intimating that those who withdrew their advertising were in fact less brave, and therefore, less masculine than those who did not.[11]

Therefore, while this dissertation ends in the early 1910s, the ways in which ideas of masculinity influenced the Maclean Publishing Company and its advertising sales strategies most certainly did not. Playing on notions of wartime manhood including bravery, determination, and aggression, the company shifted its tactics to include advertisements such as those described above. This was a definite shift form earlier examples which employed notions of manhood in business based primarily on the application of character virtues and success. Although this is only a single example of where studies of masculinity and business might lead, it is illustrative of

1915): 62; "Let's All Pull Together *The Canadian Grocer* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 29, no. 10 (5 March 1915): 33; "You Never Had a Better Chance *The Canadian Grocer* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Grocer* 29, no. 40 (1 October 1915): 28

[9] "The Best Defensive *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* Advertising Advertisement," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* 29, no. 20 (21 October 1914): 6.

[10] "Deserters," *The Canadian Dry Goods Review* (7 October 1914): 9.

[11] Kimberly Elisa Stevens, "Flight of the White Feather: The Expansion of the White Feather Movement throughout the World War One British Commonwealth," (Master's Thesis, Georgia Southern University, 2013), 51-60.

the possibility of future studies and an indication that more questions surrounding the role(s) of masculinity in business must be posed.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

A) Unpublished Primary Sources

Archives of Ontario. Andrew D. Maclean Family Fonds, 1828-2000. Personal and Business Records. F 4566.

Archives of Ontario. Floyd S. Chalmers Fonds, 1883-1991. Personal and Business Records. F 4153.

Archives of Ontario. John Bayne Maclean Records, 1857-1950. Personal and Business Records. F 4566-3.

Archives of Ontario. Maclean Hunter Limited Fonds, 1887-1999. Corporate Records. F 138.

Archives of Ontario. Principals' Reports of Teachers in Training, 1883, Candidates for Special Examinations, Toronto, January 1883

Library and Archives Canada. Charles Christopher Jenkins Fonds, 1917-1930. Correspondence and Memoranda. R1865-0-9-E.

Library and Archives Canada. Maclean Hunter Fonds, 1920-1921. Sound Recordings. R9396-0-5-E.

Library and Archives Canada. Henry James Morgan Fonds, 1866-1913. John Bayne Maclean Biographical File. R7531-2-1-E, Vol. 15.

Library and Archives Canada. W. Arthur Irwin Fonds, 1909-1988. *Maclean's* magazine textual records. R52565-0-4-E.

Library and Archives Canada. Madge Macbeth Fonds, 1900-1941. Correspondence. R2057-2-6-E.

Library and Archives Canada. *Maclean's* Magazine File, Sub-series of Correspondence of the Provincial Secretary Fonds. RG 8-5, Box 76.

Library and Archives Canada. *Maclean's* Magazine – Toronto – Services Rendered by Departments, 1925. RG 13-A-2.

Library and Archives Canada. *The Financial Post* Fonds, 1907-1991. Corporate Files. R3820-0-X-E.

Library and Archives Canada. Andrew D. Maclean Fonds, 1914-1932. Film Reels and Sound Recordings. R8832-0-2-E.

Library and Archives Canada. Censorship from *MacLean's* Magazine about the "Adventures of Mr. L. Beardmore" File, Subseries of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada Fonds, 1915. R174-45-6-E.

McGill University Archives, Canadian Architecture Collection, Montreal Board of Trade Building, 1891, Photograph and Archival Description, https://cac.mcgill.ca/maxwells/details.php?recordCount=305&Page=8&id=167&pn=&cn=&pr=&ct=&str=&mj=&mn=&sta=.

B) Published Print Periodicals

Books and Notions/Bookseller and Stationer

The Busy Man's Magazine

The Canadian Grocer

Canadian Journal of Fabrics

The Canadian Printer and Publisher

The Canadian Bookseller

The Canadian Dry Goods Review

The Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review

The Canadian Millinery Review

Le Courrier du Canada

The Dominion Dry Goods Report

Economic Advertising

Hardware

Hunt's Merchant Magazine

Gazette officielle du Québec

Marketing and Business Management

Men's Wear Review

Monetary and Commercial Times and Insurance Chronicle

La Presse

Le prix courant

Toronto Market Review and Weekly Price Current

The Trader

C) Other Published Primary Sources

The American Newspaper Directory. New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1869.

The American Newspaper Directory. New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1891.

Bok, Edward. *Successward: A Young Man's Book for Young Men*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1895.

Canada Year Book 1907, second series. Ottawa: Government of Canada, *1907.*

The Canadian Newspaper Directory. Montreal: A McKim & Co., 1892.

The Canadian Newspaper Directory, 4th ed. Montreal: A. McKim & Co., 1905.

The Canadian Newspaper Directory, 1899 Edition: A Complete List of the Newspaper and Periodicals Published in the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland, With Full Particulars. Montreal: A. McKim & Co., 1899.

"Canadians Read," *The Globe* (9 November 1899), 7

Coats. Robert Hamilton. *The Rise in Prices and the Cost of Living in Canada, 1900-1914, Board of Inquiry Into Cost of Living*, vol. 2. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1915.

Coats, Robert H. *Wholesale Prices in Canada, 1890-1909*. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1910.

Conwell, Russell H. *The New Day, or Fresh Opportunities: A Book for Young Men*. Philadelphia: The Griffith and Rowland Press, 1904.

Craft, Wilbur F. *Successful Men of Today and What They Say of Success*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1905.

Emerson, R.W. *The Conduct of Life*. Boston: Tickner and Fields, 1860.

The Fugger News-Letters, 1568-1605, second series, trans. By L.S. Byrne. New York and London: Knickerbocker Press, 1926.

Geo. P. Rowell & Co.'s American Newspaper Directory. New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1870.

Hedley, James, ed. *Canada and Her Commerce, from the Time of the First Settler to that of the Representative Men of To-Day, Who Have Shaped the Destiny of Our Country*. Sabiston Litho. & Co., Montreal, 1894.

Industries of Canada: Historical and Commercial Sketches of Toronto and Environs. Toronto: M.G. Bixby & Co., 1886.

"James Acton, Publisher Dies," *The Globe and Mail* (9 November 1942): 4.

MacDonald, Ivan S. "Editorial," *Construction* 1, no. 1 (October 1907): 15.

MacDonald, John. *Elements Necessary to the Formation of Business Character*. Toronto: W. Briggs, 1886.

Mackay, Robert W.S. *The Montreal Directory*. Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1850.

Mackay, Robert W.S. *The Montreal Directory*. Montreal: John Lovell, 1852.

Mackay, Robert W. S. *The Montreal Directory*. Montreal: Robert W.S. Mackay, 1853.

MacKay, R.W.S. *The Montreal Directory*. Montreal: Owler & Stephenson, 1855.

Marsden, Orison Swett. *The Progressive Business Man*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1913.

Mathews, William. *Getting on in the World, or, Hints on Success in Life*. Toronto: Belford Brothers, 1876.

Mathews, William. *Getting on in the World, or, Hints on Success in Life*. Toronto: Rose-Belford, 1879.

McKim's Directory of Canadian Publications: A Complete List of the Newspapers and Periodicals Published in the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland, 1st-38th eds. Montreal: A. McKim, 1892-1930.

Morgan, Henry James. *Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1898.

Myers, Gustavus. *History of Canadian Wealth*. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1914.

N.W. Ayer and Son's Newspaper Annual and Directory, 6th-44th eds. Philadelphia: Ayers Press, 1886-1930.

Potts, John. *The Royal Path of Life; or, Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness*. Toronto: G.M. Rose & Sons, 1879 and Republished by J.S. Robertson in 1883.

Report of the Royal Commission in re the Tobacco Trade of Canada. Ottawa: S.E. Dawson 1903.

Rexford, R.W. ed. *National Newspaper Directory and Gazetteer*. Boston: Pettingill & Co., 1892.

Thayer, William. *Tact, Push and Principle*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1886.

Thayer, William. S*uccess and Its Achievers*. Boston: J.H. Earle, 1894.

Thayer, William. *Ethics of Success, A Reader for the Middle Grades of Schools: Illustrated by Inspiring Anecdotes from the Lives of Successful Men and Women*. Morristown, New Jersey: Burdett Silver, 1894.

Trout, W.H. *Trout Family History*. Milwaukee: W.H. Trout, 1916.

Secondary Sources

D) Published Secondary Sources

Ableson, Elaine S. *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Abrahamson, David, ed. *The American Magazine: Research Perspectives and Prospects*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1995.

Acheson, T.W. "Changing Origins of the Canadian Industrial Élite, 1880-1910." *Business History Review* 47, no. 2 (1973): 189-217.

Alessio, Dominic T. "Capitalist Realist Art: Industrial Images of Hamilton, Ontario." *Journal of Urban History* 18, no. 4 (1992): 442-469.

Alexander, Kristine. *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017

Allen, Gene. "North American Triangle: Canadian Press, Associated Press and Reuters, 1918-1939." In *International Communication and Global News Networks: Historical Perspectives.* Edited by Peter Putnis, Chandrika Kaul and Jurgen Wilke. New York: Hampton Press, 2011

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso Press, 1991.

Appleby, Joyce. *The Relentless Revolution: A History of Capitalism*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2010.

Armstrong, Christopher. *Blue Skies and Boiler Rooms: Buying and Selling Securities in Canada, 1870-1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Badaracco, Claire. "Alternatives to Newspaper Advertising, 1890-1920: Printers' Innovative Product and Message Designs." *Journalism Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (1990): 1042-1050.

Balleisen, Edward J. "Corporate Reputation Roundtable: The Ambiguities of Business Fraud and Entrepreneurial Reputation in Progressive-Era America." *Business History Review* 87, no. 4 (2013): 627-629.

Bannerman, Sarah. *The Struggle for Canadian Copyright: Imperialism and Internationalism, 1842-1971*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013.

Barbour, Noel Robert. *Those Amazing People! The Story of the Canadian Magazine Industry, 1778-1967*. Toronto: Crucible Press, 1982.

Barger, Harold. *Distribution's Place in the American Economy since 1869*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955.

Baron, Ava. "Masculinity, the Embodied Male Worker, and the Historian's Gaze." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 69 (Spring 2006): 143-160.

Baskerville, Peter. *A Silent Revolution? Gender and Wealth in English Canada, 1860-1930*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.

Bates, Christina. "Shop and Factory: The Ontario Millinery Trade in Transition, 1870-1930." *In Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, edited by Alexandra Palmer, 113-138. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Beavan, Brian P.N. "Partisanship, Patronage, and the Press in Ontario, 1880-1914: Myths and Realities." *Canadian Historical Review* 64, no. 3 (1983): 317-351.

Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Belisle, Donica. "Crazy for Bargains: Inventing the Irrational Female Shopper in Modernizing English Canada." *Canadian Historical Review* 92, no. 4 (2011): 581-606.

Belisle, Donica. "A Labour Force for the Consumer Century: Commodification in Canada's Largest Department Stores, 1890-1940." *Labour/Le travail* 58 (2006): 107-144.

Belisle, Donica. "Negotiating Paternalism: Women and Canada's Largest Department Stores, 1890-1960," *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 58-81.

Belisle, Donica. *Purchasing Power: Women and the Rise of Canadian Consumer Culture* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020.

Belisle, Donica. *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011.

Belisle, Donica. "Sexual Spectacles: Women in Canadian Department Store Magazines between 1920 and 1950." In *Writing Feminist History: Productive Pasts and New Directions*, edited by Catherine Carstairs and Nancy Janovicek, 135-158. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013.

Beniger, James R. *The Control Revolution: The Technological and Economic Origins of the Information Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Berger, Carl, ed. *Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884-1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1969.

Berger, Carl. *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Berger, Maurice, Brian Wallis and Simon Watson, eds, *Constructing Masculinity*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Benson, John. *Entrepreneurism in Canada: A History of 'Penny Capitalists'*. Queenston, On: The Edwin Mellen Press Ltd., 1990.

Benson, John. "Hawking and Peddling in Canada, 1867-1914." *Social History/Histoire Sociale* 18, no. 35 (1985): 75-83.

Benson, John. "Penny Capitalism in Canada, 1867-1914." *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 3, no. 1 (1989): 88-108.

Benson, John. Retailing in Hamilton, Ontario, 1891-1941. *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 5, no. 2 (1990): 396-413.

Benson, John. *The Evolution of Retail Systems, 1800-1914*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992.

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

Bidwell, John. "*The Engraver and the Printer*, A Boston Trade Journal of the Eighteen Nineties." *Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America* 71, no. 1 (1977): 29-48.

Biesenthal, Linda. *To Market, To Market: The Public Market Tradition in Canada*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1980.

Bird, Sharon R. "Welcome to the Men's Club: Homosociality and the Maintenance of Hegemonic Masculinity" *Gender and Society*, 10: 2 (April 1996): 120-132.

Black, Jennifer M. *Branding Trust: Advertising and Trademarks in Nineteenth-Century America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2024.

Black, Jennifer M. "Corporate Calling Cards: Advertising Trade Cards and Logos in the US, 1876-1890." *Journal of American Culture* 32, no. 4 (2009): 291-306.

Bland, Susan M. "Henrietta the Homemaker and 'Rosie the Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine, 1939-50," *Atlantis* 8, no. 2 (1983): 61-86.

Bliss, Michael. *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.

Bliss, Michael. *A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978.

Bliss, Michael. *A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business*, *1883-1911*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.

Bliss, Michael. "Another Anti-Trust Tradition: Canadian Anti-Combines Policy, 1889-1910." *Business History Review* 47, no. 2 (1973): 177-188.

Bliss, Michael. "'Dyspepsia of the Mind': The Canadian Businessman and His Enemies, 1880-1914." In *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971*, edited by David Macmillan. Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1972.

Blodgett, E.D. *Five-Part Invention: A History of Literary History in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

Brake, Laurel. "Doing the Biz: Book-Trade and News-Trade Periodicals in the 1890s." *Media History* 4, no. 1 (1998): 29-47.

Breazeale, Kenon. "In Spite of Women: *Esquire* Magazine and the Construction of the Male Consumer." *Signs* 20, no. 1 (1994): 1-22.

Brisebois, Michael. "Posters and Handbills." In *History of the Book in Canada Volume Two: 1840-1918*, edited by Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockhart Fleming, and Fiona A. Black, 111-118. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.

Broughton, Trev Lynn and Helen Rogers, eds., *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Palgrave, 2007.

Brown, Elspeth. *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884-1929*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Brown, Gerald D. "A Brief History and Review of Public Relations in Canada." In *Public Relations in Canada: Some Perspectives*, edited by Walter B. Herbert and John R.G. Jenkins, 8-15. Markham, ON: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984.

Brown, Robert Craig. *Canada's National Policy*, 1883-1900. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964.

Buddle, Melanie. *The Business of Women: Marriage, Family, and Entrepreneurship in British Columbia, 1901-51*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.

Buddle, Melanie. "'You Have to Think Like a Man and Act Like a Lady': Businesswomen in British Columbia, 1920-1980," *BC Studies* 151 (2006): 69-95.

Burr, Christina. "Defending 'The Art Preservative': Class and Gender Relations in the Printing Trades Unions, 1850-1914." *Labour/Le travail* 31 (Spring 1993): 47-73.

Burley, David. "Good for All He Would Ask: Credit and Debt in the Transition to Industrial Capitalism – The Case of Mid-Nineteenth Century Brantford, Ontario." *Social History/Histoire sociale* 20, no. 39 (1987): 79-99.

Burley, Edith. *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770-1879*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Burr, Christina. "'That Coming Curse – The Incompetent Compositress': Class and Gender Relations in the Toronto Typographical Union during the Late Nineteenth Century." *Canadian Historical Review* 74, no. 3 (1993): 344-368.

Burton, Charles Luther. *A Sense of Urgency: Memoirs of a Canadian Merchant*. Toronto: Clark, 1952.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Buxton, William J. and Catharine McKercher. "Newspapers, Magazines, and Journalism in Canada: Towards a Critical Historiography." *Acadiensis* 1 (1998): 103-126.

Careless, J.M.S. *The Rise of Cities in Canada Before 1914*. Ottawa: Love Printing Service Ltd, 1978.

Careless, J.M.S. "The Development of the Winnipeg Business Community, 1870-1890." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 8 (1970): 240-254.

Carnes, Mark C. and Clyde Griffen. *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Carr, David. *Candymaking in Canada: The History of Canada's Confectionary Industry*. Toronto Dundurn Group, 2003.

Carroll, Bret E."The Religious Construction of Masculinity in Victorian America: The Male Mediumship of John Shoebridge Williams." *Religion and American Culture* 7, no. 1, (Winter, 1997): 27-60.

Catano, James V. "Entrepreneurial Masculinity: Re-tooling the Self-Made Man." *Journal of American & Comparative Cultures* 23, no. 2 (2000): 1-8.

Caudill, Susan, Ed Caudill, and Michael W. Singletary. "'Journalist Wanted': Trade-Journal Ads as Indicators of Professional Values." *Journalism Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (1987): 576-580, 633.

Cawelti, John. *Apostles of the Self-Made Man*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Chaktsiris, Mary G. "'Our Boys With the Maple Leafs on Their Shoulders and Straps': Masculinity, the Toronto Press, and the Outbreak of the South African War, 1899." *War & Society* 32, no. 1 (2013): 3-25.

Chalmers, David M. "The Muckrackers and the Growth of Corporate Power: A Study in Constructive Journalism," *The American Journal of Sociology and Economics* 18, no. 3 (1959): 295-311.

Chalmers, Floyd S. *Both Sides of the Street: One Man's Life in Business and the Arts in Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1983.

Chalmers, Floyd S. *A Gentleman of the Press*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1969.

Chandler, Alfred D., Jr. *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977.

Chapin, Patrick. "Late-Victorian Gentlemen Entrepreneurs Venturing into New World of Canadian Business: The Nestegg Mining Company, 1896-98." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 16 (2005): 169-199.

Chennells, David. *The Politics of Nationalism in Canada: Cultural Conflict Since 1760*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Church, Roy. "Salesmen and the Transformation of Selling in Britain and the US in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *The Economic History Review* 61, no. 3 (2008): 695-725.

Clark, Daniel A. *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press 2010.

Clawson, Mary Ann. *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Clement, Wallace. *The Canadian Corporate Élite: An Analysis of Economic Power*. Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1975.

Clement, Wallace. *Continental Corporate Power: Economic Elite Linkages Between Canada and the United States*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

Cohn, Jan. *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and the* Saturday Evening Post. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1970.

Connell, R.W. *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987.

Connell, *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.

Connell, R. W., and James W. Messerschmidt. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender Society.* 19 (2005): 829-859.

Cook, Ramsay. *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

Coopey, Richard and Peter Lyth, eds. *Business in Britain in the Twentieth Century: Decline and Renaissance?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Craig, Béatrice. *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists: The Rise of a Market Culture in Eastern Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Craig, Steve, ed. *Men, Masculinity and the Media*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1992.

Crane, Diana *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Crawford, Susan. "Public Attitudes in Canada Toward Unmarried Mothers, 1950-1996." *Past Imperfect* 6 (1997): 111-132.

Cronin, Mary M. "Trade Press Roles in Promoting Journalistic Professionalism, 1884-1917." *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 8 (1993): 227-238.

Cross, Gary. *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Cross, Gary. *Time and Money The Making of Consumer Culture*. New York and London: Routledge, 1993.

Cross, Gary and Peter Shergold. "'We Think We Are of the Oppressed': Gender, White Collar Work, and the Grievances of Late Nineteenth-Century Women." *Labor History* 28 (Winter 1987): 23-53.

Cruz, Jon and Justin Lewis, eds. *Viewing, Reading, Listening: Audiences and Cultural Reception*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994.

Cutlip, Scott M. *The Unseen Power: Public Relations, A History*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1994.

Cutlip, Scott M., Allen H. Center, and Glen M. Broom. *Effective Public Relations*. 9th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2006.

Dales, John M. *The Protective Tariff in Canada's Development*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.

Damon-Moore, Helen. *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the* Ladies' Home Journal *and the* Saturday Evening Post, *1880-1910*. Albany: New York State University Press, 1994.

Dampier, Laurence. "Early History of Smallman & Ingram, Limited." *Quarterly Review of Commerce* 3, no. 3 (1936): 131-139.

Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Davis, Clark. Company Men: White-Collar Life & Corporate Cultures in Los Angeles, 1892-1941. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Davis, Simone Weil. *Living Up to the Ads: Gender Fictions of the 1920s*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.

Dawson, Graham. *Selling Out or Buying In? Debating Consumerism in Vancouver and Victoria, 1945-1985*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.

Dawson, Graham. "The Blond Bedouin: Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and the Imagining of English-British Masculinity." In *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800*, edited by Michael Roper and John Tosh, 113-144. London: Routledge, 1991.

Dean, Hannah, Linda Perriton, Scott Taylor, and Mary Yeager, "Margins and Center: Gender and Feminism in Business History," *Business History* 66, no. 1 (2024): 1-13.

Desbarats, Peter. "The Special Role of Magazines in the History of Canadian Mass Media and National Development." In *Communication History in Canad*a, edited by Daniel J. Robinson. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Deslandes, Paul R. “Curing the Mind and Body in the Heart of the Canadian Rockies: Empire, Sexual Scandal and the Reclamation of Masculinity, 1880-1920s.” *Gender and History* 21, no.2 (2009): 358-379.

Deutsch, Tracy. *Building a Housewife’s Paradise: Gender, Politics, and American Grocery Stores in the Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Devlin, Athena. *Between Profits and Primitivism: Shaping White Middle-Class Masculinity in the United States, 1880-1917*. New York: Routledge.

Dewalt, Brian. “Printing Technology.” In *History of the Book in Canada, Volume II, 1840-1918*, edited by Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockheart Fleming, Gilles Gallichan, 89-100. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Distad, Merril. “Newspapers and Magazines.” In *History of the Book in Canada, Volume II, 1840-1918*, edited by Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockheart Fleming, Gilles Gallichan, 293-302. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004

Distad, N. Merrill and Linda M. Distad. “Canada.” In *The Periodicals of Queen Victoria’s Empire: An Exploration*, edited by J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, 61-174. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Donohue, Kathleen F. “What Gender is the Consumer? The Role of Gender Connotations in Defining the Political.” *Journal of American Studies* 33, no. 1 (1999): 19-44.

Dudley Edwards, Ruth. *The Pursuit of Reason:* The Economist, *1843-1993*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Dummitt, Christopher. *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007.

Drummond, Ian. Progress *Without Planning: The Economic History of Ontario from Confederation to the Second World War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Edwardson, Ryan. *Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Elfenbein, Julien. *Business Journalism: Its Function and Future*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1945.

Elmore, C. “Two Steps Forward and One Step Back: Coverage of Women Journalists in *Editor & Publisher* 1978 through 1988.” *American Journalism* 20, no. 4 (2004): 33-54.

Endres, K.L. “‘Help wanted – Female’: Editor & Publisher Frames a Civil Rights Issue.” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (2004): 7-21.

Endres, Kathleen L. "Ownership and Employment in Specialized Business Press." *Journalism Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (1988): 996-998.

Endres, Kathleen L. "Research Review: The Specialized Business Press." *The Electronic Journal of Communication* 4, no. 2-4 (1994): online. http://www.cios.org/EJCPUBLIC/004/2/004211.html.

Endres, Kathleen L. *Trade, Industrial, and Professional Periodicals of the United States*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994.

English, Bonnie. *A Cultural History of Fashion in the 20th Century.* New York: Berg, 2007.

Enstwistle, Joanne. *The Fashioned Body: Fashion Dress, and Modern Social Theory.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000

Errington, Elizabeth Jane. *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

Fairclough, Norman. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Fahrni, Magda. "Counting the Costs of Living: Gender, Citizenship, and a Politics of Prices in 1940s Montreal." *The Canadian Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (2002): 483-504.

Fahrni, Magda. "A Politics of Prices: Married Women and Economic Citizenship." In *Household Politics: Montreal Families and Postwar Reconstruction*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005. 108-123.

Fleming, Patricia Lockhart and Sandra Alston. *Early Canadian Printing: A Supplement to Marie Tremaine's A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints, 1751-1800*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Forsyth, David P. *The Business Press in America, 1750-1865*. New York: Chilton Books, 1964.

Forster, Ben. "Finding the Right Size: Markets and Competition in Mid-and Late Nineteenth Century Ontario." In *Patterns in Ontario's Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, edited by R. Hall, W. Westfall, and L.S. MacDowell, 150-173. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988.

Foust, James C. and Katherine A. Bradshaw. "Something for the Boys: Framing Images of Women in Broadcasting Magazine in the 1950s." *Journalism History* 33, no. 2 (2007): 93-100.

Fox, Stephen R. *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Frager, Ruth A. *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Jewish Labour Movement of Toronto, 1900-1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Francis, Martin, "The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (September 2002): 637-652.

Freebury, Richard. "'Pirates' or 'Honourable Men': British Perceptions of American Attitudes to Literary Property as Reflected in The Bookseller, 1858-1891." *Publishing History* 63 (2008): 5-66.

French, Michael and Andrew Popp. "'Ambassadors of Commerce': The Commercial Traveler in British Culture, 1800-1939." *The Business History Review* 82, no. 4 (2008): 789-814.

Freidman, Walter A. *Birth of a Salesman: The Transformation of Selling in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Friesen, Gerald. *Citizens and Nation: An Essay on History, Communication, and Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Friesen, Gerald. "Imports and Exports in the Manitoba Economy, 1870-1890." *Manitoba History* 16 (Autumn 1988): 1-9.

Gamber, Wendy. *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860-1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Gamber, Wendy. "Gendered Concerns: Thoughts on the Business and the History of Women." *Business and Economic History* 23, no. 1 (1994): 129-140.

Gamber, Wendy. "A Gendered Enterprise: Placing Nineteenth-Century Businesswomen in History." *Business History Review* 72, no. 2 (1998): 188-218.

Geller, Peter. "Creating Corporate Images of the Fur Trade: The Hudson's Bay Company and Public Relations in the 1930s.' In *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference, Mackinac Island, Michigan, 1991*, edited by Jennifer Brown, William John Eccles, and Donald P. Heldman, 409-426. Michigan: Mackinac State Historical Parks, 1991.

Gerson, Carol and Jacques Michon. *The History of the Book in Canada Volume III, 1918-1980*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

Gervais, Gaetan. "Le commerce de détail au Canada (1870-1880)," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 33, no. 4 (1980): 521-556.

Gidney, R.D and W.P.J. Millar. *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Gilbert, Liette and Leela Viswanathan."Covering Multiculturalism: Popular Images and the Politics of a Nation as Reflected on the Covers of *Maclean's* and *L'Actualité*." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 39, no. 3 (2007): 189-205.

Gilmore, Paul. *The Genuine Article: Mass Culture and American Literary Manhood*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.

Gossage, Peter and Robert Rutherdale. *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place*. Vancouver: University of Vancouver Press, 2018.

Goulas, Sean. "Produce and Protection: Coven Garden Market, the Socioeconomic Elite, and the Downtown Core in London, Ontario, 1843-1915." *Urban History Review* 25, no. 1 (1996): 3-18.

Gourney, Isabelle and France Vanlaethem, eds. *Montreal Metropolis, 1880-1930*. Montréal: Éditions du Boréal, 1998.

Gower, Karla. "US Corporate Public Relations in the Progressive Era." *Journal of Communication Management* 12, no. 4 (2008): 305-318.

Greene, Theodore P. *The Changing Models of Success in American Magazines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Griffin, Ben. "Hegemonic Masculinity as a Historical Problem." *Gender & History* 30, no. 2 (2018): 377-400.

Gruber Garvey, Ellen. *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s-1910s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Guard, Julie. *Radical Housewives: Price Wars and Food Politics in Mid-Twentieth-Century Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019.

Guard, Julie. "Women Worth Watching: Radical Housewives in Cold War Canada." In *Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies*, edited by Gary Kinsman, Deiter K. Buse, and Merecedes Steedman, 73-88. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000.

Hall, Kristin. "Selling Sexual Certainty? Advertising Lysol as a Contraceptive in the United States and Canada, 1919-1939." *Enterprise and Society* 14, no. 1 (2013): 71-98.

Hallman, Dianne M. "Introduction: A Special Issue on Biographies of Women." *Ontario History* 84, no.4 (1992): 257-261.

Hamelin, Jean and Yves Roby, *Histoire économique du Québec, 1851-1896*. Montreal: Fides, 1971.

Hande, D'Arcy. "Saskatchewan Merchants in the Great Depression: Regionalism and the Crusade against Big Business." *Saskatchewan History* 43, no. 1 (1991): 21-33.

Harris, Richard. "The Birth of the North American Home Improvement Store, 1905-1929." *Enterprise & Society* 10, no. 4 (2009): 687-728.

Hart, Michael. *A Trading Nation: Canadian Trade Policy from Colonialism to Globalization*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002.

Hastings, Paula. "Branding Canada: Consumer Culture and the Development of Popular Nationalism in the Early Twentieth Century." In *Canadas of the Mind: The Making and Unmaking of Canadian Nationalisms in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Norman Hilmer and Adam Chapnick, 134-158. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.

Heron, Craig. "The Second Industrial Revolution in Canada, 1890-1930." In *Class, Community, and the Labour Movement*, edited by Deian Hopkin and Gregory Kealey. Aberyleyth, Wales: Llafur and Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1989.

Heron, Craig. *Working in Steel: The Early Years in Canada, 1883-1935*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Hilkey, Judy. *Character is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America*. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1997.

Holden, Charles. "Manliness and the Culture of Self-Improvement: The University of North Carolina in the 1890s-1900s," *History of Education Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2018): 122-151.

Hollow, Matthew. "A Wesleyan Work Ethic? Entrepreneurship and Weber's Protestant Work Ethic in the Case of Isaac Holden, c. 1807-1897." *Business History* 64, no. 7 (2022): 1346-1368.

Holman, Andrew. *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Ontario Towns*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.

Hosgood, Christopher. "'Mercantile Monasteries: Shops, Shop Assistants, and Shop Life in Late-Victorian Britain," *Journal of British Studies* 38 (July 1999): 322-352.

Hosgood, Christopher. "The Shopkeeper's 'Friend': The Retail Trade Press in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain." *Victorian Periodical Review* 25, no. 4 (1992): 164-172.

Horowitz, Roger, ed. *Boys and their Toys? Masculinity, Class, and Technology in America*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Horrocks, R., *Male Myths and Icons: Masculinity in Popular Culture*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.

Howard, Vicki. *From Main Street to Mall: The Rise and Fall of the American Department Store*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

Howard, Vicki. "'The Biggest Small-Town Store in America': Independent Retailers and the Rise of Consumer Culture." *Enterprise and Society* 9, no. 3 (2008): 457-486.

Hubbard, Philippa. "Trade Cards in 18th-Century Consumer Culture: Circulation, and Exchange in Commercial and Collecting Spaces," *Material Culture Review* 74-75 (2012): 1-17.

Hulse, Elizabeth. *A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, Publishers, Booksellers and the Allied Trades, 1798-1900*. Toronto: Anson-Cartwright Editions, 1982.

Hunt, Aeron. *Personal Business: Character and Commerce in Victorian Literature and Commerce*. Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2014.

Hunt, Alan. "Measuring Morals: The Beginnings of the Social Survey Movement in Canada, 1913-1917." *Social History/Histoire sociale* 35 (2002): 171-194.

Hrynyk, Nicholas. "Strutting Like a Peacock: Masculinity, Consumerism, and Men's Fashion in Toronto, 1966-72." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 3 (2015): 76-110.

Irvine, Dean. *Editing Modernity: Women and Little-Magazine Cultures in Canada, 1916-1956*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Jackson, Nancy S. and Jane S. Gaskel. "White Collar Vocationalism: The Rise of Commercial Education in Ontario and British Columbia." *Curriculum Inquiry* 17, no.2 (1987): 177-201.

Jackson, Paul. *One of the Boys: Homosexuality in the Military during World War II*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004.

Jackson, Peter, Nick Stevenson, and Kate Brooks. *Making Sense of Men's Magazines*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.

Jasen, Patricia. *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Jay, Robert. *The Trade Card in Nineteenth-Century America*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987.

Jobling, Paul. *Man Appeal: Advertising, Modernism, and Menswear*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2005.

John, Richard R. "Elaborations, Revisions Dissents: Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.'s *The Visible Hand* after Twenty Years." *Business History Review* 71, no. 2 (1997): 151-201.

Johnson, Russell. “Partisan Politics, Market Research, and Media Buying in Canada, 1920.” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 83, no.4 (2006): 917-932.

Johnson, Russell. *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Jones, Claire L. “(Re-) Reading Medical Trade Catalogues: The Uses of Professional Advertising in Medical Practice 1870-1914,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 86, no. 3 (2012): 361-393.

Kaestle, Carl F. and Janice A. Radway. *A History of the Book in America. Volume 4. Print in Motion, The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880-1940*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

Keshen, Jeff. *Censorship and Propaganda during Canada’s Great War*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996.

Kesterson, W.H. *A History of Journalism in Canada*. Ottawa: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.

Kimmel, Micheal. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. New York: The Free Press, 1996.

Kimmel, Micheal, Jeff Hearn, and R.W. Connell, eds. *Handbook or Studies on Men & Masculinities*. London: Sage, 2004.

Kjaer, Peter and Tore Slaatta, eds. *Mediating Business: The Expansion of Business Journalism*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 2007.

Klassen, Henry C. *Eye on the Future: Business People in Calgary and the Bow Valley, 1870-1900*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2002.

Klein, Alice and Wayne Roberts. “Besieged Innocence: The ‘Problem’ and Problems of Working Women in Toronto, 1896-1914.” In *Women at Work, 1850-1930*, 4th ed., edited by Janice Acton, Penny Goldsmith, and Bonnie Shepard., 211-260. Toronto: Women’s Press, 1974.

Kobrak, Christopher. “The Concept of Reputation in Business History.” *Business History Review* 87, no. 4 (2013): 763-786.

Korinek, Valerie. “The *Chatelaine* Legacy,” *Canadian Woman Studies* 26, no. 7 (2007): 14-21.

Korinek, Valerie. *Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Kwolek-Folland, Angel. *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870-1930*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

Kwolek-Folland, Angel. *Incorporating Women: A History of Women and Business in the United States*. New York: Twayne, 1998.

Laib, Janet. "The Trade Press," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (1955): 31-44.

Lamonde, Yvon, Patricia Lockhart Fleming, and Fiona A. Black. *History of the Book in Canada,* Volume II*, 1840-1918*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.

Lamoreaux, Naomi, Daniel Raff, and Peter Temin. "Beyond Markets and Hierarchies: Toward a New Synthesis of American Business History." *American Historical Review* 108 (2003): 404-433.

Lanning, Robert. *The National Album: Collective Biography and the Formation of the Canadian Middle Class*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1996.

Leach, William. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993.

Lears, Jackson. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.

Lears, Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.

Lears, Jackson. "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities."*American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 567-593.

Lewis, Robert. *Manufacturing Montreal: The Making of an Industrial Landscape, 1850-1930*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Lewis, Robert. "The Segregated City: Class, Residential Patterns, and the Development of Industrial Districts in Montreal, 1861 and 1901." *Urban History Review* 17 (1991): 123-152.

Lewis, Susan Ingalls. "Beyond Horatio Alger: Breaking through Gendered Assumptions about Business 'Success' in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America." *Business and Economic History Online* 24, no. 1 (1995): 97-105.

Lipartito, Kenneth. "Culture and the Practice of Business History," *Business and Economic History* 24, no. 2 (1995): 1-41.

Lipartito, Kenneth. "Mediating Reputation: Credit Reporting Systems in American History." *Business History Review* 4, no. 87 (2013): 655-677.

Liverant, Bettina. “The Promise of a More Abundant Life: Consumer Society and the Rise of the Managerial State.” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 19, no. 1 (2008): 229-251.

Loch-Drake, Cynthia. “‘I am still the Supt. in this plant’: Negotiating Middle-Class Masculinity in Edmonton Packinghouses in an Era of Union Strength, 1947-66.” In *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place*, edited by Peter Gossage and Robert Rutherdale, 85-106. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018.

Loeb, Lori. *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Loeb, Lori. “George Fulford and the Victorian Patent Medicine Men: Quack Mercenaries or Smilesian Entrepreneurs?” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 16 (1999): 125-145.

Loo, Tina. *States of Nature: Conserving Canada’s Wildlife in the Twentieth Century*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006.

Loo, Tina. “Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2001): 296-319.

Lowe, Graham S. *Women in the Administrative Revolution*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1987.

MacDonald, Mary Lu. “The Export/Import Trade in Ideas: The Role of United Kingdom Periodicals in Shaping Canadian Political and Social, As Well As Literary, Discourse in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century.” *Epilogue* 13 (1998): 21-28.

MacDonald, Mary Lu. “English and French Language Periodicals and the Development of a Literary Culture in Early Victorian Canada.” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 26, no.4 (1993): 221-227.

MacGregor, Robert M. “The Distorted Mirror: Images of Visible Minority Women in Print Advertising.” *Atlantis* 15, no. 1 (1989): 137-143.

Mackintosh, Philip Gordon and Clyde R. Forsberg. “Performing the Lodge: Masonry, Masculinity, and Nineteenth-Century North American Moral Geography.” *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 451-472.

Mackenzie, David. *Arthur Irwin: A Biography*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Mackenzie, David. “The Bren Gun Scandal and the Maclean Publishing Company’s Investigation of Canadian Defence Contracts, 1938-1940.” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 26, no. 3 (1991): 140-162.

MacLeod, Malcolm and Cameron MacLeod Gibson. "Heaven is Herds and Crops: The Life and Career of Agricultural Editor Malcolm MacLeod, 1878-1935." *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 6 (2003): 17-39.

Mallory, Enid. *Over the Counter: The Country Store in Canada*. Toronto: Fitzherny &Whiteside, 1985.

Mallory, J.R. "Biography, History, and Social Science in Canada: Different Questions, Different Answers." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 15, no. 4 (1980): 125-128.

Mandell, Nikki. "Will the Real Businessman/Businesswoman Please Stand Up? The Historical Implications of Regendering Business Success in the Early Twentieth Century." *Enterprise and Society* 15, no. 3 (2014): 499-533.

Mangan, J.A. and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

Manguel, Alberto. *A History of Reading*. New York: Viking Press, 1996.

Marchand, Roland. *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Marchand, Roland. *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Marks, Lynne. "'A Fragment of Heaven on Earth?' Religion, Gender, and the Family in Turn-of-the-Century Canadian Church Periodicals." *Journal of Family History* 26, no.2 (2001): 251-271.

Marks, Lynne. *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Small Town Ontario*. Montreal: McGill- Queen's University Press, 1996.

McCalla, Douglas. *Consumers in the Bush: Shopping in Rural Upper Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015.

McCalla, Douglas. *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

McCalla, Douglas. *The Upper Canada Trade, 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanans' Business*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.

McCusker, John. "European Bills of Entry and Marine Lists: Early Commercial Publications and the Origins of the Business Press, Part I: European Bills of Entry." *Harvard Library Bulletin* 31, no. 3 (1984): 209-255.

McCusker, John J. “The Business Press in England before 1775.” *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 8, no. 3 (1986): 205-231.

McCusker, John J. “The Early History of Lloyd’s List.” *Historical Research: Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 64 (1991): 427-431.

McCusker, John. J. “The Demise of Distance: The Business Press and the Origins of the Information Revolution in the Early Modern Atlantic World.” *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 2 (2005): 295-321.

McCusker, John J. and Cora Gravesteijn, *The Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism: The Commodity Price Currents, Exchange Rate Currents, and Money Currents of Early Modern Europe*. Amsterdam: NEHA, 1991.

McKillop, A.B. *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1979.

Miller, Nathan. *New World Coming: The 1920s and the Making of Modern America*. New York: Scribner Press, 2003.

Mills, Rachel. “Masculinity, Entrepreneurship and Religion: Lumberman C.T. Lowen of Steinback, Manitoba.” *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 23 (2005): 213-229.

Mitchinson, Wendy. *The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Modleski, Tanya, ed. *Studies in Entertainment: Critical Approaches to Mass Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

Monod, David. *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1930*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Monod, David. “Bay Days: The Managerial Revolution and the Hudson’s Bay Company Department Stores, 1912-1939.” *Historical Papers* 21 (1986): 173-196.

Morgan, Cecilia. *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Moss, David J. “‘Circular to Bankers’: The Role of a Prototypical Trade Journal in the Evolution of Middle-Class Professional Consciousness.” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 15, no. 3 (1992): 129-136.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines,* Volume I, *1741-1850*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1930.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines,* Volume III, *1865-1885*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines,* Volume IV, *1885-1905*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines, Volume V: Sketches of 21 Magazines, 1905-1930*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Moyer, M.S. "The Roots of Large Scale Marketing," *Journal of Marketing* 26, no. 4 (1962): 55-59.

Myers, Cayce. "Early Corporate Public Relations: Understanding the 'Publicity Agent' in American Corporate Communications, 1902-1918." *American Journalism* 32, no. 4 (2015): 412-433.

Naylor, R.T. *The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.

Neal, Jessie H. "A Review of Business Paper History," In *N.W. Ayer & on Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, 1922): 1245-1246.

Neal, Larry. "The Rise of a Financial Press: London and Amsterdam, 1681-1810." *Business History* 30, no. 1 (1988): 163-178.

Nerbas, Don. *Dominion of Capital: The Politics of Big Business and the Crisis of the Canadian Bourgeoisie, 1914-1947*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Neufeld, E.P. *The Financial System in Canada: Its Growth and Development*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972.

Nicholas, Jane. "The Carnival Business in Canada: Paternalism, Belonging, and Freak Show Labour." In *Canadian Carnival Freaks and the Extraordinary Body, 1900-1970s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018. 78-114

Nicholas, Jane. *The Modern Girl: Feminine Modernities, the Body, and Commodities in the 1920s.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.

Nicholas, Jane. "Representing the Modern Man: Beauty Culture and Masculinity in Early Twentieth Century Canada." In *Canadian Men and Masculinities: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Christopher J. Greig and Wayne J. Martino." Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 2012.

Nicholas, Jane. "Gendering the Jubilee: Gender and Modernity in the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation Celebrations, 1927." *The Canadian Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (2009): 247-274.

Niosi, Jorge. *Canadian Capitalism: A Study of Power in the Canadian Business Establishment*. Translated by Robert Chodos. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1981.

Noel, Jan. "Defrocking Dad: Masculinity and Dress in Montreal, 1700-1867." In *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, edited by Alexandra Palmer, 68-89. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Nourie, Alan and Barbara Nourie, eds. *American Mass Market Magazines*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

Nye, David E. *Image Worlds: Corporate Identities at General Electric, 1890-1930*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1985.

Ohmann, Richard M. "Magazine Culture, ca. 1900." *Reviews in American History* 24, no.1 (1996): 51-55.

Ohmann, Richard. *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century*. New York: Verso Press, 1996.

Olegario, Rowena and Christopher McKenna. "Introduction: Corporate Relations in Historical Perspective." *Business History Review* 4, no. 87 (2013): 643-654.

Owram, Douglas. *The Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Palmer, Alexandra, ed. *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Parker, George. *The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

Parr, Joy. *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Parr, Joy. *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Parr, Joy, "Gender History and Historical Practice." In *Gender and History in Canada*, edited by Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, 8-28. Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1996. 8-28.

Passerini, Luisa. "Transforming Biography: From the Claim to Objectivity to Intersubjective Plurality." *Rethinking History* 4, no.3 (2000): 413-416.

Peck, Abe. "Business-to-Business Media: The Informational Needs of Professional Life." In *The Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research: The Future of the Magazine Form*, edited by David Abrahamson and Marcia R. Prior-Miller, 98-118. New York: Routledge, 2015.

Peiss, Kathy. *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture*. New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt, and Company, 1998.

Peiss, Kathy 'Vital Industry' and Women's Ventures: Conceptualizing Gender in Twentieth Century Business History," *Business History Review* 72, no.2 (1998): 219-224.

Pendergast, Tom. *Creating Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950*. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2000.

Penfold, Steve. *The Donut: A Canadian History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Peterson, Theodore. *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964.

Phenix, Patricia. Etonians: *The Story of the Family Behind the Family*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2002.

Plaissance, Patrick Lee. "A Gang of Pecksniffs Grows Up: The Evolution of Journalism Ethics Discourse in *The Journalist* and *Editor and Publisher*." *Journalism Studies* 6, no. 4 (2005): 479-491.

Popp, Andrew and Michael French. "'Practically the Uniform of the Tribe': Dress Codes Among Commercial Travelers." *Enterprise and Society* 11, no. 3 (2010): 437-467.

Porter, Glenn and Harold C. Livesay, *Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of Nineteenth-Century Marketing*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.

Putney, Clifford. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America,1880-1920*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Reed, David. *The Popular Magazine in Britain and the United States, 1880-1960*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Richards, Thomas. *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*. Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Riley, Sam G. *Consumer Magazines of the British Isles*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1993.

Robinson, Daniel. "Marketing Gum, Making Meanings: Wrigley in North America, 1890-1930." *Enterprise & Society* 5, no. 1 (2004): 26-38.

Rodgers, Roland R. "'Journalism is a Loose-Jointed Thing': A Content Analysis of Editor & Publisher's Discussion of Journalistic Conduct Prior to the Canons of Journalism, 1901-1922." *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 22, no. 1 (2007): 66-82.

Romanow, Walter, I. and Walter C. Soderlund. *Media Canada: An Introductory Analysis*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitmann, 1992.

Rose, Sonya O. *What is Gender History?* Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2010.

Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Roush, Chris. "Business Journalism," *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, edited by Christopher H. Sterling, 225-229. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 2009.

Roush, Chris. *Profits and Losses: Business Journalism and Its Role in Society*. Portland, Oregon: Marion Street Press, 2011

Rudy, Jarret. *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.

Rutenbeck, Jeff. "Triumph of News Over Ideas in American Journalism: The Trade Journal Debate, 1872-1915." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1994): 63-79.

Rutherdale, Robert. "Fatherhood, Masculinity, and the Good Life During Canada's Baby Boom, 1945-1965." *Journal of Family History* 24, no. 3 (1999): 351-373.

Rutherford, Paul. *The Making of the Canadian Media*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978.

Rutherford, Paul. *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Scharlott, Bradford W. "The Role of the Business Press in the Commercial Life of Cincinnati, 1831-1912." *Ohio History* 119 (2012): 61-88.

Scott A. Sandage. *Born Losers: A History of Failure in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Sangster, Joan. "Consuming Issues: Women on the Left, Political Protest, and the Organization of Homemakers, 1920-1960." In *Framing Our Past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O'Rourke, 240-247. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

Santink, Joy. *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of His Department Store*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Schneirov, Matthew. *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America 1893-1914*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Scholes, Robert. *Protocols of Reading*. London: Yale University Press, 1989.

Schultze, Quentin J. "The Trade Press of Advertising: Its Content and Contribution to the Profession." In *Information Sources in Advertising History*, edited by Richard Pollay. 47-62. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Scott, Joan Wallach. "Comment: Conceptualizing Gender in American Business History," *Business History Review* 72, no.2 (1998): 242-249.

Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Scranton, Philip. *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Scranton, Philip. "Beyond Chandler?" *Enterprise & Society* 9, no. 3 (2008): 426-429.

Scranton, Philip and Patrick Freidenson. *Reimagining Business History*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013.

Ronald W. Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States From 1607 to the Present*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Seifert, Carole, comp. "An Inventory of Articles Concerning Women in *Maclean's*, 1905-1920." *Resources for Feminist Research* 8 no. 2 (1979): 60-67.

Shattock, Joanne and Michael Wolff, eds. *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Smith, Michelle Denise. "Soup Cans and Love Slaves: National Politics and Cultural Authority in the Editing and Authorship of Canadian Pulp Magazines." *Book History* 9 (2006): 261-289.

Smith, Ronald B. "The Genesis of the Business Press in the United States," *Journal of Marketing* 19 (October 1954): 146-151.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Sotiron, Minko. *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

Spears, Timothy B. *100 Years on the Road: The Traveling Salesman in American Culture*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.

Spellman, Susan V. *Cornering the Market: Independent Grocers and Innovation in American Small Business*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Spencer, David R. "Canada's Victorian Press: Influences from Home and Abroad." In *The Rise of Western Journalism*, Ross F. Collins and E.M. Palmegiano eds. North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 2007.

Stoker, Kevin and Brad L. Rawlins. "The 'Light' of Publicity in the Progressive Era: From Searchlight to Flashlight." *Journalism History* 30, no. 4 (2005): 177-188.

Strasser, Susan. *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market*. Washington: Smithsonian Books, 1989.

Strasser, Susan, "'The Smile that Pays': The Culture of Traveling Salesmen, 1880-1920." In *The Mythmaking Frame of Mind: Social Imagination and American Culture*, edited by James Gilbert, Amy Gilman, Donald M. Scott, and Joan Wallach Scott, 155-177. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1993.

Strom, Sharon Hartman. *Fortune, Fame, and Desire: Promoting the Self in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016.

Stein, Jeremy. "Dislocation: Changing Experiences of Time and Space in an Industrializing Nineteenth-Century Ontario Town." *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 14, no. 1 (1999): 115-130.

Stephenson, Harry E. and Carlton McNaught. *The Story of Advertising in Canada: A Chronicle of Fifty Years*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1940.

Sullivan, Paul W. "G.D. Crain Jr. and the Founding of *Advertising Age*." *Journalism History* 1, no. 3 (1974): 94-95.

Sumpter, Randall S. "Learning the 'Outsider' Profession: Serial Advice Columns in The Journalist." *American Journalism* 27, no. 3 (2010): 7-26.

Sutherland, Fraser. *The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines, 1789-1989*. Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1989.

Sweeny, Robert. *Guide to the History and Records of Selected Montreal Businesses Before 1947.* Montreal: Centre de Recherche En Histoire Economique du Canada francais, 1978.

Taylor, Graham D. *The Rise of Canadian Business*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Taylor, Graham D. and Peter A. Baskerville. *A Concise History of Business in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Taylor, James. "Privacy, Publicity, and Reputation: How the Press Regulated the Market in Nineteenth-Century England." *Business History Review* 4, no. 87 (2013): 679-701.

Tebbel, John and Mary Ellen Zuckerman. *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Tedlow, Richard S. *Keeping the Corporate Image: Public Relations and Business 1900-1950*. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1979.

Tedlow, Richard S. *New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1990.

Tippett, Maria. *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Tosh, John, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. London: Yale University Press, 1999.

Tosh, John. "Masculinity in an Industrializing Society: Britain 1800-1914," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 330-342.

Tosh, John. "What Should Historians Do With Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth Century Britain." *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994): 179-202.

Traves, Tom, ed. *Essays in Canadian Business History*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984.

Turbin, Carole. "Collars and Consumers: Changing Images of American Manliness and Business." *Enterprise and Society* 1, no.3 (2000): 507-535.

Turbin, Carole. "Fashioning the American Man: The Arrow Collar Man, 1907-1931." *Gender & History* 14, no. 3 (2002): 470-491.

Vance, Jonathan. *A History of Canadian Culture*. Toronto University Press, 2009.

Van Die, Margaret. "A 'Christian Businessman' in the Eastern Townships: The Convergence of Precept and Practice in Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Gender Construction." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 10 (1999): 103-127.

Van Die, Margaret. *Religion, Family, and Community in Victorian Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.

Vann, J. Don and Rosemary T. VanArsdel. *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Verrette, Michelle and Yvan Lamonde. "Literacy and Print Culture," in *History of the Book in Canada, Volume II, 1840-1918*, edited by Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockheart Fleming, and Fiona A. Black. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.

Vipond, Mary. "Canadian Nationalism and the Plight of Canadian Magazines in the 1920s." *Canadian Historical Review* 58, no.1 (1977): 81-95.

Vipond, Mary. "The Canadian Author's Association in the 1920s: A Case Study in Cultural Nationalism." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 15, no.1 (1980): 68-79.

Vipond, Mary. *The Mass Media in Canada*. Toronto: Lorimer, 1989.

Walden, Keith. *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of Late Victorian Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Walden, Keith. "Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920." *Canadian Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (1989): 285-310.

Walker, Nancy A. *Creating Our Mothers' World: American Women's Magazines*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2000.

Walker Laird, Pamela. *Pull: Networking and Success Since Benjamin Franklin*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Walker Laird, Pamela. *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Warsh, Cheryl. "*The Canadian Cigar and Tobacco Journal* in the Forties: A Remembrance," *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 21, no. 1(2006): 23-49.

Warsh, Cheryl K. "Smoke and Mirrors: Gender Representation in North American Tobacco and Alcohol Advertisements before 1950." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 31, no. 62 (1998): 183-222.

Warsh, Cheryl Krasnick and Dan Malleck, eds. *Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behaviour and Consumerism before the Baby Boom*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013.

Weiss, Richard. *The American Myth of Success*. New York: Basic Books, 1969.

Westfall, William. *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.

Whitehead, Stephen M and Barrett, Frank J., eds, *The Masculinities Reader*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.

Wicke, Jennifer. *Advertising Fictions: Literature, Advertising, and Social Reading*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Wilkinson, Kenton T. and Patrick F. Merle. "The Merits and Challenges of Using Business Press and Trade Journal Reports in Academic Research on Media Industries." *Communication, Culture & Critique* 6, no. 3 (2013): 415-431.

Wilson, Harold S. *McClure's Magazine and the Muckrakers*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Wiseman, John A. "Silent Companions: The Dissemination of Books and Periodicals in Nineteenth Century Ontario." *Publishing History* 12 (1982): 17-50.

Wood, James. *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896-1921*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010.

Woods, Shirley. *The Molson Saga, 1763-1983: The Triumphs and Tragedies of the Legendary Brewing Company Through Six Generations*. Toronto: Doubleday, 1983.

Wright, Cynthia. "Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance: Writing Gender into the History of Consumption." In *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, edited by Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Wyllie, Irvine J. *The Self-Made Man in America.* New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1954.

Yeager, Mary ed. *Women in Business*, vols. I-III. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 1999.

Young, Brian. "The Persistence of Customary Law: Married Women as Traders." In *The Politics of Codification: The Lower Canadian Civil Code of 1866*. 141-156. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.

Young, James Harvey. *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulation.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960.

Zhang, Bohai. "'The Development of Business-to-Business Magazines in China." *Publishing Research Quarterly* 24, no 1 (2008): 54-58.

E) Unpublished Secondary Sources

Braggins, Donna. "'Maclean's': The Accidental Nationalist: How Hustling for Ads Built a National Icon." York University Unpublished M.A. Thesis, 2008.

Brush, Philipa Mary. "'This Feminine Invasion': Women and the Workplace in Canadian Magazines, 1900-1930." University of Alberta Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, 2000.

Capel, Gordon Matthew Donald. "'Damned If They Do and Damned If They Don't': The Inferiority Complex, Nationalism, and *Maclean's* Music Coverage, 1967-1995. University of Waterloo Unpublished M.A. Thesis, 2008

Saint-Germain, Yves. "The Genesis of the French-Language Business Press and Journalists in Quebec." PhD Diss: University of Delaware, 1975.

Stevens, Kimberly Elisa. "Flight of the White Feather: The Expansion of the White Feather Movement throughout the World War One British Commonwealth." Georgia Southern University Unpublished M.A. Thesis, 2013.