The Newspaperman and the Tabloid:
Recovering the History of Philip H. Daniels and *Justice Weekly*

Mary Alison Jacques
Art History and Communication Studies
McGill University, Montreal
June 2014

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

To others who wish to write, talk or televise us or our paper—all we ask is that you BE TRUTHFUL ABOUT IT, make sure of your facts and not pick on one or two solitary items in the paper but JUDGE IT AS A WHOLE.

–Philip H. Daniels, *Justice Weekly*, 1969

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Abstract

Justice Weekly was a tabloid newspaper published in Toronto, Canada, from 1946 to 1972. Like other postwar English-language tabloids, it contained police and court news, horse racing information, and an oppositional orientation to the mainstream press. However, under publisher-editor Philip H. Daniels, it also published content that broke new ground in terms of sexuality and culture. This dissertation is concerned with the biography of Daniels, who alone built and shaped the tabloid, and the previously unexplored history of *Justice Weekly*. Daniels borrowed from the past to create a newspaper with radical—if not necessarily politically progressive—elements; this dissertation examines three of those elements. First, letters to the editor in *Justice Weekly* were primarily stories of corporal punishment, which resembled centuries-old erotic flagellation fiction and correspondence. Second, the tabloid's column of personal advertisements came to be occupied by individuals with marginalized sexual desires, such as sadomasochism and mate-swapping. Third, Daniels revived an early method of newsgathering—that is, exchanges with other periodicals—to republish writing by two groups far outside of the social mainstream: prison inmates and homosexuals. At the same time, Daniels constructed a morally conservative editorial stance that was at odds with his paper's pioneering content. While the Canadian tabloid press has received some scholarly attention, little has been paid specifically to *Justice Weekly*. While Daniels's paper has been characterized (and dismissed) as a sleazy scandal sheet, archival research and textual analysis show it to be significant in the history of postwar print culture and sexuality in Canada.

Résumé

Justice Weekly est un tabloïde canadien publié à Toronto entre 1946 et 1972. Tout comme les autres tabloïdes anglophones de la période d'après-guerre, il traitait de l'actualité judiciaire et policière, il contenait des renseignements sur les courses de chevaux, et il entretenait une relation d'opposition face à la presse traditionnelle. Toutefois, sous la direction de l'éditeur et rédacteur en chef, Philip H. Daniels, il présentait également un contenu novateur sur la sexualité et la culture. Dans la présente thèse, nous nous penchons sur la biographie de Daniels qui, à lui seul, a mis sur pied et façonné *Justice Weekly* et nous examinons l'histoire jusqu'ici inexplorée du tabloïde. Daniels s'est inspiré du passé pour créer un journal empreint d'éléments radicaux—mais non forcément progressistes; la présente thèse étudie trois de ces éléments. Tout d'abord, les lettres à l'éditeur publiées par *Justice Weekly* relataient principalement des histoires de punitions corporelles s'apparentant à la correspondance et aux œuvres de fiction séculaires sur la flagellation érotique. En second lieu, la rubrique des petites annonces personnelles du tabloïde a vu ses lignes remplies par des personnes aux désirs sexuels marginaux tels que le sadomasochisme et l'échangisme. En dernier lieu, Daniels a fait renaître une des premières méthodes de collecte de renseignements journalistiques, c'est-à-dire les échanges de textes avec d'autres périodiques, dans le but de republier les écrits de deux catégories de personnes très en marge de la société : les détenus et les homosexuels. Parallèlement, Daniels a élaboré une ligne éditoriale moralement conservatrice

qui contrastait avec le contenu avant-gardiste de son journal. Si la presse tabloïde canadienne a attiré l'attention d'un certain nombre de chercheurs, peu d'entre eux se sont concentrés sur *Justice Weekly* en particulier. Bien que le journal de Daniels ait été étiqueté (et mis à l'écart) comme un journal à scandales sordide, le dépouillement des archives et l'analyse textuelle démontrent qu'il représente un volet important de l'histoire de la presse écrite et de la sexualité dans le Canada d'après-guerre.

Acknowledgments

It is a cliché because it is true: behind any single author is an invaluable support network of individuals and organizations. I am grateful for all the help I received over the course of this fascinating, rewarding, and arduous endeavour.

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the Faculty of Arts at McGill University, the Beaverbrook Foundation, and Media@McGill provided much-appreciated financial support in the form of scholarships, research grants, and travel grants.

I did research for this dissertation at a number of locations, and I am grateful to all of the librarians and archivists who helped me to find what I was looking for—especially those who helped from a distance. I would not have been able to produce what I did without the staff at the Archives of Ontario; the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives; the CBC Radio Archives; the City of Toronto Archives; the Jewish East End Celebration Society, London; the Kinsey Institute for Research on Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Indiana University; the Leather Archives and Museum, Chicago; Library and Archives Canada; the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, University of Southern California; the

Simcoe County Archives; the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto; the Toronto Reference Library, Special Collections; and Veterans' Affairs Canada. I am particularly indebted to Howard Mammon of Toronto Hebrew Memorial Parks for enabling me to make a valuable connection. Thanks also to Carrie Rentschler for the opportunity to bounce my project off the students in her class, to Sophie-Audrey Désautels for translating my abstract into French, and to Chandra Wong for creating the historical map on page 29.

I am grateful to the individuals who shared with me their recollections of Philip Hirschoff Daniels, whether in person, on the phone, or by email: Ronald Davis, Danny Finkleman, Anita (Gold) Green, Merrijoy Kellner, R. A. (Dick) Nichols, Jeff Star, and the late Gwyn "Jocko" Thomas.

Will Straw, my supervisor, has been nothing but generous with his time, help, and support. He has had my back on this project for longer than I care to admit. Daniel Robinson continues to be a source of encouragement and great ideas. If Will is my coach, Daniel is head cheerleader.

I can't possibly thank by name all the friends and family who have supported me—even when they weren't sure what it was that I was actually doing. My parents, Art and Elsie Jacques, did not get to see me finish this degree, but they always encouraged me and believed that I could, and finally would, do it. For that I am so grateful. To Max, who was born between chapters 4 and 5: You don't know it yet, but you inspire me to do good work and to finish what I start. And to Bill Hodgson, who has somehow had confidence in me this whole time, even when I had none: Thank you for everything.

Introduction

Justice Weekly defies easy description. The sixteen-page weekly newspaper, published in Toronto, Canada, from 1946 to 1972, has been described at various times as a scandal sheet, a mining journal, and a "pseudo-homophile" publication. It has also been too easily dismissed as a sensational yet marginal specimen of the gutter press—an outlier, a novelty, an ugly spectacle. On the one hand, *Justice Weekly* purported to be a serious news source, speaking truth to power; on the other hand, it existed as a site of unconventional sexual expression, with a clear interest in titillating its readers. It was independent and opposed to the mainstream corporate press, yet its politics were rarely progressive and often problematic. It cultivated subcultural markets, but it was not *of* those subcultures. It used euphemistic, antiquated rhetoric to relay suggestive and even offensive content. Editorials supported certain marginalized groups, including homosexuals and prostitutes, while news reports demonized individual members of those groups, naming (shaming) those who appeared in court. It borrowed techniques and motifs from the past to help push certain communities forward. Because of these and other deep contradictions in the very makeup and identity of *Justice Weekly*,

it is indeed crucial to consider the tabloid as a whole, through its twenty-six-year publishing history.

This project is a historical case study of *Justice Weekly* that draws heavily on archival research. It constructs a history that has not previously been compiled or written. This focus on a single publication allows for a rich and detailed investigation of the text. I have been mindful of the concerns of book historians: that a publication not be detached from the material conditions of its production, and that not only its production but also its consumption be considered in any analysis.[1] While it may be true that case studies of individual texts are necessary but not sufficient for an understanding of a particular historical moment or area,[2] my object of study and the genre(s) to which it belongs have been largely ignored in scholarly research. One has to start somewhere. I aim to establish that *Justice Weekly* was not merely a curiosity but in fact fit into—and was at times a significant and pioneering element of—particular flows of history, sexuality, and communication. This project is not an attempt simply to rehabilitate this paper's reputation or to celebrate the text uncritically (for there is much both to critique and to criticize) but rather to show how *Justice Weekly* worked and made cultural sense in its historical context, making it less easy to discount or cast aside as a strange, isolated cultural object.

---

[1] David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2006).

[2] Simon Eliot, "Very Necessary but Not Quite Sufficient: A Personal View of Quantitative Analysis in Book History," *Book History* 5 (2002): 283–93.

In the words of writer and scholar Jill Lepore, "History's written from what can be found; what isn't saved is lost, sunken and rotted, eaten by earth."[3] There are many challenges involved in researching a publication that has been largely forgotten, as so little was saved. For instance, there is no particular archive of records related to *Justice Weekly* or its publisher and editor, Phil Daniels; instead, traces are scattered among various collections and sources. Daniels did not archive or donate any papers, which is unfortunate from a research standpoint, as he must have amassed a huge volume of documents—particularly correspondence from readers—during the life of his tabloid. The central primary source for this research project is, of course, the text itself. Although *Justice Weekly* has not (yet) been digitized, it is possible to look at virtually every issue that was published—if one is willing to travel. (That is, nineteen years' worth of issues are housed at a public library in Toronto; issues from the remaining years can be found at a research institute in the U.S.)[4] Other primary sources of information on Daniels and *Justice Weekly* are located in a range of databases, libraries, and archives. As for secondary sources, there are relatively few. Canada's postwar tabloids in general, and *Justice Weekly* in particular, have attracted little scholarly attention. There are several possible reasons besides simply a lack of easy access to primary texts and other records. Historian Susan Houston suggests that "some academics find the prospect of reading sensational tabloid newspapers unappealing, and that has contributed to their scholarly

---

[3] Jill Lepore, "The Prodigal Daughter: Writing, History, Mourning," *New Yorker*, July 8/15, 2013: 35.

[4] For this project, I consulted bound issues (1946–1962) and microfilm (1971–1972) at the Toronto Reference Library, as well as boxed single issues (1962–1972) at the library of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, at Indiana University.

neglect."[5] If researchers choose to ignore publications they find "unappealing," however, certain texts will surely remain in the shadows of history. Their absence from scholarship only contributes to a kind of cycle of illegitimacy around such texts.

My object of study is from the past, and as such can be difficult to trace; at the same time, it is from the relatively recent past, and thus may not be quite old enough to have attained value as legitimate history. The postwar tabloid press exists to some degree in the space between what is often regarded as "history" and the present, which is a space that some have suggested is not covered adequately by either the field of book history or that of cultural studies. Indeed, the "crucial difference" between the two fields, argues Matthew Brown, is in the bias of each toward a particular time: the very old vs. the right now.[6] In contrast to earlier periods, print and reading were ubiquitous in the twentieth century; thus, print from the mid-1900s has generally not been "treated as a precious resource by those who produce and consume, collect and catalog it."[7] Moreover, as a tabloid newspaper, *Justice Weekly* was not merely undervalued but generally considered "trash" even while still hot off the presses. Houston speculates that surviving copies of Canada's interwar tabloids are hard to find *because of* their low status. That is, at the time of their publication they were considered "trash" and, as such,

---

[5] Susan E. Houston, "'A Little Steam, a Little Sizzle, and a Little Sleaze': English-Language Tabloids in the Interwar Period," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, nos. 40/41 (2002): 40.

[6] Matthew P. Brown, "Book History, Sexy Knowledge, and the Challenge of the New Boredom," *American Literary History* 16, no. 4 (2004): 692.

[7] Trysh Travis, "Print and the Creation of Middlebrow Culture," in *Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary*, ed. Scott E. Casper, Joanne D. Chaison, and Jeffrey D. Groves (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts, 2002), 340.

were "quintessentially ephemeral."[8] As others have noted, because of the "seeming lack of importance" of ephemera, "information relevant to [its] historical study, such as sales, profits, and personnel, was not generally kept."[9] Further, the tabloids' status as trash prevented them from being widely preserved, collected, and archived, making it difficult for later researchers to access and study them.

The word *trash* signals not only the speed and ease of their disposal, of course, but their low position on the cultural ladder. Indeed, *Justice Weekly* may not have even been considered a valid object of study before the 1980s, when academic research into popular culture began to gain legitimacy. It was only then that "serious scholars [could] write on science fiction or on detective fiction or on romance novels, in short, on what is still often labeled as 'trash.'"[10] Much of the time, in the wake of this trend towards popular culture studies, researchers have chosen to study texts they enjoy, or of which they are "fans." Cultural studies is a field with a clearly critical orientation, yet it has been criticized for being too celebratory, or even for taking an "undiscriminatingly sentimental view" of popular culture.[11] Such concerns raise questions that cannot be ignored in relation to this project: Must one admire or endorse a text in order to study it? How does one bring a degraded text such as *Justice Weekly* to light without sentimentality, particularly when the recognition of its groundbreaking cultural work is a central

---

[8] Houston, 39.

[9] Harry G. Cocks and Matthew Rubery, "Margins of Print: Ephemera, Print Culture, and Lost Histories of the Newspaper," *Media History* 18, no. 1 (2012): 2.

[10] Michael Schudson, "The New Validation of Popular Culture: Sense and Sentimentality in Academia," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, no. 4 (1987): 51.

[11] Ibid.

aim? Besides, does *Justice Weekly* even belong in the field of popular culture? It cannot really be considered a popular text in the quantitative sense of the term; it never enjoyed a mass audience, though enough copies were sold to sustain the business for twenty-six years.[12] Certain elements of the aesthetic and political senses of the term "popular" may apply to *Justice Weekly*; for example, it existed to some degree in opposition to the powers that be (i.e., the mainstream corporate press). However, while *Justice Weekly* was not a mainstream periodical, it was also not a progressive or countercultural one. (The question of how to classify *Justice Weekly* within existing publishing genres will be addressed in detail in chapter 2.) Perhaps it could be considered a popular text in the broad sense that "the popular is a category crossed by different political currents, some of which point to tactical subversion, some of which point to complicity in the strategies of the powerful."[13] Or, perhaps, the concept of the popular is inappropriate here, in that *Justice Weekly* can more accurately be described as belonging in the field of *unpopular* culture.[14]

Clearly, *Justice Weekly* was a curious publication, full of ambiguity and contradictions, and one whose uses are at least as significant as its contents. On the one hand, its editorial tone generally reflected a conservative worldview and

---

[12] I have been unable to find actual circulation numbers. Published estimates—neither confirmed nor denied by Daniels—ranged from 25,000, in 1954, to 100,000, in 1969 (Frank Rasky, "Canada's Scandalous Scandal Sheets," *Liberty*, November 1954, 17; Reginald Potterton, "I Cut Out Her Heart and Stomped On It!" *Playboy*, April 1969, 206).

[13] Colin Sparks, "Popular Journalism: Theories and Practice," in *Journalism and Popular Culture*, ed. Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks (London: Sage, 1992), 37.

[14] Bart Beaty uses the term "unpopular culture" to refer to "an area of popular culture in which few researchers are interested," in *Unpopular Culture: Transforming the European Comic Book in the 1990s* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2006), 15. While this concept certainly applies to *Justice Weekly*, I am also thinking of a broader use of *unpopular*, to denote something that few people like or support.

the kind of reactionary populism for which tabloid journalism is known. On the other hand, its production of content and services that addressed largely invisible sexual subcultures, particularly prior to the 1960s, was certainly transgressive if not always politically progressive. Every periodical contains a variety of content, of course, and "media texts are often contradictory, even incoherent, and hail us differentially, even evoking contradictory responses within the same individuals."[15] The periodical has been defined as "a nonlinear assemblage of parcels of text, the unity of which derives from a common program cumulatively implemented through repetition."[16] *Justice Weekly* is not unique in the existence of its internal contradictions, but what was the "common program" of this particular periodical? To address this question, one must consider what goes on in the space between the production of a given text and its cultural effects. In other words, while I am interested in what this publication *is*, this dissertation is also concerned with "what the text does, or is made to do."[17] Following John Fiske, I would characterize *Justice Weekly* as a producerly text, in the sense that its content was easy to read and required no particular analysis or deciphering by readers, but it was clearly open to the production of new and multiple meanings by readers. The variety of its content offered multiple points of entry, interpellating a variety of reader-subjects. According to Roland Barthes, a readerly text is relatively closed, its fixed meanings received by passive readers; in contrast, a writerly text forces active readers to construct—to *write*—its

---

[15] Susan J. Douglas, "Does Textual Analysis Tell Us Anything about Past Audiences?" in *Explorations in Communication and History*, ed. Barbie Zelizer (New York: Routledge, 2008), 69.

[16] James Wald, "Periodicals and Periodicity," in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 422.

[17] John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 131.

meanings.[18] Fiske suggests that a producerly text includes a degree of both of these categories, but his concept emphasizes the multiple possibilities for meaning-making available to (but not necessarily required of) readers. *Justice Weekly*, with all of its many features that may appear contradictory or unrelated, can clearly be approached as a producerly text in that it "has loose ends that escape its control, [and] its meanings exceed its own power to discipline them."[19] These loose ends will become apparent in the analysis contained in each chapter of this project.

Together, chapters 1 and 2 contain a descriptive history, addressing the *who*, *what*, *where*, and *when* questions about *Justice Weekly*. (According to historian Robert Darnton, such information "can be of great help in attacking the more difficult 'whys' and 'hows.'")[20] Specifically, chapter 1 is concerned with the biography of Phil Daniels, the Cockney-Jewish immigrant boxer, racetrack clerk, veteran, and newspaperman who launched *Justice Weekly* in 1946. Because Daniels alone set the paper's editorial policy, determined its tone, and wrote or sourced its content, there is value in exploring his background and personal life. Not only was he the man behind *Justice Weekly*, but he represented it and was often *in* it; if any boundary existed between Daniels's life and his work, it was certainly a porous one. His paper was informed by his own experiences and concerns. In chapter 2, I describe *Justice Weekly* in terms of its physical form and its contents; further, I consider how the paper fits within existing categories of

---

[18] Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974).
[19] Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 104.
[20] Robert Darnton, "First Steps toward a History of Reading," *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23, no. 1 (1986): 7.

publishing. Finally, the chapter contains a discussion of the history and cultural uses of the term *tabloid* as well as a brief overview of the development of the tabloid press and a review of the literature on tabloids, particularly in Canada.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 each focus on a particular element of *Justice Weekly*'s content, mainly within the first two decades of its publication: letters to the editor, personal advertisements, and republished items. The boundaries I impose are artificial to some degree. I do not mean for this heuristic division to suggest that the letters to the editor, for example, are unrelated to the personal ads; discourses commonly circulated among and connected these elements. Each of these chapters is concerned with the historical underpinnings of its particular type of content as well as the (sub)cultural significance of that content, and the uses made of it, in the context of its publication. Chapter 3 explores the letters to the editor published in *Justice Weekly* between 1946 and 1950—letters dealing almost exclusively with corporal punishment. These spanking narratives, which comprised the first zone of unconventional sexuality in the tabloid, echoed erotic writing on flagellation that had circulated in Victorian England. I argue that Daniels attempted to localize and legitimize the letters by linking them—and *Justice Weekly*, by extension—to a real postwar concern with juvenile delinquency. Chapter 4 addresses the personal ads printed in *Justice Weekly*, particularly those appearing between 1957 and 1963. The history of personal advertising in Canada is a neglected topic; I attempt in this chapter to sketch this history and to locate within it the "Boy Meets Girl" column of ads in *Justice Weekly*. What debuted in 1946 as a forum for single adults to express their wishes

for traditional, heterosexual mates had become, by the time it was expanded in 1957 from two to four pages in length, a rare venue for individuals to express and connect with non-traditional sexual orientations and desires. Still, Daniels was careful to distance himself and his "normal" readers from those who placed such "unusual" personal ads in his paper. Finally, in chapter 5, I discuss Daniels's revival of a historical mode of newsgathering: reprinting from periodicals exchanged among publishers. By republishing a great deal of content from a handful of small magazines, starting in 1952, *Justice Weekly* functioned indirectly as a distributor of writing by two groups of social outlaws: penitentiary inmates and homophiles (that is, those working to advance gay rights). Not only did Daniels help these groups to further distribute their writing, but he provided Canadians with a way to access such writing without attracting unwanted attention. In the 1950s, subscribing to a prison periodical could raise eyebrows, and subscribing to a homophile magazine could do much worse; buying a copy of *Justice Weekly* from a newsstand was less respectable than buying a *Toronto Star*, but it did not brand the purchaser as a criminal or a homosexual.

Justice Weekly was both mundane and radical, both old-fashioned and groundbreaking, both conservative and transgressive. It is not possible in a single dissertation to explore every facet of this publication, and I do not claim to tell "the whole story" (as though there were only one). Rather than closing the door on *Justice Weekly* with an exhaustive account, I wish to open doors, by presenting the paper's complexity and exploring its pioneering original content, while also considering the story of Phil Daniels—the man behind it all.

1

Philip H. Daniels: Biography of a Newspaperman

When Philip Hirschoff Daniels set sail from Bristol, England, aboard the *Royal Edward* in the fall of 1911, bound for Canada, he may have known he had better odds of making it as a newspaperman in Toronto than of making it as a boxer. The eighteen-year-old had a decent record as a featherweight, having won some two dozen fights in his native Great Britain, but what he wanted more was to work in newspapers. Daniels enjoyed writing but had failed to break into the newspaper business or to land a spot at university in England. Immigration to Canada—along with his parents and four siblings—provided Daniels with a fresh start and new opportunities. In Toronto, he boxed in a few more bouts, but without his previous success; he managed other fighters, with more success; he worked at a series of local newspapers; and eventually, at the age of fifty-two, he launched a paper of his own. Daniels was the proprietor, publisher, editor, and court reporter of *Justice Weekly*, one of Toronto's most popular and enduring postwar tabloids. In *Justice Weekly*, he created a long-running periodical that was both mundane and bizarre, filled each week with news of the sad and terrible

crimes that ordinary people inflict on one another, but also with personal advertisements and correspondence through which readers hoped to make connections with one another. In many ways, *Justice Weekly* resembled other local weekly tabloids of the time, with its coverage of city court cases, gossip about local businesses and personalities, and harsh judgment of the failings of the mainstream press. In other ways, however, it was unique, most notably for its clear preoccupation with corporal punishment and its reliance on content concerned with unorthodox pleasures and desires. In fact, much of *Justice Weekly*'s content, including letters about spanking, resembled content found in publications from "the Old Country," both contemporary and historical. Daniels blended these titillating elements with solidly local reporting.

Accounts of Canadian journalism history have been criticized for their reliance on anecdotes and their focus on the founders, publishers, and editors of various periodicals—the "elites"—at the expense of exploring the newspaper industry's cultural contexts, institutional and labour practices, and "broad mass of newsworkers."[21] Still, great value and insight can be found in the memoirs and biographies of key media figures, particularly of those who have since been largely forgotten.[22] Although my overall aim is to contextualize *Justice Weekly* in terms of broader issues, it makes sense to begin with anecdotes and biography, and to focus on the tabloid's founder, publisher, and editor—not because Phil "Darkey" Daniels was the most powerful figure at *Justice Weekly*, but because he

[21] William J. Buxton and Catherine McKercher, "Newspapers, Magazines, and Journalism in Canada: Towards a Critical Historiography," *Acadiensis* 28, no. 1 (1998): 106.

[22] See, for example, Michael Nolan, *Walter J. Blackburn: A Man for All Media* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1989); Barbara M. Freeman, *Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman* (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1989).

alone *was Justice Weekly*. It may indeed be "misleading to assume, as is often the case, that the essence of a print medium can be captured by studying the career of [an elite figure]."[23] I do not mean to suggest that a personal focus on Daniels is sufficient to an understanding of *Justice Weekly*, but it certainly is necessary. There was no "mass of newsworkers" at this tabloid, nor did the publication of a weekly tabloid in Toronto launch its owner or publisher into the city's media elite. The details of Daniels's life are important because he founded *Justice Weekly* and published it for more than twenty-six years seemingly on his own, filling its pages each week with content he either wrote or selected, according to his own biases and his judgment of what his audience would pay to read. Further, biographical details provide a glimpse into publishing endeavours in Toronto between the 1910s and the 1970s that are often overlooked, as most of Daniels's sixty-year career in newspapers was spent not at the big dailies but at the sports-, crime-, and sex-centred weeklies that lived in their shadows (and that are now difficult to find). It has been argued that the inclusion of biography in media history can both animate the archives and circumvent an assumption that media production is "some sort of machine beyond human control."[24] This chapter, then, provides an introduction to *Justice Weekly* by way of a biographical portrait of Daniels—Anglo-Jewish immigrant; boxer-cum-manager and racetrack cashier; police

[23] Buxton and McKercher, 116.

[24] David Hendy, "Biography and the Emotions as a Missing 'Narrative' in Media History: A Case Study of Lance Sieveking and the Early BBC," *Media History* 18, nos. 3/4 (2012): 362.

reporter and sports writer; veteran of two wars; and, eventually, tabloid publisher and "the oldest working journalist in Canada."[25]

Before *Justice Weekly*: 1893–1945

Between the 1881 assassination of Tsar Alexander II and the outbreak of world war in 1914, approximately two million Jews fled Eastern Europe; some 120,000 settled in Great Britain, and many of these working-class, Yiddish-speaking immigrants found themselves in the crowded East End of London.[26] It was there that Daniels was born Philip Hirschoff in 1893, the fourth child of a couple who had come in 1880 from Russia-held Poland.[27] The Hirschoff family lived in the civil parish of St. George's in the metropolitan borough of Stepney—specifically, "in a brick tenement house known as Langdale Mansions, within sound of Bow Bells"—a working-class area of the city popularly known as the Jewish East End.[28] Many years later, Daniels would write occasionally about his childhood,

---

[25] Val Clery, "Pssst! The Tabloids Are Immortal, Right?," *Globe Magazine*, Sept. 5, 1970, 7.

[26] "East End Jews," *Immigration and Emigration: The World in a City*, BBC Legacies Archive, accessed Oct. 3, 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/england/london/article_2.shtml.

[27] Unless otherwise cited, information about the background and movements of the Hirschoff family was found on various Ancestry.ca databases—including "1901 England Census" (The National Archives of the UK, RG-13, P-311, folio 44, p. 14), "1911 England Census" (National Archives, RG-14, P-1446), "Canadian Passenger Lists, 1865–1935" (Library and Archives Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration fonds, RG-76-C, microform roll T-4783), and "UK Outward Passenger Lists, 1890–1960" (National Archives, Records of the Board of Trade, BT-27)—as well as the JewishGen Online Worldwide Burial Registry (available online at http://www.jewishgen.org/databases/Cemetery/), the Toronto Jewish Directory (1925, 1931, available online at http://www.ontariojewisharchives.org/directory.html), and Toronto city directories (all years available at the Toronto Reference Library).

[28] [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *Justice Weekly* (hereafter *JW*), Nov. 21, 1970. Bow Bells refers to the historic church St. Mary-le-Bow, in Cheapside, London. In Britain, it has long been said that a true Cockney must be born within earshot of the church's bells (Christopher Howse, "The Bells that Make Cockneys," *Daily Telegraph*, Sept. 22, 2007, accessed Sept. 17, 2013, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/3642866/The-bells-that-make-Cockneys.html).

Figure 1. Storefront, Jewish East End, London, 1911. English and Yiddish newspapers are displayed and advertised outside.[29]

sharing brief anecdotes with readers of *Justice Weekly*. In one, he recalled his being awarded a "principal prize" by the Prince of Wales (later King George V) in a countrywide essay contest sponsored by the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; in another, he told of witnessing the so-called Siege of Sidney Street of 1911.[30] Boxing was an extremely popular sport among working-class Jewish boys in Britain at the time, and upon finishing school, at the age of fifteen, Daniels became a pro—because, by his own recollection, he was "unable to break

[29] Photographer unknown, "General Store, Aldgate," July 19, 1911. Courtesy of the Jewish East End Celebration Society, London.

[30] For details of this event, see "Murderers's Siege in London," *Guardian*, Jan. 4, 1911, accessed Sept. 17, 2013, http://century.guardian.co.uk/1910-1919/Story/0,,126417,00.html.

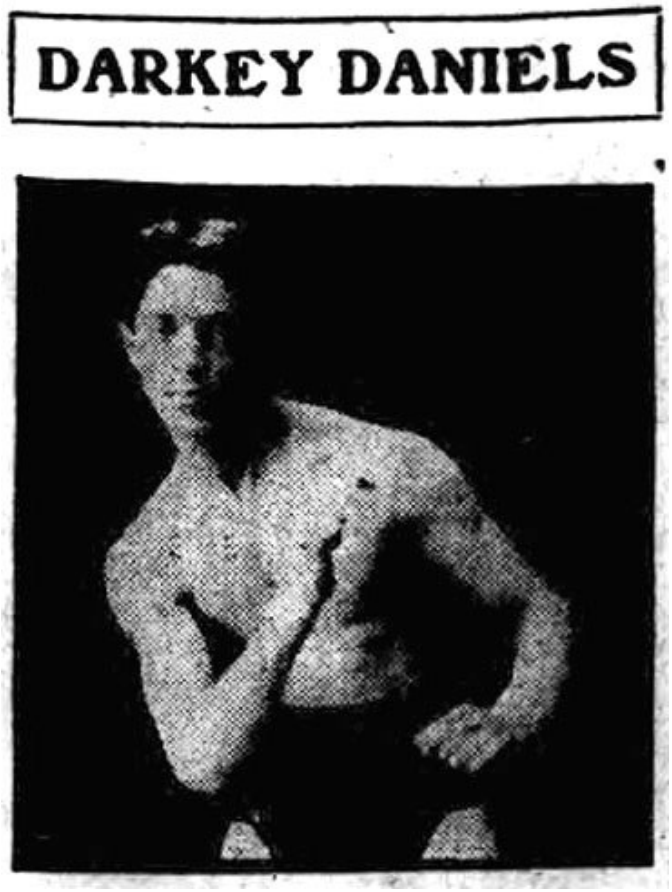

Figure 2. Darkey Daniels, 1912. This photograph, and an accompanying article, appeared in a Buffalo, NY, newspaper ahead of a much-anticipated match between Daniels and Cyclone Williams. It was reported that Daniels "can be depended upon to give the colored lad a battle"; ultimately, Williams won the bout, knocking Daniels "out cold" in the final minute of the first round.[31]

into the newspaper business or get into a name college."[32] (His niece recalls being told that Daniels was unable to get a job on Fleet Street because he was Jewish and that he could not afford college.)[33] A featherweight with a dark complexion and "jet black hair," he boxed as "Darkey Daniels," a nickname he would use for

[31] Photographer unknown, *Buffalo Courier*, Feb. 26, 1912; "Cyclone Williams vs. Daniels," *Buffalo Courier*, Feb. 27, 1912; "Williams a Real Cyclone," *Buffalo Courier*, Feb. 28, 1912.

[32] David Dee, "'The Hefty Hebrew': Boxing and British-Jewish Identity, 1890–1960," *Sport in History* 32, no. 3 (2012): 364–66; [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, June 22, 1968.

[33] Anita Green, interview by author, Barrie, ON, Aug. 21, 2013.

the rest of his life.[34] He was just one of many young Anglo-Jewish pugilists who changed their surnames; in fact, his elder brother, Jacob Hirschoff, boxed (and then lived his life) as Jack Daniels. It was not uncommon that the sport "led to the shedding of an important indicator of Jewishness"—that is, a surname—as many Jewish boxers wished to mask their ethnicity or to keep their activities a secret from disapproving parents.[35] When required by the 1911 census in England to name his occupation, Daniels answered "professional boxer." A year later, he was in Canada; he still boxed, but he had made the move into a new occupation: "journalist."[36]

Daniels, then aged eighteen, and his father arrived in Montreal aboard the *Royal Edward* on October 25, 1911, and made their way to Toronto, where relatives had settled a decade earlier. By the fall of 1913, the whole Hirschoff family had immigrated to Toronto, joining the rapidly growing Jewish community in Canada's second-largest city.[37] Unlike the Hirschoffs, most Jewish immigrants to Toronto at the turn of the twentieth century came directly from Eastern Europe, and many of those lived in slum conditions within a central downtown area known as the Ward.[38] Those who could afford better conditions had begun in 1900 to move west, toward Beverley Street. At the time that Daniels and his

---

[34] "Darkey Daniels: Boy Who Meets Cyclone Williams on Tuesday Night Has Fine Record," *Buffalo Courier*, Feb. 26, 1912.

[35] Dee, 371.

[36] "1911 England Census"; Border crossing card for Philip Hirschoff, Feb. 27, 1912, "Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service," RG-85, National Archives and Records Administration (US), accessed on Ancestry.ca.

[37] In 1911, the population of Toronto was 376,500; the city's Jewish population numbered 18,237—a 401 percent increase from 1901 (Stephen A. Speisman, *The Jews of Toronto: A History to 1937* [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987], 71, 76n5).

[38] Speisman, 82–83. The area—officially called St. John's Ward—was bounded roughly by Queen, Yonge, and College streets and University Avenue.

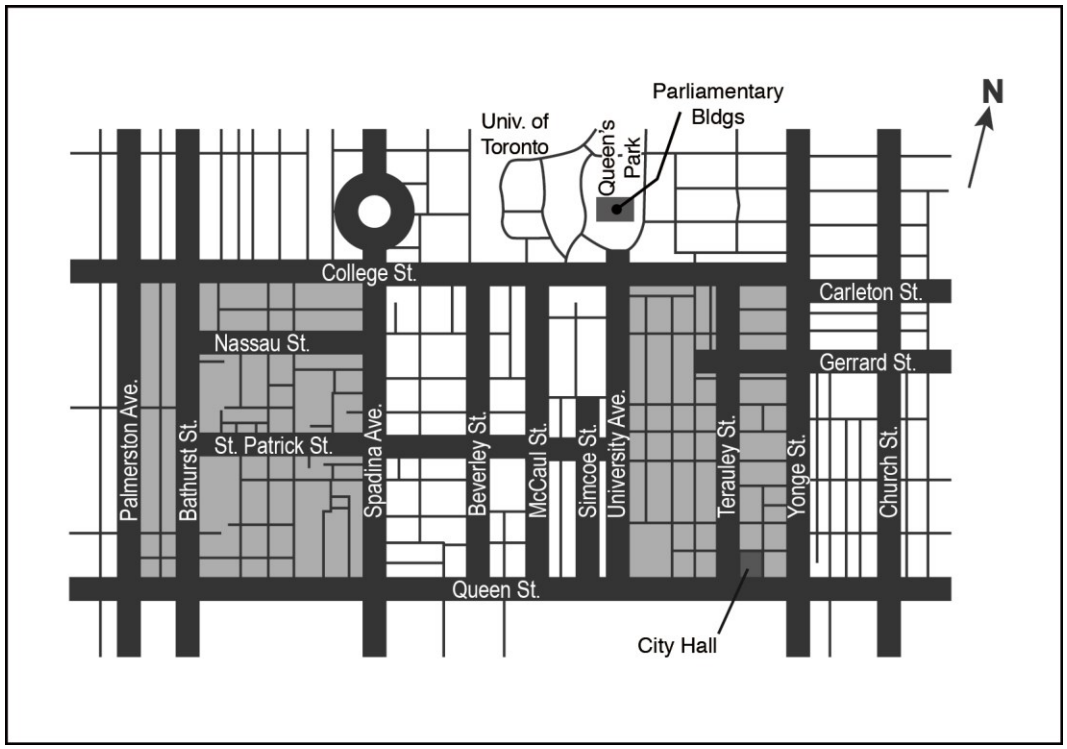

Figure 3. Map of downtown Toronto, c.1912. The two shaded areas represent the Ward (at right), where most Jewish immigrants lived at the turn of the century, and the Kensington Market area (at left) where most of the city's Jewish residents were living by 1912.

family arrived, two-thirds of Toronto's Jewish residents lived in an area centred around Kensington Market, one kilometre to the west.[39] After living for a time with relatives on Beverley Street, the Hirschoffs settled in between the Ward and Kensington Market, on Simcoe Street. They were Jews, and immigrants, but they had arrived from Britain; all five children (aged between eighteen and twenty-four in 1913) had been born in London. Like the British Jews who had come to Toronto in the mid- to late nineteenth century, the "British tone" of the younger Hirschoffs may have "made them [more] acceptable to the community at large."[40]

[39] Speisman, 90. Specifically, by 1912, 66 percent of Jews in Toronto lived in the area bounded by Spadina, Palmerston, Queen, and College.

[40] Ibid., 81.

Although Toronto was home to a variety of immigrant groups in the early 1900s, the city still embraced and cultivated an image of White Anglo-Saxon Protestantism. In its nicknames—Toronto the Good, the City of Churches, the Queen City—could be found a preoccupation with both high morality and the British Empire. Indeed, it has been observed that prior to the Second World War, the city was "almost more British than Britain."[41]

A number of daily newspapers were published in Toronto in the first decades of the twentieth century, including the *Telegram*, the *Star*, the *Globe*, the *World*, and the *News*. Not long after Daniels arrived in Toronto, he was hired as a "copy boy" at the Toronto *Daily News*; the paper then made him a sports writer and, finally, police reporter. He and his counterparts at the other dailies reportedly "used to cover 12 police divisions on bicycles before the days of police radio and office automobiles—and never missed an item."[42] At the same time, he continued to box, with a handful of well-attended bouts in Toronto and Buffalo. His record was solid, and he was "the cleancut, standup, clever English type of fighter, [with] a corking good punch."[43] However, following a 1914 loss in the ring to "Kid" Abel in Montreal—a report of which described Daniels as "essentially a boxer and not a fighter"—Daniels hung up his gloves to become a boxing manager and promoter, all the while continuing to work the police beat at the *News*.[44] He worked on the paper through much of the war, but finally, in 1918, Daniels left

---

[41] Bruce West, *Toronto* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1967), 291.
[42] Marooned [pseud.], "Canadian Panorama," *JW*, Sept. 13, 1952.
[43] "Darkey Daniels," *Buffalo Courier*.
[44] "Darkey Daniels Lost at Montreal," *Toronto Star*, Mar. 10, 1914; [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, Mar. 4, 1972. He occasionally boxed again, including in a few demonstration matches during World War One, but was primarily a manager and promoter.

the *News* as an "MSA man"—a soldier conscripted under the Military Services Act—and was deployed to Vladivostok as part of the controversial Canadian Expeditionary Force (Siberia).[45] While there, he was editor of the *Siberian Bugle*, the official newspaper of the 259th Battalion and one of two Canadian brigade papers then published in Siberia.[46] Afterwards, he returned only briefly to his job at the *News*—which, in the interim, had been sold and renamed the *Times*—as the paper suddenly ceased publication in September 1919. A story in the *Toronto Star* at that time outlined the number of jobs lost at the *Times* and singled out a handful of long-time editorial staff; Daniels, just twenty-five years old at the time, was described as "[a]mong the oldest reporters on the staff" and "well known as [the paper's] police reporter."[47]

The years that followed, from late 1919 to 1926, marked the only period in Daniels' adult working life when he did not formally work in print media. Primarily, he managed a number of boxers, but he also managed to stay connected to the newspaper business. Beginning in 1919, Daniels would from time to time send a newsy letter or telegram to his friend and fellow veteran Lou Marsh—a sportswriter at the *Daily Star* as well as a referee of boxing and wrestling—about various boxing activities in which he was involved. Because Daniels's letters were, in Marsh's words, "as full of news as an alley pup is of fleas," they would

---

[45] For details on the Siberian Expedition, a post-Armistice mission against Bolshevism, see Benjamin Isitt, *From Victoria to Vladivostok: Canada's Siberian Expedition, 1917–19* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

[46] Philip Daniels personnel file, "Soldiers of the First World War: Canadian Expeditionary Forces" series, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 2287-65, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; Isitt, 120.

[47] "Publication of 'Times' Suspended Yesterday," *Toronto Star*, Sept. 12, 1919. I suspect the writer meant that Daniels had been on the staff longer than most of his colleagues, not that he was older than most.

occasionally be reproduced in the paper's sports pages.[48] Even when Daniels didn't write the copy himself, he had enough skill as a promoter to keep his boxers—and, by extension, himself—in the news. In fact, one finds mentions of Daniels and his stable of fighters in newspapers from Calgary to Windsor, Ontario, and New York State during the 1920s. He was well-known in sports circles, though not universally admired; according to another boxing matchmaker, "Darkey [was] so smooth he [made] the inside of a banana peel feel like a nutmeg grater."[49] Perhaps it was not only Daniels's character that irked some of his contemporaries, but his Jewishness; when a sports columnist suggested that Daniels was known to pull "'Shylock' stunts," anti-Semitism could certainly be read between the lines.[50] He did have the ability to spot talent; he managed a handful of Canadian champions, including featherweight Curly Wilshur, lightweight Clonie Tait, and welterweight George Fifield.[51]

Daniels had loved a woman before the war, but she was not Jewish; his family had disapproved of the relationship, and it had ended. After the war, Daniels married a young woman from "a very good Jewish family."[52] On June 8, 1923, he wed twenty-one-year-old Vera Rose, listing "Sporting Enterprises" as his occupation on the couple's marriage certificate.[53] The couple were active members of the city's middle-class Jewish community to some degree. From time

---

[48] Lou E. Marsh, "New York Sending String of Real Boys," *Toronto Star*, Oct. 17, 1922.
[49] "Trying to Worry Wilshur's Opponent," *Toronto Star*, Oct. 31, 1923.
[50] "Sport Comment," *Border Cities Star* (Windsor, ON), Dec. 8, 1923.
[51] See "Random Notes on Current Sport," *Toronto Star*, Dec. 10, 1917; Feb. 6, 1918; and Nov. 3, 1923; Charles Good, "Sport Parade," *Toronto Star*, Mar. 12, 1931. Curly Wilshur, born Barney Eisenberg, was another Anglo-Jewish boxer originally from London's East End.
[52] Anita Green, interview.
[53] Marriage certificate of Philip Hirschoff Daniels and Vera Rose, June 8, 1923, "Ontario, Canada, Marriages, 1801–1928," series MS932, reel 637, Archives of Ontario, accessed on Ancestry.ca.

to time their names, as well as those of their parents and their siblings' families, appeared in the social columns of the *Canadian Jewish Review*. The *Review*, a weekly newspaper launched in 1921, "appealed to the socially arrived and the socially aspiring" of Toronto's Jewish community.[54] The inclusion of the Danielses in the paper—their engagement, their attendance at various parties and weddings—indicates that they were in this loop, at least peripherally. (Other families appeared far more often.) By the time the couple's only child, a daughter, was born in April 1927, Daniels had made his return to the publishing world, having become editor of the *Canadian Sports and Daily Racing Form* the previous year. He had also been convicted of breach of the Lord's Day Act, in May 1926, after it was found he had been working on the paper on a Sunday; an appeals court overturned the conviction, ruling that the Act did not apply to a newspaper editor required to work on a Sunday preparing Monday's issue.[55] Horse racing was one of Daniels's passions, along with boxing, and at this point he may also have been working at local racetracks; he later wrote of "acting as public relations officer for the Orpen Racing Dynasty" during this period, and at some point in the late 1930s he began a regular part-time job as a mutuel clerk at the tracks, which he would hold until the late 1960s.[56] Meanwhile, Daniels and his

[54] Speisman, 241. Many issues of the *Canadian Jewish Review* are available to search online at http://multiculturalcanada.ca.

[55] "Racing Form Fined," *Toronto Star*, May 4, 1926; [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, Mar. 2, 1957. The federal Lord's Day Act (1906) prohibited not only commercial activity on Sundays but also cultural and recreational activities. The legislation was, of course, a product of Protestant Canada and held little significance to Jewish Canadians, other than its obvious legal implications.

[56] [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, Feb. 1, 1969. Abe Orpen owned three important Ontario racetracks: Dufferin Park and Long Branch, in Toronto; and Kenilworth, in Windsor.

wife were separated in 1930, and divorced in 1932.[57] The two were mismatched—"like chalk and cheese," his niece recalls.[58] Following the separation, Daniels boarded with relatives and lived in a number of downtown apartments and rented rooms.

By this time, tabloids had begun to appear on the city's many newsstands. As a pair of local journalists conceded in 1935, "this city of churches has revealed an unparalleled prolificness in the matter of backstairs journalism, and the local tabloid fraternity has established itself firmly in our community life."[59] This "fraternity" of weeklies included the long-running *Jack Canuck* (started in 1911, halted in 1924, revived in 1932), *Hush* (started in 1927), the *Thunderer* (1927), and *Sports Weekly* (1932). As Toronto's tabloid press grew in the 1930s, Daniels was poised to take part. He penned a semi-regular sports column for *Jack Canuck*, as Darkey Daniels, and was hired as sports editor of *Sports Weekly* when that paper was started. The creator and editor of *Sports Weekly*, a twenty-four-year-old journalist named Allister Grosart, reportedly aimed to create "an illustrated paper devoted to sports, radio and the theatre."[60] The tabloid, printed on yellow newsprint, presented its sports and entertainment coverage in a tone said to be "breezy, peppy and straight from the shoulder."[61] *Sports Weekly* and *Jack Canuck* were both printed at 52 McCaul Street, the location since 1930 of the Sovereign

---

[57] It was only in 1930 that divorce courts were established in Ontario; previously, individuals seeking legal divorce were required to apply to Parliament. See J. Murray Beck, "The Canadian Parliament and Divorce," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 23, no. 3 (1957): 298.

[58] Anita Green, interview.

[59] G. W. Ritchie and B. M. Tate, "Toronto Tabloids: How and Where They Started," *City Lights*, January 1935, 16.

[60] Ibid., 18.

[61] "New Sports Weekly," *Jack Canuck*, June 16, 1932.

City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, s0372_ss0058_it1500

Figure 4. Toronto newsstand, 1938. Issues of *Flash*, *Tattler Review*, and the *Week-Ender* are on display, along with an advertisement above the door for the *Daily Racing Form*.[62]

Press and "an address which would become synonymous with Toronto tabloids" as more and more papers were launched.[63] The office of *Sports Weekly* moved in 1934 to the ninth floor of the fourteen-story Hermant Building, on Dundas Square. At the same time, Daniels moved into one of nine rooms above Glover's Cafeteria, on Dundas Street East, just a stone's throw from the *Sports Weekly* office.[64] By the time Daniels married for the second time, in January 1939, he had witnessed the debuts—and in some cases also the finales—of a number of local

[62] Photographer unknown, "News Stand—Southwest Corner St. Andrew's and Spadina Avenue," Sept. 9, 1938, Former City of Toronto fonds, Series 372, Subseries 58, Item 1500, City of Toronto Archives.

[63] Houston, 45.

[64] Glover's Cafeteria became the Imperial Hotel in 1944 and the Imperial Pub in the 1970s; a second bar now occupies the second floor of the Imperial Pub.

weekly tabloids: the *Morning Sun* (started in 1933), the *Toronto Week-Ender* (1934), *Brown's Weekly* (1936), *Tattler Review* (1938), *National Tattler* (1938), and *Flash* (1938).

Sports Weekly shut down in 1939, and in 1940, Daniels returned to military service, at the age of forty-seven. (He later claimed to have subtracted five years from his age in order to get in.) By his own recollection, "it was for the main object of editing an army paper that we got into the army," and that is what he did.[65] He was sent to Camp Borden, a large military training facility located about a hundred kilometers north of Toronto, where he was made the news editor of a weekly paper called the *Bullet*. At first, the *Bullet* served only Camp Borden, but it was expanded to become the official publication of Military District No. 2 (central Ontario). As such, the operation was moved to Toronto, where the paper was printed alongside the local tabloids at the Sovereign Press on McCaul Street. Six editors were listed on the masthead in 1941 (Editor-in-Chief, four associate editors, and News Editor), but by 1944 the masthead read simply "Editor—CSM (WO II) Phil Daniels."[66] The *Bullet* was a tabloid-style weekly, in that it was smaller than a broadsheet and contained plenty of columns, photographs, and comics, though all content was related to or generated by the military. First in Camp Borden, and then in an office high above the corner of Toronto's Bay and Front streets, Daniels wrote a regular column on military news and issues titled "Just between Ourselves." He also contributed a column about soldiers and sports,

---

[65] Phil Daniels, "Just between Ourselves," *JW*, Feb. 2, 1946.

[66] I have seen only a few issues of the *Bullet*, and I am not sure exactly when it was moved from Camp Borden to Toronto. The information in this paragraph is based on issues dated Feb. 7, 1941; Aug. 19, 1944; and Sept. 16, 1944.

using the popular style of "three-dot pauses" made standard by American columnist Walter Winchell in the 1930s[67]—a style he would later carry over to various columns in *Justice Weekly*. Ever eager for self-promotion, Daniels included the following item in one edition of the "Sports Service Record" column:

> SGT.-MAJOR PHIL DANIELS, editor of "The Bullet," will be remembered by boxing fans by the nickname of "Darkey" when he was tossing leather around in many parts of the world and later for his boxing promotions in Toronto. He was also an army boxing champion in the last war and is serving in this one. . . .[68]

His tendency toward self-aggrandizement is apparent in this passage. It was true that boxing fans may have remembered him but an exaggeration to say he had boxed "in many parts of the world"—or, as he wrote later, to claim that his name was "known in days gone by in every corner of the globe where boxing was heard of."[69] Similar examples of self-serving exaggeration can be found in Daniels's other writing, particularly later in (and about) *Justice Weekly*. Of course, a publisher must promote his paper in order for it to succeed, and Daniels had plenty of the chutzpah needed to do so. He was outspoken, confident, and independent. One source observed that he was "a mature man who speaks with the ready assurance of one accustomed to meeting the public."[70] Another described him as a "dapper, rather impressive little man."[71]

---

[67] See Will Straw, "Traffic in Scandal: The Story of Broadway Brevities," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (2004): 958.

[68] "Sports Service Record," *The Bullet*, Aug. 19, 1944.

[69] [Phil Daniels], "Lightweight Title Match Lowdown Being Disclosed by Phil 'Darkey' Daniels," *JW*, Nov. 21, 1953.

[70] Department of Veterans Affairs (Canada), "Service Interview Summary," summary of service interview with Philip H. Daniels, completed by Capt. J. S. Robertson, Toronto, June 14, 1945.

[71] Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, "Porno-Violence," *Report of the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry* (Toronto: Ministry of Government Services, 1977): 215.

Figure 5. Company Sergeant-Major Phil Daniels, World War Two.[72]

During and after *Justice Weekly*: 1945–1988

Discharged from the army as physically unfit in early 1945 (he was diagnosed with osteoarthritis in 1944), Daniels took over the editorship of *Flash*. The popular weekly tabloid, also printed at 52 McCaul Street, was one of only two such papers to have survived from the pre-war period. (The other survivor was *Hush*.) Daniels edited *Flash*, and wrote a column in it called "Sports Lowdown,"

[72] Photographer and date unknown. Courtesy of Anita Green.

for most of the year. It is not clear whether he chose to leave or was pushed out, but the editorial in the December 15, 1945, issue announced that "FLASH is entering a new era in its career"—and this new era did not include Daniels.[73] This new, postwar era demanded "vigorous, crusading writing," according to the editorial; as a result, *Flash*—specifically, its unnamed publisher, Lou Ruby—was "making changes accordingly."[74] Daniels had already been planning to launch his own paper, though. In mid-November 1945, application was made for the incorporation of Daniels Publishing Company, Ltd. Documents show that the company was founded on forty thousand dollars' capital, which was no small amount; as Daniels wrote a few months later, "we have sunk our gratuity money and re-establishment credit into it, plus a little extra."[75] He also stated that he had been granted a publisher's license by the Wartime Prices and Trades Board "and allotted the necessary newsprint" by virtue of his status as a veteran.[76] Whether or not he had known in advance about the specific changes being made at *Flash* in December, Daniels was ready to strike out alone. Just weeks later, and dated January 5, 1946, the first issue of *Justice Weekly* hit the city's newsstands. Nearly thirty-five years after starting in the business as a copy boy, Daniels, at the age of fifty-two, was in charge of his own newspaper, as both publisher and editor of Toronto's newest tabloid. Other tabloids would come and go in the decades after

[73] "Flash Faces Post War World," *Flash*, Dec. 15, 1945.
[74] Ibid.
[75] "Memorandum of Agreement and Stock-Book," Nov. 12, 1945, Daniels Publishing Company Ltd. file (TC-39636), Companies and Personal Property Security Branch, Ministry of Government Services, Toronto; Phil Daniels, "Just between Ourselves," *JW*, June 15, 1946.
[76] [Phil Daniels], "Introducing Ourselves," *JW*, Jan. 5, 1946.

the war (e.g., the *Rocket*, *T.N.T.*), but *Justice Weekly* would endure to become—along with *Hush* and *Flash*—one of the city's "big three."[77]

On the editorial page of the premier issue, Daniels published his first-issue manifesto, packed with grand rhetorical claims of legitimacy for his new paper, linked to collective postwar sensibilities. He began, "At no time in the history of mankind has there been such a need for justice as at the present time, justice for all, irrespective of creed, color or nationality, and without fear or favor. Hence this publication."[78] He criticized "those who abuse the privileges of journalism," pointing out that while other tabloids appeared to have good intentions, they were in fact money hungry, corrupt, and cowardly, often refusing to disclose the names of their publishers and editors. He assured readers of transparency in the publication of *Justice Weekly*, providing details from his own professional and military résumé (although in the customary third person). "All this information is given to readers so that they will know who is writing and guiding the policies and destinies of 'Justice Weekly,'" Daniels wrote. "This is an unusual introductory editorial but then it is fully anticipated that this publication will be an unusual one."[79] It was made clear to readers that Daniels *was Justice Weekly*. Unlike *Hush* and *Flash*, his paper appeared to have no paid staff, no reporters. He continued to work as a racetrack clerk; as he would later explain, "I spend my mornings gathering news at the courts. Afternoons I'm a $112-a-week cashier at

---

[77] Mary Vipond, "Major Trends in Canada's Print Mass Media," in *History of the Book in Canada, Volume 3: 1918–1980*, ed. Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2007), 243.

[78] [Daniels], "Introducing Ourselves."

[79] Ibid.

the 'out window' at Long Branch Racetrack. Nights I write my copy."[80] Throughout the life of *Justice Weekly*, Daniels maintained that his paper was the product of his work alone—specifically, that "he and he alone [was] responsible for the policy of this paper, its makeup and in fact the writing of most of its material."[81] He was not single-handedly responsible for every aspect of the business; he did employ a secretary to take care of finances and manage circulation at least until January 1957, for instance.[82] What is important is that he claimed "he and he alone" produced the paper, and his claim was never disputed. To the contrary, references to Daniels and *Justice Weekly* in the contemporary press regularly characterized the tabloid as "a one-man tabloid," "a one-man operation," and so on.[83]

Daniels started *Justice Weekly* from scratch, but in it he incorporated certain specific markers from his earlier newspaper experiences, likely hoping to spark recognition among consumers of his previous work. The title itself, for instance, is reminiscent of *Sports Weekly*, the popular tabloid he had worked on more than a decade before—and both papers claimed on their front pages to contain "The News behind the News." Certain column titles were also carried over from earlier periodicals: Daniels had written "Just between Ourselves" in the *Bullet* and continued to address veterans in a column of the same name in his new paper; his column "Sports Lowdown" in *Flash* was echoed in "Lowdown" (later

[80] Rasky, "Canada's Scandalous Scandal Sheets," 80.
[81] [Phil Daniels], "Who Owns Newspapers?" *JW*, April 12, 1947.
[82] The first secretary at *Justice Weekly* was Daniels's daughter, Shirley (1946–c.1952); the second was his niece, Anita Gold (c.1952–1957). These women were never credited in print.
[83] H. R. How, "Half a Million for Sex and Scandal," *Canadian Business*, July 1951, 66; Rasky, "Canada's Scandalous Scandal Sheets," 80.

titled "Toronto Lowdown"), a general gossip-and-court-news column in *Justice Weekly*. Incidentally, the address on *Justice Weekly*'s masthead for its first five years was 52 McCaul Street, the location of the tabloid-printing Sovereign Press.

In July 1950, Daniels moved the business into Manning Chambers, an office building on the northwest corner of Queen and Bay streets in downtown Toronto. Other tenants of the building were mainly lawyers, unions, and city services. It was a convenient location, directly across the street from City Hall, which housed the courtrooms where Daniels spent mornings gathering news for *Justice Weekly*. It was a doomed building, however. The block on which it stood had been chosen years before for the construction of a new city hall and civic square, and in 1957, Manning Chambers was the last building demolished to make way for the project.[84] By that time, the intersection—known by some as "the Corners"—had reportedly become "rather grubby," with "burlesque houses and pawnshops and cheap restaurants" having been established along Queen Street.[85] A couple of "grungy" hotel beverage rooms at the Corners were "popular with working class gays, young hustlers, and the occasional drag queen."[86] Between the gay men, sex-trade workers, and pawnbrokers outside Manning Chambers and the many attorneys and public servants who worked inside its offices, Daniels may well have encountered some of the same individuals in and around the building as he did across Bay Street in the courts. Literally and figuratively, his office was not far removed from the concerns of his paper.

---

[84] Gordon Bleasdell, "Wreckers Get Landmark," *Toronto Star*, Aug. 24, 1957.
[85] West, *Toronto*, 303.
[86] Jim Egan, *Challenging the Conspiracy of Silence: My Life as a Canadian Gay Activist* (Toronto: Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives and Homewood Books, 1998), 53.

Figure 6. Manning Chambers, Toronto, 1955. The *Justice Weekly* office was located in room 206 from 1950 to 1957.[87]

By contrast, Daniels resided primarily in Scarborough, a suburb east of "grubby" downtown Toronto, during his first decade as publisher and editor of *Justice Weekly*. For a time, *Justice Weekly* even sponsored the Scarborough Hawks, the Toronto Hockey League (Intermediates) team on which his preteen stepson played.[88] When his second marriage—another mismatch, but with an Anglican divorcée this time—ended in the mid-1950s, Daniels stayed for a period at the home of an acquaintance in Mimico, west of Toronto; when Manning Chambers was demolished in 1957, Daniels moved his office to the Pacific Building, a few blocks southeast of City Hall. In June 1959, however, he set up

[87] James Victor Salmon, "Queen & Bay St N/W corner," April 3, 1955, Toronto Public Library Digital Archive.

[88] Ronald Davis, telephone interview by author, Aug. 14, 2013; [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, Jan. 29, 1955.

both his home and his office on the top floor of the infamous Ford Hotel, in Toronto's downtown core. He could not have chosen a place better suited to the publisher of what some regarded as a sleazy tabloid. The 750-room Ford Hotel, with its three twelve-story towers, had opened in 1928 as a grand place, but the opening just a year later of the Royal York—and perhaps the Ford Hotel's proximity to the city's central bus terminal—signaled the beginning of its end.[89] The hotel's reputation had been faltering for years by 1955, when an armed guest fired off his shotgun on the fourth floor for ninety minutes before killing himself in his room.[90] By the time the hotel was about to close for good, in 1973, it had become well-known as having been "a haven for prostitutes and homosexuals, a place for one-night stands, a hide-out for cheating wives and husbands, a place where suicide was not uncommon, where people were beaten and some murdered."[91] Daniels, aged sixty-five, moved into a penthouse suite, perhaps in response to a classified ad published in the *Toronto Star* in early 1959 offering rooms for "permanencies": for $17.50 per week, a resident of the Ford Hotel was provided a furnished room with shower and toilet, telephone, radio, and full maid service.[92] He grew fond of working in a "combined office and sitting-room" for its convenience, confessing to his readers that "this chronicler . . . has to be near a

[89] Chris Bateman, "A Brief History of the Ford Hotel's Fall from Grace," *blogTO*, Nov. 24, 2012, http://www.blogto.com/city/2012/11/a_brief_history_of_the_ford_hotels_fall_from_grace/.

[90] "Buckshot Barrage Keeps Tear-Gas Police at Bay[;] Man Kills Self in Hotel," *Toronto Star*, Oct. 27, 1955.

[91] Warren Gerard, "Ford Hotel Has 19 Days Left after 45 Downhill Years," *Toronto Star*, Oct. 1, 1973.

[92] Ford Hotel, classified advertisement (Rooms to Let, Furnished), *Toronto Star*, Jan. 30, 1959, 43. The ad appeared in five issues of the *Star* in January 1959.

place where he can lie down and rest after a couple of hours at the desk." [93] A lifelong animal-lover, Daniels kept a dog and a tank of fish in the suite and also enjoyed feeding not only the pigeons that came to his windows each day, but even those that "manage[d] to squeeze in through the window and finish their meal on the floor."[94] However, he admitted that some called the hotel "a dump"; indeed, a large snowfall in 1965 caused his ceiling to leak for days.[95] He lived and produced his tabloid at the Ford Hotel for eight years.

As if by virtue of staying in the business so long, Daniels began in the late 1960s to get the recognition from peers that he had not received in the early years of *Justice Weekly*. Then in his mid-seventies, he became a kind of elder statesman of the tabloid press. He was recognized as "the oldest working journalist in Canada," and *Justice Weekly* itself was described as "the granddaddy of the tabloids."[96] He was approached for interviews, and he appeared on panel discussions for CBC Radio programs (alongside such contemporary personalities as poet Irving Layton, politician Judy LaMarsh, and fellow journalist "Jocko" Thomas) as well as an episode of a CBC-TV show called *The Morning After*.[97] In 1970, Daniels was invited to speak to students in a "History of Journalism" class at the University of Western Ontario. R. A. (Dick) Nichols, one of the two journalism students who organized the visit, recalls that Daniels was chosen mainly because of his long career in the newspaper business, and that the thirty-

---

[93] [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, April 10, 1965.
[94] [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, Dec. 17, 1960.
[95] [Daniels], "Lowdown," April 10, 1965.
[96] Clery, 7; Marq De Villiers, "Paper Passion," (Toronto) *Telegram*, July 1969.
[97] Unfortunately, according to an April 16, 2009, email message to the author from staff at the CBC Radio and Television Archives, none of these audio recordings of Phil Daniels, nor the relevant episode of *The Morning After*, have survived.

odd students present were regaled primarily with dramatic tales of decades-old crimes as covered by the British press.[98] Judging by Daniels's own recollection, written shortly after the visit took place, he enjoyed the attention: "Just how much the seemingly interested listeners and questioners thought of the talk we'll never really know, but we do know that our visit gave us one of the most pleasant days we've had in many a long time."[99] He was nearly seventy-seven years old, after all, and his daytrip to Western had occurred between two hospital stays. Both Daniels and *Justice Weekly* had relocated to the suburbs by then. After leaving the Ford Hotel in 1967, Daniels lived at various West Hill and Scarborough addresses, while his office was located above a nondescript Agincourt strip mall. It was a small rectangular room with a single window, containing a large old wooden desk, several bales of newspapers, and no chairs for visitors.[100]

Daniels's physical health was an ongoing concern. He had been diagnosed during the Second World War with osteoarthritis in his hips, and over the decades that *Justice Weekly* was published, Daniels spent several extended periods in hospital as a result of the condition. In fact, he prided himself on having spent several months during the first year of his tabloid's existence in Christie Street Hospital: "There, from a bedside at which was installed a private telephone, he edited the paper, continued to arrange for the gathering of news and looked after the advertising and various other angles of this weekly newspaper."[101] His left hip

---

[98] R. A. (Dick) Nichols, Skype interview by author, July 30, 2013.

[99] Phil Daniels, "Just between Ourselves," *JW*, April 4, 1970.

[100] R. A. (Dick) Nichols, email message to author, Aug. 4, 2013. In Mr. Nichols's words, "one got the impression that people did not often come to the [*Justice Weekly*] office."

[101] [Phil Daniels], "Vol. 9, No. 1," *JW*, Jan. 2, 1954. It is difficult to believe he had no help in putting the paper together while hospitalized, but again, this was his (undisputed) claim.

was permanently fused with a piece of bone taken from his right shin; while the procedure limited his mobility, it eased his day-to-day pain. He described his hospitalization and rehabilitation in some detail from week to week in the veteran-oriented column "Just between Ourselves," from his time spent lying flat in a cast "from armpits to ankles," to his sensation of a "second childhood" when walking unsteadily with two canes, to his increased empathy for those with physical disabilities navigating the city and its public transit.[102] In the following years, Daniels underwent further treatment and additional surgeries, including the placement of a steel bearing in his right hip, spending five weeks in hospital in 1959 and another six in 1963.[103] His military pension was a constant pet peeve, as he had been declared 100 percent disabled but granted only an 80 percent pension; he wrote often about the unfairness of his situation. More and more, he also wrote of physical aches and pains.

Still, Daniels had no interest in retirement, he told his readers, nor in writing a book: "We have spent most of our 77 years to date in pounding a typewriter and feel that's long enough."[104] Instead, he intended to continue publishing *Justice Weekly* for "as long as physically possible."[105] It was earning him little money then, he said, "but he'd keep it going because life wouldn't be the same without it."[106] At the same time, he acknowledged that tabloid newspapers no longer occupied the edgy position they once did, as the ideological

---

[102] Phil Daniels, "Just between Ourselves," *JW*, Sept. 7, 1946; Oct. 5, 1946; Nov. 16, 1946.

[103] [Phil Daniels], "The Paper Must Go On . . . . ," *JW*, Nov. 9, 1963; [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, Dec. 28, 1963.

[104] Phil Daniels, "Just between Ourselves," *JW*, May 30, 1970.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Clery, 8.

gap between tabloids and daily papers had narrowed. The tabloids had once pursued political and sensational stories that the dailies wouldn't touch, but the dailies had since begun to cover the same stories. The tabloids had once provided titillating, sex-related content to readers who, by 1970, had many more options available to them—not only in print, but on television, at the movies, and in other media. Daniels admitted that "the young people aren't interested in reading Justice Weekly."[107]

By this time, Daniels had begun making efforts to extract himself, at least to some extent, from the publishing business. Back in 1964, in a column acknowledging his seventy-first birthday, he had once floated the idea of taking on a business partner:

> Running "Justice Weekly" practically alone is quite a job for a disabled person of your chronicler's age, while selling the paper just does not appeal to him. So it has been suggested that we take unto ourselves a partner, one who knows something about the newspaper game and business methods in general or is willing to learn. That person would have to be able to purchase a half interest at least in the business, which is a profitable one, and be given the option to purchase the paper right out when and if the publisher finally decides to call it a day and go into retirement . . . Any offers?[108]

Then, beginning in October 1970, a small ad indicating that Daniels sought a "working partner" began to appear in each issue of *Justice Weekly*; the ad offered, in part, the "Opportunity to Learn Publishing, Editorial and Reportorial Business, to 'Take Over' Later On." In the final issue of 1971, Daniels used his "Just between Ourselves" column to advertise that his West Hill "luxury home" was for sale, providing the asking price ($49,990), his home phone number, and a detailed

---

[107] Clery, 8.
[108] [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, June 13, 1964.

description of the house and property.[109] Then, in April 1972, *Justice Weekly* abruptly ceased publication. There was no indication in the April 15 issue that it would be the last one, which suggests that Daniels himself may not have realized that it was. In any case, after more than twenty-six years of publishing—during which time, at least according to Daniels, his paper came to be "regarded the world over as the undoubted leader in its special sphere of publication"[110]—*Justice Weekly* disappeared in 1972. The following note appeared soon after, in a *Hush* column replete with three-dot pauses:

> Retiring from the publishing game after 26 years at the helm of Justice Weekly, Phil "Darky" Daniels will devote his time to TV and radio. . . . Sorry to see you wipe off the printer's ink, Darky, and we'll have to reminisce over a tot of your favorite Crown Royal.[111]

Without Daniels's own account of his retirement, it is unclear whether he chose to retire or was forced to do so because of chronic health problems or even for financial reasons. He was seventy-nine years old, and the severe osteoarthritis with which he had lived for several decades was increasingly crippling. He spent a six-month period in Miami Beach, Florida, in the year following his retirement—a place he had once characterized as "a glorified Coney Island"[112]—and then settled back in the Toronto area for good. His health and physical mobility declined steadily, and he moved often, sometimes boarding with friends and sometimes living in motels. In June 1981, Daniels was admitted to Sunnybrook Veterans' Home, where he lived another seven years; he died of

---

[109] Philip H. Daniels, "Just between Ourselves," *JW*, Dec. 25, 1971.
[110] [Phil Daniels], "Vol. 27, No. 1," *JW*, Jan. 1, 1972.
[111] Ed Walker, "Toronto Breeze Around," *Hush*, April 22, 1972. I have found no record of Daniels appearing on TV or radio—or in print—after April 1972.
[112] [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, Jan. 17, 1959.

cardiac arrest in July 1988, at the age of ninety-five.[113] He was given a military funeral and was buried in the Jewish Canadian War Veterans section of Mount Sinai Memorial Park in Toronto.[114] He was the last surviving Hirschoff sibling, and his daughter—with whom he was not close—had moved to California decades before. No obituary was published for the newspaperman.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the background and private life of Phil Daniels informed the creation, style, and content of *Justice Weekly*. When few historical traces remain of a text, and particularly when that text is so closely tied to one individual, much insight can be found in biography and anecdotes. In a recent case study of a somewhat marginal BBC producer of the 1920s and 1930s, media historian David Hendy delves into details of the man's private life—his childhood and wartime experiences, for instance—which, Hendy contends, "indirectly shaped his broadcasting work in fundamental ways."[115] Further, Hendy suggests that any given broadcast likely bears traces of its producer's own experiences, anxieties, and ambitions. Without access to private journals or correspondence it is difficult to know much of Daniels's emotional life. However, there are certain personal details that we do know, and they complicate any assessment of *Justice Weekly* as merely one more cookie-cutter scandal sheet. Daniels was an outsider in a number of ways, for example—as a working-class Cockney immigrant, a Jew in the "city of churches," a twice-divorced man before divorce was common, a

[113] Philip Daniels file, Veterans Affairs Canada.
[114] Anita Green, interview.
[115] Hendy, 366.

veteran with a physical disability. His decades of experience with Toronto newspapers influenced his editorial choices, methods, and values. Moreover, his insistence on addressing personal interests and beefs in *Justice Weekly*, as well as his dedicated coverage of local courts, keeps the tabloid from being reduced to a generic sex paper concerned merely with the kinky and bizarre. Without Daniels, there would have been no *Justice Weekly*—and most likely, there would have been nothing exactly like *Justice Weekly*.

The life of Phil Daniels has not yet been immortalized in a biography, a Who's Who listing, or an encyclopedia entry. Perhaps it was not in itself a particularly extraordinary life, despite the fact that he spent some five decades involved in Toronto's newspaper business. However, the trajectory of Daniels's life and career is striking both for its many interactions with extraordinary people and events and for the connections it makes among various (masculine) cultural fields. Tracing his route through boxing, the military, and the press, one consistently encounters names of individuals who went on to become well-known in various arenas, while Daniels did and does remain largely obscure. Of course, this is because his life's work—his particular immigrant story—was not of the sort that is generally celebrated and admired. Unlike some early colleagues, he did not use the tabloid press as a springboard to a "legitimate" career. Owning a newspaper was his goal. *Justice Weekly* was not a stepping stone, but a destination. Compare his path with that of Allister Grosart, for example, his colleague at *Sports Weekly*: Grosart went on to a notable career in politics—first as chief strategist and then national director of the Progressive Conservative

Party—and was appointed to the Senate in 1962.[116] Daniels didn't have such lofty aspirations. In his own words, "Ours has been a practical life and our outlook has always been of a practical nature. Any dreaming we have done has been in our sleep."[117] Indeed, Daniels was decidedly and deliberately committed to the quotidian, and his success as a tabloid publisher depended largely on personal relationships formed previously in the military, at the racetracks, in the boxing ring, and at the synagogue. These realms are tied together in the story of this relatively obscure figure. It has been forty years since *Justice Weekly* was published, and twenty-five years since Daniels died. He was ahead of his time in many ways, and recognition of his groundbreaking work is overdue.

[116] "Hon. Allister Grosart," *The Speakers of the Senate of Canada* (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 2012), accessed Aug. 14, 2013. http://www.parl.gc.ca/about/parliament/speakers/sen/sp-35Grosart-e.htm.

[117] Phil Daniels, "Just between Ourselves," *JW*, May 30, 1970.

2

What Was *Justice Weekly*?: Form, Content, and Questions of Genre

A teenage girl came up with the name for *Justice Weekly*. Or, that is how the girl tells the story today. Her mother's brother, Uncle Phil, was at her house one day in 1945, telling the family that he was planning to launch a weekly newspaper. Fifteen-year-old Anita Gold said to him, "Uncle, you're always talking about justice. Why not call it *Justice Weekly*?" A week later, Phil Daniels stopped by again—this time to give his niece ten dollars for her suggestion.[118] As an origin story, this may or may not be true, but it does reflect well on Daniels: he advocated fairness at all levels, after all.

Wherever its title was born, *Justice Weekly* was developed in 1945 and debuted in 1946, a product of postwar Toronto and Daniels's thirty years in and around the local newspaper business. This chapter provides, first, an overview of the format and contents of *Justice Weekly*. Its stark design changed little over 2½ decades, and while certain editorial features came, went, and grew, the paper retained its anachronistic feel. The second part of this chapter addresses what may

[118] Anita Green, interview.

seem like a simple question: What was *Justice Weekly*? That is, in what category of publishing does this periodical fit? There is no simple answer. *Justice Weekly* evades easy classification, as it belonged neither to the mainstream nor to the "underground," and it contained a range of (unusual and deeply ambivalent) content. I will argue that *Justice Weekly* was a tabloid newspaper, but with elements of a sex periodical, and I will then review the far-reaching literature on tabloids—from the genre's historical development to the use of "tabloid" as a derogatory term in journalism—as it relates to *Justice Weekly*.

Justice Weekly: Form and content

The format of *Justice Weekly* remained relatively static over its twenty-six years. In particular, the paper always measured eight by eleven inches; was, except for a very brief period in the early years, sixteen pages in length; contained certain features every week; and placed these regular features on the same pages in most issues. The paper was also consistent in what it did not contain: images and colour. Other than a small line drawing of a hand holding scales within its front-page nameplate, *Justice Weekly* included virtually no photographs or drawings.[119] From week to week, large black headlines covered the front page, the layout of which was nearly identical for every issue, from 1946 to 1972; indeed, one would be hard pressed to distinguish a front page published during the paper's final year from one published during its first. A typical front page from the 1940s, for

[119] In its twenty-six-year run, there were a handful of exceptions. For example, two issues in June 1962 included a full-page photograph of cancelled international stamps, shown as proof that *Justice Weekly* received mail "from the 4 corners of the Earth" (June 23, 1962). Also, images occasionally appeared within (usually small) display advertisements.

example, contained the following elements: the *Justice Weekly* nameplate in the upper left corner; the price (5 cents), the date, and a box with self-promotional information directly under the nameplate (e.g., "Mining Gossip and Information"); two primary headlines running the width of the page below the nameplate (the upper one—located in the vertical centre of the page—larger than the lower one); two smaller headlines side by side at the bottom of the page; and a box with small table-of-contents-style headers in the upper right corner (sometimes advertising non-news items, such as letters and columns) (see Figure 7). A typical front page from 1957 had exactly the same layout, but without the side-by-side headlines at the bottom, and with a small header running the width of the top of the page (sometimes a news headline, sometimes a holiday greeting) and only one or two headlines in the upper-right box (see Figure 8). A typical front page from 1972 was identical in format to that from 1957 (see Figure 9). By contrast, both *Hush* and *Flash* (see Figure 10) printed their nameplates, and often a headline or two, in red or blue, and both papers frequently began articles and included photographs on their front pages, as did most of the other tabloids that came and went during the same period.

For the most part, the content of *Justice Weekly* was typical of tabloid fare, including court news, editorials, information on mining and horseracing, local gossip, letters to the editor, personal advertisements, and small display ads for local businesses. Specifically, pages 2 and 3 were the main news pages; page 4 was the editorial page; page 5 contained news stories or various features—for example, essays or short fiction—often reprinted from other publications

Figure 7. *Justice Weekly*, 1946.

Figure 8. *Justice Weekly*, 1957.

Figure 9. *Justice Weekly*, 1972.

Figure 10. *Flash*, 1955.

beginning in the early 1950s; pages 6 and 7 (and starting in 1957, pages 8 and 9 as well) contained the "Boy Meets Girl" column of personal ads; and the remaining pages contained various gossip columns, news items, and continuations of news stories from earlier pages, as well as a small amount of display advertising. Daniels readily admitted that "'Justice Weekly' bothers very little about advertising, depending upon its sales for upkeep."[120] He clearly drew from a wide variety of sources for content to fill his "one-man" newspaper, though these sources were not always credited. Most issues included news stories of court cases from "the Old Country," for example, which Daniels must have copied, or at least paraphrased, from British newspapers. In the early years, *Justice Weekly* included a column called "Canadian Panorama" (byline: "Marooned"), which featured newsy gossip from cities such as Winnipeg and Vancouver, as well as one called "Sweet and Sour" (byline: "B Sharp Minor"), in which popular U.S. entertainment was discussed and reviewed. The origin of these columns is not clear. Starting in the early 1950s, Daniels borrowed freely from publications such as the *K. P.* (Kingston Penitentiary) *Tele-Scope* and the homophile magazines *ONE* and *Mattachine Review* to fill page 5, and other pages. From the mid-1950s, only rarely was an editorial written in house; virtually all editorials were taken from other newspapers. Overall, perhaps the largest proportion of the tabloid's original content was provided by its readers, who contributed by writing letters to the editor and submitting personal advertisements.

[120] [Phil Daniels], "'Hush' Suing 'Flash' for $100,000," *JW*, June 16, 1956.

The local news stories in *Justice Weekly* were derived almost entirely from the city courts; Daniels regularly attended morning sessions of the Toronto Women's Court and police courts. These courts dealt mainly with family- and sex-related crimes, such as spousal assault, incest, prostitution, and indecent exposure. *Justice Weekly* included no news of murders, bank robberies, or celebrity scandals; instead, week after week, readers learned of the kinds of mundane cases that were usually kept hidden within families, churches, schools, and the local sex trade: sexual and domestic assaults, cases of gross indecency, child abuse and molestation, and robberies and beatings involving pimps or prostitutes, to name the most common topics.

Although the overall look and certain elements of *Justice Weekly* remained relatively static throughout its twenty-six-year run, a significant shift in tone took place in the 1950s. By the 1960s, the paper was defined mainly by its preoccupation with sexual "deviance," but in my view, this had not been Daniels's aim at the start. It is true that he began quite early on to print letters describing experiences of spanking; however, his marketing of *Justice Weekly* focused on other features, namely, mining information and tips on horses. A full-page house ad on the back page of the March 2, 1946, issue contained the following text, in large black type:

Get your copy of Justice Weekly ahead of time
Have it mailed to you Wednesday night by
subscribing for one year
This will give you the benefit of receiving MINE
and TURF INFORMATION 36 hours sooner.

The tabloid's mining section occupied a number of continuous pages in the beginning, but it decreased in size over the years. By the late 1950s, even the "Bay Street Grapevine," a mining-oriented gossip column, was gone. It was not merely the downsizing of the paper's mining section that characterized its shift in tone, though. Starting in the 1950s, *Justice Weekly* seemed to embrace its identity as a tabloid that specialized in unconventional sexualities, and Daniels sought actively to cultivate and nurture niche markets. The paper expanded its content related to corporal punishment and began to devote a significant amount of space to discussions of homosexuality. Further, its personal ads came to be dominated by those with unorthodox sexual desires.

In the mid-1960s, Daniels also made an effort to expand the *Justice Weekly* "brand," with the development of two spin-off publications. In 1965, a 100-page paperback book called *Selected Letters from Justice Weekly, Volume 1* was published; it included ninety-six letters to the editor that had been published in *Justice Weekly* in the mid-1950s, all of which described incidents of domestic corporal punishment. Daniels wrote in the book's foreword that he hoped to make *Selected Letters* a monthly publication, "so that purchasers will be able to collect a library of Letters To The Editor which will in due time also become collectors' items."[121] Soon after, a thirty-two-page tabloid newspaper called *Justice Monthly* was developed for the export market, to be sold on newsstands outside of Canada. *Justice Monthly* looked like *Justice Weekly* but it included more letters, more paid advertising, and six full pages of personal ads. *Justice Monthly* did not last longer

[121] Phil Daniels, ed., *Selected Letters from Justice Weekly*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Daniels Publications, 1965), 3.

than a few months. Daniels once wrote of travelling to Chicago in hopes of reviving the monthly tabloid—which had "got off to a bad start because of printing and other difficulties"—but it was not revived, nor mentioned again.[122] An ad in its April 1966 issue made clear the market that Daniels was at that time interested in developing for *Justice Weekly*:

> Subscribe to JUSTICE WEEKLY . . . Contains features to satisfy varied tastes: Sophisticates, Disciplinarians, Boot and Foot Slaves, Faddists, Transvestites, Couples, Ladies & Gentlemen, Scores of Personal Advertisements, Racing Selections, Unusual Original "Letters to the Editor" received from all parts of the world, etc. . . . Mailed in full length brown wrappers.

Between the mid-1940s and the early 1970s, despite the changes taking place in its content, the formal voice of *Justice Weekly* changed little. Daniels consistently wrote his editorials and columns in the third person—referring to himself as "your scrivener" or "this chronicler," for example—and as a rule he did not (in his own words) "descend to the vernacular."[123] Indeed, it seems as though the paper were the product of a different time altogether—an earlier period—with its anachronistic look and feel. As one journalist noted, "There's a certain period flavor about Justice Weekly, heightened by its archaic layout and typeface and its prim writing style, that disarms criticism."[124] Critics found ironic humour in the contrast between the paper's old-fashioned style and the racy content found within, as in, for instance, the coy title "Boy Meets Girl" for a column of personal ads devoted primarily to the interests of sadomasochists, sexual fetishists, and swinging couples.

---

[122] [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, Mar. 18, 1967.
[123] [Phil Daniels], "Obstructing Justice (?)," *JW*, Sept. 27, 1952.
[124] Clery, 7.

Classifying *Justice Weekly*

Judging by the existing literature, Canadian media historians have shown little interest in (or, perhaps, knowledge of) the tabloid press, particularly since World War Two. There is no mention at all of tabloids in *A History of Journalism in Canada*,[125] while two other oft-cited accounts of press history contain incorrect or incomplete information. According to *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper*, "Canada did not participate in the movement towards tabloid papers" in the 1920s—a statement belied by Susan Houston's study of the interwar tabloid press.[126] In *The Making of the Canadian Media*, a brief paragraph about "the sudden rush of tabloids which began in 1930" is not about the so-called scandal sheets, such as *Jack Canuck*, but other small-format newspapers (e.g., the *Montréal-Matin*, the Montreal *Herald*, the St. John *Citizen*, and the Vancouver *News-Herald*).[127] The recent *History of the Book in Canada* does contain a brief reference to the "big three" postwar tabloids—*Justice Weekly*, *Hush*, and *Flash*—in an essay titled "Major Trends in Canada's Print Mass Media," but readers would be forgiven for not knowing it: the tabloids are not listed in the volume's index.[128]

Keeping in mind that "the piece of evidence that is missing from where one might reasonably expect to find it is . . . a form of evidence in itself," one might conclude that the near-complete absence of *Justice Weekly* from Canadian

---

[125] W. H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967).

[126] Douglas Fetherling, *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper* (Toronto: Oxford, 1990), 108.

[127] Paul Rutherford, *The Making of the Canadian Media* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978), 83.

[128] Vipond, 243.

newspaper histories indicates a general scholarly neglect of marginal forms of journalism.[129] However, the scholar-detective's "reasonable expectation" may in fact be unreasonable, in that Canadian journalism history is not exactly a rich field.[130] It has been noted that Canada has trailed the United States in the production of "credible surveys of the development of newspapers, journalism, and magazines"; if even mainstream print media has been neglected, then it should come as no surprise that tabloids have attracted even less academic attention.[131] Further, one may be seeking evidence in altogether the wrong area. Mentions of *Justice Weekly* can indeed be found, but not in the field of publishing history; rather, one must delve into the history of sexuality. The first clue (to continue the metaphor of historical research as detective work) appears in the University of Toronto library catalogue, where *Justice Weekly* is catalogued differently than other, similar periodicals. The *Rocket,* the *Bomber*, and *Tab Confidential*, to name three other postwar tabloids housed at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, are each listed under two subject headings: "Sensationalism in journalism—Canada" and "Tabloid newspapers—Canada." By contrast, *Justice Weekly* is listed under the subject headings "Administration of justice—periodicals" and "Paraphilias—periodicals."[132] This emphasis on sexual "deviations" is related not to the paper's coverage of sex crimes, as one might

---

[129] Robin W. Winks, "Introduction," in *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence*, ed. Robin W. Winks (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), xvii.

[130] The term *scholar-detective* is from Cocks and Rubery, "Margins of Print," 2.

[131] Buxton and McKercher, 103.

[132] In fact, when I first accessed *Justice Weekly*'s library record at the University of Toronto, in August 2007, it was listed under "Sexual deviations—periodicals"; this subject heading has since been changed by the Library of Congress to the less openly judgmental "Paraphilias—periodicals." *Justice Weekly* is the only title catalogued at the University of Toronto under either "Administration of justice—periodicals" or "Paraphilias—periodicals."

assume, but to its preoccupation (especially in letters to the editor and personal ads) with corporal punishment and sadomasochism, transvestism, and other marginalized forms of sexual expression, as well as with homosexuality. Indeed, the co-existence and negotiation of these two subjects—justice and sexual "deviations"—are at the very core of *Justice Weekly*'s identity. As it turns out, this tabloid has not been forgotten. A number of significant archives for sex-related research have *Justice Weekly* in their collections, including the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, in Toronto; the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, at Indiana University; and the Leather Archives and Museum, in Chicago. In addition, one is just as likely, and possibly more likely, to come across a published reference to *Justice Weekly* in relation to sexual subcultures as in relation to the newspaper industry, indicating that it existed as a tabloid newspaper but also contained elements of a niche-market sex periodical.[133]

To determine what kind of periodical *Justice Weekly* actually was, it is productive to explore what it was not. For instance, though *Justice Weekly* was by no means a mainstream newspaper, it cannot necessarily be considered an "alternative" or "underground" paper. It is true that, in many elements of its content, *Justice Weekly* did feature "the voices of those who might not otherwise get a hearing," which is indeed characteristic of alternative publishing.[134]

---

[133] See, for example, Joseph W. Bean, "Leathersex and Sexuality," in *Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History in America*, ed. Marc Stein (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2007), 155; Robert B. Marks Ridinger, "Things Visible and Invisible: The Leather Archives and Museum," *Journal of Homosexuality* 43, no. 1 (2002): 7.

[134] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Out of the Mainstream and into the Streets: Small Press Magazines, the Underground Press, Zines, and Artists' Books," in *Perspectives on American Book*

However, as Laura Kipnis showed in her analysis of *Hustler* magazine, a text can be counter-hegemonic without necessarily being politically progressive.[135] While *Justice Weekly* may have facilitated communication by and within certain subcultural groups (e.g., by republishing essays and stories from a prison magazine, by representing sadomasochism and other sexual variances in letters to the editor and personal advertisements), it was not *of* those groups. It was a commercial enterprise owned and controlled by an outsider, whereas *alternative* and *underground* are labels generally applied to grassroots periodicals that arise from politically progressive or radical movements. Nor did *Justice Weekly* appear in bibliographies of Canada's alternative press that were compiled while it was still on the newsstands, indicating that it was not then considered in such terms.[136] In another, related yet perhaps more current sense of the word, *alternative* often refers to news outlets that politicize their selection of content yet circulate primarily among educated, middle-class audiences, such as Vancouver's *Georgia Straight*; "in these cases, [the alternative press's] political struggle is conducted between class fractions rather than between classes."[137] This politicized assessment of "alternative news" certainly excludes *Justice Weekly*, which did not, in my opinion, hail educated middle-class readers.

History: Artifacts and Commentary, ed. Scott E. Casper, Joanne D. Chaison, and Jeffrey D. Groves (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts, 2002), 367.

[135] Laura Kipnis, "(Male) Desire and (Female) Disgust: Reading *Hustler*," in *Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[136] Anne Leibl, "Canada's Underground Press," *Canadian Library Journal* 27, no. 1 (1970): 16–23; Anne Woodsworth, *The "Alternative" Press in Canada: A Checklist of Underground, Revolutionary, Radical, and Other Alternative Serials from 1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1972).

[137] John Fiske, "Popularity and the Politics of Information," in *Journalism and Popular Culture*, ed. Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks (London: Sage 1992), 47.

Just as *Justice Weekly* did not spring from any political movement, and thus cannot accurately be labelled "alternative" or "underground," it also cannot be considered part of the gay press. Even though its publication of gay content in the 1950s was prolific and, as I will discuss in chapter 5, pioneering, *Justice Weekly* obviously did not originate from within any gay community.[138] Nor was it necessarily gay positive; along with other postwar tabloids, it has been criticized for publishing damaging exposés of gay individuals.[139] Much of the editorial content it reprinted from publications such as *ONE* and the *Mattachine Review* was about legal and social issues related to homosexuality; when short fiction appeared, it often ended in heartbreak or loneliness for the gay protagonist, not in sexual fulfillment. Indeed, because *Justice Weekly* focused indirectly on sexuality, through (often coded) depictions of sexual fetishism rather than of heterosexual or homosexual sex acts, it also does not fit comfortably in the field of pornographic literature.

Commonalities can be found between *Justice Weekly* and a range of publications considered controversial in the postwar years, particularly in the late 1940s and the 1950s. Like pulp magazines, dime novels, and crime comics, it published crime-related content that might be described as sensational or salacious; however, unlike these other genres, it never became a target for moral crusaders or legal action.[140] Perhaps *Justice Weekly* avoided public controversy

---

[138] Histories of the gay press, understandably, focus on publishing done not just *for* but *by* gay men and lesbians; whatever the publisher of *Justice Weekly* may have done or desired in private, he explicitly identified himself in print as heterosexual.

[139] See, for example, Bruce DeMara, "The Persecution of the Gays," *Toronto Star*, Aug. 9, 1992.

[140] Mary Louise Adams, "Youth, Corruptibility, and English-Canadian Postwar Campaigns against Indecency, 1948–1955," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6, no. 1 (1995):

because, although available on newsstands and thus, in theory, accessible to children, it did not make explicit appeals to young readers and so was not regarded as a potential corruptor of youth. Moreover, the tabloids could publish stories about "court cases that had a sexual angle . . . with reasonable safety from an obscenity prosecution by arguing that they were simply reporting court proceedings and had a right to do so."[141] This was indeed the argument Daniels made on behalf of *Justice Weekly*.

Any controversy that *Justice Weekly* attracted was the result not of its crime news, or even news of sex crimes, but of (the amount of and the nature of) other sex-related content. Though it would make sense to situate *Justice Weekly* within the scholarly literature on periodicals concerning sexual "deviance," this would require such a body of literature to exist. One can find histories of the gay press,[142] but histories or critical studies of periodicals related to non-gay sexual subcultures are scarce. Such publications certainly existed at the same time as *Justice Weekly*; after all, the majority of the 150 titles deemed "obscene" by Ontario's obscene literature committee in the early 1960s "dealt with perversion, sadism and masochism."[143] Still, these "sex magazines" have been almost

---

89–117; Mona Gleason, "'They Have a Bad Effect': Crime Comics, Parliament, and the Hegemony of the Middle Class in Postwar Canada," in *Pulp Demons: International Dimensions of the Postwar Anti-Comics Campaign*, ed. John A. Lent (Madison, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999); Jonathan Swainger, "American Crime Comics as Villains: An Incident from Northern Canada," *Legal Studies Forum* 22 (1998): 215–31.

[141] Martin L. Friedland, *My Life in Crime and Other Academic Adventures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2007), 48.

[142] For histories related to the gay press, see Jim Kepner, *Rough News, Daring Views: 1950s Pioneer Gay Press Journalism* (New York: Harrington Park, 1998); Craig Loftin, *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America* (New York: SUNY Press, 2012); Donald W. McLeod, *A Brief History of* GAY*: Canada's First Gay Tabloid, 1964–1966* (Toronto: Homewood Books, 2003); Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995).

[143] Peter Bruton, "Don't Ban It!" *Telegram Showcase*, Nov. 14, 1964.

completely ignored by scholarly researchers in any field, outside of a couple of dated articles: a psychosocial content analysis of 72 British sex-fetish magazines; and a librarian's argument that collections of "erotic/pornographic materials" can provide historians with "information that is difficult if not impossible to find elsewhere about such stigmatized sexual activities as homosexuality, bondage, and masochism."[144] An interesting non-academic source is also worth mentioning. A 1967 book called *The Undergrowth of Literature*—"a survey of current [sexual] fantasy literature" in Britain—contains a number of excerpts taken from *Justice Monthly*, which the author describes simply as "a Canadian publication with a newspaper format."[145] Judging by this book, *Justice Monthly* (along with *Justice Weekly*) was by no means unique in its stories of spanking, boot fetishes, and petticoat punishment, nor in its sadomasochism-themed personal ads. Still, despite the fact that the 1960s was a kind of "golden age" of the sex tabloid, no in-depth studies have yet been made of these kinds of magazines.

Having determined that *Justice Weekly* is not an underground/alternative or gay newspaper, nor a pornographic magazine, nor one of Canada's publicly controversial postwar publications, I choose to approach it as a hybrid—part tabloid newspaper, part sex-fetish magazine, with a leaky boundary between the two categories—and yet to refer to it primarily as a tabloid. Therefore, I have chosen to locate this project primarily within the literature on tabloid studies,

---

[144] J. J. Gayford, "Sex Magazines," in *Sex Magazines in the Library Collection: A Scholarly Study of Sex in Serials and Periodicals*, ed. Peter Gellatly (New York: Haworth Press, 1981); Vern L. Bullough, "Research and Archival Value of Erotica/Pornography," in *Libraries, Erotica, and Pornography*, ed. Martha Cornog (Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1991), 100.

[145] Gillian Freeman, *The Undergrowth of Literature* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1967), 1, 44.

largely because *Justice Weekly* explicitly identified itself as a tabloid, aligned itself with other tabloids in opposition to the mainstream press, and was characterized as a tabloid in other newspapers and magazines of the day (for example, in articles about "the Toronto tabloids").

Tabloid history and research

There is a long history of sensationalism in newspapers, stretching back beyond the use of the word "tabloid" in describing them. Originally coined by a pill manufacturer (it combines *tablet* and *alkaloid*), the word was first applied to a newspaper in 1896, when publisher Alfred Harmsworth designed the London *Daily Mail* to be "like a small, concentrated, effective pill," half the size of a regular broadsheet.[146] The label of "tabloid" quickly came to refer both to a newspaper's condensed format and to the sensational style and subject matter of its content. The substance of tabloids has changed over time, of course, but common to most is a preoccupation with crime, violence, sex, celebrity, gossip, and scandal. They generally rely on newsstand sales and share certain formal characteristics as well: an attention-grabbing front page, usually dominated by a single headline and an image; brief articles, often presented in an informal tone; and, since the 1920s, the inclusion of a great number of photographs.[147] Accusations of populism, sensationalism, and oversimplification have remained more or less constant throughout the history of the tabloid press. Whether the

[146] Henrik Örnebring and Anna Maria Jönsson. "Tabloid Journalism and the Public Sphere: A Historical Perspective on Tabloid Journalism," in *The Tabloid Culture Reader*, ed. Anita Biressi and Heather Nunn (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008), 28.

[147] Karin E. Becker, "Photojournalism and the Tabloid Press," in *Journalism and Popular Culture*, ed. Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks (London: Sage, 1992), 139.

populist weeklies of the 1920s or the more recent celebrity-obsessed supermarket tabloids, these papers have occupied the position of "a kind of journalistic *other*" in relation to mainstream journalism, widely criticized and easily dismissed.[148] Moreover, the word *tabloid* has become detached from print journalism in recent years; as an adjective, it can be applied to television or any other media "featuring stories of violence, crime, or scandal presented in a sensational manner."[149] Hence, recent books such as *Tabloid Culture* and *The Tabloid Culture Reader* engage with newspapers, magazines, television, and the Internet.[150] It has been noted that the very word *tabloid* has come to signify "everything which serious, responsible, good-quality journalism is not"; in effect, "tabloid journalism means, simply, bad journalism."[151] One result of this journalistic othering is that it precludes the possibility of "good," or "quality," tabloid journalism. In fact, the word need no longer even refer to journalism (however loosely that term can be applied) nor to any particular medium, as seen not only in the term "tabloid culture" but also in the increasing adoption of "tabloid" in a variety of media-related contexts to signal a particular (sensational, abbreviated, profit-driven) kind of cultural discourse: "tabloid geopolitics," "tabloid terror," "tabloid justice," and so on.[152] Writing in 1999, Graeme Turner pointed out that the phenomenon of

---

[148] Örnebring and Jönsson, 23.

[149] *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, s.v. "tabloid," accessed July 20, 2009, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/tabloid.

[150] Kevin Glynn, *Tabloid Culture: Trash Taste, Popular Power, and the Transformation of American Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Anita Biressi and Heather Nunn, eds., *The Tabloid Culture Reader* (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008).

[151] Örnebring and Jönsson, 23.

[152] See, for example, François Debrix, *Tabloid Terror: War, Culture, and Geopolitics* (London: Routledge, 2008); Richard L. Fox, Robert W. Van Sickel, and Thomas L. Steiger, *Tabloid Justice: Criminal Justice in an Age of Media Frenzy*, 2nd ed. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2007).

"tabloidization" had already "become implausibly inclusive"; he argued that the term be jettisoned, as it is "too baggy, imprecise and value-laden to be of any use."[153] In relation to *Justice Weekly*, I use the word *tabloid* in its earlier, less "baggy" sense, to refer to a kind of newspaper that positions itself in opposition to the dominant, mainstream press; that is largely concerned with crime- and sex-related news and gossip; and that is roughly half the size of a conventional broadsheet. It is meant not as a pejorative term, but as a descriptive one.

Though no newspaper was called a tabloid before Harmsworth's *Daily Mail*, the word has been applied retroactively, as far back as the seventeenth century. The author of *The Reinvention of Obscenity*, for example, locates the origins of tabloid journalism in "obscene" literature of early modern France, borne of the emergence of print culture and secular censorship.[154] The popularity of sensational crime reporting in Victorian England—especially in contrast to the common stereotypes of prim and proper Victorians—has been well documented, although less so than that of sensational Victorian literature.[155] In the United States, before there was the so-called tabloid press, there was the "penny press" of the 1830s, aimed at newly literate working-class readers with content that was criticized as lurid, vulgar, and potentially corrupting to public morality.[156] There

---

[153] Graeme Turner, "Tabloidization, Journalism, and the Possibility of Critique," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 2, no. 1 (1999): 68, 70.

[154] Joan DeJean, *The Reinvention of Obscenity: Sex, Lies, and Tabloids in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

[155] Thomas Boyle, *Black Swine in the Sewers of Hampstead: Beneath the Surface of Victorian Sensationalism* (New York: Penguin, 1989); Michael Diamond, *Victorian Sensation: Or the Spectacular, the Shocking, and the Scandalous in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Anthem, 2003); Judith Rowbotham and Kim Stevenson, eds., *Criminal Conversations: Victorian Crimes, Social Panic, and Moral Outrage* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005).

[156] Susan Thompson, *The Penny Press: The Origins of the Modern News Media, 1833–1861* (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2004).

was also the "flash press" of 1840s New York, comprising ribald weekly papers that contained "a titillating brew of gossip about prostitutes, theatrical denizens, and sports contents" aimed at male readers.[157] The 1870s saw a new incarnation of the titillating men's tabloid, in the *National Police Gazette*, which mixed gossip, sports, and a chatty tone with "graphic depictions of murders, seductions and horrible accidents—all that was gruesome or thrilling."[158] The *Gazette*'s preoccupation with crime, violence, and sex informed the practice of "new journalism" among the daily press, in which news was "packaged . . . as a series of melodramas and atrocities, of titillating events covered as spectacles."[159] This period witnessed the proliferation of "yellow journalism," particularly in the notorious battle for readers between the Joseph Pulitzer–owned *New York World* and the William Randolph Hearst–owned *New York Journal* in the 1890s, which was characterized by crusades and campaigns along with a preoccupation with crime, sensation, and emotion.[160] The penny press, flash press, and yellow press were all precursors to the pictorial tabloid press—the so-called "jazz journalism"—that flourished in American cities in the 1920s.[161] The success of tabloids such as the New York *Daily News* and the Chicago *Daily Illustrated Times* demonstrated the continuing appeal to readers of entertaining accounts of

---

[157] Patricia Cline Cohen, Timothy J. Gilfoyle, and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Flash Press: Sporting Male Weeklies in 1840s New York* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 1.

[158] Elliott J. Gorn, "The Wicked World: *The National Police Gazette* and Gilded-Age America," *Media Studies Journal* 6, no. 1 (1992): 5.

[159] Ibid., 3. By the 1920s, the *Police Gazette* had mostly abandoned its focus on crime and justice news in favour of sports and entertainment coverage.

[160] W. Joseph Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001).

[161] Simon Michael Bessie, *Jazz Journalism: The Story of the Tabloid Newspaper* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1938).

crime, sex, and celebrities.[162] The tabloids may have been criticized for producing "cheap slush" for "the lightweight reader," but their popularity was undeniable, at least in urban markets; the tabloids of the 1920s were read by three times as many New Yorkers as was the *New York Times*.[163]

The interwar years also saw the rise of a popular English-language tabloid press in Canada. Though two notable tabloids were published prior to the First World War—the Calgary *Eye-Opener* debuted in 1902, while Toronto's *Jack Canuck* was launched in 1911—it was only in the 1920s that "the racy 5-cent weekly hit its stride."[164] Beginning in 1922 with *The Axe* in Montreal, a number of (short-lived) tabloids were launched that appeared to be "dedicated to exposing corruption, hypocrisy, and privilege," including *The Thunderer* (1929–1930) and *Thunder* (1931–1932).[165] The most successful by far was *Hush*, which was started in 1927. Aside from a few gaps in publication between 1937 and 1941, *Hush* survived until late 1973. Another nationally distributed 1930s weekly tabloid, *Flash* (1938–c.1973), was created by two men formerly associated with *Hush*; in fact, it was said that the similarity in the two names was a deliberate attempt by the upstart *Flash* to cash in on the popularity and familiarity of the older *Hush*.[166] Not all of Canada's interwar tabloids focused primarily on crime, courts, and corruption, however; *Sports Weekly* (1932–1939), as noted in the previous

---

[162] Mary Ann Weston, "*The Daily Illustrated Times*: Chicago's Tabloid Newspaper," *Journalism History* 16, nos. 3/4 (1989): 76–86.

[163] Richard G. De Rochemont, "Tabloid Journalism," in *American History Told by Contemporaries, Vol. V: Twentieth Century United States, 1900–1929*, ed. Albert Bushnell Hart (New York: Macmillan, 1931), 636, 635; Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California, 1985), 60.

[164] Houston, 37.

[165] Ibid., 38–39.

[166] Rasky, "Canada's Scandalous Scandal Sheets," 76.

chapter, presented news of sports, radio, and the theatre, while the formerly U.S.-based *Brevities* dealt not in news but in celebrity gossip.[167] The years following World War Two saw even more tabloid papers launched in Toronto, including *Justice Weekly*, *T.N.T.* (started in 1950), the *Rocket* (1951), and *Toronto Tab* (1956; later *TAB Confidential*). In Montreal, more than a dozen French-language tabloid weeklies—known as *journaux jaunes*—were published in the 1950s and 1960s, while the successful English-language *Midnight* (1954–1974) would eventually be sold, moved to the U.S., and renamed the *Globe*—still one of the top supermarket tabloids.[168] In Toronto, the early 1970s saw both the demise of most surviving postwar tabloids—*Justice Weekly*, *Hush*, and *Flash*—and the establishment of the *Toronto Sun*, the first of a chain of new daily tabloids to be published in Canadian cities (the other cities being Ottawa, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Calgary). Today, the Sun Media Corporation is the largest newspaper publisher in the country; in addition to the English-language *Sun* tabloids, the company owns two French-language *Journal* tabloids (in Montreal and Quebec) and free commuter dailies in six Canadian cities.[169] Most likely, the word "tabloid" today conjures a specimen of either the newsstand tabloid press, like the *Toronto Sun*, or the supermarket tabloid press.[170] A huge publishing phenomenon

---

[167] Ritchie and Tate, 18; Straw, "Traffic in Scandal."

[168] [Will Straw], "Print Culture and Urban Visuality: Montreal's *presse jaune*," accessed Sept. 17, 2013, http://strawresearch.mcgill.ca/printculture/gallery2/front.html; Bill Sloan, *I Watched A Wild Hog Eat My Baby!: A Colorful History of Tabloids and Their Cultural Impact* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2001).

[169] According to its website, Sun Media also owns more than two hundred smaller dailies, weeklies, and specialty publications. "About Us," Sun Media: A Quebecor Media Company, accessed Aug. 16, 2013, http://www.sunmedia.ca/SunMedia/.

[170] The newsstand tabloid press and the supermarket tabloid press—as opposed to the serious, semiserious, and serious-popular press—are categories of newspapers identified by Colin Sparks ("Introduction: The Panic over Tabloid News," in *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over*

of the 1980s, supermarket tabloids left behind the earlier, local coverage of courts and police in favour of (arguably fictional) celebrity gossip and/or reports of extraterrestrials and two-headed babies.

A wide variety (if not a huge amount, when compared with some other popular texts) of scholarly research exists that deals with modern tabloid newspapers, most of it concerned with the United States. Aside from histories of particular titles and sub-genres, studies have touched on issues including representations of gender, class, and race; tabloid uses of language and photographs; and occupational practices of tabloid journalists.[171] Scholars have looked at the tabloid press through various critical lenses, employing concepts such as the carnivalesque and the public sphere.[172] The supermarket tabloids in particular have been the object of wide study, attracting multidisciplinary attention that ranges from book-length cultural histories, written by both academics and non-academics, to arguments made by librarians in support of incorporating tabloids into library collections.[173] For the most part, scholars make

---

Media Standards, ed. Colin Sparks and John Tulloch [Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000], 15).

[171] Theron Britt, "Reversing the Romance: Class and Gender in the Supermarket Tabloids," *Prospects*, no. 21 (1996): 435–51; Michael Pickering, "Sex in the Sun: Racial Stereotypes and Tabloid News," *Social Semiotics* 18, no. 3 (2008): 363–75; Becker, "Photojournalism and the Tabloid Press"; Otto Friedrich, "A Vivacious Blonde Was Fatally Shot Today or How to Read a Tabloid," In *Language Awareness*, 2nd ed., ed. Paul Eschholz, Alfred Rosa, and Virginia Clark (New York: St. Martin's, 1978); Deborah Schaffer, "Shocking Secrets Revealed! The Language of Tabloid Headlines," *Et cetera*, no. 52 (1995): 27–36; Mark Deuze, "Popular Journalism and Professional Ideology: Tabloid Reporters and Editors Speak Out," *Media, Culture, and Society* 27, no. 6 (2005): 861–82; Mathieu M. Rhoufari, "Talking about the Tabloids: Journalists' Views," in *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over Media Standards*, ed. Colin Sparks and John Tulloch (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

[172] Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*; Örnebring and Jönsson.

[173] S. Elizabeth Bird, *For Enquiring Minds: A Cultural Study of Supermarket Tabloids* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992); Rebecca Sturm Kelm, "From Supermarket to Library: Tabloids in the Permanent Collection," in *Popular Culture and Acquisitions*, ed. Allen W. Ellis (New York: Haworth, 1992); Idem, "The Lack of Access to Back Issues of the Weekly Tabloids: Does It Matter?" *Journal of Popular Culture* 23, no. 4 (1990): 45–50; Paula E. Morton,

comparisons between the tabloid press and the "quality press," at least to some degree if such a comparison is not the main focus of their research.[174] The fact that scholars from a wide range of disciplines—including journalism, anthropology, sociology, history, and library sciences—have engaged with the tabloid press suggests that tabloids are particularly suited to a multidisciplinary approach.

Of all the research on tabloids, only a handful of articles have addressed those published in postwar Canada. No one has yet sketched out a historical overview of the postwar tabloid press as Susan Houston did for the interwar tabloids. Madge Pon, for instance, examines the construction of anti-Chinese racism in the pre–World War One tabloid *Jack Canuck*. However, she provides little historical information about the paper, concerned instead with its role in perpetuating racism through the use of language and metaphors that promoted fear of a "yellow peril" among white readers in the 1910s.[175] Pon's is the only study of racialized discourse in a Canadian tabloid. Nearly every other study of the tabloids focuses on sexuality, and most concentrate on the 1950s. Specifically, virtually all research into this country's tabloid newspapers is concerned with their representations of homosexuality and the productive uses that could be made of their (largely homophobic) gay- and lesbian-related content. In an article whose title—"Hell Witches in Toronto"—is taken directly from the pages of *Hush*,

---

Tabloid Valley: Supermarket News and American Culture (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2009); Jack Vitek, *The Godfather of Tabloid: Generoso Pope Jr. and the National Enquirer* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2008).

[174] S. Elizabeth Bird, "Storytelling on the Far Side: Journalism and the Weekly Tabloid," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (1990): 377–89.

[175] Madge Pon, "Like a Chinese Puzzle: The Construction of Chinese Masculinity in *Jack Canuck*," in *Gender and History in Canada*, ed. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996).

Steven Maynard argues that while that tabloid may have "peddled negative messages about lesbianism" in the late 1920s, its articles on high-society lesbian "orgies" and descriptions of "mannish" women also introduced lesbian culture to a wide readership.[176] However inadvertently, then, the tabloid *Hush* can be seen as "one significant site of public lesbian visibility" at a time when such visibility was extremely limited or nonexistent in mainstream media.[177] Other research into the relationships between tabloids and gays or lesbians is concerned with the period following World War Two. Toronto was clearly the tabloid capital of English Canada in the postwar decades, while a large number of French-language *journaux jaunes* were published in Montreal. Although the French-language tabloid press lies beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is worth noting an early article concerning the tabloid *Ici Montréal*. Ross Higgins and Line Chamberland approach Montreal's "yellow press" of the 1950s as "vehicles of social discourse" that dealt with taboo subjects, including (mostly male) homosexuality.[178] The discourses found in the pages of *Ici Montréal* were contradictory: on the one hand, articles warned of "inverts" and traded in homophobic stereotypes, while on the other, letters, columns, and personal ads provided useful information about—and the potential for contact within—the local gay scene. Similar discourses are identified by David Churchill in "Mother Goose's Map," an article named for the gay-gossip columnist featured in another postwar Toronto tabloid, *The Rocket*.

---

[176] Steven Maynard, "'Hell Witches in Toronto': Notes on Lesbian Visibility in Early-Twentieth-Century Canada," *Left History* 9, no. 2 (2004): 200.

[177] Ibid., 201.

[178] Ross Higgins and Line Chamberland, "Mixed Messages: Gays and Lesbians in Montreal Yellow Papers in the 1950s," in *The Challenge of Modernity: A Reader on Post-Confederation Canada*, ed. Ian McKay (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992), 425.

Churchill claims that tabloids such as *Hush* and *Flash* often aligned homosexuality with criminality, while at the same time their articles about gay men were open to multiple readings and may have served as "an anecdotal urban guide" to gay sites in the city.[179] Focusing on the tabloids' gossip columns, Churchill investigates the construction of same-sex social spaces in 1950s Toronto—an "imagined gay geography" that included parks, public restrooms, cinemas, and bars that were "colonize[d] and subvert[ed]" by gay men.[180] Such sites—and a gay public sphere in general—were secured, in part, because the tabloids published accounts of gay social life that publicized certain locations. (These sites may have been "secured," but were not necessarily *secure*; many stories published in the tabloids describe arrests, beatings, and other consequences befalling gay men in public places.) In a study of the same time and place, Eric Setliff notes that—despite the fact that the postwar decade was marked by both social conservatism and a "sex crime panic"—sex-offending and homosexuality were not linked in the frequent representations of gay men found in *Hush*. Instead, that tabloid portrayed the homosexual primarily as a harmless, effeminate "swish": "an abnormal but innocuous individual, the gay man was generally tolerated, often ridiculed, and only occasionally condemned."[181] Moreover, there was an emphasis in *Hush*, particularly in its gossip columns, on a gay *community* in Toronto; much was written on the social activities of "the lavender set," and

---

[179] David S. Churchill, "Mother Goose's Map: Tabloid Geographies and Gay Male Experience in 1950s Toronto," *Journal of Urban History* 30, no. 6 (2004): 830.

[180] Ibid., 830.

[181] Eric Setliff, "Sex Fiends or Swish Kids?: Gay Men in *Hush Free Press*, 1946–1956," in *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*, ed. Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999), 159.

while such content relied largely on homophobic stereotypes, Setliff points out that "it also validated the existence of homosexuals and their right to that existence."[182] Much as it had with its gossip about lesbians in the 1920s, then, *Hush* in the postwar decade functioned as a site of visibility and validation for homosexuality—and likely a resource for individuals who were curious about becoming involved in Toronto's gay community. The consensus among these researchers, then, is that the tabloids—particularly *Hush*, which has been studied most often—published content that was anti-gay to various degrees, while also functioning as an important resource for gays and lesbians at a time when few other resources existed.

None of these studies provides an in-depth history of Canada's postwar tabloid press. Surprisingly, none deals with *Justice Weekly*, though some historians have recognized the role played by Daniels's tabloid in the development of Toronto's gay community. Gary Kinsman, for example, has suggested that *Justice Weekly* "may have doubled as an important source of information for gays and lesbians," and further, that its frequent inclusion of gay-related content "provided a homophile or gay subtext" to the paper.[183] Making a similar argument, Robert Champagne has called for further research "on the role of *Justice Weekly*—as well as the other scandal tabloids—as pseudo-homophile publications."[184] His call essentially went unanswered for twenty-five years.

---

[182] Setliff, 178.

[183] Gary Kinsman, *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities*, 2nd ed. (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1996), 168.

[184] Robert Champagne, "Introduction," in *Jim Egan: Canada's Pioneer Gay Activist*, comp. Robert Champagne (Toronto: Canadian Lesbian and Gay History Network, 1987), 1.

Conclusion

In the course of my research, I contacted a former journalist whose professional path had crossed that of Phil Daniels; I was hoping for some insight into *Justice Weekly* and its publisher-editor. As host of the CBC Radio program *Matinee* and also of CBC-TV's *The Morning After*, Danny Finkleman interviewed Daniels on several occasions in 1970.[185] At first, Finkleman told me he remembered nothing of Daniels or his tabloid; then, he recalled that Daniels was "an English bloke" and "a well-spoken, civilized guy"; finally, he asked of *Justice Weekly*, "Was it a 'scandal sheet'? But a little different—with sex—did it have personal ads?"[186] With these questions, Finkleman managed to encapsulate what may well be the essence of *Justice Weekly*: it was a "scandal sheet," but a little different—with sex.

Whatever one makes of *Justice Weekly*, one cannot help but be impressed by Daniels's long career in Toronto's newspaper business and his commitment to publishing. By all accounts, he was professional, and he took himself and his work very seriously. In fact, he bristled at the term "journalist," preferring the grittier and, in his view, less pretentious "newspaperman."[187] The anachronistic formality that seems to have surrounded Daniels in person presents an intriguing contrast with the contents of his creation, *Justice Weekly*; indeed, one writer observed "a gaping hiatus between the character of Daniels and the character of

[185] Finkleman, now retired, is probably best known as the somewhat cranky host of *Finkleman's 45s*, a music program broadcast Saturday evenings on CBC Radio from 1985 to 2005.

[186] Danny Finkleman, telephone interview by author, Feb. 5, 2010.

[187] "'Playboy' and 'Justice' Exchange Letters," *JW*, May 3, 1969.

his tabloid."[188] Of course, the very notion that respectability and professionalism are at odds with tabloid journalism goes back to the earliest sensational weekly newspapers. This "gaping hiatus" is only one of the many contradictions to be found in *Justice Weekly*, as will be explored in the following chapters.

[188] Clery, 7.

3

Speaking of Spanking: Discipline and Delinquency in *Justice Weekly*

After twenty-one-year-old Mary and her nineteen-year-old sister, Dorothy, had stayed out a New Year's Eve party until 3:00 a.m., their mother told them, "Don't be surprised if you each get your bottom smacked." Each young woman was put face down across her father's knees, skirt up and knickers down; each was spanked soundly. Mary wrote about the experience in a letter, in which she described "crying bitterly with the pain" and noted that she "found sitting down uncomfortable for the next few days." She concluded that "in future [she] would try to avoid deserving another spanking." This letter was not written in Mary's private diary, nor sent in confidence to a friend; it was published in *Justice Weekly*, on May 18, 1946.

Almost from the beginning, and then continuously throughout its twenty-six years of publication, *Justice Weekly* was a regular source of letters describing spankings given and received. To today's reader, they seem both old-fashioned and racy somehow; they also seem to have sprung fully formed out of nowhere, beginning abruptly and related only tangentially to the tabloid's other content.

However, a combination of textual and historical analysis reveals that these letters are rooted in centuries-old erotic narratives of flagellation and, in fact, bear a close resemblance in both style and substance to stories and letters published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Specifically, the spanking letters published in *Justice Weekly* during the 1940s and early 1950s can be seen as a hybrid of historical British flagellation fiction and flagellation correspondence. These letters typically address corporal punishment as an issue to be debated but also include elements of fiction (e.g., dialogue) and pornography (e.g., fetishization of parts of the body).

If *Justice Weekly*'s letters strongly resemble these two sets of historical English literature, what about their content was particular to their postwar Canadian context? Although debates on the corporal punishment of children were not new in the 1940s, they fit exceptionally well with postwar concerns about the Canadian family and the perceived threat of juvenile delinquency that accompanied such concerns. The letters on spanking in *Justice Weekly* make a great deal of cultural sense when viewed in terms of these concerns; moreover, Daniels was clearly well aware of the public's anxieties around the nation's youth, using them to justify his publication of letters that in fact read more like thinly veiled sexual fantasies than like expressions of public opinion. The recurring themes and motifs in the letters themselves are nearly identical to those found in historical pornography, and there is no doubt that readers found them entertaining and titillating—just as readers of similar narratives in earlier British magazines had. Of course, publishing is a business and Daniels would take

readers (and free copy) any way he could get them, but his ability to link the spanking letters to a real postwar panic over juvenile delinquency enabled him to portray *Justice Weekly* as a relevant and legitimate newspaper, especially as it was establishing itself in the marketplace.

This chapter focuses on the spanking letters published in *Justice Weekly* during its first five years of publication, from early 1946 through 1950. The tabloid continued to publish letters on spanking until it ceased publication in 1972, but the nature of the letters changed as the years passed, becoming more overtly sexual by the mid-1950s and downright kinky in the 1960s. Although these later letters provide a rich archive of correspondence related to the sexual pleasures found in flagellation, as well as other unconventional sexual practices, it is the earlier letters that are the focus of this chapter. It is necessary to limit an analysis of the letters in part because of the sheer volume of material; after all, *Justice Weekly* was published for twenty-six years and contained thousands of letters in total. More of an effort was made by Daniels to legitimize the letters in the first five years, to stress their valid contribution to larger conversations around discipline and delinquency, and it is this effort that is central to this chapter. The following discussion is also limited to those letters that adhere to a personal-experience narrative structure—that is, letters in which the writer's personal experience of spanking or being spanked is presented as a narrative. This category includes the majority of letters but excludes those that are simply brief statements of the writer's opinion on the issue of corporal punishment, criticisms of the

paper's preoccupation with spanking, or requests that Daniels publish a collection of the letters in book form.

In the section that follows, I will outline the development of *Justice Weekly*'s spanking letters, situating these texts in terms of both mainstream letters to the editor and historical and contemporary spanking stories. I will then address the concerns around delinquency that dominated postwar Canadian society, as these were mobilized by *Justice Weekly* in order to justify the publication of its spanking letters. Finally, I will turn to the letters themselves. To show how the letters were linked both to the past and to the specific context of postwar Canada, I will identify two main categories of themes and motifs that are repeated over and over in their content: the ideological/objective and the erotic/subjective. I will also address the matter of authenticity, as doubts were clearly expressed as to the "truth" of the letters published in *Justice Weekly*.

Letters to the editor and spanking stories

Newspapers and magazines have long published letters submitted by their readers. Letters to the editors typically address a range of topics, and letter writers send missives to newspaper editors for a number of reasons: "to raise an issue in the first instance, to offer additional input regarding an ongoing story, to remedy imbalance, to correct facts, or to simply amuse."[189] In turn, newspapers have many reasons to publish some of these letters: to inform and entertain readers, to fill editorial space, and to demonstrate that they are open to public debate and

[189] Richard V. Ericson, Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet B. L. Chan, *Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1989), 338.

even criticism—in other words, "to sustain the fiction that [a newspaper] is a free market of ideas."[190] Most scholarly research that is focused on the letters section approaches it as a (mediated) public forum—in the words of Sigelman and Walkosz, as representing "a public opinion thermometer"—although "the specific details of what a 'public forum' means are rarely interrogated."[191]

From its launch in January 1946, *Justice Weekly* published letters sent in by readers. Some congratulated its editor on a job well done; others complained about potholes or other civic nuisances. Within six months, however, its letters section had been all-but-completely taken over by an ongoing debate among readers over the pros and cons of using corporal punishment as a method of disciplining teenagers and young adults. From that point on, it was unusual to find letters that were *not* related to the issue of spanking. The letters quickly got longer and more elaborate, and by mid-1946 the typical letter to the editor was a first-person narrative account of corporal punishment; specifically, virtually every letter published in *Justice Weekly* from the late 1940s through the 1950s related its writer's own experiences of spanking or being spanked. Of the letters that included a location, virtually all originated in Canada, with the rest from nearby U.S. cities such as Detroit. (From about 1960 until *Justice Weekly* ceased publication in 1972, the spanking letters came from farther afield and were joined by letters devoted to the practice of "transvestism," or cross-dressing, as well as a

---

[190] Ericson, Baranek, and Chan, 341.

[191] Lee Sigelman and Barbara J. Walkosz, "Letters to the Editor as a Public Opinion Thermometer: The Martin Luther King Holiday Vote in Arizona," *Social Science Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (1992): 938; Karin Wahl-Jorgensen, "Letters to the Editor as a Forum for Public Deliberation: Modes of Publicity and Democratic Debate," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 18, no. 3 (2001): 304.

wider variety of methods of discipline.[192] Even so, the majority of letters continued to address corporal punishment.) These stories resembled mainstream letters to the editor in that they were formatted as letters, with the usual salutation (e.g., "Dear Editor") and writer's location and "signature" (usually initials or an obvious pseudonym). Although the letter writers were not exactly engaging with issues and themes from the news, they did fulfill the role of content provider that letter writers do in any newspaper; that is, a reader who writes to the editor "becomes in effect a 'reporter' whose letter serves as the equivalent of 'filed copy' to be used at the discretion of the editors."[193] Letter writers provided not only a form of "filed copy" but also free copy, which was significant for a tabloid published weekly by Daniels without any editorial staff. Still, while the letters in *Justice Weekly* shared certain characteristics with those in the mainstream press, their singular focus on descriptions of corporal punishment was anything but mainstream; moreover, the authenticity of these letters was contested repeatedly. It is more appropriate to discuss the corpus of *Justice Weekly*'s spanking letters as a hybrid of two related yet distinct sets of historical British literature: flagellation fiction, a centuries-old sub-genre of erotic fiction devoted to depictions of sexualized physical discipline; and flagellation correspondence, or letters on the issue of corporal punishment of children published since the late eighteenth century. Indeed, I would argue that a reader of *Justice Weekly* would not likely

[192] A collection of such letters—277 letters, to be precise—has recently been published in the UK; see Peter Farrer, ed., *Cross Dressing since the War: Selections from* Justice Weekly *1955–1972* (Garston, UK: Karn Publications, 2011).

[193] Ericson, Baranek, and Chan, 339.

see a great difference between a spanking story published in that tabloid in the 1940s or 1950s and one published in a British magazine a hundred years earlier.

Corporal punishment shares with pornography "a concern, even fetish, with a particular part of the body"—that being, in the case of spanking stories, the buttocks.[194] Erotic stories involving flagellation have been traced back to the seventeenth century, but it was in the last three decades of the eighteenth century that "flagellation fiction" emerged as a distinct sub-genre of pornographic literature in Great Britain.[195] These short stories and novellas—with titles such as *The Birchen Bouquet* (1770) and *Exhibition of Female Flagellants* (1777)—did not include flagellation as just one among a number of sexual pleasures, as earlier erotic literature had, but foregrounded flogging as the main event. Four defining characteristics of flagellation fiction have been identified: blood featured prominently (particularly against white skin); stories were set in domestic interiors (particularly in the home or at a boarding school); incestuous relationships were commonly suggested (most spankers were mothers or stepmothers); and the erotic focus was on buttocks, thighs, and forearms (in contrast to an earlier concentration on sexualized breasts, vaginas, and penises).[196] The popularity of flagellation in these stories drew from the commonness of flogging in English culture and everyday life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Spanking, whipping, caning, birching—these activities were hardly foreign to English readers in the 1700s, nor were they necessarily sexual. As

---

[194] Trevor Butt and Jeff Hearn, "The Sexualization of Corporal Punishment: The Construction of Sexual Meaning," *Sexualities* 1, no. 2 (1998): 205.

[195] Julie Peakman, *Mighty Lewd Books: The Development of Pornography in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 172.

[196] Ibid.

Peakman explains, "Erotica [about beating] was not merely a fantastical whim but was wrought from flagellation practices in everyday life."[197] The existence and history of this erotic sub-genre can be understood through recognition that it is underwritten by a larger "English sexual preoccupation with the whip."[198] Indeed, Ian Gibson writes that not only was the practice of flogging "endemic" in England until well into the twentieth century but, further, that British culture was long marked by the existence of a general sort of "flagellomania."[199] (Critics, including Jacob Middleton, point out that "attitudes toward the physical punishment of children were complicated and often contradictory" in nineteenth-century Britain.)[200] Aside from erotic tales of spanking, and in addition to the beatings taking place in schools and homes, were those portrayed in various genres of fiction for the entertainment of young readers (e.g., twopenny weeklies, boys' annuals, comics). Related to such stories was another sub-genre, which may or may not have been intentionally erotic: the flagellation correspondence column.

As early as the eighteenth century, a number of periodicals—both respectable and otherwise—regularly published punishment-themed letters. Certain reputable papers printed correspondence related to the discipline of children, from which "overt reference to the possible sexual implications of the practice was excluded," while more ribald magazines "churned out masses of

---

[197] Peakman, 166.

[198] Colette Colligan, "Anti-Abolition Writes Obscenity: The English Vice, Trans-Atlantic Slavery, and England's Obscene Print Culture," in *International Exposure: Perspectives on Modern European Pornography, 1800–2000*, ed. Lisa Z. Sigel (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 68.

[199] Ian Gibson, *The English Vice: Beating, Sex and Shame in Victorian England and After* (London: Duckworth, 1978), 47.

[200] Jacob Middleton, "Thomas Hopley and Mid-Victorian Attitudes to Corporal Punishment," *History of Education* 34, no. 6 (2005): 600.

flagellant material" that was more explicit in its suggestion of sexual pleasures.[201] *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1730s) and *Bon Ton* (1790s), for example, printed "[f]aked correspondence on disciplining children," while an ongoing series of letters that appeared in the *Family Herald* in the mid-1800s "was little more than a confidence trick played on the public, and an open invitation to the flagellants in the community to submit publishable pornography."[202] (Accusations of editorial hoax would also arise in response to the spanking letters in *Justice Weekly*, as will be discussed later.) One Victorian periodical that became the site of "voluminous correspondence" on corporal punishment was the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*; provocative letters were "interspersed with recipes, household hints, and news about the latest Paris fashions."[203]

The history of flagellation fiction is difficult to trace, due to the "clandestine nature" of its publication as well as the common practice of reprinting material under different titles, by different publishers, and attributed to different authors (or to an author's different pseudonyms).[204] In addition, no published history has traced the genre from the nineteenth century into the twentieth century, and there is a dearth of research on twentieth-century spanking stories. One can find examples of flagellation fiction published in the United States in the 1930s; collections of short stories—some presented in the form of letters—include *The Hand of the Master: Episodes of Spanking* (c. 1935),

---

[201] Gibson, 195.

[202] Peakman, 169; Gibson, 207. Neither author provides evidence to back up accusations of fakery.

[203] Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 139, 16–17.

[204] Peakman, 172.

Spanked Ladies' Confessions (1936), and *Painful Pastimes* (1938). The existence of these paperback books shows a continuing interest in flagellation fiction, and an interest that extended beyond Great Britain. All three books include similarly worded notices about their intended readership that were clearly meant to deflect charges of obscenity while also reflecting dominant discourses of the time, which cast transgressive sexual expression in medical or pathological terms. The following statement opens *Spanked Ladies' Confessions*:

> This Publication recording true psychological phases of Sadism and Masochism is intended only for serious adult students, physicians, and members of the learned professions. It is not intended nor will it be sold to minors and is not published for the amusement of the prurient.[205]

The publication of similar texts in Canada has not yet been explored, and it is not known whether such stories were published in this country or were otherwise made available to Canadian readers.

Spanking stories did, however, appear in the pages of Toronto's tabloid press as early as 1945. Under the editorship of Phil Daniels, who would launch *Justice Weekly* in January 1946, the weekly tabloid *Flash* printed a wide variety of content related to spanking between January and October 1945, including news stories, editorials, and letters to the editor. The June 16 issue alone devoted space on five of its sixteen pages to spanking, starting on the front page with a "news story" that is actually about the large number of letters received "in connection with the pros and cons of spanking of wives by husbands, and vice versa."[206] Under the large headline "Husbands and Wives Spank Each Other to Avoid

---

[205] Ruth Froby, ed. *Spanked Ladies' Confessions* (U.S.: privately printed, 1936): inside front cover.

[206] "Husbands and Wives Spank Each Other to Avoid Divorce," *Flash*, June 16, 1945.

Divorce," this front-page story (which runs over onto page 3 and then onto page 7) outlines the debate taking place within the spanking-related correspondence, between the "pro-spankers" and those who "have pooh-poohed the idea." The story also points out that "[t]here is a difference, of course, between spanking and beating," in that "the recipient of the spanking must be a willing party, otherwise wife-spanking would become wife-beating and that's a criminal offence."[207] The story is followed by four letters: "Spanked Betty" of Orillia, Ontario, writes of being spanked by her husband as an "unpleasant" but "effective cure for disobedience"; "John" of Barrie, Ontario, describes his usual method for spanking his wife; "John's Wife" throws her support behind her husband's letter; and "A Husband" from Vancouver suggests that not only wives but erring husbands should be subjected to corporal punishment. This content in *Flash* is by no means presented as erotic fiction, but rather in relation to the "issue" of marital discipline, similar to the flagellation correspondence regarding children a century before. Its exclusive focus on spanking among spouses is clearly a departure from the adult-child relationships described in the flagellation fiction of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, while certain themes in the letters—positioning the body of the recipient, for example—remain consistent, as was also the case in the spanking letters later published in *Justice Weekly*.

Daniels had left *Flash* by the end of 1945, and he published the first issue of *Justice Weekly* in January 1946. The first spanking-related letter to appear in *Justice Weekly* was printed in his veterans'-issues column "Just between Ourselves," on March 30, 1946. The letter writer was "Ex-Navy P.O.," from St.

[207] "Husbands and Wives Spank."

Catharines, Ontario, whom Daniels described as "a former army man who knew [Daniels] when he was editing 'The Bullet' at Camp Borden."[208] Ex-Navy P.O. claimed that upon returning home after four years of military service, he had found his two teenaged daughters to have "no respect for anyone or anything." Having finally had enough of their bad behavior, he punished the girls:

> I spanked them. I didn't fool either. I put the elder across my knee, turned up her dress, took down her knickers, and soundly smacked her bare bottom with my open hand. Then her sister was treated the same. During the few weeks that have passed since they were spanked, their behavior has improved very much. It is a pity that spanking seems to have gone out of fashion, for there are certainly a lot of similar "young ladies" around who richly deserve to have their bottoms smacked and would benefit by it.

In his column the following week, Daniels expressed some disapproval of Ex-Navy P.O.'s choice to spank. In particular, he wrote, "girls of sixteen and eighteen are a little too old to have their lower garments removed and then be spanked by their father."[209] However, Daniels conceded that the choice was each parent's to make. The next week's issue contained another spanking letter, this time in its advice column. Another father was seeking advice about disciplining his two teenaged daughters. In response, the advice columnist—a fictional "Jane Cowl," possibly Daniels himself—pointed out that spankings should probably be discontinued if they did not produce the desired result; specifically, she opposed the bare-bottomed spanking of teenaged girls by their fathers, writing that "There are certain little decencies that even parents must observe."[210] Soon more letters began to trickle—and then quickly to flow—through. They no longer appeared in

---

[208] Phil Daniels, "Just between Ourselves," *JW*, Mar. 30, 1946.
[209] Phil Daniels, "Just between Ourselves," *JW*, Apr. 6, 1946.
[210] Jane Cowl [pseud.], "What's Troubling You?" *JW*, Apr. 13, 1946.

the "What's Troubling You?" column, but rather as letters sent directly to the editor. For the first six weeks, these letters (each about two hundred words in length) were grouped together under a "Letters to the Editor" header; the letters quickly grew in length and soon were given descriptive headlines of their own, such as "English War Bride Tells of Spanking" (June 22, 1946) and "Girl Asks Father to Spank Her after Losing Money Rolling Dice" (Sept. 21, 1946). For stretches of time such letters would appear in every issue; at other times, weeks could pass without a spanking letter. The popularity of these letters did not grow consistently over the first few years of *Justice Weekly*'s publication: from the first letter in March through the end of December, some fifty spanking letters were published in 1946, another twenty-two letters in 1947, only thirteen in 1948, and then forty-one in 1949. Then, without warning, the spanking letters all but ceased for a few years, with only a handful of letters published between 1950 and 1953. According to an April 1952 *Justice Weekly* editorial, "It was 'Justice Weekly' that started to publish letters on spanking but desisted when it was realized that many of these letters were just figments of the imagination and often were used as a vent for the perverted desires of the writer. However, there were many letters of real public interest."[211] As shown earlier, it was in fact *Flash* that was first among Canada's tabloids to publish letters on spanking—although Daniels had been editor of that paper at the time.

Flagellation correspondence itself did not disappear during the early 1950s but simply shifted over to another Toronto tabloid, *True News Times* (or *T.N.T.*), which was launched in 1950. This newer, racier paper published spanking letters

[211] [Phil Daniels], "Scandal Sheets (?)," *JW*, April 19, 1952.

frequently in 1951 and 1952. Clearly, publisher Leo Trottier and editor Theo L. J. Greenslade were not so concerned about the letters' possible association with "perverted desires."[212] Indeed, the letters published in *T.N.T.*—like those that had appeared in *Flash* in 1945—typically described spanking among consenting adults rather than the disciplining of children by parents, and depicted spanking as a kind of aphrodisiac; headlines included "Man Beats 20 Women! And They Like It—He Says" (Aug. 27, 1951) and "Beaten Wife Says: Love More Torrid than Before" (Dec. 17, 1951). Headlines in *T.N.T.* were certainly more sexually suggestive than those in *Justice Weekly*, as in the case of a letter given the headline "Minister Spanks Girl, 19," followed by a three-tiered sub-headline: "'I Didn't Mind a Bit,' She Says / Minister Spanked Her Bare / Took Off Panties, Used Belt" (May 21, 1951). In the meantime, few letters of any kind, on any subject, were published in *Justice Weekly*.

In July 1953, the tabloid featured a report about an obscenity case, brought before the Old Bailey, of one Eric A. Wildman, a British crusader for corporal punishment. Five months later, Wildman contacted Daniels directly. The relationship between the two men, though relatively brief, would revive *Justice Weekly*'s preoccupation with corporal punishment, resulting in more spanking-related content than ever before and a permanent shift in the way the tabloid framed this content, which allowed for a seemingly increased awareness of the sexual implications of spanking. Just as Daniels ran *Justice Weekly* on his own—

[212] My knowledge of the contents of *T.N.T.* is limited to the nineteen issues published between September 1950 and April 1952 that are housed at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto. The tabloid—whose editorial office was just one floor below that of *Justice Weekly*, in Manning Chambers—was published weekly from August 1950 to April 1952.

as proprietor, publisher, editor, and writer—Wildman single-handedly helmed "a vocal and extremely dubious organisation" in London called the National Society for the Retention of Corporal Punishment (NSRCP).[213] Wildman's own history of passionate (or perhaps fanatical) campaigning to promote physical discipline is interesting in itself; however, in relation to *Justice Weekly*, a brief version of Wildman's story will suffice.

Since 1947, Wildman had advocated for the use of corporal punishment in Britain, both as a public speaker—taking his message to the streets, literally, he donned a sandwich board that read "Abolish the birch and violence increases!"[214]—and as the proprietor of the Corpun Educational Organization, Ltd., which supplied leather straps, canes, and birches to schools and parents. A "self-styled 'apostle,'" he founded the NSRCP in 1948 and held a series of public meetings, which "frequently ended in disorder."[215] He also began to self-publish materials he distributed within Britain and beyond, including booklets—titles included *The Cleansing Cane* and *Punishment Posture for Girls* (both 1951)—and a regular newsletter comprised largely of letters from subscribers, called the *International Retentionist Gazette*.[216] Tipped off by a Hampstead schoolteacher who had been handed an NSRCP pamphlet on the street, police began to investigate Wildman; then, in early 1953, police raided the Corpun premises, confiscating "a lorry-load of pamphlets, canes, birches, straps and other flagellant

---

[213] Gibson, 60.

[214] "End School Birching? No! He Tells London," *Toronto Star*, Nov. 17, 1947.

[215] Gervas d'Olbert, *Chastisement through the Ages* (London: Fortune Press, 1956), excerpts published online by Corpun: World Corporal Punishment Research, accessed Sept. 16, 2013, http://www.corpun.com/wildman.htm.

[216] Materials by Wildman and/or the Corpun Educational Organization are available in a series of seven folders at the Kinsey Institute: call no. X7891862, Edward A. Harvey collection.

paraphernalia."[217] Ten days later, Wildman was distributing pamphlets at King's Cross once again. Another raid followed, more pamphlets were handed out, and finally Wildman was charged with publishing improper writings, found guilty, and fined.

It was a report of this judgment that was published in *Justice Weekly* in July 1953.[218] At around the same time, a Canadian supporter of the NSRCP sent Wildman a number of spanking-related clippings from *Justice Weekly*, prompting Wildman to write to Daniels later in the year, after his trial, offering his expert opinion in relation to a letter published previously in the Canadian tabloid. Daniels published Wildman's letter on Dec. 26, 1953, without editorial comment, but his inclusion of Wildman's NSRCP letterhead, title, address, and self-serving post script ("I enclose for your interest a copy of the little booklet 'JUVENILE JUSTICE' which I recently supplied to all members of the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament . . . and which is obtainable from this office FREE to parents and teachers") suggests that Daniels was impressed and made no cuts to the text. An immediate correspondence must have taken place between the two men; within weeks, Wildman was the regular contributor of "A Special Series Exclusive to 'Justice Weekly.'" The arrangement was a mutually beneficial one: Wildman had secured a new (and legal) outlet for his message, and Daniels had obtained several weeks' worth of free copy on one of his pet topics. Wildman's nine columns, each one ranging from half a page to a full page in length, were published between January and March 1954 (column titles included "The

[217] "Retention of Corporal Punishment Crusader Guilty of Publishing Indecent Literature; Well-Known Clergymen Presided at Meetings," *JW*, July 4, 1953; Gibson, 61.

[218] "Retention of Corporal Punishment Crusader."

Cleansing Effects of Chastisement" and "Yes—Spanking Does Work"); this "special series" was followed by the occasional "exclusive" stand-alone column or a letter in which Wildman would address another reader's letter on the topic of spanking. At the same time, Wildman continued to produce the *International Retentionist Gazette*, which in 1954 included several letters from Canadians who wrote of discovering Wildman in the pages of *Justice Weekly*. Both publications benefited to some extent from the cross promotion. However, Wildman's offices were again raided by police in July 1954 and his supplies again confiscated.

By then, though, *Justice Weekly*'s spanking letters were going strong once again. Wildman's columns and letters disappeared, but in the mid- to late 1950s, letters from readers were plentiful. By 1960, every issue contained at least one long letter, and sometimes two or three. Page 12 came to be the regular site of these letters, which would often continue on a later page or pages. Although spanking continued to dominate the letters section, it was rivalled in the 1960s by other topics—other kinds of discipline (especially "petticoat discipline," where naughty boys were made to dress and live as girls) and cross-dressing among adult males, in particular. In 1965, Daniels published a hundred-page paperback book called *Selected Letters from Justice Weekly* (volume 1), which contained nearly a hundred spanking letters that had originally appeared in *Justice Weekly* between July 1954 and August 1955.[219] The following notice appeared at the back of the small book: "All letters in Justice Weekly are authentic, and all correspondence received is thoroughly identified before it is printed in these

[219] The first volume of *Selected Letters* was followed by a second volume, in 1966, and possibly a third; I have seen only volume 1.

pages."[220] In collecting letters from his paper and repackaging them in a book, Daniels was following in the footsteps of several British periodical publishers. The magazines *Family Herald* and *Town Talk*, to name just two, published selections from their flagellation correspondence in pamphlet form in the 1850s and 1880s, respectively.[221] Letters to the editor from *Justice Weekly* were also reprinted with some frequency in *La Plume*, a New York-based booklet of personal advertisements published regularly during the mid-1960s. (See chapter 4 for more on *La Plume*, "the Correspondence Medium Devoted to the Connoisseur of the 'Unusual.'")

During the twenty-six-year life of *Justice Weekly*, only the tabloid's personal advertisements received as much attention as its letters to the editor, and the paper's general editorial preoccupation with corporal punishment was one of its defining features. When referring to *Justice Weekly*, journalists at other media outlets would usually mention—if only to scoff at—its "interminable" spanking letters.[222] Near the end of the tabloid's run, one writer noted that while the letters to the editor provided "the dominant spice in the flavor of [*Justice Weekly*]," they had taken on "a weary repetitive joylessness"; far from finding the texts titillating, he observed wryly that "flogging a dead horse is hardly a perversion to attract the morality squad."[223]

---

[220] Phil Daniels, ed., *Selected Letters from Justice Weekly*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Daniels Publications, 1965), 97.

[221] Gibson, 209; Colligan, 93n8.

[222] Potterton, "I Cut Out Her Heart," 206.

[223] Clery, 7.

Postwar Canada and juvenile delinquency

The ideological importance of the middle-class nuclear family during the postwar years has been well documented by historians. It was by no means the first time in history that the stability of "the Canadian family" had been a concern, but the values of marriage and family were "exalted to new levels" in the years following World War Two.[224] Efforts made to restabilize the family—after the disruptions of the war and, before that, the Depression—included the idealization of the patriarchal family unit, with husband as breadwinner and wife as mother and homemaker—which was itself a "middle-class illusion," since many working-class and blue-collar women had worked outside the home before the war and continued to do so afterwards.[225] One of the major reasons put forth for women to return to the home after the war was to take care of their children, as it was believed that a lack of supervision and discipline during the war years had resulted in rampant juvenile delinquency.

Both culturally and legally, juvenile delinquency was a far-reaching concept in 1940s Canada. In terms of behaviour, everything from truancy and precocious sexuality to violent criminality could be characterized as delinquent. The concept blurred the line between criminal and non-criminal behaviour, as activities that did not break any law (such as skipping school or staying out late) were still considered delinquent (or at least pre-delinquent) by concerned adults,

---

[224] Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 12.

[225] Ibid.; Annalee Gölz, "Family Matters: The Canadian Family and the State in the Postwar Period," *Left History* 1, no. 2 (1993): 9.

and the term "incorrigibility" could contain almost any undesirable behaviour.[226] The very term "delinquency" inevitably carried sexual connotations, whether or not the so-called delinquent behaviour was of a sexual nature; that is, there was "an easy slippage between categories of sexual immorality and delinquency."[227] This was especially the case where girls were involved; sexual activity was often a central focus in cases of female delinquency. Indeed, during the war and in the years following its conclusion, "girls were far more likely [than boys] to be charged with status offences of incorrigibility and vagrancy . . . , while boys were far more likely to face theft charges."[228]

As for the term "juvenile," cultural and legal definitions differed somewhat. Legally, under the Juvenile Delinquents Act, those aged seven to sixteen were considered juveniles, and as such, were to be treated separately from adults within the justice system.[229] Culturally, the concept of "youth" was much broader, extending into the early twenties, and many young adults lived with their parents until (and sometimes during) marriage. It is important to note that, due to low birth rates in the 1930s, the percentage of teenagers in the mid- to late 1940s was at an all-time low in twentieth-century Canada.[230] In contrast with the generation that followed, teenaged Canadians in the immediate postwar years lived in an adult-dominated world and lacked cultural presence and power. This powerlessness may explain to some degree the postwar fixation on juvenile

---

[226] Owram, 142–43.

[227] Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 60, 61.

[228] Joan Sangster, "Girls in Conflict with the Law: Construction of Female Delinquency in Ontario, 1940–1960," *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 12 (2000): 12.

[229] Except in cases of indictable offenses, whereby those aged fourteen and up could be tried in adult court.

[230] Owram, 141.

delinquency, which has been described as "a particularly adult concern" that "frightened and titillated the adults who found so much evidence of wayward youth."[231]

The truth was that, statistically, rates of juvenile delinquency began to fall after the end of the war. Between 1946 and 1954, conviction ratios (that is, the number of convictions per 100,000 juveniles) dropped steadily.[232] At the same time, public and media preoccupation with juvenile delinquency continued, creating what has been described as a full-fledged moral panic around the issue.[233] Beginning during the war and continuing for several years afterwards, a widespread concern with the perceived "problem" of juvenile delinquency was reflected in newspaper reports as well as in popular psychology.[234] One specific issue related to the delinquency scare was the appropriate use of corporal punishment, both within the criminal justice system and in the home.

In the 1940s—indeed, up until 1972—an adult male could be sentenced to receive a lashing or a strapping in addition to a prison term for certain offences.[235] Under the Criminal Code, neither female offenders nor juveniles were to be subjected to corporal punishment. However, more than a few newspaper reports exist of judges suggesting that minors (and women, for that matter) be spanked by

---

[231] Owram, 142.

[232] D. Owen Carrigan, *Juvenile Delinquency in Canada: A History* (Concord, ON: Irwin Publishing, 1998), 153.

[233] Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 56.

[234] See Mona Gleason, "Growing Up to Be 'Normal': Psychology Constructs Proper Gender Roles in Post-World War II Canada, 1945–1960," in *Family Matters: Papers in Post-Confederation Canadian Family History*, ed. Lori Chambers and Edgar-André Montigny (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1998).

[235] In the presence of a doctor, the prison warden, and one or two other prison officials, an offender's arms and legs would be tied to an apparatus and struck a prescribed number of times by either a leather strap or a cat-o'-nine-tails. (Correctional Service of Canada, "Abolition of Corporal Punishment, 1972," *50 Years of Human Rights Developments in Federal Corrections*. Accessed Sept. 24, 2013, http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/pblct/rht-drt/05-eng.shtml.)

family members, as a kind of unofficial "sentence" to be administered outside the limits of the formal system. In the summer of 1947, for example, when two boys appeared before Magistrate T. H. Moorehead in Port Credit, Ontario, for stealing fourteen dollars in cash, a gold watch, and some fishing tackle, the magistrate released the boys into the care of an older brother who "promised to give them a whipping."[236] Apparently judges who believed in corporal punishment for juveniles could subvert the rules of the system by recommending that spanking be carried out by a relative rather than by a corrections official.

In news reports of youth crimes, various "experts" were commonly quoted, making statements about how a lack of early discipline in the home contributed directly to later delinquency, and suggesting that parents who "neglected their responsibilities" or who allowed their children too much "self-expression" were producing the potential criminals of the future. A 1946 editorial in the *Globe and Mail*, titled "First of All, the Home," voiced a position typical of the era: that "any plan to deal with delinquency must be home-centred. The rights and duties of parents must not be overborne by external machinery, no matter how benevolent."[237] These postwar years saw the beginnings of an ideological shift in Canada's approach to criminality, with a growing focus on the home, childhood, and family background of individual offenders.

At the same time, on the women's pages of the daily papers, child-care experts wrote frequently *against* spanking as a method of disciplining children. In both the *Globe* and the *Star*, child-care columnists advised mothers to spank only

---

[236] "Spanking Ordered for Lads by Cadi," *Globe and Mail*, Aug. 16, 1947.
[237] "First of All, the Home," *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 14, 1946.

in rare emergencies, if at all.[238] Readers also wrote letters to the *Star*'s Homemaker Page, sharing their experiences and their views on the merits of spanking. Most of these columns and letters were concerned with the disciplining of young children, although teenagers were sometimes discussed. Spanking was also the topic of a lively debate broadcast on the CBC radio program "Citizens' Forum" in October 1947.[239] At the end of the war and in the years that followed, then, corporal punishment was a topic very much in the mainstream of Canadian society. *Justice Weekly* did not manufacture the issue in its letters section, but rather was able to tap into existing conversations about youth and discipline.

Letters in *Justice Weekly*

The letters published in *Justice Weekly* during its first five years are generally so similar in structure and content that a number of common themes can easily be identified. Some of these themes echo those found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century flagellation fiction, while a concern with juvenile delinquency is more specific to the postwar Canadian context in which the letters were published. The *Justice Weekly* letters share the following motifs with historical spanking stories: the setting of spankings within domestic interiors; a familial relationship between spanker and spanked (at times suggesting incestuous desires); concern with the positioning of the body of the recipient of the spanking; and a focus on the buttocks. Where the historical stories were preoccupied with the appearance of

[238] For example, Angelo Patri, "Spanking and Whipping Not at All Necessary," *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 9, 1947.

[239] The program can be heard online at CBC's Digital Archives page: http://www.cbc.ca/archives/discover/programs/c/citizens-forum/spare-the-rod-spoil-the-child.html.

blood,[240] those printed in *Justice Weekly* described slightly less vicious beatings, focusing instead on lesser physical effects/evidence such as welts raised on the skin, bruising, and lasting pain. Another element common to many of the *Justice Weekly* letters is dialogue—a device far more typical of fiction than of mainstream letters to the editor. Further, the postwar letters engage with the historically specific theme of discipline and delinquency among teens and young adults. These various themes can be grouped into two major categories. First, as discussed earlier in this chapter, concerns about the home and family in the postwar years were strongly linked to concerns about juvenile delinquency; thus, motifs of domestic interiors, familial relationships, gender roles, delinquent youth, and punishment can be described collectively as intellectual/objective (i.e., the *issue* of spanking). Second, the focus within the letters on the positioning of the body, the buttocks, the physical experience and effects of the spanking, and the extensive use of dialogue hearken back to the origins of such stories in pornography and fiction; these motifs can be considered together as erotic/subjective (i.e., the *practice* of spanking). While the former allowed *Justice Weekly*'s publisher-editor to situate the tabloid's letters within an "issues" frame, and thereby to justify and legitimate his editorial preoccupation with corporal punishment, the existence of the latter belies his efforts, locating the spanking letters firmly within the realm of titillating flagellation fiction.

Before examining the letters and their common themes, I would like to provide a brief, generalized description of the typical scenario found in these letters. Of course there is some variation in detail from each letter to the next, but

[240] Peakman, 176.

what is striking is the extent to which the letters are similar in both their structure and their content. Letters are written by both spankers and recipients; in both cases, writers typically describe either a specific incident of spanking or the usual procedure for spanking within their family. In either case, the letters follow a similar formula—that of the personal-experience narrative[241]: the writer situates his or her letter within the tabloid's ongoing discussion of spanking; the writer indicates that the letter to follow contains an account of his or her personal experience; the writer goes on to develop the plot of the "story" chronologically, building toward the (physical and literary) climax of the actual spanking and making frequent use of the common motifs described above (e.g., the home, the family, the body/buttocks, the pain); and, more often than not, the writer concludes that spanking was in that case, or is in general, an effective punishment. Just like the sexual experience stories that would come decades later in *Penthouse Forum* letters—indeed, just like most stories of any kind—it is clear that "the enjoyment of the story is derived not so much from the plot as from its artistic elaboration in the telling."[242]

A number of generalizations can easily be made about the content of *Justice Weekly*'s spanking letters. Occasional mentions are made of punishing children as young as eleven, but the vast majority of letters depict spankings where the recipient (whether child or spouse) is between fifteen and twenty-five

---

[241] Dee L. McEntire, "Erotic Storytelling: Sexual Experience and Fantasy Letters in *Forum* Magazine," *Western Folklore* 51 (1992): 81–96. In a folkloric analysis of letters published in *Penthouse Forum*, McEntire outlines nine typical structural elements of the personal-experience narrative. The elements of the *Forum* letters are not exactly the same as those in the *Justice Weekly* letters, but they are similar enough that the *Justice* letters can also be characterized as personal-experience narratives.

[242] Ibid., 84.

years of age. Virtually all of the letters contain stories set within the home, just as most spankings are meted out within the family. Letters tell of punishment administered to both females and males, but most of those spanked are girls and young women; spankers are both women and men. In general, private spankings take place in a bedroom, while spankings observed by siblings (less frequent, but still common) take place in the living room. Most spankers are parents or husbands, but parent surrogates—including an older sibling, uncle, or even a male neighbour—were sometimes brought in to administer punishment. The individuals doing the spankings were always older than those who received them, even if only by a few years, as with a sibling. The most common scenario in which the spanker and the spanked were of the same generation was that of spousal discipline, where a wife wrote of being spanked by her husband—sometimes at the suggestion of her own parents. Above all, the detail common to every letter is the spanking: it always takes place. Without exception, the person doing the spanking never changes his or her mind at the last minute, and the victim never talks him or her out of it or wriggles free of the blows. A spanking promised is a spanking carried out and, in turn, recalled and described—often at great length and in dramatic detail.

Intellectual/objective themes: The issue of spanking

In letters to *Justice Weekly*'s editor, most writers made an effort at the outset to situate their stories in relation to one another, giving an impression that the paper's letters section—like that in any mainstream newspaper—was a vibrant public forum in which active readers participated. Each of the following examples

appeared as the opening sentence (following "Dear Sir" or "Dear Editor") of a letter:

> As a direct result of your spanking letters and in reply to the protest of 'teen-agers having their bare bottoms tanned, I would like to pass on my experience.
>
> After reading in your last week's issue of the seventeen year old girl who received a spanking from her mother, I would like to add my two cents to the subject.
>
> After reading the letters in your paper of young women being spanked by their fathers, I feel I must add my two cents' worth to show that it is by no means an uncommon occurrence.[243]

This kind of opening became the standard as the letters quickly became formulaic in structure. A reference to other letters, specific or general, was frequently used to segue into the writer's own story of his or her personal experience:

> I have read some of the letters in your paper about girls getting spanked but never expected that I would ever ask my Dad to spank me. However that is just what happened recently.
>
> I have been reading your splendid paper for some time, and took quite an interest in your letters on spankings. I too have a problem on this subject. Should a brother spank his sister?[244]

Writers may then state their position on the issue of corporal punishment, either pro or con, before going on to lay the groundwork for their own story by introducing the characters and setting the scene. This is where readers learned the reasons for the spanking about which they were to read. When the recipient of the spanking was a "child" in his or her teens or early twenties, the punishable offence was generally of the typical teenage variety of misbehaviour: showing

---

[243] Spanked Wife [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, May 4, 1946; Helen M [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, May 4, 1946; R. S. [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, May 11, 1946.

[244] Spanking Advocate [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Sept. 21, 1946; Doreen W. [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Feb. 15, 1947.

disrespect to parents, staying out past curfew, stealing money from a parent, drinking alcohol, being caught with boys (in the case of girls), and so on. In cases of spousal punishment, husbands spanked wives for being disrespectful, flirting with other men, or failing in their wifely duties somehow. In particular, wives and daughters wrote in their letters of being punished for "getting home late, with my husband having no supper waiting for him"; "[giving] mum a lot of cheeky talk"; "staying out much later than the hour set by my parents"; and "running around with a pretty fast set," among other reasons.[245] Sons were spanked for offenses such as "breaking street lights"; "stay[ing] out past 11:30"; "insulting my teacher at school"; and "[making] an indecent suggestion to a girl friend."[246] Parents commonly wrote of using corporal punishment in order to prevent more serious disobedience in the future, suggesting that a good spanking could nip the bud of delinquency.

At times, *Justice Weekly* not only provided a forum for the spanking debate but seemed a participant. Several young letter writers claimed to hold the tabloid responsible for their spankings, arguing that their parents wouldn't have thought to spank them were it not for the paper's many letters on the subject. These letters are generally negative, complaining of unfair treatment and asking the editor to cease publishing such letters.

> I would like to tell you that the letters you have published on the spanking of 'teen-agers have just been responsible for my first and

[245] Spanked Wife, letter; Edna [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, June 8, 1946; Betty Ann B. [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, June 8, 1946; She Who Got Spanked [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, June 15, 1946.

[246] Mother of Four [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, June 8, 1946; Strapped Boy [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Sept. 28, 1946; G. M. [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Oct. 26, 1946; Norm [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Sept. 6, 1947.

> worst spanking since I was twelve; and I might add that I'm not the least bit happy about it.
>
> Your paper has really started something. These spanking letters have upset our home, at least as far as myself and two sisters are concerned.
>
> Please do not print any more letters about bare spankings for teen agers. . . . I used to be punished by being sent to bed and that was bad enough for a grown-up girl like me, but since [my father] started getting "Justice" a couple of months ago he has started spanking me all the time and on the bare [bottom] too, just like the letters say.[247]

Following the description of a particular incident of spanking, letters generally closed in a similar way: the writer usually pointed out that the spanking had been an effective punishment, a "cure" for bad behaviour, despite being unpleasant, painful, and/or humiliating. Whether written by the spanker or the spanked, letters generally concluded with a statement of support for corporal punishment. At the very least, recipients wrote that they had indeed deserved the spanking just described.

> I think we are too old and big to be spanked, but we deserve the spankings we get and they certainly make us careful in a way no other punishment would.
>
> So to you 'teen-agers I'll say don't grumble at being spanked for I'm 24 years of age and it did me a world of good. And to any other husbands with trouble with the wife, give them a good sound spanking like I got and see the wonders it works.
>
> She is a far different girl now, no more temper since, or disobedience. I highly recommend a good spanking for the unruly 'teen-agers.[248]

---

[247] Betty Ann B., letter; Strapped Boy, letter; Spanked Miss [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, July 2, 1949.

[248] Spanked Girl [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, April 27, 1946; Spanked Wife, letter; Pleased Poppa [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Sept. 21, 1946.

Overall, the majority of letters approached corporal punishment as an issue and addressed *Justice Weekly* as a forum for debate. Writers linked their own experiences of spankings both to specific incidents of bad behaviour and to juvenile delinquency in general. In turn, Daniels worked to connect the letters section explicitly and implicitly to larger issues of delinquency, law and order, and parental responsibility, both in editorials and in his selection of nearby news stories. From its beginning, *Justice Weekly* took a clear stand on the matter of corporal punishment and juvenile justice. As mentioned, young offenders were not subjected to whippings under the Criminal Code. In a 1949 editorial, Daniels wrote, "It is the contention of 'Justice Weekly' that the law should be amended to make it possible for juvenile court judges to order corporal punishment for certain offenders. If our law provided for such punishment, the mere fact that such a deterrent existed would prove a strong incentive to parents to do their duty at home."[249] Even in news stories with little or no direct relation, Daniels frequently managed to editorialize about the issue and its connection to his paper's thriving letters section; for example, consider the following lead:

> The question of what measures a parent can take to punish a recalcitrant child that has received so much publicity in "Justice Weekly" through the medium of letters on spanking, engaged the attention of Magistrate A. F. Cook in Police Court at Stratford, Ont.[250]

This short news item goes on to describe a case involving a Stratford man charged with assaulting his fifteen-year-old daughter "during a family scuffle." Although the girl had been punched in the face, and no mention is made of spanking,

---

[249] [Phil Daniels], "Spanking of Delinquents," *JW*, Dec. 17, 1949.

[250] [Phil Daniels?], "Cannot Punch His Child on Face Even as Punishment, Father Told," *JW*, Nov. 16, 1946.

Daniels used the story to bolster *Justice Weekly*'s position as a kind of expert source of information and debate related to juvenile discipline.

Because the issue of youth crime was already linked in public discourse to debates over discipline, *Justice Weekly* was able to portray itself as relevant and timely while publishing letters that celebrated (and often eroticized) spanking. The more letters that were published detailing spankings given and received in the home, the more confidently the tabloid staked its claim as a knowledgeable and reliable source. For example, a September 1946 editorial titled "Is Spanking Effective?" stated that the "deluge" of letters received by the paper had "left us quite satisfied that a very large number of parents in Canada are doing their level best to rebuke the thing called 'Juvenile Delinquency,' either with a naked hand or the back of a hairbrush." The letters offered "overwhelming proof . . . that a tremendous crowd of parents are not loafing on their job of checking iniquity, as so many platform spouters and pulpiteers would have us believe."[251] Through editorials such as this one, *Justice Weekly* was able to mobilize the larger public discourse over discipline and delinquency in order to justify its own publication of letters in which youth were spanked, however tenuous the letters' connection to actual juvenile delinquency.

Erotic/subjective themes: The practice of spanking

When it came time in these letters to describe the actual process of spanking, writers commonly used certain motifs that heightened both the dramatic and sexual impact of their stories. These motifs included a focus on the (often bare) buttocks and the positioning of the recipient's body, descriptions of

[251] [Phil Daniels], "Is Spanking Effective?" *JW*, Sept. 21, 1946.

resistance and pain, and the physical blows of the spanking. While one or two letters taken alone may not appear to a reader to be erotic, particularly with their use of formal language, the cumulative effect of hundreds of letters—specifically, of hundreds of depictions of bottoms being bared to receive beatings—is the sense that they explore what is clearly, for some, a sexual fetish. Similar letters, in which "the same expressions, images, turns of phrase recur endlessly," published in British magazines in the nineteenth century illustrated "the compulsively repetitive nature of the flagellant fantasy."[252] In *Justice Weekly*, certain elements are also repeated in nearly every spanking letter. Central to each narrative is the recipient "getting into position," which generally involves being bent over the knees of the spanker or a piece of furniture. Without exception, each letter tells of a spanking given or received on the buttocks—or on "the place intended by nature for the purpose," to borrow a popular euphemism.[253] Other body parts are rarely mentioned, although some write of blows also received on the back and legs. In these and other details, the spanking stories contained in *Justice Weekly*'s letters bear a striking resemblance to those published nearly two hundred years earlier. Flagellation fiction popular in eighteenth-century England favoured "buttocks, thighs, and plump forearms," which represented an alternative to "breasts and

---

[252] Gibson, 197. Not only are the letters in *Justice Weekly* repetitive in their narrative elements, but some letters are actually repeated in full, reprinted a year or more after their original publication with or without being edited. Gibson observed "widespread filching of material" among the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century contributors of flogging correspondence; he even found that a letter published in *Bon Ton Magazine* in 1792 was reprinted in the *Crim Con Gazette* in 1838 with only its signature changed (Ibid.). I suspect that at least a few of the letters published in *Justice Weekly* were reprinted from earlier publications, but such historical detective work is beyond the scope of this project.

[253] This and other, similar euphemisms were also observed by the author of the 1955 book *Exploring English Character*; Gibson comments that "this is just the sort of evasive language one would expect from members of a beating-obsessed society" (Gibson, 62).

vaginas, particularly virginal ones, [as] the main source of erotic enjoyment" in the preceding century.[254]

Both the early erotic flogging stories and the letters in *Justice Weekly* paid attention to similar details, with "descriptions of flagellants lying over laps, bending over sofas and crouching over stools" as well as "much 'lifting of shifts,' 'lowering of breeches' and 'tucking of shirts.'"[255] In one *Justice Weekly* letter that relates the spanking experiences of twelve high school girls (they had, it was written, met to discuss the matter), the writer noted that "[e]ight of them always receive their spankings when across their parents' knees, two are made to bend over the head of the chesterfield, the other two are either put across a knee of the edge of a bed."[256] Because most of the spanking recipients in *Justice Weekly* were young women, readers encounter much "raising of skirts" and "lowering of knickers." To quote again from the letter about the twelve girls, "ten are spanked on their bare bottoms . . . . Of these ten, three have to take down their own knickers but the rest are prepared for their spankings after they have been put over their parents' knees."[257] A month after the publication of the girls' letter, a boys' version appeared, cataloging the typical spanking experiences of six high school boys; the letter begins with the details of Jack's spankings—"usually by his Dad with a strap on his bare bottom after he has taken down his own trousers and while bending over the end of his bed"—and continues with those of the other

---

[254] Peakman, 177, 186.
[255] Ibid., 176–77.
[256] Well-Spanked Girl [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Aug. 10, 1946.
[257] Ibid.

five boys.[258] This single sentence about Jack contains four key elements of a spanking description: who spanks (his Dad), with what instrument (a strap), where on the body (bare bottom), and in what position (bending over the bed). These key elements are repeated over and over in the letters, in brief statements reminiscent of the outcome of a game of *Clue*: the mother with a hairbrush on the bare bottom as one lay over her knees, for example, or the father with a cane on the bare bottom while bent over a chair.

The detail most often repeated is the bare bottom. In fact, the specific matter of bare bottoms became a kind of sub-issue in the "debate" over corporal punishment as it played out in the tabloid's letters section. Whereas the majority of writers supported the administration of corporal punishment, opinions varied over the value and appropriateness of "bare spanking" or "'panties down' spanking." Where few writers were bothered by the physical violence of a beating, several drew the line at the humiliation of forced nudity, while many others felt such humiliation could only add to a successful spanking.

> You will see that my husband and I agree with the bare bottom method of spanking, usually by hand[,] and think no difference should be made in the punishment of girls and their brothers.
>
> Now I don't want to give the impression that I don't believe in spanking, because I do. But I do believe in leaving their clothing alone.
>
> Whether using brush, hand or strap, I have discovered that smacking their bare bottom is the only road to successful discipline, and happy, healthy family life.[259]

---

[258] Six Spanked Boys [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Sept. 7, 1946.

[259] Mother of Four, letter; Surprised Citizen [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Jan. 4, 1947; D.R.C. [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Feb. 8, 1947.

Aside from letters that explicitly took up the "issue" of bare spanking, however, most of the spankings described by letter writers did involve the lowering of trousers or knickers. This is not at all surprising when one considers the typical flagellant fantasy (which apparently differed little from the eighteenth century to the twentieth), in which "the *uncovering* of the buttocks by the dominant figure forms an absolutely indispensable part of the ceremony."[260] Thus, readers of *Justice Weekly* are treated over and over to phrases such as "he lifted my skirt and took down my knickers"—though perhaps some degree of modesty prevented any physical description of the buttocks themselves. These postwar narratives focus on the rearrangement or removal of the recipient's clothing rather than on the consequent exposure of his or her skin and, as such, did not go quite as far as the following excerpt from "Miss Coote's Confession," published in 1879:

> I assisted to tie her up, and unfastening her drawers, Jane drew them well down, whilst Mrs. Mansell pinned up her chemise, fully exposing the broad expanse of her glorious buttocks, the brilliant whiteness of her skin showing to perfection by the dazzling glare of the well lighted room.[261]

It is also worth noting that while a great deal of attention is given to the baring of buttocks, no mention whatsoever is made of genitals, which would unavoidably have been exposed at the same time.

Regardless of the details leading up to each spanking—what offense was being punished, whether it was a first spanking or one of many, the relationship between the spanker and the spanked, and so on—the description of the climactic act was remarkably similar from one letter to the next. In fact, the actual spanking

---

[260] Gibson, 266.
[261] Quoted in ibid., 267.

was frequently limited to just a few sentences (and sometimes only one) within each multi-paragraph letter, which adhered to an identical three-step formula: the positioning of the recipient, the arranging of the recipient's clothing, and the delivery of the blows. It is worth reproducing similar passages from several letters, as the "compulsively repetitive nature" Gibson attributes to "the flagellant fantasy" is clear:

> I was then put across both their laps and after Mom pulled my pajamas down Dad started to use the strap.
>
> He [father] marched me into the bathroom and locked the door. I was laid face down across his knees and my dress raised and pants taken down. He used the back of a hairbrush and licked me about fifty times.
>
> With that he took hold of me and forced me across his knee[,] turned up my dress and let me have it with the palm of his hand on my exposed back.
>
> I went across Mother's lap and she turned up my dress, then saying "I never thought I'd have to do this at your age but its [sic] the only way." She took down my knickers and soundly smacked me.
>
> I [father] told him to take off his trousers. He begged but it was useless. I laid him across the edge of the bed and gave him a spanking he won't forget . . . .[262]

As in the last excerpt, where the spanked son "begged but it was useless," many letters include a reference to the recipient's attempts at resistance. It is common to read that he or she "screamed and kicked and pleaded," "kicked and cried for him to stop," "cried out with pain," and "pleaded[,] promised and begged."[263] Such

---

[262] A Changed Girl [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Feb. 15, 1946; Helen M. [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, May 4, 1946; Edna [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, June 8, 1946; Well-spanked girl [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Aug. 10, 1946; E. G. T. [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Sept. 28, 1946.

[263] Helen M., letter; R. S. [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, May 11, 1946; Strapped Boy, letter; Booster for Spanking, letter to the editor, *JW*, Dec. 21, 1946.

efforts were always futile; in no case did the recipient escape the spanking or overpower the spanker; the collective effect is that corporal punishment was depicted as unavoidable. Power lay completely in the hands of the punisher. It is certainly tempting to see a degree of sadism in the spanking described, as without exception, every spanker ignores the pleas and struggles of the person laid across their lap and proceeds with the flogging.

Whereas Daniels worked to link his paper's letters section to larger social concerns about juvenile delinquency, he virtually ignored any erotic implications of this content—at least until his 1952 editorial, mentioned earlier, which acknowledged vaguely that "many of these letters were . . . used as a vent for the perverted desires of the writer."[264] Until then, Daniels—like most letter writers—paid steadfast lip service to the chaste theme of corporal punishment as a social issue. Such a focus recalled spanking letters of the previous century, which similarly allowed "both correspondents and editors to parade their own obsessions under the guise of impartiality, seriousness or respect for 'public opinion.'"[265] However, ruptures quickly appeared in this respectable surface, as some letter writers raised questions regarding the authenticity of certain letters, and the motivations of their contributors.

Questions of authenticity

Most of the letters in *Justice Weekly* open with the writers' claims that they wished to contribute to the tabloid's ongoing debate on the subject of corporal punishment, appearing to treat spanking as a social issue on which they

[264] [Daniels], "Scandal Sheets (?)."
[265] Gibson, 199.

hold an opinion. However, the details found in their subsequent accounts of the actual spankings tend to belie these claims, as most letters veer quickly and deeply into the highly formulaic territory of semi-pornographic fiction. Their link to flogging correspondence of the past seems clear, as the publication of similar letters in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British magazines may have functioned simply as an obscenity-law loophole that permitted the publication of a kind of pornography. As for *Justice Weekly*, a question raised on occasion by readers and critics was one of authenticity: Were these letters "real"? This question cannot be answered, and so it raises another: Does it matter? It has been argued that the "truth" in personal experience stories such as these is beside the point. Specifically, "[t]hat the behavior may not 'really' have occurred as described makes little difference to the audience as they vicariously experience and evaluate the behavior described."[266] If such stories are presented as letters in a tabloid newspaper that claims to value truth and justice, however, what role does the debate over their authenticity (as opposed to the role of their actual authenticity, which cannot be established) play in the paper's identity?

In *Justice Weekly*'s later years, as its letters to the editors became more outrageous, critics overtly questioned their genuineness. Yet from the very beginning—and, indeed, stretching back more than a century in their British predecessors—such questions seemed to be built in to the genre/structure of the letters themselves, as letters writers assumed their stories would be doubted. For example, an eighteen-year-old writer who signed herself "Spanked Girl" opened her April 1946 letter as follows: "I can tell those who doubt stories of girls being

[266] McEntire, 83.

spanked of three more. My two sisters and myself." Her approach is interesting in that no letters had yet been published to suggest that readers actually did doubt the stories. Instead, the mention of doubt acts as a way in to the story that follows, a justification for offering her personal testimony. Perhaps doubts over the veracity of *Justice Weekly*'s letters were being raised elsewhere, as one letter suggests in early 1947:

> I find it very interesting to read the various letters sent by other readers with their different views on spanking and so on, and sincerely hope you continue to publish them in spite of what any other papers have to say about it.[267]

Daniels maintained throughout the life of *Justice Weekly* that the letters were legitimate submissions from actual readers. He could not vouch for the authenticity of their *content*, only their origins, and he was adamant that the letters he printed came in the mail from his readers. In fact, Daniels took to appending a standard "Editor's Note" to the ends of certain letters (but not all or even most letters, for reasons that are unclear): "The writer has sent along his/her name and address as a mark of good faith." In so doing, he was signalling to readers that these particular letters, at least, could be verified. He commented only rarely on the matter of authenticity in the first few years, but then in 1949 he addressed the issue directly in an editorial comment with which he prefaced that week's spanking letters, under the headline "Letters on Spanking Flood Editor's Desk":

> Following are more letters on spanking—pro and con—and in each case the writer has sent along a name and address as a mark of good faith. It is not possible, of course, to check on all these names and addresses, but a number that it has been possible to check have been found to be as stated. . . . Regarding [one writer's] claim that these letters are written in the office, this can very easily be

[267] M.H. [pseud.], letter to the editor, *JW*, Jan. 25, 1947.

> disproved by checking up where "Justice Weekly" is printed and the linotype operators will verify that these letters have been sent in by readers. "Justice Weekly" does not believe that all the writers are sincere and is suspicious of some of them, but on the other hand there are some that bear the stamp of sincerity and the spanking is purely of a corrective nature. It is impossible, as explained before, to check on all letters and readers are asked to use their good judgment in deciding which are sincere—and the motive therefore—and which are otherwise.[268]

This comment is interesting in that Daniels shifts the responsibility of detecting "sincere" letters from himself, as editor, to the readers. He asserts that all letters are sent in by readers, but at the same time, he acknowledges that some may be hoaxes. Daniels aligns himself with his readers (the "sincere" ones, that is), and in doing so, he appears to be sharing his gatekeeping powers with them. Even this editorial stance strongly resembles those taken centuries earlier by editors of Victorian periodicals in response to flogging correspondence. The editor of *The Queen* (a newspaper subtitled "The Lady's Newspaper and Court Chronicle"), for example, acknowledged in 1866 that many of the corporal punishment–related letters he had printed had pushed the limits of decency but had also served "a public duty." He insisted on the authenticity of the letters printed in *The Queen* and took pains to distance his paper from the pro-flogging opinions expressed in many of them:

> And although we confess that we have perused with no small nausea and abhorrence some of the letters we have printed, we are sure that right-hearted and strong-minded readers will only be disgusted by them and that none will be weak enough to regard them with satisfaction.[269]

---

[268] [Phil Daniels], "Letters on Spanking Flood Editor's Desk," *JW*, Sept. 3, 1949.
[269] Quoted in Gibson, 215.

The editor of *The Queen* argued that readers could use their own judgment to determine the value of individual letters—and above all, that the newspaper itself was free of implication if any letters were to be judged as suspect. Eighty years later, Daniels assumed the same position.

Conclusion

While the spanking letters in *Justice Weekly* may seem oddly risqué to today's readers, what with their tone of moral indignation combined with their relentless images of bared buttocks, they drew on centuries-old literary genres of British flagellation fiction and correspondence. Postwar Canadian society may not have been in the throes of a "national flagellomania," but *Justice Weekly* was able to provide a venue for these sexually suggestive spanking letters at least in part because of existing cultural concerns with juvenile delinquency and its causes and treatment. While Daniels worked to emphasize the relevance of his paper's letters to their particular historical context, it is clear that, for some, an interest in tales of spanking is timeless.

A Google search today results in no shortage of outlets to which fans of the genre can turn, including the Library of Spanking Fiction, a free-to-access online repository of thousands of spanking stories.[270] One can also find hundreds of modern-day blogs devoted to corporal punishment; many bloggers pen original stories of spankings, but some also pay tribute to historical letters, including those from *Justice Weekly*. In addition, self-described "spankophiles" post to various

[270] Homepage of the Library of Spanking Stories, accessed Sept. 24, 2013, http://www.thespankinglibrary.org. The site claims to contain "over 22,200 spanking stories, serials, poems[,] etc, . . . featuring over 650 authors and over 133,000 comments."

punishment-related message boards in search of hard-to-find copies of *Justice Weekly* or to share fond memories of its letters, as in the following example:

> The first printed material I ever read on this delightful topic [spanking] was the discovery of a stack of newspapers, of the tabloid variety, called, "Justice Weekly," in the basement of our home when I was just nine. The first thing I read was a 'Letter to the Editor' (obviously total fiction, but I believed it at the time) and I practically memorized it, and can still quote a good deal of it verbatim, the rest in paraphrase.[271]

In fact, the consensus among fans today seems to be that the tabloid's spanking letters were a hoax—"obviously total fiction"—but this does not detract from the pleasures to be found in them, now or at the time of their publication. Indeed, the letters are so similar to one another that many, if not most, were likely written by the same person; that person may or may not have been Daniels himself. In any case, *Justice Weekly*'s spanking letters left an impression (so to speak), whether sparking desire, disdain, or innocent curiosity. The late Canadian author Mordecai Richler, for one, recalled being intrigued yet "baffled" by the tabloid's letters as a teen: "In our world, a spanking is what you got from your father after you had been caught shoplifting at Kresge's, and that certainly did not make for a sexual epiphany."[272] For others, by contrast, the spanking letters suggested the presence of a like-minded community, and *Justice Weekly* provided a recognizable venue for anonymous desires.

---

[271] Ross of Kilahara [pseud.], message on "Childhood Spanking Games/Fiction" subject, Spanking Classics discussion board, message posted Oct. 20, 2003, accessed Sept. 24, 2013, http://www.spankingclassics.com/discus/messages/111/1002.html?1066761358.

[272] Mordecai Richler, "Some Things a Mystery in Days of Innocence," *Hamilton Spectator*, Aug. 18, 1997.

4

"How Else Could I Have Found Them?": Personal Advertising and Sexual Subcultures in *Justice Weekly*

"If you do not believe that there are among us numbers of people who enjoy the infliction of pain and humiliation on others, I suggest you go to your nearest newsstand and for the price of 15 cents buy a copy of a little paper called *Justice* [*Weekly*]."[273] Thirteen years before columnist Pierre Berton wrote this in the *Toronto Star*, the fledging *Justice Weekly* had launched a column of personal ads that was to become not only one of its most popular and longest-running regular features but also a major source of revenue and one of the main reasons the tabloid is remembered today. The column, coyly titled "Boy Meets Girl," first appeared in January 1946 and included advertisements from seven men and three women; within four months, according to publisher-editor Phil Daniels, the column had "proven popular beyond all expectations" and come to occupy two full pages of the sixteen-page tabloid.[274] Where in these early years most ads were placed by singles in the Toronto area, the 1950s drew ads from across Canada as

[273] Pierre Berton, "Are We Drifting towards a Sadist Society?" *Toronto Star*, Feb. 18, 1959.

[274] [Phil Daniels], "The 'Boy Meets Girl' Department Conducted by Rosalind Riordan Popular Feature with Readers,' *JW*, Jan. 3, 1948.

well as the United States and occasionally Europe. In 1957 the column was expanded to three and then to four full pages, occupying 25 percent of each issue. It had also become a rare site where certain sexual subcultures were made visible, and where far-flung members of those communities could make contact with one another for only a dollar or two. Due to its increasing focus on unconventional sexual desires, Boy Meets Girl helped *Justice Weekly* to develop a niche-market reputation and a devoted specialty readership that helped ensure the tabloid's survival.

The bizarre nature of the personal advertisements published in *Justice Weekly* beginning in the late 1950s was inextricably bound with the tabloid's very identity, contributing to its reputation as a paper preoccupied with sex and sadomasochism. The Boy Meets Girl section was by no means the only part of the tabloid that could be considered controversial or bizarre. As discussed in the previous chapter, each issue's letters to the editor at that time contained embellished tales of spanking and other forms of corporal punishment; in addition, *Justice Weekly*'s news pages were filled each week with stories concerning all manner of sex crimes as well as homosexuality, cross-dressing, wife-swapping, and censorship. The personals column was different, however, in that it not only provided entertaining content but was a significant money maker in a tabloid that included little other paid advertising. As Berton saw it, "much of the income of these publications [*Justice Weekly* and *Flash*] and a good deal of the circulation comes not from the lurid headlines . . . but from these classified ads. One quarter of *Justice*, for instance, is devoted to what it calls 'The World's

Largest Friendship Department'; the rest is padding."[275] The personals did much more than cover some of the operating costs of the tabloid, however. In the absence of virtually any other media representations, the personals column in *Justice Weekly* was historically and culturally significant in that it provided a visible space for certain low-status sexual communities: enthusiasts of discipline and sadomasochism, fetishists, swingers, and homosexuals.

The aim of this chapter is twofold: to locate *Justice Weekly* within a history of personal advertising, particularly in Canada, and to show how Daniels employed certain editorial strategies to neutralize and contain (and thus continue to publish) the transgressive content of the Boy Meets Girl column—content that negotiated dominant sexual discourses while also contributing to the visibility of particular sexual communities that were otherwise nearly invisible. In the first part of this chapter, then, I present an overview of a previously overlooked part of publishing history: that of personal advertising in Canada, from early matrimonial journals to ethnic newspapers and the tabloid press. In the second part, I narrow my focus to *Justice Weekly* and its Boy Meets Girl column of personals; in particular, I discuss advertisements that were published between 1957, when the column was expanded in size, and 1963, when U.S. specialty publications entered the market for unusual personals. Finally, I briefly address the emergence in the 1960s of other, American sources of such advertisements. *Justice Weekly* was not the only source of kinky personals by that time, but it was a pioneer in the genre as one of the earliest and longest-running sources.

---

[275] Pierre Berton, "There's a Hefty Profit in Those Very Special Lonely Hearts Ads," *Maclean's*, Mar. 9, 1963, 66.

I use the term *personal advertisements* to refer to those small classified advertisements, placed by individuals, that generally adhere to the following formula: "*X* seeks *Y* for *Z*; where *X* is the desiring subject, *Y* the desired object, and *Z* the desired relationship."[276] Not merely a functional feature of a newspaper, or an amusement "giving readers license to enter into other people's private lives," the personals column can in fact be seen to constitute "an important body of knowledge."[277] A number of scholars have argued that personal advertisements are both an underutilized data source and "a rich source of archival data," and that their contents and history can tell us "how ordinary people tried to think their way through homosexuality, pornography, modern marriage, the pleasures and pitfalls of sexual liberation, as well as the gifts and trials of single life."[278] To date, however, only parts of this history have been written.

Personal advertising: Research and history

In general, two main sets of scholarly literature exist on the topic of personal advertising: historical analyses of early-twentieth-century matrimonial and personal advertising, and quantitative studies of personal ads published in late-twentieth-century periodicals. With few exceptions, there is a decades-long gap in

[276] Celia Shalom, "That Great Supermarket of Desire: Attributes of the Desired Other in Personal Advertisements," in *Language and Desire: Encoding Sex, Romance, and Intimacy*, ed. Keith Harvey and Celia Shalom (London: Routledge, 1997), 190.

[277] Pamela Epstein, "'Villainous Little Paragraphs': Nineteenth-Century Personal Advertisements in the *New York Herald*," *Media History* 18, no. 1 (2012): 24; H. G. Cocks, "Peril in the Personals: The Dangers and Pleasures of Classified Advertising in Early Twentieth-Century Britain," *Media History* 10, no. 1 (2004): 5.

[278] Michael Lynn and Rosemary Bolig, "Personal Advertisements: Sources of Data about Relationships," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 2 (1985): 377–83; Larry Lance, "Searching for Love and Sex: A Review and Analysis of Mainstream and Explicit Personal Ads," in *Sex in Consumer Culture: The Erotic Content of Media and Marketing*, ed. Tom Reichert and Jacqueline Lambiase (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006), 348; H. G. Cocks, *Classified: The Secret History of the Personal Column* (London: Random House, 2009), xii.

the periods discussed in the existing literature, between the advertisements of late-Tsarist Russia and interwar England,[279] and the personals columns in gay papers and mainstream dailies of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.[280] Of the studies that do address this later set of advertisements, most (including a number of Canadian studies) approach the personals as quantifiable indicators of sex-stereotyped norms in heterosexual mate selection.[281] The sum of this research shows that female advertisers tend to present themselves as attractive and to be seeking a man with status, while male advertisers tend to present themselves in terms of status and to be seeking a woman who is attractive; in the words of one researcher, one generally finds that women in the personals are "sex objects" and men are "success objects."[282] The Canadian studies are concerned mainly with heterosexual advertising in large daily newspapers, including the *Toronto Star*, the *Globe and Mail*, and the *Vancouver Sun*. While a number of social-scientific studies venture beyond mainstream heterosexual personals to address ads that are explicitly sexual in nature and/or that involve LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual,

---

[279] Stephen Lovell, "Finding a Mate in Late Tsarist Russia: The Evidence from Marriage Advertisements," *Cultural and Social History* 4, no. 1 (2007): 51–72; H. G. Cocks, "'Sporty' Girls and 'Artistic' Boys: Friendship, Illicit Sex, and the British 'Companionship' Advertisement, 1913–1928," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, no. 3 (2002): 457–82; Cocks, "Peril in the Personals"; Matthew Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction after the Invention of the News* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2009).

[280] One exception is a study located right in the middle of this gap, analyzing marriage advertisements published in 1935 and in 1950 in a Yiddish newspaper in New York: see Emil Bend, "Marriage Offers in a Yiddish Newspaper—1935 and 1950," *American Journal of Sociology* 58, no. 1 (1952): 60–66.

[281] For example, Maureen Baker, "Finding Partners in the Newspaper: Sex Differences in Personal Advertising," *Atlantis* 7, no. 2 (1982): 137–46; Simon Davis, "Men as Success Objects and Women as Sex Objects: A Study of Personal Advertisements," *Sex Roles* 23, nos. 1/2 (1990): 43–50; Nan Zhou and Zulkifli Abdullah, "Canadian Matchmaker Advertisements: The More Things Change, the More They Remain the Same," *International Journal of Advertising* 14, no. 4 (1995): 334–48.

[282] Davis, "Men as Success Objects."

transgender) sexualities,[283] only one considers a Canadian source.[284] To my knowledge no published research exists that examines any kind of personal advertising in Canada prior to the late 1970s. In fact, several researchers suggest that personal ads are a recent development. This is misleading. In an early study, for example, published in 1982 but based on ads that appeared in 1979, the author writes that the analysis of personals "is, *of necessity*, a recent phenomenon."[285] Her research is concerned with ads in the *Toronto Star*, but she notes that "[a] decade ago"—so, around 1970—"these columns were confined to specialty publications, such as the *New York Review of Books*, 'underground newspapers,' and homosexual publications."[286] This statement is true, in that individual personal advertisements were not featured in the mainstream daily press in Canada before the mid- to late 1970s. However, the suggestion (echoed by other researchers as well) that personal ads began to appear in Canada only in the late 1960s—even "underground"—is historically inaccurate.

In fact, Canadians had turned to print media in search of potential partners for nearly a hundred years by the time the *Globe and Mail* established its "Companions Wanted" section in 1977. The earliest English-language publication

---

[283] For example, Meredith Child et al., "Personal Advertisements of Male-to-Female Transsexuals, Homosexual Men, and Heterosexuals," *Sex Roles* 34, no. 5 (1996): 447–55; Mary Riege Laner, "Media Mating II: 'Personals' Advertisements of Lesbian Women," *Journal of Homosexuality* 4, no. 1 (1978): 41–61; Malcolm E. Lumby, "Men Who Advertise for Sex," in *Gay Relationships*, ed. John P. De Cecco (New York: Haworth, 1988); Christine A. Smith and Shannon Stillman, "What Do Women Want? The Effects of Gender and Sexual Orientation on the Desirability of Physical Attributes in the Personal Ads of Women," *Sex Roles* 46, nos. 9/10 (2002): 337–42.

[284] John Alan Lee, "Meeting Males by Mail," in *The Gay Academic*, ed. Louie Crew (Palm Springs: ETC Publications, 1978). Lee's content analysis concerns the uses of personal advertising by gay men; his sample is drawn partly from the now-defunct gay liberation paper *The Body Politic*, which was published in Toronto but is mistakenly identified in Lee's paper as being located in San Mateo, California.

[285] Baker, "Finding Partners in the Newspaper," 138; emphasis added.

[286] Ibid., 137.

devoted to personal advertising in this country may have been the four-page *Anglo-American Matrimonial Journal*, which was launched in December 1886 as a monthly publication. The first issue of this Toronto-based paper—likely modeled on earlier British journals such as the *Matrimonial Post and Fashionable Marriage Advertiser* (1860)—contained a total of eighty-nine small advertisements, organized by the sex and class (i.e., "upper," "middle," or "lower") of advertisers. It is not known whether the *Anglo-American Matrimonial Journal* survived beyond its first issue in order to fulfill its stated mandate: "to [be] recognised throughout the whole continent as an efficient, a reliable, and an incomparable medium for the adjustment of every known matrimonial requirement."[287] Five years later, the debut issue of the *Canadian Matrimonial News* resembled the earlier *Anglo-American*, but its ads were divided only by sex. (It also differed from its predecessor in referring to its ads as "personal advertisements.") While all advertisers were asked to provide "a full description of themselves" in order to maximize their chances of a suitable match, female advertisers were asked specifically to include "their age, height, disposition, nationality, religion, color of eyes and hair, and if any means and how much, also full name and address, name of city or village, street and no. of house, also what Province or State you reside in."[288] Again, there is no way to determine whether the lofty goals of the *Canadian Matrimonial News* were achieved—that is, if it was "taken into every house, and read by all," or if its editors had the opportunity

[287] "Address to Our Patrons," *Anglo-American Matrimonial Journal*, December 1886, 1.

[288] *Canadian Matrimonial News*, May 14, 1892, 1. It is unclear whether the proprietor of the *CMN* wanted more detailed information from female advertisers or thought women incapable of understanding what was meant by "a full description" without explicit instructions.

"to present to the first lady getting married through our agency a handsome WATCH, from one of the best jewellers' houses in the city"—or even if the premiere issue was followed by a second.[289]

In the early decades of the twentieth century, different groups of Canadians faced different kinds of obstacles in their search for companionship, and they turned to different kinds of publications for assistance. In Britain, industrialization brought workers to cities in droves, contributing to a sense of anonymity for many and the weakening of traditional family and community bonds; in response, some single city dwellers turned to classified advertisements for assistance in meeting eligible partners.[290] By contrast, although Canada's cities were also growing at the turn of the century, the relatively large group of English-speaking farmers and ranchers in Western Canada faced geographical isolation. Many single men and women in the Prairie provinces simply lacked opportunities to meet one another face to face, and many of them turned to the correspondence column in the *Western Home Monthly* in their quest for companionship. This Winnipeg-based magazine had a national reach but was especially popular among early settlers in Western Canada, "as it provided one of the few contacts with the outside world prior to the arrival of regular passenger-train service, automobiles, and radios."[291] While its letters-to-the-editor column was not intended as a venue for lonely singles when it first appeared in the magazine in 1905, it came to function "as essentially a dating agency," in that

---

[289] *Canadian Matrimonial News*, 3.
[290] Cocks, *Classified*.
[291] Dan Azoulay, *Only the Lonely: Finding Romance in the Personal Columns of Canada's* Western Home Monthly*, 1905–1924* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2000), 1.

most of the letters that were printed therein "dealt almost exclusively with such things as courtship, matrimony, physical intimacy, and in particular, the qualities men and women sought in potential marriage partners."[292] Correspondents discussed matters of the heart in general, but many had a specific goal: to connect directly with other letter-writers.

> Correspondents who wanted to initiate courtship simply wrote to the editor to request letters from people whose own letters to the column had caught their eye, or they asked the editor to forward letters. In this way the editor performed the traditional function of "introducing" potential male suitors to women. Provided both parties were willing, correspondents then wrote directly to one another, taking the courtship process one step further. In short, the Correspondence column provided an easily accessible and relatively stress-free forum for meeting potential partners and getting to know them better.[293]

The column was extremely popular with readers, and by 1908, *WHM* was exchanging some fifteen hundred letters per month.[294]

The needs of at least one specific group of farmers were publicized in Canada's ethnic press, as well. A 1928 column published in the weekly *Canadian Jewish Review* addressed a problem facing "Jewish agriculturalists" in the United States, namely that sons of Jewish farmers were forced to leave established family farms in order to find women to marry. The column closed with the following offer: "To any girl who wants it this column will give the name and address of a certain gentleman in touch with American farmers, some of them most likely tall, bronzed and handsome, rich, kind, magnetic, and waiting. Nu?"[295] (Three weeks

---

[292] Azoulay, 21, 1.
[293] Ibid., 82–3.
[294] Ibid., 2.
[295] "Every Friday," *Canadian Jewish Review*, June 22, 1928.

later, it was noted in the column that "a number of girls" had been in touch—and that there had been "a dignity about them all and charm about most.")[296]

Aside from this appeal on behalf of lonely farmers, there was a long tradition of personal advertising in Canada's Jewish press. The Yiddish-language *Daily Hebrew Journal*, for example, published about ten ads per week in a regular Saturday feature, starting as early as 1917.[297] No research exists that specifically examines personals in Canada's ethnic press, but there is evidence that such ads were not uncommon in the postwar foreign-language newspapers aimed at certain groups of new Canadians. By the 1950s, according to a feature article in the magazine *Liberty*, the German-language periodical *Toronto Zeitung* included a column called "Partner for a Lifetime," while a large number of other foreign-language weeklies ran advertisements for matrimonial bureaus and correspondence clubs such as Good Companions and the Happy End Marriage Institute.[298] The same article pointed out, in fact, that advertising for love—whether through the placement of personal ads by individuals or of classified ads by marriage and dating agencies—was limited in the mid-1950s to two publishing genres: Canada's foreign-language weeklies and more than a dozen English- and French-language "gossip tabloids," including *Justice Weekly*.[299]

Personal advertisements placed by individuals (as opposed to classified ads placed on behalf of correspondence clubs and agencies) had begun to appear sporadically in Toronto's English-language tabloids as early as 1932. In both

---

[296] "Every Friday," *Canadian Jewish Review*, July 13, 1928.
[297] Frank Rasky, "Canada's Lonelyheart Marriage Merchants," *Liberty*, May 1957, 56.
[298] Ibid., 21.
[299] Ibid., 20.

Hush and *Jack Canuck*, such ads were located within sections of classified advertisements alongside ads for a variety of products and services. It was in 1934, in a new tabloid called the *Week-Ender*, that personal ads were first set apart from other ads in a distinct section. The *Week-Ender* gathered its personal ads each week under the heading "Lonesome Club," a feature which, readers were informed, was conducted by one Gloria Gordon. According to the "Notice to Our Readers" that accompanied each week's collection of ads, "These columns are devoted to the interest of lonely men and women who are striving daily to meet someone of real worth with whom they would be willing to share life's battles, or a suitable pen pal to drive away many lonesome hours."[300] For the first several months, each ad appearing in the column was presented in the form of a small letter; each began with a salutation to Gloria Gordon, but in place of a signed name, each concluded with a combination of a letter and number that respondents were to cite in their replies, as in the following examples:

> Dear Miss Gordon: I have been rather lonesome of late and would like to meet, through the medium of your column, a young lady who would be interested in meeting a respectable young man of good family and high ideals. I am not a Clark Gable or an Adonis, but I have very good ideas and am a gentleman. I have a position and, although not earning much, am not afraid to spend it showing a respectable girl a good time. I like tennis, swimming and shows. I am 21 years of age, 5 feet 9 inches, 145 lbs. Hoping to get word from someone, I am faithfully,
>
> M-77

> Dear Miss Gordon: I am a girl 19 years of age with no claim to good looks, but love all clean sports, dancing and travel. I am 5 feet 6, rather stout with curly hair and full of pep. Will anyone interested write and I promise a prompt reply.
>
> M-75[301]

[300] Gloria Gordon, "Notice to Our Readers," *Week-Ender*, June 2, 1934.
[301] Both of these ads were printed in the Lonesome Club column on June 8, 1934.

This format was tweaked a few times over the years that followed; by 1940, each ad started with the advertiser's identifying code, location, and gendered status (as in "Mrs. O-184, Hamilton" or "Mr. H-110, Toronto"); however, the gist of the ads changed little.

National Tattler, a weekly tabloid launched in 1938, soon introduced its own personals column, called "Pen Pals' Heart Exchange." Conductress Helen Blake assured lonesome readers that through her column they could "find suitable pals to help them drive the blues away."[302] Each advertisement in the Pen Pals' Heart Exchange included its own small headline to catch a reader's eye, such as "Strong and Healthy" and "Lonely Soldier." Virtually all ads in both of these papers, and the earlier ads published in *Hush* and *Jack Canuck*, were heterosexual in nature, and most employed a rhetoric of modesty that would continue into the 1950s and, in some papers, beyond.[303] Male advertisers commonly wrote of their hopes to meet "a sincere lady friend" or "a true pal," while widows and young spinsters alike sought "refined" and "respectable" gentlemen; both men and women commonly listed as their interests "home life," "motoring," and "shows." A significant number of advertisers described themselves as lonely; most provided their height and weight, while many mentioned being neat dressers and noted that they were "considered good looking" or could "pass for looks." A few admitted to taking a social drink. Overall, as one journalist wrote in 1957 of the

[302] Helen Blake, "Pen Pals' Heart Exchange," *National Tattler*, Dec. 21, 1940.

[303] I say "virtually all" because a handful of (teenaged) advertisers sought platonic pen pals of either sex.

tabloids' personals, "Torontonian lonelyhearts depict themselves in the most puritanical terms."[304]

By the time *Justice Weekly* debuted in 1946, personal advertisements were as common in the tabloid press as tips on horses. Like its competitors, *Justice Weekly* put a fictional, alliteratively named female—Rosalind Riordan—in charge of the personals. ("Gloria Gordon" had moved over to *Flash* in 1940, while "June Jordan"—followed in 1950 by "Mary Morgan"—conducted the personals in *Hush*.) Through the 1940s and well into the 1950s, nearly all of the advertisements published in Boy Meets Girl were of the typical heterosexual variety. In fact, the language of the ads published in *Justice Weekly*, *Flash*, *Hush*, and the other, smaller tabloids in this period was so conventional that journalist Hugh Garner was able to describe certain general qualities (and to note certain social assumptions) found in their content:

> [T]he women invariably claim to be attractive and refined . . . . They are also under the feminine impression that the ownership of a car is a mark of success and social position. . . . Many of them pretend to want only a friend. . . . Short men outnumber the tall ones about two to one, but tall or short most men are more honest in stating that their intentions are matrimony. Taking a page from the women, however, most men claim to have a car—which proves either that a car is a present-day social necessity, or that all the pedestrians are married.[305]

The language found in tabloid personals from the 1940s and 1950s may indeed have been "puritanical," but as mild as these texts may seem, it is important to note that personal advertising was in fact a controversial phenomenon in the postwar period. Popularly known as "lonelyhearts" ads, these

---

[304] Rasky, "Canada's Lonelyheart," 21.

[305] Hugh Garner, "None but the Lonely Heart," *Canadian Home Monthly*, February 1950, 14.

tiny texts were associated with crimes of deception and even violence, and those who used the services of lonelyhearts columns were often regarded with disdain and suspicion.[306] As *Globe and Mail* columnist J. V. McAree wrote in 1946, "We wonder if nowadays any man really finds it necessary to appeal to scandal sheets to help him find a wife? None of them admits that his purpose is to borrow money, or decamp with the savings of a refined sincere lady. But one cannot dismiss either of these objects as fantastic."[307] Indeed, a number of cases of lonelyhearts-related fraud were reported in both the *Globe* and the *Toronto Star* in the 1940s and 1950s. Most of these news items were wire stories originating in the United States, but one Ontario case was particularly tragic: according to stories in the daily papers, a retired farmer, aged seventy, answered an ad in an unnamed Toronto tabloid. The advertiser, a fifty-two-year-old woman, was charged with fraud after she had disappeared with nearly seven thousand dollars of the man's savings. Two months later, the man shot himself.[308] Other stories of the time link the lonelyhearts columns with violence—most famously in the case of the American couple Martha Beck and Raymond Fernandez, popularly known as the "Lonely Hearts Killers" or the "Honeymoon Killers," who were executed in

[306] See, for example, "The Press: Strictly Personal," *Time*, Jan. 14, 1952, accessed Sept. 25, 2013, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,806212,00.html. When in 1952 the U.S. *Saturday Review of Literature* announced it would cease publishing the personals that had for twenty years been a feature of the bookish magazine, its publisher stated, "These people [advertisers] should be going to psychiatrists."

[307] J. V. McAree, "Some Lonely Hearts and Scandal Sheets," *Globe and Mail*, May 3, 1946.

[308] "Nab Woman in 'Lonely Heart' $6,000 Charge," *Toronto Star*, May 4, 1957; Fred McClement, "Charge Woman Lonely Heart Got His $6,682," *Toronto Star*, May 8, 1957; "Lost $6,682 Life Savings[,] Swindling by Woman Charged, Shoots Himself," July 11, 1957.

1951.[309] The lonelyhearts columns were also commonly associated with so-called "white slavery," said to be used to recruit women into prostitution.[310] And it was not only in the news that personal ads were aligned with criminality; the theme was also popular in entertainment. A 1950 film called *Lonely Hearts Bandits*, for example, depicted con men who met rich widows through the personals and then killed them for their money, while a 1948 Perry Mason mystery novel, *The Case of the Lonely Heiress*, hinged on the placement of a personal ad.

Connotations of danger persisted through the 1950s and into the 1960s. In late 1962, Toronto's police chief was quoted in the *Globe* as saying, somewhat vaguely, that personal advertising carried with it "a strong element of risk" and that it can "open the way for perverts."[311] By this time, two of Toronto's three daily newspapers had begun to accept classified advertisements from "introduction services," "marriage bureaus," and "friendship clubs," while still refusing individual personal ads. This distinction was an arbitrary one, belied by the fact that the police department's morality squad reportedly kept an eye on the bureaus and clubs in order, according to the chief, "to give a certain amount of protection for the unsuspecting person" who used such services.[312] As for the tabloids, the mild language typical of the postwar ads persisted in some, while in others, references to increasingly unconventional sexual desires began to appear at the end of the 1950s. In *Justice Weekly*, for example, the Ladies section of Boy

---

[309] For a cultural and historical analysis of this case, see Sara L. Knox, *Murder: A Tale of Modern American Life* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).

[310] Harvey Hickey, "Mayor Whitton Sees Ally of Crime in Lonely Hearts," *Globe and Mail*, June 18, 1952.

[311] Jo Carson, "European Tactics for Lovelorn," *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 5, 1962.

[312] Ibid.

Meets Girl had by 1960 been taken over by advertisements from swinging couples, while a large proportion of the Gentlemen section had come to be occupied by male advertisers interested specifically in "the subject of discipline." *Flash* also contained a large number of ads by and for couples; the paper's "Lonesome Club" eventually replaced its two original ad categories (Ladies and Gentlemen) with three: Single Ladies, Single Men, and Couples. Even *Hush*, whose advertisements in the 1970s still catered primarily to lonely widows and refined gentlemen, added a small "Couples' Corner" to its personals page.

In addition to the nontraditional ads found in some of the tabloids, a number of specialty publications devoted entirely to "unusual" (i.e., sexually explicit) personals—most geared to swingers or enthusiasts of sadomasochism—began to appear in the early to mid-1960s, including *La Plume* ("The Correspondence Medium Devoted to the Connoisseur of the 'Unusual'") and *Select Magazine* ("A Lively Correspondence Medium Devoted to Your Pleasure—For Adults Only"). Though none was published in Canada, these titles were available by mail to Canadian subscribers, and each issue contained a small number of advertisements placed by Canadians. By the late 1960s, a number of underground magazines in the United States (for example, the *East Village Other* and *Screw*) were well-known for their "outrageous and often terribly funny personal ads," which represented individuals with a range of unconventional sexual predilections: "Homosexuals. Sado-masochists. Foot fetishists. Wife-swappers. . . . You name it."[313] Little scholarly research exists on personal ads

[313] Claudia Dreifus, "'Tits and Ass Sell' Reads a Sign on the Wall at *Screw*, First and Most Successful of the Four Sex Newspapers," *New York Scenes*, July 1969, 23, 25.

from the 1950s and 1960s, especially concerning ads that addressed such alternative sexualities. Although credit is usually given to *La Plume* or *Screw* for pioneering the sex personal, both of these publications followed *Justice Weekly* by at least five years in the realm of sexually unorthodox advertisements. That is, "Until *Screw*, *Swinger*, *Suck*, and other salacious tabloids came along, *Justice Weekly* was in the vanguard."[314]

Justice Weekly's Boy Meets Girl column

By the 1960s, the personal ads in *Justice Weekly* were, in a word, kinky. The tabloid can be seen as a contemporary of *La Plume* and *Screw* in that its ads appealed to persons with similar tastes (e.g., sadomasochism, mate swapping), but *Justice Weekly* was different. It was certainly a pioneer, in that it was one of the first (and longest-running) venues for such personal ads. But unlike these other publications, *Justice Weekly* was not an "underground" or a "counterculture" paper—it was not *of* the communities represented in its personal ads. Indeed, its publisher-editor, Phil Daniels, took pains to distance himself and the rest of his paper from these sexual subcultures—to maintain a traditional tabloid-style worldview of moral righteousness—while at the same time relying on the revenues generated by their use of the personal ads. The result was a periodical that managed to hail very different groups of readers while presenting a conventional tabloid front. Daniels enjoyed a varied readership, filling parts of his paper with content aimed at the unorthodox desires of certain groups and other

[314] Mordecai Richler quoted in Julius Lukasiewicz, *The Ignorance Explosion: Understanding Industrial Civilization* (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1994), 196.

parts with content denouncing and stereotyping those groups. *Justice Weekly* negotiated this contradiction for many years, as a seemingly conservative old-school tabloid that also played a trail-blazing role within emerging sexual subcultures. Whatever the politics of the publisher, *Justice Weekly*'s personal ads had important material effects for many far-flung and marginalized people looking to forge relationships and communities.

Justice Weekly's shift from traditional to unusual personal ads did not happen all of a sudden in the late 1950s. In fact, its first discipline-related advertisement was published in 1949:

> Lonely widower of 65 . . . is looking for a "pen pal" of either sex, who would care to pass the long approaching evenings in friendly discussions on the pros and cons of corporal punishment. (A-1511, Quebec)[315]

This ad didn't go entirely unnoticed by the mainstream press; it piqued the interest of journalist Hugh Garner, who in 1950 published a feature article on lonelyhearts ads and the tabloids in the magazine *National Home Monthly*. Garner seemed not to know quite what to make of the advertisement, though, commenting, "This writer [Garner himself] can think of two or three things which would interest him much more than a discussion of corporal punishment during the long winter evenings, but every man to his own polemics."[316] Similar ads, in which a single male advertiser wished to communicate with others on the topic of corporal punishment, became more and more common starting in the mid-1950s, coming to occupy nearly half of the Gentlemen section of Boy Meets Girl by 1960.

---

[315] Boy Meets Girl, *JW*, Oct. 1, 1949.
[316] Garner, "None but the Lonely Heart," 15.

The rate of change within *Justice Weekly*'s personals was uneven, with a marked shift taking place in 1957 in both the number and the nature of the ads appearing in Boy Meets Girl. Where the column had previously occupied two pages of the paper, it was increased first to three and then to four pages that year. And where virtually all advertisers had previously been lonely widows and gentlemen seeking traditional heterosexual relationships, 1957 saw a remarkable jump in advertisers interested in corporal punishment, as well as a small but significant (and ever-increasing) number of individuals seeking same-sex relationships. Although the first ad concerning corporal punishment had appeared in 1949, such ads were published only rarely through the early and mid-1950s. Then, starting in 1957, each issue contained at least one (but as many as ten) discipline-related ads. Nearly all were placed by male advertisers and contained the term "corporal punishment," as in the following examples:

> Middle-aged gentleman interested in the subject of corporal punishment, spanking, would appreciate hearing from single ladies or married couples who spank or have been spanked. (A-4142, Hamilton, Ont.)
>
> Single young business gentleman, . . . quiet and affectionate nature. Experienced and interested in corporal punishment with gentleness. Would like to hear from ladies in Saskatchewan under 35 years of age. Could lead to matrimony if suited. (A-4297, Saskatoon, Sask.)
>
> Bachelor in early forties would like to correspond with, and later meet, lady who believes in the use of the strap. (A-4599, Ontario)
>
> Gentleman 33 years of age, easy to get along with, would like to hear from anybody in this district, or elsewhere for that matter, interested in corporal punishment. (A-4963, Niagara Falls, NY)[317]

[317] Boy Meets Girl, *JW*, Jan. 5, 1957; April 6, 1957; Oct. 5, 1957; Jan. 4, 1959.

While their number was on the rise, such ads were still the minority through 1957 and 1958; most items in the Gentlemen section were still placed by lonely bachelors and widowers more interested in fishing, picnics, and dancing, who were hoping to meet sincere ladies for "true friendship" or matrimony. In most cases, these traditional ads were clearly distinct from those involving corporal punishment, but there were exceptions. Consider the second example above, which includes the aim of matrimony, or the mix of interests mentioned in the following ad:

> Respectable young man, somewhat shy, with no objection to household duties, would appreciate meeting or corresponding with mature, self-willed woman interested in discipline when necessary to correct faults. Advertiser is also interested in movies, cribbage and the theatre. (A-4451, Toronto)[318]

Meanwhile, in the Ladies section, the vast majority of advertisements were much the same as they had been ten years earlier: single, divorced, and widowed women fond of music, movies, and "home life" sought respectable gentlemen with honorable intentions. A handful of ads from couples appeared in the Ladies section in 1957, but it would be another year or two before couples would dominate the advertisements. In any case, starting in 1957, *Justice Weekly* doubled the number of personal ads it published, but it is unclear why this occurred and why it seemed to coincide with an increase in discipline-related advertisements; perhaps Daniels managed to tap into an expanded market that year, or perhaps he simply began to publish ads that he had previously held

[318] Boy Meets Girl, *JW*, July 6, 1957.

back.[319] As the number of discipline-related ads increased in the late 1950s, they also became less generic. Many advertisers simply stated their desire to correspond on the subject of corporal punishment, but many others were starting to flesh out their ads with details about their particular desires and about qualities of the desired other (for example, whether they wished to connect with either a dominant or submissive partner), as in the following examples:

> Single gentleman who believes that the man should be lord and master and the woman obedient and submissive, would like to correspond with women of any age, with similar ideas. (A-5321, Hamilton, Ont.)
>
> Young man of slim build, refined, desires the companionship of a strong, domineering woman over 30, who is interested in corporal punishment. (A-5487, Barrie, Ont.)
>
> Young man of 30 would like to exchange views with other males under 40 on the subject of corporal punishment and bondage. Prefer to correspond with ma[s]terful types. . . . Advertiser is broadminded and interested in leather. (A-5632, New York, NY)
>
> Widow of 35 experienced in corporal punishment and petticoat discipline would like to hear from gentleman of pleasing appearance and submissive nature. Have extensive wardrobe of restraint garments. (B-3850, Timmins, Ont.)[320]

Also beginning in 1958, more and more ads were concerned with specific sexual fetishes, wherein advertisers (almost always males) would list various objects of desire and then usually state that they were seeking someone who shared these interests. Items of clothing and certain materials were most

[319] It is tempting to speculate that he somehow increased distribution outside of Canada, and that it was the ads from these new readers that increased the discipline-related content of Boy Meets Girl. However, while it is true that many of the ads about corporal punishment came from the United States, just as many originated in Toronto and the rest of Canada.

[320] Boy Meets Girl, *JW*, July 5, 1958; Oct. 4, 1958; Jan. 3, 1959; Jan. 3, 1959.

commonly listed, particularly leather clothing, rubber clothing, women's lingerie, and different types of footwear.

> Cultured intelligent gentleman in early forties, seeks friendship of knowing, understanding, same type woman who would be a strict and stern disciplinarian, and who also is alert to the use of nylons, satins, perfumes, etc. (A-5114, Pittsburgh)
>
> Gentleman 30 years old interested in corresponding with and meeting lady interested in leather and rubber wearing apparel, both normal and otherwise in design, also corporal punishment. (A-5492, Los Angeles)
>
> Middle-ageed [sic] man, very broadminded, student of the unusual, silk, satin, and French perfume, as well as rubber and leather goods; honest and sincere. Would like to hear from couples and ladies similarly interested. (A-5635, Alhambra, Calif.)
>
> Young gentleman, rainy weather enthu[s]iast, seeks photos of women in rubber boots and leather boots. (A-5652, Manhasset, NY)[321]

In addition to advertisers' explicitly stated interests in corporal punishment, various articles of clothing, and other pleasures related to sadomasochism and sexual fetishism, certain other interests and qualities began to appear repeatedly in advertisements at the end of the 1950s. For example, the hobbies of photography and movies (i.e., pornography) and sunbathing (i.e., nudism) were becoming as common in ads in both the Ladies and Gentlemen sections as motoring and shows had been in the 1940s; also, more and more advertisers were describing themselves as "broadminded," "fun-loving," and "unconventional." These clues introduced a degree of sexual directness (though it remained implicit) that had not been present in previous ads. Further, most of the broadminded, fun-loving photography buffs were couples. Prior to 1958, only a handful of ads placed by

[321] Boy Meets Girl, *JW*, April 5, 1958; Oct. 4, 1958; Jan. 3, 1959; Jan. 3, 1959.

couples seeking other couples had appeared in the Ladies section; starting in January 1958, such ads appeared in every issue, and by the end of the year, they made up at least half of all Ladies ads. Ads placed by couples were no less conventional than other kinds, with the same words and phrases appearing over and over.

> Healthy couple in late thirties, broadminded, fun-loving and interested in the unusual and bizarre, would like to correspond with or meet couples or interested females of similar description. (B-3586, Wilson, N.C.)
>
> Happily-married couple, broadminded, like the fun-loving things in life. Would like to meet another married or single couple who, like the advertiser[s], are similarly interested, for week end enjoyment. (B-3595, Toronto)
>
> Fun-loving, broadminded married couple would like to meet other broadminded couples who are not jealous and are interested in weekend parties. (B-3690, Toronto)
>
> My wife is 33 and I am the same age. We are happily married, fun-loving and broadminded. We are anxious to spend an evening with a couple in Toronto or vicinity of Peterborough. (B-3702, Peterborough, Ont.)[322]

Particularly in the ads placed by couples, the object is not always clear. Presumably such advertisers were in search of sexual encounters, but the innocence of the euphemisms included in these ads seems designed to mask such intentions. Couples who advertised were, according to the ads themselves, looking to meet others for "weekend get-togethers," "enjoyable parties," and "interesting discussions."

While the Boy Meets Girl column was a distinct section within *Justice Weekly*, one finds a degree of intertextuality between the advertisements and the

[322] Boy Meets Girl, *JW*, April 5, 1958; April 5, 1958; July 5, 1958; July 5, 1958.

paper's letters to the editor, many of which shared a preoccupation with matters of discipline. Personals occasionally contained explicit references to particular letters that had been published in the tabloid, most notably after 1957:

> Artistic gentleman in early thirties, very broadminded, sincere and discreet. Keenly interested in the unconventional, hobbies include photography, writing and painting. . . . Would like to hear from "Miss J. H." whose letter appeared recently. (A-5159, Toronto)
>
> Small businessman of 35, considered good looking, would like to hear from "Miss J. H." who wrote in the March 1st issue. Will comply with every demand. (A-5166, Edmonton)
>
> American just returned from long vacation would like to hear from "Mr. W.K.W." whose letter appeared in the July 19th issue. Also from other dominant readers who share author's ideas regarding disciplinary effectiveness. (A-5479, New York, NY)[323]

All of these developments in the personals—an (increasingly specific) orientation toward corporal punishment, mentions of particular fetish objects, a shift towards the sexual in hobbies and personal qualities, an explosion in ads placed by and seeking couples, and references to letters to the editor—coincided with, or quickly followed, the expansion of Boy Meets Girl in 1957. The years that followed saw rapid change, as a new level of sexual directness came to dominate the personals column in *Justice Weekly* by the early 1960s. These ads were still coded and edited, as will be discussed later, leaving many of their details open to interpretation, but the fact that Boy Meets Girl had by 1960 come to be filled primarily with what were known as "sex ads" was undeniable. Such ads continued to increase in number during the 1960s, joined by new interests (and euphemisms) that also appeared with greater frequency, including transvestism, "fashions," "water sports," and "modern living."

[323] Boy Meets Girl, *JW*, April 5, 1958; April 5, 1958; Oct. 4, 1958.

In was in this context that Pierre Berton wrote once again about *Justice Weekly*, in the national weekly magazine *Maclean's*. He observed in 1963 that an ad from an "ordinary" advertiser would get lost in *Justice Weekly*'s Boy Meets Girl column, populated as the column was by "more exotic members of the human species."[324] It was indeed becoming more and more difficult to find a personal ad placed by a single individual looking for a traditionally romantic relationship with an individual of the opposite sex (which is what, one presumes, Berton meant by "ordinary"). It is also true that starting in 1962, a number of advertisers (mostly couples, women, and, less so, gay men) stated explicitly that they were *not* interested in discipline, showing how common the topic had become in *Justice Weekly* and, particularly, in its personals. In fact, the nature of the tabloid's personals had become so well-known as to be parodied. The *Panic Button*, a Toronto humour magazine, published "Juicie Weekly" in 1963, a three-page parody that included the most recognizable components of *Justice Weekly*: its stark front page, a letter to the editor, and personal advertisements, alongside some small ads (e.g., "Books destined to go into the anals [sic] of erotica."). The *Panic Button* writer was obviously very familiar with the actual Boy Meets Girl column; the twelve ads that appeared under the heading "Boy Meets Girl & Etc. Dept." skillfully evoked the combination of banality and perversity that inhabited the real ads, while bringing silliness—and the seemingly arbitrary nature of sexual fetishes—to the fore:

> Intelligent young man, husky, well built, interested in photography, sun bathing, sports and taking baths in chicken soup. Would like to

[324] Berton, "There's a Hefty Profit," 66.

> meet refined, middle aged lady adept at chicken soup making. Would also like to meet lady who likes scotch broth.
>
> Exceptionally intelligent and beautiful couple, divinely proportioned and beautiful in every way[,] wish to get together with other gods and goddesses who also enjoy parties, sunbathing, . . . and a moderate drink of spirits. Object: fun-filled parties where we can beat the hell out of each other.[325]

Judging by the contents of "Juicie Weekly," it is clear that certain elements of *Justice Weekly*—particularly its personal ads, letters, and stark design—were recognizable beyond a niche audience in the 1960s as well as being a source of humour, at least in certain circles. The appearance of both "Juicie Weekly" and Berton's piece on *Justice Weekly* in Maclean's, published at around the same time, suggest that *Justice Weekly* was not merely a fringe periodical but rather a cultural object that by 1963 occupied at least a small part of the public imagination in (and perhaps even beyond) Toronto.

Distancing, editing, and defending Boy Meets Girl

As stated, Boy Meets Girl occupied four full pages of *Justice Weekly* starting in 1957, accounting for 25 percent of the tabloid's content. With little other paid advertising, these personal ads represented a very important source of revenue. There is no doubt that the personals also contributed to newsstand sales; personal ads are popular with readers beyond those using their services. That is, the ads are read for entertainment value by many who are not "on the market"—and the more titillating the ads, the better. These ads were vital to the ongoing survival of *Justice Weekly*. At the same time, though, Daniels had not initially set out to publish a kinky sex paper, and he was hardly a champion of nontraditional

[325] "Juicie Weekly," *The Panic Button*, no. 13 (1963): 19.

sexualities. Through certain strategic editorial choices, and by his own comments, Daniels deliberately distanced himself and the rest of his paper from those sexual communities—the discipline enthusiasts, sexual fetishists, homosexuals, and swinging couples—on whose advertising dollars he had come to rely. In particular, Daniels presented the ads in a self-contained section, distinct from the other, "serious" parts of the paper, and he edited their content, which had the effect of standardizing—and even, to some extent, dulling the sexual implications of—their language. Beginning in 1957, *Justice Weekly* was clearly printing "sex ads," but Daniels was careful to ensure that his ads avoided mention of actual sex. Despite the obviously transgressive expressions of sexuality contained between the lines of these tiny texts, their highly repetitive and conventional language suggests that Daniels was always prepared to defend their innocence, if charged (literally or figuratively) with peddling obscenity.

One of the easiest ways to suggest to readers that the personals were separate from the rest of *Justice Weekly* was to set them off in a separate section and to put somebody else in charge. This was not unique; as mentioned earlier, all the tabloids put their personals in a distinct section, headed by a fictional female. That Rosalind Riordan, Gloria Gordon, Mary Morgan and the other (strangely rhyming) conductresses were not real could not have been a secret—the publisher of *Hush* freely admitted that "Jean Jordan" was actually "two boys who screen out the fishy ads"[326]—but the fiction created the illusion that the personals columns were self-sufficient and separate from the editorial workings of the rest of the paper. So, from 1946 to 1972, readers wishing to insert or reply to a personal

[326] Rasky, "Canada's Lonelyheart," 21, 56.

advertisement in *Justice Weekly*'s Boy Meets Girl column were to write directly to Rosalind Riordan. Daniels admitted that "Rosalind Riordan" was a pseudonym, but he maintained for twenty years that she was "a very much alive person."[327] He claimed she had actually been a series of different secretaries, but there is no evidence that Daniels had secretaries after 1957; further, his niece, who worked for five years as his secretary in the 1950s, recalls having nothing to do with the ads.[328] Daniels was most likely the one in charge of his paper's personals.

Justice Weekly also did not hide from readers the fact that advertisements were subject to censorship, regularly referring to "the painstaking care taken by Rosalind Riordan in censoring advertisements and replies."[329] Indeed, Riordan herself reportedly told a journalist that "letters containing salacious material are immediately returned to the chief of police of the town from which they were mailed."[330] Still, it is impossible to know for sure how, and how much, the ads were censored, or how many (if any) were rejected outright and on what grounds.[331] One might think the paper's policy on censorship was gradually relaxed to allow for its increasingly unusual ads in the 1960s, but the high degree of repetition in the language of these later ads suggests that editorial intervention continued. The more ads one reads in *Justice Weekly*, the more it becomes apparent that those appearing in the 1960s are highly conventional, just as they had been in the 1940s; either advertisers modeled their language on other ads they

---

[327] [Phil Daniels], "Thousands of Lonely People Are Being Brought Together through 'Boy Meets Girl' Dept.," *JW*, Jan. 2, 1960.

[328] Anita Green, interview.

[329] [Daniels], "Thousands of Lonely People."

[330] Garner, "None but the Lonely Heart," 31. At the time that Garner interviewed "Rosalind Riordan" for his story, Shirley Daniels was the *Justice Weekly* secretary.

[331] There is evidence that, in the early years, at least one ad was rejected because it had been placed by a Chinese man who wanted to make the acquaintance of white women (Ibid., 31).

read in the paper, or Daniels substituted a number of stock words and phrases for a variety of terms he found unprintable. For example, as Pierre Berton pointed out, the words "sadist" and "masochist" never appeared in the column, but rather "corporal punishment" and "discipline."[332] Another pattern is the repeated use of the phrase "the subject of," likely meant to introduce a further degree of abstraction to certain controversial practices and desires. That is, advertisers commonly stated they were "interested in the subject of discipline" and "interested in the subject of transvestism"—and, in even vaguer terms, "interested in the subjects discussed in these columns." This circular statement was common enough that the following ad was one of those printed in the satirical "Juicie Weekly":

> Extremely shy young man interested in the subjects discussed in these pages would like to meet other parties who are interested in the subjects discussed in these pages. Object: discussion of the subjects discussed in these pages.[333]

The parody is comical in its overuse of the phrase, but in reality it is not so different from the original advertisements it references. Consider the following example from *Justice Weekly*, published in 1965:

> Gentleman of 31, interested in the subject of transvestism, white; would like to hear from and meet others with the same interests for the exchange of ideas. Would also like to meet lady interested in same subject. (A-11187, Montreal)[334]

Any traces of physical, sexual pleasure have been drained completely from this text, leaving one with the sense that the advertiser's interest is a purely intellectual one.

---

[332] Berton, "Are We Drifting," 33.
[333] "Juicie Weekly," 19.
[334] Boy Meets Girl, *JW*, Jan. 2, 1965.

As noted earlier, ads placed by couples were highly euphemistic in their stated goals, with "weekend get-togethers" as the phrase appearing most frequently. Further examples of mild-sounding euphemisms are virtually endless, but two more are particularly noteworthy for their deliberate obfuscation. In one, a gentleman in his fifties sought to meet lonely couples or singles "for evenings of harmonious friendship" (A-5641, Weston, Ont.).[335] In the other, a broadminded couple appealed to others interested in "social parties" by stating that they "have diversified interests and entertaining hobbies" (B-3860, Toronto).[336] It is impossible to prove that such ads were edited in the *Justice Weekly* office, without the original submissions with which to make a comparison, but I suspect that this was the case.

In fact, the only concrete glimpse into the Boy Meets Girl editing process is found in the writing of Pierre Berton. He conducted an "experiment" in 1963 to find out "how lucrative these [personal ads] sections really are": he had female "operatives" place fake personals in *Justice Weekly*, *Hush*, *Flash*, and *Tab*. The text of the first ad, as placed by "Operative 67," read as follows: "Attractive single girl in 20's needs special treatment from dominant male. Please be explicit." Berton reported that three of the four tabloids edited his text: "*Justice* removed the reference to 'special treatment,' *Flash* changed 'special treatment' to 'guidance,' . . . [and] *Hush* rewrote the whole ad."[337] A second ad, submitted on Berton's behalf by "Operative 92," had originally read, in part, "Mature, active, broadminded young couple in mid-30's interested in mutual excitement." Before

[335] Boy Meets Girl, *JW*, Jan. 3, 1959.
[336] Ibid.
[337] Berton, "There's a Hefty Profit," 66.

publishing the ad, reported Berton, *Flash*, *Hush*, and *Justice Weekly* all replaced the phrase "mutual excitement"—with "varied interests," "the finer things in life," and "fun," respectively.[338] If the phrases "special treatment" and "mutual excitement"—already euphemisms for sex—were deemed unsuitable for publication, it seems likely that it was in the interest of the tabloids to make their personal ads as vague as possible while still alluding to sex.

Daniels's response to Berton's report of his "experiment" was typical: Daniels chose to ignore any unflattering comments about his paper, focusing instead on a point that he could spin to suit his own purposes. Specifically, he delighted in the fact that Berton's ads had drawn a larger response from *Justice Weekly* than from the other tabloids. Soon after Berton's column had appeared in *Maclean's*, an article was published in *Justice Weekly* thanking Berton for the publicity, under the headline "Admits that Justice Weekly Draws the Largest Response." Further, Daniels continued for a decade to refer to this incident and to use it as a promotional tool. He regularly published a small notice on one of the Boy Meets Girl pages that read, "PIERRE BERTON inserted an Ad. [sic] in these columns and got more replies than from any of the other tabloids." As for Berton's derogatory remarks about *Justice Weekly*—that its editorial content was "not nearly so ambitious" as that of its competitors, for example, and that its subscribers were "deviates"—Daniels simply didn't acknowledge them. This was his usual approach to criticism. He seemed to operate on the notion that saying what one wanted to be true would make it so (and, conversely, that ignoring certain unsavory details might just make them go away). In this spirit, the first

[338] Berton, "There's a Hefty Profit."

issue of *Justice Weekly* published each year contained the same "news" article about the personals column and its wild success. According to this annual article, Boy Meets Girl had brought together "thousands of lonely people" and had resulted in "a large number of marriages" in addition to "most interesting friendships, often of a lasting nature."[339] Each January, this article appeared in *Justice Weekly*, nearly identical from year to year despite the changes that were actually taking place in the advertisements themselves. In fact, outside of the Boy Meets Girl pages, there was very little acknowledgement within *Justice Weekly* that anything other than boys meeting girls was taking place. When Berton noted that many of the advertisements appearing in the Gentlemen section of Boy Meets Girl "were clearly from homosexuals or transvestites," while many in the Ladies section "were quite clearly placed by Lesbians," Daniels did challenge him.[340] However, the tabloid publisher's challenge was mounted not on the basis of the ads themselves—that is, he did not deny that gays and lesbians populated his personals column—but rather on Berton's "amazing" ability to tell which ads had come from homosexuals. ("It has always been felt that only a homosexual or a lesbian would know that," wrote Daniels, suggesting, in schoolyard terms, that it takes one to know one.)[341] He simply ignored the points that he wished not to discuss, responding on a personal rather than a factual level.

---

[339] For example, [Daniels], "Thousands of Lonely People."

[340] Berton, "There's a Hefty Profit," 66.

[341] [Phil Daniels], "Admits that Justice Weekly Draws the Largest Response," *JW*, Mar. 23, 1963. In drawing a parallel between Berton's use of "female operatives" (whose existence Daniels obviously doubted) and a tendency among homosexual men to place their personals "as women," Daniels insinuated further (with tongue in cheek, I believe) that Berton was a closeted gay man. Perhaps Berton's "experiment" with the tabloid personals was an embryonic stage in his research for later writing—secretly, under the pseudonym Lisa Kroniuk—the erotic novel

But then, in 1969, Daniels offered a remarkable defense of Boy Meets Girl, which appeared in *Playboy*; it is remarkable both for what he said as well as for the fact that it represents, to my knowledge, the only time that anyone actually asked him, on the record, about the unusual personals he published. The *Playboy* story described *Justice Weekly* as "probably the oldest regularly published tabloid in the world that caters almost exclusively to what might be described as the hardcore deviate market," and the story characterized the Boy Meets Girl column as "a kind of community bulletin board for foot and boot fetishists, sadomasochists, parapathic voyeurs and transvestites."[342] The *Playboy* writer interviewed Daniels by phone, and described their conversation:

> When I telephoned his Toronto office to question him about the authenticity of the ads and letters that appear in his paper, he said, without any prompting, "I am one hundred percent normal." I was a little taken aback by this unexpected confession but concluded that the automatic response was one born of long custom. "There's a need for a paper like mine," Mr. Daniels went on. "It allows these people who can't be cured—and they can't, you know, they can't—to get in touch with each other through our ads. By doing so, they leave decent, innocent people alone."[343]

Daniels' insistence that he was "one hundred percent normal" while his advertisers "can't be cured" encapsulates the major difference between *Justice Weekly* and contemporary underground publications that printed similar ads. Not only did *Justice Weekly* not spring from or align itself with counterculture people or politics, but it worked to disassociate itself. Instead, Daniels's comment suggests that he regarded the Boy Meets Girl column as constituting a kind of

---

Masquerade: Fifteen Variations on a Sexual Fantasy (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985). If Daniels learned of Berton's hoax in 1985, he must have been amused.

[342] Potterton, "I Cut Out Her Heart," 206.

[343] Ibid.

safety-valve mechanism and believed that he was providing a public service—not for the advertisers who used it, but for "normal," "decent" people. A telling comparison can be made between Daniels's perspective and that of one of the co-founders of the *East Village Other* (popularly known as *EVO*), an underground periodical well-known in the mid-1960s for its explicit sex personals. Allan Katzman stated that the personal ads in *EVO* "perform[ed] an important service for the sexually frustrated and lonely New York readers who [had] no other advertising medium."[344] Before *EVO*, he continued, "these people had no outlets for their sexual interests. Now they're getting together and there is less loneliness in New York City."[345] Both Daniels and Katzman claimed that their personal ads provided a necessary service, but their views diverged when it came to whom the ads served. Both pointed out that their papers allowed people to connect with one another; in Katzman's view, these connections eased urban loneliness, while for Daniels, they ensured that "decent, innocent people" would be left alone. Daniels was willing to offer the service, but not to align himself with its users; rather, he worked continuously to keep his distance. However, regardless of how Daniels tried to control the "meanings" that were made of his paper, *Justice Weekly* was clearly open to the production of multiple meanings. Whatever Daniels thought or wrote or said about the contents of the personal advertisements in his paper, and however he manipulated the contents of the ads themselves, these ads had significant cultural effects that he could not control.

---

[344] Quoted in Robert J. Glessing, *The Underground Press in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1970), 92.

[345] Ibid., 103.

Uses made of Justice Weekly*'s personal ads*

The author of a 1970 book called *The Underside of Toronto* was being somewhat facetious when he stated that the city's tabloids, such as *Justice Weekly*, "perform a vital communications role in the world of off-beat sex."[346] In fact, he was exactly right. In the 1950s and early 1960s, there was barely any mention of homosexuals in the mainstream Canadian press, let alone of sadomasochists and transvestites. These sexual minorities were virtually invisible; any references that were published were generally negative and stereotypical. Of course, *Justice Weekly* also depicted them in negative and stereotypical ways, in editorials and news items. But within the Boy Meets Girl column, at least, advertisers appeared to be speaking in their own voices (although moderated by "Rosalind Riordan"), expressing their desires (however coded), and free from the pathologizing discourses about nontraditional sexualities that pervaded the mainstream. Further, of course, the advertisements provided individuals the rare opportunity to connect with one another—anonymously, and thus relatively safely, through the mail. In the late 1950s and the 1960s, it was not insignificant that "*Justice Weekly* allowed S/M strangers to meet without being introduced and vetted by other members of a network of acquaintances."[347] Indeed, the very medium of the personal advertisement was well suited to "an atomized culture of

[346] Albert Coleclough, "Toronto's Pornography: Disease or Symptom?" in *The Underside of Toronto*, ed. W. E. Mann (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), 316.

[347] Joseph W. Bean, "Leathersex and Sexuality," in *Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History in America*, ed. Marc Stein (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2004), 155.

isolated individuals," such as homosexuals and sadomasochists, who otherwise lacked access to one another.[348]

A number of researchers have recognized the usefulness of Toronto's postwar tabloids as sources of information for the city's fledgling gay community in the 1950s, as mentioned in chapter 2. However, to find this information, readers would frequently have to read the tabloids' homophobic gossip columns or reports on cases of gross indecency. By contrast, the benefits to homosexuals, sadomasochists, sexual fetishists, and so on provided in the Boy Meets Girl column were there in plain sight, in a distinct section at the very centre of the paper, presented without editorial comment. Daniels's efforts to distance the personal ads from the rest of the paper may have worked in his favor, allowing him officially to take the moral high road and to sidestep accusations of obscenity or perversity, but they certainly also made things easier for the so-called sexual deviates who wanted to read the ads and, better yet, to avoid the disparaging remarks that could be found in the surrounding news pages. In the dozens of advertisements *Justice Weekly* published each week—dozens of tiny, subversive, producerly texts—it offered "material calculated to draw the attention of the knowledgeable," helping to create and shape shared meanings for members of certain sexual communities.[349] No doubt Daniels would have preferred that his tabloid be remembered as a truth-seeking news source rather than as a significant force on the road to recognition and community for homosexuals, sadomasochists,

[348] Daniel Harris, "Personals," *The Antioch Review* 59, no. 2 (2001): 286.
[349] Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek, *The New Sexuality* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974), 153.

and transvestites, but he would likely have conceded that any publicity is good publicity.

Justice Weekly, *La Plume*, and the 1960s

There is some evidence that by the late 1960s, Boy Meets Girl may have been struggling to maintain its size; perhaps the new American specialty publications such as *La Plume*, which focused exclusively and explicitly on "unusual" personal advertisements, had poached some of *Justice Weekly*'s advertisers. In 1967, Daniels ran a "special summer offer": three advertisements inserted for the price of two (four dollars), and/or three replies forwarded for the price of two (two dollars). The paper's annual "thousands of lonely people" article about the personals also tempered its claim to supremacy; where since 1960 it had characterized Boy Meets Girl as "the largest international department of its kind in any publication of this type the world over," the line was revised slightly in 1969 so as to state that the column was "*what is believed to be* the largest . . . ."[350] Then, beginning in April of that year, the claim of the front-page banner was also scaled back, as the tabloid suddenly claimed to contain the "*Nation's* Largest Friendship Dept." By 1971, Daniels was attempting to entice potential subscribers with the offer of three free weeks of a Boy Meets Girl advertisement with every annual subscription; he also changed the front-page banner one last time, removing its reference to largeness: "Sophisticated Lovelorn Dept."

[350] [Phil Daniels], "Thousands of Lonely People Are Being Brought Together through 'Boy Meets Girl' Dept.," *JW*, Jan. 4, 1969; emphasis added.

However, *Justice Weekly* was by the 1970s no longer the only outlet for members of the various sexual subcultures whose personals had begun to fill the Boy Meets Girl column in the 1950s. Moreover, the highly euphemistic and coded language imposed by "Rosalind Riordan," as well as the complete absence of images in *Justice Weekly*, seemed especially outdated when compared with other venues for personal advertising of the time. The American specialty publications *La Plume* and *Bizarre Life*, to name just two examples, were filled not only with somewhat more explicitly worded advertisements but also with small photographs and illustrations of people (usually women) dressed in bondage gear. The language in these texts was still coded, and still appears somewhat quaint in the face of today's sex advertisements, but their ads allowed for more detail, and the accompanying images left little doubt as to the meaning of "domestic discipline," "exotic desires," and "bizarre clothing." The amount by which images intensify the sexual nature of these small advertisements is striking. The following brief advertisements, for instance, were published in *La Plume*:

> CANADA—Passive female wishes to hear [from] and perhaps meet dominant men or women over 35. Interests are varied and the bizarre clothing is enjoyed. (B-34)
>
> CANADA—Unsatisfied gentleman, 34, fond of esoteric attire and the unusual, . . . desires to meet female. All answered (B-310)[351]

Although these ads could easily have appeared in *Justice Weekly* (and may have), they seem somehow more sexually explicit than they actually are when encountered in *La Plume*, surrounded as they are by small pictures of gagged and bound women, women with tiny waists cinched by corsets, women in tight, shiny

[351] *La Plume*, vol. 2, 1964, Kinsey Institute, vert. file.

black garments, women with huge breasts holding whips, and so on. Similar advertisements in *Justice Weekly*, where there were no images, left a great deal more to the imagination of readers, allowing for more ambiguity and, if necessary, the opportunity (for its publisher) to plead ignorance as to what was really being communicated. This abstraction and distance Daniels worked to maintain in the pages of Boy Meets Girl was simply not a concern for the (clearly pseudonymous) publishers of *La Plume*. In the 1960s, while *Justice Weekly* represented all kinds of sexualities while outwardly touting its "friendship dept."—and continuing annually to boast of the "large number of marriages" that had resulted from its personals column—emerging publications like *La Plume* were targeting the same scene but playing up their "adults only" content. They were not newspapers and thus did not need to be concerned with any pretense of journalistic integrity. In fact, the only content in *La Plume* besides its ads and small images was the occasional discipline-related letter to the editor—copied directly from the pages of *Justice Weekly*.

Perhaps *Justice Weekly*—and its Boy Meets Girl column in particular—was no longer needed by 1970. Alternatives like *La Plume* and *Select Magazine* were launched in the mid-1960s to serve the same sexual subcultures; although none of these specialty publications survived longer than a few years, and none was based in Canada, new titles continued to spring up in their place and all welcomed Canadian advertisers. There is no doubt, though, that these later publications, as well as the communities they served, owed a debt to *Justice Weekly*.

Conclusion

Justice Weekly did not invent the personal advertisement nor even the "unusual" advertisements geared toward discipline enthusiasts, transvestites, homosexuals, and swinging couples for which it became well-known. For at least a century, people with nontraditional and unsanctioned sexual needs and desires—from singles unable, for whatever reason, to meet a potential mate to individuals whose particular tastes are highly stigmatized—have advertised in print in the hopes of connecting with others. Writing specifically about sexual communities, Weeks explains that "[a] community offers a 'vocabulary of values' through which individuals construct their understanding of the social world, and of their sense of identity and belonging."[352] For sexual communities that were in the process of forming in the 1960s, *Justice Weekly* was a rare and welcome place where certain social worlds were made visible, and where identities, belongings, and "vocabularies" could be constructed and negotiated at a safe distance. Weeks points out that the concept of "community" is somewhat problematic in that it presupposes unity where little unity may exist—that is, a great deal of variation exists *within* any given group; still, "a sort of diasporic consciousness does exist because people believe it exists."[353] The personal advertisements published in *Justice Weekly*, particularly between the mid-1950s and the early 1970s, certainly contributed to the early stirrings of a diasporic consciousness among the sexual minorities represented therein. As Toronto advertiser "A.M.L." wrote in a letter to "Rosalind Riordan" in 1971:

---

[352] Jeffrey Weeks, "The Idea of a Sexual Community," *Soundings* 2 (1996): 72.
[353] Weeks, 74.

> I was convinced that the only way to meet people who have the same interests as I have, was to let them know just how enthusiastic I am about the "leather, whips, levis, etc." and not be embarrassed about it. Thanks to your wonderful and informative publication, I have been able to find people who are interested in [the same] subject I am. Let's be honest. How else could I have found them?[354]

This letter identifies the essence of *Justice Weekly*'s contribution to the history of both personal advertising and sexual subcultures, starting in the 1950s. How else, indeed? There was no easily accessible alternative at the time this Toronto tabloid started printing its unconventional personals.

[354] A.M.L. [pseud.], "Letter Speaks for Itself," *JW*, July 24, 1971.

5

"Lesbian and Convict Contribute Articles": *Justice Weekly*, the Penal Press, and the Homophile Press in the 1950s

The small headline printed each week at the top right-hand corner of *Justice Weekly*'s front page, starting in the late 1940s, was important. When this tabloid was tucked among others on an urban newsstand, that corner headline would often have been visible—may, in fact, have been the only text visible besides the name of the paper. Those few words had to pack a punch. Daniels hoped to attract the attention of readers, writing such headlines as "10-Year-Old Boy Victim of Sex Pervert in Park," for example, and "Girl Sells Herself for One Pair of Stockings, Court Told."[355] On April 17, 1954, the top-corner headline read "Lesbian and Convict Contribute Articles." Daniels had not hired an unusual pair of reporters; rather, he had chosen articles from two magazines produced outside of Toronto, and he had reprinted them in the pages of *Justice Weekly*—one by an American lesbian and another by a Canadian prison inmate. Daniels had reached out geographically—and reached back, historically—to bring his readers content that they were almost certainly not going to find anywhere else.

[355] *JW*, Sept. 30, 1950; Apr. 9, 1949.

Newspapers have long contained both local and nonlocal content, though the means by which nonlocal information is gathered by editors has changed. Before the telegraph came to be used widely in the mid-1800s, thousands of periodicals were exchanged among newspaper editors through the mail; editors then culled these incoming papers, known as "exchanges," for a variety of items to publish in their own pages. This system of exchange functioned like a primitive news service, allowing readers in far-flung communities of all sizes to read of events occurring in other places. In fact, up to half of a typical mid-nineteenth-century newspaper's content was clipped from other publications, allowing for a wide circulation of information that likely benefitted readers in "every city and hamlet with a post office and a newspaper."[356] Although the advent of the telegraph, and later the telephone, transformed the practice of newsgathering and reduced the vital role played by exchange papers, the system continued to some extent into the twentieth century. One twentieth-century editor who relied on exchanges for content was Phil Daniels. By reprinting frequently from a handful of periodicals in the 1950s, Daniels ensured a steady stream of inexpensive and possibly controversial content for *Justice Weekly* and became part of a circuit of communication for two particular groups: prison inmates and gay-rights activists.

This chapter is concerned with *Justice Weekly*'s revival of the historical practice of newsgathering by means of exchanges—the practice itself as well as its material effects. Much as he had with letters to the editor and personal advertisements, Daniels showed a talent for securing cheap, if not free, content as

[356] Richard B. Kielbowicz, "Newsgathering by Printers' Exchanges before the Telegraph," *Journalism History* 9, no. 2 (1982): 47.

well as for borrowing from the past, by reviving a culture of reprinting that had thrived in earlier centuries. By republishing items from contemporary periodicals on the very edges of society—in particular, a magazine produced by the inmates of Kingston Penitentiary and the publications of two early American homophile organizations—he was able to fill editorial space with content not widely available to the public, most likely with the hopes of attracting curious new readers. He did so as a respectable Victorian publisher would: by reprinting content with permission and proper attribution. As a result, information originating from two extremely marginal groups was circulated more broadly than it may have been had it not been for *Justice Weekly*. While the monthly *K. P.* (Kingston Penitentiary) *Tele-Scope* was distributed to mainstream media outlets, and occasionally excerpted in the daily press, *Justice Weekly* was unique in reprinting the inmates' short stories, poetry, and essays in full, and in abundance. What is more remarkable, though, is the amount of content *Justice Weekly* republished from the U.S. homophile magazines. At a time when subscribing to periodicals affiliated with homosexuality could be socially and legally risky, *Justice Weekly* made their content available to its readers on a regular basis, subverting the power of Canada's post office and customs department. The Toronto tabloid became, in a sense, part of a North American network of volunteer distributors of early homosexual writing.

It has already been noted that *Justice Weekly* is a publication of which relatively few traces remain, other than its back issues in a small number of archives. According to Susan J. Douglas, we can learn more about such

publications by investigating the texts with which they were "in conversation."[357] Following an overview of the historical practice of exchanging newspapers as a mode of newsgathering, this chapter will address *Justice Weekly*'s "conversations" with both the penal press and the homophile press of the 1950s. First, I will locate the *K. P. Tele-Scope*—Canada's first inmate magazine with outside subscribers—in the context of the penal press and examine its content that Daniels chose to republish in *Justice Weekly*. Second, I will discuss the place of homosexuality in postwar Canada and outline the fruitful relationship *Justice Weekly* had with this country's first gay activist, Jim Egan, beginning in 1952. Third, I will turn to the homophile press, particularly the publications of two trailblazing American organizations: the Mattachine Society and ONE Inc. By requesting exchange agreements and then reprinting an extraordinary amount of gay-positive content, Daniels made his tabloid a major source of early homosexual writing in Canada—among publications of any kind—as well as a significant vehicle for the distribution of American gay writing in this country. Today, *Justice Weekly* can be seen as having supported the publishing efforts of both the inmates of Canada's largest penitentiary and the members of a fledgling civil-rights movement.

Newspaper exchanges and scissors-and-paste journalism

The Dominion of Canada's Post Office Act of 1867 specified that "exchange papers passing between publishers in Canada, and between publishers in Canada

[357] Susan J. Douglas, "Does Textual Analysis Tell Us Anything about Past Audiences?" in *Explorations in Communication and History*, ed. Barbie Zelizer (New York: Routledge, 2008), 74.

and publishers in the United States, Prince Edward's Island, and Newfoundland, are carried free through the post."[358] Exchange papers were the single copies of newspapers sent through the mail that provided printers and editors with nonlocal news and other content, and during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were undoubtedly "the principal means by which news flowed from editors of one city to those in other areas."[359] It could take days or weeks—even months, in the case of distant British colonies like Australia and New Zealand, which had to wait for ships to bring the news from afar[360]—but news and other information travelled across and among Canada, the United States, Britain, and other colonies long before communication technologies permitted the rapid transmission of content via news agencies and syndication. Whether the exchanges were carried by pony express, rail, or steamship, the result of this system was the same: newspapers were able to republish items generated elsewhere. Indeed, early North American papers were dependent on the post office, for they would have been unable to gather sufficient nonlocal content without the free exchange of newspapers—and it was nonlocal news that the press wanted most, "apparently assuming that readers learned about their own communities by word of mouth."[361] Up to half of a typical pretelegraphic-era newspaper was composed of information clipped

---

[358] *The Post Office Act, 1867, and the general regulations founded thereon* (Ottawa: G. E. Desbarats, 1868), 17. A similar assurance of free postage was stated in the U.S. Post Office Act of 1792; see Richard John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1995).

[359] Kielbowicz, "Newsgathering by Printers' Exchanges," 46.

[360] Rod Kirkpatrick, "Scissors and Paste: Recreating the History of Newspapers in Ten Country Towns," *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 22, no. 4 (1999): 232–46; Ross Harvey, "Bringing the News to New Zealand: The Supply and Control of Overseas News in the Nineteenth Century," *Media History* 8, no. 1 (2002): 21–34.

[361] Richard B. Kielbowicz, "News Gathering by Mail in the Age of the Telegraph: Adapting to a New Technology," *Technology and Culture* 28, no. 1 (1987): 28.

from exchanges, while a third of the content of U.S. newspapers published between 1847 and 1860 was derived from other papers.[362] As Laura Murray has noted, a nineteenth-century newspaper was "not primarily a unique source of 'new news' but a unique package of selected material."[363] It was customary that reprinted content would be duly attributed to its original source—by "responsible" editors, at least.[364]

Newspapers published in Canada relied on exchanges from the U.S. and England for content, along with the papers circulated by mail within Canada. In fact, by 1841, "fully 40 percent of the Canadian papers circulating by post [was] comprised of the exchange editions travelling free of postage among editors."[365] In that year alone, 596,000 copies of colonial newspapers were circulated postage-free in Canada.[366] The telegraph had a significant impact on the need for editors to clip their news from exchanges, but the post office continued for some time to be relevant in the process of newsgathering. For one thing, telegraph wires were not strung overnight. By 1850, lines connected Quebec City, Montreal, and Halifax with three U.S. cities; however, it was not until late 1861 that a continent-wide network was in place, and a transatlantic telegraph cable was not in service

---

[362] Kielbowicz, "Newsgathering by Printers' Exchanges," 47; Idem, "News Gathering by Mail," 37.

[363] Laura Murray, "What Is a Newspaper?: Archives and Recent Court Cases in Dialogue" (lecture given at McGill University, sponsored by Media@McGill and the Centre for Intellectual Property Policy, Montreal, Jan. 22, 2010).

[364] Peter G. Goheen, "Communications and Newsmaking before the Telegraph: The Story of the 1845 Quebec City Fires," *The Canadian Geographer* 37, no. 3 (1993): 236.

[365] Ibid., 235.

[366] Ibid., 234. This is almost the same number of exchanges that were delivered in a single month in the United States, in 1843 (Kielbowicz, "News Gathering by Mail," 30).

until 1866.[367] Also, telegraphed messages were fast, but expensive, while sending papers through the mail took time yet cost publishers nothing, thanks to postal subsidies. As such, Richard Kielbowicz explains, "the nature of the telegraph put a premium on speed and brevity; the post office, on the other hand, still accommodated discursive, complex, colorful, and opinionated articles" sent as exchanges.[368] Therefore, editors came to rely less on exchanges and more on the telegraph for hard, breaking news, while they could afford to wait a little longer for less-time-sensitive content, such as fiction, poetry, humour, and opinion pieces. The method known as "scissors-and-paste journalism" came to be used primarily for this lighter fare by the late 1800s, at which time "the character of a newspaper [was] as strongly indicated by the pithiness and good taste displayed in its selections, as by the original news it contain[ed]," according to one journalist of the era.[369]

The task of clipping from the incoming exchanges was done by local editors at small newspapers, while larger papers often had a dedicated sub-editor—commonly known as an "exchange editor" or even "scissors editor"—on staff. By the 1880s, the exchange editor was charged primarily with selecting "poetry, wit and humor, as well as pithy articles on timely topics" and had to be "careful to choose only those which possess[ed] real merit."[370] A contemporary newspaper profile states that good judgment and a good memory are required for

---

[367] Peter G. Goheen, "The Changing Bias of Inter-Urban Communications in Nineteenth-Century Canada," *Journal of Historical Geography* 16, no. 2 (1990): 177–96.

[368] Kielbowicz, "News Gathering by Mail," 40–41.

[369] Thomas Campbell-Copeland, *The Ladder of Journalism: How to Climb It* (New York: Allan Forman, 1889), 61.

[370] Ibid., 60.

the job: the exchange editor must know "what is fresh matter and what is likely to interest the great body of readers" and must also strive to avoid printing the same item twice.[371] Work speed was crucial, as the value of an exchange editor was measured by the number of publications he could scan each day—and there were "piles upon piles" of them to be scanned, "ranging from the quarterly magazine to the penny evening paper."[372] The job did involve scissors and paste: items were literally cut from exchanges and glued onto sheets of paper that were then given to the managing editor, who would select extracts to be typeset and inserted in the newspaper.[373] Popular use of the term "scissors-and-paste journalism" seems to have been more common in Britain than in North America, but in any case, the term was often used pejoratively toward the end of the nineteenth century.[374] The practice itself had both supporters and detractors. In the opinion of one journalist at the time, "these articles [a paste-pot and scissors] require just as much skill and experience to use them with effect as are requisite in artistically wielding the pen."[375] In the view of another, "it is *easier* to write with a pair of shears than with a pen."[376]

Clippings from exchanges were frequently condensed by editors, making them suitable for filling small spaces in a newspaper at the composition stage.

---

[371] "Exchange Editors," *Paterson* (NJ) *Daily Press*, June 8, 1897.

[372] "A Million Newspapers a Week," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Mar. 23, 1890.

[373] Campbell-Copeland, 61.

[374] Catherine Clare Feely, "'Scissors-and-Paste' Journalism," in *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism*, accessed July 5, 2013, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:c19index-us&rft_dat=xri:c19index:DNCJ:1282.

[375] John Dawson, *Practical Journalism: How to Enter Thereon and Succeed* (London: L. Upcott Gill, 1885), 29.

[376] *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, Nov. 23, 1883, quoted in Bob Nicholson, "'You Kick the Bucket; We Do the Rest!': Jokes and the Culture of Reprinting in the Transatlantic Press," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 17, no. 3 (2012): 276; emphasis in original.

Many papers also collected a number of extracts in a dedicated column, headed by a descriptive title like "Miscellaneous Gleanings."[377] Such columns were printed at least through the late nineteenth century—until 1894 in the *Toronto Star* and 1899 in the *Chicago Tribune*, for example—suggesting that exchange papers were utilized long after the advent of the electric telegraph.[378] Overall, however, the tone of such gleanings shifted over time, from newsy to amusing. In addition, periodicals emerged that were devoted entirely to these brief items copied from elsewhere. A *Wall Street Journal* writer lamenting the obsolescence of the traditional, news-minded exchange editor—who was "one of the blessings, the prides, of earlier time metropolitan newspaperdom"—observed that the successors to those earlier newspapers were "magazines whose special province it has become to collate and classify what's curious, witty and wise from contemporary presses."[379] Indeed, among Britain's bestselling periodicals of the 1890s were the three "flagships of the late Victorian snippet press": *Tit-Bits*, *Answers to Correspondents*, and *Pearson's Weekly*.[380] Few of these magazines bothered to credit the sources of their snippets, in contrast to earlier practice.[381]

Early newspaper exchanges sustained the press, of course, as there were few other means by which printers and editors could receive nonlocal

---

[377] "Miscellaneous Gleanings" was the title of the column of extracts published in the Australian *Grafton Argus* in the 1870s; other Australian examples include "Extracts of Interest, or Opinion" (the *Maitland Mercury*) and "Colonial Extracts" (the *Clarence and Richmond Examiner*) (Kirkpatrick, "Scissors and Paste," 235).

[378] The *Star*'s column of May 26, 1894, was titled "Fresh Tales from Canada" and subtitled "Interesting Items Gathered from the Star's Exchanges." Not long after, the *Star* began to print columns of similarly brief items "clipped" from wire services.

[379] "*By-the-Bye* in Wall Street," *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 10, 1934.

[380] Nicholson, 277. The full title of *Tit-Bits* made clear its publisher's ambition: *Tit-Bits from all the interesting Books, Periodicals, and Newspapers of the World* (Martin Conboy, *Journalism in Britain: A Historical Introduction* [London: Sage, 2010], 11).

[381] Nicholson, 277.

information. In turn, the system familiarized readers with national and international news and culture. In the 1840s and 1850s, for example, newspapers in Canada West were "largely built up by the use of scissors and paste, [and] it is safe to say that they undoubtedly raised the cultural standards of their communities."[382] A few decades later, however, it was thought that "self-respecting [newspaper] editors kept their paste pots at arm's length," while periodical digests filled with little *but* extracts from other publications were very popular with readers.[383] Nicholson argues that the Victorian snippet press "function[ed] as a 'contact zone' between British and American popular culture," blurring the boundaries between the two cultures.[384] In general, the "culture of reprinting" undoubtedly expanded readers' ability to conceptualize other peoples and places, particularly those they had never seen—for better or for worse. Consider, for instance, the circulation of information about Indigenous peoples. Relying on exchanges, mid-nineteenth-century editors in the United States commonly republished news reports of conflicts between whites and Native Americans. On the one hand, scissors-and-paste journalism "helped enlarge the native identity" by circulating information about Indigenous groups; on the other hand, such reports could be "wildly inaccurate and unreliable," as writers frequently "assigned the worst possible characteristics to the Indians," creating distorted representations.[385] This system of newsgathering did not *cause* racism

---

[382] James J. Talman, "Three Scottish-Canadian Newspaper Editor Poets," *Canadian Historical Review* 28, no. 2 (1947): 166.

[383] Nicholson, 275.

[384] Ibid., 274.

[385] John M. Coward, *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820–90* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1999), 54–56.

against Native Americans, of course, nor are distorted media images of minority groups limited to nineteenth-century American newspapers. Rather, the distribution of information through exchanges aided in the spread of such representations, with both positive and negative results.

By the first half of the twentieth century, use of exchanges by newspaper editors had generally died out, replaced by other methods of newsgathering. Beginning in 1910, for example, Canadian Press Ltd. redistributed content transmitted by telegraph from the American Press (AP) wire service. Then, in 1917, the Canadian Press (CP) news agency was formed by newspaper publishers who wanted to print English-language news of Canadian troops in Europe.[386] Papers that subscribed to the service could choose, edit, and publish items that came "over the wire." Of course, this is how outside news was gleaned by the mainstream press—which could afford wire-service subscriptions, and which could not afford simply to plagiarize. When Phil Daniels launched *Justice Weekly* in 1946, he wrote most of his own news stories; for the rest, he mined his own supply of British newspapers, rewriting stories from "the Old Country"—usually without attribution. Then, starting in 1952, he started a more transparent—and more ethical—kind of borrowing, reprinting stories from the Kingston Penitentiary's inmate publication with permission. By 1954 he was republishing the old-fashioned way, though on a small scale, under a reciprocal exchange agreement with two homophile organizations in the U.S. Like an early exchange editor, Daniels clearly gave credit to the authors and original sources of his

[386] "The Canadian Press History," The Canadian Press, accessed July 4, 2013, http://www.thecanadianpress.com/about_cp.aspx?id=77.

reprints, and he offered free access to his paper's content in return. As a result, *Justice Weekly* became an important distributor of writing by Canadian prison inmates and American homophile activists, and readers of *Justice Weekly* were exposed to content they may not otherwise have seen.

Republications in *Justice Weekly*

Many issues of *Justice Weekly* in its early years contained at least one news story originating from a British newspaper. Daniels would rewrite the story at least somewhat, sometimes referring to its origin, but sometimes with no mention that this story had already been published elsewhere. Like virtually all news stories in *Justice Weekly*, those originating in England had no byline or dateline. It was only when readers came across a reference to "the Old Country" or "Old Bailey," for example, in the first or second paragraph that the foreign origin of the item became apparent. Daniels was clearly attached to the place of his birth. As he told readers in his tabloid's first issue, "the Editor is patriotic to a high degree, loves Canada as every Canadian should, but never wants it to lessen its relationship with Great Britain."[387] Daniels spent his first eighteen years in London, during which time three mass daily newspapers—the *Daily Mail* (1896), the *Daily Express* (1900), and the *Daily Mirror* (1903)—were founded.[388] The early-twentieth-century British print landscape also included the sensational Sunday paper *News of the World* and magazines associated with the Victorian snippet press, such as *Tit-Bits*, the hugely popular digest containing bite-sized pieces of

[387] [Daniels], "Introducing Ourselves."
[388] Conboy, 195.

entertaining content. We cannot know for sure if Daniels was a consumer of any of these publications before immigrating to Canada in 1911, but as a young person who fancied himself a writer and wished to work in newspapers, he likely was. By the time he launched *Justice Weekly*, having worked at newspapers for most of his life, he was certainly familiar with various methods of newsgathering. In its early years, in addition to rewritten stories from London papers, *Justice Weekly* occasionally contained a reprint from a small, niche periodical, such as the *Gold Digest* (about gold mining). Then, in March 1952, Daniels opted to reprint a large amount of material from a particularly controversial, sex-themed issue of the University of Toronto student publication the *Varsity*—"to give the general public an idea of the mentality of some university students," he wrote critically in an editorial titled "In Poor Taste."[389] (A satirical article declaring that "Remedial Sex" would soon be a compulsory undergraduate course, with "field work" to be funded by the Student Administrative Council, is one example of the offending content.)[390] Daniels clearly hoped to attract attention at newsstands with a single striking headline on the front page of his paper, in bold, black capital letters:

DISGRACEFUL
SEX STORIES
IN VARSITY
NEWSPAPER

Moreover, the *Varsity* reprints allowed Daniels to publish page after page of prurient content while also chastising the students who had written it, creating an

[389] [Phil Daniels], "In Poor Taste," *JW*, Mar. 22, 1952. See also "Suspend Varsity, Editor Quits, Say Too Much Sex," *Toronto Star*, Mar. 7, 1952.

[390] "'Remedial Sex' Compulsory[;] SAC Finances Field Work," *JW*, Mar. 22, 1952, originally published in *The Varsity*, Mar. 5, 1952.

ethically ambivalent dynamic resembling that between *Justice Weekly*'s other sexually charged features and Daniels's own moral condemnation of those responsible for creating it (i.e., letter writers and personal advertisers). For two consecutive weeks, *Justice Weekly* contained multiple full reprints from the *Varsity* issue. The following February, a similar situation arose: Daniels reprinted several items from a controversial and "indecent" issue of the *Manitoban*, student newspaper of the University of Manitoba. He relished the scoop, boasting that *Justice Weekly* had secured a copy of the banned publication, while the efforts of other dailies and weeklies to do so had "met with ignominious failure."[391]

Looking back, Daniels's foray into republication from the student press—and from the *Varsity*, in particular—arguably functioned as a kind of pilot project for the reprinting that was to come in his paper. It seems that in the early to mid-1950s Daniels became more comfortable both with openly republishing from other periodicals and with seeking formal permission to reprint. And as he had with the *Varsity* material, he continued to choose provocative items representing populations with little power in society.

The penal press: The K. P. Tele-Scope

In the 1950s and 1960s, hundreds of publications were written and printed by prison inmates in North America, during the golden age of a worldwide phenomenon known as the penal press.[392] These newspapers and magazines circulated within their institutions and, in many cases, to outside subscribers. The

---

[391] [Phil Daniels], "No Copies of Banned Student Paper Available but 'Justice Weekly' Gets One Just the Same," *JW*, Feb. 7, 1953.

[392] Robert Gaucher, "The Canadian Penal Press: A Documentation and Analysis," *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons* 2, no. 1 (1989): 1–12.

penal press also maintained its own exchange network, which echoed the broader pretelegraphic exchange system of newspapers. That is, inmate publications exchanged issues and granted mutual reprint rights, with the expectation that credit would be given where due, resulting in "an unusual information grapevine" among institutions.[393] The contents of these publications were vetted by prison administration, of course. After all, the very existence of "the penal press is an anomaly; authoritarian rule and the printing press historically have been incompatible."[394] Penal publications typically included essays and editorials on prison life and criminal-justice issues as well as reporting on prison news and events, creative writing, letters, and illustrations.

The men housed at Canada's oldest federal prison, Kingston Penitentiary, produced this country's first penal publication—before penitentiary inmates in Canada were even permitted to read daily newspapers. The first issue of the *K. P. Tele-Scope* was published in September 1950, though it was not until February 1951 that the magazine was distributed outside the institution. In April, a third of the *Tele-Scope*'s 600 subscribers were outside; by June, it had roughly 625 outside subscribers.[395] The *Tele-Scope*'s purpose was made explicit on its masthead: "To provide an outlet for creative expression and a forum for the discussion of common problems and interests." By all accounts, it was a good-looking and respected monthly magazine. The big daily newspapers at that time, for example, described the *Tele-Scope* in such terms as "attractive," "remarkable,"

---

[393] Russell N. Baird, *The Penal Press* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1967), 72.

[394] Ibid., 10.

[395] "Statement of April 1951 Subscriptions," *K.P. Tele-Scope*, June 1951, 11; Sam Carr, "Editorially Speaking," *K.P. Tele-Scope*, June 1951, 32.

and "bright."[396] Indeed, according to an editorial in the *Toronto Star*, "Any business concern might be proud to have as creditable a house organ."[397] Looking back, the *Tele-Scope* is remembered as "one of [North] America's best written and illustrated examples of the 'penal press' of the day."[398] The *Tele-Scope* even carried advertisements for Coca-Cola for a time, and its editorial board wrote a brief on judicial processes that was considered by the Canadian Bar Association.[399]

The early 1950s was a period of unprecedented creativity and innovation at the penitentiary—with sports teams, vocational training, and even an award-winning musical radio program called "Kingston Penitentiary on the Air"—as well as optimism within the prison system in general. Penal reforms were shifting the primary focus of prisons from punishment to rehabilitation, and magazines such as the *Tele-Scope* (it was soon followed by publications from other Canadian penitentiaries) were seen by authorities as "a positive means of selling the new 'humanized reform-oriented prison' they were in the process of trying to create."[400] Prison editors had to please both their fellow inmates and the prison authorities who encouraged and funded them, of course. However, this did not mean the *Tele-Scope* was simply a mouthpiece for administrators. According to John "Bugs" Brown, a member of the magazine's editorial board, prison

---

[396] See, for example, Bruce West, "Roving Reporter Rarity," *Globe and Mail*, May 26, 1952; Pierre Berton, "The Brink of Victory: A Tragedy in Three Acts," *Toronto Star*, Oct. 7, 1958; Frank Tumpane, "The Latest Look," *Globe and Mail*, Sept. 29, 1953.

[397] "Pitfalls of Friend-ship," *Toronto Star*, Jan. 2, 1952.

[398] Curtis et al., *Kingston Penitentiary: The First Hundred and Fifty Years, 1835–1985* (Ottawa: Correctional Service of Canada, 1986), 90.

[399] Ibid.; see Ben Rose, "Witnesses Favorable to Defence Are Hidden[,] Convicts' Brief Claims," *Toronto Star*, Aug. 31, 1955.

[400] Gaucher, 4.

authorities lurked in the background but did not necessarily interfere with the publication process: "If the Warden deems an article objectionable, he will over-rule the majority [of the editorial board] and order it suppressed, but he will not order any particular article published."[401] Self-censorship by *Tele-Scope* writers and editors was likely more pervasive than last-minute cuts by heavy-handed authorities. Still, the magazine did contain critiques and complaints by inmates regarding their living conditions, the parole process, and other aspects of the criminal-justice system.

Some of those critical essays and editorials travelled beyond the institutional grapevine of the international penal-press network. The mainstream press occasionally printed excerpts as well, reaching far more readers than the *Tele-Scope* alone could do. Typically, a daily newspaper would cite some content in the *Tele-Scope* and then use it as a springboard from which to editorialize on prison reform or criminality. On a few occasions, brief items were reprinted in full on the op-ed page of the *Globe and Mail*. There is even evidence that one human-interest story derived from the *Tele-Scope* was picked up and distributed by the Canadian Press and American Press.[402] However, between 1952 and 1954, *Justice Weekly* far surpassed the mainstream press in terms of column inches devoted to stories that had originally appeared in the *Tele-Scope*, republishing

---

[401] John Brown, "The Canadian Penal Press," *JW*, Oct. 9, 1954, originally published in the *K. P. Telescope*, date unknown.

[402] On Dec. 24, 1958, the Regina *Leader-Post* printed passages from an essay that had appeared in that month's issue of the *Tele-Scope*, with the dateline "Ottawa (CP)"; however, I have found no other instances of the story being published. Then, on March 12, 1959, a related item quoting extensively from the *Tele-Scope* appeared in at least two American newspapers, with the dateline "Ottawa (AP)." I have traced this second story only to the *Hartford* (Conn.) *Courant* and the *Victoria* (Tex.) *Advocate*.

more than two and a half dozen stories, poems, and essays from the prison magazine, in full, with little or no editorial comment.

Few mentions of the penal system or the experiences of convicts were made in *Justice Weekly* prior to republications from the *Tele-Scope*, outside of a couple of letters to the editor from inmates in Attica. In 1947, for example, a Canadian housed in the New York state prison requested a "gift subscription" to the tabloid, which Daniels provided. The inmate then wrote back and thanked him, adding, "You might be interested to know that I will pass my copy of 'Justice Weekly' along to others whom I am sure will enjoy its contents. There are about twenty (20) of the boys from Canada here."[403] In October 1951, a harsh critique of the Canadian penal system was published; it is clearly a reprint, but its origin is not identified.[404] In August 1952, the *Tele-Scope* is credited as the source of an open letter to the popular outgoing deputy commissioner of penitentiaries, reprinted in full in *Justice Weekly*.[405] Then, suddenly, beginning June 13, 1953, *Tele-Scope* items appeared in nearly every issue of the tabloid. Formal permission to reprint was not required; the right to republish material was "cordially granted," according to the masthead of the penitentiary publication, and Daniels helped himself quite liberally. Between June and December 1953 alone, twenty-four items from the *Tele-Scope* appeared in *Justice Weekly*. In total, *Justice Weekly* printed at least thirty-four items that had originally been published in the

---

[403] "Twenty Canucks in American Prison Read Gift Copy of 'Justice Weekly'," *JW*, Feb. 8, 1947.

[404] "Outdated Canadian Prisons Fail to Reform Criminals; Sexual Results Overlooked," *JW*, Oct. 20, 1951.

[405] "Penitentiary Paper Pays Tribute to Retiring Deputy Commissioner Who Said Prison riots Justified," *JW*, Aug. 16, 1952, originally published in *K. P. Tele-Scope*, date unknown.

prison magazine. Daniels gave credit fully and clearly for all reprints, usually including the name of the writer and indicating that the *Tele-Scope* was "Published and Printed by and for the men of Kingston Penitentiary." He stopped republishing their work in late 1954, for reasons that are unclear. There may be a connection to a setback suffered by the *Tele-Scope* in August of that year, when the penitentiary print shop was damaged—and all copies of the August issue were destroyed—by fire during a two-hour riot.[406] Daniels provided readers a lengthy explanation of the situation in his "Lowdown" column in October 1954:

> The show must go on . . . . True, the September edition of the [*Tele-Scope*], originally intended to be a special issue to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the publication, was not what the staff had planned, but it "came out!" . . . Instead of a printed publication with a colored cover, it was a mimeographed edition. . . . Very few of these issues found their way out of the walls of the Portsmouth Penitentiary, due to the fact that the subscription list was lost. . . . The life of a penal magazine is precarious at best. A riot is but one of the hazards. But, as the cons say when the going gets rough and tough, "It's all part of the bit."[407]

Though the *Tele-Scope* resumed publication—until the prison printing press was destroyed during a riot in 1971—Daniels did not reprint its content again.

His selection of *Tele-Scope* items reflected the mix of content within the magazine. Reprints were split almost evenly between essays and editorials, on the one hand, and poems and fiction, on the other. Daniels clearly appreciated the creative writing of the penitentiary inmates; of the thirty-odd republications appearing in *Justice Weekly*, just under half were poems (four) and short stories

---

[406] For archival footage from the CBC-TV *Newsmagazine* broadcast about the 1954 riot—then the largest prison riot in Canadian history—see "Fires and Rioting Damage Kingston Penitentiary in 1954," CBC Digital Archives, http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/society/crime-justice/general-3/fires-and-rioting-damage-kingston-penitentiary-in-1954.html.

[407] [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, Oct. 23, 1954.

(nine). The jailhouse fiction commonly featured men down on their luck and drinking in bars with other men—characters who make bad choices, complain of cheating wives, kill or are killed. A few stories narrated by men behind bars involved confinement-related anxieties, such as a fear of insanity. None of the stories ended happily. The nonfiction content reprinted in *Justice Weekly* addressed a range of issues connected to the justice and penal systems: sentencing, parole, re-entry into the community, drug addiction. Daniels chose to reprint two essays related to publishing; one is a critique of bias against the accused in crime reporting, and one is an overview of the Canadian penal press, which was then "in its infancy."[408] He added no editorial comment to either.

"Homosexual Concepts": Justice Weekly *and Jim Egan*

The brief but productive period during which Daniels borrowed heavily from the *Tele-Scope* paved the way for the more traditional exchange network he was about to create. *Justice Weekly* and the *Tele-Scope* had been connected by a one-way street, in that Daniels reprinted at will without establishing a formal agreement or offering free content in return.[409] In 1954, Daniels began to republish content he found in the magazines published by another group beyond the pale of postwar society. He set up a mutual exchange, with reprint rights, with two American homophile organizations that published monthly periodicals. The result was "a flood of gay material" appearing in *Justice Weekly* over the next two

[408] Peter Stasiak, "The Power of the Written Word . . . ," *JW*, Jan. 16, 1954, originally published in the *K. P. Tele-Scope*, December 1953: 2–5; Brown, "Canadian Penal Press."

[409] He may have provided a free subscription to the *Tele-Scope* editorial board, but as far as I know, no mention of *Justice Weekly* was made in the *Tele-Scope*. However, I have seen only the incomplete run of issues held at the Toronto Reference Library.

decades.[410] Before examining the relationship between the Toronto tabloid and the U.S. homophile press, it is necessary to explore another important relationship: the one between *Justice Weekly* and Jim Egan, Canada's first gay-rights activist. Just as corporal-punishment advocate Eric A. Wildman played a significant part in *Justice Weekly*'s return to spanking stories in the early 1950s, Egan was the person who changed the course of the tabloid's association with homosexuality. Specifically, in 1953 Egan brought to *Justice Weekly* its first positive homosexual content, and he also introduced Daniels to the homophile press. Without Egan, *Justice Weekly* may not have become the significant Canadian (re)publisher of gay writing in the 1950s that it did. It is also necessary to contextualize homosexuality in postwar Canada, in order to appreciate the radical significance of both Egan's original columns and *Justice Weekly*'s gay-oriented reprints.

By most accounts, the postwar decade was a bleak period for same-sex-desiring individuals in Canada. Homosexuality in the 1940s and 1950s was generally considered to be a problem on a number of levels—psychological, legal, moral—and gay men and lesbians were labelled "deviant." The majority of homosexuals were forced to live a double life of sorts, keeping their sexual identity a secret from family members, coworkers, and even strangers, for fear of rejection, violence, or arrest. Among gay men, sex acts were also criminal acts, whether carried out in public or in private. The charge of "gross indecency" had been introduced in 1890 to apply to sex acts involving two (or more) men; although a 1953 amendment to the Criminal Code extended the offence to include

[410] Egan, 57.

lesbians and heterosexuals, the charge continued to be applied almost exclusively to gay men.[411] Further, homosexuals living in Canada—particularly those working in the public sector—were subject to the constant threat of police surveillance, while those wishing to come to this country from elsewhere could be denied entry under the Immigration Act of 1952, which declared homosexuals a prohibited class of persons.[412] Openly—or merely suspected—gay men and lesbians were excluded from joining the ranks of both the Canadian military and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.[413] With such laws and regulations, it is understandable that many Canadians hid or denied their sexual desires. Indeed, an early sociological study of homosexual men in this country identified two types: "secret" and "overt."[414] Not surprisingly, the study suggested that "secret" (i.e., closeted) homosexuals enjoyed considerably more social status and upward mobility in their professional lives than those gay men who lived openly.

As for media coverage of homosexuality in the 1940s and 1950s, there was little. In fact, if one were to rely solely on mainstream media as a source, one could easily conclude that homosexuality emerged in Canadian society only in the

---

[411] Tom Warner, *Never Going Back: A History of Queer Activism in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 19. Although I use the terms *homosexual*, *gay*, and *lesbian* in this chapter, I do not wish to imply that all individuals with same-sex desires identified themselves with such labels.

[412] Daniel J. Robinson and David Kimmel, "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 75, no. 3 (1994): 319–45; Philip Girard, "From Subversion to Liberation: Homosexuals and the Immigration Act 1952–1977," *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 2 (1987): 1–28. Specifically, the Act stated that homosexuals could enter Canada neither as visitors nor as immigrants seeking permanent residence; those who did were subject to deportation. However, Girard suggests that "the Immigration Branch did not attempt to enforce the prohibitions . . . in any concerted fashion" in the 1950s and 1960s (11, 13).

[413] Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile, *The Canadian War on Queers: National Security and Sexual Regulation* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2010).

[414] Maurice Leznoff and William A. Westley, "The Homosexual Community," *Social Problems* 3, no. 4 (1956): 260.

early 1960s, or at least that it existed invisibly before then. The publication of Dr. Alfred Kinsey's controversial report *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) resulted in increased media attention and public discussion of sexuality, including homosexuality. Still, the mainstream Canadian press rarely mentioned the topic at all, let alone in a positive light. As Tom Warner points out, the *Toronto Star*, Canada's largest daily newspaper, did not actively report on homosexuality until the 1960s; if it did publish gay-related news, "stories . . . were usually reports on murders or sexual offences, or dealt with deviancy, quoting the opinions of psychiatrists."[415] (A more colourful characterization is that homosexuality appeared in the news only in "scabrous reports of sexual mishaps in washrooms, theatres, and parks—along with the usual complement of homicides.")[416] Moreover, when homosexuality was mentioned in the news, attention was paid almost exclusively to men, furthering marginalizing queer women.[417] Needless to say, any reporting on homosexuality in the 1950s was done from a heterosexist point of view, as same-sex desire was "defined both legally and socially as a criminal and depraved practice."[418]

It was into this context that Jim Egan emerged as a gay-rights advocate.[419] He was not only the first gay activist in Canada but, for several years, the *only*

---

[415] Warner, 36.

[416] Alfred Taylor, "A Perfect Beginning: Jim Egan and the Tabloids," *Canadian Lesbian and Gay History Network Newsletter*, no. 2 (1986): 13.

[417] Kathryn Campbell, "'Deviance, Inversion, and Unnatural Love': Lesbians in Canadian Media, 1950–1970," *Atlantis* 23, no. 1 (1998): 129.

[418] Leznoff and Westley, 259.

[419] Egan is perhaps best known today for being half of the couple who challenged the Old Age Security Act's heterosexual-only definition of "spouse" in a 1995 Supreme Court of Canada case, leading to the inclusion of "sexual orientation" as a protected ground for discrimination under the Canadian Charter of Rights. Egan and his partner, Jack Nesbit, were a couple for more than fifty years. See "Appendix A: A Chronology of the Life of Jim Egan" in Egan, 118–24.

one. Egan, not yet thirty years old, was living with his partner in Oak Ridges, Ontario, and making a living preserving biological specimens when he launched a one-man letter-writing campaign against negative characterizations of homosexuality in magazines and newspapers. All of his early letters to major U.S. periodicals went unpublished, including those sent to *Time*, *Esquire*, and *Ladies' Home Journal*.[420] Egan's first published letter in a mainstream paper—a response to a previous letter-writer's criticisms of the Kinsey Report—appeared in the *Globe and Mail* on May 16, 1950; it did not explicitly address homosexuality. Instead, it is a letter by Egan printed on the same date in the tabloid *Flash* that "may fairly claim recognition as gay liberation's first statement in Canada."[421] In it, Egan took issue with a *Flash* writer's sensational account of witnessing "orgies of perversion" among men at a local bathhouse.[422] Egan later recalled that the publication of this letter "opened the floodgates, and I threw myself into the cause."[423] A few more letters were printed in *Flash*, followed by a letter to the tabloid *T.N.T.* complaining about its distorted and insulting depictions of gay men. Egan was no fan of Toronto's weekly "scandal sheets," but he recognized that the tabloid press was a site where homosexuality was at least visible to some degree. After all, the tabloids covered the city's police courts, where cases of gross indecency were heard. Moreover, several also included outrageous gossip columns about local "fairies" and "swishes." Looking back, the tabloids can be

---

[420] For a list of Egan's published letters, see "Appendix B: A Checklist of Publications by Jim Egan, 1950–1964" in Egan, 125–31.

[421] Taylor, 13.

[422] J.L.E. [Jim Egan], letter to the editor, *Flash*, May 16, 1950; "Unparalleled Orgies of Perversion Exposed by Intrepid *Flash* Reporter," *Flash*, May 2, 1950.

[423] Egan, 45.

seen as, "ironically, the historical forebears of the gay press" in this country; as such, "Canadian gay and lesbian history is inseparably bound up with the history of the tabloids."[424] After what Egan described as a "fateful experience" in a hotel lobby with the editor of *T.N.T.* in early 1951, he contributed a series of seven original articles on homosexual issues to that paper. The series, titled "Aspects of Homosexuality" and published weekly from Nov. 19 to Dec. 31, 1951, was almost certainly the first series of articles written from a gay point of view published in Canada. Egan's relationship with *T.N.T.* was short-lived, however, as the tabloid ceased publication in early 1952. The activist turned next to *Justice Weekly*, first writing several letters to the editor and then proposing a similar series of articles.

In various profiles of Egan, the story of his meeting with Daniels—based on Egan's own recollection—has come to be told this way: Egan went to the *Justice Weekly* office in November 1953 and talked Daniels (a homophobic and somewhat despicable character) into publishing his articles. He did this by appealing to Daniels's greed; that is, he persuaded Daniels that the series would sell papers. Egan contributed two series of articles to the tabloid and then pushed Daniels to contact the American homophile organizations ONE Inc. and the Mattachine Society. Kathryn Campbell, for example, writes, "Under pressure from Egan, the Toronto tabloid *Justice Weekly* occasionally printed articles from these American homophile journals, as well as articles and letters written by Egan himself."[425] There are problems with this narrative, however. The facts paint a

[424] Taylor, 12.
[425] Campbell, "Lesbians in Canadian Media," 133.

more nuanced and complex picture. Egan's first letter to *Justice Weekly*, challenging a denial by Daniels of "lurid reporting" in his paper and signed "J. L. E.," was published May 3, 1952. A few more of his letters were printed in 1952 and 1953; every letter Egan submitted to the paper was published. Egan did indeed visit Daniels—probably in November 1953, in his office in Manning Chambers—and found Daniels to be "the absolute living caricature of the sleazy editor of a sleazy newspaper."[426] Egan did not specify whether the meeting took place in early or late November. On Nov. 14, 1953, a letter signed "J. M." appeared in *Justice Weekly*. The letter-writer's friend, J. M. explained, "has discovered that his only son—a brilliant high school senior—is a homosexual." Ultimately, J. M., who had "no experience in affairs of this kind" and "no contacts in the homosexual world," asked for advice from J. L. E. (Egan) on the matter. Perhaps Egan simply came across this letter in *Justice Weekly* and submitted his reply quickly enough to be published the following week; perhaps he saw the letter in the tabloid and decided to approach Daniels; perhaps Daniels contacted Egan and requested his input. Either way, Egan typed a 2½-page single-spaced response to J. M., and Daniels published the entire letter in the November 21 issue of *Justice Weekly*—where it filled almost 1½ pages—under a headline that read "How to Deal with Homosexuals Told by Authority on Subject." One week later, an article in *Justice Weekly* (written by Egan)[427] announced that a series of articles on homosexuality would begin the following week. From that point, Daniels

---

[426] Robert Champagne, "Interview with Jim Egan," in *The Challenge of Modernity: A Reader on Post-Confederation Canada*, ed. Ian McKay (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992), 434.

[427] Egan, 54.

published three distinct series of Egan's essays: the twelve-part "Homosexual Concepts" (Dec. 5, 1953–Feb. 27, 1954); the nine-part "A New Series of Articles on Homosexuality by J. L. E." (March 6–May 1, 1954); and a further, untitled series of six articles (May 8–June 12, 1954). In other words, for thirty weeks in a row starting in November 1953, every issue of *Justice Weekly* contained a lengthy, positive article by Egan about homosexuality.

Egan's recollection of the November 1953 meeting between the two men includes the following anecdote:

> I introduced myself as the "J.L.E." of the letters that had been published in *Justice Weekly*. At that time I had a beard, which I have had for most of my adult life. Daniels looked up at me as I was explaining my idea for the "Homosexual Concepts" series. He thought about it for a minute and said, in his best Cockney, "Here, what's all this with you aping the male?" And I asked, "What do you mean?" "Well," he said, "you know, the beard. I didn't think fellows like you grew beards." Well, we got into quite a discussion. I pointed out to him there were truck drivers and loggers and construction workers and all kinds of people who were gay, and not all of them looked like bleached blonde hairdressers or interior decorators. Well, he was fascinated.[428]

I will not defend charges of homophobia on a personal level against Daniels; however, I will dispute claims that he caved to pressure from Egan regarding the publication of these articles and, later, those from the U.S. homophile publications. Daniels benefitted from free copy, of course, but he could certainly have reprinted material on another subject found elsewhere, and he did. His inclusion of pro-gay content in *Justice Weekly* might be seen as merely a cynical business ploy, if not for the fact that his readership apparently did not increase as

[428] Egan, 53.

a result.[429] Furthermore, *Justice Weekly* contained an extraordinary amount of gay writing, beginning with Egan's columns but carrying on for more than a decade after. Daniels *was* fascinated. This does not erase the terrible effects of his choice to publish the names of men convicted of gross indecency, or the hurtful stereotypes he invoked in his reports of those cases. But it also does not diminish the radical significance of the "startling" frequency with which gay writing appeared in *Justice Weekly*, [430] especially once Daniels had established exchange agreements with two U.S. periodicals.

The homophile press: ONE *and the* Mattachine Review

An increasing awareness of homosexuality in the postwar decades led to "increased discussion of what it meant to be homosexual," both in private and in public.[431] This affected not only mainstream discourse but also the ability of gay individuals to initiate and maintain their own conversations—that is, to connect and organize. In Canada, no formal groups were established by or for homosexuals in the 1950s, but south of the border, what is known as the "homophile movement" was born.[432] *Homophile* was a word "generally used in early gay/lesbian groups to describe a relatively moderate orientation that expressed concerns about homosexual issues but was not necessarily defined as

---

[429] Phil Daniels to James Egan, Dec. 29, 1953, Jim Egan Papers, Accession No. 88-006/01, Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives (CLGA), Toronto. One month into "Homosexual Concepts," Daniels reported to Egan that "Circulation has shown no noticable [sic] increase."

[430] Champagne, "Introduction," 1.

[431] Salvatore J. Licata, "The Homosexual Rights Movement in the United States: A Traditionally Overlooked Area of American History," *Journal of Homosexuality* 6, nos. 1/2 (1981): 165, 167.

[432] Canada's first homophile organization was the Vancouver-based Association for Social Knowledge (ASK), formed in 1964 (McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation*, 7).

gay or lesbian."[433] The Mattachine Foundation, established in Los Angeles in 1950, was the first organization of this burgeoning gay civil-rights movement. Following an ideological schism within the organization, some key members left to form ONE Inc. in 1952, and the Foundation was dissolved and replaced by the Mattachine Society in 1953.[434] Membership was largely male in both ONE and Mattachine, though women were welcome and several were involved. Then, in 1955, four lesbian couples in San Francisco formed the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), a homophile group for women.[435] Early on, these groups took what is now generally seen as a "cautious stance" in that they generally "stressed the similarities between homosexuals and heterosexuals and the importance of education in reducing discrimination and injustice."[436] Indeed, gender conformity—that is, passing as "normal" men and women in public—was often encouraged, hand in hand with a bias against flamboyant visibility.[437] These organizations also produced the first gay periodicals—to which a number of

---

[433] Kinsman, 167.

[434] For details on the development of the U.S. homophile movement and these two organizations, see John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Licata, "The Homosexual Rights Movement"; Loftin, *Masked Voices*; Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); James T. Sears, *Behind the Mask of Mattachine: The Hal Call Chronicles and the Early Movement for Homosexual Emancipation* (New York: Haworth, 2006).

[435] For detailed history of the DOB, see Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2007); Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, "Daughters of Bilitis and the Ladder that Teetered," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 5, no. 3 (2001): 113–18; Jody Valentine, "Lesbians Are from Lesbos: Sappho and Identity Construction in *The Ladder*," *Helios* 35, no. 2 (2008): 143–69.

[436] Roy Cain, "Disclosure and Secrecy among Gay Men in the United States and Canada: A Shift in Views," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 1 (1991): 29.

[437] Craig M. Loftin writes of an "anti-swish bias" within the homophile movement prior to the early 1960s: "Unacceptable Mannerisms: Gender Anxieties, Homosexual Activism, and Swish in the United States, 1945–1965," *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 3 (2007): 577–96.

Canadians subscribed: *ONE* (first published in January 1953), the *Mattachine Review* (January 1955), and the *Ladder* (DOB, October 1956).

It is probably true that Egan introduced Daniels to the existence of the American homophile movement. (However, though Egan is generally credited with directing Daniels's attention toward the homophile magazines as sources of content for *Justice Weekly*, there was only one such magazine—*ONE*—at that time. Daniels then "discovered" the *Mattachine Review* on his own.) In a sense, *Justice Weekly* also introduced Egan to the homophile press, in that it was on the basis of having published "Homosexual Concepts" that Egan himself approached *ONE* as a writer. Correspondence suggests that Daniels even facilitated communication between the Canadian activist and the American magazine. In his first letter to Egan, the business manager of ONE wrote,

> We have been delighted to see what you have been writing for "Justice Weekly." Its editor has also written us and offered us an exchange subscription, which we are of course accepting. He has so far sent us each of the copies concerned, including the one announcing the project [the "Homosexual Concepts" series]. Your work is good and we shall make mention of it hereabouts.[438]

Daniels most likely wrote to ONE Inc. in December 1953 with his offer of "an exchange subscription," shortly after starting to publish "Homosexual Concepts." The specifics of his request are unknown, but the earliest issue of *ONE* that Daniels mined for content was the September 1953 issue: an article titled "Can Homosexuals Be Recognized?" appeared in *Justice Weekly* in February 1954,

[438] William Lambert [pseud. of W. Dorr Legg] to James Egan, Jan. 7, 1954, Jim Egan Papers, Accession No. 88-006/01, CLGA.

with credit given both to author Donald Webster Cory and to *ONE*.[439] This article was a significant choice with which to begin: Cory was the author of *The Homosexual in America*, a widely read and groundbreaking book about male homosexuality.[440] It was a few months before Daniels started to republish from *ONE* with any frequency. Two more reprints appeared in *Justice Weekly* in April 1954, and one in May; interestingly, Daniels chose a number of items from the February 1954 issue of *ONE*, which had been put together entirely by women. Then in mid-June, reprints began to appear on a near-weekly basis. In all, *Justice Weekly* included twenty-five reprints from *ONE* in 1954; about half were works of gay fiction, and half were articles addressing various issues as they related to homosexuality, including law, religion, and self-presentation. Between these reprints and Egan's weekly articles published during the first six months of the year, *Justice Weekly* readers encountered positive writing from a gay point of view in almost every 1954 issue of the tabloid.

In January 1955, Daniels wrote to the Mattachine Society, which had announced that it would debut a monthly magazine of its own, the *Mattachine Review*. He requested an exchange arrangement, explaining that "Ever since 'One' was published we have had an exchange arrangement with that publication, also permission to print any articles therefrom, with a credit line of course."[441] His request was granted immediately and enthusiastically: "'Mattachine Review' will

---

[439] Donald Webster Cory [pseud. of Dr. Edward Sagarin], "Can Homosexuals Be Recognized?," *JW*, Feb. 6, 1954, originally published in *ONE*, September 1953: 7–11.

[440] Donald Webster Cory [Dr. Edward Sagarin], *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach* (New York: Greenberg, 1951).

[441] Philip H. Daniels to the Mattachine Society, Jan. 31, 1955, Mattachine Society Project Collection, Coll2008-016, Series 6, Box 6:16, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, Los Angeles.

be more than happy to accept your offer to exchange publications," wrote business manager Donald S. Lucas.[442] Again, Daniels led off with a serious selection: an article disputing that homosexuals are fundamentally different than heterosexuals, by psychologist Evelyn Hooker. (Dr. Hooker went on to publish landmark studies showing gay men to be as well-adjusted psychologically as heterosexual men.)[443] Having originally offered Daniels permission to reprint freely from the *Mattachine Review*, Lucas wrote back a short time later to amend his *carte blanche* authorization; because some authors retained copyright of their work, Daniels was instead to seek permission on an article-by-article basis, unless no author was indicated.[444] This may explain why the number of reprints from the *Mattachine Review* was consistently lower than that of items from *ONE*. In 1955, *Justice Weekly* included thirty reprints from *ONE* and eight from the *Mattachine Review*; in 1956, twenty-nine items came from *ONE* and eighteen from the *Mattachine Review*. Between January 1 and June 1, 1957, *Justice Weekly* included fourteen reprints from *ONE* and five from the *Mattachine Review*. Then the reprints stopped abruptly, for reasons that are unclear, before resuming on a near-weekly basis in January 1958.

In addition to republishing dozens of articles and short stories from the homophile magazines in *Justice Weekly*, Daniels only occasionally commented on the homophile movement at large, adding his own introductory remarks to a

---

[442] Donald S. Lucas to Philip H. Daniels, Feb. 6, 1955, Mattachine Society Project Collection, Coll2008-016, Series 6, Box 6:16, ONE Archives.

[443] Evelyn Hooker, "Inverts Not Distinct Personality Type," *JW*, Mar. 5, 1955, originally published as "Inverts Are Not a Distinct Personality Type," *Mattachine Review*, January 1955: 20–22. Hooker's best-known study was "The Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual," *Journal of Projective Techniques* 21, no. 1 (1957): 18–31.

[444] Donald S. Lucas to Philip H. Daniels, Mar. 5, 1955, Mattachine Society Project Collection, Coll2008-016, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, Series 6, Box 6:16

reprinted article or mentioning one of the magazines in a column or editorial. He was careful to avoid allying himself too closely with homosexuality itself while still supporting the general aims of the homophile organizations. It was not difficult for him to sustain this position, due to the "cautious stance" of the groups themselves; often, Daniels could use their own words to keep his distance. In 1955, for instance—just one week after featuring Dr. Hooker's article from the *Mattachine Review—Justice Weekly* included an editorial that opens as follows:

> In reply to a number of queries from "Justice Weekly" readers regarding The Mattachine Society, herewith are published some particulars about this organization . . . . The Mattachine Society, so it is outlined in the January-February, 1955, edition, is an incorporated organization of persons who are interested in the problem of the sex variant—especially the homosexual—and its solution. Emphatically NO is the answer given to a question as to whether it is an organization of homosexuals. . . . This is NOT an organization attempting to create a 'homosexual society' but rather an organization seeking the integration of the homosexual as a responsible and acceptable citizen in the community.[445]

Much of the language in this *Justice Weekly* editorial is in fact lifted directly from the back cover of the first issue of the *Mattachine Review*, including such phrases as "the problem of the sex variant." Of the two homophile organizations, the Mattachine Society was the more careful, the more assimilationist; historian Martin Meeker notes that readers today tend to find the *Mattachine Review* "hopelessly conformist and even apologetic."[446] Although *ONE* (subtitled "The Homosexual Magazine" on its front cover) was more overtly political—

---

[445] [Phil Daniels], "The Mattachine Society," *JW*, Mar. 12, 1955.

[446] Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s–1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006): 47.

"militant," according to frequent contributor Jim Kepner[447]—it nevertheless was tame in its activism by today's standards. Indeed, it has been observed that both *ONE* and the *Mattachine Review* walked "a fine line between offense and defense with caution and tact."[448] Of course, in the context of the 1950s, caution was necessary in order to ensure continued publication and distribution. The homophile organizations could hardly afford to offend, as authorities could easily interfere with their distribution networks. Gay publications sent from the U.S., including *ONE*, were sometimes intercepted at the border by Canada Customs, for example; subscribers even reported being "called in . . . for intimidation" by customs inspectors.[449] The postal system was not the only means of distribution for the homophile press, though; homophile magazines relied heavily on newsstand sales—more so than did other periodicals. However, not only were readers wary of having their names and addresses on a homophile subscription list, for fear of police or government surveillance, but professional distributors were unwilling to carry the early homophile publications.[450] Instead, a "national network of volunteers" worked on the ground to get *ONE* into gay bars and, especially, onto newsstands.[451] While many readers preferred to buy these magazines from a neighbourhood newsstand than to subscribe, that was not necessarily easy, either: "Readers reported feeling higher self-awareness,

---

[447] Jim Kepner, *Rough News, Daring Views: 1950s Pioneer Gay Press Journalism* (Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 1998): 7.

[448] Michael Bronski, *Culture Clash: The Making of Gay Sensibility* (Boston: South End Press, 1984): 83.

[449] *One Confidential* III 1A, 1958: 8; also, see letters from "Steven" to *ONE* in Craig M. Loftin, *Letters to* ONE*: Gay and Lesbian Voices from the 1950s and 1960s* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012): 122–24.

[450] Loftin, *Masked Voices*, 49.

[451] Ibid., 48.

paranoia, and a sense of being watched at the moment they purchased *ONE*" in public.[452] A man could buy a physique magazine under the guise of being interested in health and exercise, but buying *ONE*—"The Homosexual Magazine"—provided no such alibi.

The establishment, by Daniels, of exchange agreements between *Justice Weekly* and the homophile publications created a win-win-win situation, for all publishers involved and for Canadian readers. For starters, through reprinting, the tabloid extended the reach of the homophile press by making certain content available on a large number of Canadian newsstands and to *Justice Weekly* subscribers both in and outside of Canada. An increased awareness of *ONE* and the *Mattachine Review* must have resulted, and there is evidence that *Justice Weekly* had at least some degree of positive impact on the number of Canadian subscribers to those magazines. For example, while just forty-three Canadians subscribed to *ONE* at the end of 1954, the organization reported in 1958 that "our percentage of circulation in Canada is exceptionally high, due in part to publicity received in JUSTICE WEEKLY and similar publications."[453] Second, the tabloid's frequent republication of gay writing subverted the control of federal customs and the post office by providing interested readers with content they may have been unwilling to request directly through the mail. Third, at the newsstand, individuals who may have been too self-conscious to purchase *ONE* or the *Mattachine Review* were able to buy *Justice Weekly* without automatically identifying themselves as homosexual. Fourth, of course, Daniels secured a huge

[452] Loftin, *Masked Voices*, 58.

[453] "How Many Subscribers?" *ONE*, December 1954: 28; *One Confidential*. By comparison, the number of U.S. subscribers to *ONE* reported in 1954 was 1,269.

amount of free content for his paper. (For their part, *ONE* and the *Mattachine Review* rarely availed themselves of the tabloid's content, though both publications did reprint from *Justice Weekly* a handful of times over the years.) He continued to publish gay writing from these two magazines, as well as the occasional piece from the *Ladder* and various European homophile publications (e.g., the Dutch *Vriendschap*), throughout the life of *Justice Weekly*. Finally, by including pro-gay material in his tabloid, Daniels exposed readers of all sorts to the homophile movement, not just LGBT readers. We don't know in any detail who read *Justice Weekly*, but most likely the tabloid's audience represented a cross-section of society at large. There were the sexually adventurous writers of the personal ads, and the spanking aficionados of the letters to the editor, but there were also the Bay Streeters invested in mining operations, the bettors looking for tips on choosing horses, the Toronto citizens who followed the local courts, and many others. Each year, the issue or two around Christmas were padded with well-wishing advertisements placed by local barristers and solicitors, hotels, restaurants, and other mainstream businesses. Plenty of these readers likely scoffed at the republished gay content, not bothering to read it, but others may have read articles like "American Law: A Discussion of Entrapment" or "The Importance of Being Different"[454] and been moved, or been persuaded to confront their own homophobic assumptions—maybe even Daniels himself.

[454] Legal Counsel of ONE, "American Law: A Discussion of Entrapment," *JW*, June 19, 1954, originally published as "The Law: A Discussion of Entrapment," *ONE*, April 1954: 7; Lyn Pedersen [pseud. of Jim Kepner], "The Importance of Being Different," *JW*, July 30, 1955, originally published in *ONE*, March 1954: 4.

Daniels was certainly more willing to align his paper with (some) homosexuals and the homophile movement than with the individuals and communities represented in *Justice Weekly*'s personal ads and letters.[455] He communicated with ONE Inc. and the Mattachine Society directly, after all, and took pride in his ongoing mutual arrangement with those organizations. For instance, in 1955, Daniels took the following jab at a competitor: "Joe Tensee [editor of *Flash*] has just discovered there is a paper called 'ONE' for homosexuals. Had to go all the way to California when he could have learned about it any time the past 18 months or so by reading 'Justice Weekly."[456] Daniels was particularly fond of *ONE*. He felt that it was "an interesting publication, well written, well edited and well-presented."[457] Its contents possessed "real merit," and the homophile publication was, Daniels once declared, "as neat a little magazine it has been our pleasure to read in our 54 years in the newspaper game."[458] The publishing agreement may have been mutual, but the affection was not, apparently. In private correspondence, a writer for *ONE* referred off-hand to "*Justice Weekly*, *Tab*, *Flash*, and suchrot [*sic*]."[459]

---

[455] Daniels was generally supportive of the rights of homosexuals "who keep to themselves and do not 'travel abroad' [i.e., approach heterosexuals] in search of unnatural sexual relief." (Editor's note within Jim Egan, "So the Chief of Police Said to the Royal Commission . . . ," *JW*, Nov. 7, 1959, originally published as "Toronto Fairy-Go-Round," *ONE*, October 1959: 10–13.

[456] [Phil Daniels], "Lowdown," *JW*, Jan. 29, 1955. Daniels exaggerated the length of time by more than six months; *Justice Weekly* began to reprint content from *ONE* in February 1954.

[457] [Phil Daniels], "'One' Not Obscene," *JW*, Feb. 1, 1958.

[458] [Phil Daniels], "The Lowdown," *JW*, Sept. 11, 1965.

[459] Jim Kepner to Jim Egan, May 4, 1959, Jim Egan Papers, Accession No. 88-006/01, CGLA.

Conclusion

Particularly in the pretelegraphic era, the free exchange of newspapers ensured the spread of information, as local papers gathered and reprinted reports of events occurring in other places. Readers and publishers alike benefited from exchange networks and the resulting scissors-and-paste journalism, particularly when no other options existed for the transmission of foreign news. At a glance, the frequent reprints that began to appear in *Justice Weekly* in the early 1950s seem to represent little more than one publisher's successful efforts to fill editorial space with free copy. However, Daniels had access to periodicals of all kinds; he could have turned to sports, entertainment, automobiles, or any number of areas. He chose instead, quite deliberately, to publish a great deal of content written by individuals situated firmly at odds with postwar social norms. Was it simply in the hopes of courting controversy that Daniels printed so much material from the penal press and, especially, the homophile press, as has been suggested? (And if so, can he even be criticized?) Essays, short stories, and poems from the *K. P. Tele-Scope*, *ONE*, and the *Mattachine Review* could certainly be considered "foreign" content in the 1950s. It was a time, according to an item republished in *Justice Weekly*, when "the average heterosexual [was] as ignorant of the nature and characteristics of homosexuals as he [was] of the nature and characteristics of the inhabitants of Mars."[460] As such, they were a fitting choice for republication via the exchange of periodicals. Daniels used this historical practice to create a contact zone between his "normal" readers and these "foreign" populations.

[460] Marlin Prentiss [pseud.?], "The Feminine Viewpoint: No Such Thing as a 'Typical' Lesbian," *JW*, Oct. 22, 1955, originally published as "The Feminine Viewpoint," *ONE*, July 1955, 14.

The penal press and the homophile press shared more than a position on the fringes of postwar society—and outside of the law. In the space of a few years, the inmates of Kingston Penitentiary and the fledgling California-based gay civil-rights movement adopted print as the medium by which to publicize and advance their causes. Their aims were remarkably similar: both groups hoped to increase the status of their members in society through education, as both recognized that public ignorance might endanger their acceptance and their chances of success in work and life. Both homosexuals and individuals serving or having served time in penitentiary faced an extraordinary stigma, and the prison press and homophile press worked in the 1950s and 1960s to reduce that stigma within and outside of their immediate communities. As an editor of the *K. P. Tele-Scope* wrote in June 1951, "It is our hope that the magazine will in the long run, not only provide some amusement, but also be instrumental in improving the lot of the prisoner."[461] The homophile publications included similar statements; for example, it was made explicit in the *Ladder* that the primary purpose of the Daughters of Bilitis was "promoting the integration of the homosexual into society" through "education of the variant" and "education of the public at large" as well as through research and legal reform.[462] However, the number of subscribers and readers of the *Tele-Scope* and the homophile magazines was relatively small. By reprinting, in full, a large number of items from such publications, *Justice Weekly* contributed to and supported the communication strategies of these groups of inmates and gay-rights activists.

---

[461] Sam Carr, "Editorially Speaking," *K. P. Tele-Scope*, June 1951: n.p.

[462] "Purpose of the Daughters of Bilitis," *The Ladder*, 1955, accessed Sept. 17, 2013, http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/HRC/exhibition/stage/stage_9.html.

Conclusion: Starting Conversations

Throughout the course of this research project, I hoped that I might discover—somehow, in someone's attic or basement—a box of letters, office records, *anything* belonging to Phil Daniels or otherwise connected to *Justice Weekly*. I know Daniels kept at least some of the mail sent to *Justice Weekly*; in 1970, he pulled out "a bundle of envelopes from all over the globe . . . and a roll of foreign bills sent by far-flung subscribers" to show a reporter visiting his suburban office.[463] But I am nearly certain there is no such box, nor any other, similar holy grail. Daniels moved often after his retirement. By the time he died, in 1988, he had lived for several years with some degree of dementia, his affairs managed by the provincial Office of the Public Trustee. (He insisted he was "the only real veteran on [Sunnybrook Hospital's] G Wing," for example, and "believed that attempts to poison him had occurred.")[464] Whatever documents he had kept on file during the days of *Justice Weekly* were most likely discarded—though I still hold out hope for their discovery. Any media historian would.

---

[463] Clery, 8.

[464] Dr. M. Fleisher to Dr. G. Phillips, Oct. 17, 1985, Philip Daniels file, Veterans Affairs Canada.

In the end, I was able to find many more concrete traces of this tabloid than I had thought I might, and this research project is on one level about historical research itself. In the introduction I addressed the challenges of studying an obscure and degraded cultural object such as *Justice Weekly*: a lack of—or lack of easy access to—primary source materials, for example, and a dearth of existing literature on the subject. It is a double-edged sword, choosing an object of study that has not yet been "done." There is the thrill of uncovering and exploring the unknown, of course. Historian Karen Dubinsky warns that "it is now a bit shopworn" to speak too enthusiastically about one's discoveries in the archives; still, she recalls her own early experience while researching sex-crime prosecutions of feeling thrilled that she "had actually 'found sex' in the Canadian past."[465] At the same time, there is also an uncertainty that accompanies setting out on one's own through such material. My decision to take on *Justice Weekly* as a historical case study is both the strength and the major limitation of this dissertation. The benefit of this method is that a single, specific focus allows for a depth of attention and a richness of detail that would be absent had I opted for a wider topic: the tabloid press in general, or even a comparative study of Toronto's "big three" postwar tabloids (i.e., *Justice Weekly*, *Hush*, and *Flash*). I did in fact set out to study Canada's English-language tabloid press; by necessity, I narrowed the scope of my project, and out of interest, I singled out *Justice Weekly*. The limitation of a case study is that I can speak with authority only on this particular newspaper and its publisher. However, my exploration of this single text does

[465] Karen Dubinsky, "Afterword: Telling Stories about Dead People," in *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 361.

challenge general assumptions about the tabloid press and push beyond our previous knowledge and understanding.

Toronto's postwar tabloids share many qualities, of course; it can be useful to speak in general terms of "the tabloid press," just as it is to speak of "the media," "the publishing industry," and so on. However, there is likely more variation among the papers commonly lumped together as "the tabloids" than has been previously recognized. *Justice Weekly* is the product of its particular time and culture: a postwar climate in which mainstream newspapers avoided certain controversial topics, the nuclear family was revered and juvenile delinquency was feared, penitentiary inmates were given the means to publish a monthly magazine, a gay civil-rights movement was taking shape and reaching out through print. At the same time, it is very much the product of a particular individual: Phil Daniels, a Jewish immigrant shaped by his childhood in Britain, by the masculine worlds of boxing and horses, by service in both world wars, and by decades of experience in Toronto's newspaper business. In a sense, Daniels created *Justice Weekly* in his own image. Perhaps further research into the biographies of tabloid publishers, and other uncelebrated media figures, would reveal as much about the city's postwar culture as about its journalism history.

The historical research, archival findings, and analysis presented in this dissertation point to a number of areas that have received little prior critical attention: spanking narratives, personal advertisements, unconventional sexual desires and communities, the prison press, and the proliferation of early U.S. homophile writing in Canada—not to mention *Justice Weekly* itself. The

knowledge challenged most by my research is that of the tabloids' treatment of homosexuality—because this is the topic most often addressed by scholars. The bulk of the literature on Canadian tabloids is concerned with depictions of homosexuality and the uses made of tabloids by gay and lesbian readers, as discussed in chapter 2. The general consensus has been that any benefits offered to gays and lesbians by the tabloids—such as information about where to find one another in Toronto—were the unintended by-products of hateful, stereotypical content found in gossip columns and court reports. That is, homosexual readers had to read "between the lines" or "against the grain" to access information that they might find constructive. However, *Justice Weekly* does not fit comfortably within this assessment. First, it did not have a gossip column about "fairies" and "swishes" as other tabloids did—though it did print the names and other identifying details of men charged with gross indecency, which undoubtedly damaged many people both personally and professionally. More importantly, beginning in 1953, *Justice Weekly* included positive content by gay and lesbian writers on a near-weekly basis, first with thirty weeks' worth of articles by Canadian activist Jim Egan, and then with decades' worth of essays and short stories reprinted from American homophile magazines. As I stated in chapter 5, this does not excuse any homophobic content that also appeared in the tabloid. But the appropriate question is not whether Daniels was a homophobe or a champion of gay rights; such binaries are false and unproductive. Instead, historians interested in the earliest appearances of gay writing in Canada might consider unexpected sources and distributors, such as *Justice Weekly*. Indeed,

there is other gay-related content in *Justice Weekly* that remains to be studied: Daniels wrote often on the topic of homosexuality, particularly leading up to the 1969 amendment to Canadian legislation that decriminalized consensual sex between men in private.

This dissertation is limited not only to *Justice Weekly* but to particular elements of the tabloid's content. I do not wish for this project to stand as the final word on *Justice Weekly*; I would prefer that it be a conversation starter. There is more research that can be done on this text alone, let alone on the other tabloids, periodicals, communities, and individuals connected with it. The court reports in *Justice Weekly*, for example, represent a unique and fascinating opportunity to explore issues of class, sexuality, morality, and punishment in postwar Toronto. Daniels usually included snippets of court news in his columns, as well, and some names appear over and over for years; it would be fascinating (and, no doubt, challenging) to trace some of those individuals—most were women facing prostitution-related charges, and their stories are generally not told. It may be possible to locate a number of individuals who were regular readers of *Justice Weekly* or other tabloids, and to approach the texts from the point of view of their consumers. And of course, when I finally locate that elusive box of *Justice Weekly* documents, there is a detailed business history to be done, based on circulation figures, revenues, and other such particulars.

For all my research into Daniels, his background, his family, and his work, I have seen only two or three legible photographs of the man. Just a few months before finishing this project, I finally located an audio recording of his voice. In

August 1959, Daniels appeared on a radio program called "Man to Man," on the Toronto station CBL (predecessor of CBC Radio Two). He was there not to speak about *Justice Weekly*, tabloid newspapers, or police reporting, but to give an insider's view on the world of horse racing. I had come to expect a deep, booming voice from Daniels, but in fact his voice was somewhat high and thin: a reminder that he was not larger than life, physically (he'd been a featherweight, after all) nor figuratively. Daniels was a man—a newspaperman—who owned and ran his own weekly tabloid; he was also a man with ex-wives, health problems, and war stories. I do not want to suggest that *Justice Weekly* was larger than life, either. But I do hope to encounter more conversations in the future about this and other unpopular texts that have been devalued, dismissed, or neglected, for they will illuminate parts of life that we may otherwise be unable or unprepared to see.

Bibliography

Adams, Mary Louise. *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

———. "Youth, Corruptibility, and English-Canadian Postwar Campaigns against Indecency, 1948–1955." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6, no. 1 (1995): 89–117.

Azoulay, Dan. *Only the Lonely: Finding Romance in the Personal Columns of Canada's* Western Home Monthly*, 1905–1924*. Calgary: Fifth House, 2000.

Baird, Russell N. *The Penal Press*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1967.

Baker, Maureen. "Finding Partners in the Newspaper: Sex Differences in Personal Advertising." *Atlantis* 7, no. 2 (1982): 137–46.

Barthes, Roland. *S/Z*. Translated by Richard Miller. New York: Hill and Wang, 1974.

Bean, Joseph W. "Leathersex and Sexuality." In *Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History in America*, edited by Marc Stein, 154–58. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2004.

Beaty, Bart. *Unpopular Culture: Transforming the European Comic Book in the 1990s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.

Beck, J. Murray. "The Canadian Parliament and Divorce." *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 23, no. 3 (1957): 297–312.

Becker, Karin E. “Photojournalism and the Tabloid Press.” In *Journalism and Popular Culture*, edited by Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks, 130–53. London: Sage, 1992.

Bend, Emil. “Marriage Offers in a Yiddish Newspaper—1935 and 1950.” *American Journal of Sociology* 58, no. 1 (1952): 60–66.

Bessie, Simon Michael. *Jazz Journalism: The Story of the Tabloid Newspaper*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1938.

Bird, S. Elizabeth. *For Enquiring Minds: A Cultural Study of Supermarket Tabloids*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

———. “Storytelling on the Far Side: Journalism and the Weekly Tabloid.” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (1990): 377–89.

Biressi, Anita, and Heather Nunn, eds. *The Tabloid Culture Reader*. Berkshire: Open University, 2008.

Boyle, Thomas. *Black Swine in the Sewers of Hampstead: Beneath the Surface of Victorian Sensationalism*. New York: Penguin, 1989.

Britt, Theron. “Reversing the Romance: Class and Gender in the Supermarket Tabloids.” *Prospects* 21 (1996): 435–51.

Bronski, Michael. *Culture Clash: The Making of Gay Sensibility*. Boston: South End Press, 1984.

Brown, Matthew P. “Book History, Sexy Knowledge, and the Challenge of the New Boredom.” *American Literary History* 16, no. 4 (2004): 688–706.

Bullough, Vern L. “Research and Archival Value of Erotica/Pornography.” In *Libraries, Erotica, and Pornography*, edited by Martha Cornog, 99–105. Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1991.

Butt, Trevor, and Jeff Hearn. “The Sexualization of Corporal Punishment: The Construction of Sexual Meaning.” *Sexualities* 1, no. 2 (1998): 203–27.

Buxton, William J., and Catherine McKercher. “Newspapers, Magazines, and Journalism in Canada: Towards a Critical Historiography.” *Acadiensis* 28, no. 1 (1998): 103–26.

Cain, Roy. “Disclosure and Secrecy among Gay Men in the United States and Canada: A Shift in Views.” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 1 (1991): 25–45.

Campbell, Kathryn. "'Deviance, Inversion, and Unnatural Love': Lesbians in Canadian Media, 1950–1970." *Atlantis* 23, no. 1 (1998): 128–36.

Campbell, W. Joseph. *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001.

Campbell-Copeland, Thomas. *The Ladder of Journalism: How to Climb It*. New York: Allan Forman, 1889.

Carrigan, D. Owen. *Juvenile Delinquency in Canada: A History*. Concord, ON: Irwin Publishing, 1998.

Champagne, Robert. "Interview with Jim Egan." In *The Challenge of Modernity: A Reader on Post-Confederation Canada*, edited by Ian McKay, 431–38. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992.

———. "Introduction." In *Jim Egan: Canada's Pioneer Gay Activist*, compiled by Robert Champagne, 1–2. Toronto: Canadian Lesbian and Gay History Network, 1987.

Child, Meredith, Kathryn Graff Low, Cheryl McDonell McCormick, and Andrew Cocciarella. "Personal Advertisements of Male-to-Female Transsexuals, Homosexual Men, and Heterosexuals." *Sex Roles* 34, no. 5 (1996): 447–55.

Churchill, David S. "Mother Goose's Map: Tabloid Geographies and Gay Male Experience in 1950s Toronto." *Journal of Urban History* 30, no. 6 (2004): 826–52.

Cocks, H. G. *Classified: The Secret History of the Personal Column*. London: Random House, 2009.

———. "Peril in the Personals: The Dangers and Pleasures of Classified Advertising in Early Twentieth-Century Britain." *Media History* 10, no. 1 (2004): 3–16.

———. "'Sporty' Girls and 'Artistic' Boys: Friendship, Illicit Sex, and the British 'Companionship' Advertisement, 1913–1928." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, no. 3 (2002): 457–82.

Cohen, Patricia Cline, Timothy J. Gilfoyle, and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz. *The Flash Press: Sporting Male Weeklies in 1840s New York*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Coleclough, Albert. “Toronto’s Pornography: Disease or Symptom?” In *The Underside of Toronto*, edited by W. E. Mann, 314–21. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970.

Colligan, Colette. “Anti-Abolition Writes Obscenity: The English Vice, Trans-Atlantic Slavery, and England’s Obscene Print Culture.” In *International Exposure: Perspectives on Modern European Pornography, 1800–2000*, edited by Lisa Z. Sigel, 67–99. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Conboy, Martin. *Journalism in Britain: A Historical Introduction*. London: Sage, 2010.

Coward, John M. *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820–90*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Curtis, Dennis, Andrew Graham, Lou Kelly, Anthony Patterson, and Cecilia Blanchfield. *Kingston Penitentiary: The First Hundred and Fifty Years, 1835–1985*. Ottawa: Correctional Service of Canada, 1986.

Daniels, Phil, ed. *Selected Letters from Justice Weekly*. Vol. 1. Toronto: Daniels Publications, 1965.

Darnton, Robert. “First Steps toward a History of Reading.” *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23, no. 1 (1986): 5–30.

Davis, Simon. “Men as Success Objects and Women as Sex Objects: A Study of Personal Advertisements.” *Sex Roles* 23, nos. 1/2 (1990): 43–50.

Dawson, John. *Practical Journalism: How to Enter Thereon and Succeed*. London: L. Upcott Gill, 1885.

Dee, David. “‘The Hefty Hebrew’: Boxing and British-Jewish Identity, 1890–1960.” *Sport in History* 32, no. 3 (2012): 361–81.

DeJean, Joan. *The Reinvention of Obscenity: Sex, Lies, and Tabloids in Early Modern France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

De Rochemont, Richard G. “Tabloid Journalism.” In *American History Told by Contemporaries, Vol. V: Twentieth Century United States, 1900–1929*, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, 632–36. New York: Macmillan, 1931.

Deuze, Mark. “Popular Journalism and Professional Ideology: Tabloid Reporters and Editors Speak Out.” *Media, Culture, and Society* 27, no. 6 (2005): 861–82.

Diamond, Michael. *Victorian Sensation: Or the Spectacular, the Shocking, and the Scandalous in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. London: Anthem, 2003.

d'Olbert, Gervas. *Chastisement through the Ages*. London: Fortune Press, 1956. Excerpts published online by Corpun: World Corporal Punishment Research. Accessed Sept. 16, 2013. http://www.corpun.com/wildman.htm.

Douglas, Susan J. "Does Textual Analysis Tell Us Anything about Past Audiences?" In *Explorations in Communication and History*, edited by Barbie Zelizer, 66–76. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Dreifus, Claudia. "'Tits and Ass Sell' Reads a Sign on the Wall at *Screw*, First and Most Successful of the Four Sex Newspapers. Who's Behind Them, How Did They Start, Where Are They Going?" *New York Scenes*. July 1969: 19–25, 56, 62.

Dubinsky, Karen. "Afterword: Telling Stories about Dead People." In *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*, edited by Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, 359–66. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Egan, Jim. *Challenging the Conspiracy of Silence: My Life as a Canadian Gay Activist*. Compiled and edited by Donald W. McLeod. Toronto: Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives and Homewood Books, 1998.

Eliot, Simon. "Very Necessary but Not Quite Sufficient: A Personal View of Quantitative Analysis in Book History." *Book History* 5 (2002): 283–93.

Epstein, Pamela. "'Villainous Little Paragraphs': Nineteenth-Century Personal Advertisements in the *New York Herald*." *Media History* 18, no. 1 (2012): 21–32.

Ericson, Richard V., Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet B. L. Chan. *Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.

Fetherling, Douglas. *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Finkelstein, David, and Alistair McCleery. *An Introduction to Book History*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Fiske, John. "Popularity and the Politics of Information." In *Journalism and Popular Culture*, edited by Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks, 45–62. London: Sage, 1992.

———. *Understanding Popular Culture*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Freeman, Barbara M. *Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989.

Freeman, Gillian. *The Undergrowth of Literature*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1967.

Friedland, Martin L. *My Life in Crime and Other Academic Adventures*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2007.

Friedrich, Otto. "A Vivacious Blonde Was Fatally Shot Today or How to Read a Tabloid." In *Language Awareness*, 2nd edition, edited by Paul Eschholz, Alfred Rosa, and Virginia Clark, 133–39. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978.

Froby, Ruth, ed. *Spanked Ladies' Confessions*. US: publisher unknown, 1936.

Garner, Hugh. "None but the Lonely Heart." *Canadian Home Monthly*. February 1950: 14–15, 31.

Garvey, Ellen Gruber. "Out of the Mainstream and into the Streets: Small Press Magazines, the Underground Press, Zines, and Artists' Books." In *Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary*, edited by Scott E. Casper, Joanne D. Chaison, and Jeffrey D. Groves, 367–402. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

Gaucher, Robert. "The Canadian Penal Press: A Documentation and Analysis." *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons* 2, no. 1 (1989): 1–12.

Gayford, J. J. "Sex Magazines." In *Sex Magazines in the Library Collection: A Scholarly Study of Sex in Serials and Periodicals*, edited by Peter Gellatly, 17–26. New York: Haworth Press, 1981. Originally published in *Medicine, Science, and the Law* 18, no. 1 (1978): 44–51.

Gibson, Ian. *The English Vice: Beating, Sex, and Shame in Victorian England and After*. London: Duckworth, 1978.

Girard, Philip. "From Subversion to Liberation: Homosexuals and the Immigration Act 1952–1977." *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 2 (1987): 1–28.

Gleason, Mona. "Growing Up to Be 'Normal': Psychology Constructs Proper Gender Roles in Post–World War II Canada, 1945–1960." In *Family Matters: Papers in Post-Confederation Canadian Family History*, edited by Lori Chambers and Edgar-André Montigny, 39–56. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1998.

———. "'They Have a Bad Effect': Crime Comics, Parliament, and the Hegemony of the Middle Class in Postwar Canada." In *Pulp Demons: International Dimensions of the Postwar Anti-Comics Campaign*, edited by John A. Lent, 129–54. Madison, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999.

Glessing, Robert J. *The Underground Press in America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970.

Glynn, Kevin. *Tabloid Culture: Trash Taste, Popular Power, and the Transformation of American Television*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000.

Goheen, Peter G. "The Changing Bias of Inter-Urban Communications in Nineteenth-Century Canada." *Journal of Historical Geography* 16, no. 2 (1990): 177–96.

———. "Communications and Newsmaking before the Telegraph: The Story of the 1845 Quebec City Fires." *The Canadian Geographer* 37, no. 3 (1993): 230–42.

Gölz, Annalee. "Family Matters: The Canadian Family and the State in the Postwar Period." *Left History* 1, no. 2 (1993): 9–50.

Gorn, Elliott J. "The Wicked World: *The National Police Gazette* and Gilded-Age America." *Media Studies Journal* 6, no. 1 (1992): 1–15.

Harris, Daniel. "Personals." *The Antioch Review* 59, no. 2 (2001): 284–301.

Harvey, Ross. "Bringing the News to New Zealand: The Supply and Control of Overseas News in the Nineteenth Century." *Media History* 8, no. 1 (2002): 21–34.

Hendy, David. "Biography and the Emotions as a Missing 'Narrative' in Media History: A Case Study of Lance Sieveking and the Early BBC." *Media History* 18, nos. 3/4 (2012): 361–78.

Higgins, Ross, and Line Chamberland. "Mixed Messages: Gays and Lesbians in Montreal Yellow Papers in the 1950s." In *The Challenge of Modernity: A Reader on Post-Confederation Canada*, edited by Ian McKay, 422–31. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992.

Houston, Susan E. "'A Little Steam, a Little Sizzle and a Little Sleaze': English-Language Tabloids in the Interwar Period." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, nos. 40/41 (2002): 37–59.

How, H. R. “Half a Million for Sex and Scandal.” *Canadian Business*. July 1951: 34–5, 66.

John, Richard R. *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

“Juicie Weekly.” *The Panic Button* 13 (1963): 17–19.

Kelm, Rebecca Sturm. “From Supermarket to Library: Tabloids in the Permanent Collection.” In *Popular Culture and Acquisitions*, edited by Allen W. Ellis, 115–28. New York: Haworth Press, 1992.

———. “The Lack of Access to Back Issues of the Weekly Tabloids: Does It Matter?” *Journal of Popular Culture* 23, no. 4 (1990): 45–50.

Kepner, Jim. *Rough News, Daring Views: 1950s Pioneer Gay Press Journalism*. Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 1998.

Kesterton, W. H. *A History of Journalism in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.

Kielbowicz, Richard B. “News Gathering by Mail in the Age of the Telegraph: Adapting to a New Technology.” *Technology and Culture* 28, no. 1 (1987): 26–41.

———. “Newsgathering by Printers’ Exchanges before the Telegraph.” *Journalism History* 9, no. 2 (1982): 42–48.

Kinsman, Gary, and Patrizia Gentile. *The Canadian War on Queers: National Security and Sexual Regulation*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2010.

Kipnis, Laura. “(Male) Desire and (Female) Disgust: Reading *Hustler*.” In *Cultural Studies*, edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler, 373–91. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Kirkpatrick, Rod. “Scissors and Paste: Recreating the History of Newspapers in Ten Country Towns.” *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 22, no. 4 (1999): 232–46.

Knox, Sara L. *Murder: A Tale of Modern American Life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998.

Lance, Larry. “Searching for Love and Sex: A Review and Analysis of Mainstream and Explicit Personal Ads.” In *Sex in Consumer Culture: The*

Erotic Content of Media and Marketing, edited by Tom Reichert and Jacqueline Lambiase, 337–51. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006.

Laner, Mary Riege. "Media Mating II: 'Personals' Advertisements of Lesbian Women." *Journal of Homosexuality* 4, no. 1 (1978): 41–61.

Lee, John Alan. "Meeting Males by Mail." In *The Gay Academic*, edited by Louie Crew, 415–27. Palm Springs: ETC Publications, 1978.

Leibl, Anne. "Canada's Underground Press." *Canadian Library Journal* 27, no. 1 (1970): 16–23.

Leznoff, Maurice, and William A. Westley. "The Homosexual Community." *Social Problems* 3, no. 4 (1956): 257–63.

Licata, Salvatore J. "The Homosexual Rights Movement in the United States: A Traditionally Overlooked Area of American History." *Journal of Homosexuality* 6, nos. 1/2 (1981): 161–89.

Loftin, Craig M. *Letters to* ONE*: Gay and Lesbian Voices from the 1950s and 1960s*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2012.

———. *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2012.

———. "Unacceptable Mannerisms: Gender Anxieties, Homosexual Activism, and Swish in the United States, 1945–1965." *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 3 (2007): 577–96.

Lovell, Stephen. "Finding a Mate in Late Tsarist Russia: The Evidence from Marriage Advertisements." *Cultural and Social History* 4, no. 1 (2007): 51–72.

Lukasiewicz, Julius. *The Ignorance Explosion: Understanding Industrial Civilization*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994.

Lumby, Malcolm E. "Men Who Advertise for Sex." In *Gay Relationships*, edited by John P. De Cecco, 61–71. New York: Haworth Press, 1988. Originally published in *Journal of Homosexuality* 4, no. 1 (1978): 63–72.

Lynn, Michael, and Rosemary Bolig. "Personal Advertisements: Sources of Data about Relationships." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 2 (1985): 377–83.

Marchand, Roland. *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Marcus, Sharon. *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Martin, Del, and Phyllis Lyon. "Daughters of Bilitis and the Ladder that Teetered." *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 5, no. 3 (2001): 113–18.

Martin, Robert W. *The Sex-by-Mail Set*. Atlanta, GA: Pendulum Books, 1969.

Maynard, Steven. "'Hell Witches in Toronto': Notes on Lesbian Visibility in Early-Twentieth-Century Canada." *Left History* 9, no. 2 (2004): 191–205.

McEntire, Dee L. "Erotic Storytelling: Sexual Experience and Fantasy Letters in *Forum* Magazine." *Western Folklore* 51 (1992): 81–96.

McLeod, Donald W. *A Brief History of* GAY*: Canada's First Gay Tabloid, 1964–1966*. Toronto: Homewood Books, 2003.

———. *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964–1975*. Toronto: ECW Press and Homewood Books, 1986.

Meeker, Martin. *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s–1970s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Middleton, Jacob. "Thomas Hopley and Mid-Victorian Attitudes to Corporal Punishment." *History of Education* 34, no. 6 (2005): 599–615.

Morton, Paula E. *Tabloid Valley: Supermarket News and American Culture*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2009.

Nicholson, Bob. "'You Kick the Bucket; We Do the Rest!': Jokes and the Culture of Reprinting in the Transatlantic Press." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 17, no. 3 (2012): 273–86.

Nolan, Michael. *Walter J. Blackburn: A Man for All Media*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1989.

Örnebring, Henrik, and Anna Maria Jönsson. "Tabloid Journalism and the Public Sphere: A Historical Perspective on Tabloid Journalism." In *The Tabloid Culture Reader*, edited by Anita Biressi and Heather Nunn, 23–33. Berkshire: Open University, 2008.

Owram, Doug. *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Peakman, Julie. *Mighty Lewd Books: The Development of Pornography in Eighteenth-Century England*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Pickering, Michael. "Sex in the Sun: Racial Stereotypes and Tabloid News." *Social Semiotics* 18, no. 3 (2008): 363–75.

Pon, Madge. "Like a Chinese Puzzle: The Construction of Chinese Masculinity in *Jack Canuck*." In *Gender and History in Canada*, edited by Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, 88–100. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996.

The Post Office Act, 1867, and the general regulations founded thereon. Ottawa: G. E. Desbarats, 1868. Early Canadiana Online (ID 9_01966).

Potterton, Reginald. "I Cut Out Her Heart and Stomped on It!" *Playboy*. April 1969: 117–20, 204–12.

Rasky, Frank. "Canada's Lonelyheart Marriage Merchants." *Liberty*. May 1957: 20–21, 56–59.

———. "Canada's Scandalous Scandal Sheets." *Liberty*. Nov. 1954: 17, 74–76, 78–80.

Rhoufari, Mathieu M. "Talking about the Tabloids: Journalists' Views." In *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over Media Standards*, edited by Colin Sparks and John Tulloch, 163–76. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.

Ridinger, Robert B. Marks. "Things Visible and Invisible: The Leather Archives and Museum." *Journal of Homosexuality* 43, no. 1 (2002): 1–9.

Ritchie, G. W., and B. M. Tate. "Toronto Tabloids: How and Where They Started." *City Lights*. January 1935: 16–18.

Robinson, Daniel J., and David Kimmel. "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada." *Canadian Historical Review* 75, no. 3 (1994): 319–45.

Rowbotham, Judith, and Kim Stevenson, eds. *Criminal Conversations: Victorian Crimes, Social Panic, and Moral Outrage*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005.

Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry. "Porno-Violence." *Report of the Royal Commission on Violence in the*

Communications Industry, vol. 4. Toronto: Ministry of Government Services, 1977.

Rubery, Matthew. *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction after the Invention of the News*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Rutherford, Paul. *The Making of the Canadian Media*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978.

Sangster, Joan. "Girls in Conflict with the Law: Construction of Female Delinquency in Ontario, 1940–1960." *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 12, no. 1 (2000): 1–35.

Schaffer, Deborah. "Shocking Secrets Revealed! The Language of Tabloid Headlines." *Et cetera*, no. 52 (1995): 27–36.

Schudson, Michael. "The New Validation of Popular Culture: Sense and Sentimentality in Academia." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4, no. 1 (1987): 51–68.

Setliff, Eric. "Sex Fiends or Swish Kids?: Gay Men in *Hush Free Press*, 1946–1956." In *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*, edited by Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell, 158–78. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Shalom, Celia. "That Great Supermarket of Desire: Attributes of the Desired Other in Personal Advertisements." In *Language and Desire: Encoding Sex, Romance, and Intimacy*, edited by Keith Harvey and Celia Shalom, 186–203. London: Routledge, 1997.

Sigelman, Lee, and Barbara J. Walkosz. "Letters to the Editor as a Public Opinion Thermometer: The Martin Luther King Holiday Vote in Arizona." *Social Science Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (1992): 938–46.

Sloan, Bill. *I Watched a Wild Hog Eat My Baby!: A Colorful History of Tabloids and Their Cultural Impact*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2001.

Smith, Christine A., and Shannon Stillman. "What Do Women Want? The Effects of Gender and Sexual Orientation on the Desirability of Physical Attributes in the Personal Ads of Women." *Sex Roles* 46, nos. 9/10 (2002): 337–42.

Solomon, Lawrence. *Toronto Sprawls: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

Speisman, Stephen A. *The Jews of Toronto: A History to 1937*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979. Reprinted in paperback, 1987. Page references are to the 1987 edition.

Sparks, Colin. "Introduction: The Panic over Tabloid News." In *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over Media Standards*, edited by Colin Sparks and John Tulloch, 1–40. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.

———. "Popular Journalism: Theories and Practice." In *Journalism and Popular Culture*, edited by Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks, 24–44. London: Sage, 1992.

Straw, Will. "Traffic in Scandal: The Story of *Broadway Brevities*." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (2004): 947–71.

Streitmatter, Rodger. *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America*. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995.

Swainger, Jonathan. "American Crime Comics as Villains: An Incident from Northern Canada." *Legal Studies Forum* 22 (1998): 215–31.

Talman, James J. "Three Scottish-Canadian Newspaper Editor Poets." *Canadian Historical Review* 28, no. 2 (1947): 166–77.

Taylor, Alfred. "A Perfect Beginner: Jim Egan and the Tabloids." *Canadian Lesbian and Gay History Network Newsletter*, no. 2 (1986): 12–18.

Thompson, Susan. *The Penny Press: The Origins of the Modern News Media, 1833–1861*. Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2004.

Travis, Trysh. "Print and the Creation of Middlebrow Culture." In *Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary*, edited by Scott E. Casper, Joanne D. Chaison, and Jeffrey D. Groves, 339–66. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

Turner, Graeme. "Tabloidization, Journalism, and the Possibility of Critique." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 2, no. 1 (1999): 59–76.

Vipond, Mary. "Major Trends in Canada's Print Mass Media." In *History of the Book in Canada, Volume 3: 1918–1980*, edited by Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 242–47. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

Vitek, Jack. *The Godfather of Tabloid: Generoso Pope Jr. and the National Enquirer*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2008.

Wahl-Jorgensen, Karin. "Letters to the Editor as a Forum for Public Deliberation: Modes of Publicity and Democratic Debate." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 18, no. 3 (2001): 303–20.

Wald, James. "Periodicals and Periodicity." In *A Companion to the History of the Book*, edited by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, 421–33. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

Warner, Tom. *Never Going Back: A History of Queer Activism in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Weeks, Jeffrey. "The Idea of a Sexual Community." *Soundings* 2 (1996): 71–84.

West, Bruce. *Toronto*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1967.

Weston, Mary Ann. "*The Daily Illustrated Times*: Chicago's Tabloid Newspaper." *Journalism History* 16, nos. 3/4 (1989): 76–86.

Winks, Robin W. "Introduction." In *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence*, edited by Robin W. Winks, xiii–xxiv. New York: Harper and Row, 1969.

Woodsworth, Anne. *The "Alternative" Press in Canada: A Checklist of Underground, Revolutionary, Radical, and Other Alternative Serials from 1960*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Zhou, Nan, and Zulkifli Abdullah. "Canadian Matchmaker Advertisements: The More Things Change, the More They Remain the Same." *International Journal of Advertising* 14, no. 4 (1995): 334–48.