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Above: Malak, *Jack Nichols*, 1946.

Opposite: Jack Nichols, *Drowning Sailor*, 1946

Brush, Canvas, Paint, and Uniform

Malak Karsh's portrait photographs of Second World War Canadian War Artists

Anja N. Werner

In a black and white photograph taken 65 years ago, a young man in a Canadian naval uniform looks directly and somewhat anxiously towards the camera.¹ On his right, a painting sits on an easel showing a man drowning in agony. We know the seaman is an artist. Holding a piece of driftwood in his hands, a table covered in art materials – tubes of paint, brushes, a small bottle of solvent, and the glistening remains of paint squeezed from tubes – stands in front of him. This table occupies the lower third of the photograph; the canvas dominates the left. The artist himself takes up only a small amount of space; the painting paraphernalia dominates. Behind his back, attached



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to the studio wall, are several graphite and wash drawings on paper. These do not refer to his easel painting *Drowning Sailor* (1946) that he has just finished, but are a proof of his artistic practice.² The young man – only 25 years old – is the Canadian war artist Jack Nichols and the man behind the camera was Malak Karsh, younger brother of the well-known Ottawa photographer Yousuf Karsh. The year was 1946. This photograph belongs to a collection of 123 photographic portrait prints and cellulose nitrite negatives of Canadian Second World War artists held by the Canadian War Museum (CWM) in Ottawa.³ Library and Archives Canada (LAC) holds further images and cellulose nitrate negatives.⁴ Together, this Malak Karsh collection contains images of a majority of the war artists finishing their paintings in Ottawa in 1946. Because not all the prints' corresponding cellulose nitrate negatives can be found, it is not known how many photographs were originally taken. CWM's photographs and negatives likely came into the collection in 1971, when the extensive collection of war art was transferred from the National Gallery of Canada. LAC's images are part of the Malak Karsh fonds. Taken as a whole, this series is not

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Abstract: In the spring of 1946, Ottawa photographer Malak Karsh, brother of the well-known photographer Yousuf Karsh, took several photographs of the official Canadian war artists for the *Montreal Standard's* magazine to document them completing their paintings. This series of 23 highly staged portraits is unique in Malak's oeuvre and it serves as an excellent research source on the Second World War Canadian war artists' program. By comparing different versions of photographs at the Canadian War Museum with the *Standard* images, it becomes obvious how the magazine reduced Malak's documentary and at the same time creative approach to emphasize the patriotic content.

to the studio wall, are several graphite and wash drawings on paper. These do not refer to his easel painting *Drowning Sailor* (1946) that he has just finished, but are a proof of his artistic practice.² The young man – only 25 years old – is the Canadian war artist Jack Nichols and the man behind the camera was Malak Karsh, younger brother of the well-known Ottawa photographer Yousuf Karsh. The year was 1946.

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Résumé : Au printemps 1946, le photographe ottavien Malak Karsh, frère du célèbre photographe Yousuf Karsh, a pris, pour le magazine *Montreal Standard*, de nombreux clichés d'artistes de guerre officiels du Canada dans le but de documenter la complétion de leurs peintures. Cette série de 23 portraits fortement mis en scène est unique dans l'œuvre de Malak et constitue une excellente source de recherche sur le programme des artistes de guerre canadiens de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. En comparant différentes versions des photographies conservées au Musée canadien de la guerre aux images publiées dans le *Standard*, il appert à quel point le magazine a réduit la preuve documentaire de Malak et son approche innovatrice pour accentuer une approche patriotique.

only unique in Malak Karsh's oeuvre, it is also a tremendous research resource on the implementation and outcome of the Second World War Canadian war artists' program. Furthermore, the history of Malak Karsh's postwar commission sheds light on the different interests of photographers, art historians, and the public media at the time when it came to imagery and its use.

According to an 8 March 1946 letter from Phillip H. Surrey of the *Montreal Standard* to Colonel G.G. Yates, director of public relations with the Canadian Army, Surrey planned a photo story on "the work being done by the war artists in uniform."⁵ The upcoming war art exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada that opened on 14 May 1946 was quite likely one incentive.⁶ The military's public relations department was delighted with this news. Yates wrote back to Surrey on 12 March 1946: "I have also spoken to the Director of Historical Records [at the Department of National Defence (DND)], who is quite happy about the whole affair."⁷ Journalist Gerald Waring was asked to write the story and Malak (who went by his first name so as to distinguish himself from his older brother Yousuf) received the commission for the pictures – a series of portraits of the 23 Canadian war artists working at that time in Ottawa. Malak created them at the artists' studios in the old military stores building at Cartier Square, National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa.⁸

The *Montreal Standard* magazine published Malak's photograph of Nichols, together with 22 other Canadian war artist portraits, on 25 May 1946 under the title "Road to Victory: Army Artists' Canvases Record the Long and Bloody March from Camp Borden to Berlin."⁹ The caption under Nichols' image reads: "Youngest and one of the most prolific Navy war artists, Lieut. Jack Nichols of Ottawa, is shown here with recently completed canvas

of a drowning sailor." What the *Standard* did not do was use the entire photograph as Malak composed it but a cropped version. This is also the case with the other published subjects. In so doing, much of what Malak intended and captured in his portraits was not shared with the *Standard's* readers. They did not see Malak's unique photographs as they were intended or understand the significance of his decision to portray the artists in front of their finished paintings with their equipment around them. But there is even more to the photographs than this. In many ways, the material Malak included in his images encapsulates the nature of the program itself as experienced by the artists, and references a long tradition of painted self-portraiture.

Government funded, the war artist program commissioned 32 artists to create a pictorial record of Canada's involvement in the Second World War. It started more than three years after the war began because at first the government was not interested in such a scheme. Following lobbying efforts on the part of the arts community, however, in January 1943 the Canadian War Records (CWR) committee consisting of H.O. McCurry, director of the National Gallery of Canada, and senior military personnel from the three services was set up. The program had three main goals: to document the Canadian mission, to build Canadian morale, and to promote civilian interest in the war effort. Its purpose was stated in the "Instructions for War Artists" sent to each artist: "As a War Artist appointed to one of the Canadian Services you are charged with the portrayal of significant events, scenes, phases and episodes in the experience of the Canadian Armed Forces, especially those which cannot be adequately rendered in any other way."¹⁰ As Andrew Bell points out in his 1945 *Studio* "War Art" article, "It is only the artist who has the means to

'fill the eye' with the atmosphere and spiritual shadings of the struggle."¹¹ During military operations and behind the front lines, sketchbooks were essential for the artists to create sketches or watercolours on the spot. At the end of the war, the artists returned to Canada where a majority received studios in Ottawa to complete a number of canvases based on their works on paper where Malak photographed them.

As Laura Brandon, historian, art and war, at the CWM points out, the program resulted in no huge memorial compositions focusing on destruction and misery as had occurred in the First World War. Instead, most of the 5,000 artworks are small and documentary depicting the locations and events on all fronts in an "often-depersonalized manner."¹² This can be seen in the painting included in Malak's portrait of Lawren P. Harris in which the artist holds a brush up to his already finished painting, *Reinforcements Moving up in the Ortona Salient*.¹³ Harris, shown in his army uniform, looks very seriously at the painting. The *Montreal Standard* states of its cropped version: "Stark desolation of war is chosen by Capt. Lawren P. Harris, ARCA, of Toronto, a backdrop for painting of tank men in Italy." The painting demonstrates a somewhat documentary approach. This was characteristic of the program's art: it never glorified the war nor showed the extent of the devastation but tended to be strictly representational.¹⁴

National Gallery curator Donald W. Buchanan criticised this documentary approach in a review of a 1945 exhibition of war art in Ottawa in the journal *Canadian Art* and expressed a hope for more complex works with the passage of time.¹⁵ He stated that the war artists would need a certain amount of time after coming back from the conflict to reflect on their experiences, and to study the mass of sketches they had created during their deployment:

Right: Malak, Lawren P. Harris, 1946.

Below right: Lawren P. Harris, Reinforcements Moving up in the Ortona Salient, c. 1946.

If that privilege is given them, then we can hope for some truly significant art to result. This time for reflection is essential. Let it be denied them, and then altogether too much of this project for Canadian war art will turn out to have been nothing but the dutiful accumulation of records.

Fortunately, the artists received time for reflection and time to work on large-scale paintings. One year later Malak recorded the program's results in the artists' Ottawa studios and the *Montreal Standard* published them in a way that pleased the authorities. The magazine had chosen well with Malak, as he had already earned a reputation as a photojournalist in Ottawa.

Born in 1915 in Armenia, he had come to Ottawa in 1937 to apprentice with his older brother Yousuf.¹⁶ In 1941, he opened his first studio on Sparks Street and, in 1946, he opened another studio on Somerset Street. During the Second World War, Malak covered a variety of assignments, both in Ottawa and on the East Coast including Newfoundland. National as well as American and British periodicals extensively published his photographs. In his early days he photographed mostly robust industrial scenes.¹⁷ He specialized in architectural and commercial shots and worked mainly for magazines and the Wartime Information Board. He became well-known in Ottawa in the following years. His love for tulips eventually led to his involvement in the founding of the Tulip Festival in 1952, and he was the official photographer and Canadian representative of the Dutch Bulb Growers Association from 1947 to 1987. He achieved success as one



Canadian War Museum 20040082-21



Canadian War Museum 19710261-3100

of Canada's foremost landscape photographers when his photo of pulpwood logs below Parliament Hill appeared on the Canadian \$1 bill from 1974 to 1987. In 1997, he received the Order of Canada. He continued photographing for magazines, calendars and postcards until his death in November 2001. He published books on Ottawa and the Canadian landscape and, in particular, his photographs of tulips in Ottawa were widely available in

Canada and beyond.¹⁸ In 2002, the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography organized a retrospective that included some of his early photographs. These demonstrated a striking contrast to his later works in colour, mostly photographic representations of the National Capital Region.¹⁹ In particular, his early portraits in the silver gelatine process stood out because of their formal simplicity and deliberately dramatic representation.

These large-format black and white photographs using 4x5-inch negatives taken early in his career show the strong influence of his older brother Yousuf, known as Karsh. As Karsh's apprentice, Malak learned from him the fundamentals of darkroom photography, but also lighting and composition. He never capitalised on the name Karsh or on his brother's international reputation. And Karsh once made the statement: "When people ask me if Malak is my brother, I am most happy to say, rather, that I am his brother."²⁰ But these war artist portraits are some of Malak's last. In the future his interests would gravitate towards the geographic, industrial, and social landscape of Canada, an evolving direction that was to distinguish his work from that of his brother, whose reputation lay in portraiture. Nonetheless, the war artist assignment remains an important milestone in his development as a photographer because it marked the turning point in his career towards a more creative approach to image-making and away from simple documentation.

If Karsh's technical influence on Malak's early body of work can be seen in the war artist assignment for the *Montreal Standard*, Malak's wartime portraits are different nonetheless from his brother's because of their emphasis on the artworks and the artists' expressions. They follow a standardised format: the artists are placed in front of their paintings, which are either hanging on the wall or arranged on an easel. The painters are denoted by their tools, like brushes, palettes, and paint tubes, and the locations are their Ottawa studios. In representing them at work, these portraits focus on their artistic creativity. While Malak's portraits appear to lack subtle allusions, metaphors or references, the photographer has, by depicting them at work, placed them in the tradition of painted artist self-portraits. In this instance,

however, he himself plays the role of the artist, including as much as possible the tools of the artist's work and by engaging in eye contact with his subjects through his camera, creating the illusion of a direct relationship. As viewers, we do not see this relationship. We assume the artist is looking at us and thus miss the allusion to self-portraiture.

Artists' self-portraits have a long tradition in the history of painting. The Early Renaissance is commonly known as the birthplace of the individual portrait and from then on artists can be frequently identified depicting themselves as either the main subject, or as important characters in their work.²¹ A famous early example is the series of self-portraits by German painter Albrecht Dürer, but even more interesting in the current context are several fifteenth century painters' representations of themselves as Saint Luke painting the Virgin.²² From then on, the self-representation of an artist showing himself painting in his studio surrounded by painting equipment and tools becomes one of the most important forms of self-portraiture. Rembrandt, who created a huge range of painted, drawn, and etched self-portraits, not only used them to practice facial expressions, but also to represent himself in his studio.²³ Furthermore, the self-portrait and artist portrait had a moral function: in the seventeenth century they worked as "memoria" to ensure a posthumous reputation, and as "exemplum" to set a good example for followers.²⁴ A famous example of this kind of self-representation is *Las Meninas* (1656) that shows Diego Velázquez standing behind a huge easel working on his portrait of the Spanish Infanta Margarita.²⁵ These types of portraits and self-portraits are always idealized, with the figure of the artist representing values like genius, insight, and originality.²⁶

This mode of representation quickly found its place in the

photographic process.²⁷ From the origins of that medium in 1839, photographers like Louis Daguerre, Henry Fox Talbot, Hippolyte Bayard, Félix Nadar, and O.G. Rejlander photographed themselves with camera equipment to represent themselves proudly as masters of their craft. In 1929, for example, 17 years before Malak's portrait series, the photographer Edward Steichen photographed himself with tools of his trade in his New York studio.²⁸ In his self-portrait, he kneels in front of a white foldable screen on which we see the cast shadow of a large camera with tripod and lamp – the photographer's tools. In his left hand, he holds the remote control while looking to his right out of the pictorial space. This self-portrait is an example of self-representation as photographer and master of his art, which of course goes back to the painted tradition of artists' self-portraits.

In his photographs, Malak follows the tradition in which the tools of the artistic process play an important part in artists' portraits and self-portraits to demonstrate artistic creativity. Malak was not alone in using this form of representation. Some of Karsh's well-known portraits created later also follow this approach. His 1965 portrait of Joan Miro, in which the artist is shown in the Galerie Maeght (Paris) with a brush in his hand working on an abstract design, is one example.²⁹ Another is his 1979 portrayal of Andy Warhol, in which the artist holds a wide brush right beside his face; an ironic undertone because the brush is exactly the same colour as Warhol's wig.³⁰ More often, Karsh includes finished works of art in his portraits, for example in the case of his 1965 portrait of Man Ray, where Ray holds up a self-portrait assemblage.³¹

In most of his iconic portraits, Karsh focuses more on the pose, facial expression, and lighting than on the objects surrounding his

sitters. Malak's early photographs from 1946, however, more clearly follow the tradition of artists' self-portraits by emphasising the tools and paintings. Also characteristic in Malak's portraits is the ideal depiction of the artistic process: his artists generally do not wear dirty work coats. Instead they wear tidy uniforms or suits which reference the dignity of the arts and the Canadian military. An exception is his portrait of Will Ogilvie, who is cleaning a brush on a dirty cloth and wears a paint-splattered work coat.³² Also wearing a work coat is Charles Comfort, who sits with a cigarette in his mouth mixing colours on a palette between two of his paintings on easels.³³ In all the portraits, the artists look as though they have been interrupted while working, but a closer examination reveals that the paintings are already finished and there is no fresh paint on their brushes. The scenes are entirely staged. This can be seen clearly in Malak's portrait of *Commander Harold Beament, V.D., R.C.N. (R)*.³⁴ Beament holds a brush up to his painting *Rescue – Firing a Coston Gun Line* (around 1944), but it is already completed.³⁵ He is wearing his naval uniform. This reflects his high rank (noted in the title) and his long naval experience, Beament had served in Canada's First World War navy too. The cigarette gives him a confident pose.

Malak's photos do not show any obvious introspection on the part of the artists or any indication of how they wished to represent themselves. This is perhaps made clear by the purpose of the photographs. Contrary to self-portraits that follow this approach, these portraits were made by a photographer who was commissioned by a magazine for the purpose of an article about the war artists program. This explains why Malak used a relatively standard format. The painters are mostly facing towards the camera and engaging the



Canadian War Museum 20040082-014

Above: Malak, Will Ogilvie, 1946.

Right: Malak, Charles Comfort, 1946.

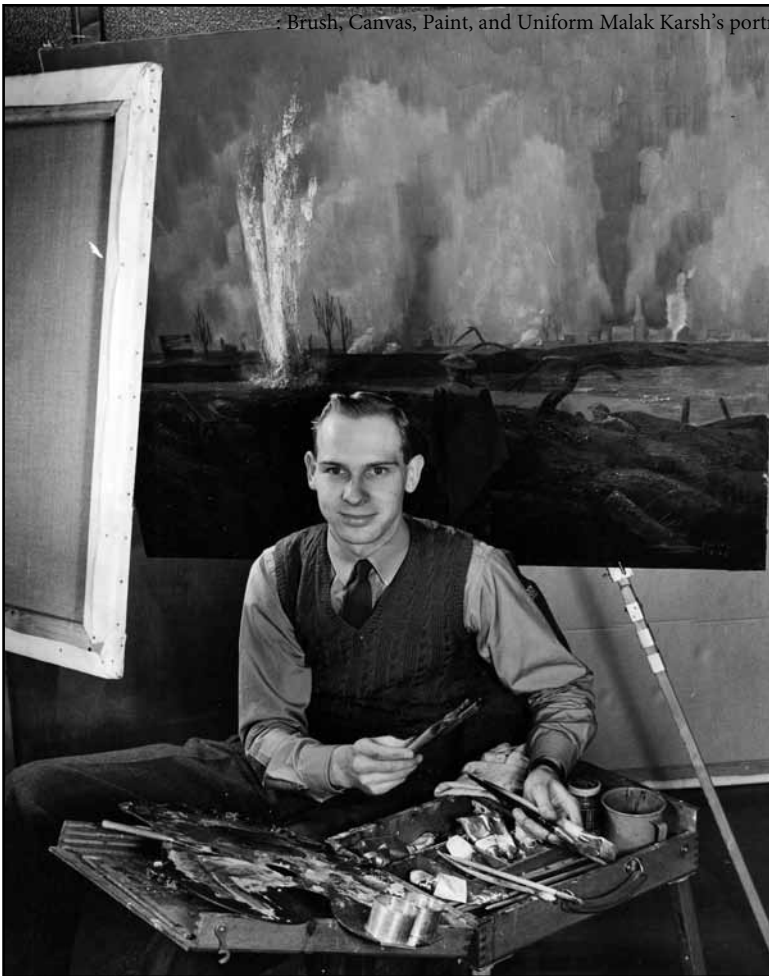
Below: Malak, Harold Beament, 1946.



Canadian War Museum 20040082-028



Canadian War Museum 20040082-005



Above left: Malak, Bruno Bobak, 1946. Canadian War Museum 20040082-004.

Above right: Malak, Molly Lamb Bobak, 1946. Canadian War Museum 20040082-034.

Bottom: Malak, Alex Colville, 1946. Canadian War Museum 20040082-031.

Left: Malak, Alex Colville, 1946, published in "Road to Victory: Army Artists' Canvases Record the Long and Bloody March from Camp Borden to Berlin," *Montreal Standard*, 25 May 1946. This is not the actual published image, which is too poor to be reproduced, but a reconstruction made especially for this article. Unfortunately, the particular pose used in the article has not survived in either the LAC or CWM archives



viewer's eyes. Only a few are depicted looking at their paintings instead of facing the photographer. The viewer occupies the same position as the photographer, and stands in a visual dialogue with the depicted artist. Malak used the specific quality of the photographic medium to observe, record, and reproduce in detail what was in front of the camera. In this almost documentary approach he seems to have uncannily followed the strictly representational intentions of the war artists' program even though he did not belong to it. Some of the photographs show the artistic process of creating the paintings from drawings that were made in the field and on military bases. For instance, Alex Colville is facing the camera; his left hand, holding a pencil, is lying on some drawings that he created during his deployment in Europe.³⁶ Colville had been an officer in the Canadian Army when he was appointed an official war artist in June 1944. He also spent time

with the Royal Canadian Navy for the purpose of recording landings operations. Subsequently, he served with the 3rd Canadian Infantry Division in Northwest Europe.³⁷ For Colville, the drawings serve as tools to keep his memories alive and as studies for later paintings. This part of the artistic process is also depicted in the portrait of Charles Comfort. Comfort is wearing a painter's work coat that is paint stained, and he is sitting between the finished painting *Route 6 at Cassino* (1945) and a smaller watercolour sketch.³⁸ Furthermore, Nichols' portrait, mentioned earlier, also includes sketches that he made during his deployment.

Malak uses artists' materials and tools in all of his portraits. He shows, as in Nichols' portrait, the young artist Bruno Bobak and his wife Molly Lamb Bobak with their art equipment. Bobak sits in front of his painting *The Maas River – February 1945*.³⁹ On the left, we see a canvas from the rear, and he holds brushes in his hands while paint tubes, a palette, containers and solvent are lying in an open box in front of him.⁴⁰ His wife Molly Lamb Bobak – who was the first female Canadian artist to be sent overseas in the Second World War to document Canada's war effort, and in particular, the work of the Canadian Women's Army Corps – is represented by Malak with a hammer and a stretcher frame to perhaps subtly allude to her breaking into the particularly male domain of war art.⁴¹

Malak used the tradition of the artist self-portrait to proudly document the efforts and achievements of the war artists. An article in the *Montreal Standard* referred to the Canadian War Art exhibition at the National Gallery, and stated that the painters have accomplished "a big job...in portraying Canada's achievements in the war."⁴² It further stated: "It shows what they can do when given the opportunity but it took a war to give them that chance." The historically



Canadian War Museum 20040082-009

Malak, Campbell Tinning, 1946. This photo carries no Malak Karsh copyright stamp but it is unambiguously from Malak's hand.

Malak, Campbell Tinning, 1946, published in "Road to Victory: Army Artists' Canvases Record the Long and Bloody March from Camp Borden to Berlin," *Montreal Standard*, 25 May 1946). This is not the actual published image, which is too poor to be reproduced, but a reconstruction made especially for this article.



significant 1946 exhibition was the reason for the photo story on the Canadian war artists. Malak's photographs also became part of that history. In print, these complex photographs were provided with captions and short notes about the artists, where they had served with the military, their artistic background, and biographies. But they were also cropped thus removing Malak's creativity in favour of the traditional head shot. Was this alteration of his work perhaps one more reason why he abandoned portrait photography?

From the CWM holdings, seven of the 18 Malak shots were used by the *Montreal Standard* and severely cropped. Ten of the *Standard* images differ from the Malak prints in the CWM but belong to the same series,

and one of Malak's CWM photos was not used.⁴³ The severe cropping gives the portraits a different message. The CWM's portrait of Campbell Tinning for example shows him standing in his studio surrounded by paintings and watercolours while he mixes paint on a palette.⁴⁴ The published photo is so drastically cropped that the full figure becomes a knee-length portrait and only three of the artworks are partially visible. The watercolour studies are completely absent from the published photo. In Colville's case, even the meaning of the caption referring to his *Infantry* painting is lost, thanks to the cropping.⁴⁵ It reads "No recruiting poster is Capt. David A. Colville's work of life in the 'poor bloody infantry.'" The cropping deletes the painting so that the



Left: Malak, Michael Forster, 1946.

Below: Michael Forster, *Bomb Damage, U-Boat Pens, Brest*, 1946.

Opposite: Bruno Bobak, *The Maas River - February 1945*, 1946.

earlier. The published portrait shows him smiling towards the camera and gesturing towards the painting on his right side. In Malak's unpublished photo he is shown in a rather contemplative pose that corresponds with the painting of the drowning sailor. Nichols' smile in the *Montreal Standard* now seems artificial and strongly contrasts with the ghastly face of the sailor. In the magazine, the drowning sailor's horrible fate in which he is sucked down to his death, which the painter had witnessed, is almost deleted from the picture. The published shot does not represent anymore the human pathos and the aim of the artist "to get at the truth of the experience."⁴⁸ The fact that other artists in the program who did work near the fighting also witnessed death, but generally decided not to use it as a subject for their art seems not to have played a role in the

caption makes no sense to the reader at all. Furthermore, in the photo at the CWM, Colville is looking towards the viewer, while in the print the shot used shows him looking down on his drawings. That Malak preferred the unpublished photograph can be concluded from the fact that he chose it – the only one from this series – for publication in his 1995 book *Canada: The Land that Shapes Us*.⁴⁶

The question remains as to why the *Montreal Standard* cropped the photographs and why the editors chose the poses they did. It may be due to the fact that the pictures were reproduced small in the article and therefore the focus had to lie more on the artists' faces and less on their works, which would not have reproduced at all well. The magazine certainly seems to have been more

interested in conventional, almost passport-like portraits. The unconventional portrait of Michael Forster in which from the upper rear he embraces his painting *Bomb Damage, U-Boat Pens, Brest* (1946) is substituted in the publication with a conventional portrait.⁴⁷ He is now shown smoking a pipe and standing in front of his painting holding a brush to its surface. The surreal details of animal skulls, an artificial hand, and goggles on the back wall are now reduced and do not take up much space in the picture.

Chosen for publication, therefore, were only rather conventional poses and optimistic facial expressions, and not any of the kind which can be seen in the portrait of Nichols mentioned

Canadian War Museum 19710261-6145





newspaper article.⁴⁹ The atrocities witnessed by the artists were not the subject of the photo story “Road to Victory.” As the title indicates, the focus was more on artist portraits in a classical manner with a patriotic undertone.

The uncropped portrayals are a body of work by Malak that is rare in his oeuvre, one that clearly demonstrates the influence of Karsh on his early work. If his objective, however, was documentation and representation referencing the program’s official instructions to the artists “to record and interpret vividly and veraciously,” he achieved this in the uncropped images in a way that was lost in the published images. Furthermore, Malak’s sophisticated portraits, which clearly refer to art historic archetypes, became

themselves part of art history later on. They were used in articles and exhibitions and published in standard works on the Canadian war artists such as Joan Murray’s *Canadian Artists of the Second World War*.⁵⁰ Murray used, for example, the iconic portrait of Jack Nichols that the *Montreal Standard* chose not to publish. The artist’s contemplative pose and earnest expression here is indeed more meaningful when we see the painting of the drowning sailor in the back than the smiling artist used in the magazine. It seems that for scholars in the field, Malak’s unpublished photographs are the richer and more significant resource than the photos published by the magazine. It is they that have survived the passage of time and stand out both for their encapsulation

of the nature of the war art program and for their depiction of the creative process it engendered.

Notes

1. Malak, *Jack Nichols*, 1946, gelatin silver print, 24.5 x 20 cm, Canadian War Museum (CWM), George Metcalf Archival Collection (GMAC), 20040082-015 (identical with 20040082-098).
2. Jack Nichols, *Drowning Sailor*, 1946, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 61.0 cm, CWM, Beaverbrook Collection of War Art (BCWA), 19710261-4288.
3. War artist photo portraits collection, CWM, GMAC, 20040082. In total, the CWM holds Malak photographs of the following 18 war artists: Harold Beament, Bruno Bobak, Molly Lamb Bobak, Leonard Brooks, Alex Colville, Charles Comfort, Patrick Cowley-Brown, Michael Forster, Paul Goranson, Lawren P. Harris, E.J. Hughes, Robert Hyndman, Tony Law, Jack Nichols, Will Ogilvie,

- George Pepper, Campbell Tinning, and Tom Wood.
4. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Malak Karsh fonds, R11612-0-9-E. Some of the cellulose nitrite negatives held by CWM are copy negatives and prints from this collection.
5. Phillip G.G. Yates, 8 March 1946, LAC, HQ 650-92-95, Department of National Defence, Public Relations – Publicity, Cdn War Artists.
6. Fiona Valverde, “The Canadian War Artists’ Program 1942-1946,” (MPhil dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1997), p.150. Valverde’s dissertation outlines the Second World War art program in detail.
7. Yates to Surrey, 12 March 1946, LAC, HQ 650-92-95, Department of National Defence, Public Relations – Publicity, Cdn War Artists.
8. During the spring of 1946, the following 23 artists were photographed in their Ottawa studios for the *Montreal Standard*'s photo story: Aba Bayefsky, Harold Beament, Bruno Bobak, Molly Lamb Bobak, Miller Brittain, Leonard Brooks, Albert Cloutier, Alex Colville, Charles Comfort, Patrick Cowley-Brown, Orville Fisher, Michael Forster, Charles Goldhamer, Paul Goranson, Lawren P. Harris, E.J. Hughes, Tony Law, Jack Nichols, Will Ogilvie, George Pepper, Carl Schaefer, Campbell Tinning, and Tom Wood.
9. “Road to Victory: Army Artists’ Canvases Record the Long and Bloody March from Camp Borden to Berlin,” *Montreal Standard*, 25 May 1946, pp.2-8.
10. “Instructions for War Artists,” LAC, Personal material and ephemera [textual], R11898-159-X-E, Personal records. Royal Canadian Navy and war artist documentation.
11. Andrew Bell, “War Art,” *Studio* 129, no.625 (April 1945), pp.116-7. Ibid.
12. Laura Brandon, *Art or Memorial? The Forgotten History of Canada’s War Art* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006), p.xviii.
13. Malak, *Lawren P. Harris*, 1946, gelatin silver print, 20 x 24.5 cm, CWM, GMAC, 20040082-21; Lawren P. Harris, *Reinforcements Moving up in the Ortona Salient*, c.1946, oil on canvas, 76.3 x 102.1 cm, CWM, BCWA, 19710261-3100.
14. Valverde, “The Canadian War Artists’ Program 1942-1946,” p.85.
15. Donald W. Buchanan, “Exhibition of Canadian War Art,” *Canadian Art* 2, no.4 (April-May 1945), pp.140-6.
16. Malak Karsh, *Canada: The Land that Shapes Us* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1995), p.28; Malak Karsh, *Canada’s Capital Region: A Capital of Tulips* (Ottawa: National Capital Commission, 1999), p.85.
17. See, for example, Malak Karsh, *Malak’s Canada* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2002).
18. See fn 16, for example.
19. Malak, Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, Ottawa, 13 April to 13 June 2002. Exhibition.
20. “Malak... Still the master,” *Studio Probe Magazine* (May/June 1992), p.37.
21. For good overviews see: Anthony Bond and Joanna Woodall, *Self Portrait: Renaissance to Contemporary* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2005) and Omar Calabrese, *Artists’ Self-Portraits* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2006).
22. For example, Rogier van der Weyden, *Saint Luke painting the Virgin*, c. 1435-1440, oil and tempera on oak panel, 137.5 x 110.8 cm, Museum of Fine Arts Boston. <<http://bit.ly/L2EK7t>>
23. For example, Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn, *The Artist in his Studio*, c. 1628, oil on panel, 24.8 x 31.7 cm, Museum of Fine Arts Boston <<http://bit.ly/N0NrgZ>>; and *Self-Portrait*, 1661, oil on canvas, 114 x 94 cm; Kenwood House, London, showing him with brushes and palette <<http://bit.ly/Pe3efl>>.
24. Hans-Jachim Raupp, *Selbstbildnisse und Künstlerportraits von Lucas van Leyden bis Anton Raphael Mengs* (Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, 1980).
25. Diego Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, 1656, oil on canvas, 318 x 276 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. <<http://bit.ly/hjtbX>>
26. Bond and Woodall, *Self Portrait: Renaissance to Contemporary*.
27. Erika Billeter, *L’autoportrait à l’âge de la photographie: peintres et photographes en dialogue avec leur propre image* (Bern: Musée cantonal des beaux-arts Lausanne, Württembergischer Kunstverein, 1985).
28. Museum of Modern Art, *Edward Steichen: A Life in Photography* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1985), fig.95.
29. LAC, Yousuf Karsh fonds, Individual portrait sittings [graphic material], formerly Group 1, R613-3-0-E, item number 12511-38.
30. LAC, Ibid, item number 14202-2.
31. LAC, Ibid, copy negative PA-209002.
32. Malak, *Will Ogilvie*, 1946, gelatin silver print, 24.5 x 20 cm, CWM, GMAC, 20040082-014.
33. Malak, *Charles Comfort*, 1946, gelatin silver print, 20 x 24.5 cm, CWM, GMAC, 20040082-028.
34. Malak, *Harold Beament*, 1946, gelatin silver print, 24.5 x 20 cm, CWM, GMAC, 20040082-005.
35. Harold Beament, *Rescue – Firing a Coston Gun Line*, around 1944, oil on canvas, 102 x 122 cm, CWM, BCWA, 19710261-1044.
36. Malak, *Alex Colville*, 1946, gelatin silver print, 24.5 x 20 cm, CWM, GMAC, 20040082-031.
37. LAC, Outline Sketch, Army War Art Programme, Historical Section (GS), November 24th, 1948, RG 24, vol. 20270, file 905.013.
38. Charles Comfort, *Route 6 at Cassino*, 1945, oil on canvas, 101.6 x 121.9 cm, CWM, BCWA, 19710261-2275.
39. Caption in *Montreal Standard*: “Capt. Bruno Bobak became war artist after he won an army art competition, then married second-prize-winner Molly Lamb.”
40. Malak, *Bruno Bobak*, 1946, gelatin silver print, 24.5 x 20 cm, CWM, GMAC, 20040082-004; Bruno Bobak, *The Maas River – February 1945*, 1946, oil on canvas, 101.8 x 122.0 cm, CWM, BCWA, 19710261-1488.
41. Malak, *Molly Lamb Bobak*, 1946, gelatin silver print, 24.5 x 20 cm, CWM, GMAC, 20040082-034.
42. “A National Art,” *Montreal Standard* (25 May 1946).
43. Hyndman is not mentioned in the article which shows 23 images; Malak, *F/L Robert Hyndman*, 1946, gelatin silver print, 20 x 24.5 cm, CWM, GMAC, 20040082-073. Hyndman left the service in March 1946.
44. Malak, *Campbell Tinning*, 1946, gelatin silver print, 20 x 24.5 cm, CWM, GMAC, 20040082-009. It carries no Malak Karsh copyright stamp but it is unambiguously from Malak’s hand.
45. Malak, *Alex Colville*, 1946, published in “Road to Victory: Army Artists’ Canvases Record the Long and Bloody March from Camp Borden to Berlin,” *Montreal Standard* (25 May 1946), p.2; 5.3 x 3.8 cm. This is not the actual published image, which is too poor to be reproduced, but a reconstruction made specially for this article. Unfortunately, the particular pose used in the article has not survived in either the LAC or CWM archives. This is based on image cited in endnote 36.
46. Karsh, *Canada: The Land that Shapes Us*, p.40.
47. Malak, *Michael Forster*, 1946, gelatin silver print, 24.5 x 20 cm, CWM, GMAC, 20040082-025. Michael Forster, *Bomb Damage, U-Boat Pens, Brest*, 1946, oil on canvas, 83.8 x 67.0 cm, CWM, BCWA, 19710261-6145.
48. Fiona Valverde, interview with Jack Nichols, 17 November 1995, in Valverde, “The Canadian War Artists’ Program 1942-1946,” p.111.
49. Valverde, “The Canadian War Artists’ Program 1942-1946,” p.119.
50. Joan Murray, *Canadian Artists of the Second World War* (Oshawa: Robert McLaughlin Gallery, 1981).

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