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## Fighting the enemy with the lantern: how French and Belgian Catholic priests lectured against their common laic enemies before 1914

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### ABSTRACT


Around 1900, French and Belgian Catholics adopted the projection lantern as a means of education and propaganda in reaction to successful initiatives of this kind by secularist organisations. In the north of France, near the Belgian border, the dioceses of Arras and Cambrai founded the *Œuvre des Conférences et Catéchismes* in Robaix, which provided a projection service distributing slides and lanterns. Belgian Catholics followed that example and cooperated in several ways with their French neighbours. This article describes the emergence and organisation of these projection services and their distribution practices. It also looks at the Catholics' efforts to fight the Freemasons, who were considered the worst enemies of the Church. Finally, several slides from the Robert Vrielynck collection in Antwerp will be discussed, which bear witness to the propagandist strategies used by the Catholic Church.

### KEYWORDS

Magic lantern; Catholic Church; education; propaganda; Belgium; France

A l'heure actuelle, on pourrait comparer notre pays au firmament par un beau soir d'été: les étoiles, ce sont les lampes allumées dans tant de nos paroisses, et le moment est proche où il n'existera pas un curé qui n'ait accroché sa petite étoile [...] dans le ciel de la France. [Today we could compare our country with the sky on a beautiful summer night; the stars are the lanterns lit in so many of our parishes, and the time is near when there will not be a single priest who has not put up his little star [...] into the sky of France.] ([Abbé Lemoine] January 1908, 1)<sup>1</sup>

France and Belgium share not only a long border, but also the same language (at least in Wallonia and in large parts of Brussels).<sup>1</sup> Therefore it hardly comes as a surprise that the Catholic Churches of both countries worked closely together in their fight against 'the enemies'<sup>2</sup>: Freemasons, Socialists, Liberals, Jews, Protestants, all those who would not share their convictions concerning a religious education in accordance with the reign and rules of the Pope in Rome. Besides, to work 'across borders' must have seemed natural for numerous French-speaking Catholic priests as they were part of the same organisation,

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attended the same transnational congregations, read each other's journals, wrote in each other's newspapers and met regularly at congresses.

In this article we will first examine how a Catholic organisation – the *Œuvre*<sup>3</sup> des Conférences et Catéchismes, in Roubaix, combining two dioceses in the North of France (Arras and Cambrai) near the Belgian border – organised its service supplying projection lanterns. This case study should contribute to a better understanding of such general questions as: who were those responsible for the dissemination of lantern lectures? Which lectures were given where and by whom and how did these activities contribute to building an (inter-)national network? What was the motivation for the Church to insist on teaching its 'political catechism' with slide projections? We will give some examples of how both French and Belgian priests worked with the apparatus and what they showed to 'teach catechism' (as they called their lantern activities). We will then turn to the southern part of French-speaking Wallonia which learned from neighbouring confraternities in the regions France du Nord and Pas-de-Calais.<sup>4</sup>

In our research so far, we have only been able to retrieve a limited number of written Belgian documents, so we lack the sources essential to mapping the Belgian networks. In the final part we will therefore concentrate on two slide series in the Robert Vrielynck collection, probably made by Walloon Catholics and adapted for presentations to (middle-class) inhabitants of Flanders where, in the period under discussion here, the upper class and the intelligentsia still kept the tradition of speaking French, while the working classes spoke Dutch. The Belgian priesthood had apparently learned from the inspiring example of their French brothers and their efficient performances with the lantern and used these sets against their own 'enemies' in the Belgian elections of 1912.

### The nucleus of Catholic lantern work in the North of France – the *Œuvre des Conférences et Catéchismes*

According to a report by Édouard Petit, during the winter 1895–96, 14,000 lantern lectures were given in France by secularist educational associations (Mannoni 1990, 3). It is hardly surprising that the Catholic Church felt they had to react.<sup>5</sup> In 1902, at a Catholic congress, some claimed that the French Church needed an association to oppose the 'numerous salesmen that, without ever taking a pause, traverse our villages and our countryside to preach always the irreligious religion, and very often also immorality and anti-patriotism.'<sup>6</sup> This may have been the decisive impulse leading to the creation of a considerable number of *Œuvres des projections lumineuses catéchistiques* [Church organisations for catechistic lantern lectures, i.e. projections services] in France and also in Belgium. Probably the first of these in France, the *Œuvre des Conférences et Catéchismes* [Organisation for Lectures and Catechisms], founded in the central region in 1902, was purposed 'to spread the teaching of the Gospel among the working classes and the children of the people' (Van de Viviere 1902).<sup>7</sup> Its journal, *L'Ange des projections lumineuses* (*The Angel of lantern projections*), was edited in Lyon by a priest from Champtercier, a hamlet near Digne-les-Bains in the mountainous region of Basses-Alpes (today Alpes-de-Haute-Provence) which had a tradition of hawkers selling images [colporteurs d'images] and showmen exhibiting marmots [montreurs de marmotte]. The subscription fee was 1,50 Francs a year plus postage in France (2 Francs abroad). Another *Œuvre de projections* was established in 1903 in the North of France, in Roubaix. It resulted from a collaboration of the Belgian and

the French clergy, and also had its own journal called *Le Rayon. Bulletin mensuel de l'Œuvre des Conférences et Catéchismes* (*The Light Ray. Monthly bulletin of the organisation for lectures and catechisms*).<sup>8</sup> In 1905 France was subdivided into 83 dioceses; 73 of them had projections services by 1910 (Pierre 1910, 38; André & André 1992).

These projections services were supposed to ‘arm’ the priests who wanted to fight against the indifference of the population towards religious matters and bring the young back under the influence of the Catholic Church.<sup>9</sup> Under the threat of the separation of State and Church – the French parliament, the *Chambre des Députés*, voted in favour of it on 3 July 1905, the *Sénat* on 9 December 1905; the law was published in the government gazette, the *Journal Officiel*, on 11 December 1905 (Maugenest 1995, 54) – religious organisations all across the country strove to strengthen the population’s faith in the Catholic cause by offering economic, social and moral support. Some had special projections services – *Œuvres des projections catéchistiques* – to imitate the ‘enemies’ who had adopted this method earlier: ‘It is imperative to employ all means of publicising offered by modern science, and use the most attractive forms to seduce more easily the heads and captivate the hearts.’ (“Œuvre des projections catéchistiques” 1903, 75) The Catholics were convinced that teaching religious topics should be done with the lantern as it was ‘the most rapid, the most attractive, and the most vivid of all’ teaching tools (“Bulletin et Nouvelles de l'Œuvre des Projections Catéchistiques” 1902, 5).

Belgian Catholics had similar problems during those years, although with less radical consequences as there was no separation of Church and State due to a strong religious presence in the government since the Catholic Party had won the majority in 1884 from the Liberals. In January 1904, the workers’ newspaper *Le Peuple* declared: ‘The movement of Free Thinking [Libre Pensée] increases and organises itself everywhere in the agglomeration of Brussels.’ (“La Libre Pensée” 1904, 2) The Free Thinkers invited ‘speakers of all anti-clerical parties’ to their meetings in view of the elections to be held in May 1904. Among these were politicians such as Léon Victor Albert Vanderkindere (professor of History), Léon Furnément (liberal) (see Figure 1) and Frédéric Spyers (socialist) as well as Désiré De Paepe (professor of Chemistry) who gave illustrated lectures, mainly about natural science topics such as ‘The origins of mankind’ (Spyers) or ‘The big steps in the evolution of the animals, from amphibians to mankind’ (De Paepe), the latter demonstrating that all living beings share a common cellular origin. The journalist of *Le Peuple* triumphantly declared: ‘This is how science is vulgarised and disseminated among the people by militants clearing the brains and forcing Catholicism to withdraw.’ (ibid.) It seems only natural that Belgian clergymen saw themselves surrounded by ‘enemies’: such lectures must have felt like attacks against their beliefs about life being created by God, a religious ‘truth’ which had already suffered because since the 1880s schools had no longer mentioned a precise date for the creation of the Earth and Man (Stengers 2004).

The above-mentioned *Œuvre Diocésaine des Projections*<sup>10</sup> was founded in November 1903 by the French Abbot (Abbé) Lemoine<sup>11</sup> to support the efforts of the local churches in the dioceses of Cambrai and Arras (“Mgr *Delamaine* et l’Enseignement Religieux par les Projections” 1906, 126; Abbé Lemoine, January 1908, 6), situated in the North of France, not far from the border with Belgium. According to its founder, it was among the first institutions of this kind in France (Abbé Lemoine, January 1908, 6). This projection service was one of the most active in France, and Lemoine was also in contact with congregations in Belgium. The ‘Œuvre’, as it was mostly called, became the



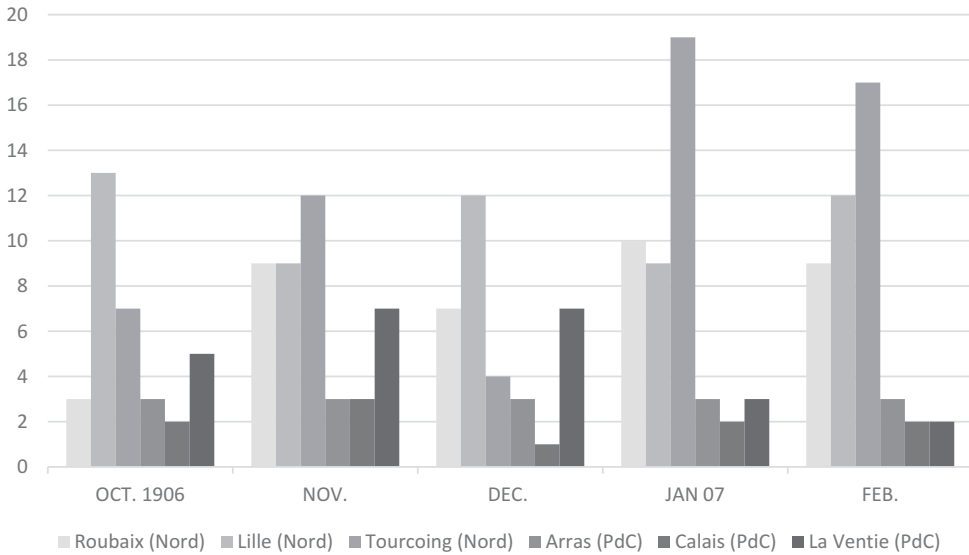
**Figure 1.** Lantern slide: ‘Social Tartuffes! ... Br[other Freemason] Furnémont: “Abolish private property!” The others: “Hands off what is mine!”’ (Robert Vrielynck Collection; courtesy: M HKA).

centre of the activities in the North of France. Its monthly bulletin *Le Rayon* was seen as an ‘important tool for propaganda and alliance between the Œuvre and its subscribers’ (Abbé Lemoine, January 1908, 7). It proudly presented a monthly list enumerating the lantern projections given in the North of France and also in Belgium. It contained the names of the lecturers as well as the topics and the towns where the lectures took place. This allows us to determine the geographical concentration of these lantern projections: centres with highly active communities (more than 10 lectures per month), cities with some priests devoted to slide projection (between 5 and 10 lectures), and less active clergy in smaller towns (less than 5 lectures) and peripheral villages with a minimal infrastructure (occasional projections). Also, the itineraries of the most active speakers can be retraced, as they ‘run the country roads, sometimes like Mascarille “that our shoes leave marks in the mud”, sometimes skidding on ice, slipping at the risk of our poor life’ (Abbé Merlent 1908, 12; Mascarille is a character in Molière’s play *Les précieuses ridicules* [1659]).

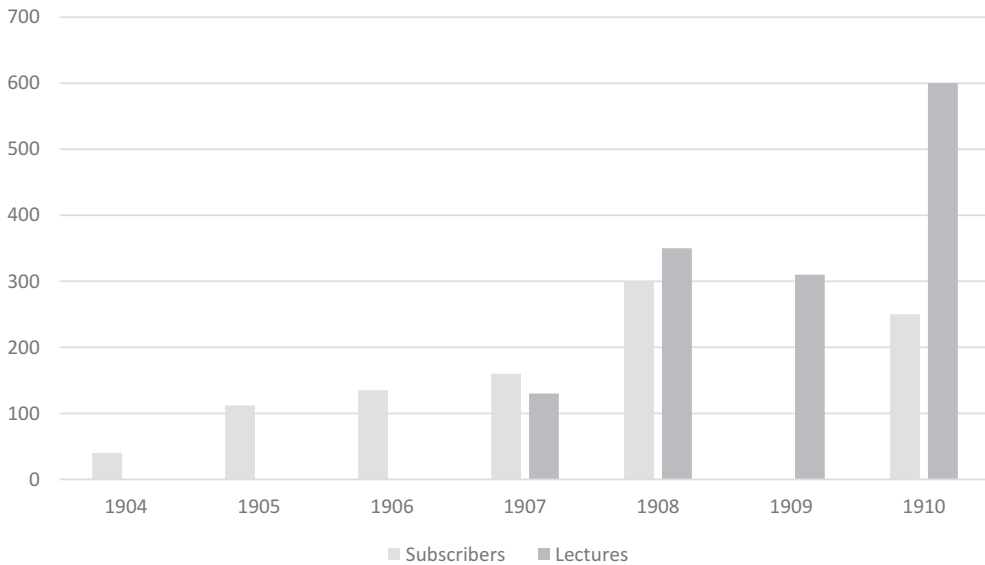
According to the lists for autumn 1906 and winter 1906/1907,<sup>12</sup> most of the illustrated lectures were given near the Franco-Belgian border in Tourcoing, Lille and Roubaix, in an area called ‘Le Nord’, while the ‘Pas-de-Calais’ area, including Arras, Calais and La Ventie, was much less active (see Figure 2).

These activities spread around quickly, according to *Le Rayon*’s proud announcements of the number of subscribers regularly receiving instructional material and the number of presentations given (see Figure 3). The season – also called ‘campaign’ – started in October and ended in March or April (Abbé Lemoine, September 1908, 115); thus the yearly activities actually took place during a period of a maximum of seven months.<sup>13</sup>

In the second half of 1907 another service was created in Lille to complement the projections service of Roubaix,<sup>14</sup> certainly due to the high demand for projection



**Figure 2.** Illustrated lectures given in different location across the region.



**Figure 3.** Numbers of subscribers and illustrated lectures 1904–1910.

equipment and sets: between 15 November and 15 December 1907 the two combined loaned 324 sets containing ‘more than 12.000 [slides] per month’ to its 285 lecturers (Abbé Lemoine, January 1908, 7). They also sold (as distinct from loaning) lanterns produced by or fabricated for Maison de la Bonne Presse. Abbé Lemoine was director of both, but the two acted independently (Abbé Lemoine, January 1908, 6–7). Only the first two issues 1907 of *Le Rayon* are available, so it is impossible to say when exactly the Lille branch was opened.

Why were the projections services so rapidly successful? On the one hand, the French clergy was eager to fight the progressive secularisation of society, and therefore numerous (younger) priests, who were not afraid of the technical aspect of projection, adopted this modern method of teaching and preaching. Secondly, the Œuvres were founded in several regions of France to minimise the distances between the projections services, which were located in bigger cities, and the parishes where the illustrated lectures were given; they were seemingly well organised, proposed attractive slides sets also for smaller budgets, offered a price reduction when selling lanterns, counselled and, if necessary, trained newcomers (Abbé Lemoine, May 1908, 66) and were efficient in promoting their services by a) sometimes mentioning new subscribers and lecturers in *Le Rayon*, b) enumerating every lecture of the past month in *Le Rayon*, and c) placing articles and advertisements also in the relevant diocese's own journal. But one of the most important reasons must have been that they travelled from village to village and offered entertainment. Although the programmes were religious, they still brought entertainment to the countryside. One author insisted on this point and praised the collaboration among parishes, not only to reduce costs but also to put the task on several shoulders:

In visiting successively all the communities of a region, we could [...] be present at parishes with a small and less fortunate population, and we never had a deficit when collecting money, often we had a quite considerable surplus, highly appreciated by those that had called for us. (Périé 1909, 540)

Most of the members and lecturers were part of the clergy (priests, vicars, monks), but among them were also men of non-religious occupations (a doctor, for instance) ([Abbé Lemoine], February 1907, 18). Female lecturers were rare; we could find only a few names: Anna Dubrulle (mostly active in Mouvaux), Mmes Sevrette (Wambrechies), Leclercq-Huet (Chambord), Taquet (Meurchin), Leclercq (Roubaix) and De Rosny (Boulogne), Milles Dubois (Rochin), Bonnet (Tourcoing) and Catois (Charmes) – and one congregation (the Bernardines Sisters). (Yet, a look at Belgian newspapers of the period showed that women did not lecture more frequently in other organisations).

For their annual fee of 15 Francs, the parishes received as many slide sets as they wanted [prêt à volonté] (Advertisement 1906). It seems that the sets were much in demand, as the Œuvre announced in the tenth issue of *Le Rayon* that from now on each set would be accompanied by a 'control sheet' with questions on the physical state of the slides, which everybody had to fill in. To break a glass positive was expensive: 1 Franc for a black and white, 2 Francs for a coloured slide ("Fiche de contrôle" 1906).

### Catholic networks between Belgium and France

It is not surprising that members of the Belgian clergy became interested in working together with their French counterparts. Thanks to the exchange of information across borders through 'Bulletins paroissiaux', 'Petites Revues' for day-care centres for children and adolescents [*patronages*] and study circles, publishing notes taken from national and foreign journals (such as the often reproduced *La Croix* edited in several provinces of France under the direction of the Catholic industrial Paul Féron-Vrau), reports by correspondents about the activities of the French clergy in Belgian Catholic newspapers and vice-versa, and advertisements by Maison de la Bonne Presse placed in the Catholic

journal *Le XXe Siècle* (Brussels) not long after its start in June 1895, most Catholic communities were aware of their neighbours' efforts and, if suitable, followed their example. Neither is it a surprise that the first lectures announced to have been given on Belgian territory were two by Abbé Lemoine himself. It seems that he was 'on the road' with talks and not only visited Mouvaux and Cambrai, but also the Belgian cities of Ollignies, where he gave a lecture on 'Japan and Russia', and Enghien where he spoke about 'Spain and Morocco' ("Chronique du mois. Séances de projections données avec nos vues" 1906). Mouscron (visited by Reverent Dehaene with a talk on Russia, and Reverent P. Masson on Normandy) and Courtrai (by Reynaert on Venice) and even Eessen in West Flanders (by Loncke on the Dauphiny) were other towns not far from the French border. One of the most successful speakers must have been Abbé Belleney, director of the Maison de la Bonne Presse's projections service ("Le Congrès catholique de Malines – La soirée" 1909). Belleney had earned considerable renown as a lecturer, not only in France and Belgium (Brussels, Antwerp, Namur, Mons and other places), but also in Italy and the United States ("Bonsecours" 1914).

A good occasion to meet other lecturers-projectionists was the annual congress, organised at the head-quarters of Maison de la Bonne Presse in Paris by the director of its Projection Service, also responsible for another Catholic media journal *Le Fascinateur*, G.-Michel Coissac,<sup>15</sup> and under the patronage of Paul Féron-Vrau.<sup>16</sup> According to the report by *Le Rayon* on the 1907 congress '300 priests from every corner of France, representing 51 diocesan projection units' ([Abbé Lemoine], February 1907, 18) had assisted this event. Belgian participants are not mentioned but one can assume that some attended the event as the report on another general congress organised by Paul Féron-Vrau in October 1908 explicitly mentions their presence as well as their successful fight against the Belgian secular government which was seen as 'a lesson to use at one's own advantage' ("Échos du Congrès de la Croix" 1903, 176). The 'projection fever' spread, fuelled by the joyful propaganda of Abbé Lemoine, G.-Michel Coissac and others testifying to the greatness of teaching faith with the lantern on a big screen in church. Projections services were created all over France, e.g. Angers, Beauvais, Cambrai, Digne, Orléans, Lyon, Marseille, Meaux, Nancy, Toulouse. This was Coissac's vision: 'Here is my dream [...] and this dream seems to get more real every day: that every region, every deanery becomes the centre, the depot of a regional *Œuvre de projections* to beam into the smallest place, into the humblest of hamlets.' (Quoted in Goyan 1913)

The Belgian readers of Catholic newspapers, well aware of the existence of Maison de la Bonne Presse for its booklet series, were probably enchanted when its distribution service *Le Rayon* (not to be confused with the above journal) also opened a branch office in Mons (*Œuvre du Rayon*, 3, rue des Telliers) and Coissac another one in Tournai (23, rue du Bourdon St-Jacques).<sup>17</sup> The *Rayon* must have been relatively successful in the South of Belgium: in the collection held by the Museum of Photography in Mons at least ten of their slide sets (alas incomplete) have survived. The research library in the Catholic research centre (KADOC) in Leuven holds several series provided by Maison de la Bonne Presse as well as slides by Mazo and Radiguet & Massiot, but there is no way of knowing when exactly the Belgian congregation acquired them and through which supplier. A printed Dutch version of *Le Grand Catéchisme*, the first set of 70 slides edited by Maison de la Bonne Presse in 1896 and



based on the etchings of Father Vincent-Paul Bailly for his *Catéchisme en images*, is preserved three times at the Royal Library in Brussels and must have thus circulated widely in the Flemish speaking part of Belgium (André and André 1992, 46).

When the French Abbé Lemoine founded the Œuvre Diocésaine des Projections in Roubaix, he relatively soon contacted Belgian communities as well. There are direct traces, such as reports in Belgian newspapers mentioning projections in collaboration with, for instance, the Maison de la Bonne Presse. And there are indirect ones such as a full-page advertisement on the back cover of *Le Rayon* by the medical Belgian Institut de Jumet every month from at least September 1906 onward. In the January 1907 issue, another Belgian company started advertising on a quarter of a page. Therefore, one can assume that *Le Rayon* had enough Belgian readers to make the company's investment worthwhile. Contacts must have started earlier, as already in the first issue of the Lyon-based *L'Ange des projections lumineuses* its 'Belgian correspondent' contributed an article mentioning that 'the Catholics from France and Belgium had organised the *Œuvre des projections lumineuses catéchistiques*' (Van de Viviere 1902, 7). Priests from France gave lectures in Belgian towns, which was not always appreciated by the Belgian authorities as they sometimes turned the lecture into a political manifestation.

### Slide sets: topics and genres

Belgium did not have a lantern industry of its own; to the best of our knowledge, only photographic studios and small companies (e.g. N. Laflotte in Dinant and Bas-Oha near Liège, Maison Parmentier in Brussels) produced professional slides, mostly based on negatives they received on an irregular basis from photographers. Slides had to be bought from manufacturers elsewhere or be self-made, as numerous Belgian associations did to fit their purposes.<sup>18</sup>

As to the clergy, the situation was not different. Among the French slide-producers, some had seemingly a good, maybe even strong relation with the Church (such as Radiguet & Massiot and Mazo, both in Paris and often referred to in *Le Rayon*) or were even part of it (such as Maison de la Bonne Presse in Paris). Nevertheless, in the two Catholic journals we consulted, one can find at several points calls for readers to contribute images. The heads of projections services seem to have been very creative: they stated that 'anything can serve us ... even some single clichés; one day we'll find a way to join them with others to form a new set' (Abbé Lemoine, March 1908, 34). And it seems that some priests also bought from others or exchanged sets with them.

The Œuvre rented out commercially produced sets, but also self-made ones. One special example (not taken from the above big Parisian companies) are the sets titled 'Catechism-projections' by the graphic artist and editor Charles Paillart from Abbeville in the French region of Picardy (see Figure 4). His drawings for ten lectures, illustrated by 30 to 40 pictures, were published in the first issues of *Le Rayon* (Abbé Lemoine, September 1906, 126–130; October 1906, 142–145). Photographs and photographic negatives were also used, which the Œuvre promised to transform within three days into nice slides for 1,75 French Francs per view ("Vues de circonstance" 1906, 156).

The Œuvre augmented its repertoire continuously. Within less than two years, between September 1906 and July 1908, the number of slides they distributed more than doubled, from 180 slide sets to more than 500, i.e. from 10,000 slides to 25,000.<sup>19</sup>



**Figure 4.** An illustration by Charles Paillart from the set 'The commandments of God', slide no. 17 'The Freemasonry and the child' also states: 'Freemasonry, this is our enemy.' (*Le Rayon*, no. 10 (1906), 144).

The slide sets represented a broad range of topics; in December 1906, after three years of existence, the Œuvre provided<sup>20</sup>:

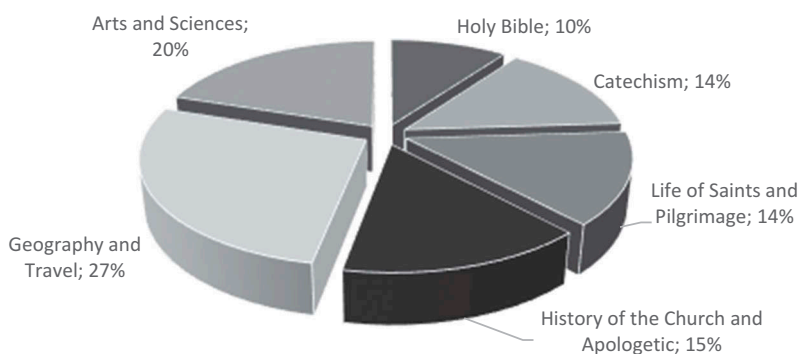
- (1) religious topics such as stories from the Old and New Testament, catechism, apologia, life of the Saints, pilgrimage to holy places, history of the Church;
- (2) educational subjects on geography (including travelogues), biology, art and architecture, history, natural sciences;
- (3) scenes from the daily life of the potential audience such as working conditions in the mines, military scenes;
- (4) polemics against the enemies of the Church;
- (5) recreative views and 'pièces d'ombre' (static slides depicting a landscape, a building or an urban space as a background with a sliding part allowing to show moving silhouettes during projection).

A last category can be found in the 1911 catalogue of *Le Rayon*: music, subdivided into canticles, songs and chansons by Théodore Botrel.

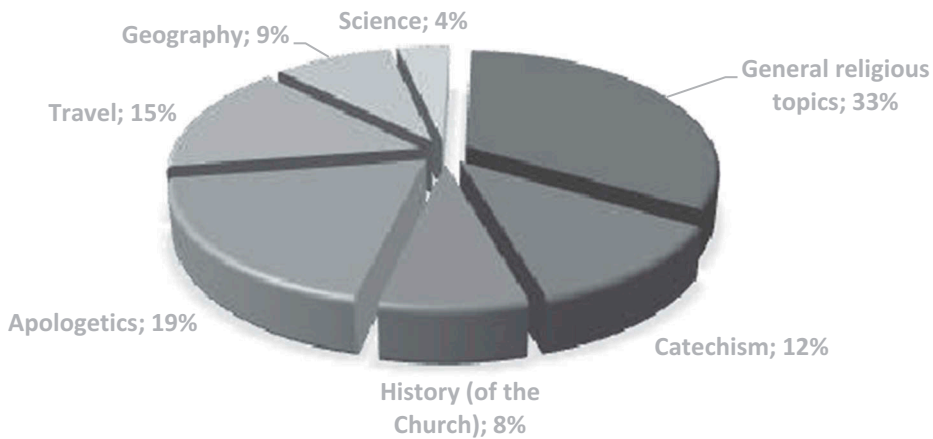
It is difficult to say how many sets were part of which section. In January 1908 a set of statistics was published (Abbé Lemoine, January 1908, 6). The Roubaix projections service kept in total 314 sets of which 53% dealt with religious subject matter (see Figure 5). For comparison: in the slower growing, rural arch-diocese of Albi in the South of France (November 1908: 30, November 1909: 40 lecturing priests) with ‘almost 300 lectures’ (c. 285) (Périé 1909, 537–538) arts and sciences play a minor role, while the share of religious subjects is 72%. The distribution of the categories during the period of September 1908 and July 1909 is shown in Figure 6.

According to the statistics, stories from the Bible and about the saints were the most popular genre, certainly when they presented a narrative, followed by geography and travelogues. However certain individual sets, which were not part of these two categories, turned out to be especially popular, including Pope Pius X in the Vatican (topical view), Alcoholism (moral story), and Fatherland and the French flag (patriotism) (Abbé Lemoine, March 1908, 34). Lectures on catechism were also of interest, as the faithful had to know the traditional rules and rites of the Church. It seems that sets about the positions of the Catholic leaders on socio-political questions were as often rented as the favourite narrative sets mentioned earlier, as they allowed the priests to disseminate the official opinion of the French Church. The apologetic readings were written by Abbé Ducrocq and the slides thus self-made by the Œuvre (Abbé Lemoine, March 1908, 34). Scientific topics such as geography or natural phenomena were somewhat less popular, maybe due to their documentary character with the entertainment factor depending on the lecturer’s performance.

It is also possible that some Catholic lecturers found talking about arts and sciences more difficult than talking about religion as the former were not part of their daily routine. The journals we have studied specialised in projection and so rarely wrote about the performances themselves. But in a correspondence with a journalist of *La Semaine religieuse de l’Archidiocèse d’Albi*, G.-Michel Coissac, author of the widely read *La théorie et la pratique des projections* (Féron-Vrau, Paris 1905, Bayard, Paris 1906), insisted on the importance of verbal expression for an efficient show:



**Figure 5.** Roubaix projection service (modern, urban agglomeration), distribution by genres (all percentages are in rounded figures).



**Figure 6.** Albi projection service (rural area), distribution by genres (all percentages are in rounded figures).

The real reason for being unsuccessful [...] is that some [lecturers] believe that it is enough to project a set of tableaux onto the white sheet, to let them be seen one by one by the invited audience and simply announce each of them, as one announces a dish. But what would they themselves think if, while sitting at the table, one lets pass under their hungry eyes a series of dishes and only announced them without ever letting them taste them? The success of the projections lies in the art of presenting the views, it is an art to well coordinate one's ideas with the projected images, it is also an art to know how to dispose the apparatuses and to know all about their manipulation, to allow the spectators to see and hear properly without interference and without fatigue. (Périé 1909, 540)

Many sets (but not all) were accompanied by a lecture in the form of a booklet (livret), often written by a member of the clergy to shed a Catholic 'light' on the subject and make it 'suitable' for their audience. Maison de la Bonne Presse published from 1901 onward a series titled *Les conférences*. An analysis of two issues from January and June 1908 and the catalogue of the Œuvre from 1911 gives an idea of what performances looked like: the sets contained about 30 to 50 slides (but up to 60 were possible); more than 98% of them were in black and white, except for the song-series, of which 65% were in colour. About one third was provided by the Maison de la Bonne Presse<sup>21</sup>; others such as the 'pièces d'ombres' were acquired from Mazo. The majority of the lectures were home-made: religious topics were written by priests who may have sometimes asked a photographer to take pictures or to copy them from some other source material; specialists close to the Church wrote the (art-)historical, socio-political, Catholic-philosophical and scientific lectures and travelogues, as one can infer from a comparison of set titles in the 1911 catalogue of *Le Rayon* and the overview of printed lectures in the first volume of *Les conférences*. The authors of travelogues may have taken photographs themselves during their voyages. Glass negatives were sent to Abbé Lemoine, who had projection positives made and then returned them. The Œuvre also offered to pay for positives, but preferred to get them for free (Abbé Lemoine, March 1908, 34). Maison de la Bonne Presse concentrated on producing slides to illustrate interesting lectures. They ceased distribution in 1908 ("La Fin de la location des vues" 1908, 53).

The slides had to be attractive to stimulate the imagination and leave a vivid impression on the mind of the beholder. The theoretical idea behind this is vividly expressed by an unnamed author:

If one adds teaching with images to verbally teaching catechism, if one shows to the eyes the face of Christ, if children see him acting, marching, healing, give consolation, pardoning, if they remember the masses following him, the lakes he crossed, the storms he appeased, the prairies he entered, the houses he lived in, all this will take shape in their imagination, will become things that have been seen, noted, and as a consequence will become the empirical argument serving as a solid base for their infantile faith. The child will believe because it has seen, and the man will continue to believe because the images seen during his childhood will have passed into his mind as lived and recorded realities. (“Projections lumineuses. Leur importance – notre offre” 1903, 134)

In any case, the Catholic Church in France, licking its wounds after the defeat in December 1905, became enthusiastic and also very proud of the lantern projection inside the church walls, at least the progressive priests. After having enjoyed several lantern shows at the Vatican, Pope Pius X slowed down the energetic movement in 1912 by impeding all kinds of religious screenings inside church buildings (“Le Cinéma à l’église” 1912, 1), followed by a total interdiction at the end of the year (“Le cinématographe” 1913, 1), possibly under the influence of ultra-conservative forces inside the clergy, but also because of his general anti-modern attitude (Guasco 1994, 1351). Maybe the success was too openly announced and made certain influential persons jealous:

certain symptoms come up that the ‘laical’ lecture suffers from a heavy crisis. M. Coissac sees the proof in the reports published by M. Édouard Petit, the big promoter of the secular post-school-*Ceuvres*, and already in 1908 M. Coissac dared to draw the conclusion: ‘This crisis started the day the priest turned himself into lecturer, and particularly a projectionist.’ The success gives confidence; in a diocese such as Marseille the catholic lectures accompanying the screenings were 181 in 1906, 219 in 1909, 355 in 1910, 422 in 1911; in a steady progression (Goyan 1913, 1).

In addition, there was the ardent wish of Maison de la Bonne Presse to reform the movies, which they acted on by creating a cinema office in 1910. Coissac declared that he would fight together with Abbé Honoré against what they perceived to be the ignoble immoral films shown every week in Paris: ‘It is time [...] to ennoble the cinema, to guide it towards a more noble objective, to turn it into a recreation serving art, thinking and respectability.’ (Goyan 1913, 1) Was this step a step too far, too fast a pace, a concept too modern for the word-fixated clergy? What must they have felt when reading in newspapers about the fascination for the moving image rather than the word of God? In any case, from then on unhallowed halls had to be used.

### Projections against the common enemies

Since the 1840s, in France as well as in Belgium, the clergy fought against the freemasons which they considered their worst enemies (see Lemaire 2013, 303–332): in 1873 Pope Pius IX even took the effort to write an encyclical letter against them. During the Third Republic (1870–1914) the separation of State and Church became a fact (in the loi du 9 décembre 1905), preceded by other measures: religious congregations not willing to accept their public registration were disbanded (in the loi du 1 juillet 1901), and congregations were

prohibited to teach, which meant closing Catholic schools or turning them into neutral institutions (in the loi du 7 juillet 1904). Therefore, in France, the Church gathered forces and started to apply modern methods such as illustrated lectures to gain back its power, as the secularist Ligue de l'enseignement (Teacher's league) had most successfully done some 20 years earlier. The Ligue, founded in 1866, started using the lantern in 1881 at a school in Monthiers thanks to the efforts of Jean Macé (André and André 1992, 45, 58). The Musée Pédagogique, created in 1879 in Paris, began a distribution service in 1896 when it took over the collection from the Société havraise d'enseignement par l'aspect (society for visual instruction in Le Havre) and the Société nationale des conférences populaires (national society for popular lectures), the latter helping it in its distribution tasks (Habets 1905, 31). The French Ligue was based on a Belgian Ligue de l'enseignement, created in 1864 in Brussels by several Libres-Penseurs (i.e. Freethinkers), influenced by a talk given by the Liberal politician Charles Buls. In turn, the Belgian Ligue seems to have been inspired by a Dutch association, the Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen (Society for the General Benefit), founded in 1784 in Edam (Kossmann 1976, 154). The Mennonite minister Jan Nieuwenhuijzen and his son Martinus, who founded this society, were thus at the beginning of a movement that the French and Belgian Catholic clergy later considered 'masonic', as they indiscriminately accused Freethinkers and Liberals of being freemasons. In the case of Jean Macé, the internationally known founder of the French Ligue, they were right: he actually was a freemason.

In Belgium, it seems that around 1885 the government had intended to introduce the lantern as a didactic instrument in higher education, but due to incompetence this attempt miscarried. 'For about twenty years, we in Belgium stayed under the impression of this failed experiment, and during this period other countries, most of all France, pursued this line and were highly successful in teaching with the lantern.' (Habets 1905, 28) Thanks to the efforts of, among others, G. Kemna (headmaster at a royal secondary school in Liège) (Kemna 1895), P. Mattot (art teacher at a primary school in Brussels) (Mattot 1897) or Véron De Deyne (instructor at a secondary school in Ypres) (De Deyne 1897) the 'projections lumineuses' were again practised in teaching. And the Ligue sacerdotale et laïque internationale pour les conférences populaires [international clerical and laical league for popular lectures], created in Brussels in 1897, also started to use the optical lantern (Convents 1992, 30).

As already mentioned above, French and Belgian Catholics created projection services because, by the first decade of the twentieth century, they believed in the power of projected images and the propagandistic effects that could easily be achieved with relatively modest investments, since the slide sets could be used over and over again. Some, such as Van der Viviere (1902, 6), were bitter that their adversaries had been cleverer and had employed lantern projections first. An appeal was even published to spy on them to better understand how they organised their 'harmful' projections ("Ligue de défense religieuse par les projections" 1903). The opening speech of the 4<sup>th</sup> congress of the Œuvres catholiques de Projections in Paris in February 1908 was titled 'Review of the year: the lectures given by our enemies and by us' ("Le prochain congrès des projections" 1908, 4). It seems that they were especially jealous of the 'professional association of the freethinkers' (Lemaire 2013, 323) as they called the freemasons: 'the visual propaganda is one of those that the freemasons use so freely; its incomparable advantage is to penetrate through the eyes into the brain in a form which

is etched into the memory: here we have to honour the intelligence of our adversaries.’ (Spronck 1908, 28)

During the same period, the Belgian anticlerical opposition was less successful: the project to turn Belgium into a secular state failed, because the liberal government (1878–1884) was soon replaced by one in which the Catholics did and would keep the majority (1884–1914). It put a stop to, and reversed, many reforms, and attacked ferociously the ‘enemies’ which in later years even formed a coalition, ‘the Cartel’, but had to wait until the end of the First World War to see the defeat of the Catholic Party. Nevertheless, the Belgian Catholics had seen their French brothers losing political power, sometimes even their jobs. Fearing that this would also happen in their country, they looked for instruments that were successful in France: propaganda in words and pictures.

In their religious journals they sowed the fear that the enemy was everywhere and could only be beaten by permanently influencing and thus desensitising the population against the ‘manipulative grip’ of their adversaries. They also propagated regular lantern lectures as one of the most effective methods, as they had seen this with, for example, the *Société républicaine des conférences populaires* (Republican society for popular lectures) and other anti-religious associations whose strategy it was to disseminate knowledge everywhere in the country to undermine the influence of the priests (see Lemaire 2013, 323).

Studying the slide sets and lectures for rent at Le Rayon, it is obvious that the Church wanted to do likewise. In their catalogue, about half of the topics concern educational material which could be considered not specifically religious, but which a good lecturer could use in a religious perspective: ‘give lectures on all kinds of subjects with the intention to turn each one into a lesson on apologetics. You will find them everywhere.’ (Abbé Merlent 1908, 13)

It can be stated with certainty that the Belgian clergy learned the art of projection from their French brothers in faith. French authors such as Abbé François-Napoléon-Marie Moigno (*L’art des projections* [*The art of projection*]), Albert Molteni (*Instructions pratiques sur l’emploi des appareils de projection* [*Practical instructions on how to use projection apparatuses*]) or Pierre Hyacinthe Fourtier (*La lanterne de projection, Les tableaux de projections mouvementées, Les positifs sur verre* [*The projection lantern, moving slides, glass positives*]) wrote early handbooks, as did the director of Maison de la Bonne Presse, G.-Michel Coissac, who published his *Projections lumineuses. Conseils pratiques sur l’organisation des conférences et la manipulation des appareils par un praticien* [*Projections. Practical recommendations on how to organise lectures and handle apparatuses by a practitioner*] in 1905 with Casterman in Tournai, Belgium and a second edition in 1907 with Paillart in Abbeville, France (Radiant 1906, 178). The French religious journals regularly published instructions on how to produce slides (“Fabrications de Vues sur Verre pour Projections” 1903). Also, they offered practical advice and indicated important literature to read. Moreover, the intense propaganda by *L’Ange des projections lumineuses* and *Le Rayon* for the lantern must have influenced their Belgian readers as both made sure that the clergy was well aware of the potential impact and persuasive power of ‘projections lumineuses’. For Belgium, we have not yet found an equivalent journal in which to check how far the Belgian opinion shared the French ideas on the efficiency of the illustrated lectures or ‘voordrachten met lichtbeelden’. At this moment of our research, we can only presume that

the 'local border traffic' worked well for those Belgian parishes which were not far from the slide distribution centre in Roubaix.

### Two slide sets in the Belgian Robert Vrielynck collection

With few exceptions the French 1911 catalogue reproduced in *Le Rayon* does not contain propagandistic lectures against those who fought for the separation of State and Church – Liberals, Socialists, and Freemasons – or who formed the 'Contre-Église' (counter-church) – as Protestants, cultural associations, Jews and adherents of 'pagan' religions were also considered enemies by the Catholic clergy on both sides of the border. These kinds of slides had to be self-made, unlike those manufactured by specialised producers such as La Maison de la Bonne Presse and distributed by services such as Le Rayon. For this final section, in which we will discuss slides from Catholic projections in Belgium, we have selected several from the former category, to be found in the Robert Vrielynck collection held by the Museum of Contemporary Art (M HKA) in Antwerp. Other specimens can certainly be found in collections such as KADOC in Leuven, but as we are still at the beginning of a four-year-research project we have not yet seen many of them.

What can be said about the 8.5x10cm slides in the Vrielynck Collection? One set is drawn with ink directly on the glass plate, probably reproducing some sketches on paper; the other one shows black and white photographic reproductions of documents (posters, drawings by a certain 'Zoot', montages, photographs) copied onto the glass plate by photographic means. Both are without protective glass and address a Flemish-speaking audience of both the middle-class and workers. The first slides were probably made for inhabitants of Aalst, Antwerp, Brussels, Mons and Namur as names of politicians from these agglomerations are quoted in the illustrations, the other for the population of Ghent. Most slides must have been made for the elections of 2 June 1912; others could have been used whenever a talk was needed to fight political adversaries (the majority of the images aggressively attack them directly). The producers are unknown but could have come from Wallonia as many poster texts were translated into Dutch, printed on paper, cut out and glued on the poster to cover the French inscriptions of the originals. They might originally have been from the region of Mons, given the many names of surrounding villages on one of the slides (see [Figures 7 and 8](#)).

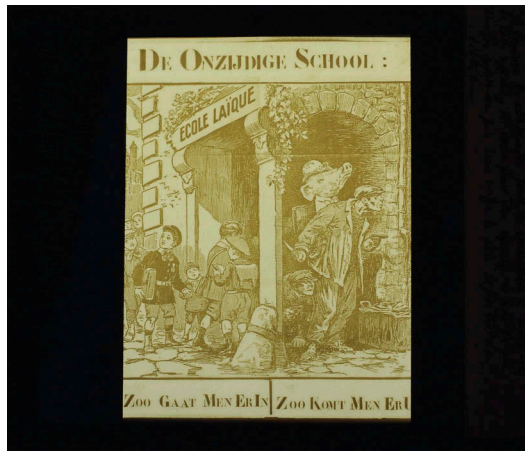
These slides address one principal concern of the Catholic Church: the unspoiled minds and souls of children. Many articles in *Le Rayon* and *L'Ange des projections lumineuses* worry about the youngest, which they argue the clergy should protect at any cost, as otherwise their imagination would be influenced by anti-clerical groups. In the campaign for the Belgian 1912 elections, teaching in school played an important role as the opposite political parties fought for their rights to educate the children in their own way. While some political parties were in favour of a 'neutral' school without religious or other spiritual elements (*école laïque*), religious groups were fighting for catechist classes, the pious morning song, the cross on the wall and other insignia holy to them.

Other slides used in the campaign visualise how Catholic circles thought about their 'enemies' – Socialists, Liberals, Anarchists, Freemasons, Jews – and how they disseminated their prejudices in hateful audio-visual attacks with the projection lantern (see [Figures 9–11](#)). They manifest a denigrating tone and repulsive language close to how





**Figure 7.** Lantern slide: 'They shall not get it, the Pure Soul of the Child.' (Robert Vrielynck Collection; courtesy M HKA).



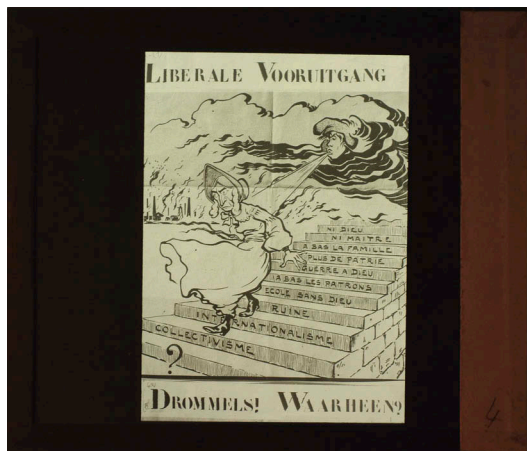
**Figure 8.** Lantern slide: 'The state school: this is how they enter, this is how they leave.' (Robert Vrielynck Collection; courtesy M HKA).

reactionary French forces spoke of, for example, the 'socialistic worker [as] eater of priests' or the 'fat Freemason [as] apoplectic and full' (Manquat 1908, 45).

These polemic slides seem an illustrated manifestation of the following statement which must have influenced the priests: 'They [the enemies] use it [the lantern] as a magnificent war machine to attack truth and disseminate error; on our side, we should use it to unravel error and disseminate truth.' ("La Lutte" 1903, 67) One could read these images as an operationalisation of what the editorial board of *L'Ange des projections lumineuses* had in mind when

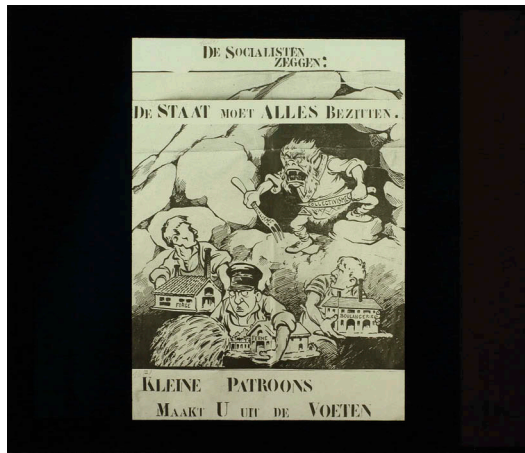


**Figure 9.** Lantern slide: 'The Freemasons will wear out their teeth on the cross ...' (Robert Vrielynck Collection; courtesy M HKA).



**Figure 10.** Lantern slide: 'Liberal progress. No God. No master. Down with the family. No fatherland. War against God. Down with the bosses. School without God. Downfall. Internationalism. Collectivism? For God's sake! Where do you go?' (Robert Vrielynck Collection; courtesy M HKA).

they called upon their readers to protect 'religious truth' by leading the 'fight between good and bad, between the Church and Satan' ("La Lutte" 1903, 65, 67). They show the horror that would await the population if the satanic enemies got the majority of votes in the 1912 elections; that is, the illustrations addressed those who were still undecided. On the other hand, they were also destined for Catholic circles as the messages confirmed prejudices they had heard from an early age in (Sunday) schools, churches and Catholic organisations for the



**Figure 11.** Lantern slide: 'The Socialists say: the state needs to possess everything. Small businessmen: get out!' (Robert Vrielynck Collection; courtesy M HKA).

youth. The second thought was more relevant to Wallonia, where socialist ideas were stronger, whereas in Flanders the Catholic ideology had the upper hand. While in conservative Flanders the Catholic Party was relatively certain to win the (relative) majority in most of the regions and was eager to leave as few votes as possible to others, numerous Catholics working in the Walloon industrial zones probably needed these polemic lantern shows, their organisers believed, as a protection against the influence of other political opinions. To present them to socialists, liberals or the supporters of the 'Cartelists' (an electoral alliance between the Liberals and the Socialists for the 1912 elections) would have caused immediate and vehement protest.

The Catholics were aware of the potentially counterproductive effect of their venomous and calumnious agitation against the other (non-religious) groups of the pillarised and polarised Belgian society, as an annotation on the 'neutral school' slide says: 'As the enemies make a scandal about this poster, it would probably be better not to show it to avoid having them play the role of the alleged victim.' It would be interesting to analyse slides that were made by the other political parties to see whether their discourses were as violent as those shown here, but we have not found any items yet. Our guess is that they probably counter the attacks on the same language level.

## Conclusion

In the period we have examined here, the French population was c. 38 million people, of which (in 1906) about 35 million were Catholics (Abbé Montillet 1906, 167), while the Belgian population was about 7.2 million, of which c. 97 percent were baptised Catholic (Kossmann 1976, 213). It is not surprising that the Catholic Church thought itself entitled to speak for the entire population, although several thousands were also Freemasons, or atheists, or were members of the Liberal and Socialist parties or did not care at all who

rescued the ‘pure soul’ of their children. As the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was marked by fights about political power and the sovereignty over knowledge, the lantern as propaganda tool was generally welcomed by the quarrelling parties in both countries. The Catholic Church had a long pictorial tradition in teaching catechism and the Gospel, they knew about the power of the image to ‘instruct, support in praying and mediation’ (Convents 1992, 23). The lantern was a practical instrument to teach religious ideas, preach Catholic ideology to several hundred spectators at a time and to also reach the illiterate part of the population in the clerical fight against the enemies of the Church in both countries.

## Notes

1. Belgium and Germany also share a border and have other things in common, so it would be interesting to analyse whether there were any relations between the two countries with respect to the use of the lantern. One might assume, for instance, that the Belgian clergy bought or rented slides and equipment from the Catholic Lichtbilderei GmbH in München-Gladbach (created in 1909). Just the language question may have played a major role in the clergy’s choice of where to look for material.
2. The words ‘adversaries’ and ‘enemies’ appear frequently in the Catholic journals we consulted; we use them to stress the seriousness of this Catholic attitude.
3. The French term ‘œuvre’ in this context refers to all sorts of initiatives organised by the Catholic Church to deal with practical as well as religious, moral, social or philanthropic matters. A 1963 encyclopaedia defines an ‘œuvre’ as an ‘entreprise à but religieux, moral, social, philanthropique [...] admin. ecclési. Fabrique d’une paroisse revenu affecté à la construction, à la réparation des bâtiments, à l’achat et à l’entretien des objets nécessaires au service divin [organisation dedicated to religious, moral, social, philanthropic activities [...] Church administration: a parish workshop for construction or repair of buildings or acquisition and maintenance of objects necessary for divine service]’. (*Grand Larousse encyclopédique en dix volumes*, vol. 7, Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1963, 914) This was necessary in France as the separation between State and Church forced the latter to create numerous œuvres to take charge of its property (see Castella & Villiger 1966, 139–140). The word is often translated as ‘charity, charitable organisation’ which does not cover all the facets of the French term.
4. The present study is based on the analysis of several French Catholic journals dating from 1902 to 1914 that were accessed online on Gallica, the digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
5. For more information on the laicist lantern lectures see Rozinoer (2016).
6. Excerpt from *Journal de Roubaix*, 4 July 1908, quoted in “Chronique du mois” (1908).
7. It is unclear whether this was the first Œuvre with a projection service in France. On the history of projection services in France see a report by the French Canon (Chanoine) Desgranges (1909, 31–32) on a lecture given by Abbé Portier. Thanks to Adeline Verry and Natalija Majsova for sharing this source.
8. A third Catholic media journal, *Le Fascinateur*, was founded by the Parisian Maison de la Bonne Presse in 1903 to convince those who were against religious slide lectures (Véronneau 2007, 26–27).
9. See “Œuvres” (1903, 65). They offered among others ‘youth associations of all kinds for country and city [...], instrumental and vocal music, study circles [...] evening choirs, ethical press [bonne presse], parish bulletins, libraries, lectures, lantern projections and phonographic presentations, family evenings, [...] syndicates for peasants and workers, rural funds [caisses rurales], cooperatives or assistances, support for children and young people’ etc. The author states: ‘There is such a huge arsenal where everybody can find the weapon fitting his strength and his setting.’

10. L'Œuvre des Projections was the common name of the organisation; its official name was Œuvre des Conférences & Catéchismes (announcements in *Le Rayon*, no. 10, 25 October 1906), and it was also called the Œuvre des Conférences et des Catéchismes avec projection (*Le Rayon*, no. 10, 25 October (1906), 141).
11. Alfred Lemoine (14 October 1856 in Crèvecœur-sur-Escaut – 5 July 1933 in Lille), priest since 1883, then parish priest in La Rouillies (1889) and Marpent (1895) before he was chaplain in Tourquoi (1898–1900). In his function as parish priest in Haveluy (1900–1902) he created the Œuvre de l'enseignement religieux (catéchismes et conférences) par les projections lumineuses which became functional when Lemoine moved to Roubaix in 1902. Here he opened a 'centre for expedition and exchange' of slides and equipment. In 1907, when he became the official director of the Œuvre, he opened a branch in Lille. For more on Lemoine see Caudron (1990), 319; biographical information on Lemoine is taken from this book.
12. This statistic is based on issues of *Le Rayon* between September 1906 and February 1907 as the issues before and after are missing from the Gallica online library. We selected cities which seemed promising as to their size and frequency of lectures.
13. The Œuvre sent out Vues de Projection (slides and texts for lantern shows) as well as Pièces de théâtre (stage plays), both considered to effectively support the priests in their work with the community (see e.g. "Mgr Delmaire et l'Enseignement Religieux par les Projections" 1906, 126). For numbers of subscribers and illustrated lectures (figures available only from 1907 to 1910) see Lemoine, January (1908), 6–7 (for 1904); "Mgr Delmaire et l'Enseignement Religieux par les Projections" (1906), 126 (for 1905); "État de l'Œuvre au 1er Novembre 1906" (1906) and "Congrès des Catholiques du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais" (1906), 157 (for 1906; slightly different figures are given in "Nouvelles de notre Œuvre" (1906), 174); [Lemoine] January (1907), 1 and [Lemoine] February (1907), 18 (for 1907); Lemoine, January (1908), 6; Lemoine, April (1908), 51; "Chronique du Mois" (1908), 107 (for 1908); Merlent (1910), 6 (for 1910). For the conferences see "Mgr Delmaire et l'Enseignement Religieux par les Projections" (1906), 126 (winter 1905–1906); [Lemoine], February (1907), 18 (for 1907); [Lemoine], February (1908), 18; Lemoine, March (1908), 33; Lemoine, April (1908), 49 (for 1908); Lemoine, February (1909), 18 (for 1909, only lectures, number of subscribers is not given); Abbé Merlent (1910), 6 (for 1910).
14. With Abbé Lauwick the Œuvre also acquired a second manager. The address of the Projection Service in Roubaix was 33, rue du Vieil-Abreuvoir; the Lille branch was situated at 5, rue des Poissonceaux (see cover of *Le Rayon. Catalogue (1911) des Séries de Vues de Projection [...] Règlement de l'Œuvre Diocésaine des Projections. Renseignements pratiques 1911*). Lille had a somewhat different choice of slide sets; it was seen as a storehouse, where one could pass and take the material personally; only the main office in Roubaix sent out material (see the section 'Règlement 1910–1911 de l'Œuvre Diocésaine des Projections' in the Catalogue).
15. Most sources call him Georges-Michel Coissac (20 February 1868, Chamboulive (Corrèze) – 16 February 1946, Saint-Maur-des-Fossés), but historian Jacques Malthête discovered personal documents which state that his given name was Guillaume-Michel. According to Christel Taillibert (2001), he gave illustrated lectures for the Société d'instruction populaire before he was hired by Maison de la Bonne Presse in 1892. Francis Bolen (1975) states that with his knowledge in optics he quickly became head of a projection service, which he started in 1895 to support his employer in his efforts to 'promote the Christian word by the interpretation of several periodicals'. He was responsible for *Le Fascinateur* published between January 1903 and August 1914.
16. Paul Féron-Vrau had bought the institution in 1900, just before the 'Assomptionnistes' (Augustins de l'Assomption) had to give it up due to the new 'Loi sur les associations' (Law on associations; see "Congrès de 'La Croix'", 1909, 1). The correspondent praised the effort made by its dynamic young director (Coissac) to combine religious faith with commercial sense. For more information on Paul Féron-Vrau (17 May 1864, Lille – 17 February 1955, Lille) see Caudron (1990, 236–237).

17. The information on *Le Rayon* is taken from a slide in the collection of Musée de la photographie in Charleroi; the advertisement of Maison de la Bonne Presse was found in *L'Avenir de Luxembourg*, 25 March 1910, 3.
18. B-magic's four work packages address 14 separate studies which will reveal how specific Belgian interest groups worked with the lantern; we therefore hope to soon know more about the provenance of the slides they employed.
19. See "Mgr *Delamair*e et l'Enseignement Religieux par les Projections" (1906), 126; Advertisement for Diocèses de Cambrai et d'Arras (1906), "Congrès des Catholiques du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais" (1906), 157; Lemoine, January (1908), 6; Lemoine, April (1908), 51; "Un exemple à suivre" (1908), 91; "Chronique du Mois" (1908), 107.
20. The topic analysis is based on "Chronique du mois. Séances de projections données avec nos vues" (1906), 184–185 and other lists published in the following years.
21. The statistic is based on *Le Rayon. Catalogue (1911) des Séries de Vues de Projection* (1910).

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