

**PICTURE THIS: HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CALENDAR IMAGES
AND THEIR DOCUMENTARY LEGACY, 1913-1970**

BY

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A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Degree Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Andrea M. Paci

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of
Master of Arts**

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Abstract

Between 1913 and 1970, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) produced an annual calendar which it distributed free of charge through its department stores, fur trade posts, and various administrative offices. While quantities varied from year to year, on average the HBC sent out one hundred thousand of these calendars on an annual basis. Calendars, of course, are not unique to the Hudson's Bay Company. Mass-produced calendars first appeared in the United States in the middle part of the nineteenth century, and with advances in the printing trade and distribution networks, they quickly became popular tools in the advertising industry.

Now catalogued in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives Documentary Art Collection, the Company calendar is a popular and often-used visual resource. This thesis undertakes an archival analysis of the HBC's calendars by examining the functional context of their creation. In recent years, archivists have been exploring various aspects of information about the provenance of archival records, since this information is essential to the records' care and use. The more archivists and their clients know about the complex contexts which have shaped records, the more meaningful the records will be.

One feature of this contextual information about the history or provenance of records which has received increased attention of late is functional context. By examining in greater depth the functions records creators perform, archivists help foster new ways of understanding the records in their custody. This is

especially important and challenging for visual materials in archives, since oftentimes their context of creation has been ignored and is therefore difficult to determine, existing largely outside the visual record itself. The manifestation of this general archival problem is particularized at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) and is the subject of the final chapter. A review of the archival legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company calendars concludes with suggestions for enhancing archival services by employing a wider range of contextual information about these colourful visual documents.

Extensive research in Hudson's Bay Company archival records situates the HBC calendar program within the broader history of the Company's twentieth-century business operations, most notably its efforts to enhance its public relations activities in the half-century leading to its 300th anniversary in 1970. The HBC's calendars, though created by different artists and Company officials and representing a wide range of historical situations, generally conform to a consistent portrayal of the HBC as an institution with an honourable past, one intertwined with and contributing at many key points to the overall progress of Canada. The discourse of the calendars simultaneously reinforced the Company's present day power and authority, and thus its commercial interests. Consequently, the calendars need to be seen not so much as 'pictures of history', but as expressions of the HBC's corporate identity and ideology.

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Andrea Paci
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Introduction

One of the most important components of an archivist's work in describing and making available records for research use is the exploration of their context of creation. Understanding provenance, particularly the functional origins of records, has recently been foregrounded by leading archival theorists, including Tom Nesmith and Terry Cook, who have argued convincingly that attention be given to studies of record contextuality. Provenance information about records enables archivists and users of archives to situate records in meaningful contexts of interpretation by linking them to their processes of origination. The traditional focus of provenance in archival work has been the person (for personal records) or the office of origin (for institutional records) which inscribed them. Although knowledge of the functions performed by persons and institutions has been an important feature of information about the influences upon records creation, typically functions have simply been listed in archival descriptions, rarely analyzed carefully. In this thesis, I intend to explore the complexities of function more fully than is usually done in archival work by studying the Hudson's Bay Company's advertising and public relations function of producing its annual calendar. Following the suggestion of Joan Schwartz of the National Archives of Canada, I propose that a fuller understanding of functional context involves seeking knowledge of the authors, purposes, messages, and audiences by which records were shaped.¹

¹ Tom Nesmith, "Hugh Taylor's Contextual Idea for Archives and the Foundation of Graduate Education in Archival Studies," in Barbara Craig, ed., *The Archival Imagination: Essays in Honour*

However, exposing the provenance of records and articulating their context of creation are not easy tasks, particularly if the records under consideration are of a visual nature. Documentary art, photographs, and other examples of visual media have had a long history of neglect in the archival profession. Frequently conceived as the 'poor cousin' of the textual record, visual images are, more often than not, relegated to a lower stratum of archival significance. The standard approach to visual images is tidily captured in the following remarks contained in T.R. Schellenberg's influential 1965 manual on the management of archives:

Information on the provenance of pictorial records in some government agency, corporate body, or person is relatively unimportant, for such records do not derive much of their meaning from their organizational origins. Such information is useful mainly in helping to interpret pictures – to identify the time and place at which they were produced and the subjects to which they relate....Information on the functional origins of pictorial records is also relatively unimportant....Pictorial records, as well as cartographic records, are mainly important from the point of view of their subject matter, not from the point of view of their provenance and functional origins.²

Regrettably, this narrow perspective on visual records and functional context has been the dominant one in the archival field. Still, it has not gone unchallenged. In the past two decades, archivists such as Joan Schwartz of the

of Hugh A. Taylor (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Archivists, 1992), 13-37; Tom Nesmith, "Introduction," in Tom Nesmith, ed., *Canadian Archival Studies and the Rediscovery of Provenance* (Metuchen, NJ & London: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 1993), 1-28; Terry Cook, "From Information to Knowledge: An Intellectual Paradigm for Archives," *Archivaria* 19 (Winter 1984-85), 28-49; Joan M. Schwartz, "'We make our tools and our tools make us': Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics, and Poetics of Diplomats," *Archivaria* 40 (Fall 1995), 40-74.

² T.R. Schellenberg, *The Management of Archives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 325. Schellenberg was a prominent American archivist whose writing has had a lasting impact upon the profession.

National Archives of Canada have made a concerted effort to better situate photographs and other visual materials as archival documents. In her thought-provoking article,³ which won the 1995 W. Kaye Lamb prize as the year's best submission to *Archivaria*, Schwartz counters Schellenberg's approach to visual records:

Because photographs [/visual images] are an integral part of the means by which governments and businesses communicate legislation, implement policies, and "manufacture consent," and because photographs [/visual images] convey, in a non-verbal way, the ideological context of values and beliefs that inform and animate official policies and practices, they constitute an important interface between institution and individual. To see them only as supporting or narrative documents is to employ a typology both inappropriate to the nature of the document and ineffective as a measure of value.⁴

Clearly, one of the problems which contemporary archivists must overcome is the tendency to view visual records as 'documentarily' neutral and functionally irrelevant. To this end, archival professionals are encouraged to identify, evaluate, and communicate the characteristics of these documents by returning them to their broader context of production, purpose, and use.

In this thesis, I propose to undertake such a return to functional context with a specific body of images contained in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Catalogued in the HBCA's Documentary Art Collection (P-378 to P-452, and P-695), the Calendar Series includes seventy-six images, most depicting momentous events in the Hudson's Bay Company's past.

³ Schwartz, as above, footnote 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

The HBC calendars were created in the course of the Company's twentieth-century efforts to construct a positive corporate identity, one founded simultaneously on historical tradition and modern influence. First produced in 1913, the annual calendar became a powerful public relations tool used to promote the Company's business interests. More than just 'pictures of history', the HBC calendar images are in fact significant statements about corporate values, and complex illustrations of authorial intent. While the Hudson's Bay Company stopped issuing calendars in 1970, the year that it celebrated its 300th anniversary, the circulation of these visual images did not cease. To fully appreciate the importance of these documents of visual communication, my thesis will survey the landscape of the HBC's calendar program, investigate four critical components of functional context, and draw attention to their documentary legacy.

The foundation upon which this analysis rests is the original records now in the custody of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. A wealth of material concerning the administration of the 'historical series' of HBC calendars has been preserved in the HBCA's vaults within the Provincial Archives of Manitoba. Correspondence, policy files, minutes, reports, and other examples of primary text-based sources have played an instrumental role in my research into this important aspect of the Hudson's Bay Company's public relations past. They have also served to frame my reading of the HBC calendar *images*, which, though not text-based in a traditional sense, can fruitfully be understood as 'texts'. The significance of this perspective lies in the recognition that the

calendar pictures are not just illustrations of historic events; they are also 'cultural texts' employing a complex visual language to construct a favourable image of 'The Bay' in the Canadian consumer's imagination. As such, the Hudson's Bay Company calendar images have constituted an influential form of public relations discourse.

I have also consulted an array of secondary sources, including analyses drawn from the disciplines of archival studies, art history, cultural studies, Canadian/American/European history, and photographic history/criticism. A brief review of key works which have had particular relevance to this study will help to place the ensuing discussion in context. I preface these remarks by disclosing the fact that no historical, archival, or other study has been written which analyzes the HBC's calendar images. Furthermore, although a great many studies of the early history of the Hudson's Bay Company have appeared, very few works chronicling its operations in the twentieth century have been published to date. Of this limited output, Peter C. Newman's popular history of the Hudson's Bay Company's "merchant princes"⁵ is probably the best known. Still, while epic in terms of narrating the "story" of Canada's oldest business enterprise, it is extremely limited from an archival standpoint, owing to the absence of discussion of the Company's records.

Less well known, but far more significant in relation to my study, is Peter Geller's M.A. thesis, "Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade: The Hudson's Bay Company, Public Relations and *The Beaver Magazine*, 1920-

⁵ Peter C. Newman, *Merchant Princes: Company of Adventurers Volume III* (Toronto: Penguin Books Canada Ltd., 1991).

1945.” This work analyzes “the various images that the Hudson’s Bay Company developed of itself, of its history, and of its relationship with native peoples,”⁶ primarily through the medium of the HBC’s house journal, *The Beaver*. As the first detailed study of Hudson’s Bay Company visual images, specifically photographs used by the HBC in various guises, Geller’s groundbreaking thesis relates these documents to the promotional efforts of the corporate PR department. Geller also shows how *The Beaver* magazine editors, as selectors and framers of visual images, were keenly aware of their symbolic possibilities, and of the way in which they contributed to the building of a corporate image.

Another notable contribution to the literature which addresses the Hudson’s Bay Company in the modern era is David P. Monteyne’s M.A. thesis, “The Construction of Buildings and Histories: Hudson’s Bay Company Department Stores, 1912-26.” It examines the HBC’s early twentieth-century department store building program, and in the process, reveals a significant link between company architecture and representations of its history. Noting the contours of the Company’s representational strategies, Monteyne demonstrates how the image of the HBC urban shopping emporium, in all its ‘historicist cladding’, served to present the HBC as a central force in western Canadian culture: “Working and shopping in the HBC department stores, people could associate themselves with powerful histories of colonialism and frontierism evoked by the style, sites, interior arrangements, and events staged in the

⁶ Peter G. Geller, “Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade: The Hudson’s Bay Company, Public Relations and *The Beaver* Magazine, 1920-1945,” (M.A. Thesis: Department of History, University of Manitoba/University of Winnipeg, 1990), i.

buildings.”⁷ While this study focuses on a very specific type of visual ‘record’, that of the department store building, the larger context of corporate image construction can be readily applied to an analysis of archival visual documents.

A third M.A. thesis, Deidre Simmons’ “‘Custodians of a Great Inheritance’: An Account of the Making of the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, 1920-1974,” must also be mentioned. A product of the University of Manitoba’s Archival Studies Programme, this work stands as the only comprehensive review yet of the HBC’s Archives Department. A theme which receives considerable attention in this archival analysis is the HBC’s recognition of the value of its history, most notably as a public relations asset. In consequence, those sections which address the various measures pursued by the Hudson’s Bay Company to attain its marketing and cultural goals for its archives have been particularly useful in my own research.

In addition to these valuable histories of contemporary Hudson’s Bay Company activities, two other works from the broader field of historical analysis have influenced my thesis. David E. Nye’s illuminating study of industrial image construction at General Electric, in which the corporation’s monumental photographic archive is deconstructed to reveal GE’s multiple image audiences (including company management, workers, and consumers), is the first critical monograph to address the use of visual images in business.⁸ A more recent

⁷ David P. Monteyne, “The Construction of Buildings and Histories: Hudson’s Bay Company Department Stores, 1912-26” (M.A. Thesis: School of Architecture, University of British Columbia, 1995), 99.

⁸ David E. Nye, *Image Worlds: Corporate Identities at General Electric, 1890-1930* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985).

exploration of visual imagery in business, Roland Marchand's *Creating the Corporate Soul*, provides a detailed survey of public relations tactics employed by an array of American commercial entities in the early decades of the twentieth century. It charts the evolution of this "great variety of stratagems and initiatives as one major company after another discovered the need for a more favourable and distinct corporate image and more self-conscious public relations."⁹

Similar campaigns were carried out simultaneously on the Canadian business landscape, as I hope to establish in connection to the Hudson's Bay Company in the chapters which follow. I will begin by situating the HBC's calendar pictures within the larger universe of twentieth-century social and cultural developments, and within the context of the Hudson's Bay Company's business operations of the past hundred years. Emphasizing the shift from fur trade-centred activities to a diversified business portfolio (with substantial interests in land, minerals, natural resources, and in particular, retail), I will note how the Company's evolving approach to capital accumulation was linked to the formation of public relations strategies. During the early decades of the twentieth century, the Hudson's Bay Company actively promoted its 'glorious history' to better manage its sometimes turbulent business climate. Through a variety of means, the Company's past was translated into a marketable commodity to bolster its contemporary operations. The HBC's department store construction program, its anniversary celebrations (particularly the 250th anniversary events in 1920), the launch of *The Beaver* magazine, the production of Company history

⁹ Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 4.

books, the establishment of its archives in London, and the incorporation of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, are just some of the most notable history-minded ventures which the HBC initiated. For the purposes of this study, however, the production of HBC calendars featuring images of historic past events, another activity in the Company's public relations arsenal, will be foregrounded.

Chapter 2 will turn to a study of the calendars themselves as documents. It will focus on four critical components of functional context: author, purpose, message, and audience. HBC Head Office and Canadian Committee Office files will be mined for information pertaining to the creation of selected calendar pictures, for indeed, those who commissioned the calendars, artistically authored such works, wrote captions, compiled copy, and distributed them, all need to be recognized as co-creators of the calendars in this documentary process. By studying select cases, I will demonstrate how these visual documents, like written or textual documents, were created as instruments in the HBC's public relations toolkit and used to fashion particular attitudes and perceptions. Throughout this portion of my thesis it will be implied that, as embodiments of HBC principles and beliefs, the calendar images need to be recognized as mediated representations of reality, as "product[s] of a series of decisions; created by a will, for a purpose, to convey a message to an audience."¹⁰

The third chapter will examine the archival legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company calendar images, and discuss the popularity of these colourful documents for research use. The Calendar Series is the most widely reproduced

¹⁰ Schwartz, 55.

body of visual records in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives' holdings, and selections from the series have been used to illustrate countless history books, magazine articles, and documentaries, and are prominently featured on both the Hudson's Bay Company's and the HBCA's Web sites. To counter the tendency to approach images as discrete items and as objective representations of an assumed past reality, I will argue that visual images, particularly painted historical re-enactments, must be understood within their context of creation and use, as the purveyors of multiple, often contradictory meanings and messages. I will conclude this section by offering a number of suggestions to promote a context-driven approach to archives.

A brief conclusion will provide a summary of the general themes discussed in the preceding chapters, and emphasize the enduring relevance of the contextual approach to archives. It is my hope that this thesis will contribute, however modestly, to the recent important work of archivists, historians, and cultural theorists who have begun to give the visual archive the critical attention it so richly deserves.

Chapter 1

Pictures of History: Hudson's Bay Company Calendars, 1913-1970

The origins of the Hudson's Bay Company calendars, unfortunately, have been obscured by the passage of time and by the absence of records addressing the early years of the calendars' production. Surviving documents indicate that the calendars were spearheaded by the HBC's Salesshops/Stores Commissioner, Herbert Edward Burbidge. A former executive at Harrod's department store in London, Burbidge began his career with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1910, and in his position as Commissioner for the Company's burgeoning department store business, aggressively campaigned to market and promote the retail trade.¹

The Hudson's Bay Company, in its bid to make a significant entry into the urban retail business, seized upon the idea of distributing calendars as a means of boosting consumer awareness of the Company's activities. Having steadily advanced on the retailing front since the 1880s, the push into metropolitan markets was a distinctly more modern effort in comparison to the HBC's fur trading business. Possibly both to alert the public to its renewed efforts in

¹ To remain a vital player in the rapidly expanding Canadian west, which was undergoing marked changes as a result of immigration and industrialization, the Hudson's Bay Company found it necessary to broaden its fur trading and land selling enterprise to encompass retailing activities. By the first decade of the twentieth century, the increased pace of settlement, combined with advancements in telegraphic and transportation facilities, had encouraged steady growth in the Company's salesshops. In 1911, in order to bring the HBC's organization into accord with these changed conditions, the business was divided into three departments: Land, Salesshops, and Fur Trade. At the same time, in order to modernize the store business and bring it up to date, an elaborate department store building program was commenced. New premises were erected at Vernon, Kamloops, and Calgary, plans were quickly put in place for a new facility in Vancouver, and renovations were targeted for Winnipeg, Fort William, and Victoria. As David Monteyne notes in his study of the HBC's department store building program, the hallmark of this construction campaign was a uniform style of architecture which was carefully selected to provide a consistent look in all the Hudson's Bay Stores across western Canada.

merchandising, and also to reassure individuals that the Company had not lost touch with its roots, Burbidge introduced a large format wall calendar in 1913. Emblazoned with the Hudson's Bay Company's name, and subtitled 'The Great Traders of the Great West', the theme of 'Old Time and New Time Trading' was carried out in the medley of illustrations showing the HBC's evolution from fur trade posts to fashionable department stores (see Figure 7, p. 84). Widely distributed through the various branches of its business, this calendar served to promote the Hudson's Bay Company as a grand institution with a noble past.

Certainly, the use of calendars was well established by this time. It is believed that calendars as specialty advertising items² first appeared in 1845, when an insurance salesman from Auburn, New York decided to attach calendar pads to his firm's printed business announcements in the hopes of reaching a broader audience.³ In Canada, the Toronto Art Students' League began publishing an annual calendar in 1892 to promote its activities and showcase members' work. C.W. Jefferys, who created the Hudson's Bay Company's 1928 calendar image, was the individual responsible for devising the Toronto Art Students' League's souvenir timepiece.⁴ Another example of a history-oriented

² In more recent time, mass produced specialty advertising articles have included ash trays, baseball caps, bottle openers, coffee mugs, fridge magnets, memo pads, mouse pads, pencils and pens, rulers, shopping bags, and t-shirts, to name just a few. Alongside the calendar, these promotional items are ubiquitous accessories in our brand name, product-saturated consumer culture.

³ Stanley M. Ulanoff, *Advertising in America* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1977), 421-22.

⁴ His decision in 1896 to impose a special theme for each year's offering, in order to unify the production, possibly set an example for other calendar producers to follow. Motifs for the League's calendar included "Canadian Water-Ways" (1897), "Every-Day Life of the Past in Canada" (1899), "the Impress of the Century on the Land and its Peoples" (1900), and "Canadian

calendar produced in this country was issued in 1898. Designed and executed by the Toronto Lithographing Company, and sponsored by the Minister of Agriculture in Ottawa, this offering featured a month by month listing of noteworthy incidents taken from Canada's past.⁵

During the nineteenth century, progressive developments in the printing trade enabled mass reproduction of image and text, greatly assisting the communications and advertising industries, among others. Lithography, the process of printing in volume using a stone base with grease crayon, ink, and paper, was discovered by Aloysius Senefelder, a German dramatist, in 1796. It enabled a variety of shades and colours to be reproduced for the first time. Photography was the next pivotal advancement, and led to the development of the half tone process, whereby images were photographed through a fine screen, then mass-produced in printed form. By the end of the nineteenth century, photomechanical reproduction methods and colour screening radically altered the printing business.⁶

Village Life" (1901), among others. In these theme-based selections one can see the template for the Hudson's Bay Company's historical calendar images. See Robert Stacey, *C.W. Jefferys* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1985), 13.

⁵ A copy of the *Historic Days of Canada* calendar has been catalogued in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives library (Paper and Pamphlets, PP 7104). The twelve monthly pages feature colourful illustrations and drawings depicting crests, flags, forts, prominent personages, shields, and ships. Dates of voyages, discoveries, battles, occupations, surrenders, treaties, commissions, conventions, and the births, deaths, and appointments of 'great men' are also noted.

⁶ Ted Herriott, with an introduction by A.J. Casson, *The Canadian Heritage Label Collection* (Mississauga, ON: Purpleville Publishing, 1982), 64; Estelle Jussim, *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York and London: R.R. Bowker Company, 1983), 342.

Initially, lithographers worked in black and white, since each application of colour required a separate stone. It wasn't until the appearance of zinc plates in the 1840s that the commercial possibilities of lithography were recognized and put to use in the production of posters, labels, and popular prints. In the latter market, the work of the American duo Nathaniel Currier and J. Merritt Ives was especially popular, their chromolithographs illustrating scenes of everyday life and newsworthy events.⁷ In Canada, pioneering lithographic firms included the Rolph-Clark-Stone Company, the Toronto Lithographing Company Limited, and the Southam Printing and Lithographing Company. As businesses discovered the promotional value of printed advertisements, the printing trade underwent rapid expansion.⁸

By the turn of the twentieth century, many young artists were supporting themselves by working in the art departments of the thriving lithographing and engraving houses. While there was a certain stigma attached to this commercial work, most would-be painters had few alternatives. As the Canadian illustrator

⁷ The production of art prints began in the mid-nineteenth century, with such firms as Currier and Ives staffing artists to create original designs for lithographic reproduction. Lavishly engraved renditions of famous paintings were marketed by art unions and printmakers, and turn-of-the-century magazine publishers offered reproductions of paintings and illustrations which were suitable for framing. See Michele H. Bogart, *Advertising, Artists, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 238. This so-called 'democratization of the image' to which Walter Benjamin alludes in his seminal essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Production," allowed members of the middle and lower classes to fill their surroundings with cheaply produced visual copies. See Benjamin in James Curran, Michael Gurevitch, and Janet Woolacott, eds., *Mass Communication and Society* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1977), 384-408.

⁸ Herriott, 64.

Franklin Carmichael once proclaimed, “in this country an artist has three choices open to him: he can teach, he can go commercial – or he can starve!”⁹

Admittedly, working conditions in the commercial studios were often difficult, but apprenticeships in such firms did provide a thorough training in printing and its related industries, including the preparation of litho stones, mixing of materials, blocking in letters, retouching photographs, and engraving plates. Typography and silk screening could also be learned. The work was frequently routine, consisting of endless catalogue layouts, but the discipline required to turn out sufficiently creative and ingenious product generally benefited these artists' later careers. “Many artists working commercially in Toronto, during the 1890's came together artistically and socially in the Toronto Art Student's League. Such painters as Fred Brigden, W.J. Thomson, Charles Manly, Robert Holmes were the pioneers of a truly Canadian School of painting. Members of the League were the first artists to consciously attempt to portray subjects unique to Canada.”¹⁰

Many artists found that painting pictures for calendars and art prints was a lucrative component of their artistic careers. In the United States, Maxfield Parrish produced paintings for full-colour calendars commissioned by such companies as Edison-Mazda Lamps and General Electric. The latter business selected the themes of its early calendars, “but by 1923 Parrish had arranged not only to choose his own subjects but also to market his original designs as art

⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

prints at year's end. Parrish received \$5,000 for his 1922 calendar painting *Venetian Lamp Lighter*. By the late 1920s, his fee for calendar paintings was \$10,000."¹¹

As most of the earliest HBC calendar reproductions do not bear the marks or signatures of their creators, it is likely that they were executed by artists employed in local lithographic firms. HBC Stores Commissioner Herbert Burbidge, who shifted his base of operations numerous times during his decade of service to the Company, moved between Winnipeg, Calgary, and Vancouver. He quite possibly assigned the calendar image production to commercial art enterprises in each of these cities, depending upon where his office was situated at any particular time. Given the prominence of Brigden's of Winnipeg, which recruited an enviable cast of aspiring and established local artists, including Eric Bergman, Newton Brett, and Charles Comfort, this firm may have designed some of the early calendar illustrations.¹² Since none of the original paintings from this time have survived in the HBC's corporate art collection, it is also apparent that the lithographic companies which prepared the calendars held on to, or otherwise disposed of, the original artwork.¹³

¹¹ Bogart, 237. As is evidenced by the 'Calendar Record' reproduced in Appendix A, the artists who were commissioned by the HBC received considerably smaller sums for their work.

¹² See Angela E. Davis, "Laying the Ground: The Establishment of an Artistic Milieu in Winnipeg: 1890-1913," *Manitoba History* 4 (Autumn 1982), 10-15; Davis, "The Hothouse of Canadian Art: A 'Golden Age' at Brigden's," *The Beaver*, February-March 1988, 37-47; and Ferdinand Eckhardt et al., *150 Years of Art in Manitoba: Struggle for a Visual Civilization* (Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1970). The WAG has a collection of records from Brigden's Winnipeg branch, and while an analysis of this material fell beyond the scope of my investigation, such a review would undoubtedly shed light on the local commercial art scene in those pivotal early years.

¹³ Alfred Cooke & Sons of Leeds (England) had been engaged to manufacture the Company's calendars issued between 1918 and 1921, though contact with the firm in 1951 revealed nothing about their production. All that could be ascertained was that the picture for the 1918 calendar, of

The HBC's Stores Commissioner in Canada was also a motivating force behind the Company's 250th anniversary plans. As early as 1918, Burbidge wrote to London to ask about arrangements being considered for the upcoming event. Though London postponed serious planning for another year, Burbidge wrote back with many suggestions of his own. One of these included a dedicatory calendar to be illustrated with pictures of every HBC Governor, "from Prince Rupert down to Sir Robert Kindersley."¹⁴ Evidently the necessary photographs or prints of all the HBC Governors could not be obtained from London, as hoped, and Burbidge was forced to scale back his proposal. In the end, the HBC's calendar for 1920, the year of its 250th anniversary, featured an illustration of Prince Rupert (see Appendix C, P-384). This image of the Company's first Governor was made from a seventeenth-century portrait owned by the HBC and thought to have been painted by Sir Peter Lely.

The employment of historical imagery to illustrate the Company calendar was by now an institutionalized approach. A litany of 'firsts', subjects for the HBC's early calendars included the Battle of Seven Oaks, 1816; the signing of the HBC Charter, 1670; the voyage of the first Hudson Bay expedition (the *Nonsuch* at sea); the building of the first fort; the first public sale of furs; Indians visiting Fort Charles (the first fort), 1673; Prince Rupert (the first Governor); the

the fur sale at Garraway's Coffee-house, was done by a "Mr. Ernest North," an artist who worked in water colour and who "died many years ago." Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter cited as HBCA, PAM), unclassified RG9 file: Calendars – Correspondence and Historical Data (2), J. O'Brien, Director of Alf Cooke Limited, to Messrs. Lloyd's, 28 Aug. 1951. The image was later reproduced in colour in the HBC's 250th 'Anniversary Brochure' (actually a leather-bound volume), but an investigation undertaken by the HBC's archivist in London, involving communication with the people who made the illustrations for this 'brochure', turned up nothing. *Ibid.*, 10 Oct. 1951.

¹⁴ HBCA, PAM, A.12/S Misc./402, fos. 21-25, Burbidge to Ingrams, 8 Jan. 1918.

discovery of the Coppermine River by Samuel Hearne, 1771; the landing of the Selkirk settlers at Red River, 1812; Fort Vancouver erected in 1825; and 'Kelsey sees the buffalo', 1691 (the first European in this line of sight).

Other historic images graced the Company's calendars in their initial two decades: the 'Ceremony of the Pipe'; Fort Prince of Wales, 1734; the ships *Prince Albert* and *Prince Rupert* in Hudson Bay, 1845; Red River carts leaving Fort Garry, 1863, and the S.S. *Beaver* in Victoria harbour, 1846. George Simpson, that 'Caesar of the Wilderness' who headed the Company's North American operations between 1821 and 1860, formed the subject of not one but two of the HBC's early calendars (1926 and 1932), and was featured again in a depiction of the Northern Department Council Meeting at Norway House in 1836, which was issued one hundred years later. Amidst this onslaught of 'firsts' and other auspicious events, it is hardly surprising that there would also be a 'last', and it came in 1931 when a painting by Charles Comfort entitled the 'Last Dog Train Leaving Fort Garry, 1909' was used on the HBC's calendar for that year.¹⁵

By this time, the administration of the annual calendar was under the direct supervision of the HBC's governing board in Canada, the Winnipeg-based Canadian Committee. In preparing works to illustrate these yearly offerings, the Canadian Committee staff followed a relatively consistent pattern. Artists deemed suitable to execute such historical paintings would be contacted by the Company and queried as to their interest in an HBC calendar commission, the time that would be required, and the cost that would be involved. If the response

¹⁵ For a full record of HBC calendar titles, see Appendix B, "HBCA Documentary Art Collection – Hudson's Bay Company Calendar Series" listing.

was a favourable one, the Company proceeded to supply all the necessary reference material, after which the artist would submit a number of thumbnail sketches showing the proposed design. Once the details of layout and composition had been negotiated, work on the finished painting followed. Correspondence with the artists was, by the early 1920s, undertaken by the Company's editors of *The Beaver* magazine, since the historical work involved in issuing this 'journal of progress' meshed well with the required calendar subject research.

With the appointment of Douglas MacKay as *The Beaver* editor and general HBC publicity manager, the administration of the annual calendar program received a greater degree of attention than it had previously been accorded. Soon after joining the HBC's service in 1933, MacKay established a general policy whereby a list of approved calendar subjects would be maintained on file at all times. As new subjects occurred to the Canadian Committee staff, the list would be updated and expanded. MacKay also decided that a calendar picture subject to be painted was to be settled upon no later than the first of January two years prior to the calendar year. Furthermore, he required that the painting of said picture be arranged no later than 30 April two years prior to the calendar year. These policies were to go into effect immediately.¹⁶

The calendar policies were revised in 1940, under the direction of Frank Ryan, who had been hired in 1938 to fill the vacancy caused by the untimely

¹⁶ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, memo from Douglas MacKay to Philip Chester, HBC General Manager, 21 Sept. 1934.

death of Douglas MacKay.¹⁷ Ryan's statement of operating procedures held that the "historical series" approach to the annual calendars would be continued until the contrary was dictated by the Canadian Committee, which had the ultimate authority in this regard. Taking into account the departure from past practice which occurred in 1940 when the calendar image was a contemporary colour photographic "enlargement from a kodachrome taken by miniature camera by Miss Lorene Squire,"¹⁸ of Inuit in Pangnirtung, Ryan stipulated that such exceptions to the "historical series" would prove this rule. For the series to succeed in defining the HBC corporate image for employees and the public, Ryan believed that the Company should always have on file a list of at least six to ten appropriate subjects, these subjects to be approved by the Canadian Committee. Furthermore, as was the case when Douglas MacKay administered the calendar program, the subject had to be settled no later than the first of January two years prior to the calendar year. By December, there were to be a minimum of two completed paintings for calendar subjects in Hudson's Bay House, which meant a minimum of one painting commissioned per year. All paintings had to be owned outright by the Hudson's Bay Company, including copyright.

¹⁷ MacKay was killed in an airplane crash on 10 January 1938. His wife Alice MacKay took over her husband's editing duties at this time, and continued to do so for the next year and a half, until she accepted a position with James Richardson and Sons, Limited. In 1939 Clifford Parnell Wilson, who had originally been hired to reorganize the Company's Historical Exhibit in the Winnipeg retail store, was appointed to oversee *The Beaver*, in addition to handling other public relations functions including historical research. See HBCA, PAM, RG2/38/71; HBCA Biography Sheet for C.P. Wilson.

¹⁸ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, Frank Ryan to C.C. Ronalds, 17 Jan. 1940.

In terms of the calendar's size and format, past practice was also maintained, since the standard established "some years ago" was deemed the most satisfactory. The actual work of producing the calendar was carried out by a chosen lithographic firm. A list of "first-class Lithographers"¹⁹ was to be maintained in a separate "Tender file," and only these companies would be invited to bid, since policy further dictated that the calendar would always go to tender. Ryan explained: "This is very important. We have no axe to grind with any Lithographer, and the principle to be followed is that the lowest tender gets the order; consequently we must never ask any firm to bid whose ability to do a first-class job is doubted in any way."²⁰ Tenders for printing were to go out by 1 January (or twelve months prior to the calendar's year of use). This policy ensured competitive pricing, it was believed, since at this time lithographic firms were generally at their lowest ebb of business and consequently offered better rates than usual.

Other aspects of calendar policy were developed in the months following Frank Ryan's February memorandum, including the placement of department-specific advertising on the calendar itself. A suggestion made by the manager of the HBC's Wine & Spirits Division, that calendars being distributed in the U.S. make reference to "Best Procurable" and HBC Jamaica and Demerara rum, was considered, and it was eventually decided that the 1942 calendar would carry

¹⁹ Ibid., memo from Frank Ryan, 19 Feb. 1940.

²⁰ Ibid.

advertising copy on the liquor division and Frosted Foods Division calendars.²¹ The matter of advertising on the HBC calendars, though, was not a new policy. In previous years, calendars issued by the Land Department featured the following print on the face of the calendar: "FARM LANDS FOR SALE. Local sales solicitors at all important centres. For information apply local sales solicitor or Land Department, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg." Calendars for the Fur Purchasing Agencies were also provided with small slips which were inserted in the tin edging at the top of the calendar, bearing the local agency address and the message that "When you have raw furs for sale ship them to the above address and be assured of best prices and the quickest possible payment."²²

Not everyone agreed with this approach to institutional advertising. Clifford Wilson for one believed that any printing on the calendar detracted from its appearance. Summarizing the requests made by the Frosted Foods and Wine & Spirits divisions, Wilson suggested to the General Manager²³ that "[t]his, of course, is the thin edge of the wedge, and I suppose the Wholesale Department will want advertising also, if they know the Wine and Spirits Division are getting theirs."²⁴ While Philip Chester approved of the divisional messaging, he did consider it unnecessary to have any advertising for the retail stores on the calendars. This conclusion is somewhat curious, especially considering the fact

²¹ Ibid., memo to Frank Ryan, 18 Oct. 1940; memo from Clifford Wilson, 21 Feb. 1941.

²² Ibid., memo from Clifford Wilson to Philip Chester, 10 Feb. 1941.

²³ Philip Alfred Chester began his career with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1923 as an accountant. He was later promoted to the positions of General Manager for Canada (1930-1946) and Managing Director (1946-1959). See HBCA, PAM, RG2/38/20-21.

²⁴ Ibid., 14 Feb. 1941.

that more than half of the calendars printed each year were distributed through the HBC's department stores.

During the Second World War, the threat of possible paper shortages caused the Canadian Committee executives to deliberate about the future of the HBC calendar. Clifford Wilson argued that the calendars were definitely a "luxury article," and that there was little excuse for publishing them in the midst of wartime rationing. Frank Ryan, who at the time was in charge of the HBC's publicity and public relations, also considered it advisable to discontinue the calendar "because this would be the best evidence to a hundred thousand people or more that the Company was retrenching, saving paper, etc. Too, the discontinuance of it for the duration of the war might have a good moral effect."²⁵ In consultation with the HBC's Canadian General Manager, they decided to poll the different departments concerned. All respondents expressed the view that the calendar should be continued. A memorandum from the Wholesale Department manager noted that "the calendar is in great demand and is an excellent piece of advertising for the Company which it would be hard to duplicate by any other means."²⁶ His counterparts in the Fur, Land, and Retail Stores departments similarly touted the calendar's value as an institutional advertising vehicle. With these viewpoints registered, the Canadian Committee concluded that since there was no shortage of paper and that there was such a demand for the calendar, it would be produced as usual.

²⁵ Ibid., extract from letter, Frank Ryan to Clifford Wilson, 8 May 1942.

²⁶ Ibid., memo to General Manager, 15 Oct. 1942.

While the Company's management of its calendars was reviewed on an annual basis, no changes were thought necessary until 1948, when the arrival of John de Burgh Payne as Public Relations Officer for the Canadian Committee Office occasioned an examination of Company practices. At this time, a new policy was articulated whereby Department Heads were to remind staff that only HBC calendars could be displayed on Company premises. While somewhat authoritarian, this regulation certainly functioned to sideline the competition.²⁷

Another occurrence in 1948 affected the Company's approach to its calendars. While on a visit to London in the spring of that year, Philip Chester had a discussion about the calendar with HBC Head Office staff. Company Secretary Arturo Reynolds suggested that should the calendars be printed in the U.K., a considerable monetary savings could be realized. The Governor reacted keenly to this idea, and so encouraged his London agents to arrange to have one or two "appropriate subjects" painted which would then be submitted officially to the Canadian Committee for its comments.²⁸

On reviewing the suggestion back in Winnipeg, however, John de Burgh Payne, then charged with undertaking "the constructive aspects of internal and external public relations,"²⁹ calculated that any calendars imported from England

²⁷ The theme of keeping the competition at bay has been endlessly repeated throughout the Hudson's Bay Company's extensive history. The seventeenth-century struggles for supremacy with the French, the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century battles with North West Company traders, and the twentieth-century store wars with its retail rivals Eaton's, Woodwards, and most recently, Wal-Mart, have all contributed to the Company's competitive outlook. For a discussion about how the HBC adopted an ornamental building design to set its grand department store buildings apart from competing businesses, see Monteyne, especially 95-97.

²⁸ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, extract from letter, Reynolds to John de Burgh Payne, 1 June 1948.

²⁹ HBCA, PAM, RG2/38/87, copy of memo from P.A. Chester, 30 April 1947.

would be subject to an 8% federal sales tax, as well as import duties. When the difficulties of ensuring timely deliveries were factored into the equation (particularly to the Fur Trade depots in Montreal and Winnipeg, which required a stock of several thousand calendars before the end of May each year for shipment to the Company's far northern posts), Payne concluded that the recommendation to print calendars in England was simply impractical. As an alternative to the London secretary's printing plan, he argued in favour of having paintings, preferably scenes of ships, commissioned by London for the Canadian Committee's use. Ever mindful of the bottom line, Payne added that "such a scheme would save valuable dollars."³⁰

Despite John de Burgh Payne's firm resolve on this issue, the Canadian Committee experienced a change of heart, and in 1949 accepted London's entreaties to have the 1951 calendar produced in Britain, subject, of course, to several conditions. For starters, the contractual arrangements for printing would have to be undertaken according to the CCO's specifications. Secondly, delivery had to be made on time, particularly for those calendars destined for the North. The balance was to be shipped to Winnipeg by the first week of November 1950. In addition, deliveries had to be arranged so that ample time would be provided for customs clearance. Finally, all identifications were required to conform to Canadian import laws. In Canada, it was noted, calendars for export had to bear the imprint "Made in Canada," so there were undoubtedly similar obligations in the U.K.

³⁰ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, Payne to Arturo Reynolds, 5 July 1948.

The staff in London proceeded to form a small committee so that a selection of appropriate subjects could be made, and that names of well-known artists could be considered. After the necessary deliberations, a list of three subjects was agreed upon: (1) "One of the visits of members of the Committee to the Company's ships anchored in the Thames at Gravesend, and presentation of despatches to the Captains prior to their departure for Hudson Bay," to be painted by R.A. Thomson; (2) "Capture of interloping vessel by Captain Nehemiah Walker of the chartered ship 'Diligence' in Hudson Strait 1683," to be executed by Charles Cundall; and (3) "Governor Simpson entertains H.R.H. Prince of Wales at Lachine, August 1860," as portrayed by H.S. Williamson.³¹ While the conception of these images was undoubtedly heroic, the finished renderings, though "painted with a view to reproduction as calendars, in vivid and contrasting colours,"³² were surprisingly weak. After a lengthy exchange of trans-Atlantic letters, the Canadian Committee was forced to decline diplomatically these English 'masterpieces'. Perhaps recognizing defeat in its apparent attempt to co-opt Winnipeg's calendar program, the London board henceforth limited its involvement in this public relations business to the occasional expression of praise.³³

³¹ HBCA, PAM, unclassified RG9 file, Calendars – Correspondence & Historical Data (2), London Secretary to the Canadian Committee, 8 Feb. 1949.

³² Ibid.

³³ In a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Canadian Committee, the HBC's Governor relayed the following commendation: "We were delighted with the Calendar and interested and pleased to see that [Franklin] Arbuckle has been selected again. Our attempt to get a good action picture in this country, suggested by Phil Chester, was, as you remember, a great failure and I have been stirring up various people – the President of the Royal Academy and others – to see whether it is possible to produce something comparable with what you can get in Canada." HBCA, PAM,

In 1954, under direction from Frank Walker,³⁴ Clifford Wilson revised the Company's calendar policies, as laid down in February 1940. There were two clauses which were thought to be in need of updating. The first concerned the size and format of the HBC calendar. Since most calendars were hung in kitchens, and since most 'modern kitchens' had lower ceilings than their predecessors, it was considered advisable to reduce the depth of the calendar, to have the paintings made of horizontal, rather than square or vertical, proportions. The second clause that demanded revision was of a housekeeping nature, and concerned the deadline for settling upon the annual calendar subject, and the date when it had to go to tender. The phrase "two years prior to the calendar year," wrote Wilson, "has always been regarded as a misprint for "one year prior etc." In other words, we ask for tenders in January, 1954, for the 1955 calendar."³⁵ While revision of the design of the HBC calendars was contemplated at this time, a change in physical form and appearance was not introduced until 1961.

RG2/8/1280, extract from letter, [P.A. Cooper] to J.E. Woods, 16 Jan. 1951. Woods' reply betrayed a well-developed colonial mentality: "I think as long as we can continue to produce calendars of a quality of those of the past few years, we should hesitate to make a change. Paintings produced by Canadian artists I believe are more in keeping with the taste and demands of the Canadian people. I mean by this that I think our Canadian artists are more of the commercial artist type. Their work is not as finished or as deep as that of the British artists, but I guess we have not progressed far enough as yet in our appreciation of art to be able to understand the difference in quality between the work done by a member of the Royal Academy and the work done by a Canadian artist." Ibid., extract from letter, J.E. Woods to the Governor, 26 Jan. 1951.

³⁴ Frank Bigley Walker joined the HBC "as an Executive Assistant to assist Mr. [John] Payne, more particularly with that wide field of work which, for want of a better term, is called Public Relations." HBCA, PAM, RG2/38/120, P.A. Chester to HBC managers, 1 Feb. 1951.

³⁵ Ibid., Clifford Wilson to Frank Walker, 8 March 1954.

Feeling increasing pressure from the London board to streamline operations and curtail unnecessary spending, Managing Director Philip Chester made inquiries of his staff in 1956 regarding the comparative cost of the calendars over the previous three years. It was reported that for 1954, 1955, and 1956, the quantities of calendars produced, and their total cost, were as follows: 150,500 calendars at \$23,400, 142,800 at \$25,000, and 148,500 at \$22,900. This worked out to an average cost, per calendar, of 15.5, 17.5, and 15.4 cents. These costs were charged to the various operating departments, which created a small net loss to the Canadian Committee Office. Reflected as a percentage of the average for the three years under consideration, the numbers show the following quantity breakdowns: Department Stores: 47%, Interior Stores: 11%, Fur Trade Posts: 20%, Wholesale Department: 9%, and the Canadian Committee Office '& Other': 13%. The latter distribution included quantities designated for schools in the western provinces (10,500 in 1956), SW Africa (500), Fur Sales (960), London (1,750), and Buying Offices (1,250). Another 3,240 were earmarked for Hudson's Bay Record Society subscribers, complimentary designates, and a built-in/carry-over for late requests.³⁶

Armed with these figures, Chester proceeded to assess the relative merits of the Company calendar by having Frank Walker invite the heads of the various operating units to comment on the subject. To help focus the discussion, a survey was sent out in March of 1956 which included the following questions: (1) Do you consider the present calendar an effective public relations and

³⁶ Ibid., F.W. Watkins to Philip Chester, 29 Feb. 1956.

advertising medium? (2) Do you consider the present Company wall calendar to be too big for use in the average home? (3) Do you think the Company should continue to use paintings of past historic events in its calendar? (4) Do you think the Company should feature paintings of present day happenings, such as Indians and Eskimos trapping, Eskimo life, etc.? (5) Appreciating that it would be more expensive, would you prefer a calendar with several pictures rather than one? (6) Have you any comments, for or against, the Company's present calendar?³⁷

As the calendar survey results made clear, the consensus of opinion in all departments dictated that the calendar should definitely be continued since it was regarded as an effective public relations and advertising medium. There was the odd naysayer who argued that the calendar was a waste of money, and felt corporate funds could be better utilized to pursue public relations goals in other guises, but in 1956, this view was not widely held. The use of historical pictures was also favoured. The one nod to modernity was the shared belief that the calendar should be smaller and that the format adopted be more up-to-date. The latter recommendation, that the calendar be changed in size and format, necessitated the preparation and submission of calendar 'dummies' which the department heads and the Canadian Committee proceeded to review.³⁸

The responses to these queries that were received at the CCO altered the appearance of the HBC calendar for the remainder of its limited life, as did the

³⁷ Ibid., F.B. Walker to HBC General Managers, 1 March 1956.

³⁸ HBCA, PAM, RG2/10/9, Canadian Committee Minute 5396, 29 March 1956.

turnover of staff in the Company's executive offices. By the end of 1957, with the departure of Clifford Wilson from the Company's service, the task of coordinating the annual calendar business fell to Frank Walker and Maurice Roper.³⁹ These 'hard boiled' managers resisted Wilson's antiquarian and pedantic approach to PR, and chose instead to promote a more aggressive view of corporate communications.

The most notable change in management to affect the future direction of the HBC calendars occurred at the very top of the CCO's organizational chart. With the retirement of Philip Chester, who had presided over the Hudson's Bay Company's Canadian operations for close to half a century, a younger and more outward-looking figure assumed the leadership role. Richard (Dick) Murray took control in the autumn of 1959, and in short order requested that business activities, including public relations, be reviewed. Under consideration in the PR arena were the HBC's 'Brief History' brochure, the pictorial map (used to illustrate the Company's 1955 calendar), its charts of fur bearing animals, and the annual calendar, all of which the Canadian Committee Office supplied to school children, teachers, and interested organizations and groups. Acknowledging the demand for these items, Frank Walker stressed the rising costs associated with their production and called into question their utility. The calendar, in particular, warranted careful consideration, since in his opinion it was "expensive, heavily

³⁹ As Advertising Consultant and Advertising Manager, Maurice Roper served the Hudson's Bay Company between 1955 and 1960. See HBCA, PAM, RG2/38/97.

subsidized by C.C.O., and of dubious value.”⁴⁰ To further his argument, Walker supplied figures to the Managing Director which drew attention to the considerable expense involved in producing the calendar. For example, in 1959, the costs of printing, tubes, and shipping amounted to \$23,388.84, and with the artists’ fees to produce two paintings (\$1,000), as well as Company time and salaries, the total price rose to roughly \$27,000.⁴¹

It was obvious that another broad survey of Company opinion was in order. In his memo to the HBC’s department heads, Richard Murray called attention to the evolutionary nature of “what might be called Public Relations,” supplying as an example the increasing demand placed on companies to make donations to such worthy causes as university fund-raising campaigns. “When new charges of this kind come along,” he continued, “it is useful to look at some of our present expenses to see if they can be reduced.”⁴² The two suggestions for possible reductions were *The Beaver* and the Company calendar. Regarding the former public relations item, although deemed expensive, it was thought to possess a very special relationship to the Company’s history and character, and in light of its high calibre, Murray said it would be continued.⁴³ The merits of the large company calendar, on the other hand, were not so obvious. The

⁴⁰ Ibid., F.B. Walker to J.R. Murray, 12 Nov. 1959.

⁴¹ Ibid., 23 Nov. 1959.

⁴² Ibid., 27 Nov. 1959.

⁴³ Not everyone agreed with this assessment. N.H. Abramson of the Retail Stores Department noted that “From the stores [sic] point of view the calendar probably represents a better public relations media than the Beaver since it reaches more of our customers directly and is subjected to a more constant viewing.” Ibid., memo to J.R. Murray, 17 Dec. 1959.

Company's incoming director emphasized how changing societal trends, especially in connection with modern home design, had called into question the utility of the HBC's type of calendar as against the small desk or table variety which had gained popularity in recent years. Drawing upon Frank Walker's accounting of associated costs, Murray concluded his departmental message with an entreaty for his staff's views on the subject of continuing the calendar.⁴⁴

These opinions were subsequently summarized by A.R. (Rolph) Huband, Canadian Committee Secretary, who noted that of all the departments which replied, only the Retail Stores managers were in favour of carrying on. The arguments against the calendar repeated some previously made points (that the cost was substantial, there were increasing difficulties in obtaining suitable calendar paintings, and the style and format made the calendar too large for modern kitchens). The critics added the notion that the majority of people who received the calendar were also reached by other forms of Company advertising. The arguments in favour stressed that in relation to the Company's overall advertising budget, the cost of producing the calendar was reasonable. Furthermore, it was one of the few institutional advertising projects aimed directly at the Company's customers, rather than at special groups. Should the calendar be discontinued, supporters reasoned, those very same customers would miss it.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., Huband to Murray, 20 Jan. 1960.

Rolph Huband, who, as Canadian Committee Secretary, had taken over the administration of the calendar following Frank Walker's resignation from the Company in 1959, concluded his memorandum to J.R. Murray by casting his vote with the 'against party': "I believe that cost and production problems will continue to increase and that any delay in discontinuing the calendar would be merely postponing the inevitable. I do not believe that the Company would lose a single customer by discontinuing the calendar."⁴⁶

Huband moderated his view slightly when he issued another note to Richard Murray several months later. In this revised statement of the arguments 'for' and 'against' the Company calendar, Huband added three important points to the 'pro camp': the calendar was unique to the Hudson's Bay Company; none of its competitors had one; and its public relations and advertising value lasted 365 days of the year. If the calendar was to be maintained, wrote Huband, then it should be a continuation of the 'historic series', as this was what distinguished the HBC calendars from all others. It was also the feature most overwhelmingly endorsed by departments in the Canadian Committee's 1956 survey. Still, while most people believed it would be "nice" to retain the Company calendar, the CCO's secretary "recommend[ed] reluctantly that it be discontinued."⁴⁷

Despite these clearly stated reasons to abandon the Company's calendar program, Murray and the Canadian Committee board members opted to forge ahead. At a meeting held in Winnipeg on 26 May 1960, they "decided that as the calendar is unique to the Company among Canadian department stores and the

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 20 April 1960.

cost is not great in relation to our total advertising budget, its production should be continued.”⁴⁸ The board did approve a basic change in format - the calendar was thereafter to consist of three sheets each carrying a colour photograph - at a meeting held the following year. For the 1962 calendar, it was decided that “the geographic extent of the Company’s operations in Canada would be shown against an interesting historical setting,”⁴⁹ and the photographs would depict the former residence of Sir George Simpson at Lachine, Quebec; Fort Prince of Wales at Churchill, Manitoba; and Fort Langley in British Columbia.

As a consequence of this adoption of the three-sheet format, the Company’s calendar policies were rewritten in March of 1961. The Canadian Committee’s memorandum on the subject declared that the reasons for this change were threefold: (1) it had become virtually impossible to commission “decent historical paintings” at an acceptable fee any longer; (2) a single photograph, however good, was believed to grow stale in the viewer’s eyes before the year was out; and (3) it was no more expensive to produce three full-colour sheets than one sheet with a calendar pad stapled on. The photographs used to illustrate these pages were to be of sites connected with the Company’s history, with the three selected each year spread as widely as possible across Canada. In this way, the images would help stress the Company’s nation-wide character. Beginning in 1962, a line of text printed across the bottom of the calendar was also intended to underline the extent of the HBC’s operations. This information was included each year, with the figures and statistical data updated

⁴⁸ Ibid., Canadian Committee Minute 6381, 26 May 1960.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Canadian Committee Minute 6485, 2 Feb. 1961.

accordingly. As in previous years, the Canadian Committee was to give final approval for the calendar's design and choice of pictures, preferably by mid-January.⁵⁰

The revised policies stipulated that the Company's specifications for its calendars were to be sent out to a selected group of printing firms by the end of January, one year in advance of the calendar's issue, and that tenders should close no later than the end of February. Jobs would be awarded to the lowest bidder, bearing in mind a \$1,000 margin of preference granted to Winnipeg companies over firms based in Toronto or Montreal: "This margin is based on the saving in shipping costs, the saving in time and money through being able to deal directly with the printer, and the value of the calendar job, which represents more than 4,000 man-hours of work, to Winnipeg's economy."⁵¹ Furthermore, it was to be clearly understood by the printer that owing to the prestige of the Company, only 'top quality' work was acceptable. These high standards (including printing in six colours on 160M stock, No. 1 offset) were expected to be carried through in the distribution of the calendars as well. Regardless of any difficulties encountered during the production phase, the printer had to guarantee that approximately 5,000 calendars would be delivered by 1 June for shipment to the HBC's arctic posts. Bulk calendars, the memorandum added, should be shipped flat.⁵²

⁵⁰ HBCA, PAM, RG2/10/9, Calendar Policies Memorandum, 9 March 1961.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

Despite the Canadian Committee's well-intentioned efforts to modernize, right from the outset, the publication of the HBC calendars featuring contemporary photographs was greeted with disappointment. This reaction was reflected by J.J. Wood, the manager of the Northern Stores Department's Moose Factory outlet, who observed that "almost without exception, regret has been expressed over and over again by...customers that the Company has apparently discontinued its series of paintings based on our past history."⁵³

Accordingly, the Canadian Committee again revised its calendar policies to accommodate the desire for a return to the historical picture motif. Beginning in 1965, a two-sheet booklet format would be adopted, with three original paintings incorporated into the design. The calendar was to be printed in both French⁵⁴ and English on a slightly heavier paper stock than previously (200M stock was specified), and tenders would be on the basis of four colours (colour separations of the three original paintings to be done individually). In other respects, the production specifications remained the same, though the margin of preference given to Winnipeg companies was reduced from \$1000 by half.⁵⁵

The opponents of the Company calendar, though, could not be silenced. In a letter to the Canadian Committee secretary, the Company's Calgary Store

⁵³ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, 23 Jan. 1961.

⁵⁴ In the latter half of the 1950s, the HBC made a slow but steady advance into previously untapped markets in eastern Canada. The pace of this advancement was markedly stepped up in 1960, when the Company acquired a majority share in the interests of Morgan's, a Montreal-based department store chain. To disseminate the Company's name in this newly acquired commercial territory, the Canadian Committee Office commenced in 1956 to produce a version of the annual calendar in French for distribution to parts of eastern Ontario and Quebec. See RG2/8/1280, Hugh Sutherland to the Fur Trade Dept. General Manager, 8 March 1956.

⁵⁵ Ibid., Calendar Policies memorandum, 7 Feb. 1966.

manager voiced his opinion that the continued use of the HBC calendar in “this modern age” was out of character with the progressive business that the Company aimed to be. “In some ways it classifies us with garages, implement dealers, and the girlie type of organization,” he wrote, “and can only appeal to a very limited group in any Canadian city.”⁵⁶

With sentiments such as these, the calendar’s future was only too clear. In 1970, the year of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s 300th anniversary, the HBC issued its last historical calendar. Featuring three colour sketches by the well-known British artist Ronald Searle, it was thought to be a fitting ‘Swan Song’ to the Company’s 58 years of calendar production. In the words of then HBC public relations assistant Laird Rankin, “What could you do as an encore?”⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Ibid., extract from letter, 15 March 1965.

⁵⁷ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1281, 2 May 1969.

Chapter 2

Not Just Pictures of History: An Analysis of Functional Context

In Canada's 'total archives' tradition, the acquisition of records in all media, including visual images, has been a hallmark of Canadian archival institutions for more than a century. The National Archives of Canada, for example, began collecting archival material in all media at the time of its creation in 1872, and first acquired documentary art in 1888. Systematic acquisition of visual media dates from 1906 when Dominion Archivist Arthur Doughty (1860-1936) was authorized to expend money on the collection of paintings, drawings, prints, and other visual records of historical interest. In this year as well, a separate Picture Division was established.¹

The 'total archives' approach is not without its problems. Terry Cook, for one, has commented that the way in which 'total archives' has been implemented has led to a fragmentation of the archival whole (and, in turn, an erosion of the principle of provenance) because the various media have tended to be appraised and described in isolation from one another, sometimes by separate media oriented units of an archives.² The widespread adoption of 'total archives' in this country, however, has meant that Canadian archival repositories possess a rich array of multi-media records. Even Cook acknowledges "the greater aesthetic

¹ Jim Burant (compiler), *Documentary Art and Photography Division*, General Guide Series (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1992), 2.

² See Cook's article, "The Tyranny of the Medium: A Comment on 'Total Archives'" in Tom Nesmith, ed., *Canadian Archival Studies and the Rediscovery of Provenance* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1993), 403-13.

and visual appeal of a painting, map, or photograph compared to a page from a government file or private letter [which] has allowed archives to reach out through exhibitions and publications to a much wider audience than the traditional elite clientele of scholars.”³

In the context of the ‘total archives’ tradition in Canada, visual images have a legitimate place as archival documents. This acceptance of visual sources, though, has not resulted in a broad-based understanding of the need to study their contextual origins. All too often, visual records have been wrenched from their functional context and forced to act out a multitude of decorative roles. In these repeated transformation scenes, while visual images perform ‘spectacularly’,⁴ their *raison d’être* is masked to the point where their original purpose becomes completely obscured. In this scenario, they lose their integrity as archival documents.

To maintain or re-establish that documentary character, we must rethink the nature, production, and purpose of visual images, and in so doing, situate the records in their functional context. In this chapter, the body of visual images being considered – namely, the HBC calendar pictures issued between 1913 and 1970 - will be analyzed in terms of four crucial aspects of documentary context:

³ *Ibid.*, 404.

⁴ The literature addressing the role of spectacle in modern society is extensive, and includes such notable works as Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York, Zone Books, 1994), Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), and Thomas Richards’ *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990). See in particular Jay, Chapter 7, “From the Empire of the Gaze to the Society of the Spectacle: Foucault and Debord.”

who were the *authors* of the HBC calendars/calendar images, what was their *purpose* in creating them, what were the *messages* being conveyed, and who constituted the *audience* to whom those messages were directed.⁵

Authors

It is clear from a review of the Hudson's Bay Company calendars and their affiliated textual records that authorship of these works was multiple. It is perhaps helpful to think in terms of 'patron' and 'artist'. The patron, of course, was the Hudson's Bay Company, specifically the Canadian Committee Office located in Winnipeg, Canada. The artists included mostly Canadian illustrators and 'fine artists', though on occasion British artists were commissioned.⁶ The one and only female artist was actually an American photographer, Lorene Squire, indicating an obvious gender bias in the calendar image production.

During the initial years of the calendar program, the HBC 'director' appears to have been the Salesshop (retail stores) Commissioner Herbert E. Burbidge. Following his enforced retirement from the Company's service in 1921, it is likely that stewardship of the HBC calendar was passed on to the

⁵ Schwartz, 55.

⁶ These included John R.C. Spurling, an illustrator employed by the Blue Peter Publishing Company in London (his painting of two HBC sailing ships, taken from an old sketch published in *The Illustrated London News* in 1845, was used for the Company's 1927 calendar; see HBCA, PAM, A.102/2690), and the marine artist Norman Wilkinson, who produced five calendar pictures for the HBC, in addition to other paintings which were added to the Company's art collection. Both Spurling and Wilkinson were contracted by the HBC since management believed their Canadian counterparts were not well enough advanced in this particular genre of artistic production.

Company's newly created Publicity Office in Winnipeg.⁷ While one can only speculate in the absence of archival records, it is probable that *The Beaver* magazine editor managed this responsibility. Certainly the extant documentation about the calendars from later years demonstrates that the Company's magazine editors took on the lion's share of the work involved. So, for the years 1920-1923, Clifton Moore Thomas probably coordinated the calendar production. Robert Watson, who replaced Thomas as editor of *The Beaver* in 1923, most certainly did, as evidenced by his correspondence with artists and HBC colleagues.⁸ Watson was in turn succeeded by Douglas MacKay (1933-1938), Alice MacKay (1938-1939), and Clifford Wilson (1939-1957). The latter HBC executive had the greatest influence on the calendar program, orchestrating its annual production for nearly twenty years. By the time he made his exit from the Company, however, the considerable effort required to issue *The Beaver* magazine meant that the incoming editor, Malvina Bolus, could not manage both concerns. As a result, Shirlee Anne Smith, newly hired librarian at Hudson's Bay House, took over the historical research aspects of the calendar program. She also carried out much of the artist/Company communication as well. This was the case until the HBC calendar made its own graceful exit from the Company's public relations stage in 1970.

⁷ The HBC's Publicity Office was a short-lived affair. Initially set up to coordinate activities for the Company's 250th anniversary in 1920, this function was deemed irrelevant by 1923, when administrative reorganizations decentralized matters of advertising and local publicity. Peter Geller notes: "The concept of a centralized publicity department, although gaining acceptance among American corporations at this time, was not to find permanent support within the HBC until ten years later, with the hiring of Douglas MacKay." Geller, 41-42.

⁸ See HBCA, PAM, unclassified RG9 file: Calendars – Correspondence and Historical Data (2).

Throughout the fifty-eight year run of the Company calendar, numerous other HBC personnel played a role in its production. The Canadian Committee board members and secretaries, who bore the responsibility of approving both the proposed calendar subjects and the resulting paintings each year, had what amounted to 'executive producer status' in the calendar project.⁹ A similar role was played by the Company's public relations officers/executive assistants over the years, starting with Douglas MacKay (1933-1938), and followed by Frank Ryan (1938-1943), John de Burgh Payne (1947-1958), Frank Walker (1951-1959), Peter Inglis (1961), and Rolph Huband (Canadian Committee Secretary with responsibilities for Public Relations, 1960-1970). The Canadian Committee Office's first advertising manager/art director, Maurice Roper (1955-1960), also advised on the calendar production. Nearly all of these men (and it is significant that they are all men), had prior experience in the newspaper world, having begun their careers in the field of journalism.

The earliest (and regrettably unknown) artists who co-authored Hudson's Bay Company calendar images were likely commercial illustrators employed by local printing and lithographic businesses. Beginning in the early 1920s, a number of up-and-coming Canadian artists were commissioned by the Company,

⁹ As Peter Newman has pointed out, the Winnipeg-based Canadian Committee attracted members of the city's business elite, including directors from Beaver Lumber, Canadian Indemnity, Great-West Life Assurance, Manitoba Bridge & Iron Works, Monarch Life, Northern Trusts, Osler, Hammond & Nanton, and James Richardson & Sons, Limited. As the twentieth century wore on, however, Winnipeg's increasing distance from Canada's mainstream business community meant that the HBC committee members were alienated from Toronto's financial hub. Cautious and conservative, the Canadian Committee was inclined to miss opportunities, and oddly enough, it was the London directors who advocated risk-taking and modernizing measures. See Newman, *Merchant Princes*, especially chapter 13, "The Lords and the Good Old Boys," 257-277.

including the Torontonians A.H. Hider, Frank Johnston (principal of the Winnipeg School of Art between 1920 and 1924),¹⁰ Jack Schaflein (an American-born artist who headed the commercial art department of Brigden's Winnipeg branch in the 1920s and 1930s),¹¹ Henry Kent (a lithographer employed at the Vancouver firm of Cleland Bell),¹² and Lionel LeMoine Fitzgerald (one of Winnipeg's best-known artists who at the time of his HBC commission, was teaching at the School of Art).¹³

In an effort to broaden the range of painters employed for the calendar pictures, *The Beaver* editor Robert Watson wrote to the Chief Librarian at the Toronto Public Library seeking referrals to suitable candidates. Emphasizing the need for outstanding craftsmanship, Watson noted: "We get only one historical calendar out each year and naturally are desirous of having the very best Canadian work possible. We can hardly afford to take the risk of a possible failure, but if an artist were really good we would not mind whether or not he was well-known."¹⁴

¹⁰ Davis, "Laying the Ground," 11.

¹¹ Davis, "The Hothouse of Canadian Art," 43.

¹² To commemorate the founding of Fort Vancouver in 1825, the headquarters of the HBC's fur trade on the Pacific Coast until 1847, this establishment was chosen to adorn the Company's calendar for 1925. H.T. Lockyer, the general manager of the B.C. Stores, was asked by the Canadian Committee to arrange for a suitable picture to be made. "[T]aking up the matter with his usual enthusiasm [Lockyer] finally selected...Mr. Henry Kent of Vancouver, B.C. as the artist. Mr. Kent is employed by the Cleland Bell Engraving Company Limited which accounts for the picture being signed "Cleland Bell." Visits were paid to the former Fort site and more than one design considered before the final selection was made." HBCA, PAM, unclassified RG9 file: Calendars – Correspondence and Historical Data (2), copy of memo given to Robert Watson, 12 Feb. 1925.

¹³ Eckhardt, 78.

¹⁴ HBCA, PAM, unclassified RG9 file: Calendars – Correspondence and Historical Data (2), Robert Watson to George H. Locke, 20 Oct. 1926.

Watson also solicited the advice of Toronto's *Saturday Night* critic W.A. Deacon: "Can you suggest the best artist resident in Canada for the work? We had thought of [Arthur] Hemming [sic] and one Tom Green of Toronto has also been suggested [by George Locke]. Do you know of anyone better than these? We wish the best work possible and have written to you rather than write to several artists and possibly cause disappointment to those who are not given the commission."¹⁵

While Locke felt that Arthur Hemming was a good bet, Deacon was less enthusiastic about this artist: "[His] is bold, posterish work, effective for illustration, especially if looked at once: having to contemplate the same picture every day in the year would be a strain I am afraid his work would not bear."¹⁶ Instead, the Toronto critic recommended Charles W. Jefferys and Charles Comfort: "In Jefferies [sic] you have the good, old reliable, who will not let you down, nor startle you with his brilliance either. In Comfort you have the rising star, who is also competent and reliable, though without so much experience; and he will work his head off to give you a masterpiece."¹⁷

Those opinions registered, Robert Watson proceeded to get in touch with both Jefferys and Comfort, who were by then established in Toronto, and the results of this communication can be seen in the HBC's 1928 and 1931 calendars. These striking images proved to be perennial favourites with the

¹⁵ Ibid., Robert Watson to W.A. Deacon, 20 Oct. 1926.

¹⁶ Ibid., Deacon to Watson, 9 Nov. 1926.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Company and its public. Other artists commissioned at this time include Adam Sherriff Scott (1887-1980), who was also hired to execute the historical murals inside the HBC's new downtown Winnipeg store and who completed the largest number of calendar paintings for the Company (eight in total), and Walter J. Phillips (1884-1963), whose association with the HBC began when he co-produced *Dreams of Fort Garry with The Beaver* editor (a poetic narrative authored by Watson and illustrated by the artist, published in the 1920s).¹⁸

The commissioning of paintings to illustrate the calendar is significant. Apart from Lorene Squire's photograph used on the HBC's 1940 calendar (which was likely chosen as a 'quick fix' when the death of *The Beaver* editor Douglas MacKay undoubtedly disrupted production that year), and the four-year experiment with colour photographs in the early 1960s, the entire production of Company calendars incorporated paintings of one kind or another. While this is never explicitly stated in the archival documents, it can safely be assumed that the Company was aware of the positive connotations of 'art'. The tried and true practice of commissioning paintings in traditional, representational styles allowed the Company rigid control of the articulation of the calendar's message, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁸ Phillips wrote numerous articles for *The Beaver* magazine, had three watercolours produced as Hudson's Bay Company calendars, and created many more art works for the Company which were widely appreciated and exhibited in the Canadian Committee Office. Unfortunately, few of these came to be employed as calendar art, since HBC management believed they were not sufficiently bold for reproduction purposes. As Clifford Wilson confided in a letter to the Director of the National Gallery: "Walter Phillips has done a number of pictures for us but they mostly seem to lack that certain arresting quality which seems most desirable in a calendar picture." HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1246, Wilson to H.O. McCurry, 5 March 1940.

In this vein, eastern Canadian artists such as Don Anderson, Franklin Arbuckle (a 'Clifford Wilson favourite' during the late 1940s and 1950s), Lorne Bouchard, Bruce Johnson, William Davies, Henry Simpkins, William Winter, Rex Woods, and Walter Yarwood were all employed because of their straightforward, illustrative approach to painting. Preferring to keep two feet planted firmly in the field of realist artistic practice, and avoiding experiments in more 'modern' techniques, the Hudson's Bay Company chose painted illustrations which were created with a concern for reproduction, and which emphasized the human form and legible content.¹⁹ This was believed essential for the purposes of corporate story telling, maintaining the 'historical series' as a unifying theme, and ensuring popular appeal with a mass audience. Viewing the HBC Calendar Record (a copy of this record has been reproduced as Appendix A), the repetition of certain artists' names is indicative of the Company's preference for dependable, 'known commodities'.

Even the 'known commodities', though, had to be carefully managed and instructed, as the Canadian Committee Office's voluminous correspondence files plainly demonstrate. The Company's concern for bright, shiny surfaces in their calendar paintings necessitated numerous interventions on the part of its calendar directors. Writing to Charles Comfort regarding a proposed illustration of R.M. Ballantyne at Tadoussac, Clifford Wilson commented:

¹⁹ This approach is captured in the following statement: "You will have an idea in your own mind the kind of picture we prefer, something with plenty of colour and catching the eye and as true to historical fact as possible, without any futuristic suggestions in the foreground filling up the important spaces." HBCA, PAM, unclassified RG9 file: Calendars – Correspondence and Historical Data (2), Robert Watson to John Innes, 3 March 1929.

You doubtless have several ideas on the subject, but we would especially like to get a good wintry-woods feeling about the picture with plenty of snow burdening the branches of the evergreens. This combined with the deep blue waters of the Saguenay and the white ice cakes, together with the bright costumes of the men, would certainly provide plenty of brilliance.²⁰

A similar sentiment can be recognized in a list of notes which Robert Watson compiled regarding the proposed calendar painting by Adam Sheriff Scott depicting Governor George Simpson at Fort St. James. Here Watson makes reference to the need for historical accuracy,²¹ tempered with an appeal to positive artistic values: "September 17, 1828, was a wet day so would suggest that the sun shadows be not so deep as shown, although we would want a fairly nice colourful sky-line and nothing savouring of drabness."²²

In later years, Clifford Wilson became far more direct in his comments to artists about the HBC's calendar intentions:

1858, as you doubtless know, was the year in which the province of British Columbia was created and B.C. is putting on big centenary celebrations in 1958. For this reason we want to cash in on the fact that our man, James Douglas, was the first Governor and received his commission in a ceremony at Fort Langley which is one of our forts on the coast. The weather-man didn't know, at the time, that we should be celebrating this in 1958 because it poured all day and the ceremony, instead of being staged out of doors, as was planned, had to be held indoors in rather cramped quarters. Thinking that there would not be many picture possibilities in such a

²⁰ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1246, Wilson to Comfort, 5 June 1940.

²¹ The Company's deeply rooted concerns for historical accuracy are evident in nearly every communication between HBC personnel and commissioned artists. This non-negotiable requirement made the creative task of the artist that much more challenging, and frequently resulted in tension between conformity and individuality. Indeed, working for a client such as the Hudson's Bay Company, artists often had to narrow their professional goals and focus on pleasing people whose tastes differed from their own, creating images shaped for reproduction and a popular audience.

²² HBCA, PAM, unclassified RG9 file: Calendars – Correspondence and Historical Data (2), memo from Robert Watson to the Canadian Committee Secretary, 14 Oct. 1930.

scene with a bunch of stuffed shirts standing around in various uniforms, we have decided that the best thing to do would be to show the departure of Douglas and his retinue from the Fort on the next day, when it would be quite legitimate to show the sunshine.²³

In his efforts to gain the desired atmosphere and effect for the calendar images, Clifford Wilson consistently prodded and pushed the commissioned artists to carry out his suggested ideas. In language carefully crafted to avoid coming across as too heavy-handed, Wilson nonetheless made it clear that his opinion was the correct one. To strengthen his arguments, Wilson frequently called upon the perspective of so-called 'experts', including academic authorities, librarians and archivists, and even business colleagues whose positions carried weight. For example, in his efforts to achieve a 'dusty look' in the image of John Rowand stopping the Blackfoot charge, Wilson had W.B. Cameron, who had written an article on Indian costume for *The Beaver*, comment on Henry Simpkins' draft sketch. "One of the things he mentioned," wrote Wilson, "was the dust and he also thought that there should be more variety in the colour of the horses."²⁴

Not surprisingly, the shape and size of the HBC calendars to some extent dictated the appearance of the calendar painting. While the format of the calendar 'surround' called for a square or vertical picture, the composition of many historic scenes suggested a horizontal framing. The requirement of making the calendar painting 'fit' meant that frequently the artist's conception had to be radically altered to accommodate the framing device of the calendar itself.

²³ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1258, Wilson to Franklin Arbuckle, 18 Oct. 1956.

²⁴ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1247, Wilson to Henry Simpkins, 4 July 1944.

The scheduling of the calendar paintings was another factor which shaped the artists' work. Owing to the constraints attached to submitting the calendar pictures for lithographic tender, getting the print job completed, and having the finished calendars shipped for distribution in the appropriate time frames, calendar artists were often rushed in the execution of their paintings.²⁵ This situation was made more difficult when the commissioned artists lived at some distance from the Canadian Committee Office in Winnipeg. Artists based in Toronto and Montreal were the recipients of many letters from the Company outlining requirements and enumerating suggested changes, since, at a time before the advent of fax machines and electronic messaging systems, artist and patron had to rely on involved written notes to negotiate compositional details and other matters.

Franklin Arbuckle, Henry Simpkins, and Adam Sherriff Scott, all of whom were based in Montreal, had their contact with the HBC's Canadian Committee Office mediated by business associates and relatives of CCO staff who lived in that city. Clifford Wilson's brother Roy, for example, as a resident of Montreal, was frequently called upon to visit artists' studios and inspect paintings in progress. Many of the lithographic firms selected each year to print the

²⁵ When viewing artistic images in an archives, one must always consider the degree to which the artist was pressured or manipulated in the creation of the finished product. The idea of 'pictures made to order' in the commercial art world meant that many artists had to negotiate their own creative expression and artistic freedom with the whims of their clients and the shifting tastes of the public at large. Artistic aspirations often had to be scaled back in order to satisfy the customer.

Company's calendars were based in Montreal, so Roy Wilson was also counted upon to pass judgement on printing jobs and the like.

At this juncture, it should be mentioned that the printers who were contracted to lithograph and reproduce the Hudson's Bay Company's annual calendars also played an authorial role in their production. The exceptionally detailed work that was required to coordinate the typography, engraving, and printing of these items meant that the lithographer bore a heavy responsibility in this final phase of calendar creation. A less-than-perfect job could be ruinous to the Company's visual intentions:

I received the second lot of proofs from Southam Press and although I have not got the original with which to compare them, I can see that there is much too much blue. Mr. Thomas says that you approve these, with some minor alterations, but I should call the blue more like a major alteration. Owing to the shortness of time I shall have to rely on you completely to see that they give the picture a good reproduction. I feel that it is more important that we get a good reproduction than that the first shipment shall arrive here in time to catch the northern boat. In spite of the fact that I asked for several proofs and backgrounds, they have sent only two of each. I hate being hurried in such a choice. We generally take several days to decide on the background colour, but in this case I think that some tone of red is definitely called for – on account of the adventurous nature of the picture.²⁶

Evidently, the formation and production of the Hudson's Bay Company's calendar images was an involved affair which required a complex series of negotiations between artist and patron. Cognizant of the role of the above-mentioned lithographers, it is evident that other players contributed to the calendars' construction. Still, when balance among these authors could be

²⁶ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1247, Clifford Wilson to Henry Simpkins, 18 March 1946.

achieved, the resulting publication had significant value and purpose to the Company, as will now be explained.

Purpose

The affirmative purpose of the HBC's annual calendar was to publicize the Company name in an eye-catching, colourful format. It was seen as a convenient and cost-effective means of spreading the HBC's name, carrying various elements of corporate identification -- nameplate, coat-of-arms, facets of HBC history -- in a visually striking way.

From the start, the Hudson's Bay Company calendar was an article created for public consumption, and as such, was one of the first consciously manufactured publicity tools in its soon-to-be expanded public relations arsenal.²⁷ Constructed for the express purpose of entering the calendar recipient's personal space, and subsequently being displayed for twelve months (or sometimes longer), the HBC calendar served as a daily reminder of the Hudson's Bay Company's existence. It was therefore a public relations instrument with a

²⁷ Later devices given maximum publicity mileage include the 250th Anniversary Brochure produced for the Company in 1920 by Sir William Schooling; *The Beaver* magazine, which also made its debut in this anniversary year; Douglas MacKay's history of 'The Honourable Company' published in 1936; the HBC's archives in London, particularly through the publication of archival documents via the Hudson's Bay Record Society, established in 1938; and educational aids such as the HBC's 'Brief History' booklet and the reprints of its 1939 and 1955 calendar maps of fur trade posts and territories. See Geller, Monteyne, and Deidre A. Simmons, "'Custodians of a Great Inheritance': An Account of the Making of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1920-1974" (M.A. Thesis: Department of History, Archival Studies, University of Manitoba/University of Winnipeg, 1994). See also HBCA, PAM, RG9/600.1.1, P.R. General – Policy.

frequently private function, being invited into the domestic environment of thousands of Canadian households.

In keeping with the Company's cautious and conservative outlook, the calendar, when compared to other forms of advertising, effected a subtle, almost imperceptible penetration into the homes and hearts (and admittedly sometimes the trashcan) of the public. Ever cognizant of its historical baggage, the Hudson's Bay Company's formal approach to public relations was prudent and soft-spoken. Oftentimes, however, as will be discussed below, the messages conveyed by the calendar were in stark contrast to this proclaimed policy. Reflecting on the Company's PR achievements during the 1930s, Philip Chester noted:

As regards public relations themselves, there is no necessity for me to write a treatise on the subject, except to say that recognising our historical background, and that we were a foreign Company, we wanted no publicity of the usual public relations type, but subtle publicity tied in with our history; always institutional and never individual; and the expenditure of brains and not money.²⁸

This overview neatly captures the HBC's purpose for its calendars: they linked the Company's past with its present, spoke about the HBC as a whole and not just as separate divisions, and at roughly 5 cents a copy, were an inexpensive way of addressing a very broad audience.

To be effective as a public relations tool, the annual calendar had to encapsulate the unique character of the Company which combined retailing and fur, history and progress, big city and small town.²⁹ Consequently, to set itself

²⁸ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/769, P.A. Chester to Frank Ryan, 7 Sept. 1938.

²⁹ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/768, A.R. Huband to J.R. Murray, 12 June 1963.

apart from the competition, the Hudson's Bay Company focused on creating a public image centred on the past. By illustrating its pivotal role in Canada's development as a nation, albeit in a very selective way, the Hudson's Bay Company reinforced its position as an institution of power and prestige. Perpetuating a public image of cultural and commercial dominance, the HBC stressed its ability to survive more than three centuries of challenges. While Peter C. Newman has pointed out the risks that came to be associated with this repeated emphasis on survival,³⁰ it was a mindset that coloured both internal and external perceptions of the Company.

Like *The Beaver* magazine which followed the calendar by seven years, the calendar functioned to position the HBC name in a bold and striking visual context. Yet, while the format of *The Beaver* changed over the years, evolving from a cheaply-produced in-house journal to a lavishly-illustrated and publicly distributed magazine, and while retail store advertisements advanced to keep pace with institutional trends, the Hudson's Bay Company calendars maintained an overwhelmingly consistent appearance. It wasn't until the 1960s, when changes in corporate management influenced the adoption of more up-to-date approaches to public relations, advertising, and corporate identity, that the format of the HBC calendar was markedly altered. Yet, even in its changed physical make-up, the intellectual and spiritual fibre of the calendar - the Company's own history – remained the same.

³⁰ See Newman, *Merchant Princes*, especially 323, 423, 425.

With its historical image and “The Great Traders of the Great West” message included on the earliest sheets, the HBC calendar simultaneously conveyed the Company’s glorious past and promoted its role as a Canadian merchandiser. Furthermore, by commissioning paintings which were realistic and figurative in style, and thus possessing broad appeal, the Hudson’s Bay Company reached out to a heterogeneous public possessing uneven levels of education in history and art. With the widespread dissemination of colour reproductions, in the form of calendars, on *The Beaver* magazine covers, and later in reprint portfolios, the work of selected Canadian artists was disseminated to an enormous viewing public. This mass distribution of local and national talent played no small role in helping to develop an appreciation of Canadian art by Canadian people, and in many cases enhanced the artists’ careers.

The popularization of these painterly productions was also achieved through the Company’s visual displays. Hung in frames in the Company’s Canadian headquarters, exhibited in the HBC museum in the Winnipeg retail store, incorporated into department store window treatments,³¹ and posted on the walls of assorted regional offices, these eye-catching illustrated texts spoke a powerful visual language. By drawing the attention of viewers in such public spaces, their colourful content formed an almost irresistible address.

³¹ A New Year’s exhibition of HBC calendars was displayed in the windows of the downtown Winnipeg store in 1943, and was titled “A Pageant of History...Depicting Milestones in the Life of the World’s Oldest Mercantile Company.” See HBCA Photograph Collection 1987/363-C-69/1-3. An even more ambitious window display, in honour of the Company’s 300th anniversary in 1970, was undertaken in Edmonton’s Jasper Avenue store and featured dioramas based on scenes depicted in some of the popular calendar pictures. See *ibid.*, 1987/363-E-617/17-40.

The HBC calendars also served a very important educational purpose. In 1931, the Canadian Committee minutes reported that "for the past two years a copy of the Company's calendar had been sent to every school in the three Prairie Provinces and British Columbia, at an approximate annual cost of \$1,500. Committee were of the opinion that this method of publicity was desirable and should be continued."³² One year later the HBC's Canadian management considered a request from the publishing firm of Thomas Nelson Sons for permission to reproduce the HBC's 1929 calendar picture "Kelsey Sees the Buffalo." This image was to be re-printed in colour for use in public school textbooks nationally. The Canadian Committee minutes record that "the Committee were of the opinion that this was a good form of publicity and authorised the use of this picture as requested, on the understanding that suitable acknowledgment be made to the Company."³³ A third reference to the calendars' educative function is revealed in a comment made by the HBC's resident historian and calendar coordinator Clifford Wilson: "Our calendars have the dual purpose of pleasing the eye, and instructing the mind. Over 12,000 of them are sent to schools and we always like the information they impart pictorially to be as accurate as possible."³⁴

³² HBCA, PAM, RG2/10/9, Canadian Committee Minute 4995, 29 Jan. 1931.

³³ *Ibid.*, C.C. Minute 5921, 5 May 1932.

³⁴ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1274, Wilson to F. Johnston, 10 July 1944. Some years later, Vancouver Store Manager Aubrey Peck asserted that "There is no other advertising undertaken by us which is likely to maintain the association of the Company with its historic past. Part of the appeal of the calendars stems from their widespread use by schools whose teachers unconsciously do a fine public relations job for the Company with their students." HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, A.C. Peck to J.H. Smith, 9 March 1956.

Even external sources recognized the HBC calendars as effective means of imparting appropriate knowledge. An article appearing in the 29 January 1939 edition of the *Ottawa Citizen* attests to this perception. Commenting favourably on the pictorial map which was used on the Company's calendar for that year, it noted the map's colourful and useful features, including explorers' routes, fur trade posts, and such iconic symbols as totem poles, polar bears, musk ox, clipper ships, flags, and crests. "It is truly a fascinating map," enthused the *Citizen* reporter. "And it brought back to our mind much Canadian history we had learned, but were rather hazy on. While thinking thusly, would it not be a move in the right direction if they taught history at school with the help of a map like this one, to supplement in pictorial fashion the normally very cut and dry history found in the average text book?"³⁵ Considering the number of HBC calendars which the Company distributed free of charge to Western Canadian schools, it is all but certain that teachers did indeed use the map to augment their lessons.

Of course, the reliance upon visual images to instruct the mind and purify the colonial body was already well established in imperial circles. As Jim Burant has shown in his article, "The Visual World in the Victorian Age," nineteenth-century citizens in many Western nations took hold of the idea that visual images could be recruited to strengthen the moral fibre of the populace. Connected to the dominant middle class notions of self-improvement, respectability, the reformation of manners, and societal advancement, visual images were viewed as a means of educating and directing people toward these higher ideals. "By

³⁵ *Ottawa Citizen*, 29 Jan. 1939, clipping in HBCA, PAM, unclassified RG9 file – Correspondence and Historical Data (1).

the 1890s, artistic schools, galleries, artists' organizations, and camera clubs were found in every major Canadian city,"³⁶ and Canadian cultural nationalists believed that this revolution in visual communication marked "the beginning of a new and promising stage in the development of intellectual and social life."³⁷ By linking its institutional advertising with these morally suasive concepts, the Hudson's Bay Company contributed to this widespread 'imperialist discourse'.³⁸

The Company's purposeful conjoining of image and message was recognized by the Vancouver-based artist John Innes. In a letter to *The Beaver* editor Robert Watson, Innes declared:

I must congratulate you on the choice of such an inspiring subject for your 1931 Calendar ["A Voyage of Discovery from the Rocky Mountain Portage in Peace River to the Sources of Finlay's Branch and North-Westward: Summer 1824"³⁹]. The idea of the Hudson's Bay Company playing a part in Empire affairs has always appealed to me as being one of their strongest advertising assets....Also, your selection appeals to me as a painter. For when a man has lived, summer and winter, for years amongst the grandeur of our Canadian mountain scenery, it is a distinct pleasure to be asked to paint it as a setting for an Historical event. I shall look forward eagerly to the arrival of necessary extracts from Samuel Black's journal. I have gained more real knowledge from the vagrant

³⁶ Jim Burant, "The Visual World in the Victorian Age," *Archivaria* 19 (Winter 1984-85), 120.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.

³⁸ James Ryan has perceptively shown how "Educationalists, government officials and representatives of imperial propaganda societies in late-nineteenth-century Britain increasingly argued that educating the future imperial citizens was a project of crucial importance which involved a good deal more than simply 'A B C'. While school 'readers' had long been loaded with 'picture-stories' of colonial enterprise and adventure, there were increasing calls for a greater use of 'visual instruction' - delivered via exhibitions, 'object' lessons, textbooks and lantern-slide lectures." James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 186.

³⁹ Incidentally, this painting was never completed and consequently the subject was dropped. See HBCA, PAM, unclassified RG9 file: Calendars – Correspondence and Historical Data (2), Robert Watson and John Innes, 3 March –11 Oct. 1929.

extracts of individual workers, than from all the labored efforts of student historians.⁴⁰

The themes of cultural uplift alluded to above found their way into internal perceptions of the calendars' purpose as well. The responses to the Canadian Committee Office's 1956 calendar survey provide rare insight into the HBC's intentions regarding its annual calendar. Variations on a repeated theme, they clearly denote the Company's purpose in printing the yearly timepiece. HBC managers indicated that the calendar was helpful in keeping the Company name prominent as a Canadian institution. The historic images used on the calendars reflected the strength of the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada, and illustrated the rapid growth of the country. They also emphasized the HBC's efforts to keep pace with this growth and provide for the needs of local and new communities. The parallel expansion of the country and the Company were viewed as "history in the making," and gave particular import to the calendar's purpose. The use of paintings of past/historical events was also seen as a way of tactfully suggesting the Company's importance to Canada, past, present, and future. By depicting events and locations of broad geographical scope, the calendar images were thought to help maintain the interest of all Canadians. Managers firmly believed that the Company should capitalize on its history. They also felt that the calendars reflected well on the HBC's prestige and were a gesture of good will – a service and courtesy to its customers.⁴¹ The historic theme, being well

⁴⁰ Ibid., Innes to Watson, 8 March 1929.

⁴¹ The calendar was also viewed as a token of the Company's appreciation of its long-standing customers – an early example of a Loyalty Program. (See <http://www.newswire.ca/releases/October1998/14/c3121.html> for press release information about the Hudson's Bay Company's contemporary Loyalty Management Program.) On the twin theme

established and pertinent to the Company, demanded repetition, it was argued. Finally, the calendars were considered to be 'in good taste', a sentiment which underlines their role in educating the public's appreciation of 'art'.⁴²

When the Hudson's Bay Company calendar was first introduced in 1913, it was undoubtedly viewed as a modern, trend-setting public relations vehicle. Few businesses of the HBC's size and stature had engaged in this type of institutional advertising prior to this time, and fewer still utilized historical images as extensively. While other companies came to employ images of history in mass-produced printed matter such as calendars,⁴³ the HBC was regarded as the 'first' and the 'best' as far as historical calendars were concerned. The inclusion of historical pictures on its calendars was assuredly their defining feature. These striking images conferred a unique status on the Company, giving a special character to the HBC's annual production, and thereby distinguishing the calendars from those manufactured by other organizations.

Still, the effectiveness of the calendar in functioning as a public relations device deteriorated markedly over the years, particularly during the 1960s when a great number of companies and individuals likewise issued an annual calendar.

of courtesy and service, a later survey respondent suggested that the calendar provided a personal way of wishing customers a 'Merry Christmas'. HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1281, G.E. Courtney to [G.W. Stokes], 31 Jan. 1969.

⁴² HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, responses to CCO memo dated 1 March 1956, 6-21 March 1956.

⁴³ The commissioning of historical paintings by other companies in Canada bears some consideration. Beginning the 1927, the Confederation Life Association in Toronto arranged to have Rolph-Clark-Stone Ltd., a local printing house, commission historical works by artists for the insurance company's collection. While Rolph-Clark-Stone handled all the necessary production details, the images being used for a variety of advertising purposes, the finished paintings were turned over outright to Confederation Life. See HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1281, note for file by Barbara Kilvert, 21 Feb. 1967.

With households and offices receiving multiple copies of calendars each year from a variety of sources, it was increasingly difficult for the HBC version to look distinctive. The assertion “LONG LIVE THE HBC CALENDAR,” which was penned by the manager of the Prince Albert branch in 1969, was for naught.⁴⁴ One year later, the HBC’s final calendar was issued, bringing to close a notable chapter in the long history of this Company.

Messages

The undisguised message that was conveyed by the Hudson’s Bay Company calendars can be summed up in one word: history. Even the relatively few modern subjects that were selected during the lifetime of the HBC’s calendar program managed to underscore this theme. To appreciate this and other, less overt messages, it is essential that the calendars be viewed collectively. The effectiveness of the ‘historical series’, the thematic binding that linked the entire production of calendars over a period of fifty-eight years, lay in the very fact that it was a series. Over time, these depictions of HBC-related historical events articulated an extensive narrative of corporate power and positioning.⁴⁵ In 1670,

⁴⁴ Ibid., E.W. Sayer to G.A. Burrows, 31 Jan. 1969.

⁴⁵ Indicative of our cultural reliance on chronology, of the necessity to mark time into comprehensible units of measurement, we sequence events into readily identifiable segments. This arrangement proceeds in a neat, methodical flow of uninterrupted memory, and allows for quick and efficient retrieval to suit present purposes. The resulting structure, with ‘beginning’, ‘middle’, and ‘end’, has consequently coloured our conception of history. As David Lowenthal has observed, “Chronology or ‘history-book time’ until recently encouraged the educated to view the past as an all-inclusive narrative.” David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 221.

1734, 1812, 1870, 1906, 1942, and 1970, to enumerate just a few dates, the Hudson's Bay Company was *there*. It witnessed the signing of a royal charter, established forts, sponsored settlers, helped found a nation, facilitated exploration, distributed wartime supplies, and serviced Canadians through the provision of consumer goods.⁴⁶ While the sequencing of images year-by-year did not follow a strict chronological order, the cumulative effect was an orderly procession in which the Company moved from the past to the present, all the while seemingly in control of its manifest destiny.⁴⁷ This succession of calendars year after year created a panorama of the past, an all-encompassing, all-knowing exhibition of institutional power.⁴⁸ The value of the series of calendars, then, must be seen as greater than the sum of its parts. Viewed individually, the calendar images present a moment in time; viewed collectively, they showcase an historical dynasty, one that the Company took considerable effort to maintain.

When the calendar program began, the Hudson's Bay Company was 243 years old – hardly a newcomer to the Canadian commercial scene. But in a country that did not have a well developed and cohesive sense of its national

⁴⁶ For the visual images corresponding to these dates and events, see the following HBC calendars: 1915 (Appendix C, P-379), 1970-1 (Figure 1), 1922 (Figure 2), 1924 (Appendix C, P-388), 1969-3 (Figure 3), 1966-2 (Figure 4), 1954 (Appendix C, P-418), and 1970-2 (Figure 5).

⁴⁷ "Historical intelligibility requires not merely past events occurring at particular times, but a coherent story in which many events are skipped, others coalesced, and temporal sequence is often subordinated to explanation and interpretation. Just as we think back and cast ahead in recapitulating the remembered past, so do historical narratives back-track to clarify causal connections. Such 'polychronicity'...matches our intuition that the sequential structure alone cannot capture complex historical reality." Lowenthal, 223.

⁴⁸ See Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," *New Formations* No. 4 (1988), 73-102, in which the author applies an analytical framework derived from the French theorist Michel Foucault to expose the knowledge/power relations associated with the development of the modern 'exhibitionary complex'. This system of representation, including museums, galleries,

past, the HBC functioned to supply that history in an easily digestible form. Standing in front of the Company's annual historical calendars, Canadians were presented with an opportunity to participate in that past by associating themselves with the 'Honourable Company' and its remarkable history. In a confidential memo, HBC Managing Director Philip Chester spoke to this shared bond and to the Company's historic obligations: "As heirs of a proud history, which belongs to the people of a young yet great nation who value it as we do, we have the responsibilities requiring a more rigid conduct than that expected of others. We are custodians of a rare heritage. Our duty is to protect it and not allow it to be tarnished in any way whatsoever."⁴⁹

To begin an interrogation of the calendar text in search of visual meaning requires an analysis of the calendar record as a whole, since the setting of the calendar pictures was an important aspect of their presentation and reception. Until the 1960s, they were situated on large single sheets of heavy paper, introduced by the Old English nameplate: "Hudson's Bay Company. Incorporated 2nd May 1670," explained by their subtitles, and framed with occasionally quite elaborate borders. In fact, the earliest calendars were embellished with detailed and inventive background matter which, though subservient to the featured illustration, often complemented the scene being depicted.

exhibitions, and department stores, can also be seen to encompass such discursive forms as the HBC calendar.

⁴⁹ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/769, memo to John De Burgh Payne and Frank Walker, 4 Sept. 1951.

The 1919 calendar, for example (Figure 6), carried a painting showing “Indians Visiting Fort Charles, 1673.” An ‘Indian head’ set in miniature frame surmounted the central picture at the upper left-hand outer edge, surrounded by such stereotypical native artefacts as arrows, tomahawk, and pipe.⁵⁰ Continuing and reinforcing the stereotypes, an idealized wilderness scene was included below the totemic main illustration, populated by a lone Indian paddling his birch bark canoe, a reflective moose at water’s edge, towering pines, and billowy clouds. It is regrettable that the tranquillity of this setting was necessarily shattered by the placement of the calendar pad on the bottom portion of the illustrated sheet. Two incongruously placed medallions just above the pad further disrupted the intended peacefulness of the presentation, though it would appear that the calendar’s printer operated on the principle of ‘the more the merrier’ in terms of design. With ‘The Hudson’s Bay Company’ name commanding the scene from above, supported by the then popular slogan, ‘The Great Traders of the Great West.’ (the period [.] following this pitch lent closure and emphasis to the HBC’s corporate catchphrase), the package was authoritatively wrapped up and presented to the viewer.

The point of this discussion is to emphasize that the HBC calendars’ immediate context, that of the calendar supports themselves, was and is an important aspect of these visual documents. The positioning of the calendar picture, the placement of the HBC nameplate and other corporate identifiers such

⁵⁰ See Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992) for references to stereotypical representations of aboriginal people.

as the coat-of-arms, the printing of subtitles and image captions, the inclusion of descriptive text to explain the featured historic incident, the colouring and occasional illustrative embellishment of the calendar 'surround' – all of these considerations had a bearing upon the appearance of the calendar as a whole and influenced the message(s) that the calendar sought to convey.

The Company's very first calendar in its 'historical series' was the 1913 composite image entitled 'Old Time & New Time Trading' (Figure 7). In title and pictures, this piece served to connect the HBC's trading post past with its department store present. Beneath the Company name, incorporation date, and subtitle ('The Great Traders of the Great West'), a darkened interior view of the HBC's saleshop at Lower Fort Garry, circa 1880, put the calendar in historical context. This rough, frontierist portrayal included several aboriginal traders (one very strikingly enveloped by a Hudson's Bay point blanket, a much coveted item of trade that had come to symbolize the Company at an early date) among an array of dry goods and other merchandise. A small illustration of the surrounding fort, set in an oval frame, supported this interior 'snapshot', adding another layer of historical meaning. The bottom half of the calendar image was taken up with four postcard-like pictures of the Company's new department store buildings in Calgary, Yorkton, Vernon, and Vancouver (the latter an artist's proposal, since the store had yet to be constructed). The contrast between the old and the new could not have been greater. Urban, monumental, and stylish, the department store structures stood proudly on bright, concrete landscapes, dwarfing the tiny street figures undoubtedly included for scale. Motorcars and omnibuses further

accentuated the modern renderings. The calendar's background details, which included two HBC flags (one with the Company's coat-of-arms, the other the Red Ensign), decorative maple leaves, and the corporate seal, unified the pictorial display and served to link the Company's British heritage with its contemporary Canadian profile. The blend of interior and exterior, dark and light, old and new conveyed a sense of evolutionary fitness, and functioned to promote the Hudson's Bay Company as a forceful agent of civilization in the new Dominion.

The subject of the HBC's calendar for 1914 (Figure 8) was removed from the focus of the previous production by some hundred years. The Battle of Seven Oaks in this instance was delineated in highly charged terms – a violent clash of cultures which contained none of the order and stability implicit in the 'Old Time & New Time Trading' medley. Its atmosphere of action and high drama contributed, though, to the calendar's forceful appearance and hence its appeal. The emotional display of bravery, executed within conventional pictorial codes, allowed viewers to experience vicariously the heroic thrill (and also the trauma) of combat.

Other calendar images followed more closely established European painting traditions, including picturesque landscape views (for example, the calendars issued in 1925, 1929, 1933, 1935, 1962, 1964, 1967) which conveyed a sense of cultural dominance over geography. Not surprisingly, landscape figured prominently in many of the calendar images, though it often functioned more as an architectural backdrop than as a main player. The number of calendar pictures which depicted fur trade forts, whether fully formed or under

construction (approximately forty images in total; more than half the calendars issued) conveyed a very definite message to their audiences: the Hudson's Bay Company was master of its surroundings, bringing civilization into an untamed wilderness.⁵¹

To read these visual texts effectively, it is important to read the accompanying descriptive texts as well. These often detailed informative accounts framed the artistic presentation of the pictured event, and tethered the image to a carefully constructed interpretation.⁵² For example, on the back of the HBC's 1922 calendar (Figure 2), which was ostensibly an illustration of Fort Prince of Wales (though the fortress itself seemed to have been included as an afterthought, the foreground taken up with the strong, determined figure of an aboriginal trader and dog team), the viewer is told that this Company establishment was a "fortification on a splendid scale," the HBC's "principal entrepot from the French as well as from the Indians," "one of the strongest Forts on the Continent, [which] was reared at the mouth of the Churchill River."⁵³ Yet somehow, despite these mighty attributes, Fort Prince of Wales was destroyed

⁵¹ For a critical discussion of the representation of landscape in various historical discourses, see W.J.T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

⁵² The earliest calendars carried an earnest message, both in visual and textual form. Images used at this time possessed a formal, textbook quality, a fact undoubtedly linked to their function as vehicles of visual instruction. Later calendars were far more light-hearted in presentation, an attitude befitting the Company's well-established position in the Canadian commercial landscape. The culmination of the historical calendar series in three tongue-in-cheek 'sketches' by Ronald Searle revealed just how far the Company had traveled in its journey of self-promotion. While the earlier calendars were accompanied by detailed descriptive messages, the later ones carried but a brief explanation of content. Evidently the Company believed it had done an admirable job of articulating its history, and accordingly felt less dependent upon lengthy captions to frame the meaning of the visual image.

⁵³ HBCA, PAM, P-386, descriptive text for 1922 calendar.

by its Gallic enemies. The historical sketch concludes on a sage, philosophic note: "to-day its ruins mark the most northerly fortress on the Continent of America, scarcely inferior in strength to Louisburg or to Quebec. Its site was admirably chosen, its design and armament were once perfect."⁵⁴ Even in defeat, went the message, the Hudson's Bay Company could claim greatness.

The calendars and their accompanying text dispensed a steady stream of superlatives: the first (by far the most frequently used qualifier!), the best, the greatest, the most dangerous, the most westerly, one of the most remarkable, the fiercest, one of the oldest, the most important, the most arduous, one of the most brilliant, etc., etc. This emphasis on 'firsts' was undoubtedly an attempt by the Company to impress upon the minds of its viewing public that 'The Bay' should be their 'first' (and of course, last) shopping destination. In the Company's 1943 calendar (see Appendix C, P-407), an artful combination of image and text was used to foreground the prominence of the HBC retail business. The calendar picture, which featured an illustration of the construction of Fort Victoria in 1843, was telescoped into the present by the inclusion of a not-so-subtle sales pitch. After a lengthy explanation about the development of the HBC's Western Department headquarters, the calendar's descriptive text noted that "The fort [which Chief Factor James Douglas] founded has grown into a beautiful city whose population of nearly 40,000 is served by one of the greatest department stores of the Hudson's Bay Company."⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ HBCA, PAM, P-407, descriptive text for 1943 calendar.

Other salient messages are revealed upon analysis. The popular portrayal of ships and seascapes in eleven of the calendar images emphasized Britain's tradition of naval superiority. Thirty-six out of the total seventy-six calendar images produced contained boats of one description or another, a testament to the pivotal role of transport in the Company's operations. Eighteen of the calendar pictures were devoted to scenes immortalizing the HBC's imperial connections, including the signing of the charter (1915 and 1970-1), the departure of the *Nonsuch* (1916), the first public sale of furs in London (1918), Prince Rupert (1920), and the Company's Rent Ceremony with Queen Elizabeth II (1961). In all, thirty-four calendars depicted aboriginal people. This volume of images is hardly surprising, given the historic relationship between the Hudson's Bay Company and First Nations inhabitants. Particularly in the twentieth century, the HBC took pains to emphasize that its exchange with Natives involved the supplying of "goods which the Indians need[ed]."⁵⁶ Aware of popular perceptions which suggested that the exchange process was in fact weighted heavily in favour of the British Company traders, the HBC used the medium of the calendar to disseminate its purported position of fairness and goodwill with Native peoples. The ceremony of the pipe depicted in the 1921 calendar (see Appendix C, P-385) conveyed just such a message, and emphasized that this fur trade ritual involved a "pledge of friendship with the great Company of Adventurers."⁵⁷

⁵⁶ HBCA, PAM, P-385, descriptive text for 1921 calendar.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

Other figures dominating the calendars' landscapes included intrepid explorers and trekkers (1922, 1923, 1928, 1931, 1942, 1950-1952, 1965-1, 1966-2), energetic HBC officers (1926, 1932, 1936,⁵⁸ 1944, 1947, 1958, 1959, 1969-3), and founding fathers (1941). Predictably, there were no founding mothers represented, and in fact, only thirteen of the total calendar output featured women, however minimally.⁵⁹ It is interesting to note that twelve of the calendar images depicted dogs.

A telling example of how the calendars' images occasionally went against the declared purpose of this public relations article can be seen with reference to the HBC's 1956 calendar (Figure 9). A colourful depiction of a trading ceremony at York Factory in the 1780s, executed by the Montreal-based artist Adam Sherriff Scott, the calendar image foregrounded a procession of British officers, brightly outfitted in scarlet, with the Red Ensign held on high. On the sidelines, aboriginal traders and their families were shown watching this display of imperial pageantry. While the artist, under direction from the Canadian Committee Office, undoubtedly intended this image to convey both the nobility of a British institution

⁵⁸ The strength of Company rule was most vividly portrayed in the 1936 calendar, "The Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, meeting at Norway House." In the foreground, an HBC clerk was shown recording the minutes, a humble servant dutifully inscribing the record of decisions (just as the HBC's calendar directors inscribed meaning upon the yearly illustrations). Behind him, a gathering of Commissioned Officers, seemingly at ease with their role in "rul[ing] Western Canada for the Crown and for the Company" (HBCA, PAM, P-400, descriptive text for 1936 calendar) flanked the central figure of Governor George Simpson, who himself was observed by a higher authority, the framed portrait of a British admiral.

⁵⁹ The few examples including women portrayed them in overwhelmingly decorative terms, as the 1960 and 1965-2 calendar images demonstrate. Only Franklin Arbuckle's "Ambassadress of Peace," which was used on the HBC calendar for 1953, depicted a woman in a position of power. Contrasted with the abundance of male players in the calendar events, this marginal female showing perpetuates women's invisibility in history. A textual corrective to this short-sighted view can be found in the studies undertaken by fur trade scholars such as Jennifer Brown and Sylvia

and the legitimacy of commercial custom, that message was not received by every viewer. Shortly after its public appearance, the HBC's Eastern Post Division district manager wrote the following:

I have two comments on the choice of the current calendar. Firstly, since this is the first calendar to be issued in the French language for wide circulation in the Province of Quebec, it is rather unfortunate that it displays as many Union Jacks and Redcoats as it does. Secondly, for years, we in the Fur Trade Department have been living down the view generally held that in past years the natives were bilked of their furs by means of liquor. This 1956 calendar unfortunately revives this subject by reflecting the old trading ceremony in which several of the factory servants are shown staggering along under the weight of large brandy casks. While no doubt historically accurate, the view depicted is by no means the best choice for those of us who work in the Fur Trade. For our nationalistic French Canadian customer and for those who enjoy criticizing past trading habits, probably the picture should be captioned "Lest We Forget."⁶⁰

Evidently, in its attempts to appeal to an increasingly diversified population, the HBC could not always guarantee a favourable reception for its calendars.

In fact, the illustration of historic events in the Company calendar was becoming irrelevant to a modern, urban audience (in a society whose historical memory was inconsistent at best), and cognizant of this reality, the manager of the HBC's Victoria Store wondered if a more progressive approach could be utilized. Quoting a colleague he wrote:

Rightly or wrongly, we have always considered the design and message on our Company Calendar to be somewhat sacred ground. In spite of this we wish to suggest that some consideration might well be given to moderate revisions with the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of the message we are able to display

Van Kirk, who emphasize the critical role played by aboriginal women in the development of Western Canada.

⁶⁰ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, Hugh Sutherland to the General Manager, Fur Trade Department, 8 March 1956.

through these calendars. The well known Advertising Teacher, Clyde Bedell, says 'To whom are you talking and what are you trying to say', as the basis of all messages to customers. We are wondering if it would be in order to suggest some changes which might result in greater direct benefit to the Stores through the calendar message.⁶¹

By 1969, the Company calendar was viewed by HBC management as dated. The art style, it was argued, had not remained contemporary, and in fact it contributed to the Company's conservative reputation. As a result of a study of the HBC's corporate identity completed in 1965, which led to the Company's adoption of a new retail stores logo and the popular moniker 'The Bay', the HBC anxiously moved away from its association with the fur trade. The new corporate image that was sought emphasized the Company's role as a modern department store of the future. Ironically enough, the theme that connected all of the Hudson's Bay Company's calendars during their 58-year life span – history – was what the calendar became after 1970. On its 300th anniversary, the venerable HBC blew out the candles on the calendar, so-to-speak, and a chapter in its picture story of self-promotion came to an end.⁶²

Not just 'pictures of history', the HBC calendar images were in fact visual operatives, charged with the important Company task of carrying its carefully crafted messages to a diverse viewing public. The recipients of the Company's pictorial communication will be analyzed in the next section, and will conclude this preliminary appraisal of functional context.

⁶¹ Ibid., B.B. Tingley, quoted in R. Caldwell to J.H. Smith, 14 March 1956.

⁶² Another ironic element: the HBC's retail stores department (then known as the Salesshop Department) which was directly responsible for bringing the Company calendar into existence in 1913, was also the principal cause of its demise.

Audience

Over a period of fifty-eight years, the Hudson's Bay Company distributed more than five million of its 'historical calendars', sending out an average of 110,000 annually. Based on numbers alone, it is obvious that the Company aimed its message-laden calendars at an exceptionally broad audience, a decision which was driven by the extent of the HBC's business operations. The scope and content of its activities clearly necessitated the engagement of people at all levels of Canadian society.

In 1940, HBC executive Frank Ryan drafted a position paper on the subject of public relations which draws attention to the Company's extensive audience:

In considering our relations with the public, we must do so in terms of people. The people who make what we sell. All those who handle the goods between the producer and ourselves. Those engaged with us in our daily work. Those with whom we associate socially – and most important of all – those who buy from us. All of them make up that important classification – those who must think well of us if we are to succeed.

Public relations in practice is not an umbrella which can be used to cover everything and touch nothing. Rather, it is an attitude of mind on the part of enlightened management which places the broad interest of those with whom it comes in contact first in all decisions affecting its goodwill.⁶³

Twenty years later, the HBC's Managing Director echoed these earlier sentiments, underlining the special responsibilities that emanated from the Company's unique relationship to the past and from its present audience:

⁶³ HBCA, PAM, RG9/600.1.1, PR General – Policy, memo dated 18 April 1940.

The Company is part of Canadian history. It is also a large, modern commercial organization, operating in probably more geographical areas in Canada than any other company. It is owned by some 20,000 shareholders, the majority of whom live in the U.K.; there are, however, many shareholders in Canada and the United States. HBC's "public" – all the people who are interested in what the Company does – covers a remarkably wide range.⁶⁴

Accordingly, the Hudson's Bay Company directed its annual calendars to all of its operating units, including the Retail Stores, Fur Trade/Northern Stores,⁶⁵ Land,⁶⁶ Wholesale, and Buying Services departments. The Canadian Committee Office, which coordinated distribution, also dispersed copies of the calendar. Recipients included "schools, customers, shut-ins, tourists, friends of the Company and staff,"⁶⁷ as well as HBC pensioners and shareholders.

The calendars' overseas audience was likewise considerable. HBC calendars shipped to London were distributed to a wide variety of corporate clients and business contacts. Manufacturers and suppliers from whom the Company purchased goods for sale in its retail outlets in Canada were sent calendars,⁶⁸ as were national and international firms with offices in London with

⁶⁴ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/769, J.R. Murray to Heads of Departments, 1 Dec. 1960.

⁶⁵ A photograph which appeared in the December 1936 issue of *The Beaver* magazine, and reproduced here (Figure 10), captures a distinctive segment of the calendar's fur trade audience. See *The Beaver*, December 1936, 36.

⁶⁶ The distribution of calendars by the Land Department was mainly to the local sales solicitors in the three prairie provinces and to hotels at country points. By 1960, however, the HBC's Land Department had such a low profile in the Company's operations that it no longer distributed calendars to its clients. HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, note for file, 24 Feb. 1959.

⁶⁷ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1281, Laird Rankin, memo for file, 2 May 1969.

⁶⁸ These were located in such centres as Birmingham, Blackpool, Bournemouth, Bradford, Durham, Huddersfield, Hull, Leicester, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield, Stoke-on-Trent (centre of Britain's china pottery industry), and Wolverhampton in England; Ayrshire, Glasgow, Hawick, Kilmarnock, and Perthshire in Scotland; and Belfast and Dublin in Ireland. See HBCA, PAM, RG9/623.6.1, Calendar – Record & Sundry Information.

whom the Hudson's Bay Company had dealings. These included the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Canadian Pacific Railway Co., Cunard S.S. Co. Ltd., the First National City Bank of New York, and Trans Canada Airlines.⁶⁹

In the early 1930s, the HBC's U.K. headquarters also distributed several hundred calendars as "foreign publicity," and had the Canadian Committee print the calendars' historical sketches in French, German, Norwegian, Italian, and Spanish. This practice was eventually dropped, owing to the difficulties encountered in preparing "absolutely correct" translations.⁷⁰ Beginning in 1957, subscribers to *The Beaver* who renewed their subscriptions through the Company's London office received copies of the HBC calendar. This broadening of the calendar's U.K. viewership came in response to a request from London, which had become increasingly conscious of the public relations value of this item.⁷¹ Canadian diplomatic and trade missions formed another segment of the Company's external calendar audience, when as early as 1949, the Canadian Committee Office arranged to have calendars sent to a total of sixty-three of these consular bodies.⁷²

Probably the Hudson's Bay Company's most coveted audience for its annual calendar included the mass of school children and teachers in western Canada. Since 1929, copies had been sent to every school in Manitoba,

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ See HBCA, PAM, A.102/531.

⁷¹ See HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, extracts from letters between F.B. Walker and D.F. Darby, 15 & 21 Aug. 1956; note for file dated 23 Aug. 1956.

⁷² Ibid., John de Burgh Payne to Philip Chester, 18 March 1949.

Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia,⁷³ and through the visual lessons expounded by the calendar pictures and accompanying text, the calendars served to indoctrinate this captive and eager audience.⁷⁴ Along with the Company's Brief History booklet and pictorial map, the calendars constituted the HBC's "school programme," through which it hoped to "blanket the education system."⁷⁵

The circulation of the calendar pictures in other venues gave ever-increasing currency to the HBC's productions. In 1951, for example, the Company's calendar featuring "an excellent painting by Franklin Arbuckle of the entry of Anthony Henday into the Blackfoot camp in 1754 – 20 years before the building of the Company's first inland post,"⁷⁶ was given *Saturday Night's* top award in the magazine's annual calendar review. One year later, this and another of Arbuckle's works were entered into the Montreal Art Directors Show by the artist, and the former entry garnered critical acclaim:

Altogether, the show was a great success with a very large attendance. The quality was very high as very few pieces were accepted from the large number submitted. I feel very happy, therefore, to report that the painting of Hendry [sic] and the Blackfeet, received the top award for illustration in colour. Although Hendry got the Award, both paintings were very well regarded.

⁷³ See HBCA, PAM, RG2/10/9, Canadian Committee Minute 4995, 29 Jan. 1931, and C.C. Minute 6391, 19 Jan. 1933.

⁷⁴ The distribution of HBC calendars to schools was such a significant aspect of the calendar program that when their discontinuation was considered in light of potential paper shortages during the Second World War, the fact that over 12,000 calendars were sent out annually to the schools was brought to bear on the decision. It was consequently deemed inadvisable to stop production. See HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, Clifford Wilson, note for file, 7 Oct. 1942.

⁷⁵ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/769, F.B. Walker to P.A. Chester, 19 May 1952.

⁷⁶ *Saturday Night*, 23 Jan. 1951, clipping on file in HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1249. See also Canadian Committee Minute 3998, 25 Jan. 1951; extract on file in *ibid*.

Incidentally [sic], full credit was given to H.B.C. as client and yourself as 'Art direction'.⁷⁷

As one might expect, the audience for the Company's calendar evolved over time, and certainly the reception of the calendar by a broad audience underwent change. Commenting on the suitability of the HBC's large format wall calendar in a modern domestic setting, the manager of the HBC's Calgary Store asserted that the calendar was "an institution in a good many schools and country homes especially among our older pioneer customers. We do feel however that the use of the existing calendar in the average home is declining."⁷⁸ The opinion of another Company executive mirrored this assertion. The appeal of the HBC's calendars to "older Canadians" was noted, but they were thought to be less enthusiastically received by younger people.⁷⁹

For the most part, however, reactions to the Company's annual calendar were very positive.⁸⁰ Customers requested copies of this item through letters, telephone calls, and in-person visits to HBC businesses, particularly in the retail stores. The HBC's records attest, in general and by implication, to these

⁷⁷ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1251, Franklin Arbuckle to Clifford Wilson, 22 May 1952.

⁷⁸ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, R.E. Sheen to J.H. Smith, 12 March 1956.

⁷⁹ Ibid., L. Hodson to R.H. Chesshire, 6 March 1956.

⁸⁰ Reflecting on the popularity of the annual calendar, an HBC department head noted that "Even amongst our hard-boiled friends in the trade in New York there was always a surprising interest in the Company calendar. The contrast between the Company calendars and those usually distributed in the fur trade by the dressing firms and others was as great as it could be. The Company usually features men in the North, fully clothed; fur trade calendars feature the opposite sex, in situations of greater warmth requiring an absolute minimum of outer garments." Ibid., memo dated 7 March 1956. Evidently, what the author of this statement in fact found "surprising" was the New Yorkers' calendar preference. In this vein, upon hearing of the Company's intention to discontinue the calendar after 1970, one HBC executive commented: "Sorry to see it go, but no longer considered the best way to advertise for retailers. Can we hang 'Playboys' in 1971?" HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1281, quoted in J.G.W. McIntyre to A.R. Huband, 21 Jan. 1969.

favourable opinions. It is difficult, however, to determine specific individual responses to the calendars. In this thesis, I have only been able to document intentionality, and must therefore speculate as to the reception of the calendar images.⁸¹

Another audience for the Company calendars, though, has yet to be discussed. That audience is the Hudson's Bay Company Archives and its own considerable public. The evolving relationship between the calendars and the archives will now be considered in chapter three.

⁸¹ As Peter Geller notes in his study of photographic fur trade images used in the HBC's *The Beaver* magazine, the HBC's interpretation of its past and present was just that – an interpretation or attempt to construct particular meanings. “These interpretations, serving to bolster the Hudson's Bay Company's established role in Canadian (and British) affairs, reveal one side of the imagery of the fur trade.” Geller, 177. To get at ‘the other side’, it is necessary to study the ways that outside viewers saw the Company. With regard to the calendar, an investigation into how calendar recipients reacted to the lithographed images, how they displayed (or didn't display) the calendar, and how they responded to the calendar pictures in publicly placed exhibitions would provide a useful counterpoint to the ‘official’ Hudson's Bay Company position. This ‘view from below’ would also shed light on another important aspect of functional context. Of course, given our historical distance from the time of the calendars' initial appearances, such abstractions are far more difficult to establish with certainty, and would require a range of alternate sources not considered in this present work.

P-450 (1970-1 calendar)



Figure 1: HBCA, PAM, Documentary Art Collection P-450, 1970-1 HBC Calendar (*The Charter* by artist Ronald Searle)



P-386

1922 calendar

Figure 2: HBCA, PAM, Documentary Art Collection P-386, 1922 HBC Calendar (*Fort Prince of Wales, 1734* by artist A.H. Hider from an engraving by Samuel Hearne)

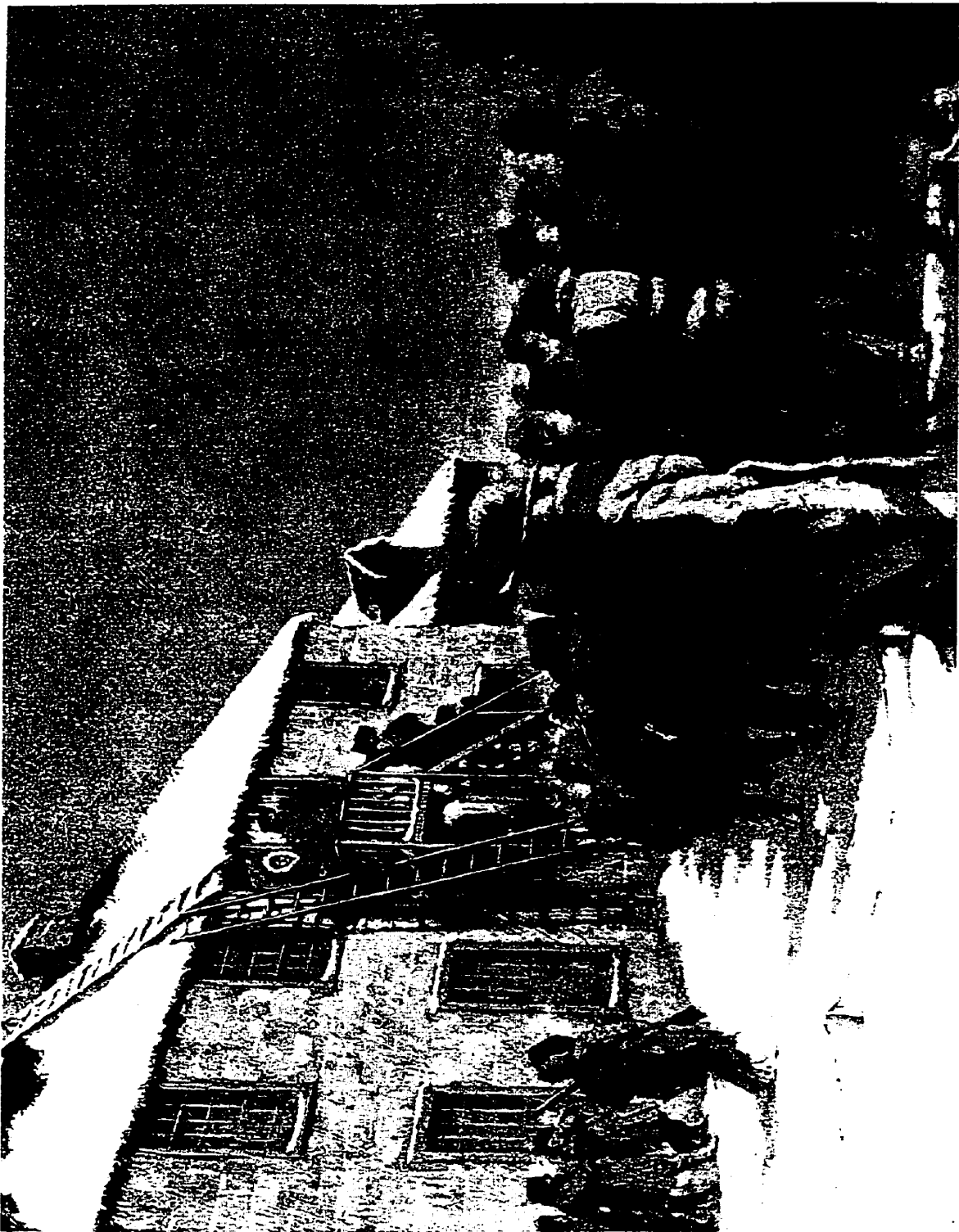


Figure 3: HBCA, PAM, Documentary Art Collection P-449, 1969-3 HBC Calendar (*Donald Smith and Louis Riel, Fort Garry, 1870* by artist Bruce Johnson)

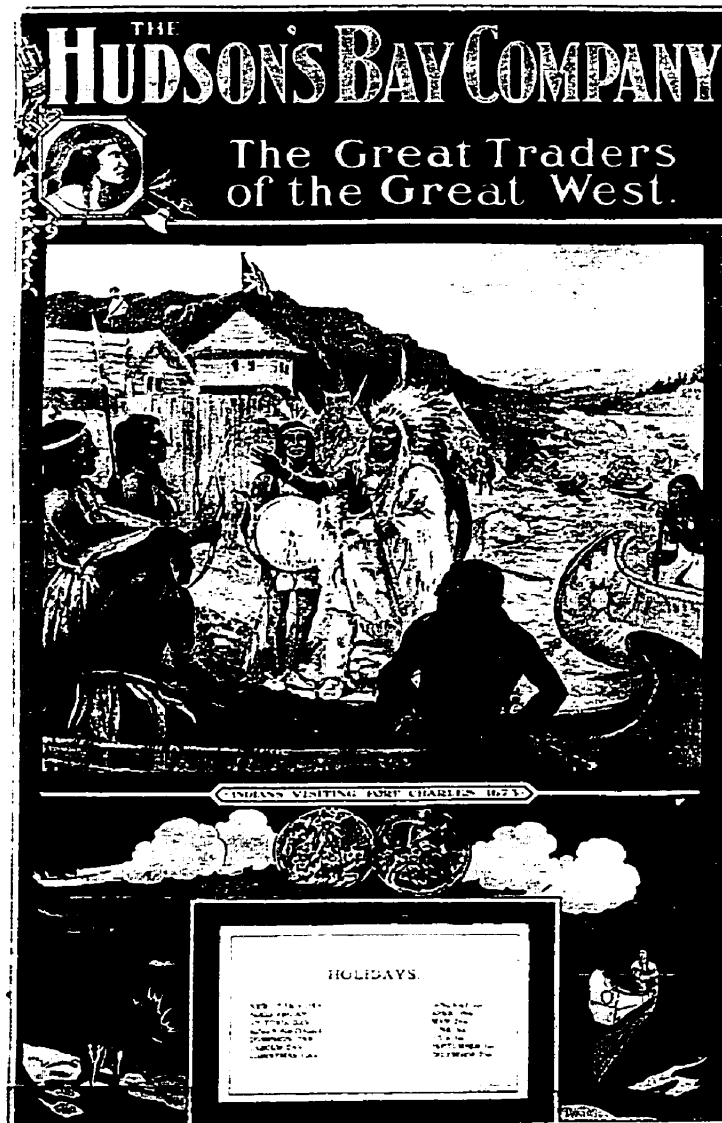


Figure 4: HBCA, PAM, Documentary Art Collection P-439, 1966-2 HBC Calendar (*Vilhjalmur Stefansson's First Arctic Expedition* by artist Lorne Bouchard)

p-451 (1970-2 calendar)



Figure 5: HBCA, PAM, Documentary Art Collection P-451, 1970-2 HBC Calendar (*Retailing* by artist Ronald Searle)



P-383

1919 calendar

Figure 6: HBCA, PAM, Documentary Art Collection
 P-383, 1919 HBC Calendar (*Indians Visiting Fort
 Charles, 1673* by artist E. North)

THE
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
INCORPORATED 1870
THE GREAT TRADERS OF THE GREAT WEST

OLD TIME
&
NEW TIME
TRADING

1st MONTH **JANUARY** 1913.

SUN.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.	SAT.
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

Figure 7: HBCA, PAM, Documentary Art Collection P-695, 1913 HBC Calendar (*Old Time & New Time Trading* by unknown artist)



Figure 8: HBCA, PAM, Documentary Art Collection P-378, 1914 HBC Calendar (*Battle of Seven Oaks, 1816* by unknown artist)



P-420

1956 calendar

Figure 9: HBCA, PAM, Documentary Art Collection P-420, 1956 HBC Calendar (*Trading Ceremony at York Factory, 1780s* by artist Adam Sherriff Scott)



THE CALENDAR

The Company's calendar is probably the most popular piece of interior decoration in Western and Northern Canada. It finds wall space in offices, barber shops, school rooms, country stores and farm house kitchens, and not a few are hung in the place of honour in the homes of the less nomadic Eskimos of the Western Arctic. The calendar plays an important part in their lives and one of the daily chores is keeping the calendar up to date by striking out the previous day. Monday, the fifth, may mean little up there, but the number of days until Christmas is a matter of importance to men, women and children. Here a Baillie Island native examines his new calendar which, incidentally, he receives in August.

Figure 10: *The Calendar* by photographer Richard N. Hourde
 Source: *The Beaver* (December 1936), 33.

Chapter 3

An Unfinished Story: The Documentary Legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company Calendar Images

Having traced the contours of the Hudson's Bay Company's calendar program, and analyzed four key components of records functionality, one can now more readily comprehend the documentary context of the HBC calendar images. Extracting meaning in connection to their present and future role as archival documents, though, is still a work in progress. In this chapter, I seek to foreground a number of issues related to the archival legacy of the HBC calendar images, and suggest avenues for future consideration.

That copies of the Hudson's Bay Company calendars should be preserved as permanent records was articulated several times during the course of the calendar program. In 1931, for example, the HBC's General Manager for Canada, Philip Chester, wrote a memorandum which drew attention to this aspect of corporate record keeping: "There is some doubt in my mind as to whether we are taking good care to keep for all times at least three copies of each year's calendar, which should never be drawn upon for any purpose whatever without the authority of the [Canadian] Committee."¹ To ensure that this was carried out, Chester requested that a register be prepared for this purpose, and that several copies of the annual calendars be put aside in the third

¹ HBCA, PAM, RG2/10/9, P.A. Chester to R. Peirson, 2 Oct. 1931.

floor 'Relic Vault' in Hudson's Bay House.² One calendar for each year was also framed and exhibited on a feature wall at the Winnipeg Head Office. An article which appeared in the March 1944 issue of *The Beaver* magazine, subtitled "What goes on in the building that houses the headquarters of the Company in Canada," makes reference to this hallway exhibition of coloured calendars. It further notes that "Their pictures have become familiar throughout Canada in the last thirty years, dealing in general with rugged scenes from the early history of the Company. The Hudson's Bay calendar, in fact, has become almost a Canadian institution, and some enthusiasts make a habit of collecting them."³

In spite of Chester's desire to preserve a sampling of every HBC calendar that had been produced, there were a number of gaps in the Canadian Committee Office's collection of both paintings and calendars. In 1964, Hudson's Bay House Librarian Shirlee Smith wrote to Alice Johnson, the HBC Archivist in London, in the hopes of obtaining information about missing calendar images. (The CCO staff were unaware of the locations of the original paintings used to produce the calendars issued between 1913 and 1920, and in 1924, 1926, 1935,

² Thirty-three years later, a diary note on the Calendar Policy file reminded the Canadian Committee secretary that three permanent file copies were to be put in a binder and stored in the CCO vault. HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1280, note for A.R. Huband, 1 Dec. 1964.

³ Brian Tobin, "Hudson's Bay House," *The Beaver*, March 1944, 29. On the matter of collecting, see the photograph which appears on p. 35 in this same article. Showing Arthur S. Hamilton, secretary of the Mutual Underwriter Company in his Rochester, New York office, it is the display of seventeen HBC calendar pictures that arrests the viewer's gaze. Hamilton was apparently "one of many American businessmen to whom the appeal of the North is strong," and by hanging the calendar images on his office wall, a measure of "northern atmosphere" was imported to his work environment. For this HBC calendar aficionado, though, the task of acquiring a full set of pictures had yet to be completed. "As he is on the lookout for the other fifteen," concluded the photo caption, "perhaps some other 'Beaver' reader can help him fill in the gaps." *Ibid.*, 35.

1938, and 1943.)⁴ After a lengthy search of the records, Johnson replied that she had not been able to track down any of these paintings in London, and added that there were omissions in their holdings.⁵ The incompleteness of the record is further emphasized by the repeated assertion that the HBC's calendar program began later than it actually did. Since neither Winnipeg nor London had a copy of the Company's inaugural calendar, the establishment of the calendar program was often dated at 1914.⁶ Even Richard Leveson Gower, the HBC's first archivist, was under the impression that the calendars were not produced until the latter part of the 1910s. In a memorandum to the London Secretary, Leveson Gower wrote that "So far as I am aware the series of calendars issued by the Company commenced in 1917 – not in 1913 as stated [on the narrative to be printed on the back of the Company's calendar for 1935]. I have no record of the issue of these calendars prior to 1917."⁷

Despite the void in record-keeping, Company calendars were consciously preserved for the Archives in London, and lists noting year of publication, subject, and quantity were maintained and updated periodically. These reveal that the calendars were stored for a time in 'Strong Room 7', then, in July of 1955, were transferred to 'Archives Room D' in the Company's headquarters at 'Beaver

⁴ HBCA, PAM, RG20/4/30, enclosure to letter from Smith to Johnson, 3 Dec. 1964.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Johnson to Smith, 27 May 1965.

⁶ The Hudson's Bay Company Archives has, itself, perpetrated this incorrect assumption. In the HBCA's on-line description of its Still Images holdings, the following statement appears: "The Hudson's Bay Company produced calendars yearly from 1914 to 1970, and these are also included in the [Documentary Art] Collection." See <http://qov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/about/holdings/photo.html>.

⁷ HBCA, PAM, RG20/4/30, Leveson Gower to A. Miller-Stirling, 21 June 1934.

House'. A note on the list prepared in 1952 indicates that the calendars were "not to be loaned," underscoring the Company's concern with safeguarding its archival assets. On average, two copies of the HBC calendar were set aside each year, until the conclusion of the Company's calendar program capped off the collection.⁸

In 1974, when the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) were transferred from London to Winnipeg, where they constituted the first collection to be housed in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba's new facilities at 200 Vaughan Street, the calendars also made the trans-Atlantic crossing. Having survived the ocean voyage, however, they were left to languish in the archives' vaults, while records deemed of greater importance (textual and cartographic materials) were given priority treatment. Nothing was done with the HBC calendars until the 1980s, when initial control work was finally undertaken.

The impetus for cataloguing the HBC calendars as part of the Archives' Documentary Art Collection was the transfer of the Head Office photograph collection in 1987. This enormous body of images, which had been maintained at Hudson's Bay House (HBH) by *The Beaver* magazine staff, comprised approximately 100,000 photographic prints, negatives, slides, and transparencies. In the spring of 1985, facing financial difficulties, the Hudson's Bay Company closed its library at 77 Main Street to the general public, and in consequence of this closure, questions were quickly raised regarding the

⁸ A copy of the 1971 calendar issued by the HBC's Northern Stores Department was added to London's calendar archive, though this late addition must be seen as part of a separate series of records. Incidentally, the NSD's calendar featured a picture of the *Nonsuch* replica which was taken by Northern Stores District Manager C.H.J. Winter while he was on holidays in England.

servicing and ultimate disposition of the various types of records housed in the library. Overtures to the Hudson's Bay Company to acquire the photograph collection were made by various parties, but Rolph Huband, the HBC's Vice President and Secretary, held the opinion that the records should be transferred to the Archives: "My own personal view is that the collection is a sufficiently important part of Canada's heritage that it should be administered by a public institution, [and] that the HBC Archives is the appropriate institution."⁹ With the impending sale of the HBH property (by this time the operational headquarters of the Company was situated at 401 Bay Street in downtown Toronto), plans to move the photo files to HBCA were put in place, and by February of 1987, the first batch of records had arrived.

As the material was gradually unpacked, staff at the archives proceeded to arrange and describe the file contents, rehousing the images in mylar sleeves, archival file folders, and acid-free storage boxes. The Head Office Collection was given the accession number of '1987/363', with the file list prepared by the HBH Library staff used to structure the internal arrangement. Thus, '1987/363-C-69' was the reference number adopted to describe the file of HBC calendar photo prints and transparencies. As will be discussed later, it was this file which triggered the cataloguing of the calendars themselves.

Until this time, very little had been done at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives to make visual records available to the public. The HBCA's holdings of documentary art, or 'Picture Collection', as it was then called, consisted of a

⁹ HBCA, PAM, RG20/3/48, Huband to S.A. Smith, 3 Oct. 1985.

small but varied accumulation of prints, drawings, paintings, posters, and advertising art.¹⁰ In the past, works of art had been acquired by the Company through purchase, commissions, and donations, though in more recent years the archives extended its visual image holdings by removing documents of an artistic nature from within series of newly acquired corporate records, and classifying such items in the Picture Collection. To manage this visual material, catalogue sheets were drawn up to record such details as title, artist, date, dimensions, medium, provenance, and document reference number. The item-level descriptions provided basic information for a subject-based card catalogue, served as internal control documents, and assisted staff in responding to research requests. They were not, however, accessible to the public.

The HBCA's 'Photograph Collection' (really an assemblage of multiple small collections) was similarly administered, with a staff person responsible for drawing up typewritten archival descriptions to record accession number and name, physical extent, custodial history/provenance, scope and content, arrangement, bibliography, and card catalogue entries (usually filed according to thematic subjects and geographical locations, and under main entries including the names of persons either depicted or responsible for making the image). All

¹⁰ There are now close to 1200 images in the collection, including such highlights as the pen and ink and watercolour drawings created by HBC employee James Isham at Fort Prince of Wales (Churchill) in 1743; a portfolio of twenty-five lithographs of North American Indians by George Caitlin (1844); twenty-three coloured lithographs of Coke Smyth's *Sketches in the Canadas*, ca. 1839; twenty lithographs comprising Henry Warre's *Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory*, 1848; a series of twenty-six silhouettes of HBC Governors and members of the Company's London Committee in the early nineteenth century; and fifty-five pastel and crayon portraits of HBC fur traders ("Men and Women of the North") drawn by Kathleen Shackleton in response to a commission from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1937.

inquiries about the HBCA's visual records received from researchers and other interested parties were mediated by the Keeper of the Archives, or by designated HBCA employees. Undoubtedly a reflection of fiscal restraints, a small staff complement, and institutional priorities, measures to support self-service and to allow clients to navigate through the collections on their own were not in place for many years.

With the arrival of the Head Office Photograph Collection in 1987, however, and with the resulting public service demands, a new approach was required. A re-assignment of staff duties enabled an archivist to be dedicated to the arrangement and description of the photo files (though not full-time), which was an essential ingredient in making the images accessible to researchers. Owing to the enormous popularity of the collection while in the custody of the Hudson's Bay House library, both for internal and external use, a proposed eighteen-month moratorium on access, originally a condition of the archives transfer, could not be effected.¹¹ This pressure was instrumental in shaping the Hudson's Bay Company Archives' policies and procedures in connection with visual documents, particularly with regards to public service. To facilitate access, photographic reference copies of items catalogued in the Picture Collection were made available to researchers, and while a parallel approach to the Photograph Collection could not be supported owing to its vast size, an array of archival descriptions and content lists were provided in place of duplicate images. The practice of making photocopies of photographs which had been copied for

¹¹ HBCA, PAM, RG20/3/48, S.A. Smith to A.R. Huband, 17 Sept. 1986; Debra Moore, Still Images Archivist, HBCA, PAM, personal communication with the author, 19 Oct. 2000.

research, reference, and publication purposes, and assembling these into binders accessible to clients in the archives on-site research room, was begun at this time. Visitors to the archives were then, and still are, able to consult these finding aids to select appropriate materials, and to view original documents on a request basis.

After the 1987 transfer of the Head Office records, photographic negatives, transparencies, and colour prints were removed from files for conservation reasons, and subsequently given appropriate identification and storage treatments. At that time, the archives' holdings of lithographed calendars were formally catalogued in the Picture Collection. Each calendar was given a unique control or 'P' number,¹² placed in an acid-free, buffered paper enclosure, and stored in one of several oversize map cabinet drawers.¹³ A concurrent decision was also made to take the series of colour transparencies and copy prints in the 'HBC Calendar' photo file (the aforementioned 1987/363-C-69) and link these to the calendar series. Duplicate copies of the photographs were inserted into plastic page protectors (one page per year), accompanied by photocopies of the descriptive texts included on the calendars, and

¹² The first HBC calendar to be catalogued in the archives (1914's depiction of the Battle of Seven Oaks) was assigned number P-378. Since items in the Picture Collection were arranged and described sequentially, this number conveys the fact that 377 other works of art in the HBCA's custody had already been catalogued before steps were taken to formally register the calendar documents individually and as a series. In consequence, the 1915 calendar was given the reference P-379, 1916 was accorded number P-380, and so on. A copy of the first of the HBC's historical calendars, the elusive 1913 'Old Time & New Time Trading' collage, was only recently acquired by the archives through purchase, and has therefore been indexed as P-695.

¹³ By this point in time, the HBC collection of calendars originally kept in London had been augmented with a selection of copies that accompanied the various records transferred from Hudson's Bay House. Twenty-two wall calendars issued between 1927 and 1959 (not inclusive) had also been given to the archives by a private-sector donor (Accession 1980/123).

chronologically arranged in a binder for placement in the archives research room. Essential custodial information was then compiled to form a listing of the HBC calendars in the Documentary Art Collection (including reference number, year, title/description, artist/photographer, negative and transparency numbers, and the availability of slides), which was in turn filed at the front of the finding aid binder to introduce and 'explain' (in a outline fashion) the reproduced images.¹⁴ The majority of the calendar photographs captured the featured illustrations only, and did not include the contextual ground upon which the pictures first appeared.

Thus far my discussion in this chapter has focussed on the history of the HBC calendars as archival documents. For the most part, that history has been marked by benign neglect, and the administrative attention accorded these visual documents has been comparatively scant and indifferent. To understand the delayed and perfunctory treatment of the calendars, one needs look no further than the surrounding shelves in the archives' vaults. Laden with volumes of centuries-old account books, vellum-bound ledgers, post journals, ships' logs, district reports, letter copy-books, and published rare books, not to mention boxes of private papers and manuscripts, the rows of shelving betray a cultural preference for the written word.¹⁵ Amidst this sea of textual 'treasures', the

¹⁴ See Appendix B. The calendars have also been documented in the Photo and Picture Collection card catalogue, with cards prepared noting subjects and artists/photographers. As a functioning computer database is currently unavailable to staff and researchers alike (i.e., there is no automated system at the archives), this manual method of information retrieval continues to facilitate access to the HBCA's visual holdings.

¹⁵ Company archivist Joan Craig contributed an article to the Autumn 1970 issue of *The Beaver* chronicling the three-hundred year history of the HBC's archives. In it she drew attention to the myriad text-based documents then in London's custody that have been the focus of countless historical investigations. Craig further illustrated this predilection for script by including four photographic reproductions of handwritten documents, the most recent being an extract from a nineteenth-century catalogue of records. The only nod given to visual or graphic records was the

mass-produced calendars, rather gaudy in their painted-up appearance, could hardly attract serious consideration from archival and scholarly professionals. Other elements which figure into this unbalanced equation include the HBCA's British inheritance of supporting focussed, significant research,¹⁶ the widely-held belief that pictures and painters are not 'trustworthy' as sources of historical evidence, and the contention that 'mass-produced' means 'non-archival'.¹⁷

On this latter point, an administrative decision concerning the perception of 'value' will serve as illustration. During the 1993 lead-up to the Hudson's Bay Company's donation of its archives to the Province of Manitoba, the holdings were appraised by media as part of the application process required for certification of cultural property.¹⁸ In addition to the appraisals which were undertaken for the textual records, maps, architectural plans, photographs, and

dark outline image introducing the text - a silhouette of Company Secretary William Smith. See Joan Craig, "Three Hundred Years of Records," *The Beaver*, Autumn 1970, 66-70.

¹⁶ The Company's 1937 "Rules and Regulations Governing Admission to Research" included the following requirement: "Applications to work on the Archives must indicate the definite subject of the proposed research; applications in respect of vague or general subjects cannot be considered." HBCA, PAM, A.1/210, fo. 41, 14 Dec. 1937, cited in Simmons, 83.

¹⁷ The mistrust of painters specifically, and of documentary art generally, is eloquently addressed by Hugh Taylor in his article, "Documentary Art and the Role of the Archivist," *The American Archivist* 42, No. 4 (Oct. 1979), 417-28. This piece stands out as one of the few published discussions to date on the subject of documentary art archives, and remains by far the most insightful. Despite Taylor's convincing arguments that archivists need extend their range of thinking to embrace visual media, it would appear from the dearth of archival literature that little effort has been made in this regard. One exception, however, should be noted: Greg Spurgeon's "Pictures and History: The Art Museum and the Visual Art Archives," *Archivaria* 17 (Winter 1983-84), 60-74, which examines the overlapping interests of two distinct heritage institutions and their historical roles in collecting pictorial art.

¹⁸ Determining the fair market value of certified cultural property for income tax purposes is the responsibility of the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board. The Board also "makes determination with respect to the 'outstanding significance and national importance' of objects or collections donated or sold to Canadian museums, art galleries, archives and libraries." *Cultural Property Export and Import Act [CPEIA], Applications for Certification of Cultural Property for Income Tax Purposes, Information and Procedures* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1997), 2.

the HBCA library, two independent appraisals of the Documentary Art Collection were conducted. The calendars, however, were not included in this assessment. This decision was motivated by a belief that the calendars, as reproductions of lithographic prints, and as copies made from original paintings, were not appropriate articles for submission to CCPERB for certification for income tax purposes.

While this perspective may have validity in terms of a strict adherence to the Canadian Cultural Property Export and Import Act,¹⁹ it does raise a number of issues in connection to the role of pictorial records in archives. Admittedly, the HBC calendars are mass-produced copies and are not the original paintings. Because of the technical process involved in creating the calendar pictures as lithographic prints, the calendar images are in fact several steps removed from the original paintings. But does this rule out their value as evidence? Are they

¹⁹ As the HBC's archives were being readied for formal donation to the Crown, it was the responsibility of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, as the designated recipient institution, to prepare statements to explain why the records, as cultural property, were of "outstanding significance and national importance...by reason of its close association with Canadian history or national life; [and/or] its aesthetic qualities; [and/or] its value in the study of the arts or science." Amongst the factors that can affect a determination, the guidelines on 'multiple copies' are relevant to this discussion. "Cultural property that exists in multiple copies, or is mass produced, can be considered to be of sufficient significance or importance if other criteria are adequately addressed. The Review Board reserves the right, however, to determine that an example of a multiple work is of "outstanding significance and national importance" in the context of one institution's collection, while the same work might not fulfil these criteria in another collection." *CPEIA, Information and Procedures*, 16, 19. One wonders if greater effort in preparing those arguments could have been made to include the HBC calendars. Furthermore, in addition to assessing "outstanding significance and national importance," CCPERB must determine the fair market value of the property. The Board is assisted in this work by appraisals which are required to accompany all applications for certification. Fair market value has been defined as "the highest price, expressed in terms of money, that the property would bring in an open and unrestricted market between a willing buyer and a willing seller who are both knowledgeable, informed, and prudent, and who are acting independently of each other." *Ibid.*, 22. Given the popularity of Internet auction services such as e-Bay, the Hudson's Bay Company calendar would undoubtedly be highly valued as a collectors' item, and would command a correspondingly high price.

not “representation[s] willed into existence for a purpose and mediated by the persons concurring in [their] formation”?²⁰ Furthermore, many of the paintings, as was noted in chapter one, have not survived. Consequently, the ‘inferior’ calendar image is all that remains of this commercial art production.

That the calendars document a highly visible activity in the Hudson’s Bay Company’s public relations work in the twentieth century cannot be denied. That they relate integrally to a series of textual records classified in the HBCA’s Record Group (RG) 2, Series 8 (Records of the Canadian Committee Office, Correspondence re: Public Relations) is another matter of significance. The calendars were the end products of lengthy communications which were effected to produce annual visual representations of the Company, for public relations purposes. For these reasons, I would argue, they deserve a legitimate and respected place in the archives.²¹

In appraising the role of the HBC calendar images in the archives, a number of factors do need to be considered. To begin with, many of the original paintings upon which the calendar pictures were based are part of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Corporate Art Collection in Toronto. Highly regarded for their aesthetic, monetary, and more recently, their ‘heritage’ value, it is unlikely that

²⁰ Schwartz, 44.

²¹ In a letter written in response to a reference inquiry a number of years ago, Shirlee Anne Smith, as Keeper of the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, made known her position with regard to a particular class of visual record. In reply to the manager of The Bay store in Calgary, who had been approached by a couple of “eccentric gentlemen” with calendar images for sale (it was unclear whether the images were prints or paintings), Smith confirmed that she was “not interested in purchasing these ‘works of art’, either in calendar form or the original oils for two reasons: (a) budgets are tight and I could not justify spending money on ‘illustrative art’; (b) the signing of the charter is not historically accurate as Charles II did not sign it.” HBCA, PAM, HBCA Search File: Calendars, HBC, letter to Gillian MacDonald dated 9 May 1980.

these works would ever be donated to the HBC Archives in Winnipeg. Copies of the Company calendars are also in the Hudson's Bay Company Museum Collection at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. Transferred to the Museum from the Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site over the course of the last decade, some of the calendars had been displayed in the HBC's Historical Exhibit located on the third floor of the Winnipeg Retail Store between 1925 and 1959.²² A further body of HBC wall calendars had been accumulated by the staff at the Lower Fort Garry historic site and maintained as part of the separate 'Garry Collection'. These artifacts are in the process of being relocated to the Manitoba Museum, since the custodial care involved in their preservation can no longer be supported by this federal agency.

At the Manitoba Museum, the calendars are viewed as an important exhibit item, adding colour and interest to displays, including the recently unveiled Hudson's Bay Company Gallery, which presents at least one of the Company calendars in a museum tableau. Since the museum collects more than just three-dimensional objects, the calendars are also prized for their documentary and research value, particularly in connection to twentieth-century fur trade history. The HBC calendar was a prominent feature on the walls of northern posts and traders' homes (be they wooden houses or snow igloos), and understanding this aspect of material culture is of interest to curatorial staff.

²² See Robert Coutts and Katherine Pettipas, "The HBC Museum Collection: 'mere curiosities are not required...'" *The Beaver*, June-July 1994, 13-19, which provides an informative overview of the Hudson's Bay Company's past acquisition and display practices in connection to historical artifacts.

At the archives, staff with specialized knowledge are available to assist researchers in interpreting and selecting images for research use. Since the HBC Archives is the principal provider of calendar image copies for publication purposes and for various research applications, concerns about their duplication in other collections are largely irrelevant. Addressing the 'issue' of multiplicity in the context of photographs – a context that can readily be extended to encompass all visual materials, Joan Schwartz has noted the following:

Identical prints, each a complete original, may be made at different times for different purposes to circulate in different discourses—commercial, scientific, political, economic, journalistic, aesthetic—and may even serve diametrically opposed functions. Each time a negative is printed, each time a print is used, the photographic image is transformed into a photographic document created by an author with a purpose to convey a message to an audience. And each use must be understood as a distinct, though sometimes interrelated, context of document creation with a change of message from one context to the next. It is for this reason that the existence of the identical photograph in two different *fonds* or, indeed, two different institutions (for example, the National Archives of Canada and the National Gallery of Canada) must not be construed as duplication in the first instance or government waste in the second, but rather must be understood as the logical outcome of the appropriation and reappropriation of a photograph with fixed content and physical configuration into different functional contexts with the attendant transformation of a single image into multiple documents.²³

In spite of the calendars' uneven history in the archives, they have continued to be extremely popular with the public. That popularity dates back to the time when the calendars were still very much a part of the Hudson's Bay Company's operations. Particularly during the years leading up to the Company's 300th anniversary, the value of the calendars as public relations and

²³ Schwartz, 51-52.

advertising commodities was keenly realized. In a letter written in late 1968 to former editor of *The Beaver* Clifford Wilson, then Canadian Committee Secretary Rolph Huband commented that “You will be glad to know that we have been jealously guarding our calendar paintings and other original art”²⁴ for use in 1970. Acknowledging that several of the Company’s calendar paintings had been given away to retiring executives in the past, Huband pronounced that this practice was no longer followed. Furthermore, plans were being drawn up to compile an historical portfolio of HBC calendar images which would be sold during the upcoming ‘Anniversary year’.

The HBC’s 300th anniversary provided ample opportunities to circulate these images on an unprecedented scale. The aforementioned historical portfolio was introduced as planned,²⁵ as was a range of other commemorative merchandise, including a jig-saw puzzle which featured the ‘Historic Trading Posts and Territories’ map (used on the Company’s calendar for 1955), and a postcard reproducing the 1915, 1918, and 1948 calendar pictures. A total of twelve calendar images also appeared in the issues of *The Beaver* magazine that year.

²⁴ HBCA, PAM, RG2/8/1281, 15 Nov. 1968

²⁵ Entitled “Historic Paintings Of The Hudson’s Bay Company,” the boxed set contained fourteen 16”x 20” full colour reproductions from past calendar pictures. When the HBC informed staff of its intent to discontinue the annual calendar program, the portfolio was promoted as a means of placating unhappy customers: “As the calendars will not be available, we feel this is a good opportunity for you to remind these customers of our calendar painting collection which we have had reproduced on the occasion of our 300th Anniversary. Should you be asked for a specific reproduction in the collection, we are prepared to break up our sets. Regular retail price has been \$7.98 but we suggest [in true ‘Bay basement’ fashion!] this be reduced to \$6.98 and \$1.00 for individual prints.” HBCA, PAM, HBCA Search File: Calendars, HBC, memo from A.R. Huband to General Managers and Heads of Departments, 8 September 1970.

In fact, it was *The Beaver* magazine that provided the most hospitable home for these illustrations, an arrangement dating back to 1922, when the current calendar picture was first used on the journal's cover. Over the years, calendar images have been reproduced on thirty-two covers,²⁶ and have been included in the magazine's pages countless times. The termination of the HBC calendars in 1970 certainly did not put an end to their employment in *The Beaver*. Transparencies on file in the Hudson's Bay House library were frequently drawn upon to provide visual copy for the magazine and to satisfy requests for reproductions from outside contacts,²⁷ a service which is now carried out by the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.²⁸

Apart from *The Beaver*, however, the HBC spent little to no money on promoting its past after celebrating its tercentenary. The 1970s was not a decade of looking back for the Company. Firmly set on a path of corporate acquisition and expansion, the forward momentum of building up its retail business did not allow for historical mindedness. Capital was instead focussed on purchasing real estate holdings to expand the Company's retail operations

²⁶ A survey of *Beaver* covers revealed that images were used from the following calendar years: 1917, 1918, 1920, 1922, 1924, 1926-1933, 1937, 1938, 1942, 1944, 1945, 1949-1954, 1956, and 1957. Interestingly, the calendar pictures from 1920, 1928, 1929, 1931, and 1937 were reproduced twice, with the 1937 image used as recently as 1988. If image popularity influenced the decision of what to incorporate on the magazine's cover, the fact that no calendar images produced after 1957 were ever used seems to be indicative of their declining appeal.

²⁷ For publication purposes, the 4" x 5" colour transparency was the preferred image format, since it provided a higher level of detail than emulsion prints or 35mm negatives.

²⁸ *The Beaver*, which has been published by Canada's National History Society since 1994, still maintains a file of duplicate calendar transparencies which it uses on occasion. In the past ten years, the magazine has circulated a selection of calendar images in the form of four-colour prints (12½" x 16½", printed on fine stock, and suitable for framing), in subscription brochures, and as animated pictures on its web site. See <http://www.historysociety.ca/english/beavindex/new/launch.html>.

into eastern Canada, namely Ontario and Quebec. Recognizing Toronto's position as the centre of Canadian finance, the HBC established a corporate office on Bay Street. This eventually became the Company's base of operations, though for many years Hudson's Bay House in Winnipeg was retained as the head office "on paper" (i.e. registered headquarters). The desire to be regarded as a modern business entity meant that promoting the HBC's past was counter-productive.

During the 1980s, the excessive spending which marked the preceding decade had to be curtailed. With the acquisition of a majority of HBC shares by Kenneth Thomson in 1979, the Company was under the direction of new owners. Cost-cutting had to be effected to make the Company viable again. This meant a careful analysis of business activities, and a consequent downsizing to achieve profitability. The HBC's wholesale and liquor business was disbanded, as was the Hudson's Bay Records Society, the Company's publications venture. The final blow was delivered in 1987 when the Northern Stores Division, the HBC's historic fur trade business, was sold off to a group of investors and employee interests. For many, this marked the ultimate severing of the Hudson's Bay Company from its past, an act seemingly reinforced in the early 1990s when representatives from the Hudson's Bay Company and the Provincial Archives of Manitoba began making plans for formal transfer of the HBC's archives to the province. 'The Gift' was to be an unprecedented act of corporate goodwill and a recognition of the HBC's integral connection to the growth and development of Western Canada.

Yet, at the same time, facing intense competition from American retail giants, particularly Wal-Mart, which arrived on the Canadian scene in 1994, the Hudson's Bay Company turned again to its past as a means of promoting its business in the present. The establishment of Hudson's Bay Outfitters, a retail emporium selling outdoor adventure paraphernalia, including canoes, camping equipment, outerwear, and the like in downtown Toronto, was an effort to capitalize on the growing urban trend of rugged leisure activity and to foreground its own rugged heritage. Images taken from the HBC's archives, including calendar pictures, were incorporated into the store's interior design and merchandising fixtures.

Another notable example of the HBC's use of historic images took place in the months leading up to the Company's 325th anniversary celebrated on 2 May 1995. In the fall and winter preceding this event, the HBC sent visual marketing personnel to the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg to scour the holdings for items which could be incorporated into its promotional plans. Copies of documentary art and photographs were assembled into binders, and formed a storehouse of visual information which could then be drawn upon for merchandising purposes. Promotional items such as address and note books, greeting cards, cookie and candy tins, and other sundries were subsequently produced featuring HBC calendar images.

The appointment of a corporate Records Manager in February of 1998, and the ensuing development of an HBC Records Management/Heritage office at the Toronto Head Office points to the Company's renewed recognition of the

importance of its history. More recently, the Hudson's Bay Company has made efforts to reacquire material aspects of its 'corporate heritage'. Original oil paintings commissioned for the annual calendar, some of which had been removed from the Company's control, are now being sought after and repatriated. While the earliest images, for which documentation has not survived, now seem irretrievably lost, later calendar pictures are finding their way back to the HBC's Corporate Art Collection. Another example of this trend in promoting the Company's past to strengthen business operations in the present can be seen in the launch of the Hudson's Bay 'Millennium Blankets' last fall.²⁹

The source for much of the visual material which has found its way into Hudson's Bay Company promotions, including calendar images, has of course been the HBC Archives. Within this institution, the calendar images have also served a number of promotional purposes. To highlight the Provincial Archives and Legislative Library of Manitoba 'Open House' in 1995, t-shirts were made for staff bearing a silk-screened version of the 1932 calendar image (see Appendix C, P-396). This depiction of Governor George Simpson being welcomed by James Douglas at Fort St. James was accompanied by the enthusiastic caption: "You're Always Welcome!"³⁰

²⁹ The press release announcing the unveiling of the HBC's Millennium Blankets was suffused with an awareness of the Company's unique position in our national history. "The point blanket has been the signature product of Hudson's Bay Company for over three centuries," commented Marc Chouinard, president and COO of the Bay. "These blankets," he added, "have appeared in numerous movies, television shows, books and photographs. [The blanket] is one of the most recognized symbols of Canadiana around the world." See <http://www.newswire.ca/releases/November1999/17/c5258.html>.

³⁰ This positive statement was possibly motivated by a recognition that the public does not always view the archives as a welcoming place.

More recently, in conjunction with the opening of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives' newly completed vaults in the spring of 1999, enlarged reproductions (30" x 40") of twelve calendar images (a selection of 'personal favourites' made by the HBCA's Still Images archivist) were dry-mounted and hung in frames gracing a wall in the Manitoba Archives Building's main floor foyer. Given the wall's prominence in the institution (it forms the basis of a corridor leading directly to the Provincial Archives public research room), the poster-sized prints garnered widespread attention. Viewers included not only the building staff,³¹ and researchers, but also an assortment of local and national 'worthies' who had been invited to the media event held at the end of April on the occasion of the official vault opening.³²

Outside the boundaries of the Archives, the use of the calendar images has been even more significant. Copies in the form of prints, slides, and transparencies have been provided by the Archives to innumerable members of the general public, magazine and book publishers, television broadcasters, film and video producers, CD compilers, web site designers, and many others. A highly visible example of such use is Peter C. Newman's illustrated history of the Hudson's Bay Company, *Empire of the Bay*. A total of eleven calendar images were reprinted in this widely disseminated visual compendium, including four full-

³¹ The Legislative Library, the Provincial Archives, and Elections Manitoba are just three of the most obvious Manitoba government agencies housed in Winnipeg's old Civic Auditorium, which was converted into provincial government offices in 1974.

³² In the latter group were the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, the HBC's President and CEO, numerous corporate board members, HBC store managers, Company retirees, the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, the Premier, the provincial Minister of Culture, Heritage, and Citizenship, and many others.

page reproductions. As well, a calendar picture (the 1944 rendition of Chief Trader Archibald McDonald descending the Fraser River in 1828; see Appendix C, P-408) was used on the cover of his *Caesars of the Wilderness*, the second volume in Newman's three-part popular history of the HBC. An army of calendar images was similarly pressed into service in the documentary film version of Newman's trilogy. Adapted and directed by the Toronto filmmaker John McGreevy, *Empire of the Bay* was aired on CTV and History Television two years ago.³³

The example of *Empire of the Bay*, the film, presents an opportunity for an appraisal of the calendar image, as document, and as it relates to use. Visual records generally have been called into action time and time again to perform roles which they are often ill-suited to deliver. The tendency to ransack history for illustrative commentary presents a danger which needs to be addressed. Visual images "are almost always treated as 'facts' rather than interpretations. Only rarely do the captions or text indicate that the artist was expressing a particular view of events. And more often than not, the visual perspective that is

³³ An article in the Toronto *Globe and Mail* noted some of the difficulties which the filmmaker encountered while orchestrating this production: "McGreevy had planned to use a combination of historical paintings, maps and landscape footage....But when he visited the HBC archives in Winnipeg he discovered that while the 28 tons of records were rich in words and numbers, there wasn't too much to look at. 'I made the assumption that there would be a wealth of visual information along with the written information. But we were confronted with an empty cupboard when we started. We had nothing to work with....'" Chris Dafoe, "Bay documentary pictures the past," *The Globe and Mail*, 5 Sept. 1998, C4. This opinion was understandably criticized by the HBCA archivists who, all-too-clearly, recalled the days spent supervising the film crews which, against all obstacles, managed to locate the elusive visual record in the archives' 'empty cupboard'.

offered – but not analyzed – is sentimental, nostalgic, or romantic.”³⁴ Popular images, including the HBC calendar pictures, have reinforced, and to some extent created, particular conceptions of history. Because of their power to imprint messages upon the psyche, such visual records therefore not only interpret history but they also define it. For this reason, it is essential that viewers challenge the purported historical accuracy of the calendar images, and subvert the notion that what is depicted in the picture is a ‘natural’ view of the world. To break the assumed link between reality and representation, a judicious use of these visual materials needs to be tempered with a recognition of their historicity, specificity, and subjectivity.

A related occurrence is the repetition of particular views of the past at the expense of untapped and alternative visual perspectives. Unfortunately, many historical images in public archives and other collections have been used so many times that they lose their impact and consequently their effectiveness. One could argue that this has been the case with the Hudson’s Bay Company calendar images. Their over-circulation has made many of these images tired and lifeless, and incapable of inspiring any active engagement with the past. To animate these “classic images of our heritage,”³⁵ an understanding of their original context of creation and use must be sought. By situating the calendars in

³⁴ Roy Rosenzweig, “Marketing the Past: American Heritage and Popular History in the United States,” in Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rozenzweig, eds. *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 39-40.

³⁵ Quoted in J.M. Bumsted, “History, Illustrated,” Review of *The Illustrated History of Canada*, by Craig Brown, ed., *The Beaver*, February-March 1988, 58.

their documentary framework, the possibilities of discovering fresh insights and connections to our own history are heightened.

Assessments of records creation frame Richard Brown's perceptive analysis of the potential for a theoretically grounded archival appraisal strategy. He articulates a crucial requirement of archivists in the 'post-custodial era'. In order to address the myriad challenges facing the profession, he argues, "...we must also recognize the function and role of an archives as a site of historical agency, or signification, or interpretive decipherment. Ultimately, we must accept our professional responsibility to enfranchise the archaeology of our documentary heritage...."³⁶ While Brown introduces this imperative in connection to records acquisition, its applicability to archival practice generally cannot be overlooked. What is functional context if not "the archaeology of our documentary heritage"? In order to be accountable to both the records in our care and to the public for whom these documents are preserved, archivists need to concern themselves with the archaeology or context of records.

Kathleen Epp similarly emphasizes the need for archivists to remain grounded in the archival record and in the contextual approach to understanding these records. Citing the works of Terry Cook and Richard Cox on archival public programming, she affirms that knowledge about records creation and characteristics is an essential component of an archivist's professional work, and that this perspective can and should be communicated. The communication need not be one way. Rather, a dialogue with other participants in the creation

³⁶ Richard Brown, "Records Acquisition Strategy and Its Theoretical Foundation: The Case for a Concept of Archival Hermeneutics," *Archivaria* 33 (Winter 1991-92), 35.

and use of records should be encouraged. In her M.A. thesis on the use of archives in television productions, Epp has made an eloquent plea for the development of dialogue in our society about archives and records, involving participation from a wide range of positions: "Archivists are accustomed to the exchange of ideas which might occur, both casually and professionally, with members of...significant groups such as academics or genealogists. Perhaps, however, that dialogue needs to be extended more intentionally to the documentary making user group. Increased communication between archivists and documentary makers would promote an awareness of an appreciation for the work of both groups."³⁷ Undoubtedly, increased cooperation and consultation with all stakeholders should be actively encouraged. Towards this end, archivists need to encourage a better understanding of the materials in their care.

One avenue for achieving such context-oriented communication is the Internet. Web sites, which have an unprecedented ability to connect archives with the general public, present an array of options for archivists to improve the exchange of information about records. A review of the HBCA's Web site design and content is currently underway at the Archives, and the ensuing development work should provide an opportunity for improving the contextual information about records that is made available to visitors. For the Hudson's Bay Company calendar images, that information has never been included to date.³⁸

³⁷ Kathleen L. Epp, "Telling Stories Around the 'Electronic Campfire': The Use of Archives in Television Productions" (M.A. Thesis: Department of History, Archival Studies, University of Manitoba/University of Winnipeg, 1999), 101.

³⁸ See the HBCA Calendar Listing on the archives' web site at <http://gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/resource/docart-r/calendar/calnlist.html>. This selection of the

To address the weaknesses in the Web access to the calendar series, a virtual exhibition of the entire series of calendars could be featured, and include digitized reproductions of the physical documents. Digital images of not only the calendar pictures but also the calendars themselves would provide viewers with a sense of the original image context. Furthermore, by adding zoom capabilities, viewers would have the opportunity to examine particular attributes at close range. These images could in turn be linked to detailed descriptions of the calendars, providing insight into their context of creation and subsequent use.

With the great advances in information technology and Internet-enabled communication, the possibilities of presenting more fully the calendars' original functional context are many and varied. Towards this end, electronic images of textual documents related to their production and use could be fruitfully employed on the archives' web site. Items such as letters written to the Hudson's Bay Company by commissioned artists, including C.W. Jefferys, Charles Comfort, and Franklin Arbuckle, to list only three of the most widely known creators, would provide valuable insights into the process of artist and patron negotiations, and relay in very personal terms aspects of the artistic enterprise. These could also be related to copies of correspondence authored by Company personnel, which would serve to illuminate key statements of corporate intent.

Links to related records in the archives and elsewhere would also be enormously beneficial and, on the latter point, would help to establish greater

calendar images is included on the site in one of its Image Galleries, but the presentation, I would argue, is largely decorative. Only twenty-seven of the calendar pictures are displayed, and the accompanying information is limited to a listing of document reference numbers, captions, and artists. I have reproduced this 'gallery of images' in Appendix C.

connections to other public and private institutions. Such a network could include the Manitoba Museum and the Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site, which also possess copies of HBC calendars; the Hudson's Bay Company, whose Corporate Art Collection contains many of the original paintings upon which the calendars are based; regional and national archival repositories, which hold associated documentary materials; art galleries, which count among their collections the works of visual creators who have a relationship to the HBC calendars; and libraries, which have pertinent published sources in their catalogues. In short, by developing a creative archival environment in an interactive electronic form, archivists can greatly enhance the voyage of discovery for an increasingly diverse audience, including seasoned travelers and accidental tourists.

Other outreach activities such as tours and special events could be coordinated to highlight the HBC calendars, not just the images on those calendars, but also their production and use. The new awareness and emphasis on client services is being felt in the archival community as much as in other segments in our society. In an effort to develop and expand its clientele, archives are endeavouring to improve their services to the public. Part of this effort is aimed at making archival clients more self-sufficient, a goal which relies heavily on information technology. But to facilitate client-directed research, archivists will have to become far more self-conscious and self-reflective. Only by making known the nature of their activities and actions will archivists enable

researchers to apprehend the role that archives play in shaping both the record and, by extension, public memory.³⁹

Echoing the National Archives of Canada's mission statement, I would argue that the goal of the contextual approach in archives is to enhance our understanding of the past, and to foster connections with the sources of our past.⁴⁰ Particularly in view of the complexity of visual sources in communicating information, it is all the more important to analyze their context of creation and use. This thesis has been an initial attempt to explore the functional context of a well-known body of visual images – the Hudson's Bay Company calendar pictures. The story, though, is an unfinished one, and begs further and closer reading of the documentary text. I encourage others with an interest in this history to continue the discussion.

³⁹ For an insightful consideration of how archivists construct meaning in archives, see Brien Brothman, "Orders of Value: Probing the Theoretical Terms of Archival Practice," *Archivaria* 32 (Summer 1991): 78-100; also Terry Cook, "Electronic Records, Paper Minds: The Revolution in Information Management in Archives in the Post-Custodial and Post-Modernist Era," *Archives and Manuscripts* 22, no. 2 (November 1994), 300-28; Tom Nesmith, "Still Fuzzy, But More Accurate: Some Thoughts on the 'Ghosts' of Archival Theory," *Archivaria* 47 (Fall 1999); and Schwartz, especially 60-64. As Brothman notes, one way that archivists shape the records in their care is by ordering material in 'groups'. At the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, for example, the separation of calendars into the Documentary Art Collection 'group' has served to distance the calendars ever farther from a part of their functional context (the Canadian Committee Office files which chart their origination and production).

⁴⁰ See <http://www.archives.ca/04/0427/docs/sd-os-2000-2003.pdf>.

Conclusion

Icons which have commanded veneration, pictures which have amused and entertained – the Hudson's Bay Company calendar images have been these and more to many Canadians in the past century.

Over the course of three chapters, I have mapped the geography of the Hudson's Bay Company's twentieth-century calendar program, foregrounded the HBC calendars as archival documents by analyzing four defining components of functional context – namely author, purpose, message, and audience - and explored the archival legacy of the calendar images. In doing so, I have endeavoured to reposition the calendars specifically, and visual records generally, in our understanding of archival theory and practice.

That understanding must itself be situated in what can only be perceived as “challenging times” for archives. In an age of ongoing fiscal restraint, the challenges are many. Technological changes, in particular those emanating from new electronic communications media, have increased the demands placed on archivists. How does one find the time to research the functional context of records, and make this information available to researchers, when an unending stream of inquiries are directed to archival repositories? Given the archivist's pivotal role in protecting the integrity of records, how can one *not* attend to functional context? Without a clear understanding of the origins of records, users of such records are cast adrift in a sea of archival fragments. This is not to suggest that archival researchers are incapable of forming meaningful

connections among records, creators, activities, and events, or that the archivist need play a paternalistic role in “setting the record (and the user of the record) straight.” I would suggest that as records and information professionals, archivists can perform a valuable service by facilitating an understanding of the documents in their care, and encouraging researchers to foreground context.

E.M. Forster’s novel *Howards End* contains an admirable epigraph which bears consideration by archivists and users of archives alike. The two words employed by Forster - ‘*Only connect...*’ - are repeated elsewhere in the book, and when we read them again, we note that they are followed by another crisp exhortation: “Only connect! Live in fragments no longer.”¹ Published nearly a century ago, this shard of wisdom has, if anything, gained even greater currency in a society marked by disjunction and discontinuity. Linked to archives, the value of ‘connection’ is manifested in the goal of establishing archival context. I now conclude my thesis with the hope that by drawing attention to the functional origins of the HBC calendar images, I have managed to connect some of the documentary fragments, and in the process, have contributed to a better understanding of our visual heritage and our archival obligations.

¹ E.M. Forster, *Howards End* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1973), 188.

Appendix A: Calendar Record

Year	Subject	Artist	Cost of Painting	Produced by	Quantities		Cost per		Location of Original Painting
					Bulk	In Tubes	Calendar	Tube	
1913	Old Time and New Time Trading		unknown						
1914	Seven Oaks, 1816		unknown	Stovel Co., Winnipeg					London
1915	Signing the Charter		unknown	Southam Press, Montreal					
1916	Voyage of the first Hudson Bay Expedition - Nonsuch at Sea		unknown	McCorquodale & Co., London					
1917	Building of the first Fort		unknown	Southam Press, Montreal					
1918	First Public Sale of Furs		unknown	Alf. Cooke Ltd., Leeds					London
1919	Indians Visiting Fort Charles, 1673		unknown	Alf. Cooke Ltd., Leeds					London
1920	Prince Rupert, Count Palantine of the Rhine		unknown	Alf. Cooke Ltd., Leeds					London
1921	Ceremony of the Pipe		unknown	Alf. Cooke Ltd., Leeds					London
1922	Fort "Prince of Wales", 1734	A.H. Hilder	unknown	Rolph-Clarke-Stone, Toronto					G. Gagnon, N.S.D.
1923	Discovery of Coppermine River by Hearne, 1771	Frank H. Johnston	unknown	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg					Lower Vault
1924	Landing of Selkirk Settlers, Red River, 1812	J.E. Schaflein	unknown	Miller Litho, Toronto					
1925	Fort Vancouver Erected, 1825	Cleland Bell	unknown	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg					C. Winter, N.S.D.
1926	Gov. of Rupert's Land on Tour of Inspection	L.L. Fitzgerald	unknown	Miller Litho, Toronto					
1927	In Hudson Bay, 1845	J. Spurling	unknown	Copp, Clark Co., Toronto	25,100	28,100	7 3/10¢	1 3/5¢	
1928	Kelsey sees the Buffalo, 1691	C.W. Jeffreys	\$600.00	Rolph-Clarke-Stone, Toronto	28,300	27,500	8¢	2¢	
1929	Red River Carts Leaving Fort Garry, 1863	A. Sherriff Scott	\$500.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	31,260	29,090	8 1/4¢	2¢	On loan to John Dafeo School, later Toronto Retail Store

Appendix A: Calendar Record

Year	Subject	Artist	Cost of Painting	Produced by	Quantities		Cost per		Location of Original Painting
					Bulk	In Tubes	Calendar	Tube	
1930	H.B.C. York Boat at Norway House	W.J. Phillips	\$400.00	Southam Press, Montreal	26,400	50,600	7¢	2¢	Mr Ball, R.S.O. later Toronto Retail Store
1931	Last Dog Train Leaving Fort Garry, 1909	Charles F. Comfort	\$250.00	Southam Press, Montreal	27,000	50,000	7¢	2¢	Lounge
1932	Fort St. James, Douglas welcoming Simpson, 1828	A. Sherriff Scott	\$375.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	24,400	36,600	8¢	1¢	Winnipeg Store
1933	S.S. Beaver, Victoria, 1846	A. Sherriff Scott	\$375.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	33,250	26,750	7 1/2¢	2/3¢	Winnipeg Store
1934	Lagimodiere at Selkirk's House, 1815	A. Sherriff Scott	\$400.00	Miller Litho, Toronto	38,000	24,000	5 1/4¢	1¢	Given to St. Boniface Museum 12/1/1961
1935	Trading into Hudson Bay, Cape Wolstenholme	A. Sherriff Scott	\$200.00	Southam Press, Montreal	52,700	31,300	5 1/2¢	1 1/2¢	
1936	Council of Northern Dept., Norway House, 1836	Charles F. Comfort	\$500.00	Southam Press, Montreal	62,100	29,900	6¢	1 1/2¢	Winnipeg Store
1937	The Battle of the Bay, 1697	Norman Wilkinson	\$365.57	Rolph-Clarke-Stone, Toronto	59,600	30,400	6¢	1¢	Presented to Mr Newlands, June, 1960
1938	Parting of the Brigades	W.J. Phillips	\$150.00	Can. Printing and Litho Co.	67,650	25,500	5 1/10¢	1 1/10¢	
1939	Pictorial Map of Canada	Stanley Turner	Incl. in cost of cal.	McLaren & McCaul Ltd.	71,170	26,630	9¢	1 1/2¢	
1940	Shiplime at Pangnirtung (Kodachrome)	Lorene Squire	\$400.00	Advocate Printers	60,000	40,000	10¢	1 1/2¢	
1941	McLoughlin Welcomes the Americans, Fort Vancouver, 1834	Charles F. Comfort	\$500.00	Rolph-Clarke-Stone, Toronto	81,890	18,100	6¢	1¢	
1942	R.M. Ballantyne at Tadoussac, 1846	Charles F. Comfort	\$500.00	Southam Press, Montreal	67,230	30,370	5 1/2¢	1 1/2¢	Winnipeg Store
1943	Founding of Fort Victoria, 1843	Newton Brett	\$300.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	67,000	29,000	6.3¢	2 1/2¢	
1944	Chief Trader McDonald Descending Fraser, 1828	A. Sherriff Scott	\$300.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	62,000	38,000	6.3¢	2 1/2¢	Winnipeg Store
1945	"Nonsuch" in the Thames	Norman Wilkinson	£105.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	62,000	38,000	6 1/2¢	2 1/2¢	Beaver Editor later Toronto Retail Store
1946	Troops at Upper Fort Garry, 1846/48	A. Sherriff Scott	\$350.00	Southam Press, Montreal	64,000	40,000	8 1/2¢	1¢	Toronto, Scales and Roberts

Appendix A: Calendar Record

Year	Subject	Artist	Cost of Painting	Produced by	Quantities		Cost per		Location of Original Painting
					Bulk	In Tubes	Calendar	Tube	
1947	John Rowand Halts the Blackfoot Charge	Henry Simpkins	\$400.00	Southam Press, Montreal	68,700	37,500	6.4¢	2.4¢	Given to Mr. McDonagh 24/4/1959
1948	Canoes leaving Lachine	Franklin Arbuckle	\$600.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	75,300	41,000	9¢	2 1/2¢	Winnipeg Store
1949	Building Fort Yukon	W.J. Phillips	\$250.00	The Ronalds Company	85,000	43,000	13 1/2¢	6¢	Mr Tolboom, N.S.D. Sent to Montreal Main Store - Mr. Drury's 14/10/1954
1950	Prithchard on way from Montreal to Red River	Franklin Arbuckle	\$675.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	90,425	42,825	10 3/4¢	4 3/4¢	
1951	Anthony Henday in the Blackfoot Country, 1754	Franklin Arbuckle	\$700.00	E.S.&A. Robinson, Toronto	80,175	50,800	11¢	3 1/4¢	Winnipeg Store
1952	Samuel Hearne Builds Cumberland House with Crees	Franklin Arbuckle	\$800.00	E.S.&A. Robinson, Toronto	81,184	47,678	12.1¢	3.7¢	Winnipeg Store
1953	Chipeweyan woman with Wm. Stewart makes peace	Franklin Arbuckle	\$800.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	89,600	40,800	10 1/2¢	5¢	Winnipeg Store
1954	Sternwheeler "Distributor" approaching Fort Norman	J.S. Hallam	\$700.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	104,016	46,432	13 3/4¢	4 1/2¢	Winnipeg Store
1955	Pictorial Map of Canada	Stanley Turner	\$550.00	E.S.&A. Robinson, Toronto	102,927	39,841	15¢	5 1/2¢	In Lower Vault
1956	Trading Ceremony at York Factory	A. Sherriff Scott	\$500.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	104,069	44,400	13 3/4¢	5¢	Basement
1957	17th Century Eskimos Trading with H.B.C. Ship	Franklin Arbuckle	\$900.00	Southam Press, Montreal	112,152	47,747	12 2/5¢	5¢	Winnipeg Store
1958	Governor Douglas leaves Fort Langley	Franklin Arbuckle	\$1,100.00	E.S.&A. Robinson, Toronto	106,269	45,219	19 3/4¢	4 1/4¢	Permanent Loan to Fort Langley
1959	Nicholas Garry at Slave Falls	Rex Woods	\$700.00	Southam Press, Montreal	111,605	45,817	19 3/4¢	4 1/4¢	Sold to: J.E. Woods May, 1958
1960	First White Woman arrives at Moose Fort, 1683	Will Davies	\$1,320.00	Rolph-Clarke-Stone, Toronto	93,301	40,485	18¢	5¢	Toronto
1961	Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II accepts Payment of Rent from the Hudson's Bay Company (1959).	Kodachrome - Campbell and Chipman		Benallack Ltd., Montreal	86,073	40,092	18¢	5¢	
1962	Lachine, Quebec	Malak	\$283.05	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	92,910	38,047	16¢	7¢	Kodachrome filed in Library

Appendix A: Calendar Record

Year	Subject	Artist	Cost of Painting	Produced by	Quantities		Cost per		Location of Original Painting
					Bulk	In Tubes	Calendar	Tube	
	Fort Prince of Wales	George Hunter	\$338.06						
	Fort Langley	George Hunter	\$338.07						
1963	Simpson Pass Lower Fort Garry	Nicholas Morant Paul Chipman		Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	93,944	38,446	16¢	7¢	Kodachrome filed in Library
	Blockhouse - Sault Ste. Marie	Gordon MacAulay	\$40.00						
1964	Grand Falls, Labrador Columbia River, B.C. Norway House, Manitoba	British Newfoundland Corp. Nicholas Morant George Hunter		Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	97,685	31,491	16¢	6¢	Kodachrome filed in Library
1965	Turnor Surveys Lake Athabasca	Lorne Bouchard r.c.a.	\$1,725.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	93,572	31,526	12¢	3¢	Winnipeg Store
	Ball at Upper Fort Garry	William Winter r.c.a. Norman Wilkinson	\$1,200.00			(envs.)			Winnipeg Store Mr Sutherland, Montreal Office
	Seven Day Gale	P.R.I.	\$500.00						
1966	North-West Mounted Police at Lower Fort Garry	William G.Davies	\$1,200.00	Public Press Ltd., Winnipeg	99,125	32,000	12¢	4¢	
	Vilhjalmur Stefansson's First Arctic Expedition	Lorne Bouchard r.c.a.	\$1,625.00						Toronto Retail Store
	Haida Pottlatch on the Pacific Coast	Walter Yarwood	\$825.00						Toronto Retail Store
1967	Red River Settlement, 1867	Don Anderson	\$1,200.00	Public Press Ltd., Winnipeg	100,447	30,700	13¢	5¢	Mr Cairns, RLT - Toronto Retail Store
	Fort Edmonton, 1867	Lorne Bouchard r.c.a.	\$1,625.00						Merchandise Depot Edmonton
	Government Buildings, Victoria, 1867	Bruce Johnson	\$1,500.00						Basement of H.B.C.
1968	H.M.S. "Shark" leaves Westward Bound Ships	Norman Wilkinson c.b.e.		Bulman Bros., Winnipeg	99,780	30,240	12¢	5¢	London Office
	"Prince Albert" and "Prince Rupert" in Hudson Bay	John R.C. Spurling							Winnipeg Store

Appendix A: Calendar Record

Year	Subject	Artist	Cost of Painting	Produced by	Quantities		Cost per		Location of Original Painting
					Bulk	In Tubes	Calendar	Tube	
	"Nonsuch" en route to Hudson Bay	Norman Wilkinson c.b.e.							Retail Store, Toronto
1969	The Arrest of William McGillivray by Earl of Selkirk	Don Anderson	\$1,400.00	Public Press Ltd., Winnipeg	103,184	30,962	14¢	6¢	Retail Store, Toronto
	Indians with Radisson and Grosellers, Charles Fort	Lorne Bouchard r.c.a.	\$2,125.00						Library
	Donald Smith and Louis Riel, Fort Garry	Bruce Johnson	\$1,500.00						
1970	The Charter	Ronald Searle	\$1,200.00	Bulman Bros., Winnipeg					Missing
	Retailing	Ronald Searle	\$1,200.00						Missing
	The Fur Trade	Ronald Searle	\$1,200.00						Missing

Source: HBCA, PAM, RG9 / 623.6.1, Calendar - Record & Sundry Information.
 This record has been faithfully reproduced from the original, and consequently reflects a number of inconsistencies contained in the original source document, as executed ca. 1970.
 It has been included for the purpose of communicating a large body of contextual information in summary form.

Appendix B

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HBCA Documentary Art Collection - Hudson's Bay Company Calendar Series

Ref. #	Year	Title/Description	Artist	Negative	Transparency	Slide (Yes / No)
P-695	1913	Old Time and New Time Trading		N14747 (b&w) N14748 (c)	T14749	Y
		Portion Fort Garry Store		N14750 (c)	T14751	
		Portion Vancouver Store		N14752 (c)	T14753	
P-378	1914	Battle of Seven Oaks, 1816		N8281(b&w) N87-8(c)	T8327(OS)	Y
P-379	1915	Signing of the HBC Charter by Charles II on May 2nd, 1670		N3548 (b&w) N8172(c)	T8217	Y
P-380	1916	Voyage of the First Hudson Bay Expedition/ Departure of the <i>Nonsuch</i> , 1668	"M.B.B."	N8277(b&w) N13090(c)	T8218	N
P-381	1917	Building of the First Fort		N8276(b&w)	T14163	Y
P-382	1918	The First Public Sale of Furs, 1672	Edward North (from a lithograph by Alfred Cooke & Son, Leeds)	N8174(b&w) N14629(c)	T14630	Y
P-383	1919	Indians Visiting Fort Charles, 1673	"E.N." [Edward North?]	N13086(b&w)	T11747	Y
P-384	1920	Prince Rupert, First Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company	Peter Lely	N69-115(b&w) N9303(c)	T8220	N
P-385	1921	Ceremony of the Pipe	"E.N." [Edward North?]	N9033(c)	T8221	Y
P-386	1922	Fort "Prince of Wales", 1734 (from an engraving by Samuel Hearne)	A.H. Hider	N7565(b&w) N87-47(c)	T8222	Y
P-387	1923	Discovery of the Coppermine River, 13th July 1771	Frank H. Johnston	N11331(c)	T8223	Y
P-388	1924	Landing of the Selkirk Settlers, Red River, 1812	J.E. Schaflein	N8196(b&w) N11312(c)	T8224	Y
P-389	1925	Fort Vancouver, erected 1825	Henry Kent / Cleland Bell (Lithographer)		T8225	Y

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HBCA Documentary Art Collection - Hudson's Bay Company Calendar Series

Ref. #	Year	Title/Description	Artist	Negative	Transparency	Slide (Yes / No)
P-390	1926	Governor of Rupert's Land on a tour of inspection [Governor George Simpson]	L.L. Fitzgerald (from a photo of a painting by Cyrus C. Cuneo)	N7907(b&w) N9370(c)	T8226	Y
P-391 (see P-445)	1927	In Hudson's Bay in 1845 [The ships <i>Prince Albert</i> and <i>Prince Rupert</i>]	John R.C. Spurling	(see N8503 (b&w) N9027(c)	T8227	Y
P-392	1928	Kelsey sees the Buffalo, August 1691	Charles W. Jefferys	N7812(b&w) N13494(c)	T8228	Y
P-393	1929	Red River Carts leaving Fort Garry, 1863	Adam Sherriff Scott	N11732(b&w) N8463(c)	T8229	Y
P-394	1930	HBC York Boats at Norway House	Walter J. Phillips	N7811(b&w) N8463(c)	T8230	Y
P-395	1931	Last Dog Train leaving Lower Fort Garry, 1909	Charles F. Comfort	N11733(b&w) N8463(c)	T8231	Y
P-396	1932	Fort St. James, B.C. - Governor George Simpson welcomed by James Douglas, 7 September 1828	-Adam Sherriff Scott	N7658(b&w) N8267(c)	T8232	Y
P-397	1933	S.S. <i>Beaver</i> off Fort Victoria, 1846	Adam Sherriff Scott	N7151(b&w) N13899(c)	T8233	Y
P-398	1934	Jean Baptiste Lagimodiere's arrival at Lord Selkirk's house, Montreal, New Year's Eve, 1815	Adam Sherriff Scott	N7640(b&w) N7652(c)	T8234	Y
P-399	1935	Wolstenholme Post - Trading into Hudson Bay	Adam Sherriff Scott		T8235	N
P-400	1936	The Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, meeting at Norway House, June 21, 1836	Charles F. Comfort	N7830(b&w) N9030(c)	T8236	Y

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HBCA Documentary Art Collection - Hudson's Bay Company Calendar Series

Ref. #	Year	Title/Description	Artist	Negative	Transparency	Slide (Yes / No)
P-401	1937	The Battle in the Bay, 1697 (The sinking of the <i>Hampshire</i>)	Norman Wilkinson	N8265(b&w) N8465(c)	T8237	Y
P-402	1938	The Parting of the Brigades, 1826 (Yellowhead Pass)	Walter J. Phillips	N9034(c)	T8238	Y
P-403	1939	Pictorial Historical Map of Canada	Stanley Turner	N11835(b&w)	T8239	N
P-404	1940	Shiptime at Pangnirtung (coloured photograph)	Lorene Squire (photographer)	N13915(b&w) N13916(c)	T13917	Y
P-405	1941	McLoughlin welcomes the Americans, Fort Vancouver, 1834	Charles F. Comfort	N14042(b&w) N11844(c)	T8240	Y
P-406	1942	R.M. Ballantyne, Clerk and Chief Trader George Barnston arrive at Tadoussac, 6 February 1846	Charles F. Comfort	N11503(c)	T8241	N
P-407	1943	The Founding of Victoria, 1843	Newton Brett	N11685(b&w) N8268(c)	T8242	Y
P-408	1944	Chief Trader Archibald McDonald descending the Fraser, 1828	Adam Sherriff Scott	N8093(b&w) N9031(c)	T8243	Y
P-409	1945	The <i>Nonsuch</i> arrives in London, October 1669, with the first cargo of furs	Norman Wilkinson	N3546(b&w) N9028(c)	T8244	Y
P-410	1946	Troops at Upper Fort Garry, 1846-48	Adam Sherriff Scott	N11734(b&w) N14519(c)	T8245	Y
P-411	1947	John Rowand halts the Blackfoot charge	Henry Simpkins		T8246	N
P-412	1948	The Spring Brigade leaves Montreal for the West	Franklin Arbuckle	N7427(b&w) N8907(c)	T8247	Y
P-413	1949	Building Fort Yukon, 1847-48	Walter J. Phillips	N12849(b&w)	T8248	Y

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HBCA Documentary Art Collection - Hudson's Bay Company Calendar Series

Ref. #	Year	Title/Description	Artist	Negative	Transparency	Slide (Yes / No)
P-414	1950	John Pritchard "taken by the ice" on the Abitibi, 1814	Franklin Arbuckle	N7507(b&w) N12155(c)	T8249	N
P-415	1951	Henday enters the Blackfoot Camp, 1754	Franklin Arbuckle	N8274(b&w) N8173(c)	T8250	Y
P-416	1952	Hearne builds Cumberland House, 1774-75	Franklin Arbuckle	N7566(b&w) N13495(c)	T8251	Y
P-417	1953	"Ambassadors of Peace" - A Chipewyan woman makes peace with the Crees, 1715	Franklin Arbuckle	N8263(b&w) N13091(c)	T8252	Y
P-418	1954	The <i>Distributor</i> at Fort Norman, 1942	J.S. Hallam	N8275(c)	T8253	Y
P-419	1955	Historic Trading Posts and Territories (Map)	Stanley Turner	N8269(b&w) N8270(c)	T8254	N
P-420	1956	Trading Ceremony at York Factory, 1780's	Adam Sherriff Scott	N11735(b&w) N9032(c)	T8255	Y
P-421	1957	17th Century Eskimos trading with HBC ship	Franklin Arbuckle	N14060(c)	T8256	Y
P-422	1958	Governor Douglas leaves Fort Langley after proclaiming the Colony of British Columbia	Franklin Arbuckle	N11686(b&w) N8266(c)	T8257	Y
P-423	1959	Nicholas Garry at Slave Falls	Rex Woods	N8273(b&w) N11278(c)	T8258	Y
P-424	1960	First white women arrive at Moose Fort, 1683	Will Davies	N87-48(c)	T8259	Y
P-425	1961	Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II accepts payment of Rent from the Hudson's Bay Company, 1959	Unidentified Photographer	N11736(b&w)	T13983	N
P-426	1962-1	Lachine, Quebec	Malak (photographer)		T14164	N
P-427	1962-2	Fort Prince of Wales	George Hunter (photographer)	N9352(b&w)	T14165	N
P-428	1962-3	Fort Langley, B.C.	George Hunter (photographer)		T14166	N

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HBCA Documentary Art Collection - Hudson's Bay Company Calendar Series

Ref. #	Year	Title/Description	Artist	Negative	Transparency	Slide (Yes / No)
P-429	1963-1	Simpson Pass (Alberta/B.C.)	Nicholas Morant (photographer)	N11857(b&w)		N
P-430	1963-2	Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba	Paul Chipman (photographer)	N11737(b&w)	T11748	N
P-431	1963-3	The Blockhouse at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario	Gordon Macaulay (photographer)			N
P-432	1964-1	Grand Falls, Labrador	British Newfoundland Corporation (photographer)		T14167	N
P-433	1964-2	Columbia River, B.C.	Nicholas Morant (photographer)	N11874(b&w)	T14168	N
P-434	1964-3	Norway House, Manitoba	George Hunter (photographer)	N11738(b&w)	T11749	N
P-435	1965-1	Turnor surveys Lake Athabasca	Lorne Bouchard	N3563(b&w) N8205 (c)	T13943	Y
P-436	1965-2	Ball at Upper Fort Garry, 1862	William Winter	N11739(b&w)	T14169	Y
P-437	1965-3	Seven-Day Gale [M.V. <i>Rupertsland</i> anchored at Frobisher Bay]	Norman Wilkinson			N
P-438	1966-1	North West Mounted Police at Lower Fort Garry	William G. Davies	N9206(b&w) N12781(c)	T11750	Y
P-439	1966-2	Vilhjalmur Stefansson's First Arctic Expedition	Lorne Bouchard	N12892(b&w) N12893(c)	T12894	Y
P-440	1966-3	Haida Potlatch on the Pacific Coast	Walter Yarwood		T14170	Y
P-441	1967-1	Government Buildings, Victoria, 1867	Bruce Johnson		T14171	Y
P-442	1967-2	Fort Edmonton, 1867	Lorne Bouchard	N12850(c)	T11751	Y
P-443	1967-3	Red & Assiniboine Rivers, 1867	Don Anderson	N13104(b&w) N12889(c)	T11286	N
P-444	1968-1	H.M.S. <i>Shark</i> leaves westward bound ships	Norman Wilkinson		T14172	Y
P-445 (see P- 391)	1968-2	<i>Prince Albert</i> and <i>Prince Rupert</i> in Hudson Bay	John R.C. Spurling	N8503(b&w) N8332(c)	(see T8227)	Y

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HBCA Documentary Art Collection - Hudson's Bay Company Calendar Series

Ref. #	Year	Title/Description	Artist	Negative	Transparency	Slide (Yes / No)
P-446	1968-3	<i>Nonsuch</i> enroute to Hudson Bay	Norman Wilkinson	N7956(c)	T11752	Y
P-447	1969-1	The Arrest of William McGillivray by Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, Fort William, August 1816	Don Anderson	N8271(b&w) N8272(c)	T14173	Y
P-448	1969-2	Indians with Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, Charles Fort, 1671	Lorne Bouchard	N3549(b&w) N8331(c)	T11753	Y
P-449	1969-3	Donald Smith and Louis Riel, Fort Garry, 1870	Bruce Johnson	N8282(b&w) N11313(c)	T11754	Y
P-450	1970-1	The Charter	Ronald Searle	N11836(b&w)		N
P-451	1970-2	Retailing	Ronald Searle	N11837(b&w)	T14174	N
P-452	1970-3	The Fur Trade	Ronald Searle	N11838(b&w)	T14175	Y
Source: HBCA, PAM, Documentary Art Collection, HBC Calendar Series Listing						

Appendix C

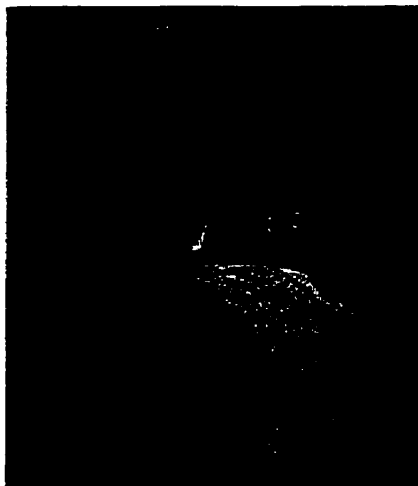
HBCA Documentary Art Collection HBC Calendar Series Select Calendar Images



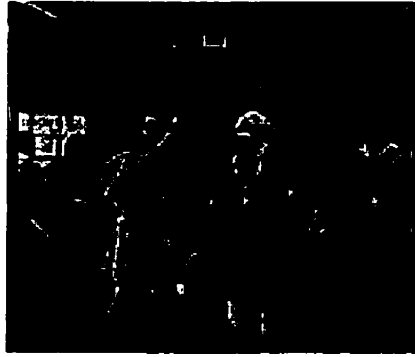
P-379: Signing of the HBC Charter by Charles II on May 2nd, 1670 (1915)



P-382: The First Public Sale of Furs, 1672 (1918)



P-384: Prince Rupert, First Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company (1920)



P-385: Ceremony of the Pipe (1921)



P-388: Landing of the Selkirk Settlers, Red River, 1812 (1924)



P-390: Governor of Rupert's Land on a Tour of Inspection (1926)



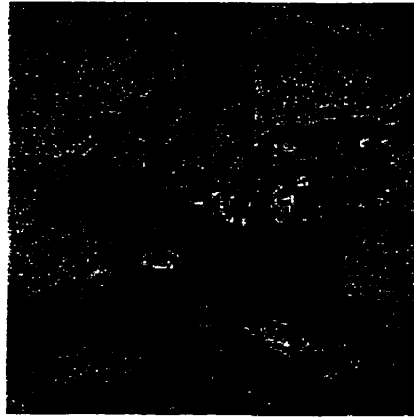
P-391: In Hudson's Bay in 1845 (1927)



P-392: Kelsey Sees the Buffalo, August 1691 (1928)



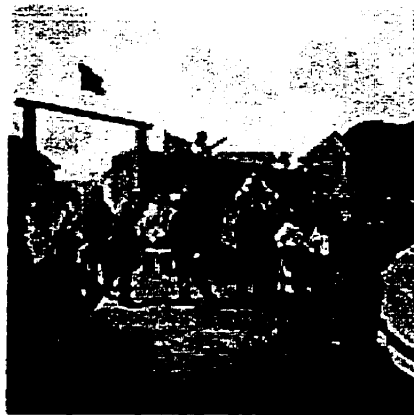
P-393: Red River Carts Leaving Fort Garry, 1863 (1929)



P-394: HBC York Boats at Norway House (1930)



P-395: Last Dog Train Leaving Lower Fort Garry, 1909 (1931)



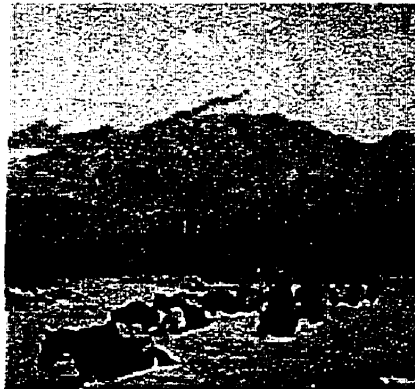
P-396: Fort St. James, B.C. - Governor George Simpson welcomed by James Douglas, 7 September 1828 (1932)



P-398: Jean Baptiste Lagimodiere's Arrival at Lord Selkirk's House, Montreal, New Year's Eve, 1815 (1934)



P-401: The Battle in the Bay, 1697 (1937)



P-402: The Parting of the Brigades, 1826 (1938)



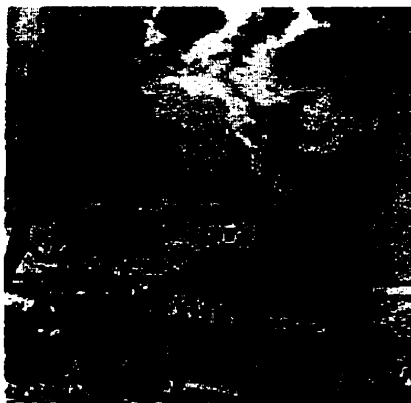
P-406: R.M. Ballantyne, Clerk and Chief Trader George Barnston Arrive at Tadoussac, 6 February 1846 (1942)



P-407: The Founding of Victoria, 1843 (1943)



P-408: Chief Trader Archibald McDonald Descending the Fraser, 1828 (1944)



P-412: The Spring Brigade Leaves Montreal for the West (1948)



P-415: Henday Enters the Blackfoot Camp, 1754 (1951)



P-417: "Ambadress of Peace": A Chipewyan Woman Makes Peace with the Crees, 1715 (1953)



P-418: The *Distributor* at Fort Norman, 1942 (1954)



P-435: Turnor Surveys Lake Athabaska (1965-1)



P-445: *Prince Albert* and *Prince Rupert* in Hudson Bay (1968-2)



P-446: *Nonsuch* enroute to Hudson Bay (1968-3)



P-447: The Arrest of William McGillivray by Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, Fort William, August 1816 (1969-1)



P-448: Indians with Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, Charles Fort, 1671 (1969-2)

Source: HBCA, PAM, Documentary Art Collection, HBC Calendar Series.

(Note that this selection of calendar images represents those that are currently displayed on the Hudson's Bay Company Archives' Web site at <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/resource/docart-r/calendar/calnlist.html>.)

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A.12/S Misc.	London Inward Correspondence from Commissioners, Stores Subject Files
A.92	London Office Correspondence, 1919-1932
A.102	London's Secretary's Dead Dossiers, 1920-ca. 1970
Record Group 2 (RG 2)	Canadian Committee Office
RG2/7	Correspondence (Roneo System), 1904-1970
RG2/8	Correspondence (Direct Decimal System), 1911-1970
RG2/10	Base Files, 1903-1971
RG2/38	Personnel Files, 1903-1977
Record Group 9 (RG 9)	Hudson's Bay Company Corporate Head Office
Record Group 20 (RG 20)	Archives Department
Documentary Art Collection	
P-378 – P-452, P-695	Hudson's Bay Company Calendar Series
Photograph Collection	
1987/363-C-69	
1987/363-C-69.1	
1987/363-E-617	
A.92/17/108, fo. 62	
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