'I HAVE TRIED YOUR TOMATO CHUTNEE AND FOUND IT VERY GOOD': NEGOTIATING LOCAL, NATIONAL AND IMPERIAL IDENTITIES IN CANADIAN CONSUMER CULTURE, 1890-1914

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ABSTRACT

This thesis employs pictorial advertisements as cultural texts to examine how local, national and imperial identities were negotiated in English-Canadian consumer culture from 1890 to 1914. It argues that these spatial constructs were widely employed in consumer culture because they provided advertisers with three powerful referent systems from which to foster appeal. The meanings associated with local, national and imperial identities served an important commercial purpose in their capacity to stimulate consumer interest, but their cultural value transcended their function in the marketplace. In representing local, national and imperial spaces, advertisements reflected broader currents of understanding about society. Most significantly, these images highlight the importance of spatial representation in the construction of identity in turn-of-the-century Canada.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis employs pictorial advertisements as cultural texts to examine how local, national and imperial identities were negotiated in English-Canadian consumer culture from 1890 to 1914. It argues that these spatial constructs were widely employed in consumer culture because they provided advertisers with three powerful referent systems from which to foster appeal. The meanings associated with local, national and imperial identities served an important commercial purpose in their capacity to stimulate consumer interest, but their cultural value transcended their function in the marketplace. In representing local, national and imperial spaces, advertisements reflected broader currents of understanding about society. Most significantly, these images highlight the importance of spatial representation in the construction of identity in turn-of-the-century Canada. The images in newspaper and journal advertisements, on trade cards, posters and billboards, and especially those on canned goods labels, provided Canadians with a visual and highly material system of meaning that communicated changes in the economic, political, and cultural environment.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, advances in print technology facilitated the increased production and dissemination of periodicals and commercial images, and advertisements provided publishers and manufacturers with the financial resources to invest in the new technology. The transformation to an increasingly industrial and urban society, the subsequent production of a commodity culture, and the corresponding shift to a more visually oriented populace combined to provide an

environment in which advertisements were readily absorbed into the collective consciousness of Canadian society.

Advertisements for various products could be found prior to the 1890s, but the format was generally text based, with few illustrations. It was not until the final decade of the nineteenth century that advertising agents and manufacturers began consistently to employ a wide variety of images, including drawings and photographs. This shift can be explained, in part, by advances in print technology, but it is also clear that advertising agents increasingly recognized the value of illustration in capturing consumer interest. As advertising theorist John Mahin wrote in 1914, "[i]llustrations are always desirable if they tell the story in less space than words could do it, for they have a wider range of appeal." Mahin recognized the power of pictorial advertisements to impress a particular idea upon the consumer, and was insistent that serious consideration be given to the presentation of images. In describing the task of the commercial artist in the advertising process, Mahin asserted that the artist should not have "free rein in the matter," but "should be used primarily as an artisan, to put into concrete form the ideas which the advertiser wishes to project upon the consciousness of the group."[1]

The role of advertising during this period has been examined from various economic, social and cultural perspectives, and has been explored within a diverse range of disciplines, including sociology, history, cultural studies and economics. Studies have questioned the ethical implications of advertisements; probed the relationship between

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[1] John Lee Mahin, *Advertising: Selling the Consumer* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1914), 49.

the medium and the message; explored the important figures behind the production of advertisements; focused on the economic structures which advanced the development of the publishing industry; considered the political implications of the relationship between the advertising agency as an institution of power and the dissemination of information; and have more narrowly explored the ideological content of advertisements.[2]

In the Canadian context, studies of advertising are few, and have tended to focus on the structural dimensions of advertising history. Much attention has been given to the individuals and institutions instrumental in the development of the advertising industry. In 1940, H.E. Stephenson and Carlton McNaught, long time employees of McKim Limited, Canada's first advertising agency, published *The Story of Advertising in Canada*, an insightful and comprehensive chronicle of the nation's advertising history. The social value of different advertising strategies is assessed in such interesting chapters as "Advertising Moulds the Male," and "The Appeal to Women," but in general the narrative structure lends itself more to description than analysis. William Leiss, Stephen Kline and Sut Jhally have written a thoughtful analysis of advertising in Canada from a

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[2] The first comprehensive history of advertising was written by Frank Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising* (Garden City, Doubleday, 1929). Early studies which focused on the ethical implications of advertisements include A.S.J. Baster, *Advertising Reconsidered* (London, King & Son, 1935) and John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1958); Harold Innis, "The Newspaper in Economic Development," *Journal of Economic History* 2 (1942), 1-33, considered the important relationship between the medium and the message in public communication; Daniel Pope, *The Making of Modern Advertising* (New York, Basic Books, 1983) and Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers* (New York, Morrow, 1984), provide a detailed analysis of the social contexts which influenced advertisers' work. More recently, the gendering of advertisements has been examined by Jennifer Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture* (New York, Routledge, 1995), and Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in The Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1996). Erika Rappaport, *Shopping For Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2000), 156-172, has also explored the ways in which Gordon Selfridge gendered his department store advertisements at the end of the nineteenth century.

sociological and historical perspective, but they too focus on the key players in the advertising industry. The most current and comprehensive study of Canada's advertising industry is Russell Johnston's *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising*. Johnston provides an interesting synthesis of the many dimensions of the advertising trade, and maps what he sees as the "professionalization" of the industry from 1890 to 1930.[3]

Studies which assess the ideological content of advertisements are more scarce in the Canadian historiography. Over twenty years ago, E.J. Hart employed an interesting variety of advertisements for the Canadian Pacific Railway in his investigation of the development of Canada's tourist industry. More recently, Susan Bland has studied representations of women in *Maclean's* magazine from 1930 to 1945; Cheryl Krasnick Warsh has examined the imagery of women in tobacco and alcohol advertisements in the first half of the twentieth century; and Valerie Korinek has conducted an extensive study of women in *Chatelaine* magazine during the 1950s, though consumer advertisements play a marginal role in her analysis.[4] These studies present an array of interesting images, but the analysis of their cultural content is somewhat limited; the advertisements are not

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[3] H.E. Stephenson and Carlton McNaught, *The Story of Advertising in Canada: A Chronicle of Fifty Years* (Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1940); William Leiss, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products, and Images of Well-Being* (Toronto, Methuen, 1986); Russell Johnston, *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2001).

[4] Hart, E.J. *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff, Altitude, 1983); M. Susan Bland, "Henrietta the Homemaker and Rosie the Riveter: Images of Women in Advertising in *Maclean's Magazine*, 1939-1950," in *Canadian Working Class History*, Laurel Sefton MacDowell and Ian Radforth (eds.) (Toronto, Canadian Scholars' Press, 1992), 595-622; Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, "Smoke and Mirrors: Gender Representation in North American Tobacco and Alcohol Advertisements Before 1950," *Social History* 31/62 (1998), 183-222; and Valerie J. Korinek, *Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2000).

employed as cultural texts, but rather are used to illustrate, supplement or confirm the conclusions drawn from textual sources.

In the American and British contexts, studies which employ a content-analysis approach have emphasized the important exchanges between the ideas embedded in advertisements and the historically specific characteristics of the consumer market. Following Raymond Williams' identification of the "magical" properties of advertisements, scholars have become increasingly interested in how advertisements operate to produce cultural meaning. Clearly influenced by Karl Marx's theory of commodity fetishism, Williams argued that advertising functions as an organized system of magic, imbuing commodities with special qualities and forming associations between the commodity and culturally valuable ideas. It is these cultural associations which foster consumer appeal and obscure the distinction between utilitarian consumption and that inspired by material desire.[5] As many cultural historians of advertising have pointed out, the cultural value of commodities was not intrinsic, but was manufactured by shrewd advertising agents who identified contemporary sensibilities and were thus able to provide a fertile terrain for the subjective construction of social fantasies.[6] In this perspective, the social and historical significance of advertisements transcended the

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[5] See Raymond Williams, "Advertising: the magic System" in Simon During (ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader* (London, Routledge, 1993), 335-336; Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 42-50.

[6] "Social fantasy" is a term used by Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 167. Marchand argues that advertisements reflect more the aspirations and social fantasies of consumers, than social realities. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America.* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 1-3, has also written about the power of advertisements to invoke consumer fantasies. Asa Briggs, *Victorian Things* (Sparkford: J.H. Hayes & Co.. Ltd., 2003), 5, similarly draws attention to the Victorian advertiser's interest in constructing subjective experiences.

advertising agent's success in convincing a consumer to purchase a particular product. Advertisements produced a new discourse by which identities were measured and negotiated, and the cultural importance of the consumer's engagement with this new discourse was not necessarily contingent on the acquisition of the commodity itself; more important was the consumer's acquisition of the ideas associated with the commodity, and the corresponding development of a new social consciousness about the changing material environment.

At the core of this perspective is the contention that consumption and social identity were inextricably connected in the late nineteenth century. Studies which employ advertisements as cultural texts have been principally concerned with the ways in which ideas about class, gender and race were represented and negotiated in the consumer environment. In his seminal investigation of American advertising in the interwar period, Roland Marchand examined how advertisers presented idealized representations of social life in an effort to appeal to consumer fears, aspirations and desires. Subsequent historians of advertising have similarly focused on the suggestive and transformative properties of different representations, and their studies have elucidated a diverse range of social phenomena. These studies have included an investigation of how advertising functioned as spectacle in Victorian England; its relation to transformations in social consciousness, such as the late nineteenth-century shift from puritanical to hedonistic values in England; and its significance in the competition between managerial rationality

and the "spontaneous force of consumer desire" in America.[7]

These studies have illuminated a great deal about Victorian values, but they also reveal an historiographical preoccupation with the personal and social implications of representation. With few exceptions, studies of consumer culture have failed to appreciate the significance of advertisements in negotiating the cultural meaning of local, national and imperial identities.[8] This deficiency is particularly glaring in the Canadian context. Keith Walden's recent study on the Toronto Industrial Exhibition offers an insightful and compelling analysis of the relationship between cultural representation and consumption, though he focuses on the visual display of commodities at the Exhibition rather than in consumer advertisements. Walden suggests that the Exhibition was "more concerned with corporate than national identities," and in examining the meaning of commodity representation, he adopts a similar approach to that outlined by Roland

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[7] See Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream.* Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1990) examines how advertising operated as spectacle, and presents five case studies in which various representations are considered on the basis of both their semiotic importance and their relation to the capitalist system which produced them. Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1994) argues that Victorian advertisements provide an "iconography" of the late nineteenth-century shift toward a more hedonistic orientation. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York, Basic Books, 1994) examines how advertising interacted with various other institutions in shaping American values. In doing so, he illuminates the persistent struggle between rationality and sensuality in American culture, and assesses its cultural significance.

[8] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, Routledge, 1995) is perhaps the best exception to this tendency. McClintock engages the ideological content of advertisements to assess the influence of Victorian domesticity on British imperial identity. Although Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1990), does not explicitly set out to address issues of national or imperial identity, his chapters on "The Great Exhibition of Things," "The Image of Victoria in the Year of Jubilee" and "Selling Darkest Africa," are nevertheless illuminating in this regard. Of course many studies of advertising implicitly speak to larger questions of local, national or imperial consciousness, but few address the question exclusively or directly, and when a connection does exist, it is seldom made explicit by the author.

Marchand and Jackson Lears. His emphasis on the connection between consumption and personal identity is subsequently familiar. "Increasingly, business tried to persuade individuals that personal identity depended not on geography, family background, religious values, occupation, or similar things, but on choices made among consumer goods found in the market-place." The meaning of commodities, Walden argues, was intimately connected to the meaning of bodies, and race, class and gender functioned as guiding principles in the interpretation of this meaning.[9]

The importance of commodity representation in the negotiation of personal and social identities is clear, but this relationship alone does not sufficiently characterize the cultural function of consumer culture in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canada. An investigation of pictorial advertisements from 1890 to 1914 suggests that consumer culture also provided a powerful venue for the representation of ideas about Canada. These representations were frequently summoned in the construction of consumer appeal, but their cultural importance was not confined to their ability to inspire consumer interest. More significantly, they reflected a strong desire to promote a distinctly English-Canadian vision of Canada. This identity was articulated on local, national and imperial levels, and was in a state of constant negotiation. Indeed, the ideas associated with local, national and imperial identities were often contested, and were not always compatible with this dominant, English-Canadian vision of Canada.

A number of visual narratives were deployed in the negotiation of Canadian

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[9] Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1997), xv, 125, 120-121.

identity, many of them competing and contradictory. The first narrative, modernity, was characterized by visual references to industrial production, urbanization, and technological advance. This narrative both complemented and competed with a narrative of anti-modernism, which included references to history, tradition, and agrarian production. A third narrative, nationalism, was characterized by constructions of meaning about Canadian authority and autonomy, distinctly Canadian symbols, and personifications of the nation. Competing but also complementing this narrative was a narrative of imperialism, identified by visual references to imperial figures and symbols, and the recurring themes of strength, dominance, and global dominion. Ideas about masculinity and femininity also functioned to produce meaning about local, national and imperial spaces in different ways. These ideas and narratives did not operate within clearly defined boundaries; their meanings were often fluid and overlapping.

An advertiser's decision to employ ideas associated with Montreal, Canada or the Empire rather than those associated with personal or social life was often directly related to the commodity being promoted. In general, the difference was largely characterized by necessity and non-necessity goods, though this boundary was not clear and exceptions were common. Hair goods stores assured women improved chances of securing a marriage proposal. Tobacco retailers implied that men who consumed their products would embody manliness. Dress shops suggested that by purchasing their clothing, men and women could successfully blend in with their social superiors, and bicycle companies asserted that the bicycle would free women from the confines of the home and subsequently bring health and happiness. In contrast, the imagery associated with local,

national and imperial identities was often summoned to encourage the consumer purchase of tomato chutnee, red currants, household flour, canned blackberries, waxed beans, and black tea. This difference in advertising strategy can be partly explained by the difficulty of associating waxed beans and household flour with social status. Why advertisers chose to use this imagery, however, is a more compelling question.

This study will address this question through an examination of a wide variety of advertisements that circulated in English-Canadian consumer culture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The period of investigation commences in 1890 because it was not until the last decade of the nineteenth century that images became a prominent fixture of consumer advertisements. It ends in 1914 because ideas associated with national and imperial identity shifted during the course of the First World War. At times, however, the study does venture outside these temporal boundaries in an effort to highlight continuities and discontinuities over time.

Many of the sources employed in this study are drawn from the Canadian Heritage Label Collection of Country Heritage Park in Milton, Ontario, and the Canadian Canners records of the Hamilton Public Library.[10] These collections include an impressive array of canned goods labels from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet they have never been explored by an historian of advertising.[11] Other advertisements include those found in the Broadsides and Printed Ephemera Collection at the Toronto Reference

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[10] Country Heritage Park was formerly the Ontario Agricultural Museum.

[11] Ted Herriott, *The Canadian Heritage Label Collection* (Mississauga, Purpleville Publishing, 1982), is a popular history of the collection. Herriott was an advertising executive with expertise in packaging design. Many of the labels are reproduced in his book.

Library, the E.L. Ruddy and Larry Becker Collections at the City of Toronto Archives, and the Morris Norman Collection at Library and Archives Canada. In addition to these collections, the analysis is based on an examination of over 25,000 advertisements in Canadian periodicals, including *The Canadian Magazine*, *The Globe*, *Toronto Saturday Night*, and the *Toronto Daily Mail*.

An exploration of the imagery of local, national and imperial spaces on everyday household goods is illuminating. Studies which examine ideas relating to Canadian identity during this period, including nationalism and imperialism, have often based their analyses on the ideas of prominent Canadian political and intellectual figures. Yet it can be argued with little difficulty that national self-understanding was characterized more by the shared sense of meaning among everyday Canadians than the ideas of an elite few. Parliamentary speeches and intellectual treatises certainly had their place in the late nineteenth-century effort to define Canada, but their significance in the development of local, national and imperial consciousness was clearly secondary to the cultural influences that pervaded the everyday lives of Canadians. Similarly, the study of exhibitions, Jubilee and Dominion Day celebrations, agricultural fairs, and trade shows offered valuable insights about national consciousness, but their impermanence makes them less powerful manufacturers of cultural meaning than the images that bombarded Canadians on a daily basis. Indeed, canned goods in particular had a pervasive presence in the material culture of everyday life. They lined the shelves of general stores and domestic pantries throughout Canada, their labels disseminating a multitude of messages about local, national and imperial spaces. The materiality and highly accessible nature of these

sources affirms their superiority to traditional sources in illuminating broader currents of identity.

Studying these images in the context of Victorian Canada, where mass forms of visual communication were introduced for the first time, is also significant. The highly visual nature of Victorian society suggests that our improved understanding of this society depends, in many ways, upon our greater use of the visual material that formed such an integral part of their social, cultural, and national understanding. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, as Jim Burant has pointed out, few Canadians would have been familiar with the physical appearance of the monarch, the Duke of Wellington, or the major urban centres of New York, London, or Paris. Wood engravings and lithographic prints were commercially reproduced as early as the 1830s, but it was not until after the 1860s, with the introduction of steam-powered presses, that lithographic images could be mass produced. Photography was similarly slow in reaching a popular audience. Invented in 1839 and introduced in Canada in 1840, photography was not adapted to printmaking processes until the 1860s, and it was not until the 1880s, with the introduction of the Kodak box camera, that photography became a popular pastime.[12] These advances in printing technology facilitated the mass production of visual images, and produced a new means by which Canadians could better understand their surroundings. This included an improved awareness of local, national and imperial spaces. Moreover, as a form of communication much less dependent on literacy,

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[12] Jim Burant, "The Visual World in the Victorian Age," *Archivaria* 19 (Winter 1984-85), 110, 112-113, 114.

language and social status than textual forms, visual imagery had a unique capacity to reach a vast audience.

The mass dissemination of both visual and textual forms of communication was instrumental in the development and negotiation of a national consciousness. In reaching a broad audience, mass forms of communication were able to articulate ideas about the nation and subsequently promote a common identity. Whether these ideas were based in fact or myth was not the issue; more important was the effectiveness of dominant groups to negotiate an imagined sense of community.[13] As Paul Rutherford has suggested in his study of the Victorian press in Canada, during the final decades of the nineteenth century, "editorials elaborated a series of mythologies of nationhood which sometimes challenged but usually justified the existing or emerging patterns of dominance in the country at large."[14] Interpreting the cultural meaning of these mythologies thus requires an analysis of the dominant forms of discourse which operated in the society that produced them. This study examines advertisements within the context of a distinctly English-Canadian discourse about Canada, but it does not assume a homogeneity of understanding within English Canada.[15] It also assumes that cultural meaning is produced through language,

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[13] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, Verso, 1983), especially 6-7, and his chapter on "The Origins of National Consciousness," 37-46.

[14] Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1982), 156.

[15] It is problematic to employ binary concepts such as English Canadian/French Canadian, dominant/subordinate, masculine/feminine, colonizer/colonized, because they fail to acknowledge the complexity of historical relationships – the numerous instances of co-operation, engagement, assimilation, appropriation and hybridity. Although this study does identify variations in meaning in English-Canadian consumer culture, it has found the terms "English Canadian" and "English Canada" indispensable and thus employs them throughout the thesis. On the problems posed by the use of binary concepts, see Gyan Prakesh, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *American Historical Review* 99 (December 1994),

and the advertisements employed in the following analysis are identified as a medium of discourse.

In an effort to establish a framework for the investigation of the relationship between spatial representation and the construction of identity, this study identifies the terms "local," "national" and "imperial" as spatial constructs. "Space" is employed as a concept which includes both physical and ideological dimensions. The production of meaning about local, national and imperial identities relied on both material and imaginary spaces. These meanings were varied and complex; they included cultural, political and economic dimensions. The pervasiveness of these representations in consumer culture points to an intense ideological attachment to city and country, nation and empire, and confirms the importance of spatial representation in the construction of identity at the turn of the century.

Following Judith Williamson's approach to the interpretation of visual imagery, this study assumes that advertisements have both "manifest" and "latent" meanings, and that the ideology of a referent system (e.g. ideas associated with local, national and imperial identities) is "always being regenerated in our relationship to the advertisement."[16] It is primarily concerned with identifying two key processes: the "internal organization" of individual images, with a particular emphasis on how differences, oppositions and parallels operate to produce meaning, and how these images function in relation to other images of the same genre. In identifying and assessing the

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[16] See Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (London, Robert MacLehose and Company Limited, 1978, 18-19, 42-43.

production of meaning in this way, however, it is not assumed that the interpretations presented in the following analysis constitute the entirety of meanings. As Peter Burke has observed in his study of the uses of visual sources in historical research, some interpreters of imagery have been criticized for assuming that "images have 'a' meaning, that there are no ambiguities, that the puzzle has a single solution, that there is one code to be broken."[17] Yet although this study does not claim to offer absolute explanations, and assumes the constructed nature of local, national and imperial identities, it does not assume a detachment of these identities from the historically specific context in which they were produced. The meanings associated with local, national and imperial spaces were not free-floating, but rather were shaped by the changing economic, political and social circumstances of the period. This study provides explanations, where possible, for changes in consumer iconography over time, but is somewhat constrained by the difficulty in dating many of the images with precision. The images which form the basis of this study, canned goods labels, are most often dated by decade,[18] but in some cases, the content and style of a label allows for a more narrow estimation of the year(s) in which it was produced. Despite the difficulty of establishing precise dates of production,

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[17] See Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2001, 171-172, 176. "Internal organization" is a phrase used by Burke.

[18] This difficulty of dating the labels with precision is due in large part to the lack of textual records in either the Canadian Heritage Label Collection (CHLC) at Country Heritage Park in Milton, and the Canadian Canners Limited records (CCL) at the Hamilton Public Library (HPL). The CCL records do include textual sources, but they are concentrated in the period after 1930. Before the CHLC was donated to the Ontario Agricultural Museum (later Country Heritage Park) in the early 1980s, it was in the possession of American Can of Canada. Before this transfer, American Can put on a nation-wide exhibition of the Collection. A number of exhibit labels were created to accompany the canned goods labels that were on exhibit, and these exhibit labels include estimations of the decades in which these labels were produced. Louise Elder, *The History of Canadian Canners Limited, 1903-1986* (Burlington, Canadian Canners Ltd., Research Centre, 1987), reproduces many of the labels and provides estimations of the years/decades in which they were created.

however, it is possible to assess the cultural value of these labels within the context of turn-of-the-century Canada.

It may be difficult to identify a systematic way of understanding the cultural exchanges between representations of identity and the reality of Canadian consciousness, but it is possible to recognize the cultural importance of advertisements in both shaping and reflecting social values. As Jackson Lears has pointed out, it is not necessary to "embrace a mechanistic notion of manipulation to acknowledge that the vision promoted by advertising exerts subtle influences on everyday life." It is the ubiquity of particular representations that afford the historian some latitude in assessing cultural influence, "however oblique" this influence may be.[19] Canned goods certainly had a ubiquitous presence in Canada. They lined the shelves of general stores and department stores from Vancouver to Halifax. They were stacked neatly in the pantries of rural and urban homes across the nation, their labels communicating a variety of messages about city, country, nation and empire. As part of the everyday material world of Canadians, these labels played an important role in negotiating the meaning of local, national and imperial identities. This study examines these identities in turn, as a means to illuminate the complexities of this negotiation, and highlight the importance of spatial representation in the construction of identity in turn-of-the-century Canada.

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[19] See T.J. Jackson Lears, "Some Versions of Fantasy: Toward a Cultural History of American Advertising, 1880-1930," in Jack Salzman (ed.) *Prospects: The Annual of American Cultural Studies,* Vol. IX (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984), 349-353. This difficulty of gauging public reception is not unique to advertisements. As Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, xviii-xx, has argued, we "may not be able to prove the specific effect of an advertisement on its readers, but neither can we prove the effects of religious tracts, social manifestos, commemorative addresses, and political campaign speeches on their audiences." Advertisements may actually surpass other sources in reflecting popular attitudes and beliefs , he argues, because advertisers consciously set out to observe popular attitudes and sensibilities, and subsequently construct images that would be appealing to them.

CHAPTER 1

'Packed Fresh from the Field': Farm and Factory in the Negotiation of Local Space

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Canada experienced tremendous industrial and urban growth. The development of natural resource industries such as fishing, farming, lumbering and mining led to a corresponding growth in the nation's transport industries. Road construction, shipbuilding and especially railway development increased foreign investment in Canada and spurred the development of several new industries, including iron and steel foundries, rolling mills and machine shops. Thousands of skilled and unskilled workers flooded into the nation's two main industrial centres – Montreal and Toronto, eager to fill the positions made available by these new industries. As urban populations multiplied, so too did the demand for consumer goods. Canada's rural population also provided a substantial market for manufactured goods, especially after the mid-1890s when immigration to the West increased dramatically. Textile shops, shoe factories, wagon and carriage manufacturers, distilleries, breweries, and flour mills sprang up at an alarming pace to meet the demands of the growing consumer market.[1]

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[1] Canada experienced its industrial revolution between the late 1840s and early 1890s. See Gregory S. Kealey "Toronto's Industrial Revolution, 1850-1892," in Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey (eds.), *Canada's Age of Industry 1849-1896* (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1982), 20. For a more comprehensive examination of Toronto's industrial transformation see Gregory S. Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1980). Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1982), 9-16, provides a useful summary of Montreal's industrial transformation. Hamilton also emerged as an important industrial centre in the latter half of the nineteenth century. See Bryan D. Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979); and John C. Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History* (Toronto, James Lorimer & Company, 1982), especially chapters 2 and 3.

As urban populations increased it became necessary to transport large quantities of foodstuffs from outlying agricultural regions. The impracticability of preparing and transporting fresh foods to a vast market created a need for preserving and packaging facilities. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, several pickling and bottling factories, canneries, and cereal companies were established to address this need. Most of the fruit and vegetable canneries were situated in and around agricultural regions such as Niagara, Prince Edward County, and the Okanagan Valley. While some canneries prospered, such as E.D. Smith & Sons of Winona, W. Boulter & Sons of Picton, and the Simcoe Canning Company, others failed to survive more than a few years. The proliferation of canneries in the 1880s and 1890s created intense competition and often resulted in production levels that exceeded consumer demand.[2] The success of a cannery depended on several factors, including a viable marketing strategy. To stimulate consumer interest, many canneries wrapped their goods in highly decorative labels. The purpose of a label, however, was not served by its design alone. Like the pictorial advertisements that appeared in newspapers and journals, the language and iconography of these labels reveal a calculated effort to foster consumer appeal.

For a general summary of Canada's economic development from 1840 to 1864, see R. Douglas Francis, Richard Jones and Donald B. Smith, *Origins: Canadian History to Confederation* (Toronto, Harcourt Canada Ltd., 2000), 341-370; and for a summary of this development at the turn of the century, see Douglas R. Francis, Richard Jones and Donald B. Smith. *Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation* (Scarborough, Nelson Thomson Learning), 2000, 136-154.

[2] On the history of canning in Ontario see Louise Elder, *The History of Canadian Canners Limited*, 1903-1986 (Burlington, Canadian Canners Ltd, Research Centre, 1987); Ted Herriott, *The Canadian Heritage Label Collection* (Mississauga, Purpleville Publishing, 1982); Lois C. Evans, *Hamilton: The Story of a City* (Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1970), 147; Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History*, 91; George E. Pond, *Milestones and Memories: A Century of Simcoe* Vol. I (Norfolk, The Norfolk Historical Society, 1978), 152-161; *Picton's 100 Years: A Historical Record of Achievement* [no author provided] (Picton, The Picton Gazette Publishing Co. Ltd, 1937), 91-93; and Nick and Helma Mika, *Belleville: Portrait of a City* (Belleville, Mika Publishing Company, 1983), 355.

This chapter examines how local spaces and identities were articulated in consumer culture, with a particular emphasis on canned goods labels. Conceptions of local space transformed dramatically in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Industrialization and urbanization reordered spatial boundaries and accentuated the economic, social and cultural distinctions between urban and rural areas. Advances in print technology and the mass production and dissemination of pictorial advertisements provided a powerful means by which to articulate these distinctions. Indeed, advertisements abound with images of rural, urban, industrial and commercial space. These advertisements, many appearing on the canned goods labels that lined the shelves of general stores and domestic pantries throughout Canada, presented a powerful discourse which operated to construct, reflect and redefine ideas about local space. They provided consumers with a visual means by which to understand the immense economic, social and cultural changes of the period.

This chapter employs the term "local" to include both material and imaginary spaces. Cultural meaning was constructed specifically about the village of Vernon, the town of Strathroy, and the city of Montreal, but it was also manufactured through representations of localized space that were not attached to a *real* place. Yet the differences between these two modes of cultural production were not clearly defined. Indeed, representations of imaginary space may have been inspired by specific places,[3]

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[3] It is more difficult in some cases to make a connection between the visual image and the location indicated on the advertisement. This is largely because different manufacturers and retailers often purchased the same images from lithography houses and then imprinted their company information over the image. For example, John Walmsley of Picton employs the same image to promote Harvest Brand Tomatoes as A. Allen of Frankford does to promote Prosperity Brand Golden Wax Beans. Harvest Brand Tomatoes, John Walmsley, Canadian Heritage Label Collection, (CHLC), c. 1910-1920; Prosperity Brand Golden Wax Beans, CHLC, c. 1910-1920.

and those referring to particular cities or towns were certainly idealized in such a way that they too included elements that were not entirely factual. In analysing these different modes, however, a general pattern can be detected. Advertisements which employ images of rural space are often heavily romanticized and convey meaning in a more abstract way than representations of urban and industrial spaces. In these latter representations, meaning is consistently produced in relation to a specific and *real* place.

Representations of rural space were often romanticized and nostalgic, but were not always devoid of modern elements. The meanings disseminated about agriculture and rural life were complex and often contradictory. Ideas associated with rural space were both romantic and scientific, modern and anti-modern, and were highly gendered. Canned goods companies had a vested interest in promoting the modern features of agrarian production, but were simultaneously compelled to employ anti-modern ideals for commercial purposes. The use of anti-modern imagery was not confined to representations of rural space; it was also employed more forcefully in representations of atavistic space. The meanings conveyed in images of atavistic space were similarly complex. They were sometimes employed to demonstrate the compatibility of modern and traditional ideals, but were more often situated in a narrative of progress which valorized an earlier, traditional way of life while simultaneously accepting its inevitable obsolescence. This narrative was characterized most vigorously by the inexorable human drive to conquer and control nature. Victorian Canadians were "convinced that they were living in what was time and again referred to as an 'age of improvement,'" and human

triumph over nature was a measure of this improvement.[4] Images of urban and industrial space provided the most powerful examples of this triumph, but these images were not entirely celebratory. Manufacturers of canned goods anticipated consumer concern about the unnatural processes of industry and thus tempered their advertisements with references to the purity and naturalness of their products, and provided frequent assurances of the sanitary conditions under which the goods were packaged. This was often accomplished by way of textual references, but was also achieved visually by reference to the natural world.

This chapter examines representations of local space in consumer advertisements with a particular interest in assessing how various narratives of modernism and anti-modernism were employed in the construction of meaning about these spaces. The terms modernism and anti-modernism are tremendously complex, taking on economic, social, cultural and intellectual dimensions. This chapter is concerned with how these terms functioned as ideas in consumer culture. Exploring modernism and anti-modernism in consumer culture can be illuminating, but it also presents unique challenges, particularly in the case of anti-modernism. Not surprisingly, modern themes fit somewhat more comfortably in the context of advertising than anti-modern themes. Indeed, the use of anti-modern ideas in the thoroughly modern context of advertising seems somewhat paradoxical. Yet as Ian McKay has demonstrated in his examination of the tourist industry in twentieth-century Nova Scotia, anti-moderism and commerce were not anti-

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[4] See Laurence S. Fallis, "The Idea of Progress in the Province of Canada: A study in the History of Ideas," in W.L. Morton (ed.), *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968), 170-172, and Asa Briggs, *Age of Improvement* (London, Longmans, 1959).

thetical impulses. Tourism made possible, he argues, "a fully commercialized antimodernism," in which the "pre-modern, unspoiled 'essence'" of Nova Scotia was "turned into marketable commodities within a liberal political and economic order."[5] Anti-modern ideas were similarly employed by canned goods manufacturers to construct consumer appeal. These ideas were particularly powerful in consumer advertising because they operated as an assurance of product quality. Manufacturers and retailers consistently employed images which associated anti-modernism with purity – and especially nature.

Rural Space

Images of rural space were commonly featured on canned goods labels. A label for Sunshine Brand Table Plums features an illustration of an Okanagan orchard labourer picking plums (Fig.1.1). His hardy form, chiselled face and martial dress are quintessentially masculine. The labourer's relationship to nature is immediate; his exploitation of the land is not assisted by technology or industrial machinery. The plums he selects will, of course, eventually be transported to the Vernon Canning & Jam Company where they will be subjected to the unnatural processes of industry. Yet the factory is absent from this label. The canning company has instead chosen to emphasize the naturalness and purity of the product. The label employs ideas about gender, race and local space to construct meaning about modernity in complementary ways. The themes of rural life and purity suggest an effort to convey a particular idea about the nature of

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[5] Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1994), 35.

society in rural British Columbia. The image of the labourer, in particular, suggests an effort to boost the appeal of the region, in both agricultural and racial terms. As Jason Bennett has argued in his examination of the British Columbian landscape, boosters of the Okanagan region emphasised the rural and racially "pure" qualities of the rural landscape. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Okanagan land developers were

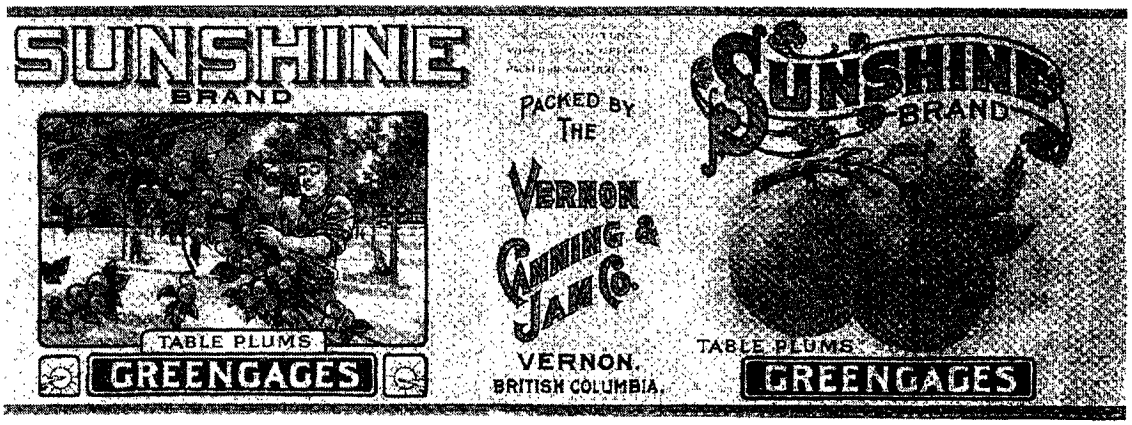

Figure 1.1 Sunshine Plums, c. 1910-1914, Canadian Canners Ltd., Hamilton Public Library

markedly preferential to emigrants of middle and upper-class British origin. They were intent on creating an "Eden-inspired 'natural' social order" defined along exclusionary boundaries of gender, race and class. This order provided an escape from the evils of industrialism and allowed settlers in the Okanagan Valley the opportunity to "finally achieve a truly perfect and homogenous communion with Nature."[6]

This relationship with nature is particularly important to the articulation of the labourer's masculinity in the label. The plum orchard is a thoroughly feminine space. In

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[6] Jason Patrick Bennett, "Apple of the Empire: Landscape and Imperial Identity in Turn-of-the-Century British Columbia," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 9 (1998), 64-65, 77. For more on the efforts of boosters, see Paul M. Koroscil, "Boosterism and the Settlement Process in the Okanagan Valley, British Columbia, 1890-1914," Donald Akenson (ed.), *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, Volume 5 (Gananonque, Langdale Press, 1986), 73-105.

tending to the fertile orchard, the labourer brings order to an untamed landscape; his control of nature is a symbol of patriarchal virtue. This emphasis on ordering and controlling the land reflected a larger current of modernity. The meaning of nature was varied and complex in the early twentieth century, but in some intellectual and artistic circles, the need to "conventionalize" nature was a common theme. As Paul Greenhalgh has pointed out in his examination of the Art Nouveau style, ordering nature served a social purpose. "It represented stability, rationality and reliability. Ordered so as to be civilized, made cultural, as it were, through cultivation, nature was symbolically domesticated."[7] In the label, the processes by which nature is "civilized" and "domesticated" is not achieved symbolically through artistic expression, but is facilitated by the labourer's masculinity.

The labourer's function in ordering the untamed, feminized landscape can be situated in the context of a society preoccupied with modern values, but the label also employs ideas more readily associated with an anti-modern discourse of masculinity. The labourer's dress, curiously similar to an early twentieth-century scouting uniform, plays off the turn of the century obsession with martial values to highlight the labourer's manliness.[8] The increase of monotonous and routine forms of work in the latter half of

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[7] Paul Greenhalgh, "The Cult of Nature," in Paul Greenhalgh (ed.), *Art Nouveau, 1890-1914* (London, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2000), 58. See also U.C. Knoepflmacher and G.B. Tennyson, *Nature and the Victorian Imagination* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1977).

[8] On the early twentieth-century interest in martial values in Canada, see Carman Miller, "The Montreal Militia as a Social Institution Before World War I," *Urban History Review* 19/1 (June 1990), 57-64. Miller does not consider gender in his analysis, but does provide a useful summary of the factors which contributed to the popularity of martial values prior to the First World War. He points out that the growing interest in, and respect for, the "profession of arms" prompted the growth of other organizations with military and para-military interests. These included the Boys Brigades, cadets, scouts, and various rifle associations.

the nineteenth century contributed to the growing concern that masculinity was in a state of "crisis." Factory and office work were believed to threaten manly virility. In response to this concern, new ideas about masculinity emerged which emphasized the virtues of intense physical experience.[9] Militarism, in addition to a variety of outdoor sporting activities, provided men with new ways to assert their masculinity. Jackson Lears and others have situated this renewed interest in militarism in an anti-modern discourse of masculinity. Many of those who emphasized militarism in the American context, Lears argues, reversed the progressive framework of social change (from savagery to barbarism to civilization), and equated "the decline of ferocity with encroaching enervation."[10]

This explanation is not consistent with the meaning conveyed in the Sunshine plums label. If the growing interest in militarism was, in part, a response to concerns about urban and industrial life, its appearance in the plum orchards of Vernon is curious. The rural context of the image, combined with the modern commercial context in which

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[9] See Michael Roper and John Tosh, "Introduction," in Roper and Tosh, *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, Routledge, 1991), 1-24; Lise Legault, "Gender in History: The New History of Masculinity," *Social History* 27/54 (November 1994), 457-469; John Mackenzie, "The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in Late Victorian and Early Edwardian Times," in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1987); and Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (London, Collins, 1986).

[10] T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture*, 1880-1920 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1994 [1983]), 98-102. See also Donald A. Wright, "W.D. Lighthall and David Ross McCord: Antimodernism and English-Canadian Imperialism, 1880s-1918," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32/2 (Summer 1997), 142-143; and Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills, Oxford University Press, 2001, 21-22, which argues that by the end of the nineteenth century, as "urbanization eclipsed the traditional rural life and civilization encroached on wilderness, understandings of manliness had to evolve as well." This assessment fails to appreciate that despite increasing urbanization, Canada remained a predominantly rural nation until the interwar period. It is likely that the shift in ideas about masculinity in Canada and the reaction against increasing urbanization and industrialization, although significant, were not as pronounced as they were in more industrial nations.

the image is featured, suggests that the labourer's dress, although clearly inspired by the contemporary redefinition of masculinity, was not a product of anti-modern impulses. The label appropriated the martial ideal not as a response to the "enervating" forces of modernity, but to demonstrate the progressive character of rural British Columbia. The traditional ideal of rural masculinity was not supplanted by a new ideal of martial masculinity, but was combined with this martial ideal to produce a new form of acceptable masculinity that was simultaneously modern and rural.

Figure 1.2 Harvest Tomatoes, c. 1910-1920, Canadian Heritage Label Collection (CHLC) Country Heritage Park

A label for Harvest Brand Tomatoes employs gender and the rural landscape in a different way (Fig.1.2). The label features an orchard setting in which a rosy-cheeked, healthy young woman holds a fresh basket of fruit. She does not engage in the labourious work of fruit picking, but rather collects the fruit picked by the three male labourers in the background. The basket of fruit she carries draws attention to her strong arms and robust figure, qualities which confirm her suitability for rural life. The Victorian association of size with both health and economic prosperity indicate she has met with success in living

off the land.[11] Her smile suggests an amiable disposition and a contentment with rural life. The rural context in which she lives, the flowers which grow at her feet, and her white complexion and rosy cheeks convey her innocence and purity.[12] The emphasis on the young woman's purity serves a commercial purpose; it symbolizes the purity of Harvest Brand tomatoes.

This label conveys a heavily romanticized view of rural life. The arduous and gruelling nature of agricultural work, conducted by three labourers in the background, is de-emphasized. That the young woman is the focal point of this image suggests an effort to construct an idyllic representation of rural life entirely unaffected by the ordering influences of masculinity. Her presence in an already feminine landscape reinforces the gendered boundary between urban and rural space. In the Sunshine Plums label, the labourer's masculinity is shaped by both rural and urban influences. He possesses both the rugged characteristics of rural life and the ordered qualities of urban life. Most importantly, his relationship with nature is active; he cultivates, orders and exploits the land. In contrast, the young woman in the Harvest Brand Tomatoes label is passive; she does not cultivate the land, but rather is a feature of the landscape. The idea that the rural labourer had a role in "ordering" and "civilizing" the untamed, feminized landscape did,

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[11] See Lois Banner, *American Beauty* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1983), 106-127. This association of economic prosperity with a hearty form is also implied in a label which uses the same image to promote "Prosperity Brand Golden Wax Beans," Canadian Heritage Label Collection, Country Heritage Park, c. 1910-1920.

[12] The complexion was viewed as a "window to the soul," and an important indicator of moral health. Feminists and moral reformers were especially keen to associate a woman's complexion with her virtue, but their understanding of beauty was not necessarily manifest in physical appearance. A woman's beauty was defined by her spiritual practices, including honesty, service to others, and devotion. See Banner, *American Beauty*, 13; Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1998), 24; and Sander L. Gilman, *Picturing Health and Illness: Images of Identity and Difference* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 51-52.

of course, originate well before the latter half of the nineteenth century. Yet it is important to recognize that this role took on a new, and perhaps more forceful meaning in an increasingly urban and industrial environment. Indeed, the middle-class value system which emerged in the final decades of the nineteenth century further emphasized "woman as the 'passive' antithesis of the 'active' man."[13] The imagery in the Harvest Brand Tomatoes label, disseminated in commercial culture and absorbed by consumers in general stores and domestic pantries, functioned to reinforce these new meanings.

Figure 1.3 Farmer Strawberries, c, 1905-1910, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

Representations of the farm were equally complex. A label for Farmer Strawberries presents the illustration of a young farmer tilling acres of land with nothing but a hoe (Fig.1.3). The absence of modern farm equipment is striking. There is no plow, threshing machine, seeder, or harrow. Nor are there any horses or cattle visible. The farmer does not need modern farming machinery and implements to cultivate the soil. The virtues of "honest toil" and "individual initiative," virtues the farmer clearly

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[13] See Bennett, "Apple of the Empire," 73.

possesses, ensure his agricultural pursuits will be successful.[14]

The meaning of this illustration appears thoroughly anti-modern. Rural life is depicted as the "good life," a world unaffected by the evils of the city and factory. In this way, the label seems to represent a reaction against industrialization, and more importantly, the relentless effort to dominate nature. David DeMeritt has called this anti-modern discourse "arcadianism." It was "pervaded by nostalgia and the pressing need to save what was left of an authentic but quickly fading rural tradition. It constituted history and the country as those good qualities that had not yet been destroyed by the steamroller that was the future and the city."[15] This characterization illuminates the mutually constitutive processes by which meanings about urban and rural life are constructed. As Raymond Williams has observed, the contrast of country and city is one of the defining ways by which society interprets human experience. The country has been associated with "a natural way of life," with "peace, innocence, and simple virtue." Conversely, the city has been viewed as "an achieved centre," characterized by "learning, communication [and] light." Negative images of the city and country have been equally persistent. Hedonism, noise and ambition are often associated with the city, while "backwardness, ignorance [and] limitation" have frequently defined the country. These distinctions are often most pronounced during periods of significant transformation.[16]

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[14] On the values of "honest toil" and "individual initiative" in the formation of ideas about Canadian rural life, see J.L. Finlay and D.N. Sprague, *The Structure of Canadian History* (Scarborough, Prentice-Hall Canada, 2000), 296.

[15] David DeMeritt, "Visions of Agriculture in British Columbia," *BC Studies* 108 (Winter 1995-96), 33.

[16] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London, Chatto & Windus, 1973), 1-12, 37-46, 289. Williams argues that "capitalism, as a mode of production, is the basic process of most of what we know as the history of country and city." 302.

The depiction of rural life in the Farmer Strawberries label was clearly a response to the great transformations in early twentieth-century Canada. This response, however, was not inspired by the "evils" of industrial or urban life; nor was it seeking to recapture an authentic, arcadian past untainted by modern forms of technology. Rather, the label employed these ideas for commercial purposes. Most notably, they served to assure consumers of the natural qualities of the product. In contrast with advertisements featuring an image of the factory in which the products were manufactured, labels presenting a rustic, natural scene did not rely on copy or text to reassure consumers of the purity of their products or the sanitary conditions under which they were packaged. The image on the Farmer Strawberries label, lacking the slightest indication of modern influence, coupled with the household brand name "Farmer," reminded consumers of the natural processes of agrarian production, and subsequently provided an assurance of purity.

A label for E.D. Smith's Crabapple Jelly presents an entirely different representation of rural Ontario (Fig.1.4). Inspired by the growing interest in aerial photography, the label features a topographical illustration of the "famous Niagara fruit belt" along Lake Ontario.[17] In a way significantly different than the Farmer Strawberries image, the E.D. Smith label employs scientific principles to reorder ideas about space.[18]

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[17] Aerial photography became increasingly popular in Canada following its introduction in the late nineteenth century by the Surveyor General of Canada, E.G.D. Deville, who plotted maps from photographs taken from mountain tops. See "Aerial Photography in Canada - A Brief History," *Natural Resources Canada* <http://airphotos.nrcan.gc.ca/hist_e.php> (Viewed 7 June 2004).

[18] For an interesting discussion of spatial meaning in relation to topographical and landscape painting, see W.F. Axton, "Victorian Landscape Painting: A Change in Outlook," in Knoepflmacher and Tennyson, *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, 281-308. Axton suggests that topographical techniques involve a "factual reordering of an actual place outdoors," while landscape painting involves "the imaginative construction of an ideal of scenery as the setting for a more significant action which might or

The modern form of the illustration, combined with the impressive expanse of cultivated land, convey a wholly modern view of Ontario agriculture. This progressive outlook is further emphasized by the inset image of E.D. Smith's Winona factory. Anticipating consumer concern about the unnatural processes of industry, the label includes several references to the purity of E.D. Smith products. The passage at the bottom states that

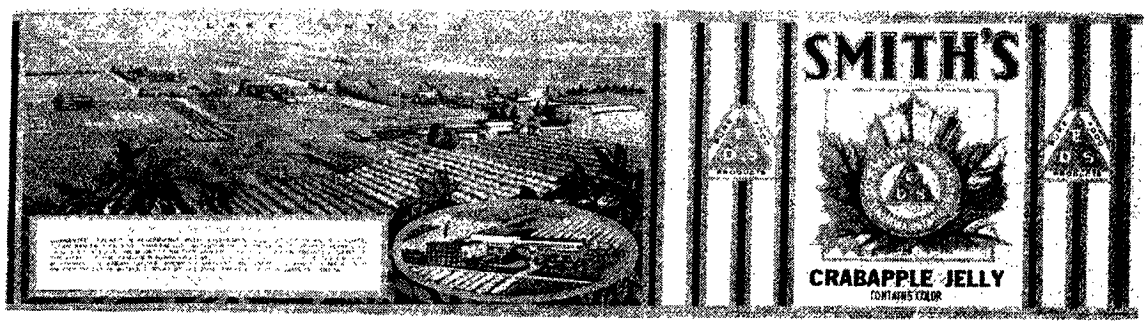

Figure 1.4 E.D. Smith's Crabapple Jelly, c. 1905-1915, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

goods are "packed in accordance with government regulations in an up-to-date, clean, sanitary factory . . . The fresh, choice, properly matured and inspected fruit is made into Smith's products without delay by the first packers of pure jams in Canada." On the opposite side of the label, a further effort is made to associate the E.D. Smith name with purity. The slogan "Pure Food Products" surrounds the company's triangular logo on either side of the front portion of the label.

The smaller size of the factory in relation to the panoramic illustration of the Niagara region may have been due, in part, to this anticipated concern about the unnatural processes of industry, but it also suggests that agriculture was more important than

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might not be pictorially important."

industry in the articulation of local identity. Agriculture is not subordinated to industry in the narrative of progress in the E.D. Smith label, but rather assumes an equal, if not more important role. This emphasis is not surprising. Indeed, by the early years of the twentieth century the development and cultivation of agriculture was not only the primary engine of growth in regions such as Niagara; it also remained the most important sector to national development.[19] Moreover, Canada remained predominantly rural in population until the 1920s.[20] Despite this history, however, the significance of agriculture in shaping local and national understanding has not received the attention it deserves. This is largely because of its marginalized position in the narrative of modernity. As Colin Duncan has argued in the English context, agriculture is frequently "assumed to be fundamentally *for something else*; for some other supposedly, self-evidently more important whole," and that something else is most often industry.[21] Contrary to this outlook, the E.D. Smith label suggests that the idea of agriculture was not marginalized in the narrative of modernity, but rather played an essential role.

The label also indicates that the idea of abundance continued to have a strong

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[19] See Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority,* 9.

[20] Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 2. Of course statistics of urban and rural populations vary according to different definitions of "urban" and "rural." Donald Akenson, "Foreword," in Akenson (ed.), *Canadian Papers in Rural History, Vol. I* (Gananoque, Langdale Press, 1978), 9, for example, sees the transition from rural to urban occurring much later than Brown and Cook, some time during the late 1930s and early 1940s. John Herd Thompson, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1985), 3-4, has pointed out that although the 1921census indicated that Canada "was more or less equally divided between city and country," these statistics obscured the fact that this "rural-urban ratio did not exist in any single province." While the rates of urbanization in Ontario and Quebec were over 55 per cent and British Columbia's population was approximately 47 per cent urban, the Maritime and Prairie provinces remained almost 65 per cent rural.

[21] Colin A.M. Duncan, "Agriculture and the Industrial Teleology in Modern English History: An Essay in Historiographic Provocation and Sociological Revision," in Donald Akenson (ed.), *Canadian Papers in Rural History,* Vol. VII (Gananoque, Langdale Press, 1990), 336.

association with agriculture well into the first decades of the twentieth century.[22] In the American context, Jackson Lears has argued that by the early twentieth century, advertising "redefined the source of abundance from the fecund earth to the efficient factory." This shift was largely a result of the rise of corporate advertising, which systematically produced and disseminated iconography that celebrated industrial efficiency and the subsequent democratization of goods.[23] An examination of advertisements in Canadian periodicals during this period also reveals an overwhelming emphasis on the merits of industry and mass production. Yet this theme was not consistently employed in other venues of advertising. Canned goods labels frequently associated abundance with agricultural production. Illustrations of gargantuan tomatoes, plums, raspberries, apples and beans; brand names such as "Golden West," "Prairie," "Harvest," "Farmer," "Vine" and "Niagara Peninsula"; and images of wheat bales, rolling pastures, and vast orchards were regular features on the canned goods which lined store and pantry shelves across Canada. The explanation for this emphasis is largely related to the goods being promoted. Tomatoes, apples and raspberries have an obvious connection to the theme of agriculture. This connection, however, does not make the pervasiveness of these images any less significant. In contrast to the trade cards, pamphlets, and

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[22] For example, Golden West Catsup, Golden West Tomatoes, Golden West Apples, Golden West Peas, Farmer Table Beets, Farmer Strawberries, Farmer Pie Peaches, Farmer's Canning Co. Ltd, Canadian Heritage Label Collection (CHLC), Country Heritage Park, Milton, Ontario, c. 1905-1910; Prairie Tomatoes, Ontario Canners Ltd., CHLC, c. 1910s; Vine Brand Pears, Vineland Canners Ltd., CHLC, c. 1895-1905; Niagara Peninsula Brand White Peaches, Niagara Peninsula Brand Damson Plums, Lowrey Bros., CHLC, c. 1897; Harvest Brand Tomatoes, Harvest Brand Wax Beans, John Walmsley, CHLC, c. 1910-1920; K.C. Brand, Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works, CHLC, c. 1900-1910.

[23] See Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York, Basic Books, 1994), and especially Chapter 4, "The Disembodiment of Abundance," 102-133. Lears does not see this transition as linear or one-dimensional, and points out that exceptions were not uncommon.

lithographic prints Lears employs to examine the relationship between ideas of abundance and the "fecund earth," canned goods had a ubiquitous presence in Canadian homes.

Atavistic Space

Images of local space included those which approximated an earlier time. In a way similar to representations of rural space, these atavistic spaces employed anti-modern ideas for commercial purposes. A label for Log Cabin Brand baked beans, packed by Miller & Company of Trenton, features on one side a large bowl of baked beans, and on the other, a rustic log cabin (Fig.1.5). Several wood stumps surround the cabin, evidence

Figure 1.5 Log Cabin Baked Beans, c. 1892-1903, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

of the arduous work that was required to break and clear the land to build a modest settlement. The hardy pioneer responsible for this work proceeds up a path towards the cabin. Carrying the large piece of wood he has recently cut for kindling, he returns home to sustain the inviting warmth of the cabin.[24]

The label presents a heavily romanticized image of early pioneer life. The

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[24] On the construction of log cabins in Canada see William C. Wonders, "Log Dwellings in Canadian Folk Architecture," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69/2 (1979), 187-207.

depiction is not that of, as Susanna Moodie described it, a "prisonhouse" in which the pioneer "struggles in vain" to make ends meet and ultimately sinks his family into "hopeless ruin."[25] The harsh realities of pioneer life have no place in this representation. In valorizing pioneer life, the label was playing on the popularity of pioneer narratives during the late nineteenth century, a popularity much inspired by the growing interest in local history. As Norman Knowles has pointed out in his study of the Ontario Loyalists, local histories "shared an antiquarian interest in the preservation of the fading realities of pioneer life. Most of the space in such works was taken up in detailed description of the pioneer way of life, with chapters devoted to clearing the land; building a log cabin; clothing; cooking; the making of soap, candles, and maple syrup; and amusements and pastimes." These descriptions of pioneer achievement were tremendously nostalgic and idealized, and were often presented in a way which critiqued or disparaged modern society.[26]

Pioneer life is certainly idealized in the Log Cabin label, but unlike the local histories which Knowles examines, the label does not employ this image to critique late nineteenth-century society. The image functions in two somewhat contradictory ways: it counterbalances the meaning communicated by the product image on the opposite side of the label, and it situates pioneer life in a narrative of progress which celebrates rather than denigrates modern society. The large bowl of baked beans lacks the intrinsic association

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[25] See Susanna Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush or, Forest Life in Canada* (Toronto, Prospero Books, 2003 [1913]), 562-563. Moodie suggests that while those accustomed to manual labour may fare better in the backwoods, those who are not are destined to toil and suffer in vain.

[26] Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1997, 100-103, 36, 85.

with nature that foods such as raspberries, apples and tomatoes possess. Baked in an industrial factory, doused in a vat of processed chili sauce, and then packaged in hygienically questionable cans, this image was likely to stimulate concern about the unnatural processes of industry. The image of pioneer life and especially the pioneer's intimate association with nature, functions to assuage this concern by disassociating the baked beans from the industrial processes which produced them.

The Log Cabin image also serves commercial purposes by situating pioneer life in a narrative of progress. Many Victorian Canadians identified progress as "the result of the interaction of human energy and the magnificent potentialities of the New World."[27] In this narrative, human triumph over nature was an enduring theme. As W.L. Morton suggested, the "chief and central task" of Victorian Canadians was "the conversion of wilderness to civilization," and the pioneer had an enduring role in this narrative.[28] By employing the image of pioneer life in the modern context of mass advertising, the label does not denigrate material progress, but rather celebrates the march toward civilization which the pioneer represents. Just as the hardy pioneer applied his physical skill to successfully exploit the land, build a log cabin and bake beans in the hearth of his fireplace, Fred Miller of Miller & Company applied his industrious skills to build a business which preserves, packages and distributes baked beans for mass consumption.[29]

A label for Old Homestead Bartlett Pears presents a similarly idealized depiction

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[27] See Fallis, "The Idea of Progress in the Province of Canada," 172. Fallis suggested that this idea of progress encompassed not only its material and economic forms, but also social, educational and religious forms.

[28] W.L. Morton, "Victorian Canada," in W.L. Morton (ed.), *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968), 312.

[29] On Miller & Co., see Elder, *The History of Canadian Canners Limited*, 68.

of life on the homestead (Fig.1.6). One side presents a large basket of fruit, including pears, raspberries, strawberries and apples. The other side features an impressively and uncharacteristically large homestead. In the foreground, a homesteader carries two empty

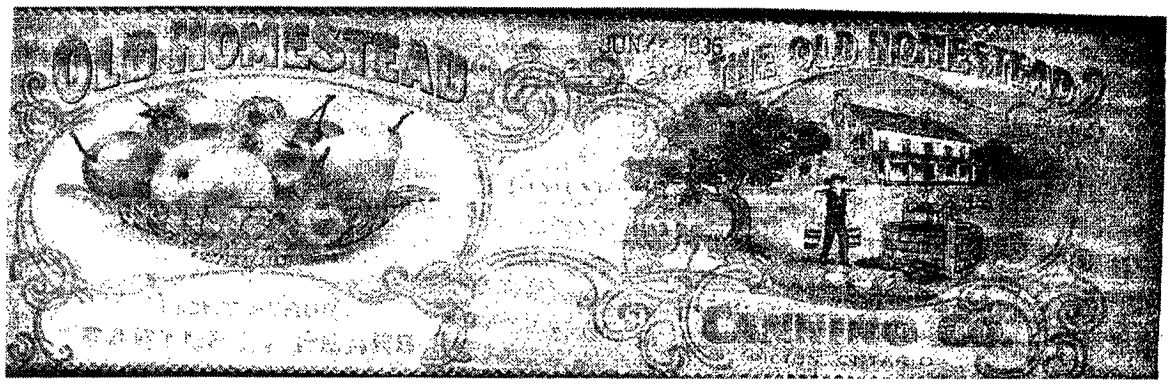

Figure 1.6 Old Homestead Pears, c. 1903-1910, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

buckets to the well to retrieve water. Three chickens gather around the base of the well in search of feed. A dog darts across the lawn to greet his master. The homesteader is apparently unaffected by the sometimes harsh realities of homestead life, the drought, hot winds, frost, insects, loneliness, distance from roads and railways, and high cost of farm machinery. The land which the homesteader works is not visible. The depiction is not one of triumph over adversity, but tranquil prosperity.[30]

The nostalgic tone conveyed by the characterization "Old Homestead" is somewhat curious given that homesteading was a continuing settlement practice in Canada.[31] Yet in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the economic, social and

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[30] See Wilfrid Eggleston, "The Old Homestead: Romance and Reality," in Howard Palmer (ed.), *The Settlement of the West* (Calgary, Comprint Publishing, 1977). Eggleston writes about his boyhood experience on a Southern Alberta homestead in the early twentieth century.

[31] Homesteading was practised throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, although the term was not used officially until 1868 with Ontario's *Free Land Grant and Homestead Act.* This Act was followed in 1872 by the federal government's *Dominion Lands Act.* Under these *Acts*, settlers were granted free land under the proviso that they establish a residence and cultivate the land within a specified period of time. Settlement of the Canadian West advanced slowly in the decades following the implementation of the

cultural contours of Canadian society transformed substantially. These rapid changes imposed on Canadians a new framework for understanding space and time.[32] Thus, although the practice of homesteading continued into the twentieth century, the *idea* of homesteading was drawn into the imagined past by a new commercial order which identified the urban and industrial environment as the future of Canada. The nostalgic reference to the "Old Homestead" thus suggests an effort to situate the homestead in a narrative of progress, a narrative in which the practice of homesteading is (or soon will be) a remnant of the past.

Atavistic spaces were not only put in the service of commercial interests by situating these spaces in a narrative of progress. The message communicated in some labels suggests that these anti-modern spaces were not entirely incompatible with the new commercial order. These spaces were not doomed to extinction by the march of industrial and urban progress, but rather could exist simultaneously and compatibly with the material values of the new commercial order. A label for Old Church Standard Peas of Hamilton features the image of a quaint old church in a pastoral setting (Fig.1.7). The style of the church is reminiscent of an earlier period. The front square tower with crenallated top, smaller square tower with pinnacled top, rectangular nave and smaller rectangular apse, arched mouldings around the front and side entrances, and the rugged stone structure suggests the construction of this image was inspired by the medieval

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Dominion Lands Act, but increased dramatically in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the end of a long economic depression, a subsequent wheat boom, and the introduction of a more liberal immigration policy.

[32] See Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1983).

revival in architecture that emerged in the mid-nineteenth century and continued into the final decades of the Victorian period. This revival resonated not only in the world of architecture, but also in literary, artistic and intellectual circles.[33] Many Canadian architects, poets and landscape painters had a common interest in recreating an environment which stood in stark contrast to the industrial, urban and commercial surroundings that were beginning to define the Victorian period. As William Westfall

Figure 1.7 Old Church Peas, c. 1890s, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

has argued, "[i]f the real world was materialistic, the imaginative world was spiritual; if the real world was regular and predictable, the other world was spontaneous and magical; if the real world required the individual to conform to the new routines of life and work, the other world glorified the individual and invested in each person the possibility of living a heroic life." The effort to recreate this "other world" was not, Westfall suggests,

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[33] The Arts & Crafts Movement was one of the most interesting manifestations of this medieval revival. See Isabelle Anscombe and Charlotte Gere, *Arts & Crafts in Britain and America* (London, Academy Editions, 1978); Peter Stansky, *Redesigning the World: William Morris, the 1880s, and the Arts and Crafts* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985); Wendy Kaplan, *Leading 'The Simple Life': The Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain 1880-1910* (Miami Beach, Florida International University, 1999); and in the Canadian context, Ellen McLeod, *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

inspired exclusively by a nostalgic impulse to recapture a "golden age." This recreated world served as a model for the future, it provided an example of the ideals and values to which society should aspire.[34]

The Old Church label similarly indicates a desire to emphasize these other-world values, but unlike the architects, poets and landscape painters who promoted these values in response to their general unease with the implications of an increasingly urban, industrial, and commercial environment, the label functions to assert the compatibility of commercial and spiritual ideals. The values embodied by the old church are not threatened by a new commercial and secular order. Old and new values can exist compatibly: moral and economic progress, spirituality and commerce, conformity and heroism, romanticism and rationality. The modern and highly commercial medium in which this message is disseminated is the principal means by which these ideals intersect. Indeed, the very expression of these old church values in a commercial medium suggests, if in a somewhat nuanced and contrived manner, the compatibility of this relationship.

A label for Old Oak Brand Tomatoes similarly assures consumers that the new material environment will not threaten traditional values, and employs the idea of nature to convey this message (Fig.1.8). The front side of the label features an enormous tomato. Two ivy branches with holly berries peak out from the circular design that

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[34] William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 130-139. In chapter five Westfall describes some of the features of nineteenth-century medieval style architecture, but see also J. Mordaunt Crook, *Axel Haig and the Victorian Vision of the Middle Ages* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1984); and in the Canadian context, Alan Gowans, *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life* (Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1966), and Shirley Morriss, "The Nine-Year Odyssey of a High Victorian Gothic: Three Churches by Fred Cumberland," *The Journal of Canadian Art History* (Summer 1975), 42-53.

surrounds the tomato. On the opposite side of the label a tall oak tree, a towering symbol of strength, stability and prosperity, asserts its supremacy in the grove. In the distance two horses graze in a field near a modest cottage. The landscape is pure and majestic,

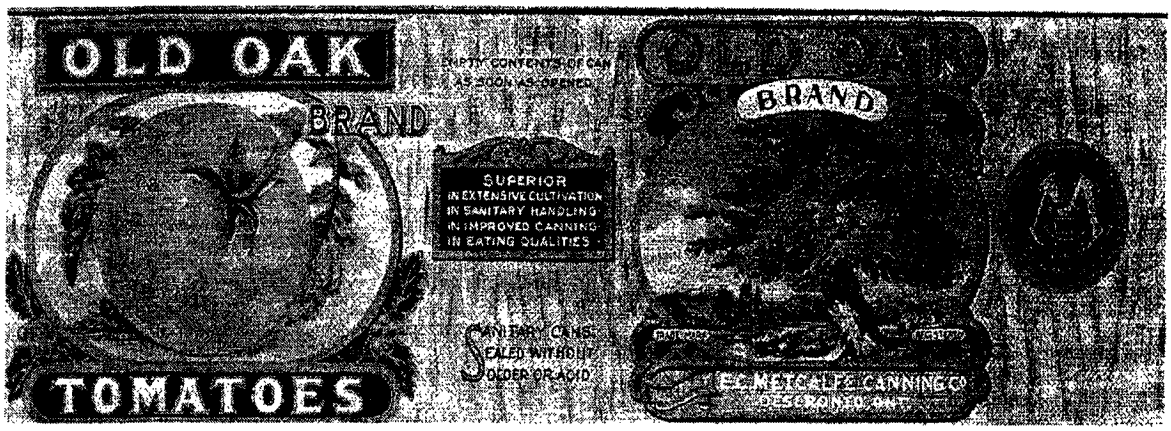

Figure 1.8 Old Oak Tomatoes, c. 1900-1905, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

untainted by the evils of industrialism. The imagery in this label may have been inspired by a Canadian landscape, but it was more likely inspired by the much valorized green countryside of England. The mighty oak of the Old World certainly possessed a more historic and powerful mythology than its North American counterpart. Indeed, British settlers were known to wax poetic about the old oaks of home. As Catharine Parr Trail wrote in describing the trees of the Canadian backwoods,

> . . . you miss that fantastic bowery shade that is so delightful in our parks and woodlands at home. . . There is no appearance of venerable antiquity in the Canadian woods. There are no ancient spreading oaks that might be called the patriarchs of the forest. A premature decay seems to be their doom. They are uprooted by the storm, and sink in their first maturity, to give place to a new generation that is ready to fill their places.[35]

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[35] Catherine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada: Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer* (Toronto, Prospero Books, 2003 [1836]), 113.

The label connects the canned tomatoes with the old oak tree in an interesting way. Drawing from the themes of American journalist and poet Eugene Field's popular tale, *The Oak- Tree and the Ivy*, the label conveys the intimate relationship between E.C. Metcalfe's products and the natural world. Field's story chronicles the enduring love between a mighty oak tree and a needy vine of ivy which remains twined around the base of the old oak throughout the course of its life. For several years, the confident, stoic oak protects the weak and timid ivy, prompting the other vegetation in the forest to brand the ivy a "lazy vine" that "has naught to do but twine herself about the arrogant oak-tree." The ivy is finally able to reciprocate the goodwill of the old oak when the tree is seriously injured by a bolt of lightning. Unwilling to allow the oak to accept his end, the ivy binds his wounds with her soft foliage and nurses the tree back to health.[36] The ivy near the base of the tomato, unique to the Old Oak label, thus imbues the tomato with special significance. The fidelity of the ivy is transferred to the tomato and a close association is subsequently formed between the tomato and the oak tree. This association serves commercial purposes by assuring consumers that Old Oak canned tomatoes are a product of the natural world.

Urban and Industrial Space

Victorian advertisements abound with images of urban, commercial and industrial space. These images provide visual evidence of the modern processes through which goods and services are manufactured, transported and sold, and thus function to stimulate consumer

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[36] See Eugene Field, "The Oak-Tree and the Ivy," in *A Little Book of Profitable Tales*, Vol. II (New York, Scribner, 1914 [1889]), 105-112.

interest. A popular advertisement for Simpson's Department Store of Toronto captures the bustle of city life at the corner of Queen and Yonge Streets in 1895 (Fig.1.9). Eager

Figure 1.9 Simpson's Store, *Toronto Saturday Night*, 29 June, 1895, p.12

spectators and consumers disembark from carriages, bicycles and railcars to join the urban masses and delight in the spectacle of Simpson's impressive six storey facade. Towering above the street with rooftop in the clouds, it conveys a somewhat mystical presence. The store's location, architecture and contents are thoroughly modern.

Urban and industrial spaces were also featured on canned goods labels. A label for Desideratum Brand Marrowfat Peas presents an illustration of the S. Carsley Company, which is situated on a bustling corner in Montreal (Fig.1.10). Desideratum

peas, the label claims, are expressly packed for the Carsley Company. Consumers flock to the store on carriages, railcars and bicycles, eager to experience the commercial, industrial and architectural marvels of the city. A sign on the opposite side of Carsley's roof alerts consumers to the store's "St James St Entrance," and subsequently reminds them that the store occupies a full city block.

Figure 1.10 Desideratum Peas, c. 1905-1910, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

To those fluent in Latin, the label conveys the idea that Desideratum peas are desired by many.[37] The effort to inspire consumer desire with grandiose images of urban and industrial progress was a common theme in Victorian advertising. As Lori Loeb has argued, such images "provide an impression of the prestige, reputation, and permanence of particular businesses, but they also symbolize Victorian progress. They present a dramatic contrast between past and present; they celebrate momentum and uphold the Victorian improving impulse." The principal way Loeb sees these images functioning is in their promise "to satisfy every human want." From this perspective, the confidence

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[37] *The Oxford English Dictionary* meaning of desideratum is "something lacking but needed or desired."

inspired by images of material progress is directly related to consumer interest in personal and social improvement.[38] The capacity of these images to resonate with consumers in this way is clear, but it does not wholly define their cultural significance. Images of industrial and urban splendour were often connected to the production of meaning about specific local spaces.

The idea of progress expressed in the Desideratum peas label is not free-floating; nor is it manifested exclusively in the facade of the S. Carsley Company. It is grounded in the localized space of Montreal and is put in the service of civic boosterism. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Montreal made major gains in commerce and industry and by 1880, was the industrial capital of Canada. This economic growth and prosperity was not unrivalled. Toronto's industrial production increased dramatically at the end of the nineteenth century, which, as Paul Rutherford has pointed out, made the city a "serious rival to Montreal in the manufacture of goods for mass consumption."[39] This competition no doubt encouraged local political authorities, as well as industrial and commercial interests, to promote Montreal as a model of material progress. Advertising provided an excellent medium to disseminate this message. The impressive architecture of the Carsley Company, the incessant movement of people, bicycles and railcars, and the rooftops of shops and factories that stretch into the distance behind the Carsley Company function to both confirm and promote Montreal's status as the "embodiment of

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[38] Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1994), 51-53.

[39] Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 10-16.

progress."[40]

A label for Burlington Brand Blueberries similarly connects the idea of material progress to local achievement (Fig.1.11). On one side of the label an image of a large branch of ripened blueberries is presented. The other side features an illustration of the Burlington Canning Company, situated at the foot of Brant Street on Lake Ontario. The

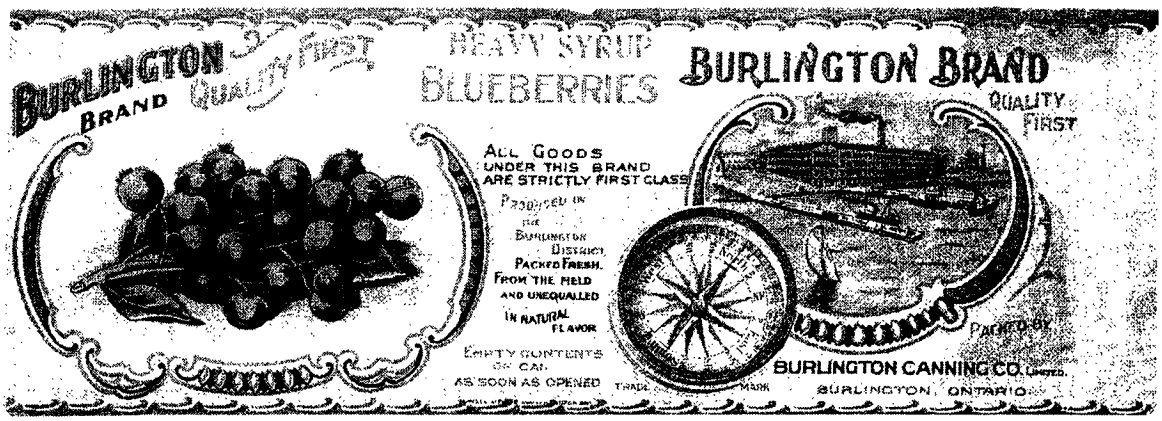

Figure 1.11 Burlington Blueberries, c. 1903-1905, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

modern efficiency of the company is highlighted by the smoke that rises from the factory smokestack and the steamships that prepare to load and transport Burlington Brand products to a domestic market. The image of Burlington is not entirely modern; a sailing ship drifts gracefully in the harbour water, a reminder of Burlington's historical importance as a port town. References to product quality abound. The phrase "Quality First," appears above each image, and in the sky directly behind the billowing smoke of the factory. In the centre of the label, consumers are reassured that "All goods under this brand are strictly first class . . . Produced in the Burlington District . . . Packed fresh from

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[40] The description of Montreal as the "embodiment of progress" is taken from Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 10.

the field and unequalled in natural flavor." The quality of produce packed at the Burlington Canning Company is not compromised by a lengthy transport from field to factory. Local agriculture and industry work cooperatively to ensure product quality and advance Burlington's prosperity. The label provides an excellent forum to create an awareness of this prosperity and emphasize Burlington's importance in the domestic economy.[41]

In a more forceful way, a label for Seal Brand Bartlett Pears emphasizes the modern and prosperous character of Strathroy (Fig.1.12). One side of the label features two impressively large Bartlett pears, the other presents an illustration of the factory which is home to the Strathroy Canning and Preserving Company. Smoke rises from the

Figure 1.12 Seal Pears, c. 1892-1903, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

smokestack on the roof and from the railcar that departs from the factory; the former highlights the efficient activities conducted inside the factory, the latter draws attention to Strathroy's geographically favourable location. The effort to connect the town of

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[41] On the history of Burlington see Claire Machan, *From Pathway to Skyway Revisited: The Story of Burlington* (Burlington, Burlington Historical Society, 1997); Dorothy Turcotte, *Burlington: Memories of Pioneer Days* (Burlington, Burlington Historical Society, 1989); and Dorothy Turcotte, *Burlington: The Growing Years* (Burlington, Burlington Historical Society, 1992).

Strathroy with industrial progress is striking. For those consumers apparently unable to discern the purpose of the factory, the label proudly points out that it is the "Factory of the Strathroy Canning and Preserving Company." On either side of the label the name Strathroy appears in large capital print, and on the rear side of the label the reference to Strathroy's geographical position in "Ontario, Canada" suggests that some of the products canned at the Strathroy company may have circulated in the international market. The label functions to promote Strathroy on local, national and perhaps even international levels.

Another interesting feature of the Strathroy label is the way in which nature is used to highlight industrial production. A branch of wild flowers peeks out from behind the image of the factory. This juxtaposition is somewhat curious given the apparent tension between natural and industrial space. Yet the use of flowers here is reminiscent of the Art Nouveau style, which indicates a relationship characterized more by harmony than tension. Indeed, the flowers are conventionalized to complement the image of the factory. In a way consistent with trends in Art Nouveau, the flowers are disassociated from their "wild and unruly" origins and their existence "outside of normal lived experience," and are ordered in a way which complements the achievements of this lived experience.[42] As Paul Greenhalgh has argued, toward the end of the nineteenth century artistic expressions of nature were often "tamed so as to aid the central aim of the object, namely to be useful," and in some artistic circles, nature was put "at the service of

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[42] See Paul Greenhalgh, "The Style of the Age," in Paul Greenhalgh (ed.), *Art Nouveau, 1890-1914* (London, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2000), 21-22.

altogether unnatural visions."[43] The conventionalization of nature in this label not only complements the narrative of material progress, but also highlights one of the most enduring features of this narrative: human triumph over nature.

The construction of this harmonious relationship between the flowers and the factory is also related to the context of consumerism. In response to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century concern about the purity and naturalness of products, particularly food products, manufacturers, retailers, and advertisers often emphasized the congruence between processed and natural foods. As Keith Walden has pointed out, grocers often displayed processed foods beside their natural source. Packages of shredded coconut were presented alongside whole coconuts, and boxed cereals were displayed beside shocks of grain. In this way, "nature and culture remained united as parts of a single spectrum." Walden speculates that the same message was intended by grocers' use of plant life in their displays. "As well as lending variety of line and colour to displays," he argues, "they suggested a harmony between inanimate processed goods and the living, organic world from which they originated."[44] The relationship between the flowers and the factory in the Strathroy label functions in a similar way. In the absence of textual references to the purity of Strathroy products, the flowers are employed to fulfil this purpose.

Representations of local space in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century

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[43] See Greenhalgh, "The Cult of Nature," 58-59.

[44] See Keith Walden, "Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920," *Canadian Historical Review* LXX/3 (1989), 302-304. See also Elizabeth Ewen and Stuart Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1982), 58, which informs Walden's analysis.

consumer culture communicated a variety of meanings. Images of industrial, rural and atavistic space operated in different ways to foster consumer appeal. The emphasis on material progress in representations of urban and industrial space was the principal means by which advertisers sought to stimulate consumer interest. Yet these images existed somewhat uneasily with the canned goods they were designed to promote. Consumer concern about the unnatural processes of industry prompted many canners to temper their images of industrial progress with references to nature. In representations of rural and atavistic space, this concern was assuaged in a more forceful and implicit manner by the iconography of the label. Images of rural life and those depicting an earlier time functioned to associate canned goods with the natural world. Moreover, these representations provided a visual means by which Canadians could better understand the immense economic, social and cultural changes of the period. As industrialization reordered the boundaries of local space, pictorial advertisements and canned goods labels helped familiarize Canadians with the historic developments that culminated in their new surroundings. In all of these representations the reference point from which advertisers sought to stimulate consumer interest was local, whether physical or imagined. The meanings conveyed by the orchard labourer, the E.D. Smith farm and the S. Carsley Company were inextricably connected, respectively, to ideas about the Okanagan Valley, the Niagara region, and the bustling city of Montreal. All were part of a broader consumer discourse that relied on different spatial constructs to foster consumer appeal. Within this discourse, the idea of Canada provided advertisers with an equally powerful referent system.

CHAPTER 2

'I have tried your tomato chutnee and found it very good': Selling and Constructing the Nation

In the two decades following Confederation, Canada appeared to be on the brink of collapse. Continued animosity between French- and English-speaking Canadians, regional protest in the Northwest, threats of secession in Nova Scotia, a thriving provincial rights movement in Ontario, and a deep economic depression all pointed to the apparent failure of Confederation.[1] By the mid 1890s, however, widespread disillusionment was replaced with renewed confidence in the future of Canada. Changing conditions in the world economy brought an end to Canada's long depression and paved the way for national development.[2] The national policies introduced by the Conservative government of John A. Macdonald in 1879 finally came to fruition under the Liberal government of Wilfrid Laurier. Following his election in 1896, Laurier maintained the basic elements of Macdonald's National Policy – a protective tariff on manufactured goods from the United States, railway development and the settlement of the Canadian West. In the following two decades, the Canadian economy experienced an unprecedented level of growth, the population of the West increased dramatically and railway construction proceeded apace. Confidence in the future of Canada was restored.

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[1] See R. Douglas Francis, Richard Jones and Donald B. Smith, *Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation* (Scarborough, Nelson Thomson Learning, 2000), 82-106.

[2] Regional disputes and cultural conflicts certainly persisted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but the general mood was characterized by optimism. On how the changing world economy affected Canadian development, see Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), 49-82.

This renewed confidence provided the foundation for the rise of nationalist sentiment in turn-of-the-century Canada. The prosperity of the period confirmed the viability and potential of the Canadian union in economic terms, but it also helped to popularize the *idea* of Canada. This rise in popularity was reflected in consumer culture. An examination of consumer advertisements from 1880 to 1914 demonstrates that it was not until the mid-1890s that nationalist rhetoric and iconography became common fixtures in consumer discourse. Images of the maple leaf, beaver, and Jack Canuck, and those of prominent Canadian figures, both historic and contemporary, were associated with a variety of products. Prime Ministers John A. Macdonald, Wilfrid Laurier and Robert Borden were employed to promote everything from tomato chutnee to encyclopaedias.[3] The Canadian Parliament buildings appeared on canned goods labels for cherries, egg plums and peaches.[4] L. Higgins & Company of Moncton encouraged consumers to send away for a poster-size illustration of the Fathers of Confederation, and the Grip Printing and Publishing Company of Toronto, for a two dollar fee, sent consumers a "life size," framed photograph of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.[5] The Ogilvie Flour

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[3] For example, Maple Leaf Brand Tomato Catsup, Maple Leaf Brand Sugar Corn, Maple Leaf Brand Standard Peas, Maple Leaf Brand Extra Fine Sifted Peas, Hygeian Brand Standard Apples, Archives File, Growers Day Book, Canadian Canners Collection, Hamilton Public Library (HPL), c. 1910s; Auto Brand Black Cherries, Canadian Canners Limited, Canadian Heritage Label Collection (CHLC), c. 1905-1910; The Red Bird Bicycle, *The Canadian Magazine* 9/3 (July 1897), xxvi; Sunlight Soap, *The Globe* (5 July 1902), 21; 'Red Feather' Tea, *Toronto Saturday Night* (8 July 1905), 11; *Encyclopaedia Britannica, The Mail and Empire* (1 June 1895), 12; Canadian Tomato Chutnee, C-148449, Morris Norman Collection, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), c. 1890; and 2 in 1 Shoe Polish, *The Western Home Monthly* (5 July 1912), 16.

[4] Parliament Brand Red Pitted Cherries, Parliament Brand Pie Peeled Peaches, Parliament Brand Egg Plums, Archives File, Grower's Day Book, Canadian Canners Collection, HPL, c, 1905-1915.

[5] Maple Leaf Rubbers, C-2280341, LAC, c. 1905, and The Grip Printing and Publishing Company, *Toronto Saturday Night* (15 December 1900), 11;

Mills Company of Winnipeg employed the image of Miss Canada as a discerning shopper and consumer authority.[6] Consumers were encouraged to eat Canada Flakes, Maple Leaf Apples, Canada's Pride Peas, and drink Canadian Maple Leaf Malt Whiskey.[7] They were urged to light their homes with Duffield's Canadian Lamp, bake with sugar from the Canada Sugar Refining Company, wash their hands with John A. Soap, chop wood with the Laurier Axe, and wear 'Canadian' Rubbers on their feet.[8]

This chapter examines how English-Canadian national identity was articulated in consumer culture. Expressions of national identity were varied and complex, including both explicit and implicit forms. Maple leaves, prime ministers and the "Canadian" brand name communicated an undeniably nationalist message, while other expressions were more nuanced. All were part of a consumer discourse that employed nationalist ideas to foster consumer appeal. Advertisers recognized the rising tide of nationalist sentiment in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canada and capitalized on it in a variety of ways. This chapter identifies and explores three ways in which this nationalist sentiment was articulated in consumer culture. The most powerful form of nationalism was characterized by an English-Canadian appropriation of history, culture and geography. In the effort to establish a national identity, the contours of Canadian society,

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[6] The Ogilvie Flour Mills Co., Limited, *The Western Home Monthly* (January 1913), 18.

[7] Canada Flakes, *The Mail and Empire* (1 July 1905), 22; Maple Leaf Apples, Canadian Canners Limited, CHLC, c. 1903-1910; Canada's Pride Peas, Napanee Canning Company, CHLC, c. 1890s; and Canadian Maple Leaf Malt Whiskey, Archives File, Duncan Lithography Company, HPL, c. 1902.

[8] Duffield's Canadian Lamp, Broadsides and Printed Ephemera Collection, Toronto Reference Library (TRL), c. 1889; The Canada Sugar Refining Company, *The Monetary Times* (1 November 1901), 553; John A. Soap, Archives File, Duncan Lithography Company, HPL, c. 1898; Laurier Axe, Archives File, Duncan Lithography Company, HPL, c. 1902; 'Canadian' Rubbers, *Toronto Saturday Night* (24 December 1904), 11.

past and present, were subject to reinterpretation. Native culture, French-Canadian history and the geography of western Canada were appropriated into a narrative of English-Canadian conquest that served nationalist purposes.

Rural and industrial landscapes were also employed to construct meaning about Canada. These landscapes were situated in a national context by way of nationalist iconography and rhetoric, but they were also nationalist in what they communicated about Canada's economic development. Innovations in agricultural and industrial technology were instrumental to this development and, as a result, their documentation in consumer culture was thoroughly nationalist in tone. Equally important in the articulation of economic nationalism was the relationship between farm and factory in Canadian development, and Canada's trade policy toward the United States. In a more explicit manner, nationalism also surfaced in consumer culture with the appearance of prominent Canadian political authorities. Prime ministers, Leaders of the Opposition and the Fathers of Confederation were all part of a consumer discourse that relied on nationalist ideas to inspire consumer interest.

Constructing the Nation with Narratives of Conquest

Constructions of national identity in English-Canadian consumer culture were often based on an appropriation of history, geography and culture that existed outside the spatial and ideological boundaries of Ontario, where the majority of these advertisements were produced. The most common appropriations included Native culture, French-Canadian history and the West. They were all situated in a narrative of English-Canadian conquest

which operated to construct ideas about the nation.

A label for Chippewa Brand Strawberries, packed by the Niagara Falls Canning Company, employs the image of a Chippewa Native to convey meaning about Canada (Fig.2.1). Despite the historical presence of the Chippewa in the Niagara region, the construction of meaning in this label was more national than local.[9] In contrast to the

Figure 2.1 Chippewa Strawberries, c. 1910s, Canadian Canners Ltd., Hamilton Public Library

traditional iconography of the region, which is most often characterized by grandiose images of the falls, this label presents a landscape more readily associated with the Canadian north. The snow-capped pine and the imposing white clouds in the background imbue the Native with a cultural significance that transcends the localized space of Niagara.

By the first decades of the twentieth century, nativeness was frequently associated with ideas of nation and advertising provided a powerful venue to disseminate these

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[9] On the Chippewa see Harold Hickerson, *The Chippewa and their neighbours: a study in ethnohistory* (Prospect Heights, Ill., Waveland Press, 1988); Raymond C. Lantz, *Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan, 1870-1909* (Bowie, Md, Heritage Books, 1991); and Gerald Vizenor, *The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

ideas. Daniel Francis has demonstrated how advertisers often employed the image of the Native to promote a wide variety of products, including Pocahontas perfume, Red Indian Motor Oil, Iroquois beer, and Squaw Brand canned vegetables. For some products, he argues, nativeness "was used to associate a product with the out-of-doors, or with strength and courage, or with the simple innocence of nature," while for others, it "was used as an all-purpose symbol of Canada."[10]

The image of the Native in the Chippewa strawberries label serves both these functions. As a symbol of nature and especially the pre-industrial world, the Native operates to assure consumers of the pure and natural qualities of Chippewa Brand products. In examining the anti-modern pursuits of W.D. Lighthall and David Ross McCord, Donald Wright has argued that to these men "the Native - noble, heroic, in community with nature and doomed to extinction – existed as a key symbolic referent in the discourse of fear and loathing in an increasingly modern, urban, industrial society."[11] The Chippewa label employs the image of the Native to draw attention to this "community with nature," but the construction of this image is not inspired by anti-modern impulses or an unease with modern life. Rather, it is put exclusively in the service of commercial interests.

Unique to the New World, the Native also functions to fuel a strain of Canadian identity distinct from those shaped largely by British values and ideas. Studies which

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[10] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver, Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 174.

[11] Donald Wright, "W.D. Lighthall and David Ross McCord: Antimodernism and English-Canadian Imperialism, 1880s-1918," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32/2 (Summer 1997), 140.

have examined how Native culture has functioned in Canadian consumer culture have focussed primarily on the tourist industry. Patricia Jasen, for example, has explored the tourist appeal of various Native peoples in different regions of Ontario. They "were a great curiosity," she writes, "a sight to be seen; their personal appearance, their demeanour, their occupations, their homes, and their children all aroused constant comment." Karen Dubinsky has similarly examined how the "spectacle of race" stimulated the tourist industry in Niagara Falls. Native people were one of the main attractions for travellers to Canada in the nineteenth century. "[N]othing was a more important signifier of North America," Dubinsky suggests, than Native people.[12] These studies draw attention to the unique role Native peoples served in the Canadian tourist industry, but they do not explore this role within the context of Canadian advertising; nor do they sufficiently relate the significance of this role to the construction of national identity. In Daniel Francis' study, nativeness is examined in the context of Canadian advertising and he does suggest that the Native sometimes served as a symbol of Canada, but the cultural processes underlying this connection are not fully explored. In his analysis, the extension of nativeness to nation is limited to tourist advertising.[13]

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[12] Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1995), 95. In this description Jasen is referring specifically to the Ojibway population. Karen Dubinsky, "Local colour: the spectacle of race at Niagara Falls," in Antoinette Burton (ed.), *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities* (London, Routledge, 1999), 69. Other studies which examine indigenous populations and the tourist industry include Polly Patullo, *Last Resorts: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean* (London, Cassell, 1996); Frank Taylor, *To Hell With Paradise: A History of the Jamaican Tourist Industry* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, Routledge, 1992); and Barbara Buntman, "Bushman Images in South African Tourist Advertising: The Case of Kagga Kamma," in Pippa Skotnes (ed.), *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen* (Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 1996) 271-279.

[13] Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 171-190. In Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory and Canadian History* (Vancouver, Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), this extension of Nativeness to nation is explored in greater detail, although consumer culture is not the focus. See Chapter Six, "The Ideology of

The image featured on the Chippewa Brand Strawberries label is situated in a narrative of nationalism that highlights the importance of the Native in characterizing the Canadian nation. This importance, however, is understood in historical terms. Defined as part of a "disappearing wilderness,"[14] the Native advances the nationalist narrative by reminding Canadians how the inexorable march of civilization fuelled the development of the nation. More importantly, the historical presence of the Native in Canada brings greater authority and significance to the nation by furnishing Canada with a unique and lengthy pre-history. The continuing importance of the Native in Canada is thus entirely symbolic; the *image* of the Native has a place in the future of the nation, but the Native does not.

The French-Canadian past was similarly appropriated into the language of consumerism and was often put in the service of English-Canadian nationalism. The image of Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve appeared on labels for canned pears, rhubarb and plums; the Fleur De Lis was employed to sell peaches, peas and baked beans; Jacques Cartier's image was used to promote "Canadian" Rubbers; and the image of Louis de Buade, compte de Frontenac was a regular fixture on labels for canned tomatoes. Most of these labels appeared on goods packaged by English-Canadian manufacturers, contained only English text, and were thus intended for an English-Canadian market.[15]

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the Canoe: The Myth of the Wilderness," 128-151.

[14] Jasen, *Wild Things*, 43.

[15] For example, Maisonneuve Brand Choice Pumpkin, Maisonneuve Brand Bartlett Pears, Maisonneuve Brand Choice Rhubarb, Maisonneuve Brand Beauty Pears, Maisonneuve Brand Choice Yellow Peaches, Maisonneuve Brand Egg Plums, Maisonneuve Brand Lombard Plums, Maisonneuve Brand Green Gage Plums, Maisonneuve Brand Damson Plums, British Canadian Canners, Archives File, Growers Day Book, Canadian Canners Limited, Hamilton Public Library, c. 1895; Fleur de Lis Brand Lawton Berries, Fleur de Lis Brand Yellow Peaches, Fleur de Lis Brand Ideal Peas, Fleur de Lis Brand Fine

These representations were likely inspired by the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century interest in French-Canadian history. As H.V. Nelles and others have recently demonstrated, this interest was shared by both English and French Canadians. History was employed to construct and negotiate ideas about the nation, to "consecrate a new citizenship" and to demonstrate how the past "pointed firmly towards a collective future."[16] Despite this shared enthusiasm, however, the selection and use of French-Canadian history was often varied and contested. Both French and English Canadians favoured figures and symbols from the period of New France, but as Colin Coates has pointed out, they often used this history for different purposes. French-Canadian nationalists employed historical figures from the pre-Conquest period to demonstrate the "longevity of the 'national' struggle," while English-Canadian use of these figures "represented an attempt to appropriate the past of French Canada in order to provide a longer genealogy to the Canadian nation and to imply a continuous record of progress that linked French and English Canadians." In the English-Canadian perspective, the history of New France was merely a prelude – "a romantic preface" to the more significant part

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Sifted Peas, Fleur de lis Baked Beans, British Canadian Canners, Archives File, Growers Day Book, Canadian Canners Limited, Hamilton Public Library, c.1895-1900; "Canadian" Rubbers, *Toronto Saturday Night* (24 December 1904), 11; Frontenac Brand Tomates de Luxe, Patenaude Carignan, Dominion Canners Limited, Canadian Heritage Label Collection (CHLC), Country Heritage Park, Milton, Ontario, c. 1910s. With the exception of the labels for Frontenac Tomatoes (which contained bilingual text and thus probably circulated to both French- and English-Canadian markets – and were canned by a French-Canadian manufacturer in Montreal that was owned by the English-Canadian company Dominion Canners of Hamilton after 1910), all these advertisements contained English text only and appeared on canned goods manufactured by English-Canadian companies.

[16] See H.V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1999), 11-12. See also Colin M. Coates and Cecilia Morgan, *Heroines & History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2002), and Ronald Rudin, *Founding Fathers: The Celebration of Champlain and Laval in the Streets of Quebec, 1878-1908* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2003).

of Canadian history.[17]

A label for Fleur de Lis Brand canned fruit, packed by British Canadian Canners of Hamilton in the latter half of the 1890s, was a product of this English-Canadian interest in the history of New France (Fig.2.2). The fleur de lis was a powerful symbol of

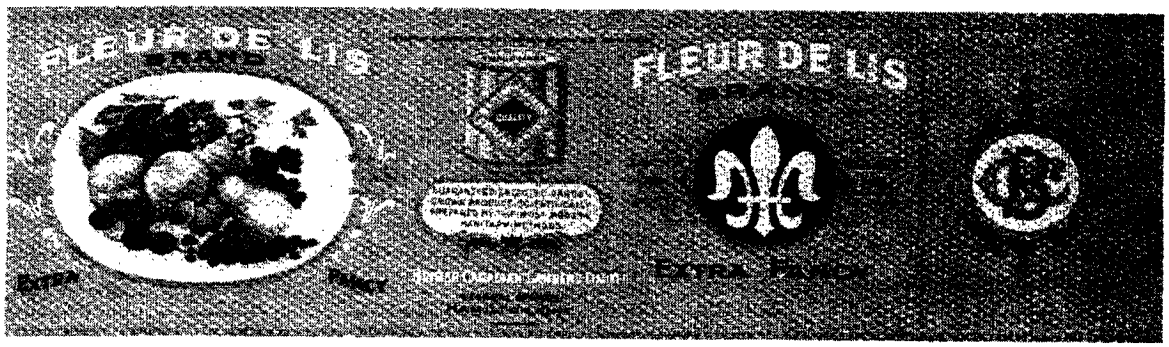

Figure 2.2 Fleur de Lis Brand, c. 1895-1900, Canadian Canners Ltd., Hamilton Public Library

French sovereignty in Canada from the time of Jacques Cartier's first voyage down the St Lawrence in 1534, to the early 1760s when New France was ceded to Britain. The appropriation of the fleur de lis into English-Canadian consumer culture indicates it was recognized as a significant symbol of Canadian history. More importantly, it suggests the fleur de lis was not identified as a threat to the contemporary English-Canadian vision of the nation's future. This was primarily because the significance of the fleur de lis was located comfortably in the past. To English Canadians, the fleur de lis was not associated with the rising tide of Quebec nationalism in the nineteenth century, nor was it identified as a symbol of French-Canadian difference, but rather was associated with the quaint,

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[17] Coates and Morgan, *Heroines & History*, 43-44.

nostalgic era of the old regime.[18] Just as English monarchs had inscribed the fleur de lis on their coats of arms to highlight their claims to the throne of France following Edward III's claim in the fourteenth century, English Canadians appropriated the fleur de lis into consumer culture to emphasize British authority over Quebec. History, and its various re-interpretations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, granted English Canadians an equal claim to the symbols and figures of Quebec's historic past. New France had been ceded to the British Empire, and so too had its history. The fleur de lis was located in a narrative of progress in which French culture was (and continued to be) supplanted by the unrelenting march of British civilization.

The fleur de lis was also an appealing symbol to English Canadians because it represented Canada's historic (and continuing) connection with Europe. In describing their products as "Extra Fancy," the Fleur de Lis label draws from aristocratic notions of Frenchness to emphasize the quality of their products. Refined in taste and style, Fleur de Lis products offer consumers a degree of quality unparalleled by other brands. Yet this

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[18] The fleur de lis continued to appear in French-Canadian society after the Conquest, but its symbolism did not combine forcefully with the articulation of Quebec nationalism until the fleur de lis flag was officially adopted by the government of Maurice Duplessis in 1948. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec* (Toronto, Gage Publishing Limited, 1983), 266-267, has pointed out that following the Conquest, "the various French flags disappeared, but different groups of French Canadians kept adopting or designing ones of their own." When the fleur de lis flag was officially adopted in 1948, Trofimenkoff argues, "contemporary symbolism" meant more "than the historical origin of the flag . . . for all its crispness of colour and design, the flag in fact fluttered over a hazy realm of emotions and sentiment. It assumed a unity among the inhabitants of Quebec, some common denominator of attachment to land or language, to family or fortune, to tradition or temerity. Rarely was that unity articulated, much less acted upon. It hovered in the unconscious and the unspoken and may have taken as many as four million different forms in 1950. Yet the very planting of the flag bolstered convictions. A flag delimits a territory and hints at the will, if not the power, to protect it. . . In many ways therefore the flag proclaimed in 1948 what nationalists had been saying for years, but what politicians would not utter until the 1970s: Quebec was a separate place, a community, a homeland, distinct from the rest of North America."

assurance of quality does not operate simultaneously to assure consumers of the sanitary conditions under which Fleur de Lis products are packaged. The label thus offers this assurance in the text. "Guaranteed selected garden grown produce. Scientifically prepared by the most sanitary methods." In a somewhat confused manner, the label balances its use of history with references to modernity to foster consumer appeal.

A label for Maisonneuve Choice Egg Plums also draws from the history of New France to emphasize Canada's lengthy history (Fig.2.3).[19] The label features an illustration of the Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve monument, erected at Montreal's Place D'Armes in 1895. Selected by the Société Notre-Dame de Montréal to establish a missionary colony on the Île de Montréal, Maisonneuve organized the construction of

Figure 2.3 Maisonneuve Egg Plums, c. 1895, Canadian Canners Ltd., Hamilton Public Library

Ville-Marie in 1642. As the founder of Montreal and an indefatigable defender of the colony against incessant Iroquois attacks, Maisonneuve was a likely candidate for tribute in the late nineteenth-century flurry to commemorate the past. Indeed, enthusiasm for the

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[19] This label is unique in that it was printed by a lithographer in New York. Most of the labels examined in this study were printed in Canada.

commemoration of Maisonneuve was intense, with approximately 20,000 people turning out to witness the unveiling of his statue in 1895.[20]

It is significant that Maisonneuve and Cartier appeared in English-Canadian consumer culture while other important figures in the history of New France did not. Maisonneuve and Cartier were commemorated with enthusiasm in French Canada, but the celebrations in tribute to these figures paled in comparison to those in honour of Samuel de Champlain and François de Laval. The images of Champlain and Laval held greater appeal in French Canada for precisely the same reason they were absent from English-Canadian consumer culture. Ronald Rudin has argued that Cartier's major feat – his claim to the St Lawrence in 1534, "evaporated on the Plains of Abraham in 1759." Since "he did not really 'build' anything that endured in the way that Champlain and Laval had, he could be celebrated only as representing a French connection that no longer existed." French-Canadian interest in Maisonneuve was similarly contained by the belief that his contributions did not have a lasting impact on the maintenance of French culture. Although he "had been a founder," Rudin points out, "his feat was a rather local one. In contrast, the legacies left by Champlain and Laval were viewed as central to French Canadians' existence as a people."[21] English Canadians were certainly enthusiastic about Champlain's legacy, and many flocked to Quebec City in 1908 to participate in the tercentenary celebrations, but the images of Maisonneuve and Cartier prevailed in English-Canadian consumer culture because their legacies were more detached from the

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[20] Rudin, *Founding Fathers*, 6-7.
[21] Rudin, *Founding Fathers*, 6-7.

preservation of French culture. Moreover, Champlain was the founder of a city that by the late nineteenth century was "becoming even more solidly French-speaking and Catholic" and after 1867 was "home to the only government in North America where francophones were in control." Maisonneuve, on the other hand, had founded a city that by the end of the nineteenth century was culturally and linguistically diverse, and whose developing business sector was largely controlled by an English-speaking elite.[22]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, prominent figures of the Canadian past were frequently situated in a variety of historical narratives, but the construction and interpretation of these narratives were markedly different for English and French Canadians. Rudin has argued that founders "held sway in turn-of-the-century Quebec because they symbolized the roots of a civilization that had managed to survive in spite of all obstacles."[23] This assessment characterizes an important and uniquely French-Canadian narrative that developed about Canada's founders. Although Rudin does not explicitly identify the "obstacles" French Canadians surmounted, they no doubt included (or perhaps were entirely constituted by) the British presence. Similarly, the "civilization" to which he refers is, of course, an exclusively French civilization. In contrast, English Canadians situated the image of Maisonneuve in a narrative of progress that fuelled a thoroughly English-Canadian vision of Canada. This narrative celebrated Maisonneuve's accomplishments while simultaneously downplaying his French-Canadian roots. In appropriating his image into consumer culture, Maisonneuve's legacy was

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[22] See Rudin, *Founding Fathers*, 9.

[23] Rudin, *Founding Fathers*, 6.

located in a narrative of national achievement that was predominantly English Canadian in character.

The popularity of Maisonneuve and the Fleur de Lis in English-Canadian consumer culture in the 1890s and their disappearance in the early twentieth century reflected changing relations between French and English Canadians. With the outbreak of war in South Africa in 1899 between Britain and the two Boer republics, Transvaal and the Orange Free State, Canadians were divided on the question of imperial responsibility. In general, French Canadians vociferously opposed participation in the war, while English Canadians were adamant that Canada should support the Empire by sending a contingent of soldiers to participate. Tensions between French and English Canadians had certainly persisted throughout the post-Confederation decades, but the issue of imperialism – and especially participation in Britain's various military campaigns, accentuated differences and escalated hostilities between French and English Canadians more than any other issue. Within this context, the images of Maisonneuve and the Fleur de Lis had considerably less consumer appeal in English Canada.[24]

Ideas about the Canadian West were also appropriated into the language of consumerism and were frequently employed to construct ideas about the nation. These ideas often complemented each other, but they were sometimes contradictory. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, anxiety about the depletion of the North American frontier led to a romanticization of figures and icons associated with the West, such as cowboys, Native people and the bison. This romanticization was reflected in consumer

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[24] The imperial question will be addressed in greater detail in the next chapter.

culture. In the 1890s the John Hubbs canning company of Picton marketed their goods under the name Lasso Brand. A label for canned pumpkin, for example, features an illustration of two cowboys on horseback wrangling cattle on the ranching frontier of southern Alberta (Fig.2.4). On the opposite side of the label, a Native, also on horseback, writes the words Lasso Brand with his rope. The cowboys are successful ranchers who assert their claim to the bison of southern Alberta. The Native, on the other hand, distanced from the work of wrangling cattle, plays innocuously with his rope.

Figure 2.4 Lasso Pumpkin, c. 1890s, Canadian Canners Ltd., Hamilton Public Library

From the mid-1870s to the early 1920s ranching was a large-scale industry and, as David Breen has argued, was an important part of the Canadian historical experience.[25] In the Lasso Brand pumpkin label the significance of ranching is not defined by its contemporary importance in the Canadian economy, but rather its location in a romanticized past. As W.M. Elofson has pointed out, the mythologization of ranching reflected "a widespread love affair with the image of the cowboy and romantic notions of

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[25] David H. Breen, *The Canadian Prairie West and the Ranching Frontier, 1874-1924* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1983).

life on the range, more than the significance over time of the ranching technique in comparison to other agricultural forms."[26] Despite its continuing importance in the economy in the 1890s, large-scale ranching was identified as a declining industry. It was precisely this decline that made the cowboy an appealing icon in consumer culture. In the Lasso Brand label the association of the cowboy with an heroic past operates to construct meaning about the nation. Indeed, the cowboy represents an aspect of Canada that is uniquely North American, and its location in the past grants the nationalist narrative greater legitimacy and authority.

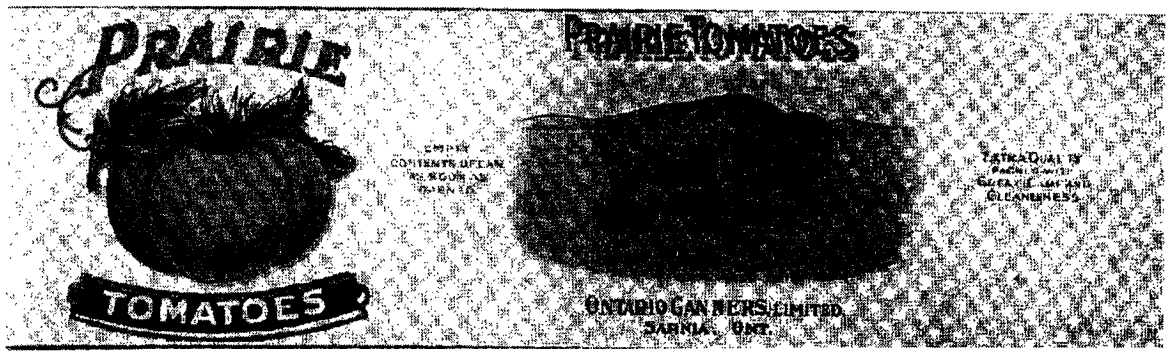

Figure 2.5 Prairie Tomatoes, c. 1895-1905, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

A label for Prairie Tomatoes, packed by Ontario Canners of Sarnia, similarly employs a romanticized icon of the Canadian West to construct meaning about the nation (Fig.2.5). The label features an image of a sole bison grazing in the prairie grasslands. That the bison stands alone, unaccompanied by a herd, suggests that this representation served as both a reference to a romanticized past and a reflection of contemporary prairie

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[26] W.M. Elofson, "Not Just a Cowboy: The Practice of Ranching in Southern Alberta, 1881-1914," in Donald Akenson (ed.), *Canadian Papers in Rural History,* Vol. X (Gananoque, Langdale Press, 1996), 214.

realities. Once a prominent feature of the prairie landscape, bison herds suffered a sharp decline between 1874 and 1879. Native and European hunters were primarily responsible for this decline, but drought, predators and competition for food with other grazing animals also played a role. A variety of initiatives were introduced by the Canadian and territorial governments to curb the decline, but they were largely unsuccessful.[27] By the end of the nineteenth century, the bison had become an icon of the prairie past.

As a "symbol of untamed nature,"[28] the bison serves a useful function in the promotion of canned produce. In articulating ideas about the nation, the bison's role is more complicated. By the 1890s the image of the bison represented one aspect of a powerful nationalist narrative: the conquest of the Canadian West. This narrative was fuelled by a powerful sub-narrative which celebrated the conquest of nature. Ontario was certainly enthusiastic about this conquest, but the response was not entirely celebratory. Indeed, the very appearance of the bison on canned goods manufactured in Sarnia raises important questions about how English Canadians in Ontario understood the West and its history. The exploitation of the land was a prerequisite to national development, but the cost of this development aroused anxieties about a lost past. As Andrew Isenberg has argued in the American context, "advocates of the preservation of the bison supported both the Euroamerican conquest of the western grasslands and the preservation of the

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[27] See Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1987), 42, 92, 149-150; and Andrew Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-3. On the mythologization of the bison/buffalo see also David A. Dary, *The Buffalo Book: The Saga of an American Symbol* (New York, Avon, 1974); Valerius Geist, *Buffalo Nation: History and Legend of the North American Bison* (Stillwater, Minn., Voyageur Press, 1996); and Larry Barsness, *The Bison in Art: A Graphic Chronicle of the American Bison* (Flagstaff, Ariz., Northland, 1977).

[28] Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison*, 168.

dominant species of the preconquest plains. These contradictory ideals exemplified the dual vision of the North American frontier at the turn of the century: as a progression toward the modern age and as a refuge from modernism."[29] The image on the Prairie Tomatoes label includes both modern and anti-modern elements; the lone bison is a product of the modernizing forces underlying national development and is simultaneously an icon of a mythologized past. The representation is both a critique and an example of modern impulses.

By the early twentieth century, cowboys and bison gave way to the new icons of the Canadian West: the settler and the farmer. With the end of an international depression in the mid-1890s, the dramatic increase in wheat production and export after 1896, and the corresponding success in attracting more immigrants to settle further west all combined to revive confidence in the potential of the West to transform Canada from colony to nation.[30] The disillusionment with the West that beset Canadians, and especially new settlers in the late 1880s and early 1890s, was replaced with fresh enthusiasm. The utopian image of the West as a "promised land, a garden of abundance in which all material wants would be provided and where moral and civic virtues would be perfected"[31] pervaded not only contemporary literature, art and immigration propaganda, but the iconography of consumer culture as well.

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[29] Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison*, 167.

[30] See Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921,* 53, 75-79.

[31] See R. Douglas Francis, *Images of the West: Responses to the Canadian Prairies* (Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1989), 107. The idea of the West as a "Promised Land" was first explored by Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1980).

By the first decade of the twentieth century, the most popular representation of the West was that of a fertile, bountiful garden with infinite agricultural potential. A label for Golden West Sugar Peas, manufactured by the Farmer's Canning Company of Bloomfield, features an illustration of the prairie landscape of south-western Alberta (Fig.2.6). In the foreground a farmer harvests a vast crop of wheat with the assistance of

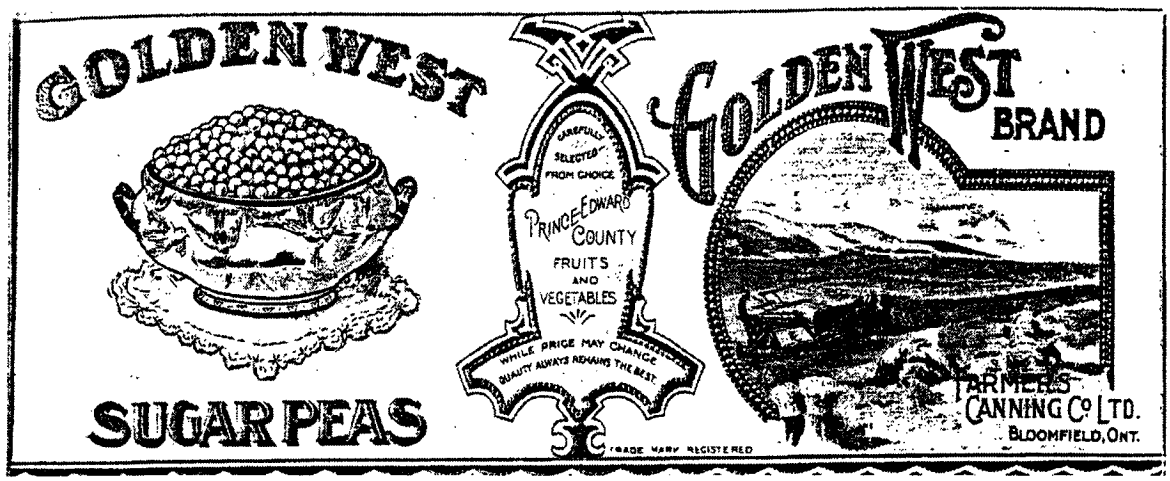

Figure 2.6 Golden West Sugar Peas, c. 1905-1910, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

a modern threshing machine and three horses. Two sheaves of wheat have been neatly bundled and left to dry in the beaming sun. Under the expansive sky, the land stretches out to the mountains in the distance.[32] In adopting this imagery, the Farmer's Canning

[32] This representation reflected contemporary enthusiasm in Ontario about the new provincial status of Alberta. Similar enthusiasm for Saskatchewan's new status as a province was reflected in a series of labels produced by Gorman, Eckert & Company Ltd. of London, Ontario. Also using the Golden West brand name, these labels featured Saskatchewan's provincial emblem, a large sheaf of wheat. They included Golden West Refugee Beans and Golden West Early June Peas, Archives File, Growers Day Book, Canadian Canners Limited, HPL, c.1905-1910. In 1910, Gorman Eckert & Company was purchased by Dominion Canners of Hamilton, which continued to reproduce the same image on such products as Golden West Tomatoes, Golden West Catsup, Golden West Golden Wax Beans, Golden West Refugee Beans and Golden West Pork & Beans, Archives File, Growers Day Book, Canadian Canners Limited, Hamilton Public Library, c. 1910s.

Company reminds consumers of the intimate association between agriculture and Golden West Sugar Peas. The idea of agriculture operates to assure consumers of the naturalness and purity of the product, but the label does not rely on anti-modern ideals to construct appeal. Despite its romanticization, agriculture in this representation is not situated in a lost past; the agricultural landscape is not receding under the encroaching forces of urbanization, but is expanding and modernizing. With the increasing association of eastern Canada with industrialization and urbanization, the West offered an appealing reference point that was simultaneously pure and modern.

In a way similar to the Chippewa, Fleur de Lis, Maisonneuve, Lasso and Prairie Brand labels, the Golden West label situates the Canadian West in a narrative of national progress. Yet in this narrative, the West assumes a more advanced and continuing position. While the significance of the other labels derives largely from their location in an imagined past, the West assumes a role of continuing importance in the development of Canada. In this narrative the Native and French-Canadian populations are proud products of past conquest, achievements that facilitate the English-Canadian conquest of the West. Moreover, just as the Native and the French-Canadian past were appropriated into English-Canadian consumer culture, control of the West is claimed by English-speaking, eastern Canadians.[33]

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[33] This appropriation of the West is similar to that outlined by Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden*, 5, 198, in his examination of the expansionist movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Owram argues that the movement was "primarily an English-Canadian phenomenon," which "was to be undertaken in the national and imperial context as interpreted by the self-appointed guardians of western destiny, eastern Canadians."

Nationalizing Rural and Industrial Space

Advertisements also employed images of rural and industrial Ontario to construct ideas about Canada. The articulation of nationalism in these advertisements was more explicit than those which appropriated geographies, histories and cultures outside the boundaries of Ontario. Rural and industrial spaces were often imbued with national significance by way of textual references and visual symbols associated with the idea of Canada. Popular textual references included brand names such as Canada, Maple Leaf, National and Jack Canuck, and the most commonly employed image was the maple leaf, followed by Jack Canuck and the beaver.

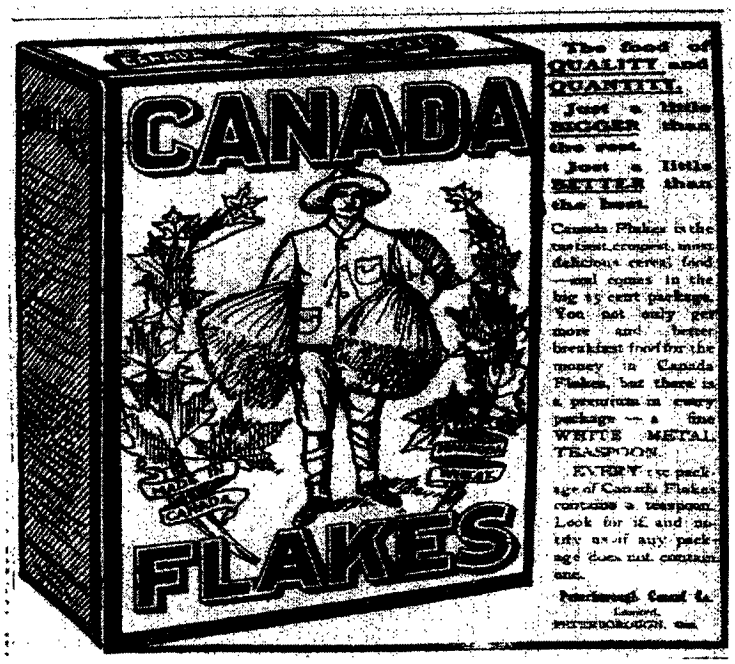

Figure 2.7 Canada Flakes, *The Globe*, 8 July 1905, p.11

An advertisement for Canada Flakes, packaged by the Peterborough Cereal Company, features the image of a hardy, capable farmer on a Canada Flakes cereal box (Fig.2.7). The farmer carries a bundle of wheat under each arm and his form is encircled

by two branches of maple leaves. A banner circling the bottom of each branch reads "Made in Canada from Manitoba wheat." The advertisement emphasises the rural environment that harvested the wheat rather than the industrial environment in which the wheat was adulterated and packaged. This emphasis served an obvious commercial purpose in reminding consumers about the agricultural origins of Canada Flakes, but it also suggests that the farmer had greater appeal than the industrial worker in both consumer and national cultures.

Advertisements and product labels of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries abound with images of rural life. In many of these representations, the farmer plays a central role in defining and articulating national character. Rural life "had conditioned Canadians to believe in 'honest toil' and the efficacy of individual initiative for gaining a 'modest competence' and social advancement,"[34] and confidence in national development was based on these principles. Industrial life, on the other hand, challenged these values. As J.L. Finlay and D.N. Sprague have observed, the "metropolitan environment that emerged in places such as Montreal and Toronto by 1911 severely challenged the ideology of success through thrift and industry. Most workers were anything but independent producers. Increasingly, they laboured for wages in large, highly mechanized establishments, at simple tasks, dictated by the pace of machinery."[35] Moreover, industrial work was believed to threaten manly virility. Many Canadians were enthusiastic about industrial progress and recognized the importance of industry to

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[34] J.L. Finlay and D.N. Sprague, *The Structure of Canadian History* (Scarborough, Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 2000), 296.

[35] Finlay and Sprague, *The Structure of Canadian History*, 296.

national growth, but the mechanized, dehumanizing characteristics of industrial life made the industrial worker a less appealing figure in the effort to define national character. In a somewhat contradictory way, the factory was a thoroughly masculine icon that symbolized national development, while the factory worker was an "unmanly" figure whose personal qualities were inconsistent with prevailing notions of national character. The undesirability of the industrial worker's image explains his absence in advertisements. Despite increasing industrialization in the first decade of the twentieth century, the farmer, with his hardy form and manly disposition, remained the preferred figure in fostering consumer appeal and projecting national values.

This image of the farmer was not unique to the Canada Flakes advertisement. The Canadian Cordage & Manufacturing Company, also of Peterborough, employed this image in their advertisements for binder twine in the early twentieth century (Fig.2.8). That both companies were based in Peterborough, adopted the same image, and employed the same slogan "Just a Little Better than the Best," suggests that Canadian Cordage and Peterborough Cereal may have been related companies. It is interesting that the same image was used to sell two entirely different products. More significantly, the image of the farmer was clearly recognized as one which would appeal to two very different consumer groups. The Canada Flakes advertisement was designed for female consumers, while the Canadian Cordage advertisement targeted the farmer. Both companies constructed consumer appeal by infusing their products with national significance. In both advertisements the idea of nation was employed by way of brand name, and in the Canada Flakes advertisement this idea was further emphasized by the flowery design of

maple leaves surrounding the farmer's image. The Canada Flakes advertisement was likely more successful in appealing to its target audience than the Canadian Cordage advertisement. In appealing to nationalist sentiments and presenting a visually attractive cereal box design, Canada Flakes was no doubt successful in attracting female consumers.

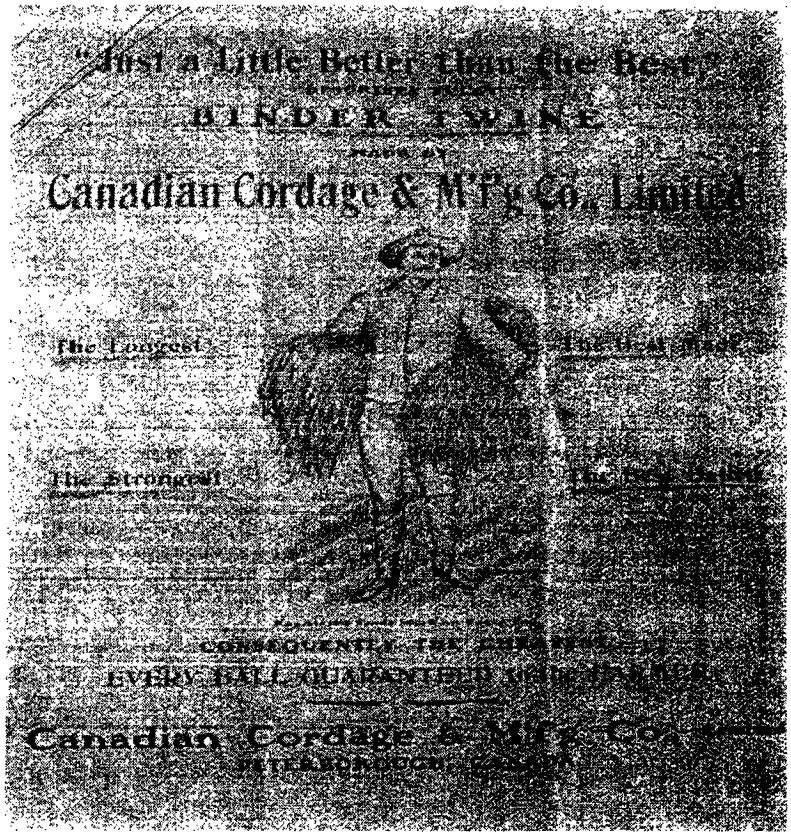

Figure 2.8 Canadian Cordage, c.1905, R1300-1166, Morris Norman Collection, Library and Archives Canada

The nationalist tone of the Canadian Cordage advertisement, on the other hand, was probably less well received among its target market. Farmers in western and central Canada, many of whom were struggling to cope with the rapid changes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were not particularly enthusiastic about the

federal government's economic program – the National Policy. The policy consisted of three interrelated initiatives: the construction of a transcontinental railway, the promotion of immigration to the Canadian West, and most importantly, a protective tariff. The Conservatives' rationale was that "the railway would promote east-west trade, while the growing population of the West would provide the necessary markets for Canadian manufactured goods and a ready source of raw materials for the growing industries of central Canada. The high tariff would force Canadians to buy Canadian products, thus encouraging industrial growth within the nation."[36] After 1896 the Liberal government had pursued an aggressive and successful campaign to settle the West, and the agricultural economy was certainly booming, but as Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook have pointed out, many farmers were dissatisfied with the federal government's failure to address their interests. The protective tariff was the principal source of their discontent. "The tariff, as the farmer viewed it, forced him to buy the necessities of life at prices artificially protected, while he had to sell his products on an unprotected and highly competitive international market. The obvious conclusion was that the farmer was paying the profits of inefficient eastern industry."[37] Although most farmers remained hopeful about the future of Canada, their increasing discontent with federal economic policy in the early twentieth century no doubt weakened, if only temporarily, their response to

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[36] R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, "A 'National Policy'?" in R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith (eds.), *Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation* (Toronto, Nelson Thomson Learning, 2002), 2. See also Craig Brown, *Canada's National Policy, 1883-1900: A Study in Canadian-American Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), and John Dales *The Protective Tariff in Canada's Development* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1966).

[37] Brown and Cook, *A Nation Transformed*, 144-146, 156.

nationalist rhetoric.

The F.F. Dalley Company of Hamilton also employs nationalist ideas to market their 2 in 1 Shoe Polish, but relies on industrial rather than agricultural imagery to articulate these ideas (Fig.2.9). One of their advertisements features an illustration of Jack Canuck handing Uncle Sam a tube of 2 in 1 shoe polish over the Canada - United States border. Pointing to the empty box at his feet, Uncle Sam appears somewhat disappointed with the meagre supply of shoe polish offered by Jack Canuck. Uncle Sam's disappointment reflects his larger dissatisfaction with Canada's official disinterest in forming a closer economic relationship. This dissatisfaction was a common theme in early twentieth- century advertising. An advertisement for Red Feather Tea, for example, features an image of Uncle Sam sipping Red Feather tea while he laments his failure to obtain a more regular supply.

Figure 2.9 2 in 1 Shoe Polish
The Mail and Empire
15 July 1905, p. 7

> Quoth Uncle Sam, "I hate to see
> Them Canucks get the draw on me.
> This here Red Feather Tea's immense –
> Makes U.S. feel like thirty cents.
> I'll hike to Ottawa," says he,
> "And coax for reciproci-tea."[38]

[38] 'Red Feather' Tea, *The Mail and Empire* (12 July 1905), 7. A similar advertisement presents John Bull sipping Red Feather tea while he expresses his delight about Canada's preferential trade policy

Although these advertisements offer a somewhat critical assessment of Canada's economic relationship with the United States, they nevertheless communicate the idea of Canadian nationalism by highlighting the economic boundary between the two countries. In the 2 in 1 shoe polish advertisement, this nationalism is articulated primarily by reference to Canadian industrial production. Behind the image of Jack Canuck the Canadian landscape is wholly industrial. The smoke billowing from the factory smokestacks point to the efficiency of Canadian industry and the claim that "2 in 1 was the first shoe polish of the kind ever made" draws attention to Canadian industrial innovation.[39]

An advertisement for the National Cream Separator, manufactured by the Raymond Manufacturing Company of Guelph, similarly employs nationalist rhetoric to foster consumer appeal, but does so by combining agricultural and industrial interests (Fig.2.10). The advertisement features an idyllic and highly gendered representation of rural life. In the foreground an attractive young woman separates cream on the farm-

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towards Britain. "Quoth John Bull to Jack Canuck,/ 'I'm proud of you and wish you luck./ RED FEATHER has the proper smack –/ I'm glad you're in the Union Jack,/ For 40c. The lb.,' says he,/ 'Tis 60c. Of quali-tea!'" 'Red Feather' Tea, *Mail and Empire* (19 July 1905), 5. This tea was imported from Ceylon and packaged in Canada for distribution. No reference is made to the city in which it was packaged.

[39] This advertisement follows the format of an illustration in the immigration pamphlet, *Canada: The Granary of the World,* designed to promote American immigration to Canada. The illustration, entitled "Canada 'At Home' to Uncle Sam," features Jack Canuck and Uncle Sam shaking hands at the Canada - United States border. Uncle Sam tells Jack Canuck that although he "hate[s] to see any of the folks leaving home," he is reconciled by the fact that they are going to Canada where "they'll get square treatment." In a way similar to the 2 in 1 shoe polish advertisement, the idea of progress is put in the service of Canadian nationalism, but with the object of attracting farmers, this progress is defined in agricultural rather than industrial terms. "There are no people in the world to-day who more fully appreciate their own country than do Canadians. This is probably due to the fact that no other country has, proportionately, made more real progress in development within a few years than Canada. The opening up of her North-West by as sturdy and desirable a class of people as ever entered upon and took possession of the lands of any new country has had tremendous effect in confirming Canadians in the impression that they possess a country which for productiveness in agricultural, mineral and timber wealth is second to none." Library and Archives Canada, Morris Norman Collection, *Canada: The Granary of the World*, 1999-1300-483, 1904.

house porch. Her smile, pristine white apron, and idle hand at her side demonstrate the ease with which the National Cream Separator is used. Her white apron and the dairy she separates convey her innocence and purity. Two recently milked cows graze nearby while a farm dog relaxes in the shade of a leafy tree. In the distance a quaint old bridge leads to a well-constructed barn. In the top corner an image of the Raymond Manufacturing Company factory is superimposed over the rural scene. In the opposite corner a beaver, surrounded by eight large maple leaves, sits atop the word "National" in the product name. This word is coloured differently than the words "Cream Separator," which suggests an effort to facilitate brand recognition and more importantly, emphasize the national significance of the product.

Figure 2.10 National Cream Separator, c. 1908
Broadsides and Printed Ephemera
Collection, Toronto Reference Library

The representation of rural life in this advertisement is heavily idealized. Despite the assistance of a cream separator, the responsibilities of farm women were considerably more demanding and exhausting than this advertisement suggests. As Marjorie Cohen has observed, "aside from the distastefulness of dairying, even only one or two cows were

a heavy workload for farm women, both because of the backbreaking conditions under which the labour was performed and because of the multiplicity of additional tasks which were the total responsibility of farm women." In addition to the labour required for dairy production, women were also responsible for a variety of tasks which often included raising poultry, making and washing clothes, growing fruit and vegetables, cooking and cleaning the home, working in the field during harvest and planting seasons, and most importantly, having and raising children. The location of the cream separator on the farm-house porch does reflect one reality of early twentieth-century dairy production, but this location was hardly ideal. When a farm had the financial resources to make capital improvements, men's labour generally took priority over women's. As a result, the spaces assigned to women's work, such as the farm kitchen or the farm-house porch, often made their tasks more difficult and labourious.[40]

Despite the idealized and somewhat inaccurate representation of dairying in this advertisement, there is no doubt that the introduction of the cream separator in Canada in 1882 simplified the dairying process and revolutionized the nation's dairy industry.[41] It was precisely this impact that strengthened the nationalist rhetoric in the advertisement. As a product of industrial manufacture that dramatically increased the efficiency of agrarian production, the cream separator exemplified the economic processes necessary for national development. Indeed, in juxtaposing the factory with the farm, the

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[40] See Marjorie Griffin Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1988), 99-103. See also Alison Prentice et al., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 116-118.

[41] Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, 112.

advertisement draws attention to the fruits of national cooperation between manufacturers and farmers. The nationalism expressed, however, reflects the unbounded and somewhat biased confidence of Ontario manufacturers in the National Policy. In articulating ideas about the nation, this advertisement, like the Canadian Cordage advertisement, reveals an ambivalence toward western Canadian interests.

The Nationalism of Canadian Political Authority

Images of prominent Canadian political authorities were also put in the service of consumer advertising. Prime Ministers and Leaders of the Opposition, Ministers of Defence, Finance and the Interior, and the Fathers of Confederation all played a role in the promotion of commodities. The consumer appeal of these figures was rooted in their connection to the Canadian nation. Advertisers capitalized on contemporary nationalist sentiment by employing the images of figures who, in different ways, were icons of Canadian nationalism. These representations appeared more frequently in traditional advertisements, such as those appearing in the periodical press, than on packaged goods. The time required to package, label and distribute canned goods made the use of political figures, whose popularity was often fleeting, a risky marketing decision. The circulation of Canadian goods in the international market may also explain the absence of Canadian political figures on packaged food labels. Unlikely to have been recognized outside Canada, their appeal was limited to the domestic market.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, L. Higgins & Company of Moncton, New Brunswick, employed an illustration of the Quebec Conference delegation of 1864

to promote their Maple Leaf Rubbers (Fig.2.11).[42] The delegates, affectionately titled the "Founders of the Dominion," are assembled around a table negotiating the terms of union. John A. Macdonald assumes control of the room as the delegates look on with subdued interest. Papers are strewn about the table and floor, evidence of a lengthy and

Figure 2.11 Maple Leaf Rubbers, c. 1905, C-2280341, Morris Norman Collection, Library and Archives Canada

contested negotiation process. Seated at the end of the table, George Brown awaits his opportunity to review the benefits of union. Charles Tupper, appearing somewhat

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[42] This image was reproduced from a 46.3 x 61.3cm photomechanical print held at Library and Archives Canada, Morris Norman Collection, Maple Leaf Rubbers Outwear All Others, C-2280341, c. 1905. The print was employed by the L. Higgins Company, c. 1905, to promote their Maple Leaf Rubbers, but appears to have been first printed in 1899 by the Toronto Lithography Company. The text directly below the image reads "Entered according to Act of Parliament of Canada, in the year 1899, by the Toronto Lithographing Co. Ltd., in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture." The advertisement could not have been produced prior to 1905, because the accompanying text includes a brief history of Confederation, including the entry of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. The format of the advertisement suggests it probably had a more limited circulation than canned goods labels or advertisements in periodicals, but the illustration was distributed upon request to consumers for 40 cents.

concerned about the implications of union for Nova Scotia, confers with a fellow delegate. E.P. Taché and George Étienne Cartier, confident in the course of proceedings, offer their undivided attention to Macdonald.

The characterization of L. Higgins & Company as the "Sole Wholesale Distributors for the Maritime Provinces," suggests that this advertisement was not only produced in the Maritimes, but was distributed to a primarily maritime market. This context renders the expression of nationalist sentiment in the advertisement particularly interesting. As a region of Canada often characterized as having been "dragged kicking and screaming into Confederation,"[43] it is curious that L. Higgins & Company would employ an illustration of the Fathers of Confederation to construct consumer appeal in a maritime market. P.B. Waite, for example, concluded that "New Brunswick was pushed into Union, Nova Scotia was dragooned into it, and Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island were subjected to all the pressure that could be brought to bear – short of force – and still refused."[44] Of course there were many supporters of union in the Maritimes, including the majority of delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but in general, the response to Confederation in the Maritimes was mixed. As Phillip Buckner has

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[43] Phillip Buckner, "The Maritimes and Confederation: A Reassessment," in Ged Martin (ed.), *The Causes of Canadian Confederation* (New Brunswick, Acadiensis Press, 1990), 86. Buckner challenges this characterization, arguing that it underestimates maritime support for Confederation and "oversimplifies and trivializes the very real and substantive objections which many Maritimers had to the kind of union that they were eventually forced to accept."

[44] P.B. Waite, *The Life and Times of Confederation, 1864-1867: Politics, Newspapers, and the Union of British North America* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1962), 122. See also W.L. Morton, *The Critical Years: The Union of British North America: 1857-1873* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968),163-18; Alfred G. Bailey, "The Basis and Persistence of Opposition to Confederation in New Brunswick," in Ramsay Cook et al. (eds.), *Canadian Historical Readings 3: Confederation* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 70-93); and Donald Creighton, *The Road to Confederation: The Emergence of Canada 1863-1867* (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1964), 70-103, who suggests that Maritime reluctance to join Confederation was a consequence of their parochialism and conservatism.

argued, many maritimers were interested in the possibility of union with Canada, but were dissatisfied with the terms outlined in the Quebec Resolutions, which they believed to be "patently unfair."[45]

In assessing the consumer appeal of the Maple Leaf Rubbers advertisement, the sentiments of early twentieth century Maritimers about their entry into union are perhaps more important than those of their predecessors in the 1860s. Although the period from 1896 to 1911 has been generally characterized as one of national economic boom, it was a period of mixed prosperity in the Maritimes. While the Maritime economy experienced industrial growth, it also witnessed a transfer of financial control and a loss of capital to central and western Canada.[46] Yet despite the increased subordination of the Maritime economy to central and western Canadian interests, the results of the 1904 general election revealed strong support for the Laurier government in the Maritimes. As Richard Clippingdale has observed, "Maritimers felt this government included them in a way no other government had since Confederation." Laurier's popularity in the Maritimes was particularly strong after 1903 when he insisted that a "key feature of his mammoth Grand Trunk Pacific-National Transcontinental railway scheme should be yet another line to the Maritimes, giving the region the system's eastern terminus."[47] Although the two decades leading up to the First World War may have been a period of uneven prosperity in the

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[45] See Buckner, "The Maritimes and Confederation: A Reassessment," 112-113.

[46] See G.A. Rawlyk and Doug Brown, "The Historical Framework of the Maritimes and Confederation," in Rawlyk (ed.), *The Atlantic Provinces and the Problems of Confederation* (Halifax, Breakwater Publishers, 1979), 22-24.

[47] Richard Clippingdale, *Laurier: His Life and World* (Toronto, McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1979), 85.

Maritimes, the results of the 1904 general election suggest that many Maritimers had renewed optimism about their place within the nation and may have been receptive to the nationalist tone of the Maple Leaf Rubbers advertisement.

A label for Canadian Tomato Chutnee, prepared by the Ontario company M.P.C. Guelph, similarly employs a powerful icon of Canadian nationalism to foster consumer appeal: the nation's first Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald (Fig.2.12). The label features both an illustration of Macdonald and his personal endorsement of the product. "I have tried your Tomato Chutnee," the label reads, "and found it very good." The testimonial is signed "Yours very truly, John A. Macdonald." On the opposite side of the label an image of the company's trademark, a harp, is featured. As an emblem of Ireland, the harp in this context symbolizes the Irish presence in Canada.[48]

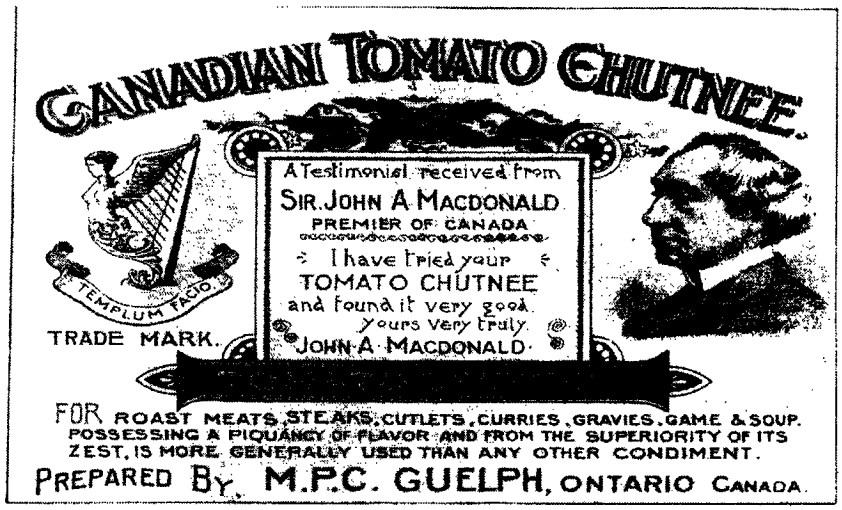

Figure 2.12 Canadian Tomato Chutnee, c. 1890, C-148449, Morris Norman Collection, Library and Archives Canada

[48] The Irish Harp of Tara, without the female figure, was included in the Canadian Coat of Arms in 1921, alongside the three royal lions of England, the royal lion of Scotland, the fleur de lis of France, and a sprig of three Canadian maple leaves.

The appearance of Macdonald's image on this label suggests that the Prime Minister's appeal was not confined to his role in political life. His popularity certainly originated from his formidable success in this role, but by 1891, as he neared his final election, Macdonald had transformed from a shrewd politician to a powerful icon of the Canadian nation. As an architect of Confederation, a founder of the Conservative Party, the first Prime Minister of Canada and an influential force in Canadian political life for over three decades, Macdonald had become the pre-eminent figure of Canadian nationalism. Even Macdonald's opponents appreciated the magnitude of his accomplishments. As Laurier wrote in 1891, Macdonald's "actions displayed unbounded fertility of resource, a high level of intellectual conception, and, above all, a far reaching vision beyond the event of the day, and still higher, permeating the whole, a broad patriotism, a devotion to Canada's welfare, Canada's advancement, Canada's glory."[49] The immense respect and admiration Macdonald had garnered in his political life made him a useful figure in consumer culture. Indeed, the "Canadian" in Canadian Tomato Chutnee resonates more forcefully with the inclusion of the Prime Minister's image. Macdonald's political authority is effectively transformed into consumer authority.

When Macdonald died three months after his victory in the election of 1891, the Conservative Party scrambled to find a successor. Over the next five years, four Conservative leaders assumed the position: John Abbott, John Thompson, Mackenzie Bowell and Charles Tupper. Most were ill-suited for the task. They were, as J.L.

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[49] Wilfrid Laurier, as cited in Ramsay Cook, *Canada: a modern study* (Toronto, Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1963), 140.

Granatstein and Norman Hillmer have pointed out, "a gaggle of sectarians and senators without popular appeal."[50] This lack of popular appeal ensured a corresponding lack of consumer appeal. Not surprisingly, Abbott, Thompson, Bowell and Tupper are nowhere to be found in the iconography of late-nineteenth-century advertising. It was not until after 1896, when Wilfrid Laurier became Prime Minister, that advertisers found an icon comparable to Macdonald. Yet Laurier's appearance in consumer culture did not immediately follow his victory in 1896. The new Prime Minister needed to prove himself before advertisers would gain confidence in his potential as a consumer authority.

By the first years of the twentieth century, Laurier had demonstrated he was well-suited to the task of national leadership. Changing conditions in the international economy, coupled with domestic circumstances, quickened the pace of national development.[51] In maintaining the basic features of Macdonald's National Policy, the Laurier government took up the work of nation-building with great success. Sensitive to the unpopularity of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States in central Canada, Laurier maintained the protective tariff on American manufactured goods. Railway development proceeded apace and immigration to the Canadian West increased dramatically after 1896. The election results of 1900 and 1904 were testaments to the popularity of the Liberal government. Laurier had established a solid reputation, and advertisers were subsequently ready to debut his image in consumer culture.

In 1905 Laurier and a few of his prominent cabinet ministers were (although

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[50] J.L. Granatstein and Norman Hillmer, *Prime Ministers: Ranking Canada's Leaders* (Toronto, Harper Collins, 1999), 38.

[51] See Brown and Cook, *A Nation Transformed*, 49-50.

probably unbeknownst to them) at the centre of a campaign to promote McClary's Sunshine Furnace. In one of the advertisements Laurier holds a miniature size McClary's furnace in his hands (Fig.2.13). His distinguished dress, complete with high Victorian collar, conveys his style and charm. A pair of spectacles sits comfortably on his nose, adding an air of learned authority to his countenance. The text, which reads "Sunshine

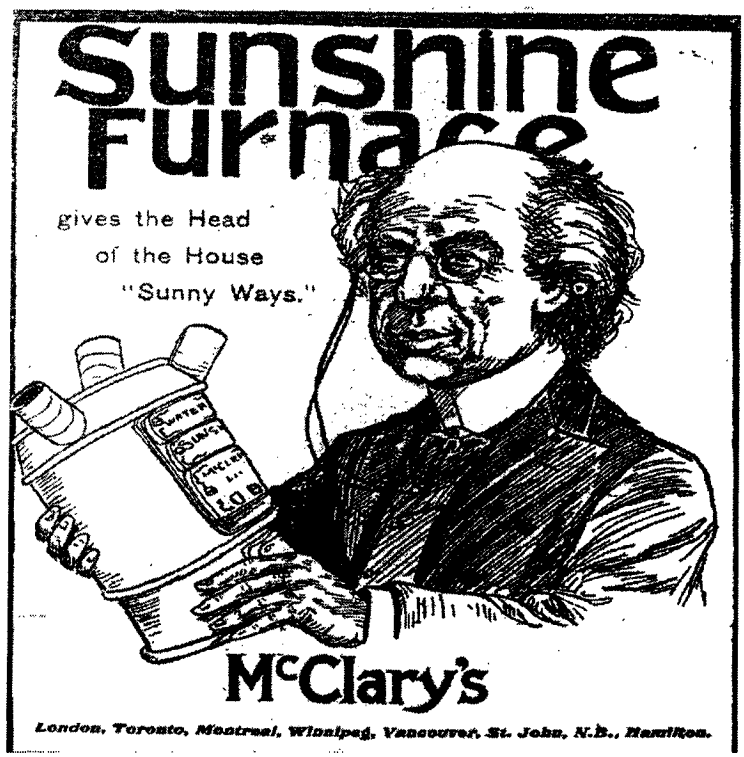

Figure 2.13 Sunshine Furnace, *The Globe*, 1 July 1905, p.18

Furnace gives the head of the House 'Sunny Ways'" appropriates a phrase from Laurier's familiar promise to resolve divisive issues in Canada with "sunny ways."[52] The Prime Minister's role as head of the national "house" is a metaphor for the domestic house in which the Sunshine furnace is used. Just as Laurier's commitment to national unity

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[52] See Granatstein and Hillmer, *Prime Ministers*, 52.

facilitates a "sunny" political environment in Canada, the Sunshine Furnace will ensure a "sunny" domestic environment.

The advertisements featuring Laurier's Cabinet ministers similarly employ the political roles of the ministers as a metaphor for the efficiency of the Sunshine furnace. One advertisement presents an illustration of W.S. Fielding, Minister of Finance, in an effort to strengthen the authority of the "Financial Pointers" offered in the text (Fig.2.14). "Makes duties moderate, expenses lower, temperature higher." Another advertisement features an illustration of Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, shovelling coal into a furnace (Fig.2.15). The text beside Sifton reads "The duties of Minister to the Interior of a Sunshine Furnace is a cinch." A third advertisement presents an illustration of the Minister of Militia, Frederick Borden, strolling along with a shovel propped on his shoulder (Fig.2.16). "Our defence system against cold invasions," the advertisement states, "in use from Halifax to Esquimalt." These advertisements are similar to the one featuring Laurier, but the emphasis is somewhat different. In the advertisement which employs Laurier, the Prime Minister's figure is disproportionately larger than the miniature furnace he clutches in his hands. In the advertisements featuring the ministers, the proportions are more realistic. Fielding, Sifton and Borden stand beside their respective furnaces, but are not the principal focus. Despite the effort to depict a reasonable likeness of each minister, and although their images may have been recognizable to many consumers who possessed the financial means to purchase a new coal-burning furnace, their ministerial identities were more important than their personal identities in constructing consumer appeal. Laurier, on the other hand, had tremendous

Figure 2.14 Sunshine Furnace, *The Globe*, 4 July 1905, p. 8

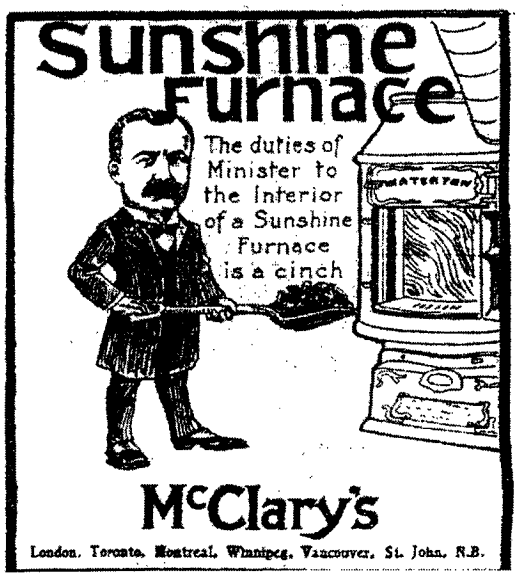

Figure 2.15 Sunshine Furnace, *The Mail and Empire*, 13 July 1905, p.7

Figure 2.16 Sunshine Furnace, *The Globe*, 1 August 1905, p.8

personal appeal. His value in consumer culture did not derive from his role as Prime Minister, but rather from his success in this role.

Once a prominent Canadian figure had gained popular appeal, such as Macdonald or Laurier, their function in consumer culture was fairly straightforward; their image needed only to be associated with a product to inspire consumer interest. Sometimes, however, the political discourse in which prominent figures were engaged was more important than their popular appeal. An advertisement for 2 in 1 Shoe Polish, for

Figure 2.17 2 in 1 Shoe Polish, *The Western Home Monthly*, 5 July 1912, p. 16

example, manufactured by the F.F. Dalley Company of Hamilton, plays on the divisive political climate in Ottawa in 1912 to foster consumer appeal (Fig.2.17). The advertisement features Conservative Prime Minister Robert Borden, appropriately

situated on the right, shaking hands with Opposition Leader Wilfrid Laurier in front of the Parliament buildings. A can of 2 in 1 shoe polish lies at their feet, the source of their reconciliation. Physically separating the two leaders, the can draws attention to the polarity of their political perspectives. As politicians they are irreconcilably divided; as consumers, they are forcefully united. "Coalition at Ottawa," the caption reads, "At last one thing both Government and Opposition Unite On. Nothing Like it."

The appeal of this advertisement was generated from the political divisiveness of the period rather than the popular appeal of either Laurier or Borden. By 1912, Laurier had lost the popular support he had enjoyed earlier in the century. His defeat in the general election of 1911 had ended his fifteen year term as Prime Minister. French-Canadian discontent with the Liberal government's decision to commit resources to naval development in 1910 and English-Canadian concern about the government's proposed reciprocity agreement with the United States in 1911 were the principal factors that led to this defeat. [53] Borden had won the election, but his victory was the result of widespread

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[53] In March 1909 British Prime Minister, H.H. Asquith, expressed his concern to Canada that Germany's rapid production of naval vessels might threaten British naval supremacy. Sensitive to imperialist sentiment in English Canada and anti-imperialist sentiment in French Canada, Laurier presented what he believed would be an agreeable compromise: No monetary contribution would be made to the British Admiralty, but Canada would develop a small navy that would only be placed under the control of Imperial forces by a resolution in Parliament. Following the introduction of the Naval Bill in January 1910, the government announced that Canada would build five cruisers and six destroyers at an expense of eleven million dollars and an annual maintenance of three million dollars. Laurier's compromise proved unsatisfactory. Opposition in Quebec stimulated an unusual alliance between the provincial Conservative leader, F.D. Monk, who had broken his alignment with the federal Conservative Party, and the Quebec *nationalistes*, led by Henri Bourassa. Monk and Bourassa worked together to engineer Laurier's defeat. Although many English Canadians were also unsatisfied with the naval policy, citing it as evidence that Laurier's government was "not British enough," they were more concerned with the issue of reciprocity. See H. Blair Neatby. *Laurier and a Liberal Quebec: A Study in Political Management* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), 183-187, 196-204, and Clippingdale, *Laurier: His Life and World*, 162-163.

opposition to Liberal policies rather than Conservative popularity. In the aftermath of the election, neither Borden nor Laurier had sufficient popular appeal to function in consumer culture on the merits of their reputation alone. Like the Cabinet ministers in the Sunshine Furnace advertisements, their consumer appeal in the 2 in 1 shoe polish advertisement is based on their political roles. Their oppositional relationship, widely recognized by Canadians, makes their reconciliation on the matter of 2 in 1 shoe polish all the more valuable in consumer terms.

The pervasiveness of nationalist expressions in late-nineteenth- and early twentieth-century consumer culture suggests that English-Canadian confidence in, and affection for, the nation was widespread. Advertisers recognized that the growing popularity of Canada could be put in the service of commercial interests. The expressions of nationalist sentiment advertisers employed were varied and complex; they drew from history, Native culture, ideas about agricultural and industrial development, the economy, Canada's relationship with the United States and the authority of Canadian political figures. All were part of consumer discourse that relied on nationalist ideas to foster consumer appeal. Canadian nationalism provided advertisers with a powerful referent system, but this system was often fused with, and sometimes rivalled by, an equally powerful referent system: English-Canadian imperialism.

CHAPTER 3

'Daughter am I in my Mother's house but mistress in my own': Selling Empire and Negotiating Imperial Identity

In the final years of the nineteenth century, English Canadians were caught up in the spirit of a new, exuberant variety of imperialism. Inspired in large part by the shifting balance of world power and especially the competition for military and industrial supremacy in Europe and the United States, this "new imperialism" was characterized by industrialism, jingoism, intense patriotism to Empire and notions of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority. The pace of industrialization and urbanization in Europe and the United States had accelerated to a point that required increased investment capital, export markets and a more ready supply of raw materials. By the end of the 1890s, the Canadian economy was well positioned to contribute to the project of Empire. The dramatic increase in immigration to the West, the development of railroads, and a booming agricultural economy allowed Canada to finally exploit the potential of its abundant resources and subsequently provide a steady supply of raw materials to the vast peoples of the Empire.[1]

The assertion of Anglo-Saxon superiority was a defining feature of the new imperialism. Notions of racial superiority fuelled a sense of imperial unity and solidarity among Britain and the white settlement colonies and provided a justification for the imperial mission in non-Western parts of the Empire.[2] English Canadians expressed

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[1] See Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), 26-48.

[2] Notions of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority were articulated forcefully in Britain and the white settlement colonies, but often served different purposes and presented unique problems in each context. In Canada, ideas of Anglo-Saxon superiority fuelled a distinctly English-Canadian vision of the nation.

much enthusiasm about the imperial project in South Africa; they were directly involved in its maintenance, and reaped the economic rewards of its exploitation. The spirit of jingoism and imperialist adventure was alive in full force in English Canada in 1899 with the outbreak of war in South Africa between Britain and the two Boer republics, Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Canadian participation in the war "stimulated a strong sense of pride"[3] in English Canada and confirmed Canada's importance to the imperial project.

This imperial enthusiasm was expressed forcefully in English-Canadian consumer culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The idea of Empire was appropriated into the language of consumerism and was applied to a wide variety of products and services. Consumers were encouraged to eat Victoria Brand raspberries, Empire sugar corn, Colonial Pears, and King Edward salmon. They were urged to heat their homes with Sovereign radiators, wear Queen Quality shoes and Imperial overcoats, bake with Royal Household flour, and chew King George's Navy Plug tobacco.[4] The Canadian Northern Steamship Company encouraged consumers to take a voyage on the

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Claims of Anglo-Saxon superiority in English Canada were obviously not well received in French Canada and only proved to aggravate the already divisive rift between English and French Canadians. Canada's proximity to the United States also made the assertion of Anglo-Saxon supremacy somewhat problematic. Canadian fears of annexation by the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made the idea of a unity of English-speaking peoples somewhat unappealing.

[3] Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*, 49. See also Norman Hillmer and J.L. Granatstein, *Empire to Umpire* (Toronto, Irwin Publishing Ltd., 2000 [1994]), 18-24.

[4] Victoria Brand Red Raspberries, Laporte Martin, Ltd., Canadian Heritage Label Collection (CHLC), Country Heritage Park, c.1897; Empire Sugar Corn, Canadian Canners Limited, CHLC, c.1890s; Colonial Pears, Grimsby Canning Company, CHLC, Country Heritage Park, c.1895-1905; King Edward Salmon, Nelson Brothers Fisheries Ltd., CHLC, c. 1890s; Sovereign Radiators, *Toronto Saturday Night* (27 October 1906), 20; Queen Quality Shoes, *Toronto Saturday Night* (24 December 1904), 5; The Imperial Overcoat, *Toronto Saturday Night* (24 December 1904), 14; Royal Household Flour, *The Western Home Monthly* (July 1913), 31; King George's Navy Plug Tobacco, *The Western Home Monthly* (July 1912), 91.

Royal Edward and Royal George steamships, the "fastest in the British-Canadian Service."[5] Thomas Cook & Son of Toronto organized special tours to London during the Coronation of King George V.[6] The Canadian Pacific Railway offered special rates for travel on imperial holidays, including Victoria's birthday, Dominion Day, and during the Queen's Diamond Jubilee celebrations.[7] The Radnor Water Company claimed to be the "Appointed Purveyor of Mineral Water to His Majesty King Edward VII."[8] O.K. Sauces announced its services as supplier, "by appointment," to the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and Vin Mariani Tonic boasted an impressive clientele, including "Emperors," "Kings," and "Princes."[9]

The ubiquity of this language in Canadian advertising points to the authority of Empire in constructing consumer appeal. This chapter explores how imperial identity was expressed in English-Canadian consumer culture from 1890 to 1914. Imperialism provided advertisers with a valuable referent system, and more importantly, its appropriation into the language of consumer culture provided a powerful venue for the dissemination of ideas about the Empire. In purchasing Royal Household flour, King Edward salmon, or Victoria Brand raspberries, consumers were not only buying commodities, but were absorbing powerful messages about their place within the Empire on a daily basis. Visually, these advertisements reveal a complex system of meaning in

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[5] Canadian Northern Steampships, *The Canadian Magazine*, 41/6 (October 1913), 71.

[6] Thomas Cook & Son, *The Canadian Magazine*, 37/2 (June 1911), 78.

[7] Canadian Pacific Railway, *Toronto Saturday Night* (20 May 1893), 16; and (23 June 1900), 10.

[8] The Radnor Water Company, *Toronto Saturday Night* (17 October 1908), 8.

[9] O.K. Sauces, *The Western Home Monthly* (July 1913), 51; and Vin Mariani Tonic, *Toronto Saturday Night* (15 December 1900), 11.

which Canada's connection to Empire was expressed in a variety of ways.

This chapter identifies three ways imperial identity was expressed in consumer culture. The most common images were those depicting Canada's relationship with Britain. The meaning communicated in many of these images is consistent with Carl Berger's assessment of Canadian imperialism, which he masterfully outlined over thirty years ago in his seminal book, *The Sense of Power*. Berger examined the interplay between nationalism and imperialism by exploring the ideas of a prominent group of Canadian intellectuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. "Canadian imperialism was one variety of Canadian nationalism," he argued, "a type of awareness of nationality which rested upon a certain understanding of history, the national character, and the national mission."[10] In a way similar to Berger's assessment, representations of Canada's relationship with Britain were often characterized by a delicate balance of national and imperial sentiments. In some representations, the imperialist narrative overpowered the nationalist narrative, while in others, nationalism was the dominant narrative. However, in some representations the nationalist narrative was entirely absent; Canada was depicted as a conquered territory to be exploited by Britain.

Images of natural and industrial space also played an important role in the articulation of Empire. The production of meaning in these images was inextricably linked to the idea of imperial progress. Canadian industry and agriculture were situated in a narrative of progress that was more imperial than national. The success of the

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[10] Carl Berger. *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1970), 9.

imperial project in Canada was measured by industrial and agricultural developments, and these developments confirmed the importance of Empire to Canada. References to the wildness of Canadian geography also pointed to the continuing need of Empire to assert its civilizing presence. This emphasis on natural and industrial space highlights an important difference in the way imperial progress was represented in Canadian consumer culture compared to its representation in other regions of Empire. Images of colonial Africa in British consumer culture, as Anne McClintock has shown, communicated ideas about imperial progress, but this progress was defined and measured by the colonization of indigenous bodies rather than the colonization of space.[11]

Representations of Empire were not limited to those depicting Canada's connection to Britain. Historians in Canada and elsewhere have traditionally conceptualized British imperial history in terms of discrete relationships between metropole and colony. Insufficient attention has been given to the question of how the cultural interconnections between colonies may have shaped national and imperial identities. Imperial identity in Canada developed principally from Canada's relationship with Britain; however, the imagery employed in consumer advertisements during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries suggests that imperial identity was shaped by two additional phenomena: an "othering"[12] of non-Western regions of the Empire and an

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[11] See Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York, Routledge, 1995), 207-231.

[12] This term originated with Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, Vintage Books, 1979).

identification with the broader community of white settlement colonies.[13]

Articulating the Imperial Relationship

Representations of Canada's relationship with Britain were diverse and often contradictory. Canada was subservient and autonomous, a nurturer and a defender, an exploited territory and an eager provider. Some advertisements made an explicit effort to

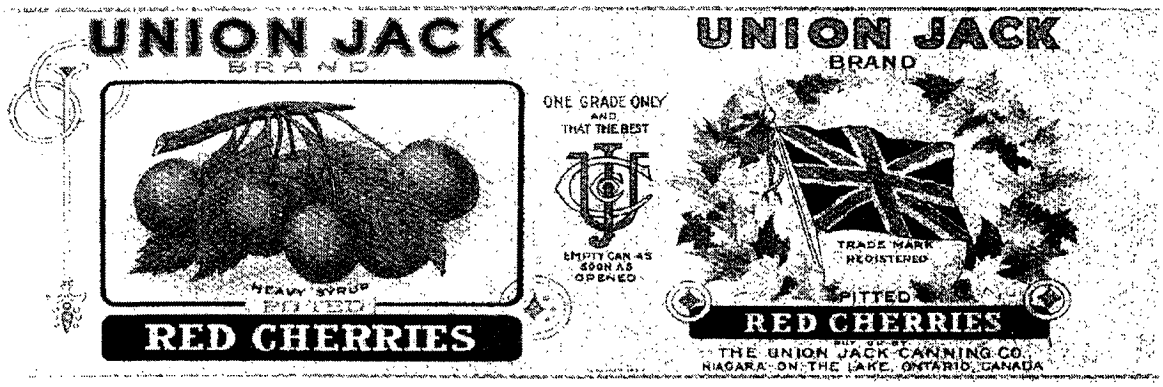

Figure 3.1 Union Jack Cherries, c. 1900-1910, Canadian Canners Ltd., HPL

express meaning about Canada's relationship with Britain, while in other advertisements the meaning was more nuanced. A label for Union Jack Red Cherries emphasizes Canada's important role in the maintenance of Empire (Fig.3.1). At the centre of the

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[13] On Canada's identification with a broader imperial community, see Douglas Cole, "Canada's 'nationalistic' imperialists," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 5/3 (1970), 44-49 (which was a critique of Carl Berger's *The Sense of Power*). Cole argued that imperialism in Canada was not always inspired by Canadian nationalism. In Canada, as well as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, there were shared ideals and a strong sense of commonality that transcended the boundaries of these individual dominions. In the effort to map a path to independent nationhood, historians of the dominions have been insular in their conceptualizations of imperialism and have subsequently failed to appreciate the significance of Britannic nationalism during this period. In highlighting this historiographical insularity in the dominions, Cole draws attention to the work of Keith Sinclair, *Imperial Federation: A Study of New Zealand Policy and Opinions, 1880-1914* (London, The Athlone Press, 1955), and W.K. Hancock, *Australia* (Brisbane, Jacaranda Press, 1961 [1930]). Sinclair and Hancock, like Berger, argued that imperialism in these dominions was a variety of (dominion) nationalism. For a more recent conceptualization of imperial identity within the Empire, see Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity* (London, Frank Cass, 2003), and Phillip Buckner and Carl Bridge, "Reinventing the British World," *The Round Table* (2003), 77-88.

label, an illustration of the British Union Jack, proudly "put up" by the Union Jack Canning Company, reminds consumers of Canada's loyalty to Britain. "One Grade Only," the label reads, "And That The Best," which refers directly to the superior quality of the product, but also less explicitly to the superiority of Britain. A circle of Canadian maple leaves surround the flag, highlighting the contribution Canada is able to make to the Empire. The placement of the leaves indicate a complementary relationship between Canada and Britain, but the interests of Canada are somewhat subordinated to the interests of Empire. This inequality is most apparent in the label's use of the Union Jack rather than the Canadian Red Ensign, which is suggestive of Canada's subservience to Britain. The label illuminates a staunchly Conservative vision of Canada's relationship to Britain, characterized by Canada's eager capability to serve the Empire.

A label for "Canada's Pride" tomatoes, packed "with great care" by the Napanee Canning Company,[14] conveys a more balanced relationship (Fig.3.2). The label features a Canadian soldier in the South African War standing confidently with arms at his sides, his loyalty to the Empire unwavering. His form is encircled by two flags, a Union Jack to his left, and a Canadian Red Ensign to his right. The flags do not stand upright, but

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[14] There is a discrepancy in the sources which document the (approximate) date this label was produced. The records of the Canadian Heritage Label Collection indicate that the soldier in the label was a "Boer War soldier," and that the label was produced c.1890-1899. The years in which the War took place (1899 to 1902), makes this approximation inaccurate, although the label could have been produced in 1899. Louise Elder, *The History of Canadian Canners Limited 1903-1986* (Burlington, Canadian Canners Ltd, Research Centre, 1987), 89, indicates that the Napanee Canning Company was established in 1905. This assessment makes the representation of the soldier somewhat curious. It is possible that the soldier remained an appealing consumer image by 1905, but this is unlikely. Its use after 1905 would have been out of date. The image was not that of a First World War soldier because Dominion Canners purchased the Napanee Canning Company in 1910, which dates the production of the label prior to 1910. It is possible that the soldier, like the image of Miss Canada and Britannia, was a metaphorical entity rather than one based on a particular (physical) figure, a symbolic representation of Canada's position in times of war.

emerge from the maple leaf branches at the soldier's feet, as if growing from Canadian soil. The soldier exists in a liminal space, both imperial and national; he fights wholeheartedly for the Empire in the Transvaal, but his feet are firmly planted on Canadian soil. He is at once loyal to Britain and Canada.

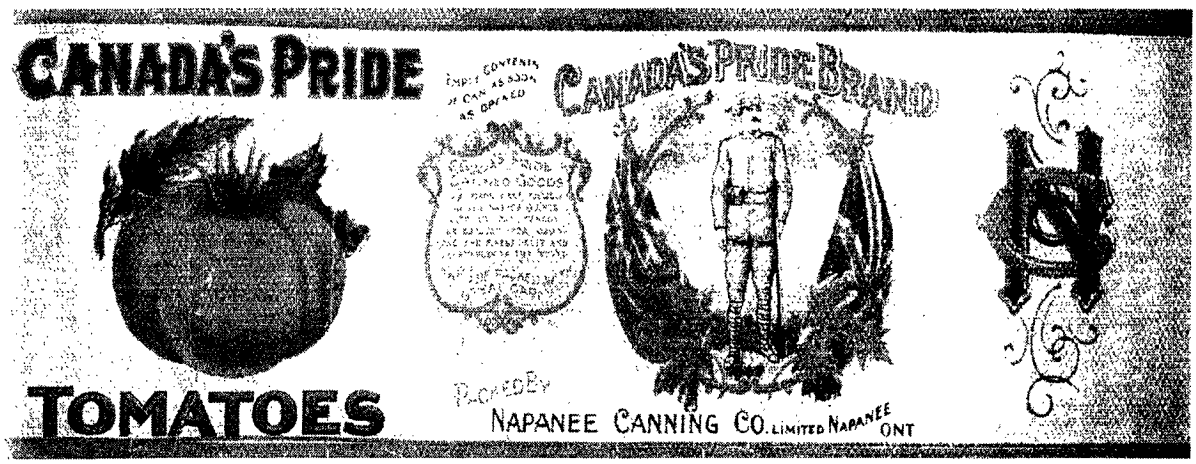

Figure 3.2 Canada's Pride Tomatoes, c. 1899, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

The label claims that Canada's Pride canned goods are "celebrated for growing the finest fruit and vegetables in the world." The value of this assertion is supported by the context of Empire, which provides for international comparison, and qualifies the advertiser's judgment about the superiority of Canadian produce. "Canada's Pride" refers both to the soldier and the ripe, gargantuan tomato on the opposite side of the label. The spatial structure of the advertisement encourages the consumer to make correlations between the objects. The tomato embodies the qualities of the soldier; it is robust, Canadian grown, and most importantly, an abundant source of local, national and imperial pride. The tomato and the soldier are local creations, yet their significance extends beyond the boundaries of the Napanee region. They are symbols of value within

the Empire, impressive examples of Canada's agricultural and military capabilities. By placing the tomato and the soldier in the context of Empire, the advertisement delivers a resounding assertion of Canada's importance in the imperial project. This importance is measured not only by Canada's participation in Britain's military campaigns, but also by the production of ample foodstuffs to fuel and strengthen the peoples of Britain's vast Empire.

The soldier is a model of manliness. His virility readies him for the work of Empire, but it also defines the character and capabilities of Empire. The strength of the soldier ensures the maintenance of Britain's imperial strength; just as the soldier endures, so too will the Empire. In meeting the standards for military service, he is a specimen of physical perfection and thus offers a counterbalancing force to the late nineteenth-century "crisis" of masculinity. The South African War, and the subsequent need to enlist soldiers for military service highlighted this crisis. As Joanna Bourke has observed in the British context, only 14,000 of the 20,000 volunteers for the South African War were deemed "fit" for military service. Men's "weakening virility," she argues, "was thought to be threatening British imperial prowess and national efficiency," and this concern was particularly evident in urban areas, where "men's bodies were found to be notoriously inadequate."[15] The virility of the Canadian soldier in the Canada's Pride tomatoes label, in contrast, is not questioned. In linking the soldier's body to the agricultural nature of Canadian life and the healthy red tomato in particular, the soldier epitomizes red blooded

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[15] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1996, 13-14. The First World War, which is the focus of Bourke's study, provoked an even greater crisis of masculinity.

masculinity and subsequently offers a perfect example of a healthy fighting body. Indeed, as a Canadian, the soldier is particularly suited for military duty. Canada is not only celebrated for supplying the Empire with "the finest fruit and vegetables in the world," but also the finest soldiers.

In other advertisements, the expression of nationalist sentiment was more forceful. A label for Golden Wax Beans features an illustration of a majestic winter scene in which Miss Canada glides gracefully down the Rideau Canal on ice skates (Fig.3.3). The illustration is framed by four Canadian Red Ensign flags and a banner bearing Miss Canada's name, and is superimposed over two geographically different yet similar landscapes. On one side, a view of the British Parliament can be seen from across the

Figure 3.3 Golden Wax Beans, c. 1900-1912, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

Thames River; on the other, the Canadian Parliament stands above the Ottawa River. In both illustrations, the parliament buildings, although in the background, are towering symbols of authority. Similar in scale and appearance, the London and Ottawa

landscapes convey a cooperative relationship between Canada and Britain, a harmonious balance of national and imperial authority. In highlighting the similarities between Canada and Britain, the label also draws attention to the progressive nature of Canadian society. Canada is not shadowed by Britain's political, constitutional and technological developments, but rather provides a reflection of these developments. The Canadian Parliament presents an impressive example of the ascendancy of British political and constitutional values. Canada is equally progressive as Britain in the area of technological development. On both the Thames and Ottawa Rivers, a steamship confidently takes on the river rapids.

The presentation of the Canadian and British landscapes suggest a harmonious relationship between the two countries, but the expression of imperialist sentiment is secondary to the more forceful assertion of Canadian nationalism. Significantly, the label uses Miss Canada's femininity to assert this nationalism. "Daughter Am I In My Mother's House," Miss Canada states, "But Mistress In My Own,"an interesting play on words which refers both to the political space in which she asserts a symbolic authority, and the domestic space which she claims as her own domain. The passage is drawn from Rudyard Kipling's famous poem, *Our Lady of the Snows*, which was inspired by the Canadian government's decision in 1897 to initiate, of its own accord, a preferential trade policy toward Britain.[16]

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[16] The policy was introduced to the House of Commons on 23 April 1897 by Wilfrid Laurier's Minister of Finance, W.S. Fielding. See Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed, 18-21*, who argue that the rationale behind the initiative was more political than commercial. The Liberals had a "suspect" record on imperial issues and the trade agreement provided "a sign of imperial solidarity" and "Liberal loyalty."

A Nation spoke to a Nation,
A Queen sent word to a Throne:
"Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own.
The gates are mine to open,
As the gates are mine to close,
And I set my house in order,"
Said our Lady of the Snows.

"I called my chiefs to council
In the din of a troubled year;
For the sake of a sign ye would not see,
And a word ye would not hear.
This is our message and answer;
This is our path we chose:
For we be also a people,"
Said our Lady of the Snows.[17]

The label draws from Kipling's poem in an effort to supplement the message conveyed by the visual imagery: Canadian autonomy co-exists with imperial authority. Canada serves the Empire, but only on Canadian terms.[18]

Miss Canada's activity of choice, ice skating, is not only a somewhat feminine pursuit, but is a distinctively Canadian pursuit as well, which further emphasizes the symbolic distinction between Canada and Britain. That Miss Canada skates without a companion, appears to be an urban resident, and is dressed in modern attire suggests she is a New Woman. Defined most often by her independence, the New Woman could be

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[17] Stanza one and four of *Our Lady of the Snows*. See Rudyard Kipling, *The Writings and Prose and Verse of Rudyard Kipling: The Five Nations* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920 [1903]), 86-88. The phrase "In the din of a troubled year" refers to the strained relations between Britain and the United States over the Venezuela Boundary question. See Ralph Antony Durand, *A Handbook to the poetry of Rudyard Kipling* (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1914), 188-189.

[18] Of course Kipling was a zealous supporter of Empire and a staunch advocate of colonial service (and subservience) to Britain. This sentiment is overtly expressed in much of his work and does surface more forcefully in the final two verses of *Our Lady of the Snows*. For example, verse five includes the passage "'I have proven faith in the Heritage / By more than the word of mouth./ They that are wise may follow / Ere the word's war-trumpet blows, / But I – I am the first to battle,' / Said our Lady of the Snows."

characterized by any number of activities, including entry into male-dominated professions, support for social and political reform, pursuing higher education, smoking in public, shopping at department stores, or engaging in sports. She possessed, as Lois Banner has suggested, "a new self-assertion and vigor and a new sensual behavior, a desire for pleasure that flew in the face of Victorian canons of duty and submissiveness."[19] In this way, the image of Miss Canada provided an excellent metaphor for the relationship between Canada and Britain. Moreover, in constructing her image in this way, Miss Canada likely resonated with many middle-class women who were buying consumer goods.

This label suggests that the significance of Britain in the development of Canada is acknowledged and appreciated, but Canada is clearly a nation in control of its own future. Visual references to Britain are overpowered by Canadian imagery. The Union Jack, which is often featured alongside the Red Ensign, is absent from this label. Four Red Ensigns support the image of Miss Canada, and are set against the background of the London and Ottawa landscapes. The image of Miss Canada separates Britain and Canada; she keeps Britain at a suitable distance and asserts her authority on Canadian soil.

The birth of Miss Canada was probably inspired by the image of Britannia, but

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[19] Lois Banner, *American Beauty* (New York, Alfred Knopf, 1983), 187. John Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 13, also provides a succinct description of the New Woman. In the Canadian context, see Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake)* (Toronto, Univerisity of Toronto Press, 2000), 59-62.

their images were not complementary.[20] In stark contrast to Britannia's classical origins and her association with militarism, commerce, and imperialism, Miss Canada was a modern creation who represented independence, nationalism and especially purity. Britannia's past was coloured with war, conquest and exploitation, while Miss Canada was youthful and innocent. In this way, Miss Canada's purity symbolized one of the most important distinctions between Canada and Britain. As Robert Page has pointed out, "Canadians believed they had evolved a purer strain of British political ideals. In the vigorous climate and the free atmosphere of the northern half of North America, liberty and stability had achieved a near perfect balance. Free from European militarism or American "boss rule" democracy, the Canadian pattern could provide the dynamic political creed for the empire as a whole."[21] Certainly many English Canadians during this period did not distinguish between British and Canadian nationalisms, but the creation of Miss Canada suggests a strong desire to carve out an identity separate from Britain. As a fledgling Canada coped with the implications of nationhood in the decades following Confederation, the image of Miss Canada, like the beaver and the maple leaf, provided a symbolic materiality by which Canadians could assert their unique sense of nationalism and distinguish themselves from Britain.

A label for Lynn Valley Cherries tells an entirely different story (Fig.3.4). The label features the image of Britannia clad in a Grecian toga and crested helmet. Clutching

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[20] Britannia is the historical personification of Britain, who will be discussed in the final segment of this section.

[21] Robert Page, *Imperialism and Canada 1895-1903* (Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1972), 3.

a cornucopia in her right hand and a branch of grapes in her left, both symbols of plenty, she stands on a globe of Canada, asserting her imperial domain. Further evoking the theme of abundance, the text surrounding her figure reads "Canada the Land of Plenty, the County of Norfolk, the Garden of Canada." Two Union Jacks support her form on either side. In this label, the relationship between Canada and Britain is not characterized

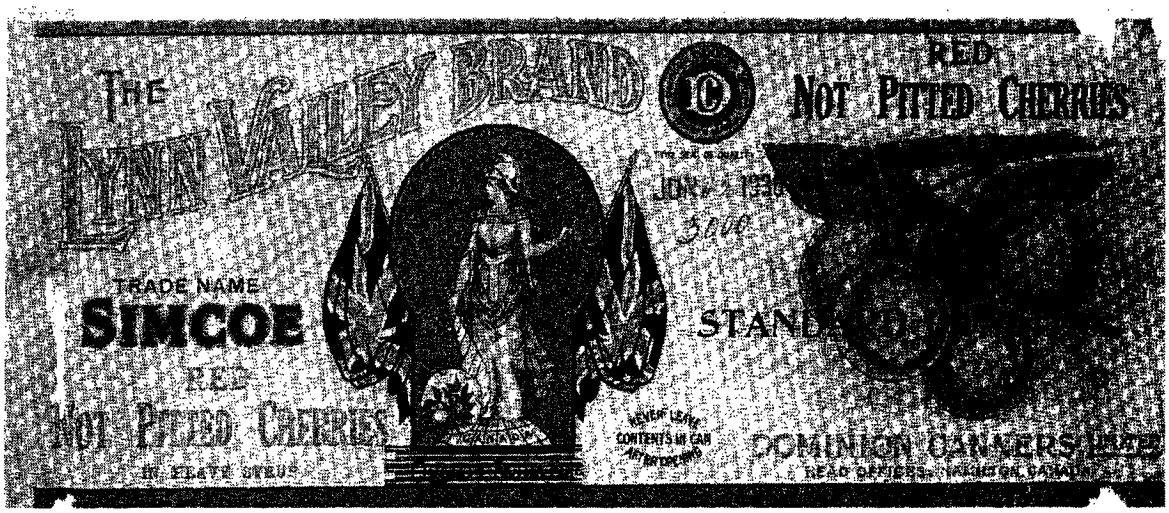

Figure 3.4 Lynn Valley Cherries, c. 1910s, Canadian Canners Ltd., HPL

by mutual benefit and cooperation, but rather, conquest and exploitation. The narrative of Canadian nationalism is absent from this advertisement. Canada's exclusive role is agricultural provider to the Empire. This role is not negotiated between autonomous nations, but is delegated by the metropole. By way of imperial entitlement, Canada is identified as a conquered territory to be exploited. Britannia does not wear the armour and shield which customarily ready her for battle; instead she wears classical attire, and her commanding presence subsequently appears effortless and natural. Britannia's dominion over Canada is a testament to the success of Britain's imperialist ventures. In addition to reaping the rewards of Canada's agricultural bounty, Britannia has

successfully brought civilization and enlightenment to a formerly backward territory of the globe. Both achievements are proud products of Empire.

The balance of national and imperial sentiments in these representations was in large part a product of the changing political climate in Canada between the years 1890 and 1914. Advertisers and commercial artists were sensitive to popular sentiments and the changing political realities they inspired. Following the election of Liberal Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier in 1896, imperial policy was subordinated to domestic policy. Laurier respected British institutions and valued the imperial connection, but was adamant that Canada assume an autonomous role within the Empire. Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, the Liberal government resisted schemes to centralize imperial authority. With the election of Conservative Prime Minister Robert Borden in 1911, the imperial connection became a priority. Borden supported the development of a Canadian navy that would be under the command of the British Royal Navy, and during the First World War he mustered all the Canadian resources possible – including the implementation of conscription in 1917 – to ensure victory.[22]

This shift in imperial policy was reflected in the iconography of consumer culture. Most of the labels that were produced in the first decade of the twentieth century, such as those featuring the South African War soldier and Miss Canada, emphasized Canadian

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[22] Borden was adamant that Canada support Britain, but he believed firmly that Canada should have a greater voice in the creation of imperial policies. Canadian representation in the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917 suggests that Borden's efforts were somewhat successful, although the Cabinet was more an effort to appease the dominions and ensure the continued supply of resources than a realization on the part of the British that the dominions should have a greater role in the decision-making process. See Norman Hillmer and J.L. Granatstein, *Empire to Umpire* (Toronto, Irwin Publishing Ltd., 2000 [1994]) 56-64. A concise summary of Laurier's position on imperialism can be found in Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*, 26-48.

autonomy. In these representations, Canada exists proudly within the Empire and contributes to the imperial project, but the nature and extent of this contribution is determined by Canada.[23] In the following decade, this focus on autonomy was replaced with a greater emphasis on imperial authority and control, such as that asserted by Britannia in Figure 3.4. Dominion Canners of Hamilton packaged a wide variety of fruits and vegetables under the Lynn Valley Brand name, which all featured the image of

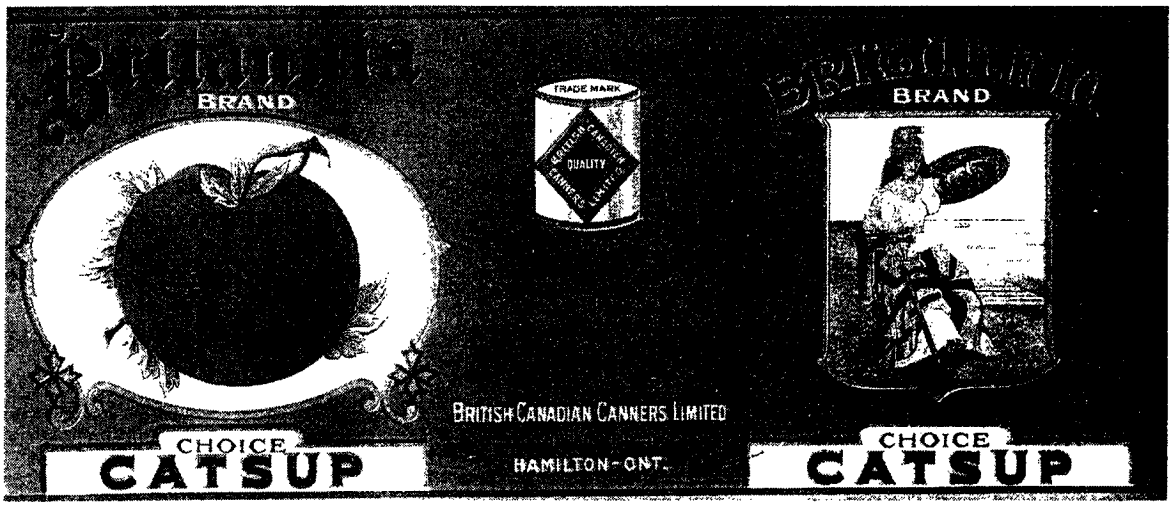

Figure 3.5 Britannia Catsup, c. 1910-1915, Canadian Canners Ltd., HPL

Britannia standing on a globe of Canada.[24] The image of Britannia was also employed by British Canadian Canners of Hamilton around the same time, although the emphasis was

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[23] Of course there were exceptions to this general trend, such as the label featured in Figure 3.1 which conveys a more Conservative vision of the imperial relationship.

[24] See for example Lynn Valley Brand Standard Blueberries, Lynn Valley Brand Red Pitted Cherries, Lynn Valley Brand Yellow Peaches, Lynn Valley Brand Dessert Peaches, Lynn Valley Brand Bartlett Pears, Lynn Valley Brand Flemish Beauty Pears, Lynn Valley Brand Pie Pears, Lynn Valley Brand Pie Pears, Lynn Valley Brand Early June Peas, Lynn Valley Brand Sweet Wrinkled Peas, Lynn Valley Brand Green Sweet Peas, Growers Day Book, Archives File, Dominion Canners Limited, Hamilton Public Library (HPL). This image was used by the Simcoe Canning Company, c. 1891-1903, before the company was purchased by Canadian Canners Limited (CCL) in 1903. The image does not appear to have been widely employed from 1903 to 1910, because few labels can be found with the CCL insignia in either the Canadian Heritage Label Collection or the records of Canadian Canners at the Hamilton Public Library.

somewhat different. Their representation featured Britannia preparing for battle by the British seaside (Fig.3.5). With a sword at her side, a shield on her forearm and a Union Jack draped over her dress, Britannia prepares to protect her homeland from the enemy fleet that approaches in the background. These images of Britannia, many circulating in the period leading up to and during the First World War, were a product of both imperialist and jingoistic sentiments in Canada.

Negotiating Imperial Progress

The production of meaning about Empire relied heavily on images of space. The landscapes employed in many Victorian advertisements reveal a somewhat complex understanding of imperial space, especially with regard to Canada's place within the Empire. Recurring landscapes included those which were natural, industrial, national and imperial. These spaces were often articulated simultaneously, and their meanings in relation to the Empire derived most forcefully from their interconnections. In some advertisements the narrative of imperialism intersected with the narrative of progress. Most often references to progress were concentrated in areas well suited to the project of Empire, such as manufacturing and travel technologies. Lori Ann Loeb has pointed out that steam-powered ships and trains were popular features of the Victorian advertisement. Loeb's study is more concerned, however, with how these products of industry functioned in the construction of personal and social identities.[25] Industrial progress was equally important in the negotiation of imperial identity. Indeed, the manufacture of more

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[25] Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1994), 50-51.

efficient ships and trains presented a challenge to conventional ideas about space and time, primarily by collapsing distance. This triumph of technology over nature provided Britain with an improved means by which to expand and control its vast Empire.[26]

The image of the industrial factory, also a popular indicator of progress, was similarly useful in legitimizing British imperialism. Within the context of Empire, the image of the factory represented not only industrial progress, but imperial progress as well. In negotiating the cultural meaning of the connection between technology and imperialism, the Canadian landscape provided a useful context for reflection. Coupled with the recurring juxtaposition of nature and technology, images of Canadian landscapes were used to demonstrate how inconsequential space was to the maintenance of Empire.

A label for the Strathroy Canning and Preserving Company plays on the themes of imperialism and progress in a complex and compelling way (Fig.3.6). At the centre of the advertisement a Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) locomotive proceeds swiftly across the rustic landscape. Above the train an illustration of a CPR Royal Mail Steamship, the "Empress of Japan," is shown proudly braving the turbulent waters of the Pacific. An impressive cloud of smoke rises from both the locomotive and the steamship, symbolizing the efficiency of industrial production. On their own, these images represent the fruits of modern technology, but in combination they reveal a more complex structure of meaning. The presentation of the locomotive and the steamship, their place within the

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[26] Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire: From 1750 to the Present Day* (London, Penguin Books, 1990 [1968]), explored the impact of Britain's Industrial Revolution on the Empire, but his account focuses on economic rather than cultural factors, and is more concerned with the implications of industry on domestic Britain than on the wider Empire.

context of Empire, and their relationship to the sizable stalk of corn which is promoted on the label all combine to intensify the significance of these images.

Figure 3.6 Empress Sugar Corn, c. 1892-1903, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

In juxtaposing the image of a CPR locomotive with a Royal Mail Steamship, the advertisement was presenting a visual impression of the "All-Red Route." Unofficially coined in the 1880s to refer to "All-British" travel service within the Empire, the term All-Red Route came into popular usage in Canada after 1893 with the establishment of the Canadian Australian Line. Trans-Pacific service had been available prior to 1893, but the service had relied on American as well as British ships. The Canadian Australian Line replaced the previous trans-Pacific service from San Francisco to Australasia, thus securing an "All-British"route.[27] In constructing a visual image of the All-Red Route, the

[27] Nineteenth-century cartographers often coloured British territories in red and the colour subsequently came to represent "All-British" territory. See J.H. Hamilton, "The 'All-Red Route,' 1893-1953: A History of the Trans-Pacific Mail Service between British Columbia, Australia, and New Zealand," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 20/1&2 (Jan.-Apr., 1956), 1-126; W. Kaye Lamb, "The Pioneer Days of the Trans-Pacific Service, 1887-1891," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 1/3 (1937), 143-164; and W. Kaye Lamb, *History of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (New York, MacMillan, 1977).

label conveys the global scope of Empire. Such representations of imperial space encouraged an identification with the broader imperial community. Their pervasiveness in consumer culture functioned to both reflect and reinforce ideas about Empire, and subsequently served to legitimize the expansive dominion of British authority and promote imperial unity.

The locomotive and the large stalk of sugar corn reveal another layer of meaning. As symbols of westward expansion, east-west trade and agricultural production, these images have traditionally been associated with Canadian national development. They have subsequently formed the basis for one of the most enduring nationalist narratives in Canadian history. In this label, however, the significance of these images is conveyed within an imperial rather than a national context. The railway and the sugar corn are the proud achievements of imperial development; they represent the success of the imperial project. Yet the value of the imperialist ideas presented in this label relies heavily on established ideas about Canadian national development. Indeed, the nationalist narrative in this label is adapted to, rather than shadowed by, the imperialist narrative. The cultural value of railway development, westward expansion and agricultural production are borrowed from the nationalist narrative in order to construct meaning about the Empire. That the nationalist narrative in this label is situated within a broader imperial context suggests that Canadian nationalism fuels Britannic nationalism. The narratives are complementary, but in this formulation Canada does not progress along a path to greater autonomy within the Empire. Canada's national achievements do not signal an independent future because they are claimed as imperial achievements.

A label for Queen Brand Apples similarly relates Canadian industrial progress to both agricultural production and Empire (Fig.3.7). One side of the label presents an illustration of the Belleville Canning Company. Purportedly housed in the "Largest Factory In Canada," the company is an impressive example of modern manufacturing. The sides of the factory stretch out to the horizon, conveying the importance of size to industrial power. Smoke billows from the smokestack on the roof, pointing to the busy

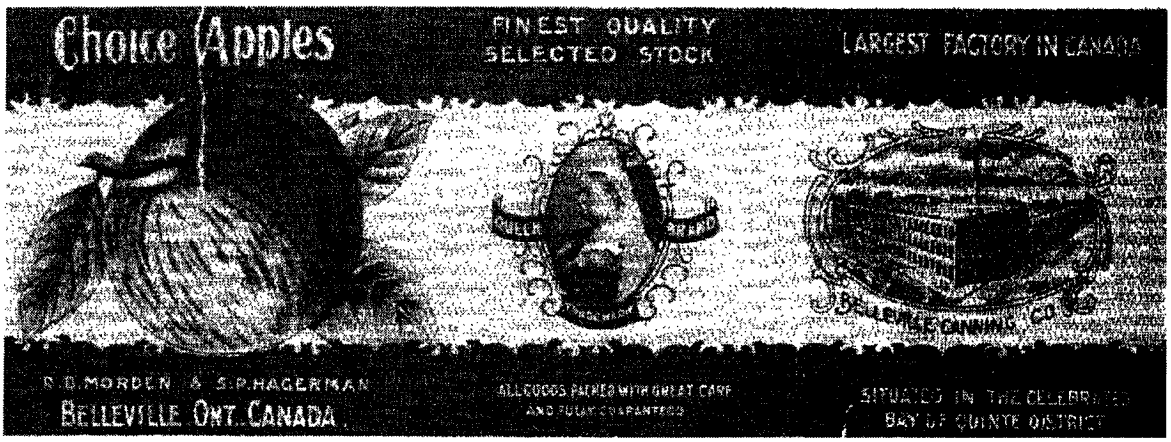

Figure 3.7 Choice Apples, c. 1900-1910, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

yet efficient activity conducted inside the factory. On the street a train prepares to load and transport Queen Brand Apples to remote destinations. The opposite side of the label features an enormous apple, which exists somewhat uneasily with the image of the Belleville factory. Despite its association with progress and efficiency, the factory was also likely to conjure up negative ideas about the unnatural processes of industry, particularly in the packaging of food products. In presenting the apple in its natural, pre-packaged form and magnifying its size, the label is creating a narrative in opposition to the narrative of progress associated with the factory. Both are positive images –

industrial production and the authenticity of Canadian produce, but because the processes of industrial production inevitably alter the authentic state of the apples, these narratives exist in a contradictory manner.[28]

The meaning conveyed in this label is further complicated by an image of Queen Victoria. Placed strategically between the Belleville factory and the apple, the Queen appears to claim credit for their relationship. The Empire, embodied in the Queen's image, has equipped a formerly uncivilized Canada with a progressive outlook. The nation's industrial capabilities, exemplified by the Belleville factory, provide a strong indicator of this outlook. With the guidance of the metropole, Canada has acquired the necessary tools for the development of a modern society and has subsequently taken advantage of the nation's agricultural potential. The Belleville factory, and Canadian industrial production more broadly, are thus understood within the narratives of both national and imperial achievement.

The image of the Queen is also employed on a label for Niagara Peninsula Brand Damson Plums, but this time she is juxtaposed with a natural rather than an industrial landscape (Fig.3.8). One side of the label features a picturesque illustration of Niagara Falls; on the other, four large plums are presented, proud products of the Niagara region; and in the centre the familiar image of Queen Victoria is shown. As a personification of Empire, Victoria's image signifies a civilizing presence. In this way, the label is similar to the one for Queen Brand Apples. An evaluation of the Queen's image in relation to the

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[28] On the uneasy relationship between authentic goods and mass production in advertising, see Walden, "Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920," *Canadian Historical Review* LXX/3 (1989), 302-304.

very different landscapes in each of these labels, however, reveals a striking distinction in meaning. In the Queen Brand Apples label Victoria's function as an agent of civilization is congratulatory. Industrial progress, evidenced by the Belleville factory, is a glowing example of imperial expansion and achievement. In contrast, the Damson Plums label

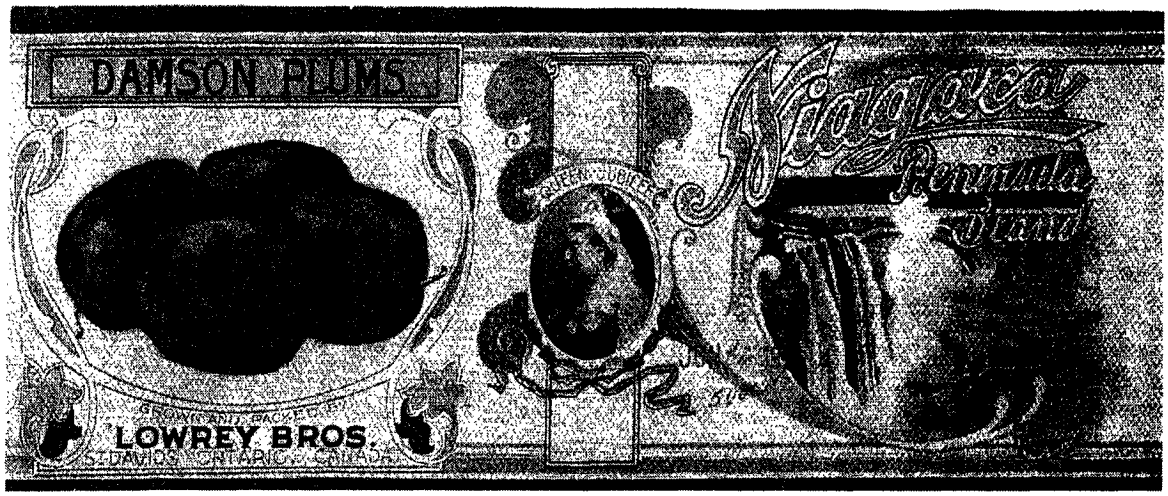

Figure 3.8 Niagara Peninsula Plums, c. 1897, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

suggests that much civilizing work is left to be done. By way of metaphor, the imagery of Niagara Falls provides a compelling reminder of the "wild" dimensions of Canadian society. Patricia Jasen has argued that prior to the First World War, one of the most enduring themes in Ontario tourism was the "tension and interplay between notions of civilization and wildness," and she employs Niagara Falls as a powerful example.[29] In Jasen's study, the exchanges between civilization and wildness are negotiated within the context of the emerging tourist industry, while in the Damson Plums label, they are negotiated within the context of Empire. As an agent of civilization, the Queen provides

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[29] Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1995), 28. See also the second chapter, "Taming Niagara," 29-54.

a counterbalancing force to the inexorable wildness of Canadian geography.

Imagining the British World

Representations of Empire were not limited to those depicting Canada's relationship with Britain. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they included an "othering" of non-Western parts of the Empire and reflected a particular interest in the African landscape. During the second decade of the twentieth century, this emphasis was replaced with a growing interest in the imperial community of white settlement colonies. In representations of Africa the emphasis was on difference and exploitation, while in those depicting the dominions, the focus was on commonality and community.

A label for Lion Gate Brand Tomatoes presents Canada as an active participant in the imperial project in Africa (Fig.3.9). Beneath the familiar caption "The Sun Never Sets On Our Empire," the African landscape is mined for imperial riches. The label provides a romanticized vision of the imperial project, a promise of unlimited material wealth reminiscent of the mythic El Dorado.[30] In the foreground, two lions serve as protectors of Empire, guarding a gate to Britain's imperial possessions. Above the gate two Canadian Red Ensigns are flown. The appearance of these Ensigns rather than Union Jacks is significant, suggesting a Canadian claim to imperial authority in Africa. This authority does not supplant British authority, but is one and the same. The use of Canadian

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[30] See D. Graham Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press). Even after the idea of El Dorado (which translates to the "land of gold") was debunked in the eighteenth century, it continued to function as a powerful symbol in British imperial discourse. The idea of El Dorado was applied not only to those colonies more traditionally associated with British exploitation, but to Canada as well. See for example Kinahan Cornwallis, *The New Eldorado: or, British Columbia* (London, Thomas Cautley Newby, 1858).

Red Ensigns implies a sameness of Canada and Britain, a shared sense of imperial purpose. The Ensigns also suggest another dimension of Canada's role in the imperial project. Unlike the traditional narrative of Canadian involvement in South Africa, participation is not characterized by Canada's military contribution to Britain's imperial forces in the South African War. Nor is participation defined by Canada's subservience to Britain or Canada's role as nurturer of Empire. In this label, Canada is the initiator of African exploitation, the maker of Empire.

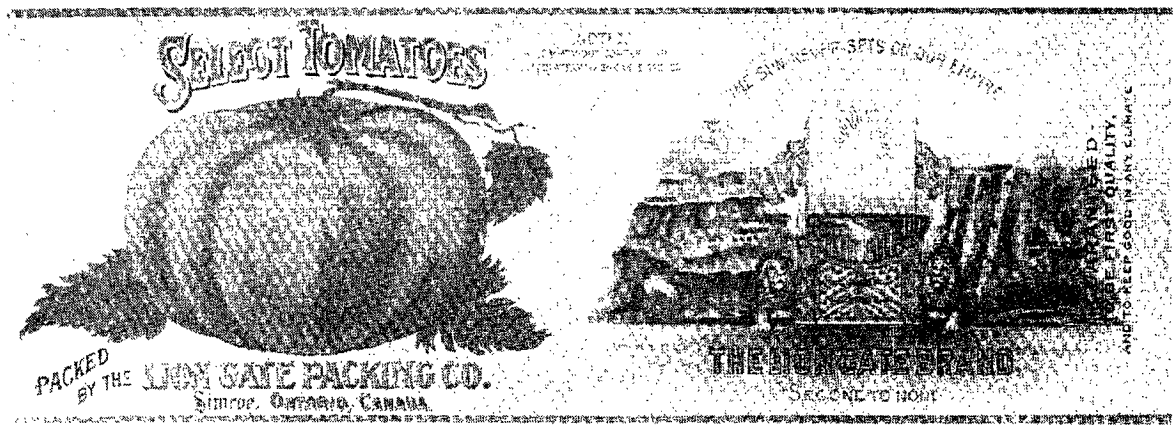

Figure 3.9 Lion Gate Tomatoes, c. 1895-1900, Canadian Canners Ltd., HPL

This representation was likely inspired by the discovery of gold in South Africa in the mid-1890s, which was of particular consequence to the Canadian economy. As Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook have pointed out, with this discovery, "the price of raw materials, especially food, rose much more rapidly than manufactured products. This was due largely to the rapid pace of industrialization in western Europe and the United States between 1896 and 1914. Competition among the industrial nations for export markets for their manufactured goods, plus the growing need for foodstuffs to feed increasingly urban populations, placed Canada in an especially favourable position."

During this period the average price of Canadian exports increased thirty-two per cent, while the price of grain exports rose approximately sixty-six percent.[31] In this context, the image featured on the Lion Gate Tomatoes label had particular significance. The discovery of gold in South Africa and its subsequent impact on the Canadian economy established greater relevance and legitimacy to the imperial cause in Canada. The excitement roused by economically prosperous times intersected with imperialist sentiment to produce a distinctly Canadian narrative of conquest and exploitation in Africa.

Canada's role as exploiter of Empire is, of course, somewhat inaccurate, but this representation is nevertheless valuable in illuminating how Canadians understood their place within the Empire, and their imperial status in relation to Britain. Although Canada adopts a role of considerable initiative in this label, this role is carried out within the context of British imperialism. In appropriating Britain's role in the exploitation of South African riches, Canada is pursuing imperialist rather than nationalist goals. Indeed, in this label the narrative of Canadian nationalism is entirely absent.

A label for Boulter's Lion Brand Cherries features the image of a lion in an exotic African setting (Fig.3.10). Beside the lion an image of Wellington Boulter is presented, founder of the Picton canning company. Boulter's image conveys an authority and entitlement over the African landscape, and the juxtaposition of the two images offer a striking contrast between civilization and wilderness. The image of Boulter does not only function to offer consumers a personal guarantee of quality. With his dundreary style

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[31] Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*, 49-50.

whiskers, Boulter bears a curious resemblance to Cecil Rhodes' appearance in the 1870s. Boulter's image may have been presented in this way to appeal to Canadian interest in British imperial expansion. As Robert Page observed in his examination of imperial sentiment in the Canadian popular press from 1895 to 1903, Canadians expressed much

Figure 3.10 Boulter's Cherries, c. 1902-1905, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

interest in British activity in Africa, and were particularly interested in the exploits of Cecil Rhodes, whose name appeared frequently in the Canadian press.[32] An article in the *Canadian Magazine* in 1898, for example, suggested that the work of Cecil Rhodes and others would hopefully be a "signal of a happy civilization and light for that dark continent that has been the mystery of the ages."[33]

To many Canadians, Africa was a dark continent in need of Britain's civilizing presence. This desire to civilize vast areas of the globe was a recurring theme in

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[32] See Robert J.D. Page, *Imperialism and Canada, 1895-1903* (Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1972), 26-29.

[33] "The Thrill of British Imperial Expansion in Africa," *The Canadian Magazine* (October 1898), 237, as cited in Page, *Imperialism and Canada, 1895-1903*, 26.

Victorian literature, politics and advertising. As Thomas Richards has shown, the narrative of civilization was commonly employed by advertisers, and within this narrative the commodity operated as a powerful symbol of progress and enlightenment. The Boulters' label confirms Richards' observation that there was not always a "causal connection" between the commodity and the context featured in the advertisement. Victorian advertisers capitalized on the "old popular taste for spectacles of exotic origin," Richards argues, but they "placed additional emphasis on scenes whose attraction lay not in their oddity but in the homogeneity conferred on them by a form of exchange – the commodity – that was good anywhere in the world." Yet Richards' use of the term "homogeneity" seems somewhat inappropriate because, as he points out, the exchange value of the commodity was not universal, and was often promoted in inhospitable contexts. For example, he draws attention to an advertisement for Liebig Beef Extract, which employs the context of India, where religious belief prohibits the consumption of beef. The use of this context was certainly peculiar, but as Richards points out, there was no attempt to demonstrate the use-value of the product in India.[34] The Boulters' label similarly makes no effort to establish the exchange value of white cherries in the African market. In this way, the connection between the commodity and the context promoted in the advertisement points less to the "homogenizing power" of the commodity that Richards outlines, than the function of these contexts as imperial spectacles which likely

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[34] See Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1990), 143-146.

had significant consumer appeal in British and Canadian domestic markets.[35]

Representations of imperial conquest and exploitation disappeared from consumer culture in the second decade of the twentieth century. This was largely a reflection of the changing imperial mood in Canada that resulted from the First World War. Bound to the Empire both legally and emotionally, Canada entered the war in 1914 with much enthusiasm and a firm belief in the cause. The unexpected duration and magnitude of the war, however, had done much to dampen the imperial spirit that existed only a few years earlier. Canadians remained committed to the Empire in the years following the war, but the experience had led many to re-evaluate Canada's place within the Empire.[36] In the post-war context, images of imperial conquest and exploitation were no longer appealing.

Representations of Empire in the post-war period reflected an interest in the imperial community of white settlement colonies. A label for Standard of Empire Brand Cherries, for example, conveys the importance of Canada's place within the imperial community (Fig.3.11). Five flags of the Empire are presented, including the Union Jack and the flags of South Africa, Canada, New Zealand and Australia. The size and positioning of the Union Jack above the other flags conveys the authority of Britain over its various colonies. The imperial community does not include all the regions and peoples of the Empire, but is defined selectively by Britain and the white settlement colonies. On one side of the label an illustration of the British garter is presented, the

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[35] Richards would probably agree with the argument that in using the contexts of India and Africa, these advertisements functioned as powerful imperial spectacles to a domestic British audience, but in his effort to demonstrate the "homogenizing power" of the commodity, he fails to make this point explicit.

[36] See Hillmer and Granatstein, *Empire to Umpire*, 51-81.

strongest symbol of loyalty and military merit. The traditional motto of the Order of the Garter, "Honi soit qui mal y pense," inspired by Edward III's claim to the French throne in 1348, is replaced with the words "British Columbia." The Imperial State Crown is positioned above the garter and inside the loop three symbols are presented: a branch of laurel leaves, symbolizing honour and distinction; the British Lion above the Crown, representing British strength and sovereignty; and the insignia of the Dominion Canners of British Columbia.[37]

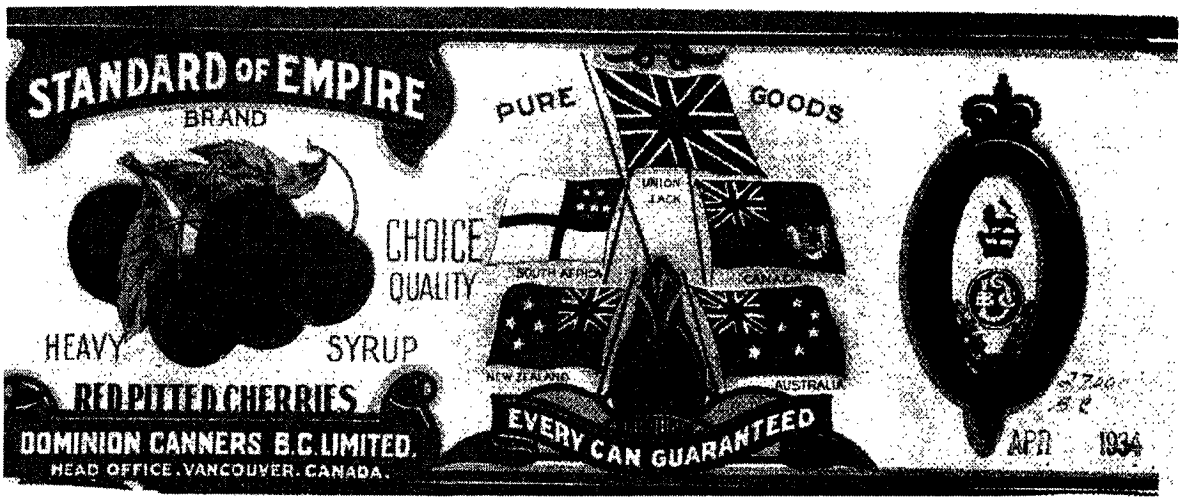

Figure 3.11 Standard of Empire Cherries, c. 1920, CHLC, Country Heritage Park

By employing these symbols of sovereignty, loyalty, strength and distinction, Dominion Canners was transferring British authority to the consumer market. The

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[37] The Order of the Garter is the oldest Order of British Chivalry. The translation of "Honi soit qui mal y pense" is "Shame on him who thinks this evil." Scholars have suggested that Edward III spoke this phrase in response to those who criticized his claim to the French throne. See "Order of the Garter," *The Official Web Site of the British Monarchy*, <http://www.royal.gov.uk/output/Page490.asp> (Viewed 25 April 2004). On symbols of royalty and sovereignty see Tessa Rose, *The Coronation Ceremony of the Kings and Queens of England and the Crown Jewels* (London, HMSO, 1992); Sir Thomas Butler, *The Crown Jewels and Coronation Ceremony* (Surrey, Pitkin Pictorials, 1989); and on Canadian symbols see Conrad Swan, *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1977).

"Standard of Empire" refers simultaneously to the flags of the Empire and the high standard Dominion Canners has maintained in packaging their produce. The "Pure Goods" to which the label refers also has a double significance, representing both the purity of the cherries and the Empire. The recurring emphasis on the purity of goods during this period was largely a result of a growing concern about the "unnatural" composition of industrially packaged goods. As Keith Walden has pointed out in his examination of grocery window displays in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Canadians were concerned that modern forms of production were jeopardizing the nutritional content of food products, and thus posing a threat to human health. These worries were part of a "broader pattern of concern" Walden suggests, "prevalent throughout the modern age, that nature and the beneficence it embodied were being eroded unrelentingly by what boosters called progress." Walden argues that manufacturers and retailers responded to this concern by presenting their products in a way which assured consumers that the processes of production would not threaten the naturalness of these products.[38] Purity and naturalness were similarly common themes on food product labels. In Walden's study, processed and natural goods are juxtaposed by the grocer in his organization of the window display. In the case of canned goods on the store or pantry shelf, where the product in its natural form is absent, the illustration on the label presents a visual reference to the natural product, thereby providing a juxtaposition

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[38] Keith Walden, "Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920," 302-304. As noted in chapter two, grocers would present shocks of grain alongside packaged breakfast cereal, or whole coconuts beside packages of shredded coconut, which conveyed the natural harmony between nature and culture. See also, Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked* (New York, Harper & Row, 1969), which informs Walden's analysis. Walden studies the form of the grocery window display rather than the ideological content of the product labels.

similar to the one presented by the form of the grocery window display.

In its application to Empire, the theme of purity refers exclusively to Britain and the white settlement colonies. "Pure" thus invokes ideas of racial purity, and a corresponding allusion to racial supremacy. South Africa, Canada, Australia and New Zealand each meet the racial "Standard of Empire," and thus enjoy a superior position in the imperial hierarchy. They constitute "Greater Britain," a community with similar racial and institutional interests.[39] In this way, the Dominion Canners label gives weight to Douglas Cole's argument that Canadian nationalism was often inspired by Britannic nationalism.[40] In this formulation the Canadian nation plays a marginal role in the construction of identity. More important is Canada's identification with the broader imperial community.

Representations of Empire in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century consumer culture reflected the intense imperial enthusiasm of English Canadians. Advertisers capitalized on this enthusiasm by appropriating the idea of Empire into the language of consumer culture in a variety of ways. Canadian participation in the South African War, the development of Canada's railway stretch in the All-Red Route, and the discovery of gold in South Africa all provided advertisers with valuable ammunition to construct consumer appeal. Yet the expression of imperial sentiment was often accompanied by symbols of Canadian nationalism. Maple leaves enveloped Union Jacks,

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[39] "Greater Britain," was a termed first used by Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke in the nineteenth century. See Dilke, *Greater Britain* (Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott, 1869), and *Problems of Greater Britain* (London, Macmillan & Co., 1890).

[40] Cole, "Canada's 'nationalistic' imperialists."

Canadian Red Ensigns marked colonial territory in Africa, and soldiers who fought for the Empire in the Transvaal were identified as "Canada's Pride." Advertisers recognized the value of imperialist imagery, but were equally aware of the necessity to balance this imagery with unique symbols of Canada. They appreciated, like many of their contemporaries in politics, academe, and the arts, that imperialism was inextricably bound to Canadian nationalism.

CONCLUSION

The iconography of canned goods labels and advertisements in turn-of-the-century Canada highlights the importance of spatial representation in the construction of identity during this period. Developments in print technology and industrial manufacture in the latter half of the nineteenth century produced a highly visual and material environment which heightened the spatial consciousness of Canadians. As commodities permeated the market and the home, a consumer discourse emerged that relied heavily on representations of country, city, nation and empire to foster appeal. These representations communicated changes in the cultural, economic and political environment, and provided a means to both articulate and negotiate local, national and imperial identities.

Images of local space served a variety of purposes in consumer culture. Romanticized representations of agricultural life operated to assure consumers of the pure and natural qualities of a product. Visual references to nature were frequently made to assuage concerns about the unnatural processes of industry, and the meanings associated with nature were often highly gendered. The presence of a male labourer in an agricultural space, like the labourer in the Okanagan Valley plum orchard, functioned to bring order to an untamed, feminine space. The labourer's control of nature in the orchard was a symbol of his patriarchal virtue. In contrast, the representation of the female in the orchard setting served a passive role; the young girl in the Harvest Brand tomatoes label did not assert an ordering influence on the natural world, but rather was a feature of the landscape. Both representations employed ideas about nature for

commercial purposes, but the Harvest Brand label offered a more powerful assurance of product quality. The idea of purity in the Harvest Brand illustration was conveyed by the natural setting and the rosy-cheeked young woman.

Illustrations of atavistic space served a similar consumer purpose to those which depicted rural life in an anti-modern context, such as the farmer in the Farmer Strawberries label who works the land with nothing but a hoe. Anti-modern ideas were frequently employed to foster consumer appeal, but they were not employed in a way which critiqued or disparaged modern society. The pioneer and the homesteader symbolized a romanticized past, but their place in this past was linked to contemporary society in a narrative of progress. This narrative was characterized by a belief in man's unrelenting drive to conquer nature. In this way, images of atavistic space were likely to stimulate consumer interest because they reinforced a much celebrated theme in Victorian society – the inexorable march of progress. Consumer appeal was also served by the thoroughly natural landscapes represented in the oak tree, log cabin and homestead labels, which operated as an assurance of product purity. Yet this emphasis on nature and the celebration of progress functioned in somewhat contradictory ways. Images of atavistic space valorized an earlier, traditional way of life while simultaneously accepting its inevitable obsolescence. Thus, these spaces, and the purity associated with them, was somewhat detached from the realities of an increasingly urban and industrial landscape that was often associated with impurity. Anti-modern ideals were put in the service of commercial interests, but they were not entirely compatible with these interests.

Images of urban and industrial space were more readily associated with ideas of

progress, and their appeal in consumer culture was based largely on these ideas. In providing visual evidence of the modern processes through which commodities were manufactured and sold, images of factories and department stores were likely to stimulate consumer interest. Advertisers and manufacturers recognized, however, that the image of the factory might also arouse concern about the unnatural processes of industry. In an effort to alleviate this concern, they often included textual references to the purity of their products and the sanitary conditions under which they were packaged. Advertisers also employed nature to fulfil this purpose, primarily by juxtaposing the factory with plant life.

Representations of rural, atavistic and industrial space communicated changes in the local environment and subsequently provided Canadians with a means to better understand, and identify with, their surroundings. Advertising provided a forum for local manufacturers and merchants to promote both their products and the regions in which these products were grown and packaged. The labels employed by the S. Carsley Company of Montreal, the Strathroy Canning and Preserving Company and the Burlington Canning Company reveal an explicit effort to highlight the modern character of Montreal, Strathroy and Burlington. The label employed by the Vernon Canning and Jam Company promoted not only Greengage Plums, but also an image of the Okanagan Valley as a modern, agricultural, and racially pure region. The topographical illustration of the Niagara fruit belt in the E.D. Smith label presented a wholly modern image of the Niagara region and highlighted the importance of agriculture in the articulation of local identity. Images of atavistic space and romanticized representations of rural life played a

more nuanced role in the construction of local identity. These representations functioned to familiarize Canadians with the historical developments that culminated in their new surroundings. The meanings associated with Simpson's department store, the Strathroy factory, and E.D. Smith's farm were imbued with greater significance in their relation to the images of atavistic space that operated in the same consumer discourse. In the late Victorian narrative of progress, the pioneer and the homesteader were valorized icons whose historic achievements facilitated the development of modern commerce and industry.

The Canadian nation also provided advertisers with a powerful referent system from which to foster consumer appeal. Economic prosperity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries revived confidence in the future of Canada and fuelled nationalist sentiment. Advertisers recognized the commercial viability of this sentiment and subsequently appropriated the idea of Canada into the language of consumer culture. Advertising provided a venue to represent, promote and negotiate ideas about Canada. More importantly, the pervasiveness of these images in consumer culture provided a way for English Canadians to better understand, and identify with, the nation.

One of the most common constructions of national identity in consumer culture was characterized by an appropriation of Native culture, French-Canadian history, and the geography of the West. These appropriations were all situated in a narrative of English-Canadian conquest that functioned to construct ideas about the nation. The image of the Native served commercial and nationalist purposes in several ways. The Native's association with nature and his distance from modern life operated as an assurance of

product purity. As a figure unique to North America, the Native also inspired a strain of national identity distinct from those inspired by British ideas. The historical presence of the Native in Canada also strengthened nationalist ideas by furnishing the nation with a lengthy pre-history. The appropriation of French-Canadian history served a similar purpose. French-Canadian symbols and icons of the pre-Conquest past were often employed in consumer culture to serve a distinctly English-Canadian variety of nationalism. Advertisers employed images of the Fleur de Lis, Maisonneuve and Cartier because they were recognized by English Canadians as innocuous symbols of the Canadian past, and, more importantly, they fit within a narrative of English-Canadian conquest. Ideas about the West were also situated in this narrative, but the articulation of these ideas was more complicated. Images of cowboys and bison reflected contemporary anxieties about the depletion of the North American frontier, while images of the West as a fertile and bountiful garden reflected a celebration of modern agricultural development. These images communicated contradictory messages about the implications of Canadian development.

Representations of rural and industrial space, and those of Canadian political authorities were also employed to articulate ideas about the nation. The nationalism expressed in images of rural and industrial space was primarily economic, with an emphasis on the significance of agriculture and industry to national development. Yet they also pointed to the importance of the farmer's image in defining national character. As increasing industrialization in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries aroused concerns about men's weakening virility, the image of the farmer provided a

means to assert ideas about manliness that were consistent with national values. The consumer appeal of Canadian political authorities was most often based on their capacity to project national values, although sometimes their function was defined by their political roles rather than their popular appeal.

Imperialist sentiment in English Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also provided advertisers with a commercially lucrative referent system. More significantly, advertising provided a powerful venue to articulate and negotiate ideas about the Empire, and subsequently strengthen imperial identity in Canada. The most common representations of Empire were those which depicted Canada's relationship with Britain. These representations employed gendered ideas to negotiate Canada's place within the Empire; the illustrations of the South African War soldier and Miss Canada, for example, relied heavily on ideas about masculinity and femininity to communicate meaning about Canada's relationship with Britain. In these representations, imperialism was balanced with Canadian nationalism, while in other representations, such as the widely employed image of Britannia standing on a globe of Canada, the narrative of Canadian nationalism was entirely absent.

Representations of various imperial landscapes, both Canadian and African, also played an important role in the visual articulation of Empire. In the Canadian context, industrial and natural spaces communicated different messages about the importance of Empire to Canada. The illustration of the All-Red Route and the representation which juxtaposed the Belleville factory with Queen Victoria's image both situated Canadian progress in an imperial context. The technological advances which facilitated Canada's

railway construction and industrial development were represented as imperial rather than national achievements. In contrast, the "wild" landscape of Niagara Falls, juxtaposed with the Queen's image, highlighted the continuing need for Empire to assert its civilizing presence in Canada. Representations of the African landscape were equally complex. They reflected English-Canadian interest in imperial activity in South Africa, and this interest was characterized by both passive observation and active participation in the exploitation of colonial riches. Although representations of Canada's various roles within the Empire may have been, at times, somewhat inaccurate, they are nevertheless revealing of how Canadians understood and articulated their imperial identity.

This study has critically examined the construction of local, national and imperial identities in isolation in an effort to better illuminate the complexities of meaning associated with each identity. In turn-of-the-century Canada, however, these identities were not articulated and negotiated in isolation. They were all part of a consumer discourse in which a variety of meanings were operating simultaneously. E.D. Smith's topographical illustration of their fruit farm along Lake Ontario was explicit in its construction of meaning about the Niagara region, but in a more nuanced way, this illustration was also consistent with popular ideas about the importance of modern agriculture to national development. The Native in the Chippewa Strawberries label was situated conspicuously in a national context, but his image was also associated with the Niagara region. The South African War soldier in the Canada's Pride Tomatoes label occupied national and imperial spaces, but he was also a source of pride in the localized space of Napanee. These meanings intersected at the level of both production and

consumption. Advertisers and commercial artists constructed images with the intent to impress a particular idea upon the consumer, but the meanings they explicitly set out to convey did not comprise the entirety of meanings embedded in these images. Nor did they determine how these meanings would be received. In grocery stores and domestic pantries across Canada, the meanings of city, country, nation and Empire were in a constant state of negotiation.

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