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CHIEF MAN-OF-MANY-SIDES:
John Murray Gibbon and his contributions
to the development of tourism and the arts in Canada.

by Gary Bret Kines, B.A.,
Institute of Canadian Studies,
Carleton University, Ottawa.
[March 1988]

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Studies

OTTAWA, Ontario
March 14, 1988
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to the development of tourism and the arts in Canada"

submitted by Gary Bret Kines, B.A.,
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

As the General Publicity Agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), John Murray Gibbon (1875-1952)--B.A., LL.D., F.R.S.C.--served his adopted country by developing recreational tourism, ethnic folk festivals, literature, art and music, and a general awareness of Canada's cultural pluralism, between 1915 and 1950, as an extension of his own desire for universal harmony. An Oxford graduate; author [esp. The Canadian Mosaic (1938)]; founding president, Canadian Authors Association; founder, Trail Riders and Skyline Hikers of the Canadian Rockies; organizer of at least 16 ethnic folkmusic festivals across Canada; and honorary chief of the Stony Indians, Gibbon's humanistic approach to cultural tourism was guided by a desire for harmony between the culturally diverse peoples of Canada. Much of his effort was aimed at interpreting French-Canadian culture for the English. This thesis examines Gibbon's efforts, for the sake of national unity, to develop tourism and the arts under CPR patronage.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would be impossible to undertake the research and writing of a Master's thesis (and maintain any semblance of a regular life) without needing and receiving help and advice from all quarters. My family and friends have been both comforting and encouraging, and they already have my gratitude and devotion for that. More and more, I am thankful to my mother for teaching me how to read.

Starting university in one's fourth decade is somewhat unsettling, and when I began, my mind was full of worry about whether or not I would go the distance. But when Gordana Lazarevich introduced me to the subject of John Murray Gibbon, I realized I had farther to go. Many people were supportive of this research, and among them I would especially like to thank E.J. 'Ted' Hart, at the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff; David Jones, at the CP Archives in Montreal; Phil Gibbon and his family, for sharing; Mary-Lee Merz, for long-distance caring; and the Ottawa Kines's for keeping me from becoming a complete hermit.

Archivists and librarians too numerous to mention - I thank them all. Brian McKillop, my thesis supervisor, has been very encouraging and stimulating. He helped me to get over the biggest hurdle, that of just getting started on the writing, and has been most generous with his time and evaluations of my work. A special thank-you goes to the Department of Art History at Carleton University, without whose financial assistance the final production of this thesis would not have been possible. A last thank-you goes to John Murray Gibbon for having lived such an eventful life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
Abbreviations Used	vi
Introduction	vii
Chapter One: "Life - The First Half".....	1
{Notes to Chapter One}	31
Chapter Two: "The Active Immigrant"	36
{Notes to Chapter Two}	61
Chapter Three: "Harmony & Recreation in the Rockies"...	65
{Notes to Chapter Three}	94
Chapter Four: "Music and Multiculturalism".....	99
{Notes to Chapter Four}	128
Chapter Five: "Advertising Art and Artists".....	134
{Notes to Chapter Five}	153
Chapter Six: "Many Sides".....	157
{Notes to Chapter Six}	180
Appendix I: Map - showing Gibbon Pass.....	185
Appendix II: Festival Programs	186
Appendix III: Norman Fraser	189
Bibliography	194

ABBREVIATIONS USED

ASN	Associated Screen News
CAPAC	Canadian Authors and Publishers Association of Canada
CNR	Canadian National Railway
CP	Canadian Pacific (for Hotels, shipping, and telegraph)
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
CCFCS	Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies
<u>EMC</u>	<u>Encyclopedia of Music in Canada</u>
E.W.B.	(Sir) Edward Wentworth Beatty
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NFB	National Film Board
R.A.	Royal Academy (British)
R.C.A.	Royal Canadian Academy
S to C	"Scot to Canadian - One of More Than a Million" (Gibbon's Memoirs)

INTRODUCTION

Immigrants to the United States of America are subjected to a kind of monolithic philosophy when they settle there, in that they are expected to suppress their ethnic origins in favour of a 'melting pot' identity that is simply 'American.' Canada, however, is 'polylithic,' in that immigrants are encouraged to maintain their ethnic identity, as a component of the country's decidedly pluralistic character, as long as they uphold the laws of the land and allow other and new Canadians the same right to individuality.

Canadian Studies, as a field of research, is multidisciplinary, and like our national belief in a person's right to celebrate their ethnicity, it allows for a diversity of academic responses to a full range of inquiry, as long as the origins are Canadian. It is this conditional tolerance that makes Canadian Studies the perfect domain in which to celebrate the man whose multifaceted life was the basis of my research.

John Murray Gibbon (1875-1952) came to my attention in a lecture on Canadian music history given, in 1984, by Dr. Gordana Lazarevich at the University of Victoria. Gibbon's many-sided character and colourful lifestyle were very attractive, made more so by the fact that so little was known about him despite his many accomplishments. His apparent eagerness to embrace a wide variety of interests was something I found relative to my own approach to life and, with Dr. Lazarevich's encouragement, I vowed to uncover more about this influential Canadian.

The list of publications that discuss Gibbon is a short one; most notably are the chapters devoted to his activities in the service of the CPR, in E.J. Hart's The Selling of Canada - the CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism (Banff 1983); the few summary paragraphs on him and his publicity practices, in The CPR West: The Iron Road and the Making of a Nation, Hugh A. Dempsey,

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ed. (Vancouver/Toronto 1984); the frequent references to his influence on music, radio broadcasting, and the career of singer Frances James, in the 1920s and 1930s, in Gordana Lazarevich's soon-to-be-published manuscript, "The Musical World of Frances James and Murray Adaskin: A Perspective of Canadian Culture" (Victoria 1987); an M.A. thesis, devoted to Gibbon's work on the Quebec folk festivals and his collaboration with Marius Barbeau, by Janet E. McNaughton, "A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folk Festivals and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-30." (Memorial Univ., 1982); and a brief biography, and reference to him under other subject headings, in Helmut Kallmann et al, ed., The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada (Toronto 1981). Otherwise, the fact that a recent scholarly examination of Gibbon's era mistakenly demotes his role to one of secondary importance--"The Conundrum of Culture," in J. Thompson and A. Seager, Canada 1922-1939 (Toronto 1985)--and the fact that recent (1987) federal and provincial initiatives acknowledge the economic benefits Canada derives from cultural tourism, clearly indicate that a detailed examination of John Murray Gibbon's life and times would be both timely and valuable.

The purpose of my thesis, therefore, is to present an historical biography of Dr. John Murray Gibbon, in a narrative form that will illuminate several unknown facts about his early years and his many accomplishments. I was greatly aided in my research by having access to Gibbon's unfinished and unpublished autobiography, and through contact with his immediate family. Information derived from these two sources has given flesh to the personal history of this multi-talented individual, whose efforts on behalf of French-English relations, Canadian music and art, literature and publishing, recreational tourism, radio broadcasting and multiculturalism, had an overall effect that is still felt to this day. His success, accomplishments, awards and victories are documented to some extent; but it is the man, himself, who has eluded scrutiny. Who his heroes and influences

were, what his philosophy was, when he decided what his role would be in Canada, where he chose to focus his energies, and why he worked so hard--these and similar questions are important to the shape of this thesis. By addressing them, I arrived at the conclusion that Gibbon was one of the first to recognize that the path to national peace and prosperity, transcending all ideologies and levels of society, lay in the full development of the arts. His humanistic approach to that end established an unprecedented role for tourism as a tool for peace, in that his efforts resulted in the CPR providing corporate sponsorship for the arts in the name of tourism and national unity.

Gibbon arrived in Canada halfway through his exciting and complex life. In order to fully appreciate the second half--to understand what influence his formative years and experiences had on his dreams for Canada--it is necessary to look at the events of his early years. Being born in a foreign land and forced to part from his parents at a very young age was bound to have had some psychological effect on his character development. The first chapter begins before his birth because the historical and colonial background of Ceylon, relative to the lives of his forebears, certainly shaped Gibbon's first impressions of family life and his later perception of himself as an individual. By discussing the physical and social environments in which he spent the first half of his life, Chapter One offers a glimpse of lifestyles and customs that would have affected his personal life, from the end of the Victorian era into the Edwardian and those exciting years at the turn of the century.

Chapter Two finds Gibbon in Canada, fitting himself to his new job and making his presence felt: by forcing his employer to face the English-French language question; by founding the Canadian Authors' Association; by becoming a Fellow of the Poyal Society of Canada; and by conceiving a plan for an Order of tourists on horseback.

In Chapter Three, I have chosen to examine Banff National Park's social environment as a product of tourism, specifically the CPR's product. Looking at the history of its formation and development, it is easier to understand the Park's role in the myths of the Canadian wilderness as perpetuated by the railway to foster tourism. Into this milieu, Gibbon brought his own perception of the wilderness and created a new brand of recreational activity that served to establish roots for an eventual corporate patronage linking leisure tourism with culture and international peace.

Chapter Four explores Gibbon's idea of combining tourism and the arts in the wilderness as an awakening of his dormant ideological influences, at least such as those he might have acquired in his Oxford days. In collaboration with ethnologist Marius Barbeau, Gibbon revived French-Canadian interest in the folk arts, contributed to the Canadian folksong repertoire, and developed for Canadians a national image of themselves as being part of a bright ethnic mosaic. By appealing to the primitivist ideal and promoting the possibility of a national music movement, Gibbon took the arts to the people in a bid to remind them of their cultural heritage.

Artists who worked for Gibbon and the CPR during the Depression helped to develop a recognizable tourism poster style, and Chapter Five looks at how Gibbon's sympathy and friendship for visual artists contributed to the image of corporate patronage associated with the CPR in the years between the wars.

The final chapter concludes, appropriately, with Gibbon's death and an evaluation, of both the extent of his influence and the shortcomings of his dream for a culturally-unified and artistically-developed country. His optimism, and his firm belief in Canada's potential--to become an international symbol for the peaceful coexistence of ethnically diverse peoples--were with him to the end. There are many lessons to be learned from

the interdisciplinary life of this many-sided man, chiefly that a way to achieve peace lies through knowledge, understanding and tolerance. As a tool for communication, Gibbon's humanistic approach to cultural tourism may yet become the model for arm's-length corporate sponsorship of the arts in Canada.

Mr. Katherine Sals
Birmingham, Norfolk.

CHAPTER ONE
"LIFE - THE FIRST HALF"

I had always believed that Mr. Gibbon was a native of Scotland but I find on consulting works of reference that he was born in Ceylon, and perhaps the spicy breezes which, as the hymn of my childhood mentions, blow soft over that pleasant isle may have had their influence in developing that aura of benignity and serenity which one feels in his presence.

- Sir Ernest MacMillan, 1946.¹

The economy of Ceylon in the 1870s, after a decade of affluence as the world's largest coffee producer, reeled from the effects of *Hemileia vastatrix*, or "coffee rust."² By 1869, the coffee leaf disease had devastated hundreds of thousands of acres on vast coffee plantations established in the 1830s and '40s by wealthy young men from Great Britain and agents of the East India Company. Although the London market prices for coffee remained high, coffee planters still remaining on the island recognized that Nature's hand was against them in their venture. They replanted their crops - with tea. A few more enterprising owners in the Kandy District had already experimented, several years prior to the coffee disease, with Assam jat tea seeds imported from India and cultivated in the Peradeniya Botanical Gardens near Kandy village.³

Tea proved to be well-suited to Ceylon's climate and hilly terrain, and in 1877 the first recorded shipment of Ceylon tea reached England on the steam-ship, Duke of Argyll. The success was largely due to the efforts of a certain group of planters whose tenacity--in producing commercial tea crops from an essentially hostile environment of insects, tigers, disease and

extreme heat--reflects on their origins. Many were Scots from the villages and farms around Aberdeen,* drawn to Ceylon by the opportunities for hard-working young men suggested by the returning wealth of Scots who had found success there. As planters, they provided the labour in the jungles, while the wealthy proprietors, who owned the land and provided the capital, and who were often Scots themselves, operated from the comparatively cooler comfort of the townships.

One such proprietor, later knighted for his services on Ceylon's Legislative Council,⁸ was (Sir) William Duff Gibbon. One of a family of twelve,⁶ William was raised in the Aberdeen area of Scotland where he married Katharine G. Murray, daughter of Andrew Murray. Like many ambitious young Scots of his time, William decided to go to Ceylon and make his fortune in coffee. He sailed in 1855, alone, with the intention of sending for his young family once he was established. The estate he developed was called "Udewelle,"⁷ with a bungalow overlooking man-made Kandy Lake and the famous Dalada Maligawa, "temple of the (Buddha's) tooth," five miles from the city of Kandy. Kandy was residence of the British governor-general of Ceylon and seat of the island's Legislative Council,⁸ in which William was to become an active member. He was instrumental in introducing tea and Tamil⁹ labourers to Ceylon on the heels of the coffee leaf disease, and in the process grew wealthy. By then, his growing family had joined him in Ceylon where, on April 12, 1875, his sixth child--John Murray Gibbon--was born.¹⁰

John Murray Gibbon's unfinished and unpublished autobiography, "Scot to Canadian - One of More Than a Million" (1951), is rife with anecdotal detail. In its early pages, in Ceylon, he recalls being chased by a ratsnake, being fascinated by processions of elephants, and having "a Singhalese ayah or nurse called Babahamy of whom I was very fond."¹¹ At four years of age, with three of his siblings, he was sent to Scotland to be

educated. His mother chose to live as much as possible in Ceylon, which meant that the four young Gibbons were boarded with a Presbyterian minister's family in Aberdeen. As unloving as it seems by present standards, such arrangements were apparently common practice for the time and for children whose parents lived and worked in the Colonies. John Murray Gibbon saw very little of his father and so grew up with strong ties to his mother's side of the family, in that he confides that while growing up he felt himself to be more of a Murray than a Gibbon. Among his memories of those early years Gibbon recalls trout fishing with bent pins for hooks, the bustle of Aberdeen harbour when the fishing fleets came in and the pleasure of being there when a ship arrived in port with a cargo of apples, and excursions to Banff on the river Deveron and Craigellachie Rock near Aviemore, little realizing then how much those place names would figure into his future.

After kindergarten, Gibbon's early contact with the French language, when he attended a grammar school run by a Monsieur DesCles, was a valuable preparation for the love of learning and comparative literature instilled in him by encouraging teachers at Robert Gordon's College in Aberdeen. He read a great deal, and considering his exotic early experiences, it is little wonder that he favoured the adventure books of R.M. Ballantyne and romantic folklore found in old Scottish ballads, such as one about a famous ancestor of his, The Bonny Earl of Moray.¹² His growing interest in literature inspired Gibbon to enter a bursary competition for King's College at the University of Aberdeen, and he won the cost of his fees and books. It was the first of many academic awards to come his way - for example, he placed first in the English literature class taught by the then-famous Professor Minto, and won the prize (ten volumes of Browning's work) for Latin under his favourite professor at King's, W.M., later Sir William, Ramsay.¹³

Hiking the cliffs on the seacoast south of Aberdeen was a

popular pastime for Gibbon in his teens. One summer there he befriended the children of a Professor McKendrick, who was credited with the invention of the phonograph before he turned the idea over to his friend, Thomas Edison, who he felt could market it better. The McKendrick family all played in a family string quartet, and between their introduction of classical music and the Professor's connection with the development of the phonograph, Gibbon was inspired to seriously pursue musical interests by buying several phonographs and increasing his knowledge of music. He took piano and violin lessons, and sang in student choral society concerts, as well as in the choir of Old Machar Cathedral in Aberdeen.¹⁴ He and fellow students would meet to sing from The Scottish Students' Songbook, recently published with translations of folksongs from different countries, which caused them to yearn to see distant lands. It was a time when emigration from Scotland was a popular topic, and Gibbon felt the stirrings of an urge to travel.

While at King's Gibbon was elected to one of twelve editorships for a college magazine called Alma Mater, where he befriended the editor-in-chief, W.A. Mackenzie. After late-night sessions of proofreading the galleys of their magazine, the two of them would talk until morning about poetry. Mackenzie encouraged Gibbon to try writing it, and his first serious work was published on the cover of Alma Mater. It was a sonnet inspired by the motto of the university's medical college:

They Haif Said - Quhat say thay - Lat Yame Say

They've said - What say they? - That a heart of gold
Is naught but vain and perishable ware,
And true love passes as a sudden air
Warm for an hour, and in an hour run cold.
Dear heart! the very memory we hold
Of homeland, and of all the fragrance there
When we were young and you were very fair -
That too must Death within his Shadow fold.

What say they? What if all our love be vain,
And all our kisses with the night be blown
Into oblivion to the Unknown Way!
Give me your lips, give me your lips again
And yet again, until the Way be shown!
And till the Night enfoldeth, let them say!¹⁵

In the autumn of 1894, Gibbon travelled down to Oxford to write entrance examinations, applying for an open competition 'Exhibition' scholarship for which only those who could prove their private income was low could apply. On the examination's General Paper, Gibbon found that the only question he felt qualified to answer, of the fifteen questions listed, was on the relation between music and poetry. He thought back to the Scottish ballads he enjoyed in his boyhood, to the music he had learned from the McKendricks and the songs he had sung at King's, to the adventure books on other cultures read over the years, and to the all-night discussions on poetry with his friend Mackenzie, and devoted the full three hours of the Oxford examination to answering that one question.

In the spring of 1895, he learned that Christ Church, Oxford, liked his essay on music and poetry enough to offer him an Exhibition scholarship of £110. a year for four years. To accept meant not getting a degree from Aberdeen, but it was a progressive step and once more Gibbon was moving on. With time on his hands until Oxford's term began in October, and with the urge to travel egging him on, Gibbon elected to attend summer session lectures at the University of Göttingen in Germany. His plan was to combine travel with the desire to acquire a knowledge of the German language. His choice of that particular university was apparently made on impulse after reading a rhyme by a former Christ Church student, George Canning (1770-1827):

There first for thee my passion grew,
Sweet, sweet Matilda Pottingen.
There went the daughter of my tu-
tor, law professor at the U-
niversity of Göttingen, U-
niversity of Göttingen.'⁶

Accommodation at Göttingen was in the home of a Ph.D. student who wanted a particular course in Sanskrit that required a fourth student to be registered before the course could be offered. Gibbon immediately endeared himself to his host by agreeing to be the fourth. His social activities that summer had

a more permanent effect on Gibbon, however, than Sanskrit studies did. Watching duels of honour between young German fencers and playing tennis with English girls from a nearby boarding school were interesting diversions, but it was the singsongs of various political student clubs, especially when inspired by unlimited quantities of beer, that provided him with more first-hand knowledge of German folksongs than any books of the period could supply. The stories contained in the lyrics aroused his curiosity about other German cities, and when the summer session ended he visited Hanover, Leipzig and Dresden, before returning to Oxford. What also drew him to those cities was their music and their art - to Hanover as the city of George Frederic Handel, to Leipzig as the city of Johann Sebastian Bach and especially the a cappella boys choir at the Thomas Schule, and to Dresden's celebrated Picture Gallery, ranked at that time with the Louvre, to view Raphael's Sistine Madonna, Albrecht Durer's Christ Crucified, and outstanding paintings of the Italian Renaissance. Dresden was also where Gibbon's sister, Katie, went to school and learned to play the violin so well that he had given up playing his own, in defeat.''

The majority of undergraduates at Oxford came from public school (called 'private' schools this side of the Atlantic), and what school you came from often served to identify your associates. While at Göttingen, Gibbon had made friends with several 'Paulines' from St. Paul's in London, and at Oxford he aligned himself with them. Recognizing the group taste in art was decidedly Pre-Raphaelite, Gibbon scored social points with the Paulines by having his living room walls papered with designs by the star of that art movement, Walter Crane (1845-1915).'' The art of Crane, and others in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, was representative of a style and a philosophy that, during these formative years of Gibbon's intellectual development, would influence his later notions of romanticism in the arts. The

group taste in politics favoured the intellectual socialism of the Fabians, and when the Paulines invited old schoolfellows like G.K. Chesterton (1874-1936), or fellow-Fabians like Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937), Sydney Webb (1859-1947), or William Morris (1834-1896), to address the club, Gibbon was invited to attend.

A quaint custom in this circle of friends was to sneak up behind celebrities and touch their coats in the romantic hope of gaining inspiration. One such personage that Gibbon approached in this manner was Lewis Carroll (Charles Dodgson) (1832-1898), who was then tutoring math in Tom Quad and photographing Alice, daughter of Dean Liddell of Christ Church and heroine of two fairy tales. Another celebrity was Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902), an Oxford graduate who, on the occasion of the visit when Gibbon encountered him, was there to discuss the establishment of Rhodes Scholarships.

Not everyone was held in such high regard, however. One novelist who attended Oxford, and who would later be appointed Governor-General of Canada in recognition of his wartime service to the British government, was summarily dismissed by Gibbon.

I frequently met John Buchan (Lord Tweedsmuir in after life) who already had written a novel, and liked to make it known that he was writing another by having his manuscript conspicuously displayed on a reading desk in the middle of his room....my recollection of John Buchan was that he wished to be listed among the chosen few.¹⁹

Although not a highly-ranked athlete, Gibbon was a good walker, and with this in mind he joined the Christ Church Company volunteer regiment. (One of their first major 'hikes' involved a route-march from Oxford to Dover via Canterbury Cathedral.) Despite a generally-accepted view that Oxford was the home of scholars and athletes but not soldiers, Christ Church continued to provide noteworthy enlistment. The reward eventually came on June 22, 1897, when their regiment was selected to serve in the honour guard for the celebrations commemorating Queen Victoria's

Sixtieth Year of Reign, the Diamond Jubilee. Gibbon proudly recalled the six-mile procession snaking through London streets, and shouldering arms in Hyde Park with a good view to the royal platform.²⁰

It was about this time in his life that Gibbon developed the northern Scottish trait of vocal restraint. He became so taciturn that he was nicknamed 'the gargoyle'²¹ - a young man of great mien but no voice. His introspection was caused, in part, by his restlessness and desire to travel, and the welcome respite of long summer vacations from Oxford gave him the opportunity to return every year to Germany. One summer session at the University of Göttingen was spent studying the archaeology of Greece, Rome and Crete. One of his tutors at Christ Church had worked with Arthur Evans (1851-1941) during his excavations of Knossus on Crete, and he suggested to Gibbon that learning something of this field from German scholars would be more in keeping with his Oxford studies in Latin, Greek, ancient history and philosophy.²² It is quite likely that Gibbon also spent some time on the tennis courts, because that is where he met his future wife. Anne--the daughter of Henry Fox, a clergyman and Justice of the Peace in St. Bees, Cumberland²³--was one of the English girls from the boarding school near the University of Göttingen with whom Gibbon played tennis. She evidently possessed a lovely mezzo-soprano voice and shared Gibbon's interest in music and literature. She, too, was a student at Oxford, in Lady Margaret Hall, but apart from a few letters, they saw little of each other in England, so strict was the supervision of the young women there. It seems likely their relationship could only have developed during those comparatively-relaxed German summers, but develop it gradually did and as a reflection on Victorian codes of behaviour, Anne Fox was dismissed from Oxford for becoming engaged (to Gibbon) while still a student.²⁴

The same Göttingen summer that he studied archaeology was

also a musical one for Gibbon. He studied singing with a German woman to increase his knowledge of the language and repertoire of German folksongs, and he learned to play the Italian ocarina. One day he was overheard playing the ocarina and his landlady took him downstairs to meet a new guest in the boarding house - the famous Hungarian violinist, Joseph Joachim (1831-1907). Joachim was there on a brief holiday, but he still practiced seven hours each day, in the room directly below Gibbon's. With his mounting interest in classical music and his own experience of learning the violin, this encounter must have been thrilling for Gibbon.

Subsequent summers were spent in Strassburg, on the Upper Rhine, and Weimar, where one day Gibbon saw the writer and thinker Nietzsche (1844-1900), who had recently gone insane, being pushed through the streets in a wheelchair. A last long vacation was taken in Hamburg, where one of Gibbon's brothers was a banker.²⁵ There, except for a few sightseeing trips along the North German coast, most of Gibbon's summer was spent in reading and studying. It would prove to be time well spent, for in 1898, he passed Oxford's final examinations, called "Greats," summa cum laude in the school of Litterae Humaniores.²⁶

Gibbon now entered a transitional phase in his personal development. He was just shy of age 24, spoke three or four languages, had an Oxford degree and academic experience from three or four universities. He seemed destined for a life of scholarship, but his overriding desire was to travel and pursue some of his many interests. The question was: what was a talented, restless young man in the exciting, restless years of the fin de siècle to do?

In his open-to-suggestion frame of mind it was perhaps timely that Gibbon heard from his friend, W.A. Mackenzie. Mackenzie had gone from editing the Alma Mater in Aberdeen to editing an illustrated weekly newspaper, called Black and White, in London. He invited Gibbon to apprentice for a year without

pay but with the understanding that he would then succeed the current associate editor, Eden Phillpotts (1862-1960), who wished to devote more of his time to novel writing and dramaturgy. Succeeding Phillpotts after such a short time in journalism would elevate Gibb's status within London's journalism community, so he accepted the offer.

Being thus employed in the cultural and political hub of the country gave him opportunities of a literary nature, as well as a chance to play a more active role in the Fabian Society. He took a room in a working-man's settlement--founded by philanthropist Passmore Edwards and maintained by the novelist, Mrs. Humphrey (Mary Augusta) Ward (1851-1920)--in exchange for teaching duties two evenings a week when he lectured labourers on literature and art. These night classes were in keeping with the Fabian approach to gradual political reform through the education of the masses.²⁷ The organization was intent on establishing a distinct Labour Party voice in Parliament that would eventually develop, along with other similarly disposed societies, into the Labour Representation Committee of 1900.²⁸ Gibbon's room in the settlement had just been vacated by a Mr. W.L. Mackenzie King who, as newly-appointed Deputy Minister of Labour in Ottawa (1899), had been in London studying the social conditions of England's labouring classes.²⁹ As his acknowledged replacement in the settlement Gibbon gained some acceptance with various groups, at one stage coming into contact with a group of anarchists whose publication, Freedom, frequently carried illustrations by that favourite of Gibbon's, Walter Crane. These anarchists also printed community song-books that included songs by Robert Burns and William Morris, and parodies of favourite hymns where the lyrics were adapted to political messages. Some of Gibbon's early experiments in altering the lyrics of familiar tunes were made at this time.³⁰

As the year progressed Gibbon's interest in visual representation increased. He learned to use a camera and took

snapshots of political figures to supplement current events coverage in Black and White. With his press credentials he was able to gain entry to restricted areas to photograph, for example, Baron Kitchener at Buckingham Palace as he emerged from an audience with Queen Victoria, and Lord Roberts disembarking with General Botha at Southampton.³¹ As much of his work on the weekly involved dealing with artists and their drawings, Gibbon also decided to equip himself with a better understanding of the processes. He began attending art classes at the Westminster Art School, which in turn led him to take week-end jaunts to Paris for sketching classes at the famous Atelier Colarossi. Naturally, he befriended several working artists, such as Lucien Daviel who guided Gibbon on trips through the countryside around Fontainebleau and introduced him to the work of Millet and the well-known Barbizon 'School' of painters.

Another was Charles Robinson, who became Gibbon's favourite artist in pen and ink illustration. Gibbon's appreciation of Charles Dodgson's Alice stories had earned that body of literature, of fantasy and fairy tales, a place on his reading list. In collaboration, with artist Robinson doing the illustrations, Gibbon tried his hand at re-writing old folktales, and with a few of his own invention published his first book--The True Annals of Fairy Land In The Reign of King Cole--in 1900. It represents the early stages of a long association with the publishing house of J.M. Dent and Sons who, with Ernest Rhys as editor, eventually included In The Reign of King Cole in their Everyman Library Series.³²

These and other friendships with working artists meant that Gibbon became 'one of the gang' by association. He was soon elected to membership in a select artists-only society called the Langham Club--where periodical exhibitions were held and evening drawing classes engaged live models--and contacts made there were useful to Gibbon's publicity career many years later.

The years between 1894 and 1906 were marked in the history

of European journalism by the infamous Dreyfus Case. A Jewish officer of the French General Staff, Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859-1935), was charged with supplying the Germans with French military information and sentenced to serve time on Devil's Island. It was found, though, that even with Dreyfus out of the way, military secrets were still reaching the Germans, and the handwriting said to have been Dreyfus's own in the original case was found to be on the newer examples. Dreyfus's brother conducted an independent investigation and named a Major Esterhazy as the traitor. Esterhazy was subsequently tried and acquitted, which aroused the Socialist, intellectual French Radicals to charge the royalist and anti-Semitic General Staff with having made a prejudicial error. The well-known novelist, Emile Zola, openly denounced the General Staff and published a public letter to the President of France entitled "J'Accuse!" Naturally, this chain of events and Zola's statement attracted journalists and groups, such as the Fabians, to the affair. Esterhazy was paid to re-write the 'bordereau,' as the memorandum of secret information was known, to show that it was he and not Dreyfus who had written the original. With all the press coverage and political furor, further investigation revealed that Dreyfus was the victim of an anti-Semitic plot to discredit him. He was retried in September of 1899 in Rennes, the former capital of Brittany in western France, and found 'guilty with extenuating circumstances,' but was pardoned. He would later, in 1906, be fully acquitted, reinstated into the army with a higher rank, and awarded the Legion of Honour.''

Black and White had somehow gained possession of Esterhazy's handwritten copy of the bordereau. The weekly had been reproducing photographs of the trial since it began, so when Gibbon announced to Mackenzie that he had seen Esterhazy in a restaurant in Leicester Square, Mackenzie realized how informed Gibbon was on matters relating to the case. He also realized that Gibbon, because of his powers of observation and his ability

to speak French, was the best courier to deliver the bordereau to the Judiciary at Rennes.

The French press was violently divided into Dreyfusards (radical Socialists) and Anti-Dreyfusards (representing the interests of the Army and the Church), and street battles over the issues had attracted over 300 newspapermen from all over the world to Rennes. Gibbon's assignment was to deliver the documents and be called upon to witness their introduction to the court as evidence. A combination of ignorance for French legal procedure and emotional support for Captain Dreyfus led Black and White to address the documents to the Counsel for the Defence, instead of the more strategic office of the Court Recorder. As a consequence, Gibbon was importuned to perjure himself in his testimony so that certain members of the Dreyfusard would not be implicated. Gibbon refused to be a part of the falsehood, and though he did eventually obtain a receipt for the documents from the Court Recorder, he was forced by the dictates of his conscience and the circumstances to file a complete report of the incident by wire to Black and White. In the process, a supposedly impartial English newspaper correspondent was implicated because he had suggested to Gibbon that the bordereau should have been forged to provide unquestionable proof of Esterhazy's complicity, a tampering with the evidence that aroused Gibbon's moral disgust. The implied newspaper threatened Black and White with a libel suit, but it never came to court. Where Black and White had hoped to receive a little free publicity for its part in the affair, it garnered a great deal of favourable publicity for Gibbon's role as 'the journalist who would not lie.'''

When his year apprenticing was over, Gibbon began to collect a paycheque. For a short time, when Mackenzie took ill, Gibbon took over his chair until the directors of the publication could find a more experienced replacement. Black and White had started out as an off-shoot of The Graphic, which was in turn an off-

shoot of the Illustrated London News, and financially it was on shaky legs at the turn of the century. Public demand for better picture coverage of the Boer War convinced the directors to mount a cheaper version in a smaller format and with more pictures than Black and White, and partly due to his art training, Gibbon was put in charge of the Black and White Budget.

With the promise of financial security, he married Anne Fox in 1900. The following year, after living in Gibbon's damp basement apartment near the Passmore Edwards Settlement, they were able to claim a house in a Shepherd's Bush artist colony known as Bedford Park. The housing development was purportedly planned by William Morris's circle for fellow artists, but as there were more houses available than artists who needed them, friends and associates were accepted. Life was good for the Gibbons, and bade well for the future until Gibbon's doctor informed him he had developed scrofula, tubercular nodules in the lymph glands of his neck. It was attributed to the bad air in their basement apartment near the Settlement, and it needed to be operated on. For a fee of £200, a Harley Street specialist successfully removed thirty-six nodules. Then, to complete the cure, Gibbon was advised to winter in the dry heat and open air of North Africa, where a French specialist had found that an oasis in the Sahara desert, called Biskra, was the ideal location in which to effect this cure. In order to rationalize the prescribed treatment and thereby come to terms with the situation, Gibbon remembered reading how beneficial Africa's climate had been to Cecil Rhodes during his convalescence there; and besides, the trip would serve to appease his desire for further travel.

The real problems were more mundane. Absence from Black and White for six months or more would surely mean losing his job, and there was the added concern over money for the trip. As a student, apart from the maintenance scholarship provided by Oxford, Gibbon travelled abroad and lived well without any

mention of monetary support. There is the suggestion in his memoirs that his years until graduation from university did not involve unusual financial hardship--for example, he wallpapered his rooms at Christ Church with likely pricey paper designed by the currently-popular artist, Walter Crane--and after graduation, a year of working without pay but with the costs of living, of art supplies and week-end trips to France, were all covered somehow. What this implies is a regular allowance from the same source who financed his initial journey from Ceylon - his father. To contradict this implication, however, Gibbon admits in his memoirs that the whole business of his illness and his need for capital was too involved to explain in a cable to Ceylon, and that his father "with his growing family, was carrying all the burden that he could afford. Fortunately, my father-in-law came to the rescue..."³⁵ The father-in-law, Henry Fox, was apparently well-off financially, being a gentleman farmer on top of his duties as a clergyman and a Justice of the Peace, and if it meant supporting Gibbon and Anne to keep her in the style to which she had become accustomed, he was apparently prepared to do so.³⁶

Gibbon left for North Africa, alone. His wife, one can only assume, was left behind to keep the home fires burning with financial support from her father. Gibbon's references to his wife are rare, as are references to any woman. For his trip he reportedly bought a book by Robert Hichens called The Garden of Allah, which contained a detailed description of a street of dancing girls in Biskra. Gibbon is quick to comment, lest there be any hint of suggestion, "I had a wife of whom I happened to be very fond, so that dancing girls were not much in my line."³⁷ This apparent failure to include his wife in his adventures must reflect the British social climate at the close of the Victorian era - that a woman's place is in the home and that a man's business is his own concern. Gibbon's memoirs are certainly his own, but perhaps there is more to it than that. Forced from home

at a very young age would contribute to a physical and emotional independence that might remain with him his whole life. Writing years later, Gibbon recognized this flaw in his character by stating, "I am afraid I have never been a family man, though the father of four children, being so much interested in reading as well as travel that home was little else than a place to work or to jump from....My wife was a book lover and had her own interests, among other things being fond of cooking and horseback riding..."³⁰ With these remarks he begs the question of how long or short might his list of accomplishments be if his wife and family had accompanied him wherever he went. He also begs understanding for his solitary nature and, by his predilection for travelling alone, he may be unconsciously acknowledging a preference defensively established as a child of four, forced to leave his birthplace and his parents at so vulnerable an age.

When the time came for Gibbon to return to England--spring not being as favourable a season for invalids as winter in Biskra--his wife's brother, Philip, came down to escort him on a leisurely journey through Tunisia before sailing for Marseilles and the trek home. The open-air rest-cure was incomplete, however, and the relatively mild climate of Cornwall was the doctor's next recommendation. Gibbon's brother in Hamburg took six weeks off to accompany him to the artist colony of St. Ives. Many of Gibbon's friends from the Langham Club were wintering there--Louis Grier, A.M. Talmadge, W.Y.Y. Titcombe, and Arnesby Brown, among others--as was the latter's brother, Eric Brown, who would later become curator of Canada's National Gallery and champion of the Group of Seven. As their 'home' away from the Langham, they all met in a studio they called The Warren, while studios set in a row along the seashore were affectionately known as The Factories. These artists were not landscape watercolourists but post-Impressionists, revelling in the golden light that fell on their southwestern idyll. Their devotion to painting how light affected the ways in which things are seen

gave Gibbon the idea for a series of articles that was called "Painters of the Light." Freelance work kept Gibbon's writing skills honed during his recuperation, and though he never went back to work at Black and White, they did accept his "Painters" series. Many artists cooperated with him in preparing the articles, especially Arnesby Brown, H.H. La Thange and, in Gibbon's eyes, the "greatest of the Scottish artists, W. McTaggart, whose paintings of windswept scenes always gave [him] a thrill."''

Other contracted writing assignments were arranged through an old friend from his Aberdeen days, J.D. Symon, who was an editor and music critic for the Illustrated London News. As well as filing regular weekly copy on Parliamentary issues, Gibbon got to attend performances at Covent Garden and the Royal Albert Hall with Symon in his capacity as reviewer and critic. He learned from Symon about arts criticism, and with his wife "busy at home with a growing family and housekeeping duties,"'' attending concerts with the reviewer contributed to his awareness and appreciation of the classical repertoire of European music.

As a voracious reader, Gibbon's appetite for travel accounts brought him to read about adventures in the New World, such as the voyages of discovery made by Alexander Mackenzie or Sir George Simpson, and examinations of the causes for emigration, such as Lord Selkirk's Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, which discusses the Highland clearances and the relocation of the crofters to Prince Edward Island. With the germ of an idea to see the New World for himself, Gibbon recovered quickly, and so it was in the cards that his friend Symon should have a cousin, recently arrived in London, who asked Symon to recommend a well-travelled publicist with friends on Fleet Street. The cousin, Allan Cameron, was General Traffic Agent for the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and part of his job in London was to find a European representative for the company who could prepare and distribute foreign language publicity for their

tourist and immigration campaigns. Symon suggested Gibbon's name, and an appointment was made for him to be interviewed in the company's Trafalgar Square offices.

Correct attire for the business man, and certainly within the political circles where Gibbon moved, was the tall silk hat and frock coat. Apparently, when Gibbon arrived for his interview, Allan Cameron had been prepared to offer a salary of £300 per year. But seeing someone so stylishly dressed convinced him that £360 was probably more appropriate,⁴¹ and May 1, 1907, John Murray Gibbon began his 38-year association with Canadian Pacific.⁴²

As Advertising Agent, Gibbon's primary duty was to present Canada and the Canadian Pacific Railroad [henceforth, CPR] more effectively to the European public. But one of his first assignments would be a test more of his ingenuity than of his promotional skills. The company's president, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, cabled Gibbon directly from corporate headquarters in Montreal with instructions to organize a select group of twelve British newspaper editors and escort them to Canada for a complimentary tour across the country on the CPR. Gibbon quickly recognized a potential setback to the proposed tour. One of the twelve editors would have to be from the London Times, a fiercely independent newspaper that might balk at the idea of being the guest of a commercial company, but once the Times agreed to it the rest would jump into line.

Gibbon knew that special respect was always given to people with titles, so if it could be shown that this invitation came not from a commercial enterprise but from a recently knighted individual, which Sir Thomas Shaughnessy was, then the problem would be solved. Just to be sure, though, Gibbon appealed to an old friend from his days in the Passmore Edwards Settlement, Mrs. Humphry Ward, to intercede on his behalf: the novelist's husband, Humphry, was chief editorial writer of the Times. Sure enough, the ploy worked, and the Times agreed to send as their

representative the chief foreign editor, Ernest Brain. With Brain in train, there was no difficulty lining up T.B. MacLauchlan of the Edinburgh Scotsman. The Scotsman, as the most influential publication north of the English border, could greatly affect the height of the tide of emigrants from Scotland to Canada with any favourable reports it published as a result of this tour. This was the kind of thinking CPR management paid close attention to, and the thoroughness with which he lined up the best editors assured them that his being hired was a good move. As for the line of reasoning about enlisting the Scotsman, one might speculate on what effect Gibbon's choice of newspapers might have had on Scottish immigration in Canada if he had elected to ignore the Scottish press entirely.

Once Gibbon had lined up his twelve, his duty was to escort the group via CP Steamship to Quebec City and there turn them over to George Henry Ham, the company's public relations man. Ham, a former editor himself, would then conduct the whole tour by train to the Pacific Coast and back. Allan Cameron advised Gibbon that since he was going as far as Montreal with the group, he may as well take the whole tour and see what he could learn from it. This Gibbon was quite pleased to do, especially after the reading he had done and his preparations for the twelve editors, and so began his first visit to Canada. In a small group photograph, possibly taken on board the same ship that carried these editors, Gibbon looks somewhat like the actor, Pat O'Brien. He stands in what would become a trademark pose - hands in pants pockets, hat low on his forehead and snugly in place, and a cigarette hanging from the left corner of his mouth. Beside the others, his casualness makes them appear posed and self-conscious.''

If the steamship journey across the Atlantic was uneventful, their passage up the St. Lawrence was not. Gibbon was impressed by his first glimpses of Canada, made more so by the congenial presence on board of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who was returning home

from an Imperial Conference. Gibbon recalled how one day Laurier joined him in his daily constitutional stroll around the decks and they discussed Gibbon's impressions of Canada. Boatloads of Laurier's followers met the steamer as it reached Quebec, waving flags and singing French-Canadian songs. The melody of one of these songs caught Gibbon's ear, and on the spot he wrote his own lyrics to it, one of many hundreds of songs he would eventually adapt in Canada, turning the old French song into a song of the St. Lawrence:

Along the Wide St. Lawrence
(to the Old French tune, "Aupres de Ma Blonde")

Along the wide St. Lawrence, from winterbond set free,
I saw the ice in thaw dance, as gay as gay could be;
In floes it came advancing, and hurtled past the quay,
All pushing and prancing, down the tide so gay, so gay,
All rushing and dancing, dancing to the sea.

Along the wide St. Lawrence, the gulls are gypsy free,
That in the wind I saw dance as if in Jubilee;
And on they came advancing, as jaunty as could be,
Waveriding and prancing, down the tide so gay, so gay,
Windriding and dancing, dancing to the sea.⁴⁴

After their ship arrived at the quay and the group had checked into their hotel, they were given a tour of the harbour in a pilot-tug hosted by a cabinet minister, the Honourable Jacques Bureau. Bureau's naturalness, offering historical tidbits and singing samples of French-Canadian folksongs while dressed only in his shirtsleeves, opened Gibbon's eyes to the precious and unpretentious quality of French-Canadian folklore. Almost as if in preview of things to come in Gibbon's life, on their return to the Chateau Frontenac Hotel they found an exhibition of handicraft, with women at work spinning and weaving, had been set up in the lobby. A firm of Canadian clothiers, Holt Renfrew, staged the exhibition as an attraction for tourists, partly in anticipation of celebrations planned for the following year to mark the 300th anniversary of the founding of Quebec, and partly to sell its products. [The fact that Holt Renfrew is still in business today indicates that their standards of quality must have been high.]

Gibbon's official responsibility for entertaining the newspaper editors ended as he turned them over to George Ham. Ham (1847-ca.1923), who reported directly to the President of the CPR, was valuable to the company chiefly for his talents as a 'raconteur extraordinaire.' He was editing the Manitoba Free Press when William Van Horne, then CPR General Manager, hired him and in 1893 appointed him the first journalist of what would eventually be the Canadian Pacific Press Bureau. Ham's particular skills were in tourist promotion, most notably during the world depression of the 1890s, when he successfully developed personally conducted tours in the Thomas Cook tradition.** Ham had a lively natural wit, and apparently Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) presented him with an autographed portrait out of admiration for his sense of humour. Even in sickness, he was quick to joke:

"You must have a great constitution," said a caller at the hospital one day. "Yes," said George with a grim smile, "a great constitution, but no by-laws."**

On this particular occasion, his conviviality and 'party hearty' attitude went amiss with some members of the tour who were more interested in information than in whiskey. They cornered Gibbon with this grievance and told him that unless the situation changed they would leave the tour in Winnipeg. They were already somewhat annoyed, as much as Gibbon was embarrassed, by the fact that their host, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, had not been in Montreal to welcome them. For some reason, he had chosen to go on vacation to his summer home at St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, and sent his Passenger Traffic Manager, Robert Kerr, in his place. Fortunately, Winnipeg was where William Whyte, Vice-President of Western Lines, was based. Whyte was very close to Lord Shaughnessy, and when he was apprised of the situation, he agreed to hook up his own private car and accompany the tour as far west as Banff. His presence and knowledge of the line appeased the disgruntled editors for the rest of the trip. He gathered the whole group into his private car where, with history

books and large maps, he told them the whole story of the building of Canada's first coast-to-coast railway even as their own train crossed the prairies.

Through his own reading and Whyte's descriptions, Gibbon gathered a whole new perspective on the role that people of Scottish heritage had played in developing Canada. A book, for example, that he had found in a Winnipeg bookstore was George Bryce's History of the Hudson's Bay Company, from which he learned that of 263 commissioned officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, employed between 1821 and 1896, 171 of them were Scottish.⁴⁷ From Whyte's history of the CPR he learned how the first president, George Stephen, and Donald A. Smith, later Lord Strathcona, had originally come from Banffshire, Scotland, and how Stephen had cabled Smith, during negotiations for the railway's construction, the single word 'Craigellachie' ("stand fast," the rallying cry of Clan Grant).⁴⁸ Gibbon was as proud of his race as only someone travelling far from his native land can be, and he decided to watch and note Scots influence everywhere his new job took him in this new land.

Every place the tour spent any time Gibbon commemorated the visit with words and music, much as he had with "Along the Wide St. Lawrence." Before his first tour of Canada was complete, he had written "Quebec," to a 17th century French dance tune, in Quebec City; "A Song of Manitoba," to the English tune "The Ploughboy," in Winnipeg; "Our Fair Saskatchewan," to the tune, "Frühlingsgruss" by Bernhard Klein, as they crossed the prairies; "The Mountie," to the tune of an 8th century Welsh Air, in Regina; "Pioneers," to the 18th century "Danish Wedding Song" by C.E. Weyse, in Calgary; "Lake Louise," to the tune of "Think on Me" by Lady John Scott; "Down Vancouver Way," to the tune "Kennst du das Land" by F.H. Himmel; and the "U.E. Loyalist Song" to the Irish tune, "Peggy Band," in Toronto, on the return trip.⁴⁹

Whyte's lectures on that train journey were beneficial to them all. Gibbon learned something about his own feelings

through hearing how other Scots had fared in Canada, as well as being intrigued by British author, (The Western Avernus) Morley Roberts' vivid descriptions of singsongs and fiddle music in early CPR construction camps. Ernest Brain and the other editors had their journalistic senses whetted by Whyte's stories of his recent (1901) journey on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Valuable information, unavailable to them before about Russia, Siberia and Manchuria, now surfaced in Whyte's evaluation of the possibilities for interchanging CP rolling stock with that of the Imperial Russian Railway System.⁶⁰ Ham still handled the social amenities, but Whyte's presence and wealth of information were exactly what the tour needed to make it a successful one in the eyes of those British newspapermen. According to Walter L. Payne, once of the CPR Publicity Office, the success of the tour "resulted in a fine series of articles in Old Country papers on an unprecedented scale from the London "Times" [sic] to the Edinburgh "Scotsman" [sic], as well as at least one account of the tour in book form."⁶¹ Gibbon's role as organizer and 'shepherd' of the tour was not overlooked as, apparently, he received a lot of favourable press in this regard.

On the turnaround, as the tour was preparing to return east, Gibbon left the tour in Vancouver to explore the country between there and Montreal in a more leisurely fashion. In this way he was able to visit Victoria and experience the unforgettable vistas along the Malahat Drive. He took ships to Alert Bay and, in south-eastern British Columbia (B.C.), on the Arrow and Kootenay Lakes. The Arrow Lakes are really just wider reaches of the Columbia River, with small villages dotting the shoreline on either side. Gibbon wrote how fascinating it was "to travel on the Minto, a little sternwheeler which nosed into the shore and let down a gang-plank to pick up passengers who hailed us as if we were a passing cab."⁶²

It was while travelling through the West that Gibbon realized how closely aligned was the growth of the CPR with the

growth of a new nation. This concept brought everything he saw of Canada into sharper focus, inspiring him to want to know as much about the country as possible. He visited Scottish farmers in Saskatchewan, and attended the Kildonan Fair, near Winnipeg, where the great-grandchildren of early Red River settlers, themselves victims of poverty and the Highland evictions, displayed their New World wealth with new hats and automobiles. An unknown book he bought in Niagara Falls, about the history of the region, turned Gibbon's head toward the country's origins. From that day at Niagara Falls, "the history of Canada came to be one of my chief interests, particularly the social history, with its blending of so many racial traditions."³ Putting his new passion right to work, he spent a week in Toronto's public library and bookshops researching Scottish settlements in Ontario and Scots influence in the development of the fur trade. Learning how much the Scottish people had invested in Canada's development and seeing the fruits of their labour on his cross-country tour, Gibbon reached a turning point in his thinking and in his plans for the future. "I felt Canada could not be a foreign country, if circumstances were to turn in favour of making my home in this country."⁴

On his return to London, Gibbon requested that he be allowed to travel every summer on educational trips to Canada. He was keen to know the Canadian way of life, especially as it developed for immigrants; so keen, in fact, that one summer between 1908 and 1910, he travelled in steerage to Canada, disguised as a poor emigrant but meanwhile sending stories and photographs back to English papers who were in on the ruse.⁵

Apart from the immigration propaganda he prepared, Gibbon designed posters, magazine advertising and tour literature, much of it in the languages of travellers on the CP system originating from Europe. When he began, he was both manager and staff, but shortly after his return from that first tour of Canada he advertised for an assistant. The person he hired was apparently

given the job because of being the only applicant of the 152 applications to spell the word 'advertisement' in full." Having an assistant meant that Gibbon could travel more--under the auspices of CPR business, of course--and an offer by the CP agent in Genoa to show him around Italy satisfied a boyhood dream of seeing Rome and the Coliseum. It was typical of the perks attached to his job, and he travelled widely, visiting the company's representatives throughout Great Britain and Europe. Wherever he went his love of literature, music and art won him the respect and attentions of many influential people. It might go without saying that his cultured manner would reflect on the CPR, in that the way he was perceived by the Europeans would suggest the quality of the company he represented.

One of the many feathers in Gibbon's cap had to do with the 1910 Scottish National Exhibition in Glasgow. Evidently the Canadian Government, at that time not overly popular with the Scots because of the great numbers of immigrants being wooed away from the homeland, was refused in its bid to establish an exhibit there. Gibbon approached one of the Exhibition Committee members--a Mr. W.D. Ross, who had been a director of Black and White when Gibbon was on its staff--with the idea that the CPR might be enticed to erect a pavilion in which the role played by the Scot in Canada's development could be celebrated. Ross was reminded of the accomplishments of Lord Strathcona, Lord Mount Stephen and Sir John A. MacDonald, Scotsmen all, in creating Canada's first national railway, and Ross and the committee quickly warmed to the idea. Gibbon's immediate superior, Allan Cameron, being a Scot himself, arranged the financing end with the company, while Gibbon arranged with two artist friends from Black and White--Cyrus Cuneo and Charles M. Sheldon--to paint twelve large scenic murals that depicted historical moments from Canada's past involving Scottish pioneers. This Scots in Canada Pavilion, Gibbon's first pavilion exhibit, was so favourably received that it inspired the London publishing house of Kegan,

Paul, Trench and Company to invite Gibbon to write a book on the subject. Using research material gathered on his visits to Canada and using the twelve panels done for the pavilion for illustration, Gibbon's Scots in Canada surfaced in 1911 and sold 16,000 copies in the English edition.*'

The success of this first pavilion led to a CPR practice of erecting them at other trade and industry exhibitions. The one at England's Crystal Palace included a large scale model of the engineering marvel, known as the spiral tunnels in the Kicking Horse Pass, of the Canadian Rockies; while another pavilion at a Brussels international exhibition featured elaborate displays showing agricultural possibilities in Canada. One, for which Gibbon's contribution resulted in possibly the most successful Canadian railway slogan\$ ever, was at White City near Shepherd's Bush, London. The building, designed by architect Francis S. Swales, was topped with four carved moose placed at the four directional points on a giant globe. Large maps on the exterior walls illustrated Gibbon's slogan, "Canadian Pacific Spans The World." It was a sentiment obviously shared by many of the company's agents, for on his next trip to Canada Gibbon found the phrase mounted in large lettering on the front of the Vancouver and Winnipeg train stations.*'

Gibbon's so-called 'educational trips' continued every summer. A trip to Canada's Rocky Mountains in 1909 resulted in the formation of a trail-riding organization [to be discussed more fully in Chapter Three], while the trip made the following year, of significance to his increasing awareness of the country's ethnic make-up, resulted in his becoming the owner of property in British Columbia.

It happened that one day in the winter of 1909-10 George McLaren Brown (later knighted), European Manager of CPR operations, brought Gibbon into his London office to meet a fellow Aberdonian. The visitor was Randolph Bruce, who would eventually become both Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia

and Canada's Minister to Japan. He was in London hoping to find investors to finance an irrigation system for a south-eastern B.C. valley where he owned 70,000 acres of land. In the course of their conversation, Bruce challenged Gibbon to visit him in his valley on Gibbon's next trip to Western Canada.

Around 1880, Bruce had arrived in Montreal looking for employment as a civil engineer. He carried letters of introduction from his father, clergyman of the parish from which came George Stephen of CPR fame, and one of the letters introduced Bruce to the railway's General Manager. Needless to say, Bruce soon became heavily involved in the CPR's construction in those important years just prior to its completion in 1885. From railroad work, he went into mining and soon owned a site in B.C.'s upper Columbia River Valley. At his home, he grew vegetables which went to supplement the diets of his miners, impressing him with the potential of the land for settlers. With the profits from his railroad, mining and farming ventures, Bruce invested in property and became a prominent land-agent in a large valley that could (and would) become lush and fruitful with proper irrigation. Hence, his visit to London and the CPR offices there.

In order to take Bruce up on the offer to visit him, Gibbon convinced his superiors in 1910 to allow him to make a journey to the area in combination with a tour of inspection to the CPR's fledgling farming and irrigation projects that promised growth in the Canadian West. As a travelling companion, he took an old Oxford chum, the author R.E. Vernède (who would, as a result of this trip with Gibbon, publish a travel book, The Fair Dominion, in 1911).'' When they reached Alberta, they stopped at Strathmore to examine one of the demonstration farms the Canadian Pacific Irrigation and Colonization Department had set up to illustrate for prospective farmers and land-owners the currently most-approved farming methods for irrigating land. These demonstration farms were tied to a scheme billed as "Ready-Made

Farms for British Settlers,"¹⁰ and as they were in the neighbourhood, Gibbon and Vernède visited the first English colony of these settlers, to assess their progress in the scheme, at a settlement called Nightingale in honour of the famous English nurse.

The nearest railway station to Randolph Bruce's home was at Golden. As an indication of the success of his mission for funding from England, tracks were being laid for a spur line that would run down to Lake Windermere to the south, but when Gibbon and Vernède arrived there were no trains yet for the 80 miles that stretched between Golden and Bruce's town of Wilmer. Gibbon hired a rig for the trip, which served to introduce him more intimately to the terrain, and they took two full days to complete the distance - quite remarkable time, considering there was no completely serviceable highway through there until around 1920.

They moved in with Bruce to share his two-room cottage, and within a few days of their arrival had made an overnight trailride high up into the Selkirk Mountains to the Lake of the Hanging Glaciers. Their guide for the ride, Walter Nixon, would become one of Gibbon's close friends, and the excursion re-introduced Gibbon to the western saddle, first experienced the previous summer on a ride with Tom Wilson into the Yoho Valley. This trip into the Selkirks Gibbon considered "more spectacular even than Lake Louise,"¹¹ and its proximity to Bruce's valley may have been a point of favour in his growing appreciation of the area. When they had returned to Bruce's cottage, Vernède announced his decision to walk back the 80 miles to Golden, as he needed background material for his travel book. Gibbon was convinced to wait around and meet a motor party that was expected soon to turn the sod for the new townsite of Invermere. Besides the secretary for cattle king, Pat Burns, and Col. J.S. Dennis, head of the CPR Colonization Department, the motor party consisted of several real estate men who sold corner lots to each

other while they laid out plans for the future town. Although Gibbon passed up a chance to invest there, Bruce did convince him to purchase a farm lot, near Toby Creek, on the road to Wilmer.

The next year, Gibbon paid another visit to Bruce via the branch line from Golden to Lake Windermere. A fruit grower and architect named Mallandaine⁶² was there and offered Gibbon a ride to Creston, where he lived. Gibbon accepted in anticipation of seeing the rest of the valley to the south, and along the way, Mallandaine suggested designs for a farm house to suit Gibbon's lot on Toby Creek.

The winter of 1911, Gibbon was in Liverpool to meet a steamship when Mallandaine unexpectedly stepped off the gangplank. He was in England to escort settlers back to Randolph Bruce's "Happy Valley" near Wilmer, and in the course of his conversation he announced to Gibbon that a farm house, based on the designs they had discussed on the trip to Creston, had been built on his lot. It appears that the land agency needed a model farm to help sell the lots, had located a suitable tenant--Harry Peters, a Somerset dairyfarmer, and his wife--and there was every indication that the farm would pay its way. Encouraged by this news, Gibbon agreed to pay for the farmhouse's construction cost., and in this way found himself in the position of absentee landlord of a B.C. farm.⁶³

By now, Gibbon was being recognized as the company's resident expert on Canadian history, and he no longer needed special permission to plan summer excursions to Canada. The summer of 1912 saw him visiting his property in B.C. after a stop in Saskatoon, where he saw the site of the new university. (There he met its first president, Walter Murray, who let it be known that the designs of the new buildings were based on famous seats of learning around the world - for example, the dining hall would be a replica of Christ Church at Oxford.) After a swing through several of the smaller communities in Saskatchewan where he found great ethnic diversity, Gibbon returned to London with an even

greater understanding of Canada's immigrant peoples.

The CPR President decided that it was time to place the propaganda and advertising of the company's services under the care of someone who was equally familiar with Canada and Europe and CP's operations throughout. In 1913, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy went to London to offer the job to John Murray Gibbon; Gibbon had half an hour to make up his mind. He would be based in Montreal, and his title would be changed to General Publicity Agent. When he gave his answer to Shaughnessy, Gibbon agreed to come to Canada provided he could travel by way of the Trans-Siberian Railway. He remembered William Whyte's description of his journey and wanted to see it for himself, at the same time seeing first hand CP's service to the Orient and the wonders of Japan. Shaughnessy recalled how Van Horne had sent him on a reconnaissance trip to Japan and agreed that Gibbon should see it. The pact was made. As if by introduction to the Trans-Siberian trip, Gibbon was appointed the CPR delegate to the Round-the-World Traffic Conference in Moscow, five days of information exchange and shop talk, before the exciting trip began.

It was a journey of discovery for Gibbon, visiting lands that were homes to the characters that peopled all the adventure books he had ever read. In the peace and lulling gentility of Japan he forgot the passage of time, until a cable came from his impatient employer in Montreal. The next day, Gibbon boarded the Empress of Russia and sailed for Vancouver on the last lap of his round-the-world approach to Montreal - an auspicious beginning to a new job in a new city. He was 38 years old, and neither he nor Canada would ever be the same again.

CHAPTER ONE - ENDNOTES

1. Sir Ernest MacMillan, remarks, "Tribute To a Nation Builder - An Appreciation of John Murray Gibbon," Ottawa, March 21, 1946. Toronto: Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada, Ltd., 1946. In Public Archives of Canada, MG 30, D282, Vol.19, File 9.G, Ottawa.
2. John Weatherstone, The Pioneers, 1825-1900 (London 1986), p.117.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.121.
5. "John Murray Gibbon" in The Canadian Who's Who (Toronto 1936-37), pp.413-14.
6. "John Murray Gibbon" article by John M. Elson in Onward (city unknown, 1935), p.73, photocopy in Gibbon Information files, Canadian Pacific (henceforth, CP) Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal.
7. Ibid. Re "Udewelle" - this is the spelling John Murray Gibbon has used in his memoirs. and for all references to it in interviews and obituaries he was the obvious source for the name. His memory of the name comes from early childhood, however; and various maps of the Kandy area place names offer different spellings--Uduwela, Oodewella, etc.--with the closest match to his description of his birthplace being Udawela, listed as a populated place and agricultural estate sharing latitudinal and longitudinal coordinates with Kandy. [Ceylon Gazetteer (Wash., D.C.: U.S. Office of Geography, 1960), pp.130-31, 322.] Though the name is no longer found on modern city maps, J.M.Gibbon's birthplace as he described it, together with the map coordinates, would place his father's estate on the hill behind the present-day site of the National Museum.
8. "Kandy" in The Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World, edited by Leon E. Seltzer (New York 1962), p.905.
9. Whether or not this association is a credit to his memory is questionable. Tamil labourers lived in a state of debt bondage, a cycle of indebtedness in which the coffee planters were not obliged to improve their working conditions or to pay higher wages. As well, many Tamils came from famine-stricken areas of southern India and arrived in a weakened physical state. As they travelled to their various plantation destinations, they introduced small pox and cholera into Ceylon. For similar historical facts

of a socio-economic nature, see: Asoka Bandarage, Colonialism in Sri Lanka, ...1833-1886 (Berlin 1983).

10. John Murray Gibbon, "Scot to Canadian - One of More Than a Million" (henceforth, S to C, 1951), unpublished autobiography, p.2. In CP Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal, 1987.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p.1a. Gibbon quotes the first three verses of the ballad.
13. Ibid., p.8a.
14. Ibid., pp.5a-6.
15. John Murray Gibbon, Alma Mater (Aberdeen c.1893), quoted in Ibid., p.7.
16. George Canning was a British statesman who rose to be Prime Minister of England for the last five months of his life. Quoted by Gibbon, S to C, p.9.
17. Ibid., p.11b.
18. How students decorated their rooms at Oxford must have been socially important, considering the liberal treatment Gibbon gave the matter in one of his books, Drums Afar - An International Romance (Toronto/New York/London 1918), a semi-autobiographical account disguised as fiction about a young Scot from Aberdeen who wins entrance to Christ Church and befriends a wealthy American with well-developed decorating skills.
19. Gibbon, S to C, p.13.
20. Ibid., p.15.
21. "John Murray Gibbon, Apostle of Silence" by Newton MacTavish, in The Canadian Magazine (Toronto, February 1925), p.11.
22. Gibbon, S to C, p.17.
23. "John Murray Gibbon" obituary by Watson Kirkconnell, in Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XLVII (Ottawa June 1953), p.79.
24. John Murray Gibbon's youngest son, Phil Gibbon, in conversation with the author, Hudson, Quebec, Dec. 1987.
25. Likely Andrew Murray (named for his maternal grandfather), who was employed by the Bank of England. "He was the only one in the family who made big money." - John Gibbon, John Murray Gibbon's second son, in conversation, Dec. 1987.

26. "John Murray Gibbon," by Kirkconnell, opus cited.
27. "Fabian Society" in A Dictionary of Modern History, 1789-1945, by A.W. Palmer (Harmondsworth 1972), p.121.
28. "Labour Party," Ibid., p.181.
29. Gibbon, S to C, p.22. King had made enough of an impression on Mrs. Humphry Ward that he later became the hero of her novel, Canadian Morn. (Ibid.)
30. Ibid., p.23.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., p.24.
33. "Dreyfus Case" in Palmer, A Dictionary of Modern History, p.111.
34. Gibbon, S to C, pp.25-7.
35. Ibid., p.31.
36. Phil Gibbon, in conversation, Jan. 1988.
37. Gibbon, S to C, p.30.
38. Ibid., p.70. Phil Gibbon, in conversation, stated that his mother, in fact, hated cooking and was not very good at it! (Jan. 1988).
39. Ibid., p.37. His notes from this series, and his own attempts to understand the foundations of art, no doubt provided grist for novels he eventually wrote. McTaggart was very likely the model for a principal character in Gibbon's first novel, the semi-autobiographical Hearts and Faces (1917), where a young student/aspiring artist from the University of Aberdeen befriends an old Scottish painter, called Nathaniel Reid, who specializes in lively landscapes.
40. Ibid.
41. Walter L. Payne, remarks in "We Toast," Public Archives of Canada (PAC) # MG 30, A69 Vol.3, file marked "Personal, 1930-59," p.11.
42. Canadian Pacific (CP) Payroll record #114911, in Gibbon Information files, CP Archives, Montreal.
43. Photocopy of black and white photograph, Negative No.1870, Master file #285, CP Archives, Montreal. Gibbon is 2nd from the right, with the right-hand figure in the plaid tam possibly being T.B. MacLauchlan of the Scotsman.
44. Gibbon, S to C, p.42.

45. E.J. Hart, "See This World Before the Next," Ch.8 in The CPR West, edited by Hugh A. Dempsey (Vancouver 1984), p.166.
46. "George Ham: Sketch of a Gentleman on Whom the Sun Never Sets" by Newton MacTavish, in The Canadian Magazine (Toronto June 1915), p.121.
47. Gibbon, S to C, p.46.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., pp.44-53.
50. Ibid., p.47. William Whyte would be knighted in 1912. Apparently, shortly after it was announced, he received a telegram which caused some amusement with CPR staff of the time. The telegram came from I.G. Ogden, then in charge of Company finances: "Congratulations! Would you like to buy a sword?" (Ibid.)
51. Walter L. Payne, "We Toast," PAC # MG 30. A69 Vol.3, p.11.
52. Gibbon, S to C, p.51.
53. Ibid., p.54.
54. Ibid., p.55.
55. Walter L. Payne, opus cited., p.12.
56. Gibbon, S to C, p.58.
57. Ibid., p.60. Also published in Canada as Scots in Canada - A History of the Settlement of the Dominion from the Earliest Days to the Present Time, Toronto, The Musson Book Company Limited, 1911.
58. Ibid., pp.60-61. Probably on his 1910 educational trip. The expression really had staying power, for in later years, the CPR staff bulletin, The Spanner, worked the slogan into its letterhead and title page design.
59. Ibid., p.63.
60. Ibid., p.62.
61. Ibid., p.66.
62. In his well-received history of the CPR, Steel of Empire (New York 1935), Gibbon identifies on pp.295-96 those present at the ceremony for driving the Last Spike. In the now-famous photograph of the event, a young boy is shown standing behind Donald A. Smith, who is identified as "a boy, E. Mallandaine." It is possible this boy and the Creston fruitgrower were the same person.

63. It proved to be a wise investment; and some years later, he had a bungalow built on the property--that he christened 'Toby Lodge'--as a summer home for his family.

CHAPTER TWO
"THE ACTIVE IMMIGRANT"

'There was complete silence in the room until John Murray Gibbon ceased speaking.' Strange to say this pianissimo manner is duplicated in his writing. Gibbon can inscribe an excellent and perfectly legible sonnet on a man's-size visiting card. I have not seen the MSS. of his novels, but I imagine he carries them in his vest pocket.

- Bernard K. Sandwell, 1918.¹

Although Gibbon was personally invited to Montreal by Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, his reception by the company's Canadian-born staff at head office was chilly. There was, possibly, still some residue of a turn-of-the-century sentiment that British immigrants were taking work away from Canadians who were just as capable of doing the job. Gibbon does not allow that his taciturn manner may have affected how he was perceived by co-workers, nor that he was possibly more sensitive and vulnerable in his eagerness to impress and succeed. Fortunately, there were those employees he had dealt with through the European office and their familiarity eased the strain somewhat.

The key to his total acceptance in Montreal, however, was his association with the Chairman of the CPR, Sir William Van Horne. Apparently, George Ham had forwarded a copy of Gibbon's book, Scots in Canada (Toronto 1911) to him, and when Van Horne realized the author of this work was the same man occupying the new position of General Publicity Agent for the company, he began inviting Gibbon to lunch. Gibbon welcomed these meetings, both out of admiration for Van Horne and for the opportunity to see his famed collection of art works. As well as being an art collector and an artist himself, Van Horne enjoyed collecting the autographs of authors with whom he came into contact, and by the act of signing his book Gibbon cemented a friendship and won the

"Then tell the Treasurer to add \$100. a month to your salary."²⁰

As of June 15, 1916, Gibbon's wage was \$500 per month,²¹ a good salary for the time and an indication of the company's estimation of his worth.

Later that month, Max Enos, an ex-Seattle newsman in the CPR's employ, notified Gibbon that he had been chosen by Shaughnessy as the Canadian representative of the company to speak at Boston's Fourth of July celebrations. For a topic Gibbon chose to suggest the influence of Shakespeare on the government and establishment of the colonies of the United States, based on how much the bard's friend, Southampton, had been involved with early 17th century emigration, and the voyage of the Mayflower, to Massachusetts. The response to this address --"Shakespeare and the Pilgrim Fathers"--was terrific, and when a copy of it somehow reached Sir Sidney Lee, editor of the Dictionary of National Biography, he wrote Gibbon to say that the work was " novel and ingenious, and has, to my thinking, much to recommend it."²²

Meanwhile, the CPR had become embroiled in World War One by providing troop transport, among other services, and in a grand gesture of support allowed six months full pay to any employee who enlisted, and promised them their old jobs back when (& if!) they returned. To make sure the company was not providing work for Canadians of ethnic origin of the countries with which Canada and Britain were at war (and here a kind of racist paranoia surfaces), every man who reported back for work had to prove he was not, for example, of German origin.²³

On a trip to England in 1916, Gibbon had reported to the enlistment office but was rejected because of his health record and for being several months over the age limit. It was, therefore, a welcome compensation the following year when Lord Shaughnessy placed Gibbon's services at the disposal of a Montreal Committee for a Victory Loan campaign. In the full

tacit approval of co-workers simply by associating with the much respected chairman.² In order to make friends outside of the office, Gibbon joined various clubs that matched his interests. Doing so sometimes required help; for instance, an old friend from his schoolboy days in Aberdeen, the daughter of Professor McKendrick, had married the Rev. R. Bruce Taylor and moved to Montreal. They seconded Gibbon for membership in the University Club of Montreal.³

Housing was a problem in Montreal, then as now, and in company with Col. J.S. Dennis, from the Colonization Department, and C.B. Foster, Passenger Traffic Assistant Manager, also recently transferred to Montreal, Gibbon roamed the streets of the CPR-established suburb of Westmount following newspaper ads. Finally someone from the office suggested to Gibbon that he build a house in nearby Ste. Anne de Bellevue, a half hour away by train. This idea greatly appealed to Gibbon's sense of history for it was at Ste. Anne that one of his favourite song writers, Thomas Moore (1779-1852), had spent some months there with the explorer and fur trader, Simon Fraser, in 1804.⁴

Moore had listened closely to the songs his voyageurs sang and put his own lyrics to a few. A legacy to the Canadian folk repertoire is an original work from that visit, "A Canadian Boat Song" (1804). In an interesting preface to the song when it was first published, Moore stated that he "wrote these words to an air which our boatmen sang to us frequently. The wind was so unfavourable that they were obliged to row us all the way, and we were five days descending the [St. Lawrence] river from Kingston to Montreal....Our voyageurs had good voices, and sang perfectly in tune together....I ventured to harmonize this air and have published it....I have heard this simple air with a pleasure which the finest compositions of the first masters have never given me."⁵

Moore's was a new song, the opening being a motive inspired by a voyageur song, for three voices. "A Canadian Boat Song"

acknowledges the fur brigade that met by Ste. Anne at the start of their journey to the West via the Ottawa River. In the first verse he refers to the site of his stay:

Faintly as tolls the evening chime,
 Our voices keep tune and our oars keep time
 (bis)
 Soon as the woods on shore look dim,
 We'll sing at St. Ann's our parting hymn.
 Row, brothers, row, the stream runs fast,
 The Rapids are near and the daylight's past.
 (bis)⁶

In addition to its connections with Moore, the village of Ste. Anne de Bellevue contained Macdonald College, affiliated with McGill University and housing a good library, and an active church choir, all of which could supplement the Gibbon family's cultural needs. Gibbon took his friend, Francis Swales--by this time, architect for CP Hotels in Canada--out to Ste. Anne, where they chose as the site for Gibbon's house an old orchard of apple trees and maples. It was to this new home that Gibbon would soon bring his family over from England.⁷

Within the CPR hierarchy Gibbon's immediate superior was G.M. Bosworth, vice-president of traffic, while directly below him was A.O. Seymour, first to hold the newly-created position of general tourist agent that supported Gibbon's job of coordinating tourist advertising and services. In regards to his office staff, Gibbon noted that while nearly a third of Canada's population, two-thirds of which resided in the Montreal area, was French-Canadian, they were all English speakers.⁸ Consequently, when Gibbon was approached shortly after his arrival for ideas on improving operations, he brought the language question to Shaughnessy's attention. He suggested that hiring a French-Canadian as his assistant would bring the CPR into closer contact with the French language newspapers. By also allowing the French-Canadian editors to choose their own representative, the CPR could gain their confidence in the company's sincerity.

With Shaughnessy in support of his suggestions, Gibbon made the acquaintance of Eugene Tarte, editor of La Patrie, and broached the idea with him. Results were immediate, and a young

journalist named Raoul Clouthier joined the staff of Gibbon's publicity office. As the representative of the French-Canadian Press, Clouthier would provide them with any news the CPR wanted to appear in print in French, while saving time and trouble with translation.⁹ Through this diplomatic act, arranged within the first month of his arrival in Montreal, Gibbon advanced the cause of cultural accord between French and English Canadians, the first of his many progressive moves in this direction.

Much of the CPR's passenger traffic originated in the U.S., so offices for advertising and representation had been established in the larger cities. Just as he had done when he began working for the European operations Gibbon familiarized himself with the North American network by visiting several of these offices, using the rationale that he could better supervise the company's advertising if he knew who did what and where. As this was before the era of broadcasting live concerts on the radio, an additional incentive for these visits was to hear the symphony orchestras of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and of any other city where CPR passenger agents had offices. New York especially appealed to Gibbon because of the Metropolitan Opera, the New York Symphony, and the concerts of touring artists at Carnegie Hall. In that city he kept company with Paul Standard who, apart from his musical interests, was a calligraphist of some note and an expert at advertising layouts, which meant that Gibbon could rely on his expertise on some of the accounts.¹⁰

There was a steady flow of artistic talent from Canada to the U.S. in those days, largely due to lack of recognition and opportunity in Canada. Gibbon recognized the potential void this situation could cause in Canada's cultural evolution if this drain of talent continued unchecked. As Joseph Chamberlain once remarked, "your naturalised alien is your most ardent patriot;"¹¹ and Gibbon, in his eagerness to serve his adopted country, began

planning ways to entice "the cultured elite of Canada, authors, artists, professors [and] musicians,"¹² to remain. It was while in this frame of mind that he happened to be in Chicago and curious to know what interest Americans took in Canadian books. He visited the book section of a Marshall Field's department store and learned from a clerk named Fanny Butcher that the most popular Canadian writer was Hospital Leacock. "We call him 'Hospital' Leacock here because such quantities of his books are bought by American hospitals to cheer up their patients."¹³

Back in Montreal, Gibbon maintained friendly associations with commercial artists, partly due to his use of their talents for graphics on posters and brochures, and partly for personal contacts such as he had enjoyed as a member of London's Langham Club. One such chum was Charles W. Simpson, R.C.A., who one day, around 1914--possibly at the same time Gibbon paid his first visit to the Yukon via the CPR's Pacific Coastal Service, Vancouver to Skagway¹⁴--told Gibbon that the Montreal grapevine had it that John Singer Sargent, R.A., was on a sketching trip out in the Canadian Rockies. It was Sargent's theory that to stretch the labour on a painting over a period of days or weeks affected the original conception, and that every painting should be completed in a single day, thereby resulting in several works in several days. With this in mind Simpson wanted to track the master to his camp in the Rockies and watch him at work.

Gibbon learned through the CPR hotel department that Sargent and his guide had registered at the Chateau Lake Louise with plans of moving on to Lake O'Hara. Although it is difficult to believe that Gibbon and Simpson would travel across the country with hopes of catching up to Sargent, apparently they arrived at his Lake O'Hara camp only to find the artist had pushed on to Emerald Lake, near Field. He had left behind some canvasses to dry in a tent, and the old Swede left to guard the paintings had to be plied with Scotch whiskey before he would allow the two fans to see the works.¹⁵ "All were good," Gibbon later wrote,

"swift, colourful impressions of a Master Painter..."¹⁶ He was also impressed enough with Lake O'Hara to write a song about it to the tune of "O Sole Mio," with lyrics of a sentimentality suggesting the influence of that whiskey.

Before leaving London for Montreal in 1913, Gibbon left a book manuscript with his friend, J.D. Symon of the Illustrated London News. It was a novel, begun during his days working freelance in Fleet Street, about a young Scot's experiences in London and Paris art circles. Symon had apparently passed the manuscript on to London publisher, John Lane, while at a literary dinner in 1915, and Lane had liked it enough that on a visit to Canada, later that same year, he arranged through Stephen Leacock to meet its author. Leacock phoned Gibbon and they agreed to meet Lane for lunch at the University Club in Montreal. After their meal, Lane got around to the subject of Gibbon's manuscript and his rule that "a first novel by an unknown writer must be approved by six readers before acceptance. Yours has so far been approved by five, but if the sixth verdict is favourable, I'll send you a contract."¹⁷

Gibbon suspected that Leacock was the sixth reader but, at any rate, three months later Hearts and Faces - The Adventure of a Soul was accepted for publication. An unknown writer raved in Saturday Review (London, 1916) that "since George Moore, in 'A Modern Lover,' [sic] sketched the career of a successful artist we remember nothing in fiction so vivacious and veracious as Mr. Gibbon's story of a Scotch painter."¹⁸ Shortly after the book hit the stands in 1916, Gibbon was called to Shaughnessy's office. He feared a reprimand from his employer for moonlighting; sure enough, Shaughnessy (now Lord Shaughnessy, having been elevated to the peerage in 1915¹⁹) had a copy of the book in his hand.

"Did you write this book?" he asked.

"I confess I did," [Gibbon] replied.

"Then tell the Treasurer to add \$100. a month to your salary."²⁰

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spirit of this duty, Gibbon vowed to get all publicity for the campaign free of cost, but he did so without realizing that the English-language newspaper publishers had jointly agreed not to give away free publicity. He went to his friend at La Patrie, Eugene Tarte, and asked if the same policy was in effect with the French-language papers. Tarte told him that because French-Canadians support any patriotic campaign, Gibbon's Victory Loan project could have all the free space it needed. When the English-language press was confronted with this information, they shamefully backed down and made Gibbon the same offer. He used this same strategy, of pitting one interest against the other, when it came to the issue of street billposting. Gibbon argued with Toronto's billposting monopoly that Montreal's group was donating the space and printing costs, and when Toronto agreed to donate their services he went to the Montreal monopoly and argued that since Toronto was donating, then Montreal should, too.

The Chairman of the Victory Loan Committee, J.W. McConnell, wrote to Shaughnessy with glowing praise for Gibbon's efforts in the campaign, stating that "Mr. Gibbon has the goodwill of the entire Press of Montreal, and too much credit cannot be given to Mr. Gibbon for his excellent work and untiring effort...."²⁴ McConnell, for his part, figured into a scene of tense excitement in the novel Gibbon was writing at the time, Drums Afar (1918). Though McConnell is not mentioned by name in the book, he is implied, as the scene reports an actual incident that occurred at Montreal's Windsor Hotel during the Victory Loan campaign.²⁵ In this scene, fundraisers have been exciting the crowd at the final dinner by reporting the piles of money so far collected:

Then last of all sprang up a tall, clean-shaven, clean cut, fair-haired captain, his face white with excitement. 'I want to tell you,' he shouted, 'about the meanest man in Montreal. He is one of the richest men in Montreal, but when I asked him for a subscription for the wives and children of the men who are going to fight his battles, he turned me down. Now, what do you think of that? Not one cent out of all his millions! Gentlemen, I want you to let me tell you his name. Will you give me permission?' A sudden stillness passed over the room. Not one there but wished to know the name, but the sporting spirit,

which seemed as strong here in Canada as in any other part of the British Empire prevailed. 'Every man is entitled to his own opinion' was the thought, and 'No-No-No!' was the answer. 'Very well,' said this captain, 'let us turn from the millionaires to the wage earners.' 'That's good,' said a man at [Gibbon's hero's] side, 'he's a millionaire himself.' The fiery captain then explained that the total he could claim that night was due to the employees who had volunteered to give a day's pay to the Fund. With machine-gun rapidity he fired off names and figures, always working higher, always more dramatic till at his final total, by the far the highest of the evening, the whole room rose once more and with handkerchiefs and napkins acclaimed the most spectacular record of a record night.²⁶

When Drums Afar was published by S.B. Gundy, Toronto, in 1918, it was perceived as "an intelligent study of the growth of understanding between the United States and England, with Canada playing the part of the mediator," and one critic pronounced Gibbon as "the most important novelist domiciled in Canada."²⁷ Although not a certainty, it is possible the above mentioned critic was B.K. Sandwell, then editor-in-chief of Toronto Saturday Night, whose warm review of Gibbon's first two novels in an article published in Canadian Magazine concluded:

No, there is not enough of Canada - considering that John Murray Gibbon lives among us and eats our salt. Perhaps it will be necessary to prohibit him from leaving the country for the next two or three years in order to devote his talents to the work that we really want him to do, namely to help in putting Canada on the map of literature.²⁸

Sandwell was also editing the Canadian Bookman for J.J. Harpell of the Garden City Press, and he convinced Harpell to publish a chapbook of Gibbon's poems about the twelve months of the year. A Canadian Calendar was the first of what became a series called Canada Chapbooks, and in it Gibbon explored the imagery of free verse long before it was considered fashionable to do so. For example.

October

Falling falling leaves!
And indoors
Cellars sweet-smelling with apples,
Fair hands busy with canning and stores for the winter.
Morning in frosty apron,
Noon in a bonnet of blue,
Night with a cool dark cloak overtaking the day.
Once in a while a sky a-swirl with rain

And winds in wild cavalcades,
 But always,
 On the greensward,
 Falling, falling leaves! 29

Not long after the chapbook was published, an American composer named Louis Victor Saar found a copy of it in a bookstore and obtained Gibbon's permission to put music with four of them. The New York music publishing house, Carl Fischer Inc., issued the Gibbon-Saar songs in (ca.1926) as Four Seasons - A Canadian Song Cycle.³⁰

The physical strain of his job, in combination with failing eyesight, convinced Lord Shaughnessy that a younger man should take over his job. In 1918, he left the presidency as had his predecessor, Van Horne, to serve as Chairman of the Board of Directors. Shaughnessy had been playing a double role as chairman and president ever since Van Horne's retirement from the chairmanship in 1910,³¹ so the move came as no surprise. His successor, Edward Wentworth Beatty (1877-1943), though the fourth president of the CPR, was its first Canadian-born president.³² 'E.W.B.,' as he was called out of hearing, was educated in the arts and quite receptive to Gibbon's ideas for furthering the development of cultural activities in Canada as a component of the CPR's public image.

His cultural awareness can be demonstrated by his full support for a project Gibbon had been pushing for a few years. During the war years Gibbon's social activities were geared toward achieving a good standing in Montreal's artistic and literary circles. His friend, B.K. Sandwell, nominated him in 1916 for membership in a Montreal club formed by a select group of writers, artists and musicians. The Pen and Pencil Club,³³ of which Van Horne was an original member, held monthly meetings and at one of these meetings Gibbon met a young sculptor named Henri Hébert. His father, Philippe Hébert, was the foremost sculptor in Canada at that time, and shortly after Philippe's death in 1917, Henri invited Gibbon to visit his father's studio.

In the studio were several molds for completed statues, but what stood out from the rest was a little burnt-clay model, sixteen inches high, of the Acadian girl Henry W. Longfellow immortalized as Evangeline. A motto on the pedestal read: "Pleurant le pays perdu" - weeping for the lost land. (The Héberts were proud Acadians and claimed that Nova Scotia's Bear River was an Anglicization of Hébert River.) Apparently, Philippe had died without finding a patron who would sponsor the complete statue, which would stand about seven feet high and be cast in bronze. Gibbon got Henri to agree to complete the statue if patronage could be arranged and took the little model with him back to the CPR offices. In his mind was the idea of getting the CPR to commission the work as a gesture in continuity with their railroad involvement in Nova Scotia. Largely through Lord Shaughnessy's diplomacy, the CPR secured entry to Halifax by purchasing the Dominion Atlantic Railway, which includes Grand Pré and the Evangeline country as part of its right of way. But when Shaughnessy was approached by Gibbon about this project, he was more concerned with issues concerning the war than he was about tourism and would not authorize the cost of such a commission.

When Beatty took over the presidency, Gibbon took up the idea once more, padding his argument with the suggestion that such a friendly gesture to the Acadians would improve relations between the French and the English. Beatty took to the idea, and Hébert got his commission. The casting in bronze had to be done in Paris, which was still reeling from the effects of war, and when the statue was completed it very nearly got lost as it was loaded onto the wrong ship. Meanwhile, Gibbon had learned that 100 delegates from Great Britain to the Imperial Conference in Australia would be landing in Sydney, Nova Scotia, to cross the country by rail. He arranged with the Dominion Atlantic Railway to supply a special train to Grand Pré as a part of their route. It was an incredible opportunity for publicizing the unveiling of

the statue and Gibbon wanted to make the most of it. Henri Hébert was unable to attend the unveiling, so Gibbon wrote him a long report of the event. As well as being a wonderful example of the CPR's patronage of the arts, the unveiling ceremony as it was arranged by Gibbon was a public relations coup!

By good fortune, Sir Gilbert Parker happened to be one of the delegates,...and paid a very high tribute to your father, and was most interested to hear about yourself. I got out a train bulletin which was distributed to every delegate and in which due credit was given to your work in connection with this Statue...such an opportunity for worldwide publicity could not be lost; as one of the delegates said to me — "You could not have got such a crowd of newspapermen on the same spot again for such a ceremony for less than five million dollars." Cables were sent all over the world and telegraphed to practically every worthwhile paper in Canada and the United States, and your statue will be visited by thousands this year as a result.³⁴

In fact, over 10,000 American visitors visited the statue in Grand Pré that summer, and because of the worldwide attention focussed on the statue by those visiting delegates, Hébert's statue of Evangeline became a symbol synonymous with Nova Scotia and the history of the Acadians.³⁵

One good thing that resulted from Canada's involvement in World War One was a heightened sense of self-worth, especially in the literary arts. It was a good time to be a Canadian author writing about Canada, and Canadian publishing houses increased in number to meet growing interest in what the writers of this country had to say. This growth was not without problems, however, and the one dearest to the heart and pocket of many writers was that of copyright.

The printing industry in the United States had the attitude that no royalties would be paid on books not printed there. Canadian printers, as if to follow suit, introduced legislation that allowed for any written work by Canadians to be printed without the author's permission or the payment of royalties. Although beneficial to Canadian publishers who, like The Macmillan Company, supported Canadian authors right from the

start, the lack of a proper royalty agreement greatly affected writers whose work reached international audiences.

Part of the problem in North America was that Canada had membership in the Berne Convention while the United States did not. Essentially, this meant that Ottawa had to honour reciprocal rights agreements for foreign authors. But a loophole in this copyright law that could benefit Canadian publishers was that the Dominion government could legislate for the well-being of its citizens. A Canadian printer-publisher, F.A. Rose, developed friendships with people in high places, and his lobbying contributed to The Copyright Act of 1920, which ruled that before Canadian authors could become eligible for copyright in Canada they must be published in Canada. Foreign authors, however, could publish their books anywhere they wanted.³⁶

One Canadian author greatly affected by this legislation was Stephen Leacock. In the summer of 1921, he invited three friends --John Murray Gibbon, B.K. Sandwell and Pelham Edgar--to dinner at the University Club to discuss ways of publicly protesting the situation. They decided to gather a group of Canadian authors together for a protest dinner and meeting and drafted a circular to send around as the open invitation. They were unsure of how many authors this would involve but planned for the dinner and meeting to take place the following December in the University Club.

The response was overwhelming and something of a surprise, for nearly 90% of the respondents were women.³⁷ The University Club, being mostly male in membership, refused them the use of its premises, so the dinner was relocated to the Place Viger Hotel and the meeting to the Royal Victoria College of McGill University. The dates conflicted with Leacock's lecture schedule but, as the man who got the ball rolling and though unable to attend, he promised his full support. When the organizers found that fully 100 authors would dine, they decided that a permanent association with its own constitution would be the inevitable

result. Gibbon had appeared in print, well before this, challenging Canadian writers to write about Canada and to question what they were worth in dollars and cents. Writing in 1918, he stated that "the better payment of authors does not mean greater authors and finer literature, it only means more successful authors and more popular literature."³⁸ Writers who felt anything after reading this were probably among those who signed up for the dinner. Accepting the role he played in this, he agreed at the last minute--in fact, the night before the inaugural meeting--to draft a constitution for the organization. For a guideline of constitutional form, Gibbon claims to have used the constitution of a fishing club he belonged to, the Isaac Walton League of America.³⁹ With some input from B.K. Sandwell, Gibbon "spent the night changing the word 'fish' to 'book,' 'fisherman' to 'author,' and 'fishing' to 'writing.'"⁴⁰ The next morning, as he marched into the meeting room with the 'new' constitution under his arm, the first person Gibbon saw was Louvigny de Montigny, chief translator to Senate Hansard in Ottawa and a recognized authority on copyright. He was also the Canadian representative to the French Société des gens et lettres, and on seeing him Gibbon realized that he had left French-Canadian authors out of his draft. When the meeting was called to order and he was presented as author of the constitution, Gibbon prefaced his remarks by acknowledging de Montigny's presence and proposing that the French-Canadian be appointed to write a French supplement to the guidelines.⁴¹ Those delegates of the original 100 who were able to attend this morning meeting adopted the constitution, and the Canadian Authors Association (CAA), with those present and Stephen Leacock as its charter members, came officially into being. Gibbon was appointed founding President of the CAA, and with such internationally-famous writers as Frank Packard, Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor), Stephen Leacock, Bliss Carman, Duncan

CANADIAN UNIVERSITY

Campbell Scott and Charles G.D. Roberts in league, its prestige and membership quickly grew.⁴²

Involving Louvigny de Montigny in the process proved invaluable, not only for the aid of his political connections on Parliament Hill when Gibbon went lobbying for the CAA but for the ensuing friendship between them as co-workers on the copyright issue and as co-authors of bilingual articles and songs. At an awards dinner honouring Gibbon a quarter of a century later, de Montigny recalled the spirit of that first CAA meeting:

I can attest that Dr. Gibbon has inculcated in our writers this spirit of association, this interest in our union, without which they could not have hoped to obtain any satisfaction from their works....we owe to Dr. Gibbon the taking of this first step... [and] ... thousands of authors of France join...with deep feelings...in the congratulations which we offer this evening to Dr. Gibbon, as they would join in the vows we are making to assure the future of literature and the fine arts of Canada, of which we can well call ourselves the humble pioneers.⁴³

Another friendship Gibbon developed from that founder's meeting was with the poet, Bliss Carman. His translations of Sappho were known to Gibbon before moving to Canada, and via the business of the Evangeline statue at Grand Pre Gibbon also became familiar with Carman's well-known poem, "Low Tide on Grand Pré." Yet, however familiar Carman was with readers in the east, he was virtually unknown out west, as was discovered when someone tried setting up a recital tour for him there.

Gibbon suggested that the CAA make Carman the unofficial Poet Laureate of Canada, a title that would help to garner at the least the British-born residents of Western Canada. Gibbon also suggested they hold a ceremony to crown him with the maple leaves of autumn, as that was the season, and offered in the same breath to write lyrics for an ode, provided someone else could write the music. B.K. Sandwell suggested an English musician living in Montreal, Harold Eustace Key, and an association of lyricist and composer was formed that would share musical credits for years into the future.

Bliss Carman accepted the honour, Gibbon booked the Ritz-Carlton ballroom for the inauguration, and on an autumn evening in 1921, to Gibbon's Laureate song "Dance of the Maple Leaves (to Bliss Carman)" performed by the Strathearn Girl's School choir of Montreal, Carman became the unofficial Poet Laureate of Canada.⁴⁴ The nation's press carried the story and soon Carman's name was known the breadth of the country.⁴⁵

In 1922, Carman travelled as Gibbon's guest to the bungalow Gibbon had built on Toby Creek near Invermere, B.C., partly to holiday and partly to participate in the unveiling of the David Thompson Memorial Fort on Lake Windermere. This trip resulted in a new set of regional poems on B.C. by Carman, among them "The Thunderbird" and "Song of the Kicking Horse," that were published in Far Horizons (Toronto 1925).⁴⁶

Carman was quite familiar with Gibbon's own poetry by this time, so Gibbon felt no hesitation in sending him a copy of Louis Saar's Four Seasons, the song-cycle based on Gibbon's calendar verses, when it came off the press. Carman's reply suggests the warm mutual regard they shared:

New Canaan. Connecticut. 31 December 1926

My dear Jack-o'Diamonds

....As for the songs, dear man, I have not yet had anyone to play them for me, but my opinion of your free verse is as high as ever. And these particular poems I like exceptionally. They say something that stays with me. Of how few current poems is that true.
very heartily

Bliss Carman. 47

Although the CPR had nearly two decades of investment in the development of motion pictures, E.W. Beatty was the first president of the company to actively embrace them in the role of sponsorship. The idea of using films to entice settlers to the Canadian West, essentially as a promotional tool that demonstrated the railway's commercial viability, surfaced in those few years straddling the turn of the century. Charles Urban, with his Bioscope Company of Canada film crew, was hired to make a series of films on Canada and travelled from Quebec to

Victoria in the filming process. The CPR's Immigration office aimed the resulting 'persuasion' films at potential British immigrants, motivated partly by fears of an American take-over--whether politically or by the increasing numbers of U.S. immigrants--in Western Canada. But by 1918, when Beatty assumed the CPR presidency, the West and the railway's reputation were secure. Beatty began viewing motion pictures as a vehicle for promoting travel on the railroad, and as this direction fell within the domain of the company's General Publicity Agent, Gibbon subsequently became involved.

That same year, one George Brownridge, intent on establishing a Canadian motion picture industry, formed the Adanac Producing Company to produce films of an industrial and educational nature.⁴⁸ He approached Gibbon with the idea of having the CPR sponsor the production of short publicity films that would be dramatized in order to reach a wider viewing audience.⁴⁹ Though essentially noncommittal to this pitch, Gibbon confided to Brownridge that, unofficially, the CPR was concerned about Bolshevik infiltration of the Canadian workforce and that he, Brownridge, might consider capitalizing on that. A fear of anarchistic violence--stemming from the example of Russia's revolution, that led to several American movies depicting the threats of Bolshevism to the American lifestyle--was a topical concern of North American corporations. Brownridge interpreted Gibbon's aside as a note of encouragement, and proceeded to develop production facilities in the CPR Telegraph Building and to outline a script on a story of Bolshevik activity in a Canadian shipbuilding plant. When he then approached the CPR for financial backing, however, they were not entirely sold on the idea. Beatty agreed to recommend Brownridge's proposal to the Canadian Reconstruction Association, who represented companies that were large labour employers; Brownridge got his financing by convincing the association that the CPR was behind him financially. Although eventually coerced,

the CPR maintained an arm's-length relationship with Adanac for more than a year before divesting themselves of any involvement with the film.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, the CPR produced a long film on the 1919 Canadian tour of the Prince of Wales.⁵¹ Of course, the railway figured predominantly in its supporting role and tourism promotion for CPR travel destinations received a visual boost. The Adanac film about Bolshevism, The Great Shadow, with Tyrone Power in his first film and in the leading role, opened to much acclaim early in 1920. Despite its apparent success, however, Adanac went bankrupt through financial mismanagement.⁵² The CPR's survival instinct had kept it out of danger once more, indicating Beatty and company's acute business sense. But it was a close call, and though still believing in the potential of motion pictures to visualize Canada for tourism promotion, Beatty's next foray into celluloid territory depended entirely on Gibbon's advice.

An American concern approached Beatty about the CPR sharing the cost of producing newsreels, called Kinograms, in a new plant on Long Island. Gibbon's suggestion was to accept the proposal on the condition that a Canadian plant also be established that would produce films with Canadian content. When this proved acceptable with the Americans, it was on Gibbon's recommendation that the head of this Canadian branch should be Bernard (Ben) E. Norrish, at that time head of the federal government's Exhibits and Publicity Bureau.⁵³ According to Peter Morris in Embattled Shadows (Montreal 1978):

This was the first government film production unit to be established anywhere in the world....Ben Norrish and Arthur Reeves [his cinematographer] were the first two film makers whose salaries were paid directly by Canadian tax payers and who worked directly for the state.⁵⁴

Norrish was wooed away from the Bureau with the promise of freer rein and creativity, and with him at the helm as Managing Director the Associated Screen News (ASN) of Canada Limited was established in July 1920, in Montreal.⁵⁵ With Beatty as

chairman, and Gibbon as a member, of the ASN Board of Directors,⁵⁶ the CPR's investment was protected and its publicity directives secure. The parent company in Long Island eventually failed while the Canadian branch thrived, largely due to Norrish's commitment to Canadian film and to Gibbon's guidance in the interest of the CPR's travel image. [Not surprisingly, by the end of the Thirties, ASN dominated Canada's film industry. The 'talkies' had marked the end of the Kinograms series but the Canadian Cameo series, through worldwide distribution, carried images of Canada to the international screen. Not only were the Cameos the first theatrical shorts with sound in Canada, but one of them--Royal Banners over Ottawa (1939), the first such Canadian film in colour--also introduced music by a Canadian composer (Howard Fogg).⁵⁷]

As George Ham got closer to retirement in 1922, his role as middleman between the CPR and the English-language press needed to be filled. Gibbon felt that his replacement should be someone who might reduce the antagonism that existed between the Toronto press and the Montreal-based railroad. When Beatty asked for suggestions, Gibbon proposed they handle it much as he and Shaughnessy had with the French-language press. As well as serving to modify English-French press relations with the CPR, he felt he needed an assistant for their publicity dealings with the various editors. Gibbon addressed the problem with, among others, Stewart Lyon of the Toronto Globe. His recommendation was that the CPR hire the former editor of the Toronto World, now the Montreal Gazette's financial editor, and the result was that J. Harry Smith was hired to manage the Canadian Pacific Press Bureau.⁵⁸

It was a memorable year for Gibbon. On a visit to Toronto on CAA business, he was entering Hart House with Pelham Edgar when the president of the University of Toronto, Sir Robert Falconer, asked if he could join them for lunch. During the

meal, he asked Gibbon if he would like to be forwarded as a candidate for the Royal Society of Canada, with Falconer as his sponsor. Gibbon readily agreed, provided he could first obtain Beatty's approval, a company policy for officials wanting to join outside organizations.⁵⁹

Back in Montreal, Beatty was surprised by the request because the honour usually went to academics and worried because it might distract Gibbon's energies away from CPR publicity. But with Gibbon's assurances to the contrary, and considering that no other CPR officer had ever achieved F.R.S.C. status and that it would reflect well on the company, he agreed to Gibbon's nomination. Falconer made good his offer, and at the annual spring meeting of 1922, Gibbon was elected a Fellow of Section II of the Royal Society of Canada.⁶⁰

Part of his obligation as a Fellow was to research and write academic papers for the Society's publication, Transactions. Being widely-read on social history and being an immigrant himself, Gibbon felt it might be valuable to determine what contributions various immigrant groups had made to Canadian life. He encountered many people of different cultures in his travels and was, therefore, constantly learning about Canada's cultural diversity. His first paper, presented to the Society at its 1923 meeting, was "European Seeds in the Canadian Garden," which considered the cultural benefits our country gained from its immigrants of Ukrainian, German, Hebrew and Icelandic descent.⁶¹ The same address was delivered a short time later to the Empire Club of Toronto, where Gibbon hoped to stir up sympathy for that city's new Canadians where little had existed before.

When Gibbon was visiting Canada from England on his summer familiarization trips, he frequently employed the services of guides to take him into the woods or up into the mountains. Guides were part of the romantic image Gibbon had of the Canadian wilderness, and they became the inspiration for song lyrics, such

as in "Canoe Song," to the tune of an old German Pilgrim song; "The Canadian Guide," to the tune of "Les Gueux" by Beranger; and "Tom Wilson," sung to the tune of "The Old Scottish Cavalier." Travelling through the wilderness on leisure trips, Gibbon felt obliged wherever he sojourned to commemorate the occasion in song, and in so doing he contributed a kind of geographic reference to Canadian songs where there had been a lack. He enjoyed fly-fishing, and Harry Allen, head of the New Brunswick Guides Association, would take him out on the Cains River, one of the tributaries of the Miramichi. The Miramichi River's rolling rhythm was naturally suited to matching music with paddling a canoe, and to mark the many excursions he made with Harry Allen Gibbon wrote "The Miramichi."⁶² He based it on a tune he had learned while studying in Germany - "Liebhalten in allen Gestalten" - which was composed by Goethe's friend and Mendelssohn's teacher, Karl Friedrich Zelter.⁶³

Other guides Gibbon befriended worked out west - Walter Nixon in the Kootenays, Jim Brewster in the Rockies, and Tom Wilson. Thomas E. Wilson (1859-1933), an ex-Northwest Mounted policeman, is credited in Canadian history as the first white man to find Lake Louise, Emerald Lake, and the Yoho Valley, 'discovered' while he was employed as a packer for the CPR.⁶⁴ Wilson had served as guide and outfitter to Major A.B. Rogers (of Rogers Pass fame) on the 1882 CPR surveys of Kicking Horse Pass, and was present for the historical 'last spike' ceremony at Craigellachie, November 7, 1885.⁶⁵ He set himself up as an outfitter in the Banff area and in the 1890s was advertising his services as "Guide to the CPR."⁶⁶ In this connection he was frequently consulted on ways to entertain tourists, and on one occasion, when the spring run-off of 1894 washed out some miles of track, Wilson's help was needed to keep stranded tourists happy at the Banff Springs Hotel. His response was to travel to the Morley Indian Reserve, where he convinced the Stoney Indians to return with him and stage a rodeo for the guests. These

Indian performances were so well received by them that the CPR arranged for Banff Indian Days to become a yearly event.⁶⁷

With Wilson's many historical connections to CPR tourism, it was only natural that Gibbon would want to meet him, and for his summer visit in 1909 he arranged for Wilson to be his guide on his first trail ride in the Canadian Rockies.⁶⁸ For the three day trip, Wilson met Gibbon and Frank Carrell, editor of the Quebec Telegraph, with horses at the Field train station. First camp was made overlooking Takakkaw Falls (higher than Niagara) and the Yoho Valley, a magnificent sight that brought a favourite old Highland Gaelic tune immediately to Gibbon's mind. On the spot he wrote "Song of the Yoho" to the tune of the Gaelic "Fear a Bhata."⁶⁹ Gibbon found the ambience of trail riding highly conducive to his hobby of writing songs.

To lie in a teepee beside the fire, resting on a mattress lined with eiderdown and supported on a layer of pine boughs seemed to create an ideal atmosphere for the conception of a song, particularly a song of the outdoors in the mountains.⁷⁰

The rest of this trip with Wilson included visiting Emerald Lake, riding the High Line Trail of the Yoho Valley to the outlet of Yoho Glacier, and returning to Field via Burgess Pass. Thanks to Wilson and the experiences of this trip, Gibbon was hooked on the Rockies and trail riding.

Trail riding also seemed to inspire Gibbon's love of elaborate practical jokes. On a 1919 trip led by guide Bill Potts, he accompanied a party of American newspapermen that included well-known sports writer, Grantland Rice, and Jack Lait, theatrical editor for the Chicago Daily News. The day before the trip commenced, Lait had to file a story with his paper before they left Calgary, writing something to the effect that he would be on the trail of mountain lions. This gave Gibbon an idea for a prank, so that when the party reached Banff he purchased a stuffed cougar head and hid it in his saddle bag. Out on the trail, he enlisted the aid of Mrs. Rice and Bill Potts; then, after Potts had propped the head up on a branch, Mrs. Rice let

out an alarming shriek and raced back to the campfire shouting about a lion lurking in the bushes. Jack Lait heroically went in after it with his revolver drawn. "Jack pulled the trigger...and the head came tumbling down the trail. Then he saw that he had been tricked, but quick as a flash he turned the tables. Stepping up to the head and kicking it, he said 'My gosh! it's a mountain lion all right - and not only dead, it's mounted!'" 71

The Rand McNally Company of Chicago handled some of the CPR's printing jobs in the early Twenties.⁷² The company's president, H.B. Clow, learned that he and Gibbon shared a love of trail riding and in 1923, told him about the spectacular scenery available to riders on the Wolverine Plateau near Tumbling Glacier in British Columbia's Kootenay Park. When Gibbon learned that Walter Nixon was familiar with the area, he arranged for Nixon to guide a CPR-sponsored riding, fishing, and camping party of fourteen up to the plateau.

The trip was a leisurely one, with trout jumping to the bait on every cast in the waters of the upper Kootenay River, but when the group reached Wolverine Plateau they divided, as some members of the party wanted to push on to Banff. Among those who chose to remain behind for another night were Gibbon, editor of Country Life in America Reginald Townsend, Chicago artist R.H. Palenske, Banff photographer Byron Harmon, Walter Nixon and a woman in his company, Madeline Turner.⁷³ That night, though it was early July, they found themselves in a blizzard and were forced by heavy snow conditions to stay put for three days.

Gibbon welcomed the period of rest. He had been musing for some time on new ways to promote the CPR's involvement in wilderness activity. The Alpine Club of Canada, which was created in 1906 by A.O. Wheeler, with the help of William Whyte and the CPR,⁷⁴ proved very popular for climbers in the Rockies. Having this kind of outdoors diversion available to CPR hotel guests increased tourism activity in the area; but not everyone

was a climber, and the time was ripe for something new for guests to do. Conversation in that snowed-in tent on the Wolverine Plateau revolved around trail riding, and on the third morning Gibbon's face lit up with the idea "to start an Order of Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies, and base the qualification for membership on buttons - Americans love buttons."⁷⁵ By riding minimum distances, members could earn progressively higher status in the Order, and a constitution could guarantee membership to anyone who had ridden at least fifty miles and who revered the beauties of Nature. The tent rang with favourable response and, with input from those present, Gibbon drafted a constitution that included the specific aims of the Order (and likely his own):

To encourage travel on horseback through the Canadian Rockies, To foster the maintenance and improvement of old trails and the building of new trails, To advocate and practice consideration for horses, and To promote the breeding of saddlehorses suitable for high altitudes, To foster good fellowship among those who visit and live in these glorious mountains, To encourage the love of outdoor life, the study and conservation of birds, wild animals and alpine flowers, To protect the forests against fire, To assist in every way possible to ensure the complete preservation of the National Parks of Canada for the use and enjoyment of the public, To create an interest in Indian customs, costumes and traditions, To encourage the preservation of historic sites as related to the fur trade and early explorers, and To cooperate with other organizations with similar aims.⁷⁶

On their return to Banff, the founders of this new Order enlisted the help of several of the locals to organize the inaugural trail ride. Gibbon, for being in a position to offer rail passes and publicity through the services of the CPR, was unanimously elected Secretary-treasurer for the organization. They all realized that it was necessary to appoint an executive of prominent people that would give credibility to the Order and provide the necessary momentum to get it started. The position of Honourary President was assumed by Dr. Charles D. Walcott, head of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C., while H.B. Clow, agreeing to be a vice-president, agreed to cement his position as a charter member by supplying all of the necessary

maps. A contribution came from the Stony Indians at Morley in the form of decorated tipis, made exclusively for the Order's camping trips, and a large 'donut' tent for inclement weather that was christened 'Sundance Lodge.'⁷⁷ Things were falling into place, and replies to Gibbon's letters poured in from all over Canada, the United States and Europe, with 206 riders promising to be in Field, B.C., on July 19, 1924, for the opening ride of the Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies.⁷⁸

40. Curry, Stephen Leacock:, p.147.
41. Ibid., p.111.
42. Madge Macbeth, Boulevard Career (Toronto 1957), p.66.
43. Louvigny de Montigny, remarks, "Tribute to a Nation Builder - an appreciation of Dr. John Murray Gibbon" (Toronto 1946) pp.9-10.
44. Gibbon, S to C, pp.112-113. The full lyrics to "Dance of the Maple Leaves" are on p.113.
45. See Gibbon, "How Bliss Carman Became Laureate," in Canadian Author and Bookman Vol.XX, No.4 (Toronto, Dec.1944), p.9. Ceremony date unavailable.
46. Gibbon, S to C., p.114.
47. Ibid.
48. Peter Morris, Embattled Shadows: (Montreal 1978), p.66.
49. Ibid., p.67.
50. Ibid., pp.67-9.
51. Ibid., p.223.
52. Ibid., p.69.
53. Ibid., p.133.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., p.323 (footnote 12).
57. Ibid., p.229.
58. Gibbon, S to C, p.124.
59. Ibid., p.125.
60. "John Murray Gibbon" obit., by Watson Kirkconnell, in Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, Vol.XLVII. (Ottawa, June 1953), p.83.
61. Gibbon, S to C, p.126.
62. Ernest MacMillan later arranged this song for Gibbon's popular songbook, Northland Songs No.2 (Toronto 1938).
63. Ibid., p.123a.
64. Many guidebooks and histories of the Canadian Rockies recount Wilson's adventures. Among them, see W.F. Lothian, A History of Canada's National Parks, 4 Vols. (Ottawa, 1976-81); and Sid Marty, A Grand and Fabulous Notion: the First Century of Canada's Parks (Toronto 1984).

CHAPTER TWO - ENDNOTES

1. B.K. Sandwell, "John Murray Gibbon - a British Novelist in Canada," in The Canadian Magazine Vol.LII, No.1 (Toronto Nov. 1918), p.600.
2. Gibbon, S to C, p.87.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.85.
5. Thomas Moore, in a note to A Canadian Boat Song (1804), quoted at length in Canadian Folk Songs (Old and New), by Gibbon (London 1927), p.viii. Also, see "Folk music inspired composition" in Encyclopedia of Music in Canada (EMC) (Toronto 1981), p.344.
6. A Canadian Boat Song by Thomas Moore, quoted by Gibbon, S to C, p.86.
7. Phil Gibbon, in conversation, Hudson, Quebec, Dec. 1987.
8. Gibbon, S to C, p.88.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p.89.
11. Joseph Chamberlain, during debate of immigration problems in England (ca.1907); quoted by Gibbon, Steel of Empire (New York 1935), p.265.
12. Gibbon, in S to C, pp.89-90.
13. Fanny Butcher, quoted by Gibbon, Ibid., p.96.
14. Ibid., pp.97-98.
15. Ibid., pp.91-92.
16. Ibid., p.92.
17. Publisher John Lane, quoted in Gibbon, Ibid., p.100.
18. Quoted from frontispiece of Drums Afar (London 1918) under the heading "By the same author."
19. Gibbon, Steel of Empire, p.381.
20. Conversation with Lord Shaughnessy, quoted by Gibbon, S to C, p.101.
21. photocopy of CPR Payroll record #114911, John Murray Gibbon files, CP Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal.
22. Sir Sidney Lee, quoted by Gibbon, S to C, p.95.
23. Gibbon, Steel of Empire, pp.374-83.

24. J.W. McConnell, letter to Lord Shaughnessy, dated 6 Dec., 1917, quoted in full in Gibbon S to C, p.103.
25. Ibid.
26. John Murray Gibbon, Drums Afar; an International Romance (London 1918), quoted S to C, p.104.
27. "Gibbon, John Murray" biography by Clara Thomas, Canadian Novelists 1920-1945 (Toronto 1946), p.50.
28. "A British Novelist in Canada" by B.K. Sandwell, in Canadian Magazine (Toronto, November 1918), p.602.
29. "October," in A Canadian Calendar by John Murray Gibbon, Ste. Anne de Bellevue, P.Q.: Canadian Bookman/Garden City Press, 1919, p.12.
30. Gibbon, S to C, p.105.
31. Gibbon, Steel of Empire, p.368.
32. Ibid. p.384. His father, Henry, was General Manager of CP's Great Lakes Steamship Service (1882-1894).
33. Gibbon's hero in Drums Afar gets a job as editor of a little magazine in London called Pen and Pencil. It is this kind of coincidental information that adds to the impression that Gibbon intended parts of his novels to be autobiographical.
34. J.M. Gibbon, extract from letter to Henri Hébert, dated August 3, 1920; quoted in S to C, p.107.
35. Ibid., p.108. Henri acknowledged his debt to Gibbon by carving a sculptural portrait of him in his studio on Montreal's Labelle Street. The bust of John Murray Gibbon (#MMFA 953.1090) is in the collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. [Source: "Highlights of the collections," Vol.6, No.2 - Henri Hébert (1884-1950) - Montreal, Sept. 1987, p.3.]
36. Ralph L. Curry, Stephen Leacock: Humorist and Humanist (Garden City, NY 1959) p.145. See also: Susan Sills, "The Role of the Canadian Authors Association with respect to the Licensing Clauses of Early Copyright Legislation and Canada's Adherence to the Berne Convention," M.A. Research Paper, I.C.S., Carleton Univ., August 1977.
37. Gibbon, S to C, p.109.
38. Gibbon, "Where Is Canadian Literature?" in The Canadian Magazine Vol.L, No.4 (Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Co. Ltd., Feb.1918), p.335.
39. Ibid., p.110.

40. Curry, Stephen Leacock:, p.147.
41. Ibid., p.111.
42. Madge Macbeth, Boulevard Career (Toronto 1957), p.66.
43. Louvigny de Montigny, remarks, "Tribute to a Nation Builder - an appreciation of Dr. John Murray Gibbon" (Toronto 1946) pp.9-10.
44. Gibbon, S to C, pp.112-113. The full lyrics to "Dance of the Maple Leaves" are on p.113.
45. See Gibbon, "How Bliss Carman Became Laureate," in Canadian Author and Bookman Vol.XX, No.4 (Toronto, Dec.1944), p.9. Ceremony date unavailable.
46. Gibbon, S to C., p.114.
47. Ibid.
48. Peter Morris, Embattled Shadows: (Montreal 1978), p.66.
49. Ibid., p.67.
50. Ibid., pp.67-9.
51. Ibid., p.223.
52. Ibid., p.69.
53. Ibid., p.133.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., p.323 (footnote 12).
57. Ibid., p.229.
58. Gibbon, S to C, p.124.
59. Ibid., p.125.
60. "John Murray Gibbon" obit., by Watson Kirkconnell, in Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, Vol.XLVII. (Ottawa, June 1953), p.83.
61. Gibbon, S to C, p.126.
62. Ernest MacMillan later arranged this song for Gibbon's popular songbook, Northland Songs No.2 (Toronto 1938).
63. Ibid., p.123a.
64. Many guidebooks and histories of the Canadian Rockies recount Wilson's adventures. Among them, see W.F. Lothian, A History of Canada's National Parks, 4 Vols. (Ottawa, 1976-81); and Sid Marty, A Grand and Fabulous Notion: the First Century of Canada's Parks (Toronto 1984).

65. Gibbon, Steel of Empire, pp.242-3, 296.
66. Hart, Selling of Canada, p.58.
67. Ibid., p.59.
68. Gibbon, S to C, p.56.
69. Ibid., p.57.
70. Ibid., p.115-16.
71. Ibid., pp.116-18.
72. Ibid., p.129.
73. Ibid., p.129-30.
74. Hart, Selling of Canada, p.91.
75. Gibbon, S to C, p.130.
76. Ibid., p.131.
77. Ibid., p.132.
78. "Trail Riders of Rockies Hold First Annual Meet," in Calgary Herald (July 22?, 1924), clipping in File 163, 'Niven, Frederick J.' Glenbow Archives #M907. Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, Calgary 1987.

Gibbon, on a Trail Ride, ca.1925. [Family collection]

CHAPTER THREE

"HARMONY AND RECREATION IN THE ROCKIES"

There never was a country so rich in material for the imaginative writer as this great northern Dominion, half high romance and half high finance...

- John Murray Gibbon, 1918.¹

It is, perhaps, not out of place at this point to consider how the promotion of tourist activities--in this instance, in the Canadian Rocky Mountains--can contribute to the tourist's overall sense of a nation's cultural identity. An aesthetic connotation, for example, applied to an historical and physical description of a place can inspire a variety of images and interpretations for the prospective tourist, and anyone reporting fresh from a favourable experience in the Canadian outdoors can be forgiven a tendency to deal in superlatives.

When anyone writes about time spent in the Canadian Rockies, their words tend to ring with a sense of having experienced something that was larger than life, yet as intimate as a breath of crisp mountain air. Something intangible about the Rockies makes any attempt to describe life in their midst incomplete unless accompanied by expansive nouns, such as magnificence, majesty and grandeur. The geological formation of the Rockies, the plants and animals and the conservation of natural habitats, are subjects that are touched on more properly in current guidebooks, park interpretation pamphlets, and hiking manuals. The purpose here, in relation to John Murray Gibbon's activities, is to consider Banff National Park's social environment as a product of tourism. How tourism developed in the park, how much effort people put into getting themselves to and experiencing the park, and what bi-products result from that interaction, are topics that concern the tourist as consumer and the national parks as tourist destinations. It is worth realizing that by

travelling to reach a travel destination the tourist has begun to consume the tourism product, and the product is not totally consumed until the tourist has reached the destination and returned from whence he started.

Events prior to the completion of the Canadian Pacific coast-to-coast railway--such as the discovery of sulphur hot springs near Siding 29 (as Banff was known) by three CPR section men exploring the woods--provide anecdotal information that suggests the early character of the region, and histories of exploration and settlement in the Rockies can be found in several published accounts. The literature on tourism history, however, is scant, surfacing mostly in reprints from early travel journals and in the very entertaining books written by such authors as E.J. Hart and Jon Whyte. Any tourism history of the Canadian Rockies, therefore, contributes to our understanding of who we are by examining what we do with our leisure time. With the abrogation of private development of the recently-discovered hot springs, the Canadian government established Canada's first national park in 1887. Rocky Mountains Park, as it was called, comprised 260 square miles of wilderness with the hot springs on Sulphur Mountain at the centre.² Though ostensibly to preserve and protect forests and game, early development in the park focussed on creating a resort that would eventually pay for itself. When the issue was debated in the House of Commons, Sir John A. MacDonald, fresh from a cross-country train trip that included a stop-over at Banff and a visit to the hot springs, spoke enthusiastically about tourist potential.

I do not suppose in any portion of the world there can be found a spot, taken altogether, which combines so many attractions and which promises in as great a degree not only large pecuniary advantage to the Dominion, but much prestige to the whole country by attracting the population, not only of this continent, but of Europe to this place. It has all the qualifications necessary to make it a great place of resort...There is beautiful scenery, there are the curative properties of the water, there is a genial climate, there is prairie sport and there is mountain

sport; and I have no doubt that it will be a great watering place.³

By 'watering place' the Prime Minister was likely thinking how Rocky Mountain Park could become an international spa where, like famous spas in Europe, the wealthy and titled of the world could come and play. The idea did not originate with MacDonald; his reasoning was probably inspired by the aspirations of then Vice-President of the CPR, W.C. Van Horne. Van Horne had plans for the CPR's operations within the park, and with visions of a hotel built in the grand manner he selected a prominent site for it on the recommendation of Tom Wilson, of Lake Louise fame. Construction had already begun by the time Macdonald was wooing Parliament with the idea of financing development of the park and in June, 1888, a three-and-a-half storey wooden structure opened to accommodate travellers drawn to the already well-known hot springs.⁴ (By 1902, enlargements were necessary to accommodate the swell of visitors, a swell that saw 5,000 people turned away for lack of lodging in 1903.⁵) Van Horne's all-encompassing vision included synonymy, between his CPR hotel and its location, in geographical reputation. Banff townsite and the Banff Springs Hotel became one-and-the-same in conversation, as if the town was built as a supplement to the hotel.

It is understandable that tourists would believe something like that, in light of the extent to which the CPR was involved in providing services for the surrounding area. Mutual accord between the railway and the federal government meant that if the government provided the facilities, the CPR would extend its services to ensure the success of the Banff area as a tourist destination. The government laid out carriage roads that connected the town (and the Banff Springs Hotel, of course) with tourist attractions in the environs. The CPR, as well as being the conveyor of tourists to the town from points east and west, contracted operators for buggy transfers and sightseeing tours in large, high-sprung, horse-drawn 'tally-ho's', each capable of carrying about a dozen passengers. The Banff Springs Hotel

started sending one of these tally-ho's to meet incoming trains because (the thinking was) any new visitor looking for the biggest and best place to stay would choose the biggest transfer coach. This kind of thinking proved correct, for by 1894, Baedeker's Guide was listing the Banff Springs as one of Canada's top hotels.⁶

One of the local citizens contracted by the CPR to arrange transportation was John Brewster, whose family operated a small dairy that supplied the hotel. The CPR recognized Brewster as a man with an eye toward satisfying tourist needs; apart from his own activities, his young sons, Bill and Jim, led guided trips for parties of fishermen. With a ten thousand dollar bank loan arranged with CPR backing, Brewster purchased the CPR's livery service in 1902, and parlayed that loan into a transportation empire that grew into the present Brewster Transport Company [purchased recently by Greyhound Bus Lines]. By fostering the growth of local businessmen the CPR enhanced its public relations image in the community, and thereby stimulated further growth in its tourism industry.

Working on the premise, as MacDonald had suggested in his aforementioned House of Commons speech, that wealthy people who frequented the great spas of Europe could be attracted to the Banff hot springs, the CPR directed its advertising at an elite clientele. It promised excellent cuisine, elegant furnishings, scenic splendour and, of course, the soothing and healing benefits of the hot springs. The class of people they wanted to attract was wealthy enough to pay the steep CPR rates of \$3.50 a day⁷, and by promising them a train journey unmatched anywhere else, spectacular views and luxury accommodation, the CPR promotions were successful. Van Horne himself oversaw the advertising campaigns before the turn of the century. As a talented amateur painter, he insisted on high quality artwork in his company's advertising. By encouraging artists he employed, and through his own art collection, Van Horne indirectly achieved

a reputation for the CPR as patron of the arts. For example, in order to have a supply of images for the Rockies advertising he commissioned artists and photographers, such as John Fraser, Lucius O'Brien, and William Notman and Son, to travel the line and return with portfolios-full of likenesses. With this kind of attention to authentic representation of the product in his advertising, Van Horne established a prevailing tourist image, albeit an upper-class one, of Canada that applied equally to the CPR.

Tom Wilson was working as a packer for the CPR in 1882. One night, he was camped near the junction of the Bow and the Pipestone Rivers (now the Lake Louise townsite) when he heard a distinct rumble, like thunder among the mountain peaks. It was a clear, cloudless sky overhead, so he asked some Stoney Indians camped nearby what the sounds were. One of them, called Edwin the Gold Seeker, replied, saying that it was the voice of a great mountain by "the Lake of Little Fishes."⁸ The next morning, Wilson persuaded Edwin to show him the lake. They climbed a thousand feet up a long forested moraine, through dense green forests "which had never known an axe" and a silence that was as yet "untouched by...man."⁹ They stepped out on the shore of a beautiful green lake ringed with eleven glacier-clad mountains; the sounds of rumbling came from avalanches. Wilson was so impressed he descended to the rivers to get his gear and returned to camp on the lake shore for three days. He called the lake Emerald when he reported back to the CPR. A short time later, he reported that while out tracking stray pack horses, he stumbled on another hidden lake which he called Green Lake. The CPR advised him that the first lake was to be officially named Lake Louise to honour the daughter of Queen Victoria, who was also the wife of the Marquis de Lorne, Governor General of Canada. Wilson could officially choose whatever he wanted to name the second lake, so he elected to call it Emerald instead of Green.¹⁰

When the CPR officials saw what a visual delight Lake

Louise was, they constructed a railway siding in the valley below the lake. A four-room wooden structure was built in 1890 on the spot where Wilson camped eight years before. It was soon to be made a forest reserve, within 51 square miles of wilderness, and named Lake Louise Reservation (eventually incorporated into Rocky Mountains Park in 1902).¹¹ Recognizing the potential of the site for tourism, the railway constructed a carriage road to link the railway siding with the chalet on the lake. Bridle paths were cut around the shore and up a mountain slope to a little tarn called Lake Agnes, where a tea house would eventually be built to accommodate the appetites of hiking and riding chalet guests. The number of guests registered at the chalet in 1893 was only 50 but by 1908, over 5,700 guests had registered.¹² The Lake Louise Chalet, after suffering a fire in 1892, had steadily improved its premises, and in 1909, its 120 rooms rented out for \$3-5. a day, American plan.¹³

The large increase over the next few years in the number of visitors to the park increased in direct proportion to the number of visitors to the Lake Louise region. As visitor numbers grew, the CPR decided that a major extension on the Chalet was in order and commissioned Walter Painter--architect of the Painter Tower on the Banff Springs Hotel and of the Cave and Basin complex surmounting the hot springs site--to design a 350-room concrete wing for the hotel. In order to facilitate the moving of construction materials up from the valley, and to provide guests easier access to the new hotel once it was finished, the company decided to build a narrow gauge tram line between the railway siding, by this time known as Laggan, and the Lake Louise Chalet. Construction on both projects began in 1912, and by the summer of 1913, with the tram shortening travel time from the station from one-and-a half hours down to twenty minutes,¹⁴ both operations were popular additions. Passenger service--up to 30 round trips daily, travelling at eight miles per hour each way, and with all trains being met at the station--ran until the first week of

October, at which time Brewster Transport would bring late season arrivals up to the Chalet by road.¹⁵ The great numbers of passengers carried by the tram in its first year of operation (1913) indicate just how popular Lake Louise, as the second major focus inside the park gates and as an excursion from Banff, was for tourists. The tram carried 350 passengers in May; 4,571 in June; 9,952 in July; 12,531 in August; and 5,158 in September, making a total of over 32,500 tourists transported between the valley and the lake.¹⁶

The Chalet experienced another devastating fire in 1924. To keep the losses to a minimum and to prepare for the 1925 season, the CPR paid top wages and hired construction crews to work through the cold winter season, partially protected from the elements by large wooden canopies. The new (and present) hotel stood nine storeys high, with 400 rooms with bath arranged so that all rooms faced onto the scenery, 210 of them (that, of course, cost slightly more to rent) exposed to the memorable view of Lake Louise and the Victoria Glacier beyond. The contractors had built with elements of France's Loire Valley chateaux in mind, a change in architectural style that gave Gibbon more promotional leverage for appealing to an elite clientele. When his advertising blitz began a scant two weeks before the official opening of the season, the word "chalet" no longer appeared in any advertising text and the new hotel was billed as "the largest and most modern chateau in the world."¹⁷ To impress the multitudes of potential guests, a publicity hand-out provided statistical information to illustrate the logistics behind opening a grand hotel, such as the fact that 350 tons of foodstuffs had to be transported from outside the park on a special train eight cars long. Perishable food supplies included 11,000 pounds of turkey, 7,000 eggs, 1,000 pounds of cabbage, 40 cases of grapefruit, 3,000 pounds of butter, 18 whole lambs and 12 whole hogs, all to feed opening day hotel guests and the 425 staff members.¹⁸

It is worth noting that, despite the CPR's efforts to turn this into a complete resort that included a hundred miles of constructed trails in the surrounding area, this hotel was meant to be looked from, not at. It was functional and comfortable, but not ornate and decorous. The lake and scenery are what are touted for visitors to feast their eyes on; consequently, the lake is more famous than the hotel, and international visitors arriving independent of the CPR are often surprised to find 'haute cuisine' and other creature comforts available by the lake. That Lake Louise has the reputation of being the most photographed lake in the world can only be second to the wonder and impression that such a hotel gave to travellers in the 'Twenties and 'Thirties.

The roads used by present-day sightseers to visit points of interest are basically those constructed as carriage roads in the decade before the turn of the century. Lake Minnewanka, for example, then known as Devil's Lake and famous as a fisherman's paradise, was one of the sights made accessible to traffic. Also at this time, the Spray River below the Banff Springs Hotel was bridged to enable sightseers to drive in a loop around the Banff environs, and the Tunnel Mountain drive past the 'hoodoo' limestone formations had an access road to Anthracite and Spray River Valleys, both popular excursions for motor tours operating out of Banff.

When the carriage roads were built, transportation was by some horse-drawn conveyance, the most popular being the high-rigged and open tally-ho's run by the CPR. Wider public use of the park, as provided by vehicle access, meant greater numbers of visitors using the services every year. As soon as they alighted from the train, tourists had a choice of going by foot, by boat on the rivers and lakes, or by horse. Apart from rented buggies or the tally-ho tours, saddle ponies hired from one of the numerous liverys proved an attraction that has never faltered despite advancements in transportation technology. Recognizing

the romantic ideal often associated with horseback riding in the Rockies, the Brewster Transport Company promoted horse travel in the area in a big way. By 1915, their operations included complete control over transportation for the mountain hotels, with numerous buildings in the Banff area catering to the adventurous tourist, 80 tally-ho's, coaches, wagons and buggies, and 146 driving horses.¹⁹

Except for a few gravelled stretches of road, most thoroughfares until around 1912 were of packed dirt. The CPR improved the road link between the railway station and the Banff Springs Hotel when they employed a steam roller and a rock crusher to lay down a surface of "rockmac," as it was called. This proved satisfactory enough that the town administration began surfacing the town streets with asphalt in 1919,²⁰ by this act acknowledging the passing of one era and the needs of a burgeoning new one. The Banff area was exposed to motor vehicle traffic at an early age. In 1904, a venturesome couple mounted their car on flanged wheels to accommodate rails and drove it from Calgary to Banff on the railway line. When word of it eventually reached Ottawa, the government responded with an Order in Council (1905) that refused access to the park for all motor cars, with three months in jail or a \$50 fine for any who broke the rule. The lure of the open road, however, drew motorists out of Calgary on ever-lengthening excursions, and where the motor car went road developments were soon to follow. By 1909, a rocky Banff Coach Road connected Banff with Calgary, and in August of that year three separate motorists rattled up Banff Avenue, where they were immediately stopped and their vehicles impounded by the North West Mounted Police.²¹ Over the next six years, steady pressure by the Calgary Auto Club gained some relaxation of park regulations. At first, drivers allowed to enter the town had to park their vehicles and leave the keys with the police until planning to leave the park. Then, following completion of the Calgary to Vermilion Pass highway in

August of 1914, motorists were allowed to drive around inside the park, but only on certain roads and not exceeding a seven m.p.h. speed limit.²²

The year 1916 was a turning point for motor touring in Banff National Park: 1,016 cars entered the park's east gates. Streets, and roads leading to the popular sights, that were previously considered adequate for horse-drawn vehicles, began to be improved and surfaced; and one memorable day at the train station, two carloads of horses were loaded for shipping at the same time as one carload of automobiles was unloaded for local delivery.²³ It was also the year that Jim Brewster imported a trainload of Baby Overland touring cars to complement the Brewster Transport Company's operations in the park. His crystal ball must have shown him how much motorized transport fit into the future of the tourist business; these cars, the first licensed automobiles for tourist use in the park,²⁴ became yet another reason for tourists to pay a visit. As well as placing the touring cars to greet incoming trains, and in another joint effort with the CPR, Brewster organized "Twenty-Four-Hour Motor Detour Tours" that carried tourists for a day of sightseeing around the Banff area, took them to the Chateau Lake Louise where they spent the night, and the next day drove them to Golden, B.C., in time to catch a westbound train.²⁵

The arrival of the automobile affected other outfitters and many followed Brewster's lead in diversifying their interests. They realized that the days of the wealthy tourist-explorer were nearly over, rolling under the wheels of the great equalizer, the automobile. They more infrequently provided services to a client who arrived by train, stayed at the Banff Springs Hotel, and hired men and horses for long excursions to visit unexplored lakes. Instead, the automobile was bringing to the park a tourist-client, likely from a middle-class background, who, if they hired guides and horses at all, had limited time and wanted to see the most country for the least money. In other words, the

automobile diminished the elitist nature of the national park as established by the CPR and heralded a new era of wilderness tourism for the average citizen. Where time and money had prevented anyone with a decided lack of either commodity from utilizing the national park, highway travel in an automobile put it within reach in less time and at less expense. Where previous visitors travelled greater distances by rail, then stayed a week or more, the new motor tourist drove up from Calgary or Red Deer, spent a few hours driving or walking around, and left. These new tourists, without perhaps realizing their effect on the local economy and pace, were setting new dimensions for tourism in Banff National Park.

The success of the park exceeded the expectations of early park administrators, especially after the advent of the automobile and the resulting tourism increase. The original intent for Banff was to house affluent park visitors there to make use of the hot springs. A fortunate few developed sites for summer homes where they could live while 'taking the waters,' but as the volume of people staying long-term in the park grew, the invitation to build and the leasing of lots had to be discontinued, establishing instead a policy that discouraged new residents. No new construction of homes was permitted in or around Banff townsite, and residents could own their houses but not the land they stood on. Municipal taxes increased every year, but not as fast as the list of people seeking resident status within the park, many of them business people and the leisurely rich.

The road between Banff and Lake Louise was completed by 1920 and it extended on into Yoho National Park. This meant that increasing numbers of motorists explored as far as the family car could take them, but the Banff hot springs continued to be the main drawing card. Of the 79,000 visitors to Banff in 1922, 49,000 'took the waters' at the Cave and Basin.²⁶ In order to accommodate the new type of tourist and service visitor needs,

both town and park administrations had to rethink their priorities. Motor roads and drives had to be extended to hook up with other B.C.-Alberta highways; more hotels and new motor hotels, or 'mo-tels,' had to be established to help the visitor to remain in the area longer; recreation facilities, such as campgrounds, the golf course at the Banff Springs Hotel, and the bathing pools at the Cave and Basin, had to be upgraded to handle the influx of visitors; more restaurants had to be created; and road maintenance crews had to be hired to ensure safe motoring within the park. (As tourism grew, so did the populations of the townsites of Banff and Lake Louise, thus creating the need for more houses, schools, and municipal services, such as hospitals, banks, and sanitation maintenance. Park developments increased as the Park Warden Service improved to match the rising human population and to ensure fire protection standards.)

Motorists gained highway access to the U.S. national parks and to the West Coast when the Banff-Windermere highway was finished in 1923. Gibbon's efforts at this time were, understandably, to develop and promote CPR development in the Rockies, inspired by his preference for this area as his own preferred summer vacation destination. As an advertising man, familiar with the effect automobiles had on urban leisure-time activities in the East, he would have been conscious of growing trends and how the company's promotional interests were affected. Being quick to recognize 'which way the wind blew' was important to one's competitive edge, and Gibbon could predict to what extent automobile travel might be utilized in the promotion of facilities for the mobile tourist. One such facility he developed along these lines was at Wapta Lake, headwaters of the Kicking Horse River. As he wrote to a friend in the summer of 1925, "remember that Wapta will be accessible by motor car next Spring from Banff and Lake Louise. A considerable amount of the revenue which Wapta will get next year will be from motor car visitors."²⁷

Adventure travel and communing with nature were not considered activities only for the rich, and North Americans took to the road almost as if to make up for lifetimes of being restricted by lack of time and money. The automobile was affordable to the average man and it provided a means of vacation-time escape, and to 93,000 American motorists in 1920, Canada had the escape destinations.²⁸ To keep their expenses down, vacationers camped along the way, and camping at the Rundle Campground near Banff proved a popular destination for this kind of tourist. From a token 73 camping permits issued there in 1917, visitors camping increased to 3,439 in 1925.²⁹ Shortly after that, Rundle became inadequate to handle the growing numbers, and a shift was made to a clearing on Tunnel Mountain, where a caretaker's cottage, a half-dozen service buildings, and 20 kitchen shelters were in place when it opened as the official Banff campground in 1928. By July of that year, the site had accommodated 685 automobiles and 2,940 campers.³⁰ The Columbia Icefields would soon be within reach after the Icefields Highway from Banff to Jasper began in 1931. Construction of this route would take all of the 1930s to complete, being carried on as an unemployment relief project. Once finished, it would become the only north-south traverse of the Rocky Mountain Chain, and in conjunction with old wagon roads through the Yellowhead Pass and backroads to the city of Edmonton, the Banff-Jasper Highway would open many of the isolated northern communities to services and tourism. It would also serve to filter travellers down to the Banff-Lake Louise area, thereby unifying the four national parks that abutt each other in the Canadian Rockies--Banff, Jasper, Yoho and Rootenay--into the largest mountain preserve of its kind in the world.

The CPR, never resting on its laurels, recognized a potential market and set up 'tent motels' where campers or motorists could stay at considerable less expense than at the company's hotels. These "bungalow camps," as they came to be

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

called, were rented on the American plan, with guests being served in a central building that also served as guest lounge and living quarters for the manager and his staff. As the precursor of modern motels, they were based on Camp Curry, a summer resort established in California's Yosemite National Park as early as 1897.³¹ Gibbon, writing to Ottawa writer Madge Macbeth in 1923, mentioned how the concept behind such a camp "has grown to be a tremendous factor in the summer resort business of California... I hope that it will some day mean a big thing for Canada also."³² Hoping to inspire others to share his interest in these camps, he asked Macbeth to visit the company's Ontario camps, once they were completed, and write some articles on them for circulation.³³ His enthusiasm was caught by J. Vernon McKenzie, then editor of Maclean's Magazine, who also wrote Macbeth with his views:

This bungalow-camp idea seems to be spreading...The idea is to democratize one's summer and to provide summer encampments or summer resorts where the ordinary Canadian may spend a few days or a few weeks without going broke.

You know that the gilded hotels in the Mountains have got to a point where practically no person can patronize them for any length of time except Americans and the very wealthy Canadians. You can't spend your holidays at Banff or other similar places for much less than \$15 a day per person. This makes it a rather expensive outing for a man, his wife and children.

In these bungalow-camps the charges will be \$5.50 per day for transients, and \$5 per day if the stay is for a week or more. This brings it down somewhere within reason. You know, of course, how much these huge, Summer hotels cost--several hundred thousand dollars--owing to the fact that they have to be built so substantially now to conform to insurance regulations. That is one reason the railways and those who cater for Summer resorts are glad to have the whole thing arranged on a different basis. I believe that a bungalow-camp accommodating fifty people can be put up for \$50,000.³⁴

Postwar operation of the CPR's camps in the Rockies was overseen by Basil Gardom, whose start with the company was in managing the Lake Louise tramway. Although the company had made similar inroads back in 1906 by setting up simple camps in the Yoho Valley and at Moraine Lake, the first postwar mountain camp went up at Wapta Lake in 1921,³⁵ anticipating motor traffic through the Kicking Horse Pass where the highway parallels the

rail line. One of Macbeth's brochures on the camps contributes to the encouraged image of isolation:

WAPTA BUNGALOW CAMP - On the shore of beautiful Wapta Lake, which lies in Yoho National Park, close to the Great Divide of the Canadian Rockies...Open (subject to road conditions) from June 15th to September 15th...Distances - Banff 50 miles, Lake Louise 8 miles...''

Bungalow camps had been built on Storm Mountain and at Moraine Lake, and to make sure they had every opportunity to get the traveller's money the CPR also set up tea houses at strategic points on the system of hiking trails around Banff and Lake Louise. The whole concept of bungalow camps, as low-cost accommodation that put the motor tourist in direct contact with other tourists, close to natural facilities for mountain climbing, trailrides, hiking and boating, was so successful that by 1929, the CPR was operating more than 18 such camps nationally, with the majority of them in the Rockies.''

Early promotion of the CPR image--in terms of the railway becoming synonymous with the scenic wonders of the country through which it passed--can be seen to have encouraged a somewhat limited perception of what constituted a Canadian cultural experience for tourists. Selling the natural beauty of the Canadian Rockies, and purveying services that catered to tourist desires to see and experience that beauty when lent an applied aesthetic evaluation, may have compounded already romantic notions of Canadian culture in the West. Regional inhabitants were attributed with a collective demeanor that bordered on the noble savage myth. Part of this myth held that naked, primitive mankind, by successfully battling the forces of nature in a potentially hostile environment, achieved an elemental purity that elevated the so-called low born to a state of nobility.''

Another view of this myth inferred that the savage, thus imbued with grace, in tune with all living things (and ultimately, a conqueror of mountain tops), existed in a state of godliness. Though the noble savage in European thinking was

primarily suggested by an image of the North American Indian, to the urban North American the title could feasibly have been awarded to anyone living by his wits in the wilderness. To the city-dweller the forest-dweller became symbolic of a state in which the lost talent of communing with nature had been rediscovered, and with 'the golden age' of the automobile in the 1920s resulting in increased mobility, the urbanite could become a ruralist for the week-end.

Whether this line of reasoning reflects the following of trends or, quite possibly, the roots of a new tradition, behavioural differences between cultures such as those suggested above formed the basis of studies made by a German ethnologist around the turn of the century. Franz Boas, in his doctrine of cultural relativism, suggested that the values and constraints of a culture need only reflect the needs of its own population and not the imposed aesthetic standards set by cultures more developed technologically.³⁹ The academic response by anthropologists to Boasian theory tempered the reading public's approach to the concept of life in the untamed West; and yet, analogies abounded comparing the concrete maze of a city's architecture, and its untold dangers lurking in the shadows, with the jungle or the primeval forest. Though the soft romantic image of noble savagery in the Canadian wilderness may have been drawn into sharper focus by a social science, the idea of adventure in nature's playground continued to capture the attention of the imaginative tourist.

Reverence for romantic ideals was further defined for a generation of readers, for example, by codes of honour and the so-called manliness of the heroes in romantic pulp novels published during the first decades of this century. In the spate of such books, which included numerous works by the still-popular Ralph Connor (Charles W. Gordon), Gibbon's own novels find their place: notably The Conquering Hero (1920) where a man, disenchanted with modern urban society, becomes a guide in the

Canadian woods; and Eyes of a Gipsy (1926). In The Bookman (December 1926), accompanied by a sketch of Gibbon by Kathleen Shackleton, an unknown reviewer raves Eyes of a Gipsy and its author.

In this adventure one of the heroes is Skookum Bill, a rough tongued desperado worthy to rank with the genial ruffians of Bret Harte at his best. The Scottish glamour about the home scenes and the sentiment move us only to wish that writers of other races would take example of Mr. Gibbon, and dress up their various forms of patriotism in as rich a gesture of wit, urbanity, picturesqueness and first class fiction.

And,

Mr. Gibbon, in the course of a story which is a long advance upon his previous novels, blends the Old World and the New together with a deftness and ease that deserve to be envied. He makes us love Canada almost as much as he does himself, and nobody has done better in the way of describing the enchanting scenery of the Canadian West.⁴⁰

Popular fiction aside, Gibbon and the CPR pandered to tourists searching for a way to commune with nature by circulating promotional booklets that wooed them with descriptive imagery of the Rockies. Herein lies a major difference between advertising in the 1920s and in the 1980s: where a current trend is to show what the product can do for you, the intention of product advertising in the 'Twenties was to project the reader/consumer into the scenario. Consider the mood of peace and isolation, bound to appeal to any city dweller eager to embrace the outdoors, created by Madge Macbeth in one of her descriptive CPR brochures:

Below us a river tumbles, its canyon strewn with trees brought down out of the forests, criss crossed and tossed and wild... Beyond that crevice we see the exquisite green end of a sequestered glen... The trees stand up like living pillars, and below them and by the trailside wild flowers flaunt and fade through the... summer....⁴¹

The language is seductive full of melancholy and natural appeal -- and it is contrived, enticing the city weary tourist to sample the wares of nature. For the 1920s, this is 'good copy,' and Gibbon must have thought so, too, as he contracted Macbeth for numerous writing assignments through to the 1940s. On one occasion he recommended his own favourite mountain lake, Lake O'Hara, as a destination for her holiday, opining that it was the

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most beautiful of all.⁴² She chose Emerald Lake, instead, but her appraisal of it was surely written with Gibbon and his artistic inclinations in mind. It most certainly appeased any annoyance he might have felt for not having his suggestions followed as he used her word picture in several brochures his publicity office produced to draw tourists to the Rockies.

Emerald Lake is one of the most exquisite spots in the Canadian Rockies. No blending of pigment, no symphony on muted strings, no lyric penned by the hand of man ever interpreted the tender harmony of that strangely peaceful region, where verdure of infinite variety dominates the landscape, offers rest to the wearied eye and suggests a pause in the flight of a winged and adventurous spirit. Emerald Lake breathes a serenity that defies description.⁴³

The appeal of this kind of advertising pitch is evidenced by the continued success of the CPR's bungalow camps until 1932, when amendments made to National Parks Building Regulations reduced the extent to which the company could operate within the parks.⁴⁴

Despite having to close the bungalow camps down, their success while they were in operation is an example of the power an institution can have over a business in which it holds a major share of the stock. The CPR put a railway through a previously untouched wilderness, then brought travellers to see what they had found there. To maintain company control over their domain, the discovery of the hot springs became a tool in the hands of the corporation. They brought travellers to see that, as well. A grand hotel was built to keep the travellers in the area longer, while at the same time helping them to divest themselves of their money. The CPR investments and interest helped create the town of Banff, and growth was encouraged in the company's name. The same applies to Lake Louise; as it became as popular as it did, the CPR cashed in on that popularity. By providing an outlet for the enlightened traveller, seeking to interact with the natural environment, the CPR encouraged the growth of automobile traffic in the parks and, through the success of their bungalow camps, turned that to profit, as well.

The tourism history of Banff National Park might have

developed on its own, but because of the amount of input by Gibbon and the CPR in protecting their initial investments--namely, the railway and the hotels--their history and the park's history are one. It is impossible to describe the growth of tourism in Banff National Park, and the developments that resulted from the appearance there by the automobile, without examining the effects on the CPR. An examination as brief as this one can only offer an overview and, perhaps, a teasing sample of the tourism potential in a marriage between a railroad and a national park.

It is fitting that the inaugural ride (1924) of the Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies began at Field, B.C., and camped its first night at the entrance to Yoho Valley, near Takakkaw Falls. For that is where Gibbon's first trail riding experience began, and it was consistent with how Gibbon operated that the group should experience what he had experienced before them. Every year thereafter, for as long as he was able to ride, Gibbon would 'test' the route before announcing the itinerary for the annual ride.

Most of the local arrangements were handled by Col. Phil. A. Moore and his wife, Pearl, who lectured off-season for the CPR throughout the U.S. and for the tourist season managed the Yoho Valley Bungalow Camp." To accommodate the great number of riders, the Moores added twenty tipis to complement the chalets and grouped them around the powwow tent the riders called the 'Sun Dance Lodge.'" A "Special Dispatch" report on the Trail Ride that appeared in the Calgary Herald was likely submitted by Gibbon or one of his assistants; the accuracy and extent of the coverage suggest this. The names and occupations of more than sixty prominent writers, photographers, artists, "and mountain enthusiasts from many branches of the world's professional and leisure classes," are listed under glowing leads, like "Members Forget Nationalities and Merge in Fellowship of Mountains.""

 

Gibbon took great care to invite people who could be counted on to spread the word about Trail Riders around the world. He recognized the novelty of this gathering, as significant to the history of the Canadian Rockies, as the first Order of mounted tourists ever formed. The concept was not unprecedented, as trail riding outfits operated in the Rockies prior to this. For example, Caroline B. Hinman of Summit, NJ, hosted "Off The Beaten Track" trail rides, beginning in 1917 in the Canadian Rockies and guided by Jimmy Simpson; and A.O. Wheeler ran Banff to Mt. Assiniboine Walking and Riding Tours in the early 'Twenties out of a permanent Banff camp.' None of these had the advertising clout that Gibbon could give the Trail Riders, however, and though organized by smaller companies none of them was guided by a constitution and specific goals such as governed the Trail Riders.

It was important to the future success of Trail Riders, and for the CPR in sponsoring the related activities, that the organization be well-publicized and that it should appeal to the romantic outdoors image popular at that time. Riders travelling out to join the Ride would take the train to the Rockies and stay in the CPR's hotels or bungalow camps before, and after, the Ride, visit local establishments in the area for meals and shopping, and otherwise boost the local economies. The benefits to local and company tourism are obvious, and by supporting various tourist venues Gibbon endeavoured to provide evidence of a cultural connection through the company's local involvement. In other words, by combining artistic endeavour with the company's tourism business efforts, Gibbon had established the roots of a corporate patronage linking tourism with culture.

Several examples of this linkage can be found in connection with the Trail Riders. First, to establish the Order's connection with local history in such a way as to provide memorable impetus for the inaugural ride, Gibbon felt that the

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historic deeds of Tom Wilson should be recognized while Wilson was still alive to enjoy the honour, thus creating what Hart calls an "historic person" [Selling, 1983, p.106] who would serve future CPR publicity purposes. Gibbon commissioned Henri Hebert, now famous for his Evangeline statue at Grand Pre, for a bronze plaque bearing Wilson's likeness and to be set into a boulder at the entrance to Yoho Valley. Meanwhile, he engaged Wilson in correspondence by asking him for his suggestions for changes to the new Order's constitution.⁵⁰ Then, to get hold of a recent photograph of Wilson, Gibbon wrote asking for one--under the auspices of it accompanying one of Wilson's stories for a newspaper syndicate but really for Hebert to copy--saying, "I should particularly like to have the one in which you are wearing a big Stetson hat."⁵¹ This image is the likeness of Wilson that appeared on the plaque.

In late May, 1924, Gibbon invited Wilson to the opening ceremonies for the Trail Ride but kept the plaque business a secret from him, and as an inducement offered to pick up the tab for his expenses.⁵² Wilson was living at this time in Enderby, B.C., where he had gone to retire. In 1920, he was Justice of the Peace in Banff when his old wanderlust resurfaced, causing him to resign the position and move out to Vancouver. But the big city proved uncomfortable and he settled in Enderby,⁵³ near the north end of the Okanagan Valley. Two weeks before the big Ride, Wilson was still reluctant to make the trip to the mountains. Probably in desperation, Gibbon wrote him explaining what the photograph had really been for, enclosing a picture of the plaster cast for the bronze and telling him about their planned surprise party for him.⁵⁴ On learning this, Wilson agreed to attend.

The unveiling ceremony involved a speech by Mary Vaux, whose family figured prominently in the history and exploration of Banff National Park and who was now married to the Trail Rider's first Honourary President, Charles D. Walcott; a song performed

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by soloist at the Banff Springs Hotel, Frances James, accompanied on a piano borrowed from the Field Y.M.C.A.; and a response, often quoted, by Tom Wilson. Said he, "I am not accustomed to extemporaneous speaking unless a cayuse has stepped upon my foot."⁵⁵ With that, the trail ride began.

This return trip to the Rockies made Wilson realize how much he missed the mountains, and from 1927 until his death in Banff in 1933, he worked for the CPR in the role of raconteur, telling tales of the Rockies to tourists at the Banff Springs Hotel. Over the years, Gibbon maintained correspondence with Wilson and used his stories in the Trail Riders Bulletin and other publications, thus maintaining the CPR's historic link with one of the last of the mountain men. At the 1934 Executive Committee meeting of the Trail Riders a fund was started to establish a memorial over Wilson's grave.⁵⁶ Likely this fund was responsible for the eventual transfer of the bronze plaque from Yoho Valley to its present location as Wilson's grave marker, located just inside the Banff cemetery gates. Gibbon's own tribute to his friend was to have his song "Tom Wilson" (sung to the tune of "The Old Scottish Cavalier") published in the Trail Riders Bulletin,⁵⁷ where it would be seen by members all over the world and inculcated into the annual Trail Ride singsongs.

A second example of the CPR's tourism-culture-patronage chain, in connection with the Trail Riders, was the evening powwow. Every evening, after the day's ride, a singsong was held around the campfire, a kind of mini-powwow in preparation for a more elaborate one held on the final night. These regular singsongs began around eight p.m., lasting two hours until the guides brought around pails of hot chocolate. Gibbon felt that these evenings did a great deal insofar as creating "good feeling between American visitors and the Canadians in whose company they camp[ed]," where closer friendships are made at the campfire than in any hotel.⁵⁸ With a knack for writing new lyrics to old songs, Gibbon parodied many popular songs that riders from

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everywhere would be familiar with, and created several songbooks that are still in use. Though of little redeeming literary value, an example from one songsheet might serve to illustrate the light-hearted and universal appeal Gibbon's trail songs have.

The Guy on the Flying Cayuse

(Tune - "The Man on the Flying Trapeze")

1.

Once I was peppy but now I'm all in,
Like an old shoe that is worn out and thin,
Last on the Trail Ride and mad with chagrin
Because of a slowgoing mare.
Oh, the mare that they offered was handsome;
When they brought her I could not refuse,
But, I wish I could lose her forever as well
As the guy on the Flying Cayuse.

chorus:

He rides on the trail like a runaway moose,
The dashing young guy on the Flying Cayuse,
His chapps are so gaudy the girls all enthuse
On the trail as he gallops away.

2.

I offer her candy and chocolate drops,
And also old brandy, whenever she stops -
She takes it, then over a deadfall she hops
This slowgoing, playful old mare.
Oh, in vain do I spur her and whip her,
She's a hide that's as tough as the deuce.
I hope she will burn in the next world as well
As the guy on the Flying Cayuse.

chorus: etc. 59

That first powwow in 1924 established the event as a popular conclusion to every annual Trail Ride thereafter. Speeches and stories interspersed the songs, and a professional elocutionist performed a poem that Bliss Carman had dedicated to the Trail Riders. According to the Calgary Herald article, there followed "a real Indian pow-wow...danced by Chief Walking-in-the-Road, and Chief Buffalo Child Long-Lance..."⁶⁰ Long Lance, the subject of a book by Donald B. Smith (1982), was the perpetrator of a great hoax. He was not an Indian at all, but a black from the southeastern U.S. who had assumed an Indian identity for the sake of self-advancement. For his many 'accomplishments'--a presidential appointment to West Point Military Academy, served with Canadian Expeditionary Forces at Vimy Ridge in World War One, sparred with boxer Jack Dempsey, starred in movies, became a best-selling author, a journalist and a New York playboy--he was

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lionized as the perfect example of the sophisticated noble savage. In the Fall of 1923, he was promoting himself as a Blackfoot chief when Gibbon hired him to write Blackfoot tales for the menus used on the transcontinental trains. When he danced after the first Trail Ride, he was part of the Publicity Department, but in the Fall of 1924, a scandal where he nearly killed the butler of a married woman he was wooing cost him his job. Gibbon would not allow any CPR employees to become embroiled in any scandals; nonetheless, the glib and handsome Long Lance would have proved an invaluable accomplice in making that first powwow a success.⁶¹

Harold Eustace Key, founder and director of Montreal's Mendelssohn Choir, soon joined the Order and led the evening singsongs on a portable harmonium. Gibbon also recruited Wilf Carter, a cowboy singer associated with the Calgary Stampede (and still active), to join the rides and entertain the Trail Riders along the way. But one of the most wonderful additions to the final powwows, and to the musical entertainment arranged by Gibbon for the Trail Riders, occurred whenever the Hart House Quartet rode into camp. The novelty of a chamber group performing in a wilderness camp surrounded by Indians, cowboys and tourists dressed in trail riding outfits, was pure genius! Though ostensibly from Toronto, the Hart House Trio--consisting of Murray Adaskin (violin), John Adaskin (cello), and Louis Crerar (piano, but in camp on harmonium)--grew out of the Banff Springs Hotel Quintet and later, as the Toronto Trio, worked for the CPR across the country for twenty years.⁶² They were frequently accompanied in these powwow performances by soprano Frances James. Gibbon, always on the lookout for talented people he could put to work promoting the CPR, 'discovered' Frances James through her sister, Bess, who worked for Gibbon in the CPR press department.⁶³ He hired Frances to sing at the Chateau Lake Louise, and is acknowledged as having launched her singing career.⁶⁴ At the time she was appearing at Trail Riders powwows,

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Page Fourteen

Sing Song at Marble Canyon

Photo by Associated Screen News

The Hart House Trio--Louis Crerar, seated at harmonium, Murray Adaskin, violin, and John Adaskin, cello--with singer Frances James, standing, center. Gibbon is seated at far right, wearing the hat. [From Trail Riders Bulletin No.37 (Montreal 1934), p.14.

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James was employed by the CPR as a concert singer. John Deacon, another singer, alternated with James in performing two weeks at the Banff Springs Hotel, then two weeks at the Chateau Lake Louise.⁶⁵ As they could not duplicate their repertoires because of the possibility of guests alternating residency at either hotel, James, in the process, developed a wide-ranging repertoire of between 400 and 500 songs.⁶⁶ Her subsequent twenty-year association with Gibbon and his CPR publicity projects is further evidence of the company's support of artistic endeavour operating in the service of tourism.

Gibbon continued to harness famous and influential people to the Order. As one member wrote,

Dr. Gibbon was very clever about interesting people to join us - many of who had never been on a horse...There was even one king! Prajadhipok of Siam, who for some reason insisted on riding backwards; facing the wrong end of the horse...⁶⁷

In 1925, a Jasper Squadron of the Trail Riders was inaugurated. A photograph of the occasion shows Gibbon pinning membership badges on Earl and Countess Haig, who just happened to be in the neighbourhood. Among those likewise invested--and surely a public acknowledgement of Gibbon's and the organization's success --was Sir Henry Thornton, President of the CNR.⁶⁸ For the members-at-large, the act of welcoming royalty and industry leaders into the Order of the Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies raised its publicity profile and added further credibility to its existence.

By constantly renewing public interest in the aims and activities of the Order, Gibbon's promotions continued to draw new members from all over the world, thereby strengthening the original mandate. So positive was the response to the concept, groups had to be broken into squadrons that would reunite at the final powwow; and in addition to the big annual ride, three and five day rides, then longer trips of eight to twenty-five days had to be arranged to meet the demands for membership. The Order swelled to 1,500 members by 1929; and in becoming such a sizeable

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force behind recreational tourism in the Rockies, it contributed to the regrowth of guiding and outfitting operations that had suffered from the arrival of the automobile.⁶⁹

Gibbon's promotional literature for the 1929 tourist season announced that the route for the annual Official Ride would head "from Banff up Healy Creek over the Simpson Pass, with a side-trip to Egypt Lakes and then via Shadow Lake and Twin Lakes over a new trail to Castle Mountain Bungalow Camp, where the PowWow will be held...."⁷⁰ This 'new trail' was one that Gibbon found in the summer of 1928 while out on a short excursion with Jim Brewster and a CPR photographer.⁷¹ Brewster wanted company on a ride to investigate mining prospect near Shadow Lake, which is situated approximately twenty miles northwest of the Banff townsite. When the trio reached the lake, Brewster wanted to follow some tree blazes a trapper had carved at one time that led, by way of an old Indian campsite, to an elevated ridge. From there, Gibbon spied the roof of a Bungalow Camp and proposed they strike out in that direction. Though no trail was marked on the map, Gibbon led them along a creek down to Twin Lakes and crossed Altrude Creek, reaching the Bungalow Camp in time for supper.⁷² So pleasant was the day's ride that the threesome felt obliged to recommend it for the 1929 Official Ride.

Within two weeks of the annual ride's completion, members of the Trail Riders Executive asked Tom Wilson to approach his friends in higher places on the Order's behalf. J.A. Jaffary, Librarian for the Alberta Provincial Library, wrote to the Geographic Board of Canada in Ottawa on August 17, 1929:

I have a request through Mr. Tom Wilson noted old timer and mountain guide at Banff, from the Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies that the pass between Shadow Lake and Twin Lakes, approximately lat. 51 09 and Long. 115 58, be named after Mr. J.M. Gibbon, Secretary and Founder of the Trail Riders....I commend this request to the Board.⁷³

The Board agreed to the proposal and wrote to Gibbon with the news. His reply was typically modest, in that he felt "very much

WILLIAM WHELAN

flattered...although Jim Brewster is just as much entitled to the name, as we went over this Pass together..."⁷⁴ Announcements were made about the naming of the Pass in both the Winnipeg Tribune and the Montreal Gazette, at the same time announcing the naming of Mt. Brewster. The newspapers say the mountain was named after Jim Brewster, "big game hunter and sportsman," but copies of the Geographic Board correspondence show that it was named after Jim's father, John.⁷⁵ The mountain was named following a request Wilson made when he wrote about the naming of Gibbon Pass.

Edward Beatty spent much of his recreation time hiking the trails in the Laurentians. With this in mind, Gibbon felt little hesitation in asking Beatty, in 1933, to be Honourary President of a new organization that was forming as a spin-off of Trail Riders.⁷⁶ The Skyline Hikers of the Canadian Rockies was Gibbon's response to all of those outdoors enthusiasts who would rather walk than ride, and by serving as Secretary-Treasurer for both Trail Riders and Skyline Hikers, he arranged for both groups to share camping equipment to keep the costs of operation down.

The first hike left Lake Louise at dawn on August 4, 1933, for a four-day trek over mountain passes and glaciers. Forty-six people⁷⁷ from all walks of life and from all over North America had signed up (many of whom were also members of Trail Riders), including Gibbon, famous climber Georgia Engelhard, wildlife artist Carl Rungius, and painter Peter Whyte, the latter two eventually becoming presidents of the organization.⁷⁸ The first day of a trek meant hiking to the foot of a pass before taking lunch, stopping for tea at the top, and arriving at a preconstructed camp in time for a hot meal. The camp gear, duffle bags and food were brought in by horse, as were professional musicians to complement the singsong beside a blazing fire. As he did for Trail Riders, Gibbon parodied popular tunes that the trekkers could now relate to, and through singing and laughing together at the campfire, international

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friendships were formed and cemented. The formulae for success were the same and so, therefore, were the results: an enthusiastic membership of several hundred friends from all over the world.

Gibbon frequently referred, in both his writings and his speeches, to the pleasure and benefits to his health he derived from camping out and from riding and hiking in the Rockies. Scrawled in the margin above a song in his memoirs--"The Shadowy Trail" (Tune - "What Ails This Heart of Mine")--he noted that "if there is any special debt that I feel to Canada, it is the debt that I owe to the trails."⁷⁹ Just as he had ridden on every annual Trail Ride since the Order was formed, Gibbon managed to participate in every hike of the Skyline Hikers, until he relinquished his Secretary-Treasurer's position to become Honourary Vice-President in 1944.⁸⁰ One of the original members was President in that year. Mrs. A.O. Wheeler, who had helped her husband run Banff to Mount Assiniboine Walking and Riding Tours before Trail Riders was even an idea, wrote:

I desire to take off my hat to our Chief, "Man-of-Many-Sides", whose fertile brain designed and carried out this annual occasion for so many years, has given such great joy and instruction to so many, and who has done so much to teach us "how to walk and where to put our feet." He has placed us under an obligation we shall never be able to repay.⁸¹

Gibbon's love of the outdoors was only exceeded by his dedication to the growth of recreational tourism as an extension of CPR publicity. In the process of fixing the company name into the visitor's impressions of the Canadian Rockies, he fostered a heightened awareness of Canada's natural beauty and encouraged peaceful communion between people of different nations. That these touristic activities provided gainful employment throughout the 'Twenties and 'Thirties--for guides, outfitters, photographers, musicians, artists, National Parks services and hotel staff--is secondary to the spirit of peaceful coexistence and the aesthetic of humanism Gibbon instilled in every visitor who shared his love for the Canadian Rockies. By promoting

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wilderness travel, the CPR contributed to population growth and community development in the West. What that meant to the rest of the country was a stronger sense of Canada as a complete land, with every part having something to offer to the whole. As Gibbon was to discover in exploring Canada's cultural network, the diversity of the various parts and their value to the national artistic community, reflected the breadth of feeling and self-worth within the light renaissance that was post-war Canada.

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CHAPTER THREE - ENDNOTES

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2. E.J. Hart, The Selling of Canada (Banff 1983), p.55.
3. Sir John A. MacDonald, speech in the House of Commons, Ottawa, 1887; quoted Ibid.
4. W.F. Lothian, A History of Canada's National Parks, Vol.III (Ottawa 1976-1981), p.22.
5. Ibid.
6. Sid Marty, A Grand and Fabulous Notion (Toronto 1984), p.69.
7. Ibid.
8. Tom Wilson, quoted in Esther Fraser's The Canadian Rockies (Edmonton 1969), p.120.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p.121. Emerald Lake is situated near the Kicking Horse River, about ten miles from Field, B.C..
11. Lothian, History of National Parks, pp.29-30.
12. Walter D. Wilcox, in a guidebook to the Lake Louise region, quoted Ibid., p.30.
13. Lothian, History, pp.27-28.
14. J. Whyte and C. Harmon, Lake Louise: (Banff 1982), p.34.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p.35. [The line ran for twenty years before the federal Department of Justice began to question the legality of its existence, and rather than jeopardize their holdings elsewhere in Banff Park the CPR closed the tram line at the end of the 1932 season. (Lothian, History, p.29).
17. Whyte and Harmon, Lake Louise:, pp.38-39.
18. Ibid., p.39.
19. Hart, The Selling of Canada, p.90.
20. Art Downs, Banff - Park for all Seasons (Surrey, B.C. 1980), p.12.
21. Ibid., p.13.
22. Ibid.
23. E.J. Hart, Diamond Hitch: (Banff 1979), p.135.
24. Ibid.

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25. Hart, Selling of Canada, p.103. [Eventually, these 'detour' trips catered to eastbound travellers, as well. In 1929, it was still a popular thing to do, and cost \$18.50, excluding meals and lodging. (Source: "Your Journey Through the Canadian Rockies" booklet, pp.28-29. File B-090, CP Archives, Montreal 1987.)]
26. Marty, A Grand and Fabulous Notion, p.110.
27. Letter, Gibbon to Madge Macbeth, August 31, 1925. "Madge Macbeth" file, page 1225, NAC (was PAC), Ottawa 1987.
28. Hart, Selling, p.101.
29. Lothian, History Vol.III, p.25.
30. Ibid.
31. Gibbon to Macbeth, Feb.22, 1923. "Madge Macbeth" file, page 840. NAC, Ottawa 1987.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., p.841.
34. J. Vernon McKenzie to Macbeth, March 6, 1923. "Madge Macbeth" file, p.843. NAC, Ottawa 1987.
35. Hart, Selling, p.103.
36. Madge Macbeth, "Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies," booklet (Montreal 1926), p.10. CP Corporate Archives, Montreal 1987.
37. "Your Journey through the Canadian Rockies," booklet. File B-090, CP Archives, Montreal 1987, passim.
38. See: Bruce G. Trigger, Native and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' Reconsidered (Montreal/Kingston: McGill/Queen's Univ. Press, 1986); Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian: Images from Columbus to the Present (New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 1978), re stereo-typing; and, Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land - The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1971), re the 'leatherstocking' heroes.
39. Bruce G. Trigger, "The Historian's Indian: Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present," in Canadian Historical Review Vol.LXVII, 3., (Toronto: U of T Press, 1986), p.323.
40. writer unknown, "Novel Notes" in The Bookman (Toronto, December 1926); from File B-090, "John Murray Gibbon," CP Corporate Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal, 1987.

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41. Madge Macbeth, "Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Rockies" (Montreal 1929), p.6; CP Corporate Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal, 1987.
42. Gibbon to Madge Macbeth, May 28, 1924; "Madge Macbeth" file, MG30 D52, Vol.3, p.1028; PAC now NAC, Ottawa 1987.
43. Madge Macbeth, "Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Rockies" (Montreal 1929), p.10; CP Corporate Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal, 1987.
44. Lothian, "Bungalow Camps" in History etc. (Ottawa 1976-81) Vol.III, p.24. See footnote 15, re hint of possible political machinery at work, as reason for closing down the camps.
45. J. Whyte & E.J. Hart, Carl Rungius: (Vancouver 1985), p.117.
46. "Trail Riders of Rockies Hold First Annual Meet," (no bi-line) in the Calgary Herald, July 19, 1924; from Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, File 163, M907 Niven, Frederick J., Calgary 1987.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. E.J. Hart, Diamond Hitch: (Banff 1979), pp.140-42.
50. Gibbon to Tom Wilson, April 10, 1924; from Wilson, Thomas E., papers, File 5, A.W753A, Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, Calgary 1987.
51. Gibbon to Wilson, May 14, 1924; Ibid.
52. Gibbon to Wilson, May 27, 1924; Ibid.
53. Hart, Diamond Hitch: (Banff 1979), p.150.
54. Gibbon to Wilson, July 3, 1924; Wilson, Thomas E., papers, file 5, A.W753A, Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, Calgary 1987.
55. Gibbon, S to C, pp.132-33.
56. Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies, Bulletin No.37 (Montreal 1934), p.6.
57. Ibid., p.15.
58. Gibbon, S to C, p.133.
59. "The Guy on the Flying Cayuse" by Gibbon, from Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies Song Sheet, 1935 (Montreal), #2; from Oliver, Wm. J., file M6344, Glenb.-Alta. Inst. Archives, Calgary 1987.

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60. "...First Annual Meet" in Calgary Herald, July 19, 1924; from Niven, Frederick, file 163, M907; Glenb.-Alta. Inst. Archives, Calgary 1987.
61. Donald B. Smith, Long Lance: The True Story of an Imposter (Toronto 1982). Also, see a recent NFB release, Long Lance, NFB #106C 186 040, 1986.
62. Gordana Lazarevich, "The Musical World of Frances James and Murray Adaskin: A Perspective of Canadian Culture," soon-to-be published MS. (Victoria 1987), p.36.
63. Ibid., pp.12-13.
64. Ibid., p.27.
65. Ibid., p.27.
66. Frances James, in conversation, University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C., Dec. 4, 1984.
67. Madge Macbeth, Over My Shoulder (Toronto 1953), pp.155-56. Gibbon, however, states that the King and Queen of Siam were excellent riders, and that they rode with Trail Riders a full one hundred miles in order to return to Siam (now Thailand) with the Order's silver button. (Gibbon, S to C, pp.136-38).
68. Trail Riders Bulletin No.5 (Oct.1925), p.13; from Carl Rungius papers, file 92, A/R942B, Glenbow-Alberta Archives, Calgary 1987.
69. Hart, Diamond Hitch., pp.144-45.
70. "Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Rockies," written by Madge Macbeth (Montreal 1929); from CP Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal 1987.
71. Though Gibbon does not name him in his memoirs, it was likely Harry Pollard who, besides being a Trail Riders member, was the CPR's official photographer for the Banff-Calgary region in the late 1920s.
72. Gibbon, S to C, p.121.
73. J.A. Jaffary to R. Douglas, Secretary, Geographic Board of Canada, Dept. of the Interior, Ottawa, August 17, 1929; from copies from Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (CPCGN) File 82-0, in the collection of Mr. Don Kines, Kanata, Ont., 1987.
74. Gibbon to R. Douglas, Oct.5, 1929; Don Kines collection, Kanata 1987. Gibbon Pass is indicated on National Topographic Systems map: D. Kines, Banff, West of Fifth Meridian. Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Mines

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'Soirées du bon vieux temps' at Montreal's Bibliotheque St. Sulpice (BN du Q) in 1919, that met with rave reviews.¹³ In the years preceding these folk music evenings, Barbeau was co-editor of the Journal of American Folklore, a member of the Royal Society of Canada, president of the American Folklore Society, and reorganizer of the Canadian Society of Folklore.¹⁴

Considering Gibbon's personal interest in French-Canadian folksong and his professional activities at this time promoting better French and English relations, it is likely that he was aware of and familiar with the work of Marius Barbeau.

It has been suggested that Barbeau inspired Gibbon and Ernest Macmillan to follow nationalistic ideals in their folklore research.¹⁵ While this might be true of Macmillan's later work in Canada, Gibbon's approach to the subject would have been influenced by earlier stimuli than was Barbeau's. This is not to suggest that Barbeau's and Macmillan's academic backgrounds were any less impressive; all three men shared the distinction of being Oxford graduates. Macmillan earned his B.Mus. there, before his eighteenth birthday,¹⁶ in the same year (1911) that Barbeau took up his position at the National Museum. As a young and impressionable scholar, he would surely have encountered the writings of Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958), especially articles on folklore that were published in The Music Student.¹⁷ Several publications on national music, notably various collections of English folksongs by Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) were in circulation at the time. Admittedly, however, Macmillan's research interests leaned more toward the classical idiom, not visibly concerned with folk music until many years later. A possible exception might be his setting for Algernon Swinburne's ode to England, submitted in 1918 to satisfy D.Mus. requirements at Oxford;¹⁸ one wonders if, and to what extent, English folk song influenced Macmillan's composition prior to meeting Barbeau.

A larger question arises as to how much the socio-cultural environment of Oxford and, on a broader scale, cultural theory in

- and Technical Surveys. Ottawa: Dept. of MTS, 1959- .
#82 0/4 W1/2: Banff. [Don Kines has hiked in the area as a member of the Skyline Hikers of the Canadian Rockies.]
75. Holmgren, in Place Names of Alberta (1976), says that Mt. Brewster, including creek and glacier, was named "for John Brewster...1st recorded visitor to the glacier," ca.1887.
 76. Gibbon, S to C, p.138.
 77. Anne Suche, "Tea at the Top," Western Living (Vancouver, July 1986), p.17+.
 78. Ibid.
 79. Gibbon, "Scot to Canadian, etc.," p.139.
 80. "Secretary-Treasurer Retires" in The SkyLine Trail No.44 (Nov.1944), p.13; from Rungius, Carl, papers, file 92, A/R942B, Glenbow-etc., 1987.
 81. Mrs. A.O. Wheeler, incoming President; Ibid., p.8.

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CHAPTER FOUR
 "MUSIC AND MULTICULTURALISM"

Dad was way, way ahead of his time with those music festivals. He was pretty much a one-man band, in a way.

- John Gibbon, in conversation, Dec. '87.

Since that day in 1907--when Gibbon's group of British editors was greeted at Quebec by the cabinet minister, Jacques Bureau, dressed only in his shirtsleeves and singing French-Canadian folksongs--Gibbon was an ardent fan of French-Canadian music and custom. When he eventually moved to Montreal, one of his first friendships was with a woman who had been a classmate at Oxford's Lady Margaret Hall with his wife, Anne. Margaret Gascoigne had founded a then-famous girl's school, The Study, on Montreal's Sherbrooke Street, but it was in her capacity as an organist and music teacher that she contributed to Gibbon's knowledge of French-Canadian folk music. She arranged accompaniments to several folksongs and suggested that he might publish them as a souvenir booklet to promote Quebec City as the bastion of tradition for French Canada.

Gascoigne must have suggested to Gibbon that an introduction to the booklet should be written by an authority on the subject. She wrote to (Charles) Marius Barbeau (1883-1969) with the full story of the proposed publication, mentioning that Gibbon had introduced her to the publisher, J.M. Dent. He expressed his desire to publish her songs in the Fall of 1919 as a giftbook, "with illustrations by a good English artist - Herbert Cole."¹ Having set the scenario, she made her request by saying she felt "that you are the one who is by far the most competent to write an introduction to such a book."²

Barbeau could hardly refuse, as the melodies for the twelve songs that comprised the booklet could be found in Ernest Gagnon's highly respected collection, Chansons populaires du Canada (Quebec 1865), a pivotal work to Barbeau's own folksong

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research, begun in 1916, along the St. Lawrence River.³ Gascoigne closed her letter with "I should like to introduce you to Mr. Gibbon,"⁴ unknowingly instigating what would become an important professional relationship between the two men. When they actually met face to face is unknown, but they engaged in correspondence shortly after Gascoigne's overture. As the booklet grew closer to becoming a reality, their letters reflect the detailed considerations that inevitably result from such a collaboration. In August of that year, for example, Gibbon wrote Barbeau that the Canadian manager for J.M. Dent and Sons had changed his mind about the style of the illustrations, thereby delaying publication until the following year because, as a result, it would surface too late to be available for the 1919 tourist trade.⁵

Meanwhile, Gibbon had persuaded Mr. B.A. Neale, the Chateau Frontenac's manager, to share sponsorship with the CPR for the publication of these French chansons. When Chansons of Old French Canada, by Margaret Gascoigne (Quebec: CPR, 1920) surfaced--with preface by Marius Barbeau, illustrations by Ethel Seath,⁶ and script by James Kennedy--surfaced, it proved highly popular with American tourists because the chansons were so unlike their own folk music.⁷ Apart from an analysis of musical style, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, the obvious differences would have been the foreign (European) flavour of the French lyrics and the exotic unfamiliar settings for the songs. The reason for going into such detail over the production of this booklet is to demonstrate Gibbon's earliest association with Barbeau for, undoubtedly, Barbeau and his folk music research eventually had considerable influence on Gibbon's own involvement in interpreting Canada's musical heritage for Canadians. Any discussion of that involvement would, therefore, be remiss without briefly examining the history of this French-Canadian who became something of a cultural hero.

Barbeau, from a rural yet erudite French-Canadian family,

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was studying law at Universite Laval when he befriended Louis St. Laurent (later Prime Minister of Canada, 1948-57).⁹ With St. Laurent's encouragement, Barbeau applied for a Rhodes scholarship. The award went to St. Laurent, who had also applied, but he declined it and the second choice, Barbeau, went gladly. In this way, Barbeau became the fourth Canadian to receive the prestigious scholarship.⁹ From 1907 to 1910, he studied anthropology and ethnology at Oriel College, Oxford, and with his diploma was hired as staff ethnologist, under Edward Sapir (1884-1939), at what would become Canada's National Museum. Although his employer wished him to devote his research time strictly to the collection of Indian lore, the famous anthropologist, Franz Boas, encouraged him at a 1914 conference to research his own folk heritage. Risking enmity from his superiors, Barbeau commenced his quest to find and preserve French-Canadian oral traditions that still survived in francophone communities across the country. In 1916, using wax cylinders and an Edison gramophone, he began recording folksongs on-site; and in time, Edward Sapir and Ernest Macmillan (1893-1973) taught him the rudiments of music notation to assist in transcribing the recordings.¹⁰

Between 1916 and 1920, Barbeau accumulated 3,000 recordings in the Charlevoix and Gaspé regions of Quebec alone.¹¹ In the course of his collecting, Barbeau met Edouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal Court House archivist, who shared his passion for folksong collecting. Together they organized a network of informants, who kept their ears open throughout the different francophone regions for versions of standard songs in the idiom, with the result that over 10,000 variations of traditional folksongs were eventually collected.¹² To instill enthusiasm for the task of collecting in other folklorists, Barbeau and friends contributed articles and research reports to the press. Then, to further popularize the folklore and folk music they had collected, Barbeau and Massicotte organized and presented

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'Soirées du bon vieux temps' at Montreal's Bibliotheque St. Sulpice (BN du Q) in 1919, that met with rave reviews.¹³ In the years preceding these folk music evenings, Barbeau was co-editor of the Journal of American Folklore, a member of the Royal Society of Canada, president of the American Folklore Society, and reorganizer of the Canadian Society of Folklore.¹⁴ Considering Gibbon's personal interest in French-Canadian folksong and his professional activities at this time promoting better French and English relations, it is likely that he was aware of and familiar with the work of Marius Barbeau.

It has been suggested that Barbeau inspired Gibbon and Ernest Macmillan to follow nationalistic ideals in their folklore research.¹⁵ While this might be true of Macmillan's later work in Canada, Gibbon's approach to the subject would have been influenced by earlier stimuli than was Barbeau's. This is not to suggest that Barbeau's and Macmillan's academic backgrounds were any less impressive; all three men shared the distinction of being Oxford graduates. Macmillan earned his B.Mus. there, before his eighteenth birthday,¹⁶ in the same year (1911) that Barbeau took up his position at the National Museum. As a young and impressionable scholar, he would surely have encountered the writings of Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958), especially articles on folklore that were published in The Music Student.¹⁷ Several publications on national music, notably various collections of English folksongs by Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) were in circulation at the time. Admittedly, however, Macmillan's research interests leaned more toward the classical idiom, not visibly concerned with folk music until many years later. A possible exception might be his setting for Algernon Swinburne's ode to England, submitted in 1918 to satisfy D.Mus. requirements at Oxford;¹⁸ one wonders if, and to what extent, English folk song influenced Macmillan's composition prior to meeting Barbeau.

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Europe had on Barbeau and Gibbon. The year following Barbeau's arrival at Oxford (1908), the "Oxford Society for the Revival of the Folk-Dance" was organized.¹⁹ Partly inspired by the establishment in 1898 of the English Folk-Song Society and partly by Cecil Sharp's then-controversial work, English Folk Song: Some Conclusions (1907),²⁰ this Oxford society reflected that university's constant involvement in the social and humanistic approaches to national self-evaluation. Although traditionally introspective, in terms of being conservative and nationalistic, Oxford presented Barbeau with contradictory schools of thought. The anthropologists in his department were essentially developmentalists, who believed that once a trove of historical information on man's cultural evolution had been mined, it could be cast aside as new developments took place. Folklore fell into this category of disposable resources, a view not shared by adherents to the contemporary (so-called) national romantic school of thought.

This school was based formally on the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803). Rousseau, especially in his "Origin of the Inequality of Man" (1755), argued for the restoration of mankind's Golden Age from where it lay buried in the past. Herder, though sharing the same concern for individualism, opined that the Golden Age lay ahead.²¹ In this regard, Herder shared a similar outlook with Oxford's developmentalists, but where they part company is in his belief that folk traditions are among a nation's greatest assets. Herder considered the collection and preservation of folklore as vital to the formation of a national art and, therefore, vital to that progressive vision of a future Golden Age.

Rousseau's views--further broadcast in his The Social Contract (1762), which in turn influenced the French Revolution and the subsequent Enlightenment--however, held more attraction for those espousing national romanticism. As McNaughton points

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out,²² though Rousseau's views proved more popular with the national romantic school of thought, several of Herder's theories were adopted, among them the importance of preserving folklore and the attending folk arts and the emphasis on cultures maintaining their linguistic individuality. Scholarship in the arts at Oxford, especially in the field of music, promoted national romanticism for England partly in response to Germanic domination of musical styles (Handel, Haydn, etc.) and partly to the prolific writings of Sharp,²³ Vaughan Williams, and others.

Another school of thought, represented by the Fabian Society, followed the concept of internationalism.²⁴ The Fabians, while agreeing in essence with the doctrines of national romanticism, considered folk music to be more universal in scope. Not only did the idiom represent the individual character of a culture, but folk music was seen as a vehicle to unite those from different cultures who employed it in mutual experience. One need only recall Gibbon's involvement with the Fabians before and after leaving Oxford, and his later efforts to unite fellow outdoors enthusiasts in singsongs around Canadian campfires, to illustrate the pervasive nature of internationalism in the lives of its disciples. It is clear from Gibbon's scholarly interests --in studying the relation between poetry and music, his early enjoyment of Scottish folksongs, and his summer school pursuits studying German folk song in Göttingen--and from his Oxford affiliations with the Pre-Raphaelites and the Fabian Society, that he was a prime candidate for spreading the doctrines of folk culture revival in the New World.

Barbeau's personal influences were people he met during summer courses in Paris. Marcel Mauss, and Raoul and Marguerite d'Harcourt, convinced him to research the folklore and musical culture of Canada's Indians;²⁵ the idea of studying his own French-Canadian culture was only due to his contact with Franz Boas in the United States. Whether or not he would have made that decision without Boas's influence is purely academic.

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Contrary to Carpenter's opinion that Barbeau greatly influenced Gibbon's nationalistic approach to folklore, it would appear that the philosophies behind the English folk revival were instilled in Gibbon before his move to Montreal from London. With an eye to the possibility of emigrating, he recognized Canada's potential cultural worth on his first visit in 1907. It is reasonably safe to assume that Gibbon brought Fabian-influenced, national/international romanticism with him to Canada, and that Barbeau, having been exposed to the same schools of thought while studying in England, could reach accord with Gibbon and his ideas to develop and promote Canada's folk arts. Together, they formed a powerful union for the transposition of the revival idea to this country.

A mutual cultural orientation bonded the two men after their involvement with Gascoigne's book. They worked together on similar projects, including a book Gibbon used as propaganda for the CPR-sponsored "Indian Days" celebrations at Banff. Barbeau's expenses were covered by the CPR, so he used the occasion to gather folklore from the Kootenay and Stony Indians, who were the subjects of the book.²⁶ The illustrations for such a book had to be visually striking in order to be popular commercially, so Gibbon had Max Enos in New York organize a meeting between Barbeau and Indian artist, W. Langdon Kihn (1898-1957).²⁷ The resulting book, Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies, published by Hugh Eayrs in 1923, contained more than a dozen of Kihn's unique and colourful Indian portraits.

During the winter of 1925-26, a wing of the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec City was destroyed by fire. Part of the loss included the "Chambre canadienne," a room set up like one might find inside an old habitant home. Gibbon took charge of restoring the room once the new wing was rebuilt, and in the interest of historical accuracy wrote to Barbeau for photographs of similar interiors to use as visual guides.²⁸ Barbeau's three-page reply was typical of his thoroughness. In addition to the

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photographs, he gave the names of friends and acquaintances made during his folklore-collecting activities. These included the names of good textile weavers, all of whom lived on Ile d'Orleans. "Madame Lachance makes rough linen from home-grown flax...Mr. [Arthur] Lismer thought it would make a splendid cover for the walls in an Art Gallery, which would never fade."²⁹ Not only do these letters fascinate with the accounts of folk arts that were still being practiced, but they provide insightful glimpses of the activities of contemporary Canadian artists, captured in the documentation of an observant ethnologist. Barbeau continued his account, indicating how a Madame Cimon, of Baie St.-Paul, Co. Charlevoix, made the best homespun for decoration purposes. "Clarence Gagnon and [A.Y.] Jackson have helped her improve her colours and shades, with the result that her work is of most remarkable quality."³⁰

When the time came in 1926 to publicize the opening of the Chateau's new wing, Gibbon invited leading newspapermen from Chicago, Toronto, Philadelphia, Montreal, Boston, and New York to dinner at the Chateau Frontenac. He felt it would be appropriate to entertain them with French-Canadian folksongs, and phoned Jacques Cartier, manager of C.K.A.C., Canada's first French radio station,³¹ for a suggestion of who was the best folksinger around. Cartier said that Charles Marchand was, and arranged for Marchand to visit Gibbon at his office. Marchand, however, was not inclined to accept Gibbon's offer on the grounds that city-folk tended to patronize French-Canadian folksong, sneering at it as "habitant stuff, peasant stuff."³² It would have been easier to simply find another singer, but Gibbon wanted the best. He wrote several translations of Marchand's songs "in plain, colloquial English, and following so far as I could the sound of the French,"³³ until he had material that Marchand agreed to do.

Charles Marchand (1890-1930) was a civil servant in Hull and studying voice in Montreal when he began performing at benefit concerts in the Ottawa area. A turning point in his career came

WILLIAM L. BENTLEY

in 1919, when he attended a Loraine Wyman concert at one of the 'Soirées du bon vieux temps' organized by Barbeau and Massicotte, in Montreal. Inspired, he quit the civil service, moved to Montreal, and devoted himself to Canadian folk music. Composer Oscar O'Brien wrote original material for him and his popularity grew - through recordings, and tours of eastern Canada and the U.S. he made with a vocal quartet he founded, Le Carillon canadien. He was near the height of his singing career when he and Gibbon met.³⁴

Marchand was a hit at the newspapermen's dinner party. Fred Jacobs, of the Toronto Mail and Empire, cornered Gibbon afterward to say that if Ontario people could hear those folksongs, there would be more accord between the two provinces. Jacobs encouraged Gibbon to publish a book of similar translations, which he did. With translations to accompany Marchand's thirty most successful songs, and arrangements by Oscar O'Brien and Geoffrey O'Hara, Gibbon convinced London publisher J.M. Dent and Sons to issue Canadian Folk Songs (Old and New) in 1927.³⁵ With decorations by Frank H. Johnston (1888-1949),³⁶ the songbook is largely comprised of songs found in Gagnon's Chansons Populaire du Canada (1865), plus folksongs collected by Joseph Levac, Marius Barbeau, Oscar O'Brien, E.-Z. Massicotte, and Charles Marchand.³⁷ The book is dedicated to Charles Marchand, and as an acknowledgement of their first meeting, Gibbon states in his preface that the idea of translating the French into English "was with the object of creating a better understanding of the French-Canadian character among English-speaking peoples."³⁸ He made his translations in such a way "that gatherings of French and English people might wish to sing these songs together, each using their own language..."³⁹ If the drift of these words hints at a Fabian revivalist lurking in the wings, then perhaps his final sentence to the preface will remove any doubt:

How pleasant it would be to think that the musical currents which separated in Europe should once more reunite after many hundred years in Canada!⁴⁰

WILLIAM CHILDS

In the first days of 1927, the General Manager of CP Hotels expressed his desire to Gibbon for an early spring festivity of some kind to launch the tourist season at the Chateau Frontenac. Gibbon must have caught his breath. Memories must have washed over him--of the Holt Renfrew exhibit of spinners and weavers he saw in the Chateau's lobby nearly twenty years before, of folk music performances likely seen in England prior to moving to Canada, of Barbeau and his vast collection of folklore, of fiddlers, dancers, and Charles Marchand singing old habitant songs--as he suggested they hold a four-day Folksong Festival, complete with all the trimmings. Such a festival would be a publicity agent's dream, especially for someone as culturally motivated as was Gibbon. McNaughton (1982) argues that because of the nature of his profession, because of his exposure to national romanticism as a young man, and because the literary circles in which he moved tended to treat French Canada with superficial regard, "Gibbon chose to popularize a romantic vision of French-Canadian folklore."⁴¹ So it would seem. But if this was entirely the case, would Barbeau, who provided pages of resources to help Gibbon authentically reproduce a period room, or Marchand, who would not sing translations of French-Canadian folksongs unless they properly interpreted the meaning, compromise their standards to support him? Or is it that Barbeau and Marchand also chose to promote a romantic image? Though not entirely altruistic, Gibbon's motives appear to be based on his belief that with this spring festival, he could contribute the possibility of Canada's experiencing a folk revival similar to England's.

With little time for marvelling at how this plum fell into his lap, Gibbon realized he would need the assistance of a good resource person if this festival idea was to become a reality. In his memoirs, he recounts how he arranged for Barbeau to aid him in organizing the first Quebec festival. Yet, the question of who initiated the first Quebec festivals has been addressed

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with mixed conclusions by various scholars writing histories of music in Canada.

In his landmark text on Twentieth century Canadian music (Toronto 1980), George Proctor stated that "Barbeau's colleague in these enterprises was John Murray Gibbon."⁴² On the heels of this publication came the long-awaited volume, Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, in which a reference to the festivals mentions "J.M. Gibbon, who, in collaboration with Barbeau,"⁴³ leaving it to a separate entry on Gibbon to describe his more immediate involvement.⁴⁴ Somehow, in Canada 1922-1939 (Toronto 1985), authors John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager drew the erroneous conclusion that Barbeau was the instigator of the first two CPR festivals, demoting Gibbon to a supportive role by saying that Barbeau, "assisted by John Murray Gibbon," made the financial arrangements with the CPR.⁴⁵ Thompson and Seager cite Proctor, but their assumption is misleading and incorrect. Barbeau's words refute theirs, as in Music in Canada (Toronto 1955) when he recalls that "an opportunity...occurred...when...Gibbon asked me to organize with him...a Festival of Folk Songs."⁴⁶ That there can be no doubt of this, consider the letter that the head of the Victoria National Museum (later the National Museum), Dr. W.H. Collins, received from Gibbon saying, "In order to do this [festival] properly, it would be a great assistance to us if we could have the cooperation of Dr. C. Marius Barbeau, of your Department (etc.)."⁴⁷ Finally, Collins in reply to Gibbon writes that "Dr. Barbeau expresses his willingness to assist you" and that "Dr. Barbeau's services will be free," with the CPR covering his travelling and other expenses.⁴⁸ Hopefully, these quotations clarify the official pecking order in terms of who guided the festivals to fruition.

Gibbon and Barbeau must have met at this point to discuss the goals of the festival, because there is little correspondence pertaining to this stage of the planning. They probably met in Ottawa, as Gibbon was able to move around more freely. One of

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Barbeau's first suggestion was to include interested Toronto musicians, especially those connected with the Toronto Conservatory of Music, with whose help the festival concept could be expanded to become a national movement.⁴⁹ By agreeing to this idea, the two men acknowledged their mutual goal of promoting this folksong festival as part of a national folk revival and not merely as an end in itself. In the sense that universal brotherhood begins at home, both men recognized that greater harmony between English and French Canada could be achieved by successfully staging such a festival. With that thought in mind Gibbon would have looked like a personification of purposeful industry over the next few months as he travelled, wined and dined for the sake of promoting the event. Without the full support of the CPR, the festival would never have reached the breadth and scale that it ultimately did, but so favourable was the general response, wherever Gibbon presented the idea, that it is little wonder it succeeded.

Gibbon recognized that the bulk of visitors to the four-day festival would be upper middle-class tourists from the major cities within reach by train travel. One such city, whose inhabitants patronized unusual cultural events, was New York. In an interview for The Musical Digest, Gibbon got the editor, Pierre Key, to pledge his personal support.⁵⁰ One of the players in New York's popular Arthur Hartmann Quartet, Mitya Stilman, wrote some arrangements of French-Canadian melodies that Gibbon felt he could 'borrow' for the Hart House Quartet to use at Quebec.⁵¹ Another in that city suggested that Gibbon should "advertise this Festival as under the auspices of some Music Association. Mr. Beatty happens to be the Honorary President of a Society known as the Society for the Advancement of Music in Canada, of which Vincent Massey is the President."⁵² In the same letter, Gibbon advised that the CPR Press Bureau chief, J. Harry Smith, was going to Toronto that same evening to "personally call on Ernest Macmillan, and also try to interest people like

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Augustus Bridle, who can do a whole lot to get Toronto musical people to Quebec."''

Gibbon liked to keep Barbeau informed about his activities and ideas as they occurred to him. Writing to Barbeau the day before the letter quoted above, he addressed his concern over the effective use of rail services from the eastern seaboard to Quebec.

I found that it would be advisable to postpone the Festival from May 13th to May 20th, as the summer tour reduced rates [sic] do not come into effect till May 15th, and this means a substantial difference over American Lines. Mr. F.R. Perry, our New York General Agent, said he thought he could get good crowds from New York and Boston if the date were changed... This would fit in with our advertising better and would give a little more time for the organization."''

It would be a good move for Canadians, as well. Gibbon likely realized that running the festival closer to the traditional May 24th celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday could mean more anglophone visitors. The date for French-Canadians marks the death of a revered early settler killed by Iroquois, but if the intention was to provide an opportunity for the English to see the French 'at home,' then Gibbon's purpose would have been to accommodate tourists from outside of Quebec. His response to 'the New York suggestion', that the festival be sponsored by a well-known society or institution, was to seek the National Museum's permission to use their name in advertising, a publicity ploy that would lend credibility to the endeavour.

Permission was not difficult to obtain, what with Barbeau and items from the museums collection figuring so prominently in the presentations, and it was agreed that all festival literature and programs would carry the words, "Under the auspices of the National Museum of Canada," on the front cover."'' With this accomplished, Gibbon could extend his publicity ideas even further. He decided to film the spinners and weavers at work on their looms, and use the footage as background support for lectures and performances presented to publicize the upcoming folk event. One performance where the film was utilized was a

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concert, April 10, 1927, by Juliette Gauthier at New York City's Town Hall, for which Gibbon underwrote the costs as part of his promotions budget.⁶⁶ Gauthier, originally from Ottawa, had studied operatic voice in Europe, but after a brief stint with the Boston Opera, she turned her interests to the full-time study of native folklore. She learned various Inuit and Indian dialects in order to sing their music, and worked as a performer in New York City.⁶⁷ The fact that she could survive there as a folk performer in the 1920s certainly indicates that New Yorkers were a prime target audience at which to aim promotions for the Quebec festival. Gibbon had interviewed Gauthier during his visit to New York that February, 1927, at which time the nationalistic Gauthier advised Gibbon to use entirely Canadian talent. This meant eliminating the American singer, Lorraine Wyman, despite the powerful affect she had on Charles Marchand in her 1919 Montreal concert. Gauthier also suggested Ernest Macmillan as a good choice for arranger of festival music,⁶⁸ echoing Barbeau's earlier opinion that certain Toronto musicians should have a hand in it.

The Town Hall was packed the night of Gauthier's performance with, noted one reporter,⁶⁹ such celebrities present as Edward Johnson (1889-1951).⁷⁰ The Arctic explorer, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who had collected some of the music Gauthier was singing, was Master of Ceremonies. Gauthier sang three different song sets, the first two of Eskimo and Nootka origins, in front of stage settings designed by Wm. Langdon Kihn. Then, while she changed costumes for the third, French-Canadian section, Gibbon's film footage of Quebecois weavers was shown on a screen. The lights came back up to show Gauthier sitting at a spinning wheel as she sang habitant work songs in marked contrast to the previous sets. Not only was there an aesthetic risk involved by her performing with only a drum accompaniment for the native songs and a *viole d'amour* for the French-Canadian songs,⁷¹ but in sponsoring this concert, Gibbon took a

WILLIAM W. WILSON

calculated risk in testing public response to, and audience acceptance of, this kind of music. Had the evening not been well received, he would have had to make changes to the proposed Quebec shows because the bulk of his audiences would be coming from the urban centres.

The success of the Town Hall concert launched Gibbon's next promotional gambit, the All Expense Tours by rail from Montreal to Quebec. Additional fares were tacked onto a package price for travellers coming from the cities (represented at the newspapermen's dinner he organized the previous Fall) of Toronto, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and New York. The All Expense Tour brochure describes a package deal that, for \$39.50, included train fare, Montreal to Quebec return; a room for two nights at the Chateau Frontenac, based on double occupancy; meals; and tickets to five major concerts at the festival.²² The brochure announced for the first time the performers that the two organizers had lined up for the festival. Harold Eustace Key was billed as the overall director of music and, in addition to Gaulthier and Marchand, the promised principal guest artists were Ernest Macmillan, Healey Willan, the Hart House Quartet, Jeanne Dusseau, J. Campbell McInnes, and Rodolphe Plamondon.²³

Gibbon left it to Barbeau to arrange for the amateurs, the workers and folklorists who would be performing their rich repertoires from the French-Canadian oral tradition, in the belief that Barbeau would have a better idea, of who did what the best, from his years collecting folklore throughout the province of Quebec. Gibbon took responsibility for organizing those performers who had professional performance backgrounds. As a scholar and musicologist, his research into the origins of folk music had been thorough, and this knowledge came frequently into play as he was required to make aesthetic judgement and managerial decisions for the sake of the festival's success. In the case of the Montreal-born tenor, Rodolphe Plamondon, Gibbon wished to demonstrate to the anticipated anglophone audiences

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

that some of the French-Canadian folksongs, especially the 'Estampie,' or Troubadour dance songs, had historical roots in the Middle Ages. The following quote concerns Plamondon, and though somewhat lengthy, it serves to illustrate several things, namely Gibbon's expertise on the historical significance of the folk genre, his management skills in the festival's direction, his ability to give credit where it was due, and an abiding concern for the welfare of those who won his respect.

Harold Eustace Key arranged a musical evening for some of us last night, at which Rodolphe Plamondon sang for nearly an hour. He is certainly a great artist. I found that he was familiar with some of the Troubadour songs, and it occurs to me that we could strike a very interesting note if we began our Friday concert with a group of those songs, introducing "L'Hirondelle, Messenger de l'amour" as an instance of a case where there appeared to be traces of a survival. We may have to pay Plamondon a little more than my original bargain if he has to sing twice, but this would give a sort of 'cachet' to the professional concert element, which I think would impress the highbrows. The songs I heard him sing yesterday were harmonized by Gustave Michels, and are extraordinarily fine. Plamondon has been feeling rather out of the picture in Canada after his success in Europe, and I believe this opportunity of showing what he can do would give him a new spirit."

Gibbon designed the promotional booklet that the CPR distributed as part of the advance publicity. His idea was to rely heavily on photographs of carvers, weavers, fishermen, spinners, Gaspé folksingers and craftworkers, augmented by an easy-to-read historical text and interspersed with musical notation from selected songs. His national romantic school thinking is apparent from the start, though, as he opens with a Shakespeare quotation from Twelfth Night about an "old and plain" song, chanted by knitters and spinsters "with the innocence of love/Like the old age." The tone of the descriptive text is melancholy, as if reminiscent of the good old days when life was simple and, though the work was hard, things were supposedly more easy-going. At least, that is the sentiment the text suggests, and in this manner Gibbon cleverly appeals to the primitivist ideal. The idea of a past Golden Age would appeal to urban workers oppressed by the humdrum hectic pace of modern city life, and in hinting at a possible return, albeit temporary, to the

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scene of a comparatively care-free yesteryear, Gibbon appears to have been capitalizing on the alienation supposedly felt by modern society. But it is only appearance, for although such a motive falls within standard publicity practice, Gibbon presented the festival in a romantic light because that is how he personally viewed it.

The textual information for subsequent festival booklets was largely the work of two copywriters who worked for the company--Patrick Manley and E.R. "Sandy" McGill--with final approval coming from Gibbon." Designed by Gibbon's old friend, artist Charles W. Simpson," these booklets were often elaborate affairs, thirty-two pages long in the case of the first festival. They preceded highly-informative programs that were distributed every day of the festival, giving details on the concerts, artists and performers, what to see and do, and with both French and English lyrics to many of the songs. An examination of the 1927 festival highlights outlined in the annotated general program reveals performances of a fully choral High Mass at the Basilica at Quebec, featuring the 40-voice boys choir, La Petite Mîtrise de Notre-Dame; the Hurons of Lorette, singing songs taught to their tribes by seventeenth century Jesuits; an extensive exhibit of French-Canadian handicrafts; representative figurines by Alfred Laliberté, wood carvings by Louis Jobin, and a selection of paintings of Quebec chosen by Eric Browne and organized by the National Gallery of Canada. The latter consisted of numerous works by artists Clarence Gagnon, Edwin H. Holgate, A.Y. Jackson, Arthur Lismer, Kathleen Morris, Albert H. Robinson, A. deFoy Suzor-Coté, Horatio Walker, Cornelius Krieghoff, Sarah Robertson, and H. Mabel May." As well, numerous other performing artists had been added to the preliminary list provided for the All Expenses Tour.

There were five major concerts in this first festival, presented in the ball room of the Chateau Frontenac, with the first one featuring Rodolphe Plamondon and his Troubadour songs,

WILLIAM WILSON

and Juliette Gauthier; the second one, the Bty that folk music was able to provide between the two cultures.

A further example, of an inter-cultural relationship developing in connection with the first Quebec festival, concerns Ernest Macmillan. In a review he wrote of Folk Songs of French Canada,⁶⁹ by Marius Barbeau and Edward Sapir (New Haven, Conn. 1925), Macmillan acknowledged that two songs in their book really appealed to him. Gibbon, in response to the review, asked Macmillan to arrange "Notre Seigneur en pauvre" and "A Saint-Malo" for the 1927 festival. The resulting Two Sketches for Strings had its first performance there, and from its extreme popularity Macmillan drew inspiration to arrange other folksongs, many of which were later included in Canadian school song books.⁷⁰ The 1927 festival in Quebec, therefore, served as a focal point for the trio--Gibbon, Barbeau and Macmillan--in their individual reactions to whatever folk revival influence they may have felt during their Oxford years.

The success of the festival paved the way for all subsequent festivals Gibbon organized. His career with CPR was nearing the half-way point, and to match their regard for him the company raised his pay in 1927 to \$900. per month.⁷¹ From 1927 to 1931, Gibbon justified the payraise even more by organizing a string of sixteen (known) festivals across Canada.⁷² While an in-depth examination of every festival would exceed the limitations of this study, a partial list of the various festival programs and literature by year is offered [see Appendix II], and examples of noteworthy accomplishments directly pertaining to Gibbon and his other festivals should be recognized in the remainder of this chapter.

Edward Beatty, both to acknowledge the cultural success of the 1927 Quebec folk festival and in response to a suggestion offered by Milton Blackstone of the Hart House Quartet, offered \$3,000 in prize money for the best vocal and orchestral compositions, based on French-Canadian folk music, to surface

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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before the next year's festival. By this act, Beatty launched a 1928 sequel to the 1927 event, and reinforced the CPR's increasing reputation as a corporate patron of the arts in Canada. Gibbon continued to hold Beatty in high regard:

I always thought of him as Canada's Public Citizen Number One. He was not particularly interested in music as such, but he saw that we were creating a better mutual understanding between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians.'3

With another Quebec festival to look forward to, Gibbon was delighted when the same General Manager of CP Hotels asked him for ideas to keep tourists in the Banff Springs Hotel over the Labour Day week-end. Music as a drawing card worked so well for the Chateau Frontenac that when Gibbon suggested a Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival be staged at Banff, the General Manager readily agreed.

As a boy in Aberdeen, Gibbon attended the Highland Games at nearby Braemar, so he knew what activities needed to be arranged. He was thrilled by the prospect of developing a Scottish Festival in the environs of his beloved Rocky Mountains, and set right to work. He arranged two concerts of music, from the opening of the first to the closing of the second, set in historical sequence. Beginning with Lowland Scottish and Gaelic ballads from the thirteenth century and finishing with a song group from the era of Mary, Queen of Scots, meant that the games, Highland dancing, and bagpiping competitions were accurately 'framed' within historical roots represented in the music. To perform in the concerts, Gibbon could draw on the vocal support of Quebec Scots, J. Campbell McInnes and Jeanne Dusseau (nee Ruth Thom), as well as Finlay Campbell from the Maritimes and a Hebridean choir, who sang Gaelic songs, from Alberta. (The latter were 'discovered' by Gibbon, most of them working in the Banff Springs Hotel as maids.)'4 In addition to the above, the advance booklet promised performances by David Thomson, Scottish baritone and director of Grace Church Choir, Winnipeg; Winnipeg's Ruth Matheson; Gaelic tenor, Norman Cameron; and the Canadian Pacific Calgary Male

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Voice Choir.

The booklet follows much the same format as the Quebec festival issue. Also thirty-two pages in length, this one opens with an appropriate quote, this time in Scots Gaelic, and one of Gibbon's historical essays; photographs or song excerpts appear on every page. Included are the Banff Gathering's rules governing the Highland Dress (for Men only), Bagpipe Music, and Highland Dancing competitions. The bagpipe competition is noteworthy for the attention given to the *Piobreachd* category (also written as 'piobroch,' from the Scots-Gaelic 'piobaireachd,' meaning "pipe-music"),'' a type of mournful music requiring considerable mastery of the instrument. A statement in the competition rules demonstrates a rather condescending example of a lingering and alienating British self-image:

Judges will be understood to give due consideration to the conditions under which piping is pursued on this side of the Atlantic, i.e., the high standard possible in Scotland will not be expected.''

The standard of piping would have been high, however, as the only entrants eligible had to be the best regimental pipers from every Highland Regiment in Canada. One of the judges was the archivist for the Ontario government, Colonel Alexander Fraser; and a silver cup and prizes were offered by Edward Beatty. Because of the response from Canada's Scottish community to the affair, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales agreed to act as official patron of the Gathering,''' and this helped to draw seventeen regimental pipers into competition.'''

The Highland Games--including such events as throwing the hammer, tossing the caber, and the tug of war--were held on the flat field beside the hotel. Then, at night inside the hotel, concerts celebrated Gaelic traditional music and the songs of such Scottish bards as Robert Burns, who Gibbon acknowledged "as my master in the school of songwriting."'' Also, to add to the swirl of colour and pageantry for the three-day festival, Gibbon arranged with author Duncan Campbell Scott (then Canada's Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs) for a large group of Peigan and Stony

WILLIAM W. WILSON

Indians from neighbouring reserves to stage their own traditional songs and dances.

Another popular writer of the time, who gave Gibbon his assistance, was Ralph Connor; in his real life persona as the Rev. C.W. Gordon (1860-1937), he conducted an open-air service from a raft floating on the lake in Sundance Canyon, thereby relying on the natural acoustics for amplification. Although Gibbon never went to church himself,⁸⁰ he recognized the historical importance of including a religious observance in the program. Gordon wrote to Beatty about it that same day:

Scotland's history and tradition without Religion in it would be Hamlet with Hamlet dismissed from the stage...The unseen moving and directing spirit behind it all deserves the full credit [referring to Gibbon, not God]...but very specially for the conception of the whole Festival as a united thing. To my mind, Mr. Murray Gibbon has achieved a notable thing⁸¹ in Canada, and has initiated a thing that will not die.

The Banff Highland Gatherings became the hub of the national festivals for five consecutive years, and by recognizing the contributions of a different cultural group from that celebrated at the Quebec festival, Gibbon's second decisive and successful step in uncovering Canada's untapped cultural music resources ensured a period of national interest in ethnic festivals. Because of the nature of success, successive events had to seem even greater simply to meet with general expectations. Expenses for the second Quebec festival in 1928, however, had to be kept down despite such pressure. As Gibbon wrote Barbeau, "if we exceed our appropriation to any thing like the extent that we did last year, this will mean the end of our Festivals."⁸² Cost was obviously a chief concern for him then, for two days later Gibbon wrote again, this time to express his opinion that Barbeau had agreed to pay Juliette Gauthier too much money, and that they might have to cut acts from the line-up to stay under budget.⁸³

Despite financial worries, Gibbon's productive mind kept conceiving new thrills for festival audiences. To continue with the popular Troubadour music tradition, he contacted Jean Beck at the University of Pennsylvania, and with his assistance, revived

CANLION DIVISION

and staged the thirteenth century pastoral play, Le Jeu de Robin et Marion,⁴⁴ by Adam de la Halle. Heavily involved with the production was Canadian-born Wilfred Pelletier, then conductor of New York's Metropolitan Opera, who provided scenery and costumes, wrote an overture for it, and conducted the orchestra during performances. The play's presentation at Quebec was significant for being only its third performance since the Middle Ages.⁴⁵ The cast members, mostly Canadian opera stars working in the U.S.--Rodolphe Plamondon, Armand Tokatyan, Cédia Brault, Pierre Pelletier, Ulysse Paquin and Genevieve Davis--performed to a modernized French text prepared by Montreal poet, Paul Morin.⁴⁶

Another festival highlight arose from Gibbon's involvement in erecting the Evangeline statue at Grand Pré. To extend awareness of Acadian history, Gibbon asked Healey Willan to arrange and orchestrate music, to accompany a libretto written by Louvigny de Montigny, for a ballad opera called "L'Ordre de Bon-Temps." Gibbon wrote a reconstruction of the opera in Elizabethan English. Loosely based on Champlain's society of good cheer, founded at Port Royal in 1606, the opera uses period folksongs to tell the story of how they enjoyed good food and fellowship despite the bitter winter weather.⁴⁷ Scenery designs were by Arthur Lismer, based on C.W. Jefferys' famous painting, The Order of Good Cheer, with Jefferys himself looking after costumes.⁴⁸

Under the official patronage of the Governor General and Lady Willingdon, visitors to this festival also witnessed the presentation of award-winning compositions in the E.W. Beatty Competition for Folk Song Compositions. The five judges were Achilles Fortier (Montreal), Paul Vidal (Paris), Eric De Lamarter (Chicago), and Ralph Vaughan Williams and Sir Hugh Allan (London). The winners were Arthur Cleland Lloyd (Vancouver), George Bowles (Winnipeg), Ernest Macmillan (Toronto), Claude Champagne, Irvin Cooper, and Alfred E. Whitehead (Montreal), with several others receiving honourable mention.⁴⁹

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Once again, art works chosen by the National Gallery were on display, illustrating French-Canadian scenery and folk life. Included were works by Andre Bieler, F.S. Coburn, Maurice Cullen, Clarence Gagnon, Adrien Hebert, Henri Hebert, Randolph S. Hewton, Edwin Holgate, A.Y. Jackson, Arthur Lismer, H. Mabel May, Kathlee. M. Morris, George Pepper, Robert Pilot, Sarah M. Robertson, Albert H. Robinson, Annie D. Savage, Charles W. Simpson, A. deFoy Suzor-Cote, Horatio Walker, and numerous others. The extent to which displayed art became a part of this festival was due to the National Gallery and the Public Archives of Canada sharing sponsorship of the festival with the National Museum.''

A New Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival began three weeks later (June 19-23) in Winnipeg, based at the CPR's Royal Alexandra Hotel. Established "to promote more mutual understanding among immigrants on the prairies,"'' the preparations for it were largely handled by the CPR's Immigration and Colonization Department in Winnipeg. Aimed at introducing the folk arts of recent European immigrants to British Canadians, the festival featured over 400 performers representing 19 different nationalities.''' In April, on a trip to Winnipeg, Gibbon learned that there were no Germans in the show. A group of Schwarzwalders had recently moved into the nearby village of Little Britain, where a spokesman for the group told him they could not perform without their Black Forest costumes, left behind in Freiburg. Gibbon got them to agree to take part if he could arrange to get costumes for them from Germany. How these Germans were then assimilated into Winnipeg's multiracial community, a concern because memories of the war were still fairly fresh, transpired in a moment of pure slapstick.

The Black Forest costumes, with the help of CP overseas services, arrived in time for the festival; and the Germans drove into Winnipeg in their farm trucks to perform their numbers. For one dance in their act, a short fellow ended up with a much

WILLIAM WILSON

larger woman who might have weighed a few hundred pounds. When the time came for him to lift her, his pants split wide open, and the audience rose and cheered.'" Not everyone was enthusiastic, however, as many local critics felt the CPR should not be encouraging the immigrants in the show to be anything more than good Canadians. But once the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba agreed to be the official patron, the criticism quickly faded away.

The 1928 Highland Gathering featured a ballad opera, The Jolly Beggars, which was based on songs by Robert Burns. Ballad operas such as this, with their lavish decorations, costumes, and musical settings so much like the Scottish Music Festivals themselves, soon became synonymous with the Banff Gatherings. They served to revive public interest in the genre and its performance tradition. At the Court of James V, with a text by Gibbon and R.S. Rait, Historiographer Royal of Scotland and an old school chum of his from Aberdeen, was also performed that year. Gibbon used the Banff setting as incentive to write and produce a new ballad opera, Prince Charlie and Flora, with Jacobite and translated Gaelic songs that Healey Willan arranged. It premiered at the 1929 Banff festival, with sets designed by Charles W. Simpson, and was so well received it figured into the 1931 Gathering, as well. Healey Willan used traditional Scottish airs to write The Ayreshire Ploughman, performed at the 1930 Banff festival, and Ernest Macmillan premiered a ballad opera, Prince Charming, at the final Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival in 1931.'"

What all of these CPR-sponsored ballad operas had in common, in addition to being cast, supervised and promoted by Gibbon, was their joint production by Canadian artists, musicians, writers and technicians. The story of each production is a valuable record of artistic and creative activities in that decade. But while unique in character, the Banff festivals represent only one ethnic display of many presented nationally in those years.'"

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Victoria's Empress Hotel was the scene of the first Old English Yuletide Festival, December 1928, where the singer, Frances James, was featured; and a few weeks later, January 23-26, 1929, the Vancouver Sea Music Festival, based in the Hotel Vancouver, saw the premiere of an operetta based on English sea-shanties, Bound for the Rio Grande, by Frederick William Wallace. On the same bill was a Gaelic folk play, At a Lews Fishing!, directed by Ethel Bassin. There were singers aplenty: Danish baritone, Poul Bai, doing Viking songs; English baritone, John Goss, doing Atlantic sea-shanties; and a Welsh Male Choir.''

For unknown reasons, likely because of personality conflicts that surfaced in the 1928 festival and also because of the great expense of holding it, there was no Quebec festival in 1929. Others were inaugurated, however, including the Great West Canadian Folksong-Folkdance & Handicrafts Festival, held at Regina College, March 20-23, 1929. Music of Roumanian, Czech-Slovak, English, Jugo-slav, Scottish, Métis, Ukrainian, Dutch, German, Italian, French-Canadian, Hungarian, Swedish, Polish, Irish, Danish, and Icelandic origin was performed, spread over four concerts.''

The star performers at this festival were the Hungarian settlers from Esterhazy and the 200 Ukrainians who came by special train from Saskatoon.''

In November, 1929, Gibbon staged the English Music Festival at Toronto as part of the opening celebrations of the CPR's new Royal York Hotel. Governor General and Lady Willingdon agreed to act again as festival patrons. The elaborate promotion booklet, typeset in Old English script, and filled with drawings and decorations by Charles W. Simpson, opens with an historical essay by Gibbon entitled "A Thousand Years of English Music;" then leads up to the highlight of this festival: two performances of Ralph Vaughan Williams' folk opera, Hugh the Drover. Directed by Alfred Heather (under whom the travelling opera company of The Beggar's Opera circled the globe eight times),'' and with a 35-piece orchestra conducted by Ernest Macmillan, the lead role

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featured singer Alan Jones, later a celebrated star of motion pictures. Other special events showcased seventeen members of the English Folk Dance Society, who performed Morris, country and sword dances, and the famed English cellist, Felix Salmond.¹⁰⁰ Through references in the brochure and by the presence of the English Folk Dance Society members, Gibbon is formally acknowledging Cecil Sharp's folk revival work and, especially, his own awareness of England's current folk dance revival.

Victoria's Yuletide Festival, December 23-30, 1929, is also commemorated by an elaborate booklet richly decorated by Charles W. Simpson. There were two ballad operas specially written for this occasion: the first, Indian Nativity Play by Captain Alexander Ramsay and Healey Willan, performed for the first time that Christmas Eve; and second, by Gibbon, Christmas With Herrick, using Robert Herrick's lyrics and arranged by Harold E. Key. Immediately on this festival's heels, the Victoria Sea-Music Festival in January featured performances of The Order of Good Cheer, Bound for the Rio Grande, and a work written for the festival by Ernest Macmillan, Three French-Canadian Sea Songs.¹⁰¹

A separate musical endeavour that Gibbon organized, in conjunction with the CPR's Department of Music and director, Harold E. Key, was a six-concert cross-Canada tour of British and Canadian Music. Straddling the off-shoulder tourist season of 1929-30, the tour, with its six concert groups--Marjory Kennedy-Fraser and Margaret Kennedy; Stanley Maxted and Mary Frances James; Florence Hood, Jean Rowe, and Winifred MacMillan; John Goss; the Hart House Quartet; and the Plamondons, Rodolphe and his cellist/son, Lucien--'leapfrogged' across the country by train to coincide with their performance dates. The concerts were held in the CPR hotels in Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary, Vancouver and Victoria. In the text of the promotion brochure, Gibbon (and though unsigned, the writing style, format and tone are his) says of these tours that "it is...in the national interest that Canadians should have more opportunity of

THE UNIVERSITY OF
VIRGINIA

hearing the music which is their legitimate heritage."¹⁰² This concert series contributes to the idea of Gibbon's intention of raising a national music movement and the country's awareness of its folk music traditions.

The Premier of Saskatchewan, James Gardiner, had invited Gibbon and the CPR to set up the Regina festival, so Alberta's Premier Brownlee made the same request for Calgary. There, Gibbon staged the Great-West Canadian Folkdance - Folksong & Handicrafts Festival, March 19-22, 1930, at the Palliser Hotel. The highlights of the Calgary festival were performances by a Welsh miners' choir, Ukrainian, Scottish and Irish dancers, and square dancing.¹⁰³

The third and final Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival at Quebec was held Oct. 16-18, 1930. It was originally scheduled for May, but Charles Marchand, heavily involved in its organization by then, and figuring prominently in several of the production numbers, took sick and died. Meanwhile, Gibbon and Barbeau had parted company.

When Gibbon wrote to Barbeau about planning the third festival, Barbeau's reply was gloomy and negative:

I have come to understand that festivals such as our last in Quebec are not apt to achieve our aims as first outlined...I have as a result ceased to think constructively of the Quebec festivals...If I tried to find the cause of this deep revulsion of feeling towards the idea of a further Quebec festival, I might trace it back to what seemed the considerable waste of effort and material resources to little or no purpose at our last event.¹⁰⁴

From this, one can surmise reasons why there was no 1929 festival; though Gibbon was in his element dealing with so many people and all the details of organizing the event, it may be that Barbeau simply preferred the more ordered chaos of museum work. In any case, Gibbon approached the 1930 festival without his two previous collaborators, and with an operations budget stretched from staging so many festivals in a row. One look at the Quebec festival programs is enough to realize that by this point the whole series was grinding to a halt. The brochures are

WILLIAM WILSON

smaller, there is more CPR advertising and less concert information, and there are no imported star performers on the bill. Except for Healey Willan's help on the performance of a revised "L'Ordre de Bon-Temps," none of the Toronto crowd was engaged; but the French-Canadian amateurs came back in full force, and the festival still had its fans. Wrote a reviewer:

...audiences of more than 1,000 attended on each evening...success was even greater than that of the previous events [1927 & 1928]...These festivals have done much to acquaint the people of the United States with the rich store of folklore that Canada, particularly Quebec, offers...¹⁰⁸

Black Friday fell, ten days after the third Quebec festival finished, and the resulting Depression put a damper on sponsoring any more of them, the continued sponsorship of folk festivals beginning to look somewhat frivolous. Apart from the last Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival, to be staged August 27-30, 1931, it was a good time for Gibbon and the CPR to move on to new projects. The folk festivals, while not totally successful in terms of creating a national music movement (as envisioned by Gibbon and Barbeau at one time), did achieve some notoriety for the CPR and a broader understanding--between English and French, Americans and Canadians--of Canada's ethnic diversity. If the festivals did, in fact, serve to unify the nation for a few years, then they fulfilled a good purpose and temporarily satisfied the CPR's original mandate. A writer in The Canadian Magazine discussed this very thing in 1930:

In these days when all the world is talking of peace, one cannot help being impressed by the influence exerted for peace by these festivals. Not only the New Canadians are made to think and feel Brotherhood, but their people in the older lands will hear of these things and will perceive a spirit of brotherhood, within Canada.¹⁰⁹

Music has long been recognized as an international language, as a soother of savage beasts, and as an instrument of peace. In that sense, Gibbon was well ahead of his time, with these folksong festivals, in using the medium of music to bridge the cultural gaps that can, and do, exist between Canada's two dominant language groups. In another sense, he successfully applied the

WILLIAM WILSON

medium to attract tourists from the United States and elsewhere to Canada, and provided them with a souvenir of worth to return home with, that of hearing French and English musicians united in song.

WILLIAM WILSON

CHAPTER FOUR - ENDNOTES

1. Margaret Gascoigne, letter to Marius Barbeau, May 9, 1919; from the Barbeau Collection, correspondence files, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies [henceforth, CCFCs], National Museum of Civilization, Asticou Centre, Hull, 1988.
2. Ibid.
3. "Barbeau, (Charles) Marius," EMC, p.61.
4. Gascoigne to Barbeau, May 9, 1919; CCFCs, 1988.
5. Gibbon to Barbeau, August 26, 1919; CCFCs.
6. Later a contemporary of Prudence Heward, and a member of the Canadian Group of Painters (CGP). [see: Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Toronto 1973), p.205.]
7. Gibbon, S to C, p.141.
8. Donald Creighton, Canada's First Century (Toronto 1970), pp.268-303.
9. Rhodes Scholar Directory: ...1904-1986 (Victoria 1987), p.12. The first recipient was a T. Papineau.
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11. "Folk music, Franco-Canadian," EMC, pp.341?
12. Ibid., p.342.
13. Ibid.
14. "Barbeau," EMC, p.61.
15. Carole Henderson Carpenter, Many Voices: A Study of Folklore (Ottawa 1979), pp.190-91.
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17. Preface by Ursula Vaughan Williams, to National Music and Other Essays by Ralph Vaughan Williams (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1963), v.
18. "Macmillan," EMC, p.582.
19. Janet McNaughton, "A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-1930," M.A. thesis (Memorial U., 1982), p.41.
20. Cecil Sharp, English Folk Song: Some Conclusions, 4th ed., edited by Maud Karpeles (Wakefield, Yorks., 1972), xii.
21. "Herder," "Rousseau," and "Sturm und Drang," in the New American Desk Encyclopedia (New York/Scarborough, Ont.: Meridian, 1987), pp.534, 1023, 1131.

WILLIAM UNIVERSITY

22. Janet McNaughton, M.A. Thesis cited, pp.14-15.
23. Sharp eventually convinced the English Board of Education to introduce studies of traditional English music into the curriculum. [see: Frank Howes, Folk Music of Britain - and Beyond (London: Methuen, 1969), p.113.]
24. Janet McNaughton, M.A. Thesis cited, p.16.
25. "Barbeau," EMC, p.61.
26. "Gibbon, J. Murray," in Correspondance 1919-1926, M. Barbeau Collection, CCECS, 1988.
27. Ibid., Gibbon to Max Enos, Dec. 15, 1922.
28. CCECS, Gibbon to Barbeau, Feb. 16, 1926.
29. CCECS, Barbeau to Gibbon, Feb. 20, 1926, p.2.
30. Ibid., p.3.
31. Founded in 1922 by La Presse, Montreal; "Broadcasting," EMC, p.117.
32. Charles Marchand, quoted by Gibbon in his remarks, in "Tribute to a Nation Builder," Looklet (Toronto 1946), p.23.
33. Ibid.
34. Gilles Potvin, "Marchand, Charles," EMC, pp.593-94.
35. "Tribute...", pp.23-24; a Canadian edition was published in Toronto in 1929.
36. A founding member of the Group of Seven, Frank changed his name to Franz in 1927 on the advice of a numerologist. [See: Colin S. Macdonald, A Dictionary of Canadian Artists Vol.3 (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks, 1986), p.568.
37. Copy in the writer's collection.
38. Gibbon, Translator's Preface, Canadian Folk Songs (Old and New) (London 1927), ix.
39. Ibid., xiii.
40. Ibid., xiv. The book was a success; in the words of the publisher's representative, Henry Button: "We can't kill the damned thing." ("Tribute," p.24) A larger format edition came out in Canada in 1949, and yet another edition surfaced in 1974.
41. Janet McNaughton, M.A. Thesis cited, p.23.
42. George Proctor, Canadian Music in the Twentieth Century (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1980), p.19.

WALLING JOURNAL

43. "Ethnomusicology," in Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, ed. by Helmut Kallmann et al (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1981), p.312, sec.8.
44. "Gibbon, John Murray," Ibid., p.376.
45. "The Conundrum of Culture," in Canada 1922-1939, by J.H. Thompson and A. Seager (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), pp.170-71.
46. "Folk Song," by Marius Barbeau, in Music in Canada, Ernest Macmillan, ed. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1955), pp.33-34.
47. CCFCS, Gibbon to Dr. W.H. Collins, Jan. 20, 1927.
48. CCFCS, Collins to Gibbon, Jan. 26, 1927.
49. Gibbon, "Tribute," p.25.
50. CCFCS, Gibbon to Barbeau, Jan.26, 1927.
51. CCFCS, Gibbon to Barbeau, March 2, 1927.
52. CCFCS, Gibbon to Barbeau, Feb. 9, 1927.
53. Ibid.
54. CCFCS, Gibbon to Barbeau, Feb. 8, 1927.
55. "Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival," booklet and programs, 1927, 1928, and 1930; the National Museum was also well-credited in the text of each publication.
56. CCFCS, Gibbon to Barbeau, Feb. 9, 1927. Her full name was Juliette Gauthier de la Verendrye. (Quebec festival program notes, 1927).
57. J. McNaughton, M.A. Thesis cited, p.65.
58. CCFCS, Gibbon to Barbeau, Feb. 8, 1927.
59. anonymous, Montreal Gazette, April 11, 1927, n.p.; CP Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal 1987.
60. The heroic tenor from Guelph, whose professional alias was Eduardo di Giovanni, was at that time a principal with the Chicago Opera. [source: Dr. Gordana Lazarevich lecture, Univ. of Victoria, Nov.7, 1984.]
61. McNaughton, M.A. Thesis cited, pp.76-77.
62. "Folksong and Handicraft Festival, All Expense Tour," brochure (Montreal: CPR, 1927); from CP Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal 1987.
63. Ibid.
64. CCFCS, Gibbon to Barbeau, March 29, 1927.

CHARLESTON UNIVERSITY

65. The Duke calls on Feste for a song; William Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, Act II, Scene Four; quoted in "Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft," booklet (Quebec: CPR, 1927), p.2.
66. Henry J. Woolmer, letter to the author, Sept.1, 1987.
67. Gordana Lazarevich, "The Musical World...;" Unpublished MS., Victoria 1986, p.23.
68. "Canadian Folk Song & Handicraft Festival," general program, Quebec, 1927; CP Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal 1987.
69. See Ernest Macmillan, "Review of Folk Songs of French Canada" in Canadian Forum 6 (Toronto 1925), pp.79-82.
70. "Macmillan, (Sir) Ernest," EMC, p.582.
71. As of August 1, 1927; CPR payroll records, File B-090, CP Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal 1986.
72. National Library of Canada; Music Division Files, Ottawa 1988; and "CPR Festivals," EMC, pp.240-41.
73. Gibbon's reply, "Tribute to a Nation Builder," p.26.
74. Gibbon, S to C, p.147.
75. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield: G. & C. Merriam, 1974), p.867.
76. "Highland Gathering Scottish & Music Festival," [sic] (Banff 1927), p.25.
77. The Canadian Pacific Bulletin [house organ] No.224 (Montreal Sept. 1, 1927), p.31.
78. Canadian Pacific Bulletin - Supplement, No.226 (Montreal Nov.1, 1927), pp.1-2.
79. Gibbon, S to C, p.139.
80. Phil. Gibbon, his son, in conversation, Ottawa, Jan.1988.
81. Charles W. Gordon, letter to Edward Beatty, Sept.5, 1927; quoted in full, in Gibbon's S to C, p.148.
82. CCFCS, Gibbon to Barbeau, March 5, 1928.
83. CCFCS, Gibbon to Barbeau, March 7, 1928.
84. "said to be the first comic opera in the history of music." Program history, "Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival," booklet (Montreal 1928), p.12.
85. Ibid.; the second performance, evidently, was 1896 in Arras, France, to celebrate the date of de la Halle's death.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid., pp.12,14.

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

88. Gibbon, S to C, p.150.
89. "Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival," 1928 booklet, pp.26-27.
90. Ibid., General programme, pp.6-7.
91. Gibbon, S to C, p.150.
92. Ibid.; Gibbon makes special mention of the Poles, Ukrainians, and Icelanders.
93. Ibid., p.154.
94. "CPR Festivals," EMC, p.240; and Gordana Lazarevich, "The Musical World...;" MS. (Victoria 1987), p.27-35.
95. For an annotated chronological listing of them all, see "CPR Festivals," EMC, pp.240-41.
96. Gibbon, S to C, p.160-61. To the tune of a Nova Scotian ballad, "Yankee Harbour," he heard in Wallace's operetta, Gibbon wrote a new lyric and later published it in New World Ballads (1938). His "On the Cool Atlantic Shore" proved the more popular version, and Gibbon heard it sung repeatedly in 1949 during Halifax Bicentenary celebrations.
97. "Great West Canadian Folksong-Folkdance & Handicrafts Festival" programs (Regina 1929); from CP Archives, serial 69, Montreal 1987.
98. Gibbon, S to C, p.157.
99. Ibid., p.165.
100. "English Music Festival, Folk Song - Folk Dance," booklet, (Toronto: CPR, 1929), 30pp.
101. "Old English Yuletide and Sea-Music Festivals," Dec. 23-30, 1929 & Jan. 15-18, 1930 (respectively), booklet (Montreal 1929), 28pp.
102. "6 Concerts - British & Canadian Music, 1929-30," brochure (Montreal: CPR, 1929); from National Library of Canada, Music Division. Ottawa, 1988.
103. Gibbon, S to C, p.157.
104. CCFCS, Barbeau to Gibbon, May 7, 1929. The 1928 Festival was the last festival Barbeau would be so involved in, other than in an advisory role.
105. "Third Biennial Folklore Festival Held in Quebec," anon., Musical Courier (New York, Nov.1, 1930), p.8; from "CPR Festivals" file, National Library of Canada, Music Division, Ottawa 1988.

4

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

106. C.B. Robertson, "Artists All! - From Many Metals We Are Forging a Spiritual Consciousness - Which is Canada," in The Canadian Magazine, Vol.73, No.1. (Toronto: Hugh C. Maclean Publications Ltd., Jan. 1930), p.46.

CHARLETON UNIVERSITY

John Edgar Hoover, ca. 1930. [Library of Congress]
CPR photograph copy in white. Hoover, John E.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER FIVE

"ADVERTISING ART AND ARTISTS"

[Gibbon] had to shout and make a loud voice and yet not be heard. He had to advertise and yet not be advertised. He had to sweep the country and yet leave no track or trace of the broom.

- Newton MacTavish, 1925.¹

In his book, Poster Progress (London 1939), poster artist Tom Purvis wrote that the success of the travel poster in Britain and France was, for the most part, due to the observance by the artists of certain standards. These are: fitness to the purpose, completeness as a unit, the quality of pleasant shock, simplicity in thought, and clarity of statement.²

It is likely Purvis was thinking more of his contemporaries in the 1930s, but developments in advertising psychology had, as the most effective way to sell the product, spurred poster artists to interpret the appeals of travel. By the turn of the century, two generations of artists would have been inspired by daguerreo-types, stereographs, cartes-des-visites, and collodion travel photographs made in exotic lands around the world. Steamships and railways provided the means by which anyone with the price of the fare could go on a vacation.

In 1888, American George Eastman introduced the Kodak camera. His slogan was "You press the button, we do the rest," and millions of people would eventually take him up on it; by 1900, Eastman was selling 100,000 Box Brownies a year.³ People took their cameras on their holidays and returned with more photographs of elsewhere. Their friends saw the photographs, bought cameras and took trips, and the process has perpetuated itself to this day. Communities and transportation companies realized the market potential for selling themselves with strong visual messages, so to sell the merits of one travel destination or mode of transportation over another, billboard hoardings and magazines quickly became vehicles for the travel poster. In the

LAURENCE UNIVERSITY

United States, advertising artists chose to combine modes of transport as symbols of progressive movement; the idea of motion linked with a product implied that it was going places and if the consumer bought the product they could come along, too. In Canadian poster art, the image remained static, with locomotives frozen in time and only a whimsical curving line drawing to suggest that the smoke from the engine might be blown away in the wind. There being little competition to stimulate ideas for change to the visual appeal of their advertising, CPR billboard artists seemed to be waiting for an appropriate reason to move completely into the new century.

The job of General Publicity Agent for the CPR entailed arranging for advertising, publicizing along whatever lines of communication were available, and otherwise promoting the company's services worldwide to the discriminating traveller. The tools of communication that the publicist could employ, in the years between the two World Wars, were the telegraph, the mail, the press, the telephone, billboards, photography, moving pictures, the poster, word-of-mouth, and face-to-face contact. It is certain that John Murray Gibbon put all ten tools to full use; directing the promotional interests of a corporation the size of the CPR, and impressing the desired corporate image of the company in the minds of the world at large, would have been highly demanding and exacting in every way. Gibbon was very capable in working with language and in generating ideas, guiding large scale celebrations and organizing groups of people with shared interests, and in recognizing the talents of others that he could put to work for what he perceived to be the common cause. The proof lies in his job success, the establishment of the CAA, and the staging of the folk music festivals, to name but a few of his activities discussed so far.

The inherent need within every artistic person, to find an outlet for their creative energy, surfaced early in Gibbon's

CHARLESTON UNIVERSITY

life. He sang in choirs, studied the violin, discovered poetry, and began writing books. The convenient excuse of having to deal with visual artists in his Black and White days meant learning photography which, in turn, led him to study the foundations of art in the better of the art schools. His art training helped him to gain a promotion and his small but growing reputation, as an editor/journalist with an understanding eye for the visual arts, earned him the comradery of working professional artists. He was exposed to the craft of arts criticism through his friend, J.D. Symon of the Illustrated London News, and his membership in the artists-only Langham Club combined with his linguistic and writing skills, meant that by the time the CPR hired him he was a very well-rounded and cultured journalist. We have already seen to what effect he put these talents to work after moving to Canada. It is safe to assume that, given the nature of journalism and the promoting of events internationally, Gibbon maintained his contacts in Britain and Europe at every level, and this would have meant continuing his professional and personal friendships with artists. The volume of advertising that was necessary to keep the CPR operations in motion would prove beneficial to those artists who, in turn, maintained relations with Gibbon in his new role. His art training, his scholarly achievements, and his familiarity with all aspects of CPR operations, would have reassured the company that the future of their advertising and promotion were in good hands; for, although Gibbon's years of exposure to visual arts and artists did not manifest any life-long urges to draw or paint, those years did provide him with a wide base from which to draw conclusions and make reasoned aesthetic evaluation.

When Gibbon first arrived in Canada, he recognized that the cultural resources of the country were not being mined or developed to their fullest potential. Being the culturally active man he was, it was inevitable that the situation soon changed. His songwriting, poetry and musical endeavours and the

CHARLESTON UNIVERSITY

infamous folksong festivals were evidence of that. A valuable record of his early associations with members of the artistic community, as a transitional link between those visitors to the Gibbon home both in London and in Ste. Anne de Bellevue, is his wife's guest book, started in 1903.*

Two artists Gibbon befriended on staff with the Black and White were Charles M. Sheldon and Cyrus Cuneo. A small drawing by Sheldon, done in March of 1905, is found in the guest book; it was both he and Cuneo who were responsible for the large murals painted for the CPR pavilion at the Scottish National Exhibition, in 1910, which became the illustrations for Gibbon's Scots in Canada (1911). Further knowledge of any interaction between Gibbon and Sheldon is vague, but Cuneo (1878-1916) was commissioned by the CPR, possibly by Gibbon, for several posters over the next few years following that book. His work shows rushing locomotives and exotic Oriental port scenes, obviously influenced by the painterly academic-romantic style of Sir Frank Brangwyn (1867-1956). Brangwyn's successful, high-profile career included making tapestries for a few years for William Morris (as part of the Pre-Raphaelite Movement that Gibbon so admired), prior to being elected to the Royal Academy in 1904.* He was also responsible for painting a large frieze--45 feet wide by 18 feet tall by 50 feet deep--in the Cockspur offices of the Canadian National Grand Trunk Railway.* Like his artist friends, Gibbon would have followed Brangwyn's progress and been influenced by the painter's innovative work. Group of Seven painter, A.J. Casson, later recalled that "as a designer and colourist, Brangwyn was a hero to all of us young men in art."*

For the first two decades of this century, the CPR campaigned heavily to entice British emigrants to Canada, and subsequently employed numerous British artists to design posters that would complement this appeal. Brangwyn's influence is apparent in many posters from this period, especially in works portraying the exotic aspects of sea travel.* Quite apart from

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

the immigration message, his contribution to poster lithography was to begin using academic artistic traditions for the cause of tourism. One of his clients was the Orient-Pacific Line of steamships, which serviced Ceylon and Australia, and herein lies another connection that might link Branwyn's possible influence on Gibbon's commercial artistic taste in those years. The Orient-Pacific Line was owned and operated by an Aberdeen family named Anderson, who were Gibbon's cousins,⁹ and he might have learned from them how effective Branwyn's posters were in luring travellers onto their ships.

Certainly one marine artist familiar to both Branwyn and Gibbon was Norman Wilkinson (1878-1971), whose drawings began appearing in the Illustrated London News around the turn of the century. His clients included the London, Midland and Scottish Railway, and the White Star Line, both companies that Gibbon must have had dealings with; but it was primarily for paintings of ocean vessels that Wilkinson was famous. Ironically, one such painting graced a bulkhead on board the Titanic.¹⁰

A large body of work was commissioned from Wilkinson by the CPR, notably during the 1920s when the final decision for such commissions would have been Gibbon's to make. Human figures rarely appear in his posters, with the majority of them depicting the company's vessels at sea, under steam and appearing to command some romantic and heroic control over the waves. One almost trademark element that Wilkinson effectively employed showed the steamship outdistancing a fully-masted windjammer, leaving little doubt in the viewers mind as to which was the superior vessel for speed. Great examples of this implied technologically-progressive change are the CP posters for the "Duchesses of the Atlantic" and the "Empress" mail steamers to Canada, and especially, the impressive representation of the CP "Beaver Fleet" express freight service, with Gibbon's memorable slogan spread across the picture - "Canadian Pacific Spans the World."¹¹

SAKLEIUN UNIVERSITY

A marine artist who featured human figures in maritime environments that suggested that they were there because of ship travel, was Kenneth D. Shoesmith (1890-1939). He travelled the world as a sailor and it was not until after the First World War that he devoted himself to poster design.¹² Recruited by Gibbon for CPR promotional campaigns, Shoesmith provided a variety of posters and brochures, including those for West Indies cruises on the Empress of Australia; CP Hotels brochures for Holidays in Canada, particularly a famous window picture of Lake Louise; and striking dock side views for the Empress of Britain's Atlantic run to the U.S. and Canada.¹³

The list of poster artists commissioned by Gibbon is a long one, and those from Britain who managed to visit Canada usually visited the Gibbon home, as well. Among the many names of artists in the guest book are P.A. Staynes, who provided CP Steamships with a popular poster of King Neptune admiring one of their new "Duchess" steamships; Katharine and Olive Edis, Gibbon's cousins, who had a photography studio in Norfolk and were frequently contracted for CPR work; and Leonard Richmond, author of several books on painting and editor of a popular manual on poster design.¹⁴ Richmond extended his visit to Canada long enough to travel and work in the West. Gibbon wrote about him to Marius Barbeau, saying that

Richmond went straight out to Banff to join the Trail Riders. He has never ridden before...He was working hard when I saw him last, and had arranged for Exhibitions at Lake Louise and Calgary.¹⁵

Chances are, Gibbon provided free travel assistance, as he was wont to do, and introductions to helpful people out West; before returning to Britain, Richmond presented Gibbon with one of his paintings.¹⁶ His travelling companion on this visit was A.C. Leighton (1901-65), who had been working on the CP cruise campaign out of the London office.¹⁷ Leighton fell in love with the Rockies, and it is likely that he exhibited paintings of his own with Richmond at Calgary and Lake Louise. He arranged subsequent trips to the Rockies through the company, with them

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

getting first choice of the resulting paintings and allowing him to privately sell the rest. The quality of his work was such that Gibbon assigned him jobs that required a master's touch, such as an inspiring poster for the Chateau Lake Louise, and a front-and-back booklet cover of a St. Lawrence scene that effectively contrasts an habitant village with CP ships on the river.¹⁰ Leighton remained with London office until a job appointment surfaced in Canada in 1929. The Provincial Institute of Technology and Art in Calgary hired him as its art director, and it was as an outgrowth of summer art classes that Leighton held in Banff (from 1929-35) that the Banff School of Fine Arts eventually formed.¹¹

One advertisement Leighton did the artwork for, that may have been designed by Gibbon, was located on the back page of a 'Musical Travelogue' for "Coronation Year in the Old Country" (1937). A small boy holds a map of eastern North America and an old man, dressed like a mariner, points at the map with his pipe.

Aye, lad! It's a third less ocean. Sail for a full thousand miles - over one-third of the entire distance - down the placid St. Lawrence. Get your sea-legs before you reach the sea... There's five-day speed by the great Empress of Britain. Or choose the Empress of Australia [etc.]...¹²

It was largely through Leighton's ability to depict the momentum of an onrushing locomotive, though, that train posters to follow would exploit the graphic illustration of speed. By airbrushing the sides of the locomotive and thus blurring its outline, by adapting the shape of the accompanying caption to the direction of the engine's forward motion, and by setting the viewpoint at a low, upward-looking angle, Leighton succeeded in creating the impression that the high-powered machine was ready to leap over the picture plane.¹³ Such a highly animated poster image would have been visually very exciting for its time, and influential on poster artists to follow.

Other visitors to Applethwaite, as Gibbon's house was called,¹⁴ included its architect, Francis Swales; Sir Hugh Walpole, English novelist; publisher John Lane; and three sisters

LAUREL UNIVERSITY

--the daughters of Gibbon's boyhood French teacher in Aberdeen-- Berthe, Gertrude and Alice Des Cles.²³ The three women had immigrated to Montreal and were destined for local artistic fame: Alice painted animals, especially horses; Gertrude, portraits; and Berthe, landscapes.²⁴ Another was a Montreal-born artist who did commercial work for the CPR, Charles W. Simpson (1878-1942), noted landscape artist. He studied with William Brymner and Maurice Cullen, and became a full member of the Royal Canadian Academy in 1920.²⁵ It was Simpson who talked Gibbon into chasing after John Singer Sargent when that American master was painting in the Rockies, and the two of them became good friends. Simpson kept his ears open around town for Gibbon while Gibbon, in turn, pushed art contracts his way; for example, as when Simpson did the colour drawings for a guidebook by Charles W. Stokes, Here and There in Montreal.²⁶ Stokes worked in the Publicity Department, often as Gibbon's assistant, until 1929, at which time he moved up the corporate ladder to become European advertising manager; his successor was Ernest W. Evans.²⁷ Stokes was familiar enough with Gibbon's projects that he could run the Montreal office for the two months every summer when his boss relocated to the Banff Springs Hotel. In Banff, Gibbon could oversee the CPR's involvement in Banff Indian Days, be available for the Trail Riders and Skyline Hikers excursions, be close enough to Invermere to spend some time at Toby Lodge and, while they were running, work on the preparations for the Highland Gathering & Scottish Music Festivals. As well, if any visiting dignitary travelled as a guest of the CPR to the Rockies, Gibbon would be there to receive them, from whichever direction they arrived.

The rest of the year, Gibbon oversaw production of advertising and promotional literature from Room 324 at Montreal's Windsor Station. Publicity for all phases of the company's worldwide operations funnelled through his office. His *modus operandi* was to advertise contracts to numerous magazines,

LAKEVIEW UNIVERSITY

journals and newspapers around the world via advertising agencies that filled this function. These agencies then submitted their suggestions for where and when the advertisements could be placed, with final approval of the advertising copy coming from Gibbon's office. Stokes, with the production manager, A.R. McCandlish, and two copywriters, prepared booklets, brochures and posters under Gibbon's watchful eye."⁸

Internationally successful artists were invited to submit ideas for posters and brochures on a competitive basis. Harry Woolmer worked under Gibbon and has vivid memories of the selection process the artists went through to win a CPR contract.

I can recall many times seeing them in the office holding framed landscapes, etc., waiting to present them; other times Gibbon's office would look like an art shop, full of paintings and sketches awaiting approval...offerings by the cream of the [commercial] art world, with tried and proven people...having the inside track."⁹

There passed through the Publicity Department a whole roster of commercial artists, among them A.C. Leighton, Charles W. Jefferys, R.H. Palenske, Kathleen Shackleton, Carl Rungius, Norman Fraser, and Walter J. Phillips, many of whom became close personal friends with Gibbon."¹⁰ "Dad had so many artist friends," his son would recall."¹¹ The fact that he developed long-lasting friendships with so many artists says a great deal for Gibbon's artistic sensitivity and aesthetic values. What all of the aforementioned artists shared in common was their interest in Gibbon and his vision of a national awakening in the arts. All were formally trained, but recognized that through the media of a popular-commercial vehicle like publicity, they could contribute to Gibbon's project of creating a visual identity for Canada that might unveil the country to the world. It is interesting how every obituary written of Gibbon, despite his many years as a railroad executive, stressed his devotion to the arts in Canada. Roderick Kennedy of the CAA, for example, wrote of Gibbon how

personally, it interests and pleases me greatly to look back over the life of my old friend, and...[think

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

of] the things he did for others, and the things he did for his beloved Arts.'²

A small but subtle indication of Gibbon's respect for the working artist can be found in the lower corner of most CPR posters from that era. Commercial artists in North America were not usually given the same consideration their counterparts were in Britain and Europe, where it was normal to place the artist's signature on a poster that there could be no doubt as to where the credit lay. In Canada, the tendency was to include only the artist's initials, if anything at all; exceptions were those posters commissioned by major corporations from British and European artists working in North America. The large body of CPR poster art that was produced for Gibbon in the 1920s--to contend with loss of revenues from the influx of automobile traffic, and to compete for the mountain tourist dollar with their new competitor, the CNR--is appreciably distinctive in Canadian poster collections because of the visible signatures of the artists.

Advertisers and artists, in order to profit from the post-war, increased self-awareness of Canadians, began elaborating the colour range and format of their promotional literature. Many of the CP cruise ship booklets were given beautiful artistic covers like wrap-around paintings, and brochures for every facet of the company's operations were filled with photographs. The ASN managed the photographic services on CP steamships, in addition to the regional staff photographers--among them, Harry Pollard in Calgary, Fred Armbrister in the West Indies, and J.C.S. Bennett at the Montreal head office'³--who contributed to the large volume of photographs required to make the 1920s publicity as visually exciting as possible. At one point (1922), the photographics office at Windsor Station was turning out "about a couple hundred prints a day for newspaper purposes," alone.'⁴ As word circulated throughout the world's artistic community that the CPR was offering lots of contract work, and that their General Publicity Agent was informed and sympathetic to artists,

CAHLEIGH UNIVERSITY

competition for the contracts grew to match the increasing response. With a greater selection to choose from, Gibbon could be sure of top quality photographs and poster art for his promotional campaigns.

The shift in marketing direction in the pursuit of the tourist dollar, caused by the rise in popularity and availability of automobiles, meant that product advertising in the 1920s had to be more sophisticated and far-reaching. The demand for attractive posters inspired many artists to concentrate solely on visual invention for advertising purposes, thereby creating the field of graphic design. During the First World War, three artistic movements developed in Europe that would affect future graphic design styles. These movements were Suprematism, Dadaism and DeStijl, and their most famous proponents were Kasimir Malevich (1878-1935), Hugo Ball (1886-1927), and Piet Mondrian (1872-1944), respectively.¹⁰ Essentially, their approach to revitalizing modern art were aimed at articulating what has been referred to as "a universal language of symbols" consisting of a "visual vocabulary of basic geometric forms."¹¹ Mildred Friedman, in a discussion of the positions pictorial modernism and abstraction held in the utopian idealism of the 1920s, expressed her view that the hope of such movements was to create a visual language that represented ideas, rather than nature.¹²

Why this discussion is important, in relation to CPR advertising, is because graphic design in Europe was headed in the opposite direction from Gibbon's poster image of Canada. The artists he hired were likely aware of those industry trends, but as long as he was paying top dollar for posters that were natural and romantic as opposed to symbolic and geometric, they would provide. Gibbon persisted on presenting the nation in a warm, golden light. His image of the nation and the corporation were one and the same, and the visual language of natural beauty in the Canadian Rockies was far more romantic than symbolic geometric forms would ever be. How this language was expressed

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

was in terms that most Canadians and tourists could relate to on even the simplest level. Consider the visual references that appeared and reappeared in poster designs: mountains, lakes, forests, clouds and sunshine, distant figures either skiing or on horseback, and the whole scene framed by an elegantly curving window. Featureless human silhouettes stood at the window between the viewer and the view, implicating whoever admired the poster as a possible substitute for one of those unidentified figures. In a land where the scenery sells itself, what tourism promoter was going to ignore that natural appeal? A holiday in the Canadian outdoors is a vacation free of the geometric and impersonal monotony of a mundane city job, so it would have made little sense to try appealing to potential tourists in a language of wedges, circles and squares.

While a formal semiological language for tourism is yet to be formulated,¹⁰ Gibbon's hope for national awareness in the arts resulted in his helping to establish a tourism poster style that was based on the romantic imagery he believed represented Canada abroad. Once the artists he commissioned successfully completed their work and thereby contributed another romantic image of Canada to the vocabulary of national tourism visuals, their place in posterity was assured for as long as their poster continued to draw tourists to that location and for as long as Gibbon could keep the image in the public eye. This kind of enticement, and the philosophy behind it, continued to attract talented graphics designers to Gibbon's office door, and once involved in Gibbon's world many of them never looked back.

As an agent for the CPR and, therefore, able to direct where a portion of the company's expenditures went, Gibbon chose to actively support the arts on behalf of the company, and in the process, provided professional arts practitioners with financial gain for services rendered while reaching for their personal creative goals. In other words, Gibbon became a patron of the arts, the visual representative of a 'blind' corporate sponsor

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

in an era when such sponsorship was rare, even under the umbrella of international travel and tourism. His acts of patronage were possible because the company's president, Edward Beatty, gave him a free rein and full financial support to develop the tourist trade in any way he could. By actively and financially encouraging writers, musicians and artists in this country to produce tangible evidence of a national cultural identity, Gibbon stimulated a highly-creative atmosphere in which tourism and, because of it, Canada, flourished. Gibbon's support for the arts is viewed as patronage only in retrospect; as had Van Horne and Shaughnessy before him, he provided free rail passage to artists, photographers and writers in the interests of publicizing the different regions of Canada and CPR services to a potential tourist market. Where Gibbon's actions differ from those of his predecessors is that while they used the arts to develop their railway, Gibbon used the railway to develop the arts.

Chicago artist R.H. Palenske (1884-1953)³⁹ was one of those, imported to do poster and brochure work for the CPR, who became one of Gibbon's converts. He was with Gibbon's party when they were snowed in on the Wolverine Plateau in 1923, and was caught on film in the act of writing 'Sore Horsemen of the Apocalypse' on the side of their tent.⁴⁰ Gibbon considered Palenske a master etcher and colourist and gave him lots of work, starting with the Christmas booklet for the then-new Ontario Bungalow Camps.⁴¹ Palenske's colour sense, and his ability in capturing interior moods as they were affected by exterior light changes, were used to full advantage in illustrations for the mountain resorts. A series of watercolour studies he made were used for brochure covers in which the Chateau Lake Louise and the Banff Springs Hotel were represented as the height in elegance and decor. The baroque furnishings, brocades and tiles, and the unrivalled views, contributed to the sense of luxury the company wished to convey to discriminating travellers, and Palenske's warm renderings captured the desired sense of quality.

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

As a charter member he was soon active in both the Trail Riders and the Skyline Hikers groups, eventually serving on the executive council of each. His etchings, of riders on horseback in the mountains, graced the covers of bulletins and award certificates.⁴³ Etching is a demanding art form, requiring a firm steadiness of hand and a good sense of line. The Montreal artist, Clarence Gagnon (1881-1942), himself a master of the art, has been quoted as saying that "to do etchings you need the palm of a duchess and the nerves of a Russian hussar."⁴⁴ Palenske obviously had these traits, as his work was purchased by the Smithsonian Institute and the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., the New York Public Library, and by H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, who purchased ten for his personal collection while on a visit to Banff in the late 1930s.⁴⁵ Palenske was also a fair photographer, and as photography was also one of Gibbon's hobbies, the two of them shared the duties of documenting the trail rides for the Trail Riders Bulletins. While Gibbon shot whole groups engaged in camp and trail activities, Palenske seems to have preferred shooting portraits of personages along for the ride, such as guide Walter Nixon, cowboy singer Wilf Carter, and wildlife artist Carl Rungius.⁴⁶ As a possible indication of the friendship between Gibbon and Palenske, several of the artist's works are in the family collection, including an etching of Anne Gibbon's Scotch terrier, "Bobbie," and a painting of "Mt. Assiniboine (1932 Trail Ride)," which Gibbon used for a promotional poster. Palenske's light touch was employed to full advantage in several etchings he made for posters for the ethnic folk festivals, and character studies for ethnic types were used to illustrate some of Gibbon's later books.

Carl Rungius (1869-1959), internationally acclaimed wildlife artist, was another whose career was helped along by his association and eventual friendship with Gibbon. In 1922, he and his wife were trying to set up a summer studio in Banff, but found themselves, after having a place built, unable to afford

the price of train fare. Gibbon and the CPR, always on the lookout for high-quality artworks, had already purchased several of his paintings directly through him, through Grand Central Galleries in New York City, or through his sales representative there, Arthur Harlow. Gibbon recognized the art's potential for promotional use and agreed to provide free passage in exchange for a small painting.⁴⁴ Their second summer in Banff, the Rungius's friends, Phil and Pearl Moore, persuaded Carl to join the newly forming Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies. It was an opportunity for Rungius to meet kindred spirits and to extend the boundaries of his painting territory. In 1924, after participating on the inaugural ride of the Trail Riders, he painted A Monarch of the Mountains, showing a bugling elk on a rocky ridge in the foreground and Mt. Assiniboine looming behind. This elk, and a painting of three bighorn sheep that was done for Gibbon, flank a general landscape painting of the Banff Springs Hotel to form a triptych, spread over four brochure pages, for the 1928 Resorts in the Rockies. A 1929 brochure of the same name featured three Rungius paintings, plus works by A.C. Leighton and mountain specialist, Belmore Browne.⁴⁷

Rungius was popular around the Trail Riders' evening campfires for his skills as a storyteller; and following the 1928 annual ride, he found himself elected as President of the Order. The contacts he made on trail rides were all considered potential clients, especially valued in the wake of the 1929 'Crash.' Despite lean times for the CPR, activities in the Rockies continued, and Gibbon contracted posters from Rungius for both the Skyline Hikers and the Trail Riders. The commissions helped keep Rungius actively painting through the Depression years, and his work figured prominently in Banff hotel exhibitions of Western Canadian art in the 1930s. Hours on every trail ride and hike he took part in, when they were not moving and when he was not fishing, were spent sketching and painting. One of Gibbon's assistants from the Publicity Department, H. Travers Coleman,

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

worked with Rungius at one time on the Trail Riders executive council. He recalled reminding Rungius of an early afternoon meeting. "Could you make it four o'clock, Petruska," was the reply, "after the light has gone?"⁴

A young Banff artist, who occasionally kept Rungius company on painting trips, was the first local resident to use the CPR facilities in his town as subject matter for his paintings.⁵ Peter Whyte (1905-) went to art school in Boston, where he eventually met his wife, Catharine Robb. In the summer season, he would return home to drive a bus for Brewster Transport, doing tours and transfers from the train station to the Banff Springs Hotel. At one point, he was dating Gibbon's daughter, Faith.⁶ She, like her father, enjoyed the company of artists and met several of them through Gibbon's promotional activities. Though it digresses somewhat from the subject of poster artists, herein sits another instance of the art world overlapping Gibbon's own.

Around 1931, Faith met and married Graham Shepard (1907-1943), who worked for the Illustrated London News. To compound that coincidental association with her father, Graham had also attended Oxford.⁷ His father was Ernest H. Shepard, famous illustrator of Winnie-the-Pooh and Wind in the Willows, and for a wedding present the elder Shepard bought them a house in St. John's Wood, North London.⁸ In the course of time, Faith and Graham had a child, Minette, to whom Graham gave the teddy bear of his own childhood. "Growler," as the bear was called, was the model for Winnie-the-Pooh; "a magnificent bear," remarked the artist, "I have never seen his like."⁹ Graham was in the Royal Navy in 1939 and away from home when the threat of air raids made evacuees of Faith and Minette. They came to Canada, along with Gibbon's sister, Katie, a cousin, Elizabeth, and her family, and Growler. In Rawle Knox's book on Shepard, it is reported that "Growler met his end in Canada, savaged by a dog."¹⁰ The dog was the Gibbon's Scotch terrier, Bobbie, subject of R.H. Palenske's 1934 study.

In 1932, the Exhibits Branch, under the direction of E.T. Noltie, in the CPR's Department of Immigration and Colonization, Windsor Station, Montreal, began experimenting with the silk screen process for reproducing posters.¹¹ The lithography process was just too costly for running off large quantities of posters, but silk screening promised to be more efficient and considerably cheaper. Using transparent inks that were overlayed in combination resulted in a wide range of colour values and tones. On average, posters using several colours were run off in batches of six to seven hundred copies,¹² so significant an increase in production that by 1936-37, the CPR was printing over 22,000 posters at one-third of what the same run would have cost using the old lithography method.¹³ Purists might have argued for the rich flat colours and depth that could only result from using the lithography process, but the gradations of colour possible in the silk screening process increased the scope and capability of the medium so much that artists could hardly ignore its commercial potential. It meant that more subtle shading could be used, colour could be utilized to imply shape, crisper outlines could be achieved on the subject matter, and for re-runs the process allowed for easier facility in changing venues or prices without altering the picture core or creating the need for new plates. It meant that some artists could more easily demonstrate their stylistic influences while maintaining the mood and sense of place that were still important to Gibbon's concept of the company's national image. One such artist was Norman Fraser. Apart from a very large body of poster art that he did for the CPR, mostly during Gibbon's years of influence, there is little known about him. Considering the extent and the quality of work suspected to be by this artist, as well as what works carry his signature, it is possible Gibbon promoted and contributed to the development of a major Canadian commercial artist in the name of tourism.

Gibbon hired literally hundreds of artists over the two

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

decades between the World Wars, far more than the scope of this chapter can cover. For that period of time, the company operated 363 cruises on all the world's oceans," and every cruise needed its share of posters. These decades were the golden age for poster production in Canada; in one sense, 'golden' because the graphics artists contracted for the various promotions were among the few artists to be paid for making art during the Depression. Gibbon combined two slogans he coined, "See This World Before the Next - on The World's Greatest Travel System"/"Canadian Pacific," for a few posters, but it was "The World's Greatest Travel System" that got the most use, captured in a circle and set on the shield of the CPR. To struggling artists, the slogan must have taken on a special meaning for all of the work and encouragement the company provided.

Successive events--including the effects of the Depression, the demise of the Group of Seven, and the 1933 organization of the Canadian Group of Painters--inspired artists to turn away from interpreting the Canadian landscape and start considering social issues, portraiture, and figure studies in their work." More women artists materialized and began addressing these concerns, and one such person was Kathleen Shackleton. One suspects her initial success in attracting the attention of the CPR was partly due to her being the sister of the famous explorer, Sir Ernest Shackleton. Her talents at portraiture, however, were what caught Gibbon's imagination, especially after seeing a charcoal sketch she did of W.L. Mackenzie King in 1927," and he put her to work sketching ethnic types for program covers and promotional literature on the folk music festivals. During the 'Thirties, Shackleton was active with Trail Riders and Banff Indian Days promotions, in addition to providing illustrations for a couple of Gibbon's books (of which, more later). Around 1940, he arranged for her to travel the width of Canada at CPR expense, with the end result being a portfolio of 48 character studies of the railway men who worked the line from

SECRET

Vancouver, B.C., to St. John, N.B.''

Many of the artists who passed through Gibbon's office went on to bigger and better things. Some of them, who survived the Depression only to have to deal with the Second World War, eventually came into their own as Canadians began to revere their art history and the artists who lived it. Among those whose work is on file with the CPR from those days of Gibbon and graphic design, it seems worthwhile to mention James Crockart, C.R. Greenwood, A.W. Edwards, Peter Ewart, G.F. Gillespie, Nicholas de Grand Maison, A.J. McInnes, Ernest Newman, Walter J. Phillips, Stanley Royle, A. Sherriff-Scott, Stanley Turner, J.C. Valentine, R. Couillard, Tom Hall, G.Y. Kauffman, Harry Hudson Rodmell, W.C. Finch, and Tom Purvis. Several of those names will already be familiar to collectors, curators and art historians; the positive influence their production of art had on Canadians between the wars is immeasurable. Through the medium of art, Canadians in the 1920s were confronted with nationalism and their uncompromising landscape; and in the dirty 'thirties, the Depression brought them face to face with themselves. Gibbon and the CPR, through the artwork they contracted, brought the world to Canada to remind us of what we had that other nations did not, and increased national awareness of Canada's place in the global market for commerce, travel and trade. Gibbon himself may have sustained, as a patron, supporter and friend of visual artists, a small measure of the cultural self-esteem that surfaced out of our social history between 1920 and 1940.

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER FIVE - ENDNOTES

1. Newton MacTavish, "John Murray Gibbon, Apostle of Silence" in The Canadian Magazine, Vol.LXIV, No.1 (Toronto: Canadian Magazine Publishing Company, Feb. 1925), p.29.
2. Tom Purvis, Poster Progress, ed. by F.A. Mercer and Wm. Gaunt (London: The Studio, 1939); quoted by Robert Stacey, The Canadian Poster Book: (Toronto 1982), p.14.
3. Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography: from 1839 to the present day (New York: MoMA, 1964), passim.
4. Mrs. Anne (a.k.a. Nancy) Gibbon's guest book; in possession of Phil and Noni Gibbon, Hudson, Que., 1988.
5. Dictionary of British Artists, 1880-1940 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collector's Club, 1976), p.42.
6. Painted in tempera and completed in 1910. Rodney Brangwyn, Brangwyn (London: William Kimber, 1978), pp.138-39.
7. A.J. Casson, in telephone conversation with the author, Dec. 3, 1986.
8. One artist's work that springs immediately to mind in this regard is that of CPR poster artist, J.C. Valentine, of whom little is known except which posters were his.
9. The Andersons of Frogmal Park, Hampstead, frequently held clan gatherings to maintain their Scottish connections. Gibbon, S to C, p.18. It is possible that one of the cousin's ships carried Gibbon from Ceylon to Scotland as a child.
10. "Norman Wilkinson," in Landscape in Britain 1850-1950, (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1983), p.113.
11. "Beaver Fleet" poster, by Norman Wilkinson; in CP Archives Poster Collection, Windsor Station, Montreal 1987.
12. Grant M. Waters, Dictionary of British Artists - Working 1900-1950 (Eastbourne: Eastbourne Fine Art, 1975), pp.299-300.
13. CP Archives Poster Collection, Windsor Station, Montreal, 1987.
14. Phil Gibbon in conversation, Hudson, Que., 1987; also, Leonard Richmond, ed. The Technique of the Poster (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd., 1933).
15. CCFCS, Gibbon to Barbeau, Aug. 20, 1925.

CHARLESTON UNIVERSITY

16. A street scene reminiscent of Morocco; it hangs in the Gibbon home, Hudson, Quebec, 1987.
17. Hart, Selling, p.107.
18. CP Archives Poster Collection, Montreal 1987.
19. Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973), p.268.
20. "Coronation Year in the Old Country," pamphlet, p.9; in Walter L. Payne files, MG 30, A69, Vol.3, 1937. NAC, Ottawa 1987.
21. "See Canada by Canadian Pacific," poster by A.C. Leighton; File B-090, CP Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal, 1987.
22. "every craftsman in Ste. Anne worked on that house" (Noni Gibbon, Hudson, Que., 1987).
23. Anne (Nancy) Gibbon's guest book; Hudson, Que., 1987. Various spellings of their last name occur, but this is how it was written in the guest book.
24. Newton MacTavish, The Fine Arts in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1925), pp.145-46.
25. A Century of Canadian Art, catalogue. (London: The Tate Gallery, 1938), p.30.
26. No publishing information supplied, but ca.1934; listed in Canadian Art, its origin & development, by William Colgate (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1967), p.223.
27. "A C.P.R. Family Gathering" in Canadian Gazette (Montreal June 27, 1929), n.p.; PAC, Walter Payne Files, MG30, A69, Vol.2, Ottawa 1987.
28. Henry J. ("Harry") Woolmer, letter to the author, June 29, 1987; Harry worked for eight years in the CPR Publicity Department under Gibbon, and now lives in Islington, Ont.
29. Woolmer to the author, Sept. 1, 1987.
30. Ibid.
31. Phil Gibbon, in conversation, Dec. 1987.
32. Roderick Kennedy, "John Murray Gibbon," in Canadian Author and Bookman, Vol.XXVIII, No.1 (Toronto: Canadian Authors Association, Spring 1952), p.5.
33. Woolmer to the author, Sept. 1, 1987.
34. Gibbon to Madge Macbeth, Sept. 26, 1922; from Madge Macbeth File, NAC, Ottawa 1987.

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

35. Dawn Ades, Posters: The 20th-Century Poster - Design of the Avant-Garde (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), p.34.
36. Mildred Friedman, 1965; Ibid., pp.7-13.
37. Ibid.
38. The Annals of Tourism Research, Vol.16, No.1 (Menomonie, Wisc. 1989), will be a special issue: "The Semiotics of Tourism" with guest editor, Dean MacCannell.
39. He frequently signed his work 'PAL'; married, with a son, John; residence in Wilmette, Ill. (as of 1941). According to Gibbon (S to C), he kept a stable of horses near Chicago; but little else has been written about him despite his prolific career as an illustrator. A brief biography is found in P. Samuels, Encyclopedia of Artists in the American West (New York: Doubleday, 1976).
40. Banff photographer and movie maker, Byron Harmon, recorded the moment on camera, and a piece of the footage showing Palenske at work on the tent appears in the recent NFB film, Great Days in the Rockies (1983), #106B 0183 029.
41. Gibbon to Macbeth, handwritten two-page letter from Lake Windermere, Sept. 3, 1923; NAC, Ottawa 1987.
42. For example, the Trail Riders Certificate of Life Membership (No.26) for Carl Rungius, carries a copy of one such Palenske etching at the top and his signature, as president at the time, at the bottom. From Carl Rungius, File 32, A/R942B; Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, Calgary, 1987.
43. Gagnon, in Retrospective - Recollections of a Montreal Art Dealer by William R. Watson (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1974), p.43. Watson (1887-1973), in his Watson Art Galleries, Montreal, was the first art dealer to encourage and specialize in marketing the works of Canadian artists, and counted Gagnon, Cullen, Morrice, and Brymner among his personal friends.
44. "A Bargain for Trail Riders," in Trail Riders Bulletin, No. 64 (Montreal, Oct. 1941), p.21; from Rungius, 92, A/R942B, Glenbow, 1987.
45. For example, Trail Riders Bulletin, No.37 (Montreal, Oct. 1934); collection of the author.
46. The result was The Rocky Mountain Bighorn, depicting three mountain sheep, painted in situ. J. Whyte & E.J. Hart, Carl Rungius: Painter of the Western Wilderness (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre/Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1985), p.115.

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

47. Ibid., pp.142-43.
48. Carl Rungius, from "Carl Rungius: Artist and Trail Hiker," by Travers Coleman, in Skyline Hikers Bulletin, No.69 (Summer 1960), p.5; quoted Ibid., p.118.
49. Ibid., p.116.
50. John Gibbon, in conversation, Dec. 1987.
51. Rawle Knox, The Work of E H Shepard (London: Methuen, 1979), p.146. Sketches of Graham as a boy became proto-type for many of Shepard's 'schoolboy' drawings.
52. Ibid., p.150.
53. E.H. Shepard, Ibid., p.182.
54. Ibid.
55. "Canadian Pacific Wins Advertising Poster Award," possibly from The Spanner, CP's in-house organ (Montreal, ca.1937), n.p.; File B-090, CP Archives, Montreal 1987.
56. Canadian Pacific Staff Bulletin (Montreal, Nov. 5, 1941), n.p.; File B-090, CP Archives, Montreal 1987.
57. "Canadian Pacific...Award," opus cited., ca.1937.
58. Dave Jones in Canadian Pacific Poster Art, catalogue, n.p.
59. Natalie Luckyj, Visions and Victories: 10 Canadian Women Artists 1914-1945 (London, Ont.: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983), pp.15-16.
60. PAC, Picture Division files, Ottawa June 1987.
61. "Company is World Within World Says Artist Kathleen Shackleton," Canadian Pacific Staff Bulletin (Montreal, ca.1941), p.5.

FABIAN ETOM UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER SIX

"MANY SIDES"

When all his work for Canada, for Canadian writers and musicians and artists and for Canadian folk songs and handicrafts, is assessed, it will be remembered that back of an achievement that has meant more to this country than we can presently appraise, was a man...of very human and generous qualities.

- Leslie Gordon Barnard, 1945.¹

Despite the many demands on his time--arranging the company's advertising, organizing the folk festivals, and overseeing activities in the Rockies--Gibbon still managed to get some writing done. On one of his trips to New York he discovered the research resources available in the New York Public Library, and one such resource was a catalogue listing the music manuscripts in the collection of Christ Church, Oxford, a collection he was unable to access while a student there because he was not studying music. By writing for, and obtaining, photostats of scripts from old songbooks, he was able to renew his early interest in the union of poetry and music, which led to the publication of Melody and the Lyric - From Chaucer to the Cavaliers (London 1930).² Gibbon dedicated the book to the memory of William Chappell, early collector of English folk tunes, and in it provided musical evidence to support his belief that early English dance tunes inspired the poetry of early lyricists. Gibbon contended that without music, lyric poetry is a dusty, brittle thing, suggesting that lyrics have an 'amphibious' nature, "living half in words and half in music. Music is an element in which the literary critic can seldom swim, and therefore he notices the amphibian only when he finds it high and dry in a book."³ The notation and calligraphy for the examples used in the book were drawn by Fortunat Champagne who,

MAINTENANCE

in addition to performing with the Bytown Troubadours, was choirmaster at the Ottawa Basilica.⁴ Altogether, it was a landmark book, and in 1931, Gibbon was awarded the Prix David, an annual book prize of \$600 given by the Quebec government to an author domiciled in the province.⁵ It is slightly ironic that a Scot, writing about the origins of English folk music, should win a French-Canadian literary award for a book published in England.

The awarding of the Prix David brought Gibbon the friendly attentions of musicians and musicologists both. Sir Ernest Macmillan, for example, expressed his feeling on the award by saying "that no one in Canada is more completely in touch with the arts of literature and music at one and the same time. I have no idea when he found time to compile that fascinating and erudite volume...but I dare say he did it between courses at dinner."⁶ His contemporaries were always wondering aloud at Gibbon's productivity, but essentially he was a workaholic; his life was his job.⁷ Apparently, he worked as though driven to accomplish as much as possible in his remaining years. As his daughter-in-law later remembered, "he would just sit there in his chair writing poetry, as you would read a book to yourself, while listening to music that was beyond the range of the human voice....I remember how he kept working during an operation they did on his back....he kept on working while they were doing a spinal tap. Yes, just wrote right through the whole procedure."⁸

A bladder operation in 1932 forced him to rest for two months, and to amuse himself, he gathered about him a large selection of records and a phonograph. He found that by repeatedly listening to a piece of classical music, he was able to compose lyrics to it subconsciously and automatically. "He would play something over and over on his record player, then go to sleep and wake up to his pen and paper and the words would be there."⁹ When publisher Hugh Dent heard about this new diversion, he proposed that Gibbon write a book on the game, using music from the public domain and providing history and

[illegible]

anecdotal information to broaden the appeal.

Gibbon finished the necessary research for the book by the Fall; meanwhile, he had written a flippant article for The Canadian Forum on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)'s parsimonious treatment of its artists, based on complaints from British performers he knew, and at the same time offered his own suggestions for dealing with the Canadian Radio League and the threat of a government monopoly of broadcasting.¹⁰ The response in the following month's issue came from none other than Graham Spry,¹¹ who could not decide whether or not Gibbon was serious. The brass of the BBC chose to believe that he was; which accounted for the chilly response Gibbon received from Sir John Reith, head of the BBC, when he officially met Sir John and Lady Reith in Montreal, one day that summer. They were on their way to New York, but wanted to meet the presidents of the CNR and the CPR first. Gibbon drew the detail because Sir John was a cousin,¹² and he had to talk a great deal before the 'Beeb' chief thawed out enough to chat. Before the Reiths left Montreal, it was arranged with E.W. Beatty that Gibbon would take an educational trip to the BBC plant for a crash course on their methods and broadcasting policies.

When he reached England, Sir John Reith placed Gibbon under the care of Major Gladstone Murray, and it was through him that Gibbon met the editor of the Gramophone magazine, Christopher Stone. Stone had recently (Christmas issue, 1931) accepted an article Gibbon wrote, called "Gramopnoems - A New Game for Low Brows,"¹³ and when he heard about the impending book, agreed to write the introduction and have posters printed to publicize it. When Hugh Dent learned that Stone was thus involved, he hurried publication and 5,000 copies of the book were on the stands by January of 1933.¹⁴ For the notation examples included in the book, Gibbon once again relied on Fortunat Champagne, and illustrations liberally scattered throughout were done by C.R. Greenwood.¹⁵ Though Stone disclaimed the notion in his

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

introduction that the 'game' was intended purely as diversion, Gibbon wrote in the second chapter that (in terms of music history and theory) others shared his opinion "that there is educational value in this method of musical appreciation."¹⁶ No publication that Gibbon put his name to ever lacked a purpose, and perhaps the motive for this work was "to restore the practice of experimenting with metrical forms, and in this way enrich poetry by the resulting diversity."¹⁷

An interesting experience that Gibbon had following the book's publication, evolved after Lionel Daunais, a Montreal tenor, sang a selection from Magic of Melody on an American radio broadcast. The song was from Schubert's "Moments Musicaux, Opus 94, No.3 (All' Ungharese)," and Gibbon's lyrics were based on a typical Hungarian folksong theme.¹⁸ The broadcast was heard by the celebrated Austrian-born contralto, Madame Ernestine Schumann-Heink (1861-1936), then domiciled in Chicago, who contacted Gibbon through an American music critic she knew named Carlton White.¹⁹ In response, Gibbon sent her copies of Magic of Melody and Melody and the Lyric; and immediately following the 1934 annual trek of the Trail Riders, he visited her in Chicago.²⁰ She was obviously a singer Gibbon held in high regard, for a large part of their meeting was spent in his asking her blessing on his English lyrics, in a Canadian context, to works from the classical repertoire.²¹ Among them were his words to Brahms's Sapphische Ode, that he called "Idle Clouds," and the haunting Gregorian chant, "Tonus Peregrinus," that he called "In the Forest." The latter, Gibbon claimed, was recognizable as the psalm In Exitu Israel and was supposedly sung at the Last Supper, but in current useage, it had evolved into a spinning wheel song sung by French-Canadian habitant women.²²

Around the same time, Gibbon was commissioned by the Bobbs-Merrill Company publishers of Indianapolis to write a history of the CPR, as part of a series on North American railways. He got permission from Beatty to undertake the work by suggesting that

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

the company's keynote historical event was their winning the Pacific Mail Subsidy in 1887.²³ It was Gibbon's most ambitious book yet--involving colour photographs of painted portraits and landscapes, B & W location photos, maps, drawings, cartoons from Punch, reproductions of Japanese woodblock prints, etchings, music notation, histories, letters, anecdotes and liberal quotes --still referred to up the present day whenever his name is mentioned. 'E.W.B.' was knighted Sir Edward Beatty, G.C.B., on June 1, 1935, and this announcement concludes the final paragraph of Steel of Empire: The Romantic History of the Canadian Pacific (Indianapolis 1935).²⁴

The CPR continued developing its services in 1930, almost in spite of the financial pressure caused by the stock market collapse only a few months prior. The company built two new hotels in Nova Scotia, one at Kentville, the other at Yarmouth; added a golf course to the Pines Hotel at Digby, Nova Scotia; built a new clubhouse on the Banff Springs golf course; laid the groundwork for a new hotel in London, England; and made improvements to Winnipeg's Royal Alexandra Hotel.²⁵ In May of that year, CP Telegraphs moved into radio broadcasting by sponsoring some local programs of cowboy music on CFCN in Calgary.²⁶ The first Dominion-wide broadcasts, weekly broadcasts originating from the Banff Springs Hotel, were organized by Gibbon and used the artists engaged for the summer to entertain hotel guests. The Alfred Heather Light Opera Company, led by Alfred Heather (1876-1932), performed Gilbert & Sullivan and other vocals for the guests and provided musical support, for the ballad operas presented at the annual Highland Gatherings, between 1929 and 1931.²⁷ These entertainers formed the nucleus of Gibbon's weekly show. Gibbon supervised the summer broadcasts of 1930, preparing scripts and generally publicizing the CPR's hotel and tourist facilities. The hotel orchestra was from Winnipeg, directed by Lafe Cassidy, and the performers included Herbert Hewetson, Heather, Allan Burt of Chicago, and Enid Gray

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

and Jean Haig of Toronto.²⁸ Gibbon found that through radio shows he could continue promoting his ideas for a national cultural awareness by demonstrating through music Canada's place in the world picture. A program along these lines was "Melody Mike's Music Shop," a half-hour variety show heard Monday nights, which drew attention to the company's divisional point in the railway. Melody Junction was touted as the CPR centre for adventures in music, and outstanding Canadian performers were introduced to the listening public, coast-to-coast.²⁹

"Melody Mike's" and two other radio programmes were being advertised in CPR literature by the Fall of 1930. The "Friday Evening" show was divided in two--a half-hour of vocals, directed by Alfred Heather, and a light symphony half-hour, featuring Rex Battle's Light Symphony Orchestra³⁰--and broadcast live from the CPR's Toronto venue, the Royal York Hotel.³¹ The third featured program ran Sunday afternoons for thirteen weeks, commencing in October, 1930. "Musical Crusaders" was the first Canadian sponsored broadcast to be transmitted over an American network. In affiliation with WJZ and the National Broadcasting Company, the Royal York-originated show reached over a dozen major cities in the U.S.A.³² The 'musical crusaders' were a group of musicians supposedly voyaging on the Empress of Australia, singing the songs of countries visited on the ship's round-the-world cruise. The music used for the series was researched and arranged in New York by Montreal organist, George Brewer.³³ The shows were designed by Gibbon, written by Canadian tenor, Stanley Maxted, and produced by Alfred Heather, and featured such performers as George Patton, Mary Frances James, John Detweiler, Beatrice Morson, and Billie Bell.³⁴

Beatty elected to remove the CPR from the political arena surrounding the Canadian government's concern over private versus public broadcasting, satisfied to share, with CN Telegraph, the transmission of government radio. The CPR's publicity campaigns were not interrupted, however, and Gibbon continued to use the

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

media for promoting the company image. Chief announcer for the CPR broadcasts was Charles Jennings, and Gibbon worked with him within the new structure, reading and writing material for broadcast until the day Jennings had to tell him that his Scots Doric was too pronounced, and Gibbon was replaced by a more Canadian-sounding announcer.³⁵

The creation of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1936, and the subsequent cessation of CPR radio programs, did not cause Gibbon to quit the field entirely. He had, since his arrival in Canada, been impressed by the country's great diversity of ethnic groups, and the entertaining variety of cultures represented in the folk music and dance festivals had further impressed on him what a racial mix we are. The warm public response to these performances entrenched his belief in music as a wonderful communication tool, and his opinion that through music, good will among diverse cultures could be achieved. When, therefore, he was approached by Leonard W. Brockington, Chairman of the CBC, and Gladstone Murray, imported by Brockington from the BBC to serve as General Manager of the CBC, to suggest new program ideas for the national audience, Gibbon advised them to grasp this opportunity to spread "the gospel of mutual understanding among the many racial groups scattered throughout the country."³⁶ He suggested that programs featuring the culture and folksongs of European-Canadians would appeal to large audiences of listeners in each of the nine provinces. After some discussion, the two CBC representatives asked Gibbon to write and prepare scripts for a series of half-hour programs, each one devoted to the folk music of a different country. For material, Gibbon had only to look as far as his collection from the folksong festivals of the late 'Twenties, and for continuity, newspaper clippings, quotations from contemporary sources, and general knowledge from his own library and love of Canadian history.

The radio series began early in 1938 under the title,

CARLEIGH UNIVERSITY

"Canadian Mosaic," each show stressing the contributions made to the overall 'mosaic' of Canadian life by each of the featured cultures. Aside from Gibbon, the program's personnel included announcer Charles Jennings, Sir Ernest MacMillan as the arranger, the Toronto Conservatory String Quartet, and singer Frances James, who was still Gibbon's favourite interpreter of his songs.³⁷ It was, of course, a tremendous publicity opportunity for impressing on the country's collective mind how instrumental the CFP had been in settling this vast land, but more importantly for Gibbon, the series gave him another shot at reminding Canadians of their cultural roots. The shows were not as elaborate as the festivals had been, but they were less costly, reached a much wider audience and demonstrated, perhaps unconsciously, that the romantic and cultural values of the Golden Age were hardy enough to survive technological change. The tenets of folk culture recited that Gibbon espoused were not based solely on English origins, as Cecil Sharp's were, but on more of a universal brotherhood theme that embraced many racial groups at once. As he would later write,

I found one good way of creating a better mutual understanding between these groups was by making their folksongs and folkdances better known to each other. . . Out of the general theme of better relations between racial groups there has developed in my mind a particular application of that theme to Canadian song. Music is a universal language. . . Whatever our race may be, we can find common ground in the music of Chopin, and in that music our sympathy for Poland is heightened. So too the music of Grieg brings those of us who are musically inclined closer to the Norwegians, and the music of Dvorak to the Czechs, and the music of Tchaikowsky to the Russian.

In order to ease the assimilation of foreign songs by the average Canadian listener, Gibbon supplemented the original lyrics with new words, describing the Canadian experience but keeping to the emotional sense of the originals. In this way, he felt that the normal reactions of people to language and things they did not understand, such as turning their backs or ignoring the existence of a foreign concept, could be overcome, and that

PAPE ETON UNIVERSITY

with understanding would come unity.

Among the listeners to Gibbon's program was John McClelland, of McClelland and Stewart publishing fame, who asked him to write a book, with illustrations, on the theme of the radio series. Gibbon based the text largely on ten scripts used for broadcasts, and called the book by the same name as the radio series for the sake of continuity. It was not until he was nearly finished the book that he discovered he was not the first to use the idea of a mosaic to describe the national character. An American writer, Victoria Hayward, used the word in reference to the variety of architectural styles that rose in the Prairies with the arrival of 'The New Canadians.'³⁹ A second writer, Kate A. Foster of Toronto, wrote an extensive survey for the Y.W.C.A. to be used as a social worker's manual and published it as Our Canadian Mosaic (1926). Gibbon offered to change his title but she conceded that her statistics were out of date, and waived her rights to it.⁴⁰ Although he was obviously not the first to use 'mosaic' to describe Canada's racial mix, it can be argued that Gibbon's analogy was the most influential because of his book appearing in tandem with the radio programs. As well, he went into a more descriptive comparison to secure his right to the 'mosaic' imagery:

The Canadian people today presents itself as a decorated surface, bright with inlays of separate coloured pieces, not painted in colours blended with brush on palette. The original background in which the inlays are set is still visible, but these inlays cover more space than that background, and so the ensemble may truly be called a mosaic.⁴¹

Though somewhat conservative and romantic, Gibbon's concept of Canada containing a wealth of cultural riches offers a welcome relief from the destructive racism of some of his contemporaries. Stephen Leacock, for example, wrote with such unconcealed loathing for foreign immigrants that it is a wonder he is only remembered for his humour. Author Ralph Curry has even written about him as a humourist and a humanist.⁴² In one of his milder jibes, Leacock waxed on the pro's and con's of immigrants, saying

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

that "a little dose of them may even by variation, do good, like a minute dose of poison in a medicine....I am not saying that we should absolutely shut out...the European foreigner, as we should and do shut out the Oriental. But we should in no way facilitate his coming."⁴³ One wonders what Gibbon's approach to Canada would have been if he had had to endure the same racial discrimination and face the same social barriers that were put in front of many Europeans. Fortunately for him, Gibbon belonged to what has been designated as a "charter group," the Scots.⁴⁴ As a 'charter' member of Canadian society--a representative of one of the first ethnic groups to enter essentially unpopulated territory--Gibbon 'inherited' his right to control and to decide who was allowed to enter 'his' group's territory. At least, this is one perception, right or wrong, of Canada's social hierarchy,⁴⁵ and right or wrong, the fact that Gibbon did not experience the same racial abuse as members of 'non-charter' groups exposes a weakness in his romantic and idealistic belief that the colour inlays of his mosaic would adhere once coated with layers of music and brotherhood. As cynical as this seems, the reality is that Gibbon's mosaic denied the political, social and economic barriers that confronted the New Canadians in their pursuit of his promised cultural harmony; and yet, possibly because of the simple naivete behind his dream for peaceful coexistence, Gibbon's national unity imagery is uplifting, optimistically buoying immigrants up in the mire of reality and providing them with loftier goals on which to set their sights.

Gibbon's Canadian Mosaic was published in 1938. In addition to stock photographs and archival reproductions of early engravings, the visuals in the book represent a wide cross-section of the artists Gibbon worked with over the years. Among those whose work is represented are Nicholas Morant, Alfred Laliberté, C.W. Jefferys, Stanley F. Turner, Charles Sheldon, Cyrus Cuneo, Frank S. Panabaker, Edith Watson, and Nicholas Hornyansky. A special feature is a set of colour sketches and

portraits of various immigrant types by Kathleen Shackleton, Walter J. Phillips, R.H. Palenske, Nicholas de Grandmaison, Ernest Neumann, and James Crockart. What this show of artistic support demonstrates is that when there were jobs or rewards, Gibbon never forgot his friends. Neither was he forgotten, for the Canadian Authors Association awarded Gibbon's Canadian Mosaic the Governor-General's Award for best non-fiction book of 1938. The president of the CAA at that time, Leslie Gordon Barnard, wrote in an editorial how appropriate it was for this award-winning book to appear in time for National Book Week, an annual event Gibbon originated seventeen years before.⁴⁶ To support the recipient of the award, Barnard went on to say that when the survival of national spirit is in question, it is the literature of the nation that is "the ultimate measure of our intellectual progress."⁴⁷ At the CAA's formal awards dinner Gibbon, speaking in the same vein, advised authors in the audience that if they wanted to be sure their books were being read, they had to get busy and "win one of these medals."⁴⁸

The success of Canadian Mosaic, both as a book and as a radio program, was, in a sense, a spin-off from the momentum of Gibbon's other radio and book projects. One of these entailed the preparation of songbooks for use in the public schools. Sir Hugh Robertson, well-known conductor of Glasgow's Orpheus Choir, was adjudicating various Canadian music festivals in the mid-1930s and noticed that children's choirs were performing songs with which they could not possibly identify. He commented on this to Gibbon, and obviously to others as well, for G. Roy Fenwick, then Supervisor of Music for Ontario, offered to sponsor publication of a selection of songs Gibbon had written on Canadian themes. Gordon V. Thompson Publishers, Toronto, accepted a folio of songs from Gibbon that were arranged for piano by Harold Eustace Key and published them as Northland Songs No.1 (Toronto 1936).⁴⁹ These were so well received and endorsed by educational authorities in various parts of the country that a

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

second folio of songs about the nine provinces, this time arranged by Sir Ernest Macmillan, was published as Northland Songs No.2 (Toronto 1938).⁵⁰ Their popularity was noticed by producers for the CBC and Frances James was hired to sing them for the network, with R.C.A. Victor pressing recordings of them at the same time.⁵¹ Her performance, in turn, was heard by Dr. Lorne Pierce, of the Ryerson Press, who commissioned Gibbon to prepare a book of sixty such ballads using Canadian themes. Ryerson Press would publish an illustrated book of melodies only, no arrangements; so, using some of the songs that appeared in Northland Songs No.1 and enlisting the aid of some of his artist friends, among them Walter J. Phillips, R.C.A., Gibbon compiled his New World Ballads (Toronto 1939).

The Second World War, as had the First World War, greatly affected British patriots living in Canada. Gibbon's contribution to the war effort, outside of the CPR's involvement in shipping and transport, was to write and arrange programs and choral concerts for radio broadcast, and continue to develop and support Canada's artistic growth. Among his radio projects at this time were two series of programs on CBC that were based on New World Ballads: one featured the Westhill High School Singers of Montreal, performing twelve of Gibbon's ballads arranged by Irvin Cooper; and the other, eleven of his songs arranged by Leslie R. Bell and performed by graduates of Toronto high schools.⁵² These shows ran Friday evenings, and were picked up by the Columbia network for American affiliate stations. A small portfolio of Cooper's arrangements of the songs was published as Pioneer Songs of Canada (1941), as were Bell's arrangements, in Canada in Song (1941), both by Gordon V. Thompson Publishers of Toronto.⁵³

Gibbon's pro-British sentiments were expressed in a CBC series on music and British poetry that ran over the national network for thirteen weeks in 1941.⁵⁴ Heritage of Song, loosely based on his Melody and the Lyric (1930), was produced by Toronto

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

musician, John Adaskin, and in addition to Gibbon's historical continuities, featured arrangements by Bernard Naylor, the piano accompaniment of Louis Crerar, and the voices of Frances James and tenor William Morton.⁵⁵ This series proved so popular that Gibbon organized, in collaboration with Claude Champagne, a sequel in 1942 of French music, featuring the voices of contralto Anne Malenfant, and tenors Jules Jacob and Lionel Daunais.⁵⁶ That same year, to mark Montreal's Tercentenary celebration, Gibbon presented a musical history of Montreal for the Civic Improvement League, at which the English version of his song, "Our Old Montreal," was sung by Frances James, followed by a French version, adapted by Robert Choquette, performed by a choir of city employees.⁵⁷ One other musical 'moment' for Gibbon at this time came during the Fourth Victory Loan Campaign of 1943. The slogan for the campaign was "Back the Attack" and making that the tag in his chorus, Gibbon wrote the title and lyrics to a melody written by Murray Adaskin, between them penning a hit song that, in the words of one writer, was "sweeping the Dominion."⁵⁸

The list of endeavours Gibbon undertook during these years is a long one, and such is the scope of this thesis that only a few highlights can be examined. Promoting the image of the CPR was synonymous with promoting Canadian culture, and the two pursuits were never very far away in purpose from whatever other activities he engaged in. His skills as an organizer, developer, and animateur for the CPR are, perhaps, nowhere as evident within the company machinery as in the structure of his own department.

The Publicity Department of the CPR had grown in size largely because of Gibbon's expansive ideas for promoting the company on a worldwide scale. In the beginning, Lord Shaughnessy found the business of promotion to be more than he alone could handle, and had hired Gibbon for the European office because the company's success in that market warranted having another imaginative person sharing the promotional duties. Gibbon

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

eventually had to hire an assistant, and then others as he got busier, so that by the time he left London in 1913, his publicity staff had grown to twelve. Then, becoming as embroiled in everything as only an effective publicist can in Canada, he soon required a larger support staff, and by 1929, his Montreal publicity department numbered forty-eight employees.⁵⁹ An example of their effectiveness is found in the case of the CPR's property in Toronto, the Royal York Hotel. The 1,089 rooms were fully booked, for months in advance, by the time it opened in 1929.⁶⁰ The department published a 258-page book for CPR employees, Canadian Pacific Facts and Figures (1937)⁶¹ in which every section of the company's operations is discussed; and a brief look at their own composition is enlightening.

It is worth noting that when Gibbon became the CPR's first General Publicity Agent, he was a department of one. Two dozen years later, the department consisted of four sections--Advertising, Press Bureau, Photograph Department, and Art Department--and was responsible for distributing more than one and a half million copies of CP publications throughout the world.⁶² The advertising section handled display advertisements for print media, originated folders and brochures (111 publications in 1936)⁶³, and selected the visuals used for promotion. The press bureau, with branch offices in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, Chicago, New York, and London, England, kept CPR staff and the rest of the world informed of the company's activities. The photograph department photostatted important documents, maintained a file of thousands of negatives for promotional use, and had an active staff of photographers who covered publicity events. They were also responsible for the maintenance of lantern slides and motion pictures. The art department was responsible for preparing layouts for menus, posters, booklets, brochures, maps and props. Supplementing these activities were the Exhibits Branch, responsible for displays and international trade and commerce exhibitions, and

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

the Passenger Traffic Department, especially their General Tourist Agent whose job was to field inquiries and dispense travel information, and the Travelling Passenger Agent who 'sold' CPR services to industry and tourist alike.⁶⁴ The extent to which the Publicity Department had expanded gives a clear indication of the company's growth, which, in turn, reflects directly on Gibbon's performance in his publicity role. A fine example of his approach to multi-level advertising was a full-page advertisement he designed with CAA members in mind. The 1941 annual convention of the CAA was being held in Victoria at the Empress Hotel, no doubt something he arranged through the company, and he seems to have covered all of the bases in the one advertisement:

Going to the Convention?

Stop over at Banff, Lake Louise in the
CANADIAN ROCKIES

On your way to or from the west get inspiration for story, poem or play by stopping off at Banff...or a rustic lodge at Lake O'Hara, [etc.]...Ask about the Sky Line Trail Hikers' Camp August 1 to 5 in Kootenay National Park...Then, be the guest of the EMPRESS HOTEL, headquarters of the Victoria sessions of the Convention.⁶⁵

Gibbon reached retirement age in 1940, but staff shortages caused by the war were such that he was asked to stay on. An incentive for him to remain in an active role came that same year in the form of an honorary doctorate (LL.D.) from the University of Montreal, in recognition of his contributions to the promotion of French-Canadian culture and folkmusic; his old collaborator, Marius Barbeau, was likewise honoured at the same time. In his memoirs, Gibbon admits to having been embarrassed by the 'accolade' placed on both cheeks by Monseigneur Moreau.⁶⁶ The following year, he was invited to become the President of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, with the understanding that part of his duties would be to use his railway pass and visit all the Guild's branches across the country. This charge he was pleased to accept, for he had observed in the displays of handicraft at the folk festivals that it was as much an international language

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

if he would write the history of nursing in Canada. The history was to be used as a textbook by nurses in training, and Gibbon was to be given free rein in his research and open access to records and files. He accepted the challenge but combined business with pleasure, beginning his research on the West Coast after going on the annual Trail Ride.⁷¹ In the process he gathered enough material for a small folio of songs nurses sang to patients and to each other, and in time for the association's annual banquet, he had published Nursing Songs of Canada (1946).⁷² This was followed in short order by Three Centuries of Canadian Nursing, co-authored by Mary Mathewson (she provided the files), and V.O.N., both published by MacMillan in 1947.⁷³

Gibbon continued writing and publishing throughout his final years: Brahms and Schubert Songs Transplanted (Toronto: Gordon V. Thompson, 1944); Songs of the Commonwealth, ed. by Gibbon and G. Roy Fenwick (Toronto: Gordon V. Thompson, 1945); Our Old Montreal (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1947); Canadian Cadences (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1949); New Colour for the Canadian Mosaic (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1951); and The Romance of the Canadian Canoe (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951). A book that never got published, because of a printers strike and other complications, was a children's book, "Grandma Canada Goose," for which artist Kathleen Shackleton had prepared most of the drawings. Gibbon was very interested in Indian lore and, in correspondence with author-publisher Charles Clay, expressed his desire to produce this book so that the tales were kept alive.⁷⁴ In addition to the above works, Gibbon had continued his obligation to the Royal Society of Canada by researching and writing papers on multiculturalism, the New Canadians, and music and poetry.⁷⁵

The 1940s proved to be rich in rewards and memories for Gibbon, despite the war and his advancing age. One of the first awards of the decade was a silver medal from the Association of Canadian Advertisers, presented at the A.C.A. Annual Advertising

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

raw beautiful land, these were Gibbon's spiritual family, and it would have taken a master juggler to have kept all of the props in play and still accomplish everything that Gibbon did. But the memories of Gibbon expressed by numerous writers carry in them a kind of awe, gilding his accomplishments with something akin to heroic pride. For example, consider the words of an unknown staff writer on the Montreal Gazette:

it was just the sensitiveness in the man that gave him his rare power of sympathetic understanding. All the people of varied races whom he met found in him a kindly and appreciative friend, who was quick to value and appreciate the things that meant most to them in their traditions and in their new way of life....No man has loved Canada more.⁸⁷

The last statement could be true; at least, if his accomplishments on our behalf are any indication. Certainly, he must have loved Canada a great deal to convince countless thousands of tourists to visit this country without giving them any idea who was responsible for the invitation. In terms of projecting an image of the country as represented by the CPR, Gibbon's working slogans--"Spans the World," "See this World Before the Next," and "World's Greatest Travel System"--were highly successful in placing the word 'Canadian' into a worldwide context. Gibbon's ambition for Canada, that its appeal for culture and tourism might become synchronistic with an international image of Canada as successfully multicultural and nationally unified, was a lofty one, originally inspired by a national romantic school conception of the land as a rugged wilderness peopled with noble savages. Once he was surrounded by the land and forced to modify his impression, he was still able to view Canada with a romantic appreciation for its untapped potential for tourism and its unloved artistic self. Using his job as a vehicle to travel within the country and 'feel' its pulse, and caressing its wounded artistic pride, Gibbon was soon tapping the potential and giving the artistic community the love it lacked. To fuel his own need for aesthetic satisfaction, he escaped to the Rockies and rediscovered the senses of time and

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

Y-Oak Son Pan-han-bopah Tay, Chief Han-oi-Kang-Chien,
1944. [from Chiang Kai-shek (Chiang Kai-shek)]

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

J.T. Thorson, President of the Exchequer Court of Canada. After a good meal, the speechmaking began and Gibbon realized they were all lavishing him with praise; then H.T. Jamieson, on behalf of CAPAC, presented Gibbon with a cheque for \$1,000 in appreciation "for an outstanding contribution to culture in the Dominion."** A souvenir booklet was later produced by Charles Clay that included excerpts from some of the speeches and Gibbon's extemporaneous reply; a reproduction of a scroll signed by those in attendance; a poem written on the evening by Percy Philip, President of the Parliamentary Press Gallery; a portrait of Gibbon photographed by Nakash of Montreal (Yosef Karsh's cousin); and a bibliography of works by Gibbon related to music.*'

Gibbon was elected as the Canadian delegate to an International Folk Music Council Convention in London, in 1947, which gave him an opportunity renew his friendship with composer Ralph Vaughan Williams, who chaired the convention. One day, an excursion took conventioners to visit Oxford, giving Gibbon a chance to see his old stomping grounds again. The opportunity came after the convention to visit with family not seen since before the war; it was to be his last visit.*' A 'last but not least' award came Gibbon's way in 1949. "*Propter operam summam ad litteras patrias augendas*"** (To mark outstanding effort towards increasing the national literature), he was presented with the Lorne Pierce Gold Medal of the Royal Society of Canada at a special awards ceremony in Halifax. The citation speech was made by Gibbon's old friend, B.K. Sandwell, who said, in part, that

only those who can recall the manner in which [the] traditional arts were ignored by the "cultured" elements of the country before World War I can realize the extent of the revolution which was started by Dr. Gibbon when he set himself to make them an important and essential part of the picture of Canada as envisaged by the world at large....the change which has happened in a single generation is largely the result of the discernment, courage, and tenacity of this one man.*'

In 1952, Gibbon's health deteriorated rapidly and he entered

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital. He had been planning to attend the CAA Conference in London, England, where he was scheduled to speak, but he ended up finishing the writing of the speech in the hospital. Roderick Kennedy visited him there, and Gibbon got him to agree to deliver the speech in his stead.

Two weeks later, Gibbon was dead.⁸⁵ At the time of his death, he was engaged in a project begun the year before at the CAA convention at the Banff School of Fine Arts. He had proposed that Canada should have its own Poets' Corner, attached to the new National Library that the recent Massey Commission was including in its recommendations of 1951. His proposal received unanimous support and Gibbon, appointed chairman of the committee to accomplish the task, noted that "the prospects of accomplishing something worthwhile are good."⁸⁶ Although there is evidence that a long correspondence ensued between Gibbon and whoever had the job of making such decisions, the idea seems to have died with the dreamer. Perhaps one day, the National Library will realize what a good idea that was.

As befitted his training as a classical scholar, Gibbon's ambition for culture in Canada was Hellenic in proportion. He sought to create a cultural atmosphere in which artists, writers and performers could apply their talents in the service of defining an identifiably Canadian civilization. As has been mentioned previously, his view of his personal role in promoting Canadian culture and his view of the CPR's mandate for developing itself within Canada were synonymous with his belief that his was the correct path to follow toward national unity. Gibbon assumed the mantle of interpreter, translating Canada to Canadians, very seriously; just as his job was his life, Canada was his life. In his memoirs, Gibbon admits that he was not a family man in the sense of staying home and playing with the children; the energy and love that that role would take had already been expended on Canada. Canadians, the collective mass, their culture and their

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

raw beautiful land, these were Gibbon's spiritual family, and it would have taken a master juggler to have kept all of the props in play and still accomplish everything that Gibbon did. But the memories of Gibbon expressed by numerous writers carry in them a kind of awe, gilding his accomplishments with something akin to heroic pride. For example, consider the words of an unknown staff writer on the Montreal Gazette:

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CARLETON UNIVERSITY

space that were missing from city life. The idea may have come to him then, the idea of combining the arts and the natural attractiveness of the mountains to appeal to tourists looking for communion with Man and Nature, both at the same time.

Recognizing the ages-old work of the forces of Nature in shaping the Canadian Rockies and its young history--of known Indian activities in the region, of the fur trade, prospecting and railroad expansion--is part of the space and time continuum that provides the foundation for a national literature and art inspired by visual landscape. George Woodcock has suggested¹ that only in the 'predictable' landscape of the wilderness is the space and time continuum maintained. In the cities, where the skyline changes as buildings are replaced every quarter century or so, history is ignored. Literature and the arts can then only be transient, as they "run out of time," and as the city environment encroaches, the inhabitants run out of space.² History, the landscape, and our recognizable past must be preserved and visible for our arts to grow. Use tourism and the economics of increasing revenues as an excuse, if one is necessary, but it is imperative to maintain our wealth of time and space as a yardstick for our cultural identity.

Gibbon realized this need, and by linking the elements that, once combined, serve to signify the complexity of the whole, he attempted to solidify all those components of Canadian identity into a recognizable form. As an immigrant, he was able to regard Canada from the intellectual safety of aesthetic distance, and by doing so, he could perceive where the strengths and weaknesses lay. In order for him to carve a niche for himself, in the Canadian Shield, as it were, he had to consolidate his talents and focus on untapping similar latent talents, in the Canadian national cultural self-image, buried under the detritus of neglect. Gibbon saw that in order to improve the country's image abroad, it was necessary to improve its citizens' perceived self-image from within, and to do that

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

meant reviving the gentle and humanistic elements of its national character, namely the arts. His job as the image-builder for a nation-wide corporation enabled him to initiate change and encourage creativity for the sake of unity and growth. In the words of one who knew him, "John Murray Gibbon...turned the tasks of propaganda into genuine projects for the enrichment of the cultural life of his adopted country. No man in the twentieth century has done more for the spiritual integration of the Canadian people."⁹⁰ Gibbon knew that once the arts were flourishing, tourism, trade and commerce would keep pace, until the land loved itself again. It took a World War to revive that self-confidence, and a man of many sides to guide the rebuilding of the Canada he saw, a vibrant land of peace and cultural promise.

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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

CHAPTER SIX - ENDNOTES

1. Leslie Gordon Barnard, "John Murray Gibbon: An Appreciation," in Canadian Review of Music and Art, Vol.4, No.1 & 2, (Toronto 1945), p.19.
2. Gibbon, S to C, p.126.
3. Gibbon, Melody and the Lyric - From Chaucer to the Cavaliers (London: Dent, 1930), p.viii.
4. Ibid., p.ix.
5. Gibbon, S to C, p.167.
6. Sir Ernest Macmillan, "Tribute to a Nation Builder" (1946), p.14.
7. Phil Gibbon, in conversation, Ottawa, Jan. 1988.
8. Noni Gibbon, in conversation, Hudson, Quebec, Dec.1987. In this instance, he wrote the lyrics for a song, during the operation and while under local anaesthetic, that was included in his book, Magic of Melody (London 1933).
9. Idem.
10. Gibbon, "Radio as a Fine Art," in The Canadian Forum Vol.XI, No.126 (Toronto: Dent, March 1931), pp.212-14.
11. Graham Spry, "The Canadian Broadcasting Issue," in The Canadian Forum Vol.XI, No.127 (Toronto: Dent, April 1931), pp.246-49.
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13. Introductory note by Christopher Stone, for Gibbon's Magic of Melody (London: Dent, 1933), pp.vii-xi.
14. Gibbon, S to C, p.172.
15. Gibbon, Magic of Melody, pp.27, iii.
16. Ibid., p.26.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p.79.
19. Gibbon, S to C, p.173. It was to Madame Schumann-Heink that composer Johannes Brahms dedicated his Sapphische Ode (Ibid. p.175).
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., pp.173-76. Schumann-Heink, though age 73 at the time of this meeting, expected to perform in Toronto, and asked Gibbon to help her choose some French-Canadian folksongs for that concert. (Ibid.)

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

22. Ibid., p.191.
23. Awarded to the CPR by Lord Salisbury, after the first Colonial Conference, London, 1887, to strengthen the British position in the Pacific. Gibbon, Steel of Empire (Indianapolis 1935), pp.311-15.
24. Also published as The Romantic History of the Canadian Pacific: the Northwest Passage of Today (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1937).
25. D.H. Miller-Barstow, Beatty of the C.P.R. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1951), p.101.
26. Gordana Lazarevich, "The Musical World,(etc)." MS. (Victoria 1987), p.116.
27. Ibid., p.35.
28. Harry Woolmer, letter to David Jones, Nov. 7, 1984; Gibbon File, CP Archives, Montreal, 1987.
29. Inside front cover, Folkdance - Folksong and Handicrafts Festival, Friday evening (Quebec: CPR, Oct. 17, 1930) p.2.
30. Ibid.
31. "Broadcasting," EMC, p.117.
32. Lazarevich, "The Musical World (etc.)," p.116-17.
33. Gibbon, S to C, p.166.
34. (Folk) Festival program, Friday evening (Quebec: CPR, Oct. 17, 1930), p.2.
35. Gibbon, S to C, p.172.
36. Gibbon, S to C, p.182.
37. Lazarevich, "The Musical World, etc.," p. 118.
38. Gibbon, "Your Theme is Your Author," in Canadian Review of Music and Art (Toronto, Feb. 1942), pp.4-5.
39. Victoria Hayward, Romantic Canada (Toronto: Macmillan & Company, 1922).
40. Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic - The Making of a Northern Nation (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1938), p.ix.
41. Ibid., p.viii.
42. Ralph Curry, Stephen Leacock: Humorist (New York 1959),p.146.
43. Stephen Leacock, quoted in John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto 1965), p.67.
44. Porter, Vertical, p.60.
45. Ibid.

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46. Leslie Gordon Barnard, "Book Week - And After" in The Canadian Author Vol.XVI, No.1 (Toronto: CAA, Autumn 1938), p.3.
47. Ibid.
48. Gibbon, speaking at "The Annual Dinner," Canadian Author and Bookman Vol.XVI, No.3 (Toronto, October 1939), p.32.
49. Gibbon, S to C, p.185.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid. The R.C.A. Victor recording numbers are in series, 2165-87, -88, -89, and -90. Some copies are available in the collection of the National Library, Music Division, Ottawa.
52. Gibbon, "Your Theme is Your Author," in Canadian Author and Bookman (Feb. 1942), p.5.
53. Ibid. Several of these songs were recorded by Frances James, Stanley Maxted, and various choirs, on R.C.A. Victor, copies of which can be found in the National Library, Music Division, Ottawa.
54. Lazarevich, "The Musical World," p.183-84.
55. Ibid. Morton's distinguished career in Canada included a period of years teaching voice in Vancouver to promising young Canadian tenors, among them A.G. "Pat" Kines(1922-1982).
56. Ibid.
57. Gibbon, S to C, p.187.
58. Unknown writer, Canadian Author and Bookman, Vol.XIX, No.1, (Toronto: CAA, March 1943), p.8.
59. Charles W. Stokes, in "A C.P.R. Family Gathering," Canadian Gazette (London, June 27, 1929), n.p.
60. Ibid.
61. Canadian Pacific Facts and Figures, comp. and ed. by the General Publicity Department (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Foundation Library, 1937).
62. Ibid., p.246.
63. Ibid., p.247.
64. Ibid., p.247.
65. "Going to the Convention?" advertisement. Canadian Author and Bookman (Toronto, April-July 1941), p.23.
66. Gibbon, S to C, p.188.

67. Gibbon, "Canadian Handicraft Old and New," in Canadian Geographical Journal Vol.XXVI, No.3 (Montreal: Canadian Geographical Society, March 1943), pp.130-43.
68. Ibid., and Gibbon, "Canada's Million and More Needlecraft Workers," in Canadian Geographical Journal (March 1943), pp.144-55.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. By this time, he had to be helped on and off the horse. Phil Gibbon, in conversation, Ottawa, Jan. 1988.
72. Gibbon, Nursing Songs of Canada (Boston 1946).
73. Gibbon and Mary Mathewson, Three Centuries of Canadian Nursing, and Gibbon, V.O.N., (Toronto: MacMillan, 1947).
74. Gibbon/Charles Clay correspondence, National Library of Canada, Music Division, Ottawa, 1988. The MS. for Grandma Canada Goose is in the possession of Gibbon's granddaughter in Dallas, Texas.
75. Gibbon's printed articles for the Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section II, Series Three, Ottawa, 1923-1951, are included in the Bibliography under Primary, Articles.
76. H.H. Rimmer, award presentation remarks to Gibbon; in Gibbon's "If I Were A Young Man Entering Advertising," (A.C.A., 1941), p.9.
77. Ibid., pp.10-14.
78. Gibbon, S to C, p.194; and photo, with caption of the ceremony, possibly Canadian Pacific Staff Bulletin (Montreal: CPR, Fall 1944), p.12.
79. This bronze statuette currently stands on the mantle in the home of Gibbon's son, Phil, Hudson, Que.
80. "Tribute to a Nation Builder - An Appreciation of Dr. John Murray Gibbon," (Toronto: CAPAC, 1946), p.5; PAC, File 9.G, MG30, D282, Vol.19, Ottawa, June 1987.
81. Ibid.
82. Gibbon, S to C, p.198.
83. Latin preamble to the Lorne Pierce Award, quoted by Watson Kirkconnell, Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada Vol.XLVII, Third Series, (Ottawa: RSC, 1953), p.83.

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84. B.K. Sandwell, Lorne Pierce Medal presentation to J.M. Gibbon, Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (1949), pp.44-45.
85. Roderick Kennedy, obituary on Gibbon in Cdn A & Bkmn, etc.
86. Gibbon, S to C, p.202.
87. "No man loved Canada more," in Montreal Gazette, July 3, 1953, p.6.
88. George Woodcock, "Running out of time," in City & Country Home, Vol.5, No.7 (Toronto: Maclean Hunter, Nov. 1986), p.14.
89. Ibid.
90. Watson Kirkconnell, "John Murray Gibbon, 1875-1952," in Proceedings and Transactions, RSC, Vol.XLVII, Third Series, (Ottawa: RSC, June 1953), p.83.

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116°00'
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BANFF

ALBERTA - BRITISH COLUMBIA

WEST OF FIFTH MERIDIAN

SCALE 1 50,000

1 25 inches to 1 mile approximately

Map showing Gibbon Pass, west-northwest of Banff townsite.
[Banff]. 1:50,000. Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of
Mines and Technical Surveys, Ottawa: Dept. of MTS, 1951.
#82 0/4 W1/2.

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APPENDIX II

The following festival programs and literature were consulted at the Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives, Windsor Station, Montreal, and the National Library of Canada, Music Division, Ottawa. The majority of the programs contained the lyrics, in both English and French, for the songs performed.

Festival Programs and Literature, 1927-1931Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals, Chateau Frontenac:

- [Quebec: CPR, 1927] -
 - : pre-Festival booklet, illus., history & biographies;
 - : All Expense Tour by CPR, Montreal-Quebec-Montreal, May 20-22, \$39.50;
 - : Annotated General Program, May 20-22;
 - : Annotated Program, Friday evening, May 20;
 - : Annotated Program, Saturday matinee, May 21;
 - : Annotated Program, Saturday evening, May 21;
 - : Annotated Program, Sunday matinee, May 22;
 - : Annotated Program, Sunday evening, May 22;
- [Quebec: CPR, 1928] -
 - : pre-Festival booklet, illus., history & biographies;
 - : General Programme, May 24-28, guide;
 - : Annotated Program, Thursday evening, May 24;
 - : Annotated Program, Friday matinee, May 25;
 - : Annotated Program, Friday evening, May 25;
 - : Annotated Program, Saturday matinee, May 26;
 - : Annotated Program, Saturday evening, May 26;
 - : Annotated Program, Sunday evening, May 27;
 - : Annotated Program, Monday matinee, May 28.

Folkdance - Folksong and Handicraft Festival, Chateau Frontenac:

- [Quebec: CPR, 1930] -
 - : Thursday Evening, Oct. 16;
 - : Friday Evening, Oct. 17;
 - : Saturday Matinee, Oct. 18;
 - : Saturday Evening, Oct. 18;

THE

Festival de la Chanson et des Metiers du Terroir, Chateau

- Frontenac: - [Quebec: CPR, 1927] -
 : 20-22 Mai;
 - [Quebec: CPR, 1928] -
 : 24-28 Mai;

Festival de la Chanson et des Metiers du Terroir, Concert Sacre a la Basilique:

- [Quebec: CPR, 1928] -
 : Dimanche, 26 Mai;

Festival de la Chanson et des Danses du Terroir, Chateau

- Frontenac: - [Quebec: CPR, 1930] -
 : 16-18 Octobre;

Highland Gathering Scottish and Music Festival, Banff:

- [Montreal: CPR, 1927] -
 : pre-Gathering booklet, Sept. 3-5, illus., history & rules;

Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival, Banff:

- [Montreal: CPR, 1928] -
 : pre-Gathering booklet, Aug. 31 - Sept. 3, illus., histories;
 - [Montreal: CPR, 1929] -
 : pre-Gathering booklet, Aug. 30 - Sept. 2, illus., histories;
 - [Montreal: CPR, 1930] -
 : pre-Gathering booklet, Aug. 29 - Sept. 1, illus., histories;
 : Friday Evening, Aug. 29;
 : Saturday Evening, Aug. 30;
 : Sunday Evening, Aug. 31;
 - [Montreal: CPR, 1931] -
 : pre-Gathering booklet, Aug. 27-30, illus., history, rules, plus entertainment and Highland Games schedules;
 : Friday Evening, Aug. 28;
 : Saturday Evening, Aug. 29;
 : Sunday Morning, Aug. 30, "Covenanter Service;"
 : Sunday Matinee, Aug. 30;
 : Sunday Evening, Aug. 30, Final Concert (Invitation Only).

Great West Canadian Folksong - Folkdance & Handicrafts Festival:

- [Regina: CPR, 1929] -
 : pre-Festival booklet, March 20-23, schedule & nationalities involved;
 : Wednesday Evening, March 20;
 : Thursday Evening, March 21;
 : Friday Evening, March 22;
 : Saturday Evening, March 23.

English Music Festival: Folk Song - Folk Dance:- [Toronto: CPR, 1929] -

- : pre Festival booklet (with credits!) text by J.M. Gibbon, & illus. by Chas. W. Simpson; Nov. 13-18, history & highlights;

English Music Festival - Court & Folk Song & Dance, Royal YorkHotel: - [Toronto: CPR, 1929] -

- : Thursday Evening, Nov. 14;
- : Friday Evening, Nov. 15;
- : Saturday Evening, Nov. 16;
- : Sunday Evening, Nov. 17;
- : Monday Evening, Nov. 18;

Old English Yuletide & Sea Music Festivals, Empress Hotel:- [Victoria: CPR, 1929-30] -

- : pre Festivals booklet (with credits!) - text by J.M. Gibbon, & illus. by Chas. W. Simpson; history & highlights;
- : Yuletide Festival, Dec. 23-30, 1929;
- : Sea-Music Festival, Jan. 15-18, 1930.

6 Concerts - British & Canadian Music, 1929-30, On Tour:- [Calgary: CPR, 1929] -

- : Biographies of performers & schedules Mon. Sept. 23; Sat. Nov. 9; Thurs. Dec. 5; Mon. Jan. 27; Mon. Mar. 24; & Fri. Apr. 11.

Great-West Canadian Folk Dance - Folk Song Handicrafts Festival:- [Calgary: CPR, 1930] -

- : General notice, March 19-22.

There were programs for every night and every performance of these Festivals; the above list refers only to those examined for this thesis.

APPENDIX III

Norman Fraser was an artist whose style appears to have been influenced by certain British and European masters of the printmaking medium. So wide-reaching was his poster output, that it is worth considering his possible mentors, a few examples of his work, and seeing if, by comparison, it is possible to identify certain posters, previously unattributed, with him. In so doing, this examination anticipates an exhibition of Norman Fraser's poster art, jointly sponsored by the CPR and the University of Montreal, planned for the summer of 1988.

Determining exactly when Norman Fraser began producing posters for the CPR is not possible from the CP Poster Collection index because the cataloging was not done in chronological order. Of the works known to be by him, with his name clearly visible on the poster, there are examples from 1929 that include one associated with the opening of The Royal York Hotel.¹ Other works which are suspected to be by him--suspected because of stylistic similarities and because they are initialled by someone using variations of the letter 'F' placed in the lower right hand corner where Norman Fraser would print his name--date from around the same time. If the latter are indeed by Fraser, the use of an initial seems arbitrary and does not seem to coincide with something as simple as a particular period of time. The way in which the monogram is printed varies, depending on its background colour (white on black, black on white), and may appear as an almost art nouveau-type 'f' within a diamond, as a rounded somewhat art-deco 'f' blended into a circle (and this is the most common one), or as a plain 'f' in a circle with an implied slash cutting diagonally through it. These distinctions are important to illustrate that straight attribution is not possible simply referring to the initial.

The major reference for determining the nascence of monograms is H.H. Caplan's Classical Dictionary of Artists'

Signatures, Symbols & Monograms (Detroit 1976).² Another work, Nahum's Monograms of Victorian & Edwardian Artists (Salisbury 1976), advises that the correct procedure for identifying involved or interlaced monograms is to cover the mark in question with a ruler and, pulling the ruler slowly to the right, uncover gradually and read each letter as it appears.³ For example, the rounded 'F' would read C, then E?, then F, or could possibly be deciphered as O and F. Merely assigning the first letter of a last name is not always satisfactory, either; for example, Frank Brangwyn would use F or B, F in a circle or B in a circle, FB, and other combinations.⁴ R.H. Palenske would frequently sign a work with PAL, while another poster artist, Gordon F. Gillespie, might inculcate his initials into the bricks of a bridge he had drawn,⁵ so there is no hard and fast rule for divining the creator of a work if they have chosen to codify the fact. Fortunately, no matter how much an artist might change his or her subject matter, their mannerisms and style usually provide some clue to a work's derivation, and such, it would seem, is the case with Norman Fraser and certain of the works where the artist is identified simply by an F.

The idea of representing the human face in paintings in a 'paint-by-number' manner, as a combination of planes and surfaces defined by different colours, is a fairly recent one. In painting, this technique refers back to the Post-Impressionists and Les Fauves and recalls the work of such artists as Henri Matisse. In poster art, this stylistic device recalls the innovative designs of the Beggarstaffs (1893-99)--William Nicholson and James Pryde--derived with great success from the wonderful posters of Toulouse-Lautrec and the highly-respected Japanese woodblock prints of the Edo period. So powerful were their collaborative designs that each work is memorable and instantly recognizable; while perhaps not as powerful, many of Norman Fraser's poster designs share that same instant appeal. A continual line of progression of artists influenced by them might

Category Posters Collection
 Subject Skyline Trail Hikers by Norman Fraser, 19j"x14j".
 Photograph A-6122

Source

Photographer

Date

PS Copy November 1985

Prev Neg No.

Credit

CP Corporate Archives

PS Negative

Remarks:

Microfilm frame No. 221

Canadian Pacific
 Corporate Archives
 Public Relations and Advertising
 Montreal, Canada H3C 3E4

Adm 70

flow as follows: Lucien Bernhard, John Hassall, Ludwig Hohlwein, Robert Wildhack, Edward Penfield, Edward McKnight Kauffer, Frank Newbould, Tom Purvis, and Norman Fraser.

The 'known' Norman Fraser works, with the possible exception of the poster for the 1935 annual hike of the Skyline Trail Hikers, are not particularly significant for their treatment of the human figure. Nuances of shading and tone on clothing, landscape, and machinery, and the close up point of view used in a few works, are the only indications that Fraser consciously drew from any European influence. Considering the poster styles of the artists listed above, the mysterious 'F' shares some of the same stylistic influences; specifically, in such popular posters by 'F' [to follow] as "St. Andrews By the Sea," the golfer in "The Algonquin," and "Winter Sports in Old Quebec," it is possible to identify shared characteristics of this style. They show human figures in action; the humans are anonymous so as to not distract the viewer from the text and the product; large solid blocks of uninterrupted space, especially in the immediate foreground, indicate the influence of the Japanese; the tones and shades define the shapes, removing any need for black outlines; figures in a landscape are contrived using a 'paint-by-number' effect as part of a forced perspective; and the point of view is immediate, so that the central figure is front and centre, visually transporting the viewer across the picture plane to assume the human figure's role at the tourist destination. On those terms, 'F' has created posters of high visual impact, and having defined such terms, it now becomes somewhat easier to use them for the purpose of determining whether or not 'F' could be Norman Fraser.

The fragmentation or paint-by-number effect examined above, compared with post-World War Two poster art, makes it easier to isolate the components of the style for further comparison. The most conclusive examples, available to the author for comparison in this regard, are two files photocopied from the CP Poster

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THE SEA

NEW BRUNSWICK
CANADA

● THE ALGONQUIN A CANADIAN PACIFIC FLOPPY

"Mr. Andrews, 67-120-60" by J. L. G. (pencil, 1910-1911)
[From the Andrews Collection, 1910-1911, 1912-1913]

The ALGONQUIN

"The Golfer" by "F"; poster design, ca. 1939
[from CP Archives Collection, Windsor Station, Montreal]

Winter Sports

in
**OLD
QUEBEC**

CENTER OF ALL

CHATEAU FRONTENAC

A Canadian Pacific **HOTEL**

"Winter Sports" by "F"; poster design, ca.1940.
[from: CP Archives Collection, Windsor Station, Montreal]

Subject Cruise across the Great Lakes by NF

Source

Photographer

Date PS Copy May 1979

Prev Neg No.

Credit CP Corporate Archives

PS Negative

Remarks:

Canadian Pacific
Corporate Archives
Public Relations and Advertising
Montreal, Canada H3C 3E4

Adv 70

Category Posters Collection

Photograph A-6077

Subject Great Lakes Cruises by Norman Fraser? 14 1/2" x 19 1/2".

Source

Photographer

Date PS Copy November 1983

Prev Neg No.

Credit CP Corporate Archives

PS Negative

Remarks: No. 582

Canadian Pacific
Corporate Archives
Public Relations and Advertising
Montreal, Canada H3C 3E4

Adv 70

Comparing Norman Fraser & 'F'; poster designs, ca. 1940s
[from: CP Archives Collection, Windsor Station, Montreal]

Collection, numbers A-6077 and A-6080, for CP Steamships cruising on the Great Lakes. The first is initialed with an F, while the second carries Norman Fraser's signature. The fragmentation that defines how the light would play on the planes and surfaces, is there, as is the active sense of immediacy. But what is more apparent is the duplication of the dark markings--the wingtips, the shape of the feet and the bills--that define the seagulls. While pairing these two pictures might seem like self-justification, a serious examination of a quantity of various poster designs by both 'F' and Fraser does leave one with the sense of having looked at a collection of works by a single artist, and these are but two of several possible comparisons. As a final example, the cover of a brochure, advertising the CPR as the company to use to get to Los Angeles Olympic Games in 1932, is unattributed. A brief look at it, perhaps as a result of the foregoing discussion, should be enough to give credit for the artwork to Norman Fraser. The quality and impact of Fraser's poster designs is such that one hopes a collection of his more memorable works might one day appear in book form.

TO THE OLYMPIC GAMES

LOS ANGELES
JULY—AUGUST
1932

CANADIAN
PACIFIC

WORLD'S
GREATEST
TRAVEL
SYSTEM

LOS ANGELES
1932

192a

CANADIAN PACIFIC

APPENDIX III - ENDNOTES

1. "The Royal York" by Norman Fraser, in Canadian Pacific Poster Art 1881-1955, exhibition catalogue prepared by Dave Jones (Montreal, n.d.), #15.
2. H.H. Caplan, The Classical Dictionary of Artists' Signatures, Symbols & Monograms (Detroit: Gales Research Company, 1976).
3. Peter Nahum, Monograms of Victorian & Edwardian Artists (Salisbury: Victoria Square Press, 1976), p.vii.
4. Ibid., "Brangwyn, F.W.," pp.25,96,108,259.
5. see "Quebec and the Chateau Frontenac" by G.F.G., poster or brochure cover, File B-090, CP Archives, Montreal 1987.

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

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Bibliographic Note

The following bibliography has been divided into primary and secondary sources, with different subsections broken down within. Because John Murray Gibbon was a fairly prolific writer, his works, as they are listed under Primary Sources, have been arranged chronologically inside categories to show the progression of his ideas and interests. This arrangement has also been applied to the Contemporary Biographical Articles about him.

In addition, to avoid unnecessary repetition, his articles for the Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section Two, Series Three, will be identified simply as RSC, with volume number and date. Bibliographic information for the Festival Programs and Literature, 1927-31, which would fall under Primary Sources, Published Material, has been relegated to Appendix 2 on page 238.

One set of sources that I was unable to track down was the body of Gibbon's writings from his days with Black and White and Illustrated London News. Any copies that the National Archives, and National Library, of Canada have do not date far enough back; the archivists there suggest that magazines such as these might exist only in private collections. What this means for the researcher is that Gibbon's writings from the years ca.1898 to ca.1914 are waiting, if they still exist in any printed form, to be found and examined.

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 Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives
 McCord Museum, McGill University
 National Archives of Canada
 National Library of Canada
 Queen's University
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 Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies

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William J. Oliver
Harry J. Pollard
James Simpson
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- National Archives of Canada -

see: Mossom Boyd
Canadian Pacific Railway
Edward Farrar
Katherine Hughes
William Lyon Mackenzie King
Sir Wilfred Laurier/Laurier Author Index
Madge Macbeth
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Jane Mallett
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- Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies -

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