

John Murray Gibbon (1875-1952): The branding of a northern nation

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127

Abstract

Purpose – This paper is an attempt to recover to our understanding of the history of Canadian marketing the marketing practice of J. Murray Gibbon, General Publicity Agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). An additional objective of this biographical sketch is to contribute to the history of ideas by examining the intellectual influences on Gibbon’s work, how he came to see his adopted country as a ‘mosaic’ rather than a ‘melting pot,’ how this was actualized in the CPR’s marketing strategy and finally, how his ideas came to influence the way a nation thinks about itself.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper is based on an analysis of archival documents, including Gibbon’s own unfinished, unpublished autobiography, his correspondence with Marius Barbeau regarding the Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals in Quebec City, and Gibbon’s published works. Analysis of secondary literature was also conducted.

Findings – Gibbon’s role as a nation builder and nation brander is fore-grounded. The Canadian Pacific Railway’s marketing strategy is understood within a definition of corporate social responsibility appropriate for the time period.

Research limitation/implications – Gibbon’s personal papers are not currently available to researchers. Without knowing the scope of these papers it is difficult to estimate limitations. However, if these papers should become available at a future date, additional research may be warranted.

Keywords – Canadian marketing history, nation branding, corporate social responsibility

Paper Type – Research Paper

Introduction

Nation branding, understood as the self-sustaining myths that nations create to build a coherent identity, is a politico-cultural phenomenon that can be traced back several centuries. The nation branding effort can be directed at internal as well as external publics or markets (Olins, 2002). In Canada, the expression ‘Canadian mosaic’ suggests a way of thinking about ourselves that marks us as distinct from other nations, in particular, the United States. Many Canadians see our country as a place where multiple cultures live in relative unity, each contributing the best of its ethnic heritage to the brand equity that inheres in being Canadian. Yet many Canadians would be surprised to learn that the phrase, or self-sustaining myth, was popularized not by a politician or cultural policy maker, but by a marketer – John Murray Gibbon, general publicity agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway.

During his lifetime, Gibbon won numerous awards, including an honorary doctorate from the University of Montreal, a Governor General’s Literary Award for Non-fiction, and a Silver Medal from the Association of Canadian Advertisers (see Appendix 1 for a list of accolades and accomplishments). Henderson (2005, p. 141) calls Gibbon “a key figure in the development of Canadian cultural identity,” and Lazarevich (1996, p. 12) refers to his “dominant position in the cultural history of [Canada].” While arguing that “Gibbon was an important figure in the evolution of a bilingual, multicultural, national culture,” Phillipson (2010) expresses regret that he has been, “[a]pparently forgotten by folklore [and we could add, marketing] scholars today.” This paper is an attempt to recover this piece of cultural history to our understanding of the history of Canadian marketing.

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That Gibbon is unknown to marketers and marketing academics today is perhaps not surprising, given that histories of marketing in Canada tend to be written from an industry (e.g., advertising agency) point of view, rather than examining marketing functions within Canadian corporations or government agencies. For example, *Marketing* magazine's series of historical articles celebrating its 100th anniversary discusses the birth of Louis J. Cahill's company, OEB International, calling it Canada's oldest PR firm (Johnston, 2008), without acknowledging that the Canadian federal government, various provincial governments and the Canadian Pacific Railway had been engaged in public relations work for at least a half century before Cahill's firm was established (Emms, 1995; Harper, 2004; Hewitt, 1995; Hupfer, 1998). The same magazine's list of the ten most influential pioneers in Canadian marketing also ignores marketers in government or large corporations, instead selecting two of Gibbon's contemporaries who were associated with the formation and development of advertising agencies—Ansom McKim and J.J. Gibbons (*Marketing*, 2008, "Marketing Icons"). The scholarly literature contains few biographies of Canadian marketing scholars or histories of Canadian marketing thought; fewer still of marketing practitioners (but see, for example Jones et al., 2010; Cunningham and Jones, 1997).

A further goal of this biographical sketch is to contribute to the history of ideas by examining the intellectual influences on Gibbon's work, how he came to see his adopted country as a 'mosaic' rather than a 'melting pot,' how this was actualized in the CPR's marketing strategy and finally, how his ideas came to influence the way a nation thinks about itself.

John Murray Gibbon retired from the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1945 (Story, 1967; Wallace, 1963) after a career that spanned almost four decades, two CPR Presidents and several continents. By the time of his death in 1952, his residue included an unfinished, unpublished autobiography; 17 books including six novels and three historical works; 11 scholarly articles published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*; at least 16 other articles published in industry journals and mass media magazines, and numerous musical compositions (see Appendix 2 for a partial listing). Gibbon's life has been the subject of at least one Master's thesis (Kines, 1988) and several early biographical sketches (Elson, 1935; Glynn, 1929; MacTavish, 1925; Sandwell, 1918), and his work with the Canadian Authors' Association (Kines, 1988), Canadian Handicrafts Guild (McLeod, 1994), Alpine Club of Canada (Reichwein, 1995) and the CPR folk music festivals (Henderson, 2005; McNaughton, 1982) has been the subject matter of previous scholarly research. Archival collections at Library and Archives Canada, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, The Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Canadian Pacific, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management and Acadia University also contain correspondence, photographs and examples of marketing communications authored by Gibbon. Although his private papers remain inaccessible at this time, there is still a wealth of information on which to begin to construct a biography. In fact, Gibbon's accomplishments were so far reaching, it was necessary to restrict the scope of the current discussion to focus on the idea of the Canadian mosaic and the events which led to its popularization.

Early Years

Although his father accumulated a certain level of wealth over his lifetime, Gibbon's access to this economic capital was restricted (the scholarship he won to Oxford was for those who could prove their private income was low) and ultimately significantly reduced around the time of his marriage (Kines, 1988). Later in life he does not appear to have been particularly wealthy. However, a review of Gibbon's formative years and early career reveals how he accumulated both the social (relationships and social connections) and cultural (education, languages, specialized forms of knowledge), along with the human capital (skills and personality traits; Burt, 1992) that laid the foundation for his later success.

The facts about Gibbon's early years are well established. He was born in Udeweller, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) on April 12, 1875 (Pincoe, 2010; Story, 1967; Taylor, 1952; Wallace, 1963). The sixth of twelve children born to Scottish tea planter, Sir William Duff Gibbon and his wife, Katharine G. Murray, at four years of age Gibbon was sent along with three of his siblings to live and be educated in his father's home town of Aberdeen, Scotland (Barnard, 1945; Kines, 1988). Gibbon learned to speak French during grammar school. During his teenage years, he befriended the children of Professor McKendrick, credited with the invention of the phonograph. The McKendricks played in a family quartette and introduced Gibbon to classical music. Inspired to take his musical interests seriously, Gibbon took piano and violin lessons and sang in the church choir (Kines, 1988).

His post-secondary education included several years at Kings' College, Aberdeen and graduation, with first class honors, from Christ Church, Oxford (Barnard, 1945; Elson, 1935). While at King's College, Gibbon sang in the student choral society which made use of the *Scottish Students' Songbook*, containing translations of folksongs from different countries (Kines, 1988). He was one of twelve editors of the student publication, *Alma Mater*, through which he met W. A. Mackenzie who would later become editor of *Black & White*, an illustrated weekly newspaper published in London.

He spent summer sessions during his years at Oxford studying Sanskrit and archeology at the University of Göttingen (MacTavish, 1925; Pincoe, 2010; Sandwell, 1918; Wallace, 1963). He continued to study singing while in Göttingen, to increase his knowledge of the German language and German folksongs (Kines, 1988). During his first summer at Göttingen, Gibbon met and befriended several graduates of St. Paul's School in London (known as 'Paulines'). Upon his return to Oxford, he aligned himself with them. According to Gibbon (1951), the group's taste ran to the Pre-Raphaelites in art and the intellectual socialism of the Fabians in politics. When the group invited well-known Fabians, like William Morris (1834-1896), to address the club, Gibbon was invited to join them.

During his university years, Gibbon received art training at Westminster School in London and on weekends at the Colarossi atelier in Paris (Elson, 1935; MacTavish, 1925). Friendships made with artists while studying at Westminster Art School led to Gibbon's being invited to join the artists-only society called the Langham Club. Contacts he made at the Club became useful to Gibbon in his later publicity career (Kines, 1988).

Upon graduating Oxford, just shy of 24 yrs of age, W. A. Mackenzie invited Gibbon to join *Black & White*, where he served a one year unpaid apprenticeship, then succeed Eden Phillpotts as assistant editor, and eventually became editor (Elson, 1935; MacTavish, 1925). He married Anne Fox, whom he'd met during his summers at Göttingen, in 1900, once he'd begun to earn a salary from *Black & White*. She was also an Oxford student, and shared his love of music and literature (Kines, 1988).

Around 1901, Gibbon developed scrofula, tubercular nodules in the lymph glands of his neck. Thirty-six nodules were removed by a surgeon. He was then advised to spend the winter in a dry climate to complete the cure. Gibbon's father-in-law provided the financial support which allowed Gibbon to spend several months in North Africa. Subsequent to this, he spent six weeks living in an artists' colony in Cornwall, in the company of his eldest brother who had recently retired from his career in banking (Kines, 1988). Upon his return to London, Gibbon freelanced and wrote a weekly political column for the *Illustrated London News* (Elson, 1935; Sandwell, 1918). He attended musical concerts at Royal Albert Hall and Covent Garden in the company of J.D. Symon, an old friend from his Aberdeen days and the paper's music critic. Through this experience Gibbon became acquainted not only with the masterpieces of classical music but also, as he expressed it (1951, p. 37), began to feel a 'special sympathy' with other cultures:

Music is an international language, and through music I learned to feel special sympathy for the Poles, through Chopin, for the Russians through Tchaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakoff (sic), for the Czechs through Smetana, for the Italians through Verdi and Puccini, for the Austrians through Schubert, Haydn and Mozart, for the Finns through Sibelius, for the Norwegians through Edward Grieg.

Symon's cousin, Allan Cameron, was then General Traffic Agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway. He was searching for a European representative for the company and asked Symon to recommend someone who could prepare and distribute foreign language publicity for their tourism and immigration campaigns. Symon recommended Gibbon (Kines, 1988). As Emms (1995) has illustrated in her history of the public relations occupation in Canada, it was not unusual for journalists or 'newspapermen' to become 'publicity men.' The fact that Gibbon had travelled extensively and had a familiarity with Germany and Austria, in particular, helped to position him as a suitable candidate (Gibbon, 1951).

Career with CPR

Thus, on May 1, 1907, Gibbon began his long association with Canadian Pacific as European Publicity Agent, responsible for presenting Canada and the CPR effectively to the European Public (Elson, 1935; Wallace, 1963). His starting salary was £360 per year (roughly equivalent to £30,278 or \$US 46,795 today). His first assignment came directly from CPR President Thomas Shaughnessy who cabled him with directions to organize a select group of twelve British newspaper editors and escort

them on a complimentary tour of Canada (Kines, 1988). Among the notable newspapermen Gibbon lined up were Ernest Brain, chief foreign editor for *The Times* and T.B. MacLauchlan of the *Edinburgh Scotsman*.

Gibbon's official duties as host were supposed to end once he turned the group over to George Ham, of the Canadian Pacific Press Bureau. Previously the editor of the Winnipeg Free Press, Ham had been hired by former CPR President William Van Horne and reported directly to him. Ham spent 33 years at CPR, during which time his "humorous and unique personality" was said to have "greatly increased the fame of the Canadian Pacific Railway" (MacTavish, undated, p. 4).

On this occasion, however, Ham's easy-going style did not go over well with some of the party, who cornered Gibbon and told him that unless things changed, they would leave the tour at Winnipeg. Gibbon alerted William Whyte, head of the CPR's western lines, who was based in Winnipeg and a close friend of CPR President Shaughnessy. Whyte agreed to hook up his own car to the train and join the tour as far west as Banff (Gibbon, 1951). Whyte's addition to the tour proved beneficial – with history books and large maps he recounted the building of the transcontinental rail line as their train crossed the prairies. From Whyte's descriptions and from a book he picked up at a Winnipeg bookstore, George Bryce's *History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, Gibbon learned of the seminal role played by Scotsmen in the development of Canada – both with the Hudson's Bay Company and the CPR (Gibbon, 1951).

Gibbon left the press tour in Vancouver and returned on his own schedule, visiting many areas of the Canadian West. It was during this part of his initial trip to Canada that he

...began to realize that the prairies were Europe transplanted – there were not only the Britishers and the Canadian born, but there were Germans, Scandinavians, the 'men in sheepskin coats' from Galicia and the Ukraine... This trip through the West threw new light on my vocation. I began to realize that the Canadian Pacific was not merely a railway carrying passengers and freight, but was through its colonization work helping to build up a new nation (1951, p. 51-2).

He spent a week in a public library in Toronto researching Scottish settlements in Ontario and Scots influence on the development of the fur trade. After learning how much his countrymen had invested in the country, Gibbon said, "I felt Canada could not be a foreign country, if circumstances were to turn in favour of making my home in this country" (1951, p. 55).

Gibbon's duties as European Publicity Agent included preparing immigration publicity, designing posters, magazine advertising and tour literature, much of it in the language of travelers originating from Europe (Kines, 1988). During the years between 1907 and 1913 Gibbon travelled extensively in Europe, particularly in Austria-Hungary and Scandinavia (MacTavish, 1925). During this time he also visited Canada at least annually (Sandwell, 1918). Eager to understand the immigrant experience, one summer (probably 1910), he travelled in steerage, disguised as a poor emigrant, meanwhile sending stories and photos back to English newspapers, who were wise to the ruse (Kines, 1988).

An early triumph for Gibbon during this period was connected with the 1910 Scottish National Exhibition in Glasgow. Out of favour because of the large number of Scottish nationals being wooed away as immigrant settlers, the Canadian government was refused its request to establish an exhibit. Gibbon approached one of the exhibition committee members, who had been a director of *Black & White* when Gibbon worked there, with the proposition that the CPR might be persuaded to erect a pavilion in which the role of Scots in Canada's development would be celebrated. The committee warmed to the idea, and Gibbon's immediate supervisor, Allan Cameron, himself a Scot, arranged the financing. Gibbon meanwhile arranged to have his artist friends paint twelve large scenic murals depicting important Canadian historical moments involving Scottish pioneers. The pavilion was so positively received that the London publishing house of Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co. invited Gibbon to write a book on the subject. Based on research from his trips to Canada and using the twelve panels from the pavilion, Gibbon's *Scots in Canada* was published in 1911, selling 18,000 copies of the English edition (Elson, 1935).

With the retirement of George Ham, in 1913 Gibbon accepted the offer of CPR President, Thomas Shaughnessy, to become General Publicity Agent and moved to Montreal, Quebec (Elson, 1935; Jones, 1984; Story, 1967; Wallace, 1963). His immediate supervisor was G.M. Bosworth, VP of traffic. Reporting to Gibbon were A.O. Seymour, who had been hired into a new position, general tourist agent, to support Gibbon's role of coordinating tourist advertising and services, and Raoul Clouthier who acted as a liaison with the French-Canadian press (Kines, 1988). In MacTavish's words (1925, p.

29), Gibbon's job was to "keep the people...always imbued with the idea that the C.P.R. is the greatest transportation system in the world."

The CPR's early marketing efforts were directed at attracting settlers to the Canadian West (Jones, 2003), and according to CPR President, Sir Edward Beatty, "by 1923 the railway had settled more than 100,000 prairie farms...Not only was the CPR able to generate Railway traffic, but also realized a profit of close to \$84 million on prairie land sales between 1896 and 1914" (Whitaker, 1991, p. 6 cited in Hupfer, 1998, p. 45). While maintaining a focus on its two immigration related markets, i.e., new immigrants and Canadians resettling to the Canadian west, the CPR soon identified a third market: wealthy tourists from Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom and continental Europe (Gibbon, 1951; Jones, 2003). By the 1920s, Canadian Pacific Railways had become an "integrated global company for the times. Its passenger services included a transcontinental railway with sleeping and dining cars, trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific ocean liners, known as 'White Empresses', and several picturesque, grand hotels at ports of entry and along the railway lines" (Jones, 2003, p. 10). Jones (2003) goes on to credit the 'brilliant promotion' of the CPR by its 'relentless' publicist, John Murray Gibbon, as being equally responsible for CPR becoming a 'truly global' company. "After 1918, Gibbon set out to promote Canada itself, particularly the diversity of cultural traditions among the country's many ethnic groups... Managing publicity and advertising both in London and Montreal, Gibbon promoted mountaineering, trail riding, hiking in the Rockies and, most famously, Indian Days and Highland Gatherings in Banff. Gibbon defined the first post World War I slogan, 'Canadian Pacific Spans the World'" (Jones, 2003, p. 13).

In fact, Gibbon had written the slogan for the CPR pavilion at the Franco-British Exposition of 1908, held at White City, near Shepherd's Bush, London. The building was topped with four carved moose placed at the four directional points on a giant globe. Large maps on the exterior walls carried the slogan: Canadian Pacific Spans the World. On his next trip to Canada (probably in 1910), Gibbon found the phrase mounted on the front of the Vancouver and Winnipeg stations. It also appeared on the CPR Pavilion at the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1913 (Jones, 2003) and years later it was worked into the letterhead and title page design of the CPR staff bulletin, *The Spanner* (Kines, 1998). As of June 15, 1916, Gibbon was earning \$500 per month "a good salary for the time and an indication of the company's estimation of his worth" (Kines, 1988, p. 42).

The CPR Sponsored Folk Music and Handicrafts Festivals

Between the years 1928 and 1930, Gibbon was the driving force behind a series of 16 folk music and handicraft festivals, staged in various locations across Canada and sponsored by the CPR (Henderson, 2005). What is important to note about these festivals is not that Gibbon was the first to organize such events, because he was not. Marius Barbeau had organized two "Veillées du bon vieux temps" featuring folk music in Montreal in the spring of 1919 (Keillor, 2008), and the scope of the CPR's production was dwarfed by the two week festival celebrating the 300th anniversary of the founding of Quebec City, in 1908 (Nelles, 1999). The inspiration for using French-Canadian folksongs to promote the Chateau Frontenac originated with Margaret Gascoigne, an Englishwoman who operated The Study, a school for girls in Montreal. Gascoigne also happened to be a former Oxford chum of Gibbon's wife and the person who would introduce Gibbon to Marius Barbeau (Kines, 1988).

Miss Gascoigne was an accomplished musician, and suggested that a small selection of French-Canadian folksongs, the accompaniments for which she had arranged, would make an appropriate souvenir booklet for the Chateau Frontenac at Quebec. The songs... were prefaced by an introduction written by Marius Barbeau of the National Museum at Ottawa, who is now generally recognized as the leading authority on French-Canadian folk music. That booklet became one of the most popular publications of the Canadian Pacific Railway and paved the way for ...later developments (Gibbon in CAPAC, 1946, p. 22).

Instead, what these folk festivals illustrate is the way that Gibbon was able to mobilize his network of contacts along with his knowledge of music and languages and the CPR's resources to promote Canada, Canadian culture, and the Canadian Pacific.

In Gibbon's words (CAPAC, 1946, p. 22-27):

My own job... was to secure publicity for the Canadian Pacific Railway. Now it happened that a wing of the Chateau Frontenac burned down and was replaced with a fireproof building... I was asked to find some method of letting the world know about the new wing, and suggested that we should invite a number of newspapermen... and provide for them some suitable entertainment. This should include a dinner at which the music should consist of folksongs, suggesting the traditional background of the people of Quebec... On the train returning from Quebec, Fred Jacobs of the *Toronto Mail and Empire* said that if Ontario were to hear these songs [which Gibbon had translated into English], there would be much better understanding of Quebec in that province.

... The next move resulted from the desire of the General Manager of Canadian Pacific Railway Hotels to find some early spring attraction for the Chateau Frontenac. I suggested a Folklore Festival lasting four days, to be combined with an exhibition of Quebec handicrafts with spinners and weavers at work, and with fiddlers and dancers if we could get them... The success of the Festival was so pronounced that I had no difficulty in getting an appropriation to repeat it next year... [F]or our second Festival we staged a thirteenth century musical comedy, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*... All this required money, but Sir Edward Beatty never failed us... 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...

After our second Festival at Quebec, he asked me what else I could suggest on the same lines. I recommended a Folksong and Handicraft Festival for the New Canadians at Winnipeg, so this was organized with the assistance of the Colonization Department of the Canadian Pacific Railway... The success of the Winnipeg Festival resulted in an invitation from the Hon. James Gardiner, then Premier of Saskatchewan, to stage a similar affair in Regina... Then Brownlee invited us to do the same thing for Alberta, so we staged a Festival at Calgary... It seemed only natural that we should stage a Scottish Music Festival with Highland Games for Banff. This was repeated for a succession of years till the Depression of the 'thirties called a halt... Vancouver had a Sea Music Festival and Victoria a Christmas Music Festival, both of which were highly successful. Then the opening of the Royal York Hotel in Toronto suggested an English Folksong Festival.

While a full analysis of the folk music festivals is beyond the scope of this paper, a general discussion can provide a sense of what was involved.

The first festival was held at the CPR's Chateau Frontenac hotel in Quebec City, May 20-21, 1927. As noted by Gibbon in the quotation above, the explicit purpose from the CPR's perspective was to stimulate tourism. However, Gibbon's correspondence with the Director of the Victoria National Museum reveals complementary objectives, "increasing the interest in folk songs and handicrafts of Quebec" in order to "help along the market for some of the handicrafts of the Province" and also to "draw attention to the wonderful collection of folk song melodies in the possession of your Museum" (letter to W.H. Collings (sic), January 20, 1927). This was accomplished by creating a musical event that would attract visitors and then entertain as well as educate them. French-Canadian folksongs and handicrafts were presented as 'living traditions' within French-Canadian culture (Lazarevich, 1996). Gibbon went to some pains to ensure that artisans demonstrating the creation of authentic handicrafts wore 'peasant costume,' and performers were engaged to sing in accompaniment to their work, following Gibbon's beliefs regarding the origin of folk song (Gibbon, 1951, p. 144; correspondence Gibbon to Collings, January 20, 1927; correspondence Gibbon to Barbeau, March 14, 1927). Heading the warning of Charles Marchand, then the leading singer of French Canadian folksong, that the "chief obstacle to the renaissance of French-Canadian folksong in Quebec was the prejudice among the city folk that this was mere habitant or peasant stuff" (Gibbon, 1951, p. 145), in the programs and publicity brochures he prepared Gibbon traced the origins of French Canadian folk song back to sixteenth and seventeenth century France, some songs he dated to the middle ages. Gibbon believed that the melody of older songs could provide the foundation for the writing of new lyrics in a new country. In the design and execution of the festival we can observe Gibbon's broader objective, "to educate Canadians and non-Canadians alike about the rich cultural traditions transplanted into [Canada] by immigrants" (Lazarevich, 1996, p. 6).

The success of the first festival led to the design of other festivals, in locations across the country, each built around themes appropriate to the cultural background of the local population (Lazarevich, 1996). Each festival was programmed to contain a mix of folk and ‘art’ music, accompanied by handicraft demonstrations, and in the case of the Highland Festival in Banff, athletic competitions. Professional musicians, such as Jeanne Dusseau, Frances James, Juliette Gaultier, J. Campbell McInnes and the Hart House Quartette appeared. Composers such as Healey Willan, described as the ‘Dean’ of English composers (Forster, 1996); Sir Ernest MacMillan, the “most important’ musician in Canada during the first half of [the 20th] century” (Forster, 1996, p. 214); and Achille Fortier arranged folk music and composed art music especially for the festivals. Harold Eustace Key was hired by the CPR to act as general music director for all the festivals (Lazarevich, 1996).

Various commentators have remarked on the success of and motivation for the festivals. “His folksong festivals grew out of his love for that sort of thing and his keen interest in many peoples who make up the Canadian nation—the mosaic that is Canada; but it was good business, too” (Barnard, 1945, p. 10). “A little analysis showed that all this remarkable fostering [of Canadian culture] would be of wonderful assistance to a railroad. It is culture first and last that makes a race great, it is culture that brings the proper immigrants and settles them—and thus adds immeasurably (sic) to a railroad’s earning power” (Glynn, 1929, p. 21).

The festivals were not met with immediate acceptance and understanding on all fronts. An article in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, describing the ‘New Canadians’ festival held at the Royal Alexandra hotel in 1928 illustrates the author’s ambivalence:

Blazing in colours, the hotel rotunda presents a motley scene. Garbed in seemingly grotesque clothes of many bright hues, the European mingles with the conservatively-clad westerner. The new Canadian seems perfectly at home in this setting, for it is that of his native land. But the westerner is bewildered, there are many things that arouses (sic) his interest (quoted in Jones, 1988/89).

However, in at least one case, the festival appears to have engendered an abrupt about-face in attitudes toward immigrants. The Reverend Charles W. Gordon, better known by his pen name Ralph Connor, attended the Winnipeg festival. Gibbon sat beside Connor during a twenty minute performance of the Polish National Dance, the Mazur, and reports Connor’s reaction (1951, p. 152), “Do you know, these are some of the finest, most cultured people I have met since I have come to Winnipeg. But I have something on my conscience – I feel that I have done them an injustice. Recently I wrote a book called *The Foreigner*, in which I indicated that these immigrants were lousy and drunken. I should like to make amends...”

Gibbon himself acknowledged that, “It is now generally recognized that the presentation of these folksongs is a matter of national interest” (letter to Dr. W.H. Collins, February 8, 1928). And as Lazarevich (1996, p. 6) has commented, the scope of the festivals far exceeded their publicity purposes, “This was the beginning of nation-building—that the arts and cultures of Canada can serve as unifying elements and as a means of communicating across cultures.” Gibbon’s suggestion of a folk festival to the General Manager of the Chateau Frontenac as a ‘publicity tool’, along with his commitment of an enormous amount of his time and energies to producing subsequent festivals and writing *Canadian Mosaic* can be seen to have had a broader purpose. This purpose can be traced to Gibbon’s intellectual roots.

Intellectual Influences

There were undoubtedly many sources of influence on Gibbon’s decision to involve himself and the CPR in the production of the folk festivals, not the least of which was his extensive travel experience and acquaintance with cultures other than his own. Two additional influences will be discussed here: 1) intellectual influences he was exposed to while attending Oxford; and, 2) assimilation theories prevalent in Canada during Gibbon’s time.

Previous researchers have posited that Gibbon was influenced by the revival of interest in English folksong which led to the establishment of the English Folk-Song Society, in 1898 (the year he graduated from Oxford), the Oxford Society for the Revival of the Folk-Dance, in 1909 (the year following the arrival of Marius Barbeau to Oxford), and the publication, in 1907, of Cecil Sharp’s work *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* (Kines, 1988). Further, connections have been drawn between Gibbon and the theorizing of German scholar Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) (Henderson, 2005; Kines, 1988; McNaughton, 1982). Herder was associated with the romantic

nationalist movement in which scholars searched the folklore of the past (folksong, dance, literature and crafts) to rediscover historical models on which they might shape the nation of the future. Adherents of romantic nationalism viewed each nationality as a distinct organic entity, different from and incomparable with other nations. The will of the individual was secondary to the national will, and the highest endeavour of man was service to the nation state. The first and most important step was to collect and preserve surviving folklore (Wilson, 1973). Such surviving items of folklore were then to be used as the raw materials or foundation upon which to build a national art (McNaughton, 1982). It seems likely, given both Gibbon's and Barbeau's ideas about constructing an 'art' music for Canada on the foundation of the folk music traditions of her various ethnic immigrant groups, and Barbeau's life-long concern with collecting the folk music of Canada, that Herder's ideas were at least compatible with their own.

Through his association with the 'Paulines' at Oxford, Gibbon was exposed to the political thought of the Fabian Society. Founded in 1884, this group of social thinkers and activists eschewed revolution, preferring a slow, gradual approach to societal change. Through research and analysis they sought to influence government policy in order to benefit the working class. They advocated state control of the conditions of labour, to be implemented by the Labour Party in cooperation with trade unions (Drabble, 1996; Marshall, 1994). During his year of unpaid apprenticeship with *Black & White*, Gibbon embraced a more active role with the Fabian Society. He took a room in a working-man's settlement in exchange for teaching literature and art to labourers two nights a week (Kines, 1988). The founders of the English Folk-Song Society were influenced by Fabian socialism and romantic nationalism. To the romantic nationalism school of thought they added the idea that "folk music could not only be used as a means of expressing the unique aspects of a nation, but could also be used to bring people of different cultures together in mutual appreciation" (McNaughton, 1982, p. 16). During the late 1920s and into the early 1930s, these ideas may have reached their most poignant expression in Canada through the CPR's publicity instruments – the various folk music and handicraft festivals organized by Gibbon.

But Gibbon's actions also need to be understood within the socioeconomic context of the times. During a period dating from roughly the turn of the 20th century until the 1970s, Canada experience three successive major 'waves' of immigration. The first wave occurred between 1896 and 1914, when Canada's population increased by over 43 percent. Gibbon's arrival in Canada coincided with this wave. A second wave of immigration occurred during the 1920s and a third during the post World War II period (Palmer, 1976). Historian Howard Palmer (1976) has argued that the influx of immigrants influenced Canadian attitudes towards cultural pluralism and that different versions of assimilation theory were prevalent over this time period. According to Palmer (1976, p. 81), prior to WWII 'Anglo-conformity' theory "demanded that immigrants renounce their ancestral culture and traditions in favour of the behaviour and values of Anglo-Canadians." The British Empire was at the height of its power; belief in progress, Anglo-Saxon and white superiority was taken for granted (Palmer, 1976). J.S. Woodsworth's well-known book *Strangers Within Our Gates*, published in 1909, was based on such assumptions of anglo-conformity. This view gradually fell into disrepute to be followed by the 'melting pot' theory; "This view envisaged a biological merging of settled communities with new immigrant groups and a blending of their cultures into a new Canadian type" (Palmer, 1976, p. 81). By the mid-1970s, a third theory was becoming popular – 'multiculturalism' or 'cultural pluralism.' Multiculturalism "postulates the preservation of some aspects of immigrant culture and communal life within the context of Canadian citizenship and political and economic integration into Canadian society" (Palmer, 1976, p. 81). The establishment of a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the 1960s did much to popularize within English-speaking Canada the idea that recognition of French-Canadian language rights was desirable (Palmer, 1976). It also paved the way for the emergence of multicultural policy, as various non-Anglophone, non-Francophone groups objected to being left out of the discussion.

Palmer argues that rather than crediting the Royal Commission with giving birth to the idea, the rise of multiculturalism during the 1970s had actually been presaged by the publication of Gibbon's book *Canadian Mosaic* and the writings of University of Manitoba English professor Watson Kirkconnell, which he says marked the "emergence of the first full-blown pluralist ideas" (Palmer, 1976, p. 95). Gibbon and Kirkconnell were more familiar with the historical background of the ethnic groups coming to Canada than earlier writers had been, and were influenced by a liberalism that rejected the assumption of Anglo-Saxon superiority. Further, they believed that ethnic diversity was compatible with national unity.

Henshaw (2007), on the other hand, argues that the periodization of theories of assimilation to match waves of immigration is too simplistic. While one form of assimilation theory may have been more dominant during a specific time, in fact, it is possible to find evidence of adherence to anglo-conformity, melting pot and multiculturalism/mosaic versions in each time period. He also identifies John Buchan, Governor General of Canada from 1935-1940, as a probable influence on Gibbon's thinking. Buchan's reply to an address delivered to him by a Ukrainian group is quoted in Gibbon's *Canadian Mosaic* (1938, p. 307):

...You have accepted the duties and loyalties as you have acquired the privileges of Canadian citizens, but I want you also to remember your old Ukrainian traditions—your beautiful handicrafts, your folksongs and dances and your folk legends. I do not believe that any people can be strong unless they remember and keep in touch with all their past. Your traditions are all valuable contributions towards our Canadian culture which cannot be a copy of any one old thing—it must be a new thing created by the contributions of all the elements that make up the nation... You will all be better Canadians for being also good Ukrainians.

In this passage we see the three fundamental tenets of Buchan's version of the Canadian mosaic: "first, that cultural diversity was a source of national strength; second, that old cultures and languages should be preserved; and third, that Canadians should develop a new and distinctive national identity" (Henshaw 2007, p. 192). While Buchan's arrival in Canada was too late to have influenced the folk music and handicraft festivals, Henshaw (2007) argues that Gibbon's wholesale quotation of Buchan's ideas may indicate a degree of acceptance and concurrence. If so, then it marks a decided change in Gibbon's opinion of Buchan. Buchan had visited Oxford during Gibbon's time there and does not seem to have made a favorable opinion. Gibbon described him as someone "who already had written a novel, and liked to make it known he was writing another... my recollection of John Buchan was that he wished to be listed among the chosen few" (Gibbon 1951, p. 13, cited in Kines, 1988, p. 7).

In *Canadian Mosaic*, Gibbon (1938, p. vii) acknowledged two leading viewpoints of the time on the acculturation of immigrants: "Some politicians want to see these [immigrants] merged as quickly as possible into one standard types, just as our neighbors in the United States are hurrying to make every citizen a 100 per cent. American. Others believe in trying to preserve for the future Canadian race the most worthwhile qualities and traditions that each racial group has brought with it." In his opinion, "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" (Gibbon 1938, p. viii).

CPR as 'nation builder'

While Gibbon's personal attributes and acquisition of social and cultural capital may have equipped him well for the role of 'nation builder,' it is doubtful whether he could have brought his ideas to fruition on such a grand scale if he had not been the General Publicity Agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway. As alluded to earlier, once the monumental task of building a transcontinental railway linking Canada from coast to coast was complete, the CPR was tasked with populating the newly accessible lands in the Canadian West. In conjunction and sometimes in competition with various Canadian government departments, the CPR launched a massive public relations campaign to accomplish this objective. In his history of the CPR, Gibbon (1935, p. 230) reveals something of the 'special position' the company held in Canada. He reports on a letter written by Canadian Prime Minister John A. Macdonald to CPR President George Stephen in which Macdonald argued, "With five clear years ahead and a favorable Government at the head, the C.P.R. can go on its own way for its own interests, and in the long run its interests and those of the Dominion [of Canada] are identical."

Long-time CPR publicity man, George Ham (1921, p. 267-8) commented on the working out of 'national interests' in his autobiography:

The policy of the company has of necessity been somewhat broader, by reason of the variety of its activities, than that of a purely railway enterprise, and, under Lord Mount Stephen, Sir William Van Horne and Lord Shaughnessy [the first three CPR Presidents], its affairs have been administered with what Sir John Willison terms "A National Vision," and this is largely responsible not only for the company's own success, but for the unique position which it occupies in Canada and abroad. In fact, it was due largely to this broadness of view that the company's prestige in America, England and Europe has reached such a high pinnacle.

The policy of the future will be an extension of the policies of the past, namely that the company should be a good citizen of Canada, which means contributing to Canada's advancement and its own success, and taking, as it always has, its share of the country's burden... It is certain that the company and its patrons will be closer together than ever before, because a greater mutual understanding is necessary if the unique problems of the present time are to be dealt with satisfactorily.

If we accept a definition of corporate social responsibility which was beginning to emerge in the business literature of Gibbon's time (Berle, 1931; Dodd, 1932) as the "view of business as an economic institution with both a social-service and profit-making function" (Okoye, 2009, p. 613), then we can understand the CPR's marketing philosophy.

Edward Beatty (1877-1943), the CPR's fourth, but first Canadian-born, President had been educated in the arts and "was quite receptive to Gibbon's ideas for furthering the development of cultural activities in Canada as a component of the CPR's public image" (Kines 1988, p. 45). Walter L. Payne, European publicity agent of the CPR, noted (1926, p. 38):

In a recent speech made to the Electrical Club at Montreal, Mr. Beatty declared that the essential aim of the Canadian Pacific Railway was stronger than the mere desire for financial success—it was to 'gain admiration for the Company as a Canadian Citizen from other Canadian Citizens.' 'I have never known' said Mr. Beatty, 'of a permanently successful corporation whose officials were not good citizens of their own country.'

Professor of Musicology, Gordana Lazarevich (1996), puts this contribution into perspective when she notes that in Canada government subsidy of the arts and artists was not provided until the second half of the 20th century. Her research details

...A remarkable chapter in Canada's cultural history ...during the period ca. 1925 to the late 1930s, when a business corporation provided sponsorship in the form of employment of artists, publicity for cultural events, broadcasting on one of the early radio networks, commissioning Canadian compositions through competitions at which major prizes were offered and the presentation of massive folk arts and folk music festivals. The corporation was the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), which promoted cultural events as a means of promoting itself in order to attract tourism to its hotels and railway services.

This special role of the CPR, in the 'national interest' seems to have become an essential part of the company's culture, as it is referred to in in-house publications (Canadian Pacific Staff Bulletin 1935; Jones 1988/89).

Canadian Mosaic

Canadian Mosaic was published in 1938 by McClelland and Stewart Ltd. The book consists of 19 chapters beginning with "Europe, United States and Canada" and ending with "Cement for the Canadian Mosaic." The intervening chapters each deal with a specific ethnic group (or 'race' in the parlance of the time[1]), providing a brief synopsis of their history, the geography and climate of their homeland, a discussion of the 'character' or 'social qualities' of the people, the rationale for emigration to Canada, and an accounting of their efforts at settlement in their new home. Gibbon (1938, p. vii) believed that "to know a people, you must know its history and origins" and since the Canadian people had not yet become assimilated into one culture, that "to understand the Canadian people... [w]e must ...study their racial origins." He thought the time was right to do this. Thus, the reader is presented with an account of "France and Canada," "Scotland and Canada," "Scandinavia and Canada," "The Balkans and Canada," etc. Each chapter is illustrated with black and white photographs or drawings of important historical figures along with artists, musicians or dancers in folk costumes and full-colour illustrations of a 'typical' individual in folk costume or a typical homestead or religious building.

The book was an outgrowth of and elaboration on the text prepared to accompany a series of ten musical radio programs that Gibbon organized and delivered over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) network in early 1938 (Gibbon, 1938, p. x). Echoing the fundamental beliefs of the romantic nationalism school and the Fabians, Gibbon (1938, p. v) argued that, "each racial group has

brought with it some qualities which are worth-while contributions to Canadian culture.” His experience organizing the music festivals “convinced me that in music these racial groups found contacts which helped greatly in making them understand each other, and in creating good will for themselves among Canadians of British stock” (Gibbon, 1938, p. x). Therefore, when Leonard W. Brockington, Chairman, and Major Gladstone Murray, General Manager of the CBC asked him to suggest an idea for their radio network, he suggested a series of programs “which would illustrate the contribution of music brought by the different European Continental groups to Canada [and] convey a message and an opportunity of mutual understanding to a large audience of listeners scattered from Coast to Coast over the nine Provinces of Canada” (Gibbon, 1938, p. xi). Among the listeners was one of the partners of the publishing firm that asked him to expand his ‘talks’ into a book.

Gibbon was not the first to use the metaphor of a mosaic to describe the Canada of his day. The American writer, Victoria Hayward, described the scenery of the prairie provinces as “a mosaic of vast dimensions” (*Romantic Canada*, cited in Gibbon 1938, p. ix). Additionally, Kate Foster titled her survey of ‘New Canadians’ conducted for the Dominion Council of the Y.W.C.A. in 1926, *Our Canadian Mosaic*. Gibbon claims to have not known about Foster’s work until he was nearing completion of his book. At this time, he offered to change the title of his book, however “Mrs. Foster and the Dominion Council of the Y.W.C.A. generously agreed to let it stand, considering that the figures in this 1926 survey were in many cases out of date, and there was no immediate intention of reprinting it” (Gibbon, 1938, p. ix). Although not the first to use the metaphor, Palmer (1976, p. 96) suggests Gibbon was the first to “attempt to explore its meaning in any significant way.”

Immediate and Lasting Impact

That Gibbon’s book was well-received can be concluded from the fact that it won the Governor General’s Literary Award for Non-fiction in 1938. The Governor General’s Literary Awards were established by the Governor General of Canada, Lord Tweedsmuir of Elsfeld (John Buchan), and were first awarded for books published in 1936. Since that time, the Governor General’s Literary Awards have evolved into Canada’s premiere national literary awards (Canada Council for the Arts, 2006). However, the book was also popular with politicians. At a dinner celebrating Gibbon’s retirement, H.R. Jackman, then Member of Parliament for Rosedale-Toronto (and later Lieutenant Governor of Ontario and Chancellor of the University of Toronto) said:

I wonder...if even Mr. Gibbon knows that among his many contributions to Canadian folklore and literature, he is the author of a politician’s handbook! I refer to *Canadian Mosaic*, which I found indispensable when I first canvassed my riding of Rosedale-Toronto and met many New Canadians, about whose cultural background I knew little or nothing. I commend Mr. Gibbon’s book to all budding politicians, as well as senior statesmen, for an understanding of the great racial strains that go to make up our Canadian heritage! (CAPAC, 1946, p. 19.)

Paul Martin, Sr., then Secretary of State, was quoted in the *Ottawa Evening Citizen* (March 22, 1946, pg. unknown) as addressing Gibbon with these words, “By your writings you have done more to develop this country than many of the men who daily are in the headlines of the newspapers.” In his speech for the occasion, Martin commented further:

Dr. Gibbon’s book *Canadian Mosaic* is an invaluable record of the Canadian scene. Here is a happy choice of phrase for that is exactly what Canada is – a mosaic. It is made up of many peoples, whose ethnic differences explain the existence of as many cultural and national traditions, all of which in a process of orderly co-mingling, can provide a Canadian tradition and culture that will come to be not only distinctive but may easily excel. All This, Dr. Gibbon in his writings – and in that particular writing – has shown us (CAPAC 1946, p. 17).

In his autobiography, Gibbon notes (1951, p. 184) that Martin had requested a copy of the book to assist him with his preparation of a new legislative bill on Canadian Citizenship.

Discussion

In his book, *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition*, organizational theorist Ronald Burt argues that social capital is the “final arbiter of competitive success” (1995, p. 9). He begins by

defining social capital as relationships with other players, but goes on to emphasize that “social capital is at once the resources contacts hold and the structure of contacts in a network” (p. 12). While financial and human capital are basic requirements, it is the structure of the player’s network and the location of the player’s contacts within the social structure that provides a competitive advantage. Entrepreneurial opportunities exist at the ‘holes’ within the structures of social networks, in other words, in the places where no connections exist. To be the person in a position to bridge the hole (and hence the networks), is to be in a position of competitive advantage.

If we examine John Murray Gibbon’s career we can see Burt’s theory in action. Gibbon, while perhaps lacking in personal financial capital, had access to the financial assets of the Canadian Pacific Railway. His personal human capital apparently paired a taciturn nature (Glynn, 1929; MacTavish, 1925; Sandwell, 1918), with a passionate love of country and an ability to get things done (Barnard, 1945). His cultural capital accrued throughout his life, beginning with childhood exposure to languages and music, continuing throughout his education and reaching its realization in his work with the CPR sponsored music festivals and his own literary works (among other things). But it was his social capital which allowed him to accomplish what he did. John Murray Gibbon was not only an important part of Canadian marketing history but also provides an important example to marketing practitioners of the skills necessary to succeed.

Notes

1. Gibbon (1938, p. 3) quotes the [Canadian] Census Monograph No. 4, “Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People,” (Ottawa, 1937), “Most modern national groups are composed of widely varying racial strains. The English type, if such exists in the biological sense, is the product of the commingling of perhaps half a dozen primitive stocks. The same applies to the French, Italian and indeed to any European group... The significant fact is this... the combined biological and cultural effect on Canada of the infiltration of a group of English is clearly different from that produced by a similar number of, say, Ukrainians.”

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Appendix 1: Accolades and Accomplishments

- in 1921, founder and first president of Canadian Authors' Association (CAPAC, 1946; Story, 1967; Wallace, 1963)
- in 1922, elected to Royal Society of Canada (Story, 1967; Wallace, 1963)
- in 1924, founded the Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies (Elson, 1935). By 1925, had logged more than 1,000 miles of trail riding (MacTavish, 1925)
- in 1925, was Canadian Director of the Audit Bureau of Circulations (MacTavish, 1925)
- in 1925, was Vice President of the Association of American Railway Advertising Agents (MacTavish, 1925)
- 1931, won the Prix David from the province of Quebec for *Melody and the lyric from Chaucer to the cavaliers* (Pincoe, 2010, Story, 1967)
- in 1933, organized the Sky Line Trail Hikers of the Canadian Rockies (Elson, 1935).
- in 1938, won the Governor General's Award for *Canadian Mosaic: the making of a northern nation* (Story, 1967)
- in 1940, awarded an honorary doctorate, LL.D., by University of Montreal (Pincoe, 2010; Wallace, 1963)
- in 1941, awarded a Silver Medal by the Association of Canadian Advertisers
- 1942-1944, President, Canadian Handicrafts Guild, National Guild
- in 1941, bestowed the title "Chief Man-of-Many-Sides" by Stoney Indian tribe (*Spanner*, 1955)
- in 1945, elected Chairman, Copyright Committee, of the newly founded Canadian Arts Council
- in 1946, honoured by Canadian Authors' Association, La Societe des Ecrivains Canadiens, and CAPAC for 'outstanding contribution to culture in the Dominion' (CAPAC 1946).
- in 1946, during speech at CAPAC award dinner, Ernest MacMillan calls him "a nation builder" (CAPAC 1946, p. 16)
- in 1949, awarded Lorne Pierce Medal for distinguished service to Canadian literature (Story 1967)
- in 1954, recognized as a 'Person of National Historical Significance' by the National Historic Sites and Monuments Board, Parks Canada. A plaque recognizing him as such is located at the Banff Centre for the Performing Arts, Banff, Alberta, Canada. The text of the plaque reads (*Parks Canada*, 2009):

JOHN MURRAY GIBBON
(1875-1952)

Born in Ceylon and educated in Scotland and Germany Gibbon studied painting before turning to journalism. As publicity agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway from 1913 to 1945, he combined advertising with the promotion of a Canadian identity, popularizing the image of Canadian society as a mosaic. He organized folk culture festivals and was instrumental in establishing the Trail Rider of the Canadian Rockies at Banff. A prolific author of novels, lyrics, history and social commentary, Gibbon helped found the Canadian Author Association in 1921.

- member of the Canadian Music Council (Pincoe, 2010)
- served on Council of the Authors' League of America (MacTavish, 1925)
- Gibbon Pass, between Shadow Lake and the Twin Lakes, below Ball and Storm mountains in the valley of the Bow River, Alberta was named after J.M. Gibbon, who apparently discovered the pass while riding with the Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies (Jones, 1984)

JM Gibbon
(1875-1952): the
branding of a
northern nation

Appendix 2: Publications of John Murray Gibbon

Fiction

- 1909: *The true annals of fairyland in the reign of King Cole* (editor)
- 1916: *Hearts and Faces: The Adventure of the Soul*
- 1918: *Drums afar: an international romance*
- 1920: *The conquering hero*
- 1922: *Pagan love*
- 1926: *Eyes of a gypsy*

Non-fiction

- 1911: *Scots in Canada: a history of the settlement of the dominion from the earliest days to the present time*
- 1935: *Steel of empire: the romantic history of the Canadian Pacific, the Northwest Passage of today*
- 1936: *The coureur de bois and his birthright*
- 1938: *Canadian mosaic: the making of a northern nation* (winner of the Governor General's Award for Non-fiction)
- 1941: *The new Canadian loyalists*
- 1947: *Our old Montreal*
- 1947: *Three centuries of Canadian nursing*, with Mary S. Mathewson
- 1947: *The Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada: fiftieth anniversary, 1897-1947*
- 1951: *New colour for the Canadian mosaic*
- 1951: *The romance of the Canadian canoe*

Musical and music-related

- 1926: *The Four Seasons (A Canadian Song Cycle)*
- 1927: *Seven Old Songs of Quebec*
- 1927: *Canadian folksongs (old and new)*
- 1928: translated, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*
- 1928: translated, *Vingt-et-un Chansons canadiennes*
- 1928: *French Canadian folk songs: French and English texts* (4 vols), with Sir Ernest MacMillan
- 1928: wrote libretto for ballad opera, *Prince Charlie and Flora*
- 1929: translated, *L'Ordre de Bon Temps*
- 1930: *Melody and the lyric from Chaucer to the cavaliers* (winner of the Prix David)
- 1933: *The magic of melody*
- 1936, 1938: *Northland Songs*, 2 vols.
- 1939: lyricist, *New World Ballads*
- 1941: lyricist, *Pioneer Songs of Canada*
- 1941: lyricist, *Canada in Song*
- 1944: *Brahms and Schubert Songs Transplanted*
- 1945: *Songs of the Commonwealth*

Scholarly Publications

- 1923: "European Seeds in the Canadian Garden," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. XVII, Section II, p. 119-129.
- 1929: "The Influence of Music on Metre," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. XXIII, Section II, p. 115-123.
- 1932: "Music as Source of Poetic Inspiration," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. XXVI, Section II, p. 29-36.
- 1934: "The Canadian Lyric and Music," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. XXVIII, Section II, p. 95- 102.
- 1936: "The Coureur de Bois and His Birthright," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. XXX, Section II, p.61-77.
- 1942: "A Secular Bible for a New Canada," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. XXXVI, Section II, p. 93-100.
- 1943: "Songs of Freedom," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. XXXVII, Section II, p. 77-111.

- 1947: "Women as Folk-Song Authors," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. XLI, Section II, p. 47-53.
- 1948: "Folk-Song and Feudalism," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. XLII, Section II, p. 73- 84.
- 1949: "Contributions of Austro-German Music to Canadian Culture," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. XLIII, Section II, p. 57-71.
- 1950: "The Orkneymen in Canada," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. XLIV, Section II, p. 47-59.

JM Gibbon
(1875-1952): the
branding of a
northern nation

Appendix 3: Details of CPR Sponsored Folk Music and Handicrafts Festivals

Date	Title	Location	Events/Ethnicities Represented
May 20-21, 1927	Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival	Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City, Quebec	French Canadian folksong and handicrafts (weaving, spinning). Demonstration of snowshoe making by Huron Indians. Co-sponsored by National Museum of Canada, which loaned paintings of Canadian scenes by artists such as A.Y. Jackson, Arthur Lismer and Cornelius Krieghoff.
September 3-5, 1927	Highland Gathering – Scottish Music Festival	Banff Springs Hotel, Banff, Alberta	Folk traditions of the British Isles: highland dancing, athletic events (shot put, hammer toss, caber toss), bagpipe competitions 'Indian events' organized by Duncan Campbell Scott with Blackfoot, Blood and Peigan tribes
May 24-28, 1928	Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival	Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City, Quebec	Co-sponsored by National Museum, National Gallery and Public Archives of Canada. Presentation of winning works in the E.W. Beatty Composition Competition
June 19-23, 1928	The New Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival	Royal Alexandra Hotel, Winnipeg, Manitoba	Performance by 19 different ethnic groups. Handicraft exhibitions
July 23-28, 1928	Indian Week at Banff	Banff, Alberta	Ceremonial songs, dances, handicrafts and exhibition of decorated teepees.
August 31-September 3, 1928	Highland Gathering – Scottish Music Festival	Banff Spring Hotel, Banff, Alberta	Folk traditions of the British Isles: highland dancing, athletic events (shot put, hammer toss, caber toss), bagpipe competitions. Revival of Robert Burns' <i>Jolly Beggars</i> .
Christmas 1928	English Yuletide Festival	Empress Hotel, Victoria, British Columbia	Christmas carols, sacred music
January 23-26, 1929	Sea Music Festival	Hotel Vancouver, Vancouver	Vocal music on aquatic themes, including French-Canadian and English sea chanteys, Gaelic folk play

Date	Title	Location	Events/Ethnicities Represented
March 20-23, 1929	Great Western Canadian Folksong, Folkdance and Handicraft Festal	Hotel Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan	Featured songs and dances of almost 30 ethnic groups, including: Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, English folks songs
August 30 - early September 1929	Highland Gathering – Scottish Music Festival	Banff Spring Hotel, Banff, Alberta	Folk traditions of the British Isles: highland dancing, athletic events (shot put, hammer toss, caber toss), bagpipe competitions. Premiere of Healey Willan's ballad opera <i>Prince Charlie and Flora</i>
November 13-18, 1929	English Music Festival	Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ontario	Canadian premiere of R. Vaughan Williams' opera <i>Hugh the Drover</i> . Co-sponsored by: Lyceum Club and Women's Art Association of Canada.
December 23-30, 1929	Old English Yuletide Festival	Empress Hotel, Victoria, British Columbia	Christmas carols, sacred music. Performance of ballad opera <i>Christmas with Herrick</i>
January 15-18, 1930	Sea Music Festival	Empress Hotel, Victoria, British Columbia	Performance of Ernest MacMillan's <i>Three French-Canadian Sea Songs</i> , written for festival
March 19-22, 1930	Great West Canadian Folk-Dance, Folk-Song and Handicraft Festival	Palliser Hotel, Calgary, Alberta	Performance by Welsh Miners' Choir
August 29 - September 1, 1930	Highland Gathering – Scottish Music Festival	Banff Spring Hotel, Banff, Alberta	Folk traditions of the British Isles: highland dancing, athletic events (shot put, hammer toss, caber toss), bagpipe competition
October 16-18, 1930	Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival	Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City, Quebec	French-Canadian folksong, performances by Métis dancers from Alberta
Late August/ early September 1931	Highland Gathering – Scottish Music Festival	Banff Spring Hotel, Banff, Alberta	Folk traditions of the British Isles: highland dancing, athletic events (shot put, hammer toss, caber toss), bag piping

Sources: The Canadian Encyclopedia (2010); Jones (1988/89); Keillor (2008); Lazarevich (1996); McNaughton (1982)