

**Going Public: A History of Public Programming at
the Hudson's Bay Company Archives**

By

Allison A. P. Gregor

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

MASTER OF ARTS

**Department of History (Archival Studies)
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba**

c 2001



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-62737-3

Canada

**THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COPYRIGHT PERMISSION**

**GOING PUBLIC: A HISTORY OF PUBLIC PROGRAMMING AT THE HUDSON'S BAY
COMPANY ARCHIVES**

BY

ALLISON A.P. GREGOR

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

of

MASTER OF ARTS

ALLISON A.P. GREGOR © 2001

**Permission has been granted to the Library of the University of Manitoba to lend or sell
copies of this thesis/practicum, to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis
and to lend or sell copies of the film, and to University Microfilms Inc. to publish an abstract
of this thesis/practicum.**

**This reproduction or copy of this thesis has been made available by authority of the
copyright owner solely for the purpose of private study and research, and may only be
reproduced and copied as permitted by copyright laws or with express written authorization
from the copyright owner.**

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	p. i
Acknowledgements.....	p. ii
Introduction.....	p. iii
Chapter 1: Archival Public Programming: A Literature Review.....	p. 1
Chapter 2: Public Programming at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives: Corporate Archives to Public Archives.....	p. 34
Chapter 3: The Future of Public Programming at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in the Age of the Internet.....	p. 71
Conclusion.....	p. 97
Bibliography.....	p. 100

Abstract

Public programming is a function performed by archives in order to create awareness of archives within society as well as to promote their use and educate their sponsors and users in how to use them. The Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), established in the 1920s, developed a public programming function over the course of the twentieth century. Initially, the archives focused on the creation of societal awareness of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) through participation in company public relations campaigns. However, the archives was also interested in promoting awareness and use of its records to scholars in a limited way. The HBCA did so primarily by successfully lobbying the company to ease restrictions on access to its holdings and through publication initiatives such as the Hudson's Bay Record Society (1938-1983), tours and exhibitions. In the latter part of the twentieth century the HBCA expanded its definition of the user to include a larger part of the population. Societal awareness of the HBC remained an important company goal, but societal awareness of the archives as a research centre and education of the user took on new importance. Today, public programs at the HBCA are influenced by computerized technology and relations with parallel institutions. They are seen as ways to help maintain societal awareness of the archives and further the education of users. HBCA public programming has begun to employ computer technology and involve other institutions such as the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. The HBCA has succeeded in creating a strong profile within society as a research centre. This success has resulted in sharp increases in the number of users of the archives. HBCA public programming can respond best to this by focusing more on user education, especially through programs designed to improve use of the archives by providing richer descriptions of archival documents in the reading room or via the Web.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the archivists, librarians and advisers, who helped me to research and write my thesis. Their assistance was an essential part of the process, and without it this thesis could not have been completed.

To the entire staff of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (Provincial Archives of Manitoba) thank you for your time and knowledge of the records and public programs. I am indebted to Judith Hudson Beattie, Keeper of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, for the time she took to be interviewed and consulted on the archives' public programming function. As well, I owe a great thanks to Tammy Hannibal for answering my many questions regarding public programming and Hudson's Bay Company history. Thank you to Anne Morton for providing information on Hudson's Bay Company history and source documentation. I am also grateful for the insights and answers of Maureen Dolyaniuk regarding the Hudson's Bay Company Archives' Web site. Thanks must also go to the librarian at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Cindi Steffan, for her help in locating information regarding museums, archives and the Hudson's Bay Company Collection. Finally, thank to the staff of Elizabeth Dafoe Library (University of Manitoba) for their help in locating various books and periodicals

A special thanks goes to Dr. Tom Nesmith, my academic advisor, for his guidance and constant encouragement. Finally, thank you to all my family and friends for their support, encouragement and interest in my thesis.

Introduction

The Board appreciates that the company's Archives comprise a collection of documents which should prove of absorbing interest to students of Canadian history and others, and it is hoped in the not too distant future to grant facilities for research. In this connection a General Summary of classes will be proposed for assistance of students....¹

The history of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) is intertwined with the story of much of early Canada. Therefore, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) is one of the primary sources of records for the study of the development of Canada.² The study of the evolution of the HBCA's public programming through activities such as publications, tours, exhibitions and, more recently, the Web, demonstrates how the archives establishes links with professional and amateur researchers. Through these programs, archivists have, at various points, stressed the need to create awareness, image, use and education. It is the purpose of this thesis to document the evolution of the HBCA's public programming function, and in turn show how archives have connected users with archival records.

Today, public programming is practiced by the majority of archives; however, it has not always held a significant position on the archival agenda. In fact, public programming is regarded as a development of the twentieth century unlike other archival functions. Public programming has also engendered much discussion among archivists as to how it should be approached. Some archival educators believe that users should be studied to tailor public programs to researchers' interest.³ Other archivists assert that public programming should be guided by the record. Archives should provide public programs that inform users about archival holdings that reflect society as a whole.

¹ HBCA/ PAM RG 2/ 72/ 11 Canadian Committee Correspondence, 15 Nov 1919- 27 July 1962. This quotation is taken from an enclosure that was included as a part of a memorandum addressed to the Canadian Committee from the HBC Secretary in London, 2 August 1933. The Canadian Committee represented the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada.

² Alex Ross and Anne Morton, "The Hudson's Bay Company and its Archives," Business Archives 51 (1985): 17-39.

³ Elsie T. Freeman, "In the Eye of the Beholder: Archives Administration from the User's Point of View," American Archivist 47 (2) (Spring 1984): 113

The discussion surrounding the approach to public programming and the history of the function provides the backdrop and contextual framework for the study of the development of HBCA public programming. Prior to 1900, most archival institutions were occupied with the task of amassing documents and facilitating their arrangement and description. Making records available to the researcher and encouraging use was not a primary concern. However, the dawning of the twentieth century brought with it an expansion of what archivists consider their functional responsibilities to include public programming. In examining the history of the public programming function in archives it is clear that there is some disagreement among archivists as to when public programming became an established function.

Canadian archivists Gabrielle Blais and David Enns argue that it is only within the last thirty years that archivists have begun to consider “the realm of the user as an important area of archival inquiry.”⁴ The National Archivist of Canada Ian Wilson gives early archivists more credit and argues that public programming was indeed a concern. Wilson asserts that Canadian archival pioneers, Douglas Brymner and Arthur Doughty, were not only interested in arranging and describing the record, but also creating awareness and promoting its use.⁵ Arthur Doughty endeavored to create an awareness and image of the then Public Archives of Canada (PAC)⁶ through his trips throughout Canada and overseas, the establishment of a connection to the historical community and the development of public programs such as the publication of archival documents. In addition, exhibits were mounted as a way to promote the archives.⁷

The discussion in archival literature regarding public programming outlines many concepts and ideas about the development of the function within archives as a whole. The evolution of HBCA public programming has some parallels with the

⁴ Gabrielle Blais and David Enns, “From Paper Archives to People Archives: Public Programming in the Management of Archives,” *Archivaria* 31 (Winter 1990-91): 101.

⁵ Douglas Brymner was the first national archivist of Canada. Brymner was succeeded in 1902 by Arthur Doughty.

⁶ The Public Archives of Canada is now referred to as the National Archives of Canada.

⁷ Ian Wilson, “Shortt and Doughty: The Cultural Role of the Public Archives of Canada, 1904-1935,” *The Canadian Archivist* 2 (4) (1973):16.

findings of archival scholars who have studied the history of the function and embraces some of the concepts and approaches related to public programming. The HBCA grew out of an initiative by the HBC to say something about its history on the occasion of its 250th anniversary in 1920. Under historian and journalist Sir William Schooling, the records of the HBC were organized for the purpose of writing a brochure on the company's history. As a result of Schooling's request, the HBCA began to take shape. The objective of the brochure was to create societal awareness of the company's illustrious past and bring attention to the HBC as a commercial entity.

After the completion of the brochure, Schooling lobbied the HBC Governor to acquire the commission to write a more in-depth company history. Schooling won the commission, but failed to meet the HBC's deadline for the project. In reports to senior HBC officials, Schooling indicated that he was overwhelmed by the volume of documentation. Despite his inability to complete the project, Schooling became an advocate for the archives and helped to initiate the establishment of the HBCA. A company staff member, R.H.G. Leveson Gower, who had worked with Schooling, became the first archivist of the Hudson's Bay Company.⁸

Establishing an archives in the 1920s, the HBC demonstrated that it was a corporation ahead of its time. In the early part of the twentieth century, businesses had little interest in archives. Non-corporate archives also dismissed the importance of collecting business records.⁹ Historians were not much interested either, largely because few corporations allowed outsiders to examine their records. However, the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the HBC demonstrated to the company that the archives not only had legal and financial importance, but historical value. As a result, the company began to utilize its records in public relations initiatives and came to understand the academic community's interest in the records.

⁸ Deidre Simmons, " 'Custodians of a Great Inheritance' ": An Account of the Making of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1920-1974" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba/ University of Winnipeg, 1994): 26-30.

⁹ Christopher Hives, "History, Business Records and Corporate Archives in North America," Archivaria 22 (Summer 1986): 40.

In the beginning, the HBC was hesitant to give outsiders direct access to the archives. Still the archives was seen to be important; therefore, it was eventually established as a formal department of the company in 1932. HBC archivist Gower catalogued and indexed the records, and coordinated the transfer of inactive documents from Canada to improve the internal use of company documents. In addition, the HBC did not ignore the historical communities' interest and supported the publication of selected documents as way of facilitating access and creating awareness.

Despite the company's best efforts to have the archives published, many of its early initiatives failed. The failure prompted Gower to lobby the HBC for a more lenient access policy to allow researchers a more direct link with the archives. In 1931, Gower convinced senior company officials to make records prior to 1870 "available for inspection by students of history and others...."¹⁰ While the HBC granted a modicum of access to the archives, it had very specific ideas about what constituted a student. The HBC deemed all "students" to be researchers with academic credentials.¹¹ In addition, the company was willing to provide members of the social elite access to the archives. Thus, in the beginning public programming initiatives, such as tours, exhibitions and publications, were designed to create awareness and promote use among a small portion of society. These programs did attract users to the HBCA, and while the archives welcomed academic researchers it was primarily the scholars responsibility to learn about the record. This attitude prevailed from the 1930s to the latter part of the 1950s.

The Hudson's Bay Record Society (HBRS) volumes are an example of how the archives (and the company), initially, reached out to "students." The society, established in 1938, was set up to publish archival documents. In the form of a bound volume, subscribers to the society received transcribed documents, such as the Journals of Peter Fidler, along with an introduction provided by a historian and footnotes contributed by an HBCA archivist. Subscribers consisted of historians,

¹⁰ HBCA/ PAM A.1/ 169, fo. 254, 12 May 1931.

¹¹ HBCA/ PAM Search file: "The Hudson's Bay Company Archives."

scholars and institutions such as universities, libraries and other archives.

The Hudson's Bay Record Society, like many other early public programming initiatives, helped to create awareness among the historical community. However, HBCA public programming often competed with or was overshadowed by the public relations activities of the company. Tension between company public relations and the archives' public programming was particularly evident during the employment of Douglas MacKay. MacKay was hired in 1933 by the Hudson's Bay Company to lead public relations activities, oversee the care of HBC records and edit The Beaver in Canada.¹² In a memo written by MacKay it is evident that the archives was to play a role in the promotion of the HBC. MacKay writes:

Scarcely a day passes without at least one inquiry relating to Western history. As many as possible are dealt with locally and the balance are referred to London and the material received from the Archives in reply to those inquiries is always in excellent form. The whole subject of keeping alive historical matter in the Company's interests is a very large one and reaches through all public relations efforts from the Beaver to Motion Pictures, and even designing of packages and labels.¹³

During the existence of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, a policy was in place stipulating that material used by the society could not be used by The Beaver magazine to answer inquiries. Despite the preferential treatment received by the HBRS, The Beaver magazine found a place within the promotional strategy of the company, as the HBRS had for the archives. During the tenure of MacKay, the foundation of The Beaver's role as one of Canada's most popular historical magazines was laid. MacKay increased the magazine's circulation and changed its composition to make it available to a wider audience.¹⁴ Over time, The Beaver has

¹² Deidre Simmons, " 'Custodians of a Great Inheritance': An Account of the Making of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1920-1974.": 68-69. The Beaver was originally established by the HBC as means to communicate with its staff in various parts of Canada. Today, it is well established popular history publication.

¹³ HBCA/ PAM A.102/ 1813 Public Relations July 1932-January 1938, Departmental Memorandum from Douglas MacKay, 24 October 1933: 5.

¹⁴ Ibid

become a great promoter of Canadian history, creating awareness of primary documents through historical writing.

As time passed the tension between company public relations and HBCA public programming diminished. To some degree the company continues to use historical references in its public relations; however, the HBCA public programming has emerged from the shadows to connect more directly with the user. As a result the archives conducted many public programs, such as tours and exhibitions, in order to enhance its profile within society. In the latter half of the twentieth century the HBCA reassessed its conception of public programming and the archival user. By 1957, the archives actively encouraged users to come to the archives in London or examine the records on microfilm at the Public Archives of Canada. In addition, visitors to the archives were offered an expanded tour and exhibition program. In the 1960s, further evidence of the archives evolving public programming function is found in a more formal definition of the role of the archives' staff. For instance, the position of assistant archivist put more emphasis on access, relations with the user and the preparation of finding aids as well as the organization of exhibits and other smaller displays.¹⁵

The first forty years of the HBCA's existence were important to the development of the archives' public programming function; however, the 1970s also proved to be as significant for the archives, and the HBC itself. In 1970, the company celebrated its 300th anniversary. The HBCA participated by providing documents for exhibitions, publications and other events which marked the occasion. While these events drew attention to the company, they also raised the profile of the archives and promoted the use of its holdings among a larger portion of the population.¹⁶

In 1970 the head office of the Hudson's Bay Company relocated to Canada. This corporate relocation precipitated the transfer of the custody of the archives to the

¹⁵ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/5/1 Notes on HBC Archives Department. The "Archives Department" was the name given to the archives within the Hudson's Bay Company's corporate structure.

¹⁶ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/2/4 Anniversary 300th- Canada, Miscellaneous, 1970-1972.

Provincial Archives of Manitoba in 1974. The transfer of the archives was in a sense a homecoming; much of the archives document not only the operations of the company, but a large part of Canadian history. The transfer agreement clearly states that the archives should be housed under conditions that make it available to the public.¹⁷ This is further evidence of the evolution of the archives' public persona and desire to connect the public with the record.

The Hudson's Bay Company Archives officially opened its doors in Canada in 1975. This opening marked a new era in HBCA public programming. Events marking the opening included exhibitions, publications and tours that demonstrated the archives welcomed all members of society to use its holdings. The HBCA also participated in events such as "National Archives Week" to raise the profile of archives as a whole.

For many decades the archives' public programs strove to create awareness of the archives and promote use. In the 1980s and 1990s, the objective of HBCA public programming came to focus more on user education. The HBCA used programs, such as the tour, to connect with students at various levels of the education system. The tour has proven to be a valuable program for the archives to teach users about the record, the use of finding aids, the nature of archival work and the research process. In addition, the archives has created links to the community through publications such as the HBRS (until 1983) and The Beaver. Publications serve to inspire interest in the records and demonstrate their use. They lead the reader to seek more information by visiting the HBCA in person.

As the twenty-first century approached the Hudson's Bay Company Archives continued to nurture its public programs. However, the archives also took steps to add to its programming efforts through computer technology. The HBCA developed a Web site in 1996. The site provides a brief company history and information about the archives, as well as descriptions of the records, access

¹⁷ Deidre Simmons, " 'Custodians of a Great Inheritance' : An Account of the Making of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1920-1974" : 107-109.

instructions and links to other related sites.¹⁸ The site has helped the archives to connect with people all over Canada and around the world. The Web is increasing the number of archival users and opening up another forum for future public programming at the HBCA.¹⁹

So, what does the future hold for archival public programming? How will public programming evolve at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives? What are the factors and ideas that should be considered by archives in planning future programming initiatives? The pervasiveness of computer technology in society today has not been lost on the archival community. Individuals who may be separated by geography are able to communicate and share information over the Web. As well, computer technology makes it possible for people to access many different sources of information at any time of day. Thus, archives, such as the HBCA, have created a presence online to establish themselves as a destination for Web-based research. While, the HBCA has taken some important steps toward the integration of computer technology, there are many other uses for the Web, particularly in the areas of public programming and access.

Future public programming on the Web includes programs that allow the user to interact with the archives and access further contextual descriptions of archival holdings. At the same time it allows archivists to educate users to a greater degree about the records and the work of the archives. Examples provided by other cultural and commercial institutions suggest ways in which these Web-based programs can be constructed. Many museums have constructed virtual tours that allow visitors to their sites to feel as if they are actually walking through the exhibition space. The virtual tour represents a way for current HBCA Web programming, such as the image gallery and the Illustrated vault tour, to expand. In addition, as Judith Hudson Beattie, Keeper of the HBCA, indicates, the archives may reestablish a publication program on the Web drawing on the documents originally published by the HBRS as well as other newly selected documents.

¹⁸ Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Information Release Web site 14 February 1997: 1.

¹⁹ William Landis, "Archival Outreach and the World Wide Web," Archival Issues 20 (2) (1995).

In addition to Web-based initiatives, cooperation with parallel institutions such as museums provides opportunities to expand archival public programming. Cooperation between archives and parallel institutions may allow for the pooling of technological, human and financial resources to reach and educate a wider audience about institutional holdings. Opportunities for cooperation between institutions present themselves in Web-based and traditional public programming formats. The HBCA already has links to various institutions with related interests in the fur trade, western and northern Canadian history and genealogy. In particular, the archives link with the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature provides the basis for future joint programming initiatives such as exhibitions, tours, lectures and Web-based initiatives.

Since the inception of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in the 1920s, public programming has gradually evolved. In the early part of the twentieth century, HBCA public programming was in the shadow of the company's public relations initiatives. The HBC used the archives to create awareness that would stimulate demand for its goods. Eventually, the HBC realized that it had an obligation to make its records more readily available to researchers. Initially the company and the archives directed their efforts to promote the archives among accredited scholars and the social elite. However, by mid century the audience for public programs widened.

The relocation of the archives to Winnipeg in 1974 initiated further change in the archives conception of its public programming function. The transfer of the HBCA to its new home at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba was marked by several events which let the public know that the HBCA was a presence in the community and promoted its use. Users of all ages and backgrounds were introduced to the archives through tours, exhibitions and special events. During the 1980s and 1990s, tours and the Web site became very important as means of outreach. As well, they demonstrate the archives' growing educational emphasis on public programming. This emphasis seems likely to continue as archives consider how to develop their public programs in the future, whether it be through the Web or the strengthening of ties with parallel institutions.

Chapter 1

Archival Public Programming: A Literature Review

Over the course of the twentieth century, archivists have made attempts to promote the use of archives through what is known as public programming. Public programming can be defined as strategies that archivists use to inform society, sponsors and users about archives. American archivist Kathleen Roe characterizes it as “a crucial function for archives by acting as the interpreter between a repository and the public.”¹ The use of the word “interpreter” is indicative of the fact that archives must look for ways to explain and justify their role in society. As Roe argues, public programs translate the language of archives into a form that the user can understand and use. Roe clarifies her position further by pointing out that,

while the purpose of archives is to preserve and make available historical resources, the goal lacks substance if the resources remain unused. Public programs can promote archival goals to acquire and preserve valuable resources, encourage and expand the use of historical records, and raise public awareness of archives and their purposes.²

Professional associations, such as the Society of American Archivists (SAA), have also attempted to put forth formal definitions of reference services and public programming. American archival educator Bruce Dearstyne highlights this definition in his article “Archival Reference and Outreach: Toward a New Paradigm.” The SAA defines “reference services” as “the range of activities involved in assisting researchers using archival materials” and “outreach programs” as “organized activities of archives or manuscript repositories intended to acquaint potential users with their

¹ Kathleen Roe, “Public Programs.” in Managing Archives and Archival Institutions, ed. James Bradsher (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989): 218.

² Ibid: 218.

holdings and their research and reference value.”³ The value of this definition clearly lies in the distinction it makes between reference services and public programs. Too often users and, to some extent, archivists have confused one with the other, and thought of reference services and public programs as one and the same.

Archival literature also examines the history of public programming in archives. The extent of public programming's history is debated within archival literature. As Ernst Posner points out, archives have been a feature of human society since ancient times. In antiquity, those entrusted with the records were thought to have performed, if only in a limited way, functions that can be likened to those performed today, namely acquisition, arrangement and description.⁴ As years passed these functions developed to the point that they became established components of archival work. Despite the long history of archival functions such as acquisition, arrangement and description, public programming is considered to be a fairly recent accrual to an existing collection of established archival functions.

While other functions are steeped in history, public programming is most commonly thought of as a development of the twentieth century. However, exactly when in the twentieth century archives began to perform the public programming function is debated among archival scholars. Some point out that archivists in the early part of the twentieth century, such as Canadian Arthur Doughty, sought ways to make people aware of archives. Others contend that public programming is a development of the latter part of the twentieth century; and prior to the 1970s public programming was of little interest to archivists.

Canadian archivists Gabrielle Blais and David Enns assert that the archival function of public programming is a development of the latter part of the 20th century. Prior to the 1980s, they argue, archivists focused their attention on the business of acquisition, arrangement and description. Blais and Enns do admit that

³ Bruce W. Dearstyne, “Archival Reference and Outreach: Toward a New Paradigm.” in Reference Services for Archives and Manuscripts, ed. Laura Cohen (New York: The Haworth Press, Inc., 1997): 185-186.

*Ernest Posner, Archives in the Ancient World (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

archivists exhibited some concern for the user: "In the early years, activities now known as outreach or public programming were limited to the preparation of research guides and assistance to historians as they performed their research."⁵

Although they acknowledge evidence of public programming in the early part of the twentieth century, Blais and Enns argue that archivists did not consider public programming to be part of their daily work. Blais and Enns maintain that,

since Doughty's time, and perhaps to some degree as a result of his perspective, an intimate relationship between archivists and the records entrusted to their care has developed. This relationship is reflected in archival scholarship and theory, the bulk of which has attempted to establish objective, and even scientific, principles and methods of dealing with documents. In the preoccupation with the assumed objectivity of the record, few archivists have been prepared to regard the seemingly subjective realm of the user as an important area of archival inquiry.⁶

According to Blais and Enns, the National Archives of Canada (NAC) has been "a storehouse of national history, containing documents ... from both public and private spheres."⁷ The "main mission of the Archives was that of acquiring and organizing records of national historic significance."⁸ Dominion Archivists were primarily concerned with the record. Blais and Enns stress that

the public service function in Doughty's time was limited ... to the advancement of historical study through the publication of reference and general guides, and the provision of access to records. The occasional exhibition complemented this narrow reach of outreach activities. This vision remained static for more than fifty years, as archives continued to be the domain of academic historians. The preeminent role of this user group in archives and in the affairs of archivists continued well into the 1960s.⁹

Kathleen Roe also argues that "public programs do not share the longer history of other archival processes."¹⁰ Roe points that there were some attempts by archivists to reach out to the user in the early part of this century, but these initiatives

⁵ Gabrielle Blais and David Enns, "Form Paper Archives to People Archives:" 101.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid: 102.

¹⁰ Kathleen Roe, "Public Programs": 218.

were only taken on occasion. In addition, any such program, was narrow in focus; public programming was directed at the scholarly elite. According to Roe, it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that “archivists begin to clearly and consistently articulate a theoretical framework for public programs.”¹¹

American archival educator Richard Cox shares Roe's view. He argues that the theoretical framework of public programming began to emerge in the 1970s as a result of the work of archivists such as Elsie Freeman. Cox notes numerous efforts made by Freeman to get the archival community thinking about public programming. He maintains that Freeman's 1982 paper on public programming presented at the Society of the American Archivists' Annual Meeting “was ... a watershed in the discovery by archivists of public programming.”¹² Cox says that Elsie Freeman “effectively summarized her concerns that archivists must adopt a more client-centred approach to the administration of their holdings. In effect, Freeman stated that archivists must pay more attention to users of archives and their needs.”¹³ During the conference archivists received a manual that focused on public programming in archives. Cox argues that this manual inspired other work on public programming. Thus, Richard Cox also supports the idea that public programming is a development of the latter part of twentieth century.

Other contributors to the debate support a view of the history of archival public programming that is at odds with Blais, Enns, Roe and Cox. Their view is that public programming may not have a history that can be traced back centuries, but there is strong evidence of it in the early part of the twentieth century. The recently named National Archivist of Canada, Ian Wilson has written several articles on the history of the National Archives of Canada and clearly supports the idea that there were many archivists who early on had an interest in what is now called public programming.

¹¹ Ibid: 219.

¹² Richard J. Cox. “The Concept of Public Memory and Its Impact on Archival Public Programming,” *Archivaria* 36 (Autumn 1993): 123.

¹³ Ibid.

Wilson argues that the beginnings of archival public programming are evident when Douglas Brymner, the first Dominion Archivist, was instructed by Parliament "to gather, classify and make available for researchers ... Canadian records."¹⁴ During his tenure, Brymner found and acquired records which are considered to be important to the study of Canadian history. These records included private and public papers which were copied and calendared to make them available for use. Brymner also promoted the archives by talking with potential donors of records and articulating his "noble dream"¹⁵ to archivists in the United States.

According to Wilson, in the latter part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth, Canadian archivists were indeed aware of the user. Archivists realized that a relationship with historians could be mutually beneficial. By actively encouraging the "professionalization of Canadian historical writing,"¹⁶ archivists engendered interest in the records under their care. Wilson argues that the archival community sought the support of academics. The connection forged between archivists and historians, initiated the growth of the historical profession. This was done by opening the doors of the archives to researchers as well as through publications and exhibitions. The second Dominion Archivist, Arthur Doughty, also attempted to reach out to the academic community by involving it in groups such as the Historical Manuscripts Commission:

Acting on Doughty's recommendation, the government appointed Historical Manuscripts Commission in April 1907 to advise the Minister of Agriculture and to cooperate with the Dominion Archivist in collecting, arranging and rendering accessible those original sources from which alone an adequate knowledge of Canadian history can be gained.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ian Wilson, "Shortt and Doughty: The Cultural Role of the Public Archives of Canada, 1904-1935." *The Canadian Archivist* 2 (4) (1973): 5.

¹⁵ Ian Wilson, "'A Noble Dream': The Origins of the Public Archives of Canada." *Archivaria* 15 (Winter 1982-83): 21. The "noble dream" was Brymner's term for his objective "to obtain from all sources, private as well as public, such documents as may throw light on social, commercial, municipal, as well as purely political history."

¹⁶ Ian Wilson, "Shortt and Doughty: The Cultural Role of the Public Archives of Canada, 1904-1935": 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid*: 16.

The importance that archivists placed on history prompted many people to take action. Journals devoted to the study of history began publication and some university professors even reconsidered their academic pursuits. One such individual was Queen's University professor Adam Shortt, who was so inspired by the work of the Public Archives of Canada (PAC) that he decided to switch his academic focus to Canadian history. Shortt was a close colleague of Arthur Doughty. Together they "led the federal government, through the programs of the Public Archives, to provide active assistance to the emerging historical profession."¹⁸

Wilson argues that Doughty and Shortt successfully lobbied the Canadian government and potential donors to support archives in Canada. Doughty also traveled to Europe and talked to potential donors of archival material. While in Europe, he succeeded in acquiring and copying many records in Britain and France pertaining to Canada. In addition to the records he obtained in Europe, Doughty embarked upon a campaign to acquire records from across Canada. The contents of some of the records he obtained were eventually published. Among the first publications organized by Doughty, along with Adam Shortt, was a series entitled Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759 to 1791.¹⁹ As Wilson points out, the purpose of this series and other publications that followed was "to render accessible to the public and scholars at a distance the chief material for the study of the more important movements and episodes in Canadian history."²⁰

It is clear from Wilson's article that the importance of public programming was not lost on these archivists in the early twentieth century. Doughty envisioned a broad cultural program that, with the help of individuals such as Shortt, would increase the holdings and profile of the PAC. Under Doughty the collections of the archives grew, and guides to these holdings were created.

¹⁸ Ibid: 7.

¹⁹ Public Archives of Canada, Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada 1759-1791. eds. Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1918.)

²⁰ Ian Wilson, "Shortt and Doughty: The Cultural Role of the Public Archives of Canada, 1904-1935": 14.

Archivist Jay Atherton also notes the efforts of the early archivists at the PAC to reach the user. The devotion of these archivists to the record allowed for its acquisition, arrangement and description. Like Wilson, Atherton refers also to Arthur Doughty's political acumen, his connection with academics and ability to use it to gain support for the archives. He also makes note of Doughty's efforts to promote archives by putting forth ideas to celebrate significant events in Canadian history such as Confederation. In the twenties, "lobbying by Doughty convinced the ... Secretary of State, A.B. Copp, of the need to extend the work and facilities of the Archives."²¹ Many of the initiatives Doughty took during his tenure as Dominion Archivist laid the foundation for the growth and diversification of the archives' user base. His actions also helped to increase support from the government.

The writings of Ian Wilson and Jay Atherton support the view that the archival function of public programming emerged not in the latter part of the twentieth century, but at its beginning. While Blais and Enns contend that archivists of the early twentieth century spent their time performing functions that were primarily focused on the record, at the same time there is evidence that archivists also worked outside the walls of their respective repositories. This outside work was crucial in the archival community's attempt to build up a collection of records that reflected the pivotal events in Canadian history. The public work of these archivists involved the establishment of an archival public image and ties with members of the community. While the initiatives taken by archivists in the first half of the century may not have been as self-consciously formalized as a professional function or as varied by today's standards, they must be judged as significant for their time.

Where does the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) fit into this discussion of the history of public programming? While the history of this function as it pertains to the HBCA will be addressed in more detail in following chapters of this thesis, there is a link to the preceding debate about public programming. Across its

²¹ Jay Atherton, "Origins of the Public Archives Record Centre, 1897-1956." *Archivaria* 8 (Summer 1979): 47.

lengthy history the Hudson's Bay Company amassed a large body of records which are now available to researchers at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba. However, as Gordon Briggs points out in an early article on the archives,

for over two centuries the company paid only cursory attention to its illustrious history, and its officers could see no reason for making it public This negative attitude, however, changed gradually in the early part of this century as the company reluctantly opened its doors, with some qualifications, to historians.²²

The Hudson's Bay Company formally established an archives department in the 1920s. The department was an outgrowth of a request made by historian and journalist, Sir William Schooling. Schooling petitioned the company to give him access to its records so that he could write a corporate history.²³ According to Briggs this prompted the company to begin the organization of its archives. Between 1932 and 1933, the company's first archivist, R.H.G. Leveson Gower, undertook to arrange and describe the holdings of the archives. The Hudson's Bay Company was somewhat reluctant to open its archives to outsiders. However, Gower successfully urged the company to grant access to historians and other academics.

The company also agreed to the publication of many of its records through the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Record Society (HBRS). The publication of company records was encouraged by archivists such as Arthur Doughty, who was a great advocate of publication as a way to provide access to the record and to reach possible users. In fact, Doughty had a great interest in the publication of HBCA records and offered to lend his expertise to this work. In addition to publication there was an attempt by the HBCA to reach a select group of users through small exhibitions which were occasionally mounted by the archivists.

In addition to discussing the history of public programming, archival literature examines how archivists should approach such programming. The "client-" and "material-oriented" approaches are commonly applied to this function by archival

²² Gordon Briggs, "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company." The Canadian Chartered Accountant 32 (2) (1938): 116.

²³ Ibid.

theorists. Advocates of the “client-oriented” approach argue that archivists should spend time studying users in order to determine their needs. In studying the user valuable information can be gathered and used to shape public programs. This information could also be used to guide the other archival functions of acquisition, arrangement and description. However, proponents of the “material oriented” approach believe that archives should cast their nets wide in order to collect a broader array of records, useful to society as whole. Public programs should encourage use by promoting the various types of records contained in an archives.²⁴

The debate between the “client-oriented” and “material-oriented” approaches was, perhaps, formally initiated by the remarks of Elsie Freeman at the annual conference of the Society of American Archivists in 1982. Freeman champions the “client-oriented” approach, a term which she coined. In the early 1980s, she called upon archivists to take a greater interest in the user and create programs that are “client-oriented.”

In 1984 Freeman argued further that

the identity and the research habits of our users -- who they are, how they think, how they learn, how they assemble information, to what uses they put it -- must become as familiar a part of our thinking as the rules of order and practice (sometimes called principles) that now govern the acquisition, processing, description, and servicing of records.²⁵

Freeman says that it is important for archivists to change the way they think about archival administration because of growing competition from other information providers. She believes that the only way for archivists to remain competitive is to rid themselves of any “misassumption”²⁶ that they have about their work and the user. These misassumptions include the belief that archivists know the user and, because archivists perform reference work, that they are oriented toward the user.²⁷

²⁴ Terry Cook, “Viewing the World Upside Down: Reflections on the Theoretical Underpinnings of Archival Public Programming,” *Archivaria* 31 (Winter 1990-91): 123.

²⁵ Elsie T. Freeman, “In the Eye of the Beholder: Archives Administration from the User’s Point of View,”: 112. Please note that Elsie T. Freeman also goes by the name Elsie Freeman Finch.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*: 113.

These misconceptions can be overcome by getting to know the user. Freeman suggests that this can be accomplished through user surveys and entrance/exit interviews. From surveys and interviews valuable information can be gleaned about research interests and service needs.

Freeman followed up on her 1984 article with a piece co-authored with Paul Conway. It stresses the importance of public relations in archives. Freeman (now Finch) and Conway offer a construct for an archival public relations program which emphasizes the client (the user). They argue that what the archivist knows about users must be fully integrated into the management of archives or "it serves no useful purpose."²⁸ Conway and Finch's article reads like a manual that might be produced by the public relations department of a corporation. They talk about the importance of knowing the client and how the user (client) should be kept in mind when decisions are made regarding policy. Conway and Finch contend that the archivist's objective

is to mobilize ... information, integrate it as well as we can into policy, keeping in mind that our purpose is to maximize the use of the records in our stewardship, and then make those policies clear to the public in their terms. Our professional interest and those of the public in their terms. Our professional interest and those of the public coincide: The best management decisions and the best service create the best public relations.²⁹

In addition to Finch and Conway, other advocates of the "client-oriented" view of archival programming include American archival educator David B. Gracy. Gracy anticipated Freeman in his 1982 comments about the need "to raise the consciousness of archivists about the public."³⁰ Gracy emphasizes that the archival image needs to be strengthened.³¹ Gracy argues that archivists are, in part,

²⁸ Elsie Freeman Finch and Paul Conway, "Talking to the Angel: Beginning Your Public Relations Program" in Advocating Archives: An Introduction to Public Relations for Archivists, ed. Elsie Freeman Finch (Metuchen: The Society of American Archivists and the Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1994): 7.

²⁹ Ibid: 22.

³⁰ Richard Cox, "The Concept of Public Memory and Its Impact on Archival Public Programming": 124.

³¹ Ibid.

responsible for the often unattractive way they are viewed by society and some users. Therefore, archivists must make a concerted effort to explain their work to society and make archives more "client-oriented." He argues "to improve their situation, archivists need to define more coherent identity objectives, and communicate greater freshness and distinctiveness in imagery by their training, programs, self assertion, publicity, advertising, and relevance to modern life."³² Gracy believes that if archivists take the initiative to change the public image of themselves and archives, negative stereotypes that may exist will be curtailed.³³

Like other proponents of the "client-oriented" approach, Gracy speaks of programming as marketing or public relations. The archives, like a corporation, must market its product to potential clients in order to find a place within the community. According to Gracy, the archivist as marketer must become "customer centered." This "means that the archivist must study the customer to gain a sound knowledge of the customer's stereotypes, perceptions and conceptions about archives, archivists, and the archival service delivered both within and outside of the archivist's own repository."³⁴

Elsie Freeman and David B. Gracy are among the earliest supporters of the "client-oriented" approach to archival public programming. Their approach has influenced other archivists. The corporate archivist for Coca Cola, Philip Mooney, makes use of much of the terminology used by Freeman and Gracy. Mooney points out that by strengthening archival programming through marketing, archivists are taking an active role in demonstrating the importance of archives to society. According to Mooney, marketing is and will continue to be important because of the constant advances in information technology that are changing the way information is

³² David B. Gracy, "Is There a Future in the Use of Archives?" *Archivaria* 24 (Winter 1987): 6.

³³ Ibid. Many of the archival stereotypes that Gracy refers to were first compiled in a report prepared for the Society of American Archivists in 1985 known as the Levy Report. This report studied the different ideas that people have about archives and archivists.

³⁴ David B. Gracy, "Reference No Longer Is A "P" Word: The Reference Archivist as Marketer" in *Reference Services for Archives and Manuscripts*, ed. Laura Cohen (New York: The Haworth Press, Inc., 1997): 179.

transmitted and recorded. Therefore, it is necessary for archivists to devise a “multifaceted public relations strategy focusing on the relevance of archival material to contemporary society.”³⁵

Mooney argues that the aim of any “multifaceted public relations strategy” is to increase the number and variety of people using archival resources. The implementation of a public relations strategy involves archivists in educating the “general population about the varied uses of primary sources.”³⁶ To educate the general population, Mooney purposes that archivists treat their holdings as public relations officers would their products or services. This involves assuming “that customers know little about our product and that they must be persuaded to use it...”³⁷ This inference allows archivists to see that it is necessary to offer a variety of programs that will appeal to the broad spectrum of society. These programs would include exhibitions, publications, audiovisual productions and other public relations activities.

Mooney concurs with Freeman and Gracy, and points out that the success of archival public programming rests on archivists’ knowledge of the user. He argues that

marketers use such terms as “segmented” or “targeted” marketing to identify and solicit likely consumers of their products in order to achieve sales and volume growth. Similarly archivists should explore new options to expand their consumer base and expose wider audiences to their products.³⁸

However, unlike Freeman and Gracy, Mooney does not seek to imbue all other archival functions with the wants and needs of the user. Mooney’s objective is to urge archivists to elevate the public programming function to the same level of importance as the other archival functions. Thus, he advocates a “client-oriented” approach to public programming that would see archivists promote their holdings to

³⁵ Philip F. Mooney, “Modest Proposals: Marketing for the Expansionist Archives” in Advocating Archives: 55.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid: 55-56.

users based on their institutional mandate, and not on societal trends.

A similar view of public programming is evident in the writings of American archival educator Bruce Dearstyne. In his book The Archival Enterprise Dearstyne devotes an entire chapter to a discussion of issues which he feels may have prevented archivists in the past from seeing the importance of promoting their holdings. He highlights the belief of some archivists that promotion is unnecessary. As well he touches on the negative perception of promotional marketing that has contributed to a tendency to discredit its importance.

By addressing these issues, Dearstyne suggests why promotional marketing is relevant to archives. He argues that it can dispel some of the stereotypes that exist about archives and can act as a vehicle to increase the number and variety of archival users. Dearstyne refers to the archival image problem as “the first promotional marketing challenge that archivists face...”³⁹ He argues that

archival work is exciting and historical records are gold mines of useful information; getting the message across is the challenge. Using imaginative approaches, archivists need to explain their holdings and work in terms that appeal to, can be understood by, and are interesting to their customers or constituents, including sponsors, users and the public.⁴⁰

To build understanding among users, sponsors and the public, archivists must engage in what Dearstyne refers to as promotional marketing. Promotional marketing is “a continuing effort to encourage use of holdings, explain and highlight work, and advance the general cause of historical records.”⁴¹

For promotional marketing to be a success in any archival context archivists must have knowledge of various user groups. This knowledge includes knowing the make up of user groups and their interests. Dearstyne contends that if archivists have an understanding of their holdings and users, they can embark upon a promotional marketing campaign. He points out that campaigns may include one or a combination of “six basic promotional tools” which are “a program brochure, newsletter,

³⁹ Bruce Dearstyne, The Archival Enterprise (Chicago: American Library Association, 1993): 198.

⁴⁰ Ibid: 200.

⁴¹ Ibid: 197.

promotional publications and productions, the program's own staff, open houses or tours, and the news media."⁴²

According to Dearstyne, promotional marketing communicates the relevance of archives to society. Marketing illuminates the importance of archives by showing how they act as "firsthand accounts of human experience; evidence of personal, social, and institutional endeavor; direct, unfiltered connections with past thoughts and actions, now lost in time but captured in documents."⁴³ In addition, better marketing would extinguish many of the unflattering stereotypes that exist about archivists and archives.

Philip Mooney and Bruce Dearstyne seem to bridge the gap between the "client-oriented" and the "material-oriented" approach to archival public programming. However, there are those who place greater emphasis on the "material-oriented" approach to public programming. Two prominent members of the "material-oriented" contingent are Terry Cook and Richard Cox. In their writings, Cook and Cox caution archivists against taking an approach that puts too much emphasis on the user. Cox and Cook think that knowing the user is important, but archival functions such as acquisition and description should not be driven by the wants and needs of the user. They propose that archives should collect a broad array of records, useful to society generally, rather than to people who do research in archives. Thus, for Cox and Cook the objective of any public program is to promote the variety of uses of the many types of records in an archives, rather than focus on the needs of key users.

Cook acknowledges that the writings of Elsie Freeman have been beneficial to archives. Freeman's approach encourages archivists to make "the incredible richness of archival holdings available to more users, and to a greater variety of users, in more interesting and effective ways."⁴⁴ In addition, Cook points that her work

⁴² Ibid: 206.

⁴³ Ibid: 197.

⁴⁴ Terry Cook, "Viewing the World Upside Down: Reflections on the Theoretical Underpinnings of Archival Public Programming": 123.

has sought "to elevate the profile of archives and to educate the public, or at least make it aware that archives are essential societal institutions worthy of its support."⁴⁵ While Cook agrees that the "client-oriented" approach has the potential to be quite beneficial. He also argues that its proponents' overemphasis on it would undermine "both archival theory and the very richness of that documentary heritage which the new public programming would make available."⁴⁶

Cook exposes some of the dangers of the "client-oriented" approach by critiquing the arguments of archivists such as Freeman. Freeman argues that archivists must study researchers to gain a better understanding of how they conduct research in an archival setting. She contends that "a look at how and why users approach records will give us [archivists] new criteria for appraising records."⁴⁷ Cook acknowledges that many archival functions do not overtly fulfill the needs of the user, in the sense that the records are not arranged and described according to themes or subjects users would like or even recognize. He goes on to say that archivists have struggled to reconcile archival methods of arrangement and description with the way researchers attempt to locate information. However, Cook asserts that while the researcher's needs must be considered, they must not supplant archival theory's claim that the record must be arranged and described in its original context of creation and not in accordance with transient subject categories derived by archivists to cater to user groups.

Cook's critique of Freeman and other "client-oriented" supporters is balanced. His assessment looks at both the pros and cons of the "client-oriented" argument. However, Cook contends that public programming can be elevated to the same level of importance as the other archival functions without completely overtaking them. Taking a bit of poetic license Cook points out that "archivists are indeed searching – and leading their users – through the grand archival forest, with all its

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid: 126.

fascinating paths and interesting byways, rather than focusing on that isolated tree."⁴⁸

Cook argues that it is possible to find some common ground between contextual archival theory, with its emphasis on protecting the integrity of the record, and "public programming's desire to enrich the user's experience in archives."⁴⁹ He urges archivists to emphasize "provenance, order and context front and centre over facts, figures and content."⁵⁰ In Cook's mind, "idealism and a sense of holistic vision" must prevail over "utilitarianism and a sense of market imperatives...."⁵¹ Cook believes that archivists should design public programs that lead the user "to information about the contextual significance of the document."⁵² By pointing out the contextual significance, archivists actually enhance the usefulness of archives.

A case for the "material-oriented" approach to public programming is also made by Richard Cox. He states that the emphasis of any archival program must be on the record. Cox concurs with Cook, when he argues that public programs should be a prominent part of any archival program, but should not overtake the other archival functions. Cox points out:

Public programs are tools that support and enhance other archival functions, including research, reference, preservation, and collecting. They can be highly educational, both for planners and participants; they can foster greater appreciation for history and archival records; and they help ensure firm and continuing support for future archival endeavors.⁵³

Cox advocates the use of public programming tools that buttress all archival functions such as workshops, special events, publications, audiovisual productions and exhibitions.

Many of the arguments of Cook and Cox are echoed in the work of Canadian archivists such as Barbara Craig.⁵⁴ Like Cook, Craig favours the "material-oriented"

⁴⁸ Ibid: 128.

⁴⁹ Ibid: 130.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid: 131.

⁵³ Richard Cox, Managing Institutional Archives. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992): 156.

⁵⁴ Barbara Craig, "What are the Clients? Who are the Products? The Future of Archival Public Service in Perspective," Archivaria 31 (Winter 1990-91): 135-136.

approach. She argues that "it is the record which is the hub of the archival wheel: all our functions radiate from it: all of our programs must be firmly attached to it."⁵⁶ In fact, Craig argues that the records are the clients and the users are the products. She "suggest[s] that in the trendy imagery of modern business our real clients are the records. And continuing this reversal of role, the user should be our product."⁵⁶ Craig's elaboration on this statement, in the last paragraph of her article, seems to indicate an approach that would see the product (the user) shaped through archival participation and education programs so that he/ she would fulfill the needs of the client (the record). These needs include an understanding of context, provenance and order.⁵⁷

The debate over what approach archivists should take to public programming continues in archival journals and conversations among archivists. It is clear from the writings that both the supporters of the "client-" and "material-oriented" approach have contributed positively to the discussion of the archival function of public programming. The "client-oriented" approach stresses the need for archivists to keep in touch with the user and market the resources of the archives. While the "material-oriented" approach emphasizes the record and urges archivists to insure that the records collected reflect society at large. Therefore, it seems clear that a synthesis of the two approaches may serve archivists, records and users well. A melding of these two approaches seems to be at work in archives such as the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. The archives maintains an emphasis on acquiring a diverse collection of company records, while at the same time promoting their use through tours, the Internet, publications and exhibitions.

The approaches that archivists have taken to the functions they perform manifest themselves in a number of ways. With regard to public programs themselves, archivists have organized exhibitions, workshops, tours and publications in order to promote the use of the record. A good portion of the

⁵⁶ Ibid: 137.

⁵⁶ Ibid: 141.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

literature on public programming is devoted to manuals that explain how different programs can be organized. James Bradsher and Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler, in Managing Archives and Archival Institutions, devote an entire chapter to extolling the virtues of the archival exhibit. They also give some very practical advice on staging exhibits.⁵⁸

Bradsher and Ritzenthaler emphasize that “exhibits, which are a major component of public programs, are useful in drawing attention to the resources available in archival institutions and serve as an invitation to further research.”⁵⁹ Often exhibits take one of two forms; these include the subject or object-based⁶⁰ exhibit and the exhibit that focuses on the functions, activities and services of the archives. Regardless of the form, according to Bradsher and Ritzenthaler, there are certain steps archivists must take to ensure the success of the exhibit. These steps include choosing a subject, planning and selecting material for the exhibit. All stages require archivists to have a good understanding of their holdings and the audience to which the exhibit is directed.

Another archivist who has taken a close look at the exhibit as a form of public programming is Gail Farr Casterline. She begins by asking the question, why exhibit? Farr Casterline argues that exhibits have long been a type of programming used by archivists to communicate the value of their holdings to society. She contends that “exhibits of archival materials show what a repository collects, preserves, and makes available to users....”⁶¹ In addition, “they have the potential to educate, communicate and serve a variety of other functions.”⁶² Farr Casterline believes that any archives can stage an exhibit without overextending its resources. Through the staging of an exhibit, archives reap enormous benefits such as a more

⁵⁸ James Bradsher and Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler, “Archival Exhibits” in Managing Archives and Archival Institutions: 228.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ The subject or object-based exhibit features documents which have been pulled together to tell the story of a specific person, place or organization.

⁶¹ Gail Farr Casterline, Archives and Manuscripts: Exhibits (Chicago: The Society of American Archivists, 1980): 8.

⁶² Ibid.

diverse clientele, donations of records and other forms of support. However, for an archives to realize these benefits, the exhibit must be carefully planned.

Farr Casterline provides the "how to," from the initial planning of exhibits to the various ways of mounting documents for display. Bradeshier and Ritzethaler provide a basic outline of the steps for staging an exhibit. Farr Casterline offers guidance on planning and development of exhibits which involves establishing an understanding of the exhibition's intended audience. As well she goes through the process of choosing a subject, laying out a schedule for the organization of the exhibit and selecting the holdings for display. Finally other parts of the manual provide information on conservation concerns, exhibit design and related events.⁶³

While many writings dwell on the intricacies of particular types of public programs, others seek to give an overview of the various manifestations of public programming. Philip Mooney, for example, outlines the four major programs that archivists can use to market their archives. These programs consisting of publishing, exhibitions, audiovisual productions and public relations activities.⁶⁴ Mooney points out further that within these broad categories are many other tools which archivists may find useful in their attempts to draw the attention of the user.

According to Mooney, a publication program is the most prevalent type of public program in archives. He argues that

these printed pieces inform the institution's public about its holdings and stimulate use of its collections, and should simultaneously generate fiscal, moral, and political support for its programs. A well-designed publication distributed to appropriate audiences can attract patrons that can be captured in no other way.⁶⁵

While there are many different types of publications that can be disseminated to an archives' various constituents, Mooney emphasizes the "institutional brochure."

Mooney briefly describes the cosmetic appearance of the "institutional brochure," but his main objective is to point out its benefits to any archival

⁶³ *Ibid*: 8-11.

⁶⁴ Philip F. Mooney, "Modest Proposals: Marketing Ideas for the Expansionist Archives" in *Advocating Archives*: 56.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*.

programming strategy. He asserts that the primary role of the brochure is "to convey a sense of the institution, to let people know what the collection contains and how they can access it, and to demonstrate that the repository performs very important scholarly work."⁶⁶ Other information communicated by the brochure includes information on finding aids, access rules, services offered by the archives and hours of operation. Through this type of brochure archivists give basic information that may serve to introduce the user to the archival institution.

Other publications suggested by Mooney include those that link archives with other cultural institutions and reinforce the connection with various community groups. His suggestions comprise publications such as newsletters, annual reports, and brochures with a particular focus. Newsletters inform people of new developments, recent acquisitions and contain features on certain aspects of archival work and collections. They also can be used to announce other programming events such as tours and exhibitions. Like Bradsher, Ritzenthaler and Farr Casterline, Mooney also touches on the exhibit. One very important point that he makes is that "exhibits ... send the clear message that the materials are there to be used and that their display is an invitation to research."⁶⁷

Another marketing tool highlighted by Mooney is the audiovisual production. He believes this to be a very important component of archival public programming because "current and future generations of archival users come from an environment where most selling messages are conveyed electronically."⁶⁸ Mooney argues further that it will be necessary for archivists to create audiovisual programs in order to compete with other information providers. His recommendations for audiovisual productions include slide presentations, videos and sound recordings.

Mooney acknowledges that these types of programs can be expensive. However, he contends that most archives can organize a slide presentation at very little cost. According to Mooney, slide presentations are one of the most effective

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid: 59.

⁶⁸ Ibid: 60.

ways to promote archival collections in a visual format. He also sees opportunities in broadcasting. Often, television uses many of the visual and sound documents in archival collections. In addition, textual documentation can provide background information for news stories. Through television exposure archives are able to reach an even broader audience in society.⁶⁹

Finally, Mooney concludes his article by discussing public relations. He defines public relations as “activities [that] encompass a broad range of programs that are directed toward the cultivation and expansion of your resource base.”⁷⁰ It is through this broad range of activities that Mooney believes archivists can strengthen, the “natural” bond between themselves and the press. This bond exists because both professions are involved in the dissemination of information. Mooney argues that the relationship between archives and the press is symbiotic. Archives can provide information which allows the media to create context for news stories and the media has the tools to get information from and about archives to a large portion of the population. Mooney emphasizes that the media is an excellent way to market archival records, staff and institutions.

Other public relations activities in which archivists should become involved entail establishing a connection with the educational community, namely teachers and students. Its is important to get students and teachers involved because they represent potential current and future users. Mooney points out that

teacher workshops, directed student seminars, school tours, packets of historical documents, traveling exhibits, and specialized audio-visual presentations are some of the more popular techniques that link archival and educational organizations in joint programming efforts.⁷¹

One important way archivists can begin to create programs for the educational community is through the study of school curriculums. Knowledge of the curriculum will help archivists to shape programs that will show students and teachers how the holdings of the archives are relevant to their studies.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid: 61.

⁷¹ Ibid: 62.

The connection between archives and the educational system is considered by many archivists to be very important. This is also emphasized by Canadian historian Ken Osborne in his article "Archives in the Classroom." He argues that there are many different ways archives can establish a place for themselves in classrooms. Archivists can illustrate how documents can be used in the classroom by making them available to teachers. As well, archivists can hold seminars and workshops that educate both teacher and student on the value of archives. Throughout his article, Osborne suggests numerous ways in which archives can become a vital part of classroom learning.

However, before archivists can play a role in the educational system, Osborne contends that they must learn to be educators, much as museums workers have done. He points out "to the museum educator, the term museum education means the education of the public."⁷² Osborne urges archivists to expand their definition of archival education beyond themselves. While archivists may not have perceived themselves as public educators in the past, there are tremendous opportunities that can be reaped by taking on this role. Osborne argues that the role of educator will help archivists to strengthen existing programs and develop new ones.

Many of the types of public programming strategies discussed in archival literature have become staples in many archives. Publications, exhibitions, tours, audiovisual productions and other public relations activities have served archives well. Users have responded to these programs and have often returned to archives to do further research.

However, with technological developments such as the Internet and CD-ROMs most of the literature on traditional public programs has become dated. No one can deny the contribution that traditional programming continues to make to archives, but the future presents new challenges and opportunities that cannot be ignored. Clearly there is room for a new body of public programming

⁷² Ken Osborne, "Archives in the Classroom," Archivaria 23 (Winter 1986-1987): 17.

literature that is devoted to issues such as the role of computer technology in archives. Throughout the 1990s there is evidence that indicates archival literature is going "online."

Articles by Americans William Landis, John Whaley and Ronald Weissman are examples of the emerging discussion in the archival community of the integration of computer technology and archives. Whaley speaks of this technology as a way to expand public programming and improve relations with different groups in society. Weissman speaks to its effects on the way that people deal with information. Finally, Landis' focus is on one particular type of computer public programming that is already an important part of archives, namely the Web site.

Weissman argues that

the spread of new software technologies, such as object-oriented software, work flow, document-centric computing, and database-centric computing will change substantially our traditional information-processing model. Of greatest interest to archivists will be the potential of this change to integrate today's diverse information search and retrieval strategies and technologies.⁷³

He believes that archivists must meet the challenge and opportunities of computer technology in a direct manner. This has implications for all archival functions including public programming.⁷⁴ According to Weissman, archivists must keep abreast of the changes in technology in order to prepare for the future. Advances in computer technology are causing archivists and other information professionals to "rethink our environments and the ways we manage, interlink, visualize, and interpret information."⁷⁵

The changes in computer technology that Weissman talks about in his article will effect archives in many ways. They will most certainly have an impact on the way archival functions, like public programming, are being performed by archivists. In fact, this is already evident in the development of archival Web sites and literature on the topic of computers and archives.

⁷³ Ronald Weissman, "Archives and the New Architecture of the Late 1990s" American Archivist 57 (Winter 1994): 20.

⁷⁴ Ibid: 21.

⁷⁵ Ibid: 26.

As Weissman suggests, computers may address problems related to storage and preservation in archives. In addition, the computer will continue to provide and increase access to archives. The storage of documents on CD-ROMs and databases will allow archivists to devise educational packets that are accessible to people via the Web or CD-ROMs. These two formats will enable archives to reach a greater number of users. Computers may also provide some interesting ways for archivists and users to interact and discuss the nature of archives. Weismann believes that by archives becoming more involved in computer technology, they can "continue to be places to visit but also will become networked services to access intelligently, flexibly, and appropriately from afar."⁷⁶

While Weissman takes a more general view of computer technology's effect on public programs. William Landis focuses on a specific form of public program, the Web site. Landis argues that the World Wide Web can be "a new and exciting venue through which archivists can pursue outreach activities for their repositories, reaching potential audiences in ways never before possible."⁷⁷

In order to examine what the World Wide Web has to offer as a method of public programming, Landis analyzes four Web sites. In doing so he highlights the strengths and weaknesses of Web sites as well as certain issues which must be considered when constructing a site. He argues that when archives create Web sites they must consider design, intended audience, and application of archival context via the Web. Once the Web site has been completed, Landis suggests that archives test it out on potential users. By doing so the effectiveness of the site's visual appearance and content can be tested before it is available to a larger audience.⁷⁸

Landis' s discussion of the four different Web sites assesses how a site may be deemed successful or unsuccessful. He highlights many elements of a Web site that are critical to its success, such as design, content and overall appearance. Landis talks, in particular, about hyperlinks which are used to organize sites. He points out

⁷⁶ Ibid: 34.

⁷⁷ William Landis, "Archival Outreach on the World Wide Web," Archival Issues 20 (2) (1995): 129.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

that these links, if properly titled, allow an archives to reach and inform users about archives and the records they preserve. Links, for example, may allow users to access documents, view an online exhibit or take part in a tutorial dealing with conservation of personal documents. He concludes by arguing that an effective Web site is an essential part of archival public programming strategy today and in the future.

John Whaley provides a good example of how public programming driven by computer technology can establish a connection between archives and a particular group in society. Whaley offers a case study that details the efforts of Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) to establish a multicultural archives. He argues that "a strong and abiding belief in the importance of preserving and sharing our common history justifies the extraordinary efforts archivists make to find, preserve and make available documents for research."⁷⁹ However, as he points out students of history have often ignored certain members of American society such as African-Americans. Therefore, Whaley stresses that it is of the utmost importance that archivists reach out to the under-represented portions of the population in order to get them involved in archives. In doing so, archives establish a collection that is truer reflection of all members of society.

Virginia Commonwealth University chose to try to get the African-American community involved in archives by asking them for donations to the multicultural archives project. At first, the African-American community was reluctant to get involved in the university's archival project. In Virginia, there is a long history of strained race relations. VCU was not viewed as an ally by African-Americans because of its history of segregation and suspicion of civil rights advocates.⁸⁰ African-Americans were more inclined to donate records to other institutions whose reputation was more favourable. These institutions included Virginia Union University and the Black History Museum and Cultural Centre. However, these two institutions did not have the financial resources or the space required to establish an archives.

⁷⁹ John H. Whaley, Jr., "Digitizing History," American Archivist 57 (Fall 1994): 661.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Despite the lack of interest on the part of the African-American community, VCU was determined to establish a multicultural archives. In an attempt to gain financial support for the project it applied for grants. The university, through its grant proposal, hoped to demonstrate the importance of the project to prospective patrons. In addition, VCU hoped to show the African-American community that it was committed to improving race relations. The university proposed the creation of courses to change established histories of the United States that neglected the contributions of African-Americans. These courses would require students to find and use materials to be placed in the multicultural archives. As Whaley points out, VCU reasoned that "better documentation and understanding would lay the groundwork for improved race relations."⁸¹

Upon receiving funding for the multicultural archives, VCU began to look at how technology could become an integral part of the project. The university wanted to find a way to establish the archives so that it would be easy for people to use. Computer technology that involved scanning and optical character recognition was considered. Consideration was also given to traditional archival methods such as microfilming. However, it was decided that the combination of archives and computer technology would help to gain community support for the multicultural archives project.

In fact, technology was instrumental in helping to convince the African-American community to contribute to the project. VCU with the cooperation of IBM instituted a scanning program. Whaley says that "scanning would make it possible for document owners to share information contained in the documents without having to relinquish their ownership."⁸² In addition, VCU's agreement with African-American community cultural and educational organizations to share the scanned documents attracted many donations to the multicultural archives project. The sharing of documents was made possible by the creation of a database.

⁸¹ Ibid: 662.

⁸² Ibid: 664.

The multicultural archives grew over time as many other contributions were made to it. The growth of the database led administrators of the project to believe that it had marketability.⁶³ This is evident in the interest expressed by the faculty at VCU. In addition, other expressions of interest prompted the creators of the multicultural archives to develop programs that would make it easier to find particular documents via the Web. Finally, a CD-ROM was proposed to make the archives' collections available to schools and libraries.⁶⁴ Thus, Whaley illustrates how technology is influencing the archival function of public programming and how it is helping archivists to establish links with the community.

Clearly, there is a wide body of literature which can act as the context for the study of public programming at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Archival theorists have done a good job of making the reader aware of the issues and programs of which this archival function consists. While this literature is plentiful, writings that deal specifically with public programming at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives are few. The literature that does exist is an eclectic mix of articles and theses dealing with various aspects of the archives and related work. This statement is not meant to discredit the contribution of those who have written on the HBCA, but to point out that there is need for literature that comments specifically on the public programming function of the archives.

As previously mentioned, there is evidence that the archives sought to establish a connection with academic research community, and eventually the general public. The contributions of several authors illustrate this point. Some of these contributions are attributed to company archivists such as R.H.G. Leveson Gower and more recently Anne Morton. While contributing to the literature that exists on the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, archivists' articles also act as form of public programming.

A series of articles written by the first company archivist, R.H.G. Leveson Gower, and published in The Beaver magazine, clearly explain to the reader the

⁶³ Ibid: 669.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

work of the archives. In 1933 Gower wrote the first of four articles on the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. The first article details the history of the company's records and the events that led to the formation of the archives. As Gower points out, the event that led to the formation of the archives was the company's 250th anniversary. The company marked this occasion in many ways, but the most important for the archives was the writing of the company history. The Hudson's Bay Company hired Sir William Schooling to write the history. In order for this to be possible it was necessary for the HBC to organize its recorded past. Gower writes "in this connection it was realized that there was a latent in the Lime Street vaults a vast accumulation of material and, in view of the proposed publication of the history of the company, steps were taken to prepare a preliminary catalogue...."⁸⁵

The remainder of Gower's first installment in The Beaver tells the reader about the physical location and preservation of the archives. In addition, it indicates that some time in the future some of the archives will be published. Finally, Gower explains the strategy that the archives will use to organize the records. He points out that the records will be divided into six sections. These sections cover the London office, North American administration, company ships, journals of exploration, Red River settlement, subsidiary companies and miscellaneous records.⁸⁶ In laying out the intellectual arrangement of the records in The Beaver, Gower invites people to take an interest in the archives "which are the source material of Western Canadian history."⁸⁷

A more recent article written on the archives was authored by Hudson's Bay Company archivists Anne Morton and Alex Ross. Morton and Ross provide a description of the archives that is far richer than Gower's. They are able to supply this description because of the information which time has afforded them. In addition,

⁸⁵ R.H.G. Leveson Gower, "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company: An Outline of the Work Accomplished in London since 1924 of Assembling These Priceless Records Which Are the Source Material of Western Canadian History," The Beaver (December 1933): 40.

⁸⁶ Ibid: 41-42, 64.

⁸⁷ Ibid: 40. These words are taken taken from the title of Gower's article and indicate that both he and the HBC were aware of the importance that the records had to people outside the company.

Morton and Ross' approach is somewhat different in that they choose to surround their description of the record with more detailed information about the company and the archives.

One of the interesting points that Morton and Ross highlight is that the Hudson's Bay Company made a concerted effort to establish an archives and eventually grant access to the public. This is in stark contrast to many businesses that have chosen to keep their records protected within the walls of their corporate edifices. Morton and Ross point out that

greatly to the company's credit it did not consider its archives merely ancillary to the writing of the book or as no more than a source of quaint extracts to be used in advertising. It determined to have its records properly classified and made accessible⁶⁸

They reinforce this point by mentioning that through the work of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, the company published documents as a way of making the archives more accessible. As well, the archives microfilming project is discussed as a means by which use of the archives has been encouraged.

The thesis work that exists on the Hudson's Bay Company Archives also touches on the use of various public programming strategies to promote use of the records. Deidre Simmons describes the formation of the archives in her thesis. She discusses how the company's view of its records expanded over time. Initially the records were valued for their legal and financial content. They later came to be seen as historically significant. Simmons points out that the Hudson's Bay Company came to realize that its records were historically significant because of the fact that they documented a large portion of the history of Western Canada.

Thus, with the realization that its records had historical significance, the company set about establishing an archives which was eventually opened to scholars and the general public. Throughout her discussion of the formation of the archives, Simmons provides evidence of initiatives taken by both the company and

⁶⁸ Alex Ross and Anne Morton, "The Hudson's Bay Company and its Archives," Business Archives 51 (1985): 26. The book referred to in the quote is the company history which Sir William Schooling was commissioned to write.

its archives to promote awareness and use of the record. Beginning with the work of Gower and Schooling, the company archives did engage in public programming in the form of publication. While this initial “program was discontinued, the company ... settled on a more liberal access policy as a means of making its archival information available.”⁹⁰

Despite the failure of the publication program, Simmons argues that the “more liberal approach to access and to publication of the material in the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives was one more step in the development of an archival function for the company.”⁹⁰ As the archives established a strong presence within the corporate structure of the Hudson’s Bay Company in the 1930s, it became clear that publication would once again become an important part of promoting the archives. Gower, the company archivist, contributed articles to the company’s magazine, The Beaver. As Simmons points out “Leveson Gower’s articles solicited research inquiries....”⁹¹ and interest in the archives.

Another master’s thesis which is pertinent to the study of the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives is that of Peter Geller. Geller looks at how the company endeavoured to shape its image. He argues that “in a variety of forms, the Hudson’s Bay Company itself carried on a campaign to influence the interpretation of the company and its role in Canadian (and British) history and contemporary society.”⁹² In order to demonstrate how the company attempted to shape its image, Geller looks at several publications that were produced by the company and its employees. His primary focus is The Beaver magazine, but Geller also touches on The Hudson’s Bay Company: A Brief History, The Honourable Company as well as the publications of the Hudson’s Bay Record Society.

⁹⁰ Deidre Simmons, “ ‘Custodians of a Great Inheritance’: An Account of the Making of the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, 1920-1974.” (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba/ Winnipeg, 1994): 52-53.

⁹⁰ Ibid: 67.

⁹¹ Ibid: 74.

⁹² Peter Geller, “Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade: The Hudson’s Bay Company, Public Relations and The Beaver Magazine, 1920-1945” (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba/ Winnipeg, 1990): i.

Like the archives, The Beaver grew out of the celebrations marking the 250th anniversary of the company. The Beaver was initially a staff magazine. Its pages were filled with news from the posts and departments of the company as well as biographical sketches, employee reminiscences, poetry, works of fiction and contests.⁹³ One of the objectives of the magazine was to build a sense of staff loyalty among employees who were working in various parts of Canada. The Beaver remained an in-house magazine until 1932. Since then its editors have sought a broader audience.

The editorship of Douglas MacKay was pivotal in increasing the magazine's circulation. MacKay was not only in charge of The Beaver, but he was also responsible for company publicity. It was during his tenure that The Beaver began to act as the means through which the company not only connected with its employees, but business associates and people who were interested in Canadian history. MacKay felt that the magazine should "become a means of consolidating our friendship with many people and will give persons in important positions in the life of this country correct glimpses into the nature of the company's operations."⁹⁴

In order to prepare these "correct glimpses into the nature of the company's operations" supporting research was required. Due to the need for background information The Beaver and the company's archives formed a bond. This was evident in the "steady correspondence between the London archives staff and The Beaver"⁹⁵ The information that the archives provided to the editors of The Beaver was often referenced in the magazine and used to answer questions posed by readers. Although Geller does not clearly state how the relationship between The Beaver and the archives benefited the archives, it is implied. Through the referencing in The Beaver and the provision of information for responses to reader inquiries, the archives was reaching out to potential users. Thus, it can be said that The Beaver

⁹³ Ibid: i.

⁹⁴ Ibid: 81.

⁹⁵ Ibid: 100.

acted as a form of archival public programming. The same can be said for the two histories of the Hudson's Bay Company written by Douglas MacKay as well as the volumes produced by the Hudson's Bay Record Society.

There is a significant body of literature that exists on the topic of archival public programming. For the most part this literature is of a general nature; it does not refer to any particular archives. It discusses the history of public programming as well as the approaches that archivists take to this archival function. In addition, there is a tremendous amount of literature on examples of public programs. Information provided on public programs discusses everything from the essential institutional brochure to the elaborate audiovisual productions which are afforded by larger archives. Of late the discourse on public programs also includes discussion of the role of computer technology, which many argue is now a crucial part of archival programming and services. This literature as well as the work done on the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, creates a context in which to examine the public programming efforts of the HBCA.

It will be suggested that public archives use all the tools of public programming -- awareness, image, promotion of use, and education of users and draw on both the material and client-centred approaches, where relevant and always in conformity with the archival principle of provenance. Some of these aspects of public programming will sometimes be more useful than others. Emphases may change to meet new circumstances.

I suggest that these comments apply to the HBCA today. As the following chapter will show, this archives has succeeded in creating widespread awareness of its existence and a growing clientele. Its greatest need now may well not only be to find ways to maintain that level of awareness and use, but to educate users in the use of the archives so that they may be more self-reliant researchers. Given the large number of researchers who use the HBCA, staff resources are not likely to allow much personalized reference service. Although specialized finding aids which cater to certain user groups such as genealogists will always be needed, a heavier investment in contextual descriptions of the records, as advocated by the material-

oriented commentators on public programming, will be increasingly important. If users are better educated in how to use contextual information to locate subject matter in the records, they can become much more self-reliant. As chapter three will suggest, the exploration of hypermedia computerized descriptions of archival records can help achieve this goal.

Chapter 2

Public Programming at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives: From Corporate Archives to Public Archives

The Hudson's Bay Company stands as one of the few examples of a corporation that has opened its archives to the general public. While accessible business archives are still rare, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) has been in existence for over eighty years. Today, the archives is an active centre of research for a variety of academic disciplines. The HBCA also attracts genealogists and the general public. The archives offers not only reference services, but a variety of public programs. These programs include tours, publications, exhibitions and a Web site. Although the HBCA's public programming function is now quite well developed, this was not always the case. Initially, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) had reservations about granting access to the archives. Its concerns were related to perceptions of the researcher and issues of security. However, as time passed the company was convinced, by its archivists and the demand for use, to loosen its control over the archives, allowing researchers to use the records which document a large part of Canadian history. It is the purpose of this chapter to chronicle the evolution of the public programming function of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. HBCA public programming began life as the HBC's attempt to market societal awareness of itself and its history, but eventually evolved to promote the use of the archives through programs that educate the user about the archives.

The HBCA's public programming function gradually evolved over the course of the twentieth century, and continues to develop through its integration of features such as computer technology and links with other cultural institutions. In the early part of the twentieth century the archives developed public programs that concentrated

on creating awareness and establishing an image within society. To a large extent this was manifest in the archives' contribution to the public relations activities of the Hudson's Bay Company. However, the HBCA also participated in initiatives to make the archives available to scholars.

The archives' early efforts to promote its use, such as through publication of its records, were predicated on the assumption that archival users were either self-reliant scholars, who could guide their own research or simply casual readers of documents among the academic and social elite who would rarely actually visit the archives. However, between 1950 and 1970, there were many changes at the HBCA. Among the changes that occurred was a redefinition of the archival user. The HBCA expanded its conception of the user to include not only scholars and the social elite, but also the general public. Traditional public programs such as publications, tours and exhibitions continued to emphasize the creation of awareness of the HBCA, and inspired many to use archival documents for a variety of purposes. The eventual opening up of the archives to a larger portion of the population necessitated a reordering of the goals of HBCA public programming. In the latter part of the twentieth century, public programs shifted their focus to user education. HBCA programs, such as the tour, evolved into a more sophisticated way to educate the user about findings aids and other research tools, as well as offer more contextual descriptions to better direct use of the archives. This approach to public programming seems likely to continue as archives further develop traditional and Web-based public outreach.

The Hudson's Bay Company was ahead of its time when it established an archives. Even today few businesses have archives which are accessible as the HBCA. Many historians believe that the lack of interest in business history has been the main reason for its slow development. In addition, many archives have not considered it within their mandates to collect business records. As Christopher Hives pointed out there was little interest in business history in the early part of the twentieth century because much of the recorded past of the corporate world was not

available to researchers. Most companies kept their records "under lock and key." In addition, companies feared that by opening their records to researchers they were endangering their "good names."

However, by the middle of the twentieth century, many businesses began to change their opinion of archives. As well, there was a movement within academic circles to promote the study of business history. By the 1940s the business archives movement had begun, and corporations were beginning to establish archives. Despite this initial development, it was not until the formation of the Business Archives Council of Canada in 1968 that the importance of maintaining a record of business in this country was made clear.

In the United Kingdom, where the Hudson's Bay Company Archives was first established, a council advocating the importance of business archives formed much earlier than its counterpart in Canada. The Business Archives Council of the United Kingdom was formed in 1934. Although some businesses established archives prior to the twentieth century in the UK, these early archives were somewhat informal and primarily for internal use. Eventually businesses began to use their archives for a wider variety of activities. As historian Edwin Green notes these activities were of a public relations nature and often manifested themselves in the form of publicity and historical publications:

Publications were ... important for the future of business archives. Here were examples of ... company archives being employed in a public or semi-public fashion. Here were publications indicating that business archives had a historical value beyond the obvious commercial and legal necessities of record-keeping.²

The public relations role of business archives grew steadily throughout the twentieth century and was at its height in the United Kingdom in the 1960s and 1970s. Corporations felt that the duty of people running their archives was to organize historical exhibitions, publications and anniversary celebrations to enhance the public

¹ Christopher L. Hives, "History, Business Records and Corporate Archives in North America." Archivaria 22 (Summer 1986): 40.

² Edwin Green, "Business Archives in the United Kingdom: History, Conspectus, Prospectus" in Managing Business Archives. ed. Allison Turton. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann Ltd., 1991: 7.

relations side of their business. Archival records were seen as a way to create awareness in society about a company's products, services and standing within the community.³

Throughout its history, the HBC made a concerted effort to ensure the preservation of its records. This preservation did not always meet "archival standards," but managed to ensure that an extensive record of the company's past survived. This point is made by a Hudson's Bay Company Archives' brochure which indicates that "minute books exist from 1670 up to the present, with only four years missing."⁴ In fact, a record keeping ethic was something that the company impressed upon its officers and servants: "Company employees kept daily records of the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company Posts, including the weather, what each servant was doing, how many Aboriginal people came to trade and any other important activities."⁵

Prior to the 1920s, the records of the Hudson's Bay Company were stored at various locations in both England and North America, often under poor conditions. In London the records resided at one time in the Tower of London, Lime St. and Bishopsgate. While in North America, most records were kept at the HBC's numerous posts across western Canada or in Winnipeg. Before the twentieth century, the company did try to take stock of its records in an inventory conducted in 1796. However, it was not until the early part of the twentieth century that the company organized its recorded past in a formal archives. The HBC began to take an interest in its records which extended beyond their legal and financial value. The HBC realized its records had great historical significance.

Significant events in the histories of corporations are often celebrated with great fanfare. Companies put out special products or organize special events to celebrate the anniversary of their establishment. These celebrations are also seen as an opportunity to reflect on the company's history. In the process, the celebration of

³ Ibid: 7-8.

⁴ Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, HBCA Brochure

⁵ Ibid.

company history can create an appreciation within society for the corporate organization. The manner in which the Hudson's Bay Company chose to celebrate its 250th anniversary in 1920 drew heavily on its history. As both Deidre Simmons and Peter Geller note in their theses, the company marked this milestone by staging pageants and exhibits, and commissioning publications, all of which emphasized the long and illustrious past of the company.

A corporate anniversary is an "opportunity to set down a record of past events and to demonstrate ... [the] company's pride in its achievements and an intellectual awareness of its roots...."⁶ In the case of the HBC, the 250th anniversary was important; it was also a pivotal event in the development of the archives for two reasons. The company's attempt to mark its anniversary through the publication of its history laid the foundation for the eventual establishment of the archives. The HBC also established The Beaver magazine.⁷ The Beaver began as an in-house publication and publicity tool of the company, but eventually became another means through which the archives could promote societal awareness of its holdings.

As part of the anniversary celebrations in 1919 the HBC hired a British journalist by the name of Sir William Schooling to write a history of the company. Schooling immersed himself in the project and produced *The Governor and Company of Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay during Two Hundred and Fifty Years 1670-1920*. It contained an introduction by HBC Governor Robert Kindersley, as well as several maps and illustrations. The book was published in London and distributed to company employees in Britain and Canada. Copies were also sent to libraries in the United States.

While the book helped to celebrate the HBC anniversary, it also acted as a declaration of the company's commitment to its history. This is clearly stated in the introduction by the Governor. Kindersley declared that

⁶ Alison Turton, "The Public Relations Uses of Business Archives" in Managing Business Archives : 410.

⁷ Peter Geller, "Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade: The Hudson's Bay Company, Public Relations and The Beaver Magazine, 1920-1945." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba/University of Winnipeg, 1990.

the Committee of to-day recognize that they are the custodians of a great inheritance, which it is their duty to hand on, enhanced and not impaired, to future generations ... a record which is unique in the history of trading corporations.⁹

In addition to anniversary celebrations in London, the senior management of the company in Canada did its part to mark the occasion. It hired an advertising agent by the name of Clifton Moore Thomas "to run the Hudson's Bay Company Publicity Office in Winnipeg, established to manage publicity related to the celebrations of 1920."⁹ After the celebrations, Thomas hoped to stay on with the company; he proposed that the HBC should streamline its "advertising and dissemination of propaganda to meet exigencies of trade and encroachment of opposition in various departments. Thomas's proposal included a consideration of interdepartmental cohesion and co-operation through a Company House Organ or Institutional Magazine."¹⁰ Therefore, as Peter Geller argues, the outcome of this proposal, The Beaver, began life as a component of a larger advertising and public relations strategy through which the company emphasized its long established position as a commercial entity.¹¹

The Beaver was intended to be a vehicle through which the HBC could reach its employees throughout Canada. Under the stewardship of Thomas, The Beaver was published monthly. It included staff news from stores and posts, biographical profiles and personal remembrances of company employees past and present. In addition to this core material, The Beaver included poetry, articles on historical topics, passages from documents related to the Hudson's Bay Company and inspirational essays.¹²

Thomas saw the benefits of promoting the company's past. At the same

⁹ Sir William Schooling, The Governor and Company of Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay during Two Hundred and Fifty Years 1670-1920. London: The Hudson's Bay Company, 1920: xiii.

⁹ Peter Geller, "Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade:" 30

¹⁰ Ibid: 30-31.

¹¹ Ibid: 31.

¹² Ibid: 32-33.

time, he felt The Beaver could demonstrate that the HBC was part of the modern business world. He published articles celebrating the history of the company, and balanced them with pieces that indicated to readers that the HBC was moving with the times. In addition, Thomas sought to foster loyalty among company staff through the magazine.

Like Thomas, Sir William Schooling also extended his contract with the HBC. While Thomas initiated the publication of a magazine that was directed toward employee relations and the promotion of the company, Schooling attempted to write a history that would give people access to the HBC's archives. Once the anniversary book was completed, Schooling convinced his friend and company governor, Robert Kindersley, that a more thorough history should be written. He offered to take up this commission. As a result of his research for the history, Schooling said that he had "become extremely interested [in HBC history], and realized for the first time that the history of the Company is that of large part of Canada and that the story has never been adequately told."¹³ Schooling proposed a five volume history which included an indexed chronology and a volume of quotations.

The company agreed to Schooling's proposal. In order to write the history, Schooling insisted on having access to HBC records. The HBC gave him access to its documents and approved a trip to Canada to review any pertinent documentation. Along with his assistant and four employees of the HBC, Schooling began the process of arranging and indexing the records for the purpose of the writing the history. As time passed Schooling required more and more space to accommodate his staff and the records. The need for space and proper accommodations for the writing of the history was heightened by Schooling's trip to Canada.

While in Canada, Schooling arranged for documents relevant to the history to be sent to England. He also observed the archival practices of archivists such as Sir

¹³ HBCA/ PAM A. 102/ 2406, letter from Sir William Schooling to HBC Governor Sir Robert Kindersley, 10 March 1920.

Arthur Doughty, Dominion Archivist of Canada. As a result, Schooling advised the company that its records must be properly cared for and managed. He proposed the establishment of a library and adjoining archives with a librarian and archivist. Schooling argued this would ensure that the records of the HBC were preserved. He also indicated that if the records were properly arranged, it would better facilitate his work on the company's history. Schooling became a great advocate of the establishment of a formal archives:

It is a certainty that sooner or later the company's archives must be available to students, and if you agree to my project for publication, there will be an immense amount of indexing and other work carried out by a larger staff than can be employed on the history, and at the expense of subscribers. To have the results of this work in large measure available before finishing the history, would improve the history beyond recognition.¹⁴

Schooling also suggested that the company seriously consider the publication of material in the archives.

To a certain extent the HBC heeded Schooling's advice. The HBC began to take further steps to ensure that the records were properly housed. As well, the staff hired by the company to arrange the records continued to work to inventory and index the records. Finally, the company created a sub-committee to study the idea of publishing documents from the archives.

Despite the work done to organize HBC records, the amount of information which they contained eventually overtook Schooling. While Schooling had successfully authored a brief history of the company for its 250th anniversary, he was unable to complete a fuller version by the contract deadline. In 1926, the HBC discontinued its sponsorship of the project, and released Schooling from his commission. While Schooling did not fulfill the terms of his contract with the company, as Deidre Simmons argues, he represented

the key to the discovery of the company's archives and the opening of the treasure chest to an eager historical community. His overtly ambitious attempt to publish a company history, although unsuccessful, left a good part of the company's records indexed and extracted in a

¹⁴ HBCA/PAM A.92/167/1, letter from Sir William Schooling to HBC Governor Sir Robert Kindersley, 15 May 1923

format which provided future staff of the archives quick and efficient access to volumes of information.¹⁵

Simmons argues further that Schooling's attempt to write a history of the company led to the advancement of the archives and a publication program. This is evident in a report that Schooling submitted to top HBC officials on 27 November 1922. In his report, entitled *History of the Hudson's Bay Company Report to the Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee*, Schooling stated that

another matter in which I am interested, although not directly concerned is permanent keeping and arrangement of the archives. Historically, and even financially, these are of very great value, and unless I wholly misinterpret the opinion of the present Directors, they think that these should be housed, catalogued and cared for in a way befitting their importance.¹⁶

Schooling went on to advocate that

since the Hudson's Bay Company was the effective government of a large part of Canada for two hundred years, its documents for that period (viz. prior to about 1870) should be freely available, and documents since 1870 should either be withheld, or only open to inspection according to the merits of each applicant and the purpose of investigation. It would be a great satisfaction in Canada if some such policy as this were adopted.¹⁷

Schooling saw the importance of the records not only to the company, but also to researchers, archivists and others in Britain and Canada. He saw the potential uses of the archives, whether it be to company operations or scholars. The archives was a way for the HBC to gain societal recognition through public relations strategies making use of documents. In addition, the archives was a way for researchers to tap into a source of information important to the study of commerce and Canada.

Schooling's efforts to establish an archives impressed upon the Hudson's Bay Company a greater awareness of its records and history. While the company was coming to realize this, it was not yet convinced that the archives should be readily accessible to outside researchers. As Simmons contends "the company was

¹⁵ Deidre Simmons, " 'Custodians of a Great Inheritance' ": 49-50.

¹⁶ HBCA/ PAM A.102/ 1165 Report of Sir William Schooling to HBC Governor Robert Kindersley 27 November 1922.

¹⁷ Ibid.

not indifferent to its obligation to protect and make available its 'great inheritance' of archives, but it wanted to do so on its own terms."¹⁸

After Schooling's project was discontinued, the HBC attempted to find another way to make its records available "on its own terms."¹⁹ In the minds of the most senior company officials, publication was thought to be the most effective way of granting access to the archives. The 1920s and 1930s were dominated by several attempts by the HBC to publish documents from the archives. While The Beaver in the early 1920s was primarily an in-house publication, it did publish excerpts of documents pertaining to history of the company. A major publication initiative began in March 1926, when the HBC struck an agreement with Dominion Archivist Arthur Doughty to oversee the publication of materials from the HBC's archives. This publication program also made a contribution to the establishment of the archives within the corporate structure of the HBC. In order to prepare the documents for publication, Doughty advised that it was necessary for the archives to be properly organized.

However, like Schooling's attempt to make the records available through publication, this initiative also fell on hard times. The sheer volume of records to be prepared for publication overwhelmed Doughty and the other individuals involved in the publication scheme. The company grew impatient and discontinued the plan in 1930. Once again the HBC was left with the question of how to make its archives available, while still retaining a degree of control.²⁰

Despite the fact that the publication schemes directed by Schooling and Doughty were unsuccessful, the HBC by the 1930s had addressed its archival problem through the establishment of the Archives Department. The individuals who had worked with the records to prepare them for publication succeeded in arranging them so they were accessible to the company. One such individual was R.H.G. Leveson Gower. Gower worked with Schooling, and helped to catalogue and index

¹⁸ Deidre Simmons, " 'Custodians of a Great Inheritance' ": 43.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid: chapter 4.

many of the records. He also traveled to Canada in 1927 to arrange the transfer of HBC records no longer in active use.

In the wake of the company's failure to publish the archives, Gower suggested that perhaps the HBC might consider a more lenient policy toward access which would allow students a more direct connection with the records. In a memo of 25 February 1931, Gower wrote

in view of the fact that it has been decided temporarily to suspend publication ... it has occurred to me that it would be much appreciated in many quarters if, at some future time, the Board would consider the possibly of rendering the company's records accessible to students.²¹

In May of the same year the Board heeded Gower's advice and "decided that the company's Archives prior to 1870 should be rendered available for inspection by students of history and others, at the discretion of Mr. Leveson Gower, the Company's Archivist."²²

Thus, by the early 1930s the HBC established a formal archives and had in its employ a man who was familiar with company's records, and therefore, qualified to assume the position of HBC archivist. In 1932, the company showed it had a serious interest in ensuring that the archives become a legitimate part of the corporate structure. The HBC asked Sir Hilary Jenkinson of the Public Record Office (PRO) and Professor Reginald Coupland of Oxford to offer their advice on the organization of the archives. The visit of Jenkinson and Coupland highlighted the growing importance of the archives to the HBC. This is evident in the following excerpt from the 1934 edition of The Report of Proceedings at Annual Court. The report stated that

we [the company] are much indebted to those gentlemen for their advice and assistance, and we hope that in due course we shall have this unique collection in a shape which will make it readily accessible to historical research students.²³

²¹ HBCA/PAM RG 20/ 1/ 14, Memorandum from Leveson Gower to Graham, 25 February 1931.

²² HBCA/PAM A.1/ 169 folio 254, 12 May 1931.

²³ Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Patrick Ashley Cooper, Report of Proceedings at Annual Court, London: The Hudson's Bay Company, 1934: 3-4. This is part of a bound volume of annual reports of the Hudson's Bay Company which date from 1932 to 1952.

On the advice of Jenkinson and Coupland, archivist Gower established the proper facilities for the archives. He acquired new shelving and took precautions to protect the records from fire and water. The most significant result of the consultation with Jenkinson and Coupland was the classification of the records into several sections. These sections were seen as a method of classification that would ensure the records were better organized. Six sections were: records from the London office; "various administrations in North America;"²⁴ company ships; journals of exploration; Red River colony; other miscellaneous papers; subsidiary companies and miscellaneous.²⁵ The organization of the records demonstrated that the HBC, to a certain extent, recognized the importance of properly housing the archives and making them accessible to students of Canadian history.

While the company took the necessary steps to make the archives accessible to the scholarly community, its actions were not completely altruistic. The HBC's relationship with its archives in the early part of the twentieth century revolved around public relations. The archives became, in effect, a way for the company to create an image within society. The use of the archives in this manner continues to a degree even today. For example in November 1999, the HBC used its rich historical past to promote the introduction of new colours for the famed HBC point blankets.²⁶ As both Deidre Simmons and Peter Geller make clear in their theses, the archives was seen as a "formal part of the company's public relations wing"²⁷ and was drawn upon for historical information to be used in company promotions and initiatives to inspire staff. In fact, Douglas MacKay who was hired as the editor of The Beaver in 1933, was also in charge of "advertising, public relations and ... was given

²⁴ R.H.G. Leveson Gower, "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company An Outline of the Work Accomplished in London Since 1924 of Assembling These Priceless Records Which Are the Source Material of Western Canadian History." The Beaver (December 1933): 41.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Siobhan Roberts, "Canada's history point by point," National Post 18 November 1999: 15 (A). The point blanket was introduced in the eighteenth century and used by the HBC to trade for furs. Today, the blanket is one of the HBC's signature products in its retail outlets.

²⁷ Deidre Simmons, " 'Custodians of a Great Inheritance' ": 69.

supervision of the archives and records in the Canadian office.”²⁸

During MacKay’s tenure with the HBC, the archives was utilized heavily for the information it could provide for public relations initiatives. MacKay’s employment increased the tension that had begun to develop between the public relations function of the HBC and the fledging public programming function of the HBCA. Evidence of this can be found in The Beaver and documents which describe the public relations activities of the company. On the 19 October 1933, MacKay described his plans for HBC publicity in a document entitled “Outline of Public Relations Work.” In it he talks about how the company can curry favour with those who wished to write about the HBC. MacKay argued that

if, at some time, writers should cease to find interest in the Company as history, that would be the occasion for alarm, but so long as competent writers wish to use our material we should err on the side of generosity and the volume of favourable publicity will certainly outweigh any erroneous or critical material.²⁹

In his “Outline of Public Relations Work,” MacKay goes on to explain how photographs, motion pictures, advertising and The Beaver can be used in company promotions. In each case, there is an implication that the archives will be drawn on for information. He also emphasized that the HBC must make use of other “historical material”³⁰ housed in store museums in Vancouver and Winnipeg. MacKay pointed out that

store management has a tendency to exclude them from all promotion schemes and it is important to keep the stores reminded of the “pulling power” of these exhibits. The figures of non-resident visitors to the exhibits are very significant and I hope to arouse in the store executives something more than passive tolerance for the museums by showing how they can be put to work to bring people to the stores.³¹

²⁸ Ibid: 68-69. Around the time Douglas MacKay was hired, the HBC took steps to protect the continuity of the HBCA by accounting for all its records in London and Canada. The aforementioned information was provide by Anne Morton, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

²⁹ HBCA/ PAM A.102/ 1813 Public Relations July 1932 - January 1938, Departmental memo from Douglas MacKay, 24 October 1933: 2.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

MackKay's argument was that "the whole subject of keeping alive historical matter in the company's interest is a very large one and reaches through all public relations efforts from The Beaver to motion pictures, and even to the designing of packages and labels."³²

While MackKay had many responsibilities at the HBC's Canadian office in Winnipeg, he took most seriously the editorship of The Beaver and HBC public relations. In fact, MackKay felt that The Beaver as an in-house publication was underutilized. The magazine had succeeded in establishing the links between the company and its employees which had been stressed by previous editors. However, MackKay felt that it could do a lot more for the HBC than just foster morale and loyalty. The Beaver, in MackKay's mind, had the potential to be a very valuable promotional tool: "It enables us to dramatize our past and our present activities and tell the story where it will do us the most good. It is a potential propaganda instrument and could, if required, be used to present effectively a case for us in a public controversy."³³

MackKay's intentions were clear; he proceeded to advise the company that the magazine should become a major part of the HBC public relations strategy. The Beaver, he said,

will circulate to senior employees throughout the Company; will be sent free to people who have business associations with the Company or business interests in the North, to persons actively interested in Canadian historical matters and to official lists, such as members of parliament, senators, etc., etc. In other words, it will become a means of consolidating our friendship with many people and will give persons in important positions in the life of this country correct glimpses into the nature of the Company's operations.³⁴

Thus, by 1935 approximately 1500 issues of The Beaver were being distributed to top officials in Canadian corporations, governments and the media in an effort to create awareness about the HBC.

While MackKay felt that The Beaver was one way to get the support of the

³² Ibid: 5.

³³ Ibid: 4.

³⁴ HBCA/ PAM A.102/269, MackKay to J. Chadwick Brooks, 1 August 1933.

politically and economically powerful, he also hoped to build a relationship with the company's customers. This was done by giving free copies of the magazine to HBC account holders. Through this increase in distribution, MacKay transformed The Beaver from an in-house magazine to a publication that had a more public focus. By 1935 sixty percent of those receiving the magazine did not work for the Hudson's Bay Company.³⁵ In the eyes of senior company officials in London and Winnipeg, MacKay had succeeded in turning The Beaver into a publicity tool.

The importance of the archives to HBC public relations was also evident in Britain. A memo to the company secretary, J. Chadwick Brooks, on 29 May 1935, demonstrates how the archives figured into many of the public relations strategies of the HBC. For example in order to maintain a good relationship with the press "from time to time information relating to the history of the Company, with photographs for reproduction, have been furnished for the purposes of articles."³⁶ In addition, copies of Schooling's book and an account of the Governor's visit to Canada in 1934 were forwarded to the press, schools and libraries. Finally, the HBC promoted itself through its history in film and lecturers.

The use of the archives as fodder for company public relations continued for the rest of the first half of the twentieth century, and to a lesser extent in the latter half of twentieth century. While the archives played a major role in HBC publicity campaigns, it also engaged in other forms of public programming in an effort to make the archives more accessible and establish a link with researchers. The archives became involved in traditional methods of public programming such as publication, tours and exhibitions. In the early part of the twentieth century public programming was largely directed at the social and business elite. As well, public programs directed at the academic community, were specifically intended for well established researchers: "As the result of a recommendation made in a memorandum to Mr. Graham, dated 25th February 1931, the Board resolved, on 12th May, 1931, that

³⁵ Peter Geller, "Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade:" 88-89.

³⁶ HBCA/ PAM A.102/ 1813, Public Relations July 1932 - January 1938, Memo from Mr. Stacpole to Company Secretary J. Chadwick Brooks, 29 May 1935.

the Company's records prior to 1870 be rendered accessible to genuinely accredited historical students."³⁷

The public programming of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives was intended to promote awareness of the archives' holdings and at least limited access to them. These programming efforts were not unlike many undertaken by archives in countries such as Canada. Like the Public Archives of Canada (PAC), the HBCA attempted to promote its archives through publication in the early part of its history, namely the 1920s and 1930s. Still it must be remembered that while the primary focus of PAC's public programming was to promote use of the archives to the scholarly community, in the early part of the HBCA's existence, public programs were also considered to be part of the company's public relations schemes.

To a certain extent one could argue that the Hudson's Bay Company Archives' raison d'être was public programming. As previously discussed, the publication of Schooling's book was intended to promote the company's anniversary, but also to create a link between the archives and people who wanted access to it.³⁸ In fact, for most of the 1920s publication of "official" history such as Schoolings' and of documents was highly favoured by senior officials at the HBC. The main objective behind the company's support of publication was to meet demands for access, while at the same time retaining control over the archives. However, publication only served to further encourage interest in the history of the Hudson's Bay Company and increase demands for greater and direct access to the archives.

After the anniversary book, the HBC embarked on further attempts to make the archives available through publication. These publications included the more extensive company history which Schooling failed to complete as well as plans to publish documents under the stewardship of Doughty in the latter half of the 1920s. These plans were never completely carried out because the HBC, once again, grew impatient with the length of time needed to prepare the documents. However,

³⁷ HBCA/PAM RG 20/ 2/ 18 Archives - Proposals and Recommendations, 1930-1932.

³⁸ Deidre Simmons, " 'Custodians of a Great Inheritance' ": chapter 3.

publication remained a constant theme. As R.H.G. Leveson Gower pointed out "in the spring of 1928 the Board decided to publish some of the most interesting journals and other documents relative to the period of Sir George Simpson, and for the next three years the services of the archives staff were concentrated on the collection and preparation of the material to that end."³⁹

While plans progressed for the publication of a select number of documents, the HBC was convinced by 1931 that it should implement a more liberal access policy and allow researchers to make use of the archives. In a company memo written to J. Chadwick Brooks from Leveson Gower in 1931, the HBC's position on academic access was outlined:

Up to the present time no person has applied for access to the Archives, but I am of the opinion that this is a concession which will be much appreciated by students and I do not consider it will be in any way prejudicial to the Company's future publication provided discretion is used as it should serve to accentuate the public interest in the history of the Company.⁴⁰

At face value, this seems like a significant step towards opening the archives to a wider audience, and to a certain extent it was. However, the HBCA's conception of the student was very different from that of today. In the 1930s, the HBCA considered the student to be a well established researcher, such as a professor of history.

The documentation on the company's change in policy is rife with phrases such as "accredited student" and "serious student."⁴¹ This indicates that the archives did not consider or was not yet prepared to provide services and programs to the general public in the 1930s. Evidence of this is found in an article written by W.S. Wallace in 1934 for The Canadian Historical Review. Wallace argues that "the company can not be expected to provide all the facilities for the inquirers which are customary in a public archives. In making the same provision for serious students to

³⁹ R.H.G. Leveson, "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company:" 40

⁴⁰ HBCA/PAM RG 20 2/ 18 Archives - Proposal and Recommendations, 1930-1932, Memo to J. Chadwick Brooks from Leveson Gower, 15 July 1931.

⁴¹ HBCA/PAM Search File: "The Hudson's Bay Company Archives."

engage in research it will, however, offer an opportunity of inestimable value in the writing of Canadian history."⁴²

This conception of the researcher persisted until mid-century and influenced the public programming of the archives. As the 1930s progressed not only did the HBCA participate in the publications of its holdings, but it mounted exhibitions and gave tours of the archives. These public programs were directed at the social, business and academic elite. The HBC regularly invited members of historical organizations and citizens of note to view the holdings of the archives in an attempt to create a good public image and awareness of the company. In addition, members of the Canadian scholarly community were invited in the 1930s to view documents via public programs such as exhibitions and tours.

The exhibitions highlighted many of the documents in the archives and attempted to put them into context for observers. On 2 November 1934, the archives mounted an exhibition with an accompanying script which was to be handed out to those who came to view the display. Other such displays were organized by the archives for members of the social elite. The Archives Department was often asked by the company to stage private exhibits or tours for a small number of select individuals. As interest in the archives increased, its staff maintained notes and supplies for exhibits and a log book of the planning process.

The most significant public programming initiative the Hudson's Bay Company Archives took part in during the 1930s was the record publication program of the Hudson's Bay Record Society (HBRS). The society was established by the company in 1938 with goal of publishing archival documents. The society published company records in bound volumes from its inception in 1938 to its dissolution in 1983.⁴³

The HBC modeled the Hudson's Bay Record Society on the Champlain Society. The Champlain Society was established in 1905 "for the purpose of

⁴² W.S. Wallace, "Notes and Comments: The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company." The Canadian Historical Review XV (1) (March 1934): 94.

⁴³ HBCA/PAM RG 20/ 2/ 82 HBRS - General Correspondence, 1951-1974, Hudson's Bay Record Society brochure: 2.

publishing valuable and inaccessible material on the history of Canada."⁴⁴ The Champlain Society was run by a council and published documents of historical and geographical interest. The society claimed that its publications "are edited and translated by the best scholars obtainable. They are beautiful specimens of book making and include reproductions of the original illustrations, maps, etc., as well as the original texts, and are annotated by the editors."⁴⁵

Initially, documents from the HBC's archives were published jointly by the HBRS and the Champlain Society. The HBRS was responsible for the preparation and editing of one volume per year "of records and archives of the Hudson's Bay Company..., the form and contents thereof ... subject to agreement between the Record Society and the Champlain Society."⁴⁶ Due to an agreement between the two societies, the publications produced from the HBCA records were only given to the members (subscribers) of each society.

The first HBRS publication was the *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report*. This volume was edited by E.E. Rich,⁴⁷ the first editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society. As editor of the society's publications, Rich and other editors after him were charged with the responsibility of selecting the documents, editing them, selecting the scholar to write the introduction, providing footnotes, seeing the volume to press, promotional matters and answering reader's questions.⁴⁸ In the selection of the documents the editor strove to maintain a "chronological and regional balance between volumes...."⁴⁹

The publication of the HBRS' volumes was largely the work of the staff at the Archives Department. The company archivist and the other staff researched and prepared the footnotes for each volume. In the preface to the first volume the

⁴⁴ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 2/ 52 Champlain Society, 1934-1974, letter from the society president, 1974: 1

⁴⁵ Ibid, from the Champlain Society pamphlet: 1. The pamphlet is attached to a letter written in 1934 by W.S. Wallace.

⁴⁶ HBCA/ PAM A.102, Box 218F, Agreement dated 20 June 1938.

⁴⁷ E.E. Rich was the editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society from 1938 to 1959.

⁴⁸ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 2/ 82a HBRS - General Editor, 1967-1974.

⁴⁹ Glyndwr Williams, "Among the Most Rewarding Duties." *The Beaver* (Summer 1975): 5.

contribution of the archives was recognized: "In the preparation of the manuscript for press, Mr. R.H.G. Leveson Gower, the Company's Archivist, and his staff have contributed invaluable assistance...."⁵⁰ Throughout the society's existence the archives remained an important part of the HBRS' attempt to "present accurate and complete transcripts of documents likely to be of interest and use to students of fur trade history."⁵¹

In fact, the relationship between the society and the archives was symbiotic. The archives acted as a resource for material for publication, while the work done by the archives on each volume served to promote the HBCA to all those who used a society volume. However, this close relationship, which allowed the HBRS to have exclusive right to publish the archives, often put researchers and The Beaver at odds with the society. As the HBRS was getting under way, the Canadian Committee received a list of archival material which was not to be published, and a directive that "no archival data which may be regarded as of value in connection with our scheme [of publication] should be issued in the future."⁵²

Prior to the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, The Beaver had regularly corresponded with the Archives Department. The Beaver depended on the archives to provide information to answer readers' questions and historical information for articles.⁵³ Much of the information supplied by the archives included transcriptions of archival material. Thus, when the Hudson's Bay Record Society came along in 1938, the two HBC publication initiatives were at cross purposes. The society required access to the records in order to promote the archives, while The Beaver required access to the archives to further its public relations role within the company. However, in this situation the HBRS' need for access took precedence.

⁵⁰ George Simpson, Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department, London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1938: ix [preface].

⁵¹ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 2/ 82 HBRS - General Correspondence, 1951-1974. The quotation is from a pamphlet on the Hudson's Bay Record Society.

⁵² Peter Geller, "Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade": 100-101.

⁵³ Ibid: 100.

The 1940s were a somewhat unstable period for the society because of the war. However, by the 1950s the Hudson's Bay Record Society was on more solid ground, especially since the appointment of Alice M. Johnson to the position of company archivist. Archival documents related to HBRS speak of Johnson as being just as important to the publication of society volumes as the editor. By 1951 the HBRS was publishing one volume per year for a total of thirteen to that date; this pace continued until 1959. The consistent record of publication was largely due to the efforts of Johnson and E.E. Rich.

The HBRS continued to publish documents in the 1960s; however, it was decided that the society had to make some changes. These changes resulted in publication occurring every other year and a reorganization of the management of the society. The new management included the secretary and treasurer of the HBC, the HBRS editor and HBC archivist. By 1971 the Archives Department had responsibility for the general work of the society. Throughout the 1970s the HBRS continued to attract more members. As the mid 1970s approached it became clear that the archives would follow the head office of the company, transferred in 1970, to Canada. The transfer of the archives to Winnipeg in 1974 necessitated the relocation of the Hudson's Bay Record Society.

Thus, in 1975 the last volume was edited in Britain, and the first was published in Canada.⁵⁴ The Secretary of the HBRS, Robert Oleson attempted to allay fears about the move to Canada by sending a letter to society members in January 1975. In his letter he wrote: "The Hudson's Bay Record Society takes pride in sponsoring the publication of the Company's archival documents and feels confident that high standards established in the past will be continued and maintained."⁵⁵ These standards were maintained until the society ceased publication of archival documents in 1983. Today, the work of the society is continued by the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies which is located in Winnipeg. The research centre's

⁵⁴ HBCA/PAM RG 20/ 3/ 99 HBRS - General Correspondence, C.I. Jackson. "Fur and Footnotes: The Hudson's Bay Record Society."

⁵⁵ HBCA/PAM RG 20/ 3/ 98 HBRS - General Correspondence, Letter to HBRS members from Secretary, Robert Oleson, 15 January 1975: 2.

objective is the "promotion of the publication of Canadian history from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives."⁵⁶

The publications of the HBRHS succeeded in giving many people in Britain, Canada and the United States access to the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. They also proved to be a medium through which the archives could reach out to the academic historical community. While the publication of the volumes was a significant step in the development of the public programming function of the HBCA, it must be remembered that it was an effort directed at a small portion of the population, namely the academic and social elite.

The 1930s was a period of great development in the public persona of the archives with the opening of the archives to students and the establishment of the HBRHS. However, World War II overshadowed the activities of the archives in the 1940s. Still, The Beaver made some changes during the 1940s that arguably led to an alteration of its public relations orientation and eventually affected HBCA public programming. In 1939 Clifford Wilson became editor of the magazine. Wilson was in the employ of the HBC before becoming editor as an organizer of historical exhibits at company stores. Wilson worked for the HBC in its museums and had many connections with members of the museum community.

Wilson's background in museums and his other contacts led him to place greater emphasis on art and contributions from the historical and anthropological communities to The Beaver in the late 1940s.⁵⁷ As Peter Geller argues "Wilson's selection of material and contributions represented an attempt to legitimize the history of the company as a serious field of academic history, a concern also addressed by the ongoing series of the Hudson's Bay Record Society volumes."⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Deidre Simmons, " 'Custodians of a Great Inheritance' ": 85. The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, formally known as the HBC Research Centre, is headed by Prof. Jennifer Brown and Tim Ball, University of Winnipeg. The centre's relationship with the HBCA is evident through its promotion of the archives and HBCA staff contributions to the centre's newsletter. The aforementioned information on the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies was provided by Barry Hyman, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

⁵⁷ Peter Geller, "Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade": 167.

⁵⁸ Ibid: 168.

While Geller argues that The Beaver was part of the public relations of the company, by the 1940s the magazine seems to be trying to reach out to many of the same people as the archives. This, therefore, made the magazine a tool for the archives to further awareness of its significant role through articles contributed by historians.

In the 1950s the archives engaged in a variety of public programming activities and began to broaden its conception of the archival user. The HBCA staged exhibitions which included a variety of documents. In particular, one exhibit highlighted the company's charter. The exhibitions mounted by the archives not only allowed people to get a closer look at the documents, but also a number of artifacts such as the Hudson's Bay Company seals. The archives also conducted frequent tours that allowed people to see how the archives worked. In addition, these tours acted as encouragement to use the archives. Thus, along with publications, tours and exhibitions also allowed the archives to foster appreciation for its role with society.

These various publication and publicity measures seemed to be having an effect. According to the archives' correspondence with the Canadian Committee,⁵⁹ the HBCA was also responding to an even broader array of public reference inquiries by the late 1950s: "Every week brings such visitors to the department, some detail is always needed to make an illustration more accurate, or a broadcast script sound more authentic, or perhaps past fur prices are needed for a lecture to the trade."⁶⁰ These observations of Alice Johnson, HBC archivist, indicate that HBCA public programming and existing interest in company records was encouraging awareness and use of the archives.

Coupled with these programming efforts was the change in attitude on the part of the HBC and the archives towards users. The change is evident in a

⁵⁹ The Canadian Committee was created in 1912 and located in Winnipeg. Its function was to advise the London Committee. Since its inception the authority of the Canadian Committee grew at a steady pace. By 1957 the committee members were made a part of the London Committee that oversaw the operation of the entire company.

⁶⁰ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 2/ 47 Canadian Committee - Correspondence with and Miscellaneous Memorandum, letter to Mr. F. B. Walker, Canadian Committee from HBCA archivist, Alice Johnson 27 February 1957.

memorandum written on 22 September 1950 to company Secretary from the HBC archivist: "We welcome these visitors for we can not only help them, but we ourselves learn quite a lot from our exchange of ideas."⁶¹ By 1957 the archives encouraged use of its records by the general public whether in the archives in London or by microfilm copies in the Public Archives of Canada. Microfilm copies were available as a result of a filming program that began in the early part of the decade.

Users were permitted to use the records by applying for admission. Instructions on obtaining admission were outlined in a brochure entitled *Hudson's Bay Company Rules and Regulations Governing Admissions to Research Either on the Archives in London or on the Positive Microfilm in the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa*. In order to apply to do research, users were required to write a letter to inform the company of his or her topic and provide two references. Upon receiving permission, users were "reminded that they work on the Archives or the Microfilm by the courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company and that the Company itself has undertaken the duty of making its archives public."⁶²

The 1950s marked the beginning of a more public role for the archives in the sense that it began to open its doors wider to admit, not only established researchers and the social elite but also a somewhat broader spectrum of society. As a letter from the archives to the Canadian Committee noted "there are the visitors from overseas with present and past connects [sic] with the Company. They come perhaps to obtain details about an ancestor's career in the fur trade or may be just as [a] matter of general interest."⁶³ As the 1960s approached it was clear that the HBCA felt it had a substantial contribution to make to the study of history through its records:

⁶¹ HBCA/ PAM 20/ 5/ 13 Archives Dept., Gen 1932-1954, Memorandum to the Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company from Alice Johnson, company archivist, 22 September 1950: 1

⁶² HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 5/ 1 Notes on HBC Archives Department, *Hudson's Bay Company Rules and Regulations Governing Admissions to Research Either on the Archives in London or on the Microfilm in the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa*, 17 June 1957.

⁶³ HBCA/ PAM 20/ 2/ 47 Canadian Committee - Correspondence with and Miscellaneous Memoranda, 27 February 1957: 3.

Far from being 'musty and dusty' as one would be searcher tactlessly called them in his letter of application, the Company's records of the past are clean and ready for immediate use, and the way in which they are kept, the use to which they are put, and the conditions in which staff and students work are often the envy of the less fortunate county and local archives in England.⁶⁴

In the 1960s the Hudson's Bay Company Archives continued to develop its public programming function. This was evident in the formal definition of the role of the assistant archivist outlined in administrative records of the archives for 1963. The assistant archivist was responsible for overseeing a large part of the archives' relationship with the general public in the areas of access and public programming. Assistant archivists ensured that archival users were aware of the rules and regulations of the archives. They also read over the notes of researchers and helped to prepare and update the finding aids.

Where public programming was concerned, it was one of the formal duties of the assistant archivists to select and prepare documents for exhibits. The preparation of literature accompanying the exhibit was also part of their duties. Many of the exhibitions prepared were intended for a general audience. However, the HBCA did prepare displays that took into account the interests of particular groups. For example in 1969, an exhibit was staged which was specifically directed at fashion editors. This exhibit drew on material preserved in the archives that pertained to the HBC's retail (stores) department. As the HBCA began to direct a part of its staff toward public programming and the user, all staff were encouraged to develop relationships with other members of the archival community. The archivists of the HBCA invited members of the community to the archives and in turn visited archival institutions themselves.⁶⁵ While the HBCA continued to have some connection with the public relations activities of the company, as the archives entered the latter part of the twentieth century it was clearly establishing itself within the larger archival and research communities.

The 1970s, like the 1920s, can be considered a momentous decade in the

⁶⁴ Ibid: 5.

⁶⁵ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 2/ 130 Monthly and Annual Reports, Archives Department 1969-1971.

history of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives for two reasons. First, 1970 was the company's tercentenary year. Many events and promotions were planned to celebrate the anniversary. Since the company celebrated its 300th anniversary by focusing on its history, many of the anniversary activities drew heavily on the archives. Second, the HBC transferred its head office to Canada and relocated the archives there in 1974.

The 300th anniversary of the HBC further demonstrated the value of the archives, not only to the company, but also to those who wished to study western and northern Canadian history. The anniversary also illustrated that the archives could promote its holdings in a variety of ways to the user. Plans for the tercentenary celebrations of 1970 began in early 1969. The celebrations brought company personnel to the archives as well as people from outside the HBC who wished to make a contribution to the celebration. The tercentenary was marked on both sides of the Atlantic in a variety of ways, which included films, publications, exhibitions and commemorative souvenirs.

The preparation of films, publications, exhibitions and other events provided an excellent opportunity for the Hudson's Bay Company Archives to engage in public programming. The anniversary raised the profile of the archives to a new level. The media used to celebrate the anniversary provided a good example of how the archives reached out to the public.

Individuals and broadcasting corporations such as the BBC and CBC produced films to commemorate the anniversary. The archives was used by the BBC and CBC to collect background information on the history of the Hudson's Bay Company.⁶⁶ In addition to the contribution to films, the archives was called upon to supply documents to enhance company publications produced for the occasion. These publications ranged from annual reports to posters that promoted the HBC's merchandise. The document that launched the company, the charter, was also front and centre in the literature marking the anniversary. The image of the charter was

⁶⁶ Ibid.

used on posters as well as certificates that were given to customers of the company's stores.⁶⁷

The scholarly community also chose to celebrate the HBC's anniversary by contributing to historical publications. Articles appeared in a number of historical publications, such as History News. The company encouraged historians to write articles by letting them know that the Archives Department would assist them in their research: "The staff of the Company's Archives Department carries out limited research in the Company's records on behalf of inquirers."⁶⁸ Of course the HBC's own magazine, The Beaver, played a part in celebrating the tercentenary. Many articles were submitted to The Beaver. It provided another avenue through which the archives and the company reached out to the public. Many of these articles depended heavily on information contained in archival material. Articles were written by historians, the editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society and former and current company archivists.

Exhibitions were also an important part of the celebrations of 1970. They were staged in Britain and Canada. Exhibits were held in the company's stores, to allow customers to be a part of the anniversary celebrations. The HBC also organized a traveling exhibition as well as an art display. The exhibitions promoted the company's anniversary, but also brought public attention to the archives. As a public programming tool, the exhibition has long been a staple of archives: "Exhibits ... are useful in drawing attention to the resources in archival institutions and serve as an invitation to further research."⁶⁹ Through the anniversary exhibits, people were able see tangible proof of the HBC's history and relive the adventures of the "Company of Adventurers."

In Canada, the major exhibits of the tercentenary year were held and organized in Winnipeg. The company chose to stage two kinds of exhibits; one

⁶⁷ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 2/ 4 Anniversary 300th - Canada, Miscellaneous, 1970-1972.

⁶⁸ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 2/ 12 Anniversary, HBC 300th, London Celebrations, c. 1967-1970

⁶⁹ James G. Bradsher and Mary Ritzenthaler, "Archival Exhibits" in Managing Archives and Archival Institutions, ed. James G. Bradsher. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989: 228.

emphasized art, while the other focused on history. The art exhibition held in the company's Winnipeg store, included approximately 350 works by such artists as Paul Kane.⁷⁰ The works exhibited came from private collectors and the Glenbow Museum in Calgary.⁷¹ The art depicted many scenes which romanticized the HBC's past.

The historical exhibit organized in Winnipeg was one of the major efforts of the company to mark its anniversary in North America. It surveyed the history of the Hudson's Bay Company from the 1670s to 1970. The exhibit was also designed to travel, and whenever it went the HBC made an attempt to give the display a local flavour. It did so by incorporating archival material that documented the specific region's role in company operations. There was great interest in the exhibit in Canada and parts of the United States. The HBC encouraged the public to come and view the exhibit. In particular, the company approached schools and helped them to arrange tours of the exhibits.⁷²

The major exhibition held in London took place at Beaver House.⁷³ It ran from the 25 June to 17 July 1970 and was open to the public: "The Company's 50 tons of archives [were] drawn upon for the purposes of the exhibition [to] tell how the oldest chartered trading enterprise in the world has [fared] from every point of view during the three centuries of its history."⁷⁴ The exhibit examined the fur trade from various perspectives. As well, the exhibit included material on topics of special interest such as the Lancet, a British medical publication used as a source of information at HBC posts, religious life and the Orkney Islands.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ HBCA/ PAM E.42 The Kane Family Fonds. Paul Kane ranks among the more noted artists whose expeditions produced, among other things, depictions of aboriginal people. His expeditions were sponsored by the Hudson's Bay Company and took place between 1846 and 1851.

⁷¹ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 2/ 4 Anniversary 300th - Canada, Miscellaneous, 1970-1972.

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Beaver House housed the offices of the Hudson's Bay Company.

⁷⁴ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 2/ 8 Anniversary - 300th Exhibition, Lexington International Public Relations. Lexington International Public Relations was firm hired by the company to help organize the 300th anniversary celebrations.

⁷⁵ Many men from the Orkney Islands worked for the Hudson's Bay Company.

Like the 300th anniversary, plans to relocate the company to Canada began in 1969. The company considered a number of Canadian cities in which to relocate its head office. In the end it was decided that Winnipeg was the best choice because it had been home to the HBC's Canadian headquarters for over 100 years.⁷⁶

Once the headquarters of the HBC moved to Winnipeg, there was pressure on the company to transfer the archives. The transfer of the archives was not a new idea. In 1932 the company had given some consideration to moving the archives to Canada. The idea of transfer was revived in 1964 by a noted Winnipeg doctor, William Ewart. Dr. Ewart traveled to London and was overwhelmed by the amount of material in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives on the history of western and northern Canada. Ewart lobbied the company in an attempt to convince senior HBC officials that the archives belonged in Canada.⁷⁷

However, Dr. Ewart did not get a response from the HBC. In 1965 he wrote again to the company to try to convince it that the archives should be transferred. Eventually, the University of Manitoba and the governments of Manitoba and Canada began to lend support to Ewart's efforts to have the HBCA in Canada. Many Canadian institutions supplied reasons why they should be the repository for the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. The University of Manitoba argued that it could provide the best access to the records. The Public Archives of Canada felt that its long standing relationship with the HBCA and role as a research centre made it a logical choice. The Government of Manitoba argued that the records should be placed in its archives because it could offer, among other things, newly renovated facilities.

In the early 1970s there were many arguments for and against the institutions which wanted custody of the archives. According to Deidre Simmons, by early 1971 the company was agreeable to the idea of transferring the records to Manitoba. The following year the Manitoba government informed Secretary of the HBC, Rolph Huband, that it wished to assume custody of the archives. Although the Government

⁷⁶ Deidre Simmons, " 'Custodians of a Great Inheritance' ": 101

⁷⁷ Ibid: 96-97.

of Manitoba was willing to take custody of the archives, the company stipulated that it would retain ownership. In addition, Manitoba had to provide the appropriate facilities that would allow public access, place microfilm copies of the records in London and Ottawa and report to the HBC on a regular basis on the state of the archives.⁷⁸

By 1973 the company agreed to the transfer the archives to the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM) in Winnipeg. The HBC's Board of Directors felt that Winnipeg was the most logical place to situate the archives because the company had a long history in the province. In addition, it was felt that the HBCA could maintain a separate identity by moving to Winnipeg. While the archives would be placed in PAM, it would be seen as a distinct responsibility centre within the provincial archives. The formal proclamation of the agreement was made on the 31 July 1973, but the archives did not arrive in Manitoba until October 1974.⁷⁹

While the transfer was significant for the archives in general, it was also important in the development of the HBCA's public programming function. Through the agreement, access to the archives was widened and researchers were allowed more freedom with regard to publication. In fact, the secretary of the company, Rolph Huband, argued that "the purpose of the archives after relocation to Canada ought to be twofold: to provide 'the widest possible accessibility to scholars' [and] maximum encouragement of publication."⁸⁰ Clearly by placing its records in a major public archives, the HBC saw its archives as a resource for a broader spectrum of society.

The celebration of the 300th anniversary of the company was undoubtedly a major event for the archives, the HBCA's public programming function also experienced further growth after the archives was transferred to Winnipeg. The HBCA was ensconced in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba building in 1974. However, the newly renovated PAM building did not reopen until the following year.

⁷⁸ Ibid: 107-108.

⁷⁹ Ibid: 113.

⁸⁰ HBCA/ PAM RG 9/ 615.7.1, position paper prepared by Huband, 29 November 1972.

When it reopened in 1975, it welcomed the public through a series of public programming initiatives including an exhibition and publications. The reopening was a success, and indicated that the archives would be put to good use by the public: "The public response to the opening in Winnipeg surpassed all expectations, as statistics in Mrs. Shirlee Anne Smith's report illustrate."⁶¹ In addition, in the latter part of the 1970s, the archives attempted to connect with the public through participation in "National Archives Week." The HBCA's participation included displays at the archives and an open house that was held at night to allow a greater number of people to take part.⁶²

In the first 30 years of the HBCA's existence, it was mainly involved in public programming to create societal awareness of the archives, primarily for company publicity and marketing purposes. The HBCA also engaged in public programs to draw academic attention to the company's records that, in the words of Leveson Gower, "are the source material of Western Canadian History."⁶³ Public programs were directed at scholars, to make them aware of the archives, but it was their responsibility to learn how to use the HBCA. Archivists provided few descriptive aids to guide research. However, between the mid 1950s and the late 1970s a shift began to develop in HBCA public programming that would more clearly emerge in the 1980s and 1990s.

Evidence of this shift is seen in the broadening of the definition of the archival user and the assistant archivist's position with regard to public programming. As well, the participation of the archives in the 300th anniversary, and the transfer of the archives to Manitoba further demonstrates that the HBCA was moving toward public programs for all members of society. The public was invited to take part in the anniversary celebrations and events to mark the arrival of the archives at the

⁶¹ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 3/ 67 Reports - Annals of HBC, 1975-1981, letter to Rolph Huband, Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company from the Deputy Minister of Recreation and Cultural Affairs of Manitoba, 14 July 1976: 2. Shirlee Anne Smith was the head archivist of the HBCA at the time of the transfer.

⁶² HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 3/ 27 Exhibits - exhibitions, displays, demonstrations, fairs (general).

⁶³ R.H.G. Leveson Gower, "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company": 40.

Provincial Archives of Manitoba. These events drew attention to the archives, but also marked the start of a much stronger emphasis in public programming on educating the user on the nature of the record and archival research. The opening of the HBCA to researchers with more varied research experience required archivists to become more involved in educating users to use the archives effectively.

In the second half of the twentieth century the public programming efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives changed. These efforts have become more the archives own, in the sense that they are not as overshadowed by the company's need to use its past for publicity purposes. The level of interest in the holdings has meant that there has been a demand for public programming to allow the public to gain a better understanding of the records. During the 1980s and 1990s the Hudson's Bay Company Archives offered a variety of public programs which include publications, exhibitions, tours, a Web site and various special events. These programs incorporated more contextual description of the records to allow users with different levels of knowledge to access and understand HBCA holdings.

In the 1980s, the HBCA began to pull away from its strong emphasis on publication with the dissolution of the HBRS in 1983. The archives engaged in public outreach designed to enable more researchers to use much more of the archives directly themselves. The most significant public programs included tours, special events and the introduction of the inter-library microfilm program. The emphasis the archives placed on these programming initiatives was a clear indication that the HBCA was making a concerted effort to build ties to the community. The increase in the number tours offered by the archives in the 1980s demonstrated the HBCA's intention to find ways to educate the public about the uses of archival resources. The archives' tours were directed at a variety of groups such as teachers, university students, junior/ senior high students, adult education groups, research-oriented societies, professional associations, librarians, the media and VIPs.⁶⁴

Archivists at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives put a lot of thought into

⁶⁴ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 3/ 46 Tours, 1981-1989.

the tour component of the archives' public programming function. Tour groups were not just shown around the HBCA facilities but were educated in how to use the findings aids and other research tools. Archivists also laid out documents for tour groups to examine and offered instruction in how to handle the records. Finally, tours often included a talk by one of the archivists on the history of the company and archives itself.⁸⁵

In addition to tours, the archives participated in a number of special events over the course of the 1980s. As one of the responsibility centres of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives participated in "Archives Day." "Archives Day" was an event that was hosted by PAM⁸⁶ and the Manitoba Department of Culture, Recreation and Heritage. This event included speeches as well as archival exhibits and tours. It was an opportunity for government officials and the public to become more familiar with the archives.

Another event in which the HBCA became involved was "Research Day." This event provided an opportunity for cultural institutions such as archives, libraries and museums to inform the public about their services through displays and information sessions. In the case of the HBCA, "displays [were] designed to acquaint the public with the variety and uses ... of historical documentation preserved in the provincial archives related to genealogy, calligraphy and nineteenth century letter writing technique [and] gave the public a greater appreciation for the written record."⁸⁷

As well, the introduction of the inter-library microfilm loan program in 1986 helped the archives to broaden its connection with archival users beyond the walls of PAM. The inter-library loan program was made possible by the microfilming of the archives which began in the 1950s. While the program dealt primarily with the issue of access to the archives, it also made people in Canada and around the world more

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ The Provincial Archives of Manitoba is part of the government of Manitoba's Department of Culture, Citizenship and Recreation.

⁸⁷ HBCA/ PAM RG 20/ 3/ 36 Exhibits - Archives Day.

aware of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. The program enabled the archives to establish connections with libraries, museums and other archives: "The Inter-Library Loan Program Finding Aid on microfilm may be found in many university and legislative libraries and archives throughout North America and abroad, and is available for institutional purchases."⁸⁸

While the emphasis of the HBCA public programming clearly came to rest on programs such as the tour, the archives did not ignore the value of publication. HBC archivists contributed a number of articles to historical and archival publications. Another important event that occurred in the 1980s with regard to the archives and publication concerned The Beaver. As Peter Geller points out, the tie between the company and The Beaver was downplayed in the 1980s.⁸⁹ The magazine was trying to establish "itself as an accurate and readable journal of popular history."⁹⁰ By the latter part of the twentieth century, The Beaver's role as a tool to inspire loyalty to the HBC was no longer germane. This point was clarified when free distribution to employees ceased in 1982 and the The Beaver began to court paying subscribers. These changes at the magazine were important for the archives. The reorientation of the staff at The Beaver toward producing a publication that was more objective and focused on Canadian history in general meant the archives would have yet another outlet through which to reach the public.

In the 1990s, the HBCA was also involved in a number activities that raised its profile and educated the public on the uses of the archives. Often a tour of the vault, is included in a general tour of the archives.⁹¹ The opening of the new HBCA vault and exhibition space on 26 April 1999 has made the state-of-the-art storage facilities of the archives a focal point of archival publicity. These public programming activities also included publication and consultation on a variety of projects outside the archives. Publication included the design and writing of brochures that promote

⁸⁸ Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Hudson's Bay Company Archives Microfilmed Records Inter-Library Loan Program Guide, Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1996:1.

⁸⁹ Peter Geller, "Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade": 179.

⁹⁰ Ibid: 180.

⁹¹ HBCA/ PAM, "Tours- 1997 Resource File."

the archives. In addition, by acting as a consultant to writers and historians, the HBCA has been able to widen links with members of the film, media and literary communities.

The HBCA has acted as a resource for various film projects such as "Empire of the Bay." As well, authors have used the archives as a resource in the writing of fiction. A good example of this is a novel entitled Isobel Gunn which was written by Audrey Thomas and published in 1999. Thomas uses the journal entries of an employee of the company and supporting documents to construct the story of Gunn, a woman who went to work for the HBC disguised as a man.⁹² Whether in film or literature the archives has received recognition which has helped to demonstrate its relevance to society. Contributions to the literary, media and film communities represents another way in which archives educates society on the value of archival material.

In addition to its adherence to traditional public programs, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives has made an effort to establish links with the archival user via the Web. This has been achieved through the Web site which was launched on 6 January 1997:

The Internet site provides general information about the collection, its contents and some of the history surrounding the Hudson's Bay Company. The site has a description of the holdings, help and resource pages and information on how to access the records through inter-library loan. The site is also linked to related institutions, including a list of archives and libraries which hold microfilm finding aids. An online finding aid describes the records of nearly 500 North American post and identifies microfilm available through inter-library loan.⁹³

The Web site has proven to be a successful venture for the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, as many people from around the world and across Canada use it to obtain information about the archives. Through the HBCA Web site the user can learn about the company, the archives, the inter-library loan program and visit the image gallery. The Web site is a medium through which the user and archives can also interact through email correspondence. Web sites have quickly become an

⁹² Marilyn Simonds, "An Orkney Viola in the hinterlands" in National Post 16 October 1999: 9.

⁹³ Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Information Release *Web site* 14 February 1997: 1.

integral and necessary part of the public programming efforts of many cultural institutions, including archives.²⁴

The success of public programs developed by the HBCA throughout its history provide a solid foundation on which to create programs for the future. The tours offered by the archives have been very popular with many different groups and have generated even more interest and users. The success of the tour program, publication and the Web site indicates that there is merit in combining these forms of public outreach in the future. Many users live great distances from the archives and can best access and learn about the archives through the Web. It is because of this that the archives may want to consider future public programming ventures that would allow distant users to tour the archives, like any other visitor, from their computer terminal. A more detailed discussion of these future public programming ventures is in the following chapter.

In the 1920s, the "Company of Adventurers" embarked on another adventure that few corporate entities even today are willing to take part in -- that of making their records available to interested outsiders through an archives. Across the twentieth century the archives developed a public programming function that has allowed the HBCA to establish a relationship with archival users such as scholars, genealogists and the general public. Public programming at the HBCA has focused on publications, exhibitions, tours and, more recently, the Web. Initially, public programs such as publications, exhibitions and tours worked in tandem with the company public relations department. During this time, the main objective of archival public programming was to create societal awareness of the company and its past in order to market its products. Public programming initiatives such as the Hudson's Bay Record Society, however, emphasized the company and HBCA's early public programming responses to academic interests in the archives. This approach to public programming, whether aimed at the company staff, the social and business elite or the "serious scholar," emphasized the creation of appreciation and use of the

²⁴ William Landis, "Archival Outreach and the World Wide Web," Archival Issues 20 (2) (1995).

record with little emphasis on HBCA's description of the record or user education.

This approach persisted for much of the early part of the twentieth century. The period from the 1920s to 1950s was dominated by public programs that created awareness among users, but left it up to users to learn how to use the records. During this period in the evolution of HBCA public programming, it was felt that because users were scholars they needed little instruction on the use of the archives. However, this conception of public programming was eventually traded for one that emphasized user education. The broadening of the definition of the user and of the role of the archives' staff as well as the HBC's tercentenary and the transfer of the archives to Manitoba marked the beginning of this new approach. In the latter part of twentieth century the HBCA developed public programs that emphasized user education through greater contextual description of the records. Programs, such as the tour and the Web, now focus on teaching users of all ages and levels of knowledge how to use the HBCA as a valuable source for their research. Public programming has gradually evolved to include a wider range of users of archives and ensures that they not only have an appreciation for the archives but also the knowledge to use its records.

Chapter 3

The Future of Public Programming at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives In the Age of the Internet

Initially, the public programming function of the HBCA was pursued in the shadow of the Hudson's Bay Company's public relations campaigns that aimed to create a general societal awareness of the company by drawing on archival records. The archives also sought to encourage use of its holdings through publication, tours and exhibits that were directed at accomplished scholars who required little direction in their utilization of archival resources. By the late twentieth century the HBCA developed public programs that continue to maintain the archives' position within the scholarly community, but were also aimed at the general public. Its approach to public programming became less about contributing to the societal awareness of the company, through publicity campaigns, and more about raising the profile of the HBC records as a rich historical research resource. The HBCA's encouragement of use has meant that public programs now focus more on teaching people how to use the archives.

What is the future of public programming at the HBCA, archives in general and parallel institutions such as museums? For many archives, the future has already arrived. Archives have begun to update their public programs. This chapter will suggest that the future of public programming lies with the ability of archives, such as the HBCA, to harness computer technology and strengthen ties with parallel institutions in order to achieve the goals of creating awareness and knowledgeable users.

In the past, archives have designed public programs such as tours and exhibits. These programs continue to give users the information to retrace the steps of ancestors and delve into history. As well, outreach has increased the profile of

archives and encouraged use. For the most part archival public programming in the twentieth century developed strategies that introduced archives to the user and increased use. Many of these strategies have been predicated on the user having a certain amount of physical access to the archives or published versions of records. Arthur Doughty in the early part of the twentieth century cultivated use through his support of the historical profession and publication of archival holdings related to Canadian history.¹ Doughty's efforts, like those of R.H.G Leveson Gower, laid the foundation for public programming in their respective archives, the National Archives of Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

Across the mid-twentieth century archives slowly added other programming strategies in an attempt to increase their use. These strategies were directed at specific groups in society, which are often referred to as "traditional" archival users, namely academics, students and public servants.² However, towards the last quarter of the twentieth century, traditional user groups no longer found themselves alone in the research rooms of archives such as the HBCA. In the 1970s American Alex Haley's book Roots inspired many to study their own genealogy.³ Increasing numbers of people began to go to archival institutions in search of tangible evidence of personal history. Thus, the definition of the archival user expanded to include a larger cross section of the general public. In addition, archival users were no longer strictly adults. School age children also began to come to archives to learn about the past through the record.

Today, archives continue to offer familiar public programs to users such as publications, exhibitions, tours and lecture series. The HBCA's tour program, for

¹ Ian Wilson, "Shortt and Doughty: The Cultural Role of the Public Archives of Canada 1904-1935": 7.

² Barbara Craig, "Old Myths in New Clothes: Expectations of Archives Users," Archivaria 45 (Spring 1998): 122.

³ Alex Haley's Roots was published in 1976. Roots is the story of a black family across several generations, beginning in Africa in 1750, through enslavement in the United States, and ending mid-twentieth century America. It was later made into a very popular television drama. Haley "is often credited with helping revive American interest in genealogy." Genealogy.com, "Selections of the Foreword to Ethnic Genealogy: A Research Guide." 1996-2000: <http://www.genealogy.com> (February 2001).

example, has enabled the archives to establish a relationship with junior and senior high school students, university students and adult education groups as well as other community organizations.⁴ These tours act as an excellent introduction to the diverse and rich archival holdings of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

While programming initiatives, such as the tour, are useful tools for the archives, the development of the HBCA Web site in 1996 has already proven to be a successful way to interact with users. Recently, many archives have discovered that the Web is fast becoming a key means of introducing archives to prospective users. As well, the Web is a way for established users to make inquiries and search finding aids for records to enhance their research.⁵ Some archives, and to a greater extent museums and galleries, are also beginning to use the Web as a conduit for further public programs. These programs include exhibitions, tours and educational kits that may enable archives, such as the HBCA, to create greater awareness and educated use of their holdings.

Archival and museum scholars, as well as people in other professions, have begun to write about the shift that has accelerated in the recent past in human ability to gather, retain and disseminate information. This transformation is discussed and debated on many levels and is perceived as both a concern and opportunity for cultural institutions such as archives and museums. George F. MacDonald and Steven Alsford of the Canadian Museum of Civilization examine this shift and assert that there is a "need for museums to be present-minded, to address matters relevant to current concerns, and to be sources of information...."⁶ MacDonald and Alsford suggest that while the material object remains important, museums must put

⁴ Author's interview with Judith Hudson Beattie, Keeper, HBCA, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, 28 July 2000.

⁵ William Landis, "Archival Outreach on the World Wide Web" : 129-131.

⁶ George F. MacDonald and Steven Alsford, "Future Horizons: the Information Age and its Implications for Museums," Museums & Information (Winnipeg: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and Communications Canada, Canadian Heritage Information Network, 1990): 28. This article was presented at a conference held by the museum community in Winnipeg in May 1990. George F. MacDonald, formally of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, is now a Strategic Planning Advisor for the Department of Canadian Heritage. Steven Alsford is employed by the Canadian Museum of Civilization as the Web site manager.

more emphasis on promoting themselves as sources of primary information. Today there are many sources of information that the public can access. MacDonald and Alsford argue that museums "must respond to the growing demand for understanding, by making their information resources more accessible to the public; this means utilizing all information and communication technologies now available. They must respond to people's need to cope with information overload by packaging information into meaningful bundles of knowledge."⁷ The Web site is one example of how museums and archives have organized information about themselves and their holdings to create understanding and provide a point of access to their holdings. Institutional Web sites are proving to be a successful response to the demand for information.

Avra Michelson and Jeff Rothenberg, in their extensive study of the effect of computerized information technology on the research process in American archives, argue that "the emergence of information technology is this century's most significant development affecting archival practice."⁸ Developments in information technology have broadened the spectrum of the types of records that archives acquire to include electronic records. These records raise appraisal and description questions for archivists because the provenance of electronic records is not easily discerned. In addition, electronic records raise preservation concerns because the technology that allows them to be read becomes obsolete quickly. While changing information technology raises these issues for archivists, the issue considered in this chapter is how public programming may be affected and enhanced by computerized information technology.

The findings of Michelson and Rothenberg show that more and more researchers are using the Web to conduct research and discuss their findings. The

⁷ Ibid: 30.

⁸ Avra Michelson and Jeff Rothenberg, "Scholarly Communication and Information Technology: Exploring the Impact of Changes in the Research Process on Archives," *American Archivist* 55 (Spring 1992): 237. Michelson and Rothenberg define information technology as "the computing and communications technology used to obtain, store, organize, manipulate, and exchange information. The definition includes computer hardware and software, as well as the telecommunications devices and computer based networks that connect them."

Web allows a researcher in Winnipeg, for example, to discuss quickly his or her findings with a colleague in England. Geography is less of a barrier preventing scholars from sharing their work. In addition, the Web is being used by professors to advise and teach their students. Therefore, archivists must make a concerted effort to increase their knowledge of research and teaching practices used on the Web and other developments in information technology. Attention to technological change is not only important because current researchers and students are using the Web, but also because other possible users of archives are living increasingly in a digital environment.

Many archives have entered the digital environment in some form. This is evident with the presence of institutions such as the HBCA on the World Wide Web. However, further enhancements must be made to existing programming that involves computer technology. At the same time archives cannot ignore the user's frequent attachment to traditional record forms. As Charles Dollar indicates in his study of the effect of information technology on archival theory, the paperless office has not yet been achieved; people still rely heavily on the "physical entity -- a piece of paper with recorded information -- that they can see and touch."⁹ In other words, there is no substitute for the "real thing;" and, while there are people who want the convenience of a digital copy and online finding aids, many researchers will come to archives to see, hear and touch the physical document. Thus, to increase awareness and use, archives must take advantage of the attractions of both new information technology and traditional records to plan future public programs.

Like many cultural institutions, archives are asking themselves, what can be done to strengthen their presence in a society that is increasingly reliant on computerized information technology? How can computers be used effectively to establish public programming that will create more awareness and effective use of archives? Archives and their cultural counterparts such as museums, galleries and media outlets (such as Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) are investigating and

⁹ Charles Dollar, Archival Theory and Information Technologies, ed. Oddo Bucci (Macerata: University of Macerata, 1992): 36.

implementing programming that makes use of many of the developments in computer technology. The Web and CD-ROMs are considered to be valid options for archives and parallel institutions attempting to promote the use of their institutional resources.¹⁰

Archives and their cultural counterparts have chosen to approach information technology in a variety of ways. Most have opted for Web sites that offer another way to communicate hours of operation and other basic information, as well as redefine and develop public programs. Evidence of this is seen at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC). The CMC has spent a lot of time developing a Web site that boasts a wide range of programming activities to attract people who choose to visit the museum in cyberspace. The CMC Web programming offers everything from basic information about the museum to a virtual tour of its many exhibitions. In addition, other cultural institutions such as the National Gallery of Canada provide online exhibits, research databases and other programming that allows distant users to study the work of Canadian and international artists on the Web.¹¹

Another cultural institution using computer technology to reach its clients is the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). While not all radio stations are considered to be "cultural" institutions, for many Canadians the radio arm of the CBC is very much a cultural icon. In order to maintain its relationship with the Canadian public, the CBC has initiated a radio service (CBC Radio 3) that will be entirely Web-based. Like many other cultural institutions, the CBC has come to the conclusion that people under 30 years of age see the Web as one of their primary

¹⁰ Terry Abraham, "The Next Step: Outreach on the World Wide Web," Annual Meeting of the Society of Rocky Mountain Archivists (June 6 1997): 1. Parallel institutions include museums, galleries, libraries and media outlets.

¹¹ National Gallery of Canada, "National Gallery of Canada." 2000 (last modified): <http://www.national.gallery/index.html>. (June, July 2000). The National Gallery of Canada has recently established a database known as CyberMuse. In an insert in the National Post, CyberMuse is described as an "online educational tool that gives people the chance to explore the National Gallery of Canada's collection without leaving their homes." In addition, by logging onto CyberMuse, users can get information on artists and exhibitions. "CyberMuse takes outsiders inside art," National Post, 27 May 2000: 4(E).

sources of information. In a discussion with Alex Frame, vice-president of the CBC, David Akin, a reporter for the National Post, pointed out that "market research firms that specialize in monitoring Internet trends have predicted that many consumers, particularly younger ones, will make Internet radio or Webcasts increasingly popular."¹²

The integration of computer technology into archival public programming provides many opportunities for archives to improve current public programs and embark on new ones. These opportunities can be gleaned from the expansion and redefinition of traditional public programming through Web-based formats. In addition, the Web makes it possible for archives to coordinate programming initiatives with other cultural institutions. In the following pages various options for archival public programming using computer technology will be discussed. These options will also be considered in the context of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

The four key aspects of archival public programming (image, awareness, education and use) as outlined by Gabrielle Blais and David Enns remain useful guides for public programming in the future. Computer technology enables archives to alter their image, increase public awareness of their role, educate people more fully about archives and encourage use.¹³ Web-based programming promises to create a better image of the archival institution at work. As well, Web initiatives may establish an awareness among users that archives are not dusty attics filled with relics, but institutions working to keep up to date with changes in information technology to ensure the use of archival holdings.

The Web is an inexpensive and effective way to educate people about archives. A Web site is easily updated and accessible at any hour of the day. The advantages of the Web have not been lost on the archival community.¹⁴ Terry

¹² David Akin, "CBC launches radio site to attract youth market," National Post, 28 June 2000: 6(A).

¹³ Gabrielle Blais and David Enns, "From Paper Archives to People Archives": 101.

¹⁴ Terry Abraham, "The Next Step: Outreach on the World Wide Web": 1.

Abraham, an archivist at the University of Idaho, Special Collections, has been one of the most vocal advocates of the advantages of the Web. Abraham first posted information about his collection to a Gopher/ Web site in 1994. He argues that "promotional activities of a traditional nature can be given a boost by publicizing them through the institutional Web page as well as through institutional and international list serves and news groups."¹⁵ Abraham's Special Collections Web site has an impressive inventory of archives that have a presence on the Web. His sentiments, regarding the Web, are echoed by archivists. Many feel that the Web represents a "new genre of archival repository outreach...."¹⁶

In Canada, Web sites represent one of the primary efforts of the archival community to use new information technologies in public programming. This is evident by the list of Web sites compiled on the University of Saskatchewan Archives Web site (www.usask.ca/archives/).¹⁷ Web sites vary in size from those that simply give the hours of operation and a brief history of the archives to those that offer exhibitions, samples of documents, finding aids and links to other related sites. Archival Web sites also differ in their level of organization and effectiveness. Some are easy to use and aid archives in their attempts to stimulate and enable use; others are not because of their confusing physical layout and information. Effectively organized Web sites can contribute to the overall public programming strategy of an archives.¹⁸

Archives, such as the HBCA, have posted operational and other basic information to the Web. As well, the Web is being used as a way to redefine traditional public programs (such as tours and exhibitions) and develop new initiatives. The Web site of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives explains what the archives offers, describes how the archives has been used in the past, indicates how

¹⁵ Ibid: 3.

¹⁶ William Landis, "Archival Outreach on the World Wide Web": 129.

¹⁷ The University of Saskatchewan Archives Web site not only provides a list of archives on the Web, but also provides links to their sites. See <http://www.usask.ca/archives>. (June, July, 2000).

¹⁸ William Landis, "Archival Outreach on the World Wide Web": 129-131.

users may contact the archives and includes a brief history of the HBCA.¹⁹ This information is given on the introductory page or is accessible via links. These links also connect users to a variety of public services and programs that combine both text and image to create awareness, educate users and encourage use of the record.²⁰ Pages dealing with frequently asked questions, the inter-library loan program, online finding aids, bibliographies, image galleries and a vault tour demonstrate the services and programs offered by the HBCA Web site.

Information originally provided to users via such traditional means as printed brochures remains critical. The Hudson's Bay Company Archives' Web site allows users to obtain cursory knowledge of the archives to inspire further exploration through online-finding aids and email inquiries.²¹ These parts of the Web site answer questions about what the archives contains. They provide, for example, the information on a particular trading post or company employee. However, components of the Web site such as the image gallery demonstrate how the archives could expand its presence on the Web. The HBCA's image gallery is an example of how one archives is offering programming that is not simply meant to attract users who enjoy physical access to the archives, but distant users whose access to the HBCA may be limited to the Web. The Web is making "archives not only ... places to visit but ... also networked services to access intelligently, flexibly, and appropriately from afar."²²

¹⁹ Maureen Dolyniuk, ed., "Hudson's Bay Company Archives." 1996:
<http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/index.html>. (1999-2000)

²⁰ According to Jean-Stephen Piche of the National Archives of Canada, Internet linkages open up a "new role for archives as research and knowledge-base pointers to information resources in other archives, government, and the private sector." See his "Doing What's Possible with What We've Got: Using the World Wide Web to Integrate Archival Functions," American Archivist 61 (1998): 119.

²¹ Maureen Dolyniuk, ed., "Hudson's Bay Company Archives." 1996:
<http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/index.html>. (1999-2000). The Web site is proving to be extremely valuable to HBCA public service and programming. Evidence of this is seen in the 45,000 hits that the site received in May 2001. The aforementioned statistic is attributed to Barry Hyman, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

²² Ronald Weissman, "Archives and the New Information Architecture of the Late 1990s" : 34.

Web sites must be developed beyond the provision of basic information.²³ The HBCA image gallery consists of a variety of groupings of graphic material arranged around a theme. At the present time there are four image galleries. These galleries focus on the works of artists Ronald Seale and Kathleen Shackleton, as well as HBCA Post Maps and the HBCA's Documentary Art Collections of Hudson's Bay Company Calendars.²⁴ The number of images included in each gallery ranges from as few as nine to well over fifty-five. The images can be enlarged to enhance the view by clicking on a selected sketch or painting. The work of Seale and Shackleton and the calendars depict important events and individuals in company history such as the signing of the Charter, the voyage of the *Nonsuch* and meetings with Aboriginal people. The sketches and paintings are also accompanied by captions that have been supplied by the artist or archivist. The map gallery provides a cartographic depiction of various parts of Canada where the HBC had trading posts. The maps are augmented by links to the archives online finding aids that help users to locate information on a particular post.²⁵

The archives' Web site also has an "Illustrated Tour" of the new vault space built between 1997 and 1999 to house the majority of the collection. The tour is introduced by a short textual description of the vault which includes a history of its construction and objectives. A link is provided at the bottom of the description that leads to the "Illustrated Tour." The tour consists of a series of static views of the vault and its contents. The photographic views are accompanied by captions. While the

²³ Basic information includes hours of operation, contact information, mission statements and institutional histories.

²⁴ Ronald Seale was contracted by the Hudson's Bay Company to provide humorous cartoons for a publication to celebrate the company's tercentenary in 1970. The comical drawings produced by Seale were compiled in a publication entitled The Great Fur Trade Opera: Annals of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1970s. Kathleen Shackleton, sister of explorer Ernest Shackleton, was hired by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1937. She produced fifty-five portraits of HBC employees and individuals associated with the company. (Maureen Dolyniuk, ed., "Hudson's Bay Company Archives." 1996: <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/index.html>. (1999-2000)

²⁵ The HBC had posts in various parts of Canada from Newfoundland and Labrador to British Columbia, the Yukon and Northwest Territories. As well, posts were established in Alaska, Hawaii and parts of the continental United States.

main focus of the tour is conservation, it also gives users an idea of the archives as a physical entity.²⁶

The format of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives' image gallery and Web-based tour is one of the most common ways to construct a virtual exhibition on the Web. Many cultural institutions, as well as businesses, have chosen this format to display their holdings or products. The National Archives of Canada has a number of exhibits which can be viewed by going to its Web site (www.archives.ca). The NAC exhibits work in much the same way as the HBCA's image gallery or vault tour. An introductory page of the online exhibit provides textual background information and links to the exhibits themselves. The user can decide which exhibit to view. He or she can click through several pages of scanned documents which can be enlarged for a closer look by simply clicking on the image. This type of exhibit contributes to the NAC's ability to create awareness about its holdings.²⁷

However, other cultural institutions are more ambitious in their attempts to construct virtual exhibits and tours on the Web. A number of museums have chosen to replicate the feeling of being in one of their galleries. The user clicks on a map of the museum, selects a particular gallery and may view its contents online as if he or she is physically walking through the exhibition space. Some museum sites even boast that users can get close enough to see brush strokes on a painting or the detail on artifacts.²⁸ Sites facilitating these types of exhibitions or tours are becoming more prevalent. One site entitled "ArtMuseum.net" brings together major exhibitions and makes them available to people online.²⁹ Users walk through the virtual exhibit as if they were actually there, experiencing a multimedia gallery that includes listening to sound clips, reading letters and looking at sketches that complement the items on display. Still, the sites' creators, the Intel Corporation and contributing museums,

²⁶ Maureen Dolyniuk, ed., "Hudson's Bay Company Archives." 1996: <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/index.html>. (1999-2000)

²⁷ National Archives of Canada, "National Archives of Canada." 1995: <http://www.archives.ca>. (May-July 2000).

²⁸ Chris Knight, "Finally, fine arts galleries where you won't be bothered by guards," National Post 26 January 2000: 4(B).

²⁹ *Ibid.*

insist that "the site seeks to serve as an extension, not a replacement, for the live gallery experience."³⁰

The Canadian Museum of Civilization is a Canadian example of an institution which has designed a somewhat more ambitious form of the virtual tour to be a part of its Web-based outreach. Visitors to the CMC Web site are presented with a variety of links to pages offering information about the museum, its public services and outreach. The majority of the outreach initiatives on the Web site take the form of an exhibit or tour and consist of static images with complementary captions. The online displays are divided into sections that represent the various galleries or exhibition halls.³¹

However, the Canadian History Hall offers the user an opportunity to take a virtual tour of CMC exhibits that deal with Norse settlement in Newfoundland, European exploration, whaling, early Acadia, the fur trade, the Metis and a host of other topics. In total the tour of the Canadian History Hall consists of twenty-one modules that are viewed with the help of Quicktime software.³² The selected module is seen as a separate panoramic movie. The movie can be viewed at the users' leisure through the use of the left and right arrows or by clicking and dragging the mouse in a particular direction. Tour participants also have the ability to step closer to documents or artifacts by using the shift key to zoom in, and the control key to zoom out.³³ The format of the virtual tour enables the user, to a certain extent, to interact with the items on display and the institution in which they are exhibited. Still, the hope of this form of public programming is to inspire the virtual tour participant to one day come out from behind the computer screen and visit the museum in person.³⁴

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Canadian Museum of Civilization, "Canadian Museum of Civilization." December 1994: <http://www.civilization.ca/cmcc/>: (May-August 2000)

³² Quicktime is a software package that can be used on an Apple or PC that allows the user to experience a variety of media (i.e., sound, graphics, video and text) in a digital environment. Apple, "Quicktime" 2000: <http://www.apple.com/quicktime>.

³³ Canadian Museum of Civilization, "Canadian Museum of Civilization." December 1994: <http://www.civilization.ca/cmcc/>: (May-August 2000).

³⁴ Ibid.

The concept of the virtual tour has also been used by many other organizations to reach possible clients. The virtual tour is now being used to sell real estate. Tours on the Web allow prospective clients, from near or far, to view houses for sale in a variety of locations. The tour is constructed with a "special camera to capture digital video, which was converted into moving images that visitors to ... [the] site can control -- panning the view either direction, stopping it or zooming in on parts."³⁵ Although few people are purchasing a home solely on the basis of a computer generated showing, the virtual tour is "a preliminary step."³⁶

The static form of the virtual exhibition or tour, offered by the Hudson's Bay Company Archives and the National Archives of Canada, represents a good example of a public programming strategy that creates interest in archival holdings. However, a more interactive self-directed exhibition or tour may further increase the archives ability to create awareness and encourage use in the future. The virtual tour has been successfully applied in the museum and real estate context. Why not apply it to archives?

The suggestion of the integration of a virtual tour into the public programming strategies of archives, may give some reason to ask whether it is feasible. Are the materials that archives contain conducive to the museum and real estate manifestation of the virtual tour? One might argue that the configuration and the holdings of a museum enable it to stage an interactive virtual tour with greater ease than an archives. Museums are designed as exhibition spaces which the tour participant can view. Archives have very little of their holdings on open display and are not designed to do so to any great extent. Still, archives could map out spaces within their institutional walls that may provide the subject matter for a virtual tour. In so doing, a virtual tour could introduce people to the kinds of materials and services available and the variety of work done by archives.

An archival virtual tour may be envisioned as consisting of the reception area,

³⁵ Grant Buckler, "Buying or selling a home? A Virtual tour can help," Globe and Mail, 31 March 2000: 9(E).

³⁶ Ibid.

reading room, exhibition space, conservation lab and vault. The reception area would act as a kind of compass that aids the user in charting a course through the virtual tour, laying out the options of visiting the reading room, exhibition space, conservation lab or vault. If the tour participant chooses to enter the reading room, he or she would be able to get an idea of the area in which research is conducted and the services available (i.e., computer terminals, microfilm readers, finding aids and listening booths for sound records). In addition, the reading room could introduce potential users to a variety of media that define archival collections. Users could be introduced to text, cartographic, sound and photographic materials by clicking on samples laid out on tables in the virtual reading room. An explanation of the document type could be accessed as a text or sound file.

If the tour participant selects the exhibition space, he or she might view related documents that have been pulled together as a record of a specific person, organization or place. The exhibition could act as a way to create awareness of the amount of information on a specific topic and inspire viewers to come to the archives in search of further material. Entering the conservation lab, one might view different types of documents such as maps or documentary art in the process of being treated by the conservator. Finally, a trip to the vault would explain how documents are stored and demonstrate the volume of records that are preserved by archives such as the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. In addition to the visual and textual elements of the tour, an archives may include sound files representing an online tour guide.

Aside from the virtual tour, the institutional Web site may be an excellent forum in which to relaunch other public programming initiatives that have been successful in the past. In the case of the HBCA, documents originally published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society (HBRS) between 1938 and 1983 could enjoy renewed popularity in an online format. In fact, this is one of the future initiatives that is being considered by the HBCA.³⁷ A model for such an initiative can be found in the

³⁷ Author's interview with Judith Hudson Beattie, Keeper, HBCA, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, 28 July 2000.

Champlain Society which has recently begun to promote and publish Canadian documentary history online.³⁸ This may reestablish or reinforce ties with the Champlain Society that proved critical to the initial publication of HBC records in 1938.

For years the Champlain Society has published documents pertaining to Canadian history in book form. Now, the society, with the help of the Early Canadiana Online project, is in the process of creating Web-based versions of its bound volumes of significant documents in Canadian history:

Early Canadiana Online (ECO) is a collaborative research project to provide Web access to a digital library of primary sources in Canadian history from the first European contact to the late 19th century. The collection is particularly strong in the subject areas of literature, women's history, travel and exploration, native studies and the history of French Canada. The Early Canadiana Online (ECO) collection is made up of images and pages in selected books and pamphlets³⁹

Users of the ECO site are able to gain access to documents by searching according to title, author, subject or keyword. Once a document is selected the user is presented with a "scanned image of the page...."⁴⁰

The publication of the Hudson's Bay Company records initially involved the transcription of a selected document, accompanied by an introduction by a historian and footnotes written by a HBCA archivist. Publication of the records in this format represented an effort on the part of the HBC to give historians and academic institutions access to the records. However, the Web ensures wider access and awareness of HBC documents because of electronic publication. The electronic publication of the original Hudson's Bay Record Society volumes represents an excellent way to use the Web in archival public programming. It also acts as a way to preserve the physical editions of these volumes which are considered to be rare

³⁸ Early Canadiana Online "Early Canadiana Online." 1998-2000: <http://www.canadiana.org>. (June, July 2000) The Champlain Society, as of July 2000, had posted 15 volumes of published documents via the "Early Canadiana Online project." The documents may be accessed through www.canadiana.org or the link at champlainsociety.ca.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid

and often must be cared for in rare book rooms which are not easily accessible.

Online publications could be further enhanced by accompanying them with activities for specific community groups such as teachers and students. Before computerization, archives created educational kits and other outreach activities that were made available in school resource rooms or directly from the archives. Since many schools now have Web access, the Web is fast becoming a way to supplement the information communicated orally by teachers, printed textbooks and traditional archival material. In fact, Statistics Canada reports that about 90 percent of school students have access to the Internet.⁴¹

The HBCA could devise sets of questions and activities to accompany online publications of Peter Fidler's Journals or George Simpson's Character Book.⁴² HBCA public programming would then be available to students and teachers not only locally, but all over Canada and around the world. Online educational kits pulling together archival documents that are accompanied by structured learning activities have many benefits. Archives could reach out to the community to encourage the use and preservation of records. Teachers and students could gain awareness of the archives and a greater understanding of the company's major role in the history of Canada.

Archives in Canada and the United States are creating similar programs on their Web sites. Two examples can be found by going to the Web sites of the British Columbia Archives and the National Archives and Records Administration of the United States. The British Columbia Archives' Web site incorporates a program for school age children entitled "Archives Time Machine." In cooperation with Industry Canada, the archives has established a Web-based outreach initiative that allows children to learn about the province's history through primary documents.⁴³ The

⁴¹ Foster Smith, "Out of the classroom," National Post, 5 August 2000: 2(E). This article also points to the growing use of the Internet in university curriculums across Canada.

⁴² Peter Fidler's Journal and George Simpson's Character Book are among the many documents that were originally published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society.

⁴³ British Columbia Archives, "British Columbia Archives." July 2000 (last modified): <http://www.bcarchives.gov.bc.ca> (May-July 2000).

National Archives of the United States created what it calls the "Digital Classroom." The classroom incorporates a variety of lessons that consist of documents with related activities. The lessons encourage teachers to facilitate the physical and intellectual analysis of documents, and suggest that students should write a report or participate in other creative activities.⁴⁴

Many Web-based initiatives are interactive such as virtual tours, exhibitions and online educational kits. They allow the user to direct his or her own research and exploration of archival records and the archives itself. A further suggestion for future interactive public programming on the Web comes from the museum community. It may allow a closer connection between archives and their users. As Suzanne Keene suggests in her book Digital Collections: Museums and the Information Age, "Web pages ... can invite electronic visitors to contribute their knowledge, experience and opinions."⁴⁵ Keene cites the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborne, Michigan as an example of a cultural institution which seeks the contributions of individuals who visit the Web site: "It has invited visitors to its World Wide Web pages to contribute their own reminiscences about iconic cars ... for posting on its pages."⁴⁶ As Keene suggests, not all of the submissions will be of great interest, but may provide information for research being done by the museum.

The idea of visitors contributing to an institutional Web site in the manner previously suggested may act as another form of Web-based outreach for the HBCA. The archives could invite past and present employees of the HBC stores to contribute their remembrances of employment with the Bay via email or by signing into a virtual staff memory book. Often, this type of initiative requires the archives to monitor the Web site and its content regularly. Therefore, an initiative calling for the contributions of site visitors may be considered time consuming. It may

⁴⁴ National Archives and Records Administration of the United States, "National Archives and Records Administration of the United States." August 2000 (last modified): <http://www.nara.gov/education>.

⁴⁵ Suzanne Keene, Digital Collections: Museums and the Information Age (London: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1998): 17.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

be advisable that this type of initiative have a limited posting to the institutional Web site. Nevertheless, this public program may be a way to find knowledgeable individuals who might be interested in volunteering to lead tours of the archives or perform other work in support of the HBCA.

Aside from Web-based initiatives, the HBCA may also want to consider incorporating CD-ROMs into its public programming initiatives. CD-ROMs are another form of computer technology that has many benefits. Due to their vast storage capacity, CD-ROMs offer an alternative vehicle which archives and many other cultural institutions can use to present numerous public programming activities such as virtual tours, exhibitions and educational kits. CD-ROMs have the ability to demonstrate the diversity of archival collections. They are able to transmit text, image, sound, film and video files. CD-ROMs are often seen to be a form of computer technology that is past its prime. In fact, CD-ROMs "are unquestionably the third main delivery platform at present. Few desktop computers are sold nowadays without CD-Rom drives."⁴⁷ Hence, the CD-Rom remains a way for archives and other cultural institutions to integrate computer technology into their public programming strategies and connect with individuals who may not have an Internet connection.

Thus, information technology provides many public programming opportunities for cultural institutions such as archives. Archives in Canada, (such as the HBCA), and in the United States have demonstrated their ability to integrate computer technology into institutional work. The HBCA and other cultural institutions continue to develop Web sites that enable them to become an online destination for today's cyberexplorer. Through Web initiatives, archives are creating another forum in which the user can experience archival institutions, gain access to the records, interact with archivists and obtain some understanding of the nature of archival work. The accessibility of archives on the Web will most definitely create some challenges such as an increase in inquiries that take time to process. Questions about the use of computer technology in archives also centre around copyright and how digitized

⁴⁷ Ibid: 54.

documents may be manipulated. Despite these reservations, archives must continue to consider its integration into public programming.

In an interview on 28 July 2000, the Keeper of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Judith Hudson Beattie, quickly acknowledged the importance of the institutional Web site to the archives' functions. Although the site contains an image gallery and illustrated tour of the vault, Beattie pointed out that "the first thrust of the Web site is to promote access to the records."⁴⁸ While the archives has gone to great lengths to generate paper-based finding aids for reading room use, Beattie feels that the Web-based versions are easier to use and facilitate access to the records more readily. In addition, other Web-based tools such as the genealogical guide have met with a welcome response from users.⁴⁹

Beattie feels that the republication of the HBRS volumes on the Web would grant further access to the records and to a series now frequently restricted in collecting institutions due to its rarity. Further evidence of the HBCA's commitment to facilitating access to its records online is its participation in the CAIN (Canadian Archival Information Network) project. The objective of CAIN is to link Canadian archives for the purpose of providing users with information on archival resources. The HBCA has chosen to emphasize access to its records on the Web because, as Beattie also points out: "In many ways public service is the Hudson's Bay Company Archives' greatest public program."⁵⁰ The HBCA's finding aids, inter-library loan program, correspondence and email and reference staff services have done much to create awareness and promote the use of the archives.

One way the HBCA can bolster its public programming efforts through public service is to further develop online finding aids. In doing so the archives is considering adding the necessary contextual description needed to help users make more informed research decisions. The HBCA is currently looking at the work of Bob

⁴⁸ Author's interview with Judith Hudson Beattie, Keeper, HBCA, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, 28 July 2000.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Krawczyk, of the the Archives of Ontario, and that of the National Archives of Australia (NAA). Both the NAA and Krawczyk address the issue of how the arrangement of records can be improved by taking a different view of established principles of arrangement and by using hypertext computer technology to present that view to users. This different view of arrangement has been developed by the NAA and is being studied by many archives around the world. In Canada, Krawczyk is at the forefront of the archivists who are beginning to think about revised approaches to arrangement based on the ideas of the NAA.

Krawczyk observes that problems have arisen from the current methods of arrangement for institutional records. The key question is how can archives best reflect the context of the creation of records, so that the evidence they convey may be as thoroughly understood and as accessible as possible? He follows the Australian approach to this by making records series (or individual records keeping systems) rather than the fonds (or all of the records of a given records creator) the focal point of arrangement and description. The main problem with the fonds-based approach (which is advocated by many in Canada) is that it has been applied in ways which obscure the context of the creation of the records. Records have been assigned to one fonds in a descriptive system, such as that prescribed by Canada's Rules for Archival Description, when they actually belong to many fonds because they have been created by more than one creator.⁵¹ Krawczyk suggests: "What is needed is a system for capturing and demonstrating as accurately as possible the multiple creators who contribute to a particular series over time and in hierarchies, and for giving information about the creators that provides context for understanding their records."⁵² Although this system does not make the fonds the first goal of descriptive work, the result is that all of the records of a given creator can be identified by linking

⁵¹ Bob Krawczyk, "Cross Reference Heaven: The Abandonment of the Fonds as the Primary Level of Arrangement for the Ontario Government Records," *Archivaria* 48 (Fall 1999): 131. For further discussion of the problem in applying the fonds concept, see Terry Cook, "The Concept of the Archival Fonds in the Post-Custodial Era: Theory, Problems, and Solutions," *Archivaria* 35 (Spring 1993): 24-37. For the Australian model see the Web site of the National Archives of Australia at www.naa.gov.au.

⁵² *Ibid*: 145.

all records series (in effect, all records of a given creator) to their creators. This system, enhanced by various access points, such as creator's functions, titles and subject keywords embedded in the records descriptions, enables researchers to locate and see in context much more of the records which may be of interest to them, much faster.⁵³

As both the NAA and Bob Krawczyk point out, the establishment of the links between creating agencies and the record is becoming more important as electronic records become part of the day-to-day work of governments and corporations. The Web is considered to be one of the best environments for archives to demonstrate the links between creators and records. Through the use of hyperlinks the user can move from a history of the creating agency and its functions to pages which describe "successor and predecessor agencies, all subordinate agencies ... and a list of each series...."⁵⁴ In the process the user not only accesses records, but a greater understanding of the context of creation. The provision of greater contextual description helps users to better guide their own research.

As previously discussed the Hudson's Bay Company Archives has taken steps to put many of its public reference services on the Web to aid researchers in their exploration of company records. The ideas of the NAA and Bob Krawczyk are being considered as a possible way to improve HBCA finding aids. The separation of creators and records, and the establishment of links between them may allow the HBCA to provide more contextual description to explain the evolution of company structures such as fur trade posts, the company land, retail and fur department and the HBC as a whole. By putting emphasis on contextual description the HBCA further augments its public programming efforts to educate the public through reference services.

The public reference service function is increasingly being seen as providing key public programming opportunities. American archivist David B. Gracy points out

⁵³ Ibid: 146-147 Rules for Archival Description or RAD is the standard that has been developed by Canadian archivists to guide the arrangement and description of archival records.

⁵⁴ Ibid: 148.

that traditionally “the reference archivist is one who serves as a signpost beside the information path assisting users in getting on track, or staying on track in terms of archival resources.”⁵⁶ However, Gracy goes on to argue that this basic definition no longer holds up in the information age. The concept of reference is changing: “While the reference archivist certainly continues to satisfy the long-established function of pointer, the reference archivist, in addition, has a new and different role to play, namely as a front-line marketer of the archival service in society.”⁵⁶

As Judith Hudson Beattie notes, the archives' connection with the public remains as much a priority today as it was when custody of the HBCA was transferred to the Province of Manitoba in 1974. Today, the archives continues to provide the public access and outreach that the Hudson's Bay Company stipulated as a condition of the transfer of ownership of the archives to the province in 1994. Thus, in the future, as Beattie intimates, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives plans to combine reference and public programming efforts. This will involve the Web and building on past initiatives in order to reach users. The HBCA hopes to augment finding aids currently posted on the Web site with information on cartographic, documentary art and photographic collections. In addition, the archives hopes to further improve all finding aids by providing greater contextual description online. The genealogical guide will also remain an important feature of the Web site.⁵⁷ Publication is seen as another way to provide access and public programming to the archival user. Finally, the archives sees possibilities in networking with other archives through CAIN in order to improve awareness and use of the archives in Canada and around the world.

In addition to establishing a connection with users via the Web, the HBCA will continue building its relationship with the public in other ways. The tour program

⁵⁵ David B. Gracy, “Reference No Longer is a “P” Word: The Reference Archivist as Marketer”: 172.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Genealogists account for approximately half of the users of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. (Author's interview with Judith Hudson Beattie, Keeper, HBCA, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, 28 July 2000).

remains a popular fixture in the programming initiatives of the archives. However, the HBCA also hopes to reach out farther into the community, particularly in the North. There is great potential for the HBCA to foster interest in northern communities in their history. The HBCA holds a wealth of information on the history of northern communities. Many people in these communities worked for or had some involvement with the Hudson's Bay Company. Therefore, the archives hopes to connect with communities by talking to various groups, interviewing community leaders and continuing to participate in segments on CBC Radio North that deal with the history of the Bay.⁵⁸

The Hudson's Bay Company Archives is also working with the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature (MMMN) to enhance access and promote use of its records. Judith Hudson Beattie would like to see closer formal links between the archives and the museum. The MMMN has a very popular exhibit gallery devoted to the Hudson's Bay Company, which might provide a venue for a computer terminal to connect to the HBCA holdings. In addition, the museum has expertise with volunteer programs that may aid the archives in establishing its own program. Volunteers could lead tours and do some other archival duties. Finally, the HBCA is considering participating in a traveling exhibit that is being organized primarily by the MMMN and the Hudson's Bay Company. While the archives does not wish to be involved to the same extent as the museum and the company, the HBCA does feel that a small contribution provides an opportunity to reach potential users across Canada.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ The Hudson's Bay Company Archives is in the process of planning for future segments on CBC Radio North. There is also some thought that these segments, concerning the history of the company, may become available to listeners in southern Manitoba. In 1996 HBCA staff members Anne Morton, Tammy Hannibal, Maureen Dolyniuk and Judith Hudson Beattie provided stories from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives to an interview series on CBC Radio North. (Maureen Dolyniuk, ed., "Hudson's Bay Company Archives." 1996: <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/index.html>. (1999-2000)

⁵⁹ Author's interview with Judith Hudson Beattie, Keeper, HBCA, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, 28 July 2000. The HBCA also continues to be an active participant in professional and historical conferences such as the Polar Library Colloquy held in June 2000. The archives contributes information on the fur trade and other aspects of western and northern Canadian history. The aforementioned information is attributed to Barry Hyman, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature approaches public programming in a somewhat similar manner to the archives. Its programs, to name a few, also consist of exhibitions, tours, publications and a Web site. However, the museum has also developed a variety of other formal public programs that go beyond the tour, publication, exhibit or Web site. The programs that have been developed show the degree to which the public programming function is embedded in the overall operations of the museum. In addition, they demonstrate how the museum continues to connect with its visitors and attract new ones. The program also suggests ways the HBCA could develop further public programming initiatives.

Programs developed by the MMMN include *Innovators in the Schools*, *Traveling Exhibitions*, as well as courses and workshops. Through *Innovators in the Schools*, the museum “matches professional scientists, engineers and technologists with all grade levels ... throughout the province.”⁶⁰ This program encompasses “activities [that] include classroom presentations, science clubs and other special events.”⁶¹ *Traveling Exhibitions* is a loan program that “makes it possible for a broad national and international audience to access the Museum’s heritage and science programs.”⁶² The intent of this program is to establish ties with other institutions and users, and generate funds to develop future exhibits.

In addition, the MMMN establishes links with the community through its work with other museums and multicultural groups. The museum offers a program known as the *Museum Advisory and Training Service (MATS)* that “assists museums and heritage organizations in the province by providing advice on technical and other matters.”⁶³ The museum advises other institutions on issues such as exhibition design, grants and collection management. Ties to the community have also been established with Aboriginal and multicultural groups through an internship program. Finally, programs developed specifically with the Hudson’s Bay Company

⁶⁰ Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Annual Report for year ending March 13, 1998 (1997-98): 8.

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Ibid: 9.

⁶³ Ibid: 8.

Museum Collection in mind consist of many things. Some examples are “artifact identification clinics, traditional craft displays...”⁶⁴ and special events which involve musicians and dancers from the community.

Like all archives and museums, the HBCA and the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature are interested in preserving the past. In addition, they are interested in encouraging the use of their holdings and creating awareness of the past and their institutions. Many of the programming initiatives taken by these institutions have succeeded in drawing many sectors of society to the HBCA and the MMMN. However, museums have had more success in establishing a connection with the public due to an emphasis on their role as an educator, formal integration of public programming into their organizational structure, and use of marketing. This argument has been made by many archival scholars, such as Ian Wilson.⁶⁵

Thus, to a certain extent the MMMN’s relationship with the community is somewhat closer than that of the HBCA. This provides the HBCA with an opportunity to enhance existing programs by engaging in institutional sharing with the MMMN.⁶⁶ In establishing a stronger connection with the museum, opportunities arise for both the HBCA and MMMN to broaden programming that highlights their respective holdings. Programs could include exhibitions, conferences, publications and activities involving various community groups. As well, the creation of a stronger link between the HBCA and MMMN Web sites would allow these institutions to begin to build a network devoted to the study of the fur trade and western and northern Canadian history. The archives and the museum, as Beattie points out, already have a connection; however, there are clearly more opportunities to pursue. In a general sense, “in an era of increasing competition for funding, professional

⁶⁴ Ibid: 14.

⁶⁵ Ian Wilson, “Towards a Vision of Archival Services,” *Archivaria* 31 (Winter 1990-91): 94.

“Museums have been able to deal with such a use-level largely because the experience they offer the typical visitor is a pre planned, highly structured one. Visitors are shown, or allowed to browse, through defined exhibits. A limited number of items from the museum’s holdings are selected, placed in an interpretive context and offered, with related tours or publications, to the public.”

⁶⁶ Institutional sharing is a process by which organizations exchange ideas and share resources (financial, technological and human) for the purpose of connecting with the community through public programming.

staffing, and audiences, community outreach programs through partnerships and collaborations offer great potential for expanding the public dimension of historical audiences."⁶⁷

In conclusion, it is clear that the Web and other forms of computer technology offer many opportunities for archives and their users to explore the recorded traces of the past. Archival institutions, such as the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, are mapping their part of the Web to allow users to chart a course for future research. This has been accomplished in some respects through finding aids, image galleries and the illustrated tour currently on the HBCA Web site. There are also many other options for further enhancements which have been suggested, such as an interactive virtual tour, online publications and educational kits. The HBCA is taking steps to create new public outreach opportunities and maintain its position among other information providers using information technology. The archives is also maintaining traditional outreach initiatives, by working with the community and furthering its relationship with other cultural institutions such as the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. Thus, Web initiatives, together with community-based programming, will undoubtedly ensure awareness and exploration of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives for many years to come.

⁶⁷ Raymond Schuck, William Gates and Terry Barnhart, "Outreach Through Partnerships and Collaborations," in History Outreach: Programs for Museums, Historical Organizations and Academic History Departments, ed. J.D. Britton and Diane F. Britton (Malabar: Krieger Publishing company, 1994):132.

Conclusion

The Hudson's Bay Company Archives has supplied researchers with primary source material pertaining to the Hudson's Bay Company and Canadian history for many years. The archives has also been the subject of articles and theses. These academic works have concentrated on the history of the archives as a whole and the organization of its records. This thesis focuses more on the HBCA's public programming function. This is an important topic because most archives must examine and develop programming that will ensure that their holdings and services remain in the public eye. They must create awareness of their existence and an attractive image within society, promote use, and engage in user education.

The evolution of the HBCA's public programming function has been just that, a gradual development of a relationship between the archives and the public through tours, exhibitions and publication programs. While the Hudson's Bay Company has taken a more active interest in the establishment of an archives than many corporations, it did not immediately open its doors to those who wished to examine its documents. Still, the company realized that it held a significant record of Canadian history which gave it a duty to make the archives more accessible. The HBC also discovered that the archives was a great source of material for public relations campaigns.

The early development of public programming at the HBCA was influenced by the company's reservations about allowing outsiders to examine its records and the tension between HBC public relations and HBCA public programming. In the first half of the twentieth century, the company kept the general public at arms length. It dealt with access requests and attempted to create awareness through the publication of selected archival documents and by allowing only accredited scholars to examine the records and tour the archives. In addition, public programming was affected by the HBC's interest in using its rich past as a public relations tool, particularly with its employees and the business and social elites. The publicity

activities of the company often conflicted with or overshadowed the public programming efforts of the archives.

Although the archives always provided public programs, such as tours, exhibitions and publications, these programs took on greater significance by the late twentieth century. Public programming at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives began to place more importance on attracting users and educating them in how to use the archives. Staff positions were redefined in the 1960s, giving public programming a more prominent role. As well, the company and archives welcomed a more diverse and larger portion of the population to use the archives. In 1974, when the HBCA moved into the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, many events were organized that demonstrated the archives' willingness to welcome professional and amateur researchers to examine the records.

Among the most important features of the HBCA's current public programming initiatives are the tour program and the Web site. The tour program has been an effective way for the archives to establish links with high school and university students, as well as adult groups. Through the tour program, the educational focus of public programming at the HBCA is evident. The archives uses the tour as way to educate users on a variety of issues relating to archives such as the use of finding aids, the diversity of the holdings and the nature of archival work. The objective of user education is use of the archives that is made in a more informed manner. The Web site has also aided the HBCA in its public programming efforts by informing people all over the world about the collection and how to use it. In addition, The Beaver magazine continues to be an ambassador for the HBCA through its publication of articles that often draw on archival records.

The ongoing development of the public programming function is important if the HBCA, and archives in general, are to remain relevant to society. In this regard computer technology poses many opportunities and challenges for archives. While archival institutions are challenged to appraise and describe electronic records, computer technology presents great opportunities for public programming. Web sites have already proven to be a valuable tool in reaching and educating users

through online exhibitions, tours and publications. Online public programming provides archives, such as the HBCA, with a forum in which to facilitate further description of the records and archival work. In addition, archives may continue to nurture their public programs through strengthening ties with parallel institutions such as museums. The HBCA and the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature (MMMN) share the common objective of preserving the history of the HBC whether it be through the record or artifact. This commonality provides many opportunities for joint programming opportunities and sharing of resources and knowledge between institutions. In the case of the HBCA and MMMN, this could lead to displays or computer terminals in public areas that link one institution to the other, joint exhibitions and publications, as well as the establishment of a research network devoted to the study of HBC.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Author's Interview with Judith Hudson Beattie, Keeper, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, 28 July 2000.

Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Patrick Ashley Cooper, Report of Proceedings at Annual Court. London: The Hudson's Bay Company, 1934.

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, HBCA Brochure

Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Hudson's Bay Company Archives Microfilmed Records Inter-library Loan Programs Guide. Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1996.

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, "Tours- 1997 Resource File."

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Information Release *Web site*, 14 February 1997.

HBCA/ PAM Search File: "The Hudson's Bay Company Archives."

HBCA/ PAM Section A. London Office Records

HBCA/ PAM Record Group 9, Records of the Head Office/ Corporate Head Office, 1908-

HBCA/ PAM Record Group 20, Records of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. Annual Report for year ending March 13, 1998. (1997-98).

Schooling, Sir William. The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay during Two Hundred and Fifty Years 1670-1920. London: The Hudson's Bay Company, 1920.

Simpson, George. Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1938.

Secondary Sources

Abraham, Terry. "The Next Step: Outreach on the World Wide Web." Annual Meeting of the Society of Rocky Mountain Archivists. (June 6, 1997): 1-5.

- Akin, David. "CBC launches Web radio site to attract youth market." National Post, 28 June 2000.
- Atherton, Jay. "Origins of the Public Archives Record Centre 1897-1956." Archivaria 8 (Summer 1979): 35-59.
- Blais, Gabrielle and David Enns. "From Paper Archives to People Archives: Public Programming in the Management of Archives." Archivaria 31 (Winter 1990-91): 101-113.
- Bradsher, James G. and Mary Ritzenthaler. "Archival Exhibits" in Managing Archives and Archival Institutions, ed. James G. Bradsher. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Briggs, Gordon. "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company." The Canadian Chartered Accountant 32 (2) (1938): 116-120.
- Britton, J.D. and Diane F. Britton, eds. History Outreach: Programs for Museums, Historical Organizations and Academic History Departments. Malabar: Krieger Publishing Company, 1994.
- Buckler, Grant. "Buying or selling a home? A Virtual tour can help." The Globe and Mail, 31 March 2000, Report on Business, 9(E).
- Casterline, Gail Farr. Archives and Manuscripts: Exhibits. Chicago: The Society of American Archivists, 1980.
- Cook, Terry. "Viewing the World Upside Down: Reflections on the Theoretical Underpinnings of Archival Public Programming." Archivaria 31 (Winter 1990-91): 123-134.
- Cook, Terry. "The Concept of the Archival Fonds in the Post-Custodial Era: Theory, Problems, and Solutions." Archivaria 35 (Spring 1993): 24-37.
- Cox, Richard J. Managing Institutional Archives. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992.
- Cox, Richard J. "The Concept of Public Memory and its Impact on Archival Public Programming." Archivaria 36 (Autumn 1993): 122-135.
- Craig, Barbara L. "What are the Clients? Who are the Products? The Future of Archival Public Services in Perspective." Archivaria 31 (Winter 1990-91): 135-141.
- Craig, Barbara L. "Old Myths in New Clothes: Expectations of Archives Users." Archivaria 45 (Spring 1998): 118-126.
- "CyberMuse takes outsiders inside art." National Post, 27 May 2000: 4(E).

- Davenport, Bruce W. "Sources of Business History: The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company." Business History Review 54 (1980): 135-393.
- Dearstyne, Bruce W. The Archival Enterprise. Chicago: American Association, 1993.
- Dearstyne, Bruce W. "Archival Reference and Outreach: Toward a New Paradigm" in Reference Services for Archives and Manuscripts, ed. Laura Cohen. New York: The Haworth Press, Inc., 1997.
- Dollar, Charles M. Archival Theory and Information Technologies, ed. Oddo Bucci. Macerata: University of Macerata, 1992.
- Eastwood, Terry. "Public Services Education for Archivists" in Reference Services for Archives and Manuscripts, ed. Laura Cohen. New York: The Haworth Press, Inc., 1997.
- Freeman, Elsie T. "In the Eye of the Beholder: Archives Administration from the Users' Point of View." American Archivist 47 (2) (Spring 1984): 111-123.
- Finch, Elsie Freeman and Paul Conway, "Talking to the Angel: Beginning Your Public Relations Program" in Advocating Archives: An Introduction to Public Relations for Archivists, ed. Elsie Freeman Finch. Metuchen: The Society of American Archivists and the Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1994.
- Finch, Elsie Freeman. "Archival Advocacy: Reflections on Myths and Realities." Archival Issues 20 (2) (1995): 114-127.
- Frievogel, Elsie et al. "Wider Use of Historical Records." American Archivist 40 (3) (July 1977): 331-335.
- Geller, Peter. "Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade: The Hudson's Bay Company, Public Relations and The Beaver Magazine, 1920-1945." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba/ University of Winnipeg, 1990.
- Gracy, David B. "Is There a Future in the Use of Archives?" Archivaria 24 (Winter 1987): 3-9.
- Gracy, David B. "Reference No Longer is a "P" Word: The Reference Archivist as Marketer" in Reference Services for Archives and Manuscripts, ed. Laura Cohen. New York: The Haworth Press, Inc., 1997.
- Green, Edwin. "Business Archives in the United Kingdom: History, Conspectus, Prospectus" in Managing Business Archives, ed. Alison Turton. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann Ltd., 1991.
- Gower, R.H.G. Leveson. "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives: An Outline of the Work Accomplished in London Since 1924 of Assembling These Priceless Records which are the Source Material for Western Canadian History." The Beaver (December 1933): 40-42, 64.

- Hives, Christopher L. "History, Business Records and Corporate Archives in North America." Archivaria 22 (Summer 1986): 40-57.
- Knight, Chris. "Finally, Fine arts galleries where you won't be bothered by guards." National Post, 26 January 2000: 4 (B).
- Krawczyk, Bob. "Cross Reference Heaven: The Abandonment of the Fonds as the Primary Level of Arrangement for Ontario Government Records." Archivaria 48 (Fall 1999): 131-153.
- Landis, William. "Archival Outreach on the World Wide Web." Archival Issues 20 (2) (1995): 129-147.
- MacDonald, George F. and Steven Alford. "Future Horizons: the Information Age and its Implications for Museums" in Museums & Information. Winnipeg: Museum of Man and Nature and Communications Canada (Canadian Heritage Information Network), 1990.
- Maher, William J. "Archives, Archivists and Society." American Archivist 61 (Fall 1998): 225-265.
- Michelson, Avra and Jeff Rothenberg. "Society Communication and Information Technology: Exploring the Impact of Changes in the Research Process on Archives." American Archivist 55 (Spring 1992): 236-290.
- Mooney, Philip F. "Modest Proposals: Marketing for the Expansionist Archives" in Advocating Archives, ed. Elsie Freeman Finch. Metuchen: The Society of American Archivists and the Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1994.
- Osborne, Ken. "Archives in the Classroom." Archivaria 23 (Winter 1986-1987): 16-40.
- Piche, Jean-Stephen. "Doing What's Possible with What We've Got: Using the World Wide Web to Integrate Archival Functions." American Archivist 61(1998): 106-122.
- Posner, Ernst. Archives in the Ancient World. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Pugh, Mary Jo. Providing Reference Services for Archives and Manuscripts. Chicago: The Society of American Archivists, 1992.
- Roe, Kathleen. "Public Programs" in Managing Archives and Archival Institutions, ed. James G. Bradsher. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Ross, Alex and Anne Morton. "The Hudson's Bay Company and its Archives." Business Archives 51 (1985): 17-39.
- Schuck, Raymond, William C. Gates and Terry Barhart. "Outreach Through Partnerships and Collaborations" in History Outreach: Programs for

Museums, Historical Organizations and Academic History Departments, ed. J.D. Britton and Diane F. Britton. Malabar: Krieger Publishing Company, 1994.

Simmons, Deidre. " 'Custodians of a Great Inheritance': An Account of the Making of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1920-1974." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba/ University of Winnipeg, 1994.

Simonds, Marilyn. "An Orkney Viola in the hinterlands." National Post, 16 October 1999: 9.

Smith, Foster. "Out of the Classroom." National Post, 5 August 2000: 2(E).

Wallace, W.S. "Notes and Comments: The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company." The Canadian Historical Review XV (1) (March 1934).

Weissman, Ronald. "Archives and the New Information Architecture of the Late 1990s." American Archivist 57 (Winter 1994): 20-34.

Whaley, John H. Jr. "Digitizing History." American Archivist 57 (Winter 1994): 660-672.

Williams, Glyndwr. "Among the Most Rewarding Duties." The Beaver (Summer 1975): 5-7.

Wilson, Ian. "Shortt and Doughty: The Cultural Role of the Public Archives of Canada, 1904-1935." The Canadian Archivist 2 (4) (1973): 4-25.

Wilson, Ian. " 'A Noble Dream': The Origins of the Public Archives of Canada." Archivaria 15 (Winter 1982-83): 16-35.

Wilson, Ian. "Toward a Vision of Archival Public Service." Archivaria 31 (Winter 1990-91): 91-100.

Web sites

Apple. *Quicktime*, available: www.apple.com/quicktime.

British Columbia Archives. available: www.bcarchives.gov.bc.ca

Canadian Museum of Civilization. available: www.civilization.ca/cmcc/

Dolyniuk, Maureen, ed. *Hudson's Bay Company Archives*. available: www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/index.html

Early Canadiana Online. available www.canadiana.org

National Archives of Australia. available: www.naa.gov.au

National Archives of Canada. *National Archives of Canada*, available: www.archives.ca

**National Archives and Records Administration of the United States. available:
www.nara.gov/education**

University of Saskatchewan Archives. available: www.usask.ca/archives