

'Much More Than Chocolate': A Mosaic of Identity in Moirs Advertising, 1830 to 2007

by

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DEDICATION

To my grandfather, who taught me to work hard to reach my goals.

I wish you were here to see the results.

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Abstract

The Moirs chocolate company operated as early as 1815 and continued operation into 2007, seeing various changes in ownership and leadership. Throughout the duration of the Nova Scotia based company numerous methods of advertising were used. The types of advertising considered include newspapers, box covers, commercial giveaways, window displays, magazine advertising, billboards, and commercials. The advertising reveals a substantial amount about regional, national, class, race, age and gender identities. Using primary source materials in the private and public sector, this thesis will explore what Moirs advertising reveals about identity formation, while exploring the process of Moirs advertising, the depictions of place, and the depictions of people.

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As Charles M. Schulz comments, “[a]ll you need is love but a little chocolate now and then doesn't hurt.” Luckily, I have had both things in my life over the duration of this project. There are many individuals I am forever indebted to for their patience with me during this project, and for influencing me to choose this path in my life.

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I jokingly say my thesis started in 2007, when at 11 years old, I decided to document the Moirs Chocolate Factory that was closing. A huge thank you to the Moirs factory staff (Hershey Canada), who took the time to show an eleven-year-old documents before the plant closure. You really made the visit memorable with chocolate right off the plant floor. This inspired me that local Nova Scotia history matters and inspired me to continue asking tough questions. To Shirley Nichol, a past coordinator of the regional, provincial and national Heritage Fair Programs in Nova Scotia, I owe a sincere thank you. Shirley instilled in me a love of history, the gift of storytelling and appreciated my “End of the Rainbow” tory. As an adult, I now appreciate more fully the volunteering time she spent through the years with the Heritage Fair Program, along with many other community-oriented events. Shirley is an inspiring Nova Scotian who always has a smile on her face. From her I truly gained confidence in revealing the stories that are too often forgotten.

This thesis would not have been possible without the Dalhousie University History Department. Thank you to Valerie Peck and Tina Jones who always reassured me through this process and its twists and turns. Thank you for always being welcoming faces in the department when it was needed most. To my readers, Dr. Ruth Bleasdale and Dr. Lisa Binkley, who provided detailed comments and valuable feedback on this project, I appreciate the time you took to be a part of this project with me. Despite COVID-19 throwing a curve ball we managed to finish this project on schedule. I appreciate your dedication and professionalism at every turn. The knowledge in your respective fields was beneficial to this project and my growth as a scholar. To the peers I have worked alongside during my time at Dalhousie, and the instructors I have learned so much from – thank you. To the fellow students in the grad program, who through their own obsession understood mine, I craved the cohort gatherings and adventures. To the Professors during both my undergrad and graduate studies, whose expansive knowledge of their subject matter was both intimidating and inspiring – thank you. A special thank you to Dr. Aaron Wright, Dr. Ruth Bleasdale and Professor Mathias Rodorff for the valuable work experience and financial support. A special thank you to Carla Britten and the Student Accessibility and Advising team, who aside from an employer, gave me the endless support I needed to succeed in my

undergrad and graduate degrees. Thank you for empathizing with a fellow graduate student during some tough struggles.

Have you ever used the word priceless to describe an object? If so, you have proven the importance of material culture to individuals and society in general. I have located and documented chocolate boxes, newspaper ads, and various pieces of ephemera. With a thesis of this nature the cataloguing and acquiring of primary source material required depends on people saving pieces of material culture. I would also like to thank the following organizations, and their archivists and librarians who contributed to my research on Moirs by sharing their collection; Library and Archives Canada, Bibliotheque et Archives nationales du Quebec, Patti Bannister and the staff of Nova Scotia Archives, Prince Edward Island Archives, Natalia Pieterzykowski and the Alberta Archives, West Hants Historical Society, Margaret Mulrooney and the Colchester Historical Society, Stacy McLennan and Doon Heritage, Evelyn Fidler and King's Landing, Kevin MacLean and Aimee Benoit and the Galt Museum, Linda Rafuse and the Queen's County Museum, the Museum of Industry, Annapolis Valley MacDonald Museum, Claudia Guay and Musee de la Civilisation, Martin Hubley and Lisa Bower and the Nova Scotia Museum Collection, Samantha Kelly and the Prince Edward Island Heritage Foundation, Elizabeth Jablonski and Parcs Canada, Angie MacLissac and the Strait Area Museum, Donna Arenburg and Parkdale Maplewood, Mandy Kilsby and Barkerville, Western University, the Toronto City Archives, and the staff of the Ganong Chocolate Museum in St. Stephen New Brunswick.

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Chapter 1, Introduction

Nestled in the capital city of Halifax Nova Scotia, the aroma of baked goods could be smelt from a small Moirs bread and cake bakery operating in the port city. Beginning as early as 1815, the company had a lasting impact on the city's economic and social development. As the company grew and developed into a factory style, it employed hundreds of people. The employees packed the decorative chocolate boxes as early as 1873, when James Moir made confectionery in the corner of his father's bakery. Moirs advertising influenced the customers at every turn, creating an iconic national brand. The elaborate rainbow gracing the "Pot of Gold" box, usually showcasing an aesthetically designed elegant woman, is the iconic depiction of the Moirs chocolate factory. A box of Pot of Gold at Christmas or a heart-shaped box of chocolates at Valentine's Day hold symbolic meanings, traditions, and memories in society. The study of human interaction with material culture is relevant for scholars despite its inferred purpose, as it allows insight into the everyday lives of individuals. According to Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Halton, "[s]ocial scientists tend to look for the understanding of human life in the internal psychic processes of the individual or in the patterns of relationship between people; rarely do they consider the role of material objects."¹ Objects hold a value, or a meaning often taken for granted. Maybe more importantly is how that material object influences our behavior that needs to be studied. The material objects of Moirs history are essential to understanding the company and its significance to individuals.

While individuals form their own identities, factors in society clearly influence the decision to act, dress, or identify a certain way. James D. Fearon, a member of Stanford

¹ Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1.

University's Political Science Department suggests, "[t]he meaning of "identity" as we currently use it is not well captured by dictionary definitions, which reflect older senses of the word. Our present idea of "identity" is a fairly recent social construct, and a rather complicated one at that."² Fearon continues, "[i]dentity is used in this book to describe the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture."³ Advertising depicts the accepted collective identity that will appear enticing to the audience who views it. Through a case study of the Moirs chocolate factory,⁴ the thesis will explore that trend. This thesis will consider identities and how the depiction of those identities in Moirs advertising changed over time. This thesis will cover all Moirs media advertising, except for radio campaigns. Moirs advertising changed over time, reflecting the changing identity and events in the region, Canada, and the World.

The Moirs bakery began as early as 1815, although evidence suggests 1830 is the official date of the Moirs company founding.⁵ One of the initial contracts given to the Moirs company was the garrison contract to supply bread and cakes to the Halifax Citadel. The company was passed to William C. Moir, from his father Benjamin Moir, after Benjamin's death in 1845.⁶ The company began as a bread and cake bakery, and in 1873 William C. Moir's son James Moir began testing chocolate and other confectionery in the bakery. The company was initially family

² James D. Fearon, *What Is Identity (As We Now Use The Word)?* (Department of Political Science: Stanford University, November 3, 1999), 1-2.

³ *Ibid.*, 4. This article gives multiple definitions from several political scientists and international relations scholars. There are many ways to define identity, and this continues to be a complicated subject for scholars in many fields. Fearon's 1999 article outlines the way that this thesis will use the term.

⁴ This thesis refers to the company as Moirs throughout. The company had many different names that indicate the period of company operation. They include Moir Son and Co., Chocolates by Moirs, and Moirs Limited.

⁵ "Firm Founded 100 Years Ago," *Calgary Herald*, 8 November 1930. Benjamin Moir left Scotland in 1815 to come to Halifax, Nova Scotia. It is unclear when he began baking although records show Moirs founding in 1830.

⁶ Dictionary of Canadian Biographies, "Moir, William Church," (2020), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/moir_william_church_12E.html.

owned and operated and remained that way until shareholders were needed in the early 1900s for funding due to financial issues after William's death. This change caused a name change from Moir, Son and Co. to Moirs Limited in 1903. It caused brothers James and Benjamin to split ways, as James continued the business under the new name, and Benjamin resigned from the company in 1907 to begin his own bakery. The Moir family were involved in the running of the business until 1957, when it was purchased by a group of Nova Scotia businessmen, including Roy Jodrey. They were bought out by Standard Brands in 1967, who later bought the Lowney company in 1973. This shift in ownership changed the type of products that were being made by Moirs. Standard Brands shifted the production of bars to the Lowney factory in Ontario and the production of chocolate packages to the Moirs plant. The Halifax based factory moved operations to Dartmouth in 1975. Hershey purchased Standard Brands in 1987 and closed the plant after 20 years of operation in 2007. Hershey moved production to Mexico, laying 600 employees off from the Dartmouth plant. The company had numerous setbacks including the Halifax Explosion in 1917, several fires at the main plant and supplemental operations, and economic hardships. With its high employment rates, and business longevity, Moirs is recognized as an iconic Halifax company. The forms of Moirs advertising have transformed over the years, with the impact of advertising and media advancements.

This thesis is complemented by works by Margaret Mulrooney, Janis Thiessen, Ian McKay, and Frank Covert who all published segments of Moirs history. Margaret Mulrooney produced a MA dissertation in 2012 on the role of women's labour inside the plant, explaining the relationship females had between their working and family lives.⁷ Janis Thiessen in her work titled, *Snacks: A Canadian Food History*, engages with several companies across Canada

⁷ Margaret Mulrooney, *Femininity and the Factory: Women's Labouring Bodies in the Moir's Candy Plant, 1949-1970*, (MA Thesis Dalhousie University, June 2012).

including Paulins, Ganong and Moirs.⁸ While Thiessen builds on Mulrooney's work, there is an added level of company history and a tidbit of relevant advertising, showing some of Moirs advertising and discussing the iconic brand Pot of Gold.⁹ Ian McKay's work is a labour history of the plant itself, in a much earlier time frame. McKay's work, "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry during the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century", covers employment numbers, unions, labour tensions, the evolution to a factory style workplace and many more labour related points beginning as early as 1868.¹⁰ Frank Covert, a former Moirs plant manager, produced a book titled *50 Years in the Practice of Law*, where, although briefly, his time at the Moirs plant is discussed.¹¹ These works served as a solid company foundation for exploring the void in the advertising history of this company.

The forms of advertising altered from word of mouth, to print media, fancy delicate boxes, and even commercials. The company used colonial symbols (elephants and white tigers) and other forms of rare advertising to promote the brand. Taking the transitions and forms of advertising as my thesis' focus, I utilize the Moirs' company and their role in advertising as it pertains to identity formation. Scholars such as David Folster, Daniel Robinson, and Steve Penfold have published works that are solid examples for baking and confectionery advertising histories. David Folster's work on the history of the Ganong chocolate factory in New Brunswick served as an invaluable source of comparison.¹² Folster's work details the Ganong company history, images, information on the company's advertising, and the current operation of

⁸ Janis Thiessen, *Snacks: A Canadian Food History*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 144-157.

¹⁰ Ian McKay, "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry during the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Labour* 3 (1978).

¹¹ Frank Covert, *50 Years in the Practice of Law*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill – Queen's University Press, 2005).

¹² David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*. (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006).

Ganong.¹³ Daniel Robinson's work on the Wrigley gum company served as a unique confectionery comparison and shares a similar advertising process to Moirs.¹⁴ Robinson details the use of salesmen, and shows images within the work displaying the Wrigley values of advertising.¹⁵ Steve Penfold's work *The Donut*, looks at national branding and advertising and marketing of a specific product.¹⁶ Penfold argues that social and economic factors can influence the choice of consumers to purchase a product, and how they do so.¹⁷ This argument is closely aligned to the argument made throughout this thesis, although this thesis only looks at the advertising of the product in these decisions. This thesis is situated within the framework established by scholars of company advertising histories.

The value of advertising itself is discussed in several pieces of scholarship. Margot Opdycke Lamme and Lisa Millikin Parcell published a valuable article on Hershey.¹⁸ This work allowed for a comparison in the early stages of the company. The comparison suited as in 1987 Hershey would purchase the Moirs factory. Hershey did not advertise to its potential.¹⁹ While identity did play into Hershey's personal decision to not heavily advertise, this article has value to understanding that advertising is not universal. There is not one way to conduct an effective advertising campaign. Richard Pollay and Roland Marchand are influential scholars in advertising history. Their body of work has served as a general view into factors such as colouration, magazine advertising and methodology.²⁰

¹³ David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*. (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006).

¹⁴ Daniel Robinson, "Marketing Gum, Making Meanings: Wrigley in North America, 1890-1930," *Enterprise and Society* 5, no. 1 (2004).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Steve Penfold, *The Donut: A Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Margot Opdycke Lamme and Lisa Millikin Parcell, "Promoting Hershey: The Chocolate Bar, The Chocolate Town, The Chocolate King," *Journalism History* 38, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 198-199.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Roland Marchand, "Advertisements as Social Tableaux," *Advertising and Society Review* 1, no. 1 (2000). Richard Pollay, "Twentieth – Century Magazine Advertising: Determinants of Informativeness," *Written Communication* 1, no. 1 (January 1984).

Taking the transitions and forms of advertising as my thesis' focus, I utilize the Moir's company and their role in advertising as it pertains to identity formation. There exists an extensive historiography on the role of national and regional identity. Although this can be a controversial historiography at times, scholars such as José E. Igartua and Eva Mackey have contributed substantial works to the topic. Igartua's work, *The Other Quiet Revolution*, discusses the process of Canada leaving the ties with Britain behind after World War II and becoming a new stand-alone nation with its own unique identity.²¹ Igartua believes that this process happened rather quickly in the mid 1960's. This is important to the understanding of Canadian identity, which will be valuable to the identity formation segment of my research. Eva Mackey's publication details the concept of multiculturalism, which is an essential component of today's current national identity.²² Ernest Forbes, William B. Hamilton, Ian McKay and Robin Bates, and Michael Hough all explore aspects of Maritime regional history and its importance and are important to this study. Reading these works provides valuable insight into the various topics and sub-topics needed to fully comprehend the realm of Moirs advertising.

I will never know the intent of the artist, the company, or the consumer. This is a factor that contributes to the method of my analysis, as I can only interpret meanings based on sources from historical times and works of scholarship on symbolism. Unlike some works of advertising history, this work focuses on a specific company over a long period of time. This long-term focus allows the trends and patterns to clearly showcase major changes over time. This thesis questions how the Moirs company specifically changed with regards to its process, its use of depictions of place and people.

²¹ José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution*, (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2006).

²² Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*, (London and New York: Routledge Press, 1999).

The advertising methods themselves have served as a robust and solid primary source foundation for this project. The primary sources being so vast in content and abundance, presented both a challenge and an opportunity to form a more interesting topic. In order to better organize the vast numbers of material culture sources, categories were established that each box/advertisement fit within. While newspapers across the country depict the small transitions over time and place, the boxes typically remain the same across the country. These themes include gender and familial roles, colonial connections, luxury and class, quality, education, geography, nautical themes, landscapes, and unusual advertising techniques. These themes were determined after looking at five hundred plus primary sources. This has made it significantly easier to determine the patterns of identity. The seven Ps of advertising assisted with confirming this methodology. The usual seven Ps of advertising are process, people, place, product, price, promotion and physical evidence (such as packaging).²³ Although there is a rough consensus of what exactly the Ps stand for, it is important to note that three of the most common are the themes for each of the core chapters of this thesis. While place normally refers to the place the product is marketed in, this thesis will expand from just the location to include representations of place in the advertising. Similarly, people will expand to include the representation of people in the advertising, instead of just the people acting within the company. While process refers to the delivery of products to consumers, my thesis will expand to incorporate the advertising process which is conglomerate of promotion, process, product, and price.

²³ Professional Academy, "Marketing Theories – The Marketing Mix – From 4 PS to 7 PS," Professional Academy's Buzzword Busting Marketing Theory Blogs, accessed March 9, 2020, <https://www.professionalacademy.com/blogs-and-advice/marketing-theories---the-marketing-mix---from-4-p-s-to-7-p-s>.

Chapter Two, *Process: The Mosaic of Moirs Advertising Techniques*, explores the transitions of advertising processes through societal changes, such as technological advancements that Moirs experienced in the company's long history. Chapter Three, *Place: Intrinsically Linked to Identity*, discusses the role of flora and fauna in landscape depictions. This chapter details the role of regional, national, and exotic identities in Moirs advertising. Chapter Four, *People: Depicting the Average Consumer to Society's Epitomic Image*, analyzes the role people played in the visual depictions of Moirs advertising. The use of depictions of people is overwhelmingly common and continues to be represented in advertising in 2020. From historical characters to celebrities, this chapter outlines the significance of depictions of people.

Moirs advertising reveals factors of gender, age, class, race, and regional and national identity. This thesis makes several arguments about Moirs advertising. This thesis argues Moirs' use of regional images intersects with the grand national narratives of being Canada's Candy. Despite change in ownership five times during the company operation, this did not influence most of the advertising. Moirs advertising, like that of many other companies, was highly influenced by society's events and movements, making the visual images highly reflective of the society in which they were created. Moirs advertising is much more than chocolate, it is a sense of identity.

Chapter 2, Process: The Mosaic of Moirs Advertising Techniques

Throughout Moirs operations, advertising methods varied substantially. As technology and societal changes occurred Moirs advertising changed from travelling salesmen, to print advertising, and later to television. Societal views and an evolving company identity illustrated the adapting processes of advertising. This transition involves print media transitioning from black and white to colour, becoming more decorative, and trade cards becoming more detailed and unique. The process of grassroots, people on the ground, advertising adapts to be something less personal, more graphic, and typically widely viewed. Moirs attendance at World Fairs, major exhibitions and parades meant international attention for the Nova Scotia company. While these events are all very important, the naming of the products reveals a lot about the time these products were sold. The trademarks Moirs registered indicate what Moirs saw value in. The value of luxury and having a delicious product does not change during the entire operation of the Moirs brand. This chapter makes five critical arguments about the process of Moirs advertising. First, commercial symbols of the company are reflective of technological advances, for example the development of the lithograph. This chapter asserts that the development of mass media and urbanization led to the expansion of the advertisement's audience and the company's change in process. The company used aggressively intrusive advertising techniques on a local to international scale that transcended class barriers. The naming and trademarking of Moirs products was done in deliberate correlation to the company values. This chapter argues that societal changes and trends influenced the process of how the company advertised the Moirs name and products. This chapter explores envelopes, billheads, trading cards, stereotypical and obscure advertising, visual displays, product names, and Moirs trademarks.

2.1 Revealing Identity: Envelope Slogans and Covers, Billheads, and Trade Cards

Moirs business ephemera displays a utilitarian identity within their advertising. When Moirs conducted business with small grocers across the country, the envelopes and bills sent formed a part of the company's advertising. Selling to the grocers was equally as important as selling to the consumers as the grocer distributed in smaller communities. Envelope covers and slogans reveal identity changes from national identity to a stronger focus on the product. A transition occurs in billheads and letterheads from being basic and black and white, to more detailed, graphic, and colourful. Trade cards are one of the unique forms of advertising that companies across the country used to advertise their product. Moirs, in comparison to other companies, did not utilize trade cards to their potential. The development and changes made to technology, and in this case the lithograph, influenced the graphic design of Moirs advertising. According to Graham Hudson, "[b]y the 1850s virtually all printing where some degree of elegance or freedom in decoration was required – tradesmen's cards, billheads, admission tickets and the like – was done by lithography."²⁴

The envelope covers are a valuable component of day-to-day business advertising. Figures 2.1-2.5 show the change in the envelope style from 1870-1922. This transition is important to understanding how the company promoted itself to businesses, and to understanding that in this period the envelope advertising changed to a more ornamental look.

Figure 2.1: Moir Son and Co. Envelopes



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-400, GLANG 2019-401, GLANG 2019 – 402.

²⁴ Graham Hudson, "Printed Ephemera and Design History," *Art Libraries Journal* (Spring 1981):21.

Figure 2.1 depicts three envelopes. These early envelopes date approximately 1870, 1885, and 1899, respectively. The evolution of these envelopes, stamps and colouration is telling of the progress in printing technology. The first envelope is very basic, only black in colour, and the address stamp is mostly just lettering. The address stamp is only a partial imprint, as it is missing a portion of the left-hand side. On the 1885 envelope, a more elaborate stamp is displayed with the same information, which showcases a shift towards simple graphic design, while remaining only black in colour. The 1899 envelope has a clear graphic design with the iron cross, displaying a bold colour statement. The series depicts a changing style from very utilitarian to a more graphic iron cross by 1899. Figure 2.2 displays a series of envelope covers used by Moirs dated 1905, 1908, and 1910. The first envelope with the Nova Scotia Provincial Exhibition displayed proudly across the header depicts a cow illustrating the agricultural industry of the province. On the envelope is the Nova Scotia crest, which further illustrates Moirs depiction of their provincial identity. The second envelope continues with the provincial identity as it utilizes the flag as the visual representation of the province. The third envelope shows a map of Nova Scotia, illustrating the provincial depiction and a winged dragon. The winged dragon is similar in appearance to the winged dragon on the seal of Dalhousie University, which is based on the Ramsay family Coat of Arms with a change from a griffin to a dragon.²⁵ These envelope

Figure 2.2: Nova Scotia Provincial Exhibition Envelopes

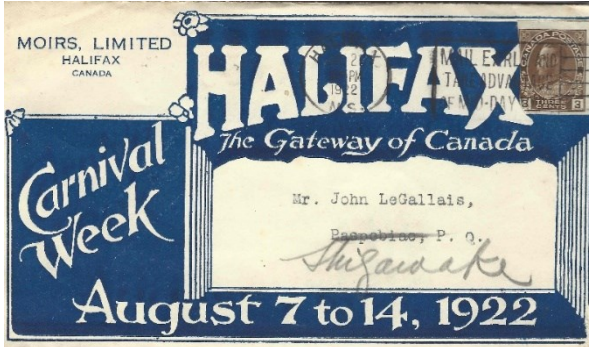


Source: Gaéтан Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-397, GLANG 2019 - 403, GLANG 2019 – 416.

²⁵ Dalhousie University, “Coat of Arms,” Convocation, last accessed February 28, 2020, https://www.dal.ca/academics/convocation/history_traditions/coat_of_arms.html.

covers were used for several years, perpetuating an image of Nova Scotia provincial identity to clients across the country.

Figure 2.3: Moirs Carnival Week Envelope 1922, "The Gateway of Canada."



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-413.

The covers are reflective of the society and time frame they were produced. Figure 2.3, a Moirs envelope cover from 1922 reads "Halifax, the Gateway of Canada." Societal events influenced this envelope design. During the late 1910s and early 1920s, many immigrants came to Canada via Halifax's

Pier 2 and later Pier 21.²⁶ This included the immigration wave of war brides. Halifax was also a departure point for soldiers and a port for returning soldiers. The envelope is relating to carnivals and exhibitions. It demonstrates a good example of the influence of period of production on the envelope's design.

Figure 2.4: California Arrow II Nova Scotia Provincial Exhibition



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-387.

Figure 2.4, another Nova Scotia provincial exhibition cover used by Moirs, depicts a unique event in the province. The cover illustration is an airship known as the California Arrow II flown by Tom Baldwin at the exhibition in 1907.²⁷ The use of this

²⁶ Steve Schwinghamer, "Arriving at Halifax Before Pier 21," Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, last accessed February 28, 2020, <https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/arriving-at-halifax-before-pier-21>.

²⁷ Rénaud Fortier, "The Wonderful Little Meteorplane, the world's first successful ultralight airplane?" Ingenuim, last modified November 19 2018, <https://ingeniumcanada.org/channel/articles/the-wonderful-little-meteorplane-the-worlds-first-successful-ultralight-airplane>.

Figure 2.5: Dominion Exhibition Cover 1906



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-418.

with the maple leaves and the British colonial ties with the crown and flag.

While envelope covers were the early means of communicating a uniform message to small grocers and consumers, envelope slogans soon became the advertising trend. Envelope slogans were often trademarked stamps affixed to the envelope with stamp cancelling machines. Figure 2.6 illustrates the front and back of Moirs Limited envelope showing the slogan “Sweeten the day with “Canada’s Candy”.”²⁹ Figure 2.6 shows an envelope that commemorates the first airmail flight between Winnipeg and Pembina in

1931. It illustrates the link to the United States.³⁰ The envelope contains a stamp with maple leaves, coat of arms and the two flags. This envelope is symbolic of the development in mail technology and transportation. The mail was going from a Canadian company to an American

envelope illustrates innovation and industrial progress, two qualities that both the province and Moirs want associated with.²⁸ Figure 2.5 promoted the Dominion Exhibition held in Halifax in 1906. While the earlier provincial envelopes showcased the province, this depicted Canadian identity

Figure 2.6: Moirs Limited Envelope front and back



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019 – 420.

²⁸ “Moirs,” *The Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review*, 9 December 1897, p. 22.

²⁹ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2019-420.

³⁰ Chris Hargreaves, “Update of the “D.W.” Covers,” *The Canadian Aerophilateslist*, (September 2013):18.

location, demonstrating a further level of trade that existed between the company and the United States, which occurred after World Expos and patening of Pot of Gold.³¹

The production of envelopes featuring slogans was much more popular as time progressed into the 1930s and onward. The key shift here was made from envelopes depicting provincial identity to one depicting national identity in “Canada’s Candy” . This is a significant shift within the advertising featured on envelopes. The next shift can be observed in the envelope slogan from 1966, which reads “Candy is A Delicious Food, EAT SOME TODAY.”³² This shift is significant as after an ownership change in the early 1960s, there is a shift to a generic product promotion, rather than a promotion of province or country. While this suggests that the change of ownership changed the way the product was advertised, the shift observed in the 1920s-1930s is under the same ownership throughout the duration of those decades, and appears to be responding to events within Canada and Nova Scotia. There are smaller changes within the 1920s and 1930s regarding colour and design due to technological advancements. As can be seen in Figures 2.1-2.4 the colouration changed from black, to several colours, and the design changed to more of a block like design with fewer illustrations. The 1960s was a point of tension in Canada, with the growing popularity in the separatist movement in Quebec. Moirs could have avoided using “Canada” in the advertising as they did not want to discourage that portion of the market.

³¹ The United States Patent Office, *Index of Trade-marks*, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1938), 517.

³² Steven A. Friedenthal, “Postage Meter Slogans,” *The Slogan Box* 11, no. 4 (July-August 1998): 10.

Moirs used the envelopes to promote their company and products to those smaller businesses who distributed the products in their stores. Another means of company advertising was the decorative billheads and letterheads that Moirs used as early as the 1880s. According to Russell J. DeSimone, “[b]illheads represent some of the earliest forms of advertising in America.”³³ When Moirs sent out correspondence or any bill requiring payment, it would be on their company letterhead. Figure 2.7 is a sample Moir Son and Co. letterhead and billhead. The billhead has a shield illustrating colonial ties while the letterhead from 1890, proudly showcases the Moir Son and Co.

Figure 2.7: Moir Son and Co. Letterhead and Billheads



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-564, GLANG 2019 – 366.

factory on Argyle Street in downtown Halifax. According to DeSimone, imagery showing the facility is quite common on letterheads.³⁴ It is significant that this letterhead reads “Bread, Biscuits and Confectionery, Fruit Syrups, Desicated Cocoanut, Wood and Paper Boxes.” The use of the large factory building, and the variety of products produced can be interpreted to show company prosperity. According to Graham Hudson, “[t]he results when the lithographer was preparing a letterhead for a major industrialist were often images which in their use of space and the baroque chunkiness of their lettering appear more the works of a Vanburgh than of

³³ Russell J. DeSimone, “A Survey of Nineteenth Century Rhode Island Billheads,” *Technical Services Department Faculty Publications* (2001):1.

³⁴ Letterhead Collection, West Hants Historical Society Museum, accessed via online social media April 26, 2020, Windsor Nova Scotia. This collection shows several variations of letterheads, mainly comprised of Nova Scotia companies. This collection along with DeSimone’s images suggests that facility depictions were quite frequent.

some anonymous Victorian commercial artist.”³⁵ Moirs may have chosen to use this type of lettering as it is easy to read, memorable, bold and indicative of an established business. Moir Son and Co. was changed to Moirs Limited in 1903, after William C. Moir died on July 5th 1896, this is illustrated by the Figure 2.8.³⁶

Figure 2.8 shows the progression of the billhead and letterheads of Moirs Limited. As in the Moir Son and Co. samples, clearly defined are the plants and product progressions. The top two samples list members of the company in their various roles in the top right and left corners of the heading. The bottom sample shows the company shift in product production by highlighting "First Class Chocolates A Specialty". The bottom sample lacks the company

Figure 2.8: Moirs Limited Billheads and Letterheads



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-577, GLANG 2019 - 404, GLANG 2019 – 591.

³⁵ Graham Hudson, "Printed Ephemera and Design History," *Art Libraries Journal* (Spring 1981):27.

³⁶ When William C. Moir died, he left the business to his sons, James Moir and Charles Benjamin Moir. James had already started to experiment with candy and chocolate since 1873 in his father's business and Ben Moir was much more interested in the bakery component of the business. In 1907, Ben resigned from the company and began his own bakery business, now present-day Ben's Limited.

directors, which is no doubt due to the rift between the brothers James W. Moir and Charles Benjamin Moir in 1907.

Billheads and letterheads continued to change over time.

Figure 2.9 shows a more colourful letterhead used in the 1960s.

While the letterhead does highlight a product, it displays the name and image of the iconic Pot

Figure 2.9: Moirs The Gift of Affection Letterhead Top and Bottom



Source: Gaéтан Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-372.

of Gold brand. The billheads and letterheads display the changing company identity and technological advancements in printing. While bills and letters were used for conducting company business, other forms of Moirs advertising were geared toward the consumer.

The company during these timeframes utilized these utilitarian forms of advertising along with a more elaborate form of trade cards. Trade cards are small cards typically found within the bars or boxes designed to appeal to the customer. Scholar Ellen Gruber Garvey notes, “[p]eople saved the cards in part because color itself conferred value on them.”³⁷ The customer typically collected and saved these illustrations. Historian Philippa Hubbard comments, “[t]rade cards acquired the status of miniature artworks with close connections to well-known engravers and other visual genres.”³⁸ Moirs had three distinct groupings of trade cards; the early cards made by Moir Son and Co., Moirs Limited’s cards, and calling cards. The cards made by Moir Son and Co. are the earliest trading cards the Moir Company produced, seen in Figures

³⁷ Ellen Gruber Garvey, “Dreaming in Commerce,” in *Acts of Possession*, ed. Leah Dilworth (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 72

³⁸ Philippa Hubbard, “Trade Cards in the 18th Century Consumer Culture: Movement, Circulation, and Exchange in Commercial and Collecting Spaces,” *Material Culture Review* 74-75 (Spring 2012):41.

2.10-2.13. According to scholar Virginia Westbrook, “[s]weet images of young children dominate the medium, whether they are crawling babies, strolling siblings, or youngsters sipping cocoa, occasionally accompanied by a pet or some dolls.”³⁹As can be seen in Figure 2.10, one card depicting two children jumping rope directly matches the imagery that Westbrook indicates is typical for trade cards.

Figure 2.10: Moir Son and Co. Trade Cards Depicting Children



Another card appears to depict a girl and boy dancing in almost adult-like clothing. These ads are depicting more the dress of the 1820s rather than the 1880s.⁴⁰ The last card displays two children by the ocean with boats in the

Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-236, GLANG 2019 - 246, GLANG 2019 – 247.

background. The trade cards are simplistic textually, reading “Moir, Son and Co., manufacturers of Biscuits and Confectionery, Halifax, N.S.” According to Garvey, “[t]hough trade cards for stores had existed since the 1700s, their profusion and popularity as an advertising device stemmed from technical developments that lowered the cost of chromolithographic printing and enabled cheap, large-volume reproduction of fluidly designed pictures in color.”⁴¹ Simply

³⁹ Virginia Westbrook, “Role of Trade Cards in Marketing Chocolate during the Late 19th Century,” in *Chocolate: History, Culture and Heritage*, eds. Louis Evan Grivetti and Howard-Yana Shapiro (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, Inc, 2009), 187.

⁴⁰ Hilary Doda, *Personal Conversation with Author*, January 28, 2020.

⁴¹ Ellen Gruber Garvey, “Dreaming in Commerce,” in *Acts of Possession*, ed. Leah Dilworth (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 69.

listing the company name, the types of products, and the location is common on early trading cards.

Textual information on the trade cards could be very simple, or it could relate to a contest or chocolate's potential medical values. Westbrook claims, "[w]ords like "pure", "digestible", "soluble", and "dietetic" appear the most often."⁴² While the early trading cards produced by Moir Son and Co. do

not use these words, the closest illustration of a similar terminology is Figure 2.11. The card reads, "Jerusalams are a sure cure for the blues. Good for the toothache; they have been known to make fine teeth ache at once. An effective remedy for

Figure 2.11: Moir Son and Co. The Swell Peach



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-215.

homesickness."⁴³ While the text suggests a possible health benefit from the product, or a tooth ache, the image is equally fascinating. A well-dressed man with his body constrained within a giant peach was the exact image used by the Great American Tea Company and Importers.⁴⁴ The image on the card is circa 1887, produced by J.H. Bufford's Sons Lithograph Company.⁴⁵ One of

⁴² Virginia Westbrook, "Role of Trade Cards in Marketing Chocolate during the Late 19th Century," in *Chocolate: History, Culture and Heritage*, eds. Louis Evan Grivetti and Howard-Yana Shapiro (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, Inc, 2009), 188.

⁴³ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2019-215.

⁴⁴ Live Auctioneers, "Kovels – Antiques & Collecting: Week of July 9, 2012," accessed March 2, 2020, <https://www.liveauctioneers.com/news/columns-and-international/kovel/kovels-antiques-a-collecting-week-of-july-9-2012/>.

⁴⁵ Library of Congress, "Bufford's Fruit Cards, no 779-6," accessed February 28, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2013646755/>.

the most colourful cards Moir Son and Co. produced, this card was in a series of fruit related cards produced by Bufford.

The colouration of many of the Moir Son and Co. cards is blue or red and typically the same for similar images. Figure 2.12 shows the same image with different colourations.

Advertising text for the company dominates the entire card back. One unique line stands out; it reads “an endless variety of Xmas Tree

Ornaments”. This is not typical of a chocolate company, but several unique advertising gimmicks were implemented by the Moirs company (discussed later in this chapter). On the

back of some of the trading cards are the lines, “English Chocolate Creams in Fancy Boxes,” followed by, “French Conserved Fruits.” This is

indicative of the names of some of the products Moirs made and the origin of some of the names (See section 2.4).

Figure 2.13 portrays children in short dresses, with bonnets and heels. This would be typical clothing for children at the time. Length of dresses is indicative of their age. As children aged the hem line would

Figure 2.12: Moir Son and Co. Colouration Sample



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-227, GLANG 2019 – 228.

Figure 2.13: Red and Gold Moir Son and Co. Girls Trading Card



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-229.

lengthen.⁴⁶ This shows children acting more like children as opposed to the adults they resemble in Figure 2.10. This matches the description of most artwork showing children. According to Robin Jackson, “[c]hildren have tended to be represented in art either as miniature versions of adults or icons of innocence.”⁴⁷ While these depictions are interesting the figures are depicted doing children like acts, such as jumping rope.

The second distinct group of trade cards was associated with the company name Moirs Limited. The trend of illustrating children on trade cards continues into the later Moirs trade cards, as seen in Figure 2.14. The front of the card reads, “Moir’s Chocolates Unexcelled”, and the back of the card provides details concerning the product purchased by the customer. The new trend that seemed to emerge in this period was the

Figure 2.14: Moirs Limited Elaborate Girl Trade Card



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-237.

nautical themed trade cards with their link to regional identity (See Chapter 3 for more information on the nautical theme within Moirs advertising). Figure 2.15 depicts Moirs Limited trading cards with nautical themed scenes, which were popular in the 1910s and 1920s. The other unique factor observed in this time frame is the shape of the trading cards. Figure 2.14 is cut in an

Figure 2.15: Moirs Nautical Themed Trade Cards



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-239.

⁴⁶ Hilary Doda, *Personal Conversation with Author*, January 28, 2020.

⁴⁷ Robin Jackson, “Representation of Children in Art: Hermann Gross,” CVC Online, accessed April 26, 2020, <https://www.cvc-net.org/cvc-online/cyconline-feb2010-jackson.html>.

elaborate shape resembling a bookmark, and Figure 2.15 has a card cut in the shape of a boat

Figure 2.16: The Delivering Mail Trade Cards



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-253-287.

sail. This is evidence of technological advancements in papercutting.

Moirs produced trading card sets. These were mainly for collection purposes and usually were numbered on the bottom of the card. One of the key sets is the “Delivering Mail” cards, which showcase

the stereotypical images of selected countries in the scene on the front. The back of the card details the rules for collecting the 48 cards that were available in this set. These unique images can be seen in Figure 2.16. It appears these trading cards were unique in chocolate advertising, but the identical images appear for the Imperial Tobacco Company with their seal in the bottom right corner of the card.⁴⁸ According to University of Wisconsin-Whitewater scholar, Elizabeth Kim, “[o]wing to various early modern commercial realities in Britain, including consumer demand and colonial planning, Africans, American Indians, and the Chinese were the chief subjects of racialized trade card images.”⁴⁹ The racialization of these people is evident in these Moirs trade cards.

⁴⁸ Non-Sport.Com, “Collector’s Resource,” accessed March 2, 2020, <http://www.non-sport.com/sets/5406>.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Kim, “Race Sells: Racialized Trade Cards in 18th – Century Britain,” *Journal of Material Culture* 7, no. 2 (2002): 142.

The third and distinct type of Moirs trading cards is the post card trading cards or calling

Figure 2.17: Calling Cards Postcards



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection. GLANG 2019-245 GLANG 2019-238.

cards. These were produced by Moirs Limited and often featured a man and woman explicitly referencing the upper-class demographic of society. These cards began as early as the late 1800s.

Trading cards are not unique to Moirs alone. In fact, several chocolate companies around the country used trade or collector's cards. Ganong for instance had two collector sets of trading cards. The cards depict Indigenous peoples and white cowboys, clearly representative of the times they were created in, but explicitly racist by today's standards.⁵⁰ The trend of Indigenous depictions continues in Lowney's postcard set

from 1906, which includes two Indigenous depictions, two female graduates and two females playing golf.⁵¹ The cards were designed by English artist Archie Gunn who also completed work for the Moirs company.⁵² The chocolate company Cowan featured a large variety of trade cards. These included, dog trading cards in 1929, Canadian fish cards in 1924, and wildflowers of Canada in 1924.⁵³ Other commercial companies frequently used trade cards. These include various cigarette companies and Beehive Starch, which ran a 1940s trade card campaign

⁵⁰ David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*, (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006), 84-85.

⁵¹ Pre War Cards, "1906 E230 Lowney's Chocolates Postcards Set Is ... Weird," accessed March 2, 2020, <https://prewarcards.com/2019/04/09/e230-lowneys-chocolates-postcard-set-golfers-native-americans-graduates/>.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Vintage Open Binders Collectable Cards, "V- Canada Candy Cards," accessed March 2, 2020, <http://www.openbinders.com/v-canada-candy-cards/?sort=newest>.

showing warplanes.⁵⁴ These campaigns included movie stars, war planes and ships, flowers, animals, and people of the world.⁵⁵ With that considered Moirs did not use the trade cards to their fullest potential. There is no evidence to suggest that Moirs had any trade cards with war planes or ships. This fact is interesting as Halifax was a prominent port during both World War I and II. While other companies utilized Hollywood celebrities on trade cards, Moirs did not show the influence of American celebrities in this way. Moirs was highly influenced by the technology in society, which is why these trade cards were of such a priority to consumers as a collector's item.

2.2 Stereotypical Ad Techniques to the Obscure

Moirs advertising was not substantially different from that of many other companies at its onset. The company began grassroots advertising with trucks and salesmen and would later transition to well known national commercials. The process of Moirs advertising involves newspapers, magazines, boxes, contests and giveaways, billboards, radio, and television. This chapter does not discuss radio advertising. The steps involved in how Moirs changed their advertising were dependant on the company circumstances and those developments in society influencing their decisions, developments such as mass media and urbanization.

⁵⁴ Vintage Open Binders Collectable Cards, "V- Canada Candy Cards," accessed March 2, 2020, <http://www.openbinders.com/v-canada-candy-cards/?sort=newest>.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Figure 2.18: Moirs Salesmen



Source: *Halifax Mail*, 1927 NS Archives.

Grassroots is typically used to define a movement, which uses people for a political or economic reason.⁵⁶ In my thesis, grassroots is used to describe the form of advertising where the common consumer is the focus of the advertising, as opposed to an elite clientele. This includes advertising processes such as billboards, shop windows, *the Chocolate Soldier*, and the travelling salesmen. Grassroot advertising involved people on the ground, in community stores, promoting the product (often by word of mouth) and doing their own door-to-door delivery service. Figure 2.18 illustrates the prosperity of the company and the success of the grassroots advertising. This type of grassroots advertising involved a group of travelling salesmen who canvassed the country with their publication of “The Chocolate Soldier”.⁵⁷ This publication thrived in the late 1920s showing images of Moirs products, contests, and window boxes. The salesmen had offices clear across the country, and their names were included with the advertisements in many of their local papers as the Moirs representative for their jurisdiction. According to Daniel Robinson, historian of Wrigley gum advertising, “[p]opular lore depicted

⁵⁶ Norman Duncan, *Self, Community and Psychology*, (Juta and Company Ltd, 2004), 12.

⁵⁷ Dartmouth Heritage Museum Collection, Dartmouth Nova Scotia, accessed August 2019.

traveling salesmen as “exotic seducers” and “provokers of rural suspicion,” whose unfettered movements challenged ideologies of domesticity and social respectability.”⁵⁸

The delivery process is equally interesting as many individuals worked to supply various bread routes around the city. While the service began by using horse and buggy, Figure 2.19 shows the Moirs Limited truck alongside the horse and buggy.⁵⁹ The banner for Dandee Bread is hanging on the side of the truck.⁶⁰ These early methods are

Figure 2.19: Dandee Bread Truck and Wagons



Source: Hershey Factory 2007.

representative of how Moirs tried to persuade community members to buy Moirs.

Some of Moirs early advertising in print was in directories and trade magazines, such as the *Canadian Grocer*. These trade papers directed at the grocer to entice them to carry the company's line of products were instrumental in shaping the early company advertising. One important grocer that carried Moirs products in 1928 was the United Cigar Stores, which meant they were being sold across Canada in this chain store.⁶¹ In 1939, Moirs products were in both the T. Eaton Co. Ltd. Mail Order Catalogue and in the Simpson's Mail Order.⁶² Advertising in trade papers began as early as the 1890's which led to newspaper ads depicting Moirs products right across the country directly targeting the consumer. Moirs had print ads in many major papers in the country, regardless of language. This reveals that Moirs was trying to be inclusive

⁵⁸ Daniel Robinson, “Marketing Gum, Making Meanings: Wrigley in North America, 1890-1930,” *Enterprise and Society* 5, no. 1 (2004): 10.

⁵⁹ Hershey Factory, Dartmouth Nova Scotia, accessed October 2007.

⁶⁰ Nova Scotia Provincial Archives, *Moirs Limited Fond*, MG 3, Volume 1864, File 17. This document details the selling of a horse, wagon, sleigh, harness, and bread route to Moirs Limited.

⁶¹ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2019-141.

⁶² Nova Scotia Provincials Archives, *Moirs Limited Fond*, MG 3, Volume 1870.

of the French-Canadian population. Most of the ads that appeared in the French language were simply translations of English advertisements that ran in other national newspaper campaigns. This is significant as it demonstrates the company did not target differently based on the French cultural identity. The newspaper advertising was very popular between the late 1900s through to the late 1920s.

Figure 2.20: Dudley Ward Advertisement



Source: *Ottawa Citizen*, Tuesday Oct 9, 1928, p.16

type of escapism from the turmoil of the depression. The 1930s were a popular time for comics, leading to the need for more of a comedic effect in Moirs advertising.

One series of advertisements, for

the King's Choice Bar, completed in late 1928 and early 1929, by artist Dudley

Ward, is unusual in subject matter.

According to American advertising historian Roland Marchand, "[f]or some advertising leaders, the comic-strip craze perfectly, symbolized the deterioration of standards in a profession brought low by the depression."⁶³ While this

advertisement appears to resemble a cartoon, it shows strong connections to an imperial monarchy in naming and imagery. The advertisement permits a

⁶³ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 115.

Moirs ads saturated the newspapers in the 1920s, while sporadically ads appeared in magazines. By the 1930s, because of the depression and the economic situation of the company, the ads became far less frequent. The exception is the one-hundred-year anniversary celebration ads that ran in 1930 to promote the strong history of the company. The company faced economic hardship in 1934, as the evaluation of the company and its assets decreased.⁶⁴ This resulted in a change in the president's chair.⁶⁵ The large volume of ads resumed in the 1940s, especially for bars and small amounts of chocolate, such as peppermint patties. With the resuming of the newspaper ads in a limited capacity, the desire to appeal to the higher elite clientele resulted in a further push for magazine advertising in *MacLeans* in the 1950s and 1960s, which since 1928 had been limited. Advertising historian Richard Pollay comments, "[s]ince World War II the informativeness of advertising has been consistently less than it was before World War II. As is most dramatically evidenced in the 1960s, the postwar era includes a larger number of ads more sharply focused on communicating fewer assertions."⁶⁶ The early *MacLeans Magazine* was originally in black and white but as technology advanced, the Moirs advertisements became colour in March of 1925. Moirs also advertised in *Chatelaine* magazine, a popular women's magazine, *the Goblin*, a humour magazine, and the *Home Journal*. Michelle Smith notes, "[a]dvertisers, in turn, put a Canadian spin on the way in which they marketed their products, noting that goods were manufactured in Canada, using Canadian materials."⁶⁷ The magazine ads showed the Moirs chocolate packages, especially Pot of Gold (launched in 1928) rather than the bars and small packages that the newspapers depicted. The Moirs magazine

⁶⁴ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2019 – 297.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Richard Pollay, "Twentieth – Century Magazine Advertising: Determinants of Informativeness," *Written Communication* 1, no. 1 (January 1984): 64.

⁶⁷ Michelle Smith, "Fiction and the Nation: The Construction of Canadian Identity in *Chatelaine* and *Canadian Home Journal* during the 1930s and 1940s," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, no. 1 (2014): 38.

advertisements early on used the black and white newspaper ads not specifically designed magazine advertisements.

Boxes were ultimately the front-line advertising that the customer would see before they bought the product. With neighbouring products from Ganong and other prominent chocolate companies, the box would need to persuade the customer that Moirs was the right choice. Many of the boxes from the 1920s onward had graphics printed in the United States and in the United Kingdom and the lithographs then brought to Halifax. This indicates that many companies on their boxes (see Figure 4.8 in Chapter 4) could use very similar lithographs. Moirs, like Ganong, had their own box and shook factories. The shook factory operated out of Bedford, Nova Scotia, while the box factory was next to the Argyle Street plant. Moirs made their own boxes and then added the lithograph to the box and stamped their name on the box.

Various graphic artists, many with American connections, created the early boxes. Earl Christy, Clarence Underwood, Archie Gunn, Frederick Duncan, Harrison Fisher, Frank H Desch, S. Knox, Benjamin Lichtman, Haskell Coffin, C. Allan Gilbert, Bradshaw Crandell and Hamilton King were all artists who had at least one piece of artwork featured in Moirs advertising.⁶⁸ With several of these artists being American, there was a generality in the box covers they designed. Theo Knowles, a Canadian artist, designed many of the Moirs boxes. Philip Boileau, who designed some Moirs boxes, was born in Canada and worked in the United States. Many of the pieces these artists designed depict women on box covers in the early 1900 to 1910s. Cyril Frank Smith was an artist who worked locally on Quinpool road for Royal Print and Litho for four years. He designed very typical Moirs advertising for the company along with other local companies like Morse tea in the 1950s and 1960s.⁶⁹ To summarize, early in the company operations

⁶⁸ Norm Platnick of Enchantment Ink, *Personal Email Correspondence*, December 1 - December 15 2019.

⁶⁹ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020.

American artists and agencies were doing a lot of the advertising designs, while later in the 1950s and 1960s it was being completed right up the street.

In 1926, Prime Minister Arthur Meighan was written to on behalf of the Moirs company concerning the impact that American magazine advertising was having on Canadian consumers.⁷⁰ This push was meant to keep Canadian magazines afloat with the popular American magazine industry growing. While several of the ads Moirs used in Canadian magazines were designed by American artists or agencies, the exposure Moirs wanted the country to see was Canadian advertising and Canadian products.

Figure 2.21: Puzzle Contest Advertisement



Source: *The Evening Telegram* September 19th, 1925.

Moirs ran several contests and giveaways during their operations. An early contest was the \$1000 Puzzle Bar contest, which took place in 1925. The ad for the contest, shown in Figure 2.21, was published in the *Evening Telegram* in Newfoundland. This unique

Figure 2.22: Puzzle Contest Piece



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-222.

contest saw the winner take home a Ford Sedan. The prize for second place was a Shetland pony and for third place a Cleveland Bicycle.⁷¹ Figure 2.22 shows the puzzle contest piece which displays the plant similar to the billheads and bottom of the chocolate

⁷⁰ Library and Archives Canada, *Arthur Meighan Fonds*, MG 26-I, Volume 134, C-3474, #578657. Correspondence between Moirs and Meighan dated March 8th, 1926.

⁷¹ "Moirs \$1000 Puzzle Contest," *The Evening Telegram*, 19 September 1925.

Figure 2.23: Nova Bar Advertisement



Source: *Ottawa Citizen* April 9, 1931

boxes.⁷² This visual of the plant not only forms a connection to place but also gives the feeling of company prosperity. Transportation in 1925 was important to the company and its customers and the prizes in the \$1000 Puzzle Bar contest are reflective of that value.

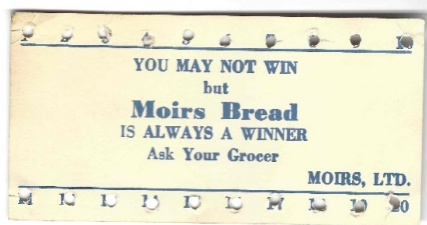
Another contest was the “Name that Bar” contest, which ran in 1930-31. Figure 2.23 shows the ad that ran in the *Ottawa Citizen* April 9th, 1931 announcing the winning name, “Nova Milk”. The prize for suggesting the winning name was \$200. The contests Moirs ran were reflective of the period illustrating societal values. “Nova Milk” is reflective of provincial identity (See Chapter 3 for connections between product names and regional identity). This

give away was during the depression, when extra money would have been an asset and not usual for giveaways during this time.⁷³

⁷² Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2019-222.

⁷³ Nova Scotia Provincial Archives, *Moirs Limited Fond*, MG 3, Volume 1867, files 32-44. Company shares during 1920, pre depression detail a single share being worth \$100 to the holder. James Moir (majority shareholder) withdrew \$386,000 from the company for payment of shares in December of 1920.

Figure 2.24: Bread Punch Out Card



Source: Gaéтан Lang Collection, GLANG 2019-220.

Figure 2.25: Century Tin Box



Source: Gaéтан Lang Collection, GLANG 2018-431.

item. Moirs used alphabet cards as another give away in which the customer had to spell out the name of the package to be given the free package.

Even during the depression Moirs celebrated their 100-year anniversary in 1930 with a product giveaway. The "Century Tin" shown in Figure 2.25 was given to a customer if they found a birthday card in another box.⁷⁵ The century tin also had a dual purpose as a jewelry box, which was suggested by the Moirs company.⁷⁶ During the depression the fact this box of chocolates had a dual purpose made it more marketable to the consumer.

Moirs like many companies offered several giveaways, though none rivalled the still popular iconic figures in the Red Rose Tea giveaway as nostalgic collectibles.⁷⁴ Moirs typically were promoting products yet had a few unique giveaways.

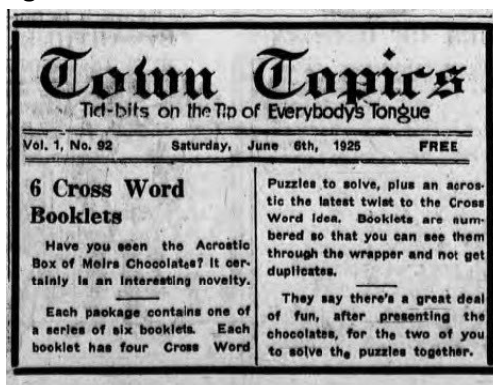
Collector cards and punch cards were used by the company. Punch cards were used to win free loaves of bread, after the customer purchased so many loaves. Figure 2.24 shows the punched-out cards, after the customer bought 20 loaves of bread. This is still an advertising method that companies use today in which the customer buys so much product to get the one free

⁷⁴ Delores M. Long, "Wade Pottery: As Disinterred from the Red Rose Tea boxes," *Antiques and Collecting Magazine* 101, no. 11 (January 1997): 18-21.

⁷⁵ *Edmonton Journal*, 5 November 1930.

⁷⁶ *Telegraph Journal*, 5 November 1930.

Figure 2.26: Cross Word Advertisement



Source: *Charlottetown Guardian*, June 6, 1925.

One of the more unique giveaways was the Bridge Box which contained a box of cards for playing bridge, sold in 1923.⁷⁷ Figure 2.26, a Cross word Booklet Ad, illustrates how Moirs influenced not only what was purchased but also the leisure time of the consumer.⁷⁸ Chocolate boxes were not the only means for a free giveaway. Moirs also used their bars in giveaways. One such giveaway in the 1960's related to sports and leisure was a David Keon signed hockey puck. Like other companies such as Wonder Bread (see Chapter 4 on People), Moirs could broaden the appeal of the product through this type of promotion.

The hockey puck shows a popular sport in Canada, appealing to a wide audience, while the Moirs pocket mirror giveaway depicts an elitist consumer luxury. The pocket mirror depicted a luxurious time and company prosperity, officially patented April 17th, 1923. The pocket mirror contains the words "Canada Finest Chocolates by Moirs Limited Halifax" which dates the mirror between 1924 and 1930, prior to the depression. More likely the mirror was produced between 1924 – 1928, when "Chocolates by Moirs" was the company name used.

⁷⁷ "Bridge Box," *Sherbrooke Daily Record*, 1 December 1924, p. 3.

⁷⁸ "Town Topics," *Charlottetown Guardian*, 6 June 1925.

The souvenir box, produced circa 1925, contained a souvenir post card in each box. Figure 2.27 is the souvenir box for Ontario.⁷⁹ The box contained a post card with unique Ontario symbols or showing an iconic landscape. This package existed for several provinces. This package is reflective of the period; post cards were a communication trend and consumers bought into the giveaway mentality. This had Moirs advertising involved in individual's day-to-day communication, depicting the provincial identity for various provinces across Canada.

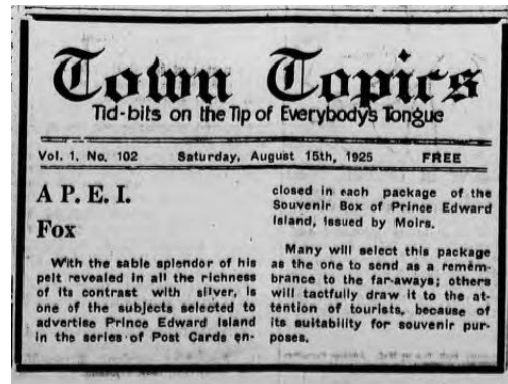
Figure 2.27 Ontario Souvenir Box



Source: Dartmouth Heritage Museum, Moirs Scrapbook.

Figure 2.28 shows the “Town Topics” ad from Prince Edward Island in 1925 discussing one of the post cards inserted in the Prince Edward Island souvenir package, which featured an Island Fox.⁸⁰ These postcards represented familiar provincial locations and symbols, such as the provincial coat of arms.⁸¹

Figure 2.28: Prince Edward Island Postcard Advertisement



Source: Charlottetown Guardian, August 15, 1925.

Moirs tried to keep their customers engaged with the times and demonstrated that they were also engaged with the ever-changing society, giving away both products and unique items related to leisure, transportation, luxury and identity. Various contests and giveaways were prominent in the 1920s, but by the 1930s, many of the larger giveaway gimmicks had stopped. This could in fact be due to the great depression, which hit Halifax very early.

⁷⁹ Dartmouth Heritage Museum Collection, Dartmouth Nova Scotia, accessed August 2019.

⁸⁰ “Town Topics,” *Charlottetown Guardian*, 15 August 1925.

⁸¹ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2019-204-214.

Billboards are a non-elitist form of advertising, which begins to go back to a fundamental type of advertising, where everyone has access to it. The difference was that this form of grassroots advertising was much more graphic. It was very different than salesmen spreading details by word of mouth. Moirs is probably most well known for their iconic elephant-style M, which graced their print ads, buildings and boxes after 1924. The elephant was based on an elephant billboard that the company had in the 1920s, which was a reference to the elephant “Jumbo,” who met his death in 1885 in Ontario.⁸² The billboard, although fascinating, was the only one attempt at the medium using Jumbo (See Chapter 3 for information on the use of the Elephant in Moirs advertising). Moirs had billboards in Halifax by the plant on Arygle Street and many in Toronto by the exhibition grounds. According to Michele Dale, the beginning of billboards was very textually driven. As the automobile became more popular the billboards became much more visual, allowing them to be read and processed quickly.⁸³ The billboard on the left side of Figure 2.29 showing a couple plays on the link between romance and chocolate.⁸⁴ The right side of Figure 2.29 shows another billboard that

Figure 2.29: Moirs Billboards in Toronto



Source: Toronto City Archives, Fond 1488, Series 1230, Item 172 and 503.

⁸² Peter Unwin, “Jumbo in the New World,” *Canada’s History*, modified April 9th, 2018. <https://www.canadashistory.ca/explore/arts,-culture-society/jumbo-in-the-new-world>.

⁸³ Michele Dale, “Signs of Urban Life: A History of Visual Communication in Toronto Indefinite run, City of Toronto Archives,” *Urban History Review* 33, no. 2 (Spring 2005):69.

⁸⁴ City of Toronto, *Billboards*, Fond 1488, Series 1230, Item 172.

appeared in Toronto with the catch phrase "Get Wise to Good Chocolate" and showing a wholesome clean-cut boy.⁸⁵ Both billboards are very visual, and not textually driven.

The Toronto area billboards were owned by El Ruddy.⁸⁶ He owned billboards clear across the country, including those in Halifax and Toronto. These billboards depict typical scenes that Moirs advertising had in magazines and newspapers in the time frame. Obviously, by putting the large image in cities, individuals regardless of socio-economic status, gender, or age viewed the billboard. There are still target audiences and they differ for both billboards. Figure 2.29 advertises the product's consumption to adults with a luxurious box of chocolates while Figure 2.29 on the other hand promotes a bar, a cheaper Moirs product, and the billboard target audience is children. Regardless of their intended audience, individuals walking by would see these billboards and think of Moirs chocolates. Robinson comments, "Kodak, for example, seeking to adorn its cameras with middle-class respectability, publicly prided itself on not using billboards, the perceived crass purveyors of low-brow goods."⁸⁷ While Hershey did not advertise in the newspapers, one thing Mr. Chocolate did do was have a billboard in New York.⁸⁸ This indicates the role billboards played in class inclusive mass media culture, and how choosing when and where to use billboards was a deliberate and planned decision.

While billboards are an effective way to communicate a visual display to everyone regardless of class or economic situation, commercials became a way for Moirs to engage with the broadest cliental. As society changed and televisions were prominent in every household, the message sent through Moirs commercials reached a wider audience. Their iconic song

⁸⁵ City of Toronto, *Billboards*, Fond 1488, Series 1230, Item 503.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Daniel Robinson, "Marketing Gum, Making Meanings: Wrigley in North America, 1890-1930," *Enterprise and Society* 5, no. 1 (2004): 36.

⁸⁸ Margot Opdycke Lamme and Lisa Millikin Parcell, "Promoting Hershey: The Chocolate Bar, The Chocolate Town, The Chocolate King," *Journalism History* 38, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 203.

stemmed from this form of advertising. “We all know where the rainbow goes,”⁸⁹ is a line that children would hum along to when thinking about the delicious chocolate. Moirs commercials typically depicted the iconic Pot of Gold and a decorative rainbow. Moirs commercials incorporated stardom when Liberace was featured in a commercial in 1975 (See Chapter 4 for more information on Liberace). Commercials were in both English and French as early as 1964.⁹⁰ Many of Moirs commercials depict the sense of family. One example is a mother and son sharing a moment together in the kitchen, before the young boy gives the crossing guard a box of chocolates on the way to school.⁹¹ No commercials show the Moir family specifically. This is due to the lack of Moir family involvement in the television era. Ganong had several television commercials, likely the most well known of which is of Mr. Ganong advertising the product himself at Christmas time.⁹² Ganong’s ownership has never left the family, making them more involved in the advertising of the product.

2.3 Moirs Products on Display from Shop Windows, Parades and Exhibitions

Advertising in the public eye has influenced those walking by shop windows, onlookers to parades and those individuals present at various exhibitions around the world. From small shop windows to international exhibitions, Moirs evolved from a small family run bakery to an internationally known company. These advertising methods were very visually appealing, colourful and portrayed the luxurious nature of the product. The audience for these products varied as anyone could walk by a window or witness a parade, making the market wider for potential customers.

⁸⁹ Youtube, “1991- Pot of Gold Chocolate – Giving More,” last modified December 21st, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RtT_wc8kQM8.

⁹⁰ Josie Walters – Johnston, *Personal Email Communication*, November 5, 2019.

⁹¹ Youtube, “1991- Pot of Gold Chocolate – Giving More,” last modified December 21st, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RtT_wc8kQM8.

⁹² David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*, (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006), 94-95.

Posters colourfully depict the products Moirs had available, often featured in shop windows. These posters were often supplied by the business, meaning Moirs would have had

Figure 2.30: Moirs Display Posters



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2018-622, GLANG 2018 – 640.

the role of giving these to the smaller corner store.

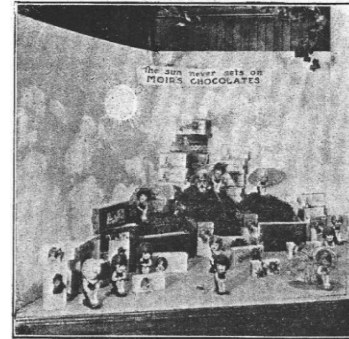
The left side of Figure 2.30, a poster circa 1920s - 1930s, shows an early depiction of a girl holding an umbrella with “Moirs Candies, Good and Wholesome,” written on the bottom of the sign.⁹³

The right side of Figure 2.30 depicts a poster to advertise the Treasure Box. Both posters depict girls or women with Moirs proudly showcased front and center.⁹⁴ These posters reinforce already established themes in the company of purity and luxury.

These posters may have found their way into shop windows neighbouring displays with boxes arranged into unique organization. When discussing window displays, historian Keith Walden argues “[p]re-arranging meant more effective design but also speedier, more efficient installation and hence quicker realization of a display’s selling potential.”⁹⁵ Walden discusses how speciality items

for the grocer would make their way into the window displays to keep those products in demand.⁹⁶ This supports the claim that Moirs chocolate boxes would often end up in store window displays, especially around holidays and celebrations. In Figure 2.31 from “The

Figure 2.31: Window Display From Mrs. M.J. Carroll's Window in Truro, Nova Scotia



Source: Prince Edward Island Archives, *Chocolate Soldier* 1924.

⁹³ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-622.

⁹⁴ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-640.

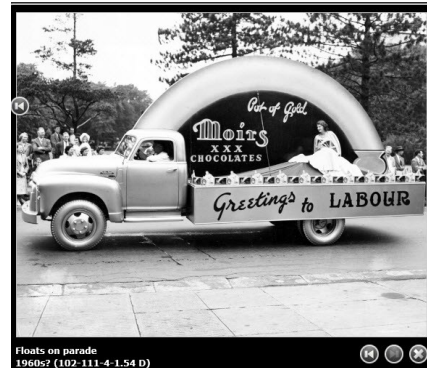
⁹⁵ Keith Walden, “Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920,” *Canadian Historical Review* LXX, no. 3(1989):291.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 294.

Chocolate Soldier” brochure from July 1924, a window display in Truro is depicted that won third prize in a contest Moirs ran to advertise its product.⁹⁷ While this is a Moirs Contest, Walden mentions that *the Grocer* would run contests for the best display.⁹⁸ Window boxes were especially noticed by children who would pass by the stores and glance in before buying candy.

Moirs participated in community parades by organizing parade floats. It marketed the product and company brand identity while showing their support for the cause of the parade. Figure 2.32, for example, is the labour day parade float in the 1960s, giving the appearance that Moirs supports the labour force organization.⁹⁹ Historian Ian McKay comments, “[t]he formation of the first Canadian local of the Journeymen Bakers’ and Confectioners’ International Union of America in Halifax in 1889 was a step of major importance for the bakers.”¹⁰⁰ The float shows the Moirs Pot of Gold with a huge rainbow, the iconic imagery, and a lady sitting beside the prominent and stylized elephant style M. McKay mentions that “60 men marched in the bakers contingent to the 1890 Labour Day Parade, which was roughly a third of the total workforce.”¹⁰¹ This is significant to understanding Moirs apparent support for the labour movement in Halifax in the 1960s. This is when the group of Nova Scotia businessmen were the

Figure 2.32: Greeting to Labour Float in the Halifax Parade in the 1960's



Source: Halifax Municipal Archives *City of Halifax Fonds*, 102-111-4-1.54.

⁹⁷ Prince Edward Island Public Archives, *Heritage Foundation Collection*, hf 77.57.59 J, p. 4.

⁹⁸ Keith Walden, “Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920,” *Canadian Historical Review* LXX, no. 3(1989):289.

⁹⁹ Halifax Municipal Archives, *City of Halifax fonds*, 102-111-4-1.54.

¹⁰⁰ Ian McKay, “Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry during the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century,” *Labour* 3 (1978):104.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

owners. These men had interests in many other industries throughout Nova Scotia, which likely explains why they appeared to support this movement.

Parade floats, like the advertising in the papers, changed as the times change. As can be seen in the images in Figure 2.33, the subject matter of the parade floats differs greatly.

Figure 2.33: Moirs Parade Floats



Source: Hershey Plant 2007.

While parades were mainly a local advertising method, Moirs participated in exhibitions provincially, nationally, and worldwide. Moirs presented exhibits at the Nova Scotia Provincial Exhibition especially in the early 1900s. Figure 2.34 shows an early display from photographer JA Irvine Halifax

Figure 2.34: Provincial Exhibition Display



Source: JA Irvine Collection NS Archives.

Figure 2.35: Moirs Bread and Chocolate Display



Source: Hershey Canada Plant Archive 2007.

Archives.¹⁰² Philadelphia, Dublin, and Wembley were world fairs and exhibitions that Moirs attended. The company was what was represented first and foremost, but especially on the international stage the company was representing Nova Scotia and Canada.

¹⁰² Nova Scotia Provincial Archives, *JA Irvine Collection*, Album 35, Photo 19, N-5575.

This helped the company gain customers in the various countries and allowed Canada to gain recognition for their raw goods.

In 1926, Moir's displayed a booth at the World Fair in Pennsylvania. A box remains as a souvenir from that display, Figure 2.36. The company also built elaborate displays for the Sesquicentennial Exposition in Philadelphia as seen in Figure 2.37.

Figure 2.37: Philadelphia Exhibition Moirs Display in 1926



Source: Photo courtesy of PhillyHistory.org, a project of the Philadelphia Department of Records, Archives Sesquicentennial Collection ID: Series1 Album Photographs 2692-0 Asset ID:91756.

Figure 2.36: Sesquicentennial Exposition Box



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2018-253.

World Fairs became a place for companies to go to sell their product, and for competitors to gather ideas. According to Nicholas Westbrook, Milton Hershey attended the World Fair in 1893 and was so captivated by the event he bought the equipment to start up his business, which would later purchase the Moirs company in 1987.¹⁰³ These became one form of

advertising on an international scale that attracted national attention. There has been no evidence to suggest the company attended Expo 67'. Another exhibition that Moirs attended was the exhibition in Dublin. The imagery associated with their attendance is Canadian iconic

¹⁰³ Nicholas Westbrook, "Chocolate at the World's Fairs, 1851-1964," in *Chocolate: History, Culture and Heritage*, eds. Louis Evan Grivetti and Howard-Yana Shapiro (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, Inc, 2009), 204.

images, including a train, a boat, and wheat.¹⁰⁴ This tends to indicate that Moirs was truly promoting company and country in their imagery. The company attended the British Empire Exhibition in May 1924. They also attended in 1925.¹⁰⁵

The fact that Moirs advertising was as visual and public as it was led to a type of advertising that reached out to all of society from the bourgeoisie to the aristocracy. Shop windows, billboards and parades allowed all potential onlookers to view the advertising campaign of the company, regardless of race, gender, and class.

2.4 What's in a Name? The Naming of Moirs Products and Trademarks

The names of the products, packages, and baked goods are valuable to understanding the change the company experienced over time and change of ownership. There are several links to colonial ideals, and links to Britain, found throughout Moirs merchandise names, which are especially prominent in the 1910s-1940s. Moirs did use some racial terminology when referring to its penny goods, although they appear sparse in comparison to other companies. The company used regional names while the family was operating the business (See Chapter 3). The luxury influence of the consumerism culture influenced the names of Moirs chocolates throughout the company operation until the plant closure in 2007. See Appendix A for examples of the product names used by Moirs. According to Tuan, "[n]aming is power – the creative power to call something into being, to render the invisible visible, to impart a certain character to things."¹⁰⁶ Naming highlighted some character or event that the company appreciated or was significant to bring to the attention of the customer, an aspect that the company hoped would make the customer purchase the product off the shelf. Like many other companies in the early

¹⁰⁴ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-513.

¹⁰⁵ "The First at Wembley" *Acadian*, May 1925. And "Town Topics," *Acadian*, May 1924.

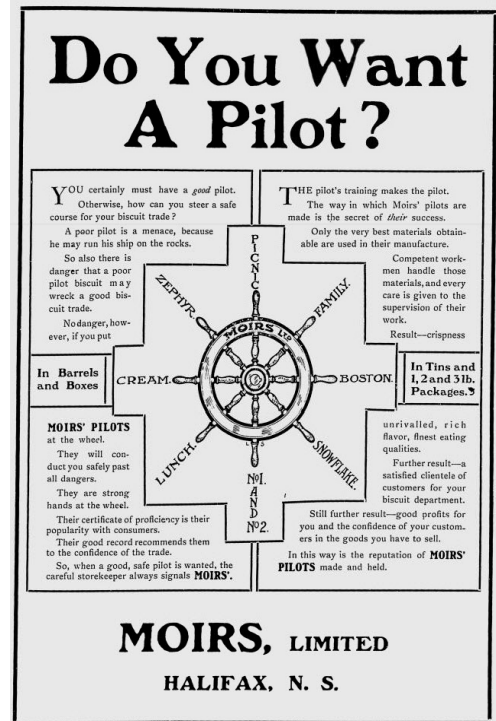
¹⁰⁶ Yi-Fu Tuan, "Language and the Making of Place: A Narrative – Descriptive Approach," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81, no. 4 (December 1991): 688.

1900s, Moirs began experimenting with various logos and symbols, which they trademarked. These trademarks indicate what Moirs saw commercial value in.

Several of the names of Moirs chocolates, especially mixtures in the 1920s-1940s, relate directly to the colonial ideals and ties to Britain. Merchandise names such as Imperial, Royal, Queen, King, Windsor, Sterling, Belmont, London, Colonial, Empress, and Medford all have explicit references to Britain. While some of these names appear as early as the 1880 price list, by the 1960s there is little evidence on the price lists of this colonial connection. A prominent Scottish flare to the Moirs merchandise names is apparent, and justifiable with the family connections to Scotland and the Scottish immigrant population in Nova Scotia.¹⁰⁷ Names such as Scotch Mints, Edinburgh Mints, Cornhill, Abernethy, and Ratafius are examples of this Scottish affiliation. Other geographic and ethnic influences on Moirs product names include Italian Mixture, Sicily Licorice, Paris Mixture, Washington Mixture, Russian Chocolate, Liberty Cherry Creams, Turkish Lunch, and Trinidad from the 1935 price list.

There are a few names of Moirs products with racial references. Two of these names are referring to penny goods and biscuits, “Black Crook” and “Plantation Biscuit”. These two names are obviously part of a larger cultural stereotype, which many other companies followed. These two brands

Figure 2.38: Pilot Biscuit Advertisement



Source: *Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review*, December 1, 1904.

¹⁰⁷ J.M. Bumsted, *The Scots in Canada*, (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1982), 10-11. This source discusses the percentages of Scottish immigrants to several Canadian provinces. In 1871, Nova Scotia had 33.7 % of the Scottish immigrants coming to the province.

being part of Moirs penny goods selection is suggestive of the stereotypical economic status of those they associate with the African Nova Scotia community. The later price lists of the 1960s show a shift away from these product names.

People and events influenced the naming of merchandise. For example, in the 1880 price list Jenny Linds were a fancy biscuit. Jenny Lind a Swedish opera singer brought to America by P.T. Barnum was a sensation in the United States in 1850 and 1851.¹⁰⁸ Contained in a 1935 price list, the Quintuplet bar may have resulted from the famous Dionne quintuplets' birth as a gimmick to sell the bar. In 1935, there are Bluenose suckers, possibly reflective of the champion schooner from Nova Scotia. In 1933, Bluenose sailed for the Chicago World Fair and in 1935 to the Jubilee for King George, so Moirs attempted to capitalize on the events and fame of the Bluenose schooner.¹⁰⁹

Regional influences play a key role in the naming of products. Bluenose, Maritime, Halifax, Barrington, Scotia Toffies, Argyle, Valley, and Island all grace the covers of mixtures made by Moirs, shown on the 1935 price list. This sense of regional identity and connection to place is significant and extends beyond the naming of products (See Chapter 3). While the regional flare fades out after the ownership changes in 1956, it is a key component to understanding Moirs naming of products. A fascinating component of the regional influence is the Boston Chews, which appear in the 1935 price list, and the Boston Pilot Biscuit in the 1880 Price List. This sense of East coast regionalism, Canadian or American, was due to the large similarities in geographic landscape, occupations, and cultural values.

¹⁰⁸ History Channel, "P.T. Barnum brings European Opera Star Jenny Lind to New York," last modified August 29, 2019, <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/p-t-barnum-brings-jenny-lind-to-new-york>.

¹⁰⁹ Nova Scotia Provincial Archives, "Bluenose: A Canadian Icon," *The Maritime Merchant*, 11 May 1933, p.17

The values of luxury and high-quality products portrayed heavily in the Moirs advertising are apparent from the early beginning of the company to the closure of the Moirs factory operations in 2007. Some of the brands that are linked to luxury include, Luxura/Luxury, Treasure Chest, Dandee Kisses/Bread, Fresh Made, Select/Selection, Happiness Package, Smart Package, Party Time, Premier, Fairyland Package, Golden Treasure, Welcome, Superior, Dream Package/Dreamland, Olympic, and the iconic Pot of Gold brand. These brands reflect the consumerism and materialistic nature of society. The customers yearned for the luxurious lifestyle and through the advertising of the product believed that the product reflected that luxury in their lives. The ironic part of these box mixtures is that in comparison to other companies the cost was the same or lower. Even during wartime, the cost of Moirs bars remained low in comparison to British and American companies.¹¹⁰ This suggests that the price remaining low, but the expectations being a “Pot of Gold”, or a “Treasure Chest”, has an inclusive quality for Moirs customers despite their financial situation. These values of quality, purity, and luxury last over the entire operation of the company. While many trends like the colonial ties, the regional connection, and the racial references fade out with the trends of society, the trend of luxury and high quality remains prominent into 2007.

¹¹⁰ Janis Thiessen, *Snacks: A Canadian Food History*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 149.

Trade cards were an early attempt that thrived in the 1920s to promote the name and products of the brand. As trading cards began to decline in popularity, companies looked to patent the logos they had created for their boxes and ads. Although companies were often using the trademark long before it was registered, it is important to understand that companies felt it was important to legally claim ownership of certain logos.

Figure 2.39: Moirs Crown and XXX Trademark

0166580 - MOIRS & CROWN XXX DESIGN



Source: *Canadian Trademarks Database*, 0166580.

Trademarks are valuable to provide insight into

the company values and priorities. Figure 2.39 shows the Moirs Crown and XXX trademark, which is common on the box productions long before it was trademarked. This trademark suggests the strong imperial connection. Along with the mention of "The Seal of Quality," Moirs prided itself on the quality of its products. XXX would become a

famous Moirs trademark and a well-respected brand.

The next important Moirs trademark is the

Welcome Package, shown in Figure 2.40. The

Welcome Package shows an open and welcoming door. This could have been the perfect gift to give if visiting or hosting guests. The key importance of this

trademark is that it resembles The Whitman Package.

It could be associated with the immigration of individuals to Canada.

Figure 2.40: Moirs The Welcome Package Trademark

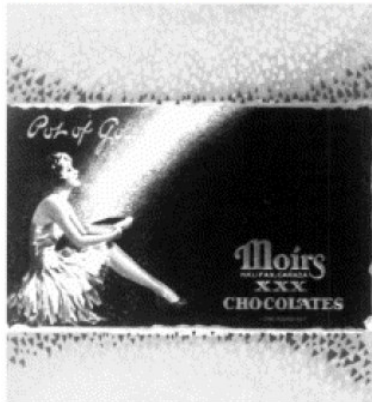
0200747 - THE WELCOME PACKAGE & DESIGN



Source: *Canadian Trademarks Database*, 0200747.

Figure 2.41: Pot of Gold Lady Trademark

0152690 - POT OF GOLD & DESIGN



Source: *Canadian Trademarks Database*, 0152690.

The final trademark of importance is the Pot of Gold box cover circa 1928. This box cover shows the iconic brand, The Pot of Gold at the end of the rainbow. This trademark shows both the iconic brand and the XXX logo in the bottom right hand corner. Trademarks and names that Moirs used were something that the Moirs company saw value in and passed the values onto the consumer.

2.5 Conclusion

By exploring envelopes, billheads, trading cards, stereotypical and obscure advertising, visual displays, product names, and Moirs trademarks it is evident that the process of Moirs advertising adapted to society and its trends. The evolution of the envelopes, billheads and trade cards shows the clear development of the lithograph, which allowed for more detailed and colourful advertising. Mass media and urbanization played a key role in the evolution of Moirs advertising and its process. Displays in shop windows, billboards and parades transcended class barriers with the highly visual examples of advertising. The naming of company products and the registration of trademarks demonstrates the company values at the given time.

Chapter 3, Place: Intrinsically Linked to Identity

Place is inherently connected to the sense of belonging that individuals feel. One can look at a visual of a landscape and feel at home. This sense of place is something that advertisers use to evoke those emotions of connection. According to psychologists and health professionals Charis Lengen, Christian Timm, and Thomas Kistemann, “[p]lace identity is a construction of the self in its spatial environment and reflects its socio-cultural relationship to place and environment.”¹¹¹ This chapter will make four arguments about the role of place in Moirs visual advertising. This chapter argues that the depiction of place in Moirs advertising shows typical flora, fauna, and landscape depictions that reflect regional, national, and exotic themes. Domestic, labour, and colonial are inherent categories of animals utilized in the advertising. Moirs advertising balances both its regional landscape and Canadian stereotypes within the visual depictions. Finally, Moirs uses exotic depictions in their advertising, which is a common trend in candy advertising linked to the consumer's homeland, romance, and ingredients. This chapter explores flora, fauna, and landscape quantities, Moirs regional influences, national narratives, and exotic themes.

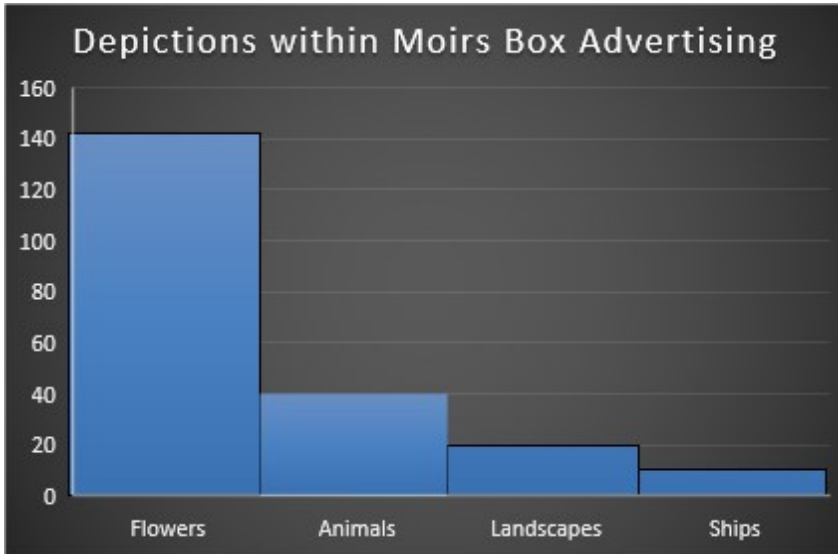
3.1 Flora and Fauna Illustrations

Flora and fauna illustrations comprise a small portion of Moirs advertising in comparison to depictions of people (Chapter 4). While this is a smaller portion of advertising in terms of numbers, it displays a unique connection to the landscape. Animals are a major component to understanding the landscape. The animals represented in the advertising campaigns include domestic animals, work animals, and those seen as colonial symbols. This assumes that Moirs was aware of the variety of types of animals and their symbolic representation. Floral images

¹¹¹ Charis Lengen, Christian Timm, Thomas Kistemann, “Place Identity, autobiographical memory and life path trajectories: The development of a place-time identity model,” *Social Science and Medicine* 222, (2019):21.

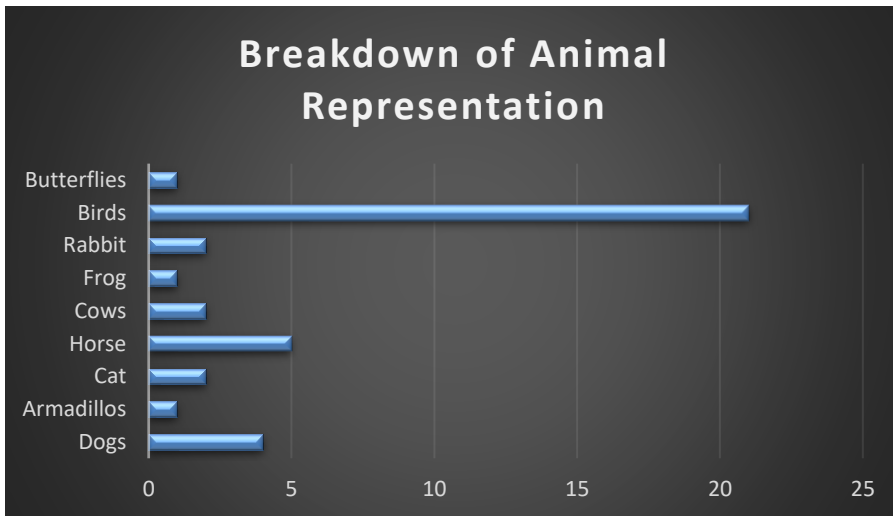
are the most popular and are often associated with the hearts for Valentine's Day reinforcing the concept of romance.

Figure 3.1: Graph showing depictions within Moirs Box Advertising



Source: Information for this figure utilized the Gaétan Lang Collection and the Dartmouth Heritage Museum Collection, sample size was 700 boxes.

Figure 3.2: Graph showing Breakdown of Animal Representations on Moirs Boxes



Source: Information for this figure utilized the Gaétan Lang Collection and the Dartmouth Heritage Museum Collection, sample size was 700 boxes.

While the usage of animals is typical in advertising, Moirs had a wide variety that did not appear in geographically neighbouring companies' advertising. As David Folster illustrates in his work on the Ganong Company, many box designs and advertisements used horses, birds, and dogs.¹¹² Folster's research shows no evidence of cats, butterflies, armadillos, frogs or cows. In Folster's research, one box features two deer standing on a hill, an animal not depicted in Moirs advertising.¹¹³

Figure 3.3: Domestic and Working Animals



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection. GLANG 2018 – 60, GLANG 2018 – 298, GLANG 2018 – 98.

Domestic and working animals appear far less frequently than birds. Figure 3.3 shows some examples of domestic and working animals that Moirs used in their box advertising. These examples situate the animals within a larger landscape or sense of belonging. Many of the boxes featuring animals have other details such as landscape or people. University of Saskatchewan marketing professor, Barbara J. Phillips argues that advertisers use animals deliberately to convey a specific message or highlight a certain trait.¹¹⁴ Phillips gives the example of Snuggle

¹¹² David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*, (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006), 64,67.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹¹⁴ Barbara J. Phillips, "Advertising and the Cultural Meaning of Animals," *Antennae* 23, (Winter 2012): 11.

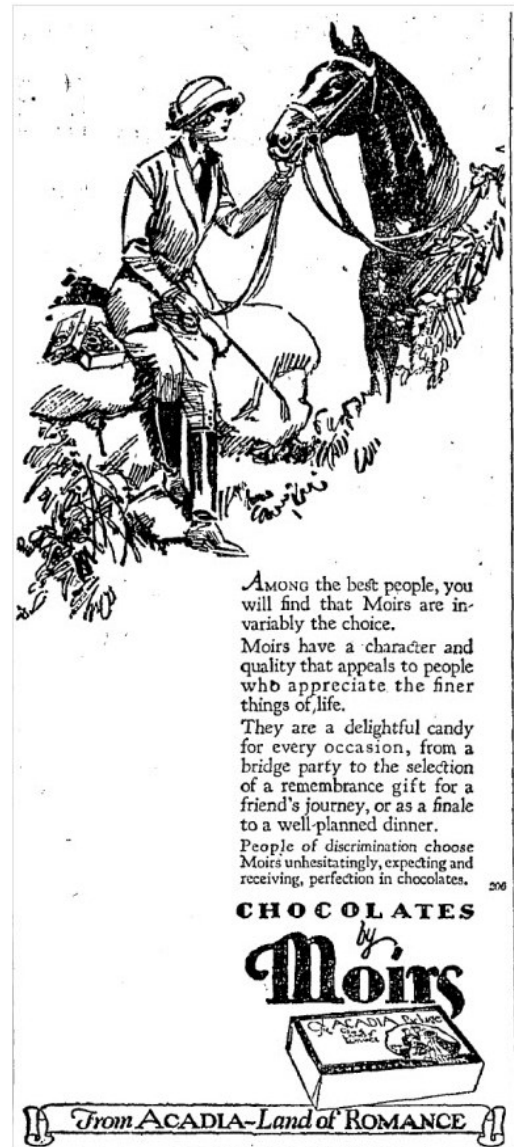
fabric softener, obviously being associated with soft animals rather than a prickly porcupine.¹¹⁵

These domestic and working animals portray the common household pets and those that would work tirelessly for their owners, providing a sense of loyalty and strength. Moirs advertised using these values and can be seen in Figure 2.19 using horse-drawn wagons to transport their goods. Pot of Gold and other Moirs products became household names, and the employees worked tirelessly to provide chocolates and other delicious products for the valued and loyal customers.

Some animals are viewed as both domestic and working animals. Figure 3.4 shows a horse and rider that was published in *The Globe* in 1926. This animal and scene suggest how animals are used for leisure and relaxation. It is interesting to note that it is a female enjoying her time with the animal, as women would not have been tasked with or depicted doing hard labour on the farm with the horse as a work animal.

The final category of animals that Moirs employed are colonial animals. According to Ronald J. Horvath, “colonialism is a form of domination – the control by individuals or groups over the territory and/or behavior of other

Figure 3.4: Horse and Rider



Source: *The Globe*, November 12, 1926.

¹¹⁵ Barbara J. Phillips, “Advertising and the Cultural Meaning of Animals,” *Antennae* 23, (Winter 2012): 10.

individuals or groups.”¹¹⁶ The thesis considers the term colonial with regards to its symbols. Parrots and other birds are overwhelmingly popular on Moirs box advertising, while other colonial animals such as white tigers and elephants sporadically appear. According to Phillips, “[i]t is likely that advertisers use animal characters because consumers understand the animals’ cultural meanings and consequently can link these meanings to a product.”¹¹⁷ The advertising of Moirs reflects colonial associations, which are inherent characteristics of chocolate being an exotic product with several colonial affiliations.

While birds are by far the most popular animal in Moirs advertising, parrots have an interesting symbolic meaning. According to *Signs and Symbols*, parrots are representative of humans’

love for each other through their voice

repetition.¹¹⁸ The generic meaning *Signs and Symbols* associates birds with is “messengers between Heaven and Earth,” animals that are “linked with wisdom, intelligence, and rapid thought,” and animals that “confided secrets.”¹¹⁹ These values are some that Moirs could wish to portray in their advertising. Birds, and more specifically parrots, are loyal animals that love their owners and are very intelligent animals. Along with being an exotic animal associated with

Figure 3.5: Bird Depictions



Source: Images from Gaétan Lang Collection. GLANG 2018 – 297, GLANG 2018 – 294, GLANG 2018 – 256.

¹¹⁶ Ronald J. Horvath, “A Definition of Colonialism,” *Current Anthropology* 13, (February 1972): 46. While this is only one scholar’s work in the field of colonialism studies, it provides a basic definition of the process. There are several scholars engaging in discussion on the subject.

¹¹⁷ Barbara J. Phillips, “Advertising and the Cultural Meaning of Animals,” *Antennae* 23, (Winter 2012): 10.

¹¹⁸ Kathryn Wilkinson, eds. *Signs and Symbols* (London: DK Publishing, 2008), 60.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

Spanish colonization, and an animal owned by several members of the monarchy,¹²⁰ parrots are one type of animal with an interesting symbolic meaning.

Figure 3.6: White Tiger



Source: Colchester Historeum, Truro, Nova Scotia.

Some colonial animals do not appear frequently on Moirs boxes. While used on only one extant box, the white tiger is significant to the colonial connection between Moirs advertising and animals. According to University of Tasmania scholars Ralph Crane and Lisa Fletcher, “[t]he visual archive of the British

relationship with India in the nineteenth century is replete with images of tigers, including: highly realistic oil paintings and watercolours hung at the Royal Academy and other respected institutions.”¹²¹ This reveals the artistic significance of the depiction of tigers in popular culture and society. Crane and Fletcher note that trend that persists with tiger advertising and its popularity started in the 1890s.¹²² Dated circa 1920s, this box is significant as World War I had just implicated large parts of India in the British Commonwealth fight against Germany. India has one of its main symbolic animals depicted, showing clear colonial connections.

¹²⁰ Bruce Thomas Boehrer, *Parrot Culture*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 23,55.

¹²¹ Ralph Crane and Lisa Fletcher, “Picturing the Indian Tiger: Imperial Iconography in the Nineteenth Century,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 42, (2014): 370.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 383.

Another animal linked famously with Indian and African colonization is the elephant.

Moirs used an elephant billboard in the early 1920s, displayed in Figure 3.7 from a copy of *The Chocolate Soldier* advertising brochure.¹²³ The note attached to the image reads, “[a] portable billboard that travelled across Canada”.¹²⁴ This billboard had a lasting impact on the Moirs Company. As can be seen in Figure 3.7 the bread logo clearly displays the elephant style M, which remained on the

company products from 1924 until Moirs closed in 2007. The stylized M illustrated in Figure 3.7 on a Moirs Jumbo Twist Bread wrapper, circa 1940s, shows a clear relation to an elephant visible in the image.

Figure 3.7: Elephants



Source: Image of Elephant Billboard is in the Dartmouth Heritage Museum Collection. Image of the Jumbo Twist Bread wrapper is in the Gaétan Lang Collection.

The name “Jumbo” is associated with an iconic elephant, which made its way into the names of several products. Historian Susan Nance writes, “Jumbo was the most famous animal in the world and a turning point in the commercialization of the human habit of using animals “to think” – in this case about nature and national rivalries.”¹²⁵ This suggests when consumers looked at Moirs products, they thought about the colonization of India by the British and the iconic elephant Jumbo. Jumbo brought to North America by PT Barnum, gained national fame when struck by a train. According to Sonja Britz, “[d]eveloping from Medieval bestiaries, strange and exotic animals were assimilated into an existing cultural order which was based on an

¹²³ Dartmouth Heritage Museum Collection, Dartmouth Nova Scotia, accessed August 2019.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Susan Nance, “Jumbo: A Capitalist Creation Story,” *Antennae* 23, (Winter 2012): 88.

emblematic, imperialist visual tradition.”¹²⁶ Nance comments about how several companies used the name Jumbo to indicate strength of product and its size.¹²⁷ Historically, many companies used Jumbo and currently it is still symbolic with buying in bulk.

Figure 3.8: Floral Depictions



Source: Gaétan Lang collection. GLANG 2018 – 004, GLANG 2018 -010, GLANG 2018 - 036, and GLANG 2018-018

The other key component to understanding landscapes is floral depictions. Floral depictions make up a substantial amount of box covers, as shown in Figure 3.8. Many of these boxes are heart shaped

with decorative flowers directly attached onto the box, as seen in Figure 3.9. These account for 62 of the 140 boxes with flowers on them.¹²⁸ Different flowers have different symbolic meanings. According to Ricia Anne Chansky, “[b]ooks such as Kate Greenaway’s 1884 *Language of Flowers* gave a detailed listing of the many different colors and varieties of flowers and their meaning, including the significance of combinations of flowers and of whether the blooms were open or closed.”¹²⁹ Floral compositions are one of the most common trends for chocolate companies, Moirs did this in substantial numbers.

¹²⁶ Sonja Britz, “Evolution and Design,” *Antennae* 23, (Winter 2012): 52.

¹²⁷ Susan Nance, “Jumbo: A Capitalist Creation Story,” *Antennae* 23, (Winter 2012): 89.

¹²⁸ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020.

¹²⁹ Ricia Anne Chansky, “Time to Shop: Advertising Trade Card Rhetoric and the Construction of a Public Space for Women in the United States, 1880-1900,” *Atenea* 29, no. 1 (June 2009): 159.

Hearts and flowers are the iconic images associated with romance. The trend of referencing romance is one that Moirs began in the newspapers as early as the 1910s. Valentine’s Day and the heart shaped boxes are significant to this romantic allure. Social and gender historian Emma Robertson comments, “the ideals of heterosexual marriage and monogamy presented in chocolate advertising are echoed in some of the oral histories of former Rowntree

Figure 3.9 Heart Shaped Boxes



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection. GLANG 2018- 585, GLANG 2018-573, GLANG 2018-565, GLANG 2018-516

workers, who structured their life stories and indeed their working patterns, around their married lives.”¹³⁰ Margaret Mulrooney’s work on the Moirs plant and women’s labour is framed around employees’ families and married lives.¹³¹ This theme is evident in the way Mulrooney conducts her research. Robertson’s work mentions several companies all with the same focus on romance and representation of relationships.

Moirs’ usage of animals was a deliberate way of portraying the values of the animals in the everyday households of their consumers. Animal symbolism and the country of origin influence how consumers view the product. Moirs would not have labelled something as being Jumbo if it were a smaller penny candy. The naming and imagery of domestic, working, and

¹³⁰ Emma Robertson, *Women, Chocolate and Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 33.

¹³¹ Margaret Mulrooney, *Femininity and the Factory: Women’s Labouring Bodies in the Moir’s Candy Plant, 1949-1970*, (MA Thesis Dalhousie University, June 2012), 33.

colonial animals associated with the Moirs products is important to understand why animals are such a substantial part of the Moirs advertising landscape. Floral depictions associated with Valentine's Day or hearts embodied the romantic notion of flowers and chocolate. Used deliberately by Moirs, flora and fauna evoked a consumer reaction.

3.2 Regional Representations

Moirs used regional representations clearly linked to their geographic location. According to Michael Hough, "[n]atural scenery has a powerful influence on our perception of places, and we experience it through all the senses."¹³² Moirs early branding (linked to their bread products) was regional in nature due to maintaining the freshness and the marketable area of the product. Moirs did not advertise their bread products across Canada. As confectionery began being produced in 1873, the products were able to keep and be transported nationally and beyond. Ownership changes did not result in a shift from regional identity. The popularity of the regional imagery had declined prior to a group of Nova Scotia businessmen purchasing Moirs in 1957. Ganong ownership currently remains in family hands, and although they had a shift away from regional depictions later than Moirs, their iconic Evangeline brand lasting until the 1970s, it has not remained strictly a regional brand.¹³³ According to Ernest R. Forbes, "[i]f the Western myth were allowed to define the nation – a myth which set such un-Maritime criteria for nationalism as rapid cultural fusion and unrelieved agrarianism – how then could Maritimers identify themselves as Canadian?"¹³⁴ This suggests

¹³² Michael Hough, *Out of Place: Restoring Identity to the Regional Landscape*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 20.

¹³³ David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*, (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006), 75.

¹³⁴ Ernest R. Forbes, *Challenging the Regional Stereotype* (Fredericton New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1989), 54.

that the Maritimes have a unique cultural identity, which is distinct from the rest of Canada, and Moirs boxes depict this regionality. The popularity of regional images in Moirs advertising and naming saw a decline after World War I, and the decline continued during the interwar years. Early in the 20th century, however, regional motifs in Moirs advertising were striking.

The newspaper ads are reflective of this regional flare. Figure 3.10 shows two “Town Topic” advertisements. One ad features the symbolic town clock, a fixture in Halifax’s downtown core. The other ad displays a town crier, a Scottish tradition, for which Nova Scotia has proud, well-established roots.

Perhaps the most iconic Nova Scotia image is that of Peggy’s Cove and the famous lighthouse that thousands flock to every year. Moirs had a box cover from this iconic place, but instead of the lighthouse, the image displays a small fishing scene. Iconic Nova Scotia photographer Wallace R. MacAskill, known for his images of vessels and the coastline, produced the image showing a small boat in

Figure 3.10: Town Topic Ads



Source: *Union Advocate*, November 10, 1925 P1, and Gaétan Lang collection GLANG 2019-46.

Figure 3.11: Peggy’s Cove



Source: From the Gaétan Lang Collection. GLANG 2018 – 001.

the fishing community.¹³⁵ Between the late 1920s and early 1930s, Moirs produced the box at the height of the popularity of the location. Ian McKay and Robin Bates comment, “Peggy’s Cove, a little fishing village on St. Margaret’s Bay, almost entirely absent from tourist geography before 1920, became central within it after circa 1928. Photographers and painters celebrated its rocks and wharves, travel writers the homespun simplicity of its people.”¹³⁶ The popularity of Peggy’s Cove as a tourist destination for Nova Scotians and other Canadians would warrant the picturesque look on this box cover. According to Maritime and Canadian historian William B. Hamilton, “[t]here is a danger ... in making regional universalities out of superficial likenesses, but there is nothing superficial about a Maritimer’s common and deep sense of place.”¹³⁷ Hamilton’s comment is reflective of the Maritime sense of identity. Place is inherently connected to that sense of identity.

This connection is true for the Acadian population of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Acadian population had key connections to the place and landscape they inhabited prior to

Figure 3.12: Acadia Package



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection. GLANG 2018 – 404 and GLANG 2018 – 278.

the expulsion of 1755.¹³⁸

Moirs exploited this connection as a product name. (Chapter 4 discusses the mythological story of Evangeline in Longfellow's

¹³⁵ The Government of Nova Scotia, “W. R. MacAskill,” Nova Scotia archives, last modified 2020, <https://novascotia.ca/archives/macaskill/>.

¹³⁶ Ian McKay and Robin Bates, *In The Province of History: The Making of the Public Past in Twentieth – Century* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill- Queen’s University Press, 2010), 65.

¹³⁷ William B. Hamilton, *Regional Identity: A Maritime Quest* (Sackville New Brunswick: Centre for Canadian Studies Mount Allison University, 1985), 10.

¹³⁸ Naomi E. S. Griffiths, *The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), 25-26,57.

story of the Acadian Deportation). The stereotypical depiction of the Annapolis Valley with apple blossoms illustrates one of the Acadia packages. While Acadians have strong roots throughout the Maritimes, many resettled in New Brunswick after the expulsion. Ganong marketed directly to that audience, and had a popular Evangeline box for several years, beginning in 1904.¹³⁹ According to Ganong historian David Folster, “Ganong chose Evangeline, in 1904, because she was, as Arthur Ganong said, “an outstanding representation of the Maritimes.””¹⁴⁰ Evangeline remained on Ganong products until the late 1970s.¹⁴¹ While Nova Scotia is the initial settlement of the Acadian population, in the early 1900s, individuals with deep Acadian roots found their homes in New Brunswick, and Ganong was marketing to that deep and rich heritage.

Ganong is not an exception in its regional marketing. Milton Hershey and the Hershey Company in the United States did not heavily advertise. Hershey felt based on his values and the success of his company that he did not need to.¹⁴² They did, however, have a small regional flare in their tactics. According to scholars Meg Lamme and Lisa Millikin Parcell, “Hershey placed small postcards inside the wrappers of each bar of chocolate between 1909 and 1922. Of the sixty-two bar cards remaining in the archives, all but three of them portrayed scenes from the town of

Figure 3.13: Nautical Themed Depictions of Moirs Boxes.



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection. GLANG 2018 - 019, GLANG 2018 - 273, GLANG 2018 - 436, GLANG 2018 – 229.

¹³⁹ David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*. (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006), 74-75.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Margot Opdycke Lamme and Lisa Millikin Parcell, “Promoting Hershey: The Chocolate Bar, The Chocolate Town, The Chocolate King,” *Journalism History* 38, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 198-199.

Hershey.”¹⁴³ Similarly, Moirs gave postcards away in the souvenir box, shown in Figure 2.27. The postcards contained in provincial boxes were emblematic scenes that represented the province and could be shared across the country through the mail. This indicates that several companies, regardless of their geographic location, have a connection to regional place and landscape.

The usage of Evangeline by Ganong is distinctive of their company. Moirs did market the Acadia name heavily and for several decades, but Moirs had a much more prominent theme with a regional flare. Moirs used several nautical themed depictions, as can be seen in Figure 3.13. This collection shows explicit images of schooners. *The Bluenose*, the acclaimed iconic

Figure 3.14: Olympic Ship and Box



Source: Dartmouth Heritage Museum Moirs Scrapbook and Gaétan Lang Collection GLANG 2018-350

schooner of Nova Scotia, was the face of Canada’s dime from 1931. Ganong did have some examples of nautical themed box depictions, just not in such large quantities.¹⁴⁴ This suggests that Moirs used the nautical theme as Ganong used Evangeline, just for a shorter period.

Although other companies did market their regional identity, this nautical theme is one that is unique to the Moirs brand.

¹⁴³ Margot Opdycke Lamme and Lisa Millikin Parcell, “Promoting Hershey: The Chocolate Bar, The Chocolate Town, The Chocolate King,” *Journalism History* 38, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 204.

¹⁴⁴ David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*. (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006), 59.

In 1925, Moirs advertised the Olympic Box in 37 newspapers nationwide.¹⁴⁵ While many historians would point to the significance of Olympic sporting and the associated national success of the time, this is not the only symbolic meaning. The company named this box after the ship, the Olympic, that returned with the 25th battalion known also as the Nova Scotia Rifles.¹⁴⁶ In the *Chocolate Soldier* magazine the company states why they named the Olympic package. They state, "[t]he Olympic was the largest of all war transports (66,000 tons displacement, 882 1/2 ft long) and so naturally enough the Olympic Package largest value in chocolate was named after it."¹⁴⁷ While this box provides a unique connection to the nautical wartime regional identity it transcends regional importance, like the Bluenose. The impact of Halifax as a regional military port was never felt more than in 1917 with the Halifax Explosion. With the Moirs plants and factories located around Halifax Harbour the explosion did impact production. While newspaper articles reported the Brand Office destroyed and employees injured, the main plant was reported as operational by December 11th, when it was advertised in the *Halifax Mail* that all employees of the main plant could report for work.¹⁴⁸ After two consecutive company fires in 1903 and 1913, this was the most dramatic chapter in Moirs life as a Maritime regional marketing force.

3.3 Reinforcing a National Narrative

Canada's strong connection to Britain through their colonization of the physical territory is a topic heavily debated in scholarship on Canadian national identity. Advertising shifts reflected the development of Canada as a nation, mimicking Canada growing up as a child of Britain. The events involving the Canadian Confederation in 1867, the completion of the

¹⁴⁵ Dartmouth Heritage Museum Collection, Dartmouth Nova Scotia, accessed August 2019.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ "Halifax Explosion," *Halifax Mail*, 11 December 1917.

Intercolonial Railway in the 1870s, the Battle at Vimy Ridge in 1918, the evolution of the Canadian flag in 1965, Expo 67 in 1967, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, all made Canada distinct and unique, not in an overnight transition, rather something that took decades. Scholar José E. Igartua argues, “that English-speaking Canada retained this British ethnic definition of itself until the 1960s, and then abruptly discarded it during that decade.”¹⁴⁹ While Igartua mentions a decade in which Canada exhibited legal and social changes, the monarch of Britain is today still our Queen. These social changes demonstrate a change in our ties to Britain but do not diminish the importance of the historic connection. Socially, several of these small transitions and events that shaped Canadian history affected advertising.

An example of this transition seen by the end of World War I and the Battle at Vimy Ridge, the advertising for the Moirs Company with a British focus, especially that which referred to Britain as “Mother”, post war was in major decline. “Mother Britain” was no longer in need of Canada to assist her, that is until they went to war again in 1939. One of the most important symbolic representations of Canadian history was in 1965, when Canada adopted the new flag with the iconic maple leaf. According to government documents from the Department of External Affairs in 1972, “the maple leaf figured as a possible Canadian symbol as early as 1700.”¹⁵⁰ This is when it made impressions on early explorers travelling throughout Canada.¹⁵¹ This is significant to the symbolic history of the maple leaf and its relationship to Canada as a nation.

¹⁴⁹ Jose Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-1971*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 5.

¹⁵⁰ Department of External Affairs, “The Maple Leaf – Canada’s National Emblem,” *Reference Papers*, no. 132 (November 1972), 1.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Moirs followed this iconic imagery and adopted a Maple Leaf Box, seen in Figure 3.15. This is symbolic because of the maple leaf, but ironically, the box also shows the colouration of the Union Jack of Britain in the ribbon colours. This colouration could also be associated with the

Figure 3.15: Moirs Maple Leaf Box



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2018 – 425.

Acadian flag, while reinforcing the theme of Canada’s own identity. While Moirs produced this box after the choosing of the flag in 1965, Ganong also had a Maple Leaf box, which did not show any affiliation to Britain through colouration or symbolism.¹⁵² As historian Eva Mackey discusses, “[m]any saw it [evolution of a new flag] as a battle between old and new Canada, between history and future, and between Empire and nation.” It is interesting that the Moirs box is representing both of those dynamics in one box cover, empire, and nation. The imagery associated with Moirs advertising is iconic national imagery.

While Ganong and other confectionery companies have national and regional influences, some focus strictly on their regional connections. Likewise, there are current companies that are only nationally branded and do not focus on the regional distinctions. Canadian Tire and Tim Hortons are companies that utilize national advertising campaigns. According to Chris Daniels recent efforts have been, “fuelled by PR stunts, like the one in which Canadian Tire placed 1500 branded hockey sticks in Winnipeg’s downtown core to celebrate the return of the NHL hockey to the city.”¹⁵³ This was a Canadian company’s way to promote

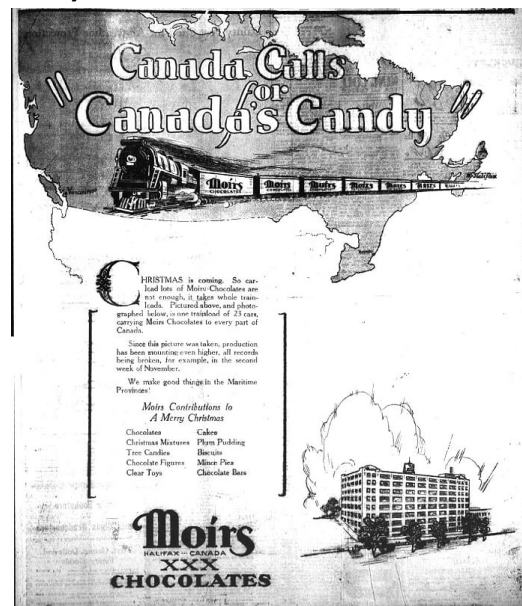
¹⁵² David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*. (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006), 91.

¹⁵³ Chris Daniels, “Canadian Tire,” *Marketing 116*, no. 17 (November 28, 2011):32.

Canada's game through the branded Canadian store. Known as a Canadian company for decades, Canadians value Tim Hortons for its founder, a Canadian hockey player, as much as for the current products. St. Francis Xavier University scholar Patricia Cormack comments, "[i]n the mid-1960s the take-out donut bag was illustrated with a cartoon image of Tim in a hockey uniform shooting donut pucks toward the viewer."¹⁵⁴ The connection of Tim Hortons advertising to national identity echoes in Megan Haynes' research as she mentions, "Tims' success comes from a brilliant job reflecting Canadian values, which has imbued a sense of trust that few other brands have achieved."¹⁵⁵ This sense of Canadian pride, based on iconic Canadian symbols and values, is what has propelled these companies to success.

Moirs advertised their company, as was discussed in section 3.2, on a regional level, but they were able to brand their product through iconic imagery to represent both the region and nation. Figure 3.16 shows the plant in the bottom right hand corner, which was easily identifiable to any Haligonian, making it a regional visual. The use of a train, a symbol of the unification of Canada, and the language used, "Canada's Candy", promote a clear national identity. Within one advertisement, Moirs was both marketing a regional and a national image.

Figure 3.16: Canada Calls for Canada's Candy



Source: *Charlottetown Guardian* December 6, 1928, *Telegraph Journal* December 4, 1928, *Daily Gleaner* December 4, 1928.

¹⁵⁴ Patricia Cormack, "True Stories' of Canada: Tim Hortons and the Branding of National Identity," *Cultural Sociology* 2, No. 3 (November 2008): 374.

¹⁵⁵ Megan Haynes, "Tim Hortons Celebrates Half a Century," *Strategy* (May 2014):34.

It appeared in at least two different provinces within days.

Canada's Choice became one of many Moirs packages. This package states, "[t]he selection of the sixteen varieties contained in this box was made by candy lovers throughout the dominion. The assortment is literally Canada's Choice."¹⁵⁶ This explicit labelling shows the mixture of tastes Canadian's have, which suits the mixture of cultures and interests within Canada's borders. Canada is multicultural and has been since before Confederation in 1867.

Figure 3.17: Canada's Choice, Canada's Candy



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2018 – 276, GLANG 2018 – 007.

Canada's national imagery and symbolism is evident throughout Moirs advertising. The naming of the Canada's Choice box and other products with regional

and national links may have been deliberate. A movement to buy products Made in Canada, including a "Made in Canada Train," may have influenced not just Moirs choice of product names but the phrases in many newspaper articles such as "Made in Canada" and "Canada's Candy" as seen in Figure 3.16, 4.1, 4.3 and 4.4. The Made in Canada Train left Montreal in 1912 and made close to 100 stops including Kelowna, Winnipeg, Fort William, Toronto, and Ottawa where Canadian products were showcased to the public.¹⁵⁷ In 1913, another Made in Canada train was sent across Canada.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-265.

¹⁵⁷ Andre Siegel, and James Hull, "Made in Canada! The Canadian Manufacturers' Association's Promotion of Canadian-Made Goods, 1911-1921," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association/Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 25, no. 1 (2014): 6.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 7.

3.4 Exotic Portrayals in Candy Advertising

Canada is a country that has been built on immigration. While many of the “ideal” immigrants were families with British, Scottish, Dutch, French, or German origin, many individuals that now call Canada home are from various countries and backgrounds all around the world. While representations and symbols of this multicultural heritage are evident in Moirs advertising, the exotic production of chocolate has not been ignored in the advertising and marketing. Historian Ian McKay discusses Moirs selling product in Puerto Rico and Cuba.¹⁵⁹ Product naming, company imagery and symbols show the international awareness of Moirs marketing and its connection to romance and ingredients.

Some of Moirs product names reference another country or city. Some of these product names include, Russian Chocolate, Turkish Delight, Jerusalem, Italian Mixture, Paris Mixture, Edinburgh Mints, Washington and African Lunch. While some of these certainly have connections to those “ideal” immigrant groups, African Lunch is one of the key points of interest. Certain products are marketed on their racial connotations. According to Malte Hinrichsen, “[b]eing promoted as an amalgamation of the black strength of cocoa and the energy and sunshine of bananas, the breakfast cereal made from banana flour, barley, chocolate, and sugar better known as Banania also linked the various racial connotations of the two main ingredients.”¹⁶⁰ Chocolate is racially associated, and race plays a key role in the production of its raw materials. Brands have used racially associated depictions or figures to market their products, like Aunt Jemima and Uncle Ben.¹⁶¹ While Moirs did not do that, they do have product names that are reflective of that culture.

¹⁵⁹ Ian McKay, “Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry during the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century,” *Labour* 3, (1978):85.

¹⁶⁰ Malte Hinrichsen, *Racist Trademarks: Slavery, Orient, Colonialism, and Commodity Culture*, (Berlin: Lit Verlag Fresnostr, 2012),52.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 75-76.

Moirs used several landscapes that were external stereotypes. As seen in Figure 3.18, the images depict what could be assumed to be an English Countryside and a Dutch Village. The windmill is

Figure 3.18: English Countryside and Dutch Village Scene



Source: *Gaétan Lang Collection*, GLANG 2018 – 009, GLANG 2018 – 042.

a symbolic Dutch representation which is iconically known within their landscape. According to Leeke Reinders, “[s]cattered around the flat and windy landscape were more than a thousand windmills.”¹⁶² This demonstrates the significance of the windmill to the Dutch landscape. Symbols and visible depictions show more than just depictions of Canada and the British. These landscapes are idyllic links to the consumers homeland.

3.5 Conclusion

Typical flora, fauna, and landscape depictions in Moirs advertising reflect regional, national, and exotic themes. Moirs uses a hybrid of regional, national, and exotic depictions within the advertising campaigns, especially those that feature landscapes. The company employed animals to evoke emotion depending on their connection to the consumer and society. The change in regional advertising, which slowed down progressively after World War I and into the interwar, was not a consequence of any change in ownership. Canadian identity is displayed as an independent nation-state but still inherently connected to Britain through the monarchy and commonwealth. Moirs’ use of external country names and symbols is reflective of their position on the larger global scale. Through the imagery used in Moirs advertising, the

¹⁶² Leeke Reinders, “Homing the Dutch City,” *The Journal of Architecture, Design and Domestic Space* (2016): 199.

connection and importance of place for developing a company identity and perpetuating a societal identity is apparent. The connection to place is the connection to home.

Chapter 4, People: Depicting the Average Consumer to Society's Epitomic Image

Advertising reveals perplexing details about society that only those living in that time and place can fully comprehend. Sut Jhally eloquently notes “[i]ts [advertising’s] real ideological role... is to give us meaning. That is why it is so powerful. If it is manipulative, it is manipulative with respect to a real need; our need to know the world and to make sense of it, our need to know ourselves.”¹⁶³ As Jhally alludes to, people have a need to see a sense of themselves or an embodiment of an ideal representation. The Moirs business, since the beginning of operations, furnished an extensive collection of newspaper and magazine advertisements, as well as boxes and posters depicting people. From explorers, to the monarchy, to the iconic Pot of Gold ladies, Moirs advertising was filled with a revealing vignette of figures both mythical and factual in its usage of people to market their products. This chapter makes four crucial arguments about depictions of people in Moirs advertising. Class, race, gender, and national identities can all be seen in these examples of Moirs advertising. Firstly, this chapter argues that depictions of individuals reveal patterns about identity formation within a substantial part of Moirs advertising. This chapter claims the demographic of individuals depicted on the boxes and in the ads are primarily young middle-aged white women, as there is little representation of minorities or Indigenous individuals. Moirs used historical characters, monarchs, and celebrities to advertise their product from the 1920s in the newspapers, and the trend persisted until the 1970s with a Liberace commercial. Finally, this chapter asserts that the depiction of people in Moirs advertising is imperative to understanding the company’s link to identity formation. This chapter explores several case studies showing early historical figures, the role of gender and age

¹⁶³ Sut Jhally, *The Codes of Advertising: Fetishism and the Political Economy Of Meaning in the Consumer Society* (New York: Routledge, 1990),197.

in Moirs depictions of people, depictions of real figures and celebrities, and the iconic Pot of Gold ladies that made the Moirs brand memorable.

4.1 Early Historical Figures from Fact to Fiction

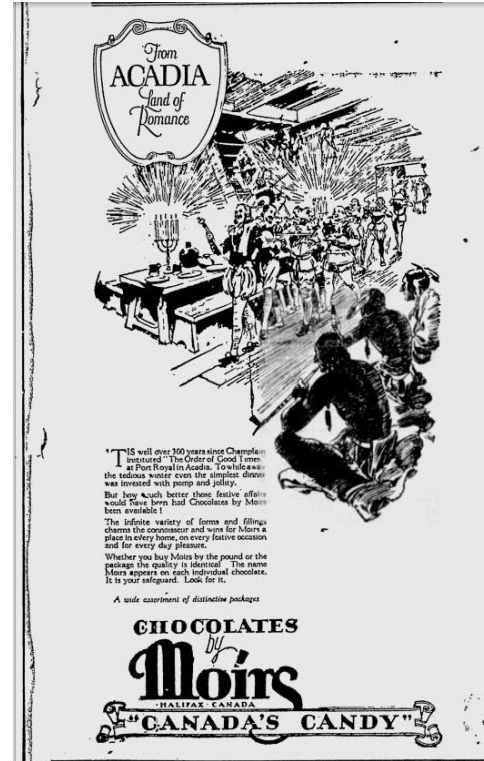
Moirs depicted historical characters in advertisements to appeal to their “customer base,” that is the mass number of individuals who readily viewed Moirs advertisements or products. Moirs exploited legendary figures such as Evangeline and Samuel de Champlain, along with depictions of early explorers and a singular depiction of Indigenous peoples in various newspaper advertisements and box covers. Moirs advertising rarely portrays minorities, such as Indigenous peoples or members of the African Canadian community. The figures that are represented suggest an intimate connection to Canada’s historic past and a romantic connection that was very selective in its portrayals.

Many of the Moirs advertisements have explicit references to romance that are not unique to advertising techniques and it is common for chocolate companies to use romance to market their product. In her 2012 MA thesis, Margaret Mulrooney argues that conditions for women working in the Moirs plant were far from romantic, although the conditions in the 1962 advertising campaign reflected a romantic allure.¹⁶⁴ This romantic trend within Moirs advertising is one of the few that continues throughout the company’s operation.

¹⁶⁴ Margaret Mulrooney, *Femininity and the Factory: Women’s Labouring Bodies in the Moir’s Candy Plant, 1949-1970*, (MA Thesis Dalhousie University, June 2012), 33.

Indigenous people were not represented in Moirs advertising. Figure 4.1 which was published in the *Calgary Herald* in 1927, contains the only extant reference characterizing an Indigenous person in Moirs advertising.¹⁶⁵ While this advertisement's focus is not the Indigenous peoples, rather Samuel de Champlain, it shows the Indigenous peoples prominently in the foreground (See Figure 4.1). In contrast to Moirs, Ganong, a chocolate company operating in Saint Stephen, New Brunswick, produced trading cards depicting Indigenous peoples and cowboys for their customers to collect.¹⁶⁶ The image is stereotypical

Figure 4.1: Samuel De Champlain and Indigenous People Advertisement



Source: *Calgary Herald* May 13, 1927.

in its representation of Indigenous peoples, sitting cross legged with braided hair and feathers smoking pipes. Indigenous scholar Hilary Weaver comments, “[i]dentities are always fragmented, multiply constructed, and intersected in a constantly changing, sometimes conflicting array.”¹⁶⁷ This suggests that while this is the stereotype Moirs associated with Indigenous populations, a variety of identities make up the groups of Indigenous populations in Canada. Weaver continues, “[i]n movies and writing, indigenous people seem permanently

¹⁶⁵ “Chocolates by Moirs,” *Calgary Herald*, 13 May 1927, p.27.

¹⁶⁶ Indigenous Trade Cards, Trading Card Display, Ganong Museum Collection, 13 May 2019, St. Stephen New Brunswick.

David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*. (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006), 84-85.

¹⁶⁷ Hilary N. Weaver, “Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?,” *American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (Spring, 2001): 240.

associated with notions of the old American frontier.”¹⁶⁸ Several scholars, such as Ursula Haskins Gonthier and Darryl Leroux, have echoed the significance of Champlain as an iconic figure to members of French Canada.¹⁶⁹ Gonthier mentions Champlain has a mixed past and legacy, one that can be seen as him heavily exploiting Indigenous peoples.¹⁷⁰ A prime example, Figure 4.1 clearly shows the Indigenous populations looking over Champlain, recognized as a notable figure in early Canadian history at the point of contact.

The textual information makes direct reference to the place of Port Royal, Nova Scotia, a regional reference in proximity to the Moirs company, and tells about the climate and the luxurious nature of Champlain’s meals. The text of the advertisement reads, “Tis well over 300 years since Champlain instituted “The Order of Good Times” at Port Royal in Acadia. To while away the tedious winter even the simplest dinner was invested with pomp and jollity.”¹⁷¹ Like many other companies that produce luxury products like chocolate, Moirs had depictions of luxury in their advertising. The image shows Champlain with a lavish meal prepared to feast at the nearby table, with several followers behind him as he smokes a pipe. The writing in the top corner “From Acadia Land of Romance” suggests this intimate association to not only a place but to an ideal. The time frame during which this advertisement was produced is significant. This advertisement fits nicely into the timeframe of what Andre Narbonne coined as the “Confederation period of Canadian humour (1867-1927).”¹⁷² Narbonne argues that this was a

¹⁶⁸ Hilary N. Weaver, “Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?,” *American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (Spring, 2001): 240.

¹⁶⁹ Ursula Haskins Gonthier, “Postcolonial Perspectives on Early Modern Canada: Champlain’s Voyages De La Nouvelle France (1632),” *French Studies* 66, no. 2 (2012):145-162. And Darryl Leroux, “The Spectacle of Champlain,” *borderlands e-journal* 9, no. 1 (2010):1-27.

¹⁷⁰ Ursula Haskins Gonthier, “Postcolonial Perspectives on Early Modern Canada: Champlain’s Voyages De La Nouvelle France (1632),” *French Studies* 66, no. 2 (2012):146.

¹⁷¹ “Chocolates by Moirs,” *Calgary Herald*, 13 May 1927, p. 27.

¹⁷² Andre John Narbonne, “An Aesthetic of Companionship: The Champlain Myth in Early Canadian Literature,” *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature* 42, no. 2, (2012): 91.

time filled with authors making a name for themselves on historical accounts and myths.¹⁷³ It is plausible to find not only writings about Samuel de Champlain in this time frame, but also depictions of him in advertising.¹⁷⁴

The time frame an ad was published in is significant. The year 1927 was significant because it was 60 years since Confederation. There was a publication produced “by the Executive Committee of the National Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation” in Ottawa.¹⁷⁵ This brochure showcased several parade floats that were desirable for celebratory parades that year. Many of these floats showcase iconic explorers, such as Champlain. One parade float shows Champlain meeting the Indigenous populations, which echoes the Moirs advertisement produced in Calgary.¹⁷⁶ This contributed to the popular public identity that was occurring when this advertisement was published.

While this is the only sample of Indigenous peoples being depicted in Moirs advertising, Moirs advertising did share a memory for residential school survivor Isabelle Knockwood. Knockwood recalls, “[e]mpty Moir’s Pot of Gold chocolate boxes from the nuns were also a prized possession. Even though we never got a taste of the chocolates, it was good to smell the chocolate scent on the inside cover which lingered for several days.”¹⁷⁷ This demonstrates that Indigenous people were influenced in nearby Shubenacadie by Moirs products and its

¹⁷³ Andre John Narbonne, “An Aesthetic of Companionship: The Champlain Myth in Early Canadian Literature,” *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature* 42, no. 2, (2012): 91.

¹⁷⁴ Champlain appears in advertising in this period and in the 1930s. This can be observed by the advertising of the Seagram company, Champlain Oil Products Ltd. and Prudential Insurance Ltd in 1909. Lisa Sumner, *Known by the company it keeps’: Popularizing Seagram in the Canadian Imagination*, (Montreal: McGill University Dissertation, August 2009), 42. *La Presse*, 5 May 1933, p. 27.

¹⁷⁵ National Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, “Diamond Jubilee of Confederation: Suggestions for Historical Pageants, Floats and Tableaux,” (1927), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015059502925&view=1up&seq=3>.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁷⁷ Isabelle Knockwood, *Out Of the Depths*, (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2015), 43.

advertising. Minority groups typically did not appear in Moir's advertising or on the packaging of their commercial products.

Another group that typically did not appear in Moir's advertising were men without a woman accompanying them. In an advertisement that appeared in the *Edmonton Journal* in 1923 (Figure 4.2)¹⁷⁸ two men are dressed in heavy clothing with sled dogs in the background. These figures appear to be explorers in the cold winter conditions, symbolic

Figure 4.2: Advertisement Showing Explorers and Sled Dogs



Source: *Edmonton Journal* July 23, 1923.

of the historic notion of Canada's weather. As can be seen in the background, the appearance of the Northern Lights specifies more about the location. The two men appear to be trading goods; this is symbolic of the stereotypical nature of individuals in northern areas of Canada. As Canadian arctic scholar Janice Cavell mentions, arctic explorers created this romantic image of nationhood, where the explorers were the masculine builders of that nationhood.¹⁷⁹ The occupation of the Arctic was an iconic source of Canadian national pride. While the Franklin expedition had diminished the sense of safety and security of those travelling in the Arctic, it was still noted as a masculine activity.

The sled dogs depicted in this image are equally significant to the symbolism of Canada. In her doctoral thesis, scholar Maureen Riche writes on the impact of the Northern Dog in

¹⁷⁸ "As Wholesome as Bread and Butter," *Edmonton Journal*, 23 July 1923, p.2.

¹⁷⁹ Janice Cavell, "The True Northwest Passage: Explorers in Anglo-Canadian Nationalist Narratives," *The Northern Review*, No. 32 (Spring 2010):5.

Canadian Culture.¹⁸⁰ Riche argues, “[o]f all the animal icons Canadian culture embraces (and they are legion: moose, beaver, loon, polar bear, seal), the northern dog occupies a remarkable place at the head of the pack. Adventurous. Instinctual. Courageous. Strong and free.”¹⁸¹ The usage of sled dogs in this advertisement is very deliberate and personifies all of the traits Riche suggests. Brian Collinson, a Canadian psychotherapist, strongly suggests that the sled dogs were the reason humans arrived in North America by land bridge in the ice age.¹⁸² This animal is not only symbolic of the traits above but also a key to survival and transportation for many. In the advertisement it is evident they are being used as transportation attached to a sled.

This advertisement is oriented towards the health benefits of chocolate. In this case Moirs promotes chocolate that is “As Wholesome as Bread and Butter – and far more nourishing,” which again is a subtle reference to the explorers depicted needing nourishment and strength in their location. In the 1920s and 1930s there was a popular trend both in Canada and Britain, where advertising promoted the consumption of chocolate for health and beauty. As M. French notes about the Aero bar campaign this trend was popular after the luxurious nature of the advertising in the early 1920s.¹⁸³ In one case French uses, “‘Beauty specialists and Dieticians say “Yes!” to this new chocolate’.”¹⁸⁴ This is important as women were growing increasingly concerned with diets and weight gain in the 1940s. According to Katherine J. Parkin, “[s]tarting in the 1940s, ads became much more direct in their pointed criticism of women’s weight, even to the point of being cruel.”¹⁸⁵ The Moirs advertisement above makes the product

¹⁸⁰ Maureen Riche, “Savages, Saviours and the Power of Story: The Figure of the Northern Dog in Canadian Culture,” (York University Dissertation, 2015).

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ M. French, “Modernity in British Advertising: Selling Cocoa and Chocolate in the 1930s,” *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 9, no. 4, (September 2017): 11.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁸⁵ Katherine J. Parkin, *Food is Love: Advertising and Gender Roles in Modern America*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 175.

appeal to the masculine man, but also the healthy female, providing a sense of “nourishment” and “energy” to those consuming the product “for the good of [their] health” .¹⁸⁶

Stereotypically, explorers acted and dressed in certain ways, making the specific identity of these gentlemen unimportant. Champlain had an ongoing relationship with Indigenous peoples. The next two advertisements showing early historical figures depict the mythical figure of Evangeline.¹⁸⁷ Evangeline became a popular image within the Moirs company, being featured in several advertisements and depicted on the Acadian Package, which was a brand Moirs produced circa 1920s-1930s. The story of Evangeline, initially told through a poem by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, was first published in 1847.¹⁸⁸ This poem tells the story of the Acadian woman and her unfortunate and tragic separation from her lover, during the expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia in 1755. While the character is strictly mythological, it is the symbolic figure that tells an Acadian deportation story, though inaccurately. Historian Naomi Griffiths discusses the differences

Figure 4.3: Fairest of all the maids was Evangeline Benedict's daughter



Source: *Star Phoenix* June 6, 1927.

¹⁸⁶ “As Wholesome as Bread and Butter,” *Calgary Herald*, 23 July 1923, p. 11. And *Edmonton Journal*, 23 July 1923, p. 2.

¹⁸⁷ “From Acadia Land of Romance” *Star Phoenix*, 6 June 1927, p. 11. And “Evangeline From Acadia Land of Romance” *Times Colonist*, 16 May 1927, p. 20.

¹⁸⁸ A.J.B. Johnston, “The Call of the Archetype and the Challenge of Acadian History,” *French Colonial History*, no. 5 (2004): 81.

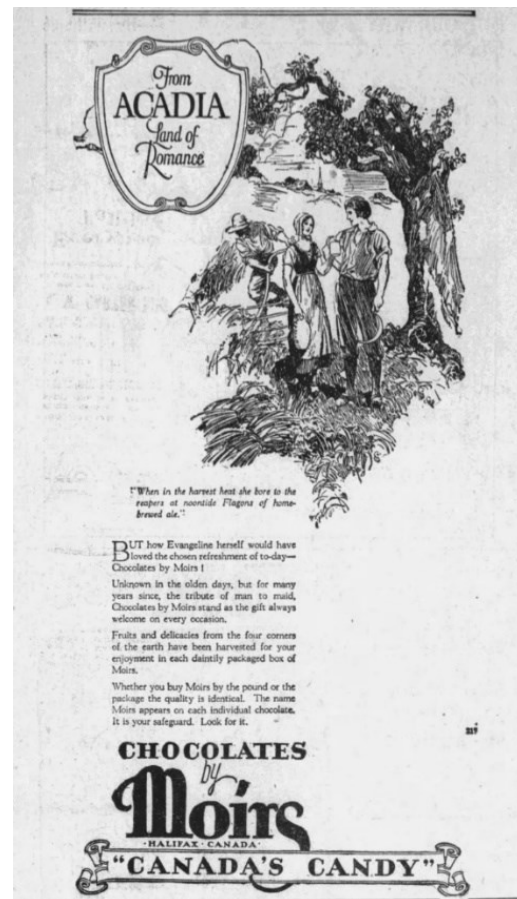
between the depiction of Evangeline in Longfellow's poem and the reality that Acadians experienced.¹⁸⁹

Evangeline has been a marketing graphic for several companies. Ganong in nearby New Brunswick had an iconic Evangeline brand.¹⁹⁰ Chocolate companies are not the only companies using the name to promote this sense of

regionalism and heritage. Railway companies on the "land of Evangeline route" proudly promote the character on timetables and logos.¹⁹¹ According to Canadian historian A. J. B. Johnston, "[f]or many decades, the artwork generated to accompany *Evangeline* stood as the only available depictions of what

"historical" Acadia might have looked like, unrealistic though they were. The images turned up not just in books and pamphlets, but on a wide range of commercial products—dishes, chocolate boxes, soft drink bottles, and many more. One need not ever have read a book to be influenced by the story and images

**Figure 4.4: Evangeline Advertisement
"When In the Harvest Heat"**



Source: *Time Colonist* May 16, 1927.

¹⁸⁹ Naomi E.S. Griffiths, *The Contexts of Acadian History 1686-1784*, (Montreal, Kingston, London and Buffalo: McGill – Queen's University Press, 1992), 101. Griffiths mentions that the story of Evangeline describes family being torn apart, which scholarship has accepted as a truthful statement. This statement is mixed with entire Acadian communities ending up in the same community after the deportation, which is not the case.

¹⁹⁰ Evangeline Collection, Ganong Museum Collection, 13 May 2019, St. Stephen New Brunswick. David Folster. *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*. (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006)

¹⁹¹ Railway Timetable, East Hants Historical Society Museum, August 20th, 2019, Selma Nova Scotia.

of Evangeline.”¹⁹² The prominent usage of the symbol of Evangeline demonstrates Moirs’ awareness of not only real historical figures but also the mythical legends that impact its consumers in the region. Moirs, like other companies, did not depict the brutality of tragic circumstances that many Acadians underwent during the deportation or the years later. Scholar Barbara Leblanc states, “[t]he ensuing image of an accepted group identity is made up of “symbols that a people develop, together with their meanings about actual events of history, as uniquely experienced by the people.” Castille and Kushner state that “the symbol set need not be historically real, it need only be believed in, in some ideal sense.””¹⁹³ This is what Evangeline was to the Acadian population, and how other populations viewed the Acadian culture.

The first Moirs Evangeline advertisement shown ran in the *Phoenix Star* June 6th, 1927¹⁹⁴ and the second ran in the *Times Colonist* on May 16th, 1927.¹⁹⁵ Both show clearly a man and a woman, “From Acadia: Land of Romance,” in very early pilgrim-like dress. Both showcase the label “Canada’s Candy” at the bottom referencing the regional connection. The scenes show agricultural lands in the background, which is symbolic of much of the land and livelihood of Acadians. Moirs used historical figures that were both mythological and real to advertise their products, many of the advertisements featuring women.

4.2 The Role of Gender, Class, and Age in the Advertising Demographic

Moirs advertising followed a conventional demographic for chocolate companies around the world. American artists primarily designed the females depicted on the Moirs boxes, especially those designed in the early 1900s to the 1920s. Children and the elderly were more

¹⁹² A.J.B. Johnston, “The Call of the Archetype and the Challenge of Acadian History,” *French Colonial History*, no. 5 (2004): 81.

¹⁹³ Barbara Leblanc, “The Dynamic Relationship Between Historic Site and Identity Construction: Grand Pre and the Acadians,” (PhD Dissertation, Laval University, August 1994), 50.

¹⁹⁴ “From Acadia Land of Romance” *Star Phoenix*, 6 June 1927, p. 11.

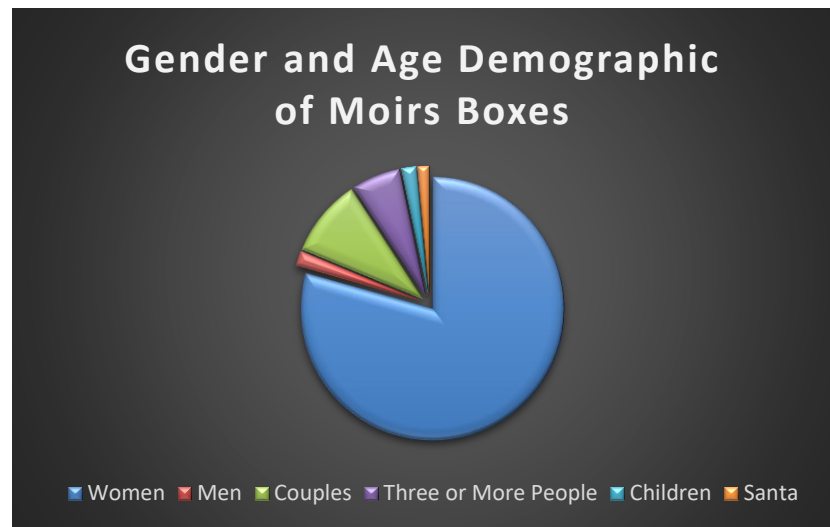
¹⁹⁵ “Evangeline From Acadia Land of Romance” *Times Colonist*, 16 May 1927, p. 20.

frequently used in newspaper ads, and rarely used on boxes. While many Moirs boxes showcase wealthy individuals, some newspaper ads depict the working class. This relates directly to the romantic and luxurious nature of product consumption, specifically the romantic notion of chocolate. Gifting chocolate was prevalent and the romantic allure of the couples heightened the marketability of the brand. Box cover designs were not always unique as many box covers were sold by various companies.

Over one third of the boxes studied contain an image of a person on the product's packaging, and Figure 4.5 shows the breakdown of those depictions of people.

The trend that Moirs and many other

Figure 4.5: Graph Showing Gender and Age Demographic of Moirs Boxes



Source: Compiled from the Gaétan Lang Collection of 623 boxes 218 of these boxes include a depiction of people.

companies followed in a large portion of their advertising was the use of women directly on their product. According to advertisement researcher Roland Marchand, “[t]he leading lady claimed the largest role in the advertising tableaux. Her qualifications for stardom were scarcely debatable; everyone acknowledged that she made at least 80 percent of all consumer purchases.”¹⁹⁶ This is significant because the woman would want to feel represented by the

¹⁹⁶ Roland Marchand, “Advertisements as Social Tableaux,” *Advertising and Society Review* 1, no. 1 (2000): 7.

package they were purchasing. Historian Richard Pollay, who has done extensive work on cigarette company advertising, comments, “[f]ew would argue that advertising faithfully mirrors reality.”¹⁹⁷ Pollay continues, “[o]ne fear is that the advertising system will create the kind of consumer citizen it seems to assume or prefer.”¹⁹⁸ Women wanted to be the woman on the box and men wanted their girlfriends/wives to be the woman on the box. This leads to the second most popular trend involving people on Moirs boxes, which is the use of romantic couples.

The second most popular trend is depicting romantic couples. Figure 4.6 shows that trend.¹⁹⁹ The box directly states “for your hearts desire” making an explicit reference to the romantic nature of the

Figure 4.6: Box Depicting a Romantic Couple

relationship between the man and woman on the package. The man bows after removing his hat, in what was clearly an act that portrayed class distinction. Moirs written without the elephant stylized M that came about in



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2019 - 023.

1924,²⁰⁰ dates the box to circa late 1910s to the early 1920s. While the quantity of boxes with couples depicted is fewer in number, they are one of the many trends Moirs is remembered for.

¹⁹⁷ Richard W. Pollay, “The Distorted Mirror: Reflections on the Unintended Consequences of Advertising,” *Journal of Marketing* 50, no. 2 (April 1986): 27.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-023.

²⁰⁰ Moirs used a stylized elephant M after 1924, this is after the trend with the iconic elephant Jumbo’s popularity. This follows the trend seen in the elephant billboard that travelled across the country, bearing the Moirs name. See chapter 3 for information on the role of the elephant in Moirs advertising.

Women were gracing the cover of the boxes long before the trademarked Moirs iconic brand Pot of Gold. Figure 4.7 shows examples of these women.²⁰¹ While the women predominantly appear realistic, these boxes were works of art. Several artists' works appeared on the front box covers for the Moirs brand, as discussed in Chapter 2. They include

Figure 4.7: Early 1910s-20s Boxes Showcasing Women



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection GLANG 2019-111, GLANG 2019-108.

Earl E. Christy, Clarence Underwood, Archie Gunn, Philip Boileau, Frederick Duncan, Harrison Fisher, and Benjamin Lichtman. Figure 4.7 (box on the right) shows the artwork of Theo Knowles, one of the artists known to have physically dated his work. Canadian Theo Knowles is listed as being an active artist as early as 1888.²⁰² This piece is dated 1916. Figure 4.7 (box on the left) shows the artwork of S. Knox. Both women featured in this artwork are clearly upper-class or upper middle-class individuals.

Figure 4.8: Boxes from Moirs and Ganong Depicting Lady with Bonnet



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection GLANG 2018-051 and The Chocolate Museum (Ganong).

Box designs were not always unique to Moirs, as can be seen by comparing the two images shown in Figure 4.8.²⁰³ Ganong and Moirs used the identical box covers. This is valuable information as it indicates

²⁰¹Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-111. And Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-108.

²⁰² Nancy Geddes Poole, *The Art of London" 1830-1930*, (London Ontario: Nancy Geddes Poole e book, 2017), 379. <http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/mcintoshpub/1>.

²⁰³ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-051. And. Permanent Display, Ganong Museum Collection, 13 May 2019, St. Stephen New Brunswick.

how Moirs selected their covers. In this case, the assumption would be that the artwork was mass-produced, and companies could purchase it. Ganong (Left box in Figure 4.8) has their box set off with ribbon and Ganong in the bottom right hand corner, while the Moirs box (Left box in Figure 4.8) has “Moirs Limited” imprinted on the bottom of the box.

In the newspaper advertising, the depiction of women illustrated a broader class dynamic as illustrated in the *Calgary Herald* in 1921.²⁰⁴ This woman is described as a “laborer”, meaning that women were not only depicted in fancy gowns, as the trends indicate, but also as working women. This is significant as some other advertising campaigns such as the Canada Dry campaign only reflected one possible type of consumer.²⁰⁵ Roland Marchand comments, “working class households, or even apartment-house dwellers and families with boarders, found no reflection in advertising’s “mirror.””²⁰⁶ This ad almost attempts to mitigate the romantic nature of the chocolate gift giving experience, and rather use the chocolate package as a “reward” for doing excellent work. This difference can be understood as a class division. While one woman works on a typewriter, another enjoys a fancy party with a stunning gown. This class division is observed when looking at the female graduates shown on

Figure 4.9: Advertisement Depicting Woman as Labour Worker



Source: *Calgary Herald*
May 30, 1921.

²⁰⁴ “Moir’s Chocolates,” *Calgary Herald*, 30 May 1921, p. 18.

²⁰⁵ Roland Marchand, “Advertisements as Social Tableaux,” *Advertising and Society Review* 1, no. 1 (2000), 5.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Moirs boxes between the 1910s and late 1920s.²⁰⁷ This is important because Figure 4.9 and the graduate boxes were produced in roughly the same time frame. The images depict the variation of class identities that co-existed in the same society. The time frame of these boxes is significant, as it illustrates a shift in gender identity. Other companies did feature educated upper class women; Moirs showed an awareness of the changing identity due to events of the time.

Figure 4.10: Moirs Box Showing Gathering of Several Men

Men are one of the most under-represented groups of people depicted on Moirs box covers. The men in Figure 4.10 are engaged in a discussion around a piece of artwork



Source: Colchester Historem, visited June 2018.

showing a dog.²⁰⁸ While not considered the most common masculine activity, art indicated wealth. These men depict a higher class based on the clothing they are wearing. Even the colouration of the box indicates wealth with a gold base and a fancy red ribbon. Men alone are the least common trend on Moirs boxes, as men are often shown with a woman adding to the romantic nature of the product. What is interesting about boxes showcasing men is that they often look realistic. Marchand comments, “[m]en were sometimes depicted in modernistic illustrations. But never did advertising artists distort and reshape men’s bodies as they did when

²⁰⁷ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-046. And. Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-047.

²⁰⁸ Colchester Historem, *Museum Collection*, 9 June 2018.

they transformed women into Art Deco figurines.”²⁰⁹ This is interesting as Moirs advertising followed this trend and only portrayed men as they would have appeared, not as a distorted figure or someone who was unrealistic.

Another male figure used in Moirs advertising is that of the Soldier. With Halifax an active port and the home of the company, Moirs tended to aim newspaper ads of the time around the soldier population stationed there and abroad as seen in the *Charlottetown Guardian* in 1918.²¹⁰ This soldier is shown in the trenches, smiling while he opens a box of Moirs chocolates. The ad reads, “[t]he soldiers in the trenches crave for “sweets”, and a box of Moir’s Chocolates – pure, rich,

Figure 4.11: Moirs Soldier Advertisement



Source: *Charlottetown Guardian*, June 10, 1918.

delicious and nutritious – is a doubly welcome gift from home.”²¹¹ The wording here is significant because it makes those on the home front, who are missing their loved ones, think of sending along the package. Ganong produced both “The Soldier’s Box” and “The Overseas Box” specifically relating to the war efforts and those with family members on the front.²¹² Moirs was

²⁰⁹ Roland Marchand, “Advertisements as Social Tableaux,” *Advertising and Society Review* 1, no. 1 (2000), 23.

²¹⁰ “Moirs from Home,” *Charlottetown Guardian*, 10 June 1918, p.5.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*. (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006), 46.

not the only company or the only chocolate company in the Maritimes thinking of those missing from the supper tables around the country.

Boxes featuring children are not common. Typically, the boxes that showcase children are specialty packages. The “Children’s Package” shown in Figure 4.12 is a specialty package that Moirs produced circa 1940s.²¹³ The package showcases numerous children’s nursery rhymes and figures. This makes children relate to the product and causes parents who grew up with this connection to nursery rhymes

Figure 4.12: Children's Package



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection GLANG 2018-487.

to buy this for their children. According to Alyson E. King, a historian who has studied children’s identity formation in *Kayak* magazine, “[a]s these children develop their sense of belonging to

Figure 4.13: Holly Hobbie Valentine's Day Heart



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection GLANG 2018-628.

their racial-ethnic group (i.e. in-group belonging), they are influenced by not only their family and community, but also by representations in literature and popular culture.”²¹⁴ In consuming the Children’s Package, the child would be shaped by the nursery rhymes themselves, the images visible on the box, and what the parents and external voices are suggesting about the product. The “Holly Hobbie”

²¹³ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-487.

²¹⁴ Alyson E. King, “Adventurous Children: Creating a Canadian Identity in *Kayak*: Canada’s History Magazine for Kids,” *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, (March 2016): 120.

package is another speciality package geared for children.²¹⁵ This package was specifically made for Valentine's day.

Created in the late 1960s, Holly Hobbie is a childhood character representing Denise Hobbie's own children.²¹⁶ The artwork is typically a blue bonnet-wearing girl who adores cats.²¹⁷ The character was first called "blue girl" and later on "Holly Hobbie" was used.²¹⁸ A rag doll of this character was officially launched in 1974 and the doll became a symbol of childhood for many children growing up in the United States.²¹⁹ This symbolic character would have been relatable for many parents, leading to an external cultural pressure to purchase the product. This is but one example when American influence carried over into Canadian customs and society. The newspaper advertising for the company shows a dramatic increase in those ads that target and feature children. In the late 1940's, the main message of several newspaper ads is targeted specifically at the children's consumption of chocolate bars. This is practical for company advertising, as children often would go to the corner grocer and pick up the newest bar after passing the newsstand or seeing the newspaper on the table every morning on their way to pick up their treat.

²¹⁵ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018 – 628.

²¹⁶ Revolv, "Holly Hobbie," Revolv, last modified 19 February 2020, <https://www.revolv.com/page/Holly-Hobbie>. And Carlton Cards, "About Us," Carlton Cards, last modified 2019, <http://www.carltoncards.ca/aboutus/history.html>.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

Children and the elderly were used in specific instances and around specific holidays. The advertisements shown in Figure 4.14 are all from the 1920s and depict elderly people. This is not a common trend on the boxes. In two of the three advertisements shown here the elderly individual(s) are sitting stationary. This is significant. As Roland Marchand comments, “[i]n advertising stereotypes the elderly were neither mobile nor

Figure 4.14: Ads Depicting Elderly Individuals



Source: *La Patrie* November 7, 1924 (top left), *Ottawa Citizen* December 20, 1924 (top right) and *Calgary Herald* (bottom) September 23, 1925.

modern. Nearly always seated, they found their place among nostalgic props like fireplaces and kittens.”²²⁰ The role of the newspapers across the country in the 1920s was informative. Figure 4.14 shows both English and French papers. This was where the elderly and the rest of Canada went for their updates. It is interesting that these elderly depictions typically are in the home and some showcase other prominent members of the family.

²²⁰ Roland Marchand, “Advertisements as Social Tableaux,” *Advertising and Society Review* 1, no. 1 (2000), 37.

Moirs advertising was aware of gender, class and age demographics and advertised appropriately. For instance, members of the lower or working class were targeted in the newspapers, as opposed to more expensive Canadian magazines. As Richard Pollay commented, “[a]dvertising models a pattern of behavior that is held out to be “the good life,” with the props, of course, for sale, and this is shown to be the ideal for all to strive toward.”²²¹ Buying that box of chocolate made these people the ideal consumer and therefore the ideal citizen.

4.3 Real Figures: Monarchs to Celebrities

Artistically created individuals often grace the cover of Moirs boxes. This section will analyze those Canadian icons who made their own impact on the company and its legacy. This section will explore Miss Canada, King Edward VIII (the only monarchy used in Moirs advertising), David Keon and Liberace in order of their involvement with the Moirs brand. The individuals selected to profile the brand are significant to the time frame they are used in. Miss Canada was an iconic female who represented the country in a national competition, King Edward VIII was the only monarch to grace the cover of a Moirs box, although Moirs did have a Queen’s Choice bar in the 1950s. David Keon was a sports superstar who led the Toronto Maple Leafs into several Stanley Cup wins, and Liberace was a unique individual who was setting a new trend in society. These individuals were iconic figures who heavily promoted the Moirs brand.

Miss Canada is one of the only real women to grace the cover of a Moirs box. The woman shown, Winnifred Blair from New Brunswick, was crowned Miss Canada in 1923.²²² As

²²¹ Richard W. Pollay, “The Distorted Mirror: Reflections on the Unintended Consequences of Advertising,” *Journal of Marketing* 50, no. 2 (April 1986): 26.

²²² David Goss, “The Fairest Girl,” *The Beaver*, (February/March 2003): 29-32.

Janis Thiessen comments, “Moirs was a source of pride for the Maritimers, as it was the only business in Halifax with a national product.”²²³ That made a Miss Canada from New Brunswick particularly attractive as a Moirs representative. Figure 4.15 shows two boxes, one with Blair dressed in

Figure 4.15: Boxes Showcasing Miss Canada 1923 Winnifred Blair



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection, GLANG 2018-113, GLANG 2018-114.

her winter seasonal attire and the other in formal summer attire. Both boxes show “Introducing Miss Canada” written above her head. Aside from being a white female, which is very common for the Moirs brand, the luxurious nature of Miss Canada’s clothing indicates a good upbringing. Historian Robyn Fowler writes, “earlier, classically inspired versions of Miss Canada appearing as an Imperial daughter of Britannia, showing how the 1918 cartoon chronicles a newly forged national spirit following Canada’s role in World War I.”²²⁴ Historian and writer David Goss discusses Blair’s pageant experience in 1923. He states;

They had arrived in Montreal some days earlier to find neither judges in place nor criteria established for the selection of Miss Canada. They were quickly swept up into a round of social engagements; no opportunities arose for them to show off their winter sports skills as they had expected. By February 9, several of the contestants threatened to withdraw. "We did not come here for pink teas," one of them fumed to the Montreal Daily Star. One of the girls' chaperones explained: "These girls are essentially athletic girls. They did not

²²³ Janis Thiessen, *Snacks: A Canadian Food History*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 144 – 45.

²²⁴ Robyn Fowler, “‘A New Canadian National Spirit’: Allegorical Miss Canada and the Occult Canadian State,” *Library and Archives Canada*, (2005):40.

enter for a beauty contest ... Not only that, but the girls are still in the dark as to what qualifications they must possess in this contest.²²⁵

This explanation of the contest suggests it was not a beauty pageant, rather more of an athletic showcase of women from all over Canada. Gracing the box as one of the first real women, is perhaps one of the largest honours Moirs could have awarded her.

In December of 1936, King Edward VIII abdicated the thrown to his brother George VI. Moirs like Ganong received several boxes from England for King Edward's coronation. In the case of Ganong they received larger boxes with Edward's face on them, but when he abdicated George's face was airbrushed onto the boxes and smaller boxes were shipped from England to sell in mass numbers.²²⁶ This is not a common box trend and is truly a unique example of Moirs using real figures to advertise the product.

Figure 4.16: Box showing King Edward VIII



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection
GLANG 2018-044.

²²⁵ David Goss, "The Fairest Girl," *The Beaver*, (February/March 2003): 29-32.

²²⁶ Permanent Display, Ganong Museum Collection, 13 May 2019, St. Stephen New Brunswick. David Folster, *Ganong: A Sweet History of Chocolate*. (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Publishing, 2006), 62.

David Keon was an excellent hockey player for the Toronto Maple Leafs, playing several winning seasons with the team during the 1960s. According to William Houston, “[w]hen the Leafs heard about Dave Keon, a 14-year-old in Noranda, Quebec, for example, they immediately sponsored (in fact, purchased) his team, thus locking him up as a Leaf property.”²²⁷ A signed puck and souvenir bag are the only indication of an affiliation with the sport by the Moirs company.²²⁸ This item is rare, although

Figure 4.17: Puck Signed by Former Toronto Maple Leaf David Keon



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection GLANG 2019-627.

not for other major companies. David Keon himself also signed a puck in orange lettering for Wonder Bread, which is essentially identical to the one shown here.²²⁹ This puck was likely given out as a contest winning prize at an exhibition, which Moirs attended frequently around the world (See Chapter 3). The games of hockey and lacrosse, our national sports, are constantly engrained in conversations about nationhood and belonging.²³⁰ According to Barrie Houlihan, “[i]n the 1950s and 1960s ice hockey fulfilled an important role in confirming a common popular cultural identity among immigrant Canadians. It was seen as the game Canada invented and, for a time at least, distracted attention from the deeper divisions between English and French

²²⁷ William Houston, *Inside Maple Leaf Gardens: The Rise and Fall of the Toronto Maple Leafs*, (Toronto & Montreal: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1989), 39.

²²⁸ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-627.

²²⁹ Bobby Burrell, phone conversation with author, November 2nd, 2019.

²³⁰ Carly Adams, “Troubling Bodies: The Canadian Girl, The Ice Rink and the Banff Winter Carnival,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 48, no. 3 (Autumn 2014): 203.

Canadians.”²³¹ One cannot say hockey bridged all the divides, especially the French and English Canadian divide, as one of the main rivalries that Keon was a part of was the Toronto and Montreal rivalry, that still exists strongly today.

One of the final celebrities to endorse the Moirs brand was Liberace.²³² This was done during a commercial which aired in the 1970s. Liberace endorsed the Pot of Gold, holding it proudly in several magazine and newspaper ads after the commercial aired on television. This was Liberace’s first commercial work.²³³ According to Greg McCracken, “[t]he effectiveness of the endorser depends, in part, upon the meanings he or she brings to the endorsement process.”²³⁴ McCracken continues, “Distinctions of status, class, gender, and age, as well as personality and lifestyle types, are represented in the pool of available celebrities, putting an extraordinarily various and subtle pallet of

meanings at the disposal of the marketing system.”²³⁵ By producing this ad Moirs suggests that they align their values closely with Liberace and see him as potentially being an icon for this company. Because this was Liberace’s first commercial work it was early on in his advertising career, and the company was taking a chance. Fortunately, it paid off and Pot of Gold was once again a bestseller.

Figure 4.18: Liberace Advertisement



Source: *Toronto Star* Dec 6, 1975.

²³¹ Barrie Houlihan, “Sport, National Identity and Public Policy,” *Nations and Nationalism* 3, no. 1 (1997):125.

²³² “Liberace Advertisement,” *Toronto Star*, 6 December 1975.

²³³ Janis Thiessen, *Snacks: A Canadian Food History*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 148.

²³⁴ Grant McCracken. “Who is the Celebrity Endorser? Cultural Foundations of the Endorsement Process,” *Journal of Consumer Research* 16, no. 3 (December 1989): 312.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

Real life individuals added their personal stories or impact to the Moirs name and brand. This section depicts four examples, with various types of ephemera becoming the gimmick. It shows a progression from Miss Canada in 1923 to Liberace in the mid 1970s. This was a trend, that happened less than once a decade, but remained with the company for the bulk of its independent ownership. When large-scale American business came in, the celebrities diminished (Liberace being the last known celebrity to do any work for the company in 1975).

4.4 Pot of Gold: The Iconic Brand

Figure 4.19: Pot of Gold Ladies



Source: Gaétan Lang Collection.

Companies strive to create a brand, an image, that continues and thrives as a tradition in the homes of its consumers. According to Wrigley Gum Historian Daniel Robinson, “the general trend, beginning in the late nineteenth century, saw accelerated branding and national advertising as enhancing the ability of manufacturers to communicate directly with customers,

as an enduring hallmark of consumer capitalism.”²³⁶ This statement is in direct opposition to historian Ian McKay who comments, “[a]dvertising in Halifax emphasized cleanliness, wholesomeness, and tastiness, but failed to produce a popular brand name.”²³⁷ While McKay’s work discusses the last half of the 19th century and Robinson mentions the increasing popularity during the late 19th century, Moirs had several brand named products. These include Dan Dee Bread which appeared as early as 1880 and into 1920, and Pilot Biscuits which were produced from 1880 to at least 1906.²³⁸ While Moirs did have other brand name products as time progressed, the iconic brand name was reached in 1928.

The iconic brand was the Pot of Gold. The box with the red ribbon in the foreground of Figure 4.19 is the first pot of gold box.²³⁹ While the iconic image of a Pot of Gold at the end of the rainbow is often associated with Irish folklore, Moirs Pot of Gold has a unique meaning. In a newspaper story, from August of 1928, the headline reads, “New Chocolate Named to Honor Rainbow Haven.”²⁴⁰ The article describes the naming of the new Pot of Gold after Rainbow Haven, an organization that worked to provide care and compassion for the underprivileged children of Nova Scotia.²⁴¹ While the box was not released to the public until December of that year, the first box that rolled off the belt in August was given to “Farmer Smith” who apparently had given a lot of time and dedication to Rainbow Haven.²⁴² The naming of the product is

²³⁶ Daniel Robinson, “Marketing Gum, Making Meanings: Wrigley in North America, 1890-1930,” *Enterprise and Society* 5, no. 1 (2004): 18.

²³⁷ Ian McKay, “Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry during the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century,” *Labour* 3, (1978):70.

²³⁸ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2019-578. Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2019 – 421.

²³⁹ Gaétan Lang, *Personal Collection*, 27 January 2020, GLANG 2018-045-100.

²⁴⁰ Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Moirs Limited Fonds, Monghan Scrapbook, MG. 3 1870.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² *Ibid.*

significant. The brand was not an overly costly brand on the market, but it allowed a consumer to think they had everything they needed – they had the Pot of Gold.

Beginning as early as December of 1928, the brand on the boxes appeared with the phrase “Chocolates by Moirs,” and Pot of Gold was launched to the public. It thrived. Janis Thiessen comments, “[i]t was the first “mixed assortment box” of chocolates offered for sale by a confectioner.”²⁴³ This is substantial because it allowed everyone to select their favourites from the same box, one of the many reasons why it was so popular. The images that graced the front of the boxes almost always included a woman dressed in an extravagant gown and a rainbow spanning the box. Eleven different girls graced the cover of Pot of Gold, but they were all artistically created, and no evidence even suggests that real women were the subjects of the artists.

This iconic brand has seen many changes since the Moir family sold the business. The lady was removed from the box, sales plummeted, and she was put back on in the 1960s. The iconic box changed over time, and ownership influenced those changes. The Pot of Gold lady was removed from the box in 1974.²⁴⁴ Hershey now owns the rights to the Pot of Gold name. If one looks at the box for 2020, it has no woman showcasing the product on the cover, a very small rainbow, and it visually displays what the contents inside should look like. Change does happen over time and the Pot of Gold iconic brand is no exception to that change.

4.5 Conclusion

Depictions of people comprise a large portion of Moirs advertising. While it is important to showcase what Moirs depicted, it is equally valuable to comprehend what was not used in their advertising. Racial minorities were not depicted on the covers of boxes. Indigenous

²⁴³ Janis Thiessen, *Snacks: A Canadian Food History*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 147.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 147 – 148.

populations other than Figure 4.1 were not depicted in the advertising. This is not a trend that other companies followed, as can be seen in the Indigenous trading cards at Ganong, and the mass symbolism associated with Indigenous populations and cigarette companies for example. Several boxes were printed in the United States or in the United Kingdom, meaning that Moirs and many other companies outsourced the artistic work. Even two Canadian companies in the same geographical location have identical box covers, as can be seen in Figures 4.8. As time progressed, more outside American influence can be seen (an example of this is Holly Hobbie shown in Figure 4.13), although American illustrators were working on Moirs box covers and advertisements from the beginning of national distribution of the product. This is still influencing the Pot of Gold brand today and it no longer features a woman, and only showcases a small rainbow. The brand and imagery that built the company has been overtaken by the big box American business.

Identity formation is imperative to understanding factors such as class, race, gender, and national identities, which can all be seen in these examples of Moirs advertising. The depiction of people in Moirs advertising is valuable to understanding the company's link to identity formation. This chapter explored several case studies through analyzing Moirs advertisements using individuals, both real and fictional. These case studies are examples that helped build the Moirs name into the iconic image of Pot of Gold, which is still being produced today.

Chapter 5, Conclusion

The Moirs company operation spans a few centuries. From a small family run business to the large nationwide operating business it evolved into. Moirs advertising has been a unique case study to follow through time. From as early as 1830 to 2007, Moirs name graced billheads, envelopes, newspaper ads, magazines, billboards, box covers, radio ads and commercials. With Moirs located in the port city of Halifax, the products easily made their way across the country by rail and around the world by vessel. When some other Nova Scotia and Canadian businesses felt economic hardship, Moirs' diversity in their products and industries, and adaptations made to their financial situations (adding shareholders in the late 1910s for example), allowed Moirs to maintain their prices while other companies were forced to raise theirs. This increased the marketability of the company's products and fostered unique advertising throughout the company operations.

This thesis has considered various private and public collections of Moirs memorabilia, newspapers published across the country, magazines and government documents. By considering these types of sources in my research, I was able to develop visible patterns and themes in Moirs advertising and their popularity. While I will never know for certain the intent of the artist, advertising agency or the Moirs company, it is significant to attempt to comprehend the importance of these trends. Since this project spans centuries, the time frame reflected in Moirs advertising evolves drastically.

Chapter one laid a solid foundation for the content of the thesis. The first chapter discussed the importance of advertising, considered identity formations, and confectionery operations in Canada. Looking at literature from scholars such as Richard Pollay, Roland Marchand, Ian McKay, Ernest Forbes, Benedict Anderson, Daniel Robinson, Margaret Mulrooney and Frank Covert, I was able to apply various lenses to the vast amount of primary material this

topic presented. This thesis considered multiple companies for points of comparison, such as Ganong. Ganong shared many of the same company identities and advertising trends as Moirs. This company's advertising proved to be like Moirs in nearly every way. David Folster's research on Ganong proved to be an invaluable source of information. This along with tidbits of confectionery history allowed me to situate Moirs advertising within a larger context.

Chapter Two, *Process: The Mosaic of Advertising Techniques*, examined the vast amount of advertising Moirs utilized. The types of advertising varied significantly over time, both in type and format. Beginning with early forms of advertising, such as envelope covers, billheads, and trade cards, the company was able to market as developments in technology materialized. Moirs marketed on a grass-roots level when the company began, sending salesmen into rural areas. As time progressed, unique advertising techniques, such as contests and giveaways, became the trend. By the 1980s, commercials were one of the most popular ways to advertise confectionery. This chapter continues by discussing the role of mass media and consumer culture with regards to Moirs billboards, parades and exhibitions. Moirs participated in several exhibitions worldwide putting their name on the international stage. The chapter concludes by discussing product naming and trademarks. Moirs saw value in creating an identity based on what they named their products and the symbols they trademarked. This is significant as Moirs took legal ownership of iconic brands such as the Pot of Gold through these trademark registrations. The chapter considered how the process of Moirs advertising evolved with respect to identity. The chapter argued that through advancements in society the process of Moirs advertising changed.

Chapter Three, *Place: Intrinsically Linked to Identity*, analyzed the variety of Moirs advertising depicting flora, fauna, and landscape. Considering the quantification of flora and fauna from the onset, this laid a solid foundation to continue using case studies of Moirs

advertising. Moirs used a variety of animals, with an overwhelming number of bird depictions. Some of the unique animals used include elephants and white tigers, relating to a clear colonial connection. This chapter continued by discussing regional and national depictions in the advertising. It is valuable to note that Moirs advertised in a hybrid style, including both regional imagery and national narratives. Regional images were very popular in the 1910s and 1920s. As time progressed, the images became less frequent. The chapter concludes discussing the exotic trends. The exotic production of chocolate ingredients suggests that the advertising should reflect that trend. Many confectionery companies follow this trend of the romantic unknown. This chapter evaluated how Moirs advertising of place changed through time with relation to identity.

Chapter 4, *People: Depicting the Average Consumer to Society's Epitomic Image*, examines the forms of Moirs advertising that involve society. This chapter begins by considering the historically significant figures used in the advertising. Regardless as to whether they were factual or fictitious, these characters played an important role in the advertising. The demographic of people used in Moirs advertising becomes more evident in this chapter. The elderly and children were rarely used on box covers but become the target for newspaper advertising. White young women were overwhelmingly popular. Celebrities were used in Moirs advertising, which included Miss Canada on a box cover, a signed Dave Keon hockey puck, and a Liberace commercial in 1975. This is important as the trend continued throughout more than half a century in many different forms. This chapter concluded with the iconic brand, the Pot of Gold. This brand name is still gracing store shelves today. Since its introduction in 1928, Pot of Gold has been a staple of the Moirs company.

The three core chapters in this thesis discuss the changes in Moirs advertising over time. The key argument that is made is that society values influenced what was being depicted in

these advertising campaigns. Moirs highly influenced the society they operated in, employing hundreds of people, developing a nation-wide iconic brand, and becoming household names in Canada and abroad. Moirs fits comfortably within larger concepts of identity formation. Racial, gender, class identities were considered through regional and national lenses. Moirs advertising reveals considerable details about these identities. Society plays a key role in the advertising world, and the advertising world greatly influences the trends in society. Identity provides a sense of belonging that is still relevant today. How advertising changed and adapted that identity through symbols, is a field of material culture study that is currently lacking. Since identity is not stagnant, it makes the scholarly study more arduous and trend setting. Society does not see the significance of advertising as a window from which to view identity as well as the very foundation of how it is being built as it is such a part of our daily lives. Moirs was much more than a chocolate company; it was a lens through which the mosaic of identity became a symbol of society.

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Appendix A, Moirs Product Names

Name	Location
A Sweet Story	GLANG collection
Abernethy (Biscuits/Crackers)	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Acadia	1932 Letter to Dealers (GLANG-2019-338), 1935 Receipt (GLANG-2019-503)
Acadia Mixture	1901 receipt (GLANG-2019-554), 1901 Receipt (GLANG-2019-620), 1905 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review May 4, 1905
Ace (Bridge Mix)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Admiration Package	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-285)
African Lunch	1926 Receipt (GLANG-2019-352)
Aladdin Box	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1191)
Alpine	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review May 21, 1914
American Flag Gum	1900 Receipt (GLANG-2019-567)
Anita	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Nov 19, 1914
Argyle Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Baked Beans	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Baltimore Biscuits	1898 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Mar 17, 1898
Banquet	GLANG collection (GLANG-2018-313)
Barber Poles	1901 Receipt (GLANG-2019-618)
Barley Square	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Barrington Chocolates	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1932 Letter to Dealers (GLANG-2019-338)
Beefsteak Jap (Penny Goods)	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421), 1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Belmont	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow), 1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Big Gun Bar	1930 Receipt (GLANG-2019-482)
Big Hit (Bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Big Six Cream Bar	1939 Price List
Bingoes	
Bit-O-Honey (Bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Black Crook	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jan 29, 1903, 1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Bluenose (drum?)	1925 Receipt (GLANG-2019-476)
Bluenose Mixture	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow)
Bluenose Suckers	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1940 Receipt (GLANG-2019-549)
Bolivars	1926 Receipt (GLANG-2019-515), 1895 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review May 30, 1895
Bolster (Bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Bon Bons	
Boston Chews	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)

Boston Pilot Biscuits	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421), 1901 receipt (GLANG-2019-554), 1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-578), 1904 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Dec 1, 1904 P97
Bouquet	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-299)
Boy's choice	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Brazil in Chocolate (Bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Bridge Box	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow)
Bridge Mixture	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-508)
Bristol Mix	1900 Receipt (GLANG-2019-566)
Bulls Eyes	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Cabin Mix	1910 Receipt (GLANG-2019-604), 1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Feb 26, 1914
California Figs	1902 Receipt (GLANG-2019-596)
Camp chocolate	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Canada Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1926 Credit note (GLANG-2019-477)
Canada's Choice	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Canadian Festival	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-425)
Capitol Mixture	1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-578)
Casino	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1198)
Cedar Chest	1940 Receipt (GLANG-2019-377)
Cerise (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Ceylon	1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-581), 1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Checkerboard (Bridge Mix)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Cherry Cocktail	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2019-691)
Chic	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1198)
Chicken Bones	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Children's Package	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Chinese Lunch	1901 Receipt (GLANG-2019-620)
Chocolate Cables (Penny Goods)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Chocolate Pyramids (Penny Goods)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Chocolate Soldier (Bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Chromo Roll	1903 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jan 29, 1903
Cleopatra	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jan 1, 1914
Club Package (Golf)	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1198)
Cocoa Pineapple Thief	
Coconut Trilbys	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Colonial	GLANG collection (GLANG-2018-238)
Columbia	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Nov 19, 1914
Cornhills (Fancy Biscuits)	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Coronation Mix	1902 Receipt (GLANG-2019-597)
Cottage Mix	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Feb 26, 1914

Cracknells (Fancy Biscuits)	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Cream o' milk (bar)	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow)
Cream Soda Biscuits	
Crispets	GLANG collection (GLANG-2018-510)
Cupids Whispers	1901 receipt (GLANG-2019-554), 1902 Receipt (GLANG-2019-597)
Daddy's Delight	1905 Receipt (GLANG-2019-625)
Dairymaid (Bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Dan-Dee (Bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Dandee Bread	GLANG collection (GLANG-2018-494)
Dandee Kisses	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Diana Mint	1909 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Mar 18, 1809
Diplomat	1966 Ad Montreal Gazette
Dixie	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Dream	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1198)
Dream Package	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-292)
Dreamland	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-290)
Dyspepsia (Biscuits/Crackers)	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Edinburgh Mints	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Egyptian Girl	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1192)
Elastic Rats	1895 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review May 30, 1895
Elite	1895 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review Mar 21, 1895
Emerald (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Empire (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Empire Gums	1900 Receipt (GLANG-2019-368)
Empress Mixture	1964 Price List (GLANG-2019-307), 1967 Price List (Glang-2019-300)
Encore	1966 Corporate Annual Report, 1968 Price List (Glang-2019-299)
Ermine	1895 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review Mar 21, 1895
Fairy Queen	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1198)
Fairyland Package	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-269)
Family	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Family Pilot	1910 Receipt (GLANG-2019-604), 1904 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Dec 1, 1904 P97
Federal (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Festival	1964 Price List (GLANG-2019-306)
Finola (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Flag (Suckers)	1939 Price List
Fleur de Lise	1942 Receipt (GLANG-2019-382)
Flower Package	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Nov 19, 1914, 1968 Price List (Glang-2019-299), 1964 Price List (GLANG-2019-306)
Four in One	1964 Price List (GLANG-2019-306)
Four in One	Moirs product boxes (End of the Rainbow)
French Chocolates	1900 Receipt (GLANG-2019-567)

French Creams	1902 Receipt (GLANG-2019-598), 1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Fresh Made	1940 Receipt (GLANG-2019-378)
Genesse Walnut	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Genuine Jordan Almonds	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Ginger	1964 Price List (GLANG-2019-306)
Ginger Imperials	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Girl's choice	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Glasgow Mix	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Feb 26, 1914
Gold Card	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Nov 19, 1914
Golden Nugget	1941 Receipt (GLANG-2019-385)
Golden Rods	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Golden Treasure	1964 Price List (GLANG-2019-306)
Grand ma Cookies	1901 receipt (GLANG-2019-554)
Half and Half	1968 Price List (Glang-2019-299), 1964 Price List (GLANG-2019-306)
Halifax Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow)
Happiness	1953 Star Phoenix Ad, 1968 Price List (Glang-2019-299), 1964 Price List (GLANG-2019-306)
Happy Returns	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1198)
Happy Thoughts	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Havana	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jul 2 1914
Hearts	1901 receipt (GLANG-2019-554)
Hoarhound Candy	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Holiday Mixture	1901 receipt (GLANG-2019-554)
Holly Kisses	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Honeymoons	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Hot dogs	1938 Price List
Humbugs	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Hunky Dory	1900 Receipt (GLANG-2019-565)
Hunt	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1198)
Imperial Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1905 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review May 4, 1905
Island Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1930 Receipt (GLANG-2019-482)
Italian Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1905 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review May 4, 1905
Jackson Balls	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Japanese Coconut Sticks	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Jawbreakers	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Jellybeans	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Jenny Linds (Fancy Biscuits)	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Jeruselems	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1900 Receipt (GLANG-2019-565)
Jumbo (Bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)

Jumbo Twist Bread	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2019-287)
Jumbo Sticks	1893 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review Jun 1 1893
King Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Kings Choice	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow), 1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Krackle (Bar)	1939 Price List
La Coquette	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Ladies Choice	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1940 Receipt (GLANG-2019-549)
Lady	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Lemon Drops	
Lemon Snap Biscuits	1898 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Mar 17, 1898
Liberty Cherry Cream	
Lillian Gum	1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-582)
Lombardi	1960 Ad Star Phoenix
London Mix	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421), 1905 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review May 4, 1905
Lucky Horse Shoes (Penny Goods)	1939 Price List
Lunch (Pilot Biscuits)	1904 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Dec 1, 1904 P97
Luxura	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1933 Receipt (GLANG-2019-513)
Luxury	1949 Price List (March 23 1949), 1968 Price List (Glang-2019-299)
Mah Jong Box	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1192)
Malted Graham Sandwich (bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Malteso Caramels	1900 Receipt (GLANG-2019-569)
Maple Leaf Mix	1902 Receipt (GLANG-2019-596)
Maple Suckers	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Maraschino Cherries	Gaetan Lang Collection
Maritime Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Mascots	1905 Receipt (GLANG-2019-625)
Medford (Biscuits/Crackers)	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Memories chocolate (Box)	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow)
Mermaid (Box)	April 1927 Chocolate Soldier
Metropolitan Cream Bar	1905 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Apr 20, 1905
Milady	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Milk Treats	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-470)
Milton Biscuits	1893 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review Jun 15 1893
Minerva	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jan 1, 1914
Miniature	1968 Price List (Glang-2019-299)
Minnehaha	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jan 1, 1914
Miss Canada	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1198)
Molasses Mints	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Monogram Assortment	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow)
Montevideo	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)

Motor	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1198)
Navy Plug Licorice	1902 Receipt (GLANG-2019-596)
Nelson Biscuits	1898 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Mar 17, 1898
New Orleans Krunch	1939 Price List
Niagara (Assortment))	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
"Nigger" Kisses	1903 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jan 29, 1903
Nile (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Novelty Whistle Gum	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Octagon	1902 Receipt (GLANG-2019-599)
Oh Boy (Jan 9 23)	
Old Rose (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Olympic	1925 Ad Daily Telegraph, 1932 Letter to Dealers (GLANG-2019-338)
Opera Girl	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1192)
Oregon (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Oriental Package	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Oct 8, 1914
Othello	August 28, 1908 Ad Canadian Grocer
Ottawa Mix	1901 Receipt (GLANG-2019-621)
Paris Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1901 receipt (GLANG-2019-554)
Parisian Bar	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Party Time	1954 Ad Star Phoenix
Patricia Package	1913 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review August 14 1913
Peanut Fluffs	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Pearl (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Pearl Carrianders	1902 Receipt (GLANG-2019-599)
Pee Wee Mottoes	1900 Receipt (GLANG-2019-567)
Peerless (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Peerless Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Peppermint Quainties	June 1927 Chocolate Soldier
Perkins Biscuits	1893 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review Jun 15 1893
Picnic (Pilot Biscuit)	1904 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Dec 1, 1904 P97
Pieces of Eight	1964 Price List (GLANG-2019-306)
Pilot Biscuits	1904 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Dec 1, 1904 P97
Plantation Bar	1903 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jan 29, 1903 P9
Pocket Package	June 1927 Chocolate Soldier
Porcupines	1895 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review Mar 21, 1895
Pot of Gold	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Premier	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-443)
Puritan Mixture	1905 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review May 4, 1905
Purity (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Quartet	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Queen (Fancy Biscuits)	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)

Queen Chocolates	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Queen Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Queens Lunch	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1900 Receipt (GLANG-2019-570)
Quintuplets	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Rainbow (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Rainbow Carmels	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Ratafias (Fancy Biscuits)	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Rattlers	1900 Receipt (GLANG-2019-569)
Red Jacket Gum	1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-581)
Responsive	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-240)
Reveril	1895 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review Mar 21, 1895
Rich Traveller	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Feb 26, 1914
Ring Twist	1901 Receipt (GLANG-2019-620)
Rio	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Nov 19, 1914
Roman Nougat	1939 Price List
Rose Beauty	1926 Receipt (GLANG-2019-333)
Rosette	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jul 2 1914
Rough and Ready (Bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Royal Gum Drop	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Royal Mix Fancy Biscuit	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Royal Mixture	1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-579), 1949 Price List (GLANG-2019-553), 1964 Price List (GLANG-2019-307), 1905 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review May 4, 1905
Royalty Package	
Russian Chocolate	1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-579)
Russian Taffy	1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-582)
Sally Anne	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow)
Sally Anne Walnut Fudge	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow)
Sambo Carmels	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Satinette	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Saw Logs	1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-579)
Scotch Mints	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Scotia Toffies	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Select	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371), 1941 Receipt (GLANG-2019-385)
Selection	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2019-656)
Seville	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Shrewbury Biscuits	1893 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review Jun 15 1893
Sicily Licorice	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Smart Package	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Smilin' Thru Jordan Almond	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Snowballs	1902 Receipt (GLANG-2019-596)
Snowflake (Pilot Biscuits)	1904 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Dec 1, 1904 P97

Snowflake Carmels	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Social Teas	1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-578)
Society (Mixture)	1939 Price List
Somebody Special	Gaetan Lang Collection
Souvenir Package	Dartmouth Historical Museum Collection(Scrapbook)
Sovereign Mixture	1938 Receipt (GLANG-2019-511)
Star Assorted	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Sterling Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Sultana Jap Bar 1925	
Summer Mixture	1905 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review May 4, 1905
Sunset (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Superior Biscuits	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-513)
Surprize Mixture	1905 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review May 4, 1905
Sweet Wine	1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-578)
Swiss Carmels	1902 Receipt (GLANG-2019-596)
Sydney Biscuits	1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-577)
Tango Kisses	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
The Dragon Box	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1192)
The Mermaid	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1192)
The Messenger	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-26)
The Princess	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow HPIM1192)
The Treasure Chest	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2018-17)
Three Little Pigs	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Timbuctoos	1901 Receipt (GLANG-2019-621)
Tip Top Chocolate	1901 receipt (GLANG-2019-554), 1906 Receipt (GLANG-2019-579)
Tip Topper (Bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Torpedeos	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Town Talk	1952 Ad Star Phoenix Newspaper
Trade Mixture	
Tradition	GLANG Collection (GLANG-2019-687)
Treasure Package	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow)
Trinidad	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Turkey Bone	1939 Price List
Turkish Delight	1901 Receipt (GLANG-2019-624), 1895 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review May 30, 1895
Turkish Lunch	1926 Receipt (GLANG-2019-352)
Twosome (Bar)	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Valley Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Vanilla Operas	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Vanity Fair	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow)
Venetia	1895 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review Mar 21, 1895

Vermont Chocolates	1913 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jul 3, 1913
Vienna Crisp	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Feb 26, 1914
Vienna Cuts	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Virginia Peanut Sticks	1893 Maritime Grocer and Commercial Review Jun 1 1893
Washington (Fancy Biscuits)	1880 Catalogue and Price List (GLANG-2019-421)
Wedgewood	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow), 1932 Letter to Dealers (GLANG-2019-338)
Welcome	1953 Star Phoenix Ad
Wildfire bar	Moirs product boxes (End of the Rainbow)
Windsor Mixture	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Winona	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jan 1, 1914
Yale (Assortment)	Oct 27, 1916 Ad Canadian Grocer
Yalette	1914 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Jul 2 1914
Yankee Chocolate Nut Brittle	Moirs Scrapbook circa 1920's (End of the Rainbow)
Yankee Corn Cakes	1905 Receipt (GLANG-2019-625)
Yankee Corn Cakes	1905 Receipt (GLANG-2019-625)
Yellow Jackets (Penny Goods)	1939 Price List
You Kids (Carmels)	1939 Price List
Yucatan	1935 Price List (GLANG-2019-371)
Yuletide Assorted	1940 Receipt (GLANG-2019-377)
Yuletide Mixed	1930 Receipt (GLANG-2019-512)
Zephyr Chocolates	1903 Maritime Merchant and Commercial Review Feb 12, 1903
Zephyr Pilot Biscuits	1901 receipt (GLANG-2019-554)

Appendix B, Permissions



May 22, 2019

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"Moirs Chocolates, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Exhibit"

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