INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

University of Alberta

The Nature of the Problem:

Wilderness Paradoxes in Jasper National Park

by

Gabrielle Zezulka-Mailloux

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

English

Department of English and Film Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 2005

Abstract

This dissertation employs the tools of ecocritical scholarship to investigate the paradoxical role of the discourse of wilderness in the marketing of Jasper National Park. It proposes that wilderness, as both a cultural construct and a concept that purportedly stands outside of culture, is an untenable conceptualization of the natural world, particularly in places as heavily managed and shaped by human design as the national parks in the Canadian Rocky Mountains. Furthermore, it posits that wilderness spaces ultimately resist static textual representations because their mutability and constant evolution are integral to their conceptual existence.

The introduction establishes the theoretical framework of the study, providing a survey of recent trends in ecocritical scholarship. Rather than dedicate itself to one ecocritical school to the exclusion of others, this dissertation borrows critical tools from conservative and post-modern ecocritical schools. Chapter I surveys the historical roots of the aesthetic concepts of the sublime and the picturesque as they occur in the earliest literary records of the Jasper areas, particularly in the journals and travel narratives of David Thompson, Peter Fidler, the Earl of Southesk, and Mary Schäffer respectively. Chapter II investigates the paradoxical marketing strategies deployed by the Grand Trunk Pacific, Canadian Northern, and Canadian National railway companies in their efforts to draw tourists to Jasper. The third and fourth chapters apply the critique of wilderness discourse set out in the first two chapters to policy documents, legislation, and other governmental grey matter relating to Jasper, covering a broad historical range, from the inception the concept of Canadian national parks in 1885 to the present day, with particular emphasis on the career of the first commissioner of national parks, James

Bernard Harkin. Chapter V problematizes contemporary conflations of wilderness discourse and nationalist rhetoric, particularly as these conflations erase the racial oppression that attends the national parks' histories. The conclusion offers an analysis of the museological presentation of particular scenic features in Jasper, and critiques contemporary discourse that paints national parks as global biological repositories that implicitly are unaffected by anthropocentric ecological destruction.

Acknowledgements

For his incisive engagement with my work, for the inspiration he provided me, and for his generosity and support throughout my programme at the University of Alberta, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. I.S. MacLaren. I am especially grateful to him for sharing with me his remarkable knowledge of western Canadian history, for enabling me to undertake several invaluable research opportunities, and for reacquainting me with the Canadian Rocky Mountains. I also thank him for three tremendously engaging graduate seminars, and for introducing me, through the former and through the TB-50 fire ecology group, to so many other scholars who share a passion for environmental history.

I also would like to express my appreciation to my committee members. Dr. Eric Higgs's graduate seminar and his leadership in the TB-50 brown-bag discussions were instrumental in motivating me to pursue a study of Jasper, as was his creativity and humour, and his confidence in engaging me as a researcher for the Bridgland Repeat Photography Project. Dr. Ian Urquhart's counsel, and particularly his insightful and challenging questions at my candidacy examinations helped to shape the arguments of this dissertation.

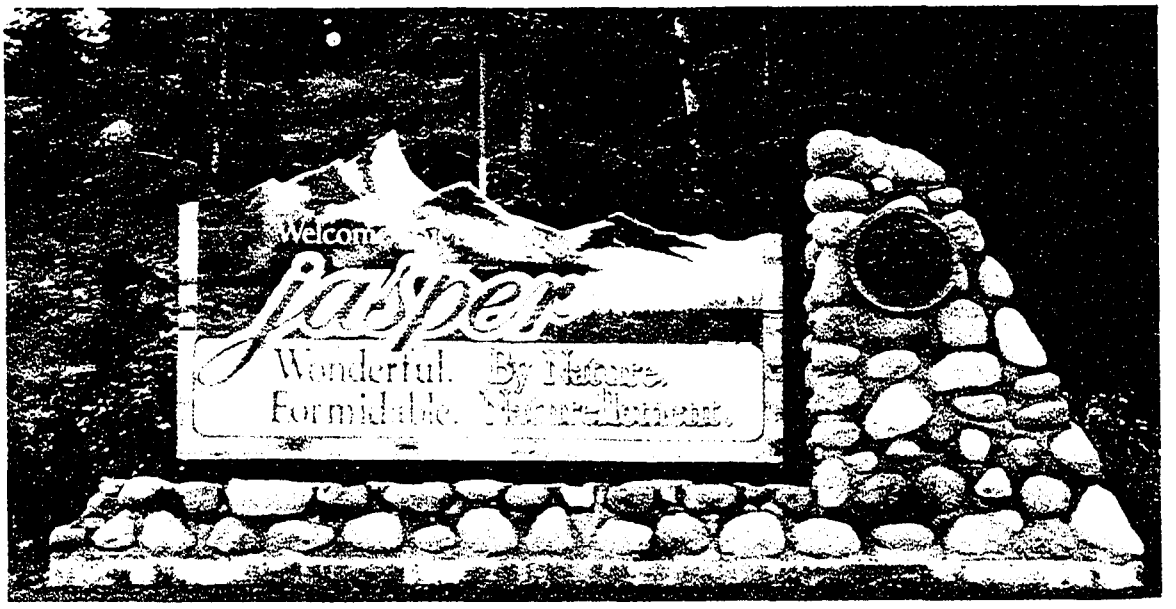
Thanks are due to my entire family for their continued support, particularly to my mother for her unfailing faith in me, and to Geoffrey for his steadiness and for all the nights of monsters. Most especially, I want to acknowledge the support of my father, Dr. J.M. Zezulka, whose continued guidance and steadfast encouragement have been integral to the completion of this project.

Last but certainly not least, I would like to express my gratitude to my friends

who helped me keep my sense of humour throughout this process, especially the GTFO 2005 writing group, Laura Davis, Monica Flegel, Kelly Laycock, and Joanne Muzak; the core of Zee's Bagels Remedy group, Lori "the Yellow Dart" Kiel and Jenaya Webb; and Jan Olesen, Tram Nguyen, David Boutillier, and Tolly Bradford. For their friendship, intelligence, and receptive and keen eyes and ears, I am truly grateful.

Table of Contents

List of Figures



Preface

When I was nine years old, my mother took my siblings and me to the Canadian Rockies. At the registration point for our campsite, the warden warned us that there had been a bear in our campsite the previous morning, and said that we should be especially vigilant and be certain to keep all of our food locked in our car. After my mother paid for our campsite and we drove on, I asked her if the warden had been kidding. "Gaby, why would a warden joke about a bear sighting?" she answered. I had no reply. I had only ever lived in fair-sized Ontario cities and it had never occurred to me that there were places in the world that were accessible to both people and wild animals. Surely, I figured, we wouldn't be allowed to camp in a place that was also bear habitat. Or surely, the wardens must keep the bears out of tourist-used areas. My mother assured me that I was mistaken. Not only was I mistaken, but I was also justified in my desperate fear of the bear, for, while my family slept in the tent and I in the car, a bear knocked the tent over. This was my introduction to the concept that there are no real boundaries between the human world and that which we call wilderness.

Introduction

A Mountainous Approach:

Ecological Literary Criticism and the Canadian Rocky Mountains

In the academic field of ecological literary criticism, British and American literatures have been the two most prominent sources for discussions of the relationships between humans and the natural world. Each of these has given rise to geographically and culturally distinct discourses—the British largely informed by notions of Nature traceable to Romanticism, and the American informed by attitudes toward Nature shaped by the American Revolution, the rise of individualism, and the notion of American manifest destiny. Like British criticism, American criticism relies upon Romantic notions of the natural world,[1] but is distinct because of its tendency to engage with explicit questions of national identity as these relate to the contemplation of the landscape. A further distinction between British and American ecological literary criticism is that the former often features travel literature in which the author or narrator, whether travelling in Britain or abroad, frames the landscape according to his/her expectations of a leisure destination, while the latter focusses primarily on American regional texts.

The development of a distinctly Canadian school of ecological literary criticism is inevitable given that landscape, or the environment more generally, is perhaps the

---

[1] Throughout this dissertation, I use the term "natural world" to designate the physical environment and all its constituent elements, including humans. Conceptually, I do not exclude urban or industrialized areas from the natural world, but in this dissertation I use this term to refer to organic systems and structures rather than ones constructed by humans.

single most prevalent theme in canonical English Canadian literature. Yet, neither Canadian literature, nor Canadian culture generally have figured prominently in extant ecological literary criticism, though scholars such as D.M.R. Bentley, Susan Glickman, Kevin Hutchings, I.S. MacLaren, and Diana M.A. Relke have begun to redress this imbalance. I do not mean to deny the extensive criticism concerning literary depictions of Canadian wilderness as Arcadian and dystopian, respectively. The historical debates over the predominant representations of Canadian landscapes, valuable as they are to the present study, do not address explicitly the broader ecological implications of the semantics at play in the texts they analyse. The emerging Canadian ecological literary criticism distinguishes itself in its attention not only to discursive constructions of the natural world, but also to the historical and cultural contexts of the ecological definitions contained therein.

British and American ecological literary criticism each tends to draw on a specific canon dealing with relatively well-defined geographic areas for their critical case studies and theoretical models: in Britain, for example, the poetry of William Wordsworth focussing on the Lake District is one of the ur-texts on which many critics draw. In the American school, Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* is both a literary and geographic focal point. A distinctly Canadian ecological literary criticism might justifiably locate itself in relation to the Rocky Mountains, indisputably one of the country's most visually canonized landscapes. Whether nationally or internationally, Canada is often typified by images of the mountains, whether in paintings by the Group of Seven, internationally circulated CPR promotional posters, postcards, picture books,

or television ads for vehicles or beer brewed with mountain / glacier water.

However popular the Rockies may be in governmental tourism promotions and corporate advertisements for innumerable commercial products, the canonization of the Rockies does not extend to the national literary scene; few texts about or set in the Rocky Mountains find their way into histories of Canadian literature. Even in the budding Canadian ecocriticism, mountain landscapes are often eclipsed by studies of maritime, prairie, and Ontario landscapes. But the history of Rocky Mountain writing, including documents such as maps, administrative reports, policy papers, as well as promotional materials, guide books, and travel writing, offers a unique window into the evolution of environmental responses as they relate to a geographical space that now serves as an internationally-recognized icon of Canada's geography and cultural identity. Although much has been written of the influence of prairie landscapes on literary constructions of Canadian identity, no comprehensive study to date has given the Rocky Mountains the same sort of critical literary attention.

Laurie Ricou argues in his book *Vertical Man, Horizontal World* that the prairies inspired, threatened, demanded, or otherwise compelled settlers to assert themselves, to confirm their presence and their (national) identities in a potentially overwhelming emptiness. This impulse simply doesn't apply in the Rocky Mountains. On the contrary, as Bliss Carman stated in 1927 in a letter to feminist editor Margaret Lawrence, referring to a photograph of himself in the Rocky Mountains, "it is really the best portrait of all," because "it sub-ordinates the physiog[nomy] (which is immaterial) to the environment (which is vital in pictures of poets)" (qtd in Bentley 36). Like many who wrote of their

visits to the Canadian Rockies, Carman finds it appropriate that his physical presence is subsumed by the grandeur of the scenery. In many cases, writers who explicitly do not feel the need to assert their individual identities in the mountains feel this way, paradoxically, because they feel already identified *by* the mountains—they *find themselves* in the mountains, and, in the Rocky Mountains national parks, they "feel Canadian in them" (MacLaren, "Cultured" 9). Such experiences stand in contrast to those of prairie writers who feel the need to assert their individual and/or cultural identities because of the vastness and grandeur of the landscape.

Canadian national parks are symbols of Canada as a nation and of Canadian culture and identity. In the past twenty years, national parks have also become symbols of Canada's commitment to ecological mandates and its participation in the global environmental movement more generally. Given that the parks are marketed as a synecdoche of Canadian wilderness, and as places where Canadians may recognize and/or experience their national culture, particularly as it relates to environmental stewardship, literature pertaining to the parks offers an excellent opportunity to study the cultural aesthetics and ethics[2] inherent in discursive constructions of the natural world. The Rocky Mountains of Canada have given rise to literature that exhibits, almost without exception, explicit contemplation of the landscape and its effects on the human

---

[2] I use the terms "ethics" and "ethical" not to refer to the morality of the ideological constructions of wilderness, but to distinguish ideological constructions of wilderness that reflect, inform, or affect the behaviour of visitors to the parks; just as aesthetic refers to the ideological construction of the *appearance* of the landscape, ethical refers to the ideological construction of an intended *interaction* between the visitor and the landscape.

body, mind, and spirit. The relationships between humans and the area now known as Jasper National Park are both implicitly and explicitly constructed in exploration narratives, such as those of David Thompson, Captain John Palliser, and James Carnegie, the Earl of Southesk, in non-fiction travel writing and memoirs, such as those of Mary Schäffer, Lawrence Burpee, and Sid Marty, and in the fiction and poetry of writers such as Ben Gadd, Howard O'Hagan, and Jon Whyte. In addition, Jasper is a place for which, since its inception as a Forest Reserve in 1907, there exists a continuous literary record of the prescribed and proscribed human uses of the area, in the form of legislation, policy documents, and maps, in the promotional materials produced by the Grand Trunk Pacific, Canadian Northern, and Canadian National railways, respectively, as well as in the government-sponsored guide books of Morrison Parsons Bridgland and Robert Douglas, Mabel Berta Williams, James Bernard Harkin, and various other anonymous park publicists. Whether figuratively, literally, or legislatively, as these texts discursively construct idealized relationships between humans and the Jasper area, they illustrate the complex paradoxes of the role of culture in concepts of wilderness.

While Rocky Mountain fiction, particularly that of Ralph Connor, Howard O'Hagan, Ben Gadd, and Thomas Wharton, holds a wealth of imaginative responses to the natural world, for my purposes, the non-fiction texts of travel writers, administrators, and publicists for Jasper are of the utmost importance because they are explicit and widely distributed examples of the roles of literature in the mediation of human interaction with the natural world. Travel narratives, policy documents, and promotional materials, as the most widely circulated forms of literature about the Jasper area,

describe the relationships between humans and the natural world in what are ultimately practical terms—how to negotiate a particularly tricky stream crossing, how to prevent forest fires, or what to see and do in Jasper National Park. Whether in a piece of legislation that prevents "squatters" from settling in Jasper National Park, or in the exploration writings of David Thompson, for example, which map out the passable routes through the mountains, such texts implicitly prescribe particular forms of ethical interaction between humans and the Jasper landscape. Furthermore, as Alison Byerly argues in her essay, "The Uses of Landscape: The Picturesque Aesthetic and the National Park System," park administrators are publishers whose "job is to produce and market an interpretation of nature's text that renders it accessible to the public" (52). It is the administrators' purported ability to translate the parks into readable texts that makes their writing of utmost importance in this study.

Within the agency of Parks Canada, the responsibility for interpreting the park to the public is shared between administrators, wardens, and park interpreters, also called "Communicators of Heritage" (*Jobs* n.pag.). It is significant that in order to be a warden in a Canadian national park, one must have a university degree in science or natural resources (*Jobs* n.pag.). This employment qualification is indicative of a systematic tendency to equate the comprehension of national parks with the comprehension of science, to the exclusion of social and cultural studies. The discursive tendency to rely on science in discourses that "in some way 'speak for' nature" adumbrates administrators' desire to use science's quantifiability and rationalism to avoid ethical questions that discourses about the environment might otherwise raise (Armbruster 218-

9). But there is more than one way to read the "book of nature" that the parks represent. This dissertation deliberately engages with the ethical questions that discourses about national parks raise, particularly as they pertain to discursive constructions of wilderness. My arguments presuppose that what we call nature or wilderness, particularly in national parks, is "quite profoundly a human creation" (Cronon 69), and they examine the ethical paradoxes that arise out of the discursive constructions of something we see as ultimately beyond the ken of humanity. The one paradox that permeates all of the discursive constructions I analyse is best summarized by geographer and environmental historian William Cronon: "the trouble with wilderness [as a product of civilization] is that it quietly expresses and reproduces the very values its devotees seek to reject" (80).

As the Rocky Mountain parks are tourist destinations with which all Canadians may identify on a personal level, they lend themselves to a critical approach that combines elements from British and American traditions: I trace Romantic aesthetic trends in depictions of a popular travel destination, and in the aesthetic language deployed, I trace the implicit links between the landscape and the writer's or hypothetical viewer's nationalism. My study will contribute to the emerging Canadian ecological literary criticism an historical examination not only of the aesthetic constructions of Canadian history, culture, and identity said to be inherent in national parks, but also of the correlation between aesthetics and ethics as they pertain to park visitors' and administrators' understandings of and interactions with the Canadian Rocky Mountains and their national parks generally, and of Jasper National Park specifically.

Referring to the World

Ecocriticism, as defined by Cheryl Glotfelty in the "Introduction" to the seminal *Ecocriticism Reader* (1996), "is the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment" (xviii). Lawrence Buell adds to this definition the stipulation that ecocriticism is such study "conducted in a spirit of commitment to environmentalist praxis" (*Environmental* 430n). Glotfelty's definition of "literature" is not confined by traditional boundaries. Rather, it includes "U.S. government reports, corporate advertising, and television nature documentaries" (xix), and, essentially, any medium that represents the environment textually. Inasmuch as my study analyses textual representations of the geophysical space of the Rocky Mountains national parks, my study falls into the broad category of ecocriticism. However, more specifically, this study is an ecological literary analysis in that I focus on the historical, cultural, and political contexts that inform the discursive constructions of the relationships between humans and the environment, rather than on an analysis strictly of the relationships between the texts and their physical referents (as, to name one, Lisa Christensen does in her guidebooks to the Rockies in terms of the paintings of various Group of Seven members). I utilize the tools and strategies of ecocriticism, such as the close analysis of textual representations of the natural world, to then analyse the ethics implicit in such representations, and the potential impact of literary discourse on the way in which the natural world is viewed, used, and understood. My study is indeed undertaken in the spirit of environmental praxis, and while my main arguments rest on discursive analysis rather than ecological arguments, this project has practical ecological relevance in that

the cultural influences in the textual constructions of Jasper National Park correlate directly to the ethical relationships people may form with this space. Through my discussions of the impacts of aesthetics on ethics, I hope that this study may contribute to an understanding of how Jasper literature, particularly that which prescribes the national park's utility, may directly influence the management and the ecological constitution of the physical environment.

Although the dominant geographic traditions in ecocriticism are shaped by their concomitant national and literary histories, there are two distinct theoretical "schools" of ecocriticism that cross national borders, and from which I draw critical strategies. The essentialist or conservative school devotes itself to the close reading and analysis of texts in which one can examine human attitudes towards, and awareness of the nuances of, the natural world, while the structuralist or postmodern school[3] engages with definitions of the key concepts of the discipline, "environment," "Nature," "wilderness," and "ecocriticism" itself. Although ecocritics of the conservative school originally focussed on "nature writers" who deliberately engaged questions of ecology and/or environmental stewardship (Henry David Thoreau, Aldo Leopold, William Wordsworth, Ralph Waldo Emerson—and in Canadian contexts one could consider Catherine Parr Traill, Susanna Moodie, and Archibald Belaney), contemporary ecocritics pay more and more attention to writers whose works engage environmental questions peripherally. Lawrence Buell's *Writing for an Endangered World*, for example, offers an analysis of Herman Melville's

---

[3] The designations "essentialist," "conservative," "postmodern," and "structuralist" are not of my own creation but are commonly used in the field of ecocriticsm.

Moby Dick, not traditionally considered an ecologically-engaged text. My work follows that of Buell in this respect; while many of the administrative documents, exploration narratives, and promotional materials I analyse deliberately describe the landscape of the Jasper area, only a small portion of these, and mostly only the most contemporary, enters into deliberate consideration of ecology or offers anything more than a cursory mention of the role of humans as environmental stewards.

Conservative ecocritics often denounce postmodernist theories as detrimental to the environmentalist movement. To question the integrity of "nature" as a concept, or to accept that the modern world has reached what Bill McKibben calls "the end of Nature," they argue, is to deem the goals of the environmental movement futile. Calling for a return to realism in literature, conservative ecocritics champion the acceptance of the referentiality of language; as at least one conservative critic has noted, breathing sub-zero air is all the physical proof one needs that the environment is real. Lawrence Buell, in particular, argues that "it won't do to reduce platial [sic] representation *only* to cultural or disciplinary construct. To do so is to deny [writers'] respect for physical environment as [a] destabilizing force" (*Writing* 17). In other words, the literary representation of place necessarily has dimensions outside of literary discourse. To reject or ignore the fact that representations of places are rooted, at some level, in the physical world, is to ignore the fact that the physical world is that which compels writers to question the stability of the discourse about the physical world.

Ultimately, conservative critics argue that there are limitations to the applicability of literary theory in environmentalist discourse; to overlook the physical referents of

environmental language is to overlook the cold, hard facts of the environmental crisis. But, as David Mazel, a critic of the postmodern school, argues, the deconstruction of terms such as "environment" need not be any more destructive to the cause of environmentalism than, say, the deconstruction of the term "woman" was/is to the feminist movement. Indeed, such deconstruction does not negate the presence of the physical referent; rather, it critically interrogates the cultural assumptions that inform the construction of the concept of "environment" in the first place (Mazel xiv-vi).

Even if we do not choose to contest the referentiality of language, the fact remains that definitions themselves are mutable. As William Cronon has demonstrated in "The Trouble with Wilderness," the referents for the term "wilderness" have evolved over time, and have been influenced and informed by the dominant aesthetic and ethical ideologies particular to the cultures in which these definitions were employed. Where, for example, the term wilderness most often referred to a deserted or barren plain in the eighteenth century, the term more frequently refers to heavily timbered areas today (Cronon 70). Not only do cultural definitions shift, but also the environment itself is mutable. How can a description of a landscape be absolute when all landscapes continually evolve? As demonstrated in the work of the Bridgland Repeat Photography Project, Jasper National Park, although it has throughout its history been described as a wilderness area, has undergone dramatic landscape changes over the past eighty years. The decrease in the amount of grasslands in the park, for example, shows that although "wilderness" is the constant descriptor of the park, the geophysical composition of its referent is not constant.

One further consideration in favour of a postmodern ecocritical approach to the texts that form the subject of this study is the ineffable nature of the physical environment with which they are concerned: the Canadian Rocky Mountains, whether written about by explorers, novelists, or national park administrators, beggar description. Rocky Mountain authors repeatedly draw attention to the impossibility of representing this landscape accurately; in defence of their inability to offer an adequate representation, they emphasize the dynamic, psychologically powerful, and sublimely awesome aspects of their surroundings. Descriptions of locals and pilgrims alike standing in silent awe before the majesty of this or that peak or valley speak volumes about the ultimate gap between language and its mountain referents. In many instances, when the Rocky Mountain landscape defies aesthetic frames, writers describe emotional responses in the place of geophysical details. Arguing against the traditional stance of Canadian literary critics, that the inability of writers to describe the landscape is an effect of writers' colonial mentality and inability to adapt British aesthetic ideals and vocabularies, Susan Glickman contends that, in fact, Canadian authors "have transformed their English (and broadly European) literary inheritance to make it speak of their experience in this country" (vii). Where speechlessness occurs, it is not an example of the failure of British aesthetic vocabularies, but is a legitimate response to the sublimity of the mountains, and expresses the paradox of the sublime as Glickman describes it: "Nature ultimately transcends translation into words, despite the fact that it is through language that this failure of language can best be evoked" (ix).

Whether one looks at the arguments of the postmodern or the conservative

school, the debates of ecocriticism centre upon the subjectivity of the speaker, or, more generally, the role of humans in the environment. On the one hand, conservatives question how humans respond to the environment, and, on the other hand, structuralists question how humans mediate definitions of environment. Usually, each of these theoretical questions is asked with an aim to distil from the answers a political praxis through which environmentalist goals can be achieved. Although most ecocritics agree in principle on the essential need to improve environmental awareness and to mitigate the destruction of the environment, many questions surround the ethical stance of discourses that assume anthropocentric goals—such as the creation of accessible wilderness areas set aside for recreational purposes. In many texts, the fight for the environment is really a fight for humanity's desires. The principal danger in such texts is that they can foster self-interested discourses in which environmental considerations become secondary to the immediate demands of the populace.

As I see the "human question," it provides an avenue for the two ecocritical schools to complement one another. One of the roles of ecocriticism must be to counter or at least interrogate anthropocentric positions: as conservative critics like Lawrence Buell suggest, eco-centrism is the only viable alternative to ego-criticism—one must consider the environment before the self and must actively interrogate anthropocentric desires that may have an impact on our understanding of the environment. In a similar vein, one of the principal tenets of the structuralist school is that subjects are not separate from the environments in which they reside —as David Mazel suggests, one cannot consider the self without also considering the environment. It follows that by actively

analysing the ways in which people define and respond to environments in literature, readers can expand their "environmental imagination" and thereby become more aware of and engaged with the natural world as well as the cultural processes that inform such definitions and responses. My study attempts to negotiate both schools' approaches by looking closely at both the anthropocentric desires inherent in constructions of Jasper National Park and the implicit distinction of humanity from the natural world in these same constructions.

Although I support "eco-centrism," I would like to add the caveat that while the physical environment must be the primary focus of ecocritical discourse, rather than, say, maintaining the western world's current standards of living, it seems to me naive to suggest that there is any way to escape the anthropocentrism of environmental concerns. If we recognize as one of the fundamental tenets of environmental discourse that humans are integral to the environment, that environment cannot be separate from humans in any ecological sense, then it should be clear that an ecocriticism that desires to be post-human, that chooses to ignore the fact of its necessarily human inception, that attempts to be the (unmediated) voice of the wilderness, is impossible.

Despite the debates surrounding anthropocentrism, ecocritical discourse has been far more concerned with responses to and definitions of the environment than with definitions of humanity as they are implicitly or explicitly constituted by such responses and definitions. In the conclusion of his essay, Cronon suggests that we need to broaden our concept of what may constitute "Nature." Indeed, I believe this is a worthwhile task, for if we can consider a tree in our backyard an integral part of the living world, we may

be more willing to understand the cohesiveness of the global environmental community. But, fundamentally, Cronon's challenge needs to be expanded: we need to expand not just our notions of environment, but also the roles of humans within that environment. If we can conceive of the human race only as intruders upon or destroyers of the environment, no reconceptualisation of the environment itself will be able to effect an ecological political praxis for very long. Such a reconceptualisation is particularly relevant in the discourse of Canadian national parks because these spaces symbolize Canadians' commitment to the stewardship of wilderness even as Parks Canada's own definition of wilderness positions humans as intruders.

This dissertation uses the tools of ecocriticism, not to analyse the meaning of "environment" *per se*, but to interrogate the history and position of humans—whether a stated anthropocentric desire, or an implicit cultural symbolism—in the discursive formation of the Canadian Rocky Mountains as a wilderness region in exploration narratives, promotional materials, and policy and legislative documents. With a focus on Jasper National Park, I will examine the ways in which implicit and explicit definitions of the park represent the fundamental ecocritical paradox of the roles of humans as fundamental components of, absolute aliens in, and global stewards of wilderness areas. Whether in the legislated uses of national parks, the official "interpretation" of the parks' historic sites, or the personal accounts of mountain travellers' spiritual contemplations, I see the definition of human activity as it relates to its environmental context as a key to understanding past, present, and future configurations of literary ecology and of the broader political debates that constitute the environmental movement.

Parks' Political Purchase

In 1885, the Canadian government took over the property claims of two young prospectors in order to reserve ten square miles around a hot spring in the Bow River Valley. Two years later, the boundaries around the spring were expanded and the federal Rocky Mountains Park Act legislated that the land now known as Banff National Park be unavailable for "sale, settlement, or occupancy" ("Rocky" 155). The government's determination to control the spring and its environs was not inspired by a desire to protect the area from development *per se*, but only from private development. Unlike contemporary mandates to protect the ecological integrity of the Rocky Mountains national parks, the initial mandates that governed the expansion of Banff's boundaries and the creation of additional parks such as Jasper aimed to develop the parks and make them economically advantageous to the federal government and its railway cronies.

The concepts of park and wilderness are fundamentally paradoxical vis-a-vis each other, as are the ideas of preservation and wilderness. From the writings of the pre-Confederation period, to the legal and promotional documents created in the flurry of the establishment of the first national parks, to the most recent prose, guides, and legislation pertaining to the Rocky Mountains, written accounts of the parks and their perceived usefulness have been paradoxical. Whether in the parks' mandate to preserve nature while exploiting it, or in the journals of adventurers who write of the wonder and joy of back-country camping while decrying the destructive forces of tourism, humans in the parks occupy, at best, a conflicted position. As the parks' legal definitions evolved, so too did the aesthetic and ethical discourse that accompanied each era's idealized notion

of the parks' utility.

National interest in Canada's Rocky Mountains originated long before the creation of the first parks. Cultural, economic, and political forces each stimulated distinct forms of interest in the mountains. First, imperial and, subsequently, nationalistic impulses to discover and document the flora, fauna, and geophysical aspects of the "unknown" area of Rupert's Land, later called the North-West Territories, led explorers, naturalists, anthropologists, artists, surveyors, and mapmakers to record their impressions of the Rocky Mountains as a sublime repository of natural resources and invaluable scientific information. One of these early explorers, Lieutenant Thomas Blakiston of the Palliser expedition (1857-1859), bluntly illustrates the paradox of imperialist "discovery": describing his journeys through lands "where no man has set foot," Blakiston celebrates his discovery of a mountain pass (today's Crowsnest Pass) which he reaches by depending on the geographical knowledge of Native and Métis guides who show him the way to his desired destination. Another early traveller, James Carnegie, the Earl of Southesk, demonstrates a second paradox, which, like that of Blakiston, resonates deeply in the contemporary tourism industry: though he revelled in the thought that the mountains he visited were so inaccessible that, he was assured, he was the first to visit them, he lamented the poor condition of the trails he had to follow. By the end of his 1859 journey, Southesk concluded both that the mountains were not high enough and that they were too hard to climb, and he thus demonstrated a paradoxical desire for a sublime landscape that would serve human desires, and for remoteness and accessibility at once.

The first wave of explorers was followed closely by a second wave of interested parties with precise, rather than exploratory, goals. During the first decades after Confederation, Canada needed exploitable resources, not only to expand the Dominion's nascent export economy, but also to fuel and facilitate the settlement of the Interior Lands. Both Britain's and Canada's needs for coal led geologists, prospectors, and investors to value the Rocky Mountains as a prospective storehouse of mineral riches. Although mining has not been allowed in national parks since 1930, the early years saw several mines within the boundaries of Banff, Jasper, and other parks, and, around the turn of the century, some mining towns were even deemed tourist attractions by park superintendent Howard Douglas. It is entirely likely that, had the mountains not yielded coal, the Dominion government would not have shown as much interest in the acquisition of what was then known as Rupert's Land, and certainly would not have considered the expense of financing the surveys that eventually led to the creation and accessibility of the national parks.

The third wave of interest, and that which most clearly defined the future use of the mountains as pleasure grounds, was instigated by the Canadian Pacific Railway and Prime Minister Macdonald, and their desire to develop Canadian tourist destinations that would rival those found in the Alps of Europe. In order to ensure that the desired clientele would arrive, the lands in question had to be made into parks. A nature park, according to conventions at the turn of the century, was not a place created by or left to the forces of nature. Rather, trees had to be cut or planted in strategic (aesthetic) locations, lawns groomed, and animals brought into domestic pens for the enjoyment of

tourists. Though visitors were supposed to experience the "natural" wonders of the early Banff, Yoho, Glacier, and Jasper Parks, these "wild" and "untouched" areas were extensively managed for aesthetic effect.

New paradoxes present themselves in contemporary definitions of the parks, particularly as they concern the role of the parks as part of Canadians' natural and cultural heritage. Despite popular perceptions of the parks as products of environmental advocacy by past generations, there are very few traces of environmentalism or ecological concern in the legislation that governed the management of the parks up to 1930. In that year, a National Parks Act was created that stipulated that no new licences for mining or resource extraction would be allowed in the parks. Furthermore, this act defined the mandate to use the parks in a manner that would leave them "unimpaired for future generations," and thus hints at an awareness of the concept of sustainable use. In part, the shift towards preservationism in the 1930 Act was fuelled by the lobbying of the National Parks Association, a group formed by members of the Alpine Club of Canada who felt that the tourism potential of the parks was being destroyed by mining and logging. Seventy years later, lobbyists influenced the updated Act, not for the preservation of tourists' interests, but to preserve the parks from them. The 2000 National Parks Act states that the priority in the parks should be the "maintenance of ecological integrity."

Even though Banff is often described as the jewel of all the Rocky Mountain parks' tourist destinations, Jasper has its own claim to fame as the most "wild" of the parks by virtue of its relative isolation from major highways and urban centres. The

contemporary use of the term "wild" or "wilderness" in the marketing of Jasper Park is particularly significant, not simply because of the differing values attributed to these terms, but also because of the very human element they conceal. The definition of "wilderness" used by the Canadian National Parks Branch states that "little or no persistent evidence of human intrusion is permitted" (Bouchard 1997).[4] Government publications advertising Canada's national parks as "wild" and "untouched" places ask us to overlook the contemporary human presence within park boundaries, and to forget the human histories that shaped, and continue to shape, their cultural and geophysical definitions. Federal parks policies encourage Canadians to think of parks as places that have never been inhabited or otherwise possessed by humans, on the one hand (a concept that would erase the heritage of Indigenous people for whom archeological evidence reveals 11,000 years of occupation), and encourage Canadians to own the parks as part of their "natural" cultural inheritance, on the other hand.

The question of the parks as part of Canadians' cultural heritage reveals a truly pernicious paradox. As Cronon's essay argues, Romanticism and post-frontier ideology helped create a discursive opposition between human and non-human elements of the environment which carries forward to this day: "wilderness embodies a dualistic vision in which the human is entirely outside the natural. If we allow ourselves to believe that nature, to be true, must also be wild, then our very presence in nature represents its fall" (Cronon 80-1). Canadian parks' publications implicitly support the image of wilderness

---

[4] I am indebted to Ian MacLaren's essay, "Cultured Wilderness in Jasper National Park" (20), for drawing my attention to this particular definition of wilderness.

as a necessarily human-less space, and illustrate the colonial oppression that may be hidden within the government's attempts to appeal to cultural aesthetics. When Jasper National Park was created, for example, the Minister of the Interior removed Native and Métis "squatters" from their farms in the Athabasca River Valley. Officially, the settlers were removed so that the park's authorities could have complete administrative control of the land; inasmuch as Lewis Swift, a non-Native American settler, was allowed to stay on his land within park boundaries, it is possible to discern a more implicitly racist agenda.

The history of the creation of Jasper roads through the labour provided by men held in internment camps within park boundaries is likewise erased from the park's publicized histories. Forgotten or erased, too, are the histories of the large numbers of immigrant workers who toiled and died in the construction of the two railways that once traversed the park and made Jasper accessible for tourism. Symbolically, the erasure of the non-hegemonous Canadian cultures from the Jasper landscape allowed it to be inscribable into (non-Native) Canadians' cultural identities through the experience of its natural, or eternal, or human-history-less, qualities. With the eviction of the indigenous settlers, tourists were assured "authentic" wilderness experiences, uninterrupted by signs of permanent habitation or other evidence of human presence that were deemed incommensurate with the aesthetics of a "pleasure ground." Yet, shortly after the settlers were cleared out, Jasper officials approved the development of Jasper Park Lodge, a town site, and a cottage retreat complex in previously "uninhabited" areas. These areas would house the generations of residents and tourists who could, paradoxically,

appreciate the aesthetic qualities of the park as an integral component of their national, natural, cultural heritage.

Presenting Pathways

In the first chapter of my dissertation, I survey some of the earliest recorded impressions of the Canadian Rocky Mountains, and discuss the cultural definitions of the Jasper area before it was a national park, as they are constructed in exploration literature. This chapter outlines the cultural and historical contexts for the rhetoric of the sublime and the picturesque with which early explorers described their encounters with the mountains. I introduce the historical trend that saw the rise of scientific inquiry in Canada and a concomitant literal and figurative domestication of the sublime. Throughout the discussion of the aesthetic tropes that governed explorers' narrative responses to the Rockies I illustrate how the ethical implications contained therein affect the writers' senses of relationship to the landscape before them. Expanding upon this Introduction's discussions of Cronon's theory of the culture / nature paradox that pervades American thinking about wilderness, this chapter offers a refined definition of the multiple ways in which this paradox manifests itself in discursive constructions of the Jasper area before it became an institutionalised space.

Chapter Two offers an analysis of the first promotional materials produced for the Jasper area, by the Grand Trunk Pacific, the Canadian Northern, and Canadian National railway companies, respectively. While these materials were circulated before the Jasper area became canonized as one of the nation's heritage icons, we see in the pamphlets, brochures, and guide books the early stages of the icon-making process that soon

transformed Jasper into a premier tourist destination. To begin this chapter, I outline the rhetorical strategies through which the railway companies establish themselves as authorities to speak of and for the Jasper area. Next, I describe the manner in which these same companies deliberately manipulate nationalist discourse to paint both themselves and the park area as symbols of the successfully-developing Canadian nation. This chapter continues the aesthetic analysis begun in chapter one and expands upon the ethical implications of framing and valuing the landscape according to strict aesthetic values for the sake of promoting tourism.

My third and fourth chapters are a historical survey of the policy documents, legislation, and other official grey matter pertaining to the Rocky Mountains parks, with particular emphasis on the internal administrative correspondences that illuminate the conflicting, often paradoxical desires of administrators with respect to the uses and values of Jasper National Park. Divided into historical periods, 1883-1936 and 1936-2005, respectively, these chapters provide a consideration of the applicability to park policies of Robert Craig Brown's "doctrine of usefulness," a concept that outlines how parks' perceived usefulness figures prominently in their aesthetic and physical management. Central to these chapters are discussions of the paradoxical desire for a managed but wild landscape in Jasper. Continuing my analysis of the role of aesthetics in discursive constructions of Jasper and its visitors' relationships to it, Chapter Three confirms the correlation between aesthetic preferences and the administrative and physical formation of the park. As Byerly argues, such a correlation is discernible in American national parks: "[t]he conscious aesthetic framing of the landscape that

typified the picturesque movement . . .[is] replicated in the carefully delineated borders of our national parks" (53). Beginning with the earlier legislation to govern the Jasper area, and leading to the retirement of the national parks' first Parks Commissioner, James Bernard Harkin (1875-1955), in 1936, Chapter Three outlines the ethics of the administrative policies that shaped the park in its developmental phase, and pays particular attention to the discursive marriage of the concepts of development and accessibility. Chapter Four adds to the discussion of the ethical implication of aesthetics in park policies, with a concentration on the increased commercialisation of the parks, or, as Byerly puts it, how the "aestheticization of landscape removed it from the realm of nature and designated it a legitimate object of artistic consumption" (53). The latter point ties into a discussion of tourists' responses to park management and its mitigation of public access to true "wilderness experiences," however paradoxically these experiences were defined.

Chapter Five deals with the nationalist ethics present primarily in government-sponsored promotional materials, but also in railway pamphlets' discursive constructions of the Rocky Mountains national parks. In particular, I outline some of the strategies by which park administrators establish their right to speak of and for national parks, and in so doing, also establish their authority to speak of the Canadian identity and history latent in park landscapes. The paradox of the purportedly democratic inclusiveness of the parks (which serve *all* Canadians) presents itself in my comparison of contemporary uses of nationalist discourse with the colonial rhetoric in the early exploration literature. This chapter offers an analysis of the desired national subject implicit in the discursive

constructions of the park. In my discussion of the racial and social exclusivity of the desired tourist subject implicitly constructed through promotional materials, I give details pertaining to the exclusion of interned Japanese Canadians from tourist centres in the Second World War, and the exclusion and subsequent "re-adoption" of Indigenous identities in the rhetoric of cultural heritage in contemporary promotional campaigns.

The dissertation concludes with a chapter discussing the contemporary legacies of the discursive constructions of the parks canvassed in previous chapters. In this conclusion, I summarize the aesthetic and ethical evolution of discursive constructions of the park and its desired subjects. In particular, I discuss the creation of the parks as a process analogous to the creation of an archive, in a literal and literary sense. I address the dangers of creating static or seemingly archaic images of nature for popular consumption. This discussion involves an analysis of the rhetoric of the park's status as a "living museum," and a hypothesis of what is to become of the park in terms of its status as a globally-recognized biological repository. I summarize the trends that led to the transformation of the constructions of the parks' uses, from the benefit and advantage of a few, to the biological salvation of the globe.

Chapter One

Exploring the Picturesque and the Sublime: The Pre-Park Era

The paradox that governs most contemporary discursive constructions of Jasper National Park is that the park, as a synecdoche of wilderness—a profoundly human construction—"embodies a dualistic vision in which the human is entirely outside the natural" (Cronon 80). Contemporary definitions of national parks as ecological repositories and of wilderness as recreational space implicitly divide human populations and everyday human activity from the natural world and its processes—ecological processes can occur *naturally* only in parks where people are not allowed to live; we may *visit* the natural world only by entering a park. This division of humanity from the natural world is not (simply) a contemporary phenomenon; over two hundred years' worth of literature has contributed to the discursive conditions that allow Jasper to be described as a living "museum" of nature, a repository of ecological information, and a recreational sanctuary for the over-civilised populace.

The "human" paradox that William Cronon identifies is manifest in three types of discursive construction of Rocky Mountain experiences: aesthetic descriptions of the land, ethical definitions of the relationship between people and the land, and ethical definitions of the relationships between those who visit and those who inhabit the land. Each of these types of discursive construction gives rise to distinct paradigms in which anthropocentric desires or definitions are essentially untenable. Wilderness travellers' paradoxical desires, expectations, and definitions of wilderness in Canadian exploration literature foreground contemporary government literature in which the named paradoxes

are entrenched in the rhetoric of the management and marketing of Jasper National Park.

The history of the discursive construction of the Canadian Rocky Mountains begins in 1792, when Peter Fidler (1769-1822) sees the mountains for the first time. Although other explorers may have seen the mountains in Canadian latitudes before Fidler, none wrote about them.[5] In his book, *Behold the Shining Mountains*, James G. MacGregor argues that Anthony Henday[6] was "the first white man to see the main chain of the Rocky Mountains north of Colorado" (15), but the explorer never mentions the mountains in his journals even though he was well within visual range of the mountains for over a week. One can infer from the absence of the mountains in Henday's journal that, barring the possibility that consistent bad weather completely obscured the mountains from view, these demarcated the limit of the lands that interested the explorer and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). Henday was, after all, on an exploratory journey with the goal of establishing contact and expanding the HBC's knowledge of those who might potentially participate in the fur trade; he had no reason to describe or map out lands that obviously would not yield fur-bearing animals as easily as the "Muscuty Country" (345). Wreford Watson claims that "the geography of any place results from

---

[5] Jacques Legardeur de Saint Pierre, for example, may have been the first white man to see the mountains when, in 1751, he set up Fort La Jonquiere near present-day Calgary, but there exists neither archeological nor written proof of this event. There is also some speculation that the La Verendrye brothers saw the Canadian Rockies in 1743, but most historians agree that the brothers travelled to what is now North Dakota and saw the American Rockies only.

[6] Though Lawrence J. Burpee argued convincingly that Anthony Hendry was the name of the explorer, and that "Henday" was a typo only used once in documents written during Hendry's lifetime, I use the spelling Henday to avoid confusion as this name is used almost exclusively in contemporary references to the explorer.

how we ['want to'] see it as much as from what may be seen there" (qtd in MacLaren, *Influence* 3, brackets in original). Indeed, when Henday documents details about flora, fauna, and people, he does so with a view to discursively map what he wants to see: the fur-trade potential of the landscape. In this context, the Rocky Mountains were significant only as the boundary of the fur-producing interior lands north of the treeless grasslands.

It is not until the North West Company (NWC) threatened to rival the HBC's fur trade monopoly that either company aggressively pursued the gathering of geographic knowledge in the interior of Rupert's Land. Initially, the HBC preferred to send emissaries such as Henday to encourage Indians to bring furs to the forts around Hudson Bay (Luxton 29). Like Henday, Peter Fidler was an employee of the HBC whose goal was to increase trade among the Indians. He knew he would be seeing the Rocky Mountains when he left the HBC post of Buckingham House in 1792, and he indicates clearly that some of his fellow fur traders had seen the mountains before him:

> John Ward & myself don't know a single word what the Indians say that we are going with—time only can enable us to Learn. I much wished some one of those of our Men to accompany me that had been at the Rocky Mountain before & understood a little what the Indians said. (Fidler 11)

Despite his advance knowledge that he would see the mountains, Fidler is obviously impressed with them when he sees them for the first time, and he couches his response to them in terms of the two aesthetic principles, discussed at length below, deployed by late eighteenth-century English society for the description of landscape—the sublime and the

picturesque: "November 20, 1792 . . . I first got sight of the Rocky Mountain, [sic] which appeared awfully grand, stretching from SSW to WbS by Compass, very much similar to dark rain like clouds rising up above the Horizon in a fine summers evening" (18). Fidler's description of the awesome grandeur of the scene aligns itself clearly with sublime aesthetics, while his ability to visually contain that scene by delimiting it according to compass bearings demonstrates an aesthetic control typical of picturesque aesthetics. For Fidler as for Henday, the Rocky Mountains were significant primarily as a boundary to the navigable fur-producing plains. Nevertheless, he actively explored several peaks and valleys. Fidler's desire to explore the mountains and his description of them as awe-inspiring highlight the impulses that colour the ethical and aesthetic discursive constructions of those who followed in his tracks.

Wilderness, the Picturesque, and the Sublime

Definitions of wilderness implicit in exploration literature, whether in survey journals or pioneer mountaineering narratives, tend to focus upon the unordered, unpeopled, and unknown nature of the land. Mountaineers Hugh Stutfield (1858-1929) and J. Norman Collie (1859-1942), in *Climbs and Explorations in the Canadian Rockies* (1903), illustrate the conflict inherent in the continued use of the term 'wilderness' by those who would make wilderness its antithesis: although Stutfield and Collie discursively construct the Rocky Mountains as a desirable place for travel because they are wild, uncharted, and never before visited by "man," their project is ironically to people the landscape by surveying the vast mountain ranges and making the mountains' geographic information readily available to the public who might access their peaks and various alpine climbing

routes. Despite their celebration of the mountaineer's joys in travelling to "the actual edge of the unexplored" (11), and despite their assertion that "in travelling through a new mountain country the sense of mystery is everything" (120), Stutfield and Collie do not see the "serious business of map-making and mountaineering" (71) as consequential to the mountains' appeal as a wilderness destination. Rather, their references to the "unnumbered rivers" and "countless lakes" (1), essentially, the un-inventoried qualities of the Rocky Mountains, imply that they see their explorations as an empirical imperative to gather information that will facilitate further wilderness exploration. Overall, as Stutfield and Collie find themselves constantly misled and disappointed by error-filled maps, led to the "wrong" valleys and peaks, and obliged to "degrade" mountains from their over-estimated heights to much lower measurements, they perceive themselves as working for the greater good of geographical science and mountaineers everywhere. The paradox created by wilderness seekers who record and delimit wilderness areas in order to enable others to access it recurs often in the literature of the pre-park era, and is one to which I will return later in this chapter.

Aside from the paradoxes inherent in the definitions of wilderness itself and in explorers' projects to define or otherwise map such spaces, various paradoxes arise in the deployment of the tropes of the sublime and the picturesque, which have long histories rooted in British aesthetic principles. These two tropes inherently construct divisions between human beings and the natural settings they contemplate, whether they are employed in texts exploring the economic and scientific values, or in texts celebrating the cultural values of the landscape.

Simply put, sublime landscapes are those that engender terror, wonder, and/or awe. Sublime nature conveys to the viewer a sense of the presence of God, if not in the moment of viewing then at the moment of the scene's creation. The sublime transcends all sensory boundaries; it is a discursively uncontainable dimension of the world. Both the discursive invocation of God's presence and the implicit incomprehensibility of sublime landscapes demonstrate the implicit distinction of people from nature: within the trope of the sublime, nature is beyond the ken of humanity. Nature dwarfs humankind and its aspirations and frames of reference. Indeed, the fact that Stutfield and Collie do not recognize a paradox in their desire to map wilderness suggests that they felt that any map-making they accomplished was dwarfed by the overwhelming vastness of the wilderness that remained unknown and unmapped.

In addition to the human / environment distinction inherent in this definition of sublimity, the use of sublime language presents a further paradox when used in concert with scientific language. Peter Fidler and David Thompson (1770-1857), two of the first surveyors to record their impressions of the Rocky Mountains, purport to give objective, scientific information about the landscapes they survey, but they mix details such as the longitude, latitude, and estimated height of various peaks with impressions of the mountains' awfulness and grandeur. Fidler, for example, interrupts his usual style of dispassionate landscape description, combined with compass bearings, to comment several times upon the sublime view that presented itself before him. In an entry a month after Fidler sees the mountains for the first time, he reasserts the sublimity of the mountain chain: "The Mountain appears high, awful & very grand all along, with thick

small pines & c. along its base." (39). Throughout his journal, Fidler refers to the mountain chain as a single "Rocky Mountain," and thus solidifies the geographical paradigm of the mountains as an impassable barrier that is so often evoked in later texts.

As ecocritical theorist Rick Van Noy points out in his essay, "Surveying the Sublime: Literary Cartographers and the Spirit of Place," there is a paradox in narratives by surveyors that employ the aesthetic conventions of sublimity, for "the sublime deals with measureless emotion, while surveying precisely measures" (181). Although surveyors such as Fidler and Thompson aim to record objective impressions of the natural world, their writing "is generated by existing cultural and personal formations" (181). Thompson, who created legendarily accurate maps in the early 1800s by recording the physical properties of the land, especially the relative geographical positions of rivers and mountains, also records the spiritual properties of the mountains inasmuch as the latter engender the surveyor's contemplation of God's creation of, if not also presence in, the landscape:

> Our view from the heights to the eastward was vast and unbounded; the eye had not the strength to discriminate its termination. . .. When looking upon [the mountains] and attentively considering their wild order and appearance, the imagination was apt to say, these must once have been liquid, and in that state, when swelled to its greatest agitation, suddenly congealed and made solid by power omnipotent. (Thompson 225)

Here Thompson highlights one of the central aspects of sublime landscapes: their paradoxical "wild order," of which one can make sense only by imagining it is the design

of a higher power. The discourse of the indecipherability of, or lack of clear order in sublime wilderness stands in stark contrast to the discourse of scientific "natural order" that emerged just a few decades after Thompson made these observations in 1810.

Historically, descriptions of the landscape became increasingly scientific, but scientific understandings of the Rocky Mountains did not preclude their sublimity, though there was a definitive anti-scientific backlash resulting from the publications of the famous Scottish geological theorist, Charles Lyell (1797-1875). In *Principles of Geology* (1830-1833), Lyell advanced the theory of uniformitarianism (or the uniformity of causes), a theory that contradicted the doctrine of catastrophism. Catastrophism, a theory that claims that geological processes, such as the formation of mountains, are caused by major cataclysmic events rather than the slow evolutionary change cited in the doctrine of uniformitarianism, correlated more easily with Christian doctrines because the concept of geological time (Deep Time) challenged the biblical chronology of the history of the world. Lyell's theory was an attempt to make geology a true or empirical science, dependent on observation rather than theoretical consideration, but like Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859), it provoked defensive religious responses from those, including some Canadian natural historians, who thought it challenged God's agency in the world.[7]

As scientific discourse increased in popularity, ineffability, which amounted to a topos of sublime landscape description characterized by terms such as "endless,"

---

[7] See Zeller *Land of Promise*, and Carl Berger for more detailed discussions of Canadian responses to Darwinism and scientific study.

"unnumberable," or "unmeasurable," eventually gave way to a distinct sense of sublimity that coupled precise, quantified descriptions with superlatives related to the general beauty of the landscape, as well as its emotional impact on the viewer. As Suzanne Zeller argues in *Land of Promise, Promised Land: The Culture of Victorian Science in Canada*, "natural history rekindled religious faith. Within the framework of the popular tenets of natural theology, it turned the mind with awe and wonder to evidence of God's creative and beneficent design" (5). The scientific explanation of geology, then, did not contradict the sublime understanding of God's creation of the landscape, but confirmed the awesome complexity of the world, and of God's role as its creator.

In his 1824 journal, Samuel Black (1780-1841), by then an HBC factor who had begun his career with the NWC, questions the origins of the Rocky Mountains. In his July 31st entry, from which I will quote at length, we can see a precursor to later scientific considerations of geological effects as evidence of God's work. Writing four years before the publication of Lyell's theory of deep time, Black clearly understands geology within the paradigm of catastrophism:

> From the Top of this hight [sic] & at the first sight an incomprehensible wild irregularity meets the eye but after a short residence, the Idea of more harmony of the whole gradually brakes [sic] in & assumes the assendency, [sic] . . . it is evident that the operations of these small Rills & streams in the Vallies here not biger [sic] than silver Threads, are inadequate to such an effect & must suppose stronger Floods, therefore shall suppose at once the Rocky Mountains to have been a high smooth Bank formed of muddy Strata in the bottom of the Deep & at

> the great Summons to the Waters to retire when God moved on the surface thereof causing a tumultuous uproar & turbulency of the Floods, began these excavations traced the courses of mountains & Rivers, carried the excavated materials. (147)

Both in his naming of the various types of rock and their properties earlier in his entry for this date, and in the quoted statements regarding the forces through which the scene before him might have been created, Black demonstrates a clear understanding of geological principles, namely, the physical properties of different rocks, the role of water as a force of erosion, and the formation of strata through the accumulation of sediments. Nevertheless, when his initial assessment that the scene before him as incomprehensible gives way to the judgment that there *is* order in what he sees, it is not geological science that allows him to find "harmony of the whole." Rather, he dismisses the possibility that gradual geological processes are responsible because he cannot fathom the vast time scale, the unBiblical millennia, necessary for the geological formation of mountains and valleys. Though Black can imagine "huge stones roll[ing] in the vallies" (148), he cannot imagine that the latter could have moved through "any agency we are acquainted with" (148). He concludes that "the eminences Layers & even Hills and Mounts rising in the Valleys were formed at the deludge [sic]" (148); only the awesome power of an act of God could result in the creation of the Rocky Mountains.

In *Overland to Cariboo* (1896), Margaret McNaughton's description of the Rockies in 1862 presents a paradox similar to the presence of sublimity in surveying discourses. McNaughton expresses both a scientific understanding of the geological

formation of the mountains and a religious faith in God's role in the shaping of the landscape:

> On examining and comparing these apparently confused and disordered masses on opposite sides of the river, a striking similarity was observed in many particulars, both as to the order of the strata and their thickness—indeed, their whole geological structure revealed such a corresponding sameness that the most casual observer could not fail to be convinced that at some period of the world's history these had been contiguous portions of the earth's crust; while the present disrupted condition of these huge masses of rock, and the violent convulsion to which they evidently had been subjected, conveyed to the mind some faint idea of the possible power of their internal fires—the mighty agency through which these changes are believed to have been effected. The meditative and pious mind will naturally rise to the contemplation of that almighty and infinite Being who has made all the powers subservient to His divine will. (74-5)

McNaughton's phrasing of the penultimate sentence of this passage suggests that, even when faced with obvious visual evidence of the geological history of the rocks, she doubts the absolute agency of nature to shape itself. Although it is not clear whether her contemplation of God's grandeur arises *out of* or *despite* the evidence of geological forces at work, McNaughton asserts that a pious mind "will *naturally* rise" to such contemplation and so implies that the landscape has an organic power to invoke thoughts of God.

Whereas the recognition of the presence of God in nature causes the observer of

the sublime to feel awe, the recognition and appreciation of picturesque views is simultaneously a "recognition of God's universal structure and the rôle of man in it" (MacLaren, *Influence* 61). In a sense, then, one may observe picturesqueness in an otherwise sublime landscape when one is able to observe a "natural order" in the world that leaves open the potential for the significance of humankind in the greater ecological scheme of the world. In his *In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies* (1906), alpine explorer James Outram (1864-1925) describes the impulse to humanize sublime landscapes through scientific inquiry:

> But the fascination of the peaks permits no quiet acquiescence . . . to remain in passive admiration at their base. The spell is on us—not of wonder only or of awe, or even love that can be satisfied with distance. A closer, fuller intimacy must be ours; gained by a reverent study of their character and form and nature, penetrating their reserve, breaking down barriers, till from point to point we pass to learn the fulness of their being, and on each soaring crest learn from itself and its environment new glories and fresh beauties in the world and its Creator. (2)

With the idea that geology is part of God's Book of Nature, Outram is much more comfortable than McNaughton, who seems at odds with it. By better understanding the intricate workings of the Rockies, we may, Outram suggests, come to an understanding of ecological processes and of God. Essentially, scientific inquiry humanizes sublime landscapes by making comprehensible the components of an otherwise incomprehensible scene. The trend towards a scientific aesthetic is evident especially in the highly popular natural history sections of the early issues of the *Canadian Alpine Journal*, the official

publication of the Alpine Club of Canada (founded in 1906).

In contradistinction to the sublime, the term "picturesque" denotes a particular scene or view rather than the physical reality of nature, much in the same way that "landscape" represents a distinctly visual, rather than a physical, geographic subject. Neither wild and untended, nor too-obviously manicured, picturesque landscapes embody a "simplified" nature. In the traditional usage of the concept, the object of a picturesque aesthetic is a manipulated environment that appears not to have been manipulated. Because of the hidden but necessary human work involved in the creation of the picturesque in nature, this aesthetic implies not only that the observer may control the world, but also that s/he *should* do so in order to have a pleasing environment. Invariably, picturesque views look down on a sunken middle ground from a prospect point. This factor, combined with the invariable provision of a background that rises to close the view and wing curtains (coulisses) of foliage to limit it to left and right, creates the sensation of a scale of landscape that humans feel they can control. Indeed, the very term "picturesque" implies that nature can be made into a picture, and therefore can be controlled.

George Monro Grant (1835-1902), whose *Ocean to Ocean* (1872) relates his travels with Sandford Fleming (1827-1915) as they searched for a viable route for the Canadian Pacific Railway line, draws his reader's eye through the Jasper landscape in a manner that epitomizes picturesque representation, referring to the Athabasca Valley, just inside what now are the eastern gates to the park: "Here is scene [sic] for a grand picture equal to Hill's much admired painting of the 'Yo Semite Valley.' . . .We were

entering the magnificent Jasper portals of the Rocky Mountains by a quiet path winding between groves of trees and rich lawns like an English gentleman's park" (226). Grant not only remarks on the picture-like quality of the scene, but also sketches in the coulisses, and sunken lawns in the foreground, while the rising background of the Rocky Mountains, though not explicitly described, implicitly close off the typically picturesque view.

While sublime representations emphasize nature's uncontrollability, picturesque representations show nature as ultimately controllable and knowable, if not usable. James Hector, the geologist and naturalist of the Palliser Expedition (1857-60), uses the term "picturesque" to describe Jasper House, a settlement in the Rocky Mountains that is constructed "after the Swiss style" (qtd in Spry, *Papers* 369). Despite the remoteness of the settlement and its position within an otherwise sublime landscape, Jasper House is picturesque because it resembles European, anthropocentrically-developed landscapes. The valley scene is distinct from the sublime mountain tops and prairie "wastes" which are perceived as devoid of humans who could actualise the land's potential for development.

The sublime and the picturesque may seem oppositional, but in Canadian exploration narratives the two tropes are rarely mutually exclusive. For example, when James Carnegie, the Earl of Southesk, nearly fell off his horse when he first saw the Rocky Mountains in 1859, clearly he felt himself in the presence of the sublime:

> It was but an imperfect view, but so marvellous was the contrast between the damp, confined darkness of our track through the dripping fir-trees, and the

> sudden freedom of an open sky bounded only by magnificent mountain-forms, that for a moment I was quite overwhelmed. Then one of those strange tides of emotion that transcend both control and analysis, rushed through me from head to foot,—I trembled all over,—my limbs lost their strength, I could hardly sit on my horse. (178)

Indeed, Southesk's reference to his reaction as "one of those strange tides of emotion . . ." clearly shows that he deliberately employs the conventions of sublime aesthetics (with which he expects his audience to be familiar). But as Southesk travels in the mountains and begins to recognize similarities between the Canadian landforms and "the rock formations near Edinburgh," he finds himself "greatly struck with [the] picturesque appearance" of his party as it moves through a mountain valley (201; 202). Essentially, the familiarization of the landscape through comparison with a European landmark associated with a populated (humanized) area changes it from one of incomprehensible sublimity to one of picturesque appeal.

Land Ethics: the Extractive, the Romantic and the Ecological

In their article, "Nature and Nation: Herder, Myth and Cultural Nationalism in Canada," Larry Pratt and Matina Karvellas outline three ethical definitions of approaches to nature that have shaped (English) Canadian culture: the extractive and dualistic, the Romantic, and the ecological. An extractive or dualistic perspective is one in which "Nature is the Other, and it must be subdued, made useful, controlled; wilderness . . . is either useless or malevolent, a barrier to material progress" (60). Contrary to this extractive paradigm, a Romantic view identifies the usefulness of the natural world, "as a healer of human

souls, as a moral teacher, or as a source of creative inspiration and aesthetic enjoyment" (60). Pratt and Karvellas argue that ecological views of nature, which emerged with the science of ecology in the mid-nineteenth century, differ from extractive and Romantic views in that the latter are anthropocentric, while the former view human beings as "*part* of the environment rather than detached observers of it, and humanity and animals are on equal footing" (60; emphasis in original).

While Pratt and Karvellas argue that the extractive, Romantic, and ecological are "competing" views of nature, the texts of several alpine explorers show that these views often are not mutually exclusive. In particular, Romantic views of the healing properties of nature recognize some reciprocity between humans and nature, and therefore responses to the Rocky Mountains in Canadian exploration literature can be more easily divided into Romantic-extractive and Romantic-ecological categories than into the three distinct groups outlined by Pratt and Karvellas. Significantly, though, extractive and ecological views rarely complement one another.

Extractive approaches to the Rocky Mountains are especially evident in the discourse of fur-traders, geologists, and other surveyors whose goals were to assess the profitability of the land and/or its suitability for development. The discursive constructions of the Rocky Mountains created by the members of the Palliser Expedition clearly show their extractive tendencies in repeated references to the "quality" of the soil, timber, and coal found therein, as well as in repeated considerations of the ways in which different locales could or could not be rendered suitable for large-scale human habitation and/or trade. We see in the texts of this expedition the intertwining of scientific and

economic pursuits and the resultant discourse in which scientific and economic values are indistinguishable from one another.

The British Treasury financed the expedition with the understanding that it "would not bear a political character, being mainly directed to scientific objects," but, in the words of Irene Spry, "it was hoped that scientific inquiry might also give a clear answer to contentious political problems" (*Papers* liii, liv). Implicitly, the British government would use the scientific information gathered by the Palliser Expedition to determine the economic value of Rupert's Land, and, based on the evaluations, whether the HBC's exclusive trade and proprietary rights should be renewed by the British government or whether it made economic sense to pursue the establishment of more "civilised" economies of agriculture and commerce where subsistence and fur trade economies then predominated.

Throughout the three years they spent in the interior, John Palliser (1817-1887), James Hector (1834-1907), Eugene Bourgeau (1813-1877), and Thomas Blakiston (1832-1891) showed an unwavering dedication to the collection of botanical, geological, and climatological information. Despite their collective discursive attention to the ecological taxonomies of the land, the members of the Palliser Expedition do not demonstrate an "ecological" approach to nature according to the criteria outlined by Pratt and Karvellas: although they were clearly aware of the indigenous Blackfoot and Assiniboine populations, they show no awareness of the participation of humans in the ecological processes they document. Furthermore, although each of them note the diminishing number of buffalo, none pauses to consider his own role, either as an individual or as an

agent of the Colonial Office, in the causes of the buffalo's gradual extinction. The irony of this situation is nowhere more evident than in Palliser's assertion in 1863, more than twenty years before the destruction of the last buffalo herd, that hunting is untenable as a way of life, and that "provident foresight is the main reason of the more comfortable circumstances of the white man" (Spry, *Palliser* 31). Rather than question how they might best interact with the environment, they gather ecological information in an effort to assess the economic potential of all available botanical resources as well as the natural environment's potential to serve the needs of potential settlers who would farm and ranch land.

Grant and Fleming also view the Rockies through an extractive lens; they, like the men of Palliser's expedition, look for the potential of the land to produce wealth for their nation. Contradicting the conclusions of Palliser's report that the western lands were relatively worthless, Grant and Fleming are glad to proclaim the value of the interior lands and the Rockies:

> We are satisfied that the rugged and hitherto unknown country . . . is not, as has always been represented on maps . . . impracticable for a Railway; but entirely the reverse; that those vast regions . . . once pronounced worthless, are rich in minerals beyond conception . . . and that for the development of all this wealth, only the construction of a Railway is necessary. (Grant 353)

Here, the understanding of the geological constitution of the country directly informs the author's extractive view; minerals exist to be mined, and only the railway, the construction of which is unquestionably necessary and appropriate, will allow for the

land's full potential to be realized.

We can also see the dualistic perspective of the Rockies as a place that was ultimately alien and "Other" played out in the journals of the Overlanders. Many of these people, who travelled on foot in 1862 from Ontario to the Cariboo range's gold fields in British Columbia, imagined the Cariboo mountains as a literal gold mine, while they saw the first ranges of the mountains as nothing more than a barrier that needed to be conquered in order to reach their destination. This desire to conquer stands in strong contrast with the Overlanders' first impressions of the mountains, which echo those of so many who had passed before them: the sight of the mountains initially lifted their spirits because they signalled the promise of the end of the journey, and, until the difficulty of travelling through them became manifest, they were sublimely fascinating. The aesthetic and psychological appeal of the mountains soon wore off for the Overlanders who wanted nothing more than to pass safely to their final destination. Within days of first sighting the mountains, they discovered the physical hardships of travel in mountainous terrain and reformulated their aesthetic appreciation of the Rockies; even the sight of Jasper House, which James Hector had described as "picturesque" only three years earlier, provided no comfort to one Overlander who saw it as "a perfect picture of loneliness and solitude" (qtd in Wright 209).

The Romantic approach to nature is played out in the narratives of Mary Schäffer (1861-1939), James Outram, and many of those whose travels to the Rockies were fuelled by a personal desire to explore, rather than an obligation to do so for the sake of employment. Schäffer and Outram, both of whom chose to explore the Rockies during

times of personal leisure, recognize nature's role as a healing balm to their over-civilised souls. Schäffer claims that in the Rockies, "there are vast stretches where the air is so pure, body and soul are purified by it, the sights so restful that the weariest heart finds repose" (Hart, ed. 19). Outram echoes her sentiments in his assertion that "the brain collapse from overwork . . . first impelled him to the mountain heights for mental rest and physical recuperation" (vii).

These two writers imply that the salutary effects of the mountains are most effective when the environment is devoid of other humans. In *The Tourist Gaze* (1986), John Urry outlines both a collective and a "'romantic' form of the tourist gaze, in which the emphasis is upon solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze. . . . 'undisturbed natural beauty' constituted the typical object of [the romantic] gaze" (45). This concept of the romantic tourist gaze is useful here in that it accords with the ways in which Schäffer and Outram wanted to see and did see the Rocky Mountains. The aim of Schäffer's party was to travel to the Jasper area to reach the headwaters of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca rivers, but, as Schäffer candidly admits, this mandate was the result of a desire to leave behind the crowds around Banff: "Our real object was to delve into the heart of an untouched land, to tread where no human foot had trod before, to turn the unthumbed pages of an unread book, and to learn daily those secrets which dear Mother Nature reveals to those who seek" (Hart, ed. 18). To Schäffer, but not to her bewildered friends, "the very fact of its being a wilderness" was all the justification she needed for travel (18). Schäffer's desire for exclusivity, despite her need of guides, demonstrates the inconsistency of the role of humanity in the

Romantic approach to nature, as does her desire to commune with but to stand apart from the realm of wilderness.

Stutfield and Collie's *Climbs and Exploration in the Canadian Rockies* (1903) demonstrates further paradoxes inherent in Romantic constructions of nature. This narrative opens with a poem by alpinist and editor of the notoriously racially exclusive *Ottawa Anglo-Saxon*, Clive Phillips-Wolley (1854-1918), who refers to mountain climbing as a game played "Alone at the heart of the world" (1). Through his construction of solitude, Wolley invokes the ubiquitous Romantic gaze described by Urry. In the Rockies, Wolley says, "We had Great Things for our comrades, and Forces of Earth for foes" (1). He here shows the paradox of Nature as both friend and fiend; the material things of the mountains, the geological "things," here constructed as static archetypal images, are contrasted with the unfriendly mutability of weather; the Forces of Earth, presumably that which moves and causes change within it, are a decidedly antagonistic aspect of the environment.

By introducing the narrative of their climbs and explorations with Wolley's poem, Stutfield and Collie discursively construct their travels as a heroic enterprise in which the explorer must overcome the physical hardships of the trail. Such a view of mountaineering hardly accords with the two men's "fixed determination to make [themselves] comfortable" (239); indeed, this determination led them to pack "a most magnificent bedroom mattress, which on the journey proved as great a solace to its temporary owner as it was an annoyance to the packers" (238). Stutfield and Collie's desire for comfortable accommodations, despite their desire to visit truly remote

wilderness, shows their unwillingness not only to recognize and accept the discomfort generally associated with wilderness exploration, but also to consider the additional strain endured by the packers so that Stutfield and Collie could enjoy the privileges associated with Romantic notions of travel.

The argument that Pratt and Karvellas advance, that ecological discourses signal subjects who understand that they are *part* of nature, is in keeping with the spirit of emergent ecological discourses, but a close reading of "ecological" awareness in exploration literature shows a prevalence of anthropocentric desires to shape the natural world to the needs of humanity, notwithstanding the writers' understanding of the workings of the natural world and their sense of "oneness" therewith. In the late Victorian era, there is an emergent discourse that implies a consciousness of ecological science, particularly noticeable in the taxonomies of flora, fauna, and geology compiled by geologists, naturalists, and explorers such as James Hector, Eugene Bourgeau, and George M. Dawson (1849-1901), and in the natural histories included in several mountaineers' exploration writings. But a specific engagement with the concept of the participation of humans in the ecological processes of the world achieves but faint expression in the texts of the pre-park era.

The ecological concerns that are present in Mary Schäffer's writings deny a reading in which humans recognize simply their participation in the processes of ecology. Schäffer expresses concern for the detrimental effects of garbage left in the wilderness by campers, but her own solution to the problem of pollution is only an aesthetic solution: to put a stone into her tin can and to toss it into the river where it will not mar

the beauty of the camp site (*Old* 134). Furthermore, for Schäffer, to be *part* of nature is fundamentally performative: she and her companions "play at being Indians" (*Untrodden* n.pag.) and thereby come to appreciate what she sees as an indigenous oneness with the world. Although her ecological concerns are framed as sincere, and although she feels a sense of wholeness in the wilderness, she does not consider herself *part* of nature in that she feels her forays into wilderness are vacations from the real, civilised world of which she *is* a part. Thus, despite her legitimate concern for the environment and its processes, Schäffer's "ecological" consciousness is inextricably tied to a Romantic notion of nature as an escape from the real world. Incidentally, at one point of her writings, Schäffer refers to a bear as a "pelt" (*Old* 154) rather than an animal, signalling an extractive view of wildlife, if not of the mountains themselves.

Relating to Presence, Present and Future

Pratt and Karvellas's three categories, the extractive, the Romantic, and the ecological, can apply equally to writers' relationships with land and their relationships with people who inhabit or visit the mountains. Explorers and wilderness travel writers' responses to (potential) human presence in the Rockies are closely related to their responses to the land generally. Often, writers' responses to (the potential of) other people in the mountains demonstrate idealized uses of mountain landscapes. For example, Grant sees the mountains in terms of their potential to draw tourists:

> "There are no Rocky Mountains" has been the remark of many a disappointed traveller by the Union and Central Pacific Railways. The remark will never be made by those who travel on the Canadian Pacific; there was no ambiguity about

> these being mountains, nor about where they commenced. . .. And these too were ours, an inheritance as precious, if not as plentiful in corn and milk, as the vast rich plains they guarded. For mountains elevate the mind, and give an inspiration of courage and dignity to the hardy races who own them, and who breathe their atmosphere. (222)

Grant views people in the mountains not only as an inevitable outcome of his trip, but also as a desirable and profitable prospect. His construction of the mountains and of the people who might visit them, is extractive: he anticipates the profit the CPR will make from the mountains through the tourists who will use the railway. His construction also prescribes the role of all Canadians, whether visitors to or indigenes of the Rockies, as inheritors and owners of the mountain environment.

As with the Romantic and ecological constructions of relationships between writers and the mountains, the Romantic and ecological constructions of the ethical relationships between exploration writers and other people within the mountains are closely intertwined. For example, Mary Schäffer's view of tourists in the mountains as a threat to the integrity of delicate ecosystems demonstrates both an awareness of the ecological sensitivity of the areas in question, and a Romantic desire for her own exclusive access thereto. At the beginning of her second Rocky Mountain pack trip, Schäffer and her companions watch as her "secret haunts" were "laid bare" to all the other tourists who came to the area: "With jealous eyes, we watched the silence slipping back, the tin cans and empty fruit-jars strew our sacred soil" (*Old* 3). She later specifies that "average campers" are polluting the environment (*Old* 134). Obviously aligning

herself with those who know how to properly make use of the mountains, Schäffer remarks that "there is nothing much more unsightly to the *true camper*" than desecration of the wilderness at the hands of other campers (*Old* 254, emphasis in original). Schäffer's narrative constructs an ideal mountain visitor as someone who, like an art connoisseur, recognizes the aesthetic appeal of wilderness and who, like a religious devotee, considers wilderness sacred and strives to protect its integrity.

Schäffer, whose description of her desire to experience nature intimately reveals itself as a desire to "play Indian," associates the possibility of ecological awareness with the Romantic archetype of the noble savage: to be Indian is to be part of nature. Indeed, Schäffer explicitly states that in her travels, "there had not been one sign of a civilized hand; the Indian is a part of the whole, the white man, with his tin-cans and forest-fires, desecrates as he goes" (*Old* 242). Schäffer here tries to occupy a dual position—a strategy of absolving oneself of colonial guilt that Mary Louise Pratt calls "anti-conquest" and that Alison Byerly describes as "strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony" (qtd in Rosendale xxi). Schäffer anchors her innocence as a white person by demonstrating her understanding and appreciation of what "the Indian has taught us . . . about the 'simple life'" (*Old* 95), while she confirms her position of European hegemony by suggesting that Native people are uncivilized and inconsiderable.

This conflation of ecological awareness and indigenousness is expressed by others who use this paradigm to validate Imperialist claims of discovery. Southesk, for example, frequently asserts his desire to explore areas where no European preceded him;

the implication in his request is that indigenous presence, particularly that of his Métis and Native guides, is either inconsequential, invisible, or otherwise not worthy of consideration. Outram reiterates this perspective even more forcefully:

> In earlier days the glories of these mountains lay unnoticed or unknown. Stray bands of Indians passed along the wooded valleys and across the flower-strewn alps in search of the abundant game whose haunts were in these mountain fastnesses. But the peerless peaks that towered above, the lovely lakes enshrined amidst the rich forest growth, the sparkling cataracts and foaming streams were unconsidered items of their wonted environment, useful alone as a habitat for their accustomed prey. (16)

In the first place, Outram constructs Native presence as totally inconsistent, as a random straying of transient people. In the second place, Outram implies that even if these Natives were to look up and around them, and were to see the mountains' geophysical features, they would not have the aesthetic training to recognize or understand the beauty in front of them. Such a view of Natives' incapacity for aesthetic appreciation of the mountains opens a venue for Outram to be the discoverer who first alerts the public to their existence and aesthetic appeal, much as an art dealer might claim responsibility for "discovering" a new artistic talent.

The project of naming the mountains, in which all of the exploration writers participated, may be seen as further evidence of the deliberate dismissal of the legacy of Métis and indigenous knowledge of and presence in the mountains, particularly as names such as Mt Edith Cavell replace situation-based names such as Montagne de la Grande

Traverse. Furthermore, in the publication of many editions of various Canadian exploration narratives, editors have reinforced the rhetoric of Imperialist discovery by advertising the "firstness" of the various exploratory feats of Henday, Thompson, Schäffer, *et al.*

Paradoxes Grounded and Foregrounded

The discursive construction of the Canadian Rocky Mountains begins long before the geographic region appears in government literature. From Fidler's discursive construction of the mountains in 1792 to Schäffer's visit to Jasper just after it was declared a Forest reserve in 1907, we see several variations in writers' perceptions of the land. These constructions each foreground in some respect the discursive paradoxes that occur in the literature produced by Canadian Government agencies in their efforts to manage and promote Jasper National Park. Also, exploration writers, whose respective motives for travelling to the mountains range from a desire to expand the fur trade to a desire to expand the mountaineering community's knowledge of alpine routes, anticipate the contemporary ideological roles of the Rocky Mountains as natural, cultural, and ecological icons. Significantly, few of these writers even hint at the nationalistic fervour which later colours government and public writings that recuperate and/or appropriate exploration narratives for political and/or publicity purposes. (I will discuss the inscription of nationalism, nostalgia, and heritage onto exploration texts in a later chapter.)

Exploration narratives anticipate the contemporary perception of Jasper National Park as a "leisure" space, one which encompasses simultaneously the aesthetic properties

of the Sublime and the Picturesque, and one which is an "untouched," "uninhabitable" gift from God. Whether deliberately or not, the literature produced by government agencies responsible for the management and promotion of Jasper National Park relies heavily on the aesthetic tropes of the sublime and the picturesque, and the ethical tropes of extractive, Romantic, and ecological approaches to the Rockies, and in so doing, reiterate the paradoxical role of humanity in discursive constructions of the park.

One of the central paradoxes in all exploration narratives is that "While 'discovery' disturbs a particular set of expectations, what is found through an examination of . . . literary cartographers is that discovery has also been anticipated, often according to the sublime" (Van Noy 181). Just as explorers' discursive constructions fit themselves into the language of sublime aesthetics (which are supposed to resist predictability), so too contemporary promotional texts describe the park while they invite visitors to come and discover for themselves the "wonders" of the mountains. Essentially, while discovery notes a disruption in a person's expectations, the trope of discovery is so often used in tourism pamphlets that discovery itself is a highly anticipated event. The sublime no longer retains its power as a discourse about the indescribable; it has become an aesthetic map into which we fit the landscape.

Schäffer's question regarding who should be granted access to the mountains is revisited several times after the park boundaries are set. In the 1911 *Canadian Alpine Journal*, for example, she bemoans having "betrayed" the location of a rare flower to a party who subsequently picked and killed the specimen. Her solution was to thenceforth "leave [rare plants'] habitat[s] for the searcher to find" ("Haunts" 134). Her remarks in

Old Indian Trails that increased accessibility to alpine trails renders them less appealing, that "the mark of the axe grow[s] more obtrusive," and that cleared trails lose their value because the trail is "so precious from the fact it must be mastered to succeed" (3) anticipate the debates that surround the building of the public motor road from Edmonton to Jasper in the late 1920s, as well as the multiple debates about the accessibility and lack of democracy in the construction of private roads within the park. On the one hand, public roads and transportation to the national parks aid in the democratization of access: anyone with a car can access the mountains. On the other hand, open access to the parks leads to the very problem identified by Schäffer: the aesthetic and ecological desecration of the area.

The paradox of wilderness is essentially a paradox of familiarity: explorers see the mountains as wilderness, as unpredictable, undescribable, uncontrollable, and, in the earliest narratives, as uncharted land, but their project is to make the mountains known and/or knowable through contemporaneously popular aesthetic paradigms, to increase accessibility through their maps and narratives, and to name and define every geophysical formation. This paradox anticipates the contemporary paradox of management in the park. On the one hand, "wilderness," including its associations with disorder, is the consistent descriptor of Jasper National Park, from before its official designation to the present. On the other hand, this area has been systematically charted, managed, and ordered. Discursive constructions thus function in two opposite ways: first, they contribute to the park's definition, to its familiarity, and, essentially, to its conceptual demise as an "untouched" wilderness, and second, they allow for the

conceptualization, however untenable, of the parkland as a wilderness; there can be no "wilderness" without the definitional acts that corrode "wilderness."

Chapter Two

Laying the Tracks for Tourism: Railways, Development, and Promotion

Jasper National Park has been marketed consistently, by both government and private interests, as the wildest of all the mountain parks. The wilderness of Jasper is inevitably a paradoxical construction in promotional literature, for, as William Cronon argues, wilderness discourse is necessarily informed by cultural definitions, and, therefore, the notion that wilderness lies beyond or apart from culture is untenable (80). Nevertheless, wilderness discourse in promotional literature encourages the interpretation of wilderness and parks as culture-less constructs, places where visitors may temporarily escape and forget about the trappings of culture that govern urban existence. As in the exploration literature discussed earlier, the three primary manifestations of the paradox of humanity in wilderness exist in aesthetic descriptions of the park, in the discursive constructions of prescribed relationships between the general literary audience and the park, and in the discursive construction of an idealized tourist subject.

Until the federal government created the National Parks Information Bureau in the 1930s, railway companies governed the tone and content of the majority of the publicly-circulated literature about Canada's Rocky Mountains. Railway companies had a vested interest in promoting use of the railways through the mountains, and they had a captive audience for their promotional materials inasmuch as mountain parks were not accessible by road until the 1930s. In 1914, Jasper National Park was traversed by two railway lines, those of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (GTPR) and the Canadian Northern Railway (CNR). By creating a discursive link between building the railway and

building the nation, these companies popularized the notion of the inherent goodness and naturalness of tourist development in the Jasper area, and established their authority to represent the area literally and literarily. Through marketing campaigns that emphasized the wild aspect of Jasper National Park, the GTPR and the CNR set the discursive conditions through which Jasper would come to be the synecdoche of wilderness destinations in Canada, replete with all the paradoxes inherent in the rhetorical constructions of Canadian nationalism, wilderness, and the role of tourism in Jasper.

John Urry argues in *Consuming Places* that as railways were developed and "geographical movement became democratised, so extensive distinctions of taste were established between different *places* [such that] considerable differences of 'social tone' [were] established between otherwise similar places" (130). Unlike promotions for the more famous Banff, advertisements for Jasper highlight the park's relative obscurity from the public eye, its distance from urban centres, and its wealth of 'as-yet-untravelled' wilderness areas; these qualities of remoteness lend themselves to the discursive construction of Jasper as a destination that offers tourists the opportunity to "experience" wilderness from the comfort of their luxury accommodations or from the vantage point of the golf course, swimming pool, or other such amenity. Overall, the 'social tone'[8] of the railway companies' promotional materials is one of exclusivity, one that caters to the tastes of tourists of means who desire a unique, authentic, Canadian wilderness experience.

---

[8] Given that social tone, according to Urry, is determined by "distinctions of taste," this term presupposes an ideology of aesthetic, rather than geophysical or psychological, appraisal of the environment.

The very mandate of pamphlets and guide books, to attract multitudes of people to a place that is desirable because of its lack of human presence, reveals the primary ethical and aesthetic paradoxes of Jasper's status as a wilderness, and of wilderness tourism as an escape from society. If wilderness is a space devoid of human presence, any interaction between wilderness and humans is impossible: a person's own presence in any given space renders that space a non-wilderness. Furthermore, in the promises of solitude in the wilderness, promotional materials imply that visitors to the park will not only see but also interact with a wild landscape in a manner that is unmediated by the presence of other humans. But a tourist's experience, if he or she relies on guidance from promotional materials, is necessarily mediated, if not explicitly prescribed, by the pamphlets and guide books that include literary and literal maps and definitive lists of what to see and do in the park.

Guide books and promotional pamphlets that prescribe relationships between visitors and the park illustrate the paradoxes inherent in not only the construction of wilderness, but also the depiction of the very nature of visitation or of experience within that wilderness. Despite their pervasive invitations to visitors to "experience" wilderness, these texts typically focus on the visual characteristics of the landscape, particularly of panoramic views, rather than information that might facilitate (solitary) travel into non-developed parts of the park. By promoting a visual, rather than physical, appreciation of the landscape, publicity entrenches the role of humans in the Jasper area as landscape viewers, passive consumers of visual stimuli whose wilderness "experience" is achieved simply through the act of observing mountain panoramas. This

paradox is magnified by frequent implications that the consumption of amenities, such as a stay at the Jasper Park Lodge, or a round of golf on the Jasper links, though these are clearly "modern conveniences," constitutes a wilderness experience by virtue of the situation of the amenities.

Selling the Invaluable

In 1906, the GTPR was created as a subsidiary to the Grand Trunk Railway (GTR) company to administer the building of a line from Winnipeg to the Pacific. Although the completion of the first transcontinental line by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) is often cited as the symbol of the solidification of Canada as a nation,[9] the completion of the CNR and GTPR lines was also attended by a great deal of celebratory rhetoric in which the latter companies marketed themselves as nation-builders. While the companies did indeed contribute to the economic development of Canada, and while their promotional discourse literally accomplished nation-building tasks by canonizing particular mountains and scenes in and around Jasper, the GTPR and CNR's self-professed roles as stewards of the nation's wilderness areas and as protectors of "Nature, peaceful, pure and undefiled" (GTPR, *Canadian* [1913] 8) are ironic in retrospect: the physical construction of the railways impinged upon the supposedly inviolate nature of the wilderness landscape, and the companies' deliberate attempts to manage the landscape visible from the railway lines show that the companies were concerned with the preservation of the park, not in terms of its ecological integrity, but as a repository of

---

[9] See, for example, E. J. Hart's *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginning of Canadian Tourism* (1983).

scenery that would support the economic viability of the railways through the mountains.

As did the CPR, the GTPR had trouble financing its western railway extensions and actively promoted settlement along the railway with such pamphlets as *8,000 Free Homesteads* (1911), and *Lines of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in Western Canada* (1912), in order to garner business through the initial movement of immigrants to homesteads, and also through the shipping of goods to and from the farms the immigrants would establish. The latter pamphlet, for example, highlights the view of the railway companies that human intervention is what makes land valuable by including pictures of farms, bushels of wheat, livestock, food crops, and a new wagon road, which are noted as indications of the general "improvements" made to the land by the settlers, and meant to entice others to join in settling the prairie lands.

But aside from its role in the development of Canada through settlement and the shipping industry, the GTPR also played a prominent role in the development of tourism in wilderness areas, particularly those of Northern Ontario and the Rocky Mountains. In the GTPR's 1913 edition of the pamphlet, *The Canadian Rockies: Yellowhead Pass Route*, the assertion that "when the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway pushed its rails into the wilderness north of North Bay, and reached Timagami [sic], the builders found the publicity men of the Grand Trunk already on the spot" (3), demonstrates the GTPR's interest in establishing its precedence in representing the nation's recreational wilderness areas.[10] Furthermore, this pamphlet generates a sense of corporate ownership

[10] In 1914, the GTPR built Minaki Inn in northern Ontario. In 1919, the CNR assumed ownership of the facility and in 1923, it built Minaki Lodge which became the premier wilderness resort east of the Rocky Mountains, catering particularly to a

of the landscape it describes. The Grand Trunk promotes itself not only as the host who "enjoy[s] the privilege of opening up and introducing to tourists and travellers from time to time, fresh new outing places," but also as the proprietor of such places which are, for all intents and purposes, "the territory of the Grand Trunk, [because] it was by the efforts of that railway that the charm of [these places] was made known" (3). The railway's implicit ownership of the land in question is further entrenched by the fact that this pamphlet, like most of the railway companies' publications, is authorially anonymous outside the corporate voice. The authority of the pamphlet, then, comes from the GTPR itself, a company that held a relatively high public profile because of the success of the GTR and GTPR in eastern Canada, and Sir Wilfred Laurier's personal support of the western extension of the railway, symbolized by the completion of the GTPR's flagship hotel, the grandiose Chateau Laurier in Ottawa [1908-1912].

In the first edition of *The Canadian Rockies: Yellowhead Pass Route* (1911), one of the earliest known tourism pamphlets for Jasper, the GTPR connects itself to an implicitly Canadian legacy of pioneering and exploration through which the nation took shape: "So little was known of this section that the early explorers, who were pioneering and path-finding for the Grand Trunk Pacific, found waterfalls higher than Niagara, actually unknown" (3). Not only does the GTPR identify wonders that, because of their size or their sublimity, like Niagara Falls, ought rightfully to be part of the national canon of tourist landscapes, but it also pinpoints their rightful place on the map of the

---

clientele of CNR and government officials. In October, 2003, the infamous "White Elephant of the North" was completely destroyed by fire.

Dominion, correctly locating "mighty rivers, wide and deep, that were from 50 to 100 miles out of place on the map" (4). The pamphlet's rhetorical twists show that the railway creates order out of disorder, both administratively and aesthetically: "The extension of railway facilities," the pamphlet suggests, "is now all that is required to force the long neglected but charming, beauteous, Canadian Rockies into their proper position as foremost among the great scenic areas of the world" (10). In essence, the Jasper landscape will be recognized in its appropriate geographic and aesthetic contexts only once the railway defines it. The pamphlet serves the needs of the railway companies by discursively creating a canon of national landscapes which all happen to lie alongside the company's tracks, and it suggests that GTPR trains are the means by which tourists can most readily put themselves in contact with these national icons. Furthermore, by identifying its target audience as "Transcontinental travellers" (1), the pamphlet self-reflexively emphasizes the symbolic unification of the country through the railway, and thereby promotes train travel as an inherently patriotic enterprise, a celebration of the nation's new-found geographic unification.

The GTPR did not wait until its line was complete to promote tourist use of the railway. Instead, the company advertised the landmarks it could access, literally to the last inch of track that had been laid. From the first to the second edition of *The Canadian Rockies: Yellowhead Pass Route*, we can see the progress of the railway through the land referents used; the earlier edition advertises that the GTPR can take a passenger from Fort William "to the banks of the Athabaska" (4), while the later edition substitutes a more westerly destination, the Fraser river. By 1916, the pamphlet's title

has been altered to "The North American Alps: Canadian Rockies, Mount Robson Route," and this change reflects the fact that Mount Robson gained immediate status as a national icon because it is the highest peak in the Canadian Rocky Mountains. As a sightseeing destination, Mount Robson has greater cultural capital than the Yellowhead Pass even though the Pass has more overt connections with the history of Canadian exploration and national development.

Clearly, the GTPR promotes its role as a pathfinder, but it also creates a sense that nature has dictated the rightful path of the railway: "When they [the railway explorers] had finished blazing the trail, they found that it wound away by the foot of Mount Robson . . . [and] they found that they were travelling through some of the grandest scenery found anywhere in the world" (*Canadian* [1913] 4). The railway workers, as though they did not look up from their work until the railway was complete, discover the happy coincidence that majestic scenery flanks the trail that lay in the landscape, suggesting not only that a railway route existed, latent in this wild area, only awaiting the industry of the railway to be actualized, but also that nature created this thoroughfare as much as humans did. Indeed, the 1911 version of the pamphlet states that "it is *almost amazing* that such a pathway should have been provided by Nature when the colossal peaks were upheaved" (11; emphasis added). What is striking about this passage is not only that Nature provides for the needs of humans through its geological processes, but also that this provision is only *almost* amazing; in fact, it is unsurprising and expected that nature should facilitate the advancement of the railway.

Furthermore, the "Yellowhead Pass Route" in the pamphlet's title reminds

readers that the GTPR has been "able to lay an almost level line from the Atlantic to the Pacific" (*Canadian* [1911] 4), its grade practically imperceptible to passengers on the train through the Rockies. This feat of engineering, lauded by the GTPR in the same way that "conquering" Rogers Pass was by the CPR, reinforced the idea that this route was a *natural* choice for a railway. Even before the rail was laid for this route, George Grant, the secretary on Sir Sandford Fleming's transcontinental trip to survey a route for the CPR, recommended the Yellowhead Pass as one which "looks as if nature had united all her forces to make this the natural highway into the heart of the Rocky Mountains" (*Ocean to Ocean* 238). Implicitly, the landscape awaited the railway and sanctions its construction; nature is not simply subservient to the needs of humanity but acts as a benefactor, a supporter of the inevitable and desirable progress of technology and industrial development. Such rhetorical tactics naturalize the development of the landscape in the name of railway transportation.

One year after the GTPR reached the Pacific, the Canadian Northern Railway also completed a transcontinental line. Overall, the pamphlets produced by the CNR adopt the same tone, descriptive language, and format as those of the GTPR pamphlets. One important distinction lies in the CNR's tactics for dealing with railway competitors. The GTPR, for example, acknowledged the CPR's status as its major competitor, and competed with its rival by distinguishing the uniqueness of the northern transcontinental route: early pamphlets note that "the Grand Trunk Pacific have mountains immediately on entering the mountains," unlike "the other transcontinental railway" that must first pass through "undulating country with hills of a slight altitude" (GTPR, *Canadian* [1911]

7). In the CNR's 1916 pamphlet, *The Canadian Rockies Through the Yellowhead Pass: Canadian Northern All the Way*, however, the CNR does not acknowledge its competitors, although it does refer briefly to transcontinental travellers' familiarity with the "southerly reaches" of the Canadian Rockies (1). The assertion that "the Canadian Northern Railway has now opened up a new route through the Yellowhead Pass" (1) not only ignores the direct competition of the GTPR, but also implies that the CNR was first to lay a line through the Rockies' slightly more northerly reaches. By ignoring the GTPR's presence in Jasper, the CNR pamphlets suggest that the CNR is the only corporate presence in the park and that it is the only means of access to the park. Although the rhetorical tactics employed by these two companies may not amount to unusual competitive marketing strategies, they serve as an example of a more pervasive rhetorical urge, namely, a willful blindness to human presence in the park. The utter absurdity of there being competing lines is thereby left unacknowledged.

The GTPR enjoyed a few years of financial solvency but went bankrupt in 1919. The CNR suffered the same fate in 1922, just as Jasper Park Lodge, which GTPR officials began developing in 1915,[11] was finally opened. Several factors contributed to the demise of the companies, including the stiff competition they offered each other, and that offered by the CPR. The Canadian government assumed control of both the GTR and the GTPR in 1919, and, in 1923, the government took over the CNR as well. From all of these railways, the Canadian National Railways (CN) system was formed. With the

---

[11] R.C.W. Lett and H.R. Tilley, employees of the GTPR, were instrumental in organizing and establishing Tent City, a camp of tents and, later, of rough log cabins, around which the more permanent structures of Jasper Park Lodge were developed.

creation of a first-class lodge within the park boundaries, and with the shift from private to government ownership of the railway, came a shift in focus in the promotional pamphlets that were meant to draw tourists to Jasper. Although there is a certain irony in the title of the CNR's pamphlet, *The New Way Through the Canadian Rockies* (1921), as the Yellowhead Pass had then been in use by the GTPR since 1915, the lodge was within months of opening and its advent did fundamentally change the way tourists spent their time in Jasper, if not how they travelled to it. Every pamphlet produced by the CNR, and subsequently by CN, from this time forward has at least a cursory mention of the lodge and its amenities, and many pamphlets devote more than half their space to this subject.

Like the CPR, the GTPR built several large hotels, and these edifices were often the only advertised stopping points on the rail line. Indeed, although there are endless miles of rail between Winnipeg and the Rockies, GTPR pamphlets consistently describe only those sections of track that pass through or lead immediately to places with GTPR hotels already established, or places where the GTPR planned to establish a hotel. Granted, there were not many stops on the railway line in the 1910s, but, in 1925, for example, when there were several regular stops between Edmonton and Jasper, the author of the CN pamphlet, *Jasper National Park*, attempts to literally erase the long rail journey from consideration: "As the westbound train from Edmonton glides into the broad smiling valley of the Athabasca River . . . all that has come before seems to fade into insignificance" (1). In *Jasper Park Lodge on Lac Beauvert* (1925), CN adds to the latter rhetorical technique with a visual element: a map of the railway effectively flattens the country to make Jasper appear to be on a direct latitudinal line from Quebec City (see

figure 1).

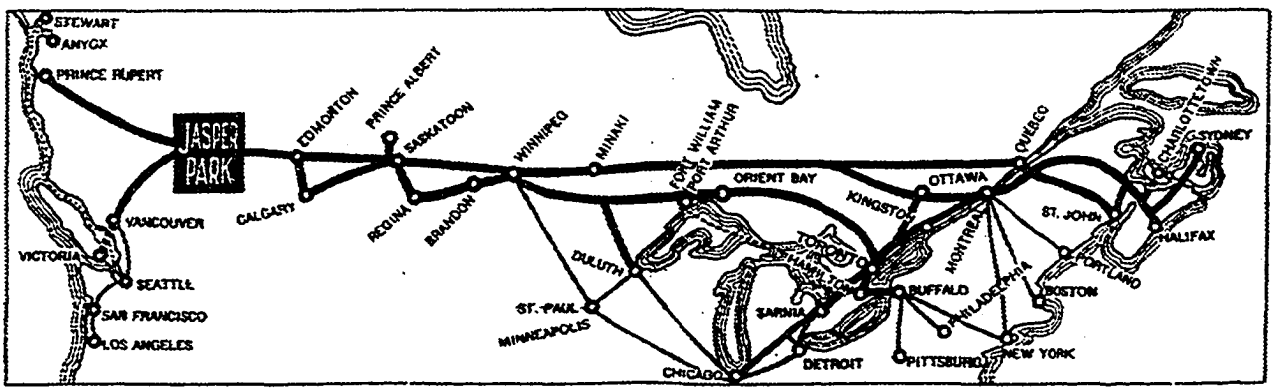


Figure 1. Map from *Jasper Park Lodge on Lac Beauvert* (1925), 17

Ottawa's Chateau Laurier (1912), Northern Ontario's Minaki Lodge (1914), and Edmonton's Hotel Macdonald (1914) stand as monuments to the success of the GTR and the GTPR in their early years. The Chateau Miette, the facility the GTPR proposed to build along the Fiddle River, would have rivalled the Banff Springs Hotel. This full-service resort was to be built near the hot springs to serve as the preeminent tourist accommodation in Jasper National Park, but, because of many delays in the issuance of appropriate leases by the government, the death of the GTPR's main financial backer, Charles Melville Hays, who was on the ill-fated *Titanic* in 1912, followed by the war and its attendant financial stresses, no such facility was ever built. Instead, in 1915, a campground known as Tent City was opened as a temporary solution to tourist demand for accommodation; its immediate success led to an expansion of its dining facilities in 1919, the addition of eight log cabins in 1921, and the official opening of Jasper Park Lodge's main building in 1923.

Jasper Park Lodge, then, developed relatively organically, in an economic sense, evolving in size, services, and permanence as tourist demands dictated. Marketers were quick to translate the facility's relative lack of pretense into promotional pitches that emphasized the organic nature of the buildings themselves. Indeed, in several pamphlets, the transitions between descriptions of the park environment and descriptions of the lodge are marked by a sentence that aims to eliminate the disjunction of man-made and nature-made structures. For example, a 1928 CN pamphlet, *Exclusive Photogravure Views of Jasper Park Lodge, Alberta & Minaki Lodge, Ontario*, claims that the Jasper Park Lodge is "a part of the surroundings," and there is "No clash here between the buildings and the terrain on which they are constructed" (7). Likewise, CN's 1927 pamphlet, *Jasper National Park*, naturalizes the presence of the lodge as an integral component of the Jasper landscape: "its architecture blends so perfectly with the surroundings, that it seems as much part of the scenery as the mountains themselves" (32). A few years later, CN's 1931 pamphlet, *Jasper Park Lodge, Jasper National Park, Alberta, in the Heart of the Canadian Rockies*, implies that the landscape itself gave birth to the lodge, for it is not only "in the mountains," but also "of the mountains" (10): "Its foundations are stones dug out of the mountain sides; its walls are the trees of the mountains, cut, peeled and carefully fitted" (10). The irony that is most obvious in these descriptions is the fact that the creation of these "natural" buildings fundamentally changed the landscape from which the building materials were taken even as the rustic appearance of the lodge buildings came to represent the authenticity of the wilderness experience tourists could have in Jasper.

Despite their repeated invocation of Jasper's "wild" attributes, the railway companies discursively construct their presence in the landscape not only as inevitable but also as natural. Even before the railway companies came under government control, their pamphlets clearly nationalized and naturalized the railways themselves as the means of conveyance to the park, and their attendant tourist infrastructure as the host in the park. Both to the park and of the park,[12] the railways symbolize the physical union of the country and serve as the metaphoric vehicle of patriotic expression and national identity.[13] Through rhetoric that emphasizes the role of the railway in making accessible the national icons—the Rocky Mountains—in the park, the railway companies become part of the landscape and its cultural heritage, cultivating the ground for later government publications that construct tourism experiences in Jasper as inherently national and natural activities. Railways thereby became an unproblematical part of wilderness in a way never managed by automobiles.

Sublime Science

In keeping with Romantic aesthetics, promotional materials for Jasper frame landscapes

---

[12] The railways faced no competition for vehicular traffic to the park before 1930. Whereas the CPR faced competition from the Calgary Auto Club, whose members defied regulations against auto traffic in Banff, as early as 1909 (Bella 60), and whereas the GTPR and CNR faced stiff competition from automobile associations elsewhere, Jasper was theirs alone.

[13] The inherent nationalism of the railways is still a highly visible trope in Canadian popular culture, as evidenced by the fact that the only transcontinental passenger train, now run by Via Rail, is called "The Canadian." A more striking example of the solipsism that allows us to see the completion of the railway as an unproblematic moment of national pride and to ignore its attendant racist employment policies and enormous human cost is Molson Canadian's beer commercial that features pictures of the hammering of the last railway spike while the announcer repeats the slogan "I am Canadian" with obvious patriotic sentiment.

in terms of the concepts of the sublime and the picturesque. However, unlike the literature of early explorers that constructs a strong distinction between the effects upon the observer of sublime and picturesque landscapes, pamphlets and guide books, particularly those written in the first half of the twentieth century, depict the effects of the two types of landscape as equally pleasing. This shift is due to the evolving constructions of sublimity generally during the second half of the nineteenth century, in which the sublime aspects of the landscape—whether the size, scope, or effect upon the observer—become less frightening. Awe is no longer a reverential and fearful emotion, but one of pleasurable wonder and amazement. Jasper scenery is not simply sublime; the areas touched by the railway and other human constructions are construed as examples of the picturesque, and only the backdrop of humanized areas is qualified as sublime. But even the sublimity of the background has undergone a degree of shift; it becomes pacified or mollified sublimity by the picturesqueness of the humanized foreground. Scientific discourse contributes to this shift because it associates the sublime with natural science and renders it interesting rather than awesome or overpowering. Alpinism, an activity very much aligned with science in its first decades (1860-1920), also rendered the mountains less terrifying. As Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole note in *From Desolation to Splendour*, "the formation of the Canadian Alpine Club . . . contributed to the idea that the wilderness . . . had its own aesthetic appeal" (59). Not only in terms of the scientific information gathered by scientists and alpinists, but also in terms of the symbolic significance of mountaineers' ascents to high peaks, the advent of Canadian mountaineering helped demystify the mountains by introducing tangible information

about them.

A second degree of shift in the meaning of the sublime can be attributed to the elision of differences between it and the picturesque. As previously noted, promotional texts habitually draw attention to the sublimity of Jasper's mountains by suggesting that a divine creator is responsible for the landscape's appearance. In the CNR pamphlet, *The New Way Through the Canadian Rockies: Mt. Robson Route* (1921), for example, author James Oliver Curwood[14] devotedly reveres God's role and perceives it as married to the processes of Nature: "God and Nature have given to us, as our everlasting birthright, a heritage so colossal and awesome that I feel something of the spirit of sacrilege in attempting to create an impression of it" (1). Despite his feeling of reverence—a response appropriate to a sublime landscape—Curwood ultimately decides that "we may look upon [the landscape] with ease and pleasure" (1), a response more characteristically associated with and appropriate to a picturesque landscape. Like other railway pamphleteers, Curwood does not always carefully distinguish the sublime from the picturesque, but relies on Romantic conceptions of beauty that admit both as pleasurable.

Five years earlier the GTPR pamphlet, *The North American Alps*, confidently boasted that, "even though the magnificence of the mountains may enrapture and enthuse, and their immensity may startle and astound, the chief charm to the tourist will no doubt be found in the pristine, primeval character of that new Wonderland" (10). In this less devout description, the sublime landscape has been tamed just as alpinists had

---

[14] James Oliver Curwood was well known to Canadians as the author of several novels set in the Canadian Rockies, as well as the highly popular film, *God's Country* (1919), starring Nell Shipman.

tamed European mountains during the second half of the nineteenth century. So Jasper becomes ultimately charming rather than frightful or awe-inspiring in this rendition. That the railway companies happily oscillated between these two versions of sublimity in responding to the mountain landscapes suggests that they had become interchangeable in the promotional material dispensed to tourists. Although this description is reminiscent of earlier, eighteenth-century sublime aesthetics in its references to the superlative qualities of the mountains, its lighthearted tone is meant to delight the reader rather than to inspire the sense of devotion, terror, or religious awe that Curwood does.

Curwood's claim, that "Science has brought the richness of [the mountains'] splendors to our very doors" (1), implies a direct correlation between railway technology and scientific discourse, both of which are vehicles that anthropomorphize and thus subjugate the mountains. In essence, accessing the mountains by means of the railways and understanding the mountains through scientific discourse symbolize the physical and discursive humanization of sublime scenery; all of it now falls under human control, so it can be framed—by a picture frame or a railway car window—into a series of pictures. This is the essence of the picturesque aesthetic. Nature's raw power and majesty have been refined. Whereas Curwood speaks with reverence and trepidation about the scene before him when he considers it as evidence of God's work, he also speaks of "ease and pleasure" when he considers the landscape as transformed by human activity and by geological forces: "History as represented by our own pioneers, [and] Time by the marks left by the cataclysmic tools of . . . Nature" (1). Although his description is reminiscent of the explorer Samuel Black's contemplation of the cataclysmic origins of the Rockies,

Curwood's description implies that scientific understanding renders the sublime landscape comprehensible and pleasing to contemplate. His narrative aligns itself with the rise, in the late nineteenth century, of the aesthetic category that increasingly embraced scientific comprehension of sublime landscapes and that valued "interesting," "curious," or "strange" beauty.

In *Inventing Canada*, Suzanne Zeller observes that nineteenth-century science provided Canadian colonists with "the practical means to dominate their physical surroundings [and] an ideological framework within which to comprehend the experience of doing so" (5). In other words, science dictated the transformation of sublime landscapes into useful ones. In *The North American Alps*, which claims that "[t]here are also rocks and formations of every age and description, and an abounding wealth of flora and fauna, affording exceptional opportunities for scientific and artistic study and research" (8), and again in the 1911 GTPR pamphlet, *The Canadian Rockies: Yellowhead Pass Route*, which includes a chart of the chemical composition of the water at the Miette Hot Springs (see figure 2), we see evidence of the currency of scientific discourse and of its tendency discursively to inscribe utility onto the landscape.

ANALYSIS OF JASPER PARK HOT SPRINGS

The following analysis which was made at the Experimental Farm, Ottawa, December 22nd, 1909, will be found of interest inasmuch as it contains many ingredients which go to make up a first class medicinal water.

	Parts per million	Grains per gallon
Silica (SiO_2)	45	3.15
Sulphuric anhydride (SO_3)	902	63.14
Carbon dioxide (CO_2)	85	5.95
Phosphoric acid (P_2O_5)	Traces	Traces
Chlorine (Cl)	7	.49
Oxide of iron (Fe_2O_3), Alumina (Al_2O_3)	None	None
Lime (CaO)	558	39.06
Magnesia (MgO)	108	7.56
Potash (K_2O)	21	1.47
Soda (Na_2O)	17	1.19
	1,743	122.01

Temperature 127 degrees Fahrenheit.

A chalet or other suitable structure will be erected at this point for the accommodation of guests who desire to remain any length of time.

Figure 2. From *The Canadian Rockies: Yellowhead Pass Route* (1911), 17.

The rise of scientific investigations as a widespread leisure activity popularized the aesthetic category of the "interesting." This category leant a scientific angle to deployments of two related picturesque concepts, diversity and variation, two terms largely indebted to Darwinian evolutionism, but implicit as well in earlier concepts of the picturesque. In *Three Essays on the Picturesque* (1792) the Rev. William Gilpin (1724-1804), its leading eighteenth- century advocate, defines the picturesque as that which stimulates the imagination to reverie or admiration. For Gilpin, the picturesque was characterized by roughness and ruggedness, as in the bark of a tree, or the craggy side of a mountain. Although unregulated or disordered landscapes were wild, and therefore sublime, the concept of variability allowed for a certain amount of unpredictability in the landscape, an element of wildness that did not threaten to challenge its overall

picturesqueness. That variability fits into a sense of Jasper as picturesque is evident in the way it pleases the observer: "There is every diversity of natural features to delight and gratify the mountaineer or the explorer, or to interest and revivify the tourist" (GTPR, *North* 8). In keeping with picturesque conventions that ultimately recognize order in the universe, the concept of diversity is most appreciable when, as *The North American Alps* stated, it "all resolv[es] into the subtle details of a harmonious whole" (8). While this last passage could be read as an ecological desire to understand not just individual natural elements but also their function within the ecosystem as a whole, the conventions of the picturesque, in their emphasis on the static, strictly visual quality of landscape, impede such a reading in favour of one that equates the desire for a "harmonious whole" with a desire for a perfectly composed scene that is in harmony with the aesthetic dictates of the picturesque.

There is a paradox inherent in theories of the picturesque inasmuch as the desire to regard the scene as a "whole" by framing particular vistas visually, if not psychologically, segregates them (however "whole" or "composed" they may seem) from the environment that gives rise to them. This conceptual segregation of picturesque views from the surrounding environment is exemplified in pamphlets' invitations to tourists to visit the proliferation of roadside lookout sites. These invite travellers to stop and contemplate "the view," which, of course, is completely independent of the land through which the road passes (hence the need for the lookout stop). Of course, in places such as these roadside viewing galleries, the advertisement of a picturesque view compels viewers to take a few pictures with their own cameras, the performance of

which may further exacerbate the conceptual division of a particular landscape from its surrounding environment. As Tomas Patin argues in his essay, "Exhibitions and Empire: National Parks and the Performance of Manifest Destiny," "[t]he controlled activity of viewing nature from elevated viewpoints [such as roadside turnouts] and/or through restricting optical devices is as much a representation of the land as are paintings of the landscape" (49).[15] There is a historical dimension to this: the name most closely associated with the picturesque is that of Claude Lorrain (1600-82), whose paintings of Italian campagna became associated with picturesque travel. As they travelled, people noticed landscape scenes that reminded them of Claude's paintings; they were picturesquely beautiful, i.e., aesthetically pleasing enough to be Claude paintings. To help them identify picturesque scenes, people used Claude glasses, mirrors stained with the golden brown colour of Claude's varnish, and complete with picture frames. In his influential volumes on picturesque landscapes, Gilpin, himself an amateur artist, advocated the use of a Claude glass. Symbolic of the conceptual division of humanity from the landscape that is integral to the aesthetic of the picturesque, was the requirement in deploying this device that one literally face away from the landscape in order to see it in a properly picturesque manner—that is, as an *image*, framed and

---

[15] Patin argues that the history of pictorial representation and conceptual division of "sites" from their surrounding environments originates with the emergence of national parks in the United States in 1871; F.V. Hayden lobbied Congress for the establishment of Yellowstone by distributing to members of Congress over 400 prints of watercolour sketches and photographs from a trip he had taken to the area. As argued by Patin, "[t]he use of art in justifying the park bill . . . transform[ed] natural . . . characteristics into artistic wonders" (49). In his book *Driven Wild*, Paul Sutter argues that this segregation becomes especially pervasive and amplified with the development of the auto-tourism industry in the US in the 1920s.

reflected in the smoky glass.

Framing the Picturesque

Literature that describes the environment, because it necessarily defines and re-presents nature, may be seen as a tool of the picturesque aesthetic. The narratives of exploration literature, tourist guides, and promotional pamphlets are meant to dictate their readers' perception of landscape whether they ever see it personally or not. While the point of such guides for non-travelling readers was to create definitive impressions of the aesthetic qualities of the landscape, for other explorers, guides, and tourists, travel literature served the purpose of leaving as little as possible to surprise; just as the picturesque represents nature that exists in co-operation with the designs and desires of man, travel guides assure readers of a predictable experience with landscape, so that a trip may proceed according to the desires of the traveller.[16] In their promotion of Jasper, picturesque promotional texts narratively tame the area's wild aspects so that they will not infringe on visitors' comfort or expectations of beauty.

This taming issued from the restriction practised by the railway pamphlets by their creation of a set perspective introducing the audience to the landscape. In the 1911 GTPR pamphlet, *The Canadian Rockies, Yellowhead Pass Route*, for example, the author directs the train passenger's gaze to note, even as s/he travels through an "endless variety of configuration" (12), the perpetual picturesqueness of the scenery:

---

[16] The convention of tour guides was initiated in Europe by Karl Baedeker, whose publishing house began selling travel guides in 1829 to middle class tourists. "Baedekers," as the red guides came to be known, recommended "starred" attractions from 1844 onward.

> The pass itself presents an ever-changing aspect of loveliness, with tiny stretches of flower-strewn prairie and patches of pretty parkland and intersected by brawling torrents, clear as crystal, while over and above it all is the ponderous glory of the mountains and Alpine phenomena. Five imposing peaks, Roche Perdrix, Roche Miette, Roche Ronde, Roche Jacques and Bullrush, with Roche Suette [sic] in the background, are ranged in almost a semicircle, enclosing a stretch of valley which may be best described as an amphitheatre, in the centre of which reposes Brule Lake, a shallow expansion of the Athabaska River, mirroring on its bosom the untamed picturesqueness of the landscape. (12-13)

The implicit atmospheric conditions—a windless and sunny day that allows for reflections on still water—effectively eliminate all sublime, frightening, or threatening elements. Even though this passage describes mountains that are "imposing" and that almost surround or visually imprison the traveller, the narrative nevertheless constructs the scene as ultimately benign and picturesque by guiding the reader's eye to the composed, picture-like quality of the scene. In particular, the verb "ranged" suggests an orderly setting out of the scene by a master hand, and the comparison of the valley to an amphitheatre transforms the mountains from sublime objects of wonder to picturesque backdrops for the unfolding of human scenes.

Even in pamphlets and guide books that include a large number of photographs and/or illustrations relative to the amount of text, the captions or narrative dictate the correct method for viewing the Jasper landscape, literally guiding the eye from one focal point to the next. *The Canadian Rockies Through the Yellowhead Pass: Canadian*

Northern All the Way (1916), for example, claims that it is impossible to describe adequately the landscape and that it "seemed best to let a selection of representative views tell their own story" (1), but then not only describes the views represented in the photographs, but also tells readers what they are beholding: "The rich coloring of Pyramid Mountain first arrests attention and, as the eye follows the torturous course of the river, the Maligne can be distinguished coming in between the Colin and Maligne ranges" (6). As in the previous example, this passage describes a mountain that is implicitly overwhelming, but the narrative again situates the reader at a distance that allows the scene to be discursively laid out before him/her as a typical picturesque scene, with a sunken middle ground (the river) framed on either side by mountain ranges, and with Pyramid Mountain as the rising background. Furthermore, this view, quite preposterously, defies optic range by requiring the viewer to take in sites, in focus, on both sides of the valley, at once.

Since picturesque aesthetics depended upon a specific sense of spatial perception derived from the small-scale topography of England's Home Counties, the Canadian landscape required the observer to imagine or self-impose visual boundaries on a scene where none naturally existed. As Ian MacLaren argues, proponents of the Picturesque aesthetic saw their environments in terms not of their all-encompassing geographical areas, but of individually segregated or framed landscapes: "the eighteenth-century Englishman was induced . . . to see his country as a series of pictures" (*Influence* 85). Indeed, forty years before the railway was built, George Grant remarked of the Athabasca Valley, Jasper's central east-west corridor, that "[a] good photographer would certainly

make a name and perhaps a fortune, if he came up here and took views. At every step we longed for a camera" (228). Noting the picturesque convention of some of his observations of the Jasper landscape, the GTPR's 1911 pamphlet states that Grant's "graphic pen painted a word-picture of [Jasper] that ranks among some of his finest efforts" (14). Such appreciations of the visual rather than the physical or ecological constitution of the environment encourage passive consumption rather than a direct engagement with the geophysical landscape. Jasper is marketed not as *a terrain* in which to have wilderness experiences but as a *backdrop* for recreational activities that do not usually depend upon wilderness settings. It is as if the tourist is merely being persuaded to change the pictures hanging on her/his parlour walls.

Landing Ethical Implications

Discursive constructions of Jasper National Park as scientifically comprehensible or anthropomorphically controllable do not in the end sanction two distinct relationships between humans and wilderness: tourists are meant to appreciate the inherent aesthetic qualities of the wild landscape while they are invited to control wilderness and make it cater to their aesthetic and recreational desires. Rendering it comprehensible to the curious and accessible to the incurious both end as means by which humans wrest control away from non-human life. Perhaps it is not a wonder then that early railway pamphlets could celebrate development in the park in tandem with the construction of the railway itself: "The development of this magnificent Alpland is not the least of the many advantages which must accrue to Canada through the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific" (GTPR, *Canadian* [1911] 10). In the wilderness, "man has made his influence

felt," we are told in the 1935 CN pamphlet, *Jasper Park Lodge*, "but only to the extent that he has made Nature in her grandest moods more accessible" (1). Tourist infrastructure like Jasper Park Lodge, because it offers comfort in the guise of "accessibility," becomes "harmonize[d] with its surroundings" (1). Even though promotional materials unanimously advertise the park as a place in which a person may escape the trappings of urban life, they also advertise that all the "necessary" infrastructure of "modern life," including hotels, golf courses, and swimming pools, will make vacations in Jasper pleasurable. The visitor who explores in search of new non-human curiosities and the tourist inclined only to sightsee grow indistinct from one another in the wilderness infrastructure that the railway companies establish and promote.

Early railway pamphlets in particular create a sense of urgency in their depiction of Jasper as "The Last Wonderland" (GTPR, *Canadian* [1911] 3). Tourists should visit Jasper as soon as they can, we are told, because wilderness areas are endangered and will soon all be destroyed by the progress of technology. This land, which was "hitherto unknown," is "probably the most wild and romantic region on the American continent" (3). Only through the heroic efforts of the railway pioneers are tourists "able to travel to the very heart of the *last* wilderness, to the cool rivers, and limpid lakes, to the wild forests, and the hot springs of the Jasper National Park" (4; emphasis added). There is no irony here in the presentation of the hot springs as one element of this wilderness because the springs were undeveloped when this pamphlet was published. However, there is a paradox in the rhetoric that presents the tourist with the option not just to see the *last*

wilderness, presumably a place that needs protection, but to penetrate it to its very centre. Moreover, in conveying a sense of urgency to spend leisure time, the pamphlets whet the appetite for readers to make themselves unique: the first to see the last. Subliminally, early twentieth-century readers would have understood very well this urgency: they had by the turn of the century seen many remote parts of Canada and the world rendered accessible, popular, even overrun because of the development of railway access. They knew that the pamphlets' tone of urgency was justified even as they ignored the irony that such pamphlets and the companies promoted by them fomented the urgency, the craze to overrun even the *last* wilderness.

Both the 1911 and 1913 GTPR pamphlets draw attention to the GTR's history of "opening up . . . fresh, new outing places" (3; 3), and both refer to the railway engineers as "early explorers," "pioneers," and "path-finders" (3; 3); thereby, they associate the GTPR with Canada's exploration history. The pamphlets implicitly invite tourists to partake in the "noble" history of exploration, while warning that the option to experience true wilderness will not last long; the "last wilderness . . . will soon [be] famous" (7; 7). There are two paradoxes in this narrative of exploration. On the one hand, tourists are invited to "explore" and "path-find" by following the pre-set path established by trails and by the railway. On the other hand, the GTPR promotes exploration by advertising "unexplored" territory without commenting upon the fact that the success of its marketing campaign will ultimately result in the mapping of the territory, and will exhaust wilderness's exploration value. The latter paradox is further illustrated in the description of Jasper as a land that "has hitherto been secure from invasion in its

isolation and its inaccessibility" (GTPR, *Canadian* [1911] 10). If the integrity and security of a place depend upon its inaccessibility, as this pamphlet suggests, then, implicitly, humans are invaders. This construction is linguistically and practically untenable: first, it suggests that humans are invaders in wilderness and reinforces the conceptual distinction of humanity from the natural world; second, since the pamphlet's mandate is to encourage tourism, it also invites tourists to accept the inevitability of tourist development, and to desire to be first among those to visit the park, before it becomes peopled with too many "invaders." As though tourism stands apart from the invading influences of humanity, tourists may understand that human influences in wilderness result in its destruction even while they participate in and inherently sanction an industry that perpetuates further impediments to the integrity of wilderness.

Even in texts published decades after the park became accessible by railway, the promise of unexplored wilderness remained ubiquitous. *Jasper National Park in the Canadian Rockies*, published in 1937 by Canadian National Railways, tells us that "[t]here are many important peaks, still unconquered and even unnamed, and whole regions waiting to be explored" (21). Not only are there "virgin peaks" available for conquest, but these literally *await* the tourist's presence. As *The North American Alps: Canadian Rockies, Mount Robson Route* attests, the "impressive solitudes [and] secluded fastnesses . . . are not 'overdone,' but are beckoning with the resistless lure that ever leads the adventurous beyond the confines of the vast unknown" (8).[17] Wilderness and

[17] The rhetorical emptiness of this phrase is evident in the illogical construction of "the vast unknown" as a *confining* space, and in the promise that a traveller may be led "beyond" the unknown.

tourism reciprocally thus desire one another. In addition, the omission of any mention of the activity of the Alpine Club of Canada in the region effectively erases the presence of those who were obviously and actively seeking out unclimbed peaks and relatively unvisited areas in Jasper and other parks in the Rocky Mountains. This omission thus fosters the illusion that a train traveller might have no competition in a bid for a particular first ascent.

Despite their implied warnings of the impending loss of all true wilderness, these pamphlets aestheticize economic development generally, and sanction the construction of any facilities that may draw tourists into a precious wonderland. In the 1927 CN booklet, *Jasper National Park*, for example, urban development in Jasper is a victorious conquest: "in that thin fringe which civilization has conquered from the wilderness, are to be found all the refinements and comforts the modern tourist demands" (3). In this self-reflexive rhetoric, civilization is responsible for its own victorious conquest of nature; even though it is the tourist who demands modern comforts, the passive voice mutes that demand, leaving no specific human agent responsible for civilizing this section of land in the midst of wilderness.

From the early eighteenth century in England, the picturesque was perceptible in landscape when it married human order and natural expression (MacLaren, *Influence* 50). Unlike sublime landscapes, which exist "as detached from man as possible" (Tillotson qtd in MacLaren, *Influence* 40), picturesque views allowed humans to see their roles in the structure of the universe (MacLaren, *Influence* 61); thereby, picturesque aesthetics implicitly sanction the incorporation of man-made structures and general

development into landscapes that are otherwise wild. The sanction of development in the parks extends even to a comparison of engineering and divine creation in the 1928 CN pamphlet, *Exclusive Photogravure: Views of Jasper Park Lodge and Lake Minaki Lodge*:

> When Man, instead of trying to improve upon the handiwork of the all-wise Creator, is content to confine his comparatively puny efforts to making more accessible and enjoyable to other men the benefits and blessings of the great out-of-doors, then is attained something closely approaching perfection in the matter of a vacation land. . . . And the result is, in the words of a well-know writer: "A place where God and man went fifty-fifty to attain perfection." (1)

Though man's efforts are dwarfed and "puny," as is appropriate in a sublime landscape, the roles of the engineer and all who build infrastructure necessary for tourism, are nevertheless messianic in their ability to bring people closer to God's creations.

Hotels such as Banff Springs and Chateau Lake Louise, though dwarfed by the mountains that surround them, are the dominant focal points in their respective settings because of their imposing architecture. Both railway and government texts clearly situate Jasper Park Lodge in opposition to the more grandiose atmosphere of the resorts in Banff National Park, and emphasize that the lodge does not try to compete with the sublimity of the mountains. Rather, as noted in a guide produced by government authorities, "'The Lodge' is a place in rare harmony with its surroundings" and represents "the essential spirit of a national park. It is a wedding of refinement and simplicity, of the rustic and the artistic, of outdoor beauty and indoor comfort seldom

surpassed" (Williams, *Jasper* [1928] 55). Implicitly, we are to understand Jasper Park Lodge as both a synecdoche for tourist infrastructure and a physical representation of "the essential spirit of a national park"—as a union of nature and culture. While this description underscores the implicit division of natural and cultural realms highlighted in Cronon's theory, the guide book in question does its best to blur the distinction between the two by assigning to nature the agency it needs to participate in the constitution of the Lodge: "For decoration there are bits of nature's own carving—twisted roots, knots, gnarled branches which . . . seem to have grown there. . . .The building, indeed, is not only in the woods but the woods in *some lovely natural way* have come into the building" (56, emphasis added). Human agency here is rendered in the passive—the decoration from nature "are" just there—while the natural agency is rendered in the active— nature has "grown" of its own volition and action to embrace the human construct. Man does not alter nature; nature alters for man. The lack of specificity about how this meshing of natural and human constructions happens is key; one wants to be seduced by nature's charm, and not know the how and wherefore of the charm. Nature not only twists and carves itself to meet tourists' aesthetic demands, but also *naturally* enters the domain of humans in national parks. Indeed, as CN's 1935 pamphlet, *Jasper Park Lodge: Canada's Distinctive Bungalow Hotel*, declares, the lodge, and, implicitly, all tourist infrastructure in the park, are "part of Nature's original plan" (6).

Chapter Three

Administering Wilderness: Legislating Development 1883-1936

The Canada National Parks Act (CNPA) of 2000 declares that"[m]aintenance or restoration of ecological integrity, through the protection of natural resources and natural processes, shall be the first priority of the Minister when considering all aspects of the management of parks" (sect. 8.2; n.pag.). Unlike the 1887 Rocky Mountains Park Act (RMPA), which included resource extraction and ecological manipulation in its management strategies for Canada's first national park, this most current legislation implies that the management of parks is at the very least attuned to, if not synchronous with, natural processes. While the RMPA suggests that the Minister of the Interior's primary management goal is to maximize "the usefulness of the park for the purposes of public enjoyment and recreation" ("Rocky" 155), the contemporary CNPA states clearly that park management must concern itself with ecology first, and with public enjoyment and recreation only as secondary concerns.

Even though contemporary legislation cites ecological management as the priority in Canadian national parks, all previous legislation governing these areas since their inception has also mandated the management of the parks in order that they might serve as a place of recreation and relaxation for urban vacationers. In administrative and legislative documents, the depiction of Jasper's role as an ideal vacation destination for the over-civilized[18] has been coloured by two competing philosophies, one that values

---

[18] This term is used consistently in promotional publications, personal narratives, and fiction to describe urban citizens who feel acutely the negative effects of industrialism, urban decay, and other symptoms of modernism.

primarily Jasper's ability to afford its visitors a fully-catered luxury vacation, and one that values Jasper's ability to afford its visitors an authentic "wilderness experience." On the one hand, administrators responsible for the first parks legislation conceived of these mountain locations as places that could be made useful and financially remunerative for the federal government only if they were developed into luxury holiday destinations (Great Plains 208).[19] On the other hand, various government agents and private parties conceived of them as valuable because of the relative absence in the parks of industrial, commercial, and tourist developments. The tension between the desire to develop Jasper and the desire to maintain its undeveloped "wildness" is played out in different ways over the course of the park's administrative history. Integral to this tension is the question of how the park's usefulness or utility is defined.

In legislation governing national parks, the perceived usefulness of parks is, more often than not, tied to aesthetic values. As illustrated in Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole's book, *From Desolation to Splendour*, aesthetic taste in Canadian mountain scenery evolved from early colonizers' views of Canadian mountains as inherently useless for colonization and therefore aesthetically distasteful, to contemporary publicity agents' views of the mountains as useful for tourism because of their unquestioned aesthetic appeal. Reinforcing the thesis of Tippett and Cole's survey, Larry Pratt and Matina Karvellas also outline a progression of Canadian attitudes towards the natural world in their article, "Nature and Nation: Herder, Myth and Cultural Nationalism in

---

[19] See Robert Craig Brown's article, "The Doctrine of Usefulness," and Bella's *Parks for Profit* for detailed accounts of the economic motives inherent in early park creation and legislation.

English Canada." As I note in Chapter One, Pratt and Karvellas argue that three main attitudes towards nature—extractive, Romantic, and ecological—inform Canadians' sense of identity and nationalism. These aesthetic trends have definite implications for the development of parks in that the attitude that the mountains are not inherently beautiful or useful implicitly sanctions the manipulation or development of wild areas, whereas the attitude that the mountains are inherently beautiful and ecologically valuable implicitly condemns the development of wild areas that might mar the beauty there.

Extractive views, in which wilderness is essentially a symbol of humanity's lack of control over the environment, conceive of wilderness as space that may serve human needs if it is conquered and made useful. In such views, extractive processes such as mining and timber harvesting are desirable because they set the foundations for building a national economy while they also effectively reduce the visual presence of wilderness, the symbol of a lack of practical and administrative control. Romantic views of wilderness, however, see such spaces as having an intrinsic salutary value in their undeveloped state; those who view wilderness through a Romantic lens, whether from a staging ground for an extensive back-country trip, or from the comfortable vantage of the balcony of a luxury hotel suite, understand that such spaces may rejuvenate both the body and mind, and that they are therefore more useful and aesthetically appealing in an undeveloped state than extractive views would render them. Finally, ecological views of the natural world, according to Pratt and Karvellas, are those in which humans recognize their fundamental connection with wild spaces, and value wilderness simply for its own sake rather than for the economic, spiritual, or salutary gains that may be derived from

them.

While both the Tippet / Cole and Pratt / Karvellas texts outline a linear progression of aesthetic attitudes towards the natural world, both texts also imply a progression of ethical interactions between Canadians and their environment, from anthropocentrism to ecocentrism. The aesthetic and ethical implications of these trends are mirrored in the texts of parks legislation and policy documents, despite the fact that, at least in the letter of the law, Jasper's wild landscape has always been evaluated in terms of its utility, whether economic, spiritual, physical, or ecological. In its earliest legal incarnation, Jasper was as a forest park valued as a reserve of timber resources. Later legislation implied that Jasper should also be valued for its ability to offer a safe haven to wildlife and a place of physical and/or spiritual renewal to humans. Jasper's primary mandate as a Dominion Park (1911-1930) charged the park's managers with preserving the park for opportunities for leisure. When Jasper became a national park (1930), its mandate became more comprehensive and included the preservation of the park's integrity not only as a place that could afford quality leisure experiences but also as a sanctuary for aesthetically desirable scenery, flora, and fauna.[20] Contemporary legislation presumably values Jasper for its ecological importance, its usefulness as a wilderness space, and its power to preserve ecological processes, but a more detailed analysis of contemporary legislative documents and internal communications among those responsible for the administration of the park shows that the evolution from

---

[20] Not all animals were protected by the 1930 Parks Act—cougars, wolves, and other predators were considered noxious and were deliberately exterminated by park officials, as were the gophers who had the audacity to burrow on the Jasper golf course.

extractive values to ecological ones, and the commercial developments that accompanied this evolution, have been fuelled primarily by aesthetic and economic considerations.

Developing Usefulness: The Extractive Era (1868-1910)

Until Canada's interior territories were surveyed, mapped, and divided into the neat farm plots, forest reserves, and recreational areas that would checker the lands acquired in the Rupert's Land Act (1868), the Jasper area was, administratively, a small part of a vast and unknown wilderness. Leading up to the time when Jasper was established as a forest reserve in 1907, the area came under the jurisdiction of the Rupert's Land Act, followed by the Dominion Lands Act (DLA;1872), and then by an 1883 amendment to the DLA that gave authority to the Minister of the Interior to set aside forest parks on mountain crests and slopes. This amendment promised to remove designated lands from the geopolitical and psychological framework that applied to all other government-owned lands. It was under the authority of a refined version of this amendment, the 1906 Dominion Forest Reserves Act, that Minister of the Interior Frank Oliver established Jasper Forest Park of Canada in 1907. Also of interest in the legislative history of the Jasper area is the Rocky Mountains Park Act (1887), which established Canada's first national park (now Banff), and which is the precursor to and model for the legislation that transformed Jasper Forest Park into Jasper Park in 1914.

The Dominion Lands Act (1872) set up the legal framework for the division and allocation of crown lands to Canadian settlers and ensured that both government agencies and settlers would be able to identify the parcels of land upon which farms and homesteads were to be established. This is the first piece of legislation to address the

government's intended uses for crown lands, and it clearly dictates the utilitarian value attached to the North-West Territories, the ways in which wild, or unsettled, interior lands should be, like the Banff area a decade later, "brought into usefulness" (J.A. Macdonald, qtd in Brown 98). As the Act dictates that settlers must harvest a percentage of their land yearly, the primary usefulness, hence implicit value, of Dominion Lands in this legislation is their potential for agriculture. Furthermore, in Clause 33 of the Act, the phrases "proof of settlement and improvement" and "proof of settlement and cultivation" are used interchangeably to denote acceptable grounds for which a Dominion Lands Agent would grant a settler proprietorship ("Dominion" [1872] 60; 61). These phrases, by equating cultivation and improvement, suggest that cultivation, like all modern improvements, is desirable, natural, and inevitable. Clearly in line with the Lockean principle of establishing ownership of land through one's own labour,[21] the Dominion Lands Act prescribes an extractive, utilitarian ethic for would-be settlers to the land they wish to possess. In contrast, the Act also dictates that dominion lands that hold lucrative resources, including any land that contains mineral deposits of value or large amounts of timber, are withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Act and are held in trust by the government for "the purpose of the Dominion" (qtd in Brown 97).

The Department of the Interior was created in 1873 by the Dominion Government to further resolve the question of how best to become familiar with the vast North-West Territories, and to assert administrative control over their natural resources. The primary

---

[21] In *Two Treatises of Government*, John Locke states that "[a]s much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of, so much is his property. He by his labour does, as it were, enclose it from the common" (118).

responsibility of the department was the "incorporation of the largely unsettled areas of Canada into John A. MacDonald's [sic] National Policy, which envisioned an integrated nation from sea to sea" ("Provisional" n.pag.), and this integration was organized under extractive principles. Macdonald's National Policy aimed to develop the country's economy primarily through its tariff policies, but also, and more importantly for the discussion at hand, it aimed to encourage the development of the country's export resources, especially wheat, through the construction of a transcontinental railway and through a massive immigration campaign that aimed to populate the interior lands with farmers. The Department of the Interior was responsible for conducting the surveys that transformed unknown and therefore "wild" spaces into repositories of natural resources, and that concomitantly made possible, in an administrative sense, control of wilderness and waste lands.

The Government's desire for administrative control is evident in the mandate of the Department of the Interior employees, the Dominion Land Surveyors, to create not only political maps of the land, but also databases of information regarding the land's potential uses. Particularly in their classification surveys, Dominion Land Surveyors defined and catalogued the use values of the land, each section receiving a designation according to its most easily identifiable exploitable feature: nutrient-rich soil was designated agricultural land, forested areas became timber lands, coal-bearing lands were slated for mineral extraction, etc. If a tract of land was deemed infertile, for example, or if it consisted of forested mountain slopes that would be too expensive to harvest, it received the designation of waste land. Such lands, particularly those which lay in the

inaccessible reaches of the Rocky Mountains, remained useless in the government's eyes until the CPR was built and ushered in the first wave of the Western Canadian tourist industry. With the advent of the railway, Rocky Mountain waste lands discursively became "wilderness areas," and even those lands which had been relatively unprofitable or inaccessible to natural resource developers grew in appeal for alpinists and adventurers with a taste for sublime landscapes. Significantly, surveys in the Rockies were carried out first and foremost along the proposed route for the CPR, and it was not until the GTPR was granted a charter for a second, more northerly line that the area now called Jasper was thoroughly surveyed.

Both the original Dominion Lands Act (DLA) and the 1883 amendment are fundamentally aligned with the extractive views of nature essential to Macdonald's plan. In its stipulations, the Act not only defines the values that land may possess, but also dictates the appropriate use for each type of land. Inherent in these stipulations is the assumption that land ought to be used rather than left to exist in the state in which it was found. The 1883 amendment also dictates the proper uses for valuable land, and suggests that its authors had some understanding of the dangers of unregulated timber harvesting:

> The Governor in Council may, from time to time, for the preservation of forest trees on the crests and slopes of the Rocky Mountains, and for the proper maintenance throughout the year of the volume of water in the rivers and streams which have their sources in such mountains and traverse the North-West Territories, reserve from sale, lease or license, [sic] such portions of the land in

> the North-West Territories, on, adjacent to, or in the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains, as to him appears expedient so to reserve, and may define the limits or boundaries of such reserves; and may set aside and appropriate such lands for a forest park, or forest parks, as he deems expedient, and may appoint officers for the preservation of such forest parks. ("Dominion " [1883] 28)

In its suggestion that trees should be preserved for the sake of preserving the integrity of watercourses, this clause suggests an awareness of the concept of (and the need to preserve) ecological integrity, but communications between R.D. Lyons, of the British Colonial Office, and Evelyn Ashley, the Under Secretary of State, Colonial Department, show that the main impetus for this amendment, at least in the British Colonial Office, was an economic consideration:

> The Foreign Office has kindly undertaken to make inquiries into the reported proximate exhaustion of the Forest Supplies of Northern Europe. Very astonishing statements are made as to the similar exhaustion of Canadian Supplies . . . [such as] that the Canadian Forests are within 6 years of exhaustion. . . . [T]his is a question of very great importance to the Empire at large and has a very special bearing on the utilization of Waste Lands in Ireland, which offer abundant facilities for Re-afforesting [sic]. (Lyons to Ashley)

The officer's concern for the supply of trade goods from Canada shows that economic management is the central motive here for ecological management. Furthermore, given that massive irrigation projects would be vital to agricultural prospects in what would become southern Alberta, the desire for water conservation in the 1883 amendment may

be seen as contiguous with the desire to exploit the western lands through (agricultural) resource exportation. An illustration of Harold Innis's theory, the Staple Thesis,[22] the Act highlights the legislators' interest in the Dominion's economic development through resource exploitation. In addition, the communication between Lyons and Ashley shows how officers of the Crown encouraged resource development with a specific view to ensure a steady export of these goods from Canada to the rest of the British Empire.

Both the 1883 DLA amendment and the 1885 legislation that created Rocky Mountains Park were economically motivated and were explicit in their developmental goals: the government did not create parks and forest reserves to protect the areas from development but to ensure that any revenue generated from development in these areas would benefit the federal government. The 1887 Rocky Mountains Park Act (RMPA) extends the category of lands over which the government wished to maintain administrative and economic control to include not only those containing extractable resources but also those containing potential park or resort settings. Robert Craig Brown, in his essay, "The Doctrine of Usefulness," notes that "underlying parks policy was the assumption of the existence of plentiful natural resources within the reserves capable of exploitation and the principle of shared responsibility of government and private enterprise in the development of those resources" (97). This same assumption underlies the DLA, though the resources in question were the lands themselves upon which farms

---

[22] Innis's Staple Thesis asserts that the exportation of natural resources from less developed to more advanced economies has a pervasive impact on national economic, social, and political systems. Innis argues that Canada's early staple economy resulted in its later dependence on other nations' economies for non-staple resources (Watkins).

could be established. Essentially, then, any land that could be more profitable than prairie farm land was to be held in trust by the government. Just as the DLA ensures that Canadians cannot own or identify with resource-rich lands through an individual, labour-based ethic, the RMPA mediates the ways in which Canadians can understand their ownership of park lands: rather than encouraging an engagement with park lands through work and individual ownership, the RMPA encourages a distinctly anti-Lockean rapport with park lands, one in which visitors may lay claim to part of a collective ownership through recreational activities.

An additional distinction of note between the resource-rich Dominion Lands and lands slated to become national parks is that the riches of the former were reserved for "the purpose of the Dominion" (qtd in Brown 97), and could be, for all intents and purposes, exploited and thereby "enclose[d] . . . from the common" (Locke 118), whereas the latter, at least in the letter of the law, were to be held as a commons to be used by all citizens. In 1885, the Rocky Mountains Park was modelled after the 1872 American Yellowstone Park, the first national park "set apart as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit, and enjoyment of the people" (qtd in Henderson 29). The second clause of the RMPA clearly echoes the Yellowstone legislation: "The said tract of land is hereby reserved and set apart as a *public* park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of *the people of Canada*" ("Rocky" 155; emphasis added). Through the double emphasis on the public nature of the park, the legislation signals a distinction from the most common contemporaneous definition of a park; while a park is, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, usually an enclosed space, privately-owned and used

exclusively by the land owner for pleasure and hunting, the Rocky Mountains Park was enclosed only invisibly by its impractical political boundaries, and was intended for the use of all citizens.

As the Great Plains Research Consultants argue, the regulations that accompanied the legislation that officially portioned off the Banff Hot Springs from the rest of the publicly-available land around them "were intended more as prohibitions of economically counterproductive behaviour than as a means of protecting the environment" (208). In their capacity to generate profits for the national coffers, then, early parks were invested with nation-building functions, though clearly these functions are more closely tied to economic considerations than to the environmental considerations that inform the nationalist rhetoric in contemporary discourse about the parks. Brown argues that "the original parks policy of Canada was not a departure from but rather a continuation of the general resource policy that grew out of the National Policy of the Macdonald government" (97). Indeed, the RMPA not only provides for the "control of the hot springs," but also for the "working of mines and the development of mining interests within the limits of the park" ("Rocky" 155). In 1887, then, natural resource extraction was commensurable with the definition of a park, and was legal provided that it did not "in any way impair the usefulness of the park for the purposes of public enjoyment and recreation" (155). In fact, industrial towns could be incorporated into the aesthetics of the park landscape, according to the comments of superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park Howard Douglas, who considered the mining town of Bankhead, located within park boundaries, to be a potential tourist attraction: "The new village of

Bankhead, instead of being a detriment to the beauty of the Park, will, on the contrary add another to the many varied attractions of the neighbourhood" (qtd in Bella 29). Given the legal acceptability of resource extraction in parks, and notwithstanding the fact that the protection of "public enjoyment" was paramount in this legislation, Jasper was better protected from the development of mines, extensive forestry operations and tourist infrastructure during the period it was designated a Forest Park, an area designated for future resource extraction, than when it became a Dominion Park in 1911.

While mining towns could be considered attractions, settlements that were not directed towards either the tourist industry or industrial development were not acceptable within the definition of public parks. A case in point is that of six Métis families who were residents of the Athabasca Valley before this land was incorporated into the Jasper Forest Park. As Ian MacLaren has pointed out, the creation of the reserve effectively transformed "homesteaders" into "trespassers" overnight ("Cultured" 20-1). From a discursive standpoint, the reason for the expulsion of the Métis, as Eric Higgs puts it, involved "turn-of-the-century perspectives on wilderness and on the role of people, especially Native peoples, in wild lands. The Métis dwellers were evicted to make way for a 'proper' wilderness," a wilderness that would accommodate "commercial and recreational possibilities" without the interference of inhabitants (*Nature* 25). The official reason for the expulsion of the Métis families, however, is stated in a letter submitted to the Governor General in Council 6 April, 1910, by the Minister of the Interior who states that the families, who made "valuable improvements and have brough [sic] considerable areas under cultivation" were removed "in order to provide for the

proper protection of the game and the administration of the Park Reserve, that the Department should have full control of all lands therein" (Minister to Governor). According to this logic, then, the "improvement" and cultivation of the land which would establish proprietorship in any other district, both in a Lockean philosophical sense and in a legal sense according to the DLA, is, in Jasper Forest Park, a threat to the government's administrative control of the land. Adding insult to injury, C. MacFayden, a forest supervisor from the Grand Cache area, paints the families as irresponsible hunters who ought to take up agriculture, and claims that "it is really deplorable that . . . game country . . .is being destroyed by a few *nonproducing* residents" (MacFayden 2; emphasis added). Despite the fact that the families had maintained farms for decades, the principle of ownership through agriculture, and MacFayden's insinuations that this principle was unknown to the Métis families, is used as an argument to remove them from the land where they settled after their expulsion from Jasper.

Human settlement in parks, then, is aesthetically pleasing and ethically acceptable only when it can be justified within a capitalist logic—when it is located around an industry. Thus, mining towns can be beautiful, and may be incorporated into the nationalist rhetoric used by the parks' promoters because they contribute to the national economy, but the Métis homesteads are not commensurate with the Anglo-Saxon, racially exclusive aesthetics of this same nationalist rhetoric. There is a clear racial paradox in the discursive construction of the national character of the landscape, for, as MacLaren argues, "the impersonal national collectivity dispossesses its personal predecessors by abjectly and summarily identifying them as criminals" ("Cultured" 21).

The establishment of the park, then, effected two discursive transformations: first, residents became squatters; second, the park *became* an uninhabited wilderness that could then be made useful as a playground for Canadians. If, as the RMPA implies, parks are to be accessible to and owned equally by all Canadians, the question of trespassers should be null and void (at least where citizens of Canada are concerned). Even though the RMPA clearly states that the park is to benefit "the public interest," the Act's clause for "the removal of trespassers" clearly indicates that some Canadians are not welcome.

As Jane Carruthers argues in her article, "Nationhood and National Parks," "National parks contain a basic contradiction in that they are saved for people and yet it is a state duty to protect national park land against people . . .[and] the costs and benefits of these [parks] have been borne unequally by different segments of the national population" (126). In this instance, the costs are borne by the settlers while park authorities literally remove people they see as threats to the integrity of the park. Paradoxically, this removal is an enforcement of the administrative control that was supposedly threatened by the settlers. There is thus a reciprocality in the authorities' sense of administrative control, and this is noticeable in McLaggan's 2 March, 1910, letter to R.H. Campbell, Superintendent of Forestry, in which he discusses having explained to the Moberly family that they were trespassing and had to move. In this letter, McLaggan notes that he collected money from Evan Moberly for permits to use part of what was up until then Moberly's own land for storage and pasture, and states that Evan Moberly's "asking for permits recognizes Government rights in Park" (2). A

second and inverse example of the circularity of the assumption of authority over the land may be seen a communication, also from 1910, between two Forestry Branch officials who want to restrict a private citizen from applying for a permit to develop the Miette hot springs:

> it is possible that the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company may build a hotel as the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has done at Banff, and it may be found desirable to give this Company first claim to the hot water. I would therefore suggest that Mr Boyle be informed that the Park is not sufficiently organized to enable the Department to deal with applications of this nature, but that if his client will make formal application, such application will receive due consideration at the proper time. (Byshe)

This letter clearly demonstrates a bias in favour of the GTPR, but, more importantly for the discussion at hand, it demonstrates that the parks authorities used their *lack* of administrative control to effect control over the rights to the springs. The "proper time" for the consideration of Mr. Boyle's application will be when the park authorities have fully established themselves administratively, at which point, presumably, they would be able to reject his application on the grounds that the GTPR had been granted the rights he sought. As was the case with the Banff Hot Springs, individual citizens were prevented from profiting from the natural resources while corporate development of them was sanctioned by government officials.

Prime Minister Macdonald backed the creation of parks legislation, asserting that "the Government thought it was of great importance that all this section of country

should be brought at once into usefulness" (qtd in Brown 98): the Rocky Mountains should not be a hindrance or obstacle to the National Policy and, particularly, to its proposed transcontinental railway, but should contribute to the national economy and enable Macdonald's platform by supplying exploitable natural resources, including not only timber, water, and mines, but also, and especially, hot springs, and the commodity of visual scenery. The latter commodity was not one that could flourish without some help; as Brown notes, the Government leader in the Senate specified that in order to create park land out of an undeveloped space, it was "necessary to improve it to a certain extent" (qtd in Brown 99). Just as mineral resources needed mines in order to actualize the potential value of the deposit, so too did parks need particular infrastructure in order to be deemed useful. In this paradigm, parks must be wrested from the wilderness, and wilderness, however complementary a setting for parks, is discursively situated outside park boundaries as soon as the potential value of the area is actualized through its designation as a park.

Romantic Usefulness: The J.B. Harkin Era 1911-1936

Until the early twentieth century, a park, by definition, was necessarily developed and maintained by humans,[23] but as the twentieth century progresses, the definition of parks progressively comes to embrace non-maintained or wild areas. This development was

---

[23] When John Palliser, for example, explores the interior lands in 1857 and encounters a beautiful natural setting at the Nimican River, his instinct is to believe that humans have made this "park-like" scene aesthetically pleasing: "There was something in the natural grouping of the trees and shrubs at this place which irresistibly called to mind rural scenes at home, and it was hard to realize the fact that the hand of man had taken no part in producing this effect" (qtd in Spry, *Papers* 73).

the result, in part, of the efforts of James Bernard Harkin, the first Commissioner of Dominion Parks. Harkin felt that national parks embodied democracy because all citizens, at least in the letter of the law, had access to and the power to access and utilize the parks, if not also to influence their legislative constitution. He argued that it was "the duty of a nation to guard its treasures of art, natural beauty, or natural wonders for the generations to come" (*History* 7). Obviously aware of the definition of parks as exclusive, aristocratic places, Harkin argued that it was "the right of the people to share in the use and enjoyment of the *noblest* regions in their own land" (*History* 7; emphasis added). Indeed, Harkin is dismissive of the word "park," and states that it "seemed a very small name for so great a thing" (*History* 7) as the national parks of which he had just been given administrative responsibility.

In 1911, the Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act (DFRPA), an act that repealed previous parks legislation and effectively merged the interests of the Forestry and Park branches, was passed shortly before the creation of the Dominion Parks Branch. The DFRPA transformed Jasper from a Forest Reserve to a Dominion Park, and reduced its size from 5,000 square miles to 1,000 square miles. As explained in the Department of the Interior's 1912 Dominion Parks Annual Report, "the principle on which the reductions were made was that the parks should not be of any larger area than the Department was in a position to reasonably improve and make available for the public" (Harkin, "Report" [1912] 4). Parks, the report declares, cannot be comprised of wilderness, but must be developed areas that humans can control. Furthermore, this passage implies that wilderness areas are, in their undeveloped states, unusable spaces,

inaccessible to all until the department fulfills its responsibility to "make available" these public lands. As C.J. Taylor argues in "Legislating Nature: The National Parks Act of 1930," in joining "parks with forest reserves, the 1911 act linked them together in a common purpose . . . parks were fundamentally resource reserves, allowing for the controlled exploitation of a range of resources, such as minerals, timber and water as well as scenery" (128).

Harkin, appointed the highest authority within the Branch, was not content to create parks through simple acts of administration, but insisted that the development of "an efficient game service . . . hundreds of miles of new trails and forest telephone lines. . . and more and better roads" (*History* 7) were imperatives of park creation, particularly to ensure the popularity and economic success of the parks. The first question he asked himself upon assuming his position was this: "How was I to get the money for developments that were immediately necessary?" (*History* 7). While this question points to the paucity of government funding available for national parks, a problem to which Harkin often referred in his writing, it also highlights the fact that Harkin felt that parks needed, if not demanded, development. In his comments that "forest telephone lines were needed at once," and that "[m]otor roads within the parks could not be long denied" (*History* 7), the passive voice implies that the landscape itself desires and needs development. Both of these passages imply the imminence and inevitability of the tourist industry through their repeated invocations of the urgency of the need for development.

Harkin certainly had economic motives for promoting tourism in the parks, but he

also had patriotic and humanitarian motives. In a forty-four-page memorandum regarding "Dominion Parks, their values and ideals" (1914), Harkin highlights the salutary uses of the parks: "Their mission is to serve that innate desire of every individual to seek relief and repose and refreshment of mind and body in the open air and sunshine, among the flowers and the trees and the hills" ("Memo" 1). The Arcadian imagery here aligns itself with the Romantic ideals inherent in Harkin's descriptions of the natural world's potential benefits "for the physical, mental and moral health of the people" ("Memo" 14). Significantly, the parks are not useful only for the wealth that could be generated through natural resource extraction; the parks are also useful as tools through which to build a more moral and healthy national population. For Harkin, then, development in the parks was part of a grander patriotic motive to make accessible the landscape that would strengthen Canadian morality, health, and identity.

Between 1911 and 1930, Harkin worked to shape the legislation that would govern Dominion parks particularly so that it would reinforce the inviolability of the parks as wilderness preserves (Taylor 130). In particular, he lobbied for the outright ban of natural resource extraction in the 1911 DFRPA, but without success. In each annual report he wrote during his tenure as commissioner, Harkin emphasized the need to preserve the natural beauties of the park. While his 1912 report focusses upon the need for the development of the parks' infrastructure "with the object of making their wonders and beauties available and accessible" (5), he also stresses that "[o]f equal importance with construction and development work in the parks is the work of conservation. This applies to the natural beauties and scenic wonders, to the forests, animal, fish, and bird

life" (6).[24] Clearly, given that conservation is given equal priority with construction and development, the threat to the parks against which they need to be preserved is not the influence of humanity or the tourist industry. Rather, "[f]ire is, of course, the most serious menace" (6). Ironically, the regimen of fire suppression, undertaken in the aim of preserving the landscape, fundamentally changed the landscape and, because it allowed forest stands to increase in size and expanse, the park is now especially vulnerable to a massive fire.[25]

Harkin's 1913 report claims that "the commercial side of National Parks is only an incident" and quotes John Muir's argument that "wildness is a necessity and that mountain parks and reservations are useful, not only as fountains of timber . . . but as fountains of life" ("Report" [1913] 5). By 1915, the question of nature conservation is implicit and is given expression through the explanation of the benefits of contact with nature. During the First World War, Harkin ties the preservation of wilderness to moral, physical, and mental health, and, by connection, to Canada's success in its war efforts:

As a result of the war, industrial and economic conditions in Canada will present

---

[24] Although it lies outside the scope of this project to detail Harkin's efforts to preserve animal and bird life, the Dominion Parks Branch did successfully pass and constantly add and revise acts that protected birds and animals both within and without park boundaries. See Foster for a detailed history of the efforts of Harkin in the wildlife conservation movement.

[25] In *Nature by Design*, Eric Higgs cites a conversation he had with a park warden who claimed "It is not a matter of whether we will have a huge fire, but when" (33). This statement stands in stark contrast to the assessment of R.W. Cautley, DLS, in 1927, that national park lands were places that had relatively negligible timber stands: "In regard to whether it is proper to include in Parks what little timber exists in the few low valleys, the point hardly admits of argument" ("Report" 13). For a detailed study of the ecological impact of forest fire suppression, see Jeanine Rhemtulla's MSc thesis.

> many new and complicated problems requiring an efficient population to solve. . . . while many agencies must work to eliminate these adverse conditions, the ideal behind national parks—ample facilities for all Canadians to enjoy recreation in the out-of-doors—if realized, would offer a powerful antidote to these conditions. . . . National parks exist for the purpose of providing for all the people of Canada facilities for acquiring that virile and efficient manhood so noticeable in Canadian military training camps. ("Report" [1915] 5)

Harkin's goal of prohibiting extractive industries in the parks was not realized until the passage of the 1930 National Park Act, but his increasing sense of the importance of preservation, conservation, and sustainable use is evident in his (non-binding) statements of the parks' mandates. Most notably, in 1918, his annual report declared that "In the Canadian parks it is the aim to protect and preserve the original balance of nature" (8). While his concept of a self-balancing nature is myopic because it ignores the historical role of humans in shaping, managing, and altering the areas "preserved" as parks, Harkin nevertheless promotes a mandate in which the natural world is to be revered. Even though the parks were, paradoxically, continuously developed (and continue to be developed) for tourism purposes, this 1918 mandate marked a shift in the definition of parks: parks were now defined as protectors of nature in its "original" or wilderness state.

The role of the parks as protectors of wilderness was reinforced in 1919 when the parks' role as game sanctuaries was entrenched in a new set of regulations concerning the management of wildlife and the prohibition of hunting "non-noxious" animals. While Harkin undertook his conservation efforts with a sincere reverence for wildlife, his

proposals for the construction of a zoo at Jasper demonstrate both utilitarian and Romantic appraisals of the role of wildlife in the park. He proposed that buffalo should be brought in to Jasper and that "in addition to the caged animals there should be elk, moose, mule deer and other animals peculiar to the mountains" (Harkin to Buttler). His rationale for enclosing a population of buffalo which he could cull as needed was that "the country has spent approximately half a million dollars in connection with the preservation of the buffalo and that the public are entitled to expect that there should now be a reasonable commercialization of the herd in order that the treasury may be recouped" (Harkin to Buttler). But Harkin was not inconsiderate of the zoo animals' welfare; he advocated the Hagenbach zoo system,[26] which involved the use of "natural" enclosures which would not only be "more attractive from the spectator's standpoint [but] is also much better for the animals" (Harkin to Rogers [1923]). Although Harkin here expresses concern for the welfare of the zoo animals, his interest in complying with what will be aesthetically appealing to tourists exposes a Romantic sensibility in which animals, though worthy of reverence, are regarded as objects meant to serve and please human desires.

Although Harkin was not a proponent of mining in the parks, park policy allowed for the lease of surface rights to interested parties. In 1910, Jasper Park Collieries was granted the right to mine coal near Pocahontas. After the collieries were well established

---

[26] Although the Jasper zoo was not built, it is interesting to note that the proposed Hagenbach system of enclosure makes manifest the wilderness paradox that William Cronon identifies; since the animals appear to be in their natural habitat, the Hagenbach system allows the viewer to ignore the human-imposed parameters that define these "wilderness" cages.

Harkin agreed that it was reasonable to allow other facilities, such as a pool hall and picture theatre, to be built legitimately in accordance with park policies, under the following condition:

> all the park interests shall be conserved and the fullest possible measure of control left in the hands of the Department. . . . we should be left in a position by the terms of the lease to control the laying out of the town, the character of the buildings to be erected and to deal with all matters relating to sanitation, public morals, education, etc. (Harkin to Douglas)

Unable to prevent mining from entering the park, Harkin asserts administrative control over "public morals" and the physical appearance of the town site that will support the mine, and thus establishes that both ethics and aesthetics are integral park interests. The question of the administrative control over park aesthetics is even more evident in a letter from L. Pererra, Assistant Secretary to the Minister of the Interior, to Howard Douglas, Superintendent of Parks:

> I enclose three photographs of different scenic features which it is understood are to be found on or adjacent to the lands applied for and which it is very necessary should be preserved intact. You might speak to the proper persons in this regard and see that their operations do not interfere with the scenic features referred to. (Pererra to Douglas)

In accordance with parks policies, then, the collieries had to plan both their mines and their town site so that they would accord with the aesthetics dictates of the park administrators. For the most part, the scenery that was meant to be protected from

industry conformed to picturesque aesthetics, but, paradoxically, picturesque areas were often easily accessible and therefore ideal staging grounds for development. As the Surveyor General, Edouard Deville, notes in a 13 November, 1916 letter to M.P. Bridgland, the Dominion Land Surveyor who created the first detailed topographic maps of the Jasper area, "the region between Cavell and Archibald rivers seems to be the most picturesque part of the park and the one that lends itself most easily to development." Deville not only equates picturesqueness with desirable development conditions but also suggests that picturesqueness dictates survey priorities, in his comment that in this area, "it is essential that appropriate names should be given to the topographical features."

The subjective nature of the aesthetics that needed preservation, and the best methods to preserve these aesthetics become apparent in a series of exchanges from 1912 to 1915 between various park officials, most of whom were in favour of following Harkin's lead in allowing as little visible industrial development as possible. The question of the visibility of industry is one that is dictated by the perspective of the (potential) observer, as can be observed in a letter dated 24 October, 1913, in which S.M. Rogers, Superintendent of Jasper National Park, sympathises with Harkin, who felt overwhelmed with applications for mines and quarries: "I am already on record as opposed to these blanket Quarry Claims especially when they are situated on or near the Railways where they would tend to mar the scenery" (Rogers to Harkin). The fact that the situation of quarries near the railways, rather than near landmarks of particular scenic interest, is "especially" objectionable demonstrates the privileging of the railway tourist's perspective in the consideration of the park's desired appearance.

Despite the efforts of Rogers and Harkin, however, some officials were clearly in favour of development. P.C. Barnard-Harvey, Chief Superintendent of Parks, was such a man. He claimed that mines and quarries do not significantly detract from the beauty of the landscape. Refusing to accept that any one locality in the parks deserved special consideration for its scenic value, Barnard-Harvey argued that the park would attract visitors regardless of the presence of visible industrial development:

> I do not see where it is necessary to go further into the matter of disfiguration of the scenic beauties of Jasper Park in this special locality. The scenery here is no different than that on the opposite side of the River where the Fitzhugh Limestone and Quarrying Co have their "Kiln" in full view of and a very short distance off the G.T.P. Right-of-Way, excepting that a belt of heavy spruce is between the claims and the C.N.R. Railway
>
> Take similar undertakings in Rocky Mountains Park, what do we find. The kilns are in full view, there is no practical difference in the two Parks as to scenic beauty at the selected points. The rocks are . . . being quarried in full view of passengers on passing trains, under ordinary conditions. The Cement Mills at Exshaw commenced on a small beginning and now rank as one of the largest Cement Plants in the Dominion. Let us encourage similar undertakings in Jasper Park without raising the question of distraction of scenic beauty, on that ground I strongly recommend the granting of the applications. (Barnard-Harvey to Harkin)

Barnard-Harvey's approbation of development is not dismissive of the value of tourism. Rather, it rests equally, it seems, on his disregard for the detrimental capacity of industry

on the value of scenery and on the fact that industry such as that at Exshaw is to be celebrated; Rocky Mountains Park had set a precedent that demonstrated that tourism would not be impeded by industrial development. Harkin's response, though diplomatic, clearly shows his disagreement with Barnard-Harvey's position. Pointing to the semantics of the recommending officer's statement, Harkin argues that the recommendation for the quarry is conditional upon the superintendent's statement that "The examining officer reports the claims *could* be worked without any detriment to the natural beauties of Jasper Park," and that from this statement one could infer that "in order not to be a detriment to the park these quarries would have to be worked under special conditions or restrictions" (Harkin to Barnard-Harvey). Harkin reemphasizes that "any enterprises which would defeat the purposes for which the Parks were established must not be allowed" (Harkin to Barnard-Harvey). Barnard-Harvey's final reply states that he has seen the area in question and that, as it is too far from the railway to be seen from a train, permission for the quarry should be granted. And so, even in the argument of one who does not implicitly value the scenery, the perspective of the railway tourist is that which governs official parameters for development in Jasper, at least in this case.

In his contribution to the 1912 Dominion Parks Annual Report, Harkin cites recreation as the primary service offered to Canadians by the parks, and adds that "National parks are the natural result of a recognition that man requires the pure, wholesome, healthful recreation of the great out-of-doors" ("Report" [1912] 4). In an internal department memo, Harkin defines a national park as "a wilderness in its natural state . . . [in which] adequate relaxation and recuperation is realized only from the

influence of nature—the nature of the wilderness" ("Memo" 16). Despite his emphasis on the *natural* and *pure* aspects of parks, the newly-appointed commissioner concludes that "The Parks Branch *has to develop* the national parks with the object of making their wonders and beauties available and accessible for the people of Canada" ("Memo" 5; emphasis added). Without development and accessibility, Harkin argued repeatedly throughout his career, the parks would fail.

Amidst the 1920s' power struggles over water rights between the parks administration and various provincial and private interests, Harkin argued against hydroelectric development in the parks: "water in the form of falls, rapids, lakes and streams is an absolute essential to scenic beauty. The parks without their scenic waters would be of comparatively little use for the purpose for which they were set aside" (qtd in Taylor 130). Although Harkin's goal to prevent the damming of Rocky Mountain waterways accords with contemporary ecological mandates to limit human interference in ecosystems, Harkin's exhortation that the visual, rather than ecological, landscape needed protection betrays a fundamentally Romantic understanding of and motive for protecting nature (and also perhaps a realization that his audience might be most easily swayed by a Romantic presentation of nature's usefulness).

In his 1921 annual report, Harkin selectively reads the RMPA as though the creation of Banff National Park was the first moment in Canada's history of conservation and its first public demonstration of ecological forethought. He defends his reasons for prohibiting hydroelectric development in the parks, stating that "such development constitutes an invasion of the fundamental principles upon which parks have been

established, namely, the conservation of certain areas of primitive landscape with all their original conditions of plant and animal life and other features intact" (qtd in Taylor 130). As argued earlier, the RMPA did not, in fact, encourage the preservation of primitive landscapes, but instead encouraged development and the institution of the "improvements" necessary to parks. Regardless, Harkin's objection to water exportation clearly states that at least some forms of development are definitely incommensurate with the definition of parks that evolved in the 1920s.

The 1887 Rocky Mountain Park Act declares that the land's purpose is to serve as "a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada" ("Rocky" 155). The use of "advantage" here is the first legislative indication that the parks were created for, in the words of Prime Minister John A Macdonald, "people of wealth," and that development was driven by a goal to attract the economic elite to the parks. As noted in the annual report for 1917 by the superintendent of Jasper Park, "the tourist of means demands his well appointed hotel and it is to be hoped that ere long the erection of one which will meet the needs of this class of visitor may be possible" ("Report" [1917] 8). Taking on the issue of the non-democracy of tailoring parks for the advantage of a select few, Harkin had argued, with respect to the hydroelectric debates, that because "the parks are the property of all the people of Canada . . . they should not be developed for the benefit of any one section of the country or of private interests" ("Report" [1920] 14).

Harkin's interest in preventing private interests from profiting from park resources was largely motivated by his ulterior goal to bring into legislation the principle

of the inviolability of national parks as wilderness preserves (Taylor 130). When the 1930 National Parks Act was finally drafted, Harkin won his battle over the question of the inviolability of parks, but at a cost: parks, by definition, were inviolable spaces in which hydroelectric developments would not be allowed, but, as the political pressure for the development of hydroelectricity outweighed the demand for wilderness preserves, the boundaries of Banff National Park were changed to exclude the Spray Lakes, which were subsequently developed to generate power for the city of Calgary. Likewise, the boundaries of Jasper National Park were redrawn to exclude the coal mines that had formerly lain just inside the eastern border. Even though park spaces became inviolable, the boundaries that defined those spaces, clearly, were mutable.

The Act effectively changed the definition of national parks by enshrining their role as wilderness preserves, and changed the mandate of the parks to a less exclusive one: to provide for "the benefit, *education*, and enjoyment of Canadians" ("National" [1930] 299; emphasis added). It is significant that the restriction of resource extraction is concomitant with the re-wording of the act's mandate in that both of these emendations to the parks' legislative composition signal a shift from a definition of parks in which private individuals could profit or seek advantage from the extraction of the parks' resources to a definition of parks in which, at least in the letter of the law, all components of the geophysical constitution of the park, including mines, timber, and water courses that could be used to generate electrical power, were most valuable when held intact within park boundaries and used to educate park visitors. Indeed, R.W. Cautley, a Dominion Land Surveyor who was responsible for making recommendations

as to the suitability of lands for inclusion within the boundaries of Jasper and Banff parks, set up a reciprocal relationship between parks and scenic areas in 1928, two years before the NPA came into force:

> areas investigated shall be classified on the basis of their being used for such purposes as shall yield the greatest returns to the nation. Many areas are so outstanding in their scenic, recreational and educational characteristics that there can be no doubt their *natural and proper place* is in national parks. Other areas may be more suitable for forest reserves than parks. Again, there may be areas where certain natural resources indicate that such areas will serve Canada best by being open to industrial development. (3; emphasis added)

While Cautley does not question that industrial development of resources will "yield the greatest returns to the nation," he implies here not only his understanding that parks are to be comprised of scenic areas, but also that scenic areas, provided they do not contain exploitable resources, *naturally* and *properly* ought to be parks.

Cautley's construction of the reciprocality between aesthetic landscape and park designations is complemented by his construction of the relationship between the process of surveying and the utility of park lands. Reminiscent of Stutfield and Collie, who felt that mapping the wilderness was a necessary and unquestionably desirable process, Cautley argues that the "park" designation creates a need for detailed surveys, and that, paradoxically, detailed surveys must be completed before park boundaries can be made permanent: "In order that the National Parks of Canada may fulfil the purpose for which they have been created, it is . . . absolutely essential that they be fully surveyed" (16).

Even though an act of Parliament is what fundamentally determines where the boundaries of parks lie, Cautley states that precise maps are essential to the location of those boundaries, not only for the purposes of warden patrols and fire prevention activities, but also because topographic maps are essential for "arousing the interest of the public in the marvellous mountain scenery which the Parks contain" (16). "An uncontoured map of a high mountain country," Cautley explains, "is like a clock without hands" (16). While the creation of the park also creates the need for a survey, the survey itself creates the park by mapping its parameters and by making accessible the areas that give meaning to the park space as such.

Significantly, in making his recommendations for surveys of the parks, Cautley notes that "in mountainous regions Park boundaries must always be what are known as 'natural' boundaries: either heights of land or water boundaries of stream or lake" (5).[27] While there existed very practical reasons for this recommendation, including the fact that in rocky areas or in areas above the tree line where the physical demarcation on the landscape becomes difficult or impossible, there is also a principle in Cautley's argument

---

[27] The first boundaries of the Rocky Mountains Park were rectilinear, as were some of the early boundaries of Jasper National Park. While grid-like boundaries suited the purposes of the prairie surveys, the rectangular shape of the Rocky Mountains Park was difficult to map or mark at ground level because of the varied topography of the region. Such boundaries were therefore almost meaningless for the purposes of the enforcement of park policies (such as hunting restrictions). The fact that Dominion Land Surveyors had to abandon their measuring chains and other traditional survey equipment, and had to develop entirely new survey techniques to map the mountains, reinforces the point that the mountains could not be administratively controlled or mapped in the same way as the prairie lands. The contemporary boundaries of Banff and Jasper reflect the varied topography of the mountains in that they follow natural topographical features such as watercourses, the lines of valleys, and the dividing points of watersheds.

that could be considered ecological: 'natural' boundaries would "conform with the natural limits of game ranges" (5). By aligning park boundaries with game ranges, Cautley suggests an awareness that ecological systems have a continuity that stands independent of human-designated park boundaries. This awareness is somewhat contradicted by his suggestion that animals might recognize the sanctuary offered them within the limits of human-set boundaries: "it is not consistent with sound principles of game conservation to protect animals on one side their range—thus giving them undue confidence—in order that they may be shot on the other" (9). His suggestion that wildlife gain confidence in park boundaries implies that animals recognize park boundaries, gain confidence from human protection, and deliberately seek refuge from hunters within park sanctuaries. Regardless of the degree to which Cautley understood the ecological implications of his suggested boundary demarcations, 'natural' boundaries were adopted for all mountain parks two years later in the 1930 National Parks Act.

Aside from the boundary changes it enforces, the 1930 National Parks Act takes a step towards a more ecological legislation than the RMPA, first, by forbidding the granting of further timber or mining leases, and secondly, by revising the purpose of the parks. These were now to be "made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" ("National" [1930] 299). In its indication that parks need to be used responsibly, or at least sustainably, this act demonstrates an increased awareness of the impact of tourism. It also leans towards a more ecological mandate because it prohibits the granting of new licenses for resource extraction, but the latter form of commercial exploitation was simply replaced by the development of tourist

infrastructure (for which the act sets out several regulations). As Leslie Bella argues in *Parks for Profit*, Harkin and A.O. Wheeler, the president of the Alpine Club of Canada and a former Dominion Land Surveyor, were largely responsible for the shift in the legislative valuation of the parks: "Wheeler and Harkin saved the national parks from one kind of exploitation, but by ensuring their exploitation from another" (58). Not from an ecological standpoint, but an economic one, Harkin and Wheeler argued that the parks could best maintain their value and could maintain their profitability if the parks authorities would, instead of extracting minerals and timber, exploit the parks' most valuable resource: its scenery.

Rather than liberate the parks from the mandate of creating wealth, the 1930 National Parks Act "entrenched a system and philosophy of parks for profit" (Bella 58) in which tourism was to be the source of profit. If scenery was to be the commodity that tourists would pay to see, the parks' scenery had to become more accessible, and herein lies the paradox of the inviolability of the parks: while the principle of inviolability saved the parks from commercial development of their physical resources, it also ensured that the face of the land would be radically changed through the development of roads, lookout points, trails, golf courses, and hotels to accommodate the desires of those who would come to view the scenery. In his 1930 annual report, Harkin not only emphasizes the "inviolable nature of the parks of Canada," but also "confirms to the people absolute ownership in the eighteen scenic reservations and wild life sanctuaries" (92). By linking the scenic value to the people's ownership of the parks, Harkin further entrenches an anti-Lockean, visual, and recreational ethic through which Canadians ought to and are

able to own and relate to federal park lands.

Harkin's prioritization of the value of scenery inscribes the visual rather than physical apprehension of the natural world as paramount park experience. This emphasis on the visual goals of park visitors aligns itself with the emphasis in Romantic views of nature in which the individual "remained detached from, rather than a participant in, Nature" (Pratt and Karvellas 60). The act of going to the parks *to view* nature implies a disjunction between the tourist and the environment not only within park boundaries, but also, and especially, without park boundaries: if the main attraction of parks is the opportunity they afford tourists to *see* nature, this construction of parks is also implicitly a construction of non-park spaces as devoid of that opportunity. In part because of Harkin's efforts, the 1911-36 period of his tenure as commissioner marks the beginning of the narrowing of the discourse of park "experiences;" whereas up to this time the discourse of visits to the Rocky Mountains emphasized equally the physical experience of travelling through the mountains and the visual experience of seeing the landscape, discursive constructions of visits to the area during and after this period, more often than not, equate sightseeing alone with "experiencing" the parks and/or wilderness.

Chapter Four

Extended Economic Utility: The Public Access Era 1936-2005

The 1930 Parks Act was passed in conjunction with the transfer to the western provincial governments of jurisdiction over their natural resources. There were no dramatic changes in the main body of parks legislation between 1930 and 1979. However, this period is marked by the dissolution of the Department of the Interior in 1936 and several subsequent shifts and reorganizations of the administrative bodies that governed the parks. Given that the management of the resources of the western provinces was the *raison d'être* of the Department of the Interior, the latter was dissolved and its surviving functions became the jurisdiction of the newly-formed Department of Mines and Resources. The Dominion Parks Branch, which had become the National Parks Bureau in 1930, thus became a subsidiary of the Department of Mines and Resources, within the Lands, Parks and Forests Branch. This administrative shift also marked the end of the career of J.B. Harkin, who retired. Under the new organization, the National Parks Bureau had responsibility for parks and resources information, national parks, migratory birds, and historic sites and museums. Several other administrative re-organizations took place over the course of the next few decades, most of which were attended by changes in the name and/or of the administrative body that governed parks, but the responsibilities of the various incarnations of the National Parks Branch remained fairly consistent over this period.

Despite the relative consistency in parks legislation during this period, Jasper authorities nevertheless had to negotiate several exceptional policies and circumstances

concerning the use of Jasper National Park. During the economic depression of the 1930s, the park became the site of several make-work camps, the inhabitants of which built trails, roads, and drainage systems. This same work was continued and expanded upon by both conscientious objectors and Japanese Canadians who were housed in work camps and held in internment camps, respectively, during the Second World War. Jasper's definition as a strategic military locale was further entrenched when the Lovatt Scouts were stationed at Jasper Park Lodge to train for battle, and again when the Canadian government appropriated Patricia Lake as a place in which the Habakkuk project, the construction of an aircraft carrier made entirely from wood-pulp-reinforced ice, could be undertaken in "absolute secrecy" ("Press"). The 1950s ushered in the first significant wave of automobile tourism in Jasper, followed by a more significant wave in the 1960s. As a result of the increased popularity of the parks, and the increased accessibility to Jasper through the completion of the Yellowhead Highway in 1968, public opinion turned, in the 1960s and 1970s, towards conservation of the parks, not *for* tourism, as had been Harkin's motive, but *from* tourism, which now seemed to threaten the integrity of Jasper's natural aspects (Bella 151).

In the 1930s and 40s, most of the crises facing Jasper authorities stemmed from the perceived need for increased accessibility, both to the park from exterior urban centres, and within the park, from the town site and principal transportation corridors to selected sites of scenic value. Whether in arguments between the Brewster company and Rainbow Tours over the right to use the road to Maligne Lake, or in the public outcry that Jasper, the "Orphan" of the North, was inaccessible to automobiles and was short-

changed by the government which preferred investing in the roads and tourist amenities in Banff, arguments made in favour of the facilitation of accessibility were consistently constructed as arguments for more "democracy" in the parks.

In 1939, a group of representatives from Edmonton-based business organizations[28] formed the Jasper Park Development Committee to lobby the federal government to improve access to and development in Jasper National Park. They argued that

> while the Jasper-Banff Highway [Icefields Parkway] was being constructed the Federal Government was spending large sums of money in Banff Park to give that Park bigger and better facilities than ever, and that during that time Jasper Park was being robbed of its rightful appropriations which were being diverted to the Jasper-Banff Highway. ("Statement" 1)

The committee felt that significant development of amenities in Jasper was not only necessary but also rightfully owed to the citizens of Jasper and Edmonton. It was their contention that not only Jasper residents, but all Albertans who lived north of Red Deer and who would naturally make Jasper their playground, were being slighted by the federal government's lack of interest in the northern park. The committee argued that Jasper was owed more development because "settlement and population in Central and

---

[28] The committee's twenty-five founding members represented eight organizations: the Council of the City of Edmonton, the Edmonton Trades and Labor [sic] Council, the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce, the Alberta Motor Association (Edmonton Branch), the Edmonton Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Northern Alberta Fish and Game Protective League, the Edmonton YMCA and the National Parks Highway Association. Within the year, the Jasper Chamber of Commerce also had representatives in the membership of the committee.

Northern Alberta is increasing as evidenced in the last re-distribution of ridings for the Alberta Legislature" ("Statement" 1).

While the various statements that were circulated to solicit support from various business officials read like petulant manifestoes ("Jasper Park must have a rock crusher . . . Banff has a rock crusher. . . . Jasper Park must have a proper oiler this year, same as Banff Park" etc. "Statement" 2), the data they contain comparing the facilities at Jasper and at Banff demonstrate a remarkable disparity: Banff had proper street lighting, fully-serviced skiing facilities, a discrete Information Bureau, an insurable fire alarm system, cheap electricity, and a wide range of accommodations for tourists of varying levels of economic means; Jasper had none of these. Fundamentally, the problem lay in the fact that auto tourists could visit Jasper by way of Banff, but could not travel directly from Edmonton.[29] The committee consequently lobbied Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King for the improvement of Jasper's roads and for the construction of a hard surface road from Edmonton to Jasper. Despite the economic depression of the 1930s, automobile tourism was gaining popularity in Canada, and roads were quickly becoming attractions in and of themselves. The committee saw that a hard-surface road would allow Albertans to visit both Jasper and Banff on "a dustless Circle Tour; a very effective tourist attraction" ("Memo" 2).

One of the members, Sydney Cliffe, editor and publisher of *The Edson-Jasper Signal*, petitioned Robert Stead, director of National Parks Publicity, to aid the

---

[29] There was a rudimentary gravel road from Edmonton to Jasper as early as 1928, but travel on this road was not practicable for any but the hardiest motorist willing to brave the uneven gravel, large potholes, and excessive dust.

committee's campaign by circulating historical information that might attract tourists other than those "in the millionaire brackets" (Cliffe to Stead). Those who come to Jasper to stay at the lodge, he implies, need no further inducements to visit the park, but the public of average means needs to be made aware of the area's historical and cultural attractions so that they might become involved in the committee's campaign to develop public facilities. Stead's response clearly demonstrates that he too believes that Jasper is *entitled* to a position of prominence in the popular tourist industry: the Parks Bureau had instigated the publication of weekly and daily articles in Canadian newspapers "to attain for [the parks] *their rightful place* in the travel business of this country and the United States" (Stead to Cliffe; emphasis added).

In a letter to R.C. Vaughan, president of Canadian National Railways, the committee stressed again the democratic nature of their demand for development in Jasper. Quoting Edmonton's then Mayor John Fry, the committee affirmed its belief that "Jasper National Park must be developed for the poor man as well as the rich man" (Jasper to Vaughan 2). In the 1944 report, "What Jasper National Park Urgently Needs," of which the committee circulated 16,000 copies, they further explain the lack of democracy in the lack of development:

> Jasper is the ideal holiday resort, a place in which little children may play . . . where families may enjoy the great outdoors together, where youth may try its strength and meet its mate . . . But, save those of considerable means who may patronize the Lodge, Jasper is none of these. . . .Its highway approaches are dusty to the point of danger. . . . It has no public swimming pool; no public golf course;

no public boating facilities. (1)

Such amenities as are offered by Jasper Park Lodge, the report suggests, ought *rightfully* to be offered to the public by the park agents. Although the committee admits that Jasper Park Lodge has increased the profile of Jasper as a vacation destination, it decries the fact that "because the Lodge caters to and advertises for patronage only in the upper income brackets, the public has come to regard all of Jasper National Park as a playground for the wealthy only" (2).

The report constructs Jasper not only as class-exclusive, but also as age- and ability-exclusive. The lack of developed trails in feature locations means that only the truly brave can visit the scenic area. Under the subtitle "Canyons are Hazardous," we are informed that young people do not have equal opportunity to enjoy all areas of the park: "Visitors to Maligne Canyon and Athabaska [sic] Falls are confronted with many serious danger hazards particularly for children because guard rails and other accident precautions are insufficient" (1). The landscape itself must be made to accommodate its visitors, and its views must be made more accessible. In its note that the park's "eastern (and principal) vista is obscured by a foreground of railway yards, replete with dirty, grimy coal tipple" (1), the report suggests that even the interruption of what might otherwise be a picturesque view contradicts the principle of equal access for all visitors to every vista the park offers.

The emphasis in the report on children and families as potential tourists ties directly into the committee's primary rhetorical strategy: Beginning in 1941, in order to bring public attention to the issue of Jasper's lack of federal funding, the committee put

out media releases declaring "that Jasper Park was an 'Orphan'" and that the committee would thenceforth "be a father and a mother to this 'Orphan'" ("Submission" 1). During the Second World War, the "Orphan" campaign was put on hold, and was taken up again in 1944. Although the image of the committee members as parents to the orphaned park implies that the members feel a kinship with and responsibility for the welfare of the park, they position themselves less clearly as adoptive parents than as parties with vested business interests: when the minister of mines and resources, who was responsible for Jasper at the time, met with the committee in 1946, the members submitted to him that the economic fate of Edmonton resided in the development of Jasper for tourism purposes: "The interest of the citizens of Edmonton stems from the fact that we believe the tourist business is our best bet next to agriculture, and that Jasper Park is the key to the development of this tourist business" ("Submission" 1).

The National Parks Bureau's representatives adopted many of the committee's recommendations for development, such as the improvement of skiing facilities and the improvement of road quality, and also worked on several development projects that made less of a visual impact, such as the stocking of lakes with sport fish and weeds to create desirable fish habitat, and the attempted regulation of water levels of various lakes in the park. As early as 1932, park officials began concerted efforts to raise the level of Patricia Lake by four to five feet. This project was undertaken after J.B. Snape, Jasper's resident engineer noticed a drop in the water levels from one year to the next, and proposed "restoring Patricia Lake to its original beauty" (Snape to Rogers). Snape's proposal that the lake ought to be restored implies that the process of fluctuations in

water levels was unnatural and needed remedy. Furthermore, his reference to Patricia Lake's "original" beauty implies a static, picturesque sense of landscape—one in which the idealized state of nature is dictated by aesthetic preferences— rather than an ecological understanding of the constant evolution of the appearance and constitution of the ecosystem. Park superintendent S.M. Rogers approves of Snape's plan and notes that it is "of vital *necessity* in regard to the construction and development of the automobile camp on Lake Patricia" (Rogers to Harkin [1933]; emphasis added), adding a particularly utilitarian perspective to this idealization of nature. This static conception of what a lake should look like was again represented in 1939 when a dam was constructed at Beaver Lake, a tributary of Medicine Lake, to preserve the water levels that dropped as the lake's namesakes moved downstream after their dam deteriorated.

In 1937, Jasper authorities began plans to raise the levels of a much larger body of water, Medicine Lake. Owing to several subterranean outlets, the water levels in the lake changed frequently and dramatically. As a result of these fluctuations, tourists could not be assured of regular access to boat service across Medicine Lake to the much sought-out Maligne Lake. Thus, the plan to plug the fissures in the lake bed of Medicine Lake was contrived on a strictly utilitarian basis; as R.A. Gibson, Director of Lands, Parks and Forests, declares, it is "most important that [Medicine Lake] be used for transporting by motorboat visitors from the end of the one-way road which carries tourists by car from Maligne Canyon to Medicine Lake, than have the road continued around the north-east side of Medicine Lake" ("Memo"). Gibson hopes, ironically, to preserve the integrity of one lake by fundamentally destroying the integrity of another.

The reason for his preference for Maligne Lake, of course, is strictly aesthetic: "Maligne Lake should never be opened up to outside automobile traffic since it is, with little doubt, the most spectacular lake we have in the National Parks, especially the eastern end of it" ("Memo"). There is again a paradox in Gibson's position; though he wants to ensure that transportation to Maligne Lake is always possible, he does not want to allow for a permanent route of access—a road—because tourist traffic might be detrimental to the area. Controller for Jasper National Park J. Smart's discursive construction of the "natural change of level in this lake" as "the problem which has been facing [Jasper administrators]" (Smart to Jasper [1945]), neatly summarizes the relationship between those who wanted to dam Medicine Lake and the natural world. Although Smart recognizes that fluctuations are natural, he sees these, nevertheless, as obstacles to human desires. "To stop all subterranean outlets," he states, "would greatly improve conditions" (Smart to Jasper [1945]). And so, although a lake like Maligne inspires a sense of sublime reverence and a desire in administrators to preserve its appearance, lakes less aesthetically appealing may be altered, or improved by human interference with little or no consideration for their "natural" appearance or integrity.

Park administrators did have temporary success in regulating Medicine Lake's water levels through the use of various combinations of sphagnum moss, manure, coarse rock, clay, and portland cement mixture (Smart to Jasper [1941]), but eventually, they admitted defeat and allowed the construction of a road to Maligne Lake. In 1943, Fred Brewster, proprietor of Brewster's Rocky Mountain Camps, did much work to clear a trail to Maligne Lake so that he could access a chalet he operated there. By 1946, he had

considerably widened the trail and begun work for the construction of a one-way road. The road was complete in 1947, but despite Brewster's petitions that he should be allowed exclusive use of the road because of his investments in its construction, J.A Wood, Jasper's superintendent, determined that Brewster would have to share the right of way with Rainbow Tours Ltd., a second operator that offered guided tours to Maligne Lake. The one concession made to Brewster was that "for the balance of the season Rainbow Tours Ltd. will provide labour to maintain the road" ("Memo re Transportation"). Essentially, the debate between Brewster and Rainbow Tours was a struggle for exclusive access to Maligne Lake. Jasper authorities played an inconsistent role in this struggle; first, they allowed Brewster to build a private road in a public park; secondly, they assumed ownership of and responsibility for the road but restricted use to two private tour companies. As this road traversed what had been the only reasonable hiking route to the lake,[30] the park authorities essentially prevented the public from accessing one of the park's most popular scenic attractions by land, except by means of hiring the services of either Brewster or Rainbow Tours.

The debate over Maligne Lake's accessibility continued well into the 1960s. In 1963, a public debate began over public access to the road to the lake. An inordinate number of the letters received by the Parks Department were sent by American tourists who were disappointed by the lack of public access to the road. Perhaps the root of these American complainants' dissatisfaction lay in the fundamental ethic of equal access that

---

[30] The road, which approaches the lake from the North, follows the Maligne River and Canyon, the only route to the lake that does not involve crossing a mountain pass.

instigated the American national park movement. Harkin noted in *The History and Meaning of the National Parks of Canada*, a booklet published posthumously in 1957, that the assessment of the Yosemite area by Judge Cornelius Hedges, one of the men responsible for the establishment of the first national park, represents "the true spirit of democracy": "this place is too big and too beautiful to belong to any private individual. It should be set aside by the government for the use and enjoyment of the people for all time as a National Park" (*History* 6). Unlike the Canadian legislation that demonstrated an economically protectionist ethic as the initial rationale for setting aside the Banff hot springs, the initial motive for the establishment of Yosemite was equal access to all citizens.

In response to many of the letters, Walter Dinsdale, Minister of Northern Affairs, demonstrated a clearly utilitarian approach to the natural world. To one visitor's suggestions that public traffic be allowed to use the road to Maligne Lake, for example, Dinsdale stated that the park "could not . . . consider [the] suggestion that traffic should be escorted thro' to Maligne Lake and back until facilities at the Maligne Lake end are sufficient to accommodate a reasonable amount of cars" (Dinsdale to Bannister). As in Harkin's early arguments for the development of roads and trails, Dinsdale's argument suggests that development again is the key to democratic access for all to the site in question. More than this, however, he argues that development must precede democratic access; Maligne Lake must be able to "accommodate a reasonable amount of cars" before the public will be granted permission to travel there in their own vehicles. Implicitly, the road cannot be opened to the public until the park officials can assure all

who want to use the road that adequate facilities await them at the final destination. Here, through the control of the road to the lake, and under the guise of Dinsdale's desire to afford each visitor equal and democratic access to the lake, landscape itself becomes subservient to the development of the proposed facilities that allow its being viewed.

The facilities that Jasper administrators considered essential developments prior to opening the Maligne Lake road to the public were a parking area and a camping area. They proposed that if the road was to become accessible to all, the chalets operated by the Brewster company would have to be closed to minimize the impact of the added tourist traffic to the lake. J.F. Duxbury, a park visitor who identified himself as an elderly man, wrote to the director of the National Parks Branch to complain of the anti-democratic proposal to close the chalets. He argued that "those who find it impossible to camp" (Duxbury to Coleman), and who therefore avail themselves of Brewster's chalet services, would be prevented from visiting the lake if only camping accommodation was available. Visitors such as himself "own a share of the lake too" (Duxbury to Coleman), and should be allowed to visit and to stay in suitable accommodations. In his estimation, then, the public access to the road to Maligne Lake would result in a diminishment of the lake's value and of people's access to a true wilderness experience—only able-bodied campers could truly enjoy the lake at any length whereas all other visitors could not stay over night at the lake and could therefore not truly enjoy its charms:

> I'm sure that everyone who visits Maligne enjoys it very much more because it is a little harder to reach. . . . With a road and parking lot and campground, however, the quiet lake will cease to exist and it will become just another place

where tourists will stop the car, peer through the windshield, and say, "Okay, we've done Maligne Lake. Now let's do Lake Louise." (Duxbury to Coleman)

Inaccessibility, according to Duxbury, makes the lake more aesthetically and ethically appealing. In his suggestion that the "'quiet' lake will cease to exist" we see a conceptual marriage of ethical interactions to the very nature of the lake. Maligne Lake, as it exists without public road access, will not exist if people are allowed to view the lake from the confines of their cars—whose windows, incidentally, provide ideal picturesque frames—without having to get out and interact with the environment as Duxbury felt he did when he stayed at Brewster's cabin. Fundamentally, Duxbury opposes the appreciation of the landscape for its picturesqueness alone. Duxbury's position is then paradoxical with respect to the democracy of the development of tourist infrastructure: while he argues that all visitors deserve equal access to the lake, on the one hand, he does not want visitors to be able to access Maligne Lake too easily or to visit it without a proper form of interaction with the natural world; moreover, however, Duxbury advocates a form of fully-catered tourist facilities that are more expensive (thus economically undemocratic) and infrastructure-dependent than the campground he opposes.

In a parallel argument against development in the parks, Michael Kresiberg, then a graduate student from Missoula, Montana, argued that increased development of tourist infrastructure decreased the accessibility of true wilderness experiences. Unlike Duxbury, however, Kresiberg favours no facilities at all, though he uses the same line of argument as Duxbury, implying that visitors who wish to use roads do not truly

appreciate wilderness. Concerned about a proposed road along the northern boundary of Jasper, Kresiberg writes to the supervisor of the Department of Parks and Natural Resources: "You know full-well what one road along one major boundary could lead to, the kind of people who would come, the kind of accommodation you would need to supply, the sort of destruction of an ecosystem that would perpetrate" (Kreisberg to Planning). His implication that an undesirable "kind of people" would visit Jasper if the road were built is reminiscent of Mary Schäffer's distinction between "true campers" and those who do not understand the intrinsic value of wilderness.

Kreisberg argues that wilderness experiences, as opposed to the experiences of tourists who depend upon tourist infrastructure, cannot be valued according to an economic standard:

> It is simply not possible to convert a qualitative, aesthetic appreciation into quantitative terms, to say "so much" value and enjoyment was experienced, so many "dollars worth" of inward response, whereas the road-builders and drivers and motor-boat lovers and hunters, et al. can so easily convert their desires and satisfactions into qualities of miles and snap-shots and gallons and trophies. (Kresiberg to Planning)

Ironically, Kreisberg concludes his letter asking the director to consider the value of his hiking partner's aesthetic appreciation of the land as a reason to ensure the preservation of the wilderness: "May I add that my hiking companion in Jasper is Swiss, and that several times I heard surprised exclamations to the effect that not even in Switzerland are the highland meadows—the alps—lovelier or more colorful! . . . Such praise from a

Swiss art-student is worth many truckloads of spinsters and dentists" (Kresiberg to Planning). Aesthetic valuation of land is "worth" something, implicitly, if it originates with someone who has geographic and artistic authority to make an assessment of the mountains, but the appreciation of "spinsters and dentists," presumably tourists who appreciate Jasper in an uneducated or at least less comparativist manner, are less valuable.

The exclusion of "spinsters and dentists" who might travel by car to the northern boundary, Kreisberg admits, is not democratic. But this exclusion is nevertheless the only ecologically responsible thing to do as the democratic ideal of equal access to all is fundamentally unethical:

> Somebody must begin to be aware, somebody with authority, that what we have here is a radical and inane democratic demand for something that all people cannot enjoy. Not everybody came west when it was a frontier, nor ought they to have done so. Nor should the wilderness be remade so that everyone can go to it, for what will really happen is that it will be destroyed in the process. (Kresiberg to Planning)

Parallel to Duxbury's desire for Maligne Lake to be preserved for people like himself who know how to appreciate the lake, Kreisberg's desire is that the opportunity for wilderness experiences should be preserved for "the right sort of people, people who want the satisfaction obtained only in such a large and *undomesticated* park" (Kresiberg to Planning; emphasis added), people who know how to appreciate undeveloped wilderness.

Wilderness, Kreisberg argues, is being pushed farther and farther back from the transportation corridors by the construction of hotels, roads, and paths, such that if a visitor wanted to access wilderness in the parks, s/he would have to travel a greater distance away from the park's centre. While Kreisburg argues that he should have access to wilderness, ostensibly because it is his democratic right to share in that which the parks have to offer and to do what he can to influence the policies that will allow for his access, he cites the 'democratic demand' for equal access as constraining visitors from interacting with wilderness because it leads to the construction of infrastructure and park roads which destroy wilderness. Lloyd Brooks, Chief of Jasper's Planning Division, though sympathetic to Kresiberg's concerns, explains that wilderness spaces in Jasper "are little used and consequently vulnerable to proposals to 'better utilize' the resources" (Lloyd to Kresiberg). Paradoxically, that which makes wilderness appealing to back country campers and hikers, its lack of infrastructure and accessibility to the average tourist, and its consequent minor usage by park tourists, is also that which threatens its existence. The 1960s, that great democratic awakening in North America, appears to have fostered just as many, if different, paradoxes about wilderness as any other era.

Despite the public debates over road development in the parks, automobile tourism increased significantly in Jasper over the course of the 1950s and 1960s. The National Parks Branch made concerted efforts to draw motorists to Jasper and deliberately designed certain areas of the park to cater to tourists who would not leave their cars except when checking in to their accommodations. In 1959, for example, in a memo regarding the interpretive displays at the Columbia Icefield, E.F. Roots, a Jasper

planner, suggested that the billboards to be erected near the icefield should be made up "with writing large enough and text brief enough that it can, in effect, be read and understood by tourists who do not leave or who only briefly leave their car" (Roots to Robinson). This suggestion demonstrates the willingness of the park officials to cater to the automobile tourist, and, in the further suggestion that the information on the sign "should be limited to an explanation of what is clearly visible from that particular location" (Roots to Robinson), this memo indicates no intention of inducing visitors to understand or view the park except through their car windows.

The prioritization of the picturesque viewing of the landscape, rather than an understanding of the ecology, geology, or history of the landscape, is further illustrated in the memo's suggestion of a "visitor's guide and souvenir" that would "recall to mind the natural beauties seen, designed to be read not only on the spot, but more particularly to be referred to later, after the tourist continues his journey or returns home" (2). Ideally, then, the tourist is meant to appreciate Jasper only visually while actually there, and may consult the souvenir booklet—ironically also called a "guide"—to gather a more detailed understanding of the mountains after leaving them. In the proposed text for the souvenir guide, the concluding paragraph again evidences the picturesque representation of the mountains: "each [glacial lake] has its characteristic colour . . .which makes so essential a part of the Canadian Rockies scene and which, together with the glaciers themselves and the valleys and peaks sculpted by them, form some of the most beautiful, balanced masterpieces of the artistic hand of nature" (Roots to Robinson).

After noting that many visitors to the icefield "return without any sound

understanding of the full significance of this wonder of nature," J.R.B. Coleman, Director of Jasper National Park, recommended the construction of interpretive signs and displays that would be more educational, arguing that "one of the basic responsibilities of the National Parks Branch [is] to educate the people in the natural history of the Parks" (Coleman to Harrison). This shift in the emphasis from the promotion of a strictly visual appreciation of the landscape to a natural-historical appreciation may have been influenced by the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Government Organization (Glassco Commission, 1960-1963). In its report to Parliament, the Commission expressed a concern with the conflicting objectives of parks to promote both visitor use and conservation. Both during the Commission's hearings and after the publication of its recommendations, the parks began heavily promoting their role as educational interpreters of the natural world, and began broadening the scope of physiographic regions included within the park system. Throughout the 1960s, then, several parks were established in previously under-represented areas, such as various maritime and prairie ecosystems.

This new wave of park creation complemented the second major conservation movement in Canada. While the first wave of conservation, marked by Harkin's efforts to preserve the parks from industrial development, and also by the Alpine Club of Canada's petitions to preserve areas of natural beauty in which its members wished to recreate, aimed to ensure the viability of the parks as tourism destinations accessible to all, the new conservation movement of the 1960s and 1970s aimed to protect the parks' integrity, independent of and sometimes in opposition to their mandate to serve the

recreational needs of Canadians. In 1963, a group of volunteer organizations interested in the conservation of the parks amalgamated under the name of the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada. This association became the leading voice in the conservation movement. In 1968, it hosted with the University of Calgary the "Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow Conference." Jean Chrétien, the then minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and as such responsible for national parks, delivered the opening address and noted that the conference was "indicative of the country's concern for the state of our environment" (13). His association of the parks with the state of the environment indicates a clear shift away from perceptions of the parks as repositories of resources, or as recreational destinations, to a perception of the parks as synecdoches of Canada's natural environment.

There was much public support for both the NPPAC generally, and the recommendations of the Glassco Commission concerning parks specifically. Roderick Haig-Brown, conservationist and Governor General's Award-winning author (1948), publicly condemned the "'Coney Island' invasion of Canada's natural parks," and argued that "commercial intrusion into places of natural beauty and wilderness splendor" defeats the ability of the parks to serve as "heritages which future generations should be able to enjoy in their unspoiled grandeur" ("Ramparts"). There is a certain irony in Haig-Brown's depiction of the parks' "unspoiled grandeur" in that, to suggest that the parks as they existed in 1960, were unspoiled, is to dismiss the infrastructure and development that had already taken place as insignificant. Haig-Brown implicitly dismisses this infrastructure again when he argues that "big parks . . . become increasingly important as

our people seek escape from the pressure of urban living" ("Ramparts"), for to suggest that life in the parks is distinct from urban living is to emphasize the visual backdrop of the recreational space of the parks, rather than the amenities that render the parks spaces of leisure and recreation in the first place.

Regardless of these paradoxes in his argument, Haig-Brown was a prominent constituent of a vocal group of supporters of the Commission's recommendations to mitigate the effects of the commercialization of the parks. But not all voices were unanimous in the approval of prioritizing the educational role of the parks over their tourist functions. The Banff-Cochrane Progressive Conservative Association, for example, "urged that the National Parks of Canada be divorced from the portfolio of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources . . . [because] the tourist industry in Canada['s parks] is being neglected by being associated with the present portfolio" ("Urge"). This criticism was well-founded in that, while the parks were controlled by the department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, their promotion fell to the wayside, replaced by the heavy promotion of Canada's other iconic wildness area, the "North," which had hitherto been ignored almost entirely in Canadian tourism campaigns ("Memo: Public" 2-4).

Development of the landscape and of tourist infrastructure did not cease with the new emphasis on the educational mandate of the parks. On the contrary, the construction of roads, trails, and viewing platforms were often deemed essential to the actualization of the landscape's educational potential. In a 26 March, 1964 memo to the Chief Park Naturalist, R.D. Muir, one of Jasper's park naturalists reported that,

> if developed for visitor access, the [Maligne] canyon will leave a strong impression on every single person who takes the trip. Increased public interest in all natural phenomena, and provision for a more intimate and meaningful experience should ensure heavy visitation to the area. Even the existing unimpressive and low quality experience manages to attract fair sized crowds. (Muir to Stirrett 3-4)

Here the visitors' impressions of the interest and grandeur of the canyon are contingent on its development. The qualification of the "experience" of Maligne Canyon in its undeveloped state as "unimpressive and low quality" further demonstrates a bias towards a viewing of the canyon according to the dictates of park officials. Indeed, Muir proposes that an interpretive structure should be built half-way up the canyon trail so that "the first part of the trip would impress people and raise questions in their minds [and] the interpretive installation would answer these questions so that the visitor would view the last half of the trip with greater understanding and appreciation" (5). Muir not only sanctions the placement of interpretive information so that it dictates the best way for visitors to engage with the canyon, but also implicitly stipulates the appropriate responses to the natural phenomena of the canyon, what questions should be asked, and what information is necessary for understanding the canyon and the experience of being there.

In a modernized re-visitation of the desire of park officials to disguise industry from the railway tourists' perspective in the 1910s, Muir notes that "[c]ar parking facilities at Maligne Canyon . . .appear to be much too close to the canyon proper

[because they] would be easily visible from the edge of the canyon" (6). Cars, here, are a sign of the development of the park and, as such, "constitute a serious impairment of the canyon as a natural feature" (6). Muir's assessment implies that visitors who access the canyon by car should nevertheless be allowed to view the canyon without being reminded of their means of access. By recommending that a "suitable tree screen"should be preserved between the parking lot and the canyon, Muir paradoxically attempts to shield visitors from the visual acknowledgement of the development of the park that facilitates their access to "natural" or "wild" areas.

All this development in the wilderness areas of the park is especially paradoxical given that in 1962 the Parks Branch enacted a new policy that prevented any such development in the towns of the national parks: "Only *essential* roads, townsites and 'artificial recreational developments' would be permitted. . . . Townsites would not expand 'to a point where visitors who would not otherwise come to the park are attracted'" (Bella 114-15; emphasis added). While the development of trails and viewing platforms were fair game anywhere outside the towns, the towns were restricted to providing *essential* services to visitors. Because of its limitation on the development of tourist infrastructure, this policy favoured the tourist who wanted to see the park for its own sake and not for the sake of a luxury holiday. This resolution was accompanied by what amounted to an attempted hostile takeover of the leased lands in the townsites through huge rent increases and the threat of the end of the perpetual leases to which the townsite residents had become accustomed. Residents, who were being taxed but who had no legal representation, protested that the government's policy-making abilities were

undemocratic. In 1970, the courts assured residents that their perpetual leases were guaranteed, but were still subject to the increased rental rates and to the development of only essential tourist services.

The controversy over the limitation of townsite development reached a peak in the early 1960s when the federal government approved Banff's bid to host the 1968 Winter Olympic Games. The bid was defeated at the international level but the discussion of hosting the Olympics prompted both park officials and the public to consider a large-scale "improvement" of winter facilities in the Rocky Mountain parks. Senator Donald Cameron, who was also a director of the Banff School of Fine Arts from 1936-66, argued that "development is not contrary to a properly interpreted parks policy," and that, in fact, development made the parks more democratic, eliminating the need for families to sleep "in a car by the roadside" (qtd in Gorman n.pag.). As PearlAnn Reichwein argues, Cameron's boosterism for the park was closely tied to his desire for the continued success of the Banff School, for "the school stood to benefit from [Banff's] status as a tourism showcase" (55). To those concerned about the impact of further development on the integrity of the parks, he responded that "[t]here is no point in worrying about destroying natural grandeur and wilderness because at least 95 per cent of the tourists never stray a mile from the main highway anyways" (qtd in Gorman n.pag.). In keeping with the aesthetics of the sublimity of the mountains, Cameron asserts that concentrated development along the highway corridors is inconsequential because it is dwarfed and insignificant when compared to the vast areas of undeveloped wilderness that are rarely even visited. His suggestion not only ignores the detrimental impact of

development along the highways, but also demonstrates a conceptual division of human-influenced and non-human-influenced landscapes. By suggesting that the integrity of the latter will not be affected by the former, Cameron implicitly alienates humans from wilderness, and suggests that wilderness spaces are inherently autonomous or self-sustaining, regardless of the developmental pressures exerted on their boundaries.

A second bid was declared in 1966, this time to host the 1972 Winter Olympics in Banff, and this prompted, rather than support for the development of winter facilities, a public backlash against the increased commercialization in the parks. Aside from the formal lobbying and protests mounted by the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada, a large volume of individual protests was sent in the form of letters to Arthur Laing, then minister of natural resources. In a 5 March, 1966 letter to Laing, a frequent visitor to Jasper, Fred E. Vermeulen, expressed his absolute opposition to the holding of the 1972 Winter Olympics "in any Canadian National Park," arguing that the commercial aspect of the games "is in direct conflict with the aims and purposes of our National Parks" (Vermeulen to Laing 1). Vermeulen's concern is, in the first place, the "*effective* protection and conservation of the natural features of our parks" (emphasis in original), and in the second place, that "holding the Olympic Games in a National Park would not only result in destruction of park values, for the sake of visitor accommodation and convenience, but would also set a precedent for future Park exploitation" (1). Vermeulen's emphasis on the integrity of the park through the upholding of its values is important here, particularly given that he suggests that the Olympic Games be held in another wilderness area, Whistler Mountain in British Columbia. However, he states, "I

propose this alternative with reservations because I am aware that the boundaries of Garibaldi Park may be extended to include the Whistler Mountain area" (2). While Vermeulen evidently opposes commercial encroachment in wilderness, the imperative to prevent development is more urgent in national or provincial park spaces because these spaces purportedly represent their respective governments' dedication to the protection of wilderness. If this park value is undermined, Vermeulen argues, the parks will set a negative precedent confirming the violable nature of the parks.

Arthur Laing's response to Vermeulen inverts the latter's concern by suggesting that the park's status as a nationally-protected space will guarantee its integrity and perhaps even change the nature of the Olympic Games:

> I am aware of the quasi commercial atmosphere that surrounds the staging of the Olympic Games. . . . Fortunately, the choice of a National Park offers an opportunity to control this to a large extent, through the Authority of the National Parks Act, associated policies and regulations. (Laing to Vermeulen)

Laing also suggests that "the future park user will be the beneficiary" of the development of Olympic facilities because these will allow "year-round park use" (1-2). Laing's position, like that of Senator Cameron, is that such developments are negligible when considered in the context of the overall size of the parks:

> In a large mountain National Park, of which Jasper will serve as a good example, the total size of all areas zoned as wilderness is very large indeed and it is a basis of principle of National Park planning procedure that the wilderness environment will be dominant. For example, all of Maligne Lake and the surrounding

> moutains [sic] is zoned as wilderness with the exception of the relatively small area that is to be used for visitor services and developed for public use. (2)

Paradoxically, though Laing claims that "the wilderness environment will be dominant," this emphasis is explicitly not the case in the experience of most tourists, as indicated by the fact that the areas to be used by the tourist are deliberately not zoned as wilderness areas.

In direct contrast to, but with the same motives as, Duxbury's opposition to the removal of the catered chalets at Maligne Lake, Vermeulen advocates the removal of these structures so as to preserve the "perpetual wilderness" of the area (2). Vermeulen also agrees with Duxbury that the road to Maligne is inappropriate, but, unlike the latter, he argues that "the lake itself should be accessible only by foot" and that only "canoes and other non-powered craft" should be allowed on the lake for "a single outboard motor can shatter the solitude of a large area and greatly impair the enjoyment of the lake and its surroundings by other visitors" (3). As in Duxbury's concern for the integrity of the "quiet" lake, Vermeulen's construction of the enjoyment to be had from Maligne Lake is dependent upon the visitors' ability to imagine their distance and isolation from tourist infrastructure. Despite Laing's comments supporting the development of infrastructure in the parks, his concluding remarks to Vermeulen, that he is "encouraged to know more Canadians are taking an interest in the *appropriate use* of their National Parks" (3; emphasis added), show that he implicitly agrees that there is a correct form of ethical interaction between the visitor and the park, and that this interaction should be independent of tourist infrastructure.

In 1969, the National and Historic Parks Branch, under the authority of Jean Chrétien, published a revised National Parks Policy to condense and clarify the meaning of the policies that governed the parks, and to offer "a sound interpretation of the [National Parks] Act" (4). He noted that "such broad terms as benefit, education and enjoyment" had been popularly construed to mean that the National Parks Act permitted and even encouraged tourist facility operators "to develop parks to quite an extent along summer resort lines" (4). The problem with such an interpretation of the goals of the park, Chrétien argued, was that "the value of nature" had consistently "taken second place" to the value of recreation. As in his address to the NPPAC conference the year previous, Chrétien here equates park values with environmental values. His discursive construction of the park is not consistently ecological, however, for the doctrine of usefulness directs his understanding of the value of nature: "Like other resources, the National Park resource [nature / wilderness] is valuable to man only when he can utilize it" (4). Unlike an ecological approach to the natural world, in which all of nature, whether directly used or not, is valuable as part of the global ecological web, Chrétien's approach emphasizes the utilitarian value of nature, the resources the parks "yield": "recreation, refreshment, aesthetic enjoyment and knowledge essential to national health and well being" (4).

Chrétien's construction of nature and wilderness (he uses the terms interchangeably) in this policy document is not only utilitarian but also dependent upon the conceptual division of nature and civilization. Wilderness, he argues, becomes more valuable as industrialization becomes more prevalent in urban life: Many Canadians do

not yet value wilderness because "it was not many years ago that a significant percentage of the population lived in or very close to wilderness, or at least in rural surroundings" (4). Chrétien thus suggests that Canadians who live in wilderness do not recognize its value; implicitly, only Canadians who live in urban centres can recognize the value of non-urban space. Furthermore, Chrétien emphasizes that scarcity is that which will make Canadians learn to appreciate the value of nature: "With the growth in population and increasing urbanization, the need for natural areas and their value will become more evident" (4). These constructions emphasize the value of non-urban spaces as counterpoints or antidotes to the negative effects of industrialization in urban centres. There is no consideration, for example, of the intrinsic value of natural spaces as places of sustenance and habitation either for humans, animals, or plant species.

Despite its problematic constructions of wilderness, this policy document presents objectives for the preservation of wilderness areas in the parks. Noticeably, developments such as roads and railways, once deemed essential to the creation and constitution of a park, are now considered "impairments" (6). Also, this document confirms the 1962 policy that restricted growth of the townsites. Chrétien reemphasized that townsites should not become surrogate urban centres, but should be suppliers of minimal services only, and should house principally people who worked in the tourist industry (Bella 118). Even outside the townsites, developments and alterations meant to "assist the visitor to enjoy [a natural] feature should . . .not interfere with its natural appearance or character . . . [such that] the alteration itself becomes the thing of interest" (5). As Eric Higgs argues in *Nature by Design*, this latter goal has not been upheld. At

the Icefields Interpretive Centre, adjacent to the Columbia Icefields in Jasper, for example, "[e]laborate educational displays are designed to explain the phenomena outside the window, but the display is so compelling that the visitor center becomes an end in itself" (51).

The policies of the 1969 document were reaffirmed a decade later in the 1979 revised Parks Canada Policy. The intervening years saw the extensive development and extension of the national parks system throughout the hitherto unrepresented geophysical areas, but few policy changes that directly affected Jasper or the other Rocky Mountains parks. There was a public backlash against the park system in the late 1970s in response to various incidents of land expropriation in the name of park creation, and the 1979 policy attempted to appease this backlash by prohibiting expropriation and by introducing a clause that allowed for public participation in the park-creation process. Although this policy did not directly affect Jasper, it marks an important philosophical shift in the relationship between the state and the land. Whereas before 1979, an Act of Parliament could in effect nationalize any land—expropriate it from its owner to make it a public park—after 1979 the process of adopting a space for the purposes of the nation became fundamentally more democratic. Indeed, the 1979 policy itself underwent public consultation and revision between its 1978 draft phase and publication.

Ecological Utility: The Environmental Era (1980-2005)

In 1986, Tom McMillan, the minister responsible for national parks, conducted several public consultations that resulted in the publication of *In Trust for Tomorrow: A Management Framework for Four Mountains Parks.* This document, essentially a draft

of the 1988 amendment to the National Parks Act, satisfied the demands of tourism developers and conservationists alike. The plan allowed for development in the townsites, but only within the pre-existing town boundaries. The plan also reinforced wildlife protection policies and policies meant to preserve the integrity of "large wilderness areas, with no facilities" (21). Although the latter policy is ecological in intent, its mandate is described in aesthetic, rather than ecological, terminology: "The aesthetic quality of the Parks will be given highest priority in all future activities and the impact of daily operations on the aesthetics of the Parks must be minimized" (19). The particular aesthetic quality that was to be maintained in the back-country was its "wild and pristine" character (21). Wilderness areas, the plan asserts, should "be preserved and protected as examples of landscape and natural systems that are unaltered by human activity; and provide visitors to the Parks with opportunities to experience the natural environment on its own terms" (21). Despite the known history of human habitation, fire suppression, and deliberate management of the park space, all non-developed areas are paradoxically "unaltered by human activity." The disjunction between the human management of the appearance and ecological constitution of the park and its construction as a "pristine" space clearly demonstrates Cronon's theory of the paradox of wilderness: while it is definitely a human-constructed concept and space, the terms used to describe it reject human or cultural influences.

In 1988, the National Wilderness Colloquium (1988) established a definition of wilderness that was then adopted by Parks Canada: Wilderness is "an enduring natural area of sufficient size to protect pristine ecosystems which may serve physical and

spiritual well being. It is an area where little or no persistent evidence of human intrusion is permitted so that ecosystems may continue to evolve" (*Guiding* 123). This definition is problematic not only because of the ambiguous nature of the qualifying terms "enduring," "natural," and "of sufficient size," but also because it implicitly excludes the possibility of symbiotic relationships between humans and wilderness; it positions humans as intruders in wilderness spaces. Cronon's theory of wilderness is also manifest here, for, as Ian MacLaren argues, "[t]he most obvious paradox lies in the idea that 'pristine ecosystems' should exist at least in part to enhance human welfare; more particularly, the use of the verb 'may' in two instances suggests, if unconsciously, that *permission* for non-human life extends from humans to nature" ("Cultured" n46).

In addition to implementing this new definition of wilderness, the 1988 amendment to the Act highlighted for the first time in legislation that maintenance of ecological integrity "Through the protection of natural resources shall be the first priority when considering park zoning and visitor use in a management plan" (Canada, "Act to Amend" [1988] n.pag.).[31] Consistently, from 1988 to the present day, the preservation, restoration, and maintenance of ecological integrity have figured prominently in all legislative and policy documents concerning the parks, demonstrating a clear shift towards a definition, appreciation, and possibly understanding of the parks as ecological spaces. The reason I hesitate to include "understanding" here lies in the fact that the definition of ecological integrity used by Parks Canada, like the definition of wilderness

---

[31] The prioritization of ecological integrity as a park mandate was introduced as a policy in the 1979 Parks Canada Policy but was not incorporated into legislation until the passing of the 1988 amendment to the National Parks Act.

just discussed, involves a problematic exclusion of human influences from ecosystems: "Ecological integrity is the condition of an ecosystem where 1) the structure and function of the ecosystem are unimpaired by stresses induced by human activity, and 2) the ecosystem's biological diversity and supporting processes are likely to persist" (n.pag.). Given that there is an archeological record of 11,000 years of human activity in the Athabasca Valley, surely humans constitute part of the ecosystem's "biological diversity and supporting processes." This is not to say that all human activity should be sanctioned within the parks, but that human activity must not be entirely divorced from that which is deemed "natural" or "biological."

The bifurcation of nature and culture is emphasized especially in the consistent construction of the parks' responsibilities to "protect and present places that represent the world's natural *and* cultural heritage" (*Guiding* 1994; emphasis added). Parks Canada here introduces Canadians to nature and culture as distinct discursive categories, and as spaces that stand apart from one another. The central paradox in this construction is that which Cronon identifies, that culture and nature have been divided from one another linguistically. While early legislation is unapologetic for this division (and sees wilderness as a place that, of course, stands outside of humanity and must be managed by humans to be made useful), the contemporary legislation, which advertises its ecocentric orientation, pretends that this division has been erased or effaced. Also, in the implicit need of these spaces to be *presented*, which is to say, managed or displayed for the sake of a specific viewer, the construction of these spaces involves human mediation even as it ignores its integrity to the constitution of the "natural" world. In the 1994 *Guiding*

Principles and Operational Policies, Parks Canada acknowledges this distinction as fallacious: "Though a distinction is often made between places that are of cultural heritage significance and places of natural heritage significance, people and their environment cannot be separated" (17). Yet, despite this acknowledgment, the discursive separation of "natural" and "cultural" or of "natural" and "heritage" persists in all contemporary promotional publications and legislative documents. A further example of this paradox exists in the fact that while ecological integrity is measured according to scientific means, "the norms or benchmarks selected to define ecological integrity are choices that are based on values privileged by society. . . .[B]ecause protecting parks in a state 'untouched by man' or of 'pristine wilderness' is Parks Canada['s] objective, ecological integrity is evaluated based on the state of an ecosystem previous to when a park was established" (Octeau n.pag.).

The 1988 amendment to the National Parks Act stipulated that Parks Canada had to report to Parliament on the state of the parks every two years. As a result, throughout the 1990s, Parks Canada regularly reassessed the "natural" or "ecological" and "cultural" or "heritage" resources contained in each park. In these biannual assessments, there is a distinct trend of discursively incorporating more and more "cultural" elements into the "natural" landscape, particularly in terms of the aesthetically desirable attractions of each park. Industrial and tourist developments, perceived as integral to the creation of Jasper, then deemed incommensurate with park aesthetics, become discursively reincorporated into an acceptable park aesthetic through the rhetoric of cultural heritage. While, for example, limestone kilns were potential "eyesores" in the 1910s, these become cultural

artifacts to be protected and incorporated as historical attractions in the 1990s. Jasper Park Lodge, too, was deemed by Parks Canada to constitute, with its leased land, "an important cultural and natural feature of Jasper National Park" (*Jasper Park Lodge* 2). Tourist infrastructure, while recognized as one of the most detrimental influences on the ecological integrity of the park, not only becomes of historical and cultural value, but is aestheticized as part of the park's natural landscape.

Further evidence of the naturalization of the tourist industry in the role of parks is available in many contemporary publications for the parks. While early government promotional materials offered listings of available accommodations, they did not offer advertising space in their pamphlets. Currently, however, in the most popular of Parks Canada's publications, *The Mountain Guide*, of which 2,000,000 copies are circulated annually, fourteen of forty pages are dedicated entirely to advertising. In fact, Parks Canada puts a disclaimer at the back of the guide, stating that its production would be economically impossible without the sponsorship of the businesses who run the ads. This is evidence that Harkin's economic dilemma—how to make people aware of and appreciate the parks without any source of revenue to do so—persists today.

Informative pamphlets, policy statements, and legislation, all published by agents of Canadian governments, have perpetually circulated representations of wilderness that demonstrate its value as a conceptual counterpart, or "other," to humanity and civilization. In contemporary promotions of Jasper, where the cultured nature of wilderness is apparent in the consistent historical development of the "wild" park, the paradoxical position of wilderness as a counterpart to civilized society becomes

especially invidious because technological progress and the mastery of nature are always already implicit conditions, conditions so obvious they go unquestioned. In addition to buildings and "cultural spaces," particular forms of interaction with the landscape also become protected elements of the park. In her response to the report of the panel on the ecological integrity of Canada's National Parks, a report that emphasized the need to mitigate the impact of recreational activities in the parks, Sheila Copps noted that historic *uses* of the land will be protected: "There is no intention of removing historic uses such as existing golf courses and ski hills; they will be carefully managed to mitigate and reduce their impacts" (*State* v). Golfing and skiing are thus written into the list of aesthetically acceptable, because historic, uses, while activities such as mountaineering, wilderness exploration, and river and back-country navigation, which each depends upon a mountainous or wild landscape in a way that golfing does not, and which each has a much longer historical precedent than golfing, are not mentioned. Copps adds that "The public will be able to use and enjoy wilderness areas through activities such as hiking, horseback riding and cross-country skiing" (*State* v). While dictating the appropriate ways to appreciate wilderness, Copps makes no mention of enjoying wilderness for its own sake, but rather, wilderness yet again is made to serve simply as a backdrop to leisure activities.

Since the inception of Canada's national parks, the legislation that has governed these spaces has grown steadily more ecological in its stated mandate. The textual alignment of administrative and legislative documents to the ethical and aesthetic movements from extractive utilitarianism towards ecological stewardship outlined by

Pratt and Karvellas is not mirrored in the broader discourse that surrounds parks. This movement from the legislative sanction to the implicit legislative prohibition of economic development in the parks was dictated by the parks' perceived utility: from the 1860s to the 1910s, desirable aesthetic qualities are relative to the commercial developments that facilitate mountains' economic usefulness; from the 1910s to the late 1970s, the parks' beauty and usefulness are relative to the development of facilities, trails, and roads that would allow visitors to experience the mountains' patriotic, spiritual, and moral usefulness; and, finally, from the 1980s to contemporary times, the mountains' relative lack of economic development figures prominently as the root of Canadians' appreciation of nature for its own sake rather than for its utility to humans. There is a fundamental failure, however, in the contemporary legislation in that neither the law, particularly in its definitions of wilderness and appropriate wilderness uses, nor its practical applications, particularly in tourist management practices, accurately reflects a transition towards ecologically comprehensive park policies. Despite the legislation's implication that park management is synchronous with natural processes, its goal, ultimately, is to mitigate human factors in the environment, and this mandate itself shows us that we do not conceive of human and natural processes as contiguous.

Chapter Five

The Wilderness of Cultural Heritage: Building National Ethics

Government-produced promotional materials for the national parks encourage tourists to read and trust the information contained therein as authoritative guides to proper behaviour in the parks. Warnings to not feed wildlife, and regulations pertaining to designated camping areas, for example, allow park visitors to act as passive recipients of information interpreted by and sanctioned through the authority of government agencies. Theses agencies attain their authority through a circularly reciprocal relationship in which the government's recognition of particular landscapes renders these *national* spaces, and the *national* character of these spaces invests the government with the authority to speak of and for these landscapes. Through this same rhetorical nationalization of the park space, in the marketing strategies deployed by Jasper's governmental stewards and railway publicists, from the park's creation to the present, a tourist's visit to Jasper is equated with an act of patriotism that will acquaint the subject with his or her national identity and history through the medium of Nature.

Both narratives of development and of exploration comprise major components of the rhetoric of nation-building in promotional materials. In the discourse of development, especially prominent in the railways' promotional materials already discussed, we see allusions to the literal construction of the nation's economy and infrastructure. In the discourse of exploration, we see the narrative construction of the nation's history. Both types of narrative contribute to the discursive construction of the Canadian human or cultural aspects of the "heritage" that Jasper and other national parks

represent. The natural world, of course, is that which allows Jasper to offer to its visitors a taste of the country's "natural heritage." As I have noted earlier, the bifurcation of "heritage" into "cultural" and "natural" discursive categories in promotional and legislative materials encourages tourist audiences to understand wilderness spaces as culture-less constructs. In this chapter I also consider a second effect of this discursive division: in the suggestion that Jasper can acquaint visitors with their "cultural" and "natural" heritage, there is an insinuation that the culture and history represented by the park is organic, which is to say inherent in the landscape rather than constructed by human forces. By transforming nation-building narratives into "historical" narratives, the parks pamphlets actualize Canada's historical identity as one directly tied to wilderness.

Like the discourse utilized by the government to assert its authority to speak of and for the national park landscapes, exploration narratives manifest a second form of reciprocity between the land and nationalism: on the one hand, people who engage in exploration nationalize the landscape through their travels, and, on the other hand, the landscape itself inspires explorers with a sense of nationalism. Through discursive constructions of the inherent Canadianism of the Rocky Mountain landscape, visitors are invited to identify with this landscape through their nationalism rather than through any specific physical interaction. This identification, the promotional materials imply, can be accomplished simply by seeing the landscape, by appreciating it according to both picturesque and sublime aesthetics as these accord with the broader concept of Canadian nationalism. Ethical paradoxes reside in the construction of park visitors as national

subjects who own the landscape they see while they, and all other humans, have no ecological significance in or responsibility for the non-humanized spaces and non-human life in the park. The fact that the texts market wilderness experience through the rhetoric of a national heritage that claims to be available to all Canadians although it deliberately excludes several cultural aspects of the parks' histories, targets an exclusive tourist market, and constructs the region's cultural history according to the perceived desires of this exclusive tourist market, presents a final ethical paradox inherent in promotional materials' constructions of Jasper National Park.

Establishing Authority

In Canada's early history, the pursuit of knowledge about the interior lands, or the Canadian West, was incontrovertibly tied to economic and political objectives, namely the settlement of the West and the economic expansion of the country. To control land meant to control the scientific and commercial knowledge of that land, and the processes of surveying and mapping land were important methods of garnering this desired information. The public promotion and dissemination of such maps were essentially declarations to the populace of the government's authority over its vast territories. Guide books serve a parallel symbolic function in that, as discursive maps of the land (which also included simple plan maps or, on occasion, detailed route or topographical maps), they implied their authors' familiarity with and authority to speak of and for the land it described.

Within the Department of the Interior, several branches participated in the textual construction as well as in the delineation of geophysical parameters of Jasper National

Park. The Topographical Surveys Branch, for instance, was responsible for the "surveying and laying out for sale, lease or settlement" all public lands west of Ontario, and for "the compilation and publication of the information obtained from such surveys in such manner as to render it available for use in the disposal of these lands and for the use of the interested public" ("General" 1). In 1907, this branch commissioned Mary Schäffer to map the famous Maligne lake, hoping that her prestige as a mountaineer might lend prestige to the area. Schäffer's trip, along with her previous trip to the area in 1904, is commemorated in E. J. Hart's revised and expanded edition of Schäffer's *Old Indian Trails*. In this text, she declares that the "real object" of her travels "was to delve into the heart of an untouched land, to tread where no human foot had trod before, to turn the unthumbed pages of an unread book, and to learn daily those secrets which dear Mother Nature reveals to those who seek" (18). Her allusion to the landscape as a text is reminiscent of earlier explorers' contemplations of the Rockies as the book of nature, a literal text that could be read through scientific observation and/or religious meditation. In addition, Schäffer's desire actually to explore the landscape signals a form of landscape appreciation that is more physical than visual; she will not read Mother Nature's secrets through passive sightseeing, but through active exploration of the landscape's varied features. Presumably, it is to this end, exploration, that the first guide books and maps were produced by the Topographical Surveys Branch; such texts were meant to be simply a literary supplement to the text that nature itself provided.

The first publicly-disseminated form of this information as it pertained to the Jasper area came in the form of the 1917 publication, *Description of & Guide to Jasper*

Park, and its corresponding topographical map of the park, "published in six sheets . . . sold at 15 cents per sheet" (*Description* n.pag.). Both the guide and the maps were enormously popular, the latter being reissued in map folders prepared for distribution to tourists in 1920 and 1926. The role of guides and maps as symbols of administrative control is made evident in the correspondence between the various parties responsible for their publication. In a 1916 memorandum, for example, Edouard Gaston Deville, Surveyor General, advises Dominion Lands Surveyors that it is "advisable to omit names if there is uncertainty about the topography" ("Memo"). Deville's memorandum signals an anxiety over the identification on maps of features about which his department had only incomplete geographical information, which is to say, incomplete administrative control. Inversely, in a request to M.P. Bridgland, the Dominion Land Surveyor who created the first detailed topographic maps of the Jasper area, Deville asks why Roche Perdrix is not identified: "Did you not locate it?" he asks, "It is widely advertised by one of the most striking photographs of the Grand Trunk Pacific" (5 Sept.1916). Deville specifically requests that features that have been identified in promotional materials of other agencies be identified on government maps so that, presumably, government agencies do not appear to be uninformed about their territorial holdings. In a letter to Bridgland two months later, Deville reemphasizes the importance of the accuracy of maps and photographs that are to be publicly disseminated: "If we publish a specimen plan and views to illustrate photographic surveying, it will be assumed by those who see it that both represent the best that we can do" (9 Nov. 1916). Given Deville's exhortations, we may understand that the published *Description of & Guide to Jasper*

Park indeed represents a deliberately constructed view of Jasper sanctioned by the Department of the Interior.

Because of the topographic variability of mountainous landscape, chain and tape methods of survey were impossible. Photography, as a seemingly objective method of obtaining data about the landscape, became integral to the government's project of mapping the mountains.[32] As Andrew Birrell notes in his article "Survey Photography in British Columbia, 1858-1900," although early survey photography was neither interesting nor particularly useful, photographs became by the end of the nineteenth century an essential administrative tool for land surveys, and this medium, by virtue of its indisputable visual realism, was the primary means for government agencies to validate reports of the qualities and usefulness of the land (53-4). Deville, who was world-renowned for refining photographic mountain survey techniques, clearly privileges photographs not only as tools of the trade, but as essential components of any text meant to communicate the characteristics of a particular place; a communication with A.M. Burgess states that "no report of an exploration is considered complete unless accompanied by photographs" (qtd in Birrell, "North" 113).

Further entrenching the symbolic value of photographs, maps, and guides, the preface of the *Description of & Guide to Jasper Park* sets up the institutional authority through which the guide was created, noting the affiliations to government agencies of

---

[32] Phototopographic surveying, a system for surveying mountainous terrain that could not be mapped and charted with the standard chainage techniques, required a surveyor to take pictures, from oblique angles, of the feature to be mapped. Through the comparison of two or more pictures of the same feature, and through a series of triangulation calculations, the altitudes of the photographed feature could be determined.

each of the contributors, and the official purposes for which the guide's photographs were originally taken:

> This guide is the outcome of a photographic survey of the central part of Jasper executed in 1915 by M.P. Bridgland, Dominion Land Surveyor. The topographical part of the Guide was written by him and the historical notes by R. Douglas, Secretary of the Geographic Board. The illustrations, which are mostly from the survey photographs, were selected and arranged, and the book edited by E. Deville, Surveyor General. (n.pag)

This passage emphasizes the technicality of the photographs and suggests that the photographs were taken objectively, with a view to framing the landscape with the scientific and systematic authority of survey, rather than with aesthetic designs. However, the editors of the guide freely cropped the photographs to accentuate particular geographical features, and they sometimes added irregular or highly stylized borders (see figures 3 & 4).

On the one hand, the Preface implies that the photographs are authoritative and objective because they depict locations readily identifiable on the topographical maps that were sold with the *Description*. On the other hand, the cropping and styling of the images shows that the editors felt the need to position the landscape in specific aesthetic frames. This manipulation of the visual presentation of the park signals a shift from early exploration and travel writers' narratives that attempted to convey a sense of how to "experience" the Rocky Mountains (including how to interact with indigenous conditions: climate, flora fauna, topography, geology), to guides and maps that convey a

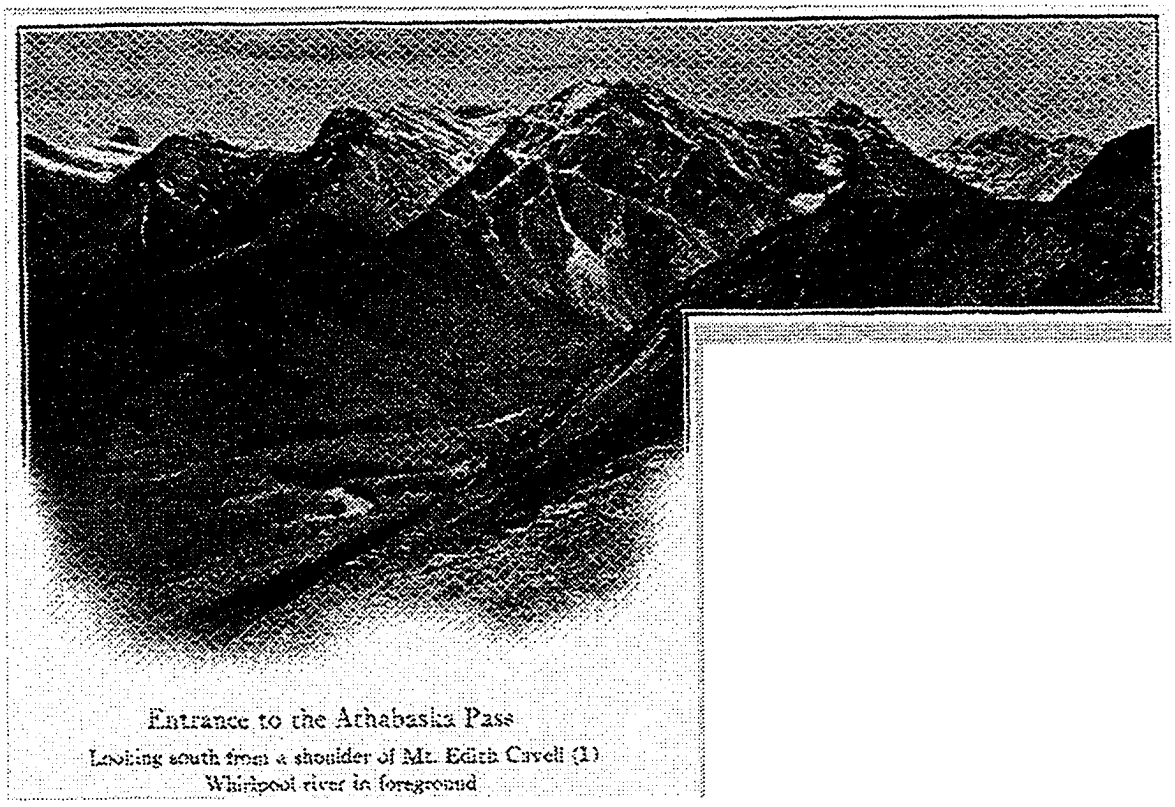


Figure 3. From *Description of & Guide To Jasper Park* (1917), 15.

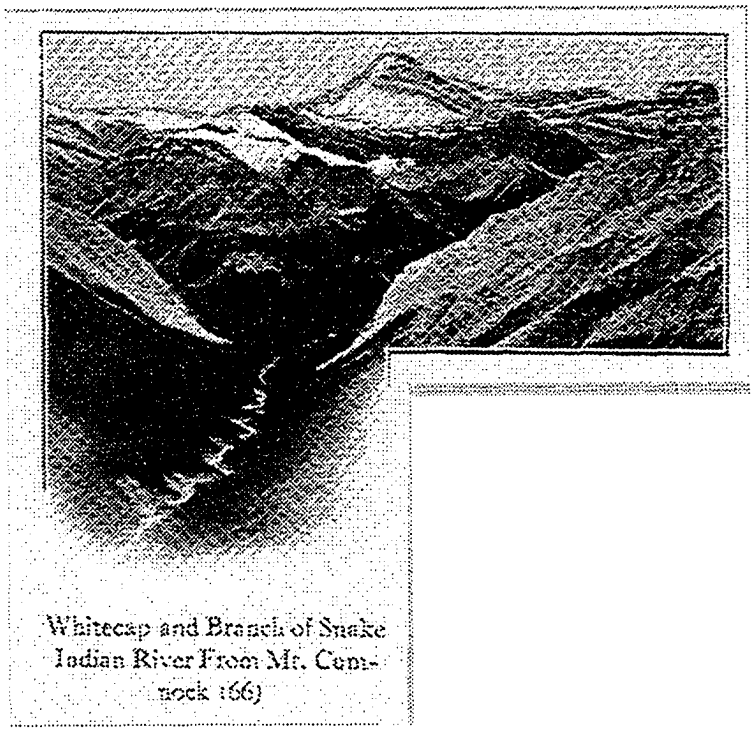


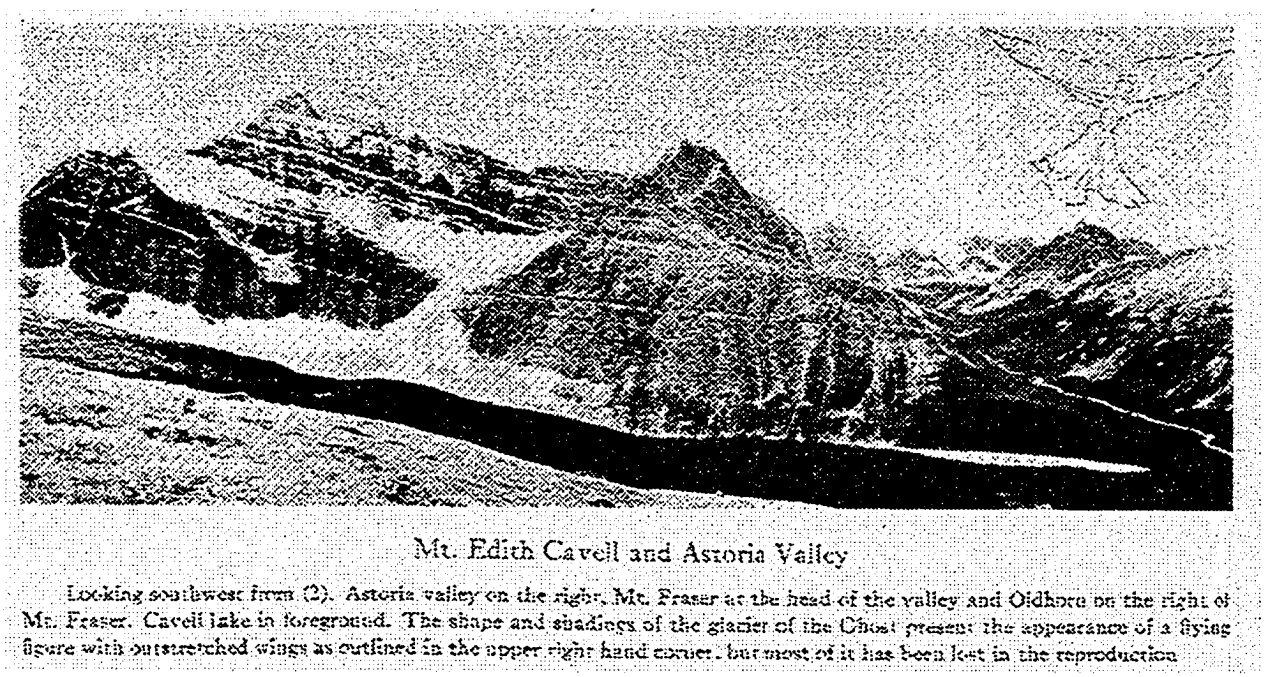
Figure 4. From *Description of & Guide To Jasper Park* (1917), 72.

sense of how to "see" the Rocky Mountains. Two illustrations highlighting the similarity of the snow and ice patterns on Mt Edith Cavell to human shapes are further evidence of the desire to render picturesque or to anthropomorphize the images in these photographs despite the preface's intent to assert the scientific objectiveness of the photographs (see figures 5 & 6). Conversely, the photographs of animals that at the headings of and throughout each chapter (see figures 7 & 8) were chosen specifically because they represent un-anthropomorphized wilderness as they are "without any indication of captivity showing" (McConnell to Deville), even though they were taken of elk, mule deer, goats, and moose kept in the Banff zoo.

Three thousand copies of the 1917 *Description of & Guide to Jasper Park* were sold, and even more were requested by the public. In 1920 Harkin noted that "this guide has been of great value and is in constant demand" (qtd in Great Plains 256). Most copies were sold to retail distributors and to the CNR for sale on their trains. Harkin also distributed copies gratis to parties who might visit and give publicity to Jasper, such as the Imperial Press Union. Despite the cost of the guide, Harkin justified his free distributions, saying that it would "do an incalculable amount of good. All of these gentlemen come from overseas and there is no doubt that the information in this book will be used as the basis of newspaper articles throughout the Empire" (qtd in Great Plains 256). After the first run of 3000 copies had been exhausted, Harkin requested that the Topographic Surveys Branch produce a second edition that would be available for free distribution to all visitors to the park. Deville immediately protested:

Mt. Edith Cavell from Chak Peak (5)
Note the hidden knight

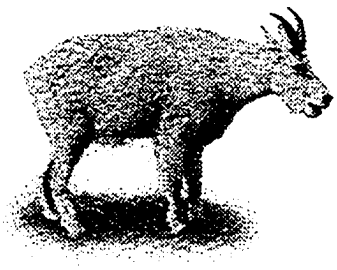
Figure 5. From *Description of & Guide To Jasper Park* (1917), 43



Mt. Edith Cavell and Astoria Valley

Looking southwest from (2). Astoria valley on the right, Mt. Fraser at the head of the valley and Oldhorn on the right of Mt. Fraser. Cavell lake in foreground. The shape and shadings of the glacier of the Ghost present the appearance of a flying figure with outstretched wings as outlined in the upper right hand corner, but most of it has been lost in the reproduction

Figure 6. From *Description of & Guide To Jasper Park* (1917), 42.



Goat

evening, near Pocahontas, while crossing the river in a motor boat, two were seen and although the channel was not more than fifty feet wide, one continued working until the boat passed. South of Coronach creek, a beaver dam had flooded the trail to such an extent that it was necessary to swim the horses. Another colony may be found near the mouth of the Miette river.

Muskrats. Muskrats are very plentiful in the Miette valley, and near the summit there are in addition a large number of mink including two families of black mink which the local warden keeps under constant surveillance.

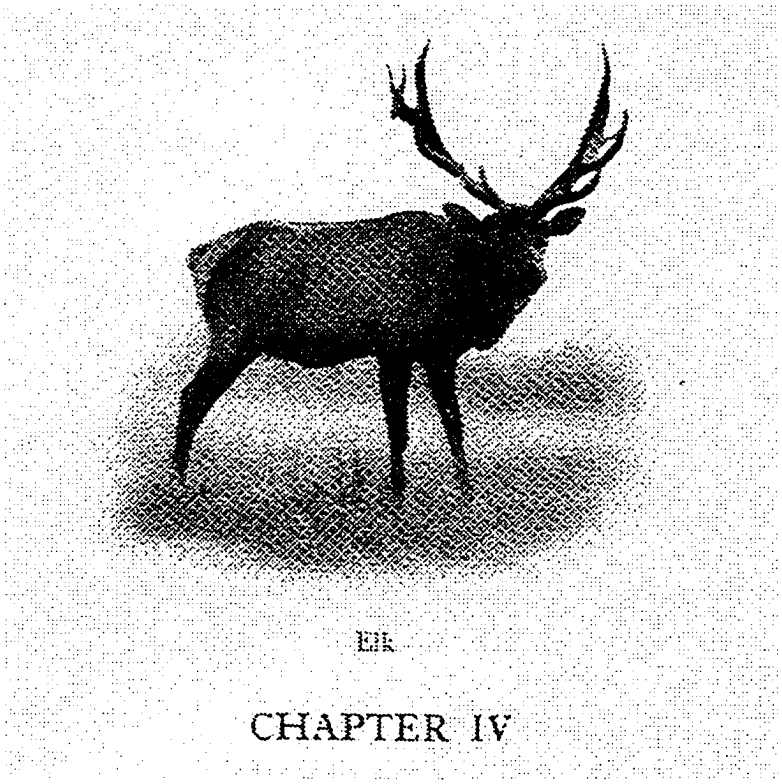
Elk. There are no elk at present in the park but the valley of the Athabaska from the junction of the Miette to its source is stated to have been noted in early days as one of the best hunting grounds for elk in the Canadian Rockies. In 1914 the Superintendent found in one trip to the south side of mount Kerkeslin the heads and horns of over one hundred elk, which seems to bear out that fact. With efficient protection elk will soon return to the park.

Rabbits. Rabbits are very numerous and unfortunately are somewhat destructive of the younger tree growth. They apparently die off in great numbers every seventh year. During the years of abundance, the district where they are found is infested with coyotes, but when the rabbits die off these predatory animals almost desert that locality.

The season of 1913 was one during which rabbits died off in great numbers and coyotes were rare.

Photo by H. J. Smith
Moose

Figure 7. From *Description of & Guide To Jasper Park* (1917), 35.



ELK

CHAPTER IV

Figure 8. From *Description of & Guide To Jasper Park* (1917), 55.

> Referring to your memo of July 16th, I respectfully protest against the reprinting of the Jasper Guide on cheap paper with a paper cover for free distribution. If any publication of this kind is wanted for free distribution, something that will answer the purpose can be compiled by the Dominion Parks Branch. The popularity of the Guide, its large sales and the favourable comments which it has received in America are due as much to its style as to the contents: it has advertised the Park in a manner which would not have been achieved by any amount of cheap free literature. I am not pressing for a new edition: if it is not considered to be worth the money, I am quite satisfied that it should remain out of print. (Deville to Harkin)

While, on the one hand, Harkin wanted to make a park guide accessible to those who might actually use its information to travel in Jasper, on the other hand, Deville sees the guide as primarily a promotional tool to draw tourists who could and would consider it "worth the money." Furthermore, Deville implies that cheaply-produced literature is not worthy of the park and would not constitute a desirable form of advertisement.

The production of the 1917 guide had been Deville's initiative, through which he hoped to popularize his branch's revolutionary topographic survey work, and, given that the demand for Bridgland's topographical maps of Jasper far exceeded the production capacity of the branch, Deville was entirely successful. Technically, however, the responsibility for park publicity fell to Harkin and the Dominion Parks Branch. Harkin was well aware of the value of promotional literature for boosting tourism, and had enlisted his secretary, Mabel Berta Williams, to write the text for *Through the Heart of*

the Rockies and Selkirks (1921; 1924; 1929), a book-length guide to the Rocky Mountains parks along the CPR. In a memo regarding the "Choric Ode" written for the opening of the Banff-Windermere Highway in 1923, Harkin explains that the popularization of fiction and poetry written in and about the Rockies is essential to engendering in Canadians a sense of the value of the parks:

> the scenic places of older lands owe much of their value in the tourists [sic] eyes to their literary associations. Killarney is no more beautiful than a hundred lakes on this continent, but the tourist sees it now through the eyes of the poet and values it more highly on that account. . . . One of the things lacking in our National parks is that they have as yet scarcely any literary tradition. I have always hoped that . . . our Canadian writers would . . . produce works which would add romance and the glamour of art to the mountains and so make them more valuable in the eyes of Canadians themselves. (Harkin to Cory [1923])

Despite Harkin's awareness of the rich archive of explorers' journals and early tourists' travel writings, demonstrated through the historical summaries that accompanied most of the guide books produced by Williams under his direction, such narratives do not constitute a significant "literary tradition" in Harkin's view. Presumably, according to the logic of this passage, Harkin felt that fiction and poetry could lend an air of romance to a landscape that, despite having been described in minute detail in exploration writing, was devoid of glamour because it had not been praised deliberately for the sake of art in such narratives.

Harkin's desire for artistic renderings of the mountains, as well as his equation of

artistic renderings with the valuation of the mountains, accords with the marketing campaigns of the railway companies that solicited paintings of the mountains adjacent to their main stopping points in the parks, and exchanged free transportation and lodging with artists whose works were used in promotional materials for Banff and Jasper National Parks, respectively.[33] Like the railway company officials, Harkin was partial to artistic renderings that would be recognized in the upper echelons of society. In a letter to the deputy minister of the interior, Harkin demonstrates the subjective nature of his interest in poetic renderings of the mountains: "we [have] use[d] a poem to describe our National Parks [in guide books] . . . when it was felt that the poem was of sufficiently high standing and had real publicity value" (Harkin to Gibson). His statement implies that the social and artistic credibility of the creator are ultimately more important that the artistic renderings themselves. In this same letter, Harkin affirms the authority of his branch not only to select appropriate poems, but also to compose descriptions of the park generally: "[Such] material will be prepared by our own writers who are recognized authorities on National Parks and kindred subjects and are trained in descriptive writing" (Harkin to Gibson). Harkin here affirms, implicitly, his sanction of the aesthetic tropes employed in the "descriptive" writing his staff produce, and he ties the authority of the text of guide books to the position of the writers within a government department (Harkin to Gibson).

Undefeated by Deville's refusal to cooperate when Harkin wanted the surveys

---

[33] The 1927 Canadian National Railways's guide book, *Jasper Park Lodge*, for example, was lavishly illustrated with pen-and-ink and full-colour images all rendered by members of the Group of Seven.

branch to republish the popular 1917 guide, Harkin took the former's suggestion and decided that his branch should indeed begin to publish promotional materials for Jasper. With the exception of one pamphlet, "The Call of Untrodden Ways," which appeared in 1925, credited to an anonymous "well-known Canadian" (4) who visited Jasper in 1923, the Dominion Parks Branch did not produce any promotional materials for Jasper until 1928. Although Harkin began discussing the publication of a revised and expanded version of the 1917 guide as early as 1920, and arranged for Williams to (re-)write the text, the expanded guide book, *Jasper National Park,* appeared only in 1928. This text was not to be distributed free-of-charge to all park visitors as Harkin had first hoped. On the contrary, as one administrator noted in a 1928 memo, "the class we are chiefly seeking to attract through it [the guidebook] is the wealthy traveller who remains two or three months in the park and spends anywhere from $1,000 to $5,000" (qtd in Great Plains 256). Williams wrote a second text, *Jasper Trails*, a forty-three-page pamphlet that was available gratis and that contained "concise information regarding what can be done by visitors to Jasper Park" (Harkin to Cory [1929]).[34] As noted by the Great Plains Research Consultants, such pamphlets were "designed to be given away to tourists of lesser means" (256).

While the *Description of & Guide to Jasper Park* and *Jasper National Park* gave detailed route information for mountain ascents, back-country hikes, and extended camping trips, the pamphlets intended for mass consumption did not facilitate intimate

---

[34] Although I believe Harkin intends the subject of the sentence to be "visitors to Jasper Park," his perhaps unintentional suggestion is that tourist activities are imposed upon Jasper— are "what can be done . . . to Jasper Park."

physical experiences in Jasper's back-country. Instead, they focussed on the picturesque sight-seeing opportunities available from any of the park's main transportation routes. In fact, Harkin actively prevented the publication of information that might lead tourists into the back-country; in a 1925 communication with superintendent Rogers, Harkin recommended that only "tourist trails" should be listed in promotional literature, trails, that is, that were sufficiently maintained by the park wardens (unlike the "Indian trails" that were not kept up) (Harkin to Rogers [1925]). Significantly, while *Jasper National Park* offers a map of the park (see figure 9), *Jasper Trails* and the other mass-produced pamphlets of this era do not. Rather, they encourage tourists to take motor trips to view the scenery (such trips require no maps as there was only one main road). Like the railway pamphlets that preceded them, the government-produced pamphlets and guidebooks frame Jasper according to the aesthetic tropes of the sublime and the picturesque, and become increasingly visually oriented.

Despite the emphasis in early pamphlets on the heroism and patriotism inherent in the act of exploration, exploration itself is not fundamental to travellers' potential identification with the national legacy. That is, travellers to Jasper need not actually explore the landscape in order to identify with the nation. Instead, they may simply see and recognize the symbolism of any of a set of landscape icons in order to participate in and stand in witness to the essence of Canada. In a contemporary advertisement / greeting for the national parks, for example, the caption invites visitors to participate in "preserving and presenting Canada's natural and cultural traditions . . . by respecting the land and celebrating our traditions" ("Welcome"). While the ecological mandate of

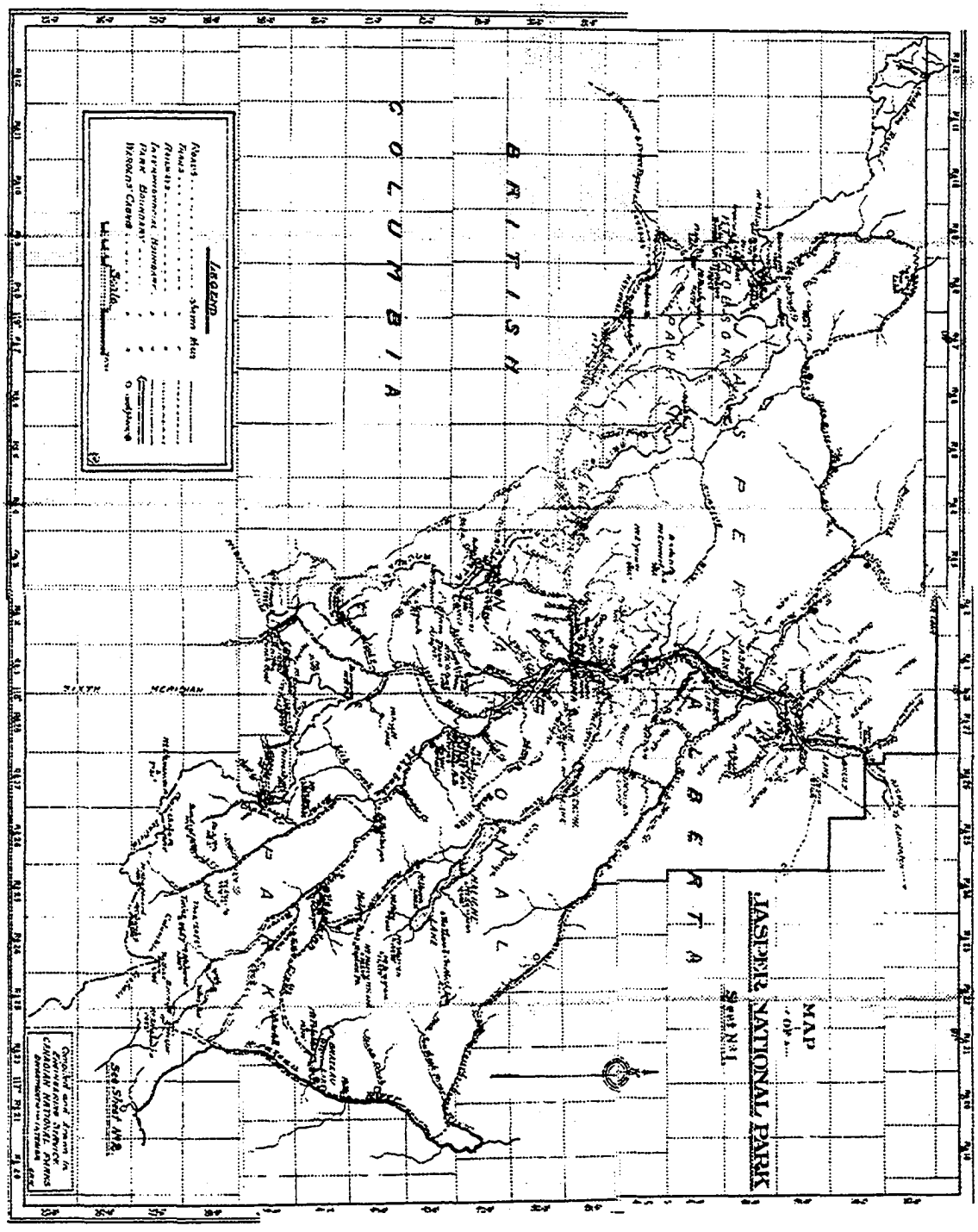


Figure 9. Map insert from *Jasper National Park* (1928).

respecting the land is fairly straightforward, the call to celebrate "our" traditions begs the question: whose traditions? If we are to celebrate the traditions of Parks Canada, implicitly, we may be invited to act as passive consumers and exploiters of the landscape. As a potential call to travellers to re-create the experience of early Canadian explorers, this invitation is rhetorically empty inasmuch as the "experience" most valued in promotional materials is that of the aesthetic appreciation of the sights the explorers must have once seen. Indeed, even in an advertisement for the hot springs in the parks, an advertisement that quite literally invites a direct (albeit fairly passive) interaction between visitors and the physical elements of the landscape, the caption "Soak in the Scenery," implies that even in interactions with the environment, the visuality of the surroundings are of paramount importance (*Mountain* 39). The parameters laid out by sublime and picturesque aesthetics led to the persistent identification and standardization of the national "sights" in Jasper and, indeed, in the Rocky Mountains.

Bridgland and Douglas's guide book locates the origin of the Rocky Mountains' national importance in the creation of the transcontinental railway: "In the year 1871, the mountains and their passes became a matter of national interest [when] British Columbia joined the Confederation" (26). The mountains, because they were, at first, "the chief obstacle" (26) to the railway's completion, become the icon of a victorious national conquest, a feat of engineering, of technology, and of mastery of nature. Indeed, as MacLaren argues, "sublime geography served as both the obstacle to and, once matched by the technology in the form of railways, the symbol of nation-making aspirations" ("Cultured" 9). There exists a clear paradox in the fact that development is equated with

nation-building while wilderness is touted as the essence of national spaces.

Even where man-made structures have not yet been constructed, the very potential of the land for economic development lends it a specific aesthetic appeal. For example, in *Description of & Guide to Jasper National Park*, value is ascribed to the Yellowhead Pass only when it becomes useful to the development of another area of the nation: "The Yellowhead pass [sic], with the development of New Caledonia, *became*, from its low altitude, of great value as a means of transport" (15; emphasis added). This valuation of the land according to its usefulness to humans aligns with the extractive or utilitarian view of nature outlined by Pratt and Karvellas. We see this perspective also in descriptions of the Miette hot springs that apologize for the absence of sophisticated amenities: "There is as yet," *Jasper Trails* admits, "no accommodation for visitors at the Hot Springs and parties going in to remain overnight must take tents with them" (19). And just over a decade earlier, Bridgland and Douglas's text promises that "[t]hough there is very little accommodation for tourists at present, this will doubtless be *remedied* in the near future and the springs will then rival those of Banff" (80; emphasis added). Accommodations are thus discursively constructed as desirable cures to a landscape suffering from a lack of development. *Jasper Trails* gives similar treatment to the question of the demand for trails: not only desirable and inevitable, trail development is also necessary in order for the wonders of the park to come to light because several waterfalls and canyons in the park shall remain "inaccessible until further trails are built" (9).

By the late 1920s, when the Dominion Parks Branch finally began actively

publishing guides for Jasper, the sublimity of the landscape had been domesticated concomitantly with its development. In *Jasper Trails*, for example, the narrative depicts one mountain range as "solid rock [that] has been bent, thrust over, twisted down and pushed up as if the gods of the hills had been having a gigantic taffy-pull" (17). This notably pagan invocation of divine power is meant to delight the reader rather than to inspire the sense of devotion, terror, or religious awe. Furthermore, in *Jasper National Park*, Williams not only dictates the reader's vantage point, but also sets the landscape in a precise moment in time, complete with atmospheric conditions that effectively eliminate all sublime, frightening or threatening elements: "Because of the distance to which they are removed, the mountains which guard each side of the valley do not threaten. Softened by the slight haze they look down upon its smiling greenness like friendly guardians" (6). This passage describes mountains that are implicitly sublime and threatening, but situates readers at a distance so that they may have the scene discursively laid out before them as a typical picturesque view, with a sunken middle ground flanked by coulisses. Furthermore, the deployment of the passive voice in the description "of the distance to which [the mountains] are removed," demonstrates perfectly the hidden nature of the discursive agency of promotional literature through which it may literarily and literally shape tourists' perspectives of the mountains.

While picturesque conventions originated with landscape painting, by the 1920s, the aesthetic of the picturesque had firm associations with photography. *Jasper Trails*, for example, refers to the landscape in photographic terms, as "one of those perfect pictures of alpine grandeur" (28). *Jasper National Park* also makes use of photographic

aesthetic conventions, particularly in its description of Lac Beauvert; the narrative itemizes the (static) images the lake presents from different perspectives: "From one angle it may appear green, from another peacock or azure, so that one is constantly tempted to follow its shores for new and changing pictures" (46). Moreover, when this guide advertises that "the park is being used each year more and more as a background for screen romance" (42), it implicitly encourages readers to see the park as a film set—a static setting which is useful primarily as a platform upon which to ape the experience of living in "wilderness."

Again, these pamphlets are like those produced by the railway companies in that, by promoting a visual, rather than an ecological or physical, appreciation of the natural world, they encourage passive consumption rather than a direct engagement with the geophysical landscape. Jasper's scenery is not a *terrain* in which to have wilderness experiences but a backdrop against which one may partake of activities that do not usually depend upon wilderness settings. *Jasper National Park*, for example, refers to the "several hundreds of tourists . .. [who] are purely tourists, bent in various ways on rest and enjoyment— tourists with fishing rods, cameras, golf bags, tennis rackets, handbags, boxes and wardrobe trunks" (42). A cynical reader may observe that these tourists are literally "bent in various ways," burdened by the luggage of recreation. With the exception of the fishing rod, none of these items depends upon wilderness settings for their utility. Indeed, these are anathema to wilderness as commonly understood. The guide later makes clear the association between picturesqueness and the subservience of the landscape to the activities played out in it: "the picturesque out-croppings of rock, the

enchanting vistas of gleaming mountain peak and blue lake visible from the different fairways, provide a background for the game [of golf] which unconsciously contributes its dynamic influence to all who are in the least sensitive to the beauty of the world" (57). Even though this passage recognizes the potential of the landscape to affect those who see it, the emphasis here is not on the engagement that the golfers may wish to have with the natural world, but on the fact that, much like background music, the "inspiring setting [will] undoubtedly help to stimulate players to the top of their form" (57).

Promotional materials, while they celebrate the development of the tourist facilities of the park, do not explicitly ask travellers to contribute to or participate in the act of further developing the land. Rather, they invite their readers to interact with the park by recognizing the travels of early explorers and by understanding their own tourist experiences as a continuation of the legacy of exploration, whether or not they ever leave a paved surface or a marked trail. These tourist experiences implicitly occur independently of the developed infrastructure of the park. In the advertisement of areas "as yet unvisited by man" (*Description* 32), marketers imply that ordinary Canadians may have the extraordinary experience of exploring pristine and untouched lands. Williams's suggestion in *Jasper Trails*, that the literature written by the early fur traders "by the dim light of a wilderness campfire . . . paint[s] for a less heroic generation, a vivid picture of those earlier days" (5), not only romanticises early capitalist exploitation of the park, but also exhorts the contemporary generation to recapture a sense of heroism by visiting the park, by following in the paths blazed by early nation-builders. Furthermore, the use of the term "paints" reveals that Canadian history itself is, at least

in this narrative, a picturesque object, and one which may be framed according to aesthetic tastes.

Not in promotional materials alone, the aesthetic framing of history is evident in some of the histories, as well as in some historically creative texts that give rise to the discourse of "national" exploration in Jasper. Innumerable historians and publicists claim David Thompson and other British- and French-born explorers as Canadian legends not for their nationalities but for their participation in the exploration and mapping of what would become the Canadian Dominion. Lawrence J. Burpee (1873-1946) was intricately involved in the nationalization and preservation of exploration records. A founding member of the Canadian Historical Association, Burpee edited and made publicly available various journals of western explorers. His keen interest in the promotion and literary preservation of such records must be seen in the context of his very vocal advocacy of the establishment of a national library and archive;[35] by reproducing exploration texts, Burpee could reinforce his position that Canada had a (literary) history worth preserving.

Burpee wrote several books related to the history of the Rocky Mountains generally, as well as a couple that relate specifically to the Jasper area.[36] In *Among the Canadian Alps* (1914), Burpee begins by offering a brief and romanticized historical

---

[35] See Kitchen for a detailed history of Burpee's involvement in the establishment of the national library.

[36] Burpee's interest in Canadian exploration is evident in his publications, *The Search for the Western Sea*, *Pathfinders of the Great Plains*, *The Discovery of Canada*, *The Encyclopedia of Canadian History*, and *The Historical Atlas of Canada*, as well as in his editing projects, including the editing of the journals of Sieur de La Vérendrye and of Anthony Henday, two of the first white men supposed to have seen Rocky Mountains.

survey of the "tireless and unselfish explorers [who] were carrying the boundaries of [the British] empire far out toward the setting sun" (15). Burpee later contrasts the former with "a group of explorers whose object was rather recreation than science" (25), and the comparison of the two types of explorers implies that the expansion of the British Empire and the establishment of the Dominion of Canada were scientific, if not also altruistic and culturally objective, processes. Ignoring the hardships of the physical travel of wilderness explorers and all the unacknowledged labour of those Native people who made them successful, Burpee then remarks upon Canadian Rocky Mountain travel narratives as a "little library of Canadian Alpine literature that will be a revelation to any one who has not yet become familiar with the irresistible appeal of this land of pure delight" (27). In another text, *Jungling in Jasper* (1929), Burpee recounts an extensive wilderness trip he took in Jasper, and, by beginning his narrative with a fictional encounter with several of the most prominent explorers of the Jasper area, he aligns himself with both their experiential and literary legacies.

Burpee's tone is clearly celebratory when he observes that the legacy of exploration continues in the modern (1914) era: "The task so splendidly initiated by Captain Palliser and his associates of exploring and mapping the Canadian Rockies was afterward taken up by the officers of the Canadian Geological Survey and the Topographical Survey of Canada, and is still in progress" (*Among* 25). James G. MacGregor (1905-1989), a popular historian who published at least eighteen books on the development and history of the Canadian West, clearly shares Burpee's appreciation of surveying and exploration, and also shares with him a discursive tendency to lionize

surveyors and explorers, particularly as builders of the Canadian nation. In *Vision of an Ordered Land* (1981), for example, MacGregor calls the history of Canadian surveying "a great story" of "highly intelligent men" (x), and points out that, although local historians may describe particular homesteaders as the first white people to view the landscape in question, "a surveyor has chopped out his vistas" (xi). MacGregor's preoccupation with the status of surveyors as the "first" white people to see the land signals his interest in establishing the chronology of Canadian development from a non-aboriginal perspective.

In *Behold the Shining Mountains: Being an Account of the travels of Anthony Henday, 1754-55, The First White Man to Enter Alberta,* MacGregor takes to a new extreme his interest in establishing the historical relevance of a particular figure or event by stating its chronological priority. Unlike Burpee's edition of Henday's journals, MacGregor's version of Henday's travels encourages readers to believe that the purpose of Henday's trip was the attainment of the Rocky Mountains. "On foot and by canoe," MacGregor narrates, "Henday had travelled fourteen hundred miles for this view" (171), even though, as argued in my first chapter, Henday never anticipated such a destination. Undaunted by the absence in the journals of references to any mountains, MacGregor invents a highly romantic narrative detailing how Henday's Cree guide led him to a hilltop, pointed westward, and then left him to contemplate "one of the world's great mysteries . . . the Shining Mountains" (171). Despite the fact that Henday's journals are devoid of emotional expression, MacGregor pictures the explorer heart-full, and with eyes brimming with tears as he takes his last look of the mountains (196-98). Given the

amount of creative license MacGregor accords himself in this account, one may surmise that, in producing the popular account of Henday's journals, he aimed, not to present a faithful account of the explorer's recorded experience, but to establish exploration "firsts," inaugural moments of non-indigenous histories. By revising Henday's account, MacGregor may lionize the former as a "discoverer" of the Rocky Mountains and may thus inscribe him as an important figure in national historical chronologies.

When one traces this ideological revisionism in promotional texts, one readily sees that the pivotal role that exploration plays manifests itself in the idea that the act of discovering new trails is fundamental to the creation of the Canadian nation. As Williams states, the "best officers" of all explorers were those who were inspired not only by the promise of "commercial gain . . . but by that undying spirit of adventure, that impulse to dare the most intractable wilds, which has carried the British flag into so many of the remote places of the earth . . . serving with a devotion nothing short of heroic the cause to which they were attached" (*Jasper* [1928] 10). This cause, "the opening up of the Canadian West, and the conquering of the almost insuperable barrier of the mountains" (*Jasper* [1928] 10), is one which implicitly the reader ought to value and to which s/he ought to desire affiliation. Like "the picturesque voyageurs, the *coureurs du bois* [sic] and the path-finders of the fur trade, who builded [sic] the foundations of an empire under the setting sun" (GTPR, *Canadian* [1913] 7), Williams's readers may actively participate in the creation of the nation's heritage by exploring and thus helping to "conquer" the sublime wilderness and to "open up" the as yet unappreciated wonders of Canada.

The fact that the rhetoric of exploration allows for heritage to be at once observed and created is symptomatic of the larger paradox of the discursive reciprocity between national identity and landscape. Arthur Conan Doyle's poem, "The Athabaska [sic] Trail," which is often quoted in pamphlets and guides, illustrates this self-reflexive relationship. In this personal testament of love for Jasper, written during his visit to Jasper in 1914, the author's rhetorical question, "Where lives a breed more strong at need to venture or endure?," follows the definition of the archetypal Canadian as "the hero and the martyr [who] laid the corner–stone of State, / The habitant, coureur–des–bois ——and hardy voyageur" (*Description* 12). While these lines indicate that archetypal historical figures nationalize the landscape, the construction of the Athabasca trail as the "Mother of a mighty manhood," suggests that the land itself gives birth to its citizens. Coming from the pen of a famous novelist from Mother Britain, this figure resonates all the more deeply in a dominion where nationalism and British Imperialism aligned relatively unproblematically.

While discursive constructions of wilderness "experiences" do not depend upon actually interacting with the wild landscape, they do depend, at least discursively, upon the promise of solitariness. Romanticism, according to Lynda Jessup, "exalted a solitary experience of landscape conceived as scenery and views for visual consumption. This aesthetic experience of nature, of seeing the physical environment as landscape, is also at the root of modern sightseeing" (147). By listing recommended sights, promotional literature participates in the canonization of particular landscapes—the creation of natural, national icons. This commodification resulted not from a demand but, rather,

from a process through which the National Parks Branch hoped to create a demand for wilderness tourism among the urban elite (Jessup 152). Promotional literature, by its very nature, fulfills a paradoxical role with respect to the advertising of wilderness areas, to encourage tourist traffic and development in a place deliberately marketed as "wild" and unpeopled in which one may have a solitary experience. Despite the Romantic discourse that sells the potential of solitary wilderness experiences, capitalism and not Romanticism drives publishers to promote the Jasper landscape as an attraction to which readers should travel, spend months of their time, and spend large sums of money at the various tourist facilities. Romantic notions of the wilderness experience thus construct two untenable concepts of engagement with the Canadian nation: first, the romantic visualization of landscape, the appreciation of the visual rather than the physical or ecological constitution of the environment, encourages passive consumption rather than a direct engagement with the geophysical landscape; second, with its focus on solitariness, the romantic perspective implicitly encourages exclusivity—only those who could afford to travel for extended periods of time in order to reach truly secluded areas could participate in this form of national identification.

In accordance with a typical Romantic view of nature, the main motivations for wilderness travel are health and relaxation. Wilderness is sacred and salubrious because it is the opposite of civilized space. In *Jasper National Park*, Williams notes both the essential anti-urban qualities of the park, and the perceived ills from which wilderness tourists want to escape:

To make some share of 'the wild places of the land sacred,' is the avowed object

> of the national parks. Everywhere else the continent over, the swift tide of civilization rushes onward; the land our fathers knew disappears; the ancient forests fall before the lumberman; waterfalls are impoverished to turn the wheels of industry; the wild game is driven farther and farther back. But within the boundaries of the great national reservations lie a few thousand square miles, safe and inviolate, so far as it is within the power of man, from change and invasion. Of these national possessions in Canada the greatest is Jasper Park. (1)

Given the general obscurity of the Jasper area in Canadian cultural discourse until after its designation as a park, the nostalgia for "the land our fathers knew" is deliberately contrived. In addition, the depiction of the park as safe from the changes imposed by human industry explicitly ignores the development that also allows tourists to "find many of the refinements of civilization— excellent hotels, good roads, a superb golf course, doctors, hospitals, banks and shops" (4). Williams does not turn a blind eye to the presence of tourist infrastructure. On the contrary, she refers to these as "*necessary* provisions for the comfort and convenience of visitors" (4; emphasis added). Jasper may be a wilderness, the book implies, but it is a wilderness that exists to meet the needs of individual humans. Ironically, meanwhile, tourists are assured that they can come to the park and still participate in the modern lifestyle from which they seek asylum. They can live in luxury and are encouraged to think of tourist amenities as necessary rather than optional elements of their wilderness experience.

One indication of Parks Canada's awareness of the negative repercussions of decades of rhetorical constructions of the park as a fully-catered resort destination lies in

two of their public awareness pamphlets distributed gratis to visitors. The first, *The "Bare" Campsite Program* alerts campers to the fact there are indeed wild animals in the parks. With an emphasis on the "safety" that can be attained by keeping a bare campsite, the pamphlet acknowledges that campers are "camping within wildlife habitat" (2003, n.pag), and thus yokes together the concepts of human-used spaces and wilderness. Having done this, however, the pamphlet then explains that "We are the key to the long term survival of our wildlife," and that we should do what we can to prevent the creation of "problem" animals (n.pag). The latter sentiments, while they aim to protect and/or prevent the destruction of wildlife, take for granted that humans ultimately have the agency and get to decide the fate of wilderness. The paradox of the wilderness as a place in which "wilderness experiences" have become highly mediated by tourist infrastructure is even more evident in the title of the pamphlet, "Keep the Wild in Wildlife" (199[?]). Here the lack of discursive coherence in the concept of "wild" things is made clear—Parks Canada must remind visitors that wildlife and wilderness are fundamentally not predictable, are wild. Again, safety serves as the discursive counterpoint to wilderness in this pamphlet: "How to safely enjoy and help protect wildlife"; "your responsible behaviour affects the survival of wildlife—and your own safety!"; "You are in Bear Country . . . Reduce Your Risk" (n.pag.). In these recurrent juxtapositions of the presence of wildlife and the need for safety, Parks Canada encourages the view that they must mitigate the potential harmfulness of wilderness. Thus, mediated interactions with wilderness, while they do not conform to the experiences of explorers, are implicitly more desirable, practical, and logical.

There are clear contradictions in the discourse that Jasper is at once "untouched" and "hallowed by history, by Indian legend and by the romance of the picturesque voyageurs, the *coureurs du bois* [sic] and the path-finders of the fur trade, who builded [sic] the foundations of an empire under the setting sun" (GTPR *Canadian* [1912] 7). Claimed by promotional publications as "a heritage which never can be alienated" (GTPR *Canadian* [1912] 7, 8), the histories of Indigenous and Métis people are useful only when seen through a Romantic lens. Only those indigenous histories that could be incorporated into the national narrative of progress and development are valued by these pamphlets. Even in the contemporary *Mountain Guide* issued annually by Parks Canada, there is only a fleeting mention of indigenous presence in the Rockies, and, although the short paragraph is illustrated with a turn-of-the-century photograph of teepees (see figure 10), the caption, "11,000 years of Aboriginal history," relegates even this visual proof of relatively recent indigenous presence to the distant

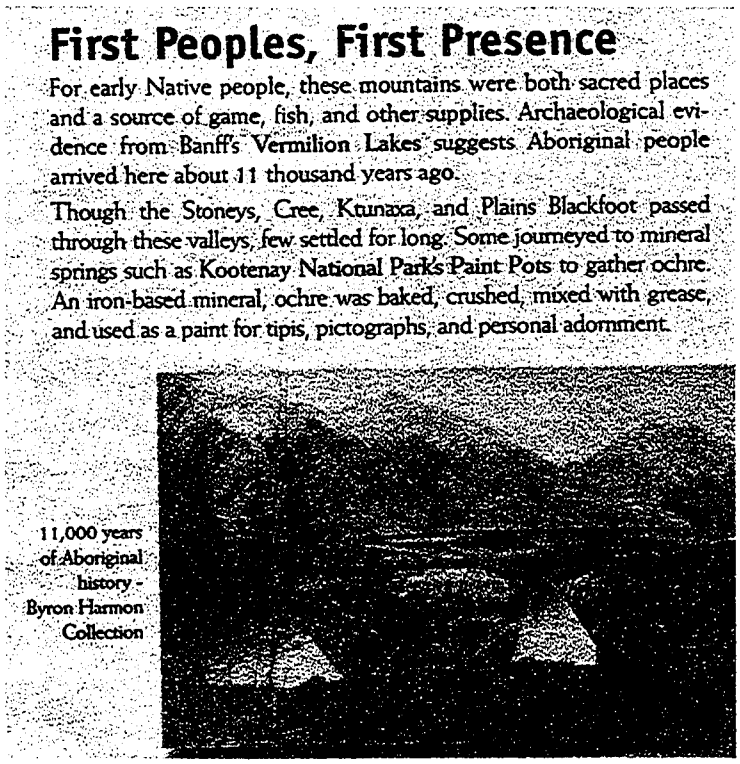


Figure 10. From *The Mountain Guide 2004-2005* (2004), 3.

historical past. Indians, as shown in above passage, can be part of the history of a pristine wilderness as long as they are not a part of its living memory; they must be relegated to the distant past, the Romantic, mythological realm of the park. In fact, as long as they remain the stuff of legends, folklore, and obscure references, they are useful to market the park from which their descendants were ousted.

An example of the utility of commodified indigenous heritage in the parks is the marketing of the totem pole by the railway station in *Jasper Trails*. Although this pamphlet acknowledges that the pole comes from Haida nation in the Queen Charlotte Islands (Haida Gwaii), it nevertheless advertises the pole as "[o]ne of the chief objects of interest in the town" (11). This pole, though clearly out of its historical and cultural context, is one of the main attractions advertised by the government, symbolic of the ways in which indigenous culture is commodified and artificially re-introduced by administration to serve tourism. A more pernicious example of this commodification lies in a communication between Walter Pratt, the manager of public relations for CN, and Jasper's superintendent in 1926, sixteen years after the Métis homesteaders had been expelled from the Athabasca Valley. The former specifically requested that Indians be brought into the park as a tourist attraction. Tellingly, he makes this request as an addendum to a request to create a zoo within park boundaries:

> It has been suggested to me that in view of the fact our advertising mentions that Jasper Park is a protected area for animal life, that a number of these wild animals might be kept in an enclosure within easy walking distance of [Jasper Park] Lodge, similar to the practice on the Canadian Pacific Railway: also, that an

> Indian camp might be established in the Park in reasonable proximity to the Lodge, where Indians could make bead work and moccasins for sale at the Lodge. (Pratt to Rogers)

Demonstrating the power of the printed text to dictate the physical constitution of the park, Pratt's desire for animals is dictated by promotional materials' promise of the same. Pratt's request for Indians, made in the hopes that tourists could have the option to buy authentic Indian souvenirs, clearly commodifies indigenous culture. Furthermore, as his request is for more than just the crafts, in fact for an entire "Indian camp," he commodifies indigenous settlement itself—he asks that Indians be brought in to *perform* their indigenaity for the entertainment of tourists.

Superintendent Rogers's response speaks for itself:

> Re "zoo for wild animals, vicinity J.P. Lodge" I am most heartily in favour of the idea, and will assist in every possible way. I am sure the Department will be pleased to furnish such animals as you could accommodate in proper surroundings and enclosures. Re Indian Camp for making Indian Bead Work, etc. This offers some difficulty, as we would have to make certain they would not expect to make permanent residence within the Park, as our experience has shown that it takes half a dozen wardens to watch Indian or breeds so as to prevent their poaching in an area like Jasper Park, abounding with so much wild life. We can talk this matter over in detail when you come up, if you will try and find out in the meantime, if you can arrange for a few suitably clothed Indians to

> do some work of this nature in the vicinity of the Lodge for the season only. (Rogers to Pratt)

While Rogers has no qualms about re-introducing "wild" elements that may be contained by zoo cages, he seems threatened by the wildness of Indians who cannot be contained and who may wish to revert to their old ways of life. Especially in his proviso that the Indians must be *suitably clothed*, Rogers demonstrates that indigenous presence in the parks is only desirable within strict aesthetic confines.

In 1924, Commissioner Harkin wrote the following legend in his preface to the full-length park guide, *Through the Heart of the Rockies and Selkirks*:

> Among the western Indians there is a legend of Ah-ka-noosta, mightiest of hunters, who, in spite of the passing of many winters, grew not old. Each spring he would disappear from the tribe, returning in the autumn with renewed vigour as if he had recovered the spirit of his youth. . . . he had only been away in the mountains, living like the wild goat and the eagle among the high peaks, sleeping in the teepee of the pine forest and drinking the clear waters of the mountain springs. . . . [and] a legend grew up . . . that Ah-ka-noosta had discovered in the mountains a magic lake whose waters were the Elixir of Life. . . That the road should always be open for all who wish to follow Ah-ka-noosta's trail back to increased vitality and happiness, then thousand square miles of Canadian mountain wilderness have been set aside in the name of the people. (n.pag.)

Aside from the problematic correlation constructed here between indigenous and animal modes of living, Harkin's fanciful legend is significant because it literally invites tourists

to ape the indigenous experience, to come to the parks to play Indian. The marketing of the "indigenous experience" in the Rockies is the ultimate example of the commodification of indigenous culture, and seems especially pernicious given the deliberate expulsion and erasure of indigenous habitation in the parks.

Another form of habitation in the parks that is excluded from promotional materials' constructions of them is that of the internees held in work camps during the Second World War. In 1942, while the park housed several work camps and an internment camp for Japanese Canadian men, the internees built most of the roads and trails we use still today, but the labour and historical presence of these men is obscured. At the time of their detainment, their presence in Jasper was deliberately concealed from tourists by park authorities. It was expected, of course, that the internees leave their camps in order to build the roads and trails, but departmental memos note that these temporary forays outside the work camps should be restricted to work hours so that tourists and town residents would not have to be faced with these undesirable Canadians. Like the Indians, Japanese Canadians were not welcome residents of the park, and their visual presence in tourist areas had to be kept to a minimum:

> Jasper should not be used as the rail point in connection with this operation. Families of any supervising personnel, guards or Japanese workmen will not be allowed to take up residence within the National Park. If it is not considered necessary to confine Japanese workmen to their camp in the same manner as interned aliens or prisoners of war are confined, a zone should be established in which they will have freedom to come and go, but it should be out of bounds for

> them to visit any area considered a tourist centre: for instance, they should not be allowed into the townsite of Jasper or any area adjacent to the main highways. (Smart to Gibson, 1942)

While the internees' labour on the highways was desirable, the visual presence of Japanese people was not. Several internal memos demonstrate that Jasper residents' racism, hatred, and fear were at least partially responsible for the administrative desire to restrict the internees' movement in the park. Importantly, however, the internees were barred not only from being seen in tourist centres but also from availing themselves of the services of the tourist centres. They were to behave as though Jasper was a prison, and were actively prevented from experiencing Jasper as a tourist destination or in any other capacity even in their non-work hours.

The GTPR's 1912 pamphlet purports to give a synopsis of the history that led to the founding of both Jasper and the Yellowhead Pass route, but erroneously reports that Jasper Hawes, rather than Pierre Bostonnais, is the person after whom Tête Jaune Cache and Yellowhead Pass were named. After providing this inaccurate historical information, the pamphlet muses over the loss of early Canadian history:

> Even as the buffalo trails which deeply indented the prairie in every direction a few years since are being rapidly obliterated by the march of settlement and the building of railways, so will the landmarks of early Canadian frontier history be only a cold record in the files of the fur trading companies, as they are fast disappearing. (21)

One cannot tell from the pamphlet whether this contemplation of the erasure of indigenous and pioneer landmarks is meant to reassure tourists that they will not have to deal directly with frontier conditions, or whether it is meant to conjure nostalgia for those things (and indigenous histories are commensurate with those of the buffalo) that must give way to the inevitable march of progress. Incidentally, though the inaccurate historical information is again cited in the 1916 version of this pamphlet, the latter comment on disappearing histories has been struck from the publication. The erroneous citation of Jasper Hawes as Tête Jaune is again repeated in the CNR's 1922 pamphlet, *Jasper Park Lodge on Lac Beauvert*, demonstrating, if not also a disregard for historical facts, a tendency to romanticize depictions of early traders by associating them with identifiable legendary figures.

Although Indian *legends* are acceptable and agents of the fur trade are inherently aesthetically pleasing historical components, factual information about Jasper's Native and Métis populations as *residents* of the area are absent in the pamphlets, except if one were to read the omission of the "Moberly" stop on the railway from a 1912 GTPR pamphlet map as marking the expulsion of this family from the Park in 1910 (see figure 11). This omission is highlighted by the fact that the GTPR's 1911 pamphlet map (see figure 12), which is smaller in size, has next to no topographic information, and has barely enough space on it to include all the names of stops, does have the Moberly stop marked. The 1912 map, which is almost three times the size of the former and which is much more detailed in every other respect, retains the name of Swift but not that of Moberly. By omitting Moberly's name from the map, the map creator literally erases the

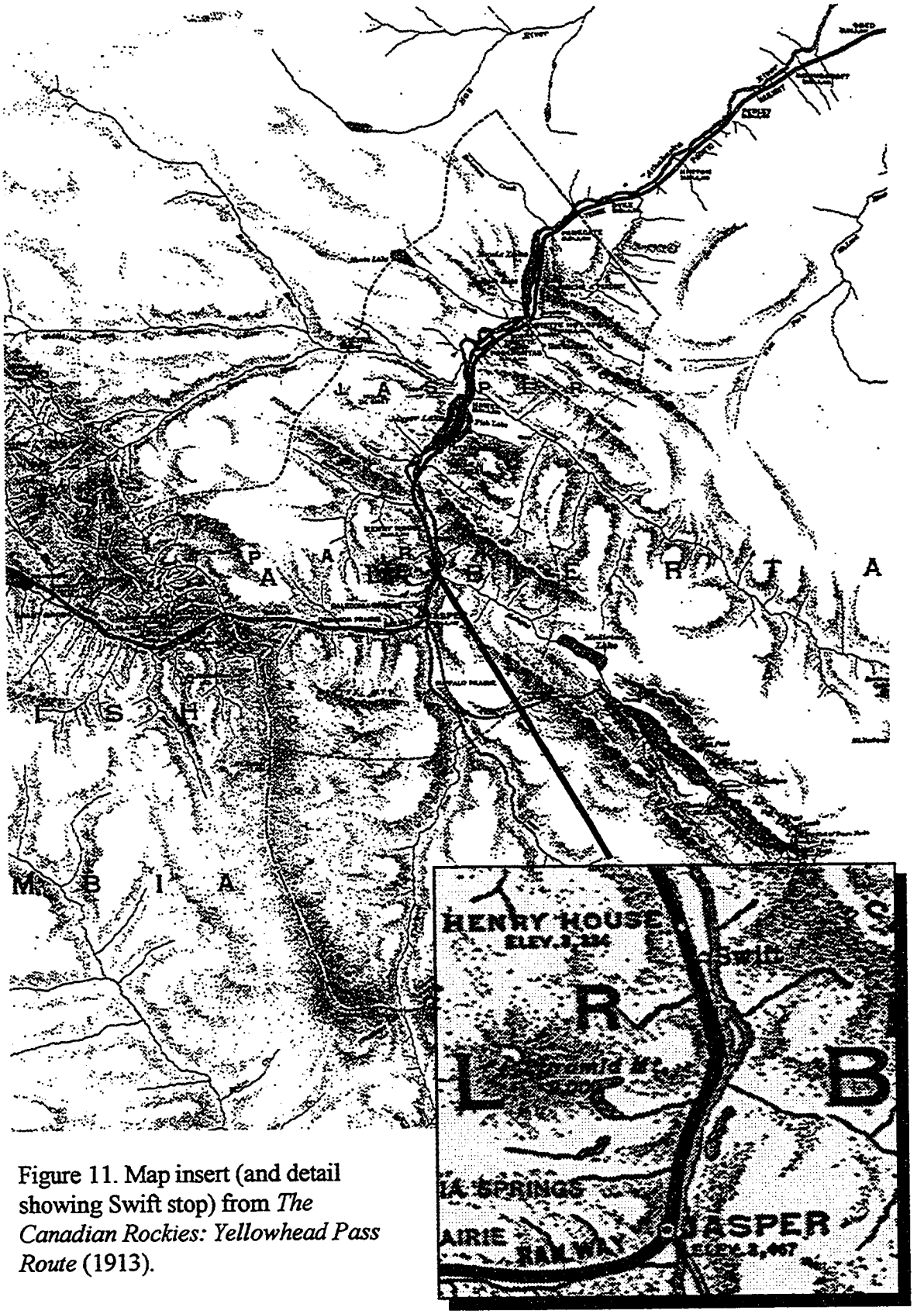


Figure 11. Map insert (and detail showing Swift stop) from *The Canadian Rockies: Yellowhead Pass Route* (1913).

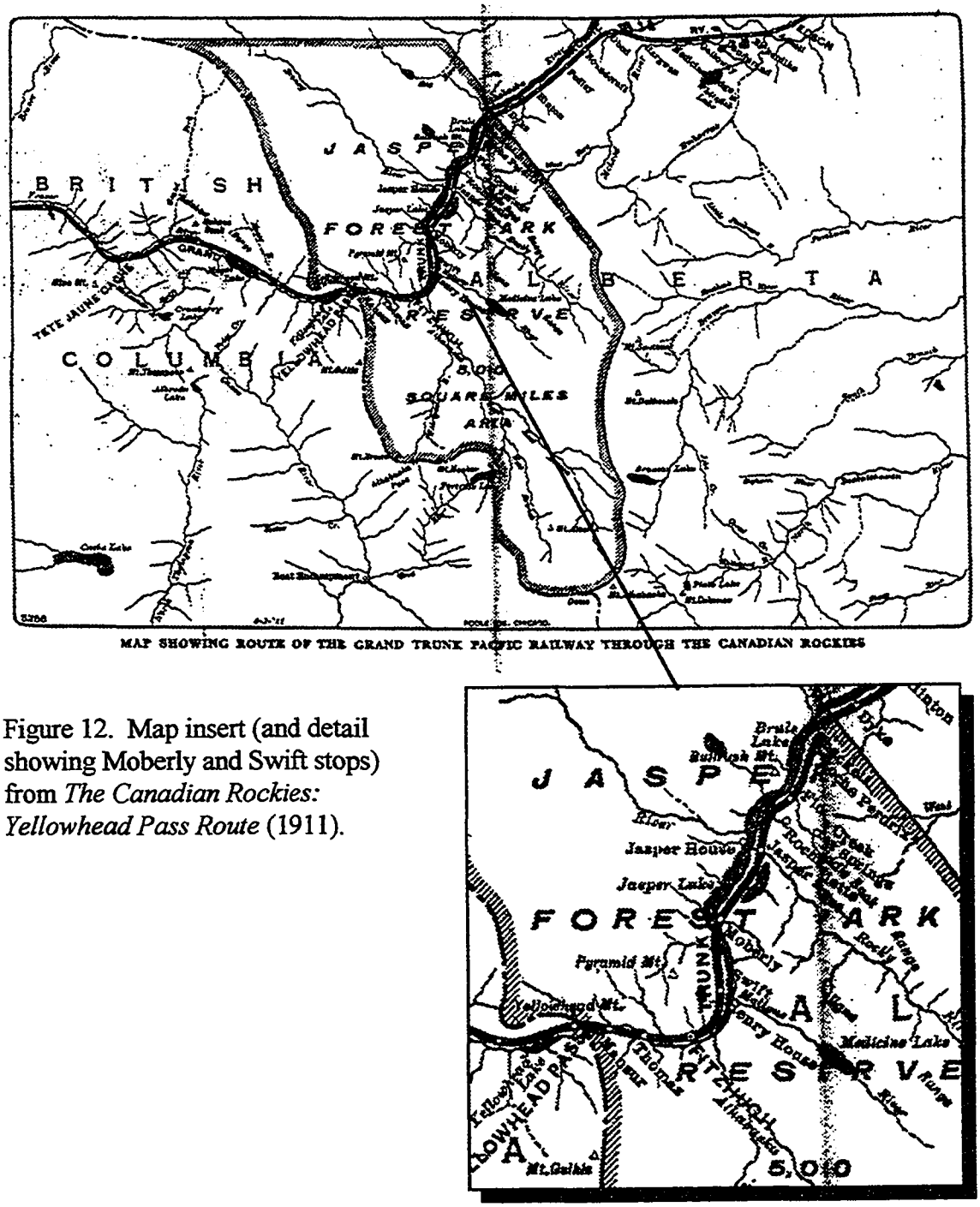


Figure 12. Map insert (and detail showing Moberly and Swift stops) from *The Canadian Rockies: Yellowhead Pass Route* (1911).

family's historical presence from the textual landscape. Of the pamphlets and guides that do mention the Moberly families, each obscures the park administration's role in forcing indigenous people to leave the area by explaining that "the bands of Indian hunters and half-breeds sought other hunting grounds" (*Jasper Trails* 6), or that Moberly "sold out to the Government to make way for the park" (*Description* 67), discursively assigning agency to these indigenes.

In *Jasper Trails*, we follow the solitary gaze of an unidentified narrator to see the exclusive, Romantic, picturesque, un-inhabited landscape: "Passing through a narrow channel guarded by lance-pointed spruce the visitor enters the beautiful upper lake, a place as yet wholly untouched by human habitation" (27). And the paradox here is especially clear in the passage's next sentences: the tourist, who will stay at the "overnight camps . . . established at Medicine and Maligne lakes which add considerably to the comfort of the traveller" (27), is supposed to disregard the presence of human habitation even as s/he is presented with its evidence.

The maps that accompany Mabel Williams's 1928 *Jasper National Park* (see figure 9) show neither Swift's homestead nor that of Moberly but instead the locations of the old fur trade posts, Henry House and Jasper House. The changing preference of map features is an indication of shifts in historical aesthetics towards an acceptance of the fur trade and a continued disregard for the more recent Métis history of the area. At the same time as *Jasper National Park* erases indigenous presence, it invests the park with the ability to erase all cultural differences: "though . . . east be east and west be west, the

twain have a way of meeting and mingling in that camaraderie of the open which forms one of the charms of life in the National parks" (43).

Further erasure of indigenous presence in the landscape occurs in the naming of features that had indigenous names. The *Description of & Guide to Jasper Park* acknowledges the inherent imperialism of re-naming features, even as it celebrates this procedure. Quoting George Monro Grant, the text tells us that "every passer-by thinks that he has a right to give his own and his friends' names to [the mountains] over again" (44), even while explaining that Mount Edith Cavell used to be known as "La Montagne de la Grande Traverse." The replacement of the latter name erases more than an appellation; it erases the history of that mountain as the landmark by which pre-park travellers oriented themselves safely across the mountains. While some features were renamed for the sake of patriotism (Edith Cavell was a nurse who was murdered by the Germans while working for the allied forces in the First World War), other features were renamed simply for the sake of aesthetics. The hanging glacier on Mt. Edith Cavell, for example, is described as resembling the shape of a ghost in *Description of & Guide to Jasper Park.* In subsequent government publications, this feature is renamed "Angel Glacier," and communications between various park administrators show that the change was effected to produce a more pleasing association between Edith Cavell and the mountain.

In her opening message in the *State of Protected Heritage Areas 1999 Report,* then Minister of Canadian Heritage Sheila Copps declares that "national parks and national historic sites are ranked by Canadians amongst the highest symbols of our

nation" (v), but this report also notes that Canadians "know little about the system of national parks and national historic sites that spans the country" (58). In response to Canadians' lack of awareness of their parks, Parks Canada initiated the "Awareness Initiative." This publicity campaign was aimed at increasing Canadians' awareness of their cultural heritage as it was embodied in the parks and heritage sites, but did not address the question of indigenous heritage that pre-dated the parks *per se*. Nevertheless, the image used on the cover of the flagship publication for this strategy suggests that pre-park history is what needed publicity; the cover of *Canada's National Parks and National Historic Sites: Share the Wonder* (1999; see figure 13), shows a modern Canadian family, in silhouette, paddling a canoe towards the

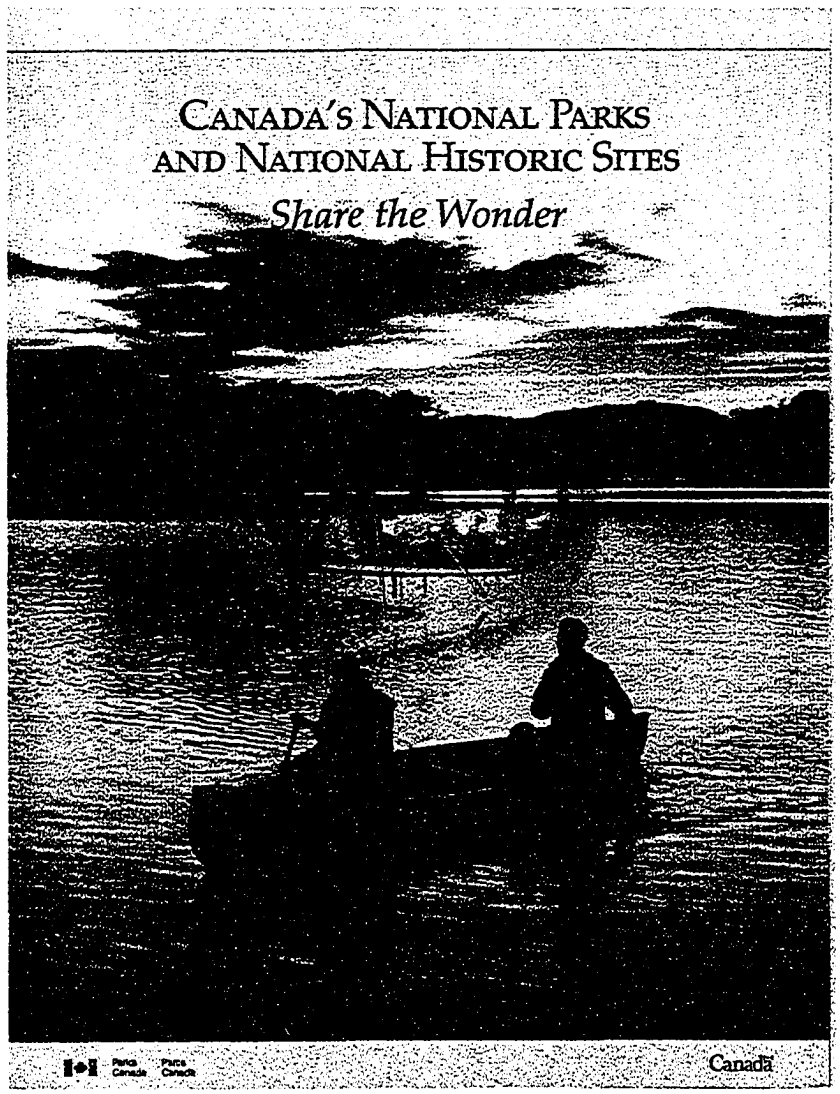


Figure 13. Cover *Share the Wonder* (1999)

camera while the sun sets. In the background behind these symbolically anonymous Canadians is a superimposed, fading image of a birch bark voyageur canoe. On the one hand, one might read the presence of the canoe as an embracing of the pre-park history represented by the (potentially indigenous, Métis, or French Canadian) paddlers of the vessel. On the other hand, one might also note that the voyageurs are paddling away from the camera and they and their canoe are thus figuratively and literally fading into the past. The sunset adds nostalgic power to the scene and reinforces the conceptual consignment to the past of those paddling into it. If indigenous histories are being embraced here, they are embraced only as disappearing elements of a Romantic history. What I find more striking about this photograph is that the modern canoeists have nothing with them in the canoe—they are clearly out paddling for pleasure. While the calm waters suggest that no skill is needed for this form of paddling, and, in comparison with the heavily-laden voyageur canoe that requires seven paddlers, the emptiness of the modern canoe suggests that Canadians may play Indian, or at least experience the activities of the pre-park era, namely, the fur trade, without having to exert much effort.[37] The voyageur canoe, full to the brim with the supplies necessary to sustain its nine passengers, is a travelling, functional vessel, while the modern Canadians' vessel is

---

[37] The fading canoe is a detail from *Canoes in a Fog, Lake Superior*, a painting by Frances Ann Hopkins which depicts the artist and her husband, the only two white people in the image, as passengers; everyone else in the vessel (all of whom are wearing traditional voyageur garb) has a paddle in hand. The racial identities of the passengers of the two canoes cannot be determined absolutely, but the modern canoeists, because their image mirrors that of the voyageurs in the painted image, can be seen nevertheless as mimicking roles traditionally occupied by indigenous and/or Métis people. Even if the modern canoeists are indigenous, their actions are clearly a recreational form of the more labourious work of the voyageurs depicted in the historical image.

simply a recreational tool. The juxtaposition of these two images reinforces the idea that the parks are meant to be viewed as recreational spaces rather than places in which or at least thoroughfares through which people once sustained a livelihood.

The Awareness Initiative clearly celebrates the fact that modern canoeists or even tourists who have never canoed before may go to a national park and ape the voyageurs who precede them historically. But this celebration is contingent on the recreational desires of the modern tourist—one should not desire to live off the land in the parks. Further to the presentation of the voyageurs as essentially anachronistic precursors to the modern canoeists, contemporary back-country trail pamphlets reiterate the notion that activities such as back-country hiking, in which the participant might literally attempt to live and sustain him/herself without the aid of tourist infrastructure, are outdated. Those who wish to partake in wilderness camping may note the irony that back-country trail maps such as *Summer Trails: Jasper National Park of Canada* list hikes according to their level of tourist amenities: day hikes are rated for their relative difficulty and accessibility (i.e. how much of each path is paved), and for whether or not the path leads to a back-country tea house or picnic shelter. Longer hikes into relatively undeveloped areas, listed in *Backcountry Visitor's Guide: Jasper National Park of Canada 2002*, are designated either "primitive" or "semi-primitive" according to whether or not they have any maintained camping spots. The discursive construction of subsistence in wilderness areas, then, heavily implies that self-sufficiency on the trail is an outmoded concept, and that back-country recreational activities are to some degree an atavistic activity.

Chapter Six

Rocky Mountains National Parks: Archive and Museum of the Global Wilderness

The first administrative efforts to understand the landscape of the Rocky Mountains were essentially archive-creating exercises. The Palliser Expedition, for example, was charged with the task of registering the exploitable resources of Rupert's Land and of creating maps of the potentially useful lands. As Stephen Slemon argues, "the act of amassing data about colonial regions . . .[was] a way of managing—but only on a *symbolic* plane—a sense of administrative drift in the actual practice of British imperial control" (16-17). After the lands were transferred to the Dominion, the taxonomic process of cataloguing the land, the taking of an inventory, as Suzanne Zeller has put it, continued through the topographical surveys and classification surveys, conducted by Dominion Land Surveyors. As these allowed the government to create maps that detailed not only the general topography and administrative divisions of the land, but also the surface if not sub-surface resources in each section, they also instigated a discursive trend that permitted perception of the mountains as repositories of untapped resources analogous to archives inviting exploration.

The classification of the mountains as unsuitable for sale, settlement, or squatting effectively barred Canadians from owning park landscape in a Lockean sense, through labour, cultivation, and/or "improvement." Park publicists began at the earliest stages of Jasper's development to encourage Canadians to embrace a new form of ethical interaction with the landscape, one which involved limited physical interaction between humans and the natural world and which nevertheless guaranteed to all Canadians

ownership of the land through their national citizenship. Concomitant with the rise of the discourse of national proprietorship came the rise of the discourse of the cultural symbolism of the mountains. Alfred Runte has recapitulated the well-known argument that in the United States, the cultural elite suffered "embarrassment" because their country's artistic, architectural, and literary heritage simply could not compare in scope or history to the heritages that informed Europeans' sense of cultural identity (11). Despite the relative lack of cultural monuments such as castles, museums, galleries, and libraries, Americans satisfied themselves with their country's natural monuments—its untrammelled mountains, forests, deserts, and canyons. As Thomas Patin argues, the redemptive value of the American landscape as a repository of national pride "could only be accomplished if parts of the natural world could be converted into cultural heritage" (41). As argued in the previous chapter, the rhetoric of heritage converted Canadian national park landscapes into cultural monuments also. More particularly, aesthetic framing devices, both literal and figurative, made Canadian national parks not into mirrors of European museums of art and antiquity, but into "living museums" (see figure 14) of nature that could be described according to the same principles as *objets d'art* (in sublime and picturesque rhetoric) and antiquities (in the rhetoric of the parks' unimaginably ancient, primeval lineage). While Canadian national parks are, indeed, cultural institutions, the parks simultaneously share qualities with museums and differ markedly from them.

Discursive constructions of the parks compare the wonders of nature to objects associated with symbols of cultural history, particularly as these relate to picturesque

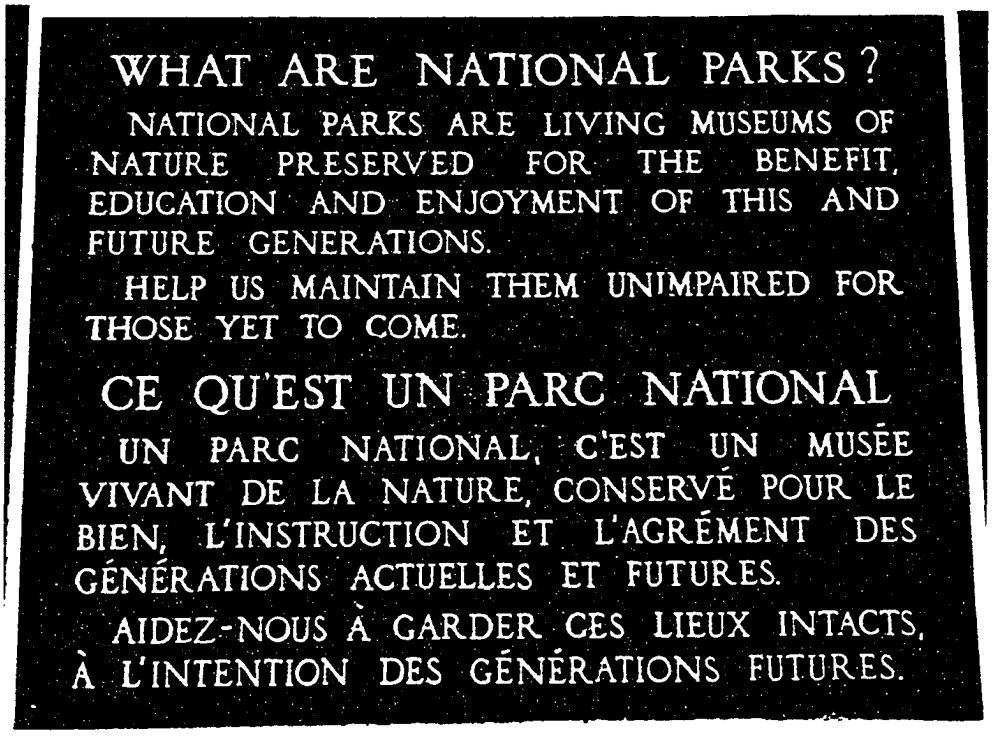


Figure 14. Plaque in Waterton Lakes National Park

aesthetics. For example, in the 1937 CNR pamphlet, *Jasper National Park in the Canadian Rockies*, the landscape supplies for itself natural equivalents to ruins of castles that often appeared in the foreground of picturesque paintings: "Rock-ribbed foundations of the earth have thrust up and built for themselves mighty structures—castles in the sky, as if to dwarf the proudest efforts of man and yet to console him by sheer beauty of form" (3). Nature thus constitutes both the creator of and the gallery for a national heritage. More than this, the former passage assigns an agency to Nature as an artist who creates monuments *for* Canadians, who tempers her own sublimity with beauty that will allow Canadians to embrace the landscape as their own national treasure. By 1957, when Harkin's pamphlet, *The History and Meaning of the National Parks of Canada*, was posthumously produced, the institutionalization of the parks had become a matter of fact:

"The parks belong to the people by right of citizenship, in the same way as our National Galleries and Museums do" (12). Furthermore, in arguing for the protection of that which constitutes the parks, Harkin compares the landscape to invaluable gallery holdings:

> We talk of "priceless works of art" and build great fire-proof galleries to protect them. But are these marvellous works of nature less priceless? Do they not hold equal potentialities of enjoyment and refinement for the human race? Nature has created these landscapes in accordance with some divine law of harmony of her own. Will we ever be able to educate the man in the street to realize that it is as much a desecration to mar this harmony as to draw a razor across the "Mona Lisa." (*History* 13)

Harkin implies here that the institution of the park, its legal and physical boundaries, should work as a protective barrier (like a frame around a painting) between the works of art, the natural world delimited by the institution, and the outside world. Not simply biological archives, then, once the parks have been framed aesthetically, they become *cultural* institutions as both galleries and works of art.

Patin argues that American national parks "are essentially museological institutions, not because they preserve and conserve, but because they employ many of the techniques of display, exhibition, and presentation that have been used by museums to organize and regulate the vision of visitors" (42). While I contend that Canadian parks are museological also because of their roles as places to conserve and preserve what amount to living dioramas of wilderness, or, as Harkin advertises them, "portions of the

original North America" (*History* 9), Patin's theory holds true in Canadian parks, as well. Alexander Wilson's contention that roads and highways order the space through which they travel (29) supports Patin's argument, and adds to it that often the method of travelling through the landscape, or of travelling through this living museum, dictates the travellers' view of the landscape's utility: the road itself "promotes some landscapes and discourages others" (29) by encouraging the view that "the landscape you move through is subordinate to your destination" (29). By directing our gaze to particular landscapes, the parks ask us to consider the parks not as wholes, or as places to inhabit (even momentarily), but as a series of destinations or "places of interest" that should each be visited. The concept of travel is thus no longer the physically-engaging activity that demanded of explorers, for example, a certain amount of knowledge about their surroundings; instead, it is reduced to means of conveying the viewer from one aesthetically framed scene or visual goal to the next. Often the traveller is required to expend even less energy and attention than is the visitor to a gallery or museum.

The park framework and the administrative rhetoric promoting parks as museums create a discursive space in which visitors are invited to observe nature out of daily urban contexts, as a series of works of art. In the implicit dioramas of wilderness that roadside turnouts proffer, for example, the display techniques of the parks suggest that wilderness areas are, like museum specimens, curiosities that do not have contemporary cultural currency. As Urry argues, "[t]he development of heritage involves the stifling of the culture of the present" (*Tourist* 13); in the present context, when Jasper becomes a place of heritage, it becomes a place of static value—no longer a place of dynamic culture, but

a place in which cultural values are preset. Museological discourse thus encourages Canadians to view the natural world itself as an anachronism, as the staging ground for Canada's foundation and development but not for contemporary Canadian life. Even though this discourse encourages visitors to revere the natural world as it is represented within park boundaries, it also allows viewers to remain indifferent to the natural world as it exists in urban and/or contemporary cultural contexts. It is as if, as long as parks "house" wilderness, one is entitled or even taught to overlook the nature of one's daily surroundings, even one's own back yard.

Promotional materials consistently emphasize the Canadianness of the parks, but the values represented by them prove to be as international as they are distinctly national. In 1984, Jasper, Banff, Kootenay and Yoho national parks were collectively designated the Canadian Rocky Mountain Parks World Heritage Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).[38] In the application for the inclusion of the parks as a world heritage site, the parks are described as comprising "the most outstanding natural features of the Rocky Mountain Biogeographical Province of North America" (*Advisory* 7). By nominating the area as a prime biogeographical specimen of North America, this statement broadens the museological nature of the parks. They are specimens of Canadian landscape but representatives of global landscapes. Indeed, it can be argued that the national aspect of the parks is effectively diminished if not entirely superceded, inasmuch as the justification given by the

---

[38] Mount Robson, Mount Assiniboine, and Hamber provincial parks were added to the site in 1990.

Government of Canada for the parks' inclusion in the world heritage list notes that consideration of the land for its cultural properties was "not applicable" (*Advisory* 8). Instead the natural properties of the area, particularly the examples of "Earth's evolutionary history" (in the Burgess Shale), the "on-going and geological processes," and the "exceptional natural beauty" are the reasons for which the UNESCO board approved the site (*Advisory* 8-9).

In addition to the designation of the parks as a UNESCO world heritage site, contemporary Parks Canada publications enhance the status of these places as biogeographical specimens by emphasizing the role of the national parks system in maintaining global biodiversity. Beginning in the 1960s with the Glassco Commission's recommendations that the parks expand the scope of physiographic regions included within the system, and gaining momentum after the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (the document issued at what is popularly known as the Earth Summit, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992) declared that global biodiversity was seriously compromised, government agencies have attempted to secure land in the "39 terrestrial natural regions across Canada, each of which warrants representation in the national parks system" (*State* 20). The parks system as a whole, then, is gradually becoming an archive of biogeographical regions, a museum repository of biological and geographical specimens. This effort is illusory, of course, for, even as the land is being assembled to meet this representative goal, pressures on parks from their neighbours threaten the ecological integrity of what the parks aim to frame off and preserve.

The contemporary role of national parks as part of Canada's strategy to help mitigate the global decline in biological diversity has historical roots in the earliest constructions of the parks as places of salvation. In every era, parks have been established to offer a healing balm to the country's most urgent contemporaneous political issues: from 1885 to1911, they were the reservoirs of resources that could stimulate export industries, and reservoirs of scenery that could import tourist revenue; thereby they could "heal the economy" of the nation; from 1911 to 1936, the Harkin era, the parks represented spiritual renewal and patriotism, concepts that offered cures to what Ian McKay has identified as the "post-colonial dilemma confronting inter-war Canadian nationalists [:] . . . how to develop a powerful set of stories and symbols through which a British 'Dominion' . . . could become a Canadian nation" (qtd in Jessup 145); from 1936 to the early 1960s, the parks are discursively constructed as places that heal the soul and body, but also heal the country's ever-increasing urban population psychologically by reassuring visitors of both their relative comfort in urban centres and their ability to access easily relatively undeveloped spaces; and from the 1960s to the present, parks have served to mitigate if not remedy the psychological impact of the environmental crisis. As biogeographical sanctuaries that "Parks Canada holds . . . in trust for all time" (*Mountain* 3), these are implicit remedies to global environmental disaster—as long as parks exist, so do wilderness, biodiversity, and the illusion that nature has the ability to heal itself.

There is a danger in Thoreau's famous statement "In Wildness is the preservation of the World" (qtd in Cronon 69); if we allow national parks, as synecdoches of

Canadian wilderness areas, to be construed as the ultimate salvation of the planet, we license ourselves to ignore the consequences of our behaviour both within and without these sanctuaries. As this dissertation has argued, legislative and promotional materials not only allow but also encourage the public to view the parks as ecologically inviolable spaces despite the fact that ecology does not and can not recognize administrative boundaries and regulations. Ian Urquhart's edition, *Assault on the Rockies*, a collection of articles, essays, poems, and other documents pertaining to environmental controversies in Alberta, clearly outlines several of the contemporary threats to the parks' ecological integrity. As the case study of Cardinal River Coal's plans to build the Cheviot mine near Jasper National Park's eastern boundary shows, neither Parks Canada nor even UNESCO has the power to prevent developments beyond park boundaries regardless of how they might affect the park.[39]

Potential Pathways

While Patin's museum analogy corresponds well with constructions of the national parks as places in which travellers read the 'book of nature' only as it is interpreted by Parks Canada, his analogy fails to account for the fact that parks are places in which profound individual experiences, particularly experiences of self-identification, occur. In much of the twentieth-century non-fiction writing related to Jasper, authors turn their readers'

---

[39] Currently, *tourism* is that which prevents the mine from being fully developed; one month after Fording Canadian Coal Trust announced that the Elk Valley Coal Partnership would proceed with the development of the Cheviot mine, Ben Gadd appealed to the Alberta Environmental Appeals Board that the Cheviot development would affect negatively his ecotourism business. The case will be heard in Federal Court in May, 2005.

attention to the potential of the mountains to affect spiritually and/or psychologically those who live or travel extensively in them. Unlike the images of the parks in museological discourse, the constructions of mountains in non-fiction narratives tend to emphasize the dynamic qualities of the natural world. Furthermore, these narratives often imply that the power of the mountains to induce a spiritual and/or psychological transformation is contingent on the author's physical interaction with the natural world.

Jeffrey McCarthy argues that in mountaineering narratives, there are three dominant modes of imagining the natural world: "first, as an object to conquer; second, as a picturesque setting to admire; third, as the extension of a self whose identity is shaped by the interpenetration of the human and the natural" (179). In McCarthy's view, the first two modes are based upon the premise that humans are estranged from the natural world, and the third mode, because it occurs in narratives that feature their authors' engagement in intense physical activities that demand an "intense awareness," offers "a lived example of the type of human connection to the natural world philosophers theorize is possible, and ecologists insist is necessary" (179). Richard White, like McCarthy, argues that one can come into an awareness of the intrinsic connection between humans and the natural world through physical labour:

> The play we feel brings us closest to nature is play that mimics work. . . . Environmentalists like myself are most aware of nature when we backpack, climb, and ski. . . The labor of our bodies tells us the texture of snow and rock and dirt. We feel the grade of the incline. We know and care about weather. We

> are acutely conscious of our surroundings; we need to read the landscape to find water and shelter. (174)

Similar to the Lockean paradigm in which people may own land by working it, McCarthy's and White's conceptions of the natural world posit that people may identify with land by exerting themselves physically in it, or, more specifically, by learning to be able to "read the landscape" in order to live and move freely in it. However, a significant distinction between Lockean land ethics and those espoused by McCarthy and White is that the former are based on the premise that the ultimate form of identification with land is ownership, while the latter are based on the premise that the ultimate form of identification with land is the ability to sustain oneself in it.

The authors of wilderness narratives often describe their experiences as more meaningful than "tourist" experiences because of the personal insights they gain from intense physical exertion and/or the challenge of learning to understand and live with the land. Lawrence Burpee, for example, sets himself above the average tourist who visits Jasper ignorant of what is involved in a visit to the back-country. Concerned with the popularity of the park already in 1929, Burpee suggests that Jasper administrators could "restrict the number of people who are allowed to come into the Park . . .[or] limit the privilege to doctors, professors, engineers and a few nondescripts like myself who only use this as a jumping off place for the mountain trail" (*Jungling* 28). The question of limited access to the parks is raised again near the conclusion of the narrative, when Burpee's party travels into the Tonquin Valley and meets the warden living there who fears that the valley "will become too popular, when it becomes known what a gorgeous

place it is" (196). Signalling his obvious distaste for the very people who justify his job, the warden states that the winter is the best season in the Tonquin Valley because there are "no flies or mosquitoes or tourists" (196). Burpee and his unnamed warden do not criticize the park administrators directly but express clear anxieties about what is to become of the parks if they are developed for tourists who do not understand how to live in the back-country.

In her travel diaries, Margaret Fleming (1901-1999) expresses concerns similar to those of Burpee. While she does not address the over-popularity of the mountains, and while she takes advantage of front-country amenities and luxuries when they are available to her, she expresses implicit disdain for tourists who do not know how to experience the mountains "properly." In her 1945 diary, Fleming records how she and her sister bicycled from Jasper to Banff, and she echoes Harkin's position that "those who penetrate them [the mountains] on foot or horseback enjoy an experience which those who whizz through them in cars can never know" (Harkin, *History* 13). Having been told by a motorist that "there was not much up and down to Sunwapta," Fleming asks, "What do they know who only in motors ride?" (62). Her indignation seems well earned because she and her sister had spent the day learning that "signs reading curving road meant always up" (61). Two days later, Fleming admonishes herself for accepting a ride in a truck: "We should really have bicycled those 15 miles as the views are superb of all the 11,000-foot giants north of the Columbia Icefield" (64). The free ride notwithstanding, Fleming ties her physical exertion to her sense of complete satisfaction at being in the mountains at the end of the day: "The morning's effort is forgotten and

nothing remains but a pleasant drowsiness as *we be here* on top of the world, knowing that from here flows the Athabaska [sic] to the Pacific, the Saskatchewan eventually to the Atlantic and then to the Arctic" (66; emphasis added). Despite its lack of accuracy regarding the courses of the rivers, this entry speaks of Fleming's sense of being in the world, in terms of her immediate location and of all of the places ecologically connected to that location.

Sid Marty's *Men for the Mountains* (1978) continues the discursive trend that renders paramount practical, physical experience in the parks. Although Marty worked as a warden for a dozen years (From 1966 to 1978), his position with respect to tourism and to government authority is, at best, conflicted. Readers may observe the subtle process of his own apprehension of the value of physical experiences in the mountains. From his beginnings as "a lunatic who has to think he's about to die in order to feel he's alive" (21), Marty struggles to learn how to handle tourists, his horses, and his responsibilities. Only long after abandoning his desire to educate men like the skier whose "range of vision was limited only to a horizon punctuated by lift towers" (261) does he become sufficiently *experienced* to place explosive caps in snow cornices to prevent "greenhorns" from tempting fate (265). His "non-fiction" memoir of his years in the parks service echoes the structure of Burpee's travel narrative in that it opens with an account of a visit paid to him by the ghosts of some famous pioneer wardens. George Busby, the former Jasper warden, asks Marty how he's "gonna treat them bureau-craps and windbags. . . . Them with the shiny-assed breeches and the soft hands. Always figurin' and schemin' how to build another road into the high country. Them that always

smiles with a closed mouth so a man can't see their forked tongue" (11). Aside from the obvious disparagement of the integrity of parks officials' general motives, the reference to soft hands clearly indicates that the officials are denigrated for not knowing how to live off the land, how to interact with wilderness in a physical sense.

In each of these texts, the narrator questions what it means to interact directly with the landscape. In that they all implicitly validate their own interactions, like Mary Schaffer who was a "true camper" because she knew enough to throw her jam jars into the river, they suggest that intense physical connection with the landscape is a valid form of interaction and should be given priority over distinctly "tourist" forms of interaction—the sightseeing or commercial activities of those who do not physically understand the land through which they travel. These writers seem to be appealing to visitors to re-embrace the aesthetic of the sublime, an aesthetic that is as much felt as it is observed. As Outram noted in 1906, "mountains are a feeling" (vii). And, as explorer and mountaineer Walter D. Wilcox (1869-1949) stated in 1896,

> [t]hose who have spent a few weeks or months in a mountain region, such as that of the Canadian Rockies, must soon come to feel an interest in those more striking features of the wilderness which have been constantly revealed. The special character of the mountains, which have given so much pleasure; the climate, on which, in a great measure, every action depends; the fauna, which adds so much of interest in those who have passed a short period of time surrounded by nature in her primeval state. They spend their time to little advantage who do not thus become interested in the wonders of nature. (258)

Wilcox does not over-emphasize the visual aspects of the landscape, but notes instead the reciprocity that occurs between humans and the landscape when the former must actually live in the wilderness. The landscape here is not a wilderness destination but a temporary residence for which Wilcox feels a sense of awe or wonder, and in which his interest in nature is as useful to him as it is a source of pleasure.

In the spirit of UNESCO's declaration that the Rocky Mountain Parks World Heritage Site belongs "to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located" ("World" n.pag.), these parks should be considered not global "destinations," but elements of a global web of ecosystems. In this respect, these parks are like every other place on the planet; they are connected to and affected by the integrity of all contiguous ecosystems. In my view, Jasper National Park should be viewed in its global context, not as a specimen of what remains undestroyed by the advance of industrialization, but as a place in which the readily observable evidence of geological and other non-human processes may inspire in humans a sense of the world-wide continuity of natural systems, and of the fact, however paradoxical, that our global interest in the natural world may be at once useful and pleasurable. By considering that the world in its entirety is subject to the same forces as national parks, perhaps we may make greater efforts to treat the whole world as a sanctuary, or, in the words of Lawrence Buell, we may come to "better ways of imagining nature and humanity's relation to it" (*Environmental* 2).

Works Cited

Abbreviations used:

CN	Canadian National Railway
CNR	Canadian Northern Railway
GTPR	Grand Trunk Pacific Railway
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
PAA	Provincial Archives of Alberta

Armbruster, Karla. "Creating the World We Must Save: The Paradox of Television Nature Documentaries." *Writing the Environment: Ecocriticism and Literature.* Ed. Richard Kerridge and Neil Sammells. London: Zed Books, 1998. 218-38.

Barnard-Harvey, P.C. to J.B. Harkin, 3 Mar. 1915. Dominion Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 73, file J32.

Bella, Leslie. *Parks for Profit.* Montréal: Harvest House, 1987.

Bentley, D.M.R. "The Absence of Neoconservatism and Ecocriticism in Canadian Literary Studies." *Canadian Poetry: Studies, Documents, Reviews* 42 (Spring/Summer 1998): 5-16.

Berger, Carl. *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada : The 1982 Joanne Goodman Lectures.* Toronto: UTP, 1983.

Birrell, Andrew. "The North American Boundary Commission: Three Photographic Expeditions, 1872-74." *History of Photography.* 20.2 (Summer 1996): 113-21.

---. "Survey Photography in British Columbia, 1858-1900." *BC Studies* 52 (Winter

1981-21): 39-60.

Black, Samuel. *A Journal of A Voyage From Rocky Mountain Portage in Peace River to the Sources of Finlays Branch and North West Ward in Summer 1824.* Ed. E. E. Rich. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1955.

Bouchard, Sylvie. *Terminology Used by Parks Canada.* Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1997.

Bridgland, M.P. and R. Douglas. *Description of & Guide to Jasper Park.* Ottawa: Dept. of the Interior, 1917.

Brooks, Lloyd, to Michael M. Kresiberg, 22 Dec. 1965. National Parks Branch, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol. 1622, file J121 pt. 5. Microfilm reel T-14299.

Brown, Robert Craig. "The Doctrine of Usefulness: Natural Resource and National Park Policy in Canada, 1887-1914." J.G. Nelson and R.C. Scace. 94-110.

Buell, Lawrence. *Writing for and Endangered World: Literature, Culture and the Environment in the US and Beyond.* Cambridge: Belknap, 2001.

- - - . *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap P of Harvard UP, 1995.

Burpee, Lawrence J. *Jungling in Jasper.* Ottawa: Graphic, 1929.

- - -. *Among the Canadian Alps.* Toronto: Bell & Cockburn, 1914.

Byerly, Alison. "The Uses of Landscape: The Picturesque Aesthetic and the National Park System." Glotfelty and Fromm. 52-68.

Byshe, J.H. to E. Drake, Re. Sanitarium Site, 6 Jul. 1910. Forestry Branch, Dept. of the

Interior. LAC RG 84, vol 626, file 574075. Microfilm reel T-8103.

The Call of Untrodden Ways. Ottawa: Dept. of the Interior, 1925.

Canada. *An Act to Amend the National Parks Act: Bill C-30* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, Canada, 1988. 11 Nov. 2002 <http://parkscanada.pch.gc.ca/library/acts/NPact_e.htm>.

---. "Dominion Lands Act, 1872." *Statutes of Canada*, 35 Victoria, Chap. 23. Assented to 14 Apr. 1872. Rpt in Waiser and De Brou. 56-57.

---. "Dominion Lands Act, 1883, With the Amendments and Additions Thereto." *Statutes of Canada*, 47 Victoria, Chap. 25. Assented to 19 Apr. 1884. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1884. Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, file 9_03762. Early Canadiana Online. <http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/ItemRecord/9_03762?id=b8dfddf1c9a6c327>.

---. National Parks Act, 1930. *Statutes of Canada*, 20-21 George V, Chap. 33. Assented to 30 May 1930. Rpt in Waiser and De Brou. 299-302.

---. National Parks Act, 1998. *Parks Canada Acts.* Parks Canada. 11 Nov. 2002 <http://parkscanada.pch.gc.ca/library/acts/NPact_e.htm>.

---. National Parks Act, 2000, c.32. Assented to 20 Oct., 2000. 31 Aug. 2004. 14 Sept. 2005 <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/n-14.01/text.html>.

---. "Rocky Mountains Park Act, 1887." *Statutes of Canada*, 50-51 Victoria, Chap. 32. Assented to 23 Jun. 1887. Rpt in Waiser and De Brou. 154-55.

---. "Rupert's Land Act, 1869." *Statutes of Canada*, 32-33 Victoria, Chap. 3. Assented to 22 Jun. 1869. Rpt. in Waiser and De Brou. 24-25.

Canadian Alpine Journal 1- (1907-).

Canadian Heritage. *State of the Parks Report Tabled.* News Release. 22 Jul. 1998. 5 Nov. 2004 <http://www/pch.gc.ca/bin/News.dll/View?Code=8NR060E&Lang=E>.

---. *Guiding Principles and Operational Policies.* Ottawa: Canadian Heritage; Parks Canada; Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1994.

Canadian National Railways. *Exclusive Photogravure Views of Jasper Park Lodge, Alberta & Minaki Lodge, Ontario.* Montreal: CN, 1928.

---. *Jasper National Park.* N.p.: CN, 1927.

---. *Jasper National Park, Alberta, Canada: The Playground of the Rockies.* N.p.: CN, 1925.

---. *Jasper National Park in the Canadian Rockies.* Montreal: CN, 1937.

---. *Jasper Park Lodge: Canada's Distinctive Bungalow Hotel.* N.p.: CN, 1935.

---. *Jasper Park Lodge: In the Heart of Jasper National Park, Canadian Rockies.* N.p.: CN, 1929.

---. *Jasper Park Lodge, Jasper National Park, Alberta, in the Heart of the Canadian Rockies, Owned and Operated by Canadian National Railways.* Montreal: CN, 1931.

--- and Charleen Simpson. *Jasper Park Lodge in the Canadian Rockies.* Montreal: CN, 1935.

---. *Jasper Park Lodge on Lac Beauvert.* Toronto: CN, 1925.

---. *The Jasper Way through the Canadian Rockies.* N.p.: CN, 1951

Canadian Northern Railways. *The Canadian Rockies Through the Yellowhead Pass:*

Canadian Northern All the Way. N.p: CNR, 1916.

---, James Oliver Curwood, and Charles D. Walcott. *The New Way Through the Canadian Rockies: Jasper Park Mount Robson Route*. Toronto: CNR, 1921.

Carruthers, Jane. "Nationhood and National Parks." Eds. Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin. 125-38.

Cautley, R.W. "Report re. Urgent Necessity for Completion of Park Surveys, 13 Mar. 1928." Topographic Surveys Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 655, file B2-1. Microfilm reel T-11001.

Cheadle, Walter B. *Cheadle's Journal of Trip Across Canada, 1862-1863*. Ottawa: Graphic, 1931.

Chrétien, Jean. "Opening Address: Our Evolving National Parks System." Nelson and Scace. 7-14.

Christensen, Lisa. *A Hiker's Guide to Art of the Canadian Rockies*. 1996. Calgary: Fifth House, 1999.

---. *A Hiker's Guide to the Rocky Mountain Art of Lawren Harris*. Calgary, Fifth House, 2000.

---. *Lake O'Hara Art of J.E.H. Macdonald*. Clagary: Fifth House, 2003.

Cliffe, Sydney H., to Robert J.C. Stead, Director of National Parks Publicity, 29 Nov.,1941. RG 84, vol 262, file J109.

Coleman, J.R.B., to J.M. Harrison, 26 Apr. 1961. National Parks Branch, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol.169, file U109-23 / J108. Microfilm reel T-12923.

Cronon, William. "The Trouble with Wilderness." *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. Ed. William Cronon. New York: W.W. Norton, 1996. 69-90.

Darwin, Charles. *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*. Corrected ed. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1860.

Deville, E.G., to J.B. Harkin, 19 Jul. 1920. Topographic Surveys Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 88, vol. 361, file 16545.

- - - to M.P. Bridgland, D.L.S., 13 Nov. 1916. Topographic Surveys Branch, Dept. of Interior. LAC, RG 88, vol. 5, file 18761.

- - -, 5 Sept. 1916. Topographic Surveys Branch, Dept. of Interior. LAC, RG 88, vol. 353, file 15756.

- - -, 9 Nov. 1916. Topographic Surveys Branch, Dept. of Interior. LAC, RG 88, vol. 353, file 15756.

- - -. "Memorandum: Naming of Features on Sketch Maps and Block Outline Surveys." 1916. Topographic Surveys Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 88, vol. 148, file 15756.

Dinsdale, Walter, to Walter Bannister, 8 Mar. 1963. National Parks Branch, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol. 1622 file J121 pt 5. Microfilm reel T-14299.

Duxbury, J.F. to J.R.B. Coleman, 25 Sept. 1963. LAC, RG 84, vol. 1622 file J121 pt 5. Microfilm reel T-14299.

Fidler, Peter. *A Southern Alberta Bicentennial: A Look at Peter Fidler's Journal,*

1792-93: Journal of a Journey over Land from Buckingham House to the Rocky Mountains in 1792&3. Ed. Bruce Haig. Lethbridge: Historic Trails West, 1991.

Fleming, Margaret. *Mountain Diaries—The Alpine Adventures of Margaret Fleming 1929-1980.* Eds. PearlAnn Reichwein and Karen Fox. Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2004.

Foster, Janet. *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada.* Toronto: UTP, 1978.

"General Statement of the Duties of the Topographical Surveys Branch." 21 Mar. 1921. Topographical Surveys Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 88, vol. 223, file 17494.

Gibson, R.A. "Memorandum." 15 Jan. 1938. National Parks Branch, Dept. of Mines and Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol. 11, file J41. Microfilm reel T-12174.

Gilpin, William. *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape; To Which is Added a Poem: On Landscape Painting.* London: Printed for R. Blamire, 1792.

Glickman, Susan. *The Picturesque & the Sublime: A Poetics of the Canadian Landscape.* Montreal: McGill-Queens UP, 1998.

Glotfelty, Cheryll Burgess. Introduction. Ed. Glotflety and Fromm xv-xxxvii.

- - - and Harold Fromm, eds. *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology.* Athens, GA: U of Georgia, 1996.

Gorman, Jack. "Tourist Drive Sought by Cameron: New Facilities in Parks Held Vital Need." *Calgary Herald* 27 Feb. 1964. LAC, RG 84, vol 169, file U109-23 / J108.

Microfilm reel T-12923.

Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. *8,000 Free Homesteads in 1911 Along the Lines of the Grand Trunk Pacific Ry.* Winnipeg: General Passenger Dept., GTPR, 1911.

---. *The Canadian Rockies: Yellowhead Pass Route.* Montreal: Herald, 1911.

---. *The Canadian Rockies: Yellowhead Pass Route.* 2nd ed. Montreal: Herald, 1913.

---. *Lines of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in Western Canada.* N.p.: GTPR, 1912.

---. *The North American Alps: Canadian Rockies, Mount Robson Route.* N.p.: GTPR, 1916.

Grant, Revd. George M. *Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition Through Canada in 1872.* 1873. Facsimile. Toronto: Coles, 1979.

Great Plains Research Consultants. "Jasper National Park: A Social and Economic History." 1985. Typescript copy, Jasper National Park Library, Jasper.

Griffiths, Tom and Libby Robin, eds. *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies.* Edinburgh: Keele UP, 1997.

Haig-Brown, Roderick. "The Ramparts We Watch." *Victoria Daily Times* 27 Sept. 1960, n.pag. LAC, RG 84, vol 169, file U109-23 / J108. Microfilm reel T-12923.

Harkin, J.B. to P.C. Barnard-Harvey, 12 Mar. 1915. Dominion Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 73, file J32.

--- to Percy M Buttler, General Agent Canadian National – Grand Trunk Railways, 4 Oct. 1923. Dominion Parks Branch, Dept. of Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 148, file J250.

--- to W.W. Cory, 8 Jun. 1923. Dominion Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 169, file U109-23. Microfilm reel T-12923.

---, 22 Nov. 1929. Dominion Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 190, file

U113-39/1.

- - - to Howard Douglas, Chief Superintendent of Parks, 17 Oct. 1911. Dominion Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 627, file 574319. Microfilm reel T-8103.

- - - to R.A. Gibson, 9 Sept. 1930. National Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 169, file U109-23. Microfilm reel T-12923.

- - - to Maynard Rogers, Superintendent Jasper Park, 4 Oct. 1923. Dominion Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 148, file J250.

- - -. *The History and Meaning of the National Parks of Canada: Extracts from the Papers of the late Jas. B. Harkin, first Commissioner of the National Parks of Canada.* Saskatoon: H.R. Larson, 1957.

- - -. "Memorandum re. Dominion Parks, Their Value and Ideals." 20 Mar. 1914. Dominion Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC MG 30 E 169, vol 2.

- - -. "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks, Ottawa, 4 Jul. 1912." *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior*, 3 George V, Sessional Paper 25, A. 1913. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913. 3-9.

- - -. "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks, Ottawa, 30 Sept. 1913." *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior*, 4 George V, Sessional Paper 25, A. 1914. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1914. 3-15.

- - -. "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks, Ottawa, 30 Jun. 1915." *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior*, 6 George V, Sessional Paper 25, A. 1916. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1916. 3-8.

---. "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks." *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior*. 1930. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1930. 92-116.

Hart, E.J, introd. and ed. *A Hunter of Peace: Mary T.S. Schäffer's Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies, with her heretofore unpublished account 1911 Expedition to Maligne Lake*. Banff: Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, 1980.

---. *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism*. Banff: Altitude, 1983.

Henday, Anthony. *York Factory to the Blackfeet Country: The Journal of Anthony Henday, 1754-55*. Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, 1907.

Henderson, Gavin. "James Bernard Harkin: The Father of Canadian National Parks." *Borealis* 5.2 (Fall 1994): 28-33.

Higgs, Eric. *Nature by Design: People, Natural Process, and Ecological Restoration*. Cambridge: MIT, 2003.

---, et al. "Culture, Ecology and Restoration in Jasper National Park." Culture, Ecology and Restoration Project, Dept. of Anthropology, U of Alberta, 1999.

Jasper Park Development Committee. "Memorandum to the Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, Edmonton, Mar. 1939." LAC, RG 84, vol. 73, file J28.

---. "Statement to A.E. Warren, Vice President Western Lines, Canadian National Railways, 13 Mar. 1939." LAC, RG 84, vol. 73, file J28.

---. "Submission of the Jasper Park Development Committee of Edmonton to the Hon. J. Allison Glen, Minister of Mines and Resources, in [sic] Behalf of Jasper Park and the Edmonton-Jasper Highway, During His Visit to Edmonton, Sept. 3, 1946." LAC, RG

84, vol. 73, file J28.

- - - to R.C. Vaughan, 18 Sept. 1944. LAC, RG 84, Vol 73, file J28.

- - -. "What Jasper National Park Urgently Needs: Report of Investigations and Recommendations of the Jasper Park Development Committee on Safety, Town Planning, Beautification and Modernization Requirements of Jasper National Park, Alberta." LAC, RG 84, vol. 73, file J28.

Jessup, Lynda. "The Group of Seven and the Tourist Landscape in Western Canada, or The More Things Change . . .." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37.1 (Spring 2002): 144-79.

Jobs @ Parks Canada / Wardens. Parks Canada Agency. 1 Mar. 2005. <http://www.pc.gc.ca/agen/empl/itm3-/emp3_e.asp>.

Kitchen, Paul. "The Call for a National Library." *National Library News* 32.5 (May 2000). 7 Jan 2004. 9 Feb. 2005. <www.collectionscanada.ca/bulletin/015017-0005-02-e.html>.

Kreisberg, Michael M. to Planning Supervisor, Dept. of Parks & Natural Resources, 12 Dec. 1965. LAC, RG 84, vol. 1622, file J121 pt. 5. Microfilm reel T-14299.

Laing, Arthur to F.E. Vermeulen, 20 Apr. 1966. Dept. of Natural Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol 169, file U109-23 / J108. Microfilm reel T-12923.

Lloyd, Brooks, to Michael M. Kreisberg, 22 Dec. 1965. National Parks Branch, Dept. of Northern Affair and National Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol. 1622, file J121 pt. 5. Microfilm reel T-14299.

Locke, John. *Two Treatises on Government.* 1690. Ed. Thomas I. Cook. New York: Hafner, 1947.

Luxton, Eleanor G. *Banff: Canada's First National Park: A History and a Memory of Rocky Mountain Park.* Banff: Summerthought, 1975.

Lyell, Charles. *Principles of Geology or, The Modern Changes of the Earth and its Inhabitants Considered as Illustrative of Geology.* Rev. ed. New York: D. Appleton, 1854.

Lyons, R.D. to Evelyn Ashley. 5 Nov. 1883. Colonial Office. LAC, RG 15, vol. 311, file 69113. Microfilm reel T-13029.

MacFayden, C. to District Inspector of Forest Reserves, 15 Jan. 1916. Forestry Branch, Dept. of Interior. LAC RG 39, vol. 265, file 39578.

MacGregor, James Grierson. *Behold the Shining Mountains; Being an Account of the Travels of Anthony Henday, 1754-1755.* Edmonton: Applied Arts, 1954.

- - -. *Vision of an Ordered Land: The Story of the Dominion Land Survey.* Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1981.

MacLaren, I.S. "Cultured Wilderness in Jasper National Park." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34.4 (Fall 1999): 7-58.

- - -. *The Influence of Eighteenth-Century British Landscape Aesthetics on Narrative and Pictorial Responses to the British North American North and West, 1769-1872.* Diss. University of Western Ontario, 1982.

Marty, Sid. *Men for the Mountains.* Toronto: McClelland, 1978.

Mazel, David. *American Literary Environmentalism.* Athens, GA: U of Georgia P, 2000.

McCarthy, Jeffrey. "A Theory of Place in North American Mountaineering." *Philosophy & Geography* 5.2 (2002): 179-94.

McConnell, R.G. to E.G. Deville, 8 Mar. 1917. Topographic Surveys Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 88, vol. 361, file 16545.

McKibben, Bill. *The End of Nature*. New York: Random House, 1989.

McLaggan, John W., to R.H. Campbell, 2 Mar. 1910. Forestry Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 39, vol. 265, file 39578.

McNaughton, Margaret. *Overland to Cariboo: An Eventful Journey of Canadian Pioneers to the Gold-Fields of British Columbia in 1862*. Toronto: W. Briggs, 1896.

"Memorandum Re: Transportation, Medicine-Maligne Lakes, Rainbow Tours, Ltd." 12 Jul. 1947. National Parks Branch, Dept. of Mines and Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol. 11, file J41. Microfilm reel T-12174.

"Memorandum: Public Information and the National Parks." 21 Apr. 1964. LAC, RG 84, vol.169, file U109-23 / J108. Microfilm reel T-12923.

Milton, William Fitzwilliam, Viscount. *An Expedition Across the Rocky Mountains into British Columbia, by the Yellow Head or Leather Pass*. London: Peter and Galpin, 1865.

Minister of the Interior to Governor General in Council, 6 Apr. 1910. Forestry Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 39, vol. 265, file 39578.

Muir, R.D., to G.M. Stirrett, 26 Mar. 1964. National Parks Branch, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol.169, file U109-23 / J108. Microfilm reel T-12923.

National and Historic Parks Branch. *National Parks Policy*. Ottawa: Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969.

Nelson, J.G. Nelson and R.C. Scace, eds. *The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow*. Vol 1. Calgary: U of Calgary P, 1968.

Octeau, Claudia. *Local Community Participation in the Establishment of National Parks: Planning for Cooperation*. Diss. U of British Columbia, 1999. 7 Feb. 2005. <http://www.scarp.ubc.ca/thesis/octeau>.

Outram, James. *In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies*. London: Macmillan, 1906.

Palliser, John. Further Papers Relative to the Exploration by the Expedition Under Captain Palliser. New York: Greenwood, 1969.

Parks Canada. *Backcountry Visitor's Guide: Jasper National Park of Canada 2002*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 2002.

---. *The "Bare" Campsite Program*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 2003.

---. *In Trust for Tomorrow: A Management Framework for Four Mountains Parks*. Ottawa: Parks Canada, Environment Canada, 1986.

---. *Jasper Park Lodge: Long Range Development Plan, Mar. 1996*. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1981.

---. *Keep the Wild in Wildlife*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 199[?].

---. *The Mountain Guide to Banff, Jasper, Kootenay, Yoho, Glacier, Mount Revelstoke National Parks of Canada 2004-2005*. Calgary: Trans-Continental; Parks Canada, 2004.

---. *Report of the Panel on the Ecological Integrity of Canada's National Parks, Apr. 2000*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 2000.

---. *State of Protected Heritage Areas 1999 Report*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 2000.

---. *Summer Trails: Jasper National Park of Canada.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 2002.

---. "Welcome." Advertisement in *Summer in Jasper 2003.* Jasper: Brian Bentt, 2003. 6.

Patin, Thomas. "Exhibitions and Empire: National Parks and the Performance of Manifest Destiny." *Journal of American Culture* 22.1 (Spring 1999): 41-60.

Pererra, L., to Howard Douglas, 26 Jul. 1911. Dominion Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 627, file 574319. Microfilm reel T-8103.

Pratt, Larry, and Matina Karvellas. "Nature and Nation: Herder, Myth and Cultural Nationalism in English Canada." *National History: A Canadian Journal of Enquiry and Opinion* 1.1 (1997): 59-77.

Pratt, Walter, to S.M. Rogers, 20 Apr. 1926. LAC, RG 84, vol. 148, file J250.

Premier's Papers, Cautley report to Charlesworth, 1 Jun. 1928. PAA Acc. 69.289, file 488. Microfilm reel 51.

"Press Release: Habbakuk Project, 11 Mar. 1946" National Parks Branch, Dept. of Mines and Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol 148, file J165.

"Provisional Administrative Outline." *Records of the Department of the Interior* LAC RG 15

Reichwein, PearlAnn. "Holiday at the Banff School of Fine Arts: The Cinematic Production of Culture, Nature, and Nation in the Canadian Rockies, 1945-1952." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39.1 (Winter 2005): 49-73

--- and Karen Fox, eds. *Mountain Diaries—The Alpine Adventures of Margaret Fleming 1929-1980.* Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2004.

Rhemtulla, Jeanine. "Eighty Years of Change: The Montane Vegetation of Jasper National Park." MSc Thesis. Edmonton: U of Alberta, 1999.

Ricou, Laurence. *Vertical Man, Horizontal World: Man and Landscape in Canadian Prairie Fiction.* Vancouver: UBCP, 1973.

Rogers, S.M. to J.B. Harkin, 24 Oct. 1913. Dominion Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 73, file J32.

---. 14 Jun. 1933. National Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol 11, file J41 pt 1. Microfilm reel T-12173.

--- to Walter Pratt, 26 Apr. 1926. Dominion Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 148, file J250.

Roots, E.F. to Homer S. Robinson, 1 Apr. 1959. National Parks Branch, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol. 161, file U113-117 pt. 1, reel T-12917.

Rosendale, Steven, ed. *The Greening of Literary Scholarship.* Iowa City, Iowa: UIP, 2002.

Runte, Alfred. *National Parks: The American Experience.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1987.

Schäffer, Mary T. S. *Old Indian Trails: Incidents of Camp and Trail Life, Covering Two Years' Exploration through the Rocky Mountains of Canada.* Toronto: William Briggs, 1911.

---. *Untrodden Paths in the Canadian Rockies.* Minneapolis: Soo Line, 191[?].

---. "Haunts of the Wild Flowers of the Canadian Rockies." *Canadian Alpine Journal.* 3 (1911):131-35.

Slemon, Stephen. "Climbing Mount Everest: Postcolonialism in the Culture of Ascent." Canadian Literature 158 (1998): 15-35.

Smart, J., to Jasper National Park Superintendent 27 Aug 1945. National Parks Branch, Dept.

of Mines and Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol. 11, file J41. Microfilm reel T-12174.

---, 8 Dec. 1941. National Parks Branch, Dept. of Mines and Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol. 11, file J41. Microfilm reel T-12174.

--- to R.A. Gibson, 21 Feb. 1942. National Parks Branch, Dept. of Mines and Resources. LAC, RG 84, vol. 148, file J165.

Snape, J.B., to S.M. Rogers, 22 Apr. 1933. National Parks Branch, Dept. of the Interior. LAC, RG 84, vol. 11, file J41 pt. 1. Microfilm reel T-12173.

Southesk, James Carnegie, Earl of. *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains: A Diary and Narrative of Travel, Sport, and Adventure.* Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874.

Spry, Irene M. *The Palliser Expedition: An Account of John Palliser's British North American Expedition.* Toronto: Macmillan, 1963.

--- ed. *The Papers of the Palliser Expedition, 1857-1860.* Toronto: Champlain Society, 1968.

Stead, Robert J.C. to Sydney H. Cliffe, 16 Dec.,1941. RG 84, vol 262, file J109.

Stutfield, Hugh E.M., and J. Norman Collie. *Climbs and Explorations in the Canadian Rockies.* London: Longmans, 1903.

Sutter, Paul S. *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement.* Seattle: U of Washington, 2002.

Taylor, C.J. "Legislating Nature: The National Parks Act of 1930." *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens, vol XIII, 1991: To See Ourselves / To Save Ourselves: Ecology and Culture in Canada.* Ed. Rowland Lorimer *et al.* Montreal: Association for

Canadian Studies, 1991. 125-37.

Thompson, David. *Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812.* Ed. Victor G. Hopwood. Toronto: Macmillan, 1971.

Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden.* 1854. Annotated ed. Ed. Jeffrey S. Cramer. New Haven: Yale UP, 2004.

Tippett, Maria, and Douglas Cole. *From Desolation to Splendour: Changing Perceptions of the British Columbia Landscape.* Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1977.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). *Advisory Body Evaluation: Nomination to the World Heritage List.* 23 Dec. 1983. 25 Mar. 2005. <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/304.pdf>.

---. "World Heritage Centre." 29 Mar. 2005. 29 Mar. 2005 <http://whc.unesco.org/pg.cfm?cid=160>.

"Urge Parks Be Separated from Northern Affairs." *Crag and Canyon* 10 Feb. 1960, n.pag. LAC, RG 84, vol.169, file U109-23 / J108. Microfilm reel T-12923.

Urquhart, Ian, ed. *Assault on the Rockies: Environmental Controversies in Alberta.* Edmonton: Rowan, 1998.

Urry, John. *Consuming Places.* London: Routledge, 1995.

---. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies.* London: Sage, 1990.

Van Noy, Rick. "Surveying the Sublime: Literary Cartographers and the Spirit of Place." Rosendale 181-206.

Vermeulen, Fred E. to Arthur Laing, 5 Mar. 1966. LAC, RG 84, vol 169, file U109-23 / J108. Microfilm reel T-12923.

Waiser, Bill, and Dave De Brou, eds. *Documenting Canada: A History of Modern Canada in Documents*. Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1992.

Watkins, M.H. *Approaches to Canadian Economic History*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.

White, Richard. "'Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?': Work and Nature." Cronon 171-85.

Wilcox, Walter D. *Camping in the Canadian Rockies: An Account of Camp Life in the Wilder Parts of the Canadian Rocky Mountains, Together with a Description of the Region about Banff, Lake Louise and Glacier, and a Sketch of the Early Explorations*. New York: Putnam, 1896.

Williams, M.B. *The Banff Jasper Highway, Descriptive Guide*. Hamilton, H.R. Larson, 1948.

---. *The Heart of the Rockies*. Hamilton, H.R. Larson, 19[??].

---. *The Heart of the Rockies and Selkirks*. Ottawa: Dominion Parks Branch, 1921.

---. *The Heart of the Rockies and Selkirks*. 2nd ed. Ottawa: Dept of the Interior, 1924.

---. *The Heart of the Rockies and Selkirks*. 3rd ed. Ottawa: Dept of the Interior, 1924.

---. *The Heart of the Rockies and Selkirks*. 4th ed. Ottawa: Dept of the Interior, 1929.

---. *Jasper National Park*. Ottawa: Dept of the Interior, 1928.

---. *Jasper National Park: A Descriptive Guide*. Hamilton, ON: H.R. Larson, 1949.

---. *Jasper Trails*. National Parks Branch. Ottawa: Dept of Interior, 1930.

Wilson, Alexander. *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1991.

Wright, Richard Thomas. *Overlanders: The Epic Cross-Canada Treks for Gold, 1858-1862.* Williams Lake, B.C.: Winter Quarters, 2000.

Zeller, Suzanne Elizabeth. *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation.* Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1987.

---. *Land of Promise, Promised Land: The Culture of Victorian Science in Canada.* Canadian Historical Association Booklets no. 56. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1996.

Jasper-related Railway Pamphlets

Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Pamphlets:

1911	The Canadian Rockies: Yellowhead Pass Route
1913	The Canadian Rockies: Yellowhead Pass Route
1916	The North American Alps: Canadian Rockies, Mount Robson Route

Canadian Northern Pamphlets

1916	The Canadian Rockies Through the Yellowhead Pass: Canadian Northern All the Way
1921	The New Way Through the Canadian Rockies: Jasper Park Mount Robson Route

Canadian National Railway Pamphlets

1921	The New Way Through the Canadian Rockies: Jasper Park Mount Robson Route
1925	Jasper National Park, Alberta, Canada: The Playground of the Rockies
1925	Jasper Park Lodge on Lac Beauvert
1927	Jasper National Park (illustrated by Group of 7)
1928	Exclusive Photogravure Views of Jasper Park Lodge, Alberta & Minaki Lodge, Ontario. Subtitle to JPL section: Jasper National Park: Playground of a Continent
1929	Jasper Park Lodge: In the Heart of Jasper National Park, Canadian Rockies
1931	Jasper Park Lodge, Jasper National Park, Alberta, in the Heart of the Canadian Rockies, Owned and Operated by Canadian National Railways.
1935	Jasper Park Lodge: Canada's Distinctive Bungalow Hotel
1935	Jasper Park Lodge in the Canadian Rockies
1937	Jasper National Park in the Canadian Rockies
1951	The Jasper Way through the Canadian Rockies