The Layout of the Land; the Canadian Pacific Railway's photographic advertising and the travels of Frank Randall Clarke, 1920-1929.

Anne Lynn Becker
Department of Art History and Communications Studies
McGill University, Montreal
August 2005

A thesis submitted to McGill University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-22587-5
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-22587-5

Table of Contents

English and French Abstracts

This thesis examines the role of photography in making the Canadian Pacific Railway company (CPR) an integral part of Canadian mythology. It focuses on the company's photographic advertising in the 1920s, and the ways in which its increasingly nationalistic transcontinental brochures framed the country, and equated the act of travelling with nation-building and national identity.

The CPR's tourist brochures established a visual vocabulary of the travelling experience, which was readily employed by individuals such as Montreal journalist Frank Randall Clarke. Clarke was sponsored by the CPR to travel across the country in the summer of 1929. His journalistic writing and personal photograph album allow for a rich analysis of the visual culture of the period, and they will be used to illustrate the ways in which the CPR represented Canadian progress, immigration, and tourism.

* * *

Ce mémoire se penche sur le rôle de la photographie dans l'élaboration de la compagnie de chemin de fer du Canadien Pacifique (CPR) en tant que partie intégrante de la mythologie canadienne. Il examine les photos publicitaires que la compagnie a lancées dans les années 1920, et étudie comment ses dépliants transcontinentaux et leur caractère de plus en plus nationaliste ont contribué à configurer la trame du pays, et ce en assimilant l'acte de voyager à la construction du pays et de son identité nationale.

Les dépliants touristiques de CPR ont en effet instauré un vocabulaire visuel de l'expérience du voyage, que d'aucuns, dont le journaliste montréalais Frank Randall Clarke, n'ont pas hésité à adopter. C'est sous les auspices de CPR que Clarke parcourt le pays d'un bout à l'autre pendant l'été de 1929. Ses chroniques et son album de photos personnel dévoilent et participent au développement d'une multitude d'aspects de la culture visuelle de l'époque. Ils nous seront donc d'un précieux secours en vue d'illustrer les manières dont CPR a représenté l'essor, l'immigration et le tourisme canadiens.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without a generous fellowship from the Max Stern Foundation, which introduced me to the invaluable collections at the McCord Museum of Canadian History. It was in the McCord's vaults where I first became interested in the study of photographic albums, and it was there where I first laid eyes upon the documents that would end up forming the backbone of this analysis. I would also like to thank the Eleanor Luxton Historical Foundation for a generous travel grant, which provided me with full access to the Luxton archives at the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies in Banff.

I have benefited enormously from the criticism and advice of my advisor, Dr. Christine Ross, who has provided me with ongoing encouragement, and who has had a continued faith in my work. Dr. Victoria Dickinson, Executive Director of the McCord Museum, has been affiliated with this project from the outset, and I thank her for her constructive critiques, and for her overall assistance and guidance. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. Martha Langford, who has been an inspiration to me throughout this project, for her profound insights into the subject of photography, and for her unfaltering support.

There are several archivists at three important cultural institutions who have provided me with invaluable help during my primary research stage. Many thanks to The McCord Museum staff, and to Nora Hague in particular, for help accessing the McCord's collections, and for drawing my attention to the Clarke Donation in the first place. The outstanding Whyte Museum Archives team at Banff also deserves special appreciation, and I thank them for their superb assistance during my intense research there in December, 2003. At the National Archives, I'd like to thank Jim Burant and Andrew Rodger in the Photo Section, and Michel Briseboise in the Merrillees Collection of transportation memorabilia for their wonderfully insightful conversations, for allowing me to browse the collections freely, and for their help and encouragement beyond this MA project.

And finally, on a more personal note, this project would have been impossible without the support of my wonderful friends and family. To Sarah Amato for your words of wisdom, encouragement and academic sympathy: our conversations have meant so much to me, especially when it was hardest to stay focussed. To Kate Shapiro, for always reminding me of my potential, and for always being a close phone call away. I would like to thank the Burkes family for providing me with encouragement and humour, and a home away from home. And a million thanks to my parents, Ellen and Paul Becker, who have instilled in me a love of learning, a sense of history, and a curiosity for the unusual and the antique, and to my brothers, Daniel and Jonathan, for their grounding, unfaltering encouragement, and interest in my work and wellbeing!

And finally, this project is dedicated to my husband and partner Ilan Burkes for his deep understanding and emotional support throughout the three-year duration of this degree. Ilan, you have been a pillar of strength for me, and you have shown me so much about the careful art of writing.

Introduction – Photography, Frank Randall Clarke, and A Company That Spanned the World

If one looked at a standard issue map of Canada put out by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) during the late 1920s, one would see a vast stretch of dots and lines, most often red, that extended like a thick vascular system across southern Canada and into the northern United States. These maps were dizzying in their detail, and they were often presented to the public as precious corporate souvenirs; printed on bible-thin, cream-coloured paper, they were meticulously folded and tucked into the pockets of school text books, annual reports, and were included in other formats in tourist brochures.

In addition to showing the railway's Canadian routes, these maps visually connected the CPR's trains to its partner rail and steamship services around the world, thus establishing the company as an important international presence. As a result, most Canadians, who were familiar with similar maps of the Empire that depicted all of Britain's colonial possessions in red, could trace the CPR's influence the world over by connecting its red lines across oceans and continents to similar red lines around the globe. "Canadian Pacific Spans the World" was the company's motto during the 1920s, and it was also during this decade that the CPR determined how to most effectively use its visually-based advertising as a means to promote its services, and to connect its corporate presence to the fabric of Canada's imperial past.

The company's maps, atlases and numerous reports were thorough in their scope and impressive in their circulation. However, while these documents made a didactic impact, the company truly believed that nothing could capture the Canadian *imagination* more than its photographically illustrated products and brochures.

Photographic publications featured detailed images of the country from coast to coast, and helped to train Canada's new and more established citizens as to how to conceive of the country as a unified whole.

By the summer of 1929, this was finally possible. The CPR for one, boasted that it had greatly contributed to the decade's economic prosperity and cultural awakening; not only had it expanded Canadian markets, but the company insisted that it managed Canada's most impressive tourist network, which gave Canadians direct access to their country like never before.

Indeed, by the late 1920s, advertising material promoting transcontinental travel had evolved from portraying the activity as a mark of middle class status, to an all-Canadian rite of passage, and in this process, photography played an integral role. Photographs informed all aspects of the travelling experience, and were used by the CPR to convince the Canadian public that despite its competition, the Canadian Pacific Railway was the only company that could effectively introduce Canadians to their collective history.

The Travels of Frank Randall Clarke

It was also during this period that the company sponsored Montreal-based journalist and labour expert Frank Randall Clarke to travel across the country. Clarke was an extension of the CPR's far-reaching publicity campaigns, which emerged in full force as the company attempted to gain public support for its wide range of expanding services. The Canadian Pacific had a long history of sponsoring influential writers, artists and journalists, and most likely contracted Clarke because of his easy access to a large Montreal audience, and his specific interest and expertise in Canadian labour issues and colonization. As we will see in the chapters to come,

Clarke was keen to report on the railway's involvement in Canadian immigration, which, by the late 1920s, was a hotly contested issue.

However, putting Clarke's preferred topic aside for a moment, the textual and visual account of the Clarke's transcontinental experience affords us a fascinating glimpse into the era's photographic and general culture. The Clarke donation, which currently resides in the McGill University and McCord Museum archives, consists of the family's photographic albums, and Frank Clarke's scrapbooks, personal papers, and official documents. The collections explain that Clarke was a prolific writer and advertiser, who managed the influential Protestant Employment Bureau of Montreal, and moonlighted as a daily editorial-style columnist for the *Montreal Herald.* His photograph albums are diverse, and reveal that Frank Clarke was the photographer in the family, who captured his early twenties in England, his new life in Canada, and the various trips he took with his family. Dig a little deeper into the archives, and it is revealed that Clarke was paid to take two major trips across the country for the Canadian Pacific Railway, one Westward bound, and the other to the Maritimes. One of the snapshot albums corresponds to this information, for it is a fascinating photographic account of a transcontinental trip that took place in July of 1929.

The Layout of the Land

What initially drew me to the Clarke donation was a curiosity about the representation of Western Canada in the Eastern imagination, and how the experience of transcontinental travel influenced the production and understanding of an otherwise foreign geographical space. While researchers such as James Ryan and Teresa Plosjaszka have recently explored the connection between visual instruction

and the production and understanding of significant national landscapes, more work needed to be done on this topic as it applied to Canada during such a crucial time in the country's economic and social development. Frank Clarke is an ideal subject for this analysis because of his historical circumstances and corporate purpose. As a CPR-sponsored journalist, he was expected to decipher and to reinforce the company's advertising for his Montreal readership as he reported on the qualities of the country's new citizens, the nation's railway-sponsored agricultural settlement programs, and the state of Canadian progress in general. His reportage therefore reveals the ideal reading and interpretation of the CPR's publicity material, and thus leads us that much closer to it's publicity department's original intentions, for very few of the department's original documents exist today.

In addition, Clarke's lifetime straddled the turn-of-the-century, and coincided with massive geopolitical, economic and societal changes, whose effects were made visible to all through the photographic medium. The Clarkes belonged to the first generation to see the photographic medium explode onto the marketplace, and to descend into the hands of the mass public. Frank Clarke was an amateur photographer who owned several cameras over his lifespan and even dabbled in various darkroom techniques. While he was not a brilliant photographer, his travel album is representative of the typical 1920s traveller; he took snapshots of his trip, which featured him and his wife posed in front of, or in close proximity to popular tourist attractions. The Clarkes pasted those photographs into an album according to a loose chronology, and into that, incorporated several purchased views, which they presumably bought from various newsstands or souvenir booths across the country.

Their photographic album consists of entirely private records of their transcontinental trip, which were taken to document their leisure travels, as well as the scenes that captured their interests along the way. For example, the pair were avid gardeners, and were fascinated by the different types of gardens that they encountered across the country. However, it is also evident that Frank Clarke was not paid to take a leisurely trip across the country; rather, his specific role was to explore Canada's economic progress and to write of the CPR's immigration and colonization successes. And indeed, Clarke's daily reportage of the month-long trip provides a complex narrative of his observations, which often touch off from or are reinforced by his photographic experience of the trip.

It is precisely this interplay between his private photographs and his professional text that lies at the centre of my analysis, which will chiefly set out to explore the linkages between the CPR's use of photography in its advertising, and its effects on key cultural producers such as Frank Randall Clarke. By first examining the CPR's advertising techniques, and by then contextualizing Clarke, his published observations and private photographic experience, I hope to more fully understand the ways in which photography and photographic practices encouraged the country's Anglo-Canadian middle class to take imaginative ownership of the dynamic spaces in which they lived. Clarke's documents provide us with a rare opportunity to see two interlinked sides of the same series of events; while his personal snapshots quietly communicate his experiences as a private tourist, his writing overtly reveals his expectations, observations and conclusions, which were intended for his reading public, and which were contrived to suit the needs of his two employers.

Thus, in order to situate Clarke, and to better understand his overall conclusions, I will begin this project by examining how the Canadian Pacific Railway framed the travelling experience. Or more precisely, I will examine how the company's rapidly evolving photographic brochures attempted to show each and every potential tourist how the Canadian landscape was to be witnessed, understood and experienced.

In Chapter One I will examine how changing market condition forced the company to alter its public relations strategy, and to rethink the ways in which it could attract the country's lucrative and expanding base of middle-class customers. A close examination of the CPR's Canadian-bound brochures will reveal that the company repositioned travelling as an intensely emotional and nationalistic exercise that could be enhanced by a number of different types of photographic practices.

In addition, the evolving illustrated content of these brochures demonstrates that while the company focused its textual narrative, the CPR's publicity department perfected its ability to use the photographic medium as a persuasive tool. I will demonstrate that over the course of the decade, photographic brochures were designed to appeal to the Anglo-Canadian's search for a uniquely Canadian identity, and that leisure travelling along the CPR was pictured as an activity that had profound cultural implications.

Consequently, I will conclude the chapter by arguing that the Canadian Pacific's photographic brochures established a visual vocabulary of the travelling experience, and a standard set of images to which Canadian travellers could refer when imagining nationally significant landscapes. I argue that by creating shared, national spaces that often included the distinct imprint of the CPR, the company

encouraged Canadian travellers to believe that they belonged to a distinct *community of travellers*, who had developed a common vocabulary of national symbols, who had collected similar photographic souvenirs, and who were able to reminisce about a shared set of travelling experiences.

This community of travellers would prove to be the company's greatest resource, for while the 1920s saw vast increases in the number of transcontinental tourists, the end of the decade was also marked by negative publicity that attacked Canada's two major railways for their role in facilitating the controversial immigration of Eastern-European settlers. Clarke's journalistic purpose was to travel across the country and to report on the progress of these individuals for his Montreal readers, and his encounters and experiences will be the focus of my analysis in Chapter Two.

After a more thorough introduction to Clarke and his mission, Chapter Two will briefly explore the CPR's involvement in Canadian immigration from 1925-1929. Following that, I will draw upon Clarke's reportage to demonstrate how he used the ideological framework established in the company's travel brochures; put simply, Clarke employed the CPR's visual vocabulary when explaining that the immigrants being imported into the country by the CPR ultimately shared the same work ethic, values, and expectations as his Anglo-Canadian middle class readers. It will therefore be shown that Clarke's travels across the country resulted in a journalistic account that repeatedly used, referred to and manipulated this visual vocabulary as a means of sanctioning CPR policies; immigrants, he concluded, were ultimately able to aspire towards and to assimilate according to English Canadian standards and landscape ideals, which were readily depicted in the company's brochures. By comparing Prairie

towns and pastoral landscapes to familiar places in Montreal or to romantic ideals, Clarke was able to communicate to his readers that "foreigners" brought to Canada by the CPR therefore greatly benefited Canadian society as a whole.

For his readers who had travelled across the country before, Clarke's writing also had added value; as a member of the community of travellers himself, Clarke had the ability to refer to the CPR's tourist landscapes that he encountered along the way. Not surprisingly, he reported being impressed by the quality of the CPR's tourist services, as well as the company's attempts to foster an awareness of Canadian history and culture, which was firmly grounded in the nation's British roots. And yet, as we will see in Chapter Three, despite the couple's strong British associations, nothing captured the Clarke's imagination more than what they would encounter at the Banff Springs Hotel: interestingly, despite Frank Clarke's almost total preoccupation with colonization and economic development, almost half of the Clarke's photograph album is consumed by images of Banff Indian Days.

In Chapter Three, I will therefore examine the photographic products of the Clarkes' trip, and will concentrate on the couple's touristic experience by examining their photographic snapshots and purchased souvenirs, which together, paint a lively picture of their leisurely experiences at Banff. The chapter will begin with one of the first ever *critical* analyses of the Banff Indian Days event, which was pieced together as a result of primary research conducted at the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies. After a brief history of the event, I will demonstrate that Indian Days was a highly engineered touristic attraction that was designed by local organizers and railway officials alike to be completely photographable. In addition, it will become apparent that Banff Indian Days was intended to provide tourists with a historic

platform against which all other forms of Canadian progress could be measured; as a result, the event was tailored to appear most "authentically primitive" to encourage this comparison, and I will examine Clarke's explanation of the event to better understand how Frank Clarke made use of it in order to frame Canadian progress for his wider project.

My attempt to reposition and to recontextualize the Clarkes' photographs is also integral to this analysis, for in the second half of the chapter, questions about how one reads personal photographs arise. Throughout this project I have endeavoured to address the fact that photographs can contain a multiplicity of meanings, and that they must be examined in wider contexts if we are to use them as historical texts that communicate useful forms of information. Therefore, I have attempted to examine how the CPR's photographic documents and how Clarke's personal photographic souvenirs functioned as material objects that were created, circulated and displayed. By examining these component functions, one can get minutely closer to "the larger picture"; this contextual background can provide insight into the particular wants, habits, worldviews and interests of individual creators and collectors at certain points in time.

My argument in Chapter Three attempts to extend this process of contextualization; it will be shown that Clarke's album provides us with numerous entry points into which we may begin to explore other possible narratives at Banff. Indeed, I will conclude the chapter by talking about how Clarke's personal photographic souvenirs of his transcontinental trip focused on aboriginal peoples at Banff, and actually captured instances that allow us today, to challenge the CPR's grand narrative laid out in the company's pervasive advertising brochures.

A Brief Literature Review

Many brilliant studies on the history and social impacts of advertising, photography and the Canadian Pacific Railway have informed and shaped this analysis, yet the limited scope of this introduction allows for only a brief overview of titles that have directly impacted this thesis.

To begin, my investigation of the CPR's publicity material has been greatly influenced by a number of publications on the history of advertising, including Russell Johnston's *Selling Themselves; The Emergence of Canadian Advertising,* which is one of the only histories of the Canadian ad industry itself. Johnston's work explores the monumental changes that took place in the field of copywriting and in the organization and consolidation of the industry at the turn of the twentieth century. However, for a more detailed analysis of the advertising-dependent travel industry, the works of Rudy Koshar and Kevin Flynn have been endlessly insightful. Both scholars examine the important link between the material culture produced by the tourist industry, and its effects on the formation of national identity. While Koshar examines the influence of travel brochures in Germany and Europe, literary historian Kevin Flynn has cleverly examined the abundance of Victorian Canadian travel writing and the influence of the CPR's early transcontinental brochures on the formation of a uniquely Canadian consciousness. His 1999 article titled "Destination Nation: Nineteenth Century Travels Aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway"[1] for example, examined published accounts of well heeled tourists, and found that the possibility of transcontinental travel significantly changed the nation's literature, and

[1] See Kevin Flynn, "Destination Nation: Nineteenth-Century Travels Aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 67 (Spring, 1999): 190-222.

supplied the Canadian population with one of its most powerful metaphors for Canadian nationalism and unity.

Yet while Flynn has chosen to focus on the literary influences of Canadian railway culture, art historian Lynda Jessup is one of the few researchers who has critically examined the *visual* narratives that were developed in each railway's promotional material during a more crucial period in the history of the tourist industry. In "The Group of Seven and the Tourist Landscape in Western Canada, or The More Things Change..."[2] Jessup concentrates on the 1920s, and examines how promotional literature "commodified the wilderness experience' in Canada by celebrating "the pre-modern, unspoiled 'essence' of National Park wilderness while, paradoxically, looking for ways in which that essence could be commercialized in the creation of a modern tourist economy".[3] Jessup demonstrates that the sponsorship of Ontario artists and the use of commercial art in tourist brochures were crucial to fashioning the wilderness as a place of "scenic value and spiritual renewal", for each company's seductive advertising perpetuated a romantic gaze, or "that particular type of tourist vision emphasizing the restorative, solitary consumption of landscape"[4] at the exact moment when the Canadian tourist market was coming into its own.

However, in *The More Things Change...* Jessup has chosen to limit her analysis to non-photographic representations of the landscape, arguing that "in the service of an emergent mass tourism, paintings and exhibitions of scenery...operated in much the same way as they had in the nineteenth century." She maintains that painting and the traditional graphic arts were collectively understood by the country's new middle

---

[2] Lynda Jessup, "The Group of Seven and the Tourist Landscape in Western Canada, or The More Things Change..." *Journal of Canadian Studies* Vol 37, 1 (Spring, 2002): 144-179.
[3] Jessup 153.
[4] Ibid, 156.

class "in terms of cultural capital," and were therefore most effective as "a means to establish the value of the landscape."[5] In contrast, I argue that during this period photography had much more cultural currency in the processes of bolstering what other researchers have termed the "geographical imagination," especially in Canada, and of "shaping our perceptions of place."[6] Indeed, it will be shown throughout this project that photography either informed or directly shaped every aspect of the Clarkes' trip, from the ways in which the Clarkes would visualize the landscape before their departure, to the ways in which they tailored their route in order to snap the perfect view.

As the first ever analysis of Clarke's documents, this project attempts to uncover and to understand how Anglo-Canadians of Clarke's era came to conceptualize the country as a whole. It is also hoped that this research will be a small contribution to the growing body of work that sees photography as a crucial component of the imaginative processes of nation-building. Nations, according to the now classic work of anthropologist Benedict Anderson, consist of "imagined communities," which are bound together by connective narratives. This paper insists that photography has helped to facilitate nation building by creating shared, national places in the minds of the country's diverse citizens. It closely follows the recent research of several cultural geographers who have persuasively argued that visual instruction has the capacity to impact the individual's sense of belonging to a national community by creating profound, ideologically charged *visual* narratives that *show* how individuals can belong to or relate to the world.

---

[5] Ibid, 156.

[6] Joan Schwartz and James Ryan, ed., Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination (New York I.B. Taurus, 2003) 6.

For example, in *Picturing Place; Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, editors and cultural geographers Joan Schwartz and James Ryan have argued that photography has contributed to the "chain of practices and processes" by which the geographical imagination is formed. Photography, they argue, has the capacity to impact national, collective consciousnesses "in three fundamental ways: in the empirical practices of gathering factual information in visual forms; in the cognitive processes of ordering that information to produce knowledge of places, peoples and events; and in the imaginative processes of visualizing the world beyond our doorstep."[7] There are numerous essays in *Picturing Place* that provide rich examples of how widely circulated photographic collections have impacted the lives of everyday citizens by allowing them to visualize spaces, human subjects or guarded scenes that would otherwise be inaccessible to all. They examine how personal, public and bureaucratic photographs have been invested with meaning, and used as persuasive tools, private remembrances and as nation-building devices by ordering the ways in which knowledge is collected and understood.

In addition, the essays in *Picturing Place* recognize the photograph's very tenuous relationship with reality. As Schwartz and Ryan explain, "optical precision is no guarantee of documentary objectivity: photographs have to be understood as records of visual facts and as sites where those visual facts are invested with, and generate, meaning."[8] Similarly, visual anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards notes in her groundbreaking book *Raw Histories; Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* that researchers must be aware of the multiple meanings that photographs may contain within their lifespan. While she explains that it is possible to become "lured into a

[7] Ibid, 10.
[8] Ibid, 7.

pattern of expectancy wholly inappropriate to the true nature of the medium, which can be simultaneously fragmented, unarticulated, and resistant,"[9] she also argues that those expectations are based on the "social biography" of photographic objects, or those broader cultural assumptions that shape the ways in which photographs, as material objects, are created, circulated, and displayed.

Brian S. Osborne and Susan Wurtele are two of the several scholars to have considered these issues, and to have applied critical theories of photography to important Canadian collections of photographic documents. Osborne and Wurtele have conducted research on the photo-based immigration literature generated by the Canadian National Railway (CNR) during the 1920s.[10] Their work examines how photography was believed to have captured the transformation of the country's new agricultural settlers as they evolved from visible Others to assimilated "good Canadians". Osborne argues that the very existence of the CNR's photo-dossiers, "let alone their form and content – demonstrate how they are visualizations of contemporary ideologies and sensitivities and subtle agencies for the reimagining of national and corporate priorities".[11] Osborne's research has been invaluable for my analysis of the CPR because there are obvious parallels between how each railway attempted to use photographs as instruments with which to document, control and persuade. While Chapter Two examines Clarke's observations of CPR-sponsored immigration, it will become clear that Clarke drew upon a well defined body of

---

[9] Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001) 86.

[10] See Brian Osborne, "Constructing the State, Managing the Corporation, Transforming the Individual: Photography, Immigration and the Canadian National Railways, 1925-30", in Schwartz and Ryan *Picturing Place,* and Brian Osborne and Susan Wurtele, "Canada's Other Railway: The Canadian National Railway and National Development", *Great Plains Quarterly* 20.2 (1995): 1-24.

[11] Osborne, *Photography and the Canadian National Railways*, 178.

immigration and travel-based literature put out by the railway for the expressed purposes of countering widespread xenophobia and nativism amongst the Anglo-Canadian middle class.

Other works have been important in this analysis, although they are neither critical, nor academic. There is the tendency for histories of the CPR to be wholly consumed by the company's own folklore and the significance of its technological achievements alone. For example, E.J. Hart's *Trains Peaks and Tourist* is a popular history of tourism during Canada's "golden age" of travel, from 1886 until the mid-1930s. This detailed but unreferenced history, originally published in 1983,[12] was the first book to examine the CPR's advertising and its role in shaping the Canadian tourist industry. Hart celebrates the CPR's role in nation-building by acknowledging the company's concerted efforts to deliver domestic and international tourists to the Canadian landscape. However, he does not fully investigate the CPR's motives, and instead, limits his discussion to the business of tourism and to the history of the CPR's involvement in the Canadian Rocky Mountain ranges. Similarly, the glowing biography of CPR Chief Publicity Agent John Murray Gibbon, by Gary B. Kines, is an exhaustive study of the life of the company's chief publicity agent. Kines' unpublished MA thesis from Carleton University[13] is the only biography of the famed man of letters, and is important because of its mass of detailed information on the structure of the CPR's advertising department. However, while it recognizes Gibbon's contributions to the promotion of Canadian culture, Kines stops short of

---

[12] The original publication was an elaborate colour book titled *The Selling of Canada.*
[13] Gary B. Kines, "Chief-Man-of-Many-Sides: John Murray Gibbon and his Contribution to the Development of Tourism and the Arts in Canada," MA thesis, Carleton University, 1988.

analyzing the overall effects of the department's advertising, and he does not situate the company's promotional literature within a larger socio-political context.

On the other hand, Jan Penrose, Ian Mackay, Eva Mackey, and Andrew den Otter have all made important recent contributions to the critical study of the nation's railways, their relation to Canadian tourism or to nation-building, and to the formation of an "official" Canadian culture. While Mackay and Penrose have both carefully examined the CPR's involvement in producing folk or Indian cultural attractions in the Maritimes and at Banff, Eva Mackey and Andrew den Otter have each attempted to deconstruct the railway's impact on Canada's popular culture and general mythology. While Mackey takes issue with the appropriative forces behind early policies of official multiculturalism, den Otter investigates the formation of what he has termed Canada's "technological nationalism," and examines the root of why Canadian society invested identity-forming powers in the railway's machine technology. He is interested in the liberal philosophy behind the creation of the railway in the 1860s and 1870s, and explores how railway technology was conceived as a means to bind the nation, as well as a civilizing mechanism and a tool for international trade and economic development.

Like den Otter's work, this project attempts to ask how a private multinational corporation was able to become the country's first symbol of unity, despite the company's stated preference for profit. Clarke travelled across the country during the late 1920s, at a time when Canada had not one, but two transcontinental railroads, accompanied by a highly competitive travel industry. As both railways battled for a bigger market, and attempted to sway public opinion in their favour, Clarke provided his readers with a carefully weighted analysis of the

company's philosophy and its services. In the pages to come, I have attempted to explore the many fascinating connections between the CPR's photographic advertising and our present understanding of the nation's physical territory, its national character and sense of space. The CPR occupies an undeniably central place in the nation's mythology, and to better understand its central role, I have turned to the textual and photographic insights produced as the result of a transcontinental trip taken by Montreal journalist Frank Randall Clarke.

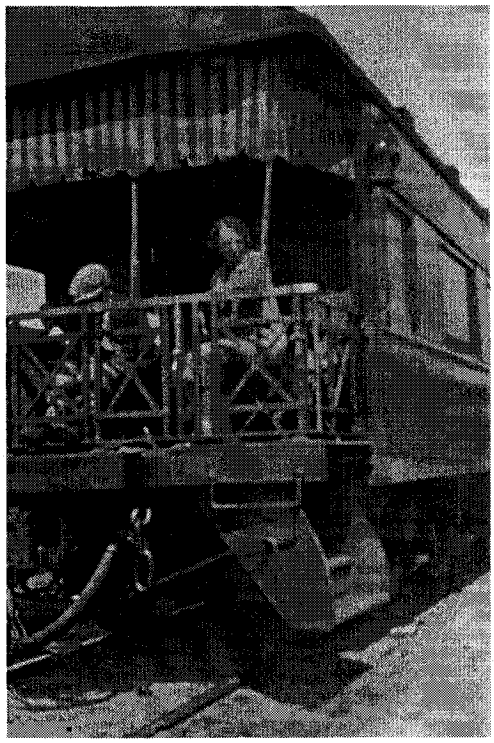


Image 1 Mrs. Nelly Clarke on the open observation car platform of their transcontinental passenger train. Purdue (?) SK (?) July 1929, Frank Randall Clarke, MP-1988.56.20, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.[14]

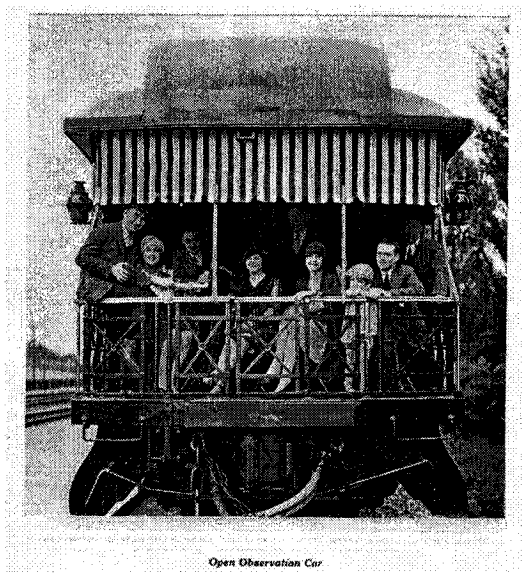


Image 2 The open observation car, as pictured in the Canadian Pacific Railway's transcontinental pamphlet *Across Canada and Back Under the Personal Direction of Dean Sinclair Laird* ([Montreal]: Canadian Pacific, 1930) 8. Collection of the Author.

[14] The Clarke Album is part of the Dorothy and Beatrice Clarke Donation, MP 056/88, at the Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal. All subsequent images cited as being from the Clarke album originate from this source.

Chapter 1 – Creating the Visual Vocabulary of Travel: Advertising, Photography, and the Canadian Pacific Railway

> *"Canada's greatest transcontinental railway has given a magnetic impulse to her fields, her mines, and her manufactories* [sic] *and the modest colony of yesterday is to-day an energetic nation with great plans and hopes and aspirations."*
>
> From *Across Canada, Highway to the Orient*, 1903

After departing Montreal, it usually took the leisurely, transcontinental tourist of the late 1920s about five days to reach Banff on the Canadian Pacific Railway. After passing through the country's boomtowns and indulging in such dining car delicacies as Boiled Ox Tongue with Spinach Caper Sauce and Baked Whitefish Creole, the tourist would finally arrive at Banff, Alberta by train and disembark. Apart from promoting itself as the Canadian population's most trusted railway service provider, the company's fine cuisine and lavish services were touted as just two of the privileges which could be enjoyed by members of the country's white, Anglophone middle class on their touristic search for the country's national heritage. Indeed, for Canadians who had come of age in times of war, who in their lifetime had experienced drastic overhauls in society and to the nature of work and play, the Canadian Pacific Railway insisted that travelling during this decade had accrued new meaning. In fact, according to its publicity department, travelling was portrayed as the most effective (and comfortable) way to enact one's sense of citizenship and as a novel way to carry on one's search for self-definition or national identity. As one of the CPR's transcontinental pamphlets explained in 1928: "harmony, mutual sympathy and a strong sentiment of Canadianism seem to be the only remaining requisites for complete unity.... Our leading statesmen, public men, captains of industry...are urging a greater fellowship between East and West. This is the real

purpose of our tour which combines a holiday with experiences that broaden the mind."[15]

In its early years, the Canadian Pacific's tourist services centred around European-style luxury travel, and thus attracted a corresponding elite.[16] However, by the 1920s, a new demographic began to redefine the marketplace, and this next generation to travel across the country based its experiences on an altogether different set of desires and expectations. No longer travelling only to replicate the grand tour, the cultivated tastes of Canada's increasingly mobile, modern, and image-savvy middle class demanded a more thorough engagement with the landscapes over which its members travelled. By the 1920s, travelling ceased being portrayed as something that one did passively; on the contrary, it will be shown over the course of this chapter that touring Canada via the CPR was promoted by the company as something that Canadians did as part of their productive search for meaning and self-discovery.

This chapter will therefore begin by analyzing the trends that forced the CPR to reposition itself within the Canadian marketplace, and will examine how in turn, the CPR's sophisticated marketing techniques attempted to influence the needs and desire of its customer base. It will be argued that although a number of factors contributed to shifts within the travel industry, the increasingly competitive nature of

---

[15] *Across Canada* (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1928) 1.

[16] The market to whom the company's advertising was directed is clearly defined in the following quote from its brochure *Across Canada to the Orient*, ca. 1887-8: "...And you shall see [the mountains] all in comfort, nay, in luxury. If you are a jaded tourist, sick of Old World scenes and smells, you will find everything fresh and noble...If you are a mountain climber, you shall have cliffs and peaks and glaciers worthy of your alpenstock, and if you have lived in India, and tiger hunting has lost its zest, a Rocky Mountain grizzly bear will renew your interest in life...". Attributed to Sir William Van Horne, general manager and later, president of the CPR.

Canada's railway sector required the country's largest and most established corporation—the Canadian Pacific Railway—to modernize the myth that surrounded its corporate history, and to attach even greater meaning to its transportation business. It will thus be shown that when faced with threats to its market share, the CPR spent vast resources on the promotion of tourism, for tourism was considered to be the most effective way to achieve good public relations, and to forge close emotional ties between the Canadian public and the corporation.

Exactly how this was achieved will be the focus of the second section of this chapter. I will demonstrate that from 1920-1929, significant and systematic changes took place in the advertising profession that directly affected the way in which the advertising-dependent tourist industry portrayed its services. During this time leisure marketers switched from logical argumentation to emotional copywriting, and eagerly made use of new technological advances that allowed for photographs to cheaply and easily appear on the printed page, thus revolutionizing the traditional techniques of visual persuasion. And yet, although it took the company's publicity department several years to determine how photographs could best capture the imagination of its audience, by the end of the decade, enticing photographs of people at leisure, interspersed with CPR hotels and attractions, mountain vistas, cityscapes, and agricultural scenery supported impassioned textual narratives that proclaimed that the company was responsible for the development of Canada.

In order to understand the mechanics of this evolution, I will dissect the CPR's important *Across Canada* series of brochures, which advertised the transcontinental journey to Canadian travellers between the 1880s and the 1930s. My

analysis will reveal that gradually, as the CPR's publicity department experimented with the medium, it came to realize that photography could be employed as a deliberately persuasive tool. The evolution of the series from a textual pamphlet to a highly illustrated brochure, charts how the company learned to use photographs to show its passengers that the frivolous pleasures derived from consuming the CPR's tourist services were actually legitimate and meaningful forms of enacting one's sense of citizenship, and of actively engaging with the country's history and progress.

By encouraging individuals to 'see' Canada through pictures, the company attempted to persuade the travelling public to imagine Canada through its lens, and thus, through its particular narrative. Photographs and photographic advertising were utilized to represent the company's mythology, and thus became carriers of ideological messages; photographs standardized and condensed the Canadian landscape, and then showed tourists how to consume the company's travel services, how to model their behaviour as tourists, and how to read those places which were represented as being the country's key sites of meaning and markers of Canadian identity. In addition, the company's abundant illustrated travel documents established an imaginative framework of the country organized along an east-to-west, CPR-owned axis. Its brochures would eventually present Canada as an unfolding picture book that invited individuals to insert themselves into this narrative, for transcontinental travel via the CPR was promoted as a means by which passengers could directly engage with their country's natural history and national heritage.

Consequently, the chapter will demonstrate that the company's photographic products provided travellers with a visual vocabulary for the Canadian travelling experience, which was unique to the CPR. In turn, the following chapter will show

that Frank Randall Clarke would use this vocabulary as he travelled across the country to report on Canadian progress, and the state of railway travel in 1929.

Rail Competition in Canada, and the making of the CPR Nation

Throughout the 1920s, the Canadian Pacific Railway was by far Canada's largest tourist service provider. Its holdings included the country's most elaborate passenger cars and railroad stations, a chain of lavish hotels, rustic bungalow camps, lake-bound steamboats and luxury ocean liners. Yet, despite being solidly branded as the country's superior passenger service, the company's annual reports reveal that the overwhelming bulk of the CPR's revenue was generated by the company's other ventures, such as the seamless transportation of goods and raw materials over its expansive network of rail and shipping lines. This information is highly relevant, for it raises interesting questions about the company's overall motivations for promoting tourism; indeed, during the 1920s, while the country's business community recognized the financial potential of the travel industry for the first time, I argue that the Canadian Pacific Railway conceived of the industry as the most powerful means to align the Canadian middle class with its own corporate interests.

Tourism provided the corporation with a highly visible and very pleasurable opportunity for the public to forge positive associations with the company, especially when a rapidly changing business climate forced the CPR to change its pubic persona in order to maintain its competitive edge. Until the middle of the decade, the CPR was the only company with a transcontinental infrastructure in place, and prior to that point it enjoyed the benefits of shrewd financial management and the prosperity of a near-monopoly. However, that favourable position was threatened after the close of the First World War. In the early 1920s, the collapse of railway

speculation prompted the federal government to amalgamate several floundering companies to form the federally owned and operated Canadian National Railway (CNR). Although the crown corporation was originally a sprawling and inefficient enterprise, the CNR quickly mobilized its resources and soon after its inception, began providing services that rivalled the privately-owned CPR, eventually creating competition that was so fierce it proved damaging to both organization.[17] In fact, by the end of the decade, railway practices appeared to be so hostile and unsustainable that they sparked a public inquiry. In a report submitted to the crown by the Royal Commission on Transportation just after the onslaught of the Great Depression, the commission summarized some of the problems that had developed between 1923 and 1931:

> Not only was there duplication in operation of passenger trains, but practically identical schedules were adopted when a 'staggered' service would have been better adapted to serve the public convenience. These wasteful practices extended to house delivery of tickets, the multiplication of city ticket offices, to radio activities, costly advertising, *and the establishment of a standard of passenger travel quite beyond the requirements of the country.*[18]

The report also criticized the two railways for failing to cooperate more fully, when it acknowledged that during the 1920s "there was developing an external competition of revolutionary import arising from highway traffic".[19] This included

---

[17] See Fournier, 121-179, G.R. Stevens, 316-317, esp. 339-344, E.J. Hart, 152-153. John Murray Gibbon jibed that after the Great War the CPR's frontlines had "been transferred from Europe to Canada", for the company's official position was that the CNR "handicapped the Canadian Pacific in its plans for development". John Murray Gibbon, *Steel of Empire: a Romantic history of the Canadian Pacific , the Northwest Passage of Today* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1935) 390.

[18] Leslie Fournier, *Railway Nationalization in Canada: The problems of the Canadian National Railways* (Toronto: MacMillan Co., 1935) 266. Emphasis added.

[19] Report of the Royal Commission on Railways, 1931-2, quoted in Fournier 266. See also Donald F. Davis, "Dependent Motorization: Canada and the Automobile," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 21.3 (1986), 126-7.

the nascent trucking industry and the rising popularity of automobile tourism in particular, which threatened to steal business from both railways as scenic highways sprung up across the country.[20]

As both companies rallied to capture their share of the tourist market, they created more lavish services, bigger hotels, more elaborate advertising, and extravagant trains and attractions, for although freight traffic resulted in the majority of each company's income, passenger traffic carried with it more prestige and thicker profit margins. Newspapers and magazines across the country reported with astonishment that tourism boosted local economies and seemed to be the country's fastest growing industry, prompting new government agencies to pay close attention to its spin-off effects for the first time.[21] While organizations such as the CPR recognized that American tourists consisted of a significant part of this new touring market and created publicity material to suit their particular needs, Canadian travellers were also targeted by the railway for their purchasing power and ability to garner widespread public support for the corporation's wider interests.

Thus at a time when railway competition was at its fiercest, each company jockeyed to establish itself as Canada's more culturally significant transporter of human cargo. The CPR was a private company with financial obligations to its

---

[20] Jessup 154-156. See also R. I. Wolfe, "The Changing Patterns of Tourism in Ontario," *Profiles of a Province* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967): 173-177. It is important to note however, that the Trans-Canada highway network as we know it today was not completed until 1965, thus leaving the country's transcontinental railway network as the only viable option for traversing the country until that point.

[21] On April 4th, 1925 for example, *Marketing Magazine* reported that "[t]he Ontario Tourists' Research Bureau has begun a campaign to raise $140,000 as a publicity fund to be used in going after an additional $40,000,000 worth of tourist business this coming summer. Tourist traffic benefited Ontario to the extent of $100,000,000 last year… an advertising campaign in United States dailies and Sunday papers is planned, in conjunction with road maps and guides" (210).

international shareholders and financiers, and was first and foremost driven by profit. As such, it vehemently objected to the existence of the Canadian National Railway, and considered the CNR's ability to draw 'unlimited funds' from the public purse to be a grossly unfair competitive advantage and a flagrant betrayal to the CPR, Canada's founding institution. As Canadian National publicized itself as "The People's Railway", whose services carried passengers across the country "The National Way", the Canadian Pacific Railway embarked on new advertising campaigns that reshaped its institutional image and aligned the company with the forging of the nation. Thus, while the CNR's president "became the first Canadian to publicly reject the CPR's assertion of its real or imagined rights," [22] the Canadian Pacific Railway used cutting edge marketing techniques that used the authority of photographs to represent itself as *the* maker of Canadian history, whose technology and commerce held together the social and economic fabric of Canada.

New Wordsmiths and Image-Makers; The Changing Face of Advertising

The CPR's new platform was plainly based on the assumption that advertising had to make a direct emotional appeal to the consumer in order to be effective. Whereas this might strike the present reader as commonplace, during the 1920s, the advertising profession was undergoing a veritable revolution with regards to the content and overall design of its products.[23] Canadian marketing professionals hotly debated the value of new, emotional copy (or copywriting) that directly appealed to the consumer's wants, hopes and desires. Toronto-based *Marketing*

---

[22] Greg Gormick and J. Lyman Potts, "Canada's First Network: CNR Radio", *The History of Canadian Broadcasting, Ryerson University* < http://www.broadcasting-history.ca/index2.html> [October 25, 2003].

[23] Russell Johnston, *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001) 157-179.

Magazine was the most prominent publication directed toward Canadian advertising professionals, and between 1925 and 1929, it featured dozens of articles that explained that "argument in advertising is fast disappearing. Suggestion is taking its place. Logical or 'reason why' copy seems to be losing ground to emotional copy".[24]

The advertising revolution was the result of a new understanding of consumer behaviour, which was in part, derived from novel applications of psychology and market research.[25] According to Russell Johnston's recent history of the Canadian advertising industry, during the 1920s,

> adworkers were in the business of grafting meaning onto products purely for the commercial gain that could be realized. Where the goods and services of previous generations may have found their meaning through socially mediated processes and the vagaries of the marketplace, it was the conscious intent of adworkers to short-circuit that process by supplying the meaning for products ready-made.[26]

This new generation of psychology-trained advertisers argued that the fastest way to cut directly to the heart of the market was to use emotion as a selling force. While the Canadian advertising marketplace was relatively slow to catch on to these trends, the CPR was amongst the first institutions to make direct emotional appeals to its consumers.

---

[24] *Marketing Magazine*, (Toronto: February 10, 1925). Those in opposition to the new trend – those who believed that emotional advertising would only encourage wanton consumerism – were in the minority. The goal of *Marketing*, wrote the journal's editor, was to prove that "throughout the Empire a more aggressive sense of merchandising is being born" [April 3, 1926], which was on par with trends taking place in the United States and Europe.

[25] Johnston 218-227. A telling quote: "Advertising, of course, is no longer the haphazard affair of years gone by. It has been reduced to a science. It is in the hands of experts, men and women who have devoted years to the study of the popular appeal and who know how to construct announcements that will strike the imagination of the public". *Canadian Advertising Data*, 1928, reproduced in Johnston, 180. Similarly, the CPR's Passenger Traffic Department collected information about traffic patterns and consumer behaviour from its ticket agents, and expressly forbade them to "furnish statistics or other information concerning the Company's passenger business to anyone except the authorized officials of the Canadian Pacific Ry." *Private Instructions to Ticket Agents*, (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway, April 1, 1929) p.2.

[26] Johnston 274.

Between 1913 and 1951, the CPRs general publicity department was presided over by celebrated writer, historian and folklorist John Murray Gibbon. It was during this period that the company embarked on new and cutting-edge advertising campaigns that promoted the railway's tourist services while also deliberately working towards "a national awakening in the arts" and the creation of "a visual identity for Canada," which were both key aspects of Gibbon's personal vision.[27] Gibbon was the company's supremely talented event coordinator, public relations expert and advertising manager. In addition, he had a striking talent for gauging public opinion and for predicting new trends in the public's artistic tastes. Paired with his ability to dispense plump railway contracts, these qualities made him a favourite employer for the country's commercial artists and professional writers, who vied for the opportunity to work closely with him on creating precisely the right feel for his advertising.

Due to its fierce competition, the Canadian Pacific Railway was acutely aware of its need to promote itself as a culturally significant Canadian corporation whose unique attractions could only be witnessed while on the CPR line. Accordingly, the company's top management integrated a careful public relations strategy into its marketing approach in order to connect the CPR's trans-Canadian route to feelings of comfort, security, and trust.[28] CPR President E.W. Beatty for example, stated forthright that: "the soundest axiom in business is that the best of all advertisements

---

[27] Kines 142.

[28] As just one basic example, ticket agents were carefully instructed how to interact with the public, and were warned that the company's public persona was shaped by their behaviour. "Endeavour to make the Canadian Pacific Railway popular because its business is dependent of the good-will of the people," wrote one instruction manual. "Agents meet the public directly as representatives of the Company and its good reputation depends largely on the manner in which its patrons are treated". *Private Instructions to Ticket Agents* 1.

is the satisfied customer. In our railway business we aim, above all, to secure a satisfied passenger and a satisfied shipper, and we adhere rigidly to the policy of advertising only what we feel sure we can perform".[29] In turn, Gibbon's advertising department designed a marketing strategy that aligned luxury travel and impeccable service with the population's fundamental desire for national self-discovery. Thus, while pamphlets destined for American and European markets focussed on the company's ability to provide world-class luxury services, those specifically intended for the Canadian public stressed the company's ability to provide the country's white, Anglophone traveller with wisdom, culture, and the opportunity to enact their sense of citizenship.[30] "No education is complete without a tour across Canada," insisted one pamphlet destined for Canadian tourists in 1929.[31]

The Family Vacation

In addition to forging an emotional connection between the company's travel services and the civic desires of the English-Canadian travelling class, the company also took advantage of the deep emotional bonds being forged to the newly legitimized family vacation. Today, studies most often describe tourism as not only the world's largest industry, but as a leisurely practice that by its definition, elicits a

---

[29] Beatty quoted in "E.W. Beatty, CPR President, Lauds Advertising; Believes publicity has improved general standards of merchandise and thinks institutional copy produces confidence," *Marketing Magazine* (Toronto: McLean, May 30th, 1925) 326.

[30] For a striking comparison, contrast the CPR publication "Lake Louise; Chateau Lake Louise, Canadian Rockies" with the company's *Across Canada* series of brochures, which will be discussed in greater detail below. *Lake Louise* was created for American tourists, and used sensual watercolours to depict ravishing flappers in the most fashionable styles enjoying the luxury of the great hotel. *Across Canada* on the other hand, was intended for a Canadian travelling class, and used photographs to index the country's sites and tourist services. Furthermore, while the text found in *Lake Louise* was overly dramatic, and took every opportunity to compare the Rockies to jewels and paintings, the language used in *Across Canada* was much more cool and restrained, and turned away from aesthetic comparisons in order to make references to Canadian industry and economic development instead.

[31] *Across Canada and Back Under the Personal Direction of Dean Sinclair Laird,* (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1929) 1.

strong emotional response in its practitioners.[32] According to the research of Cindy Aron, by the turn of the twentieth century, the relatively new concept of the vacation became a "critically important marker of middle class status."[33] What first enabled the mass vacation trend was a drastic change in the organization of work. The first third of the twentieth century saw the onset of new "scientific" management techniques, which advocated for more precise divisions of labour as well as the increased standardization of work-time hours and conditions.[34] As these changes gradually moved from the factory floor to the managerial class, labour historians such as Tom Lutz have argued that this new obsession with workplace efficiency "gutted" the middle class work ethic: as the professional classes became more specialized, one's employment was nervously defined as a source of pleasure, and the new refurbished work ethic was embraced "as an answer to boredom and alienation for the professional and managerial class, as an individual and class tonic, as a hedonized pathway to progress."[35] However, for individuals such as Clarke, who made advancements in the new field of industrial psychology, it became clear that the tonic required an antidote; accordingly, while white collar workers dealt with new intensities and managerial pressures, North America's business culture simultaneously legitimized the right to personal leisure time. Aron quotes an

---

[32] James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to "Culture", 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 5. See also Urry *Consuming Places*, Taylor, *A Dream of England*, and Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough eds., *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001) for other examples.

[33] Cindy Aron, *Working at Play: a History of Vacations in the United States*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) 4-5.

[34] See Bryan D. Palmer's *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980*, (Toronto: Butterworth & Co., 1983) 130-142.

[35] Tom Lutz, "Sweat or Die: The Hedonization of the Work Ethic in the 1920s," *American Literary History*, 8.2 (Summer, 1996): 262.

interesting statistic: "by 1930, the number of businesses with permanent vacation plans had increased so that as many as 10 percent of wage earners had earned the privilege of paid vacation. By comparison, four-fifths of salaried employees – meaning white-collar, middle class workers – were covered by vacation plans".[36] Thus while holidaying became a marker of class status and a recognized remedy for the hectic pace of modern city life, society sanctioned the right to regularly seek pleasure outside of normal work routines.[37]

Evidence of these developments could be seen in the Canadian marketplace. As the country's railways continued to increase their range of services, a new travel industry consisting of "mighty agencies" and local service providers catered to an increasing number of travellers, and promised to take care of the "petty annoyances" of the new tourist's itinerary.[38]

In this climate, 'vacationing' was not only promoted as an entitlement, but as a special activity that lay outside of ordinary time and space. In turn, the heightened anticipation and excitement of travelling was co-opted into the company's narrative of the country. The transcontinental trip was promoted as the privilege and right of

---

[36] Aaron 203.

[37] Both railway companies competed to satisfy each class's need to "escape" the confines of city life. For example, one pamphlet designed by a CNR subsidiary in 1922, appealed to Toronto's urban working class in what now reads as a delightful historical anecdote: "Not so long ago most Toronto people, as well as visitors to our city, found recreation in taking a number of boat trips each summer. With the increasing use of the family automobile for pleasure here has come a tendency to overlook the advantages of water trips for the family. How many realize what it means to live in a city situated on a large body of sparkling blue water like Lake Ontario? Canadian National Steamers, operating a frequent daily schedule throughout the summer months, offer to the people of Toronto excellent opportunities to enjoy healthful and invigorating trips across the lake. Think what it means to break away from the rush and worry of everyday business- away from stuffy offices and noisy factories – out onto the lake to greet the cool, refreshing breezes aboard a splendid steamer. Think of the hours of relaxation – no noise but the gentle rippling of the waves under he ship's bow and the soft breath of a summer breeze on your cheek." Canadian-National-Grand Trunk Route: Great Lakes Cruises (Toronto: Northern Navigation Company, 1922): 2.

[38] *Saturday Night Magazine*, June 6, 1925.

a specific race and class, and as a result, the company insisted that those who did not travel could neither fulfill their educational duty nor properly understand the Canadian condition, for they could not sufficiently visualize the country as a whole. "None can afford to remain unacquainted with the amazing developments of Canadian industries, agriculture, mining and water powers," insisted one brochure. "All should see for themselves the primary sources of our boundless material wealth and prosperity, the famous scenery of the Canadian Rockies, our noted summer resorts that attract thousands of travellers annually, our national parks, and our growing cities."[39]

Branding The Corporation

According to the marketing profession's contemporary terminology, the CPR's extremely focused message amounted to an effort to *brand* the company and its services in order to give more profound significance to the otherwise frivolous act of travelling. Emotional advertising made the CPR's own corporate brand a "significant symbol"[40] of the Canadian experience, which in itself, was intended to relay feelings of authority, comfort, and trust. With no tangible product to sell to its Canadian consumers (for one could not test run a vacation), the CPR was forced to use its advertising as a persuasive mechanism which sold a lifestyle associated with its services; as one present-day marketing expert points out, "the skill in tourism and leisure marketing lies in creating the perceived value of the product," and thus

---

[39] *Canadian Pacific Railway Company Across Canada and Back, 1930* (Montreal: CPR), 3.

[40] I borrow this phrase from John and Nicholas O'Shaughnessy who explain in *The Marketing Power of Emotion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) that "a brand image must symbolize something positive if the consumer is to contemplate buying the product. In other words, sellers must try to make their brands *significant symbols*." Significant symbols are achieved "when the target audience perceives the symbolization that was intended by the seller. Sellers aim to symbolize…a certain experience, because imagining that experience means anticipating possession, which is a form of self-persuasion" 186.

"creating an identity [for that product] becomes paramount."[41] By advertising the transcontinental trip as the means by which individuals came into "close contact"[42] with Canada's most real and important places, the company also claimed that the CPR played a fundamental part of the nation's history, growth, and development. Branding the company in this fashion was an attempt to give CPR-related services deep symbolic meaning which travellers could absorb, forge emotional bonds to, and thus perpetually support.

Although decades ahead of their time, the company's executives recognized that effective, emotional advertising could be used to create new, positive associations with the company. The CPR's general advertising philosophy was outlined in an address made to advertising industry executives in 1925, whereby CPR president Edward Beatty explained the problems facing the company as a result of the dislocating effects of war:

> Although the CP had always hitherto been recognized as probably the greatest national asset of the country, and was constructed as a condition under which the Pacific province of British Columbia entered confederation, a younger generation had grown up not so familiar with these facts. That was our problem of changing conditions, and in meeting them we have used *the great educational force of advertising.* [43]

In the years following the end of the First World War, while the MacKenzie King government was engaged in a series of Imperial conferences that attempted to define Canada's place in the Commonwealth, the CPR struggled to define itself in relation to its fierce competition. War had forced the company to collaborate with its main

---

[41] Neil Morgan and Antoinette Pritchard, *Advertising in Tourism and Leisure*, (Boston: Butterworth Heinemann 2000) 10-11.
[42] *Across Canada and Back*, (1930), 3.
[43] Beatty, quoted in "E.W. Beatty, CPR President Lauds Advertising", *Marketing Magazine*, 30 May, 1925, p.326. Emphasis added.

competitors, and the Beatty/Gibbon team astutely observed that emotional and visually persuasive advertising could be employed to "take the public into the confidence of the railways,"[44] and to re-establish its pre-war position as the country's most culturally significant corporate entity.

Frank Randall Clarke was hired to write about the benefits of travelling across Canada at precisely this moment in the evolution of Canadian advertising and leisure. As an emerging industrial psychologist himself, Clarke espoused the benefits of rewarding work, although his personal photograph album discussed in Chapter 3, reveals that he was also personally quite fond of the summer vacation. But more importantly, as will be shown in the following chapters, Clarke's final reportage was very much in line with the CPR's advertising, which appealed to its new audience by framing travel as a search for authenticity, or the means by which the traveller could discover their true place in the world.

In the following section I will briefly examine how the company's advertising material was generally absorbed by the mass Canadian tourist market, and I will attempt to explain how and why the CPR's travel brochures could have such an impact in the first place. Then, in the sections to come, I will provide readers with a case study focussing on the historical and graphic evolution of an important series of CPR pamphlets called the *Across Canada* series of brochures. My analysis of these brochures will focus on the CPR's evolving aptitude for visual persuasion, for I am interested in reading the company's brochures for three things: firstly, for evidence of a shift in how the company portrayed the tourist's expectations of the transcontinental trip; secondly, for indications of a changing travel industry, and

---

[44] Ibid, 326.

thirdly and most crucially; for signs that the company deliberately used the photographic medium to frame the country according to its own corporate interests. These three themes will contribute to a greater understanding of the Canadian tourist's experience of travelling during the 1920s, and will illuminate the precise ways in which the company created a narrative of the country both visually and textually.

The Snapshot Economy of Travel

Many have argued that it is no coincidence that the mass popularization of tourism coincided with the mass popularization of photography. By the turn of the 20th century, Kodak's Brownie camera was revolutionizing the photographic market, and the increasing purchasing power of North America's middle class was changing the face of travel. While Kodak advertising promised "snapshooters" that their memories could be collected and preserved forever, and that "There's always another story waiting for your Kodak"[45], the Canadian Pacific Railway enticed its patrons with the promise of "yet unnamed peaks" and "breathtakingly" scenic views 'awaiting to be discovered'. Railway stations across the country sold Kodak film to travellers, and several larger stations and CP hotels offered on-the-spot film developing services so that amateurs could "Kodak As You Go".[46]

While famous Canadian photographers such as the Montreal firm Notman & Sons had taken photographic expeditions across the country, these late nineteenth century views leant themselves to subjectivities that were associated with an elite

---

[45] Kodak ad. "Keep the Story With Kodak" reprinted in Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2000) 180. This ad was also printed in *MacLean's Magazine* between 1925-1926.

[46] Kodak ad. "Kodak As You Go" series, reprinted in West 70-72. In addition, consult the McCord's Robert Pearce Donation (MP 064/94), which comprises of a photograph album titled 'Lunch Counters and News Stands, 1919-1927' XX.

culture of privileged looking. The new age of Kodak photography on the other hand, "allowed the public to see the world photographically," explains photographic historian Daile Kaplan, "which is to say its practitioners introduced proto-modern visual conventions. The static study associated with a nineteenth-century professional photographer was replaced with a candid, spontaneous image that reflected the social milieu in which people enjoyed more free time."[47]

However, although the Kodak trend began in the 1890's and became a hot consumer commodity, it took over two decades until the increasingly popular snapshot style was readily utilized in the marketing profession, and the country's travel industry in particular.[48] "In Canada," lamented a reporter for *Marketing Magazine* in 1928, "the photograph has so far played a negligible part in advertising. Probably this is due to the fact that the newspapers are the backbone of so many campaigns here and up to the present, newsprint has not been deemed suitable for photographic illustrations".[49] Indeed, all print media was faced with the same problem: until the early 1920s, the only presses that were able to reproduce images simultaneously with text were ill-suited for mass-market advertising material or for the nuanced ads intended for the country's dailies.

Yet, while limited by the industry's insufficient printing technology, the marketing profession remained very interested in the persuasive powers of photography. Copywriters and artistic directors realized the medium's ability to

---

[47] Daile Kaplan, *Pop Photographica: Photography's Objects in Everyday Life, 1842-1969* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003) 36.
[48] See West, 13 and 34-35, Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 149.
[49] Philip Spane, "People Prefer People," *Marketing Magazine*, August 4th, 1928.

convey mood and to "emotionalize its subjects."[50] *Marketing Magazine* explained to its readers that photographs were powerful agents of influence because they could quote the news/documentary style that was so familiar to the public, and which was found in almost all of the country's newspapers. According to one article, "[t]he obvious aim of the picture page type of copy is to simulate the interest that inheres in news-photos. To destroy this interest...is to forfeit at once the particular kind of attention and interest that is sought".[51] Articles in the magazine praised the photograph's ability to elicit trust in its audience, and similarly noted that advertising was generally becoming more and more editorial, sensational and news-like.

Convinced of the persuasive power of visual communication, the company established its own photographic subsidiary in 1920. The Associated Screen News (hereafter ASN) as it was called, was mandated to determine how to best use the medium as a persuasive tool. The ASN was wholly responsible for furnishing Gibbon's publicity department with films and photographs in order to "make known the products of the corporation...[though] advertising in the press, by circulars, by exhibitions and by the publication of books or periodicals."[52] *Products of the corporation* however, was a loosely interpreted photographic subject; although it included images of trains, stations, and CPR-owned hotels, the ASN also spent vast resources on visual products that focused on Canadian scenery, recreation, natural resources, industry, and wildlife.

---

[50] Marchand 146-147

[51] Philip Spane, "People Prefer People", *Marketing Magazine*, August 4th, 1928.

[52] The ASN was also responsible for "production[s] upon the theatrical stage, or motion pictures exhibitions and the giving of vaudeville performances[!]" From the incorporation notice for the Associated Screen News's Montreal film laboratory, *The Canada Gazette*, Ottawa, Saturday, May 15th, 1926.

The CPR firmly believed that there was a direct and powerful connection between the ASN's photographic projects and the company's overall success and status within the minds of the Canadian public. During a time when Canada was still half rural, the company's advertising campaigns broadcast a consistent message to communities across the country when there did not exist any form of media that was truly national in scope.[53] In addition, the ASN's broader photographic services, which included the assembly of popular lantern slide lectures and photographic souvenirs, straddled the fine line between education and advertising. For example, while McGill university's illustrated lecture program "was evidence of a desire to raise the educational level of the Canadian population, and was really and truly conceived [of] as a community service,"[54] the CPR's motivation behind its lantern slide series was to refocus the audience's conception of Canadian history while promoting its own services in the process. As one lecture clearly stated: "to us in this country the history that is really important is the story of nation building, the story of the planners and engineers, the railway builders, the bankers, the business an professional men who between them made Canada". While the company had always promoted itself through visual means, its intensified film and photographic campaigns were intended to play a large role in determining how Canadians would come to see the country as a complete entity or unified whole through pictures, words and maps.

Indeed, the company's management firmly believed that visual media could provide an enhanced sense of intimacy and connectedness between the Canadian landscape, the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the Canadian people. While *Marketing*

---

[53] See Johnston, *Selling Themselves,* Chapters 2-4.

[54] Stanley G. Triggs, Nicole Vallieres "The Magic Lantern, Background," McCord Museum of Canadian History, March 29, 2004, <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/scripts/magic-lantern.pdf> 22.

Magazine insisted that "every text book on advertising will tell you that pictures assist in attracting attention, arousing interest and creating desire,"[55] the CPR explained that

> [i]n this manner are the great opportunities of Canada visualized, expansion induced to her agriculture and industry, and the great natural resources of the Dominion advertised....Tourist traffic is created through the lure of Canada's pictured beauties, and settlement encouraged through the reception of a clearer understanding of benefits and conditions than could otherwise be imparted.[56]

Brochures, illustrated lectures and photographic collections produced by the CPR created loaded histories of the Canadian landscape whose visual imagery helped travellers to visualize the country through the CPR's lens, and thus, through its particular narrative. Moreover, by assembling the county's significant sites, these documents pieced together succinct narratives that explained the development of the country along a decisive east-to-west trajectory, which, as a rule, also celebrated the accomplishments of the CPR.

Travel Guides, Dissected

In its transcontinental tourist brochures, photographic advertising material consisted of a collection of different sites that were promoted as being the essential kernels of Canadian identity. Political philosopher Tim Edensor has called these sites "nodal points...[or] constellations around which cultural elements cohere."[57] It will be shown throughout this project that according to the CPR, the act of touring Canada involved highly structured repeat interactions with these nodal points of

---

[55] Richard Surrey, "Pictorial Salesmanship: its twelve main functions", *Marketing*, Dec 12, 1925, 346-9.
[56] *Agricultural and Industrial Progress in Canada*, 14.1 (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway Company, Jan 1922) 14.
[57] Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg Press, 2002) vii.

Canadian culture; for example, tourists initially read the CPR's brochures to determine which sites were important and why. Accompanying photographs were read for visible signs of cultural relevance, which in turn, taught travellers what to look out for along the route. Itineraries were then designed to introduce travellers to sites originally laid out in the company's brochures, and the cultural transaction was completed when the traveller either saw the site in person and took their own photographic record of the visit, or purchased snapshots that were parallel to those found in the company's brochures.

In order to better understand the ways in which photography was used by the company and then absorbed by the company's customers, this section will focus on a consistent set of CPR publications that advertised transcontinental travel to Canadian audiences. This study is the first of its kind, as there has never before been a close examination of the visual and textual trends in the CPR's highly influential transcontinental brochures.

The advertising material to which I will refer as the *Across Canada* series of brochures began in 1887, and perfectly exemplified the evolution of the company's publicity. Like most other authoritative travel guides from the period, the series condensed the country into a succinct booklet, and "consolidated and focused the consumer's attempt to assemble touristic sights and objects in a more precise image of the nation."[58] What began as a dense and difficult-to-read chart of facts, descriptions, and measurements, evolved into a refined guide to the country, which, by the 1920s, showed Canadian tourists through photographic imagery "What You See and Where" (1927).

---

[58] Rudy Koshar, "What Ought to be Seen: Tourist's Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe" *Journal of Contemporary History* 33.3 (July, 1998): 332.

Image 3 Two brochures from the Canadian Pacific Railway's transcontinental series. To the left, the *Annotated Time Table* from 1892, which evolved into the Across Canada series from 1914 onwards.

The company's brochures had a distinctive 'look' that was cultivated over forty years of evolving market trends, technology and advertising. Furthermore, the gradual evolution of the series reveals that the Canadian travel industry shifted over time to accommodate a changing tourist demographic. As just one example, pamphlets written between the 1880s and 1914 made appeals to prospective colonists in a section that outlined the railway's offering of *Free Grant Lands* in the Canadian West. [59] However, after 1914 this section all but disappeared, and by 1925, the annotated guide claimed that it was "dealing with the various cities and resorts from the

[59] I thank Michel Brisebois at the National Library/ Merrilees Collection for his insight and opinions about this transition.

viewpoint of the pleasure-traveller" exclusively.[60] Whereas the older guides exhibited every opportunity for investment or colonization along the route, later ones

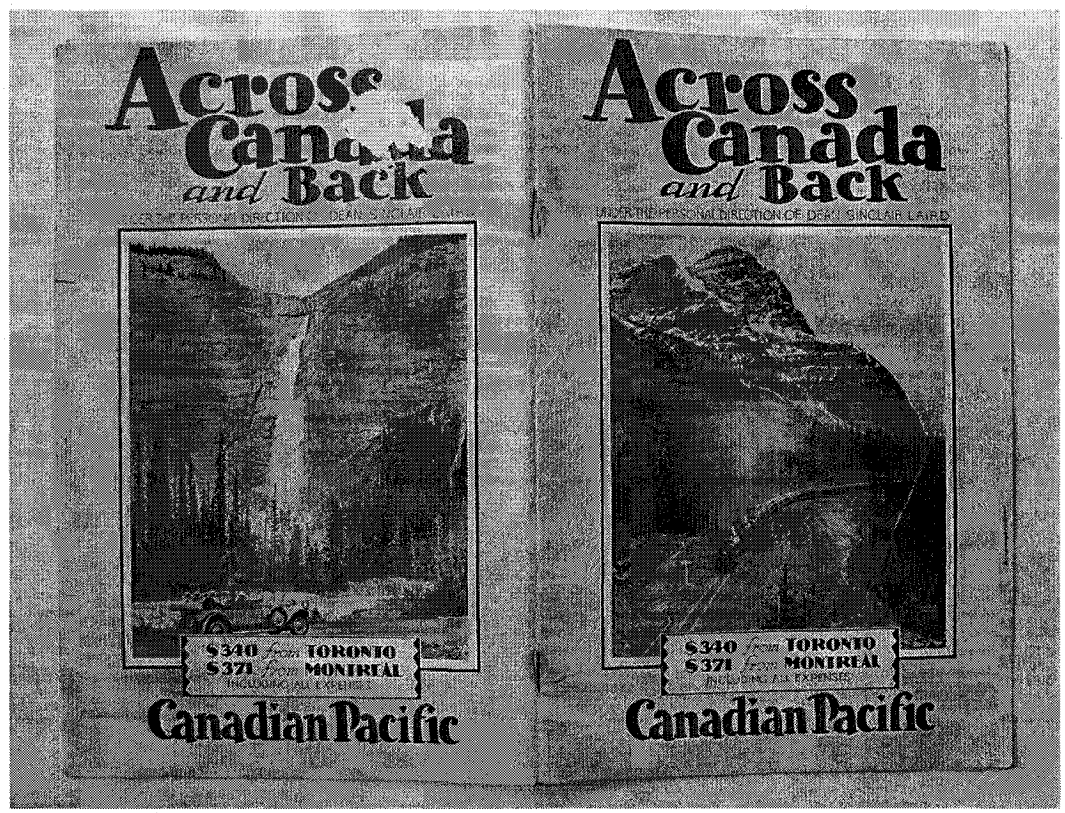


Image 4 The final, photographic version of the *Across Canada* series, printed in 1930. Collection of the Author.

emphasized the touristic experience, and while pointing out that its many facts on industry, farming and history were not "of an exhaustive character," the guide proclaimed that "it is hoped that [this booklet] will be stimulative as indicating the potentialities (*sic*) of this great Dominion" (1925).[61]

---

[60] The CPR was sensitive to the needs and desires of the new 'pleasure-traveller'. To appease the middle class tourist's class-conscious anxiety, the company thus began to offer "Colonist Class" as well as Second Class tickets so that tourists could socially and physically separate themselves from farmers and immigrants. Although the benefits of both services were exactly the same, Second Class cost slightly more than the Colonist fare, and allowed the middle class Tourist the privilege of higher status.

[61] *Across Canada; Annotated Guide via Canadian Pacific the World's Greatest Transportation System. Western Lines,* (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1925) 3. The same guide would

As these brochures changed in order to cater to an increasingly leisure-oriented tourist class, we can observe three interesting and quite paradoxical correlations: between 1890 and 1929, the amount of textual information on the landscape and character of Canada decreased as the number of travellers to Canadian destinations increased dramatically. This was due to the fact that large amounts of text that focused on the thick description of specific sites was replaced by an increase in the total number of illustrations and photographs, which were assumed to convey the same information or more. In addition, a marked change took place in the textual arguments for transcontinental travel; over this forty year period, the narrative content of brochures destined for Canadian travellers became increasingly nationalistic, and progressively aligned tourism with the performance of citizenship over the course of the 1920s. And finally, pamphlets between 1920 and 1929 saw a reduction in the overall variety of photographs contained on the printed page, as the number of images that depicted people at leisure, relaxing, and enjoying CPR hotels and attractions, increased dramatically. Thus, as we will see, Frank Randall Clarke travelled across Canada at a time when the company's emotionally-driven advertising increasingly focussed on photographs of a CPR-constructed landscape. What's more, without ever having seen the entirety of the country before, Clarke would have known what he could expect to see along the way. Although he was by no means the first generation to have his desire for travelling kindled by visual culture and visual

---

go on to explain that in Winnipeg "The Canadian Pacific owns large areas of good agricultural land, and has a comprehensive colonization policy for facilitating the settlement of practical farmers"(4). It did not however, go into greater detail, nor did it make a direct appeal to the reader of *Across Canada* to do anything more than observe the country's various stages of development. Indeed, when the company's nationalist message became most pronounced, photographs in later pamphlets would concentrate on urban signs of progress, also acknowledging that the transcontinental traveller was most likely an urban resident.

media, he was representative of an ever-widening group of people whose precise image of the country was guided by photographs, and by a culture even more entrenched in a "snapshot economy" whereby it was believed that "artlessness equals candour equals truth."[62]

The Across Canada Series of Brochures

During the company's first year of service in 1887, the Canadian Pacific produced a brochure that was quite straightforwardly referred to as the *Annotated Time Table.*[63] Geared toward enticing English-born travellers, farmers, and settlers to Western Canada, the *Time Table* was a dense 100-page guide that was printed on thick newspaper, and thus could not support photographic illustrations. Unequivocally designed for an East-to-West route, the guide's pages contained five columns overwhelmed with information, lines and numbers. It noted exact distances and departure times, and used long and dramatic descriptions to explain what passengers could expect to see and feel when observing the world beyond the train window.

The *Annotated Time Table* encouraged readers to witness the landscape in the tradition of Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Idea of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757); it quite simply described impressive landscapes "as spectacles of holy terror,"[64] thus illustrating the CPR's understanding of the tourist's interaction with the natural world. For instance, with an awe-inspired Victorian vocabulary, the *Time Table* of 1892 explained that the Rocky mountains formed "an impenetrable barrier" made of "fantastically broken and castellated heights." It noted that the mountain range had been "broken out of the crust of the earth," and yet erosion had

---

[62] Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001) 31.
[63] Their full title was *Annotated Time Table with Information as to the C.P.R. Transcontinental Routes.*
[64] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 1995) 449.

caused these "disturbed stratifications" to be "only colossal fragments of their original upheavals."[65]

Indeed, in the majority of its narrative, the *Time Table* depicted the Canadian landscape as a frightful wilderness that was best entered into while under the protection of the CPR[66]; only seasoned gentleman sportsman were encouraged to venture into the wild landscape beyond the luxury and comfort represented by the railway's tracks.[67] Thus, between 1887 to 1913, although spectacular and awesome, and framed as the most exhilarating part of the transcontinental journey, backcountry areas such as the Rocky Mountains were promoted as surreal landscapes fashioned by divine influences, therefore demonstrating the all-powerful force of nature and the mighty resilience of the CPR.

However, over time, the CPR reoriented the focus of its brochures. As the series evolved from a text-only guidebook to one with illustrations and then photographs, what becomes most striking is the overall change in the ways that the company portrayed the tourist's interaction with the Canadian landscape. The text-only series flatly wrote of the company as the arbiter of progress and civilization, and cautioned travellers that the Canadian wilderness was an isolated, foreboding space. The second stage in the evolution of this series however, promoted a more participatory interaction with the landscape; although the text still heralded the CPR's role in Canadian development, new illustrations focused on the pleasure that

---

[65] *Annotated Time Table* (1892), 31.

[66] An amusing anecdote: The guide pointed out that if one got lost, all one had to do was follow the nearest railway track, as the CPR's rails were quite literally expected to lead the stray traveller back to civilization.

[67] "Roughing it" by camping with a birch bark canoe and expert guide was encouraged. The famous *Baedeker's* guide for Canada in 1900 not only extensively quoted the CPR, but also suggested points along the company's route where, once properly outfitted, "all the reasonable requirements of the inner man will be fully satisfied" (LIV).

could be derived from leisure, and in particular, leisure landscape made accessible to the tourist by the CPR.

In 1914, the *Time Table* kept most of its text but became an illustrated guidebook, and changed its name to *Across Canada – Annotated Guide via Canadian Pacific, the Greatest Transportation System in the World.* Its lighter format and less formal style replaced the confusing charts of its predecessor with quaintly illustrated sections on CPR hotels and services. Unlike the *Time Table*, the *Across Canada* brochures were specifically oriented toward the country's leisure class, which consisted of an Eastern, white, Anglo-Saxon and middle class *community of travellers*, for these guidebooks and the CPR's publicity in general, created a common set of images and a shared set of meaningful sites to which all of the CPR's tourists could refer.

Across Canada most often celebrated the young country's rapid progress, technological achievements, and vast resources. It also reflected the fact that travel agents were becoming mainstream, thereby allowing the guides to become more tourist-oriented and less informational.[68] As a result, the pamphlet's emphasis on hard facts decreased, while the number of illustrations that reflected the imaginative aspects of tourism increased. For example, wood engravings were used to depict a vast array of generic scenes that were found on almost every page throughout the booklet. The majority of these line drawings highlighted the playful spirit of people on vacation or at leisure with a lively and light-hearted flare. Illustrations of travellers swimming, hunting, or enjoying the comforts of the company's grand hotels set the tone for the travelling experience, and showed tourists what they could expect along the journey.

---

[68] See *Saturday Night Magazine*, June 6, 1925, for one of the few articles written about the Canadian travel industry during this period.

As potential travellers thus began to visualize themselves enjoying the CPR's vast wilderness playground, technological changes in the printing industry that developed in the early 1920s, allowed the mass Canadian tourist market to gain access to photographic accounts of the transcontinental route.[69] From this point onward, the CPR's pamphlets steadily decreased in length, going from in-depth booklets to small, visually elaborate brochures. In addition, the company instantaneously attempted to used photography as a vehicle for its message, and devised ways to include more and more photographs in the series without sacrificing text.[70] By 1929, although the total length of the brochures decreased, 65% of *Across Canada*'s overall layout consisted of photographic imagery, most of it largely credited to the Associated Screen News.

The Layout of the Land

The evolution of the CPR's transcontinental brochures reveals a lot about the corporation's use of cutting edge marketing techniques, as well as its understanding of the powers of visual persuasion. For example, the gradual shift that occurred in its photographic brochures demonstrates that the company was not immediately successful in applying the photographic medium to its advertising; rather, it will be shown that the company had to teach itself how to effectively use the medium when representing people, and in order to portray the act of travelling as an inclusive, safe, and enjoyable activity.

---

[69] Issues of *Across Canada* from around the end of the Great War reveal that several of the plates used to print the series began to wear down, provoking the need for new illustrations. This factor, combined with the availability of new photographic printing technology likely prompted the publicity department to make the *Across Canada* series fully photographic.

[70] For example, in 1922, the series split into Eastern-focused and Western-focused travel guides. While the overall length of each publication remained the same, *Across Canada* brochures now had the ability to include many more photographs on each region.

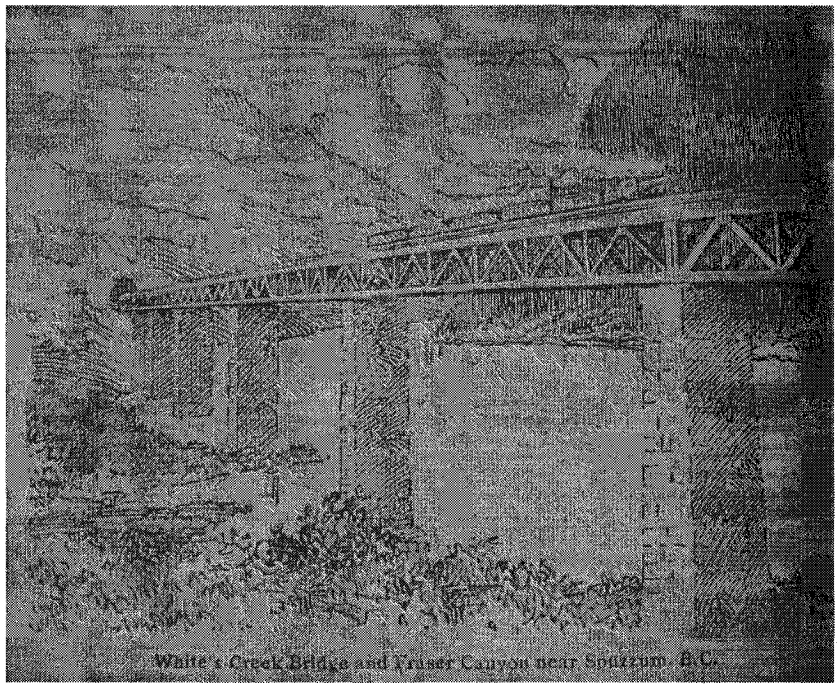


Image 5 An engraving of White's Creek Bridge, found in the *Across Canada – Annotated Time Table* series of brochures from around 1914-1920. Note the chugging train.

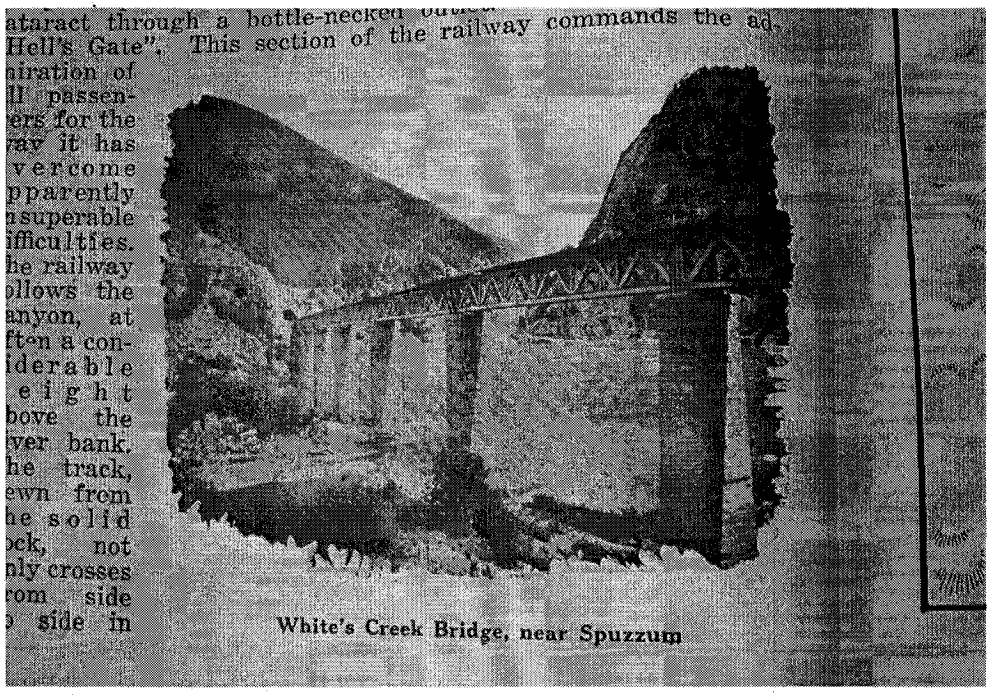


Image 6 This photographs was likely the view upon which the previous image was based. It was eventually reproduced in early versions of photographic *Across Canada* brochures. Note the absence of the chugging train.

As noted above, the company's non-photographic brochures often used action-oriented illustrations of people in order to convey the feel and excitement of travelling. Interestingly, successive versions of *Across Canada* reveal that these vignettes were oftentimes based on real photographs, which were embellished by the inclusion of such things as chugging trains or laughing people to compensate for the limits of the medium (see Images 5 and 6).

However, these embellishments were lost when *Across Canada* switched from line engravings to photographic illustrations, for the first series of photographic brochures included the original photographs on which the illustrated pamphlets were based. As a result, the company's early photographic pamphlets immediately saw a total decrease in the number of images that focused on people at leisure, and instead, turned the readers' gaze to static landscapes and open vistas (see Tables 1-3 on pages 54 and 55 for a numerical breakdown of the illustrated content of the *Across Canada* brochures).

By 1926, something within the company's advertising department changed, for subsequent issues of *Across Canada* managed to recuperate the playful aspects of travelling which were so abundantly illustrated in previous brochures.

Although the company recognized that the country's natural scenery was impressive photographically, Gibbon's Associated Screen News outfit realized by the end of the decade great benefits could be derived from featuring photographic subjects who posed in the same manner as in earlier illustrated brochures.

Table 1:
Percentage Breakdown of Illustrations from *Across Canada*, 1914-1920.

%	Average #	Category
19%	21	Canadian Pacific Hotels and Popular Tourist Attractions
13	14	Engineering Marvels (train stations, bridges, tunnels, train cars, etc)
11	12	Cityscapes and Prominent Buildings
11	12	Regional /Ethnic 'Types' (Native "Braves", Cowboys, French nuns)
11	12	People at Leisure (relaxing on the train, hiking, fishing, horseback riding)
11	12	Mountainous Scenery
9	10	Farming (homesteads, ranching, ploughing)
7	8	Mountainous Scenery with Trains or Train Tracks
4	4	Industry (railyards, ports, grain elevators, mines, forestry)
4	4	Wildlife
=100	109	Total Number of Illustrations (Engravings, not Photographs)
24%	26	Total Number of Illustrations that depict people

Table 2:
Percentage Breakdown of Photographs from *Across Canada*, 1922-1926 Western Lines.

%	Average #	Category
17%	16	Canadian Pacific Hotels and Popular Tourist Attractions
17	16	Cityscapes and Prominent Buildings
13	12	Engineering Marvels (train stations, bridges, tunnels, train cars, etc)
13	12	Mountainous Scenery
11	10	Farming (homesteads, ranching, ploughing)
9	9	Mountainous Scenery with Trains or Train Tracks
8	8	Industry (railyards, ports, grain elevators, mines, forestry)
7	7	People at Leisure (relaxing on the train, hiking, fishing, horseback riding)
4	4	Regional /Ethnic 'Types' (Native "Braves", Cowboys, French nuns)
1	1	Wildlife
=100	95	Total Number of Photographs
25%	24	Total Number of Photographs that depict people

Table 3:
Percentage Breakdown of Photographs from *Across Canada*, Westbound Edition 1926-1929.

%	Average #	Category
25%	15	People at Leisure (relaxing on the train, hiking, horseback riding)
22	13	Canadian Pacific Hotels and Popular Tourist Attractions
17	10	Mountainous Scenery with Trains or Train Tracks
17	10	Farming (homesteads, ranching, ploughing)
7	4	Cityscapes and Prominent Buildings
7	4	Mountainous Scenery
2	2	Regional /Ethnic 'Types' (Native "Braves", Cowboys, French nuns)
2	1	Engineering Marvels (train stations, bridges, tunnels, train cars, etc)
2	1	Wildlife
0	0	Industry (railyards, ports, grain elevators, mines, forestry)
=100	59	Total Number of Photographs
40%	24	Total Number of Photographs that depict people

Indeed, two years after the company began to capitalize on the persuasive powers of the photographic medium, *Marketing Magazine* featured a lengthy article titled "People Prefer People", in which it was argued that "[t]he obvious aim of the picture-page type of copy is to simulate the interest that inheres in news-photos. To destroy this interest...[is] it to forfeit at once the particular kind of attention and interest that is sought." The article reported to Canadian advertising professionals that:

> [t]he first aim [of photographic-based advertising] should be to procure photos that depict people – and people in action. This is not easy because the whole tradition of photography is to pose. Showing a person in action not only results in a more natural likeness, but it more closely approximates to the news-photo seen in illustrated newspaper sections. For the present, until the posing tradition subsides, best results are achieved by requesting outdoor photos, especially good snapshots.

The Canadian Pacific followed these guidelines exactly, for although *Marketing* did not state it directly, the magazine suggested that mimicry was the most potent form of suggestion. Pages from *Across Canada* during this period included playful images

that depicted smiling, happy travellers, often tilting them on an angle, as one would have arranged them in the pages of a family album (see Image 7). Informal, sketch-like borders surrounded their layout, creating a casual and intimate feel that invited the prospective traveller to imagine their own family snapshots placed similarly on the page.

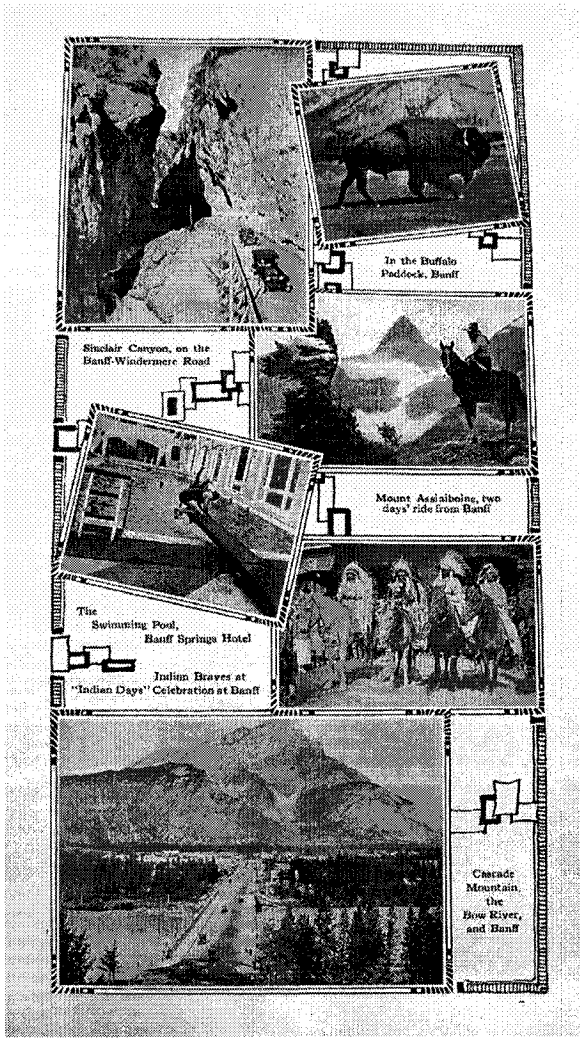


Image 7 This page from *Across Canada* (1925) illustrates the brochure's casual border and playful layout.

In these brochures photography was used to illuminate the route as well as to instruct future passenger as to how the medium could be personally employed, for these photographs made emotional appeals to consumers who by this time were assumed to have an intimate relationship with snapshot photography.

Seeing Canada Photographically

By 1921, the newly restructured Canadian National Railway Company was beginning its own transcontinental route, and also started advertising its travel products with a series of photographic brochures. As competition commenced, both companies quite cleverly used their corporate identities to brand the landscape over which their respective trains traversed; the Canadian National Railway promoted its federally-funded services in a brochure titled "*Across Canada The National Way*", while Canadian Pacific publications extolled "the Canadian Pacific Rockies," or CPR for short.

The attempt to generate a competitive advantage also prompted each railway to create new symbols and to invent new "traditions" that were designed to appeal to the camera-happy tourist's desire for ever more interesting snapshots. Banff Indian Days was one such spectacle, and will be more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 3. The CPR's invention and promotion of the Great Divide, or the supposed division of the country's eastern- and western-bound headwaters, was another (see Image 8, page 58). The CPR promoted the Great Divide as a nodal point of Canadian culture; in addition to explaining the attraction's history, many brochures featured an image of the site, and showed that tourists had a photographic relationship with it as well. The Divide was heavily promoted as an attraction that could only be accessed by the CPR. As a result, a certain aura was conferred upon it, and a clearly defined

framework for seeing and consuming the site emerged. Travellers were encouraged to read the attraction for its supposed geographical significance and then take or purchase photographs while in its presence. Indeed, in addition to having no less than three photographs of the Divide in his own personal snapshot album, Frank Randall Clarke told his Montreal readership that when stopping at the arch that marked the site, "everybody rushes out to use their Kodaks."[71]

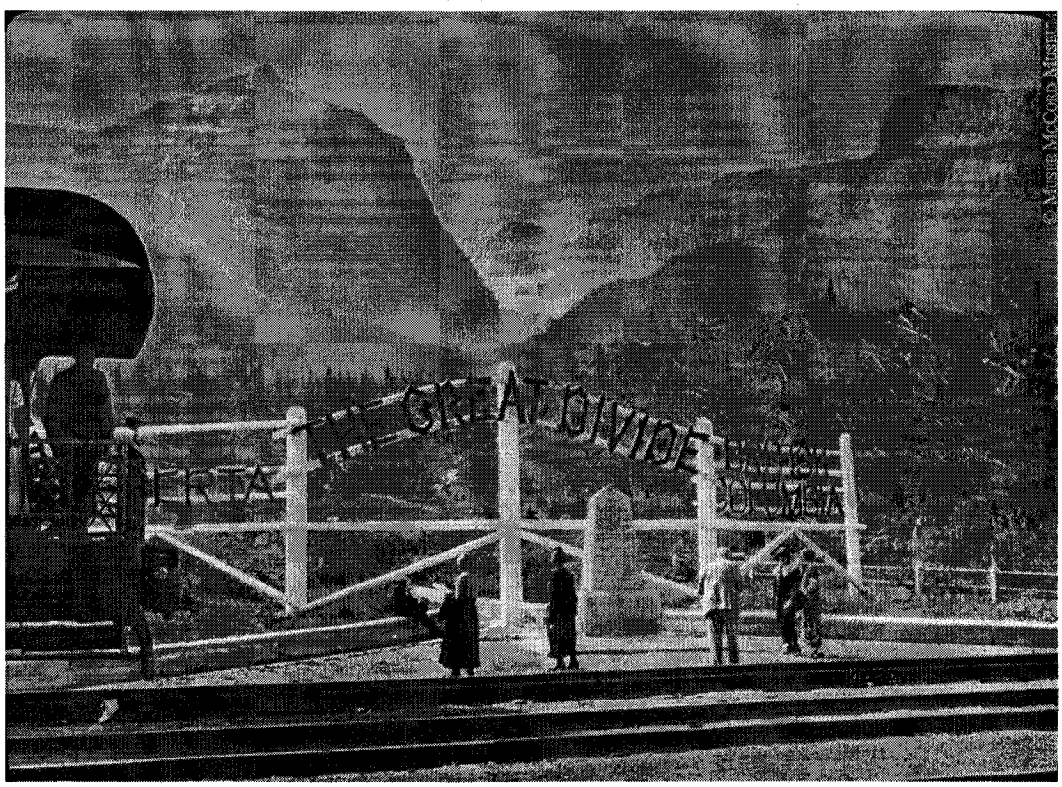


Image 8 This hand-coloured glass lantern slide of the Great Divide (around 1925) was included as part of a popular McGill illustrated lecture titled "ACROSS CANADA BY C.P.R.".[72]

---

[71] Frank Randall Clarke, *The Diary* (Original Manuscript), 57. McGill University Archives F.R. Clarke Fonds, 88-042 M.G. 4122 C1.

[72] *The Great Divide AB-BC, about 1925*, anonymous. Silver salts and transparent ink on glass - Gelatin dry plate process, 8 x 10 cm. McCord Museum of Canadian History, MP-0000.158.103 < http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca >

In its attempt to define itself as Canada's most significant railway, the CPR thus fashioned a means to capture the traveller's attention – and perhaps more importantly, the traveller's lens. Those in charge of marketing the CPR's sites and services acknowledged that tourism was partly fuelled by the desire to collect the country's significant symbols, just as one collected meaningful experiences by capturing them photographically, and placing them in the family album: "in the days to come," concluded one brochure, "many pleasant hours will be spent with our snapshot albums living over again and again the 'Across Canada and Back' tour of 1930".[73] The country's nodal points were therefore described using photographic language in the company's brochures; breathtaking sites were said to be "pictures," "panoramas", and "tableaux," leading tourists to believe that the CPR's route provided them with aesthetic landscapes deserving of their cameras.

The Condensed Guide

Photographically accessible sites such as the Great Divide provided tourists with the opportunity to personally confirm the travelling experience. In addition, special sites features in the CPR's brochures also created ways in which passengers on board the transcontinental trip could see that the railway had a command over places that lay *beyond* the tourist's field of vision. To illustrate this to Canada's touring class, the CPR fashioned a precise, yet arbitrary method of indexing the countryside along its route, and of duplicating its most salient features, in photographs, in its on-board brochures. This detailed analysis of what lay beyond the tourist's window was designed to allow each traveller to feel a sense of mastery over the landscape, and to

[73] *Across Canada and Back Under the Personal Direction of Dean Sinclair Laird* (1930), 26.

assure them that every point along the way was known and had been documented by the CPR.

In a brilliant use of the company's own infrastructure, the CPR's publicity department created a system of mapping the landscape using its pre-existing telegraph network. Many of its later *Across Canada* brochures contained a special section called the "condensed guide", which carefully documented Canadian symbols, and provided tourists with information that was intended to empower and to educate. The preamble to this section informed passengers that "[b]y studying the following ten pages you will be able to identify, very easily, the principal points of interest" located along the CPR's route. One did this by using the condensed guide as an index to methodically numbered telegraph poles which were found along the company's tracks, and which could be seen from the train window. Without the guide, the CPR's system was meaningless; poles merely displayed a number which corresponded to the precise distance (in miles) between their location and the nearest 'divisional point' or major town. Sign 41.6 for example, could be found nailed to a telegraph pole between the Rocky Mountain ranges and Calgary. However, according to the condensed guide found in the 1925 edition of *Across Canada*, sign 41.6 also marked the place that corresponded to Morley, Alberta, which was 41.6 miles away from Calgary, lay just beyond the south side of the track at an altitude of 4078 feet above sea level, and was "the heart of the Stoney Indian Reserve, the modern home of a once warlike race".[74] With each noted detail, value was added to the landscape in the attempt to transpose distinctive meaning onto sites that risked being condensed into an undistinguishable countryside. Although the accuracy of that meaning was

[74] *Across Canada* (1925), 48-49.

questionable, its authoritative voice, which would eventually be aided by photographs, helped shape the traveller's perception of place by editing the landscape in advance.

In addition, the condensed guide mapped the precise location of Canadian civilization and its national symbols, and was purportedly "an endeavour to set down some of the more important sights seen on the journey".[75] By doing so, the guide allowed passengers to feel as though they were directly engaging with the nation's terrain, and actively observing the landscape over which they travelled in a precise, almost meticulous fashion. However, as new technologies such as faster trains and special all-glass observation cars[76] further enhanced the traveller's viewing experience, pamphlets encouraged a gaze of impossible detail; a seemingly endless stream of telegraph poles whirred past the train window, and referred to either fleeting sights, or invisible places well beyond the tracks.

Photographs in the condensed guide on the other hand, gave shape to places that were otherwise obscured by speed, or inaccessible because of the train's linear, restricted route. For the vast majority of travellers who did not have access to points highlighted along the way, these photographs served as a substitute for first-hand experience, and strengthened the CPR's position as the maker/enabler of Canadian history by influencing the ways in which tourists imagined the land. For example, as the company's brochures spoke of Canada's progress and tremendous potential, its photographs directed the tourist's attention to CPR-constructed landscapes, CPR

---

[75] *Across Canada*, (1927), 45.

[76] An internal brochure issued to ticket agents during the 1929 travel season also explained that the company's new solarium cars "will be a unique feature of the trains this year" and were "equipped with special 'vita glass' windows that give free passage to the ultra-violet and most beneficial sun-rays"! CPR *Staff Bulletin* Issue 243, April, 1929, 4.

attractions, or to places which had been developed or made accessible by the train. In other words, while the brochure's text wrote of places that were emblematic of Canada's history and potential, photographs directed the tourist's gaze toward products of the CPR, thus aligning the company with the country's development and progress.

The condensed guide provided yet another opportunity for the railway to position itself as the sole institution that made the Canadian landscape accessible to its patrons. However, no matter how fervently the company insisted that its services allowed for unimpeded access to the Canadian landscape, the transcontinental experience was a thickly mediated one; travellers could not easily disembark between major stops and explore what lay beyond the CPR's route themselves. Thus, because the CPR and CNR controlled the only means of easily and cheaply traversing the country, Canada's two national railways determined what the vast majority of Canada's travelling class would see and access along the way. As a result, those who set out for a transcontinental vacation consisted of a captive audience. Or, put more tersely, "in a sense, travellers onboard the CPR were like pampered inmates in a rolling panopticon, able to look about in many directions but, unless they strayed from the line, denied the freedom to see what lay beyond the railway's horizon".[77]

The cumulative effect of railway travel therefore had profound implications; documents that helped define the imaginative aspects of travel, combined with the route itself, determined all of what was and was not seen, and thus also influenced how Canadians viewed and visualized the land. For example, historian Jeremy Foster has argued that national railway networks have had the capacity to play a significant

[77] Flynn 207.

role in the "regularization of national space." His research has shown that in some cases, the development of national narratives have been

> complemented by the way the train window – like the photograph – framed the national terrain primarily as something 'seen', a phenomenon which could be categorized, compared and evaluated at will; in other words, as landscape. Removing the individual from the direct bodily engagement with it, railway travel turned that terrain into something distanced and panoramic. Not only was this national landscape rendered visible to more people than before, it was done in a regularized way – the physical landscape seen was the same for everyone, every time, determined by the alignment of the line.[78]

In Canada, while the train created a consistent way of seeing the landscape, the CPR's accompanying publicity material also standardized the countryside through pictures, giving those with access to the CPR's publications the ability to "inhabit the same subjectivity toward a shared geographical space".[79] In his study on the origins of nationalism, influential anthropologist Benedict Anderson has argued that these types of widely circulated texts are instrumental in forging "a deep horizontal comradeship" between members of a geographically diverse nation, and in bonding total strangers to "the solidarity of a single community," which in turn, develops their sense of belonging to a nation, or *imagined community.*[80] Thus, by representing the country through a standard set of visual images, travellers were given the ability to visualize the diversity of the country's geography, and to relate that geography to others who shared the same viewing experience. As a result, in publicizing the trip, the CPR asserted that by consuming a combination of its photographic images and

---

[78] Jeremy Foster, "Capturing the Losing the 'Lie of the Land': Railway Photography and Colonial Nationalism in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa," in Schwartz and Ryan eds. *Picturing Place, Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (New York: I.B. Taurus, 2003) 155.
[79] Foster 143.
[80] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (New York: Verso, 1991) 6-7 and 27.

travel services, one had the opportunity to understand the intricacies of the land, and could therefore project a sense of ownership upon it.

Travel as an Act of Citizenship

While the visual trends in these pamphlets stressed the enjoyment of travel and the influence of the railway, their textual narratives continually reinforced the fact that the trans-Canadian journey was a personal education that actively engaged the individual in the larger process of national self-discovery. One group of the *Across Canada* series made this explicit, and framed the progress of Canada as a linear route which, once experienced, "makes us proud of our past and bold in our predictions for the future". [81] *Across Canada and Back* was first designed to rouse interest in a trip supposedly organized by Sinclair Laird, Dean of Macdonald College in Montreal. The inaugural trip of 1925 was meant to attract students and teachers from Montreal and Toronto, but the transcontinental tour became so popular that it was made available to the general English public, or "those who would be up-to-date,"[82] and occurred every summer thereafter until 1931. The Laird series conveyed glowing accounts of Canada, and used the brochure as a persuasive tool to push the company's new message. In the attempt to give the transcontinental trip more significance, early Laird pamphlets contained letters of endorsement from prominent personalities and political leaders who wrote of the value of travel. In the 1926 edition for example, travelling across the country, wrote the pen of Ontario premier G.H. Ferguson,

> affords the best possible opportunity for Canadians to learn much that is worth while from their own actual observation of the great heritage we possess. I do not think that any Canadian who has not

[81] *Across Canada and Back* (1929) 1.
[82] *Across Canada and Back* (1929) 1.

> crossed the Continent can fully realize the value of his citizenship and the great possibilities of his country.[83]

In 1927, the Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University wrote "there is no better way of ensuring the unity of Canada than by giving to our people a knowledge of all Canada".[84] But the company's attempt to frame the trip as an emotional route of personal and national discovery was a highly developed marketing strategy, and in procuring such accomplished Canadians, the publicity department had to look no further than the company's own boardroom. Both Sinclair Laird and Principal Arthur Currie of McGill were closely connected to CPR president E.W. Beatty, who also happened to preside over McGill University's board at the time.[85]

Thus in its attempt to fashion Canada's significant symbols, the company appropriated the Canadian landscape, and in effect, tried to equate its own success with that of the nation's. Furthermore, the *Across Canada* series cleverly confirmed the company's corporate message and identity in the publication's layout, for when reading the brochure, there was no question that it described a linear route that paralleled the historical development of Canada. Whether designed for Eastbound or Westbound traffic, the narrative was the same: Eastern Canada contained the nation's history and origins, and its Western regions (defined as the area from Winnipeg to the Pacific) contained the nation's future.[86]

---

[83] *Across Canada and Back* (1926) 1.
[84] *Across Canada and Back* (1927) 1.
[85] Premier Ferguson's biographer notes that although he was not in favour of the unbridled overdevelopment of railways in the 1920s, he "greatly extended an already wide acquaintanceship with businessmen and politicians across the country" including "Eddie" Beatty of the CPR .See Peter Oliver's *G. Howard Ferguson: Ontario Tory*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977) 154.
[86] The pamphlet's instructions though, noted that it had no bias. In one Westbound pamphlet it explained that: "*Across Canada* is written as though the reader were travelling westward, but it can be used equally as easily in the reverse direction. At the head of nearly

According to the railway's narrative, the linear route could be taken as a model of the country's nature-to-nation trajectory. In these brochures text and image combined to form a narrative of Canadian progress that directed the reader's attention to predetermined sites of pleasure, history and future development. Guidebooks created narratives that explained the origins of culture and attempted to summarize the landscape's significant symbols and shorthand signs in order to piece together a clearly readable handbook of Canadian identity. In his analysis of early Canadian travel writing, literary critic Kevin Flynn explains that "narratives communicate the idea of origins and propagate certain rhetorical modes that become familiar ways of speaking of the nation and expressing one's nationalism."[87] However, visual narratives functioned in the same way: photographs that were complimented by supporting text created a framework for visualizing the landscape and character of the country from coast to coast, which as we have seen, aligned the nation's progress with the products of the corporation.

Observing the Landscape, Seeing the Nation

The evolution of the *Across Canada* series reveals a monumental shift in not only the company's perceived needs of the average Canadian traveller, but also reflects significant changes to the ways in which Canadian society generally related to the Canadian landscape. According to the textual narratives found in the company's brochures, the knowledge one gained from travelling across Canada made an essential contribution to one's sense of identity. What's more, the CPR asserted that

---

every page, in italic type is a list of stations and a general description of that section of the country; one has but to turn to the later pages and to read the station names upwards instead of downwards, to travel the journal eastward instead of westward." [1923]

[87] Flynn 203

cumulatively, this knowledge resulted in a greatly enhanced confidence in the country and the place of its citizens vis-à-vis the natural world.

Indeed, by 1927, the CPR's *Across Canada* series began with an introduction that proclaimed "the Canadian Pacific route through these mighty mountain ranges is in itself a visualization of human triumph over nature".[88] Clearly, by the 1920s, Canadian society ceased believing that there existed a foreboding and frightful Wilderness that was generally believed to have begun "where technological systems end".[89] This evolution could be easily demonstrated by the company's guides: the *Annotated Time Table*'s fearful description of "impenetrable barriers" (1892) became "a *seemingly* impenetrable barrier" in 1900, and by 1925, the Eastern entrance to the Rockies was described not as a barrier, but a mountain landscape that "looks almost impenetrable". Peaks of the Fairholme Range were still "fantastically broken", but in 1925, the publicity department decided that "these mountains were lifted up" thousands of years ago, and were not in fact "broken out of the crust of the earth" (1892). Although the language of later pamphlets was still dramatic, they drastically altered the representation of the landscape: the "disturbed stratifications" of 1892 for example, were generally replaced by areas "warmed by clear sunshine and kissed by clear air" in later years (1927)! Over time, the sublime wilderness described in these pamphlets was replaced by a more inviting landscape that was depicted in relation to a human scale. Furthermore, when "back to nature" movements swept the urban

[88] *Across Canada* (1927), 2.
[89] Jean Manore, "Wilderness and Territoriality: Different Ways of Viewing the Land", *Journal of Canadian Studies* 33. 2 (Summer 1998): 80.

middle class of Canada and Britain,[90] the company began to publicize "charming trips" and "delightful excursions"[91] that were specifically tailored to the middle class's values and desires, and increasing penchant for automobile trips and backcountry adventures in what was previously considered the wild unknown.

As discussed, between 1925 and 1929, this trend was clearly reflected in the increasing number of photographs that showed people interacting with their environment. As automobile travel began to challenge the railway's monopoly on Canadian scenery, the company stepped up its efforts to diversify its vacation packages, arguing that the CPR offered the same autonomous freedoms afforded by car travel. Even John Murray Gibbon acknowledged that the company's expanded line of rustic bungalow camps and hotels "serve the highways as well as the railway and welcome the new army of automobile tourists whose invasion of the field of travel might otherwise have proved damaging" to the company.[92] To show Canada's potential tourists that rail travel was still very much in vogue, the company modified the types of photographs used in its brochures; publicity material now more often depicted travellers enjoying the comforts of the CPR. People relaxing on trains, at hotel attractions, or enjoying the clubs and amenities provided by the CPR became a recurring theme, and demonstrated that CPR-run activities such as golf, alpine hiking, auto tours and trail riding could take tourists away from its highly organized

---

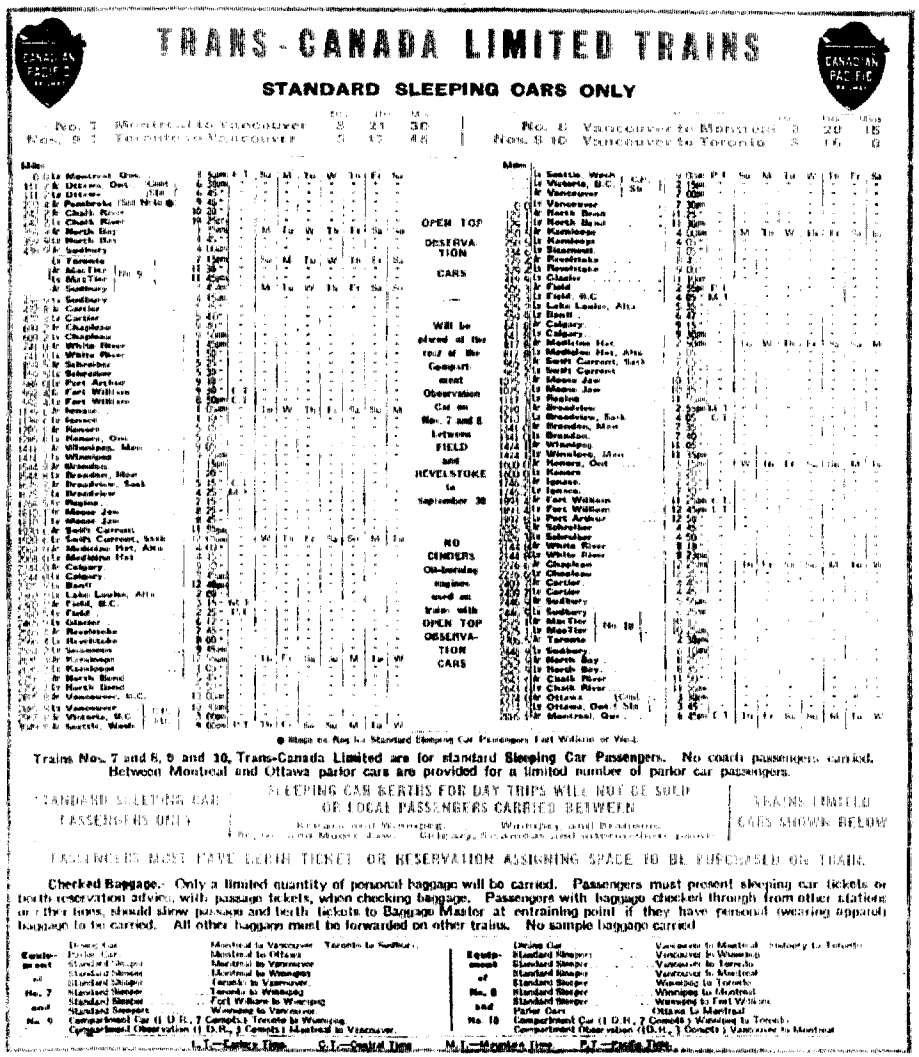
[90] See Frank Trentmann, "Civilization and its Discontents: English Neo-Romanticism and the Transformation of Anti-Modernism in Twentieth-Century Western Culture", *Journal of Contemporary History* 29 (1994): 583-625, and Jessup, "The More Things Change".

[91] *Across Canada*, [1923] 98.

[92] Gibbon 395. Not surprisingly, the CPR's chief publicity agent himself was an avid user of the railway's vast network of hotels and bungalow camps, and confessed preferring the independence of automobile travel as a means of jet-setting between locales. John Murray Gibbon to Madge MacBeth, August 11, 1923. Library and Archives Canada, Madge MacBeth Fonds MG30-D52.

hospitality network by putting them into its highly organized 'wilderness'. In turn, photographs established specific expectations of the travelling experience; not only did they preview the country and condense the nation into a booklet of significant symbols, they also assured travellers that although entering foreign landscapes, travellers could feel at home in all of Canada. As one of many examples, the evolution of a Canadian Pacific series of pamphlets that ran parallel to the *Across Canada* booklets makes this clear: in 1919, the cover of a pamphlet advertising the services of the Trans-Canada Limited displayed a dense timetable crammed with information (see Image 9, page 70). In 1927, the brochure was a more playfully illustrated advertisement for its services, and showed women enjoying "the pleasure of travel...in an atmosphere of ease, luxury and enjoyment" (see Image 10, page 71). In 1928-29—the company's watershed years of modern high design—the brochure became fully photographic, and its tight, striking layout contained bold strokes of colour in line and typeface. The timetable dropped all reference to train schedules from its cover, and featured female models relaxing on the train. The text directly addressed "The Lone Traveller", and the lone *female* traveller in particular: "[n]o longer does Mother dread the trip to visit son or daughter in some distant city. Whether the trip is one of a day, a night, or four days and nights duration...she knows it will be a most pleasant one if she travels CANADIAN PACIFIC"[93] (see Image 11, page 72).

[93] *CPR: Canadian Pacific Railway Lines Station Index and Other Information, August 1, 1929.* (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1929). Library and Archives Canada, A. A. Merrilees Collection # 2385-4, Box: Railroad (North America).



TRANS-CANADA LIMITED TRAINS

STANDARD SLEEPING CARS ONLY

Trains Nos. 7 and 8, 9 and 10, Trans-Canada Limited are for standard Sleeping Car Passengers. No coach passengers carried. Between Montreal and Ottawa parlor cars are provided for a limited number of parlor car passengers.

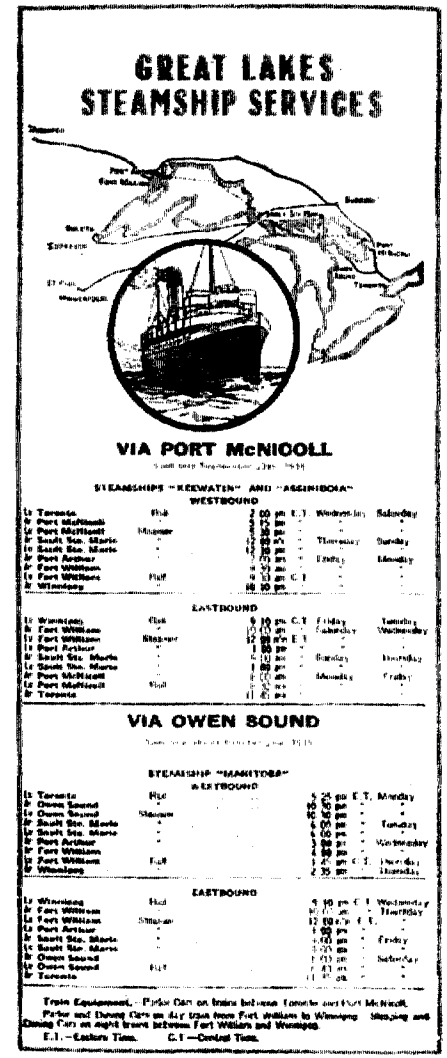
STANDARD SLEEPING CAR PASSENGERS ONLY

SLEEPING CAR BERTHS FOR DAY TRIPS WILL NOT BE SOLD OR LOCAL PASSENGERS CARRIED BETWEEN

TRAINS LIMITED CARS SHOWN BELOW

PASSENGERS MUST HAVE BERTH TICKET OR RESERVATION ASSIGNING SPACE TO BE PURCHASED ON TRAIN.

Checked Baggage.- Only a limited quantity of personal baggage will be carried. Passengers must present sleeping car tickets or berth reservation advice, with passage tickets, when checking baggage. Passengers with baggage checked through from other station or other lines, should show passage and berth tickets to Baggage Master at entraining point if they have personal (wearing apparel) baggage to be carried. All other baggage must be forwarded on other trains. No sample baggage carried



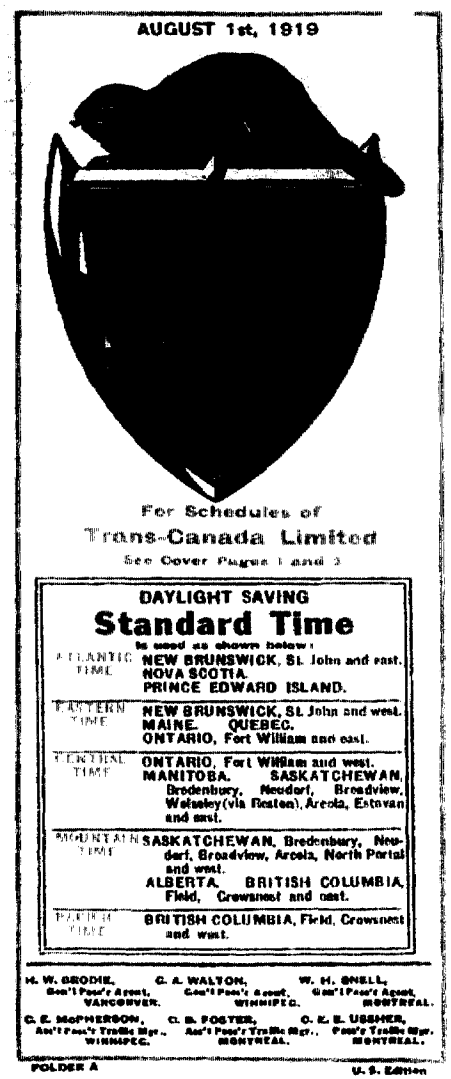
GREAT LAKES STEAMSHIP SERVICES

VIA PORT McNICOLL

STEAMSHIPS "KEEWATIN" AND "ASSINIBOIA"

VIA OWEN SOUND

STEAMSHIP "MANITOBA"



AUGUST 1st, 1919

For Schedules of Trans-Canada Limited

See Cover Pages 1 and 3

DAYLIGHT SAVING

Standard Time

to be used as shown below:

ATLANTIC TIME — NEW BRUNSWICK, St. John and east. NOVA SCOTIA. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

EASTERN TIME — NEW BRUNSWICK, St. John and west. MAINE. QUEBEC. ONTARIO, Fort William and east.

CENTRAL TIME — ONTARIO, Fort William and west. MANITOBA. SASKATCHEWAN, Brodenbury, Neudorf, Broadview, Wolseley (via Reston), Arcola, Estevan and east.

MOUNTAIN TIME — SASKATCHEWAN, Brodenbury, Neudorf, Broadview, Arcola, North Portal and west. ALBERTA. BRITISH COLUMBIA, Field, Crowsnest and east.

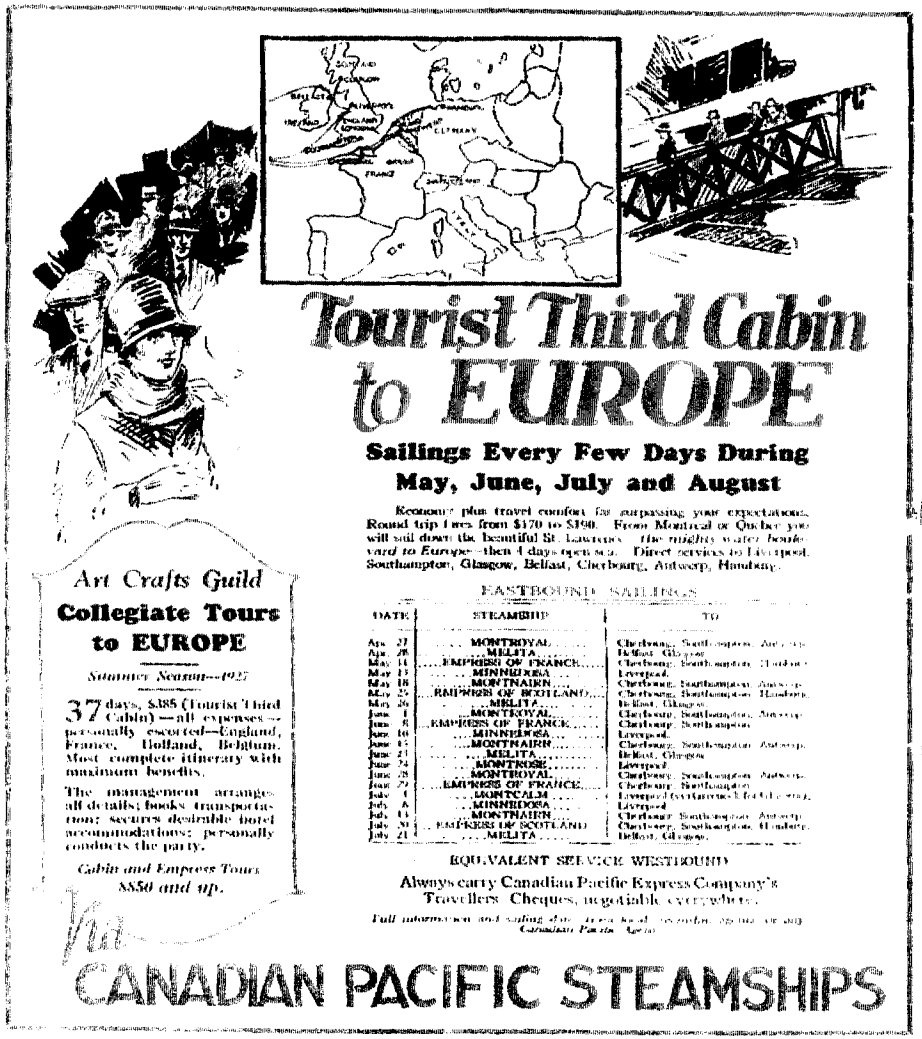
PACIFIC TIME — BRITISH COLUMBIA, Field, Crowsnest and west.

H. W. BRODIE, Gen'l Pass'r Agent, VANCOUVER. C. A. WALTON, Gen'l Pass'r Agent, WINNIPEG. W. H. SNELL, Gen'l Pass'r Agent, MONTREAL.

C. E. McPHERSON, Ass't Pass'r Traffic Mgr., WINNIPEG. C. B. FOSTER, Ass't Pass'r Traffic Mgr., MONTREAL. C. E. E. USSHER, Pass'r Traffic Mgr., MONTREAL.

FOLDER A U. S. Edition

Image 9 Canadian Pacific Railway, Trans-Canada Limited Trains, August 1st, 1919. Library and Archives Canada, Merrilees collection.



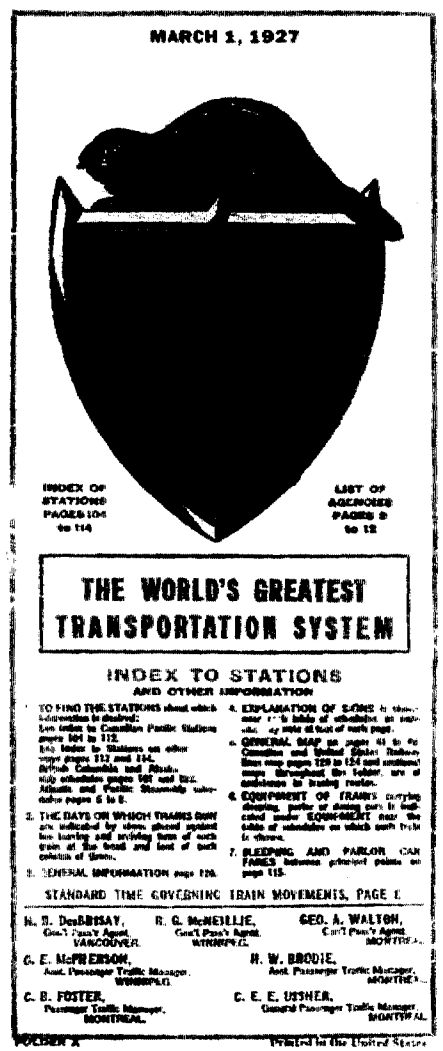


Image 10 Canadian Pacific Railway, Trans-Canada Train index and time table, with an advertisement for "Tourist Third Cabin to Europe" on the outside cover, March 1, 1927. National Library and Archives Canada, Merrilees Collection.

Image 11 Canadian Pacific Railway, The Trans-Canada Limited, August 1, 1929. National Library and Archives Canada, Merrilees Collection.

Indeed, by the end of the decade, photographic representations of female travellers and the "Mother" figure in particular, signalled to Canadian audiences that the utmost domestication of both the wilderness and tourism had taken place. In the *Trans-Canada* pamphlet, the depiction of a middle-age "Mother" figure, grey-haired and alone, is shown reading comfortably as if she was in her own home's parlour, or public reception space, while another depicts the same woman surrounded by fashionable younger women who converse and happily share a package of cigarettes. Indeed, the interior décor of the rail car signalled the intentional design of a comfortable and familiar domestic space, which echoed the well-established design codes of middle class culture.[94] These pamphlets depicted the interior of the train as a resting spot where one could read, meet new people, or use the *Across Canada* guide to educate one's self about the landscape beyond the train window (see Image 11, middle left).

In these brochures photographs also showed the prospective traveller that the railway created a community of travellers who were all members of the same race and class, who all enjoyed the same aesthetic sensibilities, and who shared the same culture and urban background, love of travelling, appreciation of comfort, and privilege of free time.

The company's advertising repeatedly attempted to link the experience of travelling to the feeling of being at home and in a familiar community. However, by promising tourists that the travelling experience could evoke feelings of comfort and enjoyment, the company put forth strong ideological claims: here, comfort and the

---

[94] See Katherine C. Grier, Culture *and Comfort; Parlor making and middle class identity, 1850-1930*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997) 44-45 for a brief discussion about the interior décor of railway cars during the late Victorian era.

sense of feeling 'at home' was coded language for a particularly race- and status-conscious middle class. Touring within one's own familiar community of travellers ensured that the company's patrons would not be forced to confront strangeness in the form of a threatening Other. While the *Trans-Canada* pamphlet's visual narrative used a highly effective gendered storyline to make this point, other brochures stresses the same idea by targeting a different audience. In Dean Laird's *Across Canada* brochures for example, university-educated individuals, presumably male, were invited to extend their schooling while travelling with like-minded compatriots of the professional class. "You will enjoy the luxury of making your home and travelling on the highest type of Canadian Pacific train," explained one pamphlet. 'The advantages of a personally conducted tour are obvious...members will enjoy the companionship of congenial people of all professions...passengers are care-free, and can devote themselves to pleasure without a single worry," which was code for the fact that they belonged to the leisure class.

Unlike Frank Randall Clarke's journey, the transcontinental trip was promoted as a leisurely experience that showed the traveller Canada's 'pictured beauties': only specific destinations such as the Great Divide or the country's major cities made up the tourist's itinerary. By editing the tourist's route, the CPR could omit landscapes that revealed uncontrolled forms of cultural difference, such as reserve lands, immigrant-dominated rural towns or those in transition, such as the farms and industrial scenes so frequently depicted in its brochures. Although their itineraries sometimes allowed the traveller to stray from the CPR's predefined route, it would have been unlikely that the average traveller sought out immigration depots, farms and industrial yards while on vacation. The railway promoted the

transcontinental experience as one that gave travellers access to sites that stressed cultural sameness, and in so doing, the company encouraged tourists to gaze upon a Canada that was populated with members of the traveller's own race and class.

By the late 1920s the emphasis on a community of travellers would become most pronounced as the company began offering "Monoclass Travel" designed for the middle class tourist "so he may roam the train freely without worry of contact with other classes of passengers".[95] Indeed, the only depiction of racial difference occurred when brochures featured photographs of tourist spectacles (Banff Indian Days), or of tourist services such as Afro-Canadian porters.[96] Even the company's first-class slogan seemed to separate the CPR's target audience from all others who would come into contact with this community of travellers: the benefit of Monoclass travel was simply the confirmation of "One Class, One Service", and those who identified with the people depicted in the company's brochures could gain satisfaction from belonging to this privileged group.

As will be discussed in the following chapter, the lack of diversity in these brochures was in stark contrast to the railway's role of colonizer. Brochures did not depict new immigrants being imported into Canada by the CPR, for this aspect of the CPR's mandate was far too controversial. Instead, Canadian leisure and tourism was visually defined as a white experience that confirmed the country's authoritative English origins, a theme to which I will return.

---

[95] Ironically, this advertisement appeared on 29 May, 1926 in *Marketing Magazine*, and was specifically designed for the advertising man.

[96] Although beyond the scope of this essay, there has recently developed a large body of work on the experience, treatment, and representation of Black railway porters in Canada. For a review of recent literature, see Jenny Carson, "Riding the Rails: Black Railroad Workers in Canada and the United States," *Labour* [Canada] 50 (2002): 275-295.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined several ways in which the Canadian Pacific Railway used photographs to position itself as the maker of Canadian history in the mind of its patrons. Due to external pressured placed on the company by the railway's main competitor, and combined with the lure of a rapidly expanding tourist population, the way in which the company portrayed itself and its services became increasingly important in the race to secure larger portions of its market share. Convinced of the powers of visual persuasion and emotionally-based marketing, the company's top management used photographs to prove to the Canadian public that its services were inextricably linked to the development of Canada. As we have seen, between 1925 and 1929, the company's main series of Canadian-bound travel guides explicitly attempted to attach culture, meaning and value to the experience of rail travel and the transcontinental trip. In this manner photographs played an instrumental role; snapshot-style photographs featuring people at leisure showed the potential traveller how one could interact with his or her environment, and potentially insert him- or herself directly into the travel narrative. Photographs of the CPR's tourist destinations typically showed travellers that the railway provided special access to Canada's wilderness, and that the wilderness was rendered safe and enjoyable because of the CPR's technological impact. Similarly, where brochures highlighted places that were said to contain the country's progress, such as Western towns or prairie landscapes, photographs depicted places formed or altered by the CPR, thus drawing visual parallels between the company and symbols of the nation's future.

The Canadian Pacific Railway's transcontinental brochures asserted that travelling across the country by way of the CPR was an act of confirming one's citizenship. Although always intended for the hands and eyes of the Anglo-Canadian middle-class tourist, *Across Canada* spoke of the country in a manner that stressed individual looking but collective seeing; while the individual looked out of the train window and formed opinions of the nation based on the company's instructive and informative images and texts, individuals collectively formed a community of travellers that helped to shape the nation. Indeed, *Across Canada* concluded by telling the traveller that:

> in twenty odd days we have travelled from one side of the continent to the other...studied [the country] in her diverse and ever changing phases, marked the transformation which is coming over the newly settled regions, watched her people and the peoples of other lands at work and play, seen a nation in the making.[97]

The company implied that the transcontinental experience consisted of a visual engagement with the countryside, either directly, through the train window, or by proxy through the company's photographs. In fact, the company's brochures showed the potential traveller that one could gain pleasure in four complimentary ways: by engaging with and learning about one's fellow community of travellers, by interacting with the landscape at CPR destination, from looking at it through the train window, and by observing Canada and educating one's self about the country through the company's brochures.

The visual emphasis placed on the trip demonstrates that the company's publicity department invested a significant amount of faith in the powers of the photographic medium. As the engineer of the company's brochures and its overall

---

[97] *Across Canada* (1929), 26.

(textual) public relations strategy, John Murray Gibbon's publicity department assumed that viewing the company's photographs could be substituted for the act of witnessing the landscape first-hand. In other words, the company hoped that a curious leap of logic would take place in the mind of the traveller: it wanted the tourist to firmly believed that he or she had personally observed the state of the nation's industries, wilderness, economic and cultural development, despite the fact that one's physical engagement was limited to the country's landscapes of leisure. Brochures were designed to be appealing to the eye, and inviting to the imagination. They were meant to be held, re-read, passed around and collected as souvenirs in their own right, and as instructive guides to the Canadian landscape that constructed a unified view of the country through a combination of highly charged photographs and texts. As the country unfolded from East to West, the company's publicity material gave the traveller imaginative access to crucial symbols that were said to contain nodal points of Canadian culture.

I have argued that despite the limited viewing experience offered by the nature of rail travel, the Canadian Pacific insisted that it was instrumental in providing the country's community of travellers with the most intimate access to the landscape. The company's *Across Canada* series of brochures provided passengers with a detailed breakdown of the landscape that was significant to the CPR in its efforts to promote the company's place in Canada's historical consciousness. The next chapter will examine how Frank Randall Clarke reinforced this message through his seemingly independent journalistic writing. Clarke was hired to write about his transcontinental journey in order to explain to his Montreal readers exactly what tourist-oriented pamphlets could not show, namely the company's extensive role in

immigration. However, by analyzing the CPR's printed publicity campaigns, one gets a deeper understanding of the significance of Clarke's project. After seeing how the company promoted its services and positioned itself within Canadian history, one sees that Clarke's "investigation" into Canada's developing west, its burgeoning towns and new immigrants, publicly sanctioned the company to continue expanding its role in Canada's economic development. 'Foreigners', he would argue, fit into the country's grand historical narrative, for they aimed to produce landscapes that were similar to those found in the company's brochures.

Image 12 Frank and Nelly Clarke, Montreal QC, 1929. Photographer unknown, MP-11988.56.16.

Chapter 2 – Writing with a Visual Vocabulary – The Transcontinental Experience of Frank Randall Clarke

> *Well, we are off; in fact well on our way for the train is just passing the waters of Lake Temiskaming. Last night as we left Montreal, I sat on the platform of the observation car and watched the Windsor station dropping behind, wondering what I should write about.....*[98]

In June, 1929, Frank Randall Clarke and his wife Nelly were about to embark on a trip across the country by way of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Before departing, they posed for a photograph outside of their St. Lambert home, near Montreal, on what appears to have been a cool summer day (see Image 12, page 80). With hands dropped to their sides—a stiff pose that Mrs. Clarke would also strike in later pages of their travel album—the two stand adroit for the camera, and every-so-slightly grin.

This photograph has been pasted into the fist pages of the Clarke family travel album, and if we read its placement at face value, it represents the send-off of their trip. Looking like the consummate travelling salesman, Frank Clarke holds his faithful typewriter to his left, and carries a small notebook tucked into his pocket. It is this typewriter of the *Underwood Portable* vintage that will convey most of his thoughts to his reading public via *The Montreal Daily Herald.* During his three week journey across Canada, Clarke will send back almost 150 neatly typed pages of *A Montrealer's Diary* on special mail trains destined for Montreal and beyond.

In this image the couple stand in their garden, and tall flowering plants and lush ivy fill the background. Clarke enthusiastically described how he had tried to shape this garden in the true English fashion, with flowers and plants reminiscent of his childhood just outside of London, England. He was an avid gardener, and to his

[98] Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 1.

readers he has mentioned his love of this hobby many times. In fact, "the cultivated garden" was a constant theme whenever he put forth a description of place, habitation, or landscape; the unruly wilderness of Western Ontario, the scorched or irrigated earth of the Prairies, and the highly cultivated English gardens of Vancouver and Victoria were all conveyed with emotion only somewhat restrained. Using the landscapes of London as the ultimate ideal, and those of Montreal as his measure of success, Clark was on the lookout for material signs of progress that could be read from the very landscape itself. Observed from the train window and his close inspection of cities and towns off the beaten track, Clarke sought those precise locations where the railway's technologies had the most profound cultural and economic impact on the landscape.

And as was discussed in Chapter 1, that landscape was defined in the CPR's travel brochures. By putting forth a decisive visual narrative through the use of photographs, the CPR's campaigns constructed an imaginative geography of Canada by linking photographs of the landscape to the national character of the country and its people. Through the circulation of photography and guidebooks, certain tourist locations would come to represent the country as a whole, creating what Tim Edensor described as "nodal points...[or] constellations around which cultural elements cohere".[99] However, I explained that the Canadian railway industry was so embroiled in competition by the time that Clarke travelled across the country, that the nodal points collected in the Canadian Pacific Railway's brochures were purposefully manipulated to reflect the physical and cultural landscapes that best suited the corporation's interests. While the company's photographs focused the

[99] Edensor vii.

tourist's gaze on its own leisure landscapes—the CPR's trains, hotels and beauty spots for example—travelling via the CPR was promoted as a unique way to enact one's sense of citizenship and to confirm one's Canadian identity. Thus in response to an increasingly competitive marketplace and changing business climate, the railway positioned itself as the nation's most culturally significant institution, that was wholly responsible for creating Canadian culture and history, for shaping its landscapes, and for ensuring the nation's continued progress.

In addition, the first chapter explained that while tourism was not the company's most profitable activity, the CPR nonetheless treated it as its most important enterprise. Tourism developed brand loyalty and brand recognition, and was considered to be the best opportunity to directly, efficiently, and emotionally align the country's Anglo-Canadian middle-class with the corporation's long-term interests. Thus, despite the limited scope of railway travel and the narrow coverage of its tourist brochures, the CPR created a mythology surrounding itself that imbued the frivolous act of travelling to tourist destinations with greater meaning; the company insisted that travelling via the CPR enabled tourists to actively participate in its ongoing process of nation-building, and to gain special insight into the qualities of the nation and its citizens.

As Canada's largest and most influential transportation company, the country's largest private employer, biggest private landowner, largest taxpayer and most prolific advertiser, aligning itself with Canadian mythology was a key business strategy and not merely a self-aggrandizing exercise. The CPR's goal was to foster a sympathetic public who considered the company's vast services to be integral to the development of the nation as a whole. Favourable public opinion ensured the

company's continued access to markets. It made it easier to gain favourable government treatment, and it helped to guarantee the CPR's business success by allowing the company to continue its business practices in an unimpeded manner.

However, significant socio-economic changes took place over the course of the decade that regularly challenged the company's hegemony. In addition to the economic pressures that resulted from the introduction of intensified competition, the CPR was forced to confront mounting public pressure in response to its handling of Canadian immigration, for in 1925, the sole responsibility for the country's more questionable colonization practices was imparted by the government upon the country's two railways.

Thus, this chapter will examine the complex intersection between travelling and immigration, for the public's hostilities toward the CPR's immigration policies challenged the mythological associations that it had carefully cultivated around its corporate identity. The chapter will show that in its effort to gain the public's support, the CPR attempted to convince the country's English mainstream that its immigration activities positively contributed to the development of Canada.

Yet, instead of concentrating on the CPR's advertising, this chapter will focus on the powerful writing of popular journalist Frank Randall Clarke. As will be demonstrated, Clarke's transcontinental reportage was a highly effective yet surreptitious extension of the CPR's public awareness campaigns and general advertising. His Montreal readership consisted of the same group of Anglo-Canadian middle class individuals who were the focus of the railway's tourist services, and who, as was shown in the first chapter, came to know and understand the country through such things as the CPR's photographic brochures. More importantly

however, Clarke used the ideological framework established in the company's travel brochures to show his English middle-class readers that the CPR's "foreign" immigrants did not threaten the nation's community or social fabric.

Over the course of his reportage, Clarke assessed Canadian immigration according to the ideals set out in the company's advertising; travel brochures showed that the CPR's sites were shaped according to a Canadian landscape ideology that valued technology and productive land. Brochures showed that tourist places were frequented by a homogeneous group of citizens who shared like interests, values and cultures, and who believed that these sites contained the essence of Canadiana. Similarly, Clarke's project was designed to demonstrate that non-British immigrant populations could successfully transform the land within this narrow framework. Furthermore, he was retained to look *behind* the country's tourist landscapes, for his readers had to be given a mechanism with which to visualize immigrant-altered land that was unseen in the company's tourist brochures.

Thus, as Chapter One examined how the railway's travel brochures established a coded way of looking at the landscape, Chapter Two will look at how Clarke used those codes to make immigrant landscapes normal and acceptable to his readers, interpreting them for potential tourists who, as John Urry has convincingly argued, "are in a way semioticians, reading the landscape for signifiers of certain pre-established notions or signs derived from various discourses of travel and tourism," of which Clarke's journalistic account was one.[100] In other words, Clarke endeavoured to show that the corporation continued to create a homogeneous community that was unaffected by potentially dangerous intrusions like colonization,

[100] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 2002) 13.

although questions about Clarke's motives and the politics behind his observations will be raised throughout the chapter.

Wielding the authoritative voice of editorial-style journalism, Clarke insisted that his perspective was that of an unbiased observer, a member of the fourth estate who not only shared his middle-class reader's concerns and values, but who, by nature of his profession, had access to the country's key decision-makers. The first section of this chapter however, will quickly examine Clarke's background, and will show that Clarke was paid by the CPR to take the trip, although nowhere was this arrangement revealed to his unsuspecting readers.

The second section of the chapter will briefly discuss the CPR's policies of colonization during the later 1920s. Then, I will examine the first literary mechanism which Clarke employed to sanction immigration; it will be shown that he devalued the worth of the British immigrant in order to carve out a space for the nation's new non-British settlers within the Canadian imagination. This third section will make it clear that Clarke's analysis was both complicated and conflicted, for although he clearly preferred the British model of civilization and culture, he was required to show that foreign cultures being imported into the country better fulfilled this British ideal.

I will then introduce the ways in which the CPR portrayed the country's most recent generation of "continental" immigrants, and will examine how these representations worked in conjunction with its travel advertising to provide Clarke with an ideological framework that could be used to measure the cultural assimilation and material progress of the nation's new immigrant groups. And finally, the chapter will conclude by examining how Clarke effectively *read* the landscape for visual signs

of the immigrant's socio-economic progress. Clarke frequently looked for material proof that signs of civilization and Englishness were being imprinted upon the landscape in the form of material wealth, control over nature, and the cultivated garden. By referring to photographic-based landscape imagery readily available to his middle-class audience, Clarke invited his Anglophone readers to imagine wild and unproductive landscapes which were being cultivated and tamed by the country's new immigrant populations brought to Canada by the CPR. Although ambivalent as to their overall success at first, Clarke insisted that immigrant farmers could be readily assimilated into Canadian society because they ultimately shared the same landscape ideals. He reported that despite their different ethnic backgrounds, these foreigners had control over the Western landscape while farming, which they altered with technology and subsequently converted into productive land.

Man About Town

Frank Randall Clarke first came to Canada from England in 1908 at the age of 26, intending to find meaningful work in the newspaper business. After a brief career in journalism, Clarke progressed from writing to advertising, where he was responsible for a number of marketing successes for a large Montreal newspaper. But following his growing interest in psychology and labour relations, and after having successfully organized several major relief initiatives through the newspapers for which he worked, Clarke founded the Protestant Employment Bureau of Montreal and promptly became its full-time manager, advertiser, and community liaison. In 1929, after 21 years in Canada, it was clear that he had made a successful niche for himself in Montreal society as a journalist, community organizer, and labour relations expert. The archival material left by Clarke's daughters to the McGill

and McCord Museum archives in Montreal, reveals that he was considered an invaluable resource person who regularly applied his extensive knowledge of business psychology and new "scientific management techniques" to the needs of various philanthropic organizations in and around Montreal.

He was ideally suited for the serial column *A Montrealer's Diary,* which, from 1928 to 1932, he composed every evening in his spare time. His journalistic references make it clear that he was well acquainted with the city's business, cultural, and political elite, and it seems that an important objective of his column was to identify Montreal's key events and personalities in order to portray the city's progress.[101] Placed next to the daily editorial, *The Diary* had an air of authority as it reported on historical tidbits, news from "the Old Country" and observations of a modernizing Montreal. As a journalist, Clarke enjoyed great success, and was given a practically blank slate to report on his daily musings and observations of the city's social and political zeitgeist. Letters poured in to the editorial office and news desk addressed to "The Diarist" and "Dear F.C.", some wishing to remain anonymous, other stating that they looked forward to reading their own ideas taken up in his column. On one occasion, after writing about the Canadian National Railway's new radio program, the director of the CNR's radio department wrote:

---

[101] See letter dated December 18, 1929 from an assistant supervisor at the Sun Life Assurance Company's head office in Montreal to Clarke: "I write to thank you heartily for the very nice article you carried in yesterday's *Herald* on our friend Wallie Moreland. I discovered your identity when I phoned Mr. Moreland this morning expressing my pleasure on the publicity, which was rendered all the more valuable because of the chatty way in which it was presented. I am glad to know who you are as I always read your column which I consider one of the most delightful features of the *Herald.* While frequently wondering who you were, I never anticipated that I would have such a happy opportunity to write you personally conveying my appreciation of your daily effort." McGill University Archives, MG 4122 – "Correspondence about newspaper columns, 1911-1953". All letters written to Clarke that are cited henceforth originate from the same file.

> I think this column of yours is one of the most interesting features in Montreal journalism and is no doubt the forerunner of more of the same kind. I found these columns in the English papers very interesting and I think the same holds true here. There is an intimacy about them that the regular editorial column never has had and, of course, you can deal with a lot more subjects than could ordinarily be touched.[102]

Another anonymous correspondent agreed. After reading one of Clarke's opinion pieces about immigration, the writer concluded:

> ...your impressions are good, very good, better than good, in a cosmopolitan City like Montreal, you have put your finger on the weak point, have diagnosed the situation, too bad, we have not more people of your mental attitude to procreate the idea of international co-operation and unselfishness which should dominate, and be the prevalent object in life, in a city of such heterogeneous characteristics as ours.[103]

Clarke's depth of knowledge and bluntness of opinion produced a smooth journalistic style and intimacy which seemed to foster a close relationship with his readers. Toward the end of his tour of the West for example, he would encourage his readers to take their next trip in Canada and would write: "so, think of this when you plan your next year's vacation, and if you'd like to write to me I will be only too glad to help you plan your trip."[104]

Aside from his journalistic popularity, there were other factors that made Clarke a valuable extension of the CPR's advertising, and a vehicle for its message. First, during the railway's period of intensive competition, the *Herald* catered to an Anglo-Canadian readership that was sympathetic to the company's interests, and progressively more attracted to travelling and tourism. Second, Clarke's professional interest in immigration and settlement gave him special insight into the topic of

---

[102] *E.A Weir to F.R.Clarke*, October 22, 1929.
[103] *Anonymous to F.R. Clarke*, July 8th, 1930.
[104] Clarke, *Diary*, Original Manuscript 71.

Canada's western settlement programs. While at the Protestant Employment Bureau he studied industrial psychology and was one of Montreal's first employment counsellors, and his research experience on the topic of employment and Canada's changing labour force gave the thrust of his opinions more weight. Thirdly, his socio-economic background made him an ideal candidate for the project; with an annual income of $5,587 for the year 1928, or the equivalent of around $63,000 in today's currency,[105] Clarke himself fit into the ideal tourist bracket, being British-born, from an eastern metropolis, and of the middle-class. From the magazines he consumed and the newspapers he read, to the friends in whose company he kept, Clarke and his family would themselves have been a prime target for the new, emotional advertising being pitched in the marketplace. His writing makes it clear that he was well versed in the visual imagery put forth by the CPR, as well as the many trends in general popular culture and the issues and concerns of the middle class. For example, his personal ledger book shows that his family owned a car, speculated on the stock market, and even considered the purchase of a Frigidaire. Clarke was in his working prime during a time in Canadian history when the term 'purchasing power' was accruing new meaning. His environment was one filled with images that promised that individuality and identity could be achieved through the acquisition of material objects, and it will be shown toward the end of this chapter that he relied on this same consumerist framework to determine the cultural progress of the country's new immigrant population. As a member of the middle class who actively consumed its popular and material culture, Clarke had access to the visual

[105] This estimate is according to the Bank of Canada Inflation Calculator. See http://www.bankofcanada.ca/en/inflation_calc.htm [November 22, 2003]. All future inflation/purchasing power calculations come from this Bank of Canada source.

vocabulary of the country from the perspective of both producer (as a journalist) and consumer (or as a tourist himself). Consequently, it is not surprising that Clarke could report in January of 1929, *without ever having seen the sights himself*, that he believed that "Canadian railroads seem to have a peculiar genius for picking out likely localities and making them into fashionable resorts. The CPR has done this with Quebec and with Banff; and the CNR has done the same thing with Jasper Park".[106]

Nine months into his term as Diarist with *The Herald*, it was arranged that he would travel across the country on assignment for the CPR. His well kept accounts for 1929-1930 show that he received two instalments from the Canadian Pacific Railway, each to the amount of $250 [approx. $2,750].[107] This is corroborated by the descriptive records added to the collection by his two daughters; we are told that Clarke was paid by the CPR to report on a trip West in 1929, and then again to the Maritimes in 1930. By having Clarke on the payroll, the railway was guaranteed a string of observations in tune with the newspaper's corporate stance. In addition, although no documents illustrating the relationship between the publicity department and Clarke exist today, Clarke's reportage makes it clear that he benefited from the CPR's favourable treatment, for he was given privileged access to key officials involved in the business of Canadian immigration policy while en route.

---

[106] Clarke, *Diary*, January 10, 1929.

[107] In 1929, the CPR's tourist brochures advertised the cost of an all-inclusive trans-Canadian trip at $340. Although Clarke did not keep detailed financial records of his trip, it can be assumed that he was given free passage on the train and then paid $250 for the combined total of all of his other expenses. It is well known that John Murray Gibbon's publicity department frequently made arrangements for writers, artists and journalists to travel across the country at the company's expense, in exchange for good publicity. See E.J. Hart, "See this World Before the Next: Tourism and the CPR" in Hugh Dempsey ed., *The CPR West*, (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984) 161.

These factors complicate Clarke's professed objectivity, and are crucial to understanding how Clarke would arrive at both his expectations of the trip and its conclusions. To cloud matters further, Clarke was also a staunch imperialist despite the destructive horrors and imperial dismemberment caused by the Great War. He firmly believed in the triumph of the British spirit and Protestant ethic, and was convinced that although immigrants had a place in Canadian nation-building, it was imperative that non-English-speaking foreigners become fully "Canadianized", a point to which I will return. He subscribed to a magazine called *Old Country*, travelled back to Britain to report on King George V's Silver Jubilee, and carefully composed issues of the *Diary* to educate Canadians about British ways he felt were falling into the realm of forgotten things.

It is therefore of little surprise that Clarke's search for British imprints upon the land was integral to his transcontinental reportage. By June 1929, *The Diary's* audience was well-prepared for his travels by way of the CPR, and expected a special month-long investigative feature on both the issue of immigration and the luxuries of travelling along the railway. Clarke had recently reported on severe problems involving the CPR's immigration practices, and was curious as to how Canada's major economic and political institutions were dealing with what he perceived to be the country's most culturally significant issue.

Indeed, Clarke travelled across the country during a time when Canada's immigration policy was drawing fierce public criticism, as will be discussed in the sections to come. Stemming from fears that "continentals" or "alien" immigrants would dilute or even pollute the nation's ethnic makeup, Clarke's commentary served

to reinforce the CPR's strong belief in multiculturalism at a time when immigration policies greatly benefited the CPR's corporate interests.

Canada and Colonization, 1920-1929

While the CPR's transcontinental brochures increasingly directed the tourist's gaze toward Canada's leisure landscapes, the company's publicity department engaged in other marketing campaigns—Clarke's trip included—that focused on the railway's parallel passenger-driven mandate: the settlement and colonization of the Canadian West.

The push for accelerated colonization was a direct response to contemporary fears that Canada would not and could not develop as a nation in its own right without a strong Western population that would expand the country's transcontinental markets. Clarke firmly believed for example, that the West required more farms, larger population centres, more Canadian-owned industry, and a strong national "sentiment" to bind the nation's geographically diverse population and give its Western regions more weight.[108] "The more people there are in Canada, making their homes here," he insisted, "the more prosperity there is for all of us."[109]

The country's two national railways echoed these concerns and passionately argued that "to settle these great open spaces; to bring them to production; to develop the vast natural resources; to extend commerce and industry, *the Dominion needs people.*"[110] However, how immigration was to be carried out, and more critically, exactly who was to be imported into the country was a hotly debated issue. Although

---

[108] Clarke, *Diary*, 120-121.
[109] Clarke, *Diary*, 124.
[110] Canadian Pacific Railway, Department of Colonization and Development, *Opportunity in Canada*, (Montreal: CPR, Dept. of Colonization and Development, [1927]) 4. Original emphasis.

an in-depth treatment of this topic is far beyond the scope of this analysis, it must be mentioned that during Clarke's time, immigration policy was believed to "articulate a potential contradiction between the material needs of nation-building, and the attempt to create an ideal 'imagined community'," [111] which, for the majority of the population, consisted of a White, "unhyphenated mainstream".[112] According to the work of anthropologist Eva Mackey, the active recruitment of foreign populations proved to pose a developmental conundrum, for it was widely acknowledged that "immigration was essential for nation-building, yet also perceived as potentially dangerous if it threatened the development of a national population and a national identity."[113]

While philosophical questions regarding the effects of the nation's changing population preoccupied the country's political, cultural and business elites, legislative policies shaped the country's polity through bureaucratic regulation. Carefully composed restrictions on the flow of people into the country were a means by which the government could effectively shape the nation's population while responding to the protectionist concerns of Canadian society. For instance, after the First World War, when the priorities of the country's new nationalism "were more North American, more liberal, and more isolationist,"[114] the economic underpinnings of immigration policy was balanced and fleshed out by "the conflation of racialist,

---

[111] Eva Mackey, *House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002) 32.
[112] Ibid, 35.
[113] Ibid, 35.
[114] Mary Vipond, "Nationalism and Nativism: the Native Sons of Canada in the 1920s," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* vol. 9, no. 1 (1985): 83.

eugenic, and geographical determinist theories of the day."[115] The federal government controlled which populations were allowed entry into the country based on a strict quota system that privileged British, U.S. and Northern European countries. Simultaneously, important farm settlement programs were developed by the federal government to populate the West with individuals who were imagined to be imperially-minded pioneers.

However, when the government's "Preferred" settlers proved to be increasingly difficult to recruit, the government shifted its focus and attempted to import instant ancestors from other countries whose White populations were believed to typically consist of "a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations."[116] Changing immigration legislation responded to sweeping tides of public support, which was in turn, often directly influenced by such things as changing economic circumstances or perceived threats to the nation's core political and cultural institutions. During the First World War for example, "enemy aliens" from Germany and Austro-Hungarian lands were barred from entering Canada. In 1919, in reaction to the Winnipeg General Strike and the fear of an international Bolshevik conspiracy, changes to the Canadian Immigration Act restricted those who were "deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of life and method of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated".

Colonization and the Canadian Pacific Railway

---

[115] Brian S. Osborne and Susan E. Wurtele, "The Other Railway: Canadian Nation's Department of Colonization and Agriculture", Prairie Forum, 20 (2) Fall, 1995, 236.
[116] Valerie Knowles quoting Sir Clifford Sifton, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997) 68.

Still, the tides could turn: a new era of immigration commenced when the post-war recession eased, and the ban on enemy aliens was lifted in 1923. By 1925, the healthy, growing economy, paired with declining numbers of British settlers and slow processing times for "non-preferred" immigrants led to the government's most interesting and politically savvy amendment of the Immigration Act. In what historian Valerie Knowles has called "a stunning abdication of federal responsibility,"[117] the Federal government divested itself of a politically contentious issue, and transferred the control of Canada's agriculturally-oriented immigration program to the CNR and CPR. The Railway Agreement of 1925 allowed each railway "to recruit immigrants from those countries previously designated 'non-preferred' by the Department of Immigration and Colonization",[118] while the government divorced itself from the controversial topic of foreign immigration by focusing its efforts on the "Preferred" populations from Britain, the United States, and northern Europe.

"Predictably," argue Historians Brian Osborne and Susan Wurtele, "both the CPR and CNR entered into the Railways Agreement enthusiastically as a means of harnessing national policy to their respective corporate interests".[119] For instance, during the fiercely competitive decade, each company competed for the largest number of new immigrants in order to increase the demand placed on their railway services in their respective territories. As Osborne and Wurtele point out:

> [c]ontemporary theory argued that rail systems needed 400 persons per mile of track to be economically viable. Canadian railways had

---

[117] Ibid, 114.
[118] Ibid, 114.
[119] Osborne and Wurtele, 238.

> only about 300 persons per mile, with this figure dropping to a mere 100 persons per mile in the Prairies.[120]

The Agreement also provided each railway with the opportunity to dispose of massive tracts of undesirable and taxable land to desperate populations who would have bought land in any condition at all. By 1925, the railways had already disposed of their most fertile and accessible plots of land. Accordingly, as an history of the Canadian Pacific would explain in 1939, "officials of the railway relied chiefly upon Continental Europeans with large families... to the arduous task of clearing the land," found in these remote and second-rate locations, for it was assumed "that British and American immigrants would be repelled by [the] brush covering" of this leftover territory.[121]

Although the Agreement was first launched without much public scrutiny, opposition to the program intensified over the course of the next five years, and by the time Clarke travelled across the country, public opposition to the Agreement had reached its peak. The subject of railway-sponsored immigration engendered intense debate about the nation's self-image and the precise makeup of its imagined community; organized labour was convinced that the country's business elite had conspired to import cheap, foreign labour at the British worker's expense. Nativist groups feared that "the presence of large numbers of 'alien' persons within the country might weaken and divide the nation irretrievably".[122] The Anglo-Canadian public's chief concerns were that each railway indiscriminately and neglectfully brought immigrants into Canada as farmers, while doing so solely to secure a profit.

---

[120] Ibid, 233.
[121] Hedges, *Building the Canadian West; The land and colonization policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway,* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1939) 316-317.
[122] Ibid, 83.

In addition, racist concerns came to the fore over the course of the decade, for it was also commonly believed that foreign settlers and farm hands had no work ethic, were unable to make sufficient roots in the West, and lacked the ability to assimilate or to form a strong allegiance to the country. Clarke for example, quoted one man in Saskatoon who believed that only British immigrants arrived in Canada "with the idea of staying as citizens". "The foreigner," the man insisted, "starts with the seeding, then if he is laid off he moves East to a railway construction gang; then when that stops he moves east again to the bush and eventually lands in one of your eastern cities. I have watched it for years....the foreigner always turns his eyes to the east and commences to trek".[123]

Clarke however, personally came to a different conclusion, as his entire project was designed as a public relations campaign to show how the CPR's immigration program benefited the nation's development as a whole. For the duration of his trip, all of his investigative entries loosely followed similar patterns of deduction, and would conclude that anyone, regardless of race, who was willing to engage in hard work could thrive in the Canadian Prairies. In this regard, Clarke's journalism extended and reinforced the Canadian Pacific Railway's travel and immigration-oriented advertising, which insisted that there was space for the new populations in the Canadian landscape, for the immigrant's "rugged health, good-will, determination to success, and a never-flagging energy"[124] was all one needed to succeed.

---

[123] Clarke *Diary*, 35-36.

[124] "The Products of the Farm Paid for It All," *Agricultural and Industrial Progress*, (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway Company, July 1925) back cover. From the Canadian Pacific Railway corporate archives. See Image 12 for another example.

Yet therein lay the CPR's most interesting contradictions; to its Anglo-Canadian audience, the company's careful position on immigration explained that although it wished to maintain the British-Canadian balance of power, it was prepared to progressively embrace multiculturalist ideology when it deemed that such policies were beneficial to the nation. Thus, despite public protest, the company persisted with its romantically imperial philosophy, and even suggested that Canada's modern immigration trends were based on the historical precedents of the mother country:

> though Canada is anxious, as part of the British Empire, to obtain the greatest possible number of British settlers, she – like England to the Flemish weavers and the 100,000 Huguenot exiles from France in the 16th and 17th centuries, and like the United States, when her need for population was great – hold out the hand of welcome to newcomers from many lands.[125]

By 1925, the most prevalent theme found in immigration-based promotional literature described Canada as a land of great potential, whose opportunities for agricultural and personal development could be extended to anyone willing to work the land. Images of rich agricultural territory, depicted as endless vistas of crops ready for the harvesting, with plump livestock and charming homesteads, were repeatedly displayed in promotional material as the possible spoils of devoted labour. When brochures asked "Tell Me, Why should I leave my farm and home and move to western Canada?" they responded by firmly announcing that it was because Canada "is a country where opportunity to succeed and become independent *is but limited to the courage, energy and enterprise of the individual*" "anxious to make a new start in

---

[125] *Opportunity in Canada*, (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway, Department of Colonization and Development, [1927]) 2. *Peel's Prairie Provinces*, Item 5147, University of Alberta, October 30, 2004. <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca>

life".[126] Thus before the age of official multiculturalism, Clarke's project was designed to provide first-hand evidence that would substantiate the claims made in the railway's advertising, and legitimize the foreigner's right to occupy a place in Canadian society. Put quite simply, Clarke was charged with the task of making space for contested foreign immigrants within the Canadian imaginary, and to accomplish this task, he had to first demonstrate that contrary to his readers' beliefs, not all British immigrants recruited to the Canadian West were in fact the best settlers.

Devaluing The British Immigrant

This concept was introduced to his readers early on in his reportage, as he inspected a CPR settlement program intended to give British settlers an infallible advantage in the farming sector. Clarke described a program called the Cottage Scheme, as follows: after a British family was sent to Canada via the CPR's ship and railway network,

> the CPR provides the new cottage and barn, two acres of land, beds, a stove, table and chairs and a job for the man. They pay $4 a month rent and have the use of the place for two years after which it is expected they will be in a position to look after themselves. I think from the evidence I have seen...that this is possible.[127]

Yet while Clarke explained that he was initially optimistic about the structure of the CPR's program, readers of *The Herald* were well aware of abuses that were reported to have taken place.[128] In fact, complaints and criticisms of the CPR's immigration activities were so widespread that the company responded by instituting defensive ad

---

[126] Canadian Pacific Railway. Department of Colonization and Development, *Tell me, why should I leave my farm and home and move to western Canada?* (Winnipeg: Canadian Pacific Railway. Department of Colonization and Development, 1924), University of Alberta Libraries, *Peel's Prairie Provinces*, Peel no. 4899 < http://peel.library.ualberta.ca>

[127] Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 25.

[128] See Clarke's column for *The Montreal Herald*, for the month of June, 1929. Several articles on the treatment of imported British farm boys are particularly of note.

campaigns, including a long-standing photographic one, which was designed "for the purpose of offsetting misleading or deliberately false reports in Great Britain by a few disgruntled immigrants who had failed to make good in the Dominion."[129]

In addition to external reports of the company's failings, there were also those from within the organization who believed that the country experienced an "inability to hold its people after the initial land rush."[130] James Colley, head of the CPR's colonization department in Calgary for example, explained to his superiors that local officials continually struggled to place British settlers on CPR property, and this type of criticism eventually reached the local media. Colley explained that although many of the new British immigrants were attracted to the company's seductive advertisements and promises of free land, he was frustrated that the majority of them did not fit the program's criteria of farmer, nor wish to assume the role of pioneer in places that were so far removed from the modernized world to which they were accustomed. In May of 1929, just three months before Clarke's trip, Colley composed a letter to the company's assistant commissioner in Montreal which outlined the negligence of the program:

> we have to handle many incompetent and unadaptable people whose expectations...have been raised to a very high degree....The cottage scheme and all connected with it have been painted so rosily to these families on the other side, that we have always to disillusion these families on arrival here.[131]

---

[129] Norman Rankin, "C.P.R. Tells the World True Stories of Immigrants' Success: Department of Colonization and Development has circulated 300,000 copies of these stories in 45 countries of the world," *Marketing Magazine*, August 22, 1925.
[130] David Jones, "It's all lies they tell you: Immigrants, hosts and the CPR," in Dempsey, ed. *The CPR West,* 108.
[131] Colley to Macalister, 18 May, 1929, quoted in Jones, 119.

In stark contrast to Clarke's hopeful statement that new British settlers would be able "to look after themselves", Colley stated the opposite opinion to his supervisor in Winnipeg, whom Clarke would meet just three months later:

> only a very small proportion of the immigrants sent by us to our Local Colonization Boards reach the stage where there is a possibility of their becoming land owners, and [the CPR's local placement offices] are tending to become discouraged at the prospect of getting many permanent settlers from the immigrants we have sent to them.[132]

It can be assumed that Clarke's project was partially designed to dismiss the bad press garnered by the CPR's program, while also providing a careful balance that was reflective of CPR policy. Interestingly though, he broached the subject with trepidation; while he got excited at CPR officials who "bound[ed] with enthusiasm for...peopling a continent with those of [their] own race,"[133] he also presented his readers with the reluctant observation that there were those who "demand[ed] their rights as Britishers without assuming or caring about any responsibilities by which they may earn those rights." Moreover, although resolute in his faith in the British spirit and Protestant ethic, Clarke was surprisingly disgusted by the quality of some recent British immigrants to Canada. In an astonishing social Darwinian outburst he told his readers that:

> we heard in Winnipeg from English tongues that filthy language one hears in the lowest parts of London, Birmingham and Liverpool; we saw bedraggled men and women and children of the kind we had long since forgotten were associated with our own country....I heard stories of the miners of last year's harvesters which revolted me from their sheer filth and blackguardness. Winnipeg seems to be the place therefore to which those drift who through hereditary taint and early environment, who through errors of Government and immigration

---

[132] Colley to Van Scoy, 18 April 1929, quoted in Jones, 120.

[133] Clarke *Diary*, July 10, 1929. In this installment Clarke recounts meeting T. Edmund Roberts, British Superintendent of Colonization for the CPR by chance on the train.

> methods, have failed to made good because they do not know what it is to make good....[134]

In yet another instance Clarke explained that he sought out "four British families who have been in [Winnipeg's Government Immigration Hall] for several weeks, [and who were] a problem to everybody including themselves".[135] He indicated that these families had recently been in the Canadian papers, and that one of the men in this mischievous group was "making arrangements to lecture in Wales about the rotten way they were being treated" by CPR colonization agents in Canada.[136] Echoing Colley's observations, Clarke reported that this individual "saw an advertisement in an English paper showing a pretty little farm house with grain growing in the distance... just the sort of picture you can imagine without much effort." He wrote that upon arriving in Canada and receiving empty land miles away from the nearest town, the man and his wife demanded "that farm shown in the picture" and insisted that "he would not go on the prairie where 'he could not get the morning paper'".

After conveying the situation to his readers, Clarke painted the man and his family as dupes and cheaters who, due to their laziness and refusal to work the land, failed not because of the system, but because of their personal character.

Indeed, Clarke portrayed the CPR's colonization scheme as a benevolent program with a genuine interest in Canadian concerns. By describing the shortcomings of recent British immigrants, Clarke was able to introduce his readers to the CPR's version of the ideal settler, and could then turn his gaze toward the steadfast and determined qualities of the "foreign" immigrant. Once it was

---

[134] Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 28.
[135] Ibid, 15.
[136] Ibid, 19.

established that an immigrant's character, land hunger and determination was what ensured Prairie success, Clarke had only to demonstrate that the CPR's open immigration programs populated the West with foreign individuals who could successfully convert underused land into robust and productive territory. For while the company's pervasive travel brochures used photography to establish shared sites of meaning and symbols of Canada's growth and potential, Clarke's investigative journalism would demonstrate that landscapes shaped by foreign immigrants contained the same familiar symbols of Canadian progress that were predefined in the company's brochures, and which could be read directly off the land.

Looking Behind the Landscape

As was shown in Chapter 1, the CPR believed that nation-building was accomplished through economic development, which could in turn be assessed according to the country's agricultural, industrial, and urban expansion: all things that could be measured, photographed, and displayed on maps, in photographs, or in the marketplace. Photographs circulated by the CPR therefore showed land in its most productive forms; bountiful farms ready for the harvesting, cityscapes, or mountain vistas that almost always revealed physical traces of the train, contained ideological messages that proposed the nation's ideal uses for the land.

Indeed, as art historian John Taylor has astutely observed, promotional material crafted by the tourist industry after the First World War tended to eliminate all traces of the "inner-workings" of society; rather, photographs produced by the industry "represent[ed] a radical emptying of the category of production," for in the majority of tourist-oriented photographs "the history of settlement was never seen, and the new state appeared fully-fledged, contented and modern...apparently with

no history of settlement, no representations of 'prospecting', and no scenes of displacement; the colonial state in photographs seems ready-made and self-perpetuating."[137]

Clarke on the other hand, was most interested in the human and technological *processes* that had directly shaped the Canadian West. Although he was enamoured by the country's tourist landscapes, as will be shown in Chapter 3, the bulk of his writing framed his investigation as a search for the precise locations of Canada's changing socio-political landscape. His search for the 'inner workings' of Canadian society therefore made it necessary for him to access areas that were conceptually located *behind* the country's highly polished geographies of tourism, for he sought transformations that were mythologized by the railway, but invisible in the company's brochures.

As sociologist Dean MacCannell would explain, *The Diary* recounted a steady flow of observations that were designed to expose the "institutional back stage" of Canadian culture that contained the authentic lives of locals as they "really lived".[138] In his influential book *The Tourist*, MacCannell maintains that the "structural development of society is marked by the appearance everywhere of touristic space"[139] that has shaped the ways in which we, as modern citizens, view and interact with the societies to which we travel, and the communities in which we live. MacCannell has argued that these touristic spaces may in turn be separated into "front" and "back" regions, which in their simplest forms, correlate to the places

---

[137] John Taylor, *A Dream of England: Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994) 150-151.
[138] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 94-97.
[139] Ibid, 100.

where inauthentic and authentic social interactions are performed. He explains for example, that:

> the front is the meeting places of hosts and guests or customers and service persons, and the back is the place where members of the home team retire between performances to relax and prepare... Although architectural arrangements are mobilized to support this division, it is primarily a social one, based on the type of social performance that is staged in a place, and on the social roles found there.[140]

He also argues that the impetus for seeking out local back regions and their corresponding cultural "truths" is the result of a "touristic consciousness" that is motivated by its desire to locate the "authentic and demystified experience[s] of an aspect of some society or other person."[141] Although Clarke's touring was motivated by the needs of a corporation, he too replicated these touristic patterns of discovery in his public search for the "realities" of Western life. His search for authenticity, or the "proof" of CPR-sponsored immigration, brought him to the back regions and inner workings of the West's new towns and settlements, to its immigrant-altered landscapes, and to the location of Canadian culture in transition – areas conceived to be wholly separate from the nation's well-known tourist landscapes.

The following section will show that as Clarke travelled across the country, there already existed a well established means of looking at and studying the West and its immigrant landscapes. After describing the portrayal of recent immigrants in the CPR's immigration-related brochures, the remainder of this chapter will then concentrate on Clarke's representation of the same subject matter from "behind the scenes", and will examine the specific mechanisms which Clarke employed to

---

[140] Ibid, 92.
[141] Ibid, 94.

measure the success and acculturation of the non-British immigrant imported into Canada by the CPR.

Photography, Colonization, and the CPR

Clarke's writing reveals that throughout their journey him and his wife had an ongoing relationship with the material culture of tourism, and its photographs and guidebooks in particular. Clarke frequently described places in pictorial terms, told his readers which specific sites provoked scenes where "everybody rushes out to use their Kodaks,"[142] and on more than one occasion even borrowed the same language used to describe locations in the CRP's brochures. When compiled in souvenir books and brochures, photographic historian Joan Schwartz has argued that photographic documents act as "pre-texts" of the travelling experience, which dictate "the subject matter of travel photography and travel photographs, [which] once in circulation, join other representations as pre-texts. Pre-texts shape itineraries, itineraries prescribe photographs, [and] photographs establish itineraries," bringing their influence full circle.[143] Indeed, as we will see in the subsequent section, when examining immigrant-altered landscapes, Clarke turned his journalistic gaze towards subject matters well depicted in the company's travel brochures, such as the material culture of immigrant settlements, and the 'look' of evolutionary progress evident in the physical appearance of the settler and the land.

It is easy to see how the explosion of photographic documents onto the tourist marketplace affected the tourist's conceptualization of travelling, and Clarke's experience was no exception. Indeed, as numerous critics including Carol Cranshaw

---

[142] Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 57.
[143] Joan Schwartz, *The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies*, Journal of Historical Geography, 22:1 (January 1996) 31.

and John Urry have pointed out, photography "has significantly given us the terms in which we recollect, explain [and] justify how and why we have visited various places. Discourses of travel are saturated with ocular metaphors, especially those that play upon the analogies between the eye and the lens,"[144] or in Clarke's case, the window. For him, travelling by train or along the CPR's network of hotels was a search for the photogenic; he was fond of telling his readers that he would "try and describe just the picture I see from my window in the Banff Springs Hotel,"[145] through the window of the train or from the car:

> They told me, those people who had been over the continent, that the country between Montreal and Winnipeg was dull and uninteresting. I have not found it so; one continuous panorama of forest, stream and lake, rugged waterfalls here and there and the train constantly up and down over hills and round them, skittering down grade and round curves [sic] which one would watch carefully in an auto...(I have never wanted to be away from the window).[146]

Furthermore, everything that Clarke witnessed was a scene or picture to varying degrees; he would write about First Nations passengers in the Colonist Cars being "like the pictures we see,"[147] of the flowers of Vancouver being "just like the pictures but larger,"[148] or about an idyllic farm resembling "just the sort of picture you can imagine without much effort".[149] Pleasing landscapes were panoramas that captured the viewer's interest, and unfamiliar locales or actors were compared to familiar images in the popular imagination, thanks to the wealth of advertising that brought otherwise inaccessible places within imaginative reach. In other words, Clarke's

---

144 Carol Cranshaw and John Urry, "Tourism and the Photographic Eye", in Chris Rojek and John Urry eds., *Touring Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1997) 183.
145 Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 83.
146 Ibid, 5.
147 Clarke *Diary*, July 9, 1929.
148 Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 61.
149 Clarke *Diary*, July 12, 1929.

abstract descriptions had cultural currency, for his account existed as an intertextual encounter, which could be read into and referred to a host of other images and texts, which in Clarke's case, consisted of the CPR's advertising, and the Canadian government's visual information campaigns.

In recent years, several studies in historical geography have very successfully addressed this issue. They have examined how these such widely circulated and interconnected visual and textual documents have influenced the construction of place, and the formation of collective nationhood through the process of creating shared sites of meaning. James R. Ryan for example, has argued that profound meaning can only be derived from photographs when they are positioned in relation to other texts: "the use of photography in the promotion of imperial geography education...as a form of 'visualization' for example, depended not just upon visual techniques but upon cultural boundaries between pictures and words".[150] Ryan insists that "just as the Victorian novel employed forms of verbal visualization, framing devices, symbolic imagery and forms of perspective, so too photographs were seen and read in a complex interplay with other symbolic codes".[151]

The codes which Clarke employed in his writing rested on a visual vocabulary already firmly established in the imagination of the country's White, British-born and middle class travelling public by the material culture of the CPR. As was discussed in Chapter 1, by the late 1920s, Canadians were well embedded within a culture that contained "an intellectual framework in which landscape photographs were 'read' and generated meaning," and which, as historian Jens Jager has pointed

---

[150] James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997) 220.
[151] Ryan, 19.

out, was necessary in enabling the photographic medium "to promote the idea of a specific national character of landscapes" and the people who inhabited them. [152] Travel photographs and photographic travel brochures provided comfort to those who gazed upon them, for they empowered subjects by providing authoritative mechanisms through which the viewing public could "travel through, explore, and even possess"[153] pictured national spaces as their own. The CPR's pervasive travel advertising provided a crucial means through which Canadians would come to perceive the lands in which they lived. Brochures contained ideologically charged representations of Canadian geography, for repeatedly photographed leisure landscape were imaginatively connected to the nation's progress; the company insisted that learning about the country through travelling and photography allowed individuals to develop their sense of citizenship. Photographic imagery found in the company's brochures gave individuals the sense that they could roam imaginatively over the country and possess it as their own. The material culture of travel established which landscapes were to become shared sites of meaning, and in doing so, depicted places that were said to represent the nation's growth and future potential.

However, in contrast to its travel advertising, the CPR's immigration-related advertising attempted to rouse nationalistic feelings by introducing readers to the *processes* by which the Canadian West was being formed. This was especially true for publicity material designed to convince Canada's increasingly xenophobic Anglo-Canadian population that immigration had a positive impact on Canadian society as a

---

[152] Jens Jager, "Picturing Nations: Landscape Photography and National Identity in British and Germany in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in J. Schwartz and J. Ryan eds., *Picturing Place:* 118-119.
[153] Ryan, 214.

whole. Publications specifically intended for the country's Canadian majority were designed to bring Anglo-Canadians "behind the scenes" of prairie culture, and to demonstrate to them that Canada was not only recruiting the correct type of immigrant settler, but that accelerated progress was in fact taking place. To prove this claim to its critics, the CPR again extended its advertising campaigns to include intertextual references, and thus used the persuasive talents of its established network of well-known artists, writers and journalists to "bring home-seeker to the West" and tourists to the Rockies. [154] Brochures such as *Opportunities in Canada,* a pamphlet published by the CPR's Department of Colonization and Development, encouraged readers to trust the first-hand observations of the brochure's anonymous British author, and to believe that all immigrants, irrespective of ethnicity, had successfully established themselves as both farmers and assimilated Canadians. The introduction explained that:

> [a] distinguished journalist and author – a frequent visitor to Canada for the past twenty years – tells in this book, as a result of a recent four months' tour of Western Canada, *during which he personally visited and photographed many settlers of many nationalities,* how some of them are succeeding – actual life stories which, though reading like romances, yet are the authentic records of men and women living to-day.[155]

Indeed, in a brochure aimed at convincing Canadians of the benefits of CPR-sponsored immigration, the prominent inclusion of the author's amateur photographs reveals the significance that the company attached to the medium. In fact, throughout immigration literature, photography played an instrumental role; the medium was readily employed to show readers with documentary-like and pseudo-

---

[154] Hedges, 269.
[155] *Opportunity in Canada*, 1.

anthropological accuracy that the West's landscapes and settlers were undergoing a veritable transformation.

For instance, most parties with an interest in immigration created illustrated brochures that used sequential photographs to demonstrate how wild, uncultivated land could evolve into productive farms. In this type of photographic display, illustrations were broken into several frames and showed how Westerns landscapes had developed from brush-covered countryside to mud hut, clapboard house, intensified farm, and finally, finished garden. In one booklet simply titled "Illustrations of Settler's Progress in 1925 and 1926" for example, a CNR-affiliated land settlement organization attempted to photographically document how seven different ethnic groups had "progressed" over the period of one year (See Image 13, page 113)[156]. The series depicted male "Continental" immigrants, and paired written testimonials with amateurish photographs of how new settlers had worked the land, turned forested areas into rudimentary fields, fashioned homes, took care of their families, and employed various technologies to work the land.

These types of illustrations show that it was believed that progress could be measured through photographic study, for as one pamphlet explained, "actual Photographs...tell more emphatically than any words, the story of successful agricultural production in Western Canada".[157] The photograph's unique ability to convey factual evidence through what was believed to be an unmediated and

---

[156] British Dominions Land Settlement Corporation, *Illustrations of settlers' progress in 1925 and 1926 and their own stories of their success on farm lands in Alberta bought from the British Dominions Land Settlement Corporation Limited*, [Winnipeg?: British Dominions Land Settlement Corporation, 1926?], University of Alberta Peel's Prairie Provinces, Peel No. 5048, March 16, 2005, <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/cocoon/peel/5048.html?sessionid=01-55868-1782828792&resultset=13&recno=2&word=illustrating%20one%20years%20progress>

[157] Canadian Pacific Railway Company, Department of Colonization and Development, *The Prairie Farms of Western Canada, as the Camera Sees Them* (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway, Dept. of Colonization and Development, [1928?]) 1. Library and Archives Canada, AMICUS No. 13279431.

unbiased reality overcame the company's burden of proving that colonization and Western development were successfully taking place.

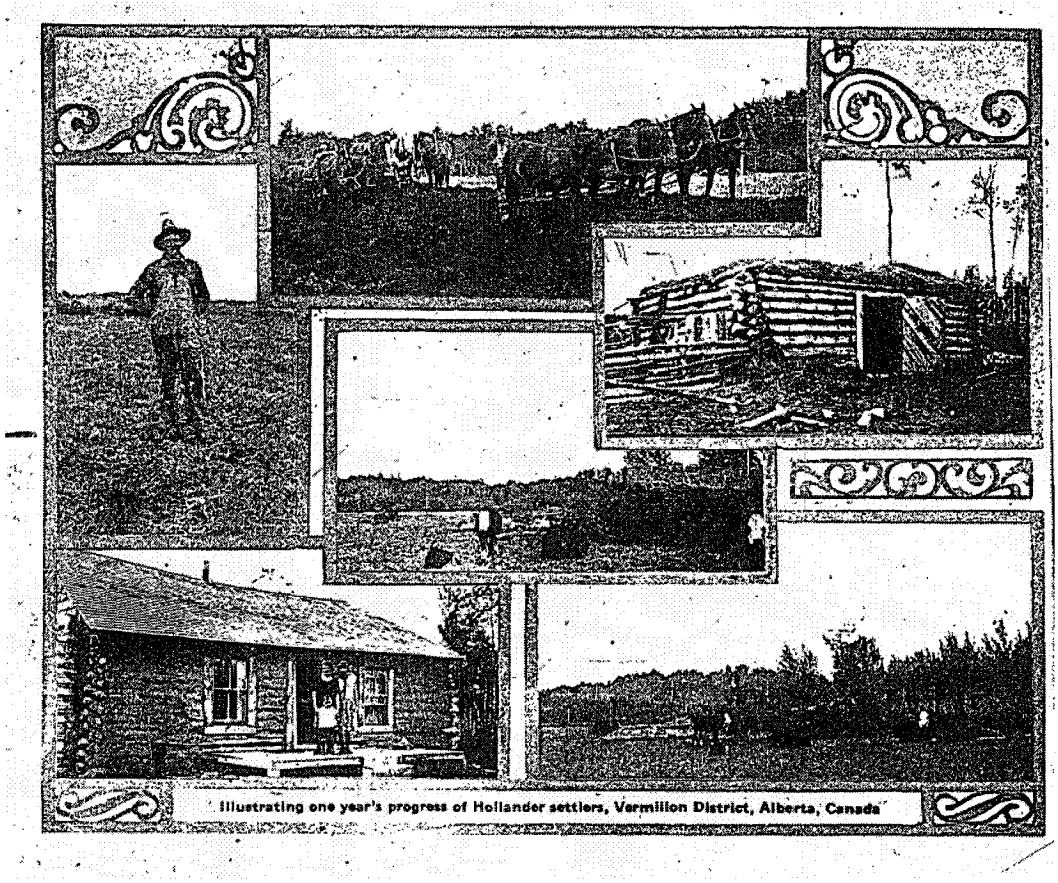


Image 13 "Illustrating one year's progress of Hollander settlers, Vermillion District, Alberta, Canada". Note the progress of the settler's house.[158]

Thus when one pamphlet claimed that Western Canada contained "the richest soil in the whole world – soil which produces immense crops,"[159] the accompanying photographs that showed the gargantuan cabbages of an anonymous yet oft photographed farmer in Alberta substantiated the claim. As one historian explains,

---

[158] British Dominions Land Settlement Corporation, *Illustrations of settlers' progress in 1925 and 1926 and their own stories of their success on farm lands in Alberta bought from the British Dominions Land Settlement Corporation Limited.* [Winnipeg?: British Dominions Land Settlement Corporation, 1926?] 10. University of Alberta Libraries, Peel's Prairie Provinces, Peel no. 5048. < http://peel.library.ualberta.ca>

[159] *Tell me, why I should leave my farm and home and move to Western Canada?* (Winnipeg: [Canadian Pacific Railway], 1924).

photographs were mined for their ability to provide "forensic evidence," or truths read into the photographic document, facilitated by "the material stability of [its] content in terms of 'reality'."[160] In other words, the scientific process of photography led readers to believe that there was a direct connection, "a sort of umbilical cord" according to Roland Barthes, that linked the thing being photographed to the viewer's gaze through the chemical processes that captured light and shadow.[161]

However problematic, this reliance on the photograph's ability to confirm reality was also used to prove the evolutionary progress of the country's new settlers to Canadian audiences. Although the critical eye might have read multiple meanings into the information contained in these illustrated brochures, photographic studies attempted to depict how the country's new colonists were blending into the Canadian mainstream and were becoming properly acculturated through the process of working the land. For instance, the CPR's *Opportunity in Canada* contained portraits of foreign immigrants before and after becoming "Canadianized". 'Before' shots encouraged the brochure's Anglo-Canadian readership to undertake a cultural comparison; photographic portraits that depicted for example, "Three generations of Czecho-Slovak settlers," "Mennonite children and their mother" or "Canadianized Hungarians," invited viewers to read these photographs for signs of each subject's varying degrees of assimilation, which were thought to be evident in such things as dress, physiognomic features, comportment, and use or application of technology. While pamphlets destined for the CPR's potential immigrants more often photographically depicted the agricultural opportunities and material wealth that one

---

[160] Edwards, 87.

[161] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography,* transl. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000) 81.

could accrue in Canada, brochures aimed at Canadian audiences showed the arduous processes involved in working the land, as well as the working culture and determination of the new immigrant. Immigrants were shown ploughing bountiful fields, or standing in front of their modest homes. To show that these individuals had progressed, women and men were sometimes emblazoned with reminders of their past cultures, which could be identified in such things as their hats, shirts or smoking pipes. Photographs also cleverly set up intergenerational comparisons – older settlers were shown clinging to the material artefacts of their past, while younger ones were shown in the most current Canadian fashions and naturally groomed in Canadian ways, clearly showing that cultural assimilation was effectively taking place.

Illustrations were therefore included on the basis of whether or not they adequately reflected the overall goals of the corporation. Foreign-born subjects were selected based upon their acceptable appearance and compatibility with pre-established expectations of what foreigners might have looked like, or in what conditions they might have lived. Those looking too foreign were edited out of the brochure, creating a limited variety of images that reinforced the CPR's insistence that sweeping immigration policies could still produce a homogeneous, unthreatening society made of stout, healthy pioneers. Similarly, Clarke's textual analysis omitted the hardships facing new immigrants, noting that severe flashes of homesickness seemed to be the only ailment that stood in the way of successful settlement. Clarke discredited or refused to acknowledge such things as abysmal working and living condition, the possibility of bad weather, or the soaring costs and

competitive environment associated with agricultural industrialization, which made it increasingly difficult for new immigrants to settle farms in Western Canada.

However, the corporation repeatedly framed and reframed "continental" immigration according to its positive attributes, and also showed how foreign-born immigrants could be measured up to and eventually emulate a British ideal. To maintain the belief that Canadian immigration was still a balanced enterprise, brochures aimed at British business elites and charges of the Empire showed that the West contained a base of British settlers who were brought into Canada before the Railway Agreement, and who, by their very nature, provided the cultural and agricultural model against which other immigrant groups compared themselves. With a circulation of 300,000, the CPR publication *Agricultural and Industrial Progress* was yet another series that intended to relay the pulse of Canadian progress to English elites believed to be the drivers of public opinion. Its prominent pro-immigration advertisements were indicative of "the wide distribution of immigration propaganda by Canada's largest advertiser," the CPR, and contained "a true human-interest story, one of a series of approximately 30, which the CPR has disseminated throughout the world concerning the successful experiences of...[British] immigrants to Canada".[162] Those depicted in the brochures were undoubtedly successful; the publication's advertising copy emotionally and persuasively told how various British men and their families had come to Canada, often destitute, only to have struck relative riches while investing their labour in the farm. Photographs depicted their progress before and after immigration, or showed the rich spoils of their labour, connecting their personal prosperity to the CPR (see Image 14, page 117).

---

[162] Norman Rankin, editor of the Bureau of Canadian Information, "CPR Tells the World Tue Stories of Immigrants' Success" *Marketing Magazine*, August 22, 1925., 87-88.

Image 14 Advertisement on the back cover of the Canadian Pacific Railway's *Agricultural and Industrial Progress,* illustrating the progress of Mr. Walter Cummings. (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway, August, 1925).

The entirety of the CPR's immigration-focused advertising thus attempted to extend the mythology that it had cultivated in its travel brochures. While claiming that its activities were in the best interest of the nation, the CPR maintained that it was smoothly moving the country in one direction and was oriented toward one goal: the development of Canada in a fashion that preserved the country's British roots, its allegiances, culture, landscapes and customs.

However, it subsequently takes little analysis to reveal the underlying power structures at play, for this type of advertising also reveals the narrow and uncompromising framework through which immigrants were assessed. Brochures made it clear that immigrants were accepted into Canada on the condition that they become completely assimilated according to values narrowly defined by the British mainstream. Photographic documents were employed to demonstrate how this process took place; non-British immigrant subjects were carefully posed in the majority of photographic portraits, and although all traces of the photographer were eliminated, the deep stare of sitters who looked directly into the camera made the camera's presence known. Indeed, the photographer, subjects and viewer alike were all aware that photographic fieldwork was taking place, and that photographs were taken for their evidential powers, only to be *taken away* to encourage distant populations to imaginatively map the patterns and movements of cultural, national and economic progress taking place behind the country's tourist landscapes most photographed by the CPR.

Those collecting information, including Clarke and the author of *Opportunities in Canada*, took advantage of the complex and deeply entrenched hierarchical relationships that surrounded their textual and photographic documentary projects.

For example, many portraits located in the CPR's brochures appeared to have been the product of an interruption or disturbance; farmers posing in their fields looked as though they were about to harvest or plant, women paused during a porched-in conversation, and others look out of place, as though they were plucked from an activity and asked to pose for the purposes of education. As Brian Osborne has noted, it is likely that those subjected to the scrutinizing gaze of the reporter perceived their close observation as an extension of the railway's power and control. Readers on the other hand, expected this relationship, and were reassured that both Clarke and the author of *Opportunities in Canada* had enhanced powers of observation because of their professional vocations as journalists, their supporting photographic documentation, and their superior ability to detect Canadian developments due to their British sensibilities and foreign perspective.

Indeed, for their Canadian audience it was deemed important that these documents be produced by expert witnesses, able to prove their credibility by commanding the respect and cooperation of those being carefully observed. Reporters such as Clarke were expected to engage in pseudo-anthropological exercises for the benefit of the corporation and the Anglo-Canadian public. In the effort to arrange realities in the most convincing and efficient manner, accompanying photographs were organized according to a "bureaucrat's gaze", which, explains Osborne, was intent on collecting information for the purposes of observation, study, and control. In his study of photographic progress reports produced by the Canadian National Railways, Osborne concludes that the methodical photographing of immigrants provided just one example of how "visuality is complicitous in the operation of power and [how] photography becomes a 'visual strategy' that attempts

to establish control over what is being photographed".[163] A more in-depth analysis of the politics of representation will be carried out in Chapter 3, where I will explore the private photographic products of Clarke's trip. However, it is important to note that the apparent tension between the subject matter of these photographs and their photographers and audience was reflective of the larger discourses surrounding the contested topic of immigration itself. These photographs tenuously portrayed non-British immigrants, for although readers were told that progress was taking place, or that individuals were on their way to becoming productive Canadian citizens, photographs further legitimized an extreme power imbalance that privileged the photographer and subjugated the immigrant—a position which, as will be shown in the section to come, also accurately reflected Clarke's general outlook.

Curiously, Frank Randall Clarke's repeatedly told his readers that he took photographs of various peoples along his journey, although the photographic products of his trip were not included in *The Herald.*[164] In these circumstances, it is likely that Clarke wanted to benefit from the prestige and authority commanded by the photographer, therefore acknowledging that his descriptions of places and people would have no meaning if they did not refer to or support other forms of documentary evidence on the subject of immigration. Due to this documentary deficiency, Clarke was thus forced to create a compelling narrative that directly corroborated and reinforced the photographic images that circulated in the media and in the nation's popular consciousness at the time. Thus, after having created a legitimate space for the immigrant in the minds of his readers, he was obligated to

---

[163] Osborne quoting John Urry and Phil Macnaghten, *Constructing the State,* 179.
[164] Only one photograph was included in Clarke's published account of the trip. It depicted Clarke feeding a domesticated bear while at Banff.

show through first-hand observation that so-called foreigners were performing the same tasks as their British counterparts; that they were engaging in profitable agriculture and were becoming productive citizens. The following section will show that Clarke therefore observed how non-British immigrants impacted the landscape, accumulated material wealth, and were becoming assimilated – all thing that represented tangible signs of evolutionary progress, which could be read from the landscape, and which were outlined in the company's brochures.

Reading the Landscape

Clarke conceived of "the West" as a real geographical location, whose space was delineated by clear boundaries and filled with a particular set of physical characteristics, coded symbols, and cultural attributes. His writing demonstrates that he was well informed of the look of "the West" by way of the exponential growth of the visual culture around him; thus when he first saw a countryside studded with grain silos, albeit in Sudbury, Ontario, he had the opportunity to validate his idea of the authentic West, and could report to his readers that he had found it.

As photographic representations of the Canadian West exploded onto the imperial marketplace through private and government-sponsored advertising, it was expected that they be used to cultivate an imaginative grasp of the country so that all of the Empire's British citizens could acquire "the power of roaming at ease imaginatively over the vast surface of the globe."[165] As was discussed in Chapter 1, while photographic brochures shrank the country into neatly packaged frames, they also created a "socially organized and systematized gaze"[166] they gave travellers the vocabulary with which to describe the Canadian landscape, and the symbols around

[165] Ryan quoting Halford MacKinder, director of COVIC, 209.
[166] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 15.

which the precise image of the West cohered. When communicating the look of the landscape and its people to his readers, Clarke spoke in this language of easily understandable signs; tourist landscapes consisted of grain elevators, trains, rocky outcrops, prairie fields, and even "real cowboys" and "Indians!!", which, once observed, signalled his entrance into a decidedly Western landscape,[167] and gave it substantive meaning.

However, when he looked "behind" the signs that symbolized the West's familiar landscapes, into the tourist back regions and away from the tracks, Clarke had to create appropriate mechanisms that could described the progress of the foreigner in a way that was understandable to his readers. Following the model laid out in the company's brochures, Clarke separated the symbolic geography of the region into two distinct landscape traditions (most simply the wild and the tamed), which established the framework against which all forms of human and technological progress could be measured and clearly read. His first characterization followed a two-hundred-year-old landscape tradition that described a hostile, untamed wilderness that threatened the advance of civilization, and had yet to be mastered or harnessed. Like a generation of writers before him, Clarke began his narrative of the trans-Canadian trip by observing the train's role in domesticating the wilderness; in his third entry for example, he wrote that the Canadian landscape was "wrested from the forest".[168] When not revered, nature was personified with vengeful qualities that resembled text found in older versions of the CPR's *Across Canada* series of brochures:

---

[167] It is interesting to note that near the end of his trip he would again qualify the "Westerliness" or the Canadian landscape: he would conclude that the "real west" was everything west of Winnipeg. (Diary, Original Manuscript, 120).
[168] Clarke *Diary*, July 10, 1929.

> the tracks have been literally carved through the woods...as if resenting it, there is constant warfare due to the everthreatening encroachment of the trees upon the right of way. Every few miles we could see gangs of men engaged in the railway's fight against nature's struggle to fill this gap through her forests with new trees and vegetation.[169]

These descriptions established the unruly, "everthreatening" wilderness as the traditional backdrop against which all other forms of progress could be measured. As the following chapter will explain, this threatening portrayal of the wilderness also included the West's aboriginal populations, who, in addition to collectively representing the country's romantic yet irrelevant past, were also feared for their ability to resist assimilation or progress.

While Nature waged a difficult battle, Clarke assured his readers that the railway always won. Indeed, his second categorization examined natural landscapes which had been altered by technological forces, and which were subsequently in the process of being transformed into productive land. As was previously discussed, the nation's commercial and agricultural territory was romantically portrayed in the company's brochures as the supreme marker of the nation's identity, its unique origins and potential future. Clarke on more than one occasion noted that the CPR represented the original arbiter of progress and territorial expansion, confirming what Andrew den Otter has called the most significant yet culturally bankrupt myth of Canadian nationalism. den Otter argues that the railroad was instrumental in shaping the country's national landscape ideology, for its expansive systems represented "a powerful symbol of man's ability to challenge the constraints of his environment." Technology, and train technology especially, "clearly signalled the ability to survive in the wilderness, a fundamental trait of the emerging Canadian

[169] Clarke *Diary*, July 11, 1929.

identity,"[170] which also gave identity-forming powers to a machine.[171] As the nation became more entrenched in what den Otter has labelled a "technological nationalism," British North Americans came to believe that moral and economic progress was manifestly facilitated by technology. Simply put, technology—whether it was the iron road, the farmer's plough, or the CPR's policies of intensified colonization—represented a mark of civilization, a tool used to expand and develop the empire, and a feat of technological superiority over nature that reflected the success and industriousness of British civilization and its scientific imagination. Canadian nation-building thus took on broader ideological implications, for technological ability was espoused as a trait most developed in the British, who in turn, used their distinctive skills to master the untamed wilderness. "That is what I see," wrote Clarke. "The grandeur of the mountains – but more, the grandeur of the men who conquered them, men from England and Scotland and Ireland, men like you and me. ME! Seated in a plush lined seat with my typewriter before me, a waiter who brings me iced drinks and a valet who has just pressed my suit ready for Vancouver. But we did it; it's here."[172]

By reporting on the railway's role in domesticating the natural wilderness, Clarke also showed how the CPR's machinery literally transferred civilization onto the landscape through its colonization mandate. Just as brochures proclaimed that the Canadian Pacific's route "is in itself a visualization of human triumph over

---

[170] Andrew den Otter, *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 29 and 28 respectively.
[171] den Otter, 19.
[172] Diary, 59. Compare Clarke's quote to a similar passage found in Across Canada (1927): "to us in this country the history that is really important is the story of nation building, the story of the planners and engineers, the railway builders, the bankers, the business an professional men who between them made Canada".

nature,"[173] Clarke set out to show his readers that Canada's new West was not an ominous ethnic wilderness. In the twentieth century Canadian context, the imperialist project looked beyond the railway to non-British immigrant groups imported into Canada to work the land. Thus in Clarke's second categorization of the Western landscape, immigrants were assessed for their ability to resist the encroachment of the wilderness that, as historian Jean Manore has argued, was thought to "start where technological systems end".[174]

In turn, Clarke characterized the country's new immigrants as defenders of the nation, and described their struggles domesticating the wilderness using the language of combat; the limit of a farmer's field was where "the man had yet to carry his battle against nature, turning the virgin soil into productive territory;"[175] early settlers created homesteads "right on the edge of civilization," and guarded Western values by occupying "the real outposts of Empire."[176] It was also not uncommon for Clarke to romanticize the immigrants he observed transforming the land, often couching them in heroic language; "we saw the man in the distance breaking new ground, while still on his farm there were many acres of brush and small trees yet to be cleared and to *feel* the iron of the plough for the first time".[177]

Clarke's observations of how immigrants improved the landscape implicitly referred to images in the company's brochures. Just as photographs depicted the physical transformation of the landscape, Clarke looked for signs of accelerated progress which could be read directly off the land. He would explain for example,

---

[173] *Across Canada* (1927), 2.
[174] Manore, 80.
[175] Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 40.
[176] Ibid, 44.
[177] Ibid, 40. Emphasis added.

that "we drove through many miles of similar scenes; the homestead showing various degrees of development through hut, shack, and gleaming building."[178] He firmly believed that hard evidence of acculturation and assimilation was contained within the land itself; he noted seeing "the original huts in which the settlers had first lived, and near them the large well-built houses and barns into which they had later moved and we saw the Ukrainian woman working in her garden."[179] Immigrant landscapes were thus described as being in constant transformation, and more importantly, of becoming places that contained ever greater economic and cultural value.

In turn, Clarke was charged with the task of communicating this value to his audience in a manner that made Western progress and CPR-sponsored immigration legitimate, necessary, and local. Accordingly, readers of the *Montreal Daily Herald* could also find a personal commentary of the Western landscape specifically tailored to their own community, whereby the imaginative distance between themselves and the idea of the Canadian West was further collapsed. Clarke invited his readers to feel at home in the landscapes over which he travelled by giving them familiar reference points to aid in their visualization of the land. When describing the physical progress of such places as the country north of Saskatoon, for example, Clarke made reference to Montreal geography to put the scene into perspective: "thirty miles of gravel road started us on our trip, a road nearly as wide as Sherbrooke street". One recent and very homesick British settler was said to have inhabited a home that resembled "the better type of cottages such as you saw in the early days of

---

[178] Ibid, 40.
[179] Ibid, 39.

Greenfield Park or Park Avenue Extension or Verdun,"[180] while other immigrants had progressed to farm houses "which might have been lifted out of Westmount...with as much frontage as from Greene Avenue to Montreal West and back to Snowden [sic] junction".[181] In other instances he told his readers that he observed "great stretches of country which from the scenic point of view might have been parts of the Eastern Townships", [182] and he got excited when describing that the gardens of Vancouver were contained by "terraces such as you see in Westmount and Outremont".[183]

It is interesting to note that Clarke's descriptions needed not be more specific, for his evocation of upper-class geography and elite landscapes signified the most refined and civilized form of progress. By comparing Prairie homes to the established mansions of Montreal society, Clarke made reference to formal social and architectural codes to describe how progress had taken place across the Prairies. Elite landscapes were places that had been domesticated and reformed to the highest degree. They also best represented symbolic styles that paid homage to the culture of British society (that was encapsulated in Westmount homes) or the country's distinctively Franco-Canadian elite of Montreal (as was evident in the city's Outremont residences). By saying that new settlers built Montreal-style mansions, Clarke obliquely demonstrated that immigrants shared the same cultural ideals as their thoroughly Canadian counterparts.

In addition, the existence of Westmount- or Outremont-like houses north of Saskatoon pointed to the fact that foreign-born individuals also strove for the same

---

[180] Ibid, 24.
[181] Ibid, 39.
[182] Ibid, 42.
[183] Ibid, 62.

comfort of life or economic standard as Clarke's upwardly mobile Montreal readership. Whether they were real or imaginary, these houses nonetheless rhetorically existed as strong communal symbols that showed how "foreigners" fit within Canadian society because they aspired for the same overall material goals. They also helped to show Clarke's readers that "foreigners" were not so foreign after all, for immigrant landscapes were said to contain material wealth that made areas 'behind' traditional tourist landscapes both pleasing and comfortable.

Yet while stately homes represented the most salient sign of material advancement, Clarke also described how the general purchasing power of this population could be read as another barometer of its success. He reported case after case of personal and financial achievement for those who were shown to have steadfastly worked the land. To aid his audience in the process of visualization, Clarke measured the material wealth of every community through which he travelled, thus mimicking photographs that displayed the same information in the railway's brochures. In Virden, Manitoba for example, Clarke wrote: "I wish you could see it. Population 1,800 but all nice houses and good stores; there was one jeweller with a window full of a high grade class of watch setting at a minimum of $37.50 [approx. $630] – the butcher shop had every sort of meat and vegetable, about six garages, and cars parked along each side of the road".[184]

[184] Ibid, 26. It continued: "Being Saturday night the streets were crowded with young people in from the farms and a brass band was playing over at one end to celebrate the opining of a new garage. A pretty little Anglican church with a new minister from England...A fine large school and the grain elevators...".

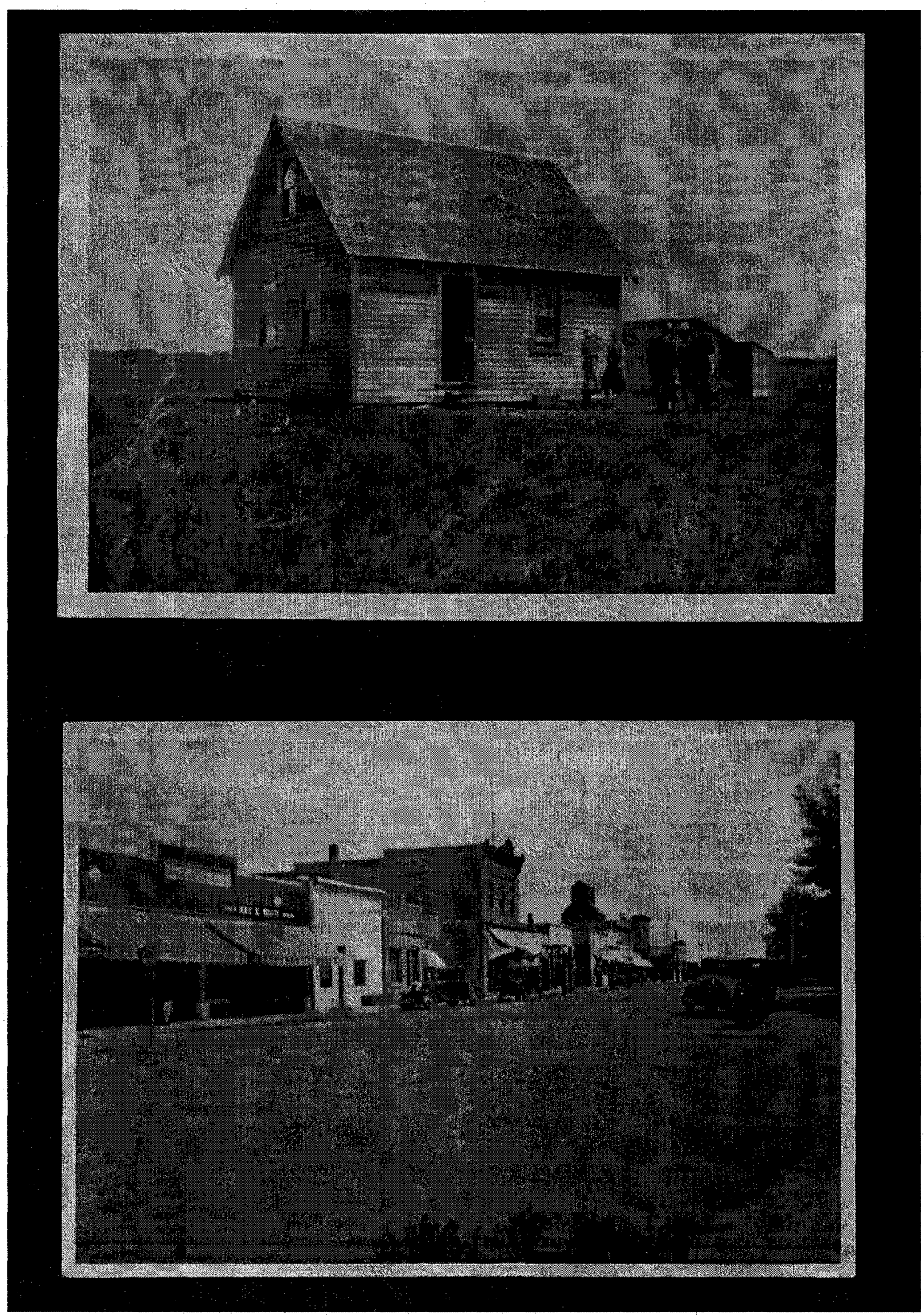


Image 15 This page from the Clarkes' personal photograph album also illustrates the kind of scenes that captured their interest along the way. We know from Frank Clarke's journalism that the neat small town and well-establish cottage were read as being indicative of material, cultural and economic success. *Clapboard farmhouse and Prairie town in Saskatchewan or Alberta, July 1929*, Frank Randall Clarke. MP-1988.56.17 and MP-1988.56.18.

Similarly, Sudbury, Ontario was described as having "broad, clean streets lined with large homey looking houses in well-kept gardens, street cars, busy people moving around, some new buildings in the district,"[185] and Winnipeg was praised for the "individuality" it afforded in its architecture which "is carried out even to the less pretentious districts where I suppose the $150- to $250-a-month-men live".[186] In most towns he composed this kind of list, or mentioned the price of rent, farm land, or the availability of city newspapers, cigars, cars, and other consumer goods, which he considered to be essential signifiers of modernity and progress, and which comprised of items that had cultural currency in the mind of his readers.

In addition, Clarke portrayed the immigrant's desire for these economic and cultural ideals as the central means by which "foreigners" became "Canadianized", and explained that as these British-inspired ideals were being realized, progress was taking place. For example, he was pleasantly surprised to find that foreign settlers had the capacity to create 'normal' and recognizable "Canadian" places of business:

> ...We arrived at a place called Wakaw where all the storekeepers had strange names but all the descriptions of their trades were English. There were:
>
> Sagi Bros. Ford parts and Service.
> Kwasnica. "This is not a chain store."
> Paul Vinish. "Meat Market – Quality Meats Only."
> Johangsik – Hardware
>
> and many others. They spoke to us in English in the stores, and the boys and girls were speaking English to each other in the street. Sometimes some old people made purchases in their own language.[187]

---

[185] Clarke *Diary*, July 9, 1929.
[186] Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 17.
[187] Ibid, 41-42.

Indeed, the foreigner's capacity to blend in to the existing socio-economic fabric of the country was said to be of supreme importance to Clarke, who indicated that he was fraught with the task of balancing a loyalty to his "own race" with being the objective professional. On more than one occasion he noted that:

> I want to be patient. I don't want to jump to any conclusions on this business of populating Canada until I get back to Montreal and can look over the whole field so far as I have seen it. There are men who have devoted their whole lives to it, whose one passion in life is to get Canada populated and such opinions as I may form would knock galley west from the depths of their experience. So lets just go on jotting down from day to day what I see and hear, and perhaps one little thought may come out of it.[188]

Economic assimilation was considered to be one of the most significant parts of the evolutionary process, and was identified by Clarke as the only worthy motivation for colonization. Although this point was only subtly hinted in immigration-related brochures aimed at the Anglo-Canadian population, Clarke mentioned it outright; he noted that it was "demonstrated that the average colonist family are worth an average of $1,500 to a locality each year. They have to eat and buy things from the merchants and there is, therefore, a certain amount of competition among different places to get the new settlers."[189] Indeed, over the course of his commentary Clarke would show that despite their apparent differences, which Clarke described in the form of racialized features, accents, or particular modes of dress, the natural ways in which immigrants transformed the land, engaged in commerce, or built up towns, verified that they successfully fit within the Anglo-Canadian's socio-cultural framework.

---

[188] Ibid, 33.
[189] Ibid, 51.

Accordingly, the journalistic account of Clarke's travels from Montreal to Victoria and back consisted of an elaborately crafted storyline that very successfully manipulated how foreign cultures were framed within the developing Western landscape. Clarke's writing style and interviewing techniques were designed to ease his readership into to the belief that Canada was not for the British only; thus when traces of cultural difference were observed, they were paired with humanistic observations, or evidence of habits or desires that stressed ideological sameness. For example, Clarke observed a Ukrainian woman who "displayed a few yellow fangs in her mouth", but who "made signs [that] her toes worked in the earth – it was her soil and I think she loved it."[190] In other instances he pit brazenly xenophobic statements such as the declaration of one local that: "[w]e want nothing but the British here around Saskatoon. We don't want the foreigner",[191] against poignant first-hand accounts of conversations with immigrants who went on to explain that they were learning English and becoming naturalized, productive citizens, "able to stamp their feet on the ground and say 'this is ours'."[192]

However, when it came to interviewing foreign immigrants first hand, Clarke utilized a jarring technique that interrogated his subjects with the same sense of authority that was exhibited in the photographs found in company brochures. When simply looking at the landscape he was an observer, watching and evaluating scenes through a window, and sometimes, as was discussed earlier, even referring to them as pictures. Alternatively, he wielded much greater power when he interviewed local

---

[190] Ibid, pages 33 and 39 respectively.
[191] Ibid, 34. Based on evidence found in letters between CPR colonization agents, David C. Jones has argued that the Edmonton and Saskatoon immigration offices were the most prejudiced in Western Canada. See Jones, 305-307.
[192] *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 77.

immigrants first hand, for his investigative style maintained a sceptical, patronizing tone that served to reinforce the gaze and power imbalance sanctioned in the company's brochures. In one example, Clarke engaged with a prosperous Hungarian man in what almost reads as a hostile spar:

> What is your nationality, I asked.
> "Who, Me? Canadian."
> But where were you born?
> "ME? I come from Hungary."
> Are you naturalized?
> "Sure I'm naturalized. Three years to the day after I arrived. To-day our people must wait five years. Too long. Much too long; they forget, but three years is good."
> Do you have any children?
> "Sure, lots of children."
> Do they go to school?
> "Sure they go to school. What do you think, they didn't go to school?"
> Fine. How many subjects do they learn in English?
> "What do you mean? They learn all in English. *My children are Canadians, understand*? They go to school, some to collegiate, soon they go to University. [...] " [193]

Later, when talking to a man of Ukrainian decent, Clarke would ask similar questions and would again insist upon using the same paternalistic tone when discussing the subject of education and assimilation.

Clarke clearly pressed these individuals for evidence that their acculturation was taking place. For when engaging with immigrants first hand, he was forced to confront a fundamental issue that he had trouble articulating throughout his entire reportage; despite having clearly made room for non-British immigrants within the Canadian imagination, despite showing that they improved the land according to shared British ideals, and despite noting their successful attempts to fit within the West's ever-changing socio-economic landscape, Clarke still preferred a Canada

[193] Ibid, 37-38. Emphasis added.

populated by British citizens, and thus he only sanctioned immigration on the condition of total assimilation, or more precisely, upon the immigrant's ability to acquire the British language, the British outlook, and British values, whatever those happened to be.

This attitude beset the liberal-minded Canadians of Clarke's era whose feelings on immigration were generally in line with the policies of the CPR. For as was mentioned in the beginning in this chapter, before the age of official multiculturalism, the question of how to allow immigrants into the country while keeping Canada 'Canadian' was a prime concern. Clarke's answer to this question was extreme assimilation, although as we will see in the chapter to come, the CPR's policies were not quite the same. Clarke required that foreigners become thoroughly British (although becoming thoroughly British-Canadian would do), so that they fit into Clarke's imagined national trajectory, which was perfectly in line with the definitions of "progress" elaborated upon in the company's brochures.

Thus Clarke's aggressive interviewing style and harsh treatment of Prairie immigrants (recall the Ukrainian woman's "yellow fangs") was his response to a concern that could not be compromised, and which ran beneath the surface of his account, often creating a message that seemed slightly contradictory: "seated in my office in Montreal, watching the train loads of every nationality pouring through," he would write near the conclusion of his trip,

> I could not realize as I do now, that there is room for all in Canada who are willing to go on the land and work it; [but] their children, no matter what their race, must go to school and learn the English language. This is compulsory in the Western Provinces for every child and it is not long before when you ask them their nationality they say "Canadian" and they mean it; I am convinced of that. But, Canada needs a quota law. There are races coming here declaring that they are going on the land who never reach it....

> Then, there is the British angle. Is Canada being properly presented to the British? I believe that we can afford to tell the truth as I have indicated it and that even if it means fewer British coming to go on the land, it will mean that those who come will be successful because they will have the drive and determination to see things through.
>
> We must populate the West in order to give employment to the East, no matter with whom we populate it providing a definite policy of assimilation is carried out.... [194]

Indeed, throughout his commentary Clarke remained optimistic about the non-British immigrant's ability to become assimilated, although by doing so, he relegated all forms of foreign culture to second-class status, a fact that will become even more evident in the next chapter's discussion of his portrayal of Banff Indian Days. Clarke was of the opinion that immigration moved Canada along a decisive, linear trajectory, which, in July of 1929, ironically looked as though it would go on uninterrupted. All evidence of this trajectory, whether it was in the form of buildings evolving "from hut, shack to gleaming building", or successive generations of immigrants shedding their past cultures and foreign tongues, confirmed that his vision of Canada was a possibility.

The Cultivated Garden

In conclusion, I would like to return to the image of the Clarke's standing in their St. Lambert garden, for nothing captivated Frank Clarke's imagination more than the British imprint upon the land in the form of the cultivated garden. For Clarke, the garden represented the most British form of progress, for it encapsulated a whole ideology by providing a domesticated space within which all other forms of British progress could be measured.

---

[194] Ibid, 123-124.

Clarke's observations of gardens and natural landscapes across the country were an interesting application of the British North American landscape tradition. According to Leo Marx's pioneering writing, the garden in American literature represented a pastoral ideal, or "middle landscape", where the innate friction between nature and the application of technology was reconciled. Marx was most interested in exploring how the unchanging and harmonious state of this pastoral ideal was violently interrupted by the presence of "a machine in the garden," or the train, which he characterized as America's most powerful and contested metaphor of progress. "What gives rise to the emotion is not the machine, but rather its presence against the felt background of the older historic landscape".[195] To the pioneer, tourist and urban citizen alike, "a locomotive is a perfect symbol because its meaning need not be attached to it by a poet; it is inherent in its physical attributes. To see a powerful, efficient machine in the landscape is to know the superiority of the present to the past".[196]

Yet, while Marx was interested in "the lifetime of a single generation" who witnessed how "a rustic and in large part wild landscape was transformed into the site of the world's most productive industrial machine,"[197] Clarke represented an impatient generation of business professionals, prospectors and industrialists who had difficulty seeing the landscape as anything else but the site for potential gain.[198] Although impressed with mountain scenery, Clarke's fascination was more focused

---

[195] Leo Marx, "The Machine in the Garden," *The New England Quarterly*, 29:1 (1956): 33. Reiterated in his book by the same title in pages 346-7.
[196] Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964) 192.
[197] Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal,* 343.
[198] As Jessup and Trentmann have explained, even the ardent naturalists of Clarke's generation, who established national parks and organized mass nature movements in Canada and Britain framed the wilderness and natural landscape as having utility and value.

on the progress of the country along an East-to-West trajectory, for he believed that all forms of civilized progress were imparted onto the landscape by the train. While Marx wrote of the two forces in opposition to each other, Clarke was of the opinion that Canadian culture was facilitated by technology. The cultivated garden thus represented the most basic, personal application of technology, for it demonstrated one's command over the natural environment.

Although observations of gardening and landscaping were noted throughout his trip, Clarke was most taken with the literal cultivation of British Columbia, for there, the look of the land and the quality of the people was closest to his British ideal. He wrote: "I defy you to be in B.C. for long without dragging the word English into everything; on the prairies you will notice my word was Britisher – but in British Columbia I follow the example and say English".[199] Interestingly, this attitude was directly promoted in the company's *Across Canada* series of brochures. In the *Across Canada and Back* pamphlet distributed during the 1929 tourist season—a pamphlet to which Clarke almost certainly had access—Victoria was said to have "often been called 'a bit of England on the shores of the Pacific.' It is distinctively a *home* city, with fine roads and beautiful gardens," and surrounded by physical attributes which were said to be "both magnificent and picturesque".[200] While in B.C., Clarke wrote of the English goods readily available, the character of the province's citizens, and most importantly, the look of the land. He described Vancouver and its gardens as a bride who fashioned her landscape out of "all sorts of magazines with pictures of old fashioned gardens and new fashioned gardens; of old-fashioned houses and new

---

[199] Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 69.
[200] *Across Canada and Back*, 1929, 21. Emphasis added.

fashioned homes".[201] Like every landscape that he observed along the way, in British Columbia, Clarke was taken with the evolution of how specific places were transformed from empty land to productive territory, or how communities of foreigners supposedly changed their own cultural attributes to better fit within Canadian society. But in Vancouver, he found his most potent metaphor, as well as absolute signs that the pioneering spirit had also extended to the country's most important form of civilization.

It is this image of the garden which perhaps best embodies his trip's themes in their entirety, because anyone could aspire to shape a cultivated garden in the British spirit, as it required nothing but easily acquirable contents, hard work and ideology to end up with its ideal form. Gardening was a potent metaphor for Canadian progress and assimilation, for simply put, "the gardener's work preserves their identity as gardens, and keeps them from slipping back into non-gardens....Dirt...is matter in the wrong place. Gardens...are Nature put into the right place."[202] The cultivated garden reflected the utmost ability to have control over nature, and was perhaps the best means by which to describe the fact that foreigners aspired toward the same goals as Clarke's urban readership. The cultivated garden, by virtue of its boundary, separated culture from nature, the domesticated from the wild, the controlled from the threatening. "Inside there is rationality, care and nurturing" writes gardening historian Andrew Cunningham, "outside there is Nature raw and savage. Inside there is art"[203]. Furthermore, gardening had a long history and an important scientific function within the colonial context. For example, official

---

[201] Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 60.
[202] Andrew Cunningham, "The Culture of Gardens" in N. Jardine, J.A. Secord and E. C. Spary eds., *Cultures of Natural History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 38.
[203] Ibid, 38.

botanical gardens functioned as research centers whose objects of careful study were plant species imported, hybridized and finally exported back to colonies where they could be cultivated for profit.[204] Interestingly, within the colonial context, the cultivated, domestic garden functioned in reverse: instead of collecting 'exotic' species from the outposts of empire, Clarke noted with satisfaction that these Canadian gardens literally transplanted bits of the familiar English pastoral scene to developing parts of Canada.

For Clarke, the gardens of British Columbia represented the cultivation of the British character. Just as he checked the progress of a small town against that of Montreal, he noted that garden terraces in Vancouver were just like those found in Westmount. Whereas Clarke had looked for signs that showed how prairie towns evolved over time, he was also interested in how gardens had progressed from wild and primitive plots of land to beautiful, cultivated landscapes. After noting the perfectly manicured lawns and gardens of a Vancouver neighbourhood for example, he quoted his guide who explained that "two and a half years ago this was forest land without a street or a house".[205] Similar to his technique of indexing the material progress of the Prairie's small towns, when impressed by a particular gardening configuration, Clarke would list the many names of luxurious flowers before his eyes, including "English primroses, fox gloves, delphinium of every colour, poppies, lilies, sweet William...", all the flowers of the English pastoral scene.[206] And finally, Clarke reported being taken aback with how strikingly the gardens of Victoria and Vancouver resembled those in pictures—and to be more specific, pictures used in

---

[204] Lucile Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion; The Role of the British Royal Botanic Gardens* (Toronto: Academic Press, 1979) 1-11.
[205] Clarke, *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 62.
[206] Ibid, 69.

advertising. After noting "street after street of the prettiest little houses you can image...each a picture in itself," Clarke remarked: "you know what pernicious liars you always thought those seed catalogue people were? Well, you were wrong. They just went to Vancouver and made their pictures there." Vancouver it seems, *was* the ideal. It was where traces of the English character were clearly visible on the land itself, the result of hard work and cumulative technologies, which actively reshaped and added value to the Canadian landscape. Although he noted disenfranchised Chinese labourers (and wanted to take their picture) he was pleased to see how the landscape and its people looked so homogeneous and English, and noted how much he felt *at home.*

After having reached the geographical endpoint of his trip, Clarke was once again the subject in a well composed garden: "I would come to the uttermost ends of the earth just to see those flowers" all arranged in the "English fashion", he wrote.

Conclusion

Once back in Montreal, he would write "You may remember that before I left on my trip through the West I had been emphatic on the idea that Canada is for the British only. Now what are my conclusions?" We are told that from his careful observations, "I am forced to realize that even if the whole population of the British Isles suddenly decided to come to Canada and settle on the land as farmers there would still be room for more." With a carefully optimistic tone, he continued to explain that "continentals" had a commitment to the land which was in the best interest of all of Canada, and argued that their industrious character justified their access to it and to the benefits of citizenship. He sympathetically observed that immigrants "arrive almost penniless and they are land hungry. Some of them, I am

told, and find it easy to believe after seeing them, weep when they get on their piece of land; they throw the soil over themselves – anoint themselves with it".[207]

By the end of his trip, as the train that carried Frank and Nelly Clarke deposited them in British Columbia, Frank Clarke would come to the conclusion that all that he had witnessed, every sign of transformation and progress that he had seen across the country, was striving toward one ultimate goal: a landscape developed to its full productive potential, which was moulded by technology and inhabited by Canadians who shared the same British-inspired values and ideals.

With the railroad as his model of human achievement, Clarke was able to say without question that hard work and human ingenuity could transform the landscape. Throughout this chapter, I have endeavoured to show that Clarke's transcontinental experience was arranged to prove this conclusion to his Montreal-based readership; by referring to the company's advertising message and by referencing the visual material laid out in its brochures, Clarke was able to measure the progress of the landscape across which he travelled. In addition, the CPR's visual vocabulary allowed Clarke to effectively communicate the 'look' of the country's landscapes in a manner that was familiar to his audience. By comparing unknown, uncertain landscapes to familiar places in Montreal, or to generic 'pictures' circulating in the popular imagination, Clarke was able to introduce his readers to the idea that foreigners appreciated and strove for British-styled gardens, prosperous towns, efficient, orderly farms and modern modes of dress. These visual factors were read as sings that "foreigners" were indeed contributing to and assimilating within Canadian society.

---

[207] Clarke *Diary*, August 25, 1929.

While this chapter has focused on Clarke's journalistic encounter with the West and its diverse landscapes and populations, the following chapter will examine the photographic products of the Clarke's trip. Immigration and railway-sponsored colonization were clearly framed by Clarke and by the Canadian Pacific Railway company as the nation's future. However, we will see in the chapter to come that in order to properly contextualize the nation's full evolutionary progress and future potential, Clarke and the CPR relied on a means of evaluating and experiencing the nation's past.

Chapter 3 – Framed, Captured and Shot: Banff Indian Days and the Photographic travel Album of Frank and Nelly Clarke

Archives are the memory place of culture, the repositories to which those who are interested in the excavation of history often turn to locate traces of the past. They are containers that fastidiously preserve society's material residue, according to Susan Buck-Morss,[208] and provide the information needed for researchers to mimetically relive history, but at a cool distance, most often a comfortable 20 degrees.[209]

While this project has thus far focused on the textually-based archival deposit of Frank Randall Clarke, this chapter will examine the photographic component of his archive, and will attempt to situate his travel photographs within a larger socio-political framework. "The *idea* of album engages the spectator by opening the doors of social memory," writes photographic historian Martha Langford. "The raw material may be private, but its transformation in a place of public encounter is complete."[210] Indeed, this chapter will show that the recontextualization of any photographic deposit can expose a multiplicity of meanings contained within the photographic frame. The Clarke donation in particular, allows us to cross-examine a private snapshot album with the running commentary of a published journalist who also had large stakes in his subject matter. Interestingly, although Clarke's writing was wholly devoted to the topics of travel, colonization and Canadian development, almost half of his album was consumed with one event alone: the portrayal of his

---

[208] Susan Buck-Morss, "Passages; Searching Walter Benjamin's Passagen-Werk," *Deep Storage: Collecting, Storing and Archiving in Art* (Munich: Prestel, 1998) 243.
[209] Archives and Museums generally maintain a temperature of around 20 degrees Celsius and a relative humidity of around 50% in order to properly conserve and sustain the materials in their collections.
[210] Langford, 36.

experience at Banff Indian Days. It is clear that the event filled the Clarkes' imagination just as much as it filled the pages of their album, and interestingly, Frank Clarke spoke of the event using photographic metaphors: in the preamble to his description of Banff, Clarke likened the entire, live performance to those famous photographs that defined the pivotal moments of his generation; "[t]here are memories which abide, pictures I have seen which have never been forgotten – little etchings of pageant and history, tragedy and humour; sudden events which have moved the world and upon which I have touched my finger". [211] Clarke considered Banff Indian Days to be one of those "clear cut and poignant things" whose mere significance had the power to burn its own image into the memory of its beholder or witness. When introducing his readers to the spectacle at Banff, he wrote: "[t]oday, a new scene, a new picture has been etched for memory's album which, starting as mere pageantry, gradually built up with cumulative force the picture of Canada when it was the land of the Indians".

As was shown in Chapter One, the CPR insisted that travelling fostered the creation of collectively important memories, which together formed a 'picture' of the nation as a whole. Knowing full well that its tourists searched the Canadian landscape for traces of meaning with their cameras, I have shown that the company expected transcontinental travel to be a series of photographic events. Illustrating this point, in 1929, the CPR's most popular brochure concluded by proclaiming that while "in the company of fellow travellers, new experiences have been shared, the

---

[211] Clarke gives two examples of such photographs that were still vivid in his memory: "King Edward and the Kaiser riding side by side behind Queen Victoria's coffin, [and] the return of the Naval Brigade from South Africa". The Diary, *The Montreal Herald*, August 8, 1929. Henceforth, all direct quotes relating to Clarke's experience or descriptions of Banff and Banff Indian Days will be from this same source, unless otherwise noted.

recollection of which will be stamped indelibly in our memories. In the days to come many pleasant hours will be spent with our snapshot albums living over again and again the 'Across Canada and Back' tour of 1929."[212]

If photographs were intended to extend the life of the CPR's version of Canadian history, then it should become clear that the personal photographic collection of a transcontinental trip will have multiple meanings in the archive. As Marita Sturken explains, "while the photograph may be perceived [of] as a container for memory, it is not inhabited by memory so much as it produces it....Images have the capacity to create, interfere with, and trouble the memories we hold as individuals and as a culture."[213] Clarke's photographs represent the documentation of a territorial claim, and they are significant within the archive because they illustrate the power of representation, and the material culture of a specific point in Canadian history. However, it will be argued throughout this chapter that by revealing a photographic collection's *social biography,* or its method of creation, circulation and display, far more information may be uncovered about the politics of representation, and it is this information which extends the life and significance of the photograph within the archive.

As was mentioned in Chapter One, the CPR's *Across Canada* series of brochures intended to show tourists the CPR's direct influence upon the Canadian landscape. However, as Chapter Two has shown, it was far more difficult to prove to the Canadian public that the country's human progress was just as successful. While Clarke built upon the CPR's framework, and made use of its imagery to show his

---

[212] *Across Canada and Back*, 1929, 26.
[213] Marita Sturken, "The Image as Memorial: Personal Photographs in Cultural Memory," in *The Familial Gaze*, ed. Marianne Hirsch, (London: Dartmouth College University Press, 1999) 178.

Montreal readership that new immigrants could effectively settle the land and assimilate into Canadian culture, even he struggled to redefine his image of Canadian society so as to include non-English foreigners. Banff Indian Days however, provided a powerful contextual backdrop that most effectively demonstrated the modernity and ability of the country's new immigrant farmers by comparing them to a snapshot of the country's ancient past.

For the CPR's general publicity agent John Murray Gibbon, Banff Indian Days therefore provided tourists with yet another important opportunity to see the CPR's role in Canadian progress. When combined with other CPR-related sites and spectacles along the transcontinental route, tourists were encouraged to believe that the festival enabled them to see the entire spectrum of Canadian development. Thus, festival organizers created the framework through which native people were to be contextualized and understood. As one historian explains,

> one turned to the past in order to understand the present and future. To be modern, one acted out a heuristic encounter with the primitive. Indian Others, constructed firmly outside [of] American society and temporality, represented this break not only historically, but also racially, socially, and developmentally.[214]

In turn, photographic souvenirs, combined with what Martha Langford has termed a *snapshot economy*, allowed tourists to feel as though they played an active role in sealing this historic narrative.

The first section of this chapter will therefore examine the specific ways in which the festival was constructed for the tourist's camera. It will explore how the event's non-Native organizing committee purposefully designed pageants and influenced the ways in which native people chose to represent themselves in costume

---

[214] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) 105.

and comportment, in order to present tourists with what they perceived to be an "accurate picture" of native culture.

I will then examine how the event was positioned to work in conjunction with the CPR's general tourist campaigns. Most crucially, it will be shown that Banff Indian Days reinforced the company's promotional narrative that was outlined in Chapter One, and which insisted that travelling via the CPR was the only relevant means to access one's Canadian heritage. In sum, *it will be shown that Indian Days was promoted as the backdrop against which all other forms of the nation's progress could be measured.*

After discussing the politics behind the event, I will then briefly examine the dominant representation of "the Indian" in Canadian popular culture, and will explore how the stereotype was supported by a racist and politically convenient ideology that insisted that all aboriginal North Americans were a vanishing race. This information will help to contextualize the events at Banff, as well as the pejorative images found in Clarke's album. It will also illuminate why photographic souvenirs of native culture were given such weight: by promoting Indian Days as one of the last opportunities in which to watch Canada's native population, non-Native tourists were led to believe that they had the sole ability to halt the inevitable forces of history with their snapshot cameras. It will be shown that the photographic act therefore empowered tourists, for it was expected that tourists would photograph the event as amateur ethnographers, there to "salvage" the last remnants of Canada's disappearing, romantic past.

And finally, the chapter will conclude by examining the photographic products of the Clarke's trip to Banff. While the bulk of these twenty-five images would seem at first glance to support the journalist's linear understanding of

Canadian history, it will be shown that these images provide the contemporary critic with multiple points of fracture through which other stories may be told. Indeed, while Frank Clarke was troubled by instances of racial intermixing and hybridity, and attributed these interruptions to the natural forces of assimilation, these representations of cultural conflict can today, function as key sites of archival re-interpretation. Indeed, unlike the CPR's highly controlled photographic advertising, personal snapshots allow for multiple meanings to enter into the photograph through a repositioning of the frame. For instance, today, we may say that Indian cowboys or Native women dressed in modern clothes were not solely the products of a top-down approach to native assimilation, but were instead, the articulation of hybridity or cultural adaptation; these individuals were *not* forever fixed in a historical stereotype as they were pasted into the pages of an album, but rather, their participation at Banff and their decision to wear the fashions of white society allowed them to recuperate and to control the small spaces of their political present, regardless of the crushing influence of White authority and control.

A Brief History Indian Days at Banff

According to one of the only historical analyses of the event, Banff Indian Days began in 1894 as an impromptu entertainment for tourists who were stranded at the Banff Springs Hotel.[215] Although at first due to happenstance, the event was originally so successful (and eventually so lucrative) that local businessmen took over its organization, and would continue it every summer for the next eighty years.

From the start, Indian Days involved extensive pageantry and competition that was set against the backdrop of the grand hotel. During the 1928 season, for

[215] E.J. Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists*, 76.

which there are ample records of the event, the three-day festival attracted over 2200 people who came to watch the opening parade through the town, its judged competitive sporting events, powwows (despite the fact that potlatches and ritual dancing were banned at the time by the federal government[216]), and an elaborate "Village of a Hundred Teepees," which promised to bring the CPR's tourists into what was billed as the domestic space of native culture, or their life behind the scenes.

Tourists were assured that "No White Competitors are allowed to take part,"[217] and were informed that they were privileged spectators, there to watch authentic sporting and religious events which had regularly taken place long before the presence of the White man. However, an examination of the organizing committee's original records suggests that Indian Days was a highly engineered event, and although the festival was billed as an authentic window unto the nation's primitive past, all aspects of the festival were designed according to an underlying discourse of Canadian progress. Firstly, during the 1928 and 1929 seasons, the CPR's John Murray Gibbon attempted to increase the CPR's role in the event, and was in constant contact with principal Banff-based organizer Norman Luxton[218] and the Indian Days committee with respect to how the festival would take shape.

---

216 J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heaven: A History in Indian-White Relations in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 193 and 218.

217 N.K. Luxton, J.I. Brewster, S.M. Armstrong, *Official Programme of Banff Indian Day Sports, July 20-21-22, 1926*. ([Banff]: [Banff Indian Days Committee], 1926) 1. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff Indian Days Committee files. Hereafter referred to as *Official Programme*.

218 Luxton was an influential Banff businessman. He published the local newspaper, was the owner of the local cinema and King Edward Hotel, and was proprietor of the "Sign of the Goat Curio Shop," one of the main souvenir shops at Banff.

Behind the scenes there developed an intensely political relationship; Gibbon was positioned as the authority, as he had access to CPR funding, represented the CPR's interests, and functioned as the event's strategic connection to government. Luxton on the other hand, vied for local Banff concerns, and attempted to acquaint Gibbon with the political needs of rival native bands. In addition, while Luxton and his Banff contemporaries did most of the groundwork, Gibbon's department was responsible for publicizing the event through its extensive tourist publications and ticket agent network, thus leading tourists to believe that the event was facilitated by the CPR. Indian Days was thus organized according to a clash of interests as each party attempted to extract the most profits or public awareness from what promised each year to be a bigger event.

Secondly, both parties explicitly designed the festivities for touristic consumption, and manipulated its components according to their own idea of native history and culture.[219] Organizers were keenly aware that the desire to capture the essence of native culture (combined with the desire for exciting photographs) led tourists to search for "a definable ethnicity, an expression of the perceived cultural difference between the tourist and the person living in the tourist destination, the touree." Sociologist Michael Hitchcock explains that under these circumstances, tourees attempt to represent themselves and their cultural products as being "*more authentically primitive* according to the codes of this interaction, in order to convey

[219] These records are located at the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, and are contained in the Norman K. Luton papers. Luxton was the chief organizer of Indian Days during 1928, and kept meticulous records about all aspects of the event. S.M. Armstrong was Committee Secretary during 1929, but did not keep any records. I thus base my observations on these records, as it does not appear that the festival significantly changed during the following year, which is my principal year of study.

these messages".[220] Indeed, the tourist's desire for the "authentic" look of native culture determined the vagaries of the marketplace. At tourist spectacles with a distinctly folkloric or ethnographic bend, Ian Mackay has argued that "tourists were to be the ultimate arbiters of authenticity, for they constituted the market, and the market....dictat[ed] what crafts were produced," which traditions were accepted and performed, and how these expressions were represented. [221] At Banff, the measure of "Indianness" was controlled by non-native organizers, who attempted to influence the style and content of the costumes and pageantry that were on display. For example, in a letter to Gibbon, Luxton indicated that he could procure "as many Indians as you would wish," and stated that of this group, "all able bodied men, women and children must being their beads and buckskins. A few years ago we made this a hard and fast rule, the sending home of a few who came with out [sic] soon cured the slackers".[222] Indeed, dress, adornment and the distinctive aesthetics of Plains Indian material culture were perhaps the most symbolically charged markers of aboriginal identity available to tourists and their cameras. As an individual's "beads and buckskins" signified his or her level of ethnicity, festival organizers continually attempted to shape the look of the event to exceed the tourist's expectations of native culture. In effect, organizers encouraged local aboriginal peoples to "play Indian" by making their ceremonial garb "more authentically primitive". Not surprisingly, Luxton's correspondence reveals numerous occasions where he encouraged local Native women to enhance or alter their beadwork designs

---

[220] Michael Hitchcock ed., introduction, *Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism*, (London: University of North London and Ashgate Press, 2000) 4-5.
[221] Ian Mackay, *The Quest of the Folki: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentierth Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) 184.
[222] Norman Luxton, letter to John Murray Gibbon, April 11, 1929. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Luxton Archive.

or to create tourist-oriented souvenirs that were more in line with the his own conceptualization of Native culture.[223] By extension, it is almost certain that Luxton's instructions influenced the design of each participant's "traditional" garb during the festival, thus problematizing that which was said to constitute the authentic native culture of "times past".

Similarly, in another example of the Indian Days committee's influence, it is clear that Banff Indian Days' non-native organizers designed the event's main pageant according to what they perceived to be the most striking aspects of native religion and ritual. In a letter to Gibbon, Luxton suggested that "a change of program would not hurt," and asked if Gibbon, the esteemed folklorist, would write the new performance himself. It seems as though the concept of authenticity was a malleable one in the grand scheme of the event, for it was the non-native committee who ultimately decided upon which "traditional" aspects of Native cultural were to be included and performed. Several weeks later Gibbon replied: "Miss McDonald has had experience in Indian Pageant work. Sorry, I have no time to write the

---

[223] It is clear that Luxton was keenly aware of the signification of native fashion. One letter to Mrs. Millie Brazeau of High Prairie, Alberta is worth quoting in its entirety here: "Dear Madam, I am sending you two good moose and two large buck skins. Make as many coats as you can out of them with beads on them and old time buttons. One coat, make it out of the buckskins and this coat make it to fit me...and on this coat I want you to put many beads, a coat like what I showed you one last winter, it was made my Mary Starlight on the Scarcee reserve, she is a Stoney woman and a good bead maker. I want you to beat that coat she made and I know you can do it. Put the fringe on twice as long as the coats you sent me last time. You remember Mary's coat, but make it better, because I wear it at the Calgary Stampede and at Banff Indian Day when I am judge of the Indian Day costumes....You make this coat good and I will pay you for the work and will also pay the doctor for your glasses. Write me what you think about this coat. Can you send me the pattern of beads you would put on it. If you will that will be good." Norman Luxton, letter to Brazeau, May 9, 1928.

pageant show myself. She is in Banff, and [I] suggest that you get in touch with her".[224]

While the organizing committee designed the event with the tourist's preconceived expectations of native history and culture in mind, Gibbon and the Banff committee attempted to make the festival as photographically spectacular as possible. When designing new aspects of the program for example, organizers considered which features "would certainly [make] a wonderful showing in any photo."[225] In fact, all aspects of the tourists' encounter with the landscape revolved around photographs and picture-taking,[226] and this extended to the way in which the event was positioned at the Banff Springs Hotel. When discussing the CPR's involvement with the festival, Gibbon promised financial sponsorship to the Banff committee on the condition that more activities be held on hotel grounds, and within areas specifically designated for cultural displays.[227] As the organizing committee happily complied with this request, Gibbon secured the maximum visibility for the company, and acquired the right to publicize the event as one that was delivered to tourists by the CPR.

---

[224] Gibbon, letter to Luxton, May 21, 1928.
[225] Luxton, letter to Gibbon, April 11, 1928.
[226] For example, architectural arrangement provided tourists with multiple photographic contact points. Some of these included scenic stops built into Banff's layout, specially constructed news stands that were designed to capture the attention of tourists in high traffic areas, and photographic kiosks set up as concessions around the event.
[227] Telegram from Gibbon to Luxton, May 12, 1928. In subsequent correspondences it was also arranged that the event's main pageant would be located on the field and near the grandstands specially constructed for Gibbon's Highland Dancing competition.

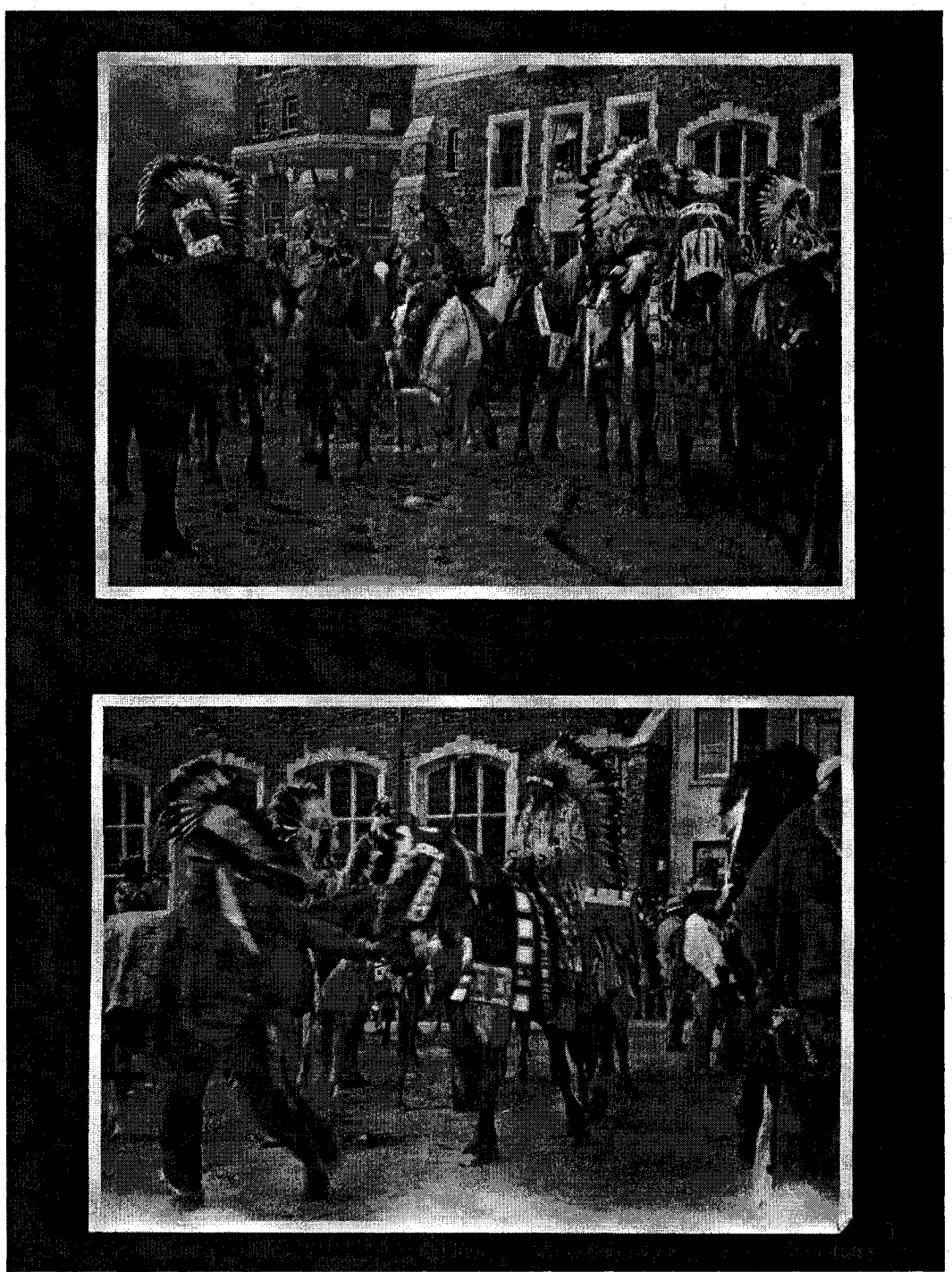


Image 146 Snapshots taken by the Clarkes of the opening procession of Banff Indian Days, [July 23] 1929. The opening pageant culminated in the courtyard of the Banff Springs Hotel, pictured in the background. Note the housekeeping staff's interest in the parade, top photograph, centre.[228]

[228] *Aboriginal men assembling on horseback for parade, Banff Indian Days, Banff AB, 1929.* Frank Randall Clarke. MP-1988.56.36 and MP-1988.56.37. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.

Interestingly, these changes occurred when the company's publicity department realized that the photographic medium was the best possible device with which to tell the story of its influence. Thus, at exactly the time when photographic representations of travelling exploded across the pages of the company's brochures, and connected the CPR's tourist landscapes to themes of Canadian evolution and progress, the company made arrangements for its most sensational and historically charged tourist event to be most appealing to the tourist's desire for photographic consumption. Moreover, Gibbon saw the persuasive potential that could be derived from personal snapshot photography, for as tourists took photographs of native people on parade in front of the hotel, traces of the company—most often in the form of the CPR's Banff Springs Hotel—were deposited in the family album. (See Image 16, page 154)

Whole economies were thus created around the photographic promotion of the event. Associated Screen News agents purchased negatives from local photographers, and offered them for sale en masse to tourist across the country. In turn, eager travellers purchased these views and then took their own photographic record of the event. Pages in Clarke's album were no different; in his personal collection of Banff Indian Days images, Clarke obtained ASN photographs of native types, teepees and medical culture, and intermingled these photographs with his own brownie views. Of his own snapshots, a large number were shot from within the courtyard of the Banff Springs Hotel, and clearly showed the building and its accoutrements in the background.[229]

The Album of Collective Memory

[229] In one image two maids are shown peering out of a second floor window.

Tourist photographs functioned as highly meaningful souvenirs, which, as historian Michael Hitchcock has argued, primarily acted "as mnemonic devices around which to tell stories."[230] Recent scholarship on the analysis of family albums has also described personal photographs in these terms; for instance, Martha Langford writes that the family album should be conceived of "as an act of communication" [231] whose visual narrative is always left open to interpretation unless it is repeatedly told. "Orality," she insists, "lingers in the depths of photographic consciousness, silently petitioning for critical recovery".[232] The photographic re-orientation of Indian Days demonstrated that the CPR had a profound understanding of the application of the medium; Gibbon's department realized that the company could gain from positioning the event so that it had a subtle place in the family album. As tourists took or purchased photographs of Indian Days and fixed them in their albums, the process of telling the story of their travels, or of describing the scene at Indian Days most likely required a verbal reference to the company or to its services, and thus also acted as the company's best form of word-of-mouth advertising. Indeed, it was widely believed that if the festival was properly organized, it could potentially have a much deeper impact on the country's community of travellers by showcasing the CPR's involvement in procuring the nation's history.

In addition, sociologist Deborah Chambers has argued that family albums play an important role in symbolically connecting private family life to collective narratives of nationhood. Chambers explains that "by creating images of people in

---

[230] Hitchcock xiv.
[231] Langford 19.
[232] Ibid, 198.

'special' places, that is, public or ritualized 'places', and at 'special' public or ritualized 'events', the visually selective nature of family photography has given the Western, migrating, colonial and suburban family a visual *raison d'etre* by reconnecting the private, domestic refuge with the public domain that invented it."[233] As was discussed in Chapter 1, the material culture of tourism was instrumental in this process; visually defined itineraries and a firmly established photographic souvenir culture informed tourists as to which sites were culturally significant, and then instructed them how to properly consume those landscapes. In turn, the act of photographing or collecting photographs of the travelling experience gave individuals the sense that they actively played a part in understanding and engaging with the national terrain – a theme that will be discussed in greater detail below.

Banff Indian Days was celebrated as just one of those 'public and ritualized events' that had profound cultural meaning for Canadians as a whole, as the company insisted that the event was a window unto Canada's primitive past. Clarke was convinced for instance, that "here is a tribe still wholly Indian living its native ways, following the old trails and preserving through the aid and understanding of their white friends something of a link between today and the past". Indeed, the event was billed as an opportunity to "see the Indians in their lives of 100 years ago,"[234] and promised to be the only means that tourists would ever have to witness "the dying race" up close. However, like so many other projects that attempted to "save" the disappearing aspects of "Indian" culture, the event created an interesting and highly problematic representation of native history and society as a whole, for as

---

[233] Chambers, "Family as Place: Family photograph albums and the domestication of Public and Private Space" in Schwartz and Ryan eds., *Picturing Place*, 105.
[234] *Official Programme*, 1926.

it will be shown in the pages to come, the event attempted to render Native culture historically inert so that aboriginal society fit snugly into the CPR's narrative of Canadian history, which in turn, positioned Native peoples as the neutral starting point for Canadian culture.

To better understand the significance of Clarke's photographs as publicly traded objects and as private souvenirs, I will first examine the ways in which aboriginal peoples were commonly defined within the popular imagination. After a brief examination of the popular myth of the "vanishing Indian," I will examine how this false yet powerful characterization of native society informed the government's bureaucratic responses to native culture. Indeed, it will be shown that various means of bureaucratic control were used to forcibly assimilate native peoples according to rigidly defined Eurocentric values. This larger socio-political framework will help to contextualize Banff Indian Days, and will in turn, shed light on (1) why a seemingly apolitical depiction of native culture was considered important in such an stringent environment, and; (2) why picture-taking and the circulation of photographic souvenirs were believed to have such profound significance.

Saving the Vanishing Race

During the 1920s, the prevailing non-Native view toward Native society was that Indian North-Americans were a vanishing race. Indeed, as Americanist Philip Deloria and others have argued, since Jacksonian America there existed a "vanishing Indian ideology" in Euro-North American society "which proclaimed it foreordained that less advanced societies should disappear in the presence of those more advanced."[235] The Myth of the Vanishing Indian as this ideology would often be

[235] Deloria 64.

called, perpetuated the idea that native communities across the continent were experiencing massive population decreases due to the inevitable expansion of white society into their native lands, their sheer inability to adapt to new European systems of commerce and modernity, and the ravages of imported diseases and vices of Western culture.[236] By the 1920s, this most transparent form of Social Darwinism pervaded many forms non-native culture; there existed for example, popular movies, social clubs, art and literature that were based on the romantic aspects of native culture and warned of the myth's inevitable truth.[237]

The myth also shaped all aspects of governmental action with respect to its authority over native issues, for it was firmly believed that existing native populations needed to be "saved" from their stagnant native ways, and taught how to survive in the competitive environment of White society. Accordingly, between 1880 and 1930, the federal governments of both Canada and the United States carried out policies of forced assimilation, which were designed to obliterate native cultural practices, solidify the reserve system, and undercut the traditional structures of tribal society and governance in surviving communities. In Canada, the Department of Indian Affairs was under the direction of Deputy Superintendent Duncan Campbell Scott. A substantial amount of research has been done on the period of Scott's influence, and has examined how under his encouragement, religious and governmental institutions attempted to transform the native population into civilized and productive members of White society with residential schools, highly invasive medical policing, and through such mechanisms as mandatory enfranchisement,

---

[236] See Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, for a synopsis of paternalistic Canadian policy specifically crafted to curb Native prostitution and alcohol consumption.
[237] *The Vanishing Race* (1925) for example, was a popular Hollywood film produced by Paramount Studios, and adapted from a popular novel by Zane Grey.

which forced socially and economically mobile individuals to lose their native status.[238]

Scott believed that it was his department's moral duty to assimilate all vestiges of Indianness which remained in contrast to the British way of life, and which were believed to impede Canadian economic development or progress. "I want to get rid of the Indian problem" he stated to parliament when preparing a bill to amend the Indian Act in 1920. "I do not think as a matter of fact, that this country ought to continuously protect a class of people who are able to stand alone. This is my whole point. Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian department".[239] The Indian Department thus attempted to introduce ways that would allow aboriginal peoples to become self sufficient and "stand alone", and one of these longstanding programs included the imposition of a "peasant farming" regime that was designed to encourage Western aboriginal peoples to abandon their migratory impulses, and to acquire the agricultural instinct that was at the core of Anglo-Canadian success. The program, "which was based on current theories of social evolution, held that Plains people must move from migratory

---

[238] For an in-depth analysis of the Department under Scott's influence, see E. Brian Titley's *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986). See also Maureen Lux, *Medicine that Walks: Disease, Medicine, and Canadian Plains Native people, 1880-1940*, (Toronto: UTP, 2001), Sarah Carter's *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1990) and John Milloy's *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999).

[239] Scott's presentation in front of the special parliamentary commission continued: "They are a weird and waning race...ready to break out at any moment in savage dances." Duncan Campell Scott, quoted in E. Brian Tilley, *A Narrow Vision*, 50. For a fascinating historical and critical analysis of Aboriginal/non-native relations in Canada, see the Report on the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, conducted between 1991-1995 by the department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada: <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sgmm_e.html>

hunting through peasant or subsistence farming before they could emerge into large-scale commercial farming that employed modern machinery".[240] That is, federal authorities believed that in order to "save" existing native population, it was necessary for them to be forced to go through Eurocentric regimes of evolution that would turn them into modern, productive citizens, akin to the Eastern European peasant farmers who were so eagerly observed by Clarke.

It was in this highly restrictive and blatantly racist climate that Banff Indian Days purported to showcase the native culture of times past. Indian Days festivities were intentionally divorced from existing social conditions – an issue to which I will return – and instead, focussed on introducing non-native tourists to committee-designed spectacles of native history, which in turn, represented aboriginal people as being harmless, stoic, and highly decorated fixtures of Canada's historic landscape. Indeed, as historian Daniel Francis explains, these such "fairs and exhibitions represented a manipulation of nostalgia. They allowed non-Natives to admire aspects of aboriginal culture safely located in the past, without confronting the problems of contemporary Native people. Frozen as they were in an historical stereotype, Performing Indians invoked a bygone era. By implication, they celebrated the triumph of White civilization."[241] In addition to providing tourists with a range of other symbols, Banff Indian Days was one of a series of events that allowed white society to mourn the loss of the romantic Indian, who was believed to have a synergy

---

[240] J.R. Miller, *Canada and the Aboriginal Peoples, 1867-1927,* Canadian Historical Association Ser. 57 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association,1997) 15. Those imposing the peasant farming regime on Western reserves carefully monitored native individuals, who were restricted to their often poorer-quality reserve lands, and forced to use out-dated and wholly unsustainable methods of low-tech farming while their non-Native counterparts relied on increasingly mechanized agricultural technology.

[241] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Popular Culture,* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2000) 102.

with the natural world that was lost with modern industrialization.[242] In his book *The Imaginary Indian*, Francis explains that once Canada's aboriginal peoples ceased being a threat to the expansion and "natural" development of white-Canadian society, Native people became an acceptable curiosity for white culture, and in effect, "became the White man's fantasy. Through the prism of White hopes, fears and prejudices, indigenous Americans would be seen to have lost contact with reality and to have become 'Indians'; that is, anything non-Natives wanted them to be".[243]

During the 1920s, popular culture required Native peoples to be 'performing Indians', covered in beads, buckskins and warpaint. Although it is clear that Luxton and the other members of the organizing committee had a much more complex relationship with local native groups, they chose to perpetuate this stereotype, for the promise of the Performing Indian guaranteed throngs of paying tourists and satisfied their own desire to "save" the romantic traditions of what they genuinely thought to be a dying race.

---

[242] This sentiment was often readily admitted. In a widely circulated speech written by celebrated Banff resident Lt. Col. Moore, Moore outlines the romance and attraction of Banff Indian Days: "A few hundred Stoneys, remnants of a once powerful nation of prairie hunters and warriors, now reside on their reservation at Morley, forty miles east of Banff. Each July they don their regalia, paint their faces, pitch their tepees under the shadow of Cascade Mountain and live the old scenes over again for our pleasure. These are the 'Indian Days' as we now know them, in which memory delves into ancient experience, the experience of the real Indian Days which have gone, never to return. *What one of us is there who does not feel at times that the mad whirl of modern life is almost unbearable?* How much more so must it be to these Stonies who have seen the hunting grounds of their ancestors taken from them, their gave driven out of existence and now find the methods of the Whiteman too complicated in business competition...were you there it would be well worth while to visit their camp, see their games, talk with them. Their tepee doors stand open. You could introduce yourself to a real one-hundred-percent American." Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Moore Family Papers, M307, File 18, Lecture #2.

[243] Ibid, 5.

Seeing Banff Indian Days

Accordingly, Indian Days was promoted as an important and spontaneous aspect of native culture, which had been excavated from the depths of the historical record by White society.[244] Clarke for example, would write to his audience that "the old chiefs" whom he watched in the parade

> sat [on] their horses with dignity, occasionally turning in their saddles to give some command and acknowledging with regal stateliness the welcome extended to them in their own language by Norman Luxton. Norman Luxton, Jim Brewster and S.M. Armstrong [are] three of the local men who devote so much time to the welfare of the Indians and with such splendid results.

Luxton and his contemporaries truly believed that Indian Days benefited both cultures, for the festivities gave local native groups an opportunity to earn money ("It is needles to tell you, no whites, committee or other receive one cent, all monies go to the Indians"[245]), while teaching non-native tourists the romance of native culture and sport. Illustrating this point is Luxton's correspondence with influential French collector, artist, and "Indian hobbyist" Paul Coze,[246] in which Luxton made his philosophy clear: "if you are going to paint Indians, come back to America and

---

[244] Francis puts it even more poignantly: "while artists like Emily Carr lamented the fate of the Indian, their success was predicated on it. Having first of all destroyed many aspects of Native culture, White society now turned around and admired its own recreations of what it had destroyed. To the extent that they suffered any guilt over what had happened...Whites relieved it by preserving evidence of the supposedly dying culture. Whites convinced themselves that they were in this way saving the Indians. By a curious leap of logic, non-Natives became the saviours of the vanishing Indian" 36.

[245] Indian Committee, *This is a Circular Letter to Fifty Business Houses in Banff*, [1929]. The 1926 event program also proclaimed: "[e]very cent of the three days' receipts go to the Indians in goods or prize money, besides $500 subscribed by the merchants and hotels of Banff".

[246] "Between 1928 and 1934, the French artist Paul Coze made four trips across western Canada collecting ethnographic objects for the Musee d'Ethnographie (Trocadero) in Paris and the Heye Foundation in New York. An ardent admirer of Native American cultures, Coze helped organize the Cercle Wakanda, a group of Parisian "Indian hobbyists" who staged theatrical productions on Aboriginal themes. Coze also assembled a substantial private collection of ethnographic material from the Canadian Plains and Subarctic" regions, which now resides in the Provincial Museum of Alberta's ethnology collection. <http://www.pma.edmonton.ab.ca/human/ethno/collects/collects.htm>

once more assemble into your system the smells of the Indian and his teepee and his houses. Otherwise you will never paint real Indian photos [sic]".[247] "The Stoneys are about the last of the Indians around here that remembers and acts their old time customs. If you could arrive here the third week in July you would get a lot of the features you want without paying for it, *as I have them put on in the parades and also in a drama at the grounds.*"[248]

In addition, both Luxton and Gibbon were keenly aware that the event had the potential to be a highly profitable venture. Luxton for one, would state to the superintendent of Banff National Park: "I might say that these days of diversion are almost solely for the tourists who come regularly every year, and I am quite sure your department will agree with the Indian Committee that Banff Indian Days is one of the greatest advertisements of Banff that we have."[249] While local organizers looked forward to the overall boost in tourism created by the event, the CPR sought to profit off of the festival's symbolic meaning. In addition to increasing the hotel's revenues, Banff Indian Days perfectly reinforced the company's overall advertising message; just as was promised in its transcontinental brochures, the event gave tourists the opportunity to actively engage with Canadian history. Indeed, travelling to Banff via the CPR and participating in the festival as an observer was promoted as a way in which tourists could activate their citizenship and engage with the nation's history through the pretext of observing native culture. While other popular folk festivals organized by Gibbon's department showcased the varied cultures of the

---

[247] Luxton to Paul Coze, March 14, 1929.
[248] Luxton to Coze, April 17, 1929. Emphasis added.
[249] Luxton to R.S. Stronach, June 29, 1928.

country's new settler,[250] Banff Indian Days showed tourists a snapshot of the past, and more importantly, provided tourists with the ultimate backdrop against which all other forms of the nation's progress could be measured. Or, as another theorist explains, "Indians [were] the foil against which [the] 'New World' identity of the colonizers [was] defined".[251]

To ensure that the festival lived up to tourist expectations, Gibbon did everything necessary to ensure that it had a "culturally authentic" platform, and that it presented tourists with a highly pleasurable and apolitical display of Canadian history. During the 1928-1929 seasons, this included temporarily circumventing the government's official stance on public displays of native culture. From 1925 onwards, policies enacted by William S. Graham, senior Indian Department official in the Prairies, made it illegal for Native peoples to perform traditional dances at public fairs and events.[252] While festivals such as the Calgary Stampede simply ignored this directive, Gibbon used the power of his corporate connections, and personally contacted Duncan Campbell Scott in Ottawa. In an interesting about face, Gibbon was given permission to enlarge the festival and to continue putting Indians on display, provided that the timing of the event did not interfere with the reserve-based agricultural training of the aboriginal groups in question.[253] While Scott's actions clearly undercut the local Indian Agent's authority, they showed that both he

---

[250] Ian MacKay, 58. Between 1928 and 1931, Mackay notes that the company's publicity department is credited with having organized no less than sixteen folk festivals, all of which "were dramatizations of Gibbon's imagined Canada, a mosaic that was slowly emerging as a potential masterpiece under the guiding hand of history". 52.
[251] Jan Penrose, "When All the Cowboys are Indians: The Nature of Race in All-Indian Rodeo" Annals of the Association of American Geographers 93 no. 3 (2003) 687.
[252] Francis, 101. According to Francis, Graham prohibited native participation in fairs and exhibitions because it "contradicted the government's policy of assimilation by affirming the value of Native culture," and distracted Native peoples from their agricultural work.
[253] Gibbon to R.N. Wilson, April 16, 1928.

and Gibbon had the same moderated view of Canadian history and native culture: both believed that a temporary outburst of controlled Indianness was acceptable in such close proximity to white society if it was intentionally disarmed and safely located in the past. More important still, was the qualifying test of assimilation: native pageants were only to be sanctioned if their actors set the appropriate historical stage for the country's evolutionary progress; traditional aboriginal culture had to be depicted as a romantic, primitive past, upon which all other forms of civilization and development could be layered.

That native peoples were aestheticized and depoliticized were probably the reasons why the country's highest ranking Indian Department bureaucrat authorized the event. In light of the Department's racialist and politically charged practices that otherwise attempted to control all aspects of native behaviour and culture, Scott's actions clearly demonstrated that as long as native people were reduced to a historical stereotype, native culture could be appropriated, and could be rendered into a harmless photographic event.

It is certain that Scott's decision hinged upon the CPR publicity department's overall portrayal of the festival. Indeed, posters, brochures and inserts enticed Canadian travellers to Banff by suggesting that the last remnants of an ancient native culture were still alive in the Canadian West, and that they were being preserved by the technological triumphs of White society and the benevolence of the CPR. While Gibbon's transcontinental brochures previewed the country in pictures, they also promised that Banff Indian Days would seduce the tourist's camera. Native peoples were romanticized and mythologized when mentioned at all in the company's advertising; without exception, they were depicted as stoic-looking "braves" gazing

into some distant horizon while mounted on horseback and wearing full ceremonial regalia. If there was any accompanying text it too aestheticized the Indian: "Indian Week at Banff is one of the most colourful spectacles on the North American Continent," explained the CPR's publication *Resorts in the Canadian Rockies.* The blurb in its entirety stated:

> between three and four hundred Stoney Indians come from the Morley reserve, 40 miles east of Banff for their tribal sports. In the summer of 1930, they will be joined by other tribes in a pageant on a scale greater than ever before...The tribe is all mounted, while many splendid horses are used, resplendent in gorgeous trappings and headpieces. The costumes of both men and women are creations of white buckskin, beadwork and ermine, their color schemes being exceedingly wonderful, and they ride with dignity and poise.[254]

By every means, the Banff Indian Days attended by Clarke was a tourist entertainment and spectacle; Associated Screen News photographs reinforced this image of Native culture by making hundreds of photographs available to tourists at various contact points across festival grounds. There also existed a thriving local photographic industry that supplied visitors with images of generic Indians, and several of these photographs would end up in Clarke's album, as will be discussed below.

Aboriginal History; Framed, Captured and Shot

As I have argued throughout this chapter, local aboriginal people were encouraged by the Banff committee to "dress up" as the stereotypical Indians who inhabited the spaces of popular culture. As such, tourists were expected to read the performers for their distinct cultural attributes and coded signs of authenticity – skin colour, costume, hair styles, and character.

---

[254] *Resorts in the Canadian Rockies*, 1930, 10.

By aestheticizing native culture, the festival depoliticized the existence of aboriginal society, and attempted to erase its contestation of non-native expansion and control. An important subtext of Indian Days at Banff was that Canada was moving along a decisive nature-to-nation trajectory. In its advertising material, extended promotional campaigns and pervasive travel brochures, the Canadian Pacific Railway's account of Canadian history insisted that this trajectory was facilitated by the CPR, which, as was commonly accepted, bound the country together as a transcontinental nation with the power of its machine technology. In addition, the narrative described Canadian culture as having momentum; while Eastern Canada contained the nexus of Canadian society, its model cities and historic origins, the West was described as having great potential, and was recognized as harbouring the nation's future. Clarke would persuasively argue in his CPR-sponsored writing for example, that the prairies accommodated new immigrants who strove to shape the landscape according to a shared Anglo-Canadian ideal, and that the region's wide plains abounded with even more open spaces for the country's potential growth.

However, the presence of Native culture, paired with the existence of a mountainous boundary, was a crucial rupture in this transcontinental narrative. Both Clarke and the company's tourist brochures wrote of the mountains as being a temporary break in the nation's natural trajectory, and as a brief return to a sublime and natural past. As touristic sites, the mountains contained powerful symbols of difference and marginality in their physical landscape and general culture.[255] For instance, they were cultural boundaries that separated East from West and civilization from nature. They

---

[255] See esp. William Wyckoff and Lary Dilsaver, *The Mountainous West: Explorations in Historical Geography*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

existed as physical borders that put a Western limit to the Prairies, and they functioned as the geopolitical separation between Alberta and British Columbia. Culturally symbolic values could be conferred upon all aspects of their existence; for example, as was mentioned in Chapter 1, the Great Divide marked the CPR's history and influence in the region by drawing attention to an arbitrary physical division, which marked the place "of a stream [that] rolls down the mountains and has been caught by the enterprising CPR."[256] (See Images 8 on page 58 and Image 17, page 170). In addition to representing essential Canadian boundaries, the mountains were also believed to have curative powers, able to restore citizens to spiritual and physical states of good repair. There too could one confront the natural origins of the nation; as a refuge far removed from Canadian society, the Western Rocky Mountain ranges were thought to house the region's aboriginal tribes in their "natural" habitat. Clarke for instance, would explain seeing native groups simple emerging from the forest: "it is quite an exciting thought to one with imagination to be seated here in a bed-room of this great hotel and to think of all these hundreds of red men with their wives and their children, their horses and their dogs, converging upon us quietly through the trees from every point of the compass."[257]

These subtexts made the mountains an ideologically charged and culturally relevant place within the Canadian landscape paradigm. The CPR capitalized on these associations, and in addition to promoting its famous mountain hotel at Banff, the company insisted that the region as a whole was a vital part of the tourist's pan-Canadian education and transcontinental experience, for it was a powerful place of origins.

---

[256] Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 57.
[257] Ibid, 88.

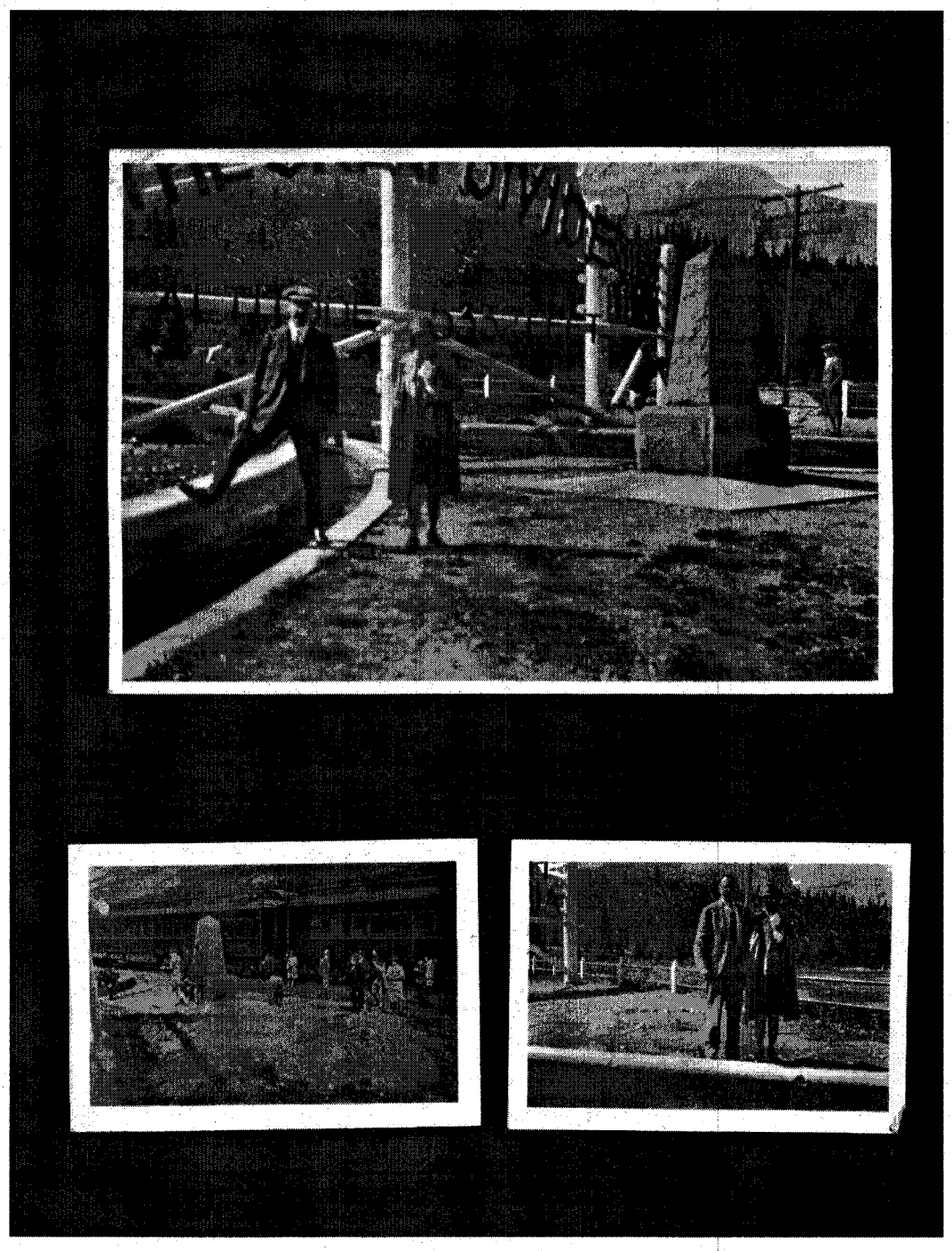


Image 17 The Clarkes in front of the Great Divide, and their transcontinental train, Kicking Horse Pass, AB, 1929. See Image 8 on page 58 for a view of the Great Divide that was included in a popular McGill Lantern Slide Lecture. MP-1988.56.49 to MP-1988.56.51.

Indeed, while the company's advertising insisted that its tourist services could bring Canadian travellers to national sites of the utmost importance, the discourse surrounding Banff Indian Days trumped all other claims to Canadian history. Gibbon for example, proposed that Indian Days served many purposes, one of which satisfied the Anglo-Canadian population's need to understand and contextualize Canada's evolving ethnic makeup, and the CPR's role in Canadian immigration in particular. In his book *The Canadian Mosaic,* he would write: "the Canadian race of the future is being superimposed on the original native Indian races, and is being made up of over 30 European racial groups, each which has its own history, customs and tradition".[258] Canada, continued Gibbon, had to know the true nature of its ethnic past in order to move forward as a nation. Not surprisingly, Clarke agreed, and appropriated Native history as an expression of the collective Canadian experience:

> at dinner tonight I saw Murray Gibbon, chief of the publicity department of the CPR who planned and carried out this Indian Days festival....Publicity to the Nth degree I heard it called...rather a wonderful thing for Canada. It helps us maintain and keep our nationhood, this preservation of our own old folklore and legends.[259]

In his daily reporting, Clarke would explain to his Montreal audience that Banff Indian Days allowed tourists to witness the country's natural evolutionary trajectory. Without a hint of disapproval or regret, he wrote:

> Gradually I was to learn that right on those golf links where I had been playing the day before, was the ancient ground upon which the tribes had met for hundreds of years to hold their annual pow-

---

[258] John Murray Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic* (Toronto: McCelland & Stewart, 1938) x. He continued: "if we are to understand the Canadian people, we must know more than just the geography and scenery of Canada and the customs and habits of the Canadians. We must study their racial origins."

[259] Clarke *Diary,* Original Manuscript, 88.

> wows, to compete in their sports, and to test the courage of their young men....
>
> As the white man gradually penetrated the country and later placed them in reservations, their native meetings and their native sports began to lose their significance; but there were men who knew the Indians, who saw the shame and the pity of letting them sink to nomads, of letting their traditions and history atropy [sic] and disappear. There were also Indians; ancient chiefs with ancient memories who also wanted to hand these things on to their new generations, and Indian and white men worked together restoring some of the habits and customs which were slipping into the limbo of forgotten things.

Throughout his coverage of the event, Clarke insisted that the aboriginal peoples of Canada provided the blank slate upon which Canadian history could be written. He explained that they were an embodiment of Canadian heritage, and that their mere existence served as a potent reminder of the triumph of English values and white society.

The Clarke Album

In turn, the travel album of Frank Randall Clarke provides us with the opportunity for a rare and fascinating analysis of a personal experience at Banff. It has been shown that Clarke was hired by the CPR to publicly prove that Canada was moving along a decisive trajectory – and one facilitated by the CPR. Privately however, Clarke's personal experience of the trip is far more difficult to ascertain. According to his journalism, native history was not his concern; rather, it was a flashback to an ancient past, a mere tourist entertainment, a distant historical event far removed from the country's socio-political present. How then, do we analyze the photographs in Clarke's album? Without a personal, textual commentary to tell the story of his photographic selections and their spatial placements, is it possible to read the album for more information than what is presented at face value? To the latter question, I argue 'yes', for we do know of Clarke's general motivation for the trip,

and his personal papers, which reside in the McCord and McGill University Archives, do not speak of the event directly, but do give us clues as to his overall attitudes on Canadian history and culture.

To the former question of exactly how we analyze these photographs, I propose looking at the Banff Indian Days section of Clarke's album within the wider contexts that have been discussed throughout this project. The album as a whole tells as story; while it is impossible to "read" the Clarke album for its original intensions, Clarke's photographs can be "mined" for relevant information and read in terms of what visual anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards has termed their "social biography." Edwards explains that "a photograph cannot be fully understood at one single point in its existence...but must be examined through the process of its production, exchange, and consumption."[260] The beginning of this chapter has examined the cultural and political contexts in which photographic souvenirs of Banff Indian Days were constructed. It examined how the festival's organizers manipulated the event to create an aboriginal "reality" that was more fitting for the tourist's camera, and more suited to the Anglo-Canadian's expectations of what constituted Native culture and identity. Moreover, it was explained that the festival was specifically designed by the CPR to aid in its overall advertising campaigns, which insisted that the company had exclusive rights to Canadian history and heritage. This section will focus on Clarke's tourist photographs themselves. It will be shown that the act of photographing empowered tourists, and allowed non-native travellers to feel a sense of control and mastery over the participants and events at Banff. However, a closer examination of Clarke's album will reveal that while some

[260] Edwards 13.

images undoubtedly portray the harsh injustices of a colonial interaction, others make it clear that a recontextualization or re-reading of these "explosive little documents"[261] can expose multiple trajectories and uncover many layers of meaning.[262]

Clarke's Picture of Canada

What is most striking about this album at first glance, is that its very layout appears to reinforce the narrative conveyed in Clarke's journalism; the couple's photographic selections show how Canada was moving along a clear historical trajectory, which started with primitive, uncultivated lands, and moved toward a British model of civilization which was most symbolically represented in its gardens. What lies on either side of the Indian Days section are quiet scenes of progress, docile rural mainstreets, gardens and farms; the embodiment of the good citizen's control over Nature, or the wilder aspects of the Canadian landscape.

The album itself begins out of order, with a photograph of railside grain elevators, and then a snapshot of the couple posing in their garden. Following that, are images of the Purdue railway station, and an unidentified farmstead and a silent town. Also included is a small image of Mrs. Clarke that mimics a popular composition found in the company's *Across Canada* series of brochures; here, Nelly Clarke is seated on the outside deck of their train's observation car, or the place from which the couple will take photographs of the country's *shorthand signs* (see Images 1 and 2 on page 22). Indeed, as Clarke would remark upon seeing his first grain

---

[261] Stuart Hall, "Reconstruction work: Images of Post-War Black Settlement," in Jo Spence and Patricia Holland eds., *Family Snaps: The Meaning of Domestic Photography*, (London: Virago, 1991) 158.
[262] Edwards, 15-22.

elevators from the train, "I am reaching the country where grain is the symbol."[263] Similarly, at Banff, he would explain to his readers that if one looked through the camera's time-collapsing window, one could find a "picture of Canada when it was the land of the Indians".

Thus begins Clarke's analysis of the event. As *The Diary* explained to his Montreal readership, the spectacle at Banff filled his imagination with "a new scene, a new picture [that] has been etched in memory's album." Photographically, the event creeps into the Clarke's album with a certificate of presence, for the admission ticket issued to "Clarke & Wife" is pasted onto the first page of the section. From there on, the album bursts into a historical refrain with gusto; on the facing page, one of the Clarkes has pasted into the album a large-scale and close-up portrait of an aboriginal man in ceremonial regalia. The sitter wears a large feather headdress with a long ermine fringe, and a leather coat decorated with extensive beading. In addition, he stares directly at the camera with a piercing gaze. We may assume that this was the representation the Clarkes were looking for; as an establishing shot of cultural relevance, this man sets the scene.

In the following ten pages, images are pasted into the album without chronology. One's eye moves wildly across the pages as each image is saturated with visually arresting details that beckon the viewer to search for peculiarities of dress, facial features, or interactions that might convey more information. Not surprisingly, the only captions that exist are those which have been added onto Associated Screen News photographs, and as a result, the couple's snapshots exist as a superficial summary of the event.

---

[263] Clarke *Diary*, Original Manuscript, 12.

Without an appropriate analytical framework with which to examine the Clarke album, photographs of the event risk fixing native peoples into the CPR's narrative, which intended to make the country's aboriginal peoples historically inert, or cultural emblems of the nation's distant past. As I have already suggested throughout this chapter, the photographic act empowered tourists by allowing them to feel as though they had a sense of control over what was being photographed. "From the start, photography's working vocabulary, at least in English, has been invasive," writes historian Simon Schama. "Subjects are framed, captured and shot."[264] Identifying these power relations in Clarke's photographs shall be our first point of departure. At Banff, tourists 'hunted' for the perfect view, and the preservationist function of their cameras, combined with the urgent fear that native culture was about to disappear, enabled tourists to practice what James Clifford has pejoratively called "salvage or redemptive ethnography," [265] which "might be characterized as a mediating, and arguably appropriating, gesture of Western science to 'save' the object of study from vanishing irretrievably, thus legitimating representational practice."[266] At Indian Days, tourists were encouraged to recuperate the "authentic" traditions and visual culture of an essentialized and universalized aboriginal past by employing the use of their personal snapshot cameras. In a word, photographs relegated Native peoples to the value of their material culture, for the

---

[264] Simon Schama, "New Lights on Old Stones; two Egyptian shows at the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *The New Yorker*, October 8, 2001.

[265] "[I] question the assumption that with rapid change something essential ("Culture"), a coherent differential identity, vanishes. And I question, too, the mode of scientific and moral authority associated with salvage, or redemptive, ethnography. It is assumed that the other society is weak and "needs" to be represented by an outsider (and that what matters is its life is its past, not present or future). The recorder and interpreter of fragile custom is custodian of an essence, unimpeachable witness to an authenticity". Clifford, quoted in Jessup, "Tin Cans and Machinery: Saving the Sagas" *Visual Anthropology*, (1999) 12, pp. 49-86 5.

[266] Edwards 159.

medium allowed tourists to feel as though they played a role in halting the inevitable forces of history by collecting it. "To photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed," wrote the late writer and critic Susan Sontag. "It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge – and therefore, like power".[267] At Banff, the familiar rhythm of "stop, take a photograph, and move on" subverted the experience of being a detached observed, and empowered the person behind the viewfinder who mastered his or her situation by controlling his or her gaze.

Photography also allowed tourists to safely confront what might otherwise have been a threatening Other. Cameras acted as a barrier or screen that separated the photographer/tourist from the subject of their selection. According to Sontag, "[m]ost tourists feel compelled to put the camera between themselves and whatever is remarkable that they encounter. Unsure of other responses, they take a picture".[268] As Clarke would remark while observing the pageantry "in the court of this great hotel", the tourist's camera seemed somewhat of a compulsive interruption: "there is a dignity and poise, a solemnity surrounding [the Indians] which not even the clicking of tourists cameras, [or] the applause of the crowds as they watched them could dispel."

The Clarke's Measure of Indianness

Interestingly, there is evidence in the Clarke album that suggests that Frank and Nelly Clarke used their camera just as Sontag had described it: as a calming, appropriative device. As was mentioned in his writing, Clarke conceived of Banff Indian Days as the genuine expression of an authentic native past, and as a mutually

---

[267] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Anchor Books, 1977) 4.
[268] Ibid, 10.

beneficial educational opportunity for both aboriginals and Non-natives alike. However, Clarke also explained being surprised by behaviour, clothing and events that did not fit with his conceptualization of native culture, as these occurrences seemed to expose an unconventional reality that arose behind the scenes, and which proved to be interesting photographic subjects.

Throughout his coverage of the event, Clarke commented on these points of fracture, and noted where the "tribe's" modernity seemed to be peeking through their "authentic" performances at Banff: he described for instance, seeing teepees wholly constructed of "old sacks spit up and sewn together, then painted; one still showing the name of the cement firm which had originally used the sacks." In another instance, while Clarke wrote of anxiously wanting to watch native chiefs "in their ancient attire as you have seen them many times in pictures," he described being led to the tepee village, only to be confronted with problematic signs of modernity peeking through: "the older girls sometimes sported silk stockings but nearly all the member of the tribes wore homemade moccasins of soft skin." These points of cultural fusion challenged Clarke's expectations of Native culture, for they failed to measure up to the stereotypical characteristics of the collectively imagined Indian, noble in stature and "bedeck[ed]...with great head-pieces and cloaks of skins and feathers".[269]

However, on account of his daily reportage, we know that Clarke attributed these unexpected scenes of cultural hybridity to the natural processes of assimilation. As was discussed in Chapter Two, Clarke considered clothing to be an emblem of assimilation, and noted with pleasure, that clothing and comportment allowed the

---

[269] Clarke *Diary*, August 7th, 1929.

observer to *see* how certain individuals had progressed along the nation's inevitable trajectory. Just as he had reported on the visual progress of the Prairie farm, at Banff, he commented on how "Chief Hector Crawler and Chief David Bear-Paw had been introduced to us at the hotel by Norman Luxton as 'one still worshipping his tribal gods, the other the God of the missionaries; one in his native chieftain's dress, the other in the chief's jacket presented to him by the Government'".

Not surprisingly, the Clarkes' collected photographs of these noted points of fracture, and pasted them into their album. Thus we may observe for example, the snapshot of a tepee entirely constructed of cement sacks included the album, an Associated Screen News photograph comparing Chief Crawler to Chief Bearpaw, and an ASN image titled "July 16-17-18 1927: Two Best Looking Indian Girls at the Banff Indian Days, Gerta Beaver and Flora Soldier Receiving Prizes" (see Image 18 on page 180).

Two Best Looking Indian Girls; The Look of Assimilation

The latter photograph provides fascinating insight into the politics of representation, for it invites the viewer to read the visual facts presented within the frame as the material proof of assimilation, indicative of the possibilities of progress. In this photograph the two women are shown standing next to each other in a field at the foot of Cascade Mountain, and near teepees set up at the Indian Grounds behind the Banff Springs Hotel. Although the image reeks of undeniable condescension to the present-day viewer, those who originally produced the photograph positioned the image so that each woman's physical characteristics are played off of the other's by the nature of the judged event.

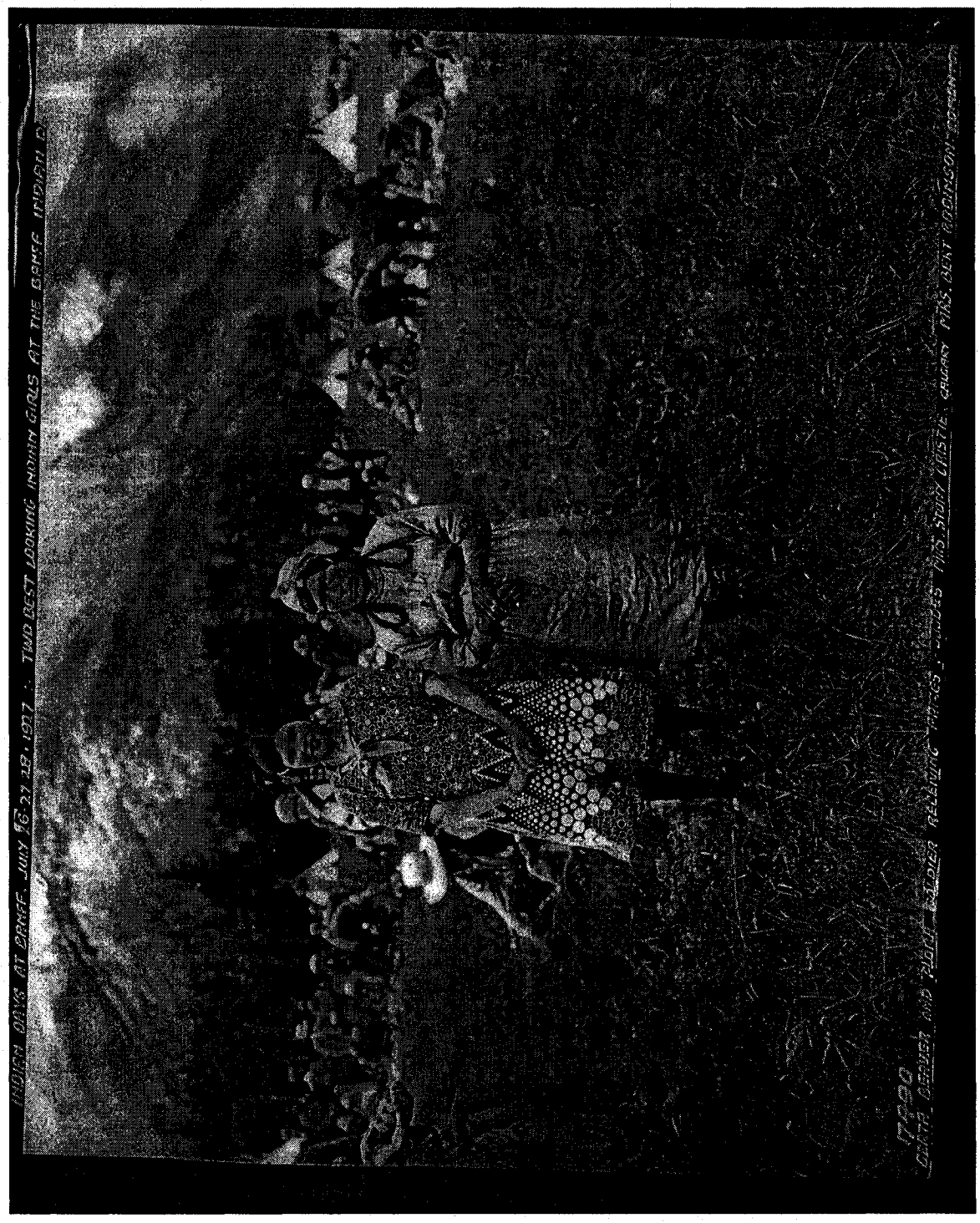


Image 18 "Indian Days at Banff: July 26-27-28, 1927: Two Best Looking Indian Girls at the Banff Indian D[ays]" standing in front of Cascade Mountain. An Associated Screen News photograph inserted into the Clarke album. MP-1988.56.45.

As a result, this photograph conveys a sense of tragic irony: Ms. Beaver, whose skin tone is whiter, and who wears more fashionable, modern clothes, appears to be far more at ease and seems to smile, while Ms. Soldier, who dons the clothing and hairstyle of another time, is clearly made uncomfortable by the event. (Is that Ms. Soldier's shawl that has been removed, and which is being held by an unidentified man at the edge of the photographic frame?)

Due to the caption and to the particular framing of this photograph, viewers are invited to question those precise physical qualities that make these two women Indian. Questions of beauty lead into questions that beg the viewer to assess the values placed on history and progress: is Ms. Beaver one of the "best looking" women because she is "Whiter" and appears to be thoroughly modern? Does Ms. Soldier fall into this category because she looks *more authentically primitive* or because she most closely resembles the romantic or stereotypical "imaginary Indian" of times past? Although both women have been identified as the "best looking Indian girls at Indian Days", the photograph leaves the final judgements in the hands of the tourist/collector, who is forced to confront his or her expectations of native culture head on; during Clarke's time one had to ask which was most valued, romantic notions of Indianness, which "preserved" the native character, or the ongoing "need" for assimilation, deemed necessary for the wellbeing of native peoples?

In addition to drawing the viewer's attention to the representation of native culture, this photograph visually references a long history of popular photo-based anthropological studies that meticulously documented racial 'types' for the information and pleasure of various colonial establishments and populations. The "Best Looking Indian Girls" photograph provides a distant and supposedly neutral

view of its two photographic subjects, and has ensured that the viewer can clearly examine the full body of each woman. As an important part of the colonial encounter, these kinds of photographic 'types' were a powerful tool with which to structure colonial knowledge; as James Ryan explains, visual projects wholly concerned with racial taxonomies lent themselves to pseudo-scientifically justified structures of power. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, he explains that "the rise of the sciences of anthropology and ethnology further fixed the idea of 'race' as a natural category by which to differentiate and rank 'types' of humans, invariably placing the white, Anglo-Saxon male at the pinnacle of intellectual, moral and physical development."[270] The precise characteristics of racial difference, which were supposedly captured in photo-based studies, were thus measured against this Anglo-Saxon ideal,[271] and as a result, they attempted to firmly established what was White by visually defining exactly which characteristics were not White. Although not the product of an official anthropological project, the "Best Looking Indian Girls" photograph invited White Anglo-Canadian tourists to become recreational ethnographers. In this ASN photograph, it was assumed that the viewer had the same progress-reading skills as the photographer, and again, viewers were encouraged to apply those skills to the visual comparison elicited by this particular photograph.

However, while photographs such as this one mapped the effects that colonial policies had on the Indian body, they also problematized colonial discourses

---

[270] Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 146-7.

[271] Ryan insists that "all photographs of 'types' were framed by a wider cultural discourse which marked and read human character through visible signs of the human body. Theories of human physiognomy...and phrenology...were central to the making and reading of character in Victorian literary and visual culture". (147)

that privileged assimilation. Anthropological projects that were intended to classify colonial populations ultimately failed, for the meticulous photographing, studying and classifying of Black and Aboriginal bodies revealed that other forms of colonial knowledge could emerge.[272] By the 1920s, the assimilationist projects undertaken by the Canadian government to eliminate pre-existing aboriginal culture produced a wide range of visual responses, from images that documented the blatantly oppressive treatment of native peoples (see Image 19 on page 184) to those that showed evidence that native peoples refused to cooperate within these systems of control.

Clarke for example, conveyed his apprehension toward a group of Native men who identified themselves as Indian cowboys. Interestingly, while he was able to accept the fact that the modern clothing worn by some individuals represented their assimilationist status, his journalism established the fact that not all forms of mimicry or of "dressing up" were acceptable: Clarke first explained to his readers that Indian cowboys participated in the main pageant "in overalls and big hats" while their elders donned traditional "beads and buckskins," which was explained to be the most suitable attire. In addition to their inappropriate dress, their behaviour was described as being unruly and out of control, and as a disrespectful and unwanted interruption in contrast to what he imagined was a quasi-religious event. He explained that Indian cowboys "occasionally gave vent to inarticulate yells, meaningless and out of place in the solemness [sic] of the occasion which the older Indians with their serious aspect were gradually building up." Thus, while these Native individuals dressed and acted in the same manner as the celebrated White cowboys of Western culture, Clarke was

[272] Edwards, 138-52.

inexplicably disturbed by their performance. And yet, despite their distressing presence, Clarke nonetheless took their picture.

Image 19 "Banff Indians at the Hoodoos: Natural Pillars". An Associated Screen News photograph (n.d.) included in the Clarke album. MP-1988.56.44. Hoodoos are unusual-looking geological formations that are an attraction of Banff Provincial Park. However, they are not shown in this photograph. Although the caption refers to physical features of the landscape, this photograph suggests that this stoic Native group are natural pillars, and that Hoodoos are in fact, made out of Stoney Indians.

Cowboys and Indians?

Clarke did not articulate exactly what made him uncomfortable with the presence of Indian cowboys at Banff. However, the recent work of postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha provides several helpful theories which may be applied to this analysis, so that we may better understand Clarke's particular worldview, his anxieties with respect to native culture, and the lens through which he confronted racial hybridity and racial difference.

Bhabha speaks of mimicry, or the colonial subject's repetition and replication of the traits of his or her colonizer, as "one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge".[273] As a key byproduct of assimilation, mimicry reflects the colonial "desire for a reformed, recognizable Other" who is fashioned "as a subject of difference *that is almost the same, but not quite*".[274] While one of the original intensions of assimilation was to exert control over native peoples by reforming them in the name of an Anglo-Christian ideal, it could also produce unexpected and seemingly unwanted results. For example, as an ambiguous blend of symbols and subjectivities, the Indian cowboy in Bhabha's terms, "turn[ed] the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power, " for as aboriginal men asserted their individuality and modernity as Indian cowboys, their Indian-ness was "not repressed but repeated as something different – a mutation, a hybrid", [275] which directly challenged the influence of colonial power by mocking it in the eye of the authority. Bhabha explains that

---

[273] Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man" in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994) 85.
[274] Ibid, 86 (original emphasis).
[275] Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders", in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* 111-112

> if the effect of colonial power is seen to be the production of hybridization rather than the noisy command of colonialist authority, or the silent repression of native tradition, then an important change of perspective occurs: the ambivalence at the source of traditional discourses on authority enables a form of subversion...that turns the discursive conditions of dominance into the grounds of intervention.[276]

In other words, colonial expectations become disclosed when the Indian body does not fully perform according to the desires of the colonizer. The existence of Indian cowboys thus forced individuals such as Clarke to confront a highly problematic set of facts underlying the discourses of assimilation; Indian cowboys demonstrated that the native subject could never become fully transformed into a White citizen, despite the colonial rhetoric indicating otherwise. On the contrary, Bhabha insists that colonial regimes produced racial hybrids, whose perpetual "partial presence" –the fact that hybrids were neither fully native, nor white – split open the authority of the colonial discourse by exposing its intrinsic failures. For while Indian cowboys wore the same clothing and acted in the same manner as their white counterparts, they forever remained *almost the same, but not quite*..."*almost the same, but not white*"[277] in the eyes of the dominant society.

Thus, while Clarke giddily admired native people in their "ancient attire", it is clear that he only accepted cultural adaptations that fit within his narrowly defined framework of "appropriate" Indian behaviour; when dressed as cowboys, aboriginal men were neither easily identifiable representations of the past, nor clear examples of successful assimilation, and as such, they were dismissed as juvenile and disruptive performers who mocked the authority of those to whom they were told to aspire.

---

[276] Ibid, 112.
[277] Ibid, 89 (original emphasis).

Furthermore, cultural geographer Jan Penrose speculates that Indian Cowboys posed a threat to White society because they "actively disrupt[ed] the safe separation of cowboys and Indians,"[278] forcing non-native tourists to see that there existed other narratives at Banff. She explains that over the course of the interwar period, rodeo organizers increasingly "had much more limited ideas about the spaces and roles that Indians should occupy. In particular, their understanding of authenticity meant that Indians should conform to what Euro-Canadians had constructed as the natural, precontact state of indigenous peoples."[279] And in keeping with the Canadian Pacific Railway's highly colourful publicity of the event, it also meant that native participants had to present themselves to paying tourists as being stereotypically "Indian". However, at Banff, and indeed, at all all-Indian cowboy extravaganzas, "identities that [were] constructed as mutually exclusive in mainstream society [were] subverted; in this context, it was possible to be both a cowboy and an Indian at the same time and without contradiction."[280]

As Bhabha has noted, these points of fracture allowed for the colonial subject's agency to intervene in or "open up" the narratives at Banff, for their hybridity challenged the historical stereotypes imposed upon Native culture. As Indian cowboys, native men asserted control over their own history, and presented a legitimate identity that had otherwise "been actively invalidated by the dominant society in which they live[d]",[281] for as active cowboys, they existed as agents of "the enunciatory present,"[282] rather than as curiosities or as objects of the past. Penrose

---

278 Penrose 697.
279 Penrose 696.
280 Ibid 687.
281 Penrose 693.
282 Bhabha, *"The Postcolonial and the Postmodern"*, in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 187-88.

explains that "rodeo is the only public cultural context in which Indian cowboys have control over their own performance. Unlike plays, Wild West shows, and movies, rodeo does not invariably cast Indians as losers or bind them to scripts that limit the ways in which they can demonstrate their skills."[283]

Clarke however, was interested in only one representation of native history, which fit with the CPR's version of Canadian development. As a result, his textual account of the event tried desperately hard to situate nonconforming Indian cowboys as passive subjects within the realm of colonial power. Thus, he explained to his readers that despite their apparent differences, these individuals *were* somewhat characteristically Indian; for instance, he qualified their ability as cowboys by explaining that they had an intrinsic understanding and close relationship to the nature that they sought to control: Clarke explained that the races "and other games and events [were performed] by members of the tribes who *for generations have been horsemen and horse breeders*" (emphasis added). In addition, he explained that the cowboy competitions "were nominally controlled by the white men's committee, but their instructions were all transmitted to the native chiefs who met on equal grounds with their white friends, each calling each by their first names." Clarke it seems, thus wanted his readers to frame Banff Indian Days' cowboy events in relation to a uniquely Indian historical framework, and against the felt presence of a White authority. His anxieties about racial hybridity and the limits of assimilation were exactly the kinds of responses that both Luxton and Gibbon hoped to avoid, and it is for this reason that both men attempted to make the performances at Banff most "authentically Indian"—a point to which I will return.

---

[283] Penrose 693.

Clarke's photographs of Indian cowboys can be found at the bottom of the third page of the Indian Days section of their album, where two small, blurry snapshots reveal the couple's total interaction with these men (see Images 25-30 on page 192). One image was taken during a bareback horserace from the sidelines of the event. In the other image, two Indian cowboys pose for Clarke's camera: one is on horseback, the other is not, and the only thing that makes the men identifiably "Indian," is that two long braids are visible beneath one of the men's hat. Throughout the album there are other images that show cowboys in the background, usually in stark opposition to men dressed in "beads and feathers". However, like the vast majority of Banff's tourists, the Clarkes were far more interested in the latter representation of "real" aboriginal men, and there are several large-scale photographs that show the opening parade through the grounds of the Banff Springs Hotel, where men and boys were photographed in their "ceremonial attire" (see Image 16, page 154).

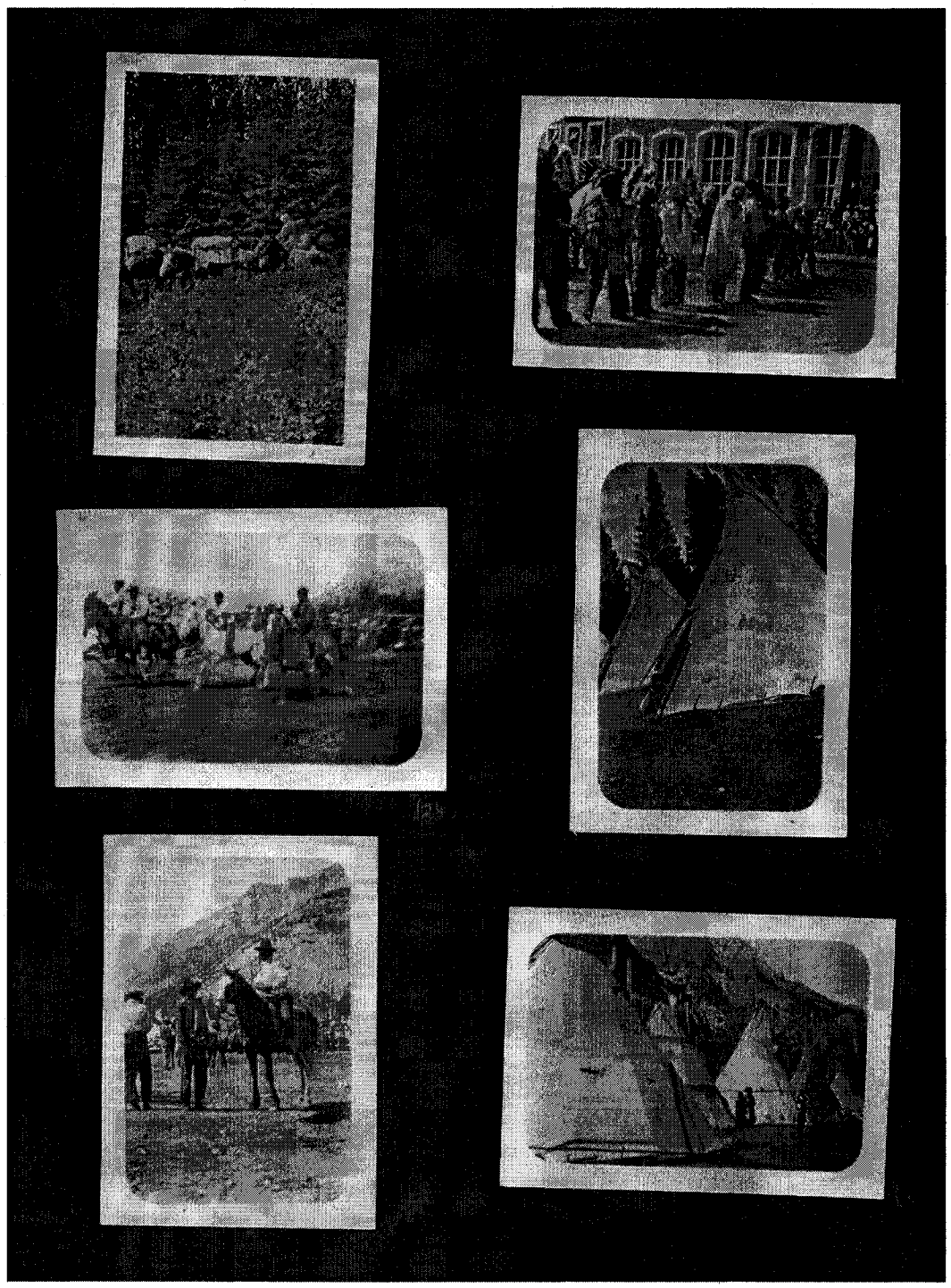
Soft Moccasins, Ford Tires

A comparison of the Clarke's photographs of aboriginal men and women at Banff therefore reveals that assimilation was accepted as a gender-specific phenomenon. Women were far more frequently depicted as the harbingers of modernity throughout the album, and Frank Clarke's journalism implicitly suggested that the visible signs of assimilation and the presence of cultural hybridity were permissible in women, but feared in native men. There were other photographs, apart from the "Best Indian Girls at Indian Days" image, which disclosed this particular worldview: several photographs illustrate the Clarke's interaction with

three native women at the Village of a Hundred Teepees, and these images will be the subject of my final analysis of the Clarke's album.

Image 20 Personal snapshot of Banff Indian Days, depicting two unidentified women on the grounds of the Village of A Hundred Teepees, July, 1929, MP-1988.56.32.

Images 21 to 24 Various personal snapshots of Banff Indian Days, including scenes of the opening parade (bottom right), and Mrs. Nelly Clarke and Mrs. Georgina Luxton at the Village of A Hundred Teepees (top image). MP-1988.56.38 to MP-1988.56.43.



Images 25-30 Various images of Banff Indian Days, including the Village of a Hundred Teepees, (bottom right) and the Indian Cowboy races (centre left and bottom left). Also visible is the teepee constructed "entirely out of flour sacks" that Clarke made reference to in his journalism. Frank Randall Clarke, July, 1929, MP-1988.56.29.

Frank Clarke explained to his readers that to their delight, the couple was personally toured around the Village of a Hundred Teepees by Georgina Luxton, Norman Luxton's wife. Luxton was described as an authority on native culture, for she descended from a long line of important missionaries in the province. In addition, she was characterized as being an influential "friend" and "sister" of the Indian women, "speaking their language, moving freely and welcomed into their teepees." "She it was," wrote Clarke, "who discovered that in the long march of one tribe lasting over two weeks, four babies had been born on the way, the tribe scarcely halting in their trail. She found them for us and they were brought out by their mothers wrapped in the moss bags in which they spend their early months".

The Clarke album contains eight images of the couple's visit to the teepee "Village", and half of them depict the abovementioned interaction which was said to occur "behind the scenes" (see Images 20-30 on pages 190-2). In one image, Luxton is shown taking a baby from a hesitant woman, and in another, the baby's transfer to Nelly Clarke is complete, as she stiffly poses with the young child in its papoose. The photographs of this interaction show that two of these women were rather fashionably dressed. Clarke however, did not problematize their modern appearance; on the contrary, while he was intrigued by their "primitive" travelling circumstances, these women were allowed to operate as cultural hybrids who asserted their presence according to the codes of White society. In glaring contrast to Indian cowboys, Clarke accepted these women's hybridity and recognized the fact that they could be wholly Indian while wearing modern clothes.

In fact, so important was their symbolism in his collection of photographs of the event, that Clarke overlooked a rather humorous compositional intrusion; each

snapshot contains a glaringly obvious car tire at their feet in the near background, which also serves to situate the women in the modern present, rather than as static actors of the distant past. In addition, the circumstances of the Clarkes' visit made this group of cultural hybrids more acceptable than their male counterparts; first, the couple observed these women in a safe environment that did not challenge the hegemony or knowledge of the dominant culture. Unlike Indian cowboys, who asserted their independence and individuality in a "White" space by publicly exhibiting their physical prowess, these women appeared to be confined to the domestic spaces of the Indian teepee, and were introduced to the Clarkes through Mrs. Luxton, who paternalistically assumed the role of their protector and educator. In addition, different expectations were placed upon Native women, who were represented as being romantically primitive, in tune with nature, and passive. For instance, Clarke's observation that *the tribe scarcely halted in their trail* and that newborn babies were wrapped in *moss bags,* subtly suggested that native people were quaintly prehistoric in their treatment of new babies and expectant mothers, and that they still required the help and knowledge of non-Native society to adapt to modern ways. The fashionable modernity of these women was therefore characterized not as a troubling fracture that disrupted Clarke's overall narrative, but as evidence that native women could still be romantic, while safely conforming to the codes of White society.

Closing the Pages

This group therefore fit within Clarke's desire for visible signs of progress, for they encapsulated Clarke's basic touristic desires; while some Native people at the event performed and participated as stereotypically dressed authentic "Indians",

these women fit neatly into Clarke's categorization of reformed, assimilating Native subjects, thus proving that the country's ethnic Others could move along the nation's pre-determined, natural trajectory. In addition, the presence of "primitive" Indians, unruly Indian cowboys and tamed and domesticated Native women presented Clarke with the full spectrum of Native culture, which, he would conclude, provided a clear picture of evolutionary progress.

While both Luxton and Gibbon attempted to construct the festival as an authentic representation of a static Indian past, this chapter has concluded by showing that even a slight analytical probing of the tourist's camera could puncture the façade of the spectacle at Banff. Clarke's photographic album, like so many other photographic collections that reside within public archives, contain material documents whose meanings continue to change over time. Indeed, as visual anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards explains, photographic collection "are not dead in the stereotypical cultural graveyard of the museum of archive, but are active as objects and active as ideas in a new phase of their social biography."[284] Thus, while Clarke searched for images that represented the historical backdrop of Canadian progress, critics generations later can excavate other meanings. Today, it is possible to read the Clarkes' tourist snapshots for signs of empowering adaptations. We may, for example, say that rather than sealing native peoples into an inert historical stereotype, photographs stated a multiplicity of meanings that created the opportunity for native people to assert their presence within the confines of colonial authority.

---

[284] Edwards 14.

I use the term 'adaptation' here as an acknowledgement of aboriginal agency, for while native people were effectively forced to adjust their own culture to conform to the requirements of White society, each altered costume, each piece of modern clothing, or embellished tepee represented clear signs of an intentional adjustment, which demonstrated that each of these individuals could manage the forces that required them to be 'exactly the same but different' in the eyes of White society. Native culture was not static: like all other cultures, native culture existed (and continues to exist) within complex and forever changing socio-political circumstances. As a result, its compounded traditions and beliefs responded to these pressures by preserving its overall identity, but shifting its components over time.

As I have shown throughout this chapter, Banff Indian Days was a highly structured and politically significant site where loaded cultural negotiations between native, non-native and tourist populations could take place. The festival was constructed as the representation of an authentically primitive native history, yet it is clear that each party had different concerns regarding the overall structure and meaning of the event. According to Norman Luxton, Indian Days at Banff provided local businesses with profitable tourist dollars, and offered Canadian visitors a unique opportunity to learn about disappearing native traditions in a culturally relevant platform. For the Canadian Pacific Railway, whose publicity machine was wholly interested in creating *the* story of Canadian history, Banff Indian Days was intended to provide the company's patrons with easily consumable representations of the past, which also reinforced its overall claims to Canadian progress. And while tourists expected to witness history live before their eyes, the event provided a momentary expression of relative freedom for local aboriginal groups who otherwise existed

under the restricting watch of Indian agents and the suffocating injustices of bureaucratic control.

However, as a creation of the railway, Indian Days represented a nodal point of Canadian culture – a site around which cultural elements cohered – and in order to function as a nodal point, the overall significance of the event had to convey certain messages about history, progress, and the ordering of Canadian society. The event's organizers identified the photographic act as the most powerful mechanism with which to accomplish this task, for photographic images were correctly understood as highly influential material documents that could repeat a poignant message from within the spaces of the family album. Indeed, even for a man such as Clarke, hired to travel across the country to report on the state of CPR-sponsored progress, it is no surprise that the personal experience of his transcontinental trip would focus so intensely on the photographic representation of Indians at Banff. While the Clarkes documented the leisure aspects of their trip at all points across the country, their experience at Banff showed how the subtle powers of their camera could also be employed as a reconciliatory device; when used as their witness, the Clarkes' snapshots told a story of assimilation and difference, of history and progress, which documented and tactfully dismissed this seemingly foreign culture as just another spectacular expression of the country's natural, evolutionary narrative. Thus, while it is clear that Clarke did not recognize the disclosures of hybridity as legitimate alternatives to his own concepts of culture, authority and history, he was nonetheless compelled to take their picture.

Conclusion

This analysis has attempted to reposition the Clarke album so as to expose the ambiguities and contradictions of the narratives at Banff. Throughout this project I have tried to narrow in on the visual discourses of Canadian progress that were created by arguably the most influential advertiser in the country at the time: the Canadian Pacific Railway. Although this project has exclusively examined the country's representation through the lens of CPR-sponsored journalist Frank Randall Clarke, I have shown that his analysis distilled the company's narrative of Canadian history and culture, which in turn, helped show his Montreal audience how to "read" the country and visualize its progress from coast to coast. However, I have also shown that there were times when Clarke himself struggled with these narratives; while his inspection of agricultural colonization made him question the precise ethnic makeup of the country's ideal citizen, the events at Banff Indian Days forced him to confront, if not to question, his well-developed expectations of Native culture. The Clarke album, combined with Frank Clarke's journalistic commentary of the event, have thus provided us with two profoundly insightful documentary devices with which to analyse the complexity and failures of the CPR's overarching narrative; and it has been shown throughout this chapter that despite the company's attempt to provide travellers with "authentic" points of culture, the tourist's camera could actually challenge the dominant narrative at Banff.

Conclusion – Framing Canada

This thesis has been concerned with how material culture produced by the Canadian Pacific Railway impacted the writings of Frank Randall Clarke, informed the lens through which he viewed the country and the nation, influenced his imagination, and played a part in shaping his belief system. It has assumed, as Alan Trachtenberg writes, that "we look for evidence of culture at those minute points of contact between new things and old habits, and that we include in our sense of history the power of things themselves to impress and shape and evoke a response within consciousness".[285] This analysis has examined how personal photographs and photographic objects have been used to produce meaning, to shape public opinion, and to influence our conceptualization of place. By exploring the ways in which specific photographic brochures and personal mementos have been integrated into everyday life and used as authoritative texts, I have attempted to show photography's

[285] Alan Trachtenberg, foreword, *The Railway Journey*, by Wolfgang Schivelbusch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) xv.

part in establishing the Canadian Pacific Railway company and its tourist landscapes as an integral part of Canadian mythology.

The Canadian Pacific Railway's pervasive travel brochures were precious documents, designed to be looked at, handled, and even kept as souvenirs. Brochures pictured the country and its leisure landscapes from coast to coast, and helped to establish the corporation as an entity that was inextricably linked to the physical, cultural, and economic fabric of the nation.

However, as I have shown in Chapter One, the nationalistic tone underlying the CPR's brochures became more pronounced over the course of the decade. As competition from the Canadian National Railways and other external factors increased, the CPR's publicity department altered its tourist-centred campaigns to put more of an emphasis on the visual experience of travelling along the Canadian Pacific's transcontinental route. Indeed, by the time that Frank Clarke travelled across the country, brochures went so far as to portray travelling as an act of citizenship, and they insisted that Canadians could only access the nation's history by allowing the Canadian Pacific – the company that single-handedly facilitated confederation, or so it argued – to carry them across the country's landscape.

In Chapters One and Two I have also endeavoured to show that as a result of this nationalistic turn, the company's brochures placed a larger emphasis on visuality; travelling was increasingly portrayed as an activity that was based upon looking at set, "nationally significant" landscapes through the train window. While railway travel had always been rigidly arranged according to the route's physical track, the 1920s tourist had more access to photographic advertising, snapshot cameras and photographic souvenirs and products than ever before. Indeed, tourists were

expected to interact with the landscape and with the CPR through material objects that were visual in nature, which were used to commemorate their trip, and to reinforce that which was seen.

Thus, the first part of this research project examined how the Canadian Pacific's influential tourist brochures established a visual vocabulary of the travelling experience. In Chapter Two, I showed the various ways in which Frank Clarke made use of this vocabulary and communicated the look of immigrant-altered landscapes while travelling under the auspices of the CPR. What is most interesting about this analysis is that it became clear that Clarke was able to assume that his readers had an understanding of "the West" as a distinct geographical location. In addition, on more than one occasion he manipulated or made reference to visual imagery that circulated in the popular imagination, and he used this familiar imagery to normalize and sanction ethnic Others who were controversially 'imported' into the country by the CPR.

It was with this readily accessible visual vocabulary that Clarke communicated his investigative results to his Montreal-based readership. The CPR's brochures definitively established the look of the country's ideal landscapes. They also suggested to the country's community of middle class travellers that one could measure the progress of the landscape by comparing new, unfamiliar places to the CPR's pictured ideals. Clarke employed this ideological framework when he toured the country and experienced the Prairie's immigrant landscapes first hand.

Interestingly, he also made use of this technique when describing the festival of Native culture that he observed at Banff Indian Days; Clarke understood the pageant at Banff as the historic backdrop against which all other forms of Canadian

progress could be measured. And while his journalistic inquiry explored the progress of the nation's future landscapes, his personal experience at Banff was fascinated by what he perceived to be an authentic performance of the nation's past.

In Chapter Three I described the festival as a highly engineered event that was designed by local organizers and CPR officials to be entertaining and highly photographable. The second half of the chapter examined the photographic products of the Clarkes' trip, and therefore explored the real and figurative lens through which the couple experienced Banff.

Throughout this thesis I have attempted to balance the fragility of photographic narratives with the knowledge that photographs can contain useful and important forms of information. In Chapter Three, the Clarke album was analyzed for its illustrative content as well as according to its social biography, or its original creation and eventual method of display. While the album contained photographic proof of a harsh colonial encounter between spectacle-seeking tourists and Native performers, I have drawn upon the work of several theorists to argue that it is possible to recontextualize these photographs in order to expose other possible meanings.

As photographic historian Martha Langford explains, "conceiving the album as an act of communication means reactivating a suspended conversation that fills in those gaps by reawakening the actors, the agents, the tellers and listeners."[286] Indeed, this project has attempted to reactivate the narrative embedded deep within the Clarke's album and the CPR's photographic brochures. By reactivating these subtle narratives, excavating new meanings and acknowledging the limitations of these

[286] Langford 19.

powerful little documents, this project has attempted to understand how specific photographic documents pictured the country, but ended up creating shared, significant landscapes and a nationalist discourse in the process.

Bibliography/Works Cited:

Primary Sources and Archives:

Peel's Prairie Provinces, University of Alberta Libraries Online

Canadian Pacific Railway. *Opportunity in Canada*, (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway, Department of Colonization and Development, [1927]) Peel's Prairie Provinces, Item 5147, University of Alberta. October 30, 2004. <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca>

British Dominions Land Settlement Corporation. *Illustrations of settlers' progress in 1925 and 1926 and their own stories of their success on farm lands in Alberta bought from the British Dominions Land Settlement Corporation Limited.* [Winnipeg?]: British Dominions Land Settlement Corporation, [1926?]. Peel No. 5048, March 16, 2005. <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca>

The Canadian Pacific Railway Corporate Archives, Montreal:

"Associated Screen News Limited." *The Canada Gazette*, Ottawa, Saturday, May 15th, 1926.

Jones, David Lawrence. *Tales of the CPR*. Calgary: Fifth House Ltd, 2002.

Canadian Pacific Railway Company. *Across Canada and Back.* (Proof copy, marked by E. Bennett) Catalogued as X2319. [1929-30]

_____*Agricultural and Industrial Progress in Canada.* Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway Department of Colonization and Development, 1925-1929.

_____*Booklet for Internal Use. Canadian Pacific Facts and Figures.* Compiled and Edited by the General Publicity Department, Canadian Pacific Foundation Library. Montreal, 1937.

_____*Canadian Pacific Railway Company Passenger Traffic Department, Private Instructions to Ticket Agents. Issue 3, Effective April 1, 1929.* George C. Wells, Manager. Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway. 34 pp.

The McCord Museum of Canadian History. Notman Photographic Archives, Montreal:

Beatrice and Dorothy Clarke Fonds MP 056/86 and MP 056/88.

Canadian Scenery & Recreation, McGill University Illustrated Lectures, No. S. 13 [1928?]

Robert Pearce Donation MP 064/94

Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa:

A.A. Merrilees Transportation Collection
Canadian Pacific Railway Annual Reports
Canadian Pacific Railway Company. *Across Canada* brochures and related publications, 1885-1931.
_____*Opportunity in Canada.* Montreal: Department of Colonization and Development, 1927.
_____*The Prairie Farms of Western Canada as the Camera Sees Them.* Montreal: Department of Colonization and Development, 1928.
Madge MacBeth Fonds MG30-D52
Walter L. Payne Fonds MG30-A69

Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies Archive, Banff:

Byron Harmon Fonds, V263
Moore Family Fonds, M307 / V439
Mrs. George C. Dennison Fonds V173 pd-1 accession 2942
Norman Luxton Correspondence Files, LUX
Pamphlet Collection

McGill University Archives, Montreal:

F.R. Clarke Fonds, 88-042 M.G.4122 C1

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto:

MacLean-Hunter Donation: *Marketing Magazine*

Secondary Sources

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities.* New York: Verso, 1991.

Aron, Cindy. *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Baranowski, Shelley, and Ellen Furlough, eds. *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001.

Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography.* Trans. Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wang, 2000.

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies.* Trans. Annette Lavers. New York: The Noonday Press, 1972.

Beatty, E.W. "Some Canadian Problems". *The Empire Club of Canada Speeches 1924.* Toronto: The Empire Club of Canada, (1924): 3-16.

Berton, Pierre. *Marching As to War: Canada's Turbulent Years, 1899-1953.* Toronto: Anchor Canada, 2002.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture.* New York: Routledge, 1994, 2001.

Brown, Elspeth H. "Rationalizing Consumption: Lejaren à Hiller and the Origins of American Advertising Photography, 1913-1924." *Enterprise & Society* 1, no. 4 (2000): 715-738.

Buck-Morss, Susan. "Passages; Searching Walter Benjamin's Passagen-Werk." *Deep Storage: Collecting, Storing and Archiving in Art.* Munich: Prestel, 1998.

Bunce, Michael. *The Countryside Idea; Anglo-American Images of Landscape.* New York: Routlege, 1994.

Burgess, Marilyn. "Canadian 'Range Wars': Struggles over Indian Cowboys. *Canadian Journal of Communications.* Volume 18, 3 (1993). January 20, 2005. <http://info.wlu.ca/~wwwpress/jrls/cjc/BackIssues/18.3/burgess.html>

Buzard, James. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to "Culture", 1800-1918.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Carter, Sarah. *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1990.

Coleman, Simon and Mike Crang, ed. *Tourism: Between Place and Performance.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2002.

Cranshaw, Carol and John Urry. "Tourism and the Photographic Eye." in Chris Rojek and John Urry eds., *Touring Cultures.* London: Routledge, 1997.

Cunningham, Andrew. "The Culture of Gardens." in *Cultures of Natural History,* ed. N. Jardine, J.A. Secord and E. C. Spary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

den Otter, Andrew. *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Dempsey, Hugh ed.. *The CPR West:* The *Iron Road and the Making of a Nation.* Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984.

Edensor, Tim. *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life.* Oxford: Berg Press, 2002.

Edwards, Elizabeth. *Raw Histories; Photographs, Anthropology and Museums.* Oxford: Berg, 2001.

Flynn, Kevin. "Destination Nation: Nineteenth-Century Travels Aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway." *Essays on Canadian Writing* 67 (Spring, 1999): 190-222.

Foster, Jeremy. "Capturing the Losing the 'Lie of the Land': Railway Photography and Colonial Nationalism in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa." In Schwartz and Ryan eds. *Picturing Place, Photography and the Geographical Imagination.* New York: I.B. Taurus, 2003.

Fournier, Leslie. *Railway Nationalization in Canada: The Problem of the Canadian National Railways.* Toronto: The MacMillan Co., 1935.

Francis, Daniel. *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture.* Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2000.

Geller, Peter. *Northern Exposure; photographing and filming the Canadian North, 1920-45.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.

Gibbon, John Murray. "Canadian Letters and the New Canadian" Delivered before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto. November 22, 1923. *The Empire Club of Canada Speeches, 1923.* Toronto: The Empire Club of Canada, 1924.

Gibbon, John Murray. *Steel of Empire: The Romantic History of the Canadian Pacific, the Northwest Passage of Today.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1935.

Gibbon, John Murray. *The Canadian Mosaic.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1938.

Gilbert, David. "London in All it's Glory – or How to Enjoy London": Guidebook representations of Imperial London. *Journal of Historical Geography* 25, no. 3 (July 1999): 279-297.

Gormick, Greg and J. Lyman Potts. "Canada's First Network: CNR Radio." *The History of Canadian Broadcasting.* Ryerson University. October 25, 2003. < http://www.broadcasting-history.ca/index2.html>

Gulka-Tiechko, Myron. "Ukrainian Immigration to Canada under the Railways Agreement, 1925-1930." *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (1991): 29-59.

Hadfied, James. "The Wilderness Myth." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 453 (2001): 654-853.

Hart, E.J. *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel.* Banff: EJH Literary Enterprises, 2000. Previously published as *The Selling of Canada.*

Hedges, James. *Building the Canadian West; The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway.* New York: The MacMillan Company, 1939.

Henderson, John. *Howard Ferguson; The Romance of a Personality.* Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1930.

Hitchcock, Michael, ed. *Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism.* London: University of North London and Ashgate Press, 2000. Note: editors name comes first.

Jardine, N., J.A. Secord and E. C. Spary, eds.. *Cultures of Natural History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Jessup, Lynda. "The Group of Seven and the Tourist Landscape in Western Canada, or The More Things Change..." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 144-179.

Johnston, Russell. *Selling Themselves; The Emergence of Canadian Advertising.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Jones, David C. "It's All Lies they Tell You: Immigrants, Hosts and the CPR." In *The CPR West: The Iron Road and the Making of a Nation.* ed. Hugh A. Dempsey. Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984.

Kaplan, Daile. *Pop Photographica: Photography's objects in everyday life, 1842-1969.* Exhibition catalogue. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003.

Kines, Gary Bret. "Chief Man-Of-Many-Sides: John Murray Gibbon and his Contributions to the Development of Tourism and the Arts in Canada." Unpublished MA thesis. Carleton University, 1988.

Knowles, Valerie. *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997.* Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997.

Koshar, Rudy. "'What ought to be seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe." *Journal of Contemporary History.* Vol 33, 3 (July, 1998): 323-340.

Laird, Pamela Walker. *Advertising Progress; American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Langford, Martha. *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums.* Montreal: McGill-Queens' University Press, 2001.

Lutz, Tom. "Sweat or Die: The Hedonization of the Work Ethic in the 1920s." *American Literary History* 8, no.2 (Summer, 1996): 259-283. Note: no period after the publication title. Comma after the volume, "no." is not capitalized.

Lux, Maureen. *Medicine that Walks: Disease, Medicine, and Canadian Plains Native people, 1880-1940.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

MacCannell, Dean. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings." *The American Journal of Sociology.* 79, 3 (November, 1973): 589-603.

MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

MacKay, Ian. *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia.* McGill: McGill Queen's University Press, 1994.

Mackey, Eva. *House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Manore, Jean. "Wilderness and Territoriality: Different Ways of Viewing the Land." *Journal of Canadian Studies.* 33. 2 (Summer 1998): 77-84.

Marchand, Roland. *Advertising the American Dream.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Marx, Leo. "The Machine in the Garden." *The New England Quarterly* 29, no.1 (1956): 27-42.

Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Miller, J.R. *Canada and the Aboriginal Peoples, 1867-1927.* Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association Historical (Booklet No. 57) 1997.

Miller, J.R. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens; A history of Indian-White relations in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Milloy, John. *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999.

Morgan, Neil, and Annette Pritchard. *Advertising in Tourism and Leisure.* Boston: Butterworth Heinemann, 2000.

O'Shaughnessy, John and Nicholas O'Shaughnessy. *The Marketing Power of Emotion.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Oliver, Peter. *G. Howard Ferguson: Ontario Tory.* The Ontario Historical Studies Series. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

Osborne, Brian S. and Susan E. Wurtele. "The Other Railway: Canadian Nation's Department of Colonization and Agriculture." *Prairie Forum* 20, no. 2 (Fall, 1995): 231-253.

Padolsky, Enoch. "Grove's 'Nationhood' and the European Immigrant." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 22, no. 1 (1987): 32-50.

Palmer, Bryan. *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980.* Toronto: Butterworth & Co, 1983.

Penrose, Jan. "When All the Cowboys Are Indians: the Nature of Race in All-Indian Rodeo." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93, no. 3 (2003): 687-705.

Ploszajska, Teresa. *Geographical Education, Empire and Citizenship: Geographical Teaching and Learning in English Schools, 1870-1944.* London: Royal Geographical Society's Historical Geography Research Series, (35) November, 1999.

Ploszajska, Theresa. "Representations of 'The Home Colony' in Britain's Popular School Geography Texts, 1870-1944." *Proceedings of the Inaugural International Conference on Critical Geography.* The University of British Columbia, Department of Geography, Vancouver. August 10-13, 1997. October 30, 2003.
<http://www.geog.ubc.ca/iiccg/papers/ploszajska_T.html>

Rushton, Derek. "Representing the Urban Landscape in Canada: Photographs from the Natural Resources Intelligence Service and the National Development Bureau." Proceedings of the University Art Association of Canada Conference. University of Calgary, Calgary. November 1st, 2002.

Ryan, James R. *Picturing Empire; Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Schama, Simon. *Landscape and Memory.* Toronto: Random House Canada, 1995.

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Schwartz, Joan and James R. Ryan, ed. *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination.* New York: I.B. Taurus, 2003.

Schwartz, Joan. "Fort Chambly and the Creation of Symbolic Space: The Photograph as Site of Meaning". In *Histoire Mythique et Paysage Symbolique / Mythic History and Symbolic Landscape*, eds. Serge Courville and Brian Osborne. Laval: CIEQ, 1997.

Schwartz, Joan. "The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies." *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, no. 1 (January, 1996): 16-45.

Sontag, Susan. *On Photography.* New York: Anchor Books, 1977.

Spence, Jo and Patricia Holland. *Family Snaps: The Meaning of Domestic Photography.* London: Virago, 1991.

Stevens, G.R. History of the Canadian National Railways. New York: MacMillan, 1973.

Sturken, Marita. "The Image as Memorial: Personal Photographs in Cultural Memory." Marianne Hirsch ed. *The Familial Gaze.* London: Dartmouth College University Press, 1999.

Taylor, John. *A Dream of England: Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.

Titley, E. Brian. *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986.

Trachtenberg, Alan. Foreword. *The Railway Journey.* By Wolfgang Schivelbusch. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Trentmann, Frank. "Civilization and its Discontents: English Neo-Romanticism and the Transformation of Anti-Modernism in Twentieth-Century Western Culture." *Journal of Contemporary History* Volume 29 (1994): 583-625.

Triggs, Stanley G., and Nicole Vallieres. "The Magic Lantern, Background." *McCord Museum of Canadian History.* March 29, 2004. <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/scripts/magic-lantern.pdf>

Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze.* London: Sage Publications, 2002.

Wardaugh, Robert. *Mackenzie King and the Prairie West.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Wyckoff, William and Lary Dilsaver, eds. *The Mountainous West: Explorations in Historical Geography.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.