"Thrilling and marvellous experiences": Place and Subjectivity in Canadian Climbing Narratives, 1885 - 1925

by

Caralyn J. Kelly

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"Thrilling and marvellous experiences": Place and Subjectivity in Canadian Mountain Climbing Narratives, 1885-1925

Abstract

Critiques of mountaineering previously employed in contemporary scholarship on the history of travel and exploration had cast climbers as unproblematically heroic and identified mountain climbing as primarily a vehicle for masculine conquest over real and symbolic spaces. The difficulty with these interpretations was that they did not adequately explain the variety of mountaineering practices or the actions of all mountaineering participants. In this dissertation I examine the experiences of men and women who rock climbed and explored the Canadian Rockies during the early years of alpine exploration and recreation. Through a critical reading of the textual records produced by these early mountaineers, I will assess what influence mountaineering experiences had on gendered self-representation and place-representation. To achieve this goal I will analyze how representations of experience, place, and subjectivity are mutually constituted using insights offered by critical social theory. By blending insights from both empirical data and social theory I will demonstrate how attention to the particularities of experience can enrich our understanding of people and places.

The first goal of this research it to examine the status of mountaineering in Canada in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. The second goal is to consider how contemporary social theory and feminist theory can assist in interpreting mountaineering experience and its connection to both the constitution of place and gendered subject positions. Finally, I critically interrogate the mountaineers' texts in order to identify the various ways that mountaineering experiences both constituted and reinforced climbers' representations of the Canadian Rockies and their gendered identities.

Research into mountaineering in Canada at the turn of the century reveals that technical climbing represented only a small portion of the total trip experience. In addition, the mountaineer's place representations reflected both the physicality of mountaineering practice and the values and beliefs of the mountaineers' wider culture. Finally, the self-representation strategies of the men and women who climbed in the Canadian Rockies were found to be informed by interconnecting gendered and experiential identities.

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to my parents
Robert and Rosemarie Kelly

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Abbreviations

AJ	*Alpine Journal*
CAJ	*Canadian Alpine Journal*
CGJ	*Canadian Geographical Journal*
CM	*Canadian Magazine*
GJ	*Geographical Journal*
GR	*Geographical Review*
RGC	*Rod and Gun in Canada*

"Thrilling and marvellous experiences"[1]: Place and Subjectivity in Canadian Mountain Climbing Narratives, 1885-1925

Chapter 1: Introduction

For myself I realize that something of real value has come to me during this mountain trip, not only in new and highly valued friendships, not only in the indescribable consciousness that I have been in close touch with the great forces of Nature, but especially in the stimulus it gives to be great in heart, to think great, and do great things.

Rev. George A. Mitchell, "The Cathedral Camp (1913)."[2]

...as for the members I felt by the time I walked up Sulphur Mountain with some of them, that I could buckle them to my heart with hooks of steel, if the phrase does not sound too strong in view of the fact that some of the members are ladies.

Rev. J. J. Robinson, "Vermilion Pass Camp, 1912."[3]

Reverend George A. Mitchell and Reverend J. J. Robinson, like many other mountaineers of their generation, used writing to share their thoughts about the experience of climbing in the Canadian Rockies. New friendship is highlighted in the epigraphs and that was a topic that Godfrey Solly, a member of Britain's Alpine Club, discussed as well. Solly described a trip he made to the Canadian Rockies in 1909 by writing that "no more enduring friendships than those of the mountains can be made."[4] Even among contemporary mountaineering writers such as David Mazel, the belief that friendship is a valued feature of the mountaineering experience is a prominent theme. Yet, when Mazel argues that "for the great majority of less dedicated climbers the enjoyment of simple friendship in a beautiful environment is perhaps the most frequently cited reason for climbing," he introduces the idea that the opportunity for

[1] A. H. S[mith], "The Alpine Club of Canada: How We Won Our Qualifications," *RGC* 8 (October 1906), 352.
[2] Rev. George A. Mitchell, "The Cathedral Camp (1913)," *CAJ* 6 (1915), 211.
[3] Rev. J. J. Robinson, "Vermilion Pass Camp, 1912," *CAJ* 5 (1913), 101.
[4] Godfrey A. Solly, "A Fortnight with the Canadian Alpine Club," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 135.

sharing experiences is a powerful motivation underpinning recreational mountaineering.[5] Friendship, however, was just one of many experiences that characterized mountaineering as a social phenomenon.

Mountaineering was an activity enjoyed by both men and women in turn of the century Canada.[6] As a set of actions or practices, mountaineering reflected the values of individuals who created it. Yet, mountaineering was not simply an outcome of its participants' intentions because the activity itself functioned as a "cultural frame."[7] This meant that once mountaineering practices were established they had a constitutive effect.[8] In essence, mountaineering practices both reinforced and refined established meanings by ensuring that participants adhered to matters of style and followed precedents about how things were done, how tools were used, and how stories were told. Thus, the mountaineering experience both reflected and disciplined how mountaineers saw themselves, interacted with each other, and interacted with the mountain environment. In the paragraphs below, I address these themes by returning to the epigraphs and considering some of the ways that Mitchell's and Robinson's passages linked the writers' ideas about mountain climbing to their thinking about mountain places and themselves.

Robinson named a specific place, Sulphur Mountain, while Mitchell referred simply to "Nature." Only Mitchell explicitly addressed the significance of place to his experiences, yet both men wrote enthusiastically about place-based activities. When writers such as Mitchell and Robinson published their tales of mountain adventure they contributed to an ongoing process of place-making.[9] The process, however, was not entirely innovative since both writers reacted to already established ideas about the Rockies. For most mountaineers, ideas already circulating about the Rockies shaped both their expectations and their actions. Representations of the Rockies as a

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[5] David Mazel, "Introduction," in *Mountaineering Women: Stories by Early Climbers*, ed. David Mazel (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1994), 22.

[6] Throughout this thesis, I use the word "mountaineering" in the broadest sense. Both technical ascents by advanced climbers and casual scrambles by novices are considered for analysis.

[7] Richard H. Schein, "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87 (1997), 662.

[8] Sara Mills, *Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1997), 13.

playground, a wild land, or a wonderland reinforced the mountaineers' beliefs that those mountains were uniquely suited to interests and enthusiasms of climbers.

The epigraphs also reveal self-representation strategies adopted by each writer. Mitchell's focus on thought, action, and heart paralleled the philosophical conceptualization of the self that is at the foundation of western thought, specifically the triad of mind, body, and soul. His conviction that his mountain trip was crucial to his self-realization emphasized the extent to which both experience and place were, in his mind, intertwined with identity. A different, but equally important, set of associations were raised in Robinson's passage. Robinson described an important feature of Canadian mountaineering at the turn of the century: the presence of both men and women in climbing parties. More suggestive, however, is Robinson's hint that his mountain friendships with women might be perceived as unseemly. His concern about appropriateness of friendships between men and women pointed to the various ways that discourses of femininity and masculinity informed the meaning ascribed to mountaineering actions. Alternatively, the suggestion of friendships that tested the boundaries of social convention alluded to another identity trait: the widely circulated perception that mountain climbers were distinctive because of their willingness to take both physical and social risks.

In this dissertation, I examine the experiences of men and women who rock climbed and explored the Canadian Rockies during the early years of alpine exploration and recreation. Through a critical reading of the textual records produced by these early mountaineers, I will assess what influence mountaineering experiences had on gendered self-representation and place-representation. To achieve this goal, I will analyze how representations of experience, place and subjectivity are mutually constituted using insights offered by critical social theory. By blending insights from both empirical data and social theory, I will demonstrate how attention to the particularities of experience can enrich our understanding of people and places.

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* Doreen Massey, "Places and Their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal* 39 (Spring 1995).

Background: Canadian Places, Narrative Spaces

Directly or indirectly, this thesis has been inspired by a wide variety of scholarly work. Research that focuses on the Rocky Mountains in the Victorian and Edwardian eras provides the broad historical and geographical grounding for this research but my specific interest is on the actions and ideas of recreationalists. Intertwined with mountaineers' thinking about mountains were a range of ideas about wilderness and its material and imaginative significance for Canadian national identity. Research that critically interrogated nineteenth century travel, travel writing, and colonialism was another source of insight for this study. The feminist and postcolonial perspectives on travel that were produced in the 1980s and 1990s were particularly helpful because they identified strategies for critiquing travellers' representations. In the discussion that follows, I make frequent references to the critical research on travellers and travel writing because there is a greater range of scholarship on those topics. Critiques of mountaineering, however, are only just emerging. While I argue that mountaineering and travel are different and that scholars must pay attention to those differences, both topics benefit from similarly structured critiques into the social construction of knowledge.

Rocky Mountain Wilderness

The mountaineering texts about the Canadian Rockies reveal a place marked by competing visions of what the Rockies were and what they should be. For example, the beauty of the Rockies made them an international tourist destination and an inspiration to generations of artists.[10] The mountain lands were also a storehouse of resources – lumber, coal, then hydro-electric power – but these resources were limited and recreationalists feared unchecked development. Early conservationists helped

[10] E. J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983); Lorne E. Render, *The Mountains and the Sky* (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute; Calgary: McClelland Stewart West, 1974); Christopher Jackson, *With Lens and Brush: Images of the Western Canadian Landscape, 1845-1890* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1989).

create and implement policies for wilderness protection in favour of tourism.[11] The development of National Parks in the western mountain ranges was a crucial step in curbing resource exploitation.[12] PearlAnn Reichwein's research on the Alpine Club of Canada highlights how mountaineers actively participated in these early conservation efforts.[13] Consequently, the Rockies, to this day, are most strongly associated with tourism. Shelagh Squire studied the actions and representations of women travellers and workers in the Rockies to demonstrate how gender ideology was integral to the portrayal of the Rockies as an appealing tourist destination for both women and men.[14] In this research, I will show how such individuals, through their words and actions, helped create an expanded image of the Canadian Rockies as a playground and a site of personal fulfillment.

The Rocky Mountains were also part of the vast wilderness that characterized Canada's landscape and national identity. The prominence of wilderness as both a physical and psychological force for Canadians is widely accepted, though scholars vary in their conclusions about its key features and its origins. Literary critics provided the pioneering studies of Canadian attitudes towards wilderness. Though many of their points have since been refined, their arguments remain a point of departure for any research into what Canadian attitudes towards nature are and where they come from. Northrop Frye argued, in a point later elaborated by Gaile McGregor, that harsh climate, vast geography, and slow communications fostered a "garrison mentality"

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[11] Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada*, Second Edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1987).

[12] Sid Marty, *A Grand and Fabulous Notion: The First Century of Canada's Parks* (Toronto: NC Press Limited; Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1984).

[13] PearlAnn Reichwein, "At the Foot of the Mountain: Preliminary Thoughts on the Alpine Club of Canada," in *Changing Parks: The History, Future and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes*, ed. John S. Marsh and Bruce W. Hodgins (Toronto: Natural Heritage; Toronto: Natural History Inc., 1998), 160-176; PearlAnn Reichwein, "Guardians of the Rockies," *Beaver* 74 (1994), 4-13; PearlAnn Reichwein, "'Hands Off Our National Parks': The Alpine Club of Canada and Hydro-development controversies in the Canadian Rockies, 1922-1930," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, New Series 6 (1996), 129-155.

[14] Shelagh J. Squire, "Rewriting Languages of Geography and Tourism: Cultural discourses of destinations, gender and tourism history in the Canadian Rockies," in *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism*, ed. Greg Ringer (London & New York: Routledge, 1998), 80-100; Shelagh J. Squire, "In

among Canada's many isolated communities.[15] Later, Margaret Atwood suggested that the sense of victimhood that pervades Canadian literature was partially grounded in the belief that wilderness was an obstacle, a "monster," even a source of mortal danger.[16] More recently, these studies have been complicated by research that reveals differing, even positive, views of nature and more complex motivations for these attitudes. For example, Douglas Owram's study of the expansionist movement suggested that the changing attitudes towards the wilderness in the Northwest were underpinned by shifting political and economic ambitions.[17] George Altmeyer's examination of late-nineteenth and early twentieth century attitudes rooted the prominence of positive attitudes towards nature in the social reaction against urbanization, environmental degradation, and spiritual uncertainty.[18] Other scholars identified romanticism as a key force informing the positive attitude toward nature expressed by settlers but particularly by travellers.[19] Patricia Jasen's point that "circumstance" partially explained the "gulf between fearing and romanticizing the wilderness" is significant. After all, travellers, unlike settlers, could leave.[20] The contributions that a gender sensitive analysis might

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the Steps of 'Genteel Ladies': Women Tourists in the Canadian Rockies, 1885-1939," *The Canadian Geographer* 39 (1995), 2-15.

[15] Northrop Frye, "Conclusion to a *Literary History of Canada*," in *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), 213-251; Gaile McGregor, *The Wacousta Syndrome, Explorations in the Canadian Landscape* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985). Buss observes: "The elaboration of Frye's garrison mentality has also become, with McGregor's study, a big stick critics may wield to beat any writer whose reaction to the Canadian landscape is anything less than traumatic." Helen M. Buss, "Women and the Garrison Mentality: Pioneer Women Autobiographers and their Relation to the Land," in *Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers*, ed. Lorraine McMullen (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1990), 125.

[16] Margaret Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Anansi, 1972). See also: Marcia Kline, *Beyond the Land Itself: Views of Nature in Canada and the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970). In this comparison of Canadian and American literature the idea that Canadians were terrified of nature is highlighted.

[17] Doug Owram, *The Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Press, 1980).

[18] George Altmeyer, "Three ideas of nature in Canada, 1893-1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 11 (August 1976), 21-36.

[19] For example: F. K. Stanzel, "Innocent Eyes: Canadian Landscape as Seen by Frances Brooke, Susanna Moodie and Others," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 4 (Fall 1991), 97-109; Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

[20] Jasen, *Wild Things*, 25.

make towards this debate have also just begun to be published.[21] This study will provide further evidence that Canadian attitudes towards wilderness were rooted in a complex interplay of culture and geography.

Representations of Canada's western mountain wilderness became implicated in national identity. Geographers are among the scholars who researched this connection between Canadian identity and the various ways that people think about geography.[22] Already researchers have demonstrated the powerful imaginative effects of artistic imagery and literature to Canada's national iconography.[23] Even actions were symbolic. The belief that Canadian climbers should be encouraged to make more first ascents was based on an assumption that a nation's character could be measured by mountaineering achievement.[24] At the turn of the century, the issue of Canadian national identity was on the public agenda. As a settler colony within the British Empire, Canada's struggle for self-definition and political agency was often characterized by an uneasy balance between national and imperial aspirations. So strong were the interconnections between these parallel movements that the historian, Carl Berger, commented that in fact, "Imperialism was one form of Canadian nationalism."[25]

The political context of Canadian nationalism distinguishes this study from much of the current research that explores travel, exploration, and representation. Much of this contemporary work has a postcolonial focus and imperial power is

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[21] Karen Dubinsky, "'The Pleasure is Exquisite but Violent': The Imaginary Geography of Niagara Falls in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29 (1994), 64-88.

[22] J. Wreford Watson, "Canadian Regionalism in Life and Letters," *GJ* 131, Part I (1965); J. Wreford Watson, "Mental Images and Geographical Reality in the Settlement of North America," Cust Foundation Lecture (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1967).

[23] Brian S. Osborne, "The Iconography of Nationhood in Canadian Art," in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. Dennis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Brian S. Osborne, "Interpreting a Nations' Identity: Artists as Creators of National Consciousness," in *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the Meanings of Some Places in the Past*, ed. Alan R. H. Baker and Gideon Biger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Paul Simpson-Housely and Glen Norcliff, ed. *A Few Acres of Snow: Literary and Artistic Images of Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992).

[24] Raymond Huel, "The Creation of the Alpine Club of Canada: An Early Manifestation of Canadian Nationalism," *Prairie Forum* 15 (1990), 25-43.

highlighted as the researchers consider Victorian travellers in Africa, South America, or Asia. The implications of Canada's particular kind of political ideology for place identity and gender subjectivity is just one theme that will be addressed in this research.

Narratives

I now turn from issues relating to textual content to the mountaineering texts themselves. Travel narratives are a common type of evidence used by scholars to analyze representations and their imaginative consequences. Researchers observe that the travel narrative is a hybrid form that borrows styles and conventions from various literary traditions. Travel narratives are part subjective memoir and part empirical account. In their commentaries on society, politics, and aesthetics, travel narratives are similar to the formal essay. According to Tzvetan Todorov, these narratives are an impressionistic rendering of the journey of the self. "Travel," he claimed, refers to a framework of circumstances while the word "narrative" identifies the presence of a personal narrator.[26] Additionally, travel narratives are characterized by the informative and anecdotal content that writers inserted to provide both instruction and entertainment.[27]

When considering travel narratives, scholars insist that texts were the outcome of specific cultural processes. Texts are edited and reworked.[28] Moreover, culture taught travellers how to see the world around them and it taught them to organize experiences according to temporal and spatial continuums. Paul Carter, for example, noted that linear time structures underpinned the practice of narrating journeys sequentially from beginning to end, and that spatial structures differentiated "here"

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[25] Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, rpt 1985), 259.

[26] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Tzvetan Todorov, "The Journey and Its Narratives," in *The Morals of History*, Translated by Alyson Waters (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 60-70.

[27] Eva-Marie Kröller, *Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851-1900* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987).

[28] I. S. MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (Spring 1992), 39-68; Germaine Warkentin, "Introduction," in *Canadian Exploration Literature: An Anthology*, ed. Germain Warkentin (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), ix-xxi.

from "there."[29] The content and style of travellers' texts also reflected the needs and priorities of different generations of travellers. For example, Ian MacLaren argued that explorers textually remade foreign scenes as familiar when they ordered the landscape according to picturesque convention. In his words, these textual and visual representation strategies exerted "imaginative control" in order to sustain the individual's identity in a wilderness environment and a British citizen's imperial identity in a new colony.[30] From these kinds of studies, researchers have demonstrated how the social construction of a traveller's knowledge can be manifested in different ways.

The idea that travel writing is not mere description but an ideological mirror of the traveller's culture has powerful implications for academic research. In particular, the argument that travellers disclose their own cultural value systems when they describe other people or places means that scholars can interpret travel accounts as evidence of a process of negotiated meaning-making. This contrasts with traditional interpretations of travel writing that focused solely on "the world that the explorer/traveller [brought] to life ... by inscribing it [and] writing it down."[31] To discuss the implications of this research I will consider how scholars have interpreted travel narratives by focusing first on destinations and second on the travelling subjects themselves.

Destinations

Destinations were the places that travellers described in their texts. Most travellers described both the physical and human geography of the destinations they visited. In their descriptions, however, travellers revealed a range of cultural assumptions. Most of the published research that I consider in this review focuses on British and American travellers, both men and women, who travelled around the globe

[29] Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988).
[30] I. S. MacLaren, "The Limits of the Picturesque in British North America," *Journal of Garden History* 1(1985), 109, 98.
[31] MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature," 40.

in the Victorian era. The destinations these travellers described tended to be identified by nation-state boundaries or administrative status, either independent or colonial.

Travellers frequently described the natural environments that they encountered. Typically travellers used the perspective of natural history to intepret the environments they visited and, as a result, the practices of collection, inventory, and classification of flora and fauna were emphasized.[32] Travellers also tended to interpret the natural world by applying a logic of contrast. Most commonly, "uncivilized" destinations were contrasted with a "civilized" home. Researchers have critiqued this type of binary logic because it was founded on hierachical assumptions that privileged western European perspectives and denigrated any knowledge or entity that was non-European. These partial perspectives on destinations were signficant because Europeans had the power to enforce their perspectives.[33] Feminist researchers have also examined the extent to which masculinist biases shaped the travellers' interpretations of the destinations they visited.[34]

When travellers reached their destinations, they described the peoples they encountered. Typically, the knowledge that travellers produced of other peoples throughout their writings revealed the travellers' stereotypes and not an objective or neutral description of facts.[35] Despite the asymmetrical power relations, the colonial people they represented were not passive. According to Gayatri Spivak, the "subaltern speaks" principally through the colonizers' own texts. Sprivak examined texts produced by British writers that described both large-scale Indian revolts and servants' insubordination. Those representations, she concluded, were evidence of colonized

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[32] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge 1992).

[33] Refer to two important essays collections for examples of this research: Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, ed. *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (London: Routledge, 1992); Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith, ed. *Geography and Empire*. The Institute of British Geographers Special Publication Series (Cambridge Mass: Blackwell, 1994).

[34] For a discussion of how an emphasis on visual representation revealed a masculinist bias refer to Gillan Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 86-112. Refer also to the essays in the collection by Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, ed. *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (New York: Guilford Press, 1994).

[35] James Duncan and David Ley, "Introduction: Representing the Place of Culture," in *Place / Culture / Representation* (London: Routledge, 1993).

peoples' agency.[36] By demonstrating the agency of the colonized, researchers have learned that travellers' ideas about destinations are the outcome of a negotiated process of meaning-making. The concepts of "transculturation" and "thirdspace" were developed by researchers to explain this fluid process of meaning-making.[37]

Scholars study these imagined geographies of destinations because they were influential. In various ways, travel accounts paved the way for colonization. By representing unexploited resources, primitive indigenous populations, or empty landscapes travel writers provided their reading public, including government, military, and business officials, with justification for colonial intervention. Resources could be harvested, "primitive" people civilized, and empty wild lands improved with agriculture and settlement. Additionally, the travellers' maps and their detailed geographical descriptions assisted the efforts of future merchants, missionaries, soldiers, and travellers.[38]

Travelling Subjects

Critiques of travel writing also focus on individual travellers, or the travelling subject. By investigating alterity and travellers' social positioning, geographers have gained some insight into the complex processes of subject formation and the nature of the subject. The term alterity refers to the psychological process whereby individuals create and differentiate their identities by drawing boundaries between themselves and other individuals.[39] Gerry Kearns examined this process in his critique of the exploration work of Mary Kingsley and Halford Mackinder, two prominent British travellers who each visited Africa in the nineteenth century. Kearns explored how the

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[36] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York: Methuen, 1987). For a similar perspective that considers the position of Canada' Native people refer to: Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, "Introduction," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996; rpt. 1998).
[37] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Kenneth I. MacDonald and David Butz, "Investigating Portering Relations as a Locus for Transcultural Interaction in the Karakorum Region of Northern Pakistan," *Mountain Research and Development* 18 (1998).
[38] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978; Vintage Books, 1979); Brian Hudson, "The New Geography and the New Imperialism: 1870-1918," *Antipode* 9 (September 1977).
[39] Todorov, "Journey and its Narratives," 292.

imperial identity of each traveller was complicated by impulses of desire, denial, and pleasure. Desire, Kearns argued, was the sense of who individuals thought they "should" be while denial referred to the innocence that travellers claimed to distance themselves from the violence of imperialism. He added that pleasure, indicated by a focus on aesthetic, sentimental, or nostalgic themes, was a strategy to divert attention from the guilt caused by imperial induced guilt.[40] Kearns' work focused attention on the many relations that constitute an individual's sense of self.

Other researchers have considered how an individual's social positioning, according to race, gender, and class, influenced knowledge production and circulation. Some of the most influential work on this subject has focused on Victorian women travellers and their writings. Imperialism highlighted the complex positioning of women travellers to colonies of European nations in relation to gender and race. At home, British Victorian women's agency was restricted due to women's inferior status. When British women went abroad, travelling through colonized regions of the globe, however, they had a powerful position due to their assumed superior racial status relative to the colonized societies of Africa and Asia.[41] Alison Blunt's examination of Mary Kingsley's "ambivalent subject positionality" is significant because it wove geography into theories of the subject. By comparing Kingsley's action when she was at *home* in Britain to when she was *away* in Africa, Blunt highlighted the importance of spatiality to an individual's sense of self.

Of particular interest to this study is the question of how women and men found it necessary to negotiate gender discourses when writing about themselves.[42]

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[40] Gerry Kearns, "The Imperial Subject: Geography and Travel in the Word of Mary Kingsley and Halford Mackinder," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s. 22 (1997).

[41] Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1994); Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991). A number of these ideas are explored in different contexts the essays found in Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, ed., *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (New York: Guilford, 1994).

[42] Bina Friewald, "'Femininely Speaking': Anna Jameson' *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*," in *A Mazing Space: Writing Canadian Women Writing*, ed. Shirley Neuman and Smaro Kamboureli (Edmonton: Longspoon-Ne-West, 1986), 61-73; Bénédicte Monicat, "Autobiography and Women's Travel Writings in Nineteenth-century France: Journeys through Self-representation," *Gender, Place and Culture* 1 (1994), 61-70; Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad 1830-1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997).

Researchers tend to agree that discourses of femininity offered Victorian women travel writers both constraints and opportunities. A "rule of decency" constrained women writers by conveying a message that it was inappropriate for a woman to write publicly about herself.[43] Yet, by writing, women travellers repeatedly challenged this rule. Thus, to minimize their transgression women writers adopted a range of narrative voices. Some writers used a stereotypically feminine voice that emphasized conventional responses to people and places. Alternatively, some writers attempted to erase their identity by presenting a scientific account. Self-valorization was also an option but it had to be accomplished strategically. Women could indirectly refer to their achievements by referring to what other individuals wrote or they could use the third person. If women chose to write directly about themselves, many found it convenient to do so under the guise of writing from "a woman's perspective." Thus, if a woman traveller's actions gave the impression that she was unconventional, the content and tone of her writing reminded readers of her femininity.[44]

Similarly, when male writers wrote about themselves they did so while being influenced by discourses of masculinity.[45] Insights into the literary construction of masculinities are found in Graham Dawson's examination of the male subject in war stories. Dawson identified a complex mix of ideals, desires, and experiences as the factors which influenced the representations of masculine "versions of the self" in war narratives.[46] Historians Michael Roper and John Tosh made a similar point about the variability of masculinity when they argued that "[d]espite the myths of omnipotent manhood which surround us, masculinity is never fully possessed, but must perpetually be achieved, asserted, and renegotiated." While Roper and Tosh argued that masculinities were shaped by men's social power over women they also cautioned

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[43] Monicat, "Women's Travel Writings in Nineteenth-century France," 64.

[44] *Ibid.*, 65-68. For a discussion of how women writers employed the overtly feminine voice refer to Friewald, "'Femininely Speaking,'" and Schriber, *Writing Home* for a discussion of overtly feminine voice.

[45] Peter Jackson, "The Cultural Politics of Masculinity: Towards a Social Geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 16 (1991), 199-213.

[46] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), 22. A critical perspective on the literary representation of masculinity is

readers that masculinities were not always "beneficial either to men's psychic well-being or even the efficient perpetuation of their power."[47]

A Climber's Perspective

An increasing number of historical studies of travel and exploration narratives refer to mountaineering activity, yet in most of these cases, the individuals being studied did not consider themselves mountaineers nor did they plan their trips with mountain climbing as the primary objective.[48] Instead, most nineteenth century European travellers and explorers engaged in mountaineering by chance because their itinerary presented an opportunity for climbing. Since the pursuit held only temporary interest for travellers such as Mary Kingsley and Halford Mackinder, perhaps it is more accurate to identify them as inadvertent mountaineers. Still, the climbing activities of people like Kingsley or Mackinder are significant to modern scholars because these individuals produced a written record of their activities. For scholars interested in critiquing the uneven power relations that underpinned both the actions and narratives of travel and exploration, descriptions of mountain climbs are considered to symbolize a nation-state's power and the moral character of its citizenry. The narratives produced by these inadvertent mountaineers, however, present scholars with some interpretive challenges.

At a basic level, scholars are faced with the challenge of deciding what labels best "fit" a mountain ascent. As an activity, mountaineering is not easily classified or described. Today, as in the past, commentators still struggle to define just what is mountaineering; and in the process, try to figure out why individuals would want to climb in the first place. During the Victorian and Edwardian eras, these debates often

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also found in Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men & Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London: Routledge, 1997).

[47] Michael Roper and John Tosh, "Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800,* ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 18, 16 respectively.

[48] Karen Morin, "Peak Practices: Englishwomen's 'Heroic' Adventures in the Nineteenth-Century American West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83 (1999), 489-514; Kearns, "Imperial Subject"; Alison Blunt, "Mapping Authorship and Authority: Reading Mary Kingsley's

centred on utility. Mountaineering was variously cast as practical science, necessary exploration, or as an arena for the moral, spiritual, physical, and ultimately civic, development of the individual.[49] Today, mountaineering is recognized principally as a leisure choice; yet researchers continue to ponder what it is and why people participate.[50] Moreover, the mountaineering community is embroiled in new debates over what mountaineering should be in terms of acceptable levels of technological assistance, commercialization, and ecological impact.[51] The matter of defining mountaineering is further complicated because the activity has continually evolved as successive generations of climbers introduced new tools and techniques to help them reach summits via routes previously deemed "unclimbable."

Interpreting mountaineering is further complicated because some scholars have made conclusions from too few examples. And when those few examples are gathered from inadvertent mountaineers, the full scope of mountaineering cannot be grasped. To some extent, the matter is complicated because the examples selected are biased towards famous and prestigious ascents. Either the peak or the individual climber is well-known. My concern is that scholarly critiques of prestigious ascents do not fully explain mountaineering's status as a widespread recreational movement. To some extent these difficulties could be mitigated if more scholars consulted the scholarly literature on mountaineering.[52] However, this growing body of research remains under

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Landscape Descriptions," in *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, ed. Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose (New York: Guilford, 1994); Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.

[49] David Robbins, "Sport, Hegemony and the Middle Class: The Victorian Mountaineers," *Theory, Culture & Society* 4 (1987), 579-601.

[50] Richard G. Mitchell, Jr., *Mountain Experience: The Psychology and Sociology of Adventure* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983).

[51] For example, one debate focuses on whether certain type of aids such as ladders, ice screws, and oxygen tanks represent a form of cheating. See for example, Bruce Fairley, "Mountaineering and the Ethics of Technique," in *The Canadian Mountaineering Anthology*, ed. Bruce Fairley (Vancouver: Lone Pine, 1994), 230-240. Most recently, in the wake of the 1996 disaster on Mount Everest, a very public debate has centred on the ethical implications of commercial climbing. See, for example: Stephen Venables, "Balancing Act," *Geographical* (July 1998), 6-11 and Jon Krakauer, *Into Thin Air: A Personal Account of the Mount Everest Disaster* (New York: Villard, 1997).

[52] See for example: David Robertson, "Mid-Victorians amongst the Alps," in *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, ed. U. C. Knoepfmacher and G. B. Tennyson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 113-136; Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Robbins, "Sport, Hegemony and Class"; Peter H. Hansen, "Albert Smith, The Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain," *Journal of British*

utilized.[53] Ideally, particular mountaineering events could be contextualized through a brief discussion of mountaineering's status during the time and at the place under investigation. Another possible remedy is to encourage analysis of a wider range of texts, including those produced by both men and women, plus novices and experts.

One of the current problems found in the scholarship on travel, exploration and representation is the tendency among scholars to work with a simplistic model of mountaineering that constructs the pursuit as an activity of male conquest. This model is founded on a range of assumptions: either that women did not climb, or else that they were not interested in climbing, or that if they did climb, it was for some elusive reason that was neither goal-oriented nor imbued with the ideology of conquest. The parallel assumption is that men are goal-oriented and conquest-driven to the exclusion of other interests. Dea Birkett, in her study of women explorers in the Victorian era commented:

> Drawing women travellers' journeys on a map of world exploration would not add, as might their male counterparts, new spidery routes disappearing into the source of a river or culminating at the summit of an unconquered mountain; their lines would spiral around, and around, through forests, up creeks, down canyons, with no goal except wandering itself.[54]

While both assumptions have some degree of accuracy, they can be misleading. Women did climb. While there were only a few women who actively climbed during the mid- to late-nineteenth century, their numbers did grow steadily and by 1907 the Ladies' Alpine Club was formed in Britain.[55] By the time the Alpine Club of Canada

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Studies 34 (July 1995), 300-324; Peter H. Hansen, "Vertical Boundaries, National Identities: British Mountaineering on the Frontiers of Europe and the Empire, 1868-1914," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 24 (January 1996), 48-71.

[53] Morin, "Peak Practices"; Squire, "Genteel Ladies"; Blunt, "Authorship and Authority"; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* are examples.

[54] Dea Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 62. This idea continues to be prominent. A reviewer of Andrea Gabbard's *Mountaineering: A Woman's Guide* (Ragged Mountain Press, 1999) notes the author's belief that "Women tend to climb mountains to learn and grow; men more often climb to conquer peaks." in Carol Potera, "Climb Every Mountain," *Shape* (September 1999), 54.

[55] David Mazel, ed., *Mountaineering Women: Stories by Early Climbers* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1994); Bill Birkett and Bill Peascod, *Women Climbing: 200 Years of Achievement*

(ACC) formed in Canada in 1906, women represented approximately one-third of the membership.[56] At various times through history, however, women climbers received criticism for unfeminine behaviour or they were excluded from both organized climbs and formal climbing institutions. Yet these barriers represented neither the views of all men nor of all climbing organizations. Moreover, women resisted exclusion in various ways: some women climbed surreptitiously or with supportive male companions; others arranged women-only climbs. While some women were criticized for their decision to participate in a dangerous, strenuous and apparently pointless activity, it is important to remember that public criticisms were directed to *all* climbers, both male and female.[57] Assessments of motive also require some elaboration because arguments that particular kinds of motivations are gender-based are difficult to sustain. In the mountaineering literature, historians have recorded the accomplishments of goal-oriented women and spiritually or aesthetically inclined men.[58] Ultimately, men and women climbed for many different reasons and those reasons were as varied as the individuals themselves.

When researchers rely on a simplistic model of mountaineering in support of their arguments about people or places, the first consequence is that conclusions about the meaning-making processes that constitute places are also incomplete. Simplistic generalizations about mountaineering are used to support arguments that oppressive power relations characterize the geographical knowledge found in climbers' texts. For

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(Seattle: The Mountaineers, 1989); and Cicely Williams, *Women on the Rope: The Feminine Share of Mountain Adventure* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973). Shorter summaries are found in Maria Aitken, *A Girdle Round the Earth* (London: Constable, 1987), 12-60; and Russell, *Blessing of a Thick Skirt*, 90-110.

[56] Reichwein, PearlAnn, "On Top of the World: A Woman's Place," *Canadian Alpine Journal* 78 (1995), 46-49.

[57] Contrast this with the equally dangerous, and life-threatening, search for the North-West Passage or South Pole, both activities that had more obviously useful goals.

[58] For examples of goal-oriented women mountaineers refer to Cyndi Smith's biographies of Katie Gardiner and Georgia Engelhard Cromwell. Cyndi Smith, *Off the Beaten Track: Women Adventurers and Mountaineers in Western Canada* (Lake Louise: Coyote Books, 1989). David Robbins discusses some of the spiritual and aesthetic motivations that guided male climbers in his article on Victorian mountaineering. Robbins, "Sport, Hegemony and Class." Additionally, Charles Fay, an American climber who completed pioneering climbs in the Canadian Rockies, wrote a reflective article on the moral and spiritual advantages of mountaineering. Charles E. Fay, "The Mountain as an Influence in Modern Life," *Appalachia* 11 (June 1905).

example, Mary Louise Pratt, in her foundational work *Imperial Eyes*, identified a rhetoric of conquest in mountaineering texts.[59] She asserted that a mountaineer's enjoyment of the panoramic view from a mountain summit was a symbolic gesture of landscape appropriation, one that paralleled the exploitative practices of European imperialism. Yet mountaineering ideals and objectives cannot be fully subsumed under this "monarch-of-all-I-survey" trope nor can this trope be readily applied across time and space. Karen Morin has already suggested that this model has limited applicability in other geographical contexts, notably among British female travellers to the United States.[60] I will also question the application of this model to Canada, particularly since the ideologies underpinning both mountaineering and imperialism had undergone important changes by the turn of the century. I do not dispute Pratt's model outright. Indeed, I agree with many aspects of it. What I do suggest is that researchers should be more cautious in their interpretation of mountaineering because, upon closer inspection, it becomes evident that it is a complex activity that is not labelled easily.

Similarly, a reliance on simplistic models of mountaineering makes it difficult for researchers to interpret fully the range of gendered subject positions articulated in texts. When researchers rely too extensively on the heroic, masculine model of mountaineering they make conclusions about individuals and their lived identities that denies the inherent complexity of activities and subject positions. Several recent studies work from an implicit assumption that mountaineering is an expression of heroic masculinity. Certainly, mountaineering was, and continues to be, conceived in this manner by some writers but strong tensions and inconsistencies do exist, particularly in the time-frame that I consider. The late Victorian and Edwardian eras were times when women's social roles were changing, both publicly and privately, and it was also a time when women's participation in mountaineering was considered unremarkable, even commonplace. For the average summiteer, a days' climb was a fun pursuit and not some heroic endeavour. Thus, the task for researchers is to

[59] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 213-15.
[60] Morin, "Peak Practices."

examine how women's participation prompted an ongoing redefinition of mountaineering's goals and objectives -- for both men and women.

Goals and Objectives

The first goal of this research, then, is to examine the status of mountaineering in Canada in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. While it was an activity that shared many characteristics with travel and exploration, the distinctive practices and beliefs of mountaineering need to be discussed in order to establish the context for this study. The second goal is to consider how contemporary social theory and feminist theory can assist in interpreting mountaineering experience and its connection to both the constitution of place and gendered subject positions. By considering how experience, place and subjectivity are mutually constituted at a theoretical level I will be able to develop analytical strategies that link the mountaineers' social relationships to the specific representational strategies they employed. My final goal is to empirically demonstrate the various ways that mountaineering experiences both constituted and reinforced the climbers' representations of the Canadian Rockies and their gendered identities. A close reading of the mountaineers' texts will investigate the various ways that their knowledge of peoples, places, and actions was socially constructed. Thus, the purpose of this research is to produce a cultural analysis of mountaineers' representation practices. In this way, I see my work as a complement to existing empirical studies of Canadian mountaineering.

A review of secondary literature on the European origins of mountaineering will provide a crucial foundation for this study. By the late 1880s, when the Canadian Rockies were first recognized as a potential mountaineering site, British-originated mountain climbing practices and conventions were already in place. While an understanding of these practices provides insight into the Canadian experience of mountaineering, it becomes clear that not all practices were simply transplanted from Europe to Canada. Instead, several practices were modified, to varying degrees, to meet needs and requirements specific to the Canadian geography. A discussion of mountaineers' writing practices will also be conducted since many turn of the century

climbers used narratives to interpret experiences and share their knowledge. Moreover, writing itself was, for many climbers, part of the experience and in the words of sociologist Richard G Mitchell Jr.: "As a social phenomenon the climb is not over till the tale is told."[61]

The next objective will be to review the different theoretical approaches being used by scholars for the study of place, and subjectivity in descriptive texts. I consider critical social theory, particularly discourse theory, because it assists researchers with the development of "dynamic conceptualizations" of both people and places.[62] Two tenets underpin these conceptualizations. Firstly, theorists argue that the identities of both people and places are forged from a range of social relations including domination, subordination, collusion, and resistance. Thus, the identities of people and places are not "natural and monolithic" but "divergent, competing and ... *changing*"[63] Secondly, these place identities and individual subjectivities have a constitutive effect. This means that writers would draw upon available discourses, the "themes, images, motifs and narrative forms" circulating within their culture, because they offered "frameworks of possibility" that these writers could use to locate themselves and their experiences. Writers drew from available discourses but they also fed material back into them, thereby transforming the cultural discourses as they reproduced them.[64] Discursive, or relational, conceptualizations of experience, place, and subjectivity will be used to develop a conceptual framework that highlights the linkages between these three variables. From these theoretical connections I will be able to formulate strategies for interrogating the mountaineers' texts. Since this research focuses on texts produced by women and men I will also consider the influence of discourses of masculinity and femininity.

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[61] Mitchell, *Mountain Experience*, 72.
[62] Linda McDowell, "Imagined Places: Editorial Introduction," in *Undoing Place? A Geographical Reader*, ed. Linda McDowell (London: Arnold, 1997)
[63] Roper and Tosh, "Politics of Masculinity," 1. Refer also to Mills, *Discourse*.
[64] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 48-49. Dawson prefers the term "cultural imaginaries" to discourse. Refer also to Linda McDowell, "Spatializing Feminism: Geographic Perspectives," in *Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Nancy Duncan (London: Routledge, 1996), 28-29.

My final objective will be to apply theoretical insights to my analysis of Canadian mountaineering texts. Experience, place, and subjectivity will be addressed in separate chapters; I will, however pay attention to the meanings that emerge as a result of their interconnections. Each chapter is structured thematically to highlight, respectively, specific types of mountaineering actions, landscape representation practices, and self-identification processes. The thematic structure of each chapter corresponds to the social relationships identified in the cultural framework.

My primary geographical focus is the Banff and Jasper area of the Canadian Rocky Mountains. The region extends from the Mount Robson in the north to Mount Assiniboine in the south. The foothills mark the eastern boundary while the Columbia River Valley marks the western edge (Figure 1). Some references to the adjacent Selkirk range will be included since early climbers often included them within the imaginative boundaries of the Rockies at the turn of the century. Reichwein observed that in "popular usage, the term 'Rockies' collectively identifi[ed] the Rocky Mountain main ranges together with the Columbia Mountains and their Selkirk Range to the west in British Columbia, although properly speaking the Rocky Mountain Trench divides the main ranges from the latter formations."[65] The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) is the key feature linking the different physiographic regions under consideration. For turn of the century mountaineers, the only timely way to reach the Rockies and Selkirks was via the train so it was not surprising that almost all mountaineering trips started and ended at the rail line.

The temporal limits for this research are framed by the achievements of key figures in the "golden age" of Canadian mountaineering. During this era, climbers made first ascents of most of the Rockies' major peaks and writers produced nearly a dozen books proclaiming the excitement and novelty of Canadian mountaineering. I start with 1885, the year that marked the completion of the CPR and just one year after the exploratory mountaineer Arthur P. Coleman made his first visit to the Rocky

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[65] Reichwein, "Foot of the Mountain," 174, fn. 2.

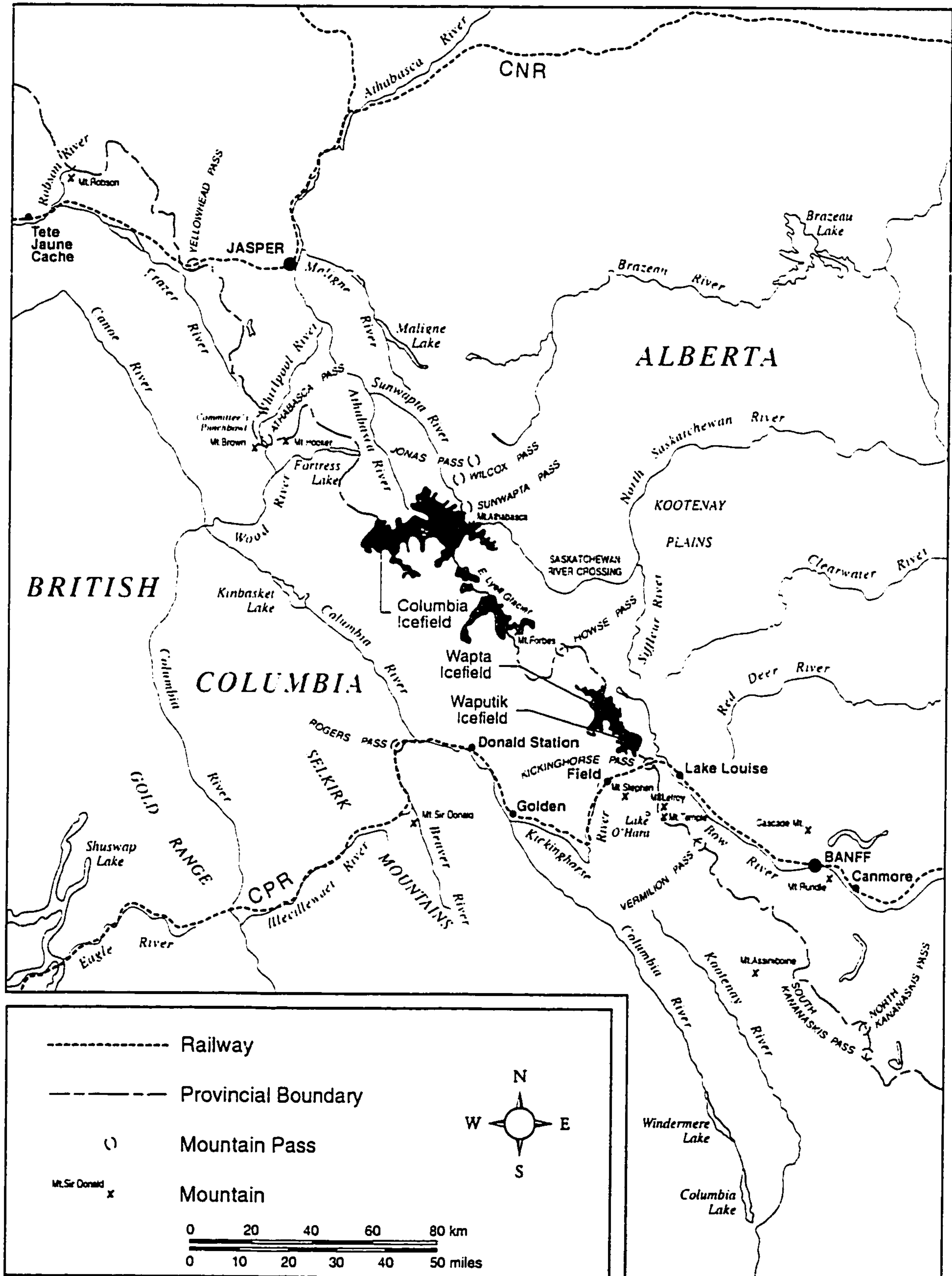

Figure 1: The Canadian Rockies

Mountains. While some historians mark World War I as the end of Canada's "golden age" of mountaineering I have included references to articles extending as late as 1925. I made this decision for several reasons. Pioneering ascents continued into the 1920s and beyond. In 1924, for example, Phyllis Munday and Annette Buck became the first women to ascend Mount Robson. The 1920s are also an appropriate boundary for this study because that decade witnessed two events that changed the qualitative aspects of the mountaineering experience: the introduction of automobile tourism and the fading of the Rocky Mountains' frontier mystique. Prior to World War I, automobiles were barred from entering Rocky Mountains Park (later Banff National Park), however, the lack of suitable roads proved a more lasting obstacle to motor tourism. Road construction increased following the War but it was not until the 1920s when the Banff-Winderemere highway was finished that the ascendancy of the automobile was certain.[66] The imaginative appeal of the Rocky Mountains also began to fade in the 1920s. The introduction of aerial mapping meant that the era of exploratory mountaineering had effectively ended.[67] Additionally, the international mountaineering community was increasingly directing its attention to new frontiers. A degree of political stability in Asia resulted in a more intense interest in the giant peaks of the Himalayas and in North America, the high elevation peaks in the Yukon and Alaska became a focus, especially once aviation improved access to this remote region.[68]

Data Acquisition

My initial interest in the early history of Canadian mountaineering developed through reading Cyndi Smith's *Off the Beaten Track: Women Adventurers and Mountaineers in Western Canada* which profiled the lives and accomplishments of fourteen women who travelled, studied, climbed, and worked in the Canadian Rockies.[69] The book strongly resonated with me because as a Calgary native I too had

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[66] E. J. Hart, *Diamond Head: The Early Outfitters and Guides of Banff and Jasper* (Banff: Summerthought, 1979), 135.
[67] Dan Smith, "Those Magnificent Men and Their Flying Machines: Aerial Reconnaissance in the Alberta Rocky Mountains During the 1920s," *Western Geography* 7 (1997).
[68] Chris Jones, *Climbing in North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).
[69] Smith, *Off the Beaten Track.*

enjoyed many extended trips through the same places as these women. In their descriptions, I found an enthusiasm for the outdoors that paralleled mine but I was surprised to learn that their stories were written nearly a century before. As I started to read more about this topic I was intrigued to discover that women comprised approximately thirty percent of the membership of the Alpine Club of Canada in its first decades.[70] I also learned that mountaineering was an activity that many men and women enjoyed together. It was from this set of interests that this dissertation took form.

One of my first tasks upon embarking on this research was to identify source material. An extensive collection of textual and visual evidence pertaining to Canadian mountaineering is held in the Archives of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies situated in Banff, Alberta. The institution also houses the library of the Alpine Club of Canada. Additionally, regional libraries and archives throughout Alberta and British Columbia held collections from various individuals who lived in or travelled through the Rockies. After my initial examination of some of the larger manuscript collections my attention was directed to numerous magazine and journal articles that were published at the turn of the century. Articles originally published in *Rod & Gun in Canada*, for example, were grouped together with the miscelleanea of the archival manuscript collections.[71] Additionally, many of the written accounts of mountain travel and adventure, both published and unpublished, contained specific references to the published texts of the pioneering climbers. My strategy for data acquisition, then, was to follow the leads suggested by previously consulted sources.

I rely most frequently on the published narratives because these texts were circulated to a wide audience. It was through accounts in popular books and magazines that the public learned about what mountaineering was, its ideals and aspirations, and what kind of people participated in mountain climbing. Of course, these sources must be used with some caution because often writers wrote either to promote

[70] Reichwein, "Top of the World," 46-49; Reichwein, "Guardians of the Rockies."
[71] The archivists who prepared the Elizabeth Kirkbride collection for the Provincial Archives of Alberta filed clipped magazine articles together with train schedules, tourist brochures and Alpine Club of Canada circulars. Elizabeth Kirkbride collection, Provincial Archives of Alberta.

mountaineering as a rational pastime or to promote Rocky Mountain tourism. Tourist promotion was a particularly lucrative sideline for some writers, garnering them free transportation and accommodation from the Canadian Pacific Railway.[72]

Articles published for scientific journals and mountaineering journals are equally valuable sources. Directed towards more specialized readers and readers with a shared interest in mountain climbing and exploration, these sources lack some of the boosterism but not the enthusiasm. Still, the promotion theme did emerge at regular intervals. Arthur Wheeler, the first President of the Alpine Club of Canada, was a tireless promoter of the Rockies. Even in purportedly scientific inventories, his reliance on hyperbole and his continued imaginings of a future filled with pony trails, chalets, and scenic viewpoints bordered on excessive.[73] Articles also contained a wealth of detailed descriptions. Whether composed to inventory and describe a little known geographical area or to carefully outline the precise route followed to attain a first ascent, these texts divulge both the exceptional and the mundane. It is from these works that the researcher can obtain a sense of how mountaineers viewed their avocation when among their peers. Significantly, the tendency to rationalize their motivations is noticeably absent in the scientific and alpine journal texts.

Mountaineering books, in contrast, provided an interesting blend of the popular and the specialized account. Writers, expecting an interested but somewhat uninformed readership, typically spent some time explaining their motives and their actions. The books' extended length, however, provided the space for detailed descriptions of people, places and activities.

I also rely on unpublished sources to further my understanding of some of the different topics and themes that characterized mountaineers' writings. Diaries and notebooks were used for the initial recordings of experiences. While it is intuitive to believe that these sources have great accuracy because of their immediacy to the events in question, this assumption is not entirely correct. Researchers argue that all writing

[72] Hart, *Selling of Canada*.
[73] Arthur O. Wheeler, "The Alpine Club of Canada's Expedition to Jasper Park, Yellowhead Pass and Mount Robson Region, 1911," *CAJ*, 4 (1912), 1-84.

contains varying degrees of self-censorship.[74] It is not surprising that Edwardian diarists would have incorporated some degree of self-censorship because the diary, particularly the travel diary, was often a shared medium. Upon the completion of a trip, some diarists allowed friends and family to read the text as a way of sharing their experience. It is a practice that continues to the present and one that is akin to the sharing of home movies, videos, or slides. While the question of what was censored out of these texts is intriguing, it is not the focus of this research. Instead, my interest in these sources stems from the diarists' practice of using these texts as a kind of rough draft. For example, Arthur Coleman's field notebooks, written in pencil, contain inked annotations and underlining that he presumably used to assist in preparing his book manuscript.[75]

Letters can provide a different kind of insight into the ideas that circulated among mountaineers. Because they were written with a different agenda, letters offer insight into private, controversial, or unpalatable thoughts. Letters offered a way for individuals to share confidences. Writers who may have been reticent in their public texts did not seem as constrained in letters. Mary Schäffer's correspondence with the guide Tom Wilson, for example, contains frank admissions about the spirit of competition that underpinned the drive for discovery and the sometimes unethical steps that individuals took in their search for public accolade.[76] The famed alpinist Edward Whymper also made some startling racist revelations in his letters to Tom Wilson.[77] Letters, while insightful, are difficult for scholars to trace because they are often found in the archival collection of the receiver and not the sender.

Key Findings

Mountaineering is an activity with athletic, aesthetic, scientific, and imperialistic impulses that was, and continues to be, enjoyed by women and men.

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[74] Friewald, "'Femininely Speaking.'"

[75] Refer to Coleman collection, E. J. Pratt Library, Victoria University, Toronto, Ontario. Also: Arthur Coleman, *Canadian Rockies: Old and New Trails* (Toronto: Henry Frowde, 1911).

[76] Tom Wilson fonds, Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta.

[77] *Ibid.*

Climbing techniques, developed in the European Alps, were introduced around the world as European climbers ventured overseas in search of new climbing challenges. In Canada, the presence of Swiss guides and the pioneering climbs of prominent British climbers guaranteed the influence of European practices and ideals. Yet Canada's geographic and political contexts did modify both the practice and meaning of mountaineering to some extent. Limited infrastructure and the near absence of human settlements in the Rocky Mountains meant that mountaineering in Canada was as much focused on the wilderness experience as the quintessential climbing experience. The symbolic significance of mountaineering is often tied into imperial ideology, yet in Canada that process was characterized by the politics of burgeoning Canadian nationalism.

In terms of writing practices, the influence of science, travel, and adventure writing on mountaineers' texts is clear. While the conventions adapted from each of these genres were negotiated differently by men and women, the texts nonetheless shared many traits. Writing was part of the mountaineering experience because it provided individuals with an opportunity for reflection and sharing. These communications also helped to reinscribe the beliefs that mountaineers valued and to socialize readers into the norms of the mountaineering community.

Researchers working in a variety of disciplines have theorized the mutual constitution of experience, place and subjectivity. While these concepts are often explored in pairs, the three-way interconnection is evident. The potential for individual experiences is linked to subject position. The way that individuals are positioned in relation to ideologies of race, gender, and class, for example, will influence the degree of individual agency and choices of experience. Yet, to some extent, experience is the source of authority and speaking position. Where these experiences occur is also significant. Places have a normative effect: their meanings can set opportunities and constraints on human action. Situated activity, however, is the reference point that individuals and societies look to as they create and refine their definitions of places. Finally, a person's subject position is also linked with place. People not only derive a

sense of identity from places, but they themselves assume a key role in place-making. Places, after all, have no inherent identity.

Through an examination of Canadian mountaineering narrative I demonstrate how these abstract relationships are realized in a material context. I first consider mountaineering experience; or the entire journey from beginning to end. What becomes immediately apparent is that actual climbing represents only a small portion of the total trip experience. Modifying an argument by Richard Mitchell Jr., I suggest that technical climbing is the "spice" and not the entire meal.[78] By considering the influence of place I found that place norms did influence the range of mountain activities considered appropriate for both men and women. Likewise, a consideration of subjectivity reveals that mountaineers, by merit of their incomes and social status, had the opportunity to pursue a leisure choice that was somewhat idiosyncratic. While both women and men climbed, each group had to negotiate the intertwined discourses of masculinity and femininity. In the Victorian and Edwardian eras the identity of mountaineer implied a male norm, thus, when women climbed they were not "mountaineers" but "women mountaineers" or, the class-inflected "lady-mountaineers." Alternatively, all mountaineers, both male and female, could feel secure about their leisure choice because their middle-class backgrounds provided a mantle of respectability and self-confidence that helped deflect social criticism. Moreover, a secure social standing and education meant they had the power to interpret their actions for themselves. By publishing their narratives they set the terms for public discourse on mountaineering.

The analysis of how experience and subject positioning influenced the representations of place is equally revealing. The physicality of mountaineering, the slower modes of transport required in the undeveloped Rockies, and the interest in route-finding powerfully influenced place descriptions. Equally important, the social positioning of the mountaineers themselves influenced the way mountaineers interpreted what the Rockies were and their future potential. In the late nineteenth and early

[78] Mitchell, *Mountain Experience*, 1.

twentieth centuries, some key themes that linked back to the interests of the middle-class were aesthetics, political identity, and regional economic development.

Finally, I explore subjectivity in terms of the choices women and men made in forging their lived identities. The persona of the mountaineer was rooted in both place and experience and it was essentially claimed by individuals through their actions. Like gender identity, individuals were not born with the label of mountaineer. Similarly, individuals exerted their agency when they selected the personas of nature enthusiast and scientist. For women some of these personas existed uneasily with established discourses of femininity. For example, the mountaineer persona was strongly associated with the masculine traits of strength, vigor, heroism, and rugged individuality. Thus, some women, in order to assert their feminine identity, denied the label mountaineer even though their mountaineering achievements suggested otherwise.

Thesis Outline

In this introductory chapter, I have outlined my research goals and objectives. I suggest how this research relates to both research on the Canadian Rockies and the existing critiques of travel, exploration and representation. Researchers, I argue, need to be attentive to the distinctive experiences that are associated with mountaineering in order to improve their understanding of its significance and symbolism. Chapter two examines mountaineering's practices, history and literature. In chapter three, I consider theories that focus on the mutual constitution of experience, place and subjectivity. The relationships identified will then be used to help me interrogate Canadian mountaineering narratives with a particular focus on the role of gender discourses.

The next three chapters comprise the key analytical section of this research. Chapter four examines mountaineering experience in turn of the century Canada. A thematic discussion of planning, conditioning, travel, technical climbing and companions will provide the organizational structure. I explore how lived experience was mediated by the Rocky Mountain setting and the socio-economic status of female and male climbers. I also use this chapter to convey the sense of humour, exhilaration,

and frustration that variously infused the mountaineers' narratives. Chapter five turns to the representation of place, specifically the Canadian Rockies. I highlight some key themes that regularly appear in the mountaineers' descriptions, specifically exploration, mountain climbing, wilderness aesthetics, Canadian national identity, and regional economic development. These are themes informed by the particularities of experience and the writers' subject positions. Chapter six analyzes subjectivity by examining key personas: the lady, the gentleman, the mountaineer, the explorer/scientist, and the nature enthusiast. Each of these personas were mediated by gender and, more subtly, by the meanings linked to place and experience. Finally, in chapter seven I discuss my research results and provide suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2
Mountaineering: Its Practices, History and Literature

Among late Victorian and Edwardian participants, there was some broad consensus regarding the purpose and value of mountaineering as a leisure pursuit. Beyond this broad consensus, however, participants found it difficult to settle on specific definitions because mountaineering practices and meanings were in a state of flux. A broadening pool of participants, the growing appeal of climbing sites located around the globe, and the evolution of climbing equipment and skills each contributed to this context of change. While non-participants likely considered the changes to be subtle, these shifts led to debates within the mountaineering community about the kinds of actions properly labelled "mountaineering" and the kinds of people who could be called "mountaineers." In this chapter, I consider these meanings by examining the practices, history, and literature of mountaineering.

Practices and Material Culture

A discussion of mountaineering practice is the starting point since mountaineers themselves often pointed to their actions when they sought to explain what was unique about their chosen pastime. In the broadest sense, mountaineering can be described as a specific type of self-propelled journey through a mountain environment. Summits are the objective most commonly associated with mountaineering, but other goals, such as ridge traverses or glacier crossings, motivated mountaineers as well. Since the Renaissance, the individuals who made these mountain journeys variously described themselves as scientists, explorers, travellers, nature enthusiasts, alpinists or mountaineers. Because these activities share many traits, distinguishing between individuals who are "mountaineers" as compared to "travellers," is difficult. Travellers sometimes climbed mountains during the course of a journey, though climbing may not have been the primary objective of their trip.[1] Conversely, self-described mountaineers, especially those who lived in Britain and climbed in the Alps,

[1] These "inadvertent mountaineers" were identified in Chapter 1.

were certainly travellers. Still, many mountaineers used both their actions and their rhetoric to distinguish themselves from everyday travellers. While mountaineering was arguably more challenging, strenuous, and heroic, emphasis on such distinctions was seldom more than a ploy to assert status.

Questions of relative status also underpinned participants' efforts to distinguish mountaineering from exploration. In the Victorian and Edwardian eras, explorers were admired, but the prestigious title of "explorer" was difficult for mountaineers to claim. To be considered an explorer, a mountain climber would be expected to venture in unknown, or at the very least, unmapped lands. Mountaineering developed in the Alps, a place that, by the mid-nineteenth century, was both known and mapped. Thus, mountaineers who climbed in the Alps were seldom considered explorers. This nomenclature changed when mountaineers started climbing in more distant mountain chains, including the Canadian Rockies. Since, in the case of the Rockies, large portions of the mountain chain were unmapped, climbers found it both easy and necessary to combine mountaineering and exploration. Thus, in Canada many of the earliest climbers came to be known as "exploratory mountaineers."[2]

Today, both participants and mountain writers continue with attempts to distinguish between travel, exploration, and mountaineering, not to mention the even more precisely defined rock climbing, sport-climbing, backpacking, and trekking. These latter nuances, however, only started to emerge in the late-Victorian and Edwardian eras. In a 1911 review of *Swiss Mountain Climbs* by G. D. Abraham, Val Fynn, an accomplished climber with dozens of ascents in both Europe and North America, distinguished "a mountaineer" from "a mere climber." Fynn suggested that the rock climber who could complete "fancy routes" among the British hills might become a mountaineer, but Fynn emphasized that mountaineering required additional skill. Fynn argued: "A mountaineer must be a good judge of climatic conditions, must be a pathfinder, must be skilled on snow and ice, but need not be a star performer

[2] Andrew J. Kauffman and William L. Putnam, *The Guiding Spirit* (Revelstoke, BC: Footprint Publishing, 1986), 121.

on rock."[3] James Outram also argued that "mountaineers" and "rock climbers" had different skills. On peaks without snow and ice, climbers required little more than "enthusiasm" and some "natural athletic tendencies." On alpine peaks, where glacial ice and steep snow slopes were found, climbers needed experience in the "science" of mountaineering. "Glaciers and their ways," Outram claimed, "take a lifetime to understand fully" and "snowcraft" is a skill that even experienced guides seldom master.[4]

A brief discussion of the practices associated with two pieces of equipment, the ice-axe and the rope, will help to clarify what was meant by the term mountaineering. On some challenging peaks, climbers had to negotiate rock faces, glaciers, and snow slopes before reaching the summit and this specialized equipment, when used properly, minimized the dangers of mountaineering. If accidents did occur, mountaineers could also use this equipment to rescue their companions.

A versatile tool, the ice-axe was a distinctive piece of equipment that clearly betrayed whether or not an average mountain enthusiast was, in actuality, a mountaineer. The ice-axe represented an improvement on the alpenstock, a tool that was useful for only relatively easy mountain travel. Shaped like a walking staff, the alpenstock had a metal spike on the bottom that could help climbers with their balance and a hook on top that could be used to assist companions. In contrast, ice-axes were a more specialized piece of equipment. They had a steel head mounted on a wooden shaft; at one end of the head was a pick, and at the other, a wide blade. Edwardian mountaineers used their axes for cutting steps in ice since crampon technology was still poorly developed.[5] While useful as a brake on slippery slopes or as a crevasse-probe, the ice-axe became a distinct hazard during electrical storms. The ice-axe also had

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[3] Val. A. Fynn, review of *Swiss Mountain Climbs*, by G. D. Abraham, in *CAJ* 3 (1911), 177-178.

[4] Outram, a Scottish climber who later made his home in Canada, was best known for his first ascent of Mt. Assiniboine. James Outram, *In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905), 99-100.

[5] According to Ferguson the alpenstock was used by mountaineers from ca. 1880 to 1940 while the early ice-axe was in use from ca. 1890-1940. The major change in ice-axe technology occurred in the late 1960s when Yvon Chouinard introduced an axe with a curved pick. When combined with crampons the new ice-axe enabled climbers to ascend ice face-forward with greater security and the result was a

some more unusual uses, for it "chops wood for fires and boughs for beds, is a distinct success as a can-opener, and, on an emergency, comes in handy as a camera stand."[6] To consider the symbolic importance of the ice-axe it is helpful to consider this passage by James Outram: "The ice-axe is the first possession of the budding mountaineer, and what a thrill passes through the innermost being of the novice, who has caught the fever of the peaks, when first he grasps his own!"[7]

Since even the most experienced mountaineers could unwittingly tumble into a glacial crevasse hidden by a fresh layer of snow, ropes were essential equipment for glacier travel. The standard rule was that parties should never set out to cross a glacier with less than three people. If an individual fell into a crevasse then the remaining two would be able to effect a rescue.[8] The type and length of rope selected by mountaineers depended on the size of the party. A ten millimetre hemp rope, fifteen to twenty yards in length, generally sufficed for two climbers. For three, a twelve millimeter rope of thirty yards was best. For an ascent, the most experienced climber was placed at the front of the rope, while on descents that climber came last.[9]

Ropes were also worn by climbers when they ascended and descended rock faces. In those instances, falls were the key peril faced by climbers. Hand or footholds could give way, a momentary lapse of attention could lead to a slip, or falling rock, snow or ice could knock an individual off the slope. Ropes were used to offer some protection from falls. In the Victorian and Edwardian eras, climbers used their ropes minimally. In 1910, J. P. Forde phrased his advice in this way:

> *Do not put all your faith on the rope, nor look on it as a sure preventative of accidents.* It will not prevent a climber from slipping nor a loose rock from breaking away if your put your weight on it. It is only intended to lessen the chance of serious damage if anything does go

revolution in ice-climbing technique. Colin Ferguson, "The Evolution of the Ice-Axe," *Mountain Heritage Magazine* 3 (Summer 2000), 21-23.

[6] Outram, *Heart of the Rockies*, 105.

[7] *Ibid.*, 104-5.

[8] J. P. Forde, "Hints on the Use of the Rope in Mountain Climbing," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 194.

[9] Fynn's 1910 account of the hemp rope used in climbing relied on metric measurement for describing rope thickness and imperial measurement for describing desired length. Val. A. Fynn, "On Equipment," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 191; Forde, "Use of Rope in Mountain Climbing," 191.

> wrong. Climb independently of the rope as much as possible; on a *perfect* climb the rope would, while worn, never be called into use.[10]

Yet ropes were sometimes "called into use" and for that reason specific rope techniques were used. On straightforward scrambles, the members of a roped party moved together whenever their capabilities allowed. When faced with a particularly steep and difficult section of rock, the roped party would use a belaying technique. When belaying, only one climber moved at a time so that the rope could be used to stop any falls. One person would assume a fixed and secure position so that they could "belay" the climber and thus reduce the danger of a fall by taking up the rope's slack as the climber moved. If the climber fell, then a taut rope would prevent too much momentum from building before the fall was stopped. Yet ropes could not offer complete security since some falls could dislodge the belayer and cause the entire roped party to fall. Thus, for turn of the century climbers the focus was on routes that could be negotiated with minimum risk. In contrast, modern climbers are able to attempt routes with a much higher degree of risk because they can reduce the dangers from falling by affixing their ropes to "protection" such as pitons hammered into rock cracks. This style of climbing, however, did not appear in North America until after World War I and its use was not common until after World War II.[11]

Climbers also paid close attention to their choice of clothing and footwear. Many Edwardian climbers used nailed boots because they improved a climber's grip on snow and ice.[12] Proper socks were also necessary. One mountaineer advised: "Never climb with darned stockings if you can avoid it. A climber, like a soldier, is only as good as his feet."[13] For the rest of the attire, mountaineering custom prescribed wool underwear, a sturdy climbing suit made from closely woven material, a protective but loose fitting coat, a brimmed hat, a wool muffler, smoked glass goggles to protect the

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[10] Forde, "Use of Rope in Mountain Climbing," 193.

[11] Larry Stanier, "Who Were the Better Climbers?" *Mountain Heritage Magazine* 3 (Summer 2000), 27-28; James Ramsey Ullman, *The Age of Mountaineering* (London: Collins, 1956), 321-324; Chris Jones, *Climbing in North America*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 127-141.

[12] Fynn, "On Equipment," 187.

[13] Forde, "Use of Rope in Mountain Climbing," 194.

eyes from the glare off snow and ice, puttees or gaiters, and zinc to prevent sunburn.[14] James Outram provided a similar list but it also included such "advantageous" luxuries as chocolate and dried fruit (Table 1).

James Outram's "Hints on Outfit"

I. Personal wear.	A good stout suit. Knickerbockers preferred by most. (The latter must be strong, as forests and crags are very hard on soft materials) Puttees or leggings. For snow and forest. Stout boots, with plenty of nails in soles. Hat with good brim. Cap with ear-pieces useful to carry along if high ascents are undertaken. Gloves or mitts. Woollen preferred. Sweater. For high altitudes. Smoked glasses. Essential for snow and ice.
II. Equipment. Necessary.	Rope. Strong but light manilla, about half-inch in diameter. (If a guide is taken, he will supply rope.) Ice-axe. (This can be obtained at Canadian Pacific Railway hotels, but it is better to have a private one if much is to be done.) Knife. String. (For emergencies) Knapsack. (Unless a guide can carry all needed.)
III. Equipment. Optional.	Camera or Kodak. Field-glasses. Compass. Aneroid. Clinometer. (On high ascents in all but well-known territory.) Sextant. (Ditto.)
IV. Provisions	Bread (and butter, if possible). Cheese. Meat. Canned or otherwise. Water or cold tea. (Gourd or canteen is best for carrying water.)
V. Useful luxuries	Chocolate. Jam. Dried Fruit.

Table 1: Source: James Outram, *In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905): 448-49.

In the nineteenth century, women climbers wore skirts but by the start of the twentieth century trousers were increasingly the garment of choice.[15] Safety concerns were at the root of this shift. Simply stated, mountain climbing in skirts was difficult, and even dangerous, because skirts could easily become snagged on jagged surfaces.

[14] Fynn, "On Equipment," 188-190.

Additionally, skirts were uncomfortable in the harsh and windy conditions frequently encountered at higher elevations. The practical arguments for discarding skirts in favour of trousers were strong, nevertheless most women climbers continued to wear skirts until the twentieth century. Not until the emergence of "First-Wave" feminism and the rise of the "New Woman" phenomenon did societal expectations for proper feminine behaviour become flexible enough to encourage this change of attire.[16] By the twentieth century, the idea of a woman climber wearing trousers, while still considered novel, was hardly startling. Still, many women required encouragement before they even considered donning trousers. In 1906, for example, the Alpine Club of Canada (ACC) found it necessary to post rules forbidding skirts while "on the rope."[17] A chronicler of the 1914 ACC Camp at Yoho Valley made this observation:

> the ridiculous hobble skirt of modern day, or even the ordinary clinging garments women wear, would lead to disaster; hence all the women climbers, when on the mountains, are dressed in male costume. They wear it, of course, with a touch of coquetry and grace; and yet no one who has lived in camp would ever regard such a dress as unbecoming or in the slightest degree immodest.[18]

As this writer suggests, knowing the circumstances of camp life and climbing was a prerequisite for social acceptance. Hinted at, however, were the voices of critics, who, in 1915, still regarded trousers as "immodest" attire for women.

Mountaineering underwent another transition at the turn of the century: the decline of guided climbing and the rise of guideless, or "amateur" climbing. Guiding, in essence, predated mountaineering. For centuries, local inhabitants led travellers through the labyrinthine valleys of the Alps. Early in the nineteenth century, these

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[15] This topic is addressed in greater depth in Chapter 6.

[16] For discussion of first wave feminism and the New Woman in a Canadian context see: Veronica Strong-Boag, "'Ever a Crusader': Nellie McClung, First-Wave Feminist," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, ed. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), 178-190; Cecily Devereux, "New Woman, New World: Maternal Feminism and the New Imperialism in the White Settler Colonies," *Women's Studies International Forum* 22 (1999), 175-184.

[17] [Anon.], "The Summer Camp Arrangements," *RGC* 8 (June 1906), 14.

[18] J. Macartney Wilson, "The Camp in the Upper Yoho Valley (1914)," *CAJ* 6 (1914-1915), 223.

guides responded to the travellers' shifting tastes and began escorting their clients to peaks and passes.[19] Guides performed several tasks in addition to route-finding; they carried gear and supplies for their clients and they interpreted both the cultural and natural history of the region. As mountaineering evolved, guiding simply became part of the activity.[20] Guideless climbing, while always pursued by a minority of climbers, became popular among experienced mountaineers in the late nineteenth century. Experienced climbers embraced guideless climbing because it gave the opportunity to improve their climbing skills, it freed them from sometimes troublesome scheduling arrangements, it saved money, and it provided a way for mountaineers to distinguish themselves from travellers who climbed.[21]

By the time mountaineers arrived in the Canadian Rockies, both traditions were present and it was largely individual choice that dictated whether or not a climber ascended peaks with a guide. In the early twentieth century, however, two strong voices were encouraging mountaineers to climb with guides: the ACC and the Canadian Pacific Railway. For the ACC, an organization that was dedicated to encouraging and instructing novices, the stance was logical. The CPR had an equally strong motive because it had brought Swiss Guides to Canada and, in 1899, began administering guiding services in the vicinity of its rail corridor. Despite the social pressure in favour of guided climbing, some mountaineers urged that "amateur" climbing be encouraged. Winthrop Stone argued this case in the 1920 edition of the *Canadian Alpine Journal*.[22] He believed that independent climbing was the best way for climbers to learn how to interpret rocks, snow, ice, and climate and gain the experience they needed for challenging, yet safe, ascents. Moreover, in Stone's view

[19] Peter Hansen, "Partners: Guides and Sherpas in the Alps and Himalayas, 1850s - 1950s," in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. Jas Elnser and Joan-Oau Rubies (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 214.

[20] Guiding became increasingly institutionalized and regulated during the late nineteenth century. The Compagnie des Guides de Chamonix, established in 1821, played a critical role in the professionalization of guiding in the European Alps. Hansen, "Guides and Sherpas, 1850s - 1950s," 218.

[21] Hansen, "Guides and Sherpas, 1850s - 1950s," 218. Stone discusses the frustration associated with arranging guiding services: W. E. Stone, "Amateur Climbing," *CAJ* 11 (1920), 2.

[22] In Stone's words, a climber's desire "to test his ability" needed to "be encouraged rather than repressed." Stone, "Amateur Climbing," 2.

"the first unaided ascent of a respectable peak is the crowning experience of the amateur mountain climber."[23]

The practices and material culture associated with mountaineering provide a way to understand the activity, its meanings, and its motivations. Mountaineering practices and equipment were introduced with the express purpose of assisting climbers to safely reach the summit and return with some modicum of comfort. The concern for safety, for example, challenges the notion that mountaineers were unduly reckless. The demand for teamwork required to successfully execute a belay or crevasse rescue likewise challenges the notion of mountaineering as a purely individualist pursuit. Additionally, when J. P. Forde and Val. Fynn described climbing equipment and rope techniques in the *Canadian Alpine Journal*, they transmitted a mountaineer's knowledge to their readers. Specialized knowledges were crucial to group formation because it identified "those who knew" or "those who were skilled" as members of the mountaineering community.

In this brief discussion, I considered how some of these practices changed through both time and space. Interestingly, changes to technology and practice developed so that individual men and women could meet increasingly difficult climbing goals. Yet the ideals and practices did not develop in isolation from broader societal trends, as the discussion of women's climbing attire suggested. To consider just how important some of these broader societal trends were, I examine some of the arguments advanced by scholars to explain both mountaineering's mid-nineteenth century origins and its gendered meanings.

The Invention of Modern Mountaineering

Europeans "invented" mountaineering during the mid-nineteenth century.[24] There were individuals who climbed peaks before that time. However, their actions

[23] *Ibid.*, 4.

[24] David Robbins, "Sport, Hegemony and the Middle Class: the Victorian Mountaineers," *Theory, Culture & Society* 4 (1987), 583-587; Peter H. Hansen, "Albert Smith, The Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain," *Journal of British Studies* 34 (July 1995), 300-324.

were indistinguishable from related activities such as travel or science. Middle-class British men were the main innovators and participants. The formal institutionalization of mountaineering in 1857, under the auspices of Britain's Alpine Club, was one turning point. Modelled after scientific societies such as the Royal Society, the organization advocated climbing as a rational pursuit and lobbied for its social acceptance. It was a social organization where men could share their climbing experiences. No women were allowed. Club members, drawn from the newly emergent British middle-class, gradually consolidated a range of practices that came to be known as mountaineering.[25] Another turning point, according to historian Peter Hansen, was Albert Smith's wildly popular stage show depicting his climbing exploits on Mont Blanc. The peak, situated in France near the border of Italy, was famous because at 15,781 feet, it was the highest in Europe. Smith's London show, which ran from 1852 to 1858 at Picadilly, popularized mountaineering and prompted an increasing number people to incorporate climbing into their holidays in the Alps.[26]

To understand why mountaineering evolved in the mid-nineteenth century it is helpful to consider the converging circumstances that made mountaineering both possible and desirable. Two broad themes are identified by contemporary scholars. First, an intellectual shift in Western Europe transformed elite and then popular thinking about mountain environments. Second, specific socio-cultural contexts, rooted in middle-class ambitions, British imperialism, and gender ideology, made mountain climbing appealing to western Europeans, and especially Britons.

An Intellectual Transition: "Mountain Gloom" to "Mountain Glory"

A dramatic shift in European aesthetics at the end of the seventeenth century transformed the way intellectuals, artists and the public perceived mountains. For

[25] Membership criteria for mountaineering clubs, mountaineering conduct books, and publication criteria for mountaineering journals all functioned to consolidate ideas about what constituted proper mountaineering practice. For a discussion of these social process refer to David Mazel, "Introduction," in *Mountaineering Women: Stories by Early Climbers*, ed. David Mazel (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1994), 15-18; Robbins, "Sport, Hegemony and Class," 586.

much of the Christian era the European population either feared or avoided mountains. Dragons and other ferocious creatures were believed to inhabit mountains.[27] Considered to be terrible places, mountains were even described as "'warts, wens, blisters, imposthumes' that mar the face of Nature."[28] It is not surprising then, that few outsiders voluntarily decided to climb or even spend time in mountains prior to the seventeenth century. These attitudes shifted dramatically in the eighteenth century when it came increasingly common for intellectuals to view mountains in a positive manner.

Underpinning this intellectual transformation were scientific advancements and theological debate. Rooted in theological and scientific advances, the shift from "mountain gloom to mountain glory" was "the result of one of the most profound revolutions in thought that has ever occurred."[29] Nicolson points to scientific advancement, specifically the inventions of the telescope and microscope, which she argues fostered an appreciation of "diversity, variety, irregularity ... infiniteness and vastness," qualities strongly associated with mountains.[30] Theological debates also contributed to a reappraisal of mountains. Gradually, mountains came to be perceived as purposely created by God and evidence of Divine wisdom. Prior interpretations held that mountains were the result of Noah's flood and thus they symbolized human sin and depravity.[31]

The Romantic movement gave tangible expression to this shift in perception. Rooted in eighteenth century elite taste, it became a defining trait of popular sentiment in the nineteenth century. Romanticism encouraged a particular way of seeing and interpreting the natural environment. Philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau, artists John Constable and Joseph M. W. Turner, and poets William Wordsworth and Samuel

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[26] Mont Blanc was first climbed in 1786. In the years leading up to Smith's 1852 show, forty-five parties made the ascent. After the show, eighty-eight parties made the same ascent in just five years. Hansen, "Albert Smith and Mountaineering," 300.
[27] Francis Keenlyside, *Peaks and Pioneers: The Story of Mountaineering* (London: Paul Elek Ltd., 1975), 9-11.
[28] Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963), *xiv*.
[29] *Ibid.*, 3.
[30] *Ibid.*, 16.

Taylor Coleridge were among the individuals who powerfully articulated the ideals of the Romantic movement. In their works, they expressed the belief that God's presence was revealed through nature. It was a belief that fostered a relationship with the natural world founded on reverence, respect and humility. Moreover, many Romantics believed direct contact with nature to be the ideal vehicle for truth and understanding.[32]

Romanticism fostered an appreciation of the natural world. Originally an elite movement of the eighteenth century, its ideals and rhetoric were appropriated by middle-class holiday seekers of the nineteenth century.[33] Romantic thought influenced mountaineering in several ways. Writers argued that mountaineering offered one of the best avenues for individuals to experience the beneficial "influence of the mountains."[34] Moral, mental and physical uplift were the rewards that Jeffers' identified in his explanation for the "Call of the Mountains." He argued:

> As the true mountaineer toils upward from the valley, he is rewarded not only with physical exercise of the greatest variety, but his thoughts expand before the unfolding landscape, while his heart is filled with new courage for the battle of life, and a deeper sympathy for his fellow man.[35]

Romantic ideals also functioned as a critique of the discourses of science and sport that pervaded mountaineering culture. Science and sport, argued the researcher David Robbins, both "linked the struggle for mastery over nature with competition between individuals." In contrast, Robbins identified Romanticism as the basis for arguments that held mountaineering's essence in "an unmediated and intensely personal relationship between the individual and the mountains."[36]

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[31] *Ibid.*, 82-83.
[32] J. Douglas Porteous, *Environmental Aesthetics: Ideas, Politics and Planning* (London: Routledge, 1996), 66-72, 75-76.
[33] Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3d ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 141-160.
[34] For example, Galt used this phrase in his 1911 *CAJ* article. A. C. Galt, "Consolation Valley (Rocky Mts.). Annual Camp, 1910," *CAJ* 3 (1911), 145.
[35] Le Roy Jeffers, *The Call of the Mountains* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1922), 1.
[36] Robbins, "Sport, Hegemony and Class," 591, 593.

Explaining the Appeal of Mountain Climbing

By the nineteenth century, material advancements in transportation infrastructure, particularly with the expansion of railways, made the Alps accessible in a comfortable and timely manner. Additionally, travel was established as an elite, but increasingly middle-class, social practice and businesses which catered to tourist needs were readily available. British travellers who had a taste for mountain scenery could register for a Cooks tour, learn about the important fashionable destinations in their Baedeker guide-book, and be confident that they were pursuing a socially acceptable leisure activity.[37] But the decision to climb a mountain, to embark on a strenuous and potentially dangerous journey, could not be explained solely by a fad for Alpine travel or the increased accessibility of mountain environments.[38] To better understand why mountaineering took the form it did and why it emerged in the mid-nineteenth century scholars have found it necessary to analyze both Victorian social practices and imperial politics.

A complex interplay of middle-class social ambition and British anxiety over ideal masculinity helped to forge both mountaineering's popularity and its symbolic significance. A partial explanation for mountaineering's appeal can be traced to the emerging British middle-class and its search for status symbols. Mountaineering, like travel, was an act of consumption. For a British citizen to be able to travel to the Alps and partake in leisure activities, publicly demonstrated both status and wealth.[39] Additionally, in an era of rising participation in tourism, mountaineering offered both men and women a chance to distance themselves from "mere" travellers.[40] Mountaineers could point to the uniqueness of their pursuit, and, in some instances, claim that their actions were daring and heroic.

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[37] James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 18-79.

[38] "Access to the Alps," Hansen argued, "did not provide a motive for climbing them." Hansen, "Albert Smith and Mountaineering," 301.

[39] For a discussion of travel as consumption see: Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad 1830-1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 23-25.

[40] Hansen, "Albert Smith and Mountaineering, 306-309.

The popularity of mountaineering in mid-Victorian Britain was also linked into a public debate regarding British manhood and a perceived decline in "manliness." A key concern was that material prosperity had led to increasing effeminacy and decadence among British men. Muscular Christians were among the advocates who argued for athleticism as a solution.[41] Mountaineering, because it offered physical, mental and spiritual rewards, was suggested as a possible antidote to this social malaise afflicting both British men and, by association, the British nation.[42]

By the mid-nineteenth century a sense of unease had developed regarding Britain's military and political effectiveness across its Empire.[43] Just as mountaineering offered a solution to declining manliness, the success of mountaineers was used to refute arguments that the nation and Empire were weakening. For example, in an 1860 article on "Alpine Adventurers," a writer in *The Times* remarked: "We know well that the acknowledged pluck of the individual Englishman maintains our *prestige* against all the alleged defects of our naval and military organization."[44] The connection between mountaineering and imperialism had other facets as well. Climbers sometimes used the imperialist rhetoric of conquest to both describe and justify their actions.[45] The matter of conquest had both symbolic and material implications, particularly after British mountaineers began climbing the mountains outside of Europe. When British citizens, and not the indigenous populations, achieved first ascents in the Caucasus, Andes, and Himalayas, writers interpreted the events as a triumph of race, nation, and Empire.[46] Thus, in Hansen's analysis, "invention" of mountaineering, its popularity, and its

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[41] Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, ed. *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).

[42] Hansen, "Albert Smith and Mountaineering," 313.

[43] Hansen argued that during the 1850s and 1860s the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the Second Opium War and fears of an imminent French invasion, all challenged established beliefs in Britain's military competence. Hansen, "Albert Smith and Mountaineering," 313.

[44] [Anon.], "Alpine Adventurers," *The Times*, 29 August 1860 cited in Hansen, "Albert Smith and Mountaineering," 316.

[45] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[46] Peter H. Hansen, "Vertical Boundaries, National Identities: British Mountaineering on the Frontiers of Europe and Empire, 1868-1914," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 24 (January 1996), 48-71; Gerry Kearns, "The Imperial Subject: Geography and Travel in the Work of Mary Kingsley and Halford Mackinder," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s. 22 (1997), 450-472.

cultural significance, were the "contingent results of the construction of mid-Victorian middle class and imperial cultures."[47]

Lady Mountaineers

Given the strong ties between mountaineering and masculinity, plus the social restrictions experienced by women, it was unsurprising that only a few women climbed mountains in the Victorian era. But, as mountaineering increased in popularity, the number of women participants grew. While their numbers were small these women became role models who demonstrated that women could both climb and enjoy climbing. Lucy Walker, an accomplished climber who completed approximately ninety ascents between the years of 1858 and 1879, was a prominent figure among these early mountaineers. Her most famous accomplishment was, in 1871, to be the first woman to ascend the Matterhorn.[48] Preceding Lucy Walker were Marie Paradis, who climbed Mont Blanc in 1808, and Henriette d'Angeville who climbed that same peak in 1838. D'Angeville wrote about her climbs, but it was not until 1859 that a woman used writing publicly to encourage other women to climb.[49] By the 1890s, several women demonstrated advanced climbing skills that were equivalent to their male companions.[50] For example, Lily Bristow, while climbing in the Chamonix region of the French Alps, made several guideless ascents and, with her ascent of the Petit Dru, she became the first known women to lead sections of an ascent.[51] Despite these early advances, women's climbing did not become well-established until the twentieth century. During the new century, mountaineers organized several new climbing clubs across Europe and North America that welcomed women members. Additionally, two American women, Fanny Bullock Workman and Annie Smith Peck, used the prominence they attained through their well-publicized mountaineering accomplishments to argue for women's

[47] Smith, "Albert Smith and Mountaineering," 322.
[48] Bill Birkett and Bill Peascod, *Women Climbing: 200 Years of Achievement* (Seattle: The Mountaineers, 1989), 18-22.
[49] Mrs. Henry Warwick Cole's *A Lady's Tour of Monte Rosa* (1859) accomplished this milestone. Refer to Mazel, "Introduction to *Mountaineering Women*," 6.
[50] In the nineteenth century all women climbed with men, either male guides or male family members.
[51] Birkett and Peascod, *Women Climbing*, 22-26.

equality.[52] Finally, after World War I, women climbers achieved some parity with their male peers. The American climber Miriam O'Brien led this advance by urging women to participate in guideless and "manless" climbs. O'Brien argued that independent climbing was the only way for women to learn technique, tactics, and strategy and truly realize their climbing potential. In 1929 O'Brien fulfilled this ambition with several climbs made *"en cordée féminine"* (with a women's rope team).[53]

Like any individuals who challenged societal expectations, women climbers experienced a range of negative responses from individuals who wanted to maintain the status quo. Some female climbers experienced direct hostility from individuals who believed they were unladylike. One woman climber, after successfully climbing a peak, mentioned to a top male climber: "'You said no woman could manage it.' The reply came: 'I said no *lady*.'"[54] More common were the institutional barriers that effectively excluded women from important networks within the climbing community. For example, women members were not allowed to join Britain's Alpine Club until 1976.[55] Hansen identified other strategies that led to the marginalization of women climbers: the women were cast either as oddities or their achievements were reported in a way that diminished them.[56] As the actions of the Alpine Club suggest, negative reactions towards women climbers continued into the twentieth century. For example, in 1929, when Miriam (Underhill) O'Brien and Alice Damesme successfully completed a guideless and manless climb of the Grépon in France's Mont Blanc range, observers reacted with cheers and sighs. "The Grepon has disappeared," mourned Etienne Bruhl. "Of course there are still some rocks standing there, but as a climb it no longer exists. Now that is has been done by two women alone no self-respecting man can undertake

[52] "For a time, [Workman] and Peck competed openly for the women's altitude record, a competition that was followed in newspapers and scientific journals and which Workman ultimately won" with a climb in the Himalaya reaching nearly 23,000 feet. Mazel, "Introduction to *Mountaineering Women*," 9.

[53] *Ibid.*, 11.

[54] Original italics. Cited in Birkett and Peascod, *Women Climbing*, 22.

[55] Mazel, "Introduction to *Mountaineering Women*," 9.

[56] Hansen, "British Mountaineering, 1850-1914" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1991), 312.

it. A pity, too, because it used to be a very good climb."[57] Silences about women in the histories of the mountaineering also exacerbated this marginalization.[58]

To understand why some individuals, both men and women, reacted so negatively to female climbers it is important to recall the gender ideology that formed some of the early rationales for mountaineering. Early advocates of mountaineering proudly argued that the sport was uniquely qualified to develop the masculine attributes of strength, endurance and courage.[59] Thus, women's participation, in Hansen's words, presented a "conundrum." According to Hansen, "Either, women could, indeed, develop these same capacities, thus calling into question stereotypes of feminine inactivity and weakness, or mountaineering didn't develop these things at all, or only in some attenuated form."[60]

Critics did not focus their attention solely on women. At various times in its history, mountaineering as a whole became embroiled in controversy. In the 1850s, enthusiasm greeted Albert Smith and his popular Mont Blanc stage show.[61] Yet only one decade later, on July 14, 1865, controversy engulfed the mountaineering community when four men lost their lives during a disastrous climb of the Matterhorn.[62] Critics argued that mountain climbing had no obvious purpose and its risks could not be justified. Opposition to mountain climbing was voiced on other grounds as well. Noted art critic and social reformer, John Ruskin, expressed outrage

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[57] Birkett and Peascod, *Women Climbing*, 43.

[58] Edward Feuz Jr., one of the famous Swiss Guides who worked in the Canadian Rockies, referred to Chris Jones' book, *Climbing in North America*. Of the book, Feuz recalled: "it's biased, because he writes about four hundred men, one dog and only eight women alpinists. I don't know much about those men and the dog, but he's wrong when he says there were only a handful of women mountaineers." Kaufmann and Putnam, *The Guiding Spirit*, 121.

[59] See for example: Charles E. Fay, "The Mountain as an Influence in Modern Life," *Appalachia* 11 (June 1905), 27-40.

[60] Hansen, "British Mountaineering," 311-12.

[61] The stage show ran from 1850 to 1858. Hansen, "Albert Smith and Mountaineering."

[62] The four amateur climbers were Edward Whymper, Lord Francis Douglas, Reverend Charles Hudson and Douglas Hadow. They were guided by 'Old' Peter Taugwalder, 'Young' Peter Taugwalder and Michel Croz. It was Douglas, Hudson, Hadow and Croz who fell to their deaths. Ronald W. Clark, *Men, Myths and Mountains* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976), 60-65; Eric Newby, *Great Ascents: A Narrative History of Mountaineering* (Oxford: David & Charles Publishers, 1977), 60-66.

at mountain climbers' vanity, particularly their "habit of regarding mountains chiefly as places for gymnastic exercise."[63] More famously, Ruskin charged:

> The Alps themselves, which your own poets used to love so reverently, you look upon as soaped poles in a bear-garden, which you set yourselves to climb and slide down again, 'with shrieks of delight.' When you are past shrieking, having no articulate voice to say you are glad with, you fill the quietude of their valleys with gunpowder blasts, and rush home, red with cutaneous eruption of conceit, and voluble with convulsive hiccough of self-satisfaction.[64]

In this stinging rebuke, Ruskin asserted that such a lack of respect for mountain scenery was beneath the dignity of individuals who called themselves gentlemen. These episodes of criticism, however, failed to stem the popularity of mountaineering and by the close of the nineteenth century an increasing number of mountaineers were travelling the globe in search of new climbing opportunities.

Mountaineering in Canada - The Early Years

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, European mountaineers began seeking new challenges in mountain ranges around the globe. The appeal of the Canadian Rockies was twofold: snow covered ranges and unclimbed, accessible, summits.

The glacial ice and steep snow slopes found in parts of the Canadian Rockies offered challenges that mountain climbers could not find in United States (excluding Alaska). As Arthur Coleman observed, "any North American who wishes to use an ice-axe and glacier-rope must come to the Canadian Rockies."[65] One historian of mountaineering argued the importance of this connection: "the European Alps, birthplace of mountaineering, are striking for their active glaciers and extensive snowfields. Thus, when the Europeans turned to North America, they looked for snow

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[63] Ruskin from Vol. IV of his work *Modern Painters* cited in A. L. Mumm, "Ruskin and the Alps," *AJ* 32 (June 1919), 340.
[64] *Ibid.*, 341.

covered ranges" and they found them in the Rockies and the Selkirks.[66] Additionally, snow and ice covered peaks coincided with the European model of mountain beauty, consequently, the Rockies were often described as "America's Switzerland."[67]

The practice of evaluating different types of ascents along a hierarchy of prestige, with first-ascents identified as the most prestigious, was a particularly influential mountaineering tradition. In the Rockies, opportunities for first ascents were abundant. Even in 1912, Norman Collie was able to make this remark of the Jasper region:

> Never have I been on the summit of any peak in more favourable conditions, and as we gazed in every direction over peaks, glaciers, snowfields and valleys, we recognized how much remained still to be done in this new land; as far as I was aware, out of the innumerable peaks that we could see spread out before us only two, Mount Columbia and Mount Robson, had ever been climbed by anyone except ourselves.[68]

In his 1905 book, *In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies*, James Outram cited the presence of unclimbed peaks as the rationale behind his decision to climb in Canada. "In Canada," he wrote, "there still exists that chiefest charm of novelty and adventure, the thrill of climbing virgin peaks, of traversing untrodden valleys, of viewing regions never before seen before by human eyes."[69] Railway promoters developed that theme as well. In a promotional brochure entitled "Mountaineering in the Canadian Rockies," the Canadian Pacific Railway described how the Rockies "afford[ed] a virgin field for the mountaineer" because in the region, "in all directions for miles around are noble peaks whose summits have not yet been attempted."[70]

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[65] Arthur P. Coleman, *The Canadian Rockies: New and Old Trails* (Toronto: Henry Frowde, 1911), 365-6.

[66] Jones, *Climbing in North America*, 33-34.

[67] For example: Outram, *Heart of the Rockies*, 4, 20, 108, 155.

[68] J. Norman Collie, "Exploration in the Rocky Mountains North of the Yellowhead Pass," *GJ* 39 (March 1912), 231.

[69] Outram, *Heart of the Rockies*, 21.

[70] Canadian Pacific Railway, "Mountaineering in the Canadian Rockies," (1901), 2, 3.

Both the CPR and Outram used a vocabulary that drew upon the masculinist tradition of exploration, with its emphasis on "conquest" of "virgin" lands.[71] Like explorers, climbers believed that to be first to enter a new geography, whether a peak or some other landmass, required additional skill and courage because information on routes was scarce. Moreover, individuals who encountered great challenges in their pursuits received greater prestige upon completion of the journey. First ascents were recorded in journals, guidebooks, and mountaineering histories, and the names of the successful climbers became associated with the peak and ascent route for posterity.[72]

Once mountaineers arrived in the Rockies they identified two further elements that contributed to the appeal of Canadian mountaineering: a geography that differed from the Alps in terms of scale and human settlement patterns. The surface area of Canada's mountainous regions dwarfed its Alpine counterpart. Many climbers emphasized this difference by employing superlatives. One member of Britain's Alpine Club described the geography in this way:

> I had often heard, but never before realized, the special feature of the view from a peak in the centre of the Canadian Rockies – that is, the enormous number of peaks in sight. In every direction, North and South, East and West, we saw glacier-clothed peaks in countless numbers, shining in the sun. Nothing that I know in the Alps resembles it: peaks may be more lofty there, and perhaps grander in outline, but there is not the same suggestion of boundless space.[73]

The second point of contrast was the "wildness" of the Canadian mountains. The historian Chris Jones observed that the "high mountain valleys of the Alps had been settled for centuries before the first climbers arrived, and the peaks were relatively accessible. But in the Canadian mountains there were no permanent settlements. Lush primeval forests filled the valleys."[74] Thus, travel though the Rockies, particularly to

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[71] Mona Domosh, "Toward a Feminist Historiography of Geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n. s. 16 (1995), 99-100.
[72] For example, a list of first ascents made in Canadian mountains is contained in this reference work: W. Neate, *Mountaineering and its Literature* (Seattle: The Mountaineers, 1980), 66-71.
[73] Godfrey A. Solly, "A Fortnight with the Canadian Alpine Club," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 137.
[74] Jones, *Climbing in North America*, 34.

remote peaks, required expedition-like planning. As more and more climbers published accounts of their adventures in the Rockies, Canadian climbing, once promoted for its rock, snow and ice, became increasingly identified with wilderness, camping and pack-horses.

The Human Geography of the Canadian Rockies

Although humans had been in the Rocky Mountains for roughly 8,000 years the form of human occupation was very different from the Alps. Various Native groups occupied the river valleys on a seasonal basis, primarily for hunting.[75] They did not practice agriculture and did not establish fixed settlements. It is probable that Native people made first ascents of some peaks in the Rockies. An ascent, after all, provided an efficient way of discerning geography and identifying potential camping and hunting sites.[76] No direct evidence suggests that Native people climbed for recreation. While a focus on use of the Rocky Mountains by Native people is outside the limits of this study it is important to recognize that Native people preceded European interest in this region. Not surprisingly, as Europeans travelled through the Rocky Mountains they made frequent use of both the trails and the geographical knowledge created by Native people.

The first Europeans to observe, travel across, and climb the Rocky Mountains were the explorers and traders who worked in the fur trade. Initially the Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company traded with Native people in the mountainous west through intermediaries such as the Cree. Eager to gain more profit by engaging in direct trade with the mountain-based Native people, the fur trade companies constructed forts closer to the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains and commenced the search for a suitable trade route. The region extending from present-day Jasper National Park north to the Peace River was the location for this early mountain exploration and trade. Alexander Mackenzie made the first known overland trip of western Canada in 1793

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[75] I am using the term "Native" in the modern sense to refer to people that early mountaineers would have identified as either Indian or Metis.

[76] Jones in his study of North American Mountaineering comes to the same conclusion. See Jones, *Climbing in North America*, 23.

following the Peace River across the northern Rockies. Duncan McGillivray scouted the eastern slopes of the Rockies south to the Highwood River in 1800 and Simon Fraser travelled the dangerous route of the Fraser River in 1808.[77] Of the fur trade explorers, David Thompson's explorations between 1797 and 1812 covered the furthest extent of Rocky Mountain geography. Thompson crossed Howse Pass in 1807, established a trade route across Athabasca Pass in 1810, and produced the first accurate map of the region in 1814.[78] Once the traders established the route linking the Athabasca and Columbia Rivers, mountain exploration waned and information about Rocky Mountain geography remained incomplete. With the close of the overland fur trade in the 1850s, the Athabasca-Columbia route fell into disuse and most of the traders' knowledge of the mountain ranges disappeared. Since few traders published accounts of their Rocky Mountain experiences, the departure of traders meant that an important oral tradition of knowledge was lost.[79]

Once fur trade routes were established through the Rocky Mountains, the region began to be included in the itineraries of early nineteenth century European travellers. These early travellers were important because they produced some of the first knowledge about the Canadian Rocky Mountains that was widely circulated in Europe and eastern North America. The travellers' written texts, visual images, and spoken words enabled the European and North American public to learn about the existence of high, snow-covered peaks in the Canadian West. The Scottish botanist David Douglas arrived in the region in 1826. Douglas' visit was notable in two respects: he completed the first recorded ascent of a major peak in the Canadian Rockies and, in the process, created a legend by overestimating the heights of Mount Brown (15,900 feet) and Mount Hooker (15,700 feet).[80] Subsequent mapmakers included Douglas'

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[77] Alexander Mackenzie, *Journal of the Voyage to the Pacific*, ed. Walter Sheppe (New York: Dover Publications, 1995); Simon Fraser, *Letters and Journals*, ed. W. Kaye Lamb (Toronto: Macmillan, 1960).
[78] David Thompson, *Columbia Journals*, ed. Barbara Belyea (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).
[79] For a historical overview of European exploration in the Rocky Mountains refer to Esther Fraser, *The Canadian Rockies: Early Travels and Explorations* (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, 1969).
[80] David Douglas, *Journal Kept by David Douglas during his Travels in North America 1823-1827*, (London: Royal Horticulture Society, 1914).

elevation estimates and the lofty numbers proved a powerful lure to later mountaineers.[81] Among the earliest visual records of the Rockies were the romantic paintings produced by the artist Paul Kane. Published in 1859, *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America,* described Kane's two-years travel that commenced in 1846.[82] One year earlier, the British spies, Lieutenant Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour, ventured through the Rockies disguised as gentleman adventurers in order to determine the extent and influence of American settlers in the Oregon territory. Warre, who received artistic training in military college, produced topographical sketches and watercolour images of the Rockies.[83] Authentic gentlemen adventurers did travel across the Rockies during this era and, following their travels, both groups produced popular books. James Carnegie, the Earl of Southesk, hunted in the front ranges in the vicinity of the Athabasca River headwaters in 1859.[84] A few years later, in 1863, Viscount Milton and Dr. Cheadle embarked on their misadventures which brought them through the Yellowhead Pass and in sight of Mount Robson.[85] Missionaries were also present, notably Father Pierre Jean de Smet, a Jesuit who travelled through the Rockies between 1845-46, and Robert Rundle, a Methodist who, after his 1847 arrival, established a mission in Morley, Alberta, along the Bow River Valley.

As far as the early exploratory-mountaineers were concerned, the 1857-60 Palliser expedition provided the most useful knowledge because it described many of the areas the Canadian Pacific Railway would later make accessible to travellers. Captain John Palliser travelled through and described present-day Kananaskis Country. Dr. James Hector explored present-day Banff, Yoho, and Kootenay National Parks and

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[81] Arthur Coleman, Norman Collie and Walter Wilcox all attempted to locate the mythical peaks. Refer to chapter 5.

[82] Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America from Canada to Vancouver Island and Oregon through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory and Back Again* (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, 1968).

[83] Christopher E. Jackson, *With Lens and Brush: Images of the Western Canadian Landscape 1845-1890* (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1989), 15-19; Henry James Warre *Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory,* (Barre, Mass: Imprint Society, 1970).

[84] Southesk, Earl of (James Carnegie), *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1875; reprint Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, 1969).

Lieutenant Thomas Blakiston went further south, exploring present-day Waterton National Park.[86] Expedition members identified major landforms, including peaks, passes, and glaciers, but many details of mountain geography remained vague. For example, Arthur Coleman, one early exploratory-mountaineer, recalling how he could not locate Southesk's route, added his opinion that Palliser's map was "quite useless."[87] Coleman's contemporaries, J. Norman Collie and G. P. Baker, explored some of the terrain previously travelled by Dr. Hector so their evaluation of this early knowledge was more favourable. Baker remarked that Palliser and Hector's accounts made "delightful reading" but added that their "map is of course, in its details, inaccurate, but it goes to fill up a gap in that great lone land."[88]

The Railway and the Development of Mountain Tourism

In 1867 the British Parliament passed the British North America Act and formed a new federal state: the Dominion of Canada. Between 1868 and 1870, the Dominion acquired the Hudson's Bay Company's territory and Rupert's Land. Thus, when British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871, the Dominion became a transcontinental nation. The promise of railway linking the east and west coasts was a condition of British Columbia's entry into the new nation but once construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) commenced the effort became a focal point for national pride. CPR supporters portrayed the railway's construction as both a nation-building event and a tangible display of Canada's technological skill.[89] With the driving of the last spike in 1885 at Craigellachie in the Gold Range of British Columbia on November 7th a new era in Rocky Mountain history commenced. Recreationalists who once considered the Rocky Mountains remote, even inaccessible, now could depart

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[85] Viscount Milton and W. B. Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land,* Sixth Edition (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin 1865; reprint Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1970).
[86] Irene M. Spry, *The Palliser Expedition: The Dramatic Story of Western Canadian Exploration 1857-1860* (Toronto: Macmillan 1963; reprint Calgary: Fifth House Ltd., 1995).
[87] A. P. Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Sources of the Athabasca," *GJ* 5 (January 1895), 55.
[88] G. P. Baker in discussion following the February 13, 1899 reading of J. Norman Collie, "Exploration in the Canadian Rockies: A Search for Mount Hooker and Mount Brown," *GJ* 13 (April 1899), 356.
[89] Pierre Burton, *The National Dream: The Great Railway, 1871-1881* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970).

from eastern cities on the train and reach the mountains in just over a week, whereas earlier travellers required up to two months to reach mountain interior.[90]

Officers of the Canadian Pacific Railway knew that the natural scenery of the Rocky Mountains would appeal to leisure travellers. William Cornelius Van Horne, the railway's General Manager, exemplified this belief when he remarked: "If we can't export the scenery, we'll import the tourists."[91] Tourism, hoped the CPR officials, would generate revenue over a section of rail that was costly both to construct and to maintain. The CPR initially focused its promotional efforts on showcasing the Rockies as the climax of a transcontinental rail journey. But, as more and more travellers expressed interest in spending time in the Rockies, the CPR began construction of tourist amenities and shifted their advertising to emphasize the "Canadian Alps" as a ideal destination point.[92]

Mountaineers were among the destination tourists who were the focus of turn of the century promotional efforts by the CPR. Mountaineers were ideal tourists: they stayed in the Rockies for extended periods of time and they often made return visits year after year. Recognizing that mountaineers had distinct interests and requirements, the CPR introduced some specialized services. It published a brochure that described camp conditions in the Rockies, provided advice on outfitting a climbing party, and recommended books on mountaineering.[93] The CPR also responded to travellers' requests for alpine guide services and in 1899 brought Swiss guides to Canada and stationed them at all mountain hotels.[94] Additionally, the CPR supported the efforts of the ACC by offering reduced fares to members travelling to the annual camps and by loaning some Swiss guides to the ACC for those camps.[95] Mountaineers, through their

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[90] Thomas F. McIlwraith, "Linking Canada, 1867-1891," in *Concise Historical Atlas of Canada*, ed. William G. Dean, Conrad Heidenreich, Thomas F. McIlwraith and John Warkentin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, [1998?]), Plate 20.

[91] E. J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983), 7.

[92] For a thorough discussion of CPR's role in the development of mountain tourism refer to Hart, *Selling of Canada*.

[93] Canadian Pacific Railway, "Mountaineering in the Canadian Rockies" (July 1901).

[94] Hart, *Selling of Canada*, 65. See also: John Marsh, "The Rocky and Selkirk Mountains and the Swiss Connection 1885-1914," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985), 427-28.

[95] [Anon.], "Camp Notes and News," *RGC* 8 (September 1906), 254.

enthusiastic endorsement of the Canadian Rockies as a climbing destination, complemented the CPR's promotional efforts. Recognizing the value of mountaineers' recommendations, the CPR incorporated their testimonials into the publicity materials it produced.[96] In these ways the interests of climbers became intertwined with the CPR's efforts towards developing commercial tourism in the Rocky Mountains.

Features of Canadian Mountaineering

Early mountaineers often described how their actions blended both mountaineering and exploration. An absence of geographical information, harsh travel conditions and infrequent encounters with other humans leant an exploratory quality to the mountaineering effort and distinguished the Canadian experience from its Alpine counterpart. Indeed, the emphasis in many early mountaineering narratives was on how the climbers travelled, and at times struggled, in a harsh wilderness environment. The conventional routine of ascent, summitting, and descent became just one part of a larger story. As more climbers focused their narratives on the expedition quality of their trips the association between Canadian mountaineering and the wilderness experience became stronger.

While mountaineering was seen to be a fun activity, the idea of rational leisure underpinned many writers' descriptions of the pastime. In 1907, Elizabeth Parker, a journalist who was instrumental in organizing the ACC, wrote that scientific work is "a thing apart from, though it may and ought to include mountaineering as an ennobling ethical and aesthetic pastime."[97] Charles Fay, a celebrated American climber who made several first ascents in the Rockies, argued that mountaineering fostered moral character since it was an activity that demanded "courage, caution, judgment, honesty, kindness, [and] fair play." He added that "modern life stands in especial need of influences of this sort."[98]

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[96] For example: Canadian Pacific Railway, "The Challenge of the Mountains: The Canadian Rockies - the Playground of America" (1910). Sir Martin Conway, Frank Yeigh, Walter Wilcox and Dr. T. G. Longstaff, all climbers, are cited on pages 3, 5, 17 and 32 respectively.

[97] Elizabeth Parker, "The Alpine Club of Canada," *CAJ* 1 (1907), 6.

[98] Fay, "Mountain Influence in Modern Life," 34.

The characteristics of Canadian mountaineering were also shaped by efforts to popularize climbing and move it away from its earlier association with social elites. The ACC was formed in part to ensure that mountaineering could be both accessible and affordable. Parker, for one, suggested that mountaineering's initial exclusivity was due, in part, to its close links with scientific pursuits. As science was less and less recognized as an overt motive for mountain climbing, the restrictions it encouraged ceased to carry weight. The increasing popularity of mountaineering was, however, met with some resistance. Some climbers worried that popularizing mountaineering would only vulgarize it. Parker made reference to this concern: "the learned cosmopolitan alpinists" she wrote "might say that to popularize was to vulgarize. Not so. Mountaineering is too toilsome, too hard a sport, and demands qualities of mind and character quite other than vulgar."[99] While Canadian mountaineering did become more popular, it still remained out of reach for many Canadians. Descriptions of ACC participants suggest that while mountaineering's constituency was being broadened it was still an activity principally for the middle-class. Yet there are also clues that some members of the working class were beginning to participate in mountaineering by the early twentieth century. Frank Freeborn, for example, recalled how the "campers were from many walks of life: teachers galore, tradesman, doctors, artisans, lawyers, ranchers, artists, ministers, manufacturers, and those who lived by the pen."[100]

The ACC figured prominently in the development of both Canadian mountaineers and Canadian mountaineering practice. When it was formed in 1906 the ACC articulated a broad mandate that included the "promotion" of alpine science and exploration, the "cultivation" of alpine art, the "preservation of ... natural beauties," and the exchange of information with other mountaineering and geographical institutions. But it was the objectives of educating Canadians to appreciate "their mountain heritage" and encouraging "mountain craft" that most strongly indicated the ACC's role at socializing novice climbers in the values and norms of the

[99] Parker, "Alpine Club of Canada," 4.
[100] Frank W. Freeborn, "Two Camps in the Canadian Rockies," *Appalachia* 11 (June 1908), 331.

mountaineering community.[101] As educators, the members of the ACC took it upon themselves to ensure that "the young men and women of Canada" were "fully alive to the beneficial moral, intellectual and physical effect of mountaineering upon mind and body."[102] Moreover, once novices joined the ACC they came into contact with people whose social activism encompassed both patriotic goals and a commitment to mountain park development. For example, nationalists in the ACC feared that if "Canadian indifference" to mountaineering continued then future generations would think of the Rockies as place forever linked to British and American climbing accomplishment. By training Canadian climbers, the ACC could "redeem the past" and introduce Canadian names in the imaginative geography of the Rocky Mountains.[103] Additionally, the ACC "transmitted" an "early national parks ethic to new generations of conservation-minded Canadians" through its advocacy of preservation and its active involvement in creating policy for the mountain parks.[104] Socialization also occurred via training in "mountain craft." By organizing annual summer camps, the ACC provided novices with an opportunity to climb with experienced mountaineers so that they could receive formal instruction and learn by example. Novices learned about the technical aspects of climbing but they also learned how to behave on a climb. For example, novices learned to defer to the judgment of guides or lead climbers even though "they may not be in perfect accord with him at all times."[105] Additionally, they became familiar with informal rituals like the celebratory practices of cairn building, cheering, and photographing upon reaching a summit.

Already recognized in Britain as a patriotic activity that could reinforce imperial identities, mountaineering continued to be linked with similar symbolic meanings in

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[101] Alpine Club of Canada, "Constitution," *CAJ* 1 (1907), 178.
[102] Arthur O. Wheeler, "The Alpine Club of Canada at Work," *RGC* 8 (1906), 8.
[103] Parker, "The Alpine Club of Canada," 4.
[104] PearlAnn Reichwein, "At the Foot of the Mountain: Preliminary Thoughts on the Alpine Club of Canada, 1906-1950," in *Changing Parks: The History, Future and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes*, ed. John S. Marsh and Bruce W. Hodgins (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History Inc., 1998), 172.
[105] In Forde's words the leader's "word should be law until the descent is finished." Forde, "Use of Rope in Mountain Climbing," 191.

Canada.[106] In the Canadian context, the debate was cast in terms of nationalism, not British imperialism, and it reflected the politics of Canada's effort to define a national identity distinct from the powerful influences of Great Britain and the United States. Most mountaineers who climbed in the Canadian Rockies were either Canadian, British or American so it was unsurprising that international politics influenced some personal climbing rivalries. Weighing in on the rivalries were Canadian nationalists who were dismayed by the early successes of British and American climbers in the Rockies. These nationalists pointed out that it was the British and Americans, not the Canadians, who were making the first ascents and thereby "claiming" the Rockies for foreign nations.[107] As a result, unwitting British and American climbers sometime found themselves in the position of having to soothe Canadian anxieties, while Canadian climbers experienced greater pressure to achieve success.[108]

By the late-nineteenth century, the sight of a woman in a climbing party was unusual but not particularly startling. A series of accomplished female climbers established a precedent that subsequent generations of women climbers could follow. Despite the precedents established by European women, in the earliest days of Canadian mountaineering, women climbers were something of a curiosity. Evelyn Berens, for example, described how she held "surreptitious interviews with the Swiss guides, meeting them by stealth under the gloomy pines." Despite her efforts, news of her intended climb spread throughout the hotel. Upon her departure "by lantern light at 3.15 a.m. one August morning, several windows were tenanted, and more than one wish for a safe return was shouted after the plucky little English woman then heading her pony up the stony trail leading to the glacier."[109] Berens planned her climb secretly and that approach suggested that she mistrusted the public response to her actions. While some women seemed hesitant to identify themselves as climbers, this type of response was not uniform. Just three years later, the creation of the Alpine Club of

[106] Hansen, "Vertical Boundaries, National Identities,"; Kearns, "Imperial Subject."
[107] Raymond Huel, "The Creation of the Alpine Club of Canada: An Early Manifestation of Canadian Nationalism," *Prairie Forum* 15 (1990), 25-43.
[108] Refer to Chapter 6.
[109] C. A. B., "A Woman's Venture," *RGC* 4 (May 1903), 431.

Canada indicated an alternative stance. From its inception, active membership was open to women who fulfilled the climbing criteria. Equally significant, women participated in the founding of the Club and assumed leadership roles within the organization.[110]

Canadian male climbers' increased willingness to accept women did not mean that gender barriers had been completely eradicated. Indeed, discussions of "suitable" goals continued to be discussed by climbers and, when it came to ACC climbs, they often resulted in tangible restrictions for women. High mountains and difficult ascent or traverse routes were often considered off limits to women. Almost a decade later, in 1924, Phyllis Munday referred to the persistence of the ACC's exclusionary practices. She remembered her "grand surprise" when she received the news that she was one of the ACC members selected to climb Mount Robson. This was, Munday added, "in spite of the prevailing impression that no women would be allowed to attempt the 'big climb.'"[111] There is little evidence in the Canadian mountaineering literature that suggests the reasoning behind such exclusions, yet the arguments previously advanced against women climbers in Europe were likely repeated in Canada. Critics either considered mountaineering too demanding, both physically and mentally, or they used arguments that linked mountaineering to masculine accomplishment and argued that women who climbed were not "ladies."[112]

The critique of hierarchically structured power relations between travellers and indigenous populations are an important feature of recent scholarship on travel and mountaineering in the international context. In the context of early mountaineering in Canada the question of race relations between travellers and Native people assumes a somewhat different character. Unlike, the Caucasus or the Himalayas, mountaineers in

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[110] Cyndi Smith, *Off the Beaten Track: Women Adventurers and Mountaineers in Western Canada* (Lake Louise: Coyote Books, 1989); PearlAnn Reichwein, "On Top of the World: A Woman's Place" *CAJ* 78 (1995), 46-49; PearlAnn Reichwein, "Guardians of the Rockies: Beauty, Health and Moral Uplift," *Beaver* 74 (1994), 4-13.

[111] Phyllis Munday, "First Ascent of Mt. Robson by Lady Members," *CAJ* 14 (1924), 68.

[112] Mazel, "Introduction to *Mountaineering Women*," 14.

Canada, rarely encountered Native people.[113] Two conditions led to this minimization, or absence, of direct interpersonal relationships. Firstly, the mountain Assiniboine (Stoney) signed Treaty 7 in 1877 and by the time mountaineers arrived most members of that group were forcibly relocated onto a reserve in Morley.[114] Because of the reserve system, the erasure of Native people was not merely symbolic; it had a political and territorial reality. Thus, when mountaineers began arriving in the 1880s and 1890s, the two groups were spatially separated. Mountaineers seldom saw Native people and only rarely did they enter into the power-laden guide and client relationship. A second factor that accounts for the near absence of encounters between mountaineers and Native people was the presence of experienced and knowledgeable guides and outfitters. These European or North-American born men knew the regional geography either because they had participated in the railway survey or earned their living as trappers and prospectors. Some of these men even established formal outfitting businesses and promoted their services to mountaineers through advertising and an informal system of recommendations.[115] Also, the outfitters and their clients shared both language and culture, a factor that certainly encouraged the practice of hiring an 'outfit' for Canadian mountaineering adventures.

At the turn of the century the racialized "other" whom a mountaineer was most likely to encounter was Chinese. Many Chinese were employed by the CPR for construction of the dangerous sections of track. Following completion of the railway some of those individuals began working in the mountain tourism industry. The cooks for the ACC's annual camps, for example, were Chinese and in later mountaineering texts references to Chinese cooks outnumber references to Native people.[116]

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[113] Kearns, "Imperial Subject," 450-472; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Kenneth I MacDonald and David Butz, "Investigating Portering Relations as a Locus for Transcultural Interaction in the Karakorum Region of Northern Pakistan," *Mountain Research and Development* 18 (1998), 333-343.

[114] Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 146.

[115] E. J. Hart, *Diamond Hitch: The Early Outfitters and Guides of Banff and Jasper* (Banff: Summerthought, 1979).

[116] See for example: Frank Yeigh, "Canada's First Alpine Camp," *CAJ* 1 (1907), 51; Galt, "Consolation Valley, 1910," 140; P. A. W. Wallace, "Vermilion Impressions," *CAJ* 5 (1913), 112, 113; Rev. George A. Mitchell, "The Cathedral Camp (1913)," *CAJ* 6 (1914-1915), 202, 203.

Only the earliest mountaineers, those who came in the 1880s, interacted with natives or even hired Native people as guides. Unsurprisingly, language barriers and racial prejudices were present. Additionally, the cultural divide was extended because mountaineering was a European cultural practice and Native people seemed to have little interest in the activity. In 1893, for example, Walter Wilcox hired Enoch Wildman, a Stoney guide for an ascent of Mt. Temple near Lake Louise (then Laggan). An approaching thunder storm forced the party to halt and camp for the night at high elevation. Wilcox recalled how his guide, who likely had inappropriate attire, "suffered terribly from cold" and subsequently requested to return to Laggan stating: "'No grass for pony here, - too cold me, - no like it me.'"[117] Coleman, in 1892 hired two Native guides for an extended trip in search of Mount Brown and Mount Hooker at the headwaters of the Athabasca River. He also noted that his Native guides disliked the higher elevations. Moreover, Coleman voiced frustration over the tendency of his guides to travel through the foothills. Significantly, Coleman observed the loneliness of his guides and their dislike for the routines of exploratory mountaineering.[118] While Native guides expressed a dislike for mountain climbing while accompanying recreational climbers, there is no evidence to suggest that they avoided mountain climbing altogether.[119]

Complex power relations existed between mountaineers and their Native guides. Native guides did, at times, exert their agency by verbally expressing their dislike and disinterest in mountaineering, or by reluctantly engaging in assigned tasks.[120] Most early mountaineers, including Coleman and Wilcox, exhibited condescending attitudes consistent with the prevailing racist interpretations of Native cultures. White mountaineers viewed Native people as romantic but tragic figures who were remnants of a dying race, or, alternatively, as uncivilized and unruly children who needed the

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[117] Walter Dwight Wilcox, *The Rockies of Canada*, 3d. ed. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), 240.
[118] Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 140, 146, 170.
[119] Natives likely climbed various peaks while hunting for food. Jones, *Climbing in North America*, 23.
[120] Spivak's analysis of the "problem of subaltern consciousness" addresses this issue. Gayatri Chakrovorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York: Methuen, 1987), 202-207.

civilizing influence of white culture yet could never be entirely redeemed by that influence.[121]

Writing the Mountain Experience

Many mountaineers wrote about their experiences. Writing, for many individuals, was as much a part of the experience as the actual climb. Indeed, many individuals wrote as part of their daily routine. Walter Wilcox observed that "while the men are at work there is an opportunity to write up notes of the previous day."[122] Field notebooks, diaries and letters were written while the climbers were in the mountains. Upon returning home, some writers used these diary entries and letters as raw data so they could produce polished and reflective pieces, possibly for publication.[123]

Diaries and field notebooks, written in the mountains, were the most immediate forms of texts. From the writers' perspective, the diary served two purposes: initially writers used diaries to record events and the journey's itinerary and later they valued the book itself because it, the object, was a souvenir. Two passages, one by Mary Schäffer and another by Arthur Coleman, demonstrate how highly valued diaries were. Near the start of her book *Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies* Schäffer wrote:

> From now on I shall keep before me the worn, thumbed, much-jeered-at diary; its lead-pencil-smudged pages (in many places nearly obliterated) are dear to the eyes of its owner, and it is at least a record of the heart-beats day by day, with all the lights and shadows of the hills and valleys underlying the grimy, once white leaves.[124]

Faded words contained in a "worn" and "thumbed" diary suggest that Schäffer frequently revisited the memories contained in her treasured diary. A different kind of instance led Arthur Coleman to reflect on the value of his diary. During his 1888

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[121] For example: Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 281-293.
[122] *Ibid.*, 123.
[123] MacLaren identifies the stages of texts. I. S. MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (Spring 1992), 39-68.
[124] Mary T. S. Schäffer, *A Hunter of the Peace: Mary T. S. Schäffer's* Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies, ed. E. J. Hart (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911; reprint Banff, AB: Whyte Foundation, 1980), 20 (page reference to reprint edition).

journey, Coleman lost his diary. Reflecting on the occurrence in his field notebook, Coleman wrote: "I am quite disheartened at the loss of my notebook. It will be impossible to recover many facts and thoughts it contained; but I suppose I must try."[125] Coleman's passage points to multi-functional uses of the diary, specifically its role in recording both "facts" and "thoughts." Writers valued subjective experiences, such as the feelings evoked by different scenes along the journey, as much as they valued their physical progress through space. For example, in a passage from his 1884 diary Coleman observed that "Life is made up of impressions and sensations connected by memories and reasonings. Impressions ought to be noted at times just as well as occurrences."[126]

During the course of an extended trip, a few individuals wrote letters. Regular rest days, planned so the horses could rest and routine mending and washing could be done, were also ideal for letter writing. While making the arrangements to post letters could be difficult, determined letter-writers did not waver. Typically, a packer returned to a point along the rail corridor to drop off mail and pick up new supplies. On occasion, climbing and exploring parties would encounter other groups, either climbers, hunters, or naturalists, and impromptu arrangements for letters would follow, particularly if one of the groups were en route to "home." In her book, Schäffer once described "a lingering good-bye when [Mary de la Beach-Nichol and her guide Jim Simpson] left us the following morning with our letter for *home.*"[127] Participants at ACC camps regularly wrote letters to friends and family. With regular traffic between the rail corridor and the camp, arrangements for mail were simplified. Indeed, one writer who described the Rogers Pass Camp noted the presence of a "letter rack" in the camp's offices "where those who wished could look for letters." The writer, however, viewed such conveniences as almost desecration of the wilderness. In a caustic remark, the writer opined: "Be-shrew those uncomfortable folk, say I, who cannot do without

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[125] Arthur P. Coleman, 19 August 1888, A.P. Coleman Collection, Field Notebooks, Box 1, File 10, Victoria University Library, Toronto, Ontario.
[126] Arthur P. Coleman, 24 June 1884, A. P. Coleman Collection, Field Notebooks, Box 1, File 5, Victoria University Library, Toronto, Ontario.
[127] Original italics. Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 50.

letters for a short ten days in the year! Mail in camp, wireless telegrams! There will soon be no peaceable haven left on earth."[128]

Once the explorations and climbs were completed, and individuals had time to rest and reflect, some decided to pursue publication. Published accounts of climbs and explorations in the Canadian Rockies were more formal and organized retelling of experiences. Articles were the most common form. Among the publications that accepted article length submissions were alpine journals such as the *Canadian Alpine Journal* or *Appalachia*, magazines specializing in the outdoor leisure such as *Outside* or *Rod and Gun in Canada*, and, less commonly, general interest magazines such as *The Canadian Magazine.*

Mountaineers also produced books. The "Golden Age" of Canadian mountaineering, originally characterized by first ascents, could also be defined by a surge of book publishing. From William Spotwood Green's *Among the Selkirk Glaciers* published in 1890 to Arthur Coleman's *The Canadian Rockies: New and Old Trails,* published in 1911 there were at least seven books that provided first-hand accounts of climbing and exploring in the Canadian Rocky Mountains and Selkirk Mountains.[129] Walter Wilcox enjoyed particular success since his work went through several reissues and updates.[130]

Significantly, the books and articles were both reflective and edited. Not solely the product of individual climbers, their content and style were also influenced by unseen editors and publishers.[131] These were the individuals who decided what manuscripts were accepted for publication. As gatekeepers, the editors and publishers selected texts they deemed both appropriate and interesting. While mountaineering

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[128] S. H. Mitchell, "Rogers Pass Camp," *CAJ* 2 (1909), 116.
[129] William Spotswood Green, *Among the Selkirk Glaciers; Being the Account of a Rough Survey in the Rocky Mountain Regions of British Columbia* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1890); Arthur Philemon Coleman, *The Canadian Rockies: New and Old Trails* (Toronto: Henry Frowde, 1911); Hugh E. M. Stutfield and J. Norman Collie, *Climbs and Exploration in the Canadian Rockies* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903); James Outram, *In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905); Arthur O. Wheeler, *The Selkirk Range*, Vol. I (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1905); Mary T.S. Schäffer, *Old Indian Trails* (1911); Walter D. Wilcox, *The Rockies of Canada*, Third Edition (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916).
[130] Wilcox's *Camping in the Canadian Rockies* was published in 1896, 1900 and 1909. This book was later revised and enlarged to become *The Rockies of Canada* published in 1916.

texts reflected the influence of individuals beyond the mountaineering community they nonetheless represented a partial vision. Only some individuals had both the interest and the means to pursue mountain climbing. Furthermore, a process of self-selection meant that only some climbers actually sought publication for their narratives. Editorial decision-making further reduced the number of narratives that reached public circulation. Yet these published texts are valuable because they are partial and because they convey meanings about mountaineers and mountaineering that writers, editors and publishers believed were necessary to share. When I consider mountaineering as a discourse, the content of these books and the selection procedures that dictated that content suggest that the meanings associated with mountaineering are not so straightforward. Rather than being interpreted as indicators that mountaineering was simply fun or heroic, the existence of these books suggest that writers, editors and publishers circulated their views in order to challenge discursive structures that stressed that mountaineers and their motives should be regarded with suspicion.[132]

Why Write?

Mountaineers wrote for a variety of reasons, among the most important was the desire to share. Through writing, the mountaineer could provide a detailed and reflective account of their experiences to friends, family, and other interested people. Writers identified routes through maps and detailed descriptions, they recommended outfitters and alpine guides, and they offered strategies for efficient travel. Because information on routes and travel logistics was valuable it was customary for climbers to read the texts produced by their predecessors before they departed. In addition to useful information, writers also shared their personality by offering unique interpretations of the events they experienced. When laced with humour, adventure, and sentiment, written accounts were also sources of pleasure and entertainment. A skilled writer allowed the reader to participate vicariously in the adventure. Indeed, it was through reading about mountaineering that many individuals became inspired to try

[131] Maclaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature."

the activity for themselves. To modify Mary Suzanne Schriber's words, "exploits were enabled" by an array of cultural conditions "that shaped ... ambition and emboldened ... imagination."[133]

Some individuals wrote and published their tales of mountaineering adventure to garner status and prestige. Before an individual could be lauded for his or her achievements, others in the mountaineering community had to learn what had been accomplished. Writing about mountaineering successes became important as climbers began travelling the world in search of new opportunities. In the Rockies, particularly in the late 1800s, climbers could spend days, if not weeks, in the wilderness without seeing any other people. Under such circumstances, if the climbers did not tell others of their ascents then it would be almost as if the peaks were never climbed at all. Personal satisfaction was likely a motive, after all recognition from one's peers is a feature marking most aspects of human social life. Interestingly, the status and prestige of writing seemed in no way to be diminished by the proliferation of texts. As Buzard suggests writing was both "a symptom and a cause" of travel, or to cite Holland and Huggan's words, "travel writing sells while also helping to sell holidays."[134] Similarly, mountaineering narratives were likely a catalyst that spurred growing interest in the pursuit.

The opportunity to earn a living from writing also motivated some mountaineers. Only a few individuals were successful in their pleas for railway support. The more common source of revenue came from selling articles to popular magazines. The suggestion that economic motives underpinned the desire to write and publish was particularly significant for Canadian and American women in the later stages of the nineteenth century. Writing was considered a legitimate vocation for women.[135] At the same time the emergence of the New Woman provided both content

[132] cf. Sara Mills arguments on how discourse theory offers scholars different ways to interpret the conduct books written for Victorian women. Sara Mills, *Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1997), 88-90.
[133] Schriber, *Writing Home*, 95.
[134] Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan 1998), 3.
[135] Anne Innis Dagg, "Canadian Voices of Authority: Non-Fiction and Early Women Writers," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27 (Summer 1992), 107-122.

and audience for these women writers.[136] Women, under the mantle of the New Woman, began travelling and writing about their travels. Significantly, there was a strong market for women's writing. This popularity enabled some women to finance their travels, in whole or in part.[137] Revenue from writing could also be supplemented with speaking fees. Public lectures, illustrated with hand-painted lantern slides, were popular. Canadian Alpine Club notes, published in *Rod and Gun in Canada* and later the *Canadian Alpine Journal*, often described well attended public lectures, held in locations across Canada, the United States, and Britain.

Certainly, the novelty of the experience or the unexpectedness of a female protagonist in narratives of adventuresome travel attracted readership. A woman participating in an unexpected activity, whether adventure travel or mountain climbing, attracted attention and publishers and promoters were eager to capitalize on the publicity.[138] Indeed, Mary Schäffer's survey of Maligne Lake was inspired by just such circumstances. Eager to capitalize on the her growing fame following the publication of *Old Indian Trails*, J. B. Dowling of the Geological Survey of Canada invited Schäffer to undertake the survey. He hoped that her fame would attract public attention to an area of the Rockies that was still relatively unknown.[139]

Motivations for writing about one's mountaineering experiences could also be traced to the scientific imperative that underpinned early mountaineering. Some mountaineers undertook specialized investigation of geology and glaciers. Advanced study in those fields of study required academic training. Most mountaineers who came to the Rocky Mountains made their contribution to science through inventory and observation. A scarcity of printed knowledge about the Canadian Rockies provided

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[136] The term "New Woman" was used by late-Victorian and Edwardian writers to identify those First-Wave feminists who campaigned, formally and informally, for the right of women to increased participation in social, political and economic life.

[137] Schriber, *Writing Home*, 32-33.

[138] *Ibid.*

[139] E. J. Hart, "Yahe-Weha - Mountain Woman: The Life and Travels of Mary Schäffer Warren, 1861-1939," editorial introduction to Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 11.

both J. Norman Collie and Arthur P. Coleman with an opportunity to publish both observations and maps in the prestigious *Geographical Journal.*[140]

A Narrative Form?

The similarities between texts produced by travellers, explorers and mountaineers presents researchers with analytical challenges and opportunities. The challenge is to assess how conclusions obtained from an analysis of travel or exploration writing can best be used to provide insight into mountaineering texts. Scholars' critiques do identify power relationships that need careful analysis and, by example, they identify useful strategies for critically interrogating the meaning-making processes.[141] An opportunity exists to apply these insights and strategies to mountaineering texts. As part of this effort to bring insights from critical social theory to mountaineering texts, researchers have begun to consider whether mountaineering writing is a distinct literary form. Ellis, for example, argued that mountaineering literature

> is a non-fiction, autobiographical recounting in which the chronology of events arises from the narrator's encounter with a new geographically fixed place understood by the narrator and his/her readers to be 'in the mountains.' In most cases this means making or attempting the first ascent of an unclimbed peak. It attempts to validate its literality or empirical 'truth' by ongoing reference to an actual spatial journey to a physical mountainous space which previously had been unvisited and/or unmapped by and/or inconceived by Europeans or Euro-Americans.[142]

[140] Arthur Coleman was a geology professor at the University of Toronto and Norman Collie was a professor of chemistry at University College, London. For a discussion of their academic careers and contributions to geographical knowledge refer to: Lila M. Laakso and Raymon K. Laakso, *A. P. Coleman Geologist 1852-1939: Science, Art and Discovery* (Toronto: Victoria University Library, 1994); Christine Mill, *Norman Collie: A Life in Two Worlds: Mountain Explorer and Scientist 1859-1942* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987); William C. Taylor, *The Snows of Yesteryear: J. Norman Collie, Mountaineer* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1973).
[141] cf. Germaine Warkentin, "Introduction," in *Canadian Exploration Literature: An Anthology*, ed. Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), ix-xxi.
[142] Reuben Joseph Ellis, "A Geography of Vertical Margins: Twentieth Century Mountaineering Narratives and the Landscapes of Neo-Imperialism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado, Boulder, 1990), 26-27.

Ellis's definition, however, marks the physical experience of being "in the mountains" as the quality that differentiates the mountaineering narrative from the narratives of travel and exploration.

Categorizing texts according to a genre, even a sub-genre, is challenging because of the multiple ways that individual texts can deviate in content and style. Some texts resist simple classification and this is true for turn of the century mountaineering texts that describe journeys through the Canadian Rockies. Articles, because their of brevity and focused subject matter, are more easily differentiated as either travel, exploration or mountaineering narratives. Books, however, tend to resist this narrow classification. The writers of books often discuss a range of activities that took place over a much longer period of time, from a few months to a couple of seasons spread over a decade or more. Books are also more comprehensive in their subject matter. In addition to discussing their own travels and climbs, book authors tended to discuss the efforts of their peers. They also framed this information with detailed outlines of the region's human and natural history. While grouping such texts together for analysis provides opportunity for comparison, there is a risk of magnifying similarities and obscuring differences.

Research into the structural features of travel writing provides a departure point for this analysis of narrative form. The term "genre" is used by some critics to categorize groups of writing that feature similar subject matter and common rhetorical strategies. Genres, argued Tzevetan Todorov, "function as 'horizons of expectation' for readers and as 'models of writing' for authors"[143] Texts produced by mountaineers, like travellers and explorers, had content included to meet expectations of the genre. Writers described their itinerary, elaborating to varying degrees on the places they encountered. Regional history, political status, infrastructure, and natural environment were popular topics for travel writers, but they appeared less commonly in mountaineering narratives. Texts identified by a common genre may also share rhetorical strategies. For example, many Victorian travel writers included laments

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[143] Tzvetan Todorov, *Genres in Discourse,* Translated by Catherine Porter, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 18.

about the difficulty of writing and disclaimers that warned readers about the writers' modest literary skills. Juxtaposed with these claims, however, were ploys, both subtle and obvious, that emphasized the ultimate worthiness of the writers' words.[144]

Like travel writing, mountaineering texts blended fact and fiction.[145] "Fact" suggests that mountaineering texts gained their authority from the writers' descriptions of their actual experiences and empirical observations. The fictive element of those texts resulted from the writers' structuring of their narratives. Mountaineering narratives paralleled fiction because writers focused on the protagonist's journey and often used literary devices to convey drama, humour or irony. In most texts, the writer was the protagonist and the antagonist, when present, was variously characterized. In most cases the mountain, the wilderness or the weather was the antagonist. Human antagonists were quite rare.

Analysis of travel writing also suggests the texts are a blend of science and autobiography. Mountaineering texts can also be interpreted this way but some qualifications are necessary. In turn of the century mountaineering texts, the autobiographical qualities were limited. Most mountaineers focused only on part of their life: a chosen pastime, not paid or unpaid work; social relations with climbing peers, outfitters and guides, not familial or home-based relations; and, selected instances of meaning, not a lifetime of experiences. Mountaineers seldom referred to their home-life. Most references to home were brief and the writers' intent was to emphasize the contrast between their mountain wilderness and their urban home.

The argument that mountaineering narratives are characterized in part by science requires less qualification. Many mountaineering practices, for example, first appeared among scientists who investigated alpine phenomenon in the eighteenth century.[146] Nineteenth century science drew from the traditions of natural history and natural philosophy. Suzanne Zeller identified the "incremental spirit" and the

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[144] Schriber, *Writing Home*, 4-5.
[145] Tzvetan Todorov, "The Journey and Its Narratives," in *The Morals of History*. Translated by Alyson Waters (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 60-70; Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).
[146] Keenlyside, *Peaks and Pioneers*, 11-12.

"inventorial purpose" as the two traits that epitomized Victorian science. This emphasis on incremental additions to knowledge enabled amateur enthusiasts, including mountaineers, to make small, but valuable, contributions to science. Similarly, the zeal for inventory inspired mountaineers, both those with and those without scientific credentials, to participate in mapping and cataloguing.[147]

Conventions

Several specific literary conventions characterized the narratives produced by mountaineers. The term "convention" refers to commonalties and patterns *within* a genre. Since many writers within a community rely on these patterns to create meaning Raymond Williams suggest that we think of conventions as "a shared practice" that leads to the creation of actual works.[148] In contemporary critiques of travel and exploration writing, the term "trope" is often used to point out similar kinds of regularities in groups of writings.[149] While the two terms have similar meanings their connotations are different. In critical social theory, a "trope" refers to regularities in discourses. The terms are often used interchangeably because literature is commonly used as evidence of cultural discourses. Discourses, however, refer to broader patterns of unequal social relations at work in a culture, of which literature represents just one facet.[150] Both terms, however, are used by researchers to identify focal points for the critical questioning of texts and the discourses that inform them.

Mountaineers produced texts that shared some broadly similar "conventions" or "tropes." In this section I identify six conventions used by mountaineers to create

[147] Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 4.
[148] Raymond Williams, "Conventions," in *Twentieth Century Literary Theory: An Introductory Anthology*, ed. Vassilis Lambropoulos and David Neal Millers (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), 185.
[149] Karen Morin, "Peak Practices: Englishwomen's 'Heroic' Adventures in the Nineteenth-Century American West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89 (1999), 489-514.
[150] Joan Scott defines discourse as "not a language or a text but a historically, socially, and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories, and beliefs." Joan Scott, "Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism," *Feminist Studies* 14 (Spring 1988), 25. See also, Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, "Introduction: Writing Worlds," in *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, ed. Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan (New York: Routledge, 1992), 8.

meanings in written texts: trials and hardships, humourous interpretations, interior journeys, predecessor texts, apologies, and the valuing of personal experience. The list is suggestive, and not definitive, because individual mountaineers adopted these rhetorical practices in varying degrees.

At points in this discussion, I suggest that the practice of ascribing binary gender traits to these rhetorical strategies is difficult. Because both male and female climbers used these forms, the practice of identifying one convention as "feminine" and another as "masculine" is difficult to sustain, at least with respect to mountaineering writing. In advancing this argument, I add qualifications to arguments advanced by Sara Mills who, in her research on Victorian women travellers, identified some conventional practices as distinctively "feminine."[151] By considering texts produced by both men and women the shared traits are brought to the forefront and the distinctions between what is considered "feminine" or "masculine" is blurred. While gender ideology influenced both the content and style of writings by both sexes, this preliminary examination of conventions suggests the differences may be more subtle than expected.

Trials and Hardships

Hardships and trials figure prominently in many mountaineering and travel narratives. Rugged terrain, a lack of infrastructure, and the unpredictable alpine climate, challenged mountaineers by presenting obstacles that hindered their journeys or climbs. Joseph Campbell observed that encounters with hardship were an archetypal feature of the hero's journey. It was the second stage of the "adventure of the hero;" specifically, hardship was the "initiation" that came between the initial "separation" and the final "return."[152] Northrop Frye advanced a similar interpretation of this archetypal form. He identified a quest characterized by three stages: a "perilous

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[151] Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), 94-107. See also: Janice Potter-Mackinnon, *While the Women Only Wept: Loyalist Refugee Women* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 104.
[152] Joseph Campbell, *The Hero With a Thousand Faces*, 2d ed., Bollingen Series XVII (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 30.

journey," culminated in a "crucial struggle," and resolved in an "exaltation of the hero."[153] This sequence structures adventure tales and it is found in many mountaineering narratives. Obstacles tested both a climber's will and skill and successful ascents were never certain. Because mountaineering was a risky pursuit, mountaineers' tales provided readers with "novelty and excitement" and "a paradoxical tension between risk and control." Graham Dawson argued that both those features were "at the heart of adventure."[154]

One related rhetorical device is "the vehicle convention." Mary Suzanne Schriber observed that "[v]ehicles are made to serve as signs of the peculiarity of foreign ways and the fortitude of the traveler tolerating their discomforts."[155] Similarly, Mills identified how travel "by a difficult means of transport" often prompted both the writing and publishing of a travel accounts.[156] In the Canadian Rockies, travel difficulties were experienced once mountaineers left the rail corridor and ventured into the adjacent wilderness. Writers featured two different modes of travel: horseback trips through valleys and passes and, on the slopes and terrain deemed inaccessible for horses, foot travel.

Humorous Interpretations

Humour was another key feature of mountaineering narratives written at the turn of the century. Eager to convey the spirit of their pastime, many mountaineers relied on humour. A funny or light-hearted tone conveyed to readers a somewhat unexpected idea, mountaineering was not solely strenuous and challenging, it was also pleasurable and fun. Phyllis Munday, describing the Alpine Club of Canada's 1924 ascent of Mount Robson, recalled the fun her party had as they climbed with their guide Conrad Kain: "Conrad's running fire of excruciatingly funny anecdotes

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[153] Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, [1957] 1973), 187.
[154] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 53.
[155] Schriber, *Writing Home*, 75.

sometimes threatened to interfere with our showing as climbers, in spite of Director's parting injunction that we were engaged in a serious undertaking."[157] By the twentieth century, mountaineers were freer to describe the fun they had while climbing. One explanation was that mountaineering was increasingly viewed as a fun leisure pursuit since the earlier practices of justifying mountaineering by claiming its scientific or moral value were becoming less common. Overall, humour was part of a much broader social trend. Jonathan Rose argued that Edwardians, unlike their Victorian predecessors, ascribed to a "gospel of fun" that informed both their art and thought.[158]

Writers not only described fun, they also produced funny texts. Clever and witty dialogue, according to Rose, were the hallmarks of Edwardian writers.[159] To achieve this humourous standard some mountaineers produced articles with a continuous stream of anecdotes and jokes. Most commonly, however, writers simply inserted humourous anecdotes at intervals in their texts. Book authors, in particular, had the opportunity to sprinkle funny stories into their narratives and the practice was enthusiastically applauded by reviewers.

Most mountaineers introduced humour into their writing by describing their own mishaps or the mishaps of their companions and their horses. Non-serious tumbles or falls were commonly reported. Most frequently, horses and their escapades provided the fodder for writers wanting to relate witty tales. "Obstacles to the hero's desire" Frye observed, "form[ed] the action of the comedy" and when those obstacles were overcame, the narrative achieved "comic resolution."[160] Comedy in most mountaineering narratives was created by the presence of what Frye called "blocking characters." In Canadian texts uncooperative horses, surly outfitters, inclement weather, and the peak itself filled that stock role. Interestingly, Frye observed that in comedies, the technical hero, in this case the mountaineer, may not be terribly

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[156] Mills identifies two other circumstances that give rise to the published travel account: a "witty or erudite" description of a well-known place; or, details of travel to "non-places," the "places which have not been written about before." Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 84.
[157] Munday, "Mt. Robson by Lady Members," 70.
[158] Jonathan Rose, *The Edwardian Temperament 1895-1919* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1986), 170-174.
[159] *Ibid.*

interesting. Instead, the juxtaposition of the hero with absurd events or personalities achieved the comedy. Repetition of absurd events or the unfolding of needlessly complicated events also created humour. Comedy was assured so long as the narrative resolved with a happy ending.[161]

Canadian mountaineering at the turn of the century was characterized by wilderness travel and camping, and since most mountaineers tended to be urbanites, "fish-out-of-water" scenarios often generated humour. Some writers emphasized their "tenderfoot" status and eagerly recounted their blunders for the reader. Blunders, or inadvertent entries into adventure, are another element of a hero's journey. "The adventure may begin as a mere blunder ... or still again, one may be only casually strolling, when some passing phenomenon catches the wandering eye and lures one away from the frequented paths of men."[162] Campbell argued that chance encounters with the unexpected, while comic, were symbolic because they signified a crossing of a threshold that led ultimately to the awakening of the self.[163]

Writers who focused on their blunders are often described as self-deprecatory. One argument advanced by some feminist critics suggests that self-deprecatory humour was an important strategy for women writers. When women mountaineers wrote about their climbs they openly and publicly announced their achievements. On occasion, those same writers minimized, even undermined, their accomplishments by describing them with self-deprecatory language. For example, Ethel Johns, a beginner mountaineer who made her graduating climb in 1910, poked fun at the physical difficulties she experienced on the climb, mentioning at one point "I was soon gasping like a dying fish."[164] Still, despite her difficulties, Johns made the ascent and attained full member status within the Alpine Club of Canada. Self-mocking language could betray some discomfort with achievement, particularly when those achievements thrust a woman into a masculine hero role. Women mountaineers were likely aware that their

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160 Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, 164.
161 *Ibid.*, 166-170.
162 Campbell, *Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 58.
163 *Ibid.*, 51.
164 Ethel Johns, "A Graduating Climb," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 161.

actions could prompt accusations of unladylike behaviour, after all, earlier generations of female climbers had received those criticisms.[165] According to Sara Mills' argument, self-mockery resulted when there was "a disparity between the acts that are performed in [women's] texts and what a female heroine is supposed to be able to do within the discourses of femininity." Furthermore, Mills argued that the strategy itself was evidence of the difficulty that women writers had in assuming masculine roles and masculine narrative voices.[166] Alternatively, self-deprecatory humour may simply be a strategy that some women writers used to pre-empt anticipated criticism. Helen Buss provides a third perspective on the significance of self-mockery. Buss agreed that "the device of self-mocking humour is double-edged." While the strategy allowed women writers to speak of "the inner self" on difficult subjects, the negative consequence was that inner self was trivialized. By implication, the normative story, a masculine narrative where self was valorized, was interpreted by readers and writers to be "more important, more substantive, more serious."[167] This research suggests that the use of self-deprecatory language had a gendered component but further study is required before the precise significance of the strategy is ascertained.

In a more general sense, self-deprecatory humour was simply a vehicle for joking about the unexpected obstacles that travellers and mountaineers encountered on a regular basis in the course of their expeditions. Poking fun at oneself conveyed a character quality crucial to group wilderness adventures; it signaled that the writer was a good sport. Willingness to adapt to mishaps and to take misadventures in stride, was essential to ultimate success of extended mountaineering expeditions.

Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, in their study of contemporary travel writing, considered how male writers used self-deprecatory language. They interpreted "self-parody" as a gentlemanly trait that male writers used strategically. The device enabled writers to recognize their belatedness – a sense that their travels came too late for them to truly claim novelty or discovery. Holland and Huggan suggested that

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[165] Birkett and Peascod, *Women Climbing*, 25-26.
[166] Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 152.
[167] Helen M. Buss, *Mapping Our Selves: Canadian Women's Autobiography* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 138.

"awareness of belatedness" led writers to be anxious that their later efforts would be viewed as some pale imitation of the earlier works. Writers also used the device to provide "convenient incomprehension," in other words, the device offered an alibi for gaffes, arrogance or cultural insensitivity. When used this way self-mockery became a "strategy of self-protection" that enabled the writer to "be relieved of social responsibilities."[168]

Poking fun at fears, both real and imagined, were another standard trait. Falls from towering precipices or ferocious bears were often featured as the source of a writer's fear. Jokes about imminent death, however, seemed to serve a dual purpose. They highlighted the very real risks of mountaineering, but they also lessened the tension. For example, K. B. Hallowes recalled: "Some one asked me the other day to say truthfully if I really liked the actual climbing. I assured her that I did, except at those moments when I wondered if enough of me could ever be collected to make it worth while putting up a handsome tombstone with a touching inscription."[169] Another writer, describing himself in the third person, made a similar reference: "Hanging there, there flashed across his mind for a moment the problem as to how the party could secure his mangled remains, and having secured them, how they could transport them down this mountain side." At one point he dropped his alpenstock, causing him to add: "As it clattered down upon the broken rocks far below, he found himself making rapid calculation as to the depth of the drop and its effect upon the human frame."[170] Even when actual life-threatening falls did occur, the tendency to describe it in a light-hearted fashion remained. Humour was the device Charles S. Thompson used to describe his fall into a crevasse on the Waputik Icefield in 1897:

> ... and that night over the camp fire the whole experience was gone over again, Thompson emphatically giving it as his opinion that, whatever scientific exploration or observation in future might be necessary on the summits of the Rocky Mountains, investigations made alone, sixty feet

[168] Holland and Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters*, 6-7.
[169] K. B. Hallowes, "Mount Robson Camp (1913)," *CAJ* 6 (1915), 215.
[170] Ralph Connor, "How We Climbed Cascade," in *Tales From the Canadian Rockies*, ed. Brian Patton (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1984; reprint, Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1993), 134.

below the surface of the ice, in an inverted position, were extremely dangerous and even unworthy of record.[171]

Frye identified the narrow escape, or the evasion of a cruel fate, as a characteristic of comic narratives: "The action of comedy moves towards a deliverance from something which, if absurd, is by no means invariably harmless." Frye added that comic writers often attempted to bring "action as close to a catastrophic overthrow of the hero as [they] can get it" before quickly reversing the action.[172] For effective comedy a happy ending was necessary.[173]

Interior Journeys

Travel and climbing were the exterior journeys that mountaineers took through geographical space. During those journeys, however, mountaineers also embarked on a parallel journey of self-exploration. Todorov observed: "the education of the soul ... is the goal of these movements of the body." Generations of travellers, Todorov suggested, commenced their journeys with the belief that "it is by exploring the world that one begins to discover oneself."[174] Only some mountaineering writers described this interior journey, but many more alluded to it through their descriptions of the transformative effects of mountain experiences. Some transformations were an awakening of aesthetic sensibilities or self-confidence, while others were associated with spiritual or transcendental enlightenment.

Beliefs about the interior journey are also rooted in the archetypal hero's adventure. A hero's path, while fraught with difficulties, was one that ultimately had some end point. Upon completion of the journey the hero was transformed and his attitudes and attachments were reconfigured. In essence, the hero had attained

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[171] Hugh E. M. Stutfield and J. Norman Collie, *Climbs and Exploration in the Canadian Rockies* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), 33-34.
[172] Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, 178.
[173] *Ibid.*, 179.
[174] Todorov, "The Journey and Its Narratives," 65.

enlightenment.[175] Linked to this conceptualization is another root metaphor: life as journey.[176]

Predecessor Texts

James Outram, at the start of his 1905 book *In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies*, described his goal as combining "some of the most striking narratives of others with a considerable fund of new experiences, gained in the exploration of hitherto untrodden peaks." Such a blend, he suggested, enabled him "to present some account of all the more notable 'First Ascents,' together with a description of the chief points of interest and beauty massed in the mountain fastness."[177] Schriber refers to this recourse to predecessor texts as the "convention of intertextuality."[178] Intertexts, a common feature in nineteenth century travel writing, were prominently featured in book length accounts of Canadian mountaineering. According to Schriber, this convention had multiple functions. Firstly, it provided "a pretext to write." The words and ideas of predecessors were the "building blocks" for successive writers. Schriber points to "the epistemological paradox" at the root of this practice, specifically that "we read well and with pleasure what we know how to read, and what we know how to read depends on what we have already read."[179] Nicolson, in *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory*, makes a similar point. She noted precedent exerted a powerful influence over how individuals interpreted what they saw. Writers, Nicolson observed, were conditioned by "their literary and religious heritage to such an extent that they described mountains only as books had taught them to speak."[180] In other words, a predecessor's writings could subtlety instruct future writers about what sites should be seen and how those sites should be evaluated. Even if later writers

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[175] Campbell, *Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 10, 36-38. See also: Andrew Hassam, "'As I Write': Narrative Occasions and the Quest for Self-Presence in the Travel Diary," *Ariel* 21 (October 1990), 41.
[176] Fussell writes that travel is an "essential" metaphor. Fussell, *Abroad*, 211. For a discussion of the masculinist gendering of this metaphor and the associated vocabularies of travel refer to Janet Wolff, "On the Road Again: Metaphors of Travel in Cultural Criticism," in *Undoing Place: A Geographical Reader*, ed. Linda McDowell (New York: Johan Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997), 180-193.
[177] Outram, *Heart of the Rockies*, *vii-viii.*
[178] Schriber, *Writing Home*, 69.
[179] *Ibid.*, 64.

departed from an accepted vision, they remained dependent upon it. Either they aligned themselves with the accepted vision by offering agreement or they differentiated themselves from it by offering alternative conclusions. Schriber identified an ironic consequence of that practice: "a commonsense purpose of travel" was, after all, "to see the world for oneself."[181]

A second function of the intertext was to demonstrate authority. The writers who cited the works of their predecessors demonstrated both their knowledge and careful travel preparations. Schriber concluded that readers were subtly reassured by that strategy: firstly that the writer was reliable and, secondly, that the text was carefully prepared and of high quality.[182]

At times, intertexts were also used as a strategy for claiming superiority. By demonstrating how their interpretations differed from their predecessors, writers implied that their newer interpretation was more accurate or meaningful. After all, once omissions were cited the writers obtained a chance to rectify them.

Apologies

James Outram's book opened with a preface which he called the "apology." Many writers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used apologies. Outram's opening words provide a revealing example: "The writer owes and most sincerely offers an apology for the existence of this book. Its inception was due to kindly pressure, only yielded to with great reluctance" Outram also noted that he combined "scraps of work at odd half-hours," which were ultimately "thrown together" with some "polish." Outram later told his readers exactly what the book's limitations were: "As there is no pretense to literary merit, so there is no attempt at a scientific treatment of any of the geological, zoölogical, or botanical features." Instead, he wrote: "[t]hese characteristics are dealt with merely *en passant* as they strike a very ordinary mortal, with less than an elementary acquaintance with these sciences." Finally,

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[180] Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory*, 67.
[181] Schriber, *Writing Home*,
[182] *Ibid.*, 68.

Outram claimed that his sole recommendation was that of the "enthusiast."[183] But Outram was simply being coy. Earlier, he alluded to the "kindly pressure" to publish, a comment that suggested that others read and enjoyed his tale.

Researchers have suggested that when women writers used the convention of apology the connotations were different. Apologies hinted at "gendered insecurity" that arose when women breached the masculine domain of public writing. Yet the apology, according to Schriber, was evoked both strategically and for simple effect. She argued: "It may reveal an actual lack of confidence; it may cleverly evoke amateurism to maintain an aura of the feminine as a woman goes about doing a man's business; or it may be theatre acted by Woman on the stage of Victorian America."[184] As a rhetorical performance, the apology functioned in a particular way: "It introduces into the discussion the possibility of pitfalls in order to underscore, for the reader's admiration, the skill with which the pitfalls are avoided, even as it insinuates an element of courage on the writer's part, facing down difficulties and doubts."[185] Bina Friewald, in her analysis of Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838) also argues that writing an apology was a strategic maneouvre. To counter the charge of "egotism" women writers pointed out the limitations of their narratives "to overturn the anticipated accusations, preempt their premises, and introduce [their] own frame of reference."[186] Mary Schäffer is the only woman, among the pioneers of Canadian Rocky Mountain exploration, who wrote a book about her experiences. Yet, she did not provide an apology, instead her opening chapter to *Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies* (1911) was entitled "An Explanation." Schäffer clearly described the tensions she faced: the disparity between what the culture expected of a lady and what she and her friend Mollie Adams wanted to do. In Schäffer's words,

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[183] Outram, *Heart of the Rockies*, vii.
[184] Scribner, *Writing Home*, 75.
[185] *Ibid.*, 74.
[186] Bina Friewald, "'Femininely speaking': Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*," in *A Mazing Space: Writing Canadian Women Writing*, ed. Shirley Neuman and Smaro Kamboureli (Edmonton: Longspoon/Ne-west, 1986), 68.

> ...there are times when the horizon seems restricted, and we seemed to have reached that horizon, and the limit of all endurance, -- to sit with folded hand and listen calmly to the stories of the hills we so longed to see, the hills which had lured and beckoned us for years before this long list of men had ever set foot in the country. Our cups splashed over. Then we looked into each other's eyes and said: "Why not? We can starve as well as they; the muskeg will be no softer for us than for them: the ground will be no harder to sleep upon; the waters no deeper to swim, nor the bath colder if we fall in," - so - we planned a trip.[187]

Since Schäffer's book was published in 1911 she likely found an apology unnecessary. She was writing in an era when women were travelling, writing and publishing with increasing frequency.

Apologies were not published in magazine and journal articles. With respect to the mountaineering journals, one explanation could be that the medium was a relatively local, or small-scale, cultural form. In terms of production, mountaineering journals never reached the wide scale circulation of general interest magazines. Even when mountaineering articles were published in general interest publications they tended to be a novelty. Specialized alpine journals and outdoor leisure-focused magazines were the most common vehicle for publishing mountaining literature. According to Dawson, one implication of this localized production and consumption was the formation of "particularly intimate" relationships between storytellers and their audiences. He wrote: "Told and received in the context of shared cultural values and assumptions, the 'textual form' of a story emerges directly out of, and circulates within, the lived culture" of the social group that created it.[188] Thus, it was the "lived culture" or shared values of mountaineering that contributed to the particularity of the narratives. Book authors who wrote for a more general audience perhaps believed there was a need to justify their writings, and hence they incorporated apologies. Writers who produced articles for a familiar audience, however, likely had no use for the practice.

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[187] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 17.
[188] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 24.

The Valuing of Personal Experience

One convention of mountaineering writing was the emphasis on direct, unmediated experience of the mountains. Reading about the Rockies, or viewing pictures of dramatic landforms, was not believed to be an adequate surrogate. This convention tied directly into the common device of claiming that words could not do justice to the scene. A number of forces sustained this practice. Railways and other tourism promoters used this convention because it served their interests.[189] Alternatively, the convention worked much like an apology. By claiming that scenes could not be adequately rendered on paper, writers both anticipated and diverted criticism.[190] Since mountaineering writers, like travel writers, were sometimes mocked for their lack of literary skill, cautious writers likely found the strategy helpful.

Mountaineers were alpine enthusiasts, thus their exhortations that readers see the mountains for themselves probably reflected a genuine desire. Regarding the pleasure of mountaineering, Winthrop Stone declared: "it need not be described to the initiated, and to others the attempt would be useless."[191] Rhoda Edwards conveyed a similar sentiment when she described joining the "Brotherhood of Mountaineers" and finally attaining "the treasures of the learned."[192] This was a topic that some mountaineers elaborated on at length. Recalling the questions of friends who asked "'What's the good of climbing mountains? Is it not sometimes dangerous? And, anyway, what do you get out of it?" J. Macartney Wilson replied:

> "What do they know of climbing who only lowlands know?" Of what avail is it to speak to them of the fierce joy of a steady, difficult climb, or of the romance of a chimney? Who can paint for them the exhilaration of the view that lies below when one is ten thousand feet above the level of the sea? All we can say to them is "Try it and see." *Experienta docet.* "Come with us; join the A.C.C., try one good mountain climb, and you will never carp at alpine joy again."[193]

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[189] J. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth Century North-America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).
[190] For a discussion of literary disclaimers see Schriber, *Writing Home*, 72-75.
[191] Stone, "Amateur Climbing," 1.
[192] Rhoda W. Edwards, "Impressions of My Graduating Camp," *CAJ* 9 (1918), 111.
[193] Wilson, "Camp in Upper Yoho," 218.

Mountaineers truly believed that the mountains were extraordinary and mountaineering was meaningful and by encouraging others to participate they shared something they valued.

Mountaineering was defined by the act of climbing mountains but attention to specific climbing techniques and equipment revealed that mountaineers were concerned with more that the summit. The use of ice-axes and ropes, for example, highlighted the degree to which mountaineers emphasized both safety and teamwork. Further insight into mountaineering was attained through a discussion of its mid-nineteenth century origins. The form of mountaineering that was later practiced in Canada was invented by the British in response to specific intellectual, technological, political and social shifts within their society. The social causes were rooted the ambitions of a newly emergent middle-class and a perceived threats to masculinity resulting from material comforts and challenges to Britain's imperial supremacy. The impact of women's participation in mountaineering was highlighted because it demonstrated how the symbolic meanings of mountaineering were inseparable from notions of appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour.

By the time mountaineers and mountaineering arrived in Canada in the late nineteenth century the pursuit already had established norms and ideals. The Canadian context, particularly the wilderness character of the Rocky Mountains, meant that mountaineers had to adapt some of their practices and expectations. For the pioneer climbers, early mountaineering had an exploratory quality due to an absence of maps and published geographical information. British and American climbers were among the earliest mountaineers to achieve success in the Rockies, a fact that prompted Canadian nationalists to form the Alpine Club of Canada (ACC) in 1906. Through the ACC Canadians were introduced to mountaineering and they came to imagine the Rocky Mountains as a special place for recreation and preservation.

Writing was, for many mountaineers, an integral part of the mountaineering experience. Mountaineers wrote while they were in the mountains and they wrote following the completion of their trips so that they could share their thoughts and experiences with interested readers. Books, popular magazine, scientific journals and climbing journals brought mountaineering writing to a diverse audience. At the turn of the century mountaineering narratives shared many traits including an tendency to include one or more of the following conventions: trials and hardships, humourous interpretations, interior journeys, predecessor texts, apologies and personal narratives.

By discussing the practices, history and literature of mountaineering I established a frame of reference for the analysis that follows. Before turning to my analysis of mountaineering and its influence on place-representation and self-representation, however, I will introduce my conceptual framework. I make this shift in order to explain how I determined the thematic structure for chapters four, five and six. In the theoretical discussion that follows I explore how mountaineering, the Canadian Rockies, and mountaineers themselves became sites where particular meanings were negotiated in an ongoing process of social construction.

Figure 2. Alpine Club of Canada members ascending Mt. Vice-President in 1906. The climbers are roped and they are moving together as they ascend this straightforward section of rock face. *Canadian Alpine Journal* 1, No. 1 (1907), plate facing pg.171. Reproduced courtesy of the Alpine Club of Canada.

Figure 3. Members of the Alpine Club of Canada climbing an unidentified peak in 1920. A rope is being used to safeguard the ascending climber. Photographed by Harry Pollard. Reproduced courtesy of the Provincial Archives of Alberta / P5013.

Figure 4. Alpine Club of Canada members resting on an unnamed peak above Paradise Valley in 1907. The camaraderie between men and women is suggested by the informality of the climbers' poses. Also featured are the hob-nailed boots preferred by turn of the century mountaineers. Photographed by P. D. McTavish. *Canadian Alpine Journal* 1, No. 2 (1908), plate facing pg.328. Reproduced courtesy of the Alpine Club of Canada.

Figure 5. Mary Vaux on Mount Stephen in July 1900. Vaux is accompanied by guides Christian Hasler and Edward Feuz, Sr. The photograph records the first ascent of a mountain over 10,000 feet by a woman in Canada. Several summit rituals are depicted, specifically photography, cairn-building, and flag-raising. National Archives of Canada / PA-99822.

Figure 6. An Alpine Club of Canada climbing party resting on Mt. Burgess. Some of the climbers are holding alpenstock while others are carrying the shorter ice-axe. *Canadian Alpine Journal* 1, No. 1 (1907), plate facing pg.174. Reproduced courtesy of the Alpine Club of Canada.

Figure 7. Formal dining at an Alpine Club of Canada's 1906 summer camp in the Yoho Valley. *Canadian Alpine Journal* 1, No. 1 (1907), plate facing pg.176. Reproduced courtesy of the Alpine Club of Canada.

Figure 8. Jim Simpson leading a packtrain along a mountain trail. Simpson, who worked as an outfitter from 1898 until the mid-1940s, was known among his peers for his extensive knowledge of the Canadian Rockies. Reproduced courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta / V577 NA66-499.

Figure 9. A packtrain crosses a high pass south of the Kananaskis Lakes. Photographed by Walter Wilcox. Walter Wilcox, *The Rockies of Canada*, Third Edition (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), plate facing pg. 126.

Chapter 3
Conceptual Framework

Mountaineers used texts to describe their experiences and to communicate their thoughts on mountain climbing. The narratives mountaineers produced, however, revealed the thinking that circulated within their social group and within the larger cultures of which they were part. A conceptual framework drawing on contemporary scholarship is used to suggest the types of questions necessary to discern complex relationships between mountaineering experience and alpinists' ideas about themselves, mountain places, and wilderness recreation.

Several intersecting approaches within a few different scholarly disciplines informed my thinking on experience and its connection to place-representation and self-representation.[1] I consulted research in geography, history, cultural studies, literature, and sociology, particularly the scholarship informed by feminist critiques. These diverse traditions intersect in the critical interpretation of recreation and leisure, specifically travel. This topic has generated a growing amount of published research that focuses on the interpretation of travel, the cultural milieu that supported it, and the cultural products, such as texts, images and imaginings, that were its outcome.[2] Feminist critiques that examined how women wrote their own life stories, whether in diaries, travel narratives, or autobiography, reveal the complex interconnections between gender relations and the processes of textual representation.[3] My research

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[1] A discipline is typically characterized its methodology and "clearly demarcated fields for investigation." Cultural studies, unlike other academic disciplines, does not meet this criteria. More often, it is identified as an approach, or "field of study" that characterized by it "orientation" and "established forms of analysis." Simon During, "Introduction," in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, 2d ed., ed. Simon During (London and New York: Routledge, 1993, 1999), 1.

[2] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978; Vintage Books, 1979); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992); Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, ed., *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (London: Routledge, 1992); Derek Gregory, "Between the Book and the Lamp: Imaginative Geographies of Egypt, 1849-50," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographies*, n.s., 20 (1995); and James S. Duncan and Derek Gregory, ed., *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999).

[3] Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991); Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (New York: Guilford Press, 1994); Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, ed., *Writing Women and*

draws upon this interpretive tradition that has emerged from scholarly engagement with critical social theory.

Experience, Place, and Subjectivity

Researchers who work within a critical social theory perspective identify connections between the representation of lived experience, place-representation, and self-representation. I explore the mutual constitution of these processes in this dissertation. To explain how these three processes are interconnected I have found it helpful to think about them in terms of three dualities: experience and place, experience and subjectivity, and place and subjectivity. Before I explore these dualities, however, I will first clarify the concepts experience, place, and subjectivity.

Experience refers to "direct personal participation or observation."[4] I use the term to refer to the various activities that climbers did while in the Rockies. In this practical sense, turn of the century mountaineering in the Canadian Rockies meant hiking, scrambling, and technical climbing, along with route-finding, trail riding, and camping. In terms of a theoretical perspectives the matter of experience is seldom problematized. Feminism is the notable exception and that is because the idea of shared women's experience, particularly the experience of oppression, is considered a basis for feminist politics. In feminism, therefore, experience is at the root of claims for unity. Yet the term is not self-evident and several feminist theorists have questioned the earlier tendency to use unexamined experience as the basis of authority. Instead, feminists are now advocating that experience itself is a site of struggle and as such it must be historicized and explained.[5] While this feminist critique refers to the idea of a collective sense of experience, and its purpose is to advance politics, there are

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Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies (New York: Guilford Press, 1994); Karen Morin and Jean Kay Guelke, "Strategies of Representation, Relationship and Resistance: British Women Travelers and Mormon Plural Wives, ca. 1870-1890," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88 (1998).

[4] Collins Concise Dictionary.

[5] Henrietta Moore, *A Passion for Difference* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Joan Scott, "Experience," in *Feminist Theorize the Political*, ed. Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (London: Routledge, 1992); Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (London: Routledge, 1991), 109-124.

points that can assist me even though I am asking different questions. In particular, I am cautioned against viewing mountaineering experience as ahistorical and specific. I am also guided to consider the various ways that experience can be constructed as a basis for mountaineers' knowledge and group affinities.[6]

Like experience, the term place also has a dual sense. The popular connotation suggests that the Canadian Rockies are a place because they have a tangible material reality and they have physical boundaries. Yet according to geographer Doreen Massey, places, in addition to being an agglomeration of buildings, transportation infrastructure or landforms, are also processes. Massey suggests that we think of places "not as areas on maps, but as constantly shifting articulations of social relationships through time."[7] Richard Schein used Massey's work on British places as a departure point for his research on American landscapes. Schein's argument that landscapes are "discourse materialized" emphasizes the idea that:

> As a material component of a particular discourse or set of intersecting discourses, "the cultural landscape" at once captures the intent and ideology of the discourse as a whole and is a constitutive part of its ongoing development and reinforcement.[8]

Both of these conceptualizations assert the important idea that both the "identity of places" and the "identification of places *as* particular places" is always "temporary, uncertain, and in process."[9]

Subjectivity is the third of the central concepts explored in this work. Among the three concepts, this is perhaps the most difficult to grasp. Questions of self-representation are addressed in many disciplines within the social sciences and humanities. Unfortunately the terminology is often used loosely or imprecisely. Although the terms "subjectivity," "self-representation," "sense of self" and "lived

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[6] Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*, 110.

[7] Doreen Massey, "Places and their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal* 39 (Spring 1995), 188. Refer also to: Doreen Massey, "The Political Place of Locality Studies," in *Undoing Place? A Geographical Reader*, ed. Linda McDowell (London: Arnold, 1997), 325.

[8] Richard Schein, "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 87 (1997), 663.

identity" may be used interchangeably, my understanding of these terms is rooted in the relational concept of subjectivity. This approach highlights the arguments that subjectivity is lived or performed, that it is multiply configured by race, gender, class, and other axes of identity, and is constructed through social relations.[10]

Experience and Place

Experiences lend meaning to place. Another way to think of this is to consider how places develop identities through their association with specific traditions, rituals, practices, or behaviours. Monuments, urban streets and neighbourhoods, government buildings, recreational facilities, places of worship, and parks are places that evoke specific kinds of meanings. In each place people repeat certain patterns of activities. Social norms are established through this repetition. To study a place and how it is imagined by people, Rob Shields suggests that researchers focus on "the events and activities it attracts and repels." Shields argues that this process of guiding and inspiring certain kinds of human activity essentially "builds" places.[11]

Once a place is "built" or "imagined," the thoughts and behaviours that once worked to create it are next marshalled to support and maintain it. In other words, place and experience are intertwined. Situated experiences work to create places while places, due to the social norms they embody, will both inspire and constrain those experiences. In Tim Cresswell's words, geography has "a fundamental role in ascribing particular sets of values to particular actions." He provides a simple illustration of this point: "[t]he geographical setting of actions plays a central role in defining our judgment of whether actions are good or bad."[12] Shields makes a similar point, he suggests that place-images are central to daily life. Place images have what he calls "social impacts" that "are empirically specifiable." For example, once places

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[9] Massey, "Places and their Pasts," 190.

[10] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990, 1999).

[11] Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 6.

[12] Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 9.

are "labelled" they become actualized "in locally-specific ways as *places-for*" particular kinds of crowd practices, built environments, or regional policies.[13] A key insight of Cresswell's and Shield's work is the importance of considering *where* human actions occur.

Attention to *where* human actions are situated becomes pressing when the issue is transgressive behaviour. According to Cresswell, transgression occurs when unspoken and taken-for-granted social norms are challenged. The transgressive act may be a subtle bending of the rules or a flagrant act of defiance. Regardless of its precise form, transgression is a feature that some researchers associate with certain types of nineteenth century travel, particularly when it was conducted by women.[14] Victorian women travellers, whether travelling across deserts, through jungles, or over mountain passes, were unmistakable transgressors of restrictive social norms. Researchers point to cross-dressing, solo travel, and dangerous modes of travel as examples of how these Victorian women travellers, variously characterized as New Women or proto-feminists, flouted social norms.[15] Yet a consideration of *where* these women acted, suggests that activities such as cross-dressing and adventuresome travel are not always, nor necessarily, transgressive. It is, after all, somewhat easier to challenge social norms when one is not surrounded by his or her peers. Alison Blunt's analysis of the paradox presented by Mary Kingsley is helpful in expanding on this point. Kingsley exhibited a feminine demeanor yet she enthusiastically adopted the masculine adventurer role. Blunt suggests that the paradox was "resolved because [Mary Kingsley's] behaviour was seen as both spatially and temporally differentiated with potentially masculine traits distanced in time and space from the celebration of her

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[13] Shields, *Places on the Margin*, 6, 9-10.

[14] Refer to these studies that valorize women travellers who transgressed restrictive social norms: Dorothy Middleton, *Victorian Lady Travellers* (London: Routledge & K. Paul; rpt. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1965); Mary Russell, *The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt: Women Travellers and Their World* (London: Collins, 1988); and Dea Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

[15] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (London: Routledge, 1995).

femininity on her return and her current activities at 'home.'"[16] Spatiality, then, must be considered before final conclusions about the transgressive quality of any action can be made. Caution is also advisable because an emphasis on transgression can obscure more mundane and practical motives for questionable behaviour. For example, women mountaineers, like other women travellers who engaged in rigorous modes of travel, wore men's clothes in the mountains because they were functional and comfortable. Significantly, women mountaineers did not wear trousers on the train, they wore them on the mountain slopes while they were climbing. At the annual summer camps of the ACC women mountaineers were required to wear trousers while on the rope but in camp, especially around the campfire, they wore skirts.[17]

Experience and Subjectivity

The first approach I take in examining this relationship is to focus on how an individual's sense of self influences experience. Simply stated, who you are shapes what you do. Feminist researchers have investigated the linkages between subjectivity and experience by focusing on gendered subject positions and women's experience of social oppression. In the past, feminist scholars examined the kinds of experiences that were unavailable to women because of their gender, and by trying to explain what women could not do, the theory of patriarchy was introduced. Yet feminists have also argued that insight does not come solely from investigating what people *cannot* do or how they are subjugated. Nancy Hartsock argues that researchers can also gain insight into identity through the study of what people *can* do and by analyzing how individuals understand their "capacities, abilities and strengths."[18] I use this tactic to consider mountaineering because mountain climbing represented a somewhat unusual choice for leisure. By considering how middle-class men and women described themselves and

[16] Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (New York: Guilford Press, 1994), 141.
[17] PearlAnn Reichwein, "On Top of the World: A Woman's Place," *CAJ* 78 (1995), 47.
[18] Nancy Hartsock, "Foucault on power: a theory for women," in *Feminism/Postmodernism*, ed. L. J. Nicholson (London: Routledge, 1990), 158.

their decision to engage in mountain climbing, I can explore how individuals used the agency they had to create a specific aspect of their self.

More recently, a number of feminist researchers have pursued a different angle on the subject of women's oppression by introducing arguments influenced by discourse theory. Sara Mills argued that the advantage of discourse is that it allows theorists "to move away from [a] view of social constructs beings imposed on passive female subjects."[19] Moreover, Mills added that a discourse is "something that you *do*" and not something to which you are subjected. Therefore, when female subjects engaged with discourses of femininity they entered into "an interactional relation of power rather than an imposition of power."[20] This shift in perspective, however, does not deny that discourses can be limiting to individuals, it simply shifts the disciplinary power from patriarchy, or men, to discursive fields. In the words of Sandra Bartky: "The disciplinary power that inscribes femininity in the female body is everywhere and nowhere; the disciplinarian is everyone yet no one in particular."[21] In these discursive conceptualizations, the reciprocal relationship between experience and subjectivity is prominently featured.

Gender was a key variant or measure of difference among mountaineers and it was central to their self-definition practices. Both male and female mountaineers negotiated gender discourses, and as the term negotiation would suggest, not all aspects of femininity or masculinity were unproblematically limiting or liberating. For women mountaineers, in particular, gender discourses offered some unique opportunities. Research into women travellers, points to several instances where women strategically claimed, or to use Judith Butler's word, "performed" gender.[22] Mary Suzanne Schriber suggests that women travel writers made "use of the culture's template of woman even as they contest[ed] and exceed[ed] its boundaries." By "[a]dopting the mask of Woman," Schriber adds, women travellers were able "to cover and make

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[19] Sara Mills, *Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1997), 87.
[20] *Ibid.*, 88.
[21] Cited in Mills, *Discourse*, 95.
[22] Discussing her theory of performativity, Butler writes that gender is "an expectation that ends up producing the very phenomenon that it anticipates." Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xiv.

palatable disruptive acts beyond the 'rule of decency.'"[23] Women who engaged in the vigorous activity of climbing peaks while dressed in men's clothing were accepted because they continued, in all other respects, to act as ladies. Women who emphasized their ladylike qualities while participating in a masculine activity such as mountaineering, were performing femininity. Such practices do not deny the reality that gender ideology was constraining, they simply emphasize that gender could be a point of agency. Women climbers asserted their right to climb by demonstrating that climbing did not make them less feminine. Relational, or discursive theories of self, therefore, are helpful because they recognize the inherent complexity of selfhood plus they provide a vehicle for understanding ambivalent, and even inconsistent, self-representations.

Mountaineers, by merit of their secure social position within their home societies, were able to shape their climbing experiences. As a social group, mountaineers were differentiated by their level of education, access to leisure time, and level of wealth. Shared ancestry also aligned with this class homogeneity. Most mountaineers who came to the Rockies were northern European or of northern European descent.[24] The result was a subject position informed by the interplay of gender, class, ethnicity, and race.[25] The social relations founded on these markers of identity were often unequal because they conferred power hierarchically. Broadly speaking, power provides some people choices and it limits the choices and freedoms of those with less power. Mountaineers, by merit of their social positions, had social power. They had the power to choose mountaineering as a pastime and they had the power to establish the ideas and vocabulary used to describe and interpret mountain

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[23] Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad 1830-1920* (Charlotte: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 92, 94.

[24] Japanese mountaineers were also part of the early history of Canadian mountaineering. In the summer of 1925 a team of Japanese climbers made the first ascent of Mount Alberta. Located in the Columbia Icefields, this peak was considered "the central unsolved problem of this second golden age of mountaineering." R. W. Sandford, "The Rising Sun Over Mount Alberta," *Mountain Heritage Magazine* 1 (Spring 1998), 14.

[25] Physical ability and age were other markers of identity that framed the mountaineers' social relations. This is a topic, however, that requires further investigation.

climbing. In essence, mountaineers were able to craft the discourse that surrounded mountain climbing.

Subject positions can, and do, emerge from experience. This is the second approach for considering the interconnection between experience and subjectivity. The essence of this relationship can be expressed as "what you do shapes who you are." This idea is rooted in the conceptualization of subjectivity as something that is lived, multiply-configured, and socially constructed. In Linda McDowell's words: "The sense of oneself as a certain kind of woman, defined by class, 'race,' religion, age and so forth, is given meaning by the actualities of everyday experience. And this experience itself is a complex series of cross-cutting locations in which the significance of difference aspects of the self varies."[26] McDowell's passage suggests the need to explore how the "actuality" of mountaineering experience complicated each individual climber's sense of self. The other central idea is that the identities such as "mountaineer" or "mountain explorer" are simply "aspects of the self." Yet climbing, like travel, was a singular experience for many individuals. It was the only time that they wrote publicly about themselves.[27] In this context, this "aspect of self" can be interpreted as being highly valued; the label "mountaineer" reflected what these individuals were passionate about, even if it was only reflective of a short-lived experience.

Of course, an individual's subject position and identity is not simply a matter of experience. Henrietta Moore notes that it is easy to reduce an individual's speaking position to experience. It is a slippage that can be expressed as: "'I know because I've been there' and 'I know because I am one.'"[28] Reliance on this kind of evidence from experience is problematic because, in Scott's words: "The evidence of experience then becomes evidence for the fact of difference, rather than a way of exploring how difference is established, how it operates, how and in what way it constitutes subjects

[26] Linda McDowell, "Spatializing Feminism: Geographic Perspectives," in *Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Nancy Duncan (London: Routledge, 1996), 41.
[27] James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
[28] Moore, *Passion for Difference*, 3.

who see and act in the world."[29] Contemporary theorizations of experience attempt to avoid this conflation of subjectivity with experience. Moore, for example, argues that experience is both embodied and intersubjective. She recognizes that experience is situated in material space and enunciated through individuals' bodies. Significantly, she also emphasizes that experience is equally an outcome of social relations and processes. In Moore's words, experience "is not individual and fixed, but irredeemably social and processual."[30] Scott makes a related point that is equally instructive. She recognizes the tendency to focus on the differences emerging from experience. "[B]ut" she adds, "we don't understand it as constituted relationally. For that we need to attend to the historical processes that, through discourse, position subjects and produce their experiences."[31] In other words, Scott writes, experience is not "the origin of our explanation" but "that which we seek to explain."[32] Therefore, the positions "mountaineer" or "lady mountaineer" (in which a male norm was implied) need to be interpreted as fluid, and not fixed, identities. While the identities were rooted in the experience of climbing and gender, they were continually negotiated and redefined as circumstances and ideas changed.

Place and Subjectivity

In her introduction to a recent book on place, Linda McDowell writes that "there is a reciprocal relationship between the constitution of places and people." It is a relationship that focuses on "how places are given meaning" and "how people are constituted through place."[33] Individuals, families, and nations are known to derive a sense of identity from place. Places can become central to individual efforts at self-definition. According to Gillian Rose: "One way in which identity is connected to a particular place is by a feeling that you belong to that place. It's a place in which you

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[29] Joan Scott, "Experience," in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (London: Routledge, 1992), 25.
[30] Moore, *Passion for Difference*, 3.
[31] Scott, "Experience," 25.
[32] *Ibid.*, 26.
[33] Linda McDowell, "Introduction: Rethinking Place," in *Undoing Place? A Geographical Reader*, ed. Linda McDowell (London: Arnold, 1997), 1.

feel comfortable, or at home, because part of how you define yourself is symbolized by certain qualities of that place."[34] This type of theorization, however, can provide only a partial insight into identity. According to Doreen Massey, "individual identities are not aligned with *either* place *or* class; they are probably constructed out of both, as well as a whole complex of other things, most especially race and gender."[35] Massey adds that "the balance of these constituents, and the particular characteristics drawn upon in any one encounter or in any one period may of course vary."[36]

Travellers, explorers, and mountaineers present a variation on this experience. They too identify with places, but it is not in the typical sense associated with home. Felicia Campbell discusses this phenomena by reflecting on a quotation from the Himalayan explorer, Alexandra David-Neel: "I have homesickness for a country that isn't mine. The steppes, the solitudes, the eternal snows and big skies haunt me."[37] Tellingly, Campbell suggests that writing is the result. Both memoirs and mountain stories, she declares, are solace for this kind of homesickness and inspiration for journeys yet to come.[38] In a sense, then, the mountaineer becomes a kind of place-based identity. The identity is not based on residence, since mountaineers were largely temporary visitors to the mountains. Rather, the identity is founded on a strong affinity for a particular kind of place.

Belonging, or the identification with place, however, is just one way that people come to recognize and respond to place identity. Alienation (identifying against a place) or ambivalence (not identifying with a place) are equally important facets of the relationship between place and subjectivity.[39] For this study, the emphasis will be on attachment to place since it is a theme that pervades most accounts of mountain adventure. Interestingly, when alienation and ambivalence do appear in the

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[34] Gillian Rose, "Places and Identity: A Sense of Place," in *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization*, ed. Doreen Massey and Pat Jess (Milton Keynes: The Open University; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 89.
[35] Massey, "Political Place of Locality Studies," 325.
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] Felicia F. Campbell, "The Wilderness Within Us: Women and Wilderness," in *Wilderness Tapestry: An Eclectic Approach to Preservation*, ed. Samuel I. Zeveloff, L. Mikel Vause, and William H. McVaugh (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1992), 153.
[38] *Ibid.*, 159.

mountaineers' descriptions of the Rockies, it is in reference to smaller scale features of the landscape. A high elevation pass may be perceived as barren and austere, a burnt forest as grotesque and weird, and a cloudy day in the forest as gloomy and depressing. But even these momentary interludes require a careful reading because many turn of the century mountaineers interpreted the landscape using knowledge that was tied to the nineteenth century aesthetic tradition of the sublime. In the Romantic tradition of the sublime, landscapes that evoked feelings of gloom, even terror, were not abhorred; rather they were admired.[40]

Places, it must be remembered, have no inherent identity. People can create place meanings by spatially organizing behaviour in various ways: building construction, ritual, commemoration, or preservation. Moreover, people construct places for specific reasons. Significantly, different people have different ideas about places - what they were, what they are, and what they should be. Doreen Massey argues that the "identity of places is very much bound up with the *histories* which are told of them, *how* those stories are told, and which history turns out to be dominant."[41] That conflict over the identity of places exists, argues Massey, is evidence of the dynamic constitution of places.[42]

Places, therefore, cannot be separated from the people who create them. The geographer Wreford Watson articulated this idea when he wrote: "The place of perception is critical to the perception of place."[43] Watson's plea of 1967 still resonates today, particularly his emphasis on the importance of "thought modes," preconceived ideas, wishful-thinking, myopea, and inertia:

> The fact is, we need a geography of countries based not only on their physiography, their economy, or their society but also on mental images of what these countries are like or what men would wish them to be.

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[39] Rose, "Place and Identity," 89.
[40] Susan Glickman, *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of Canadian Landscape* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).
[41] Massey, "Places and their Pasts," 186.
[42] *Ibid.*, 185.
[43] J. Wreford Watson, "Mental Images and Geographical Reality in the Settlement of North America." Cust Foundation Lecture (Nottigham: University of Nottigham, 1967), 22.

> Such mental images are derived from thought-modes - how to see; preconceived ideas - what to look for; wishful thinking - what one would like to find; myopea - not seeing what is anomalous; and inertia - not accepting what is seen.[44]

Thus, for the purposes of this research I am reminded that the Canadian Rockies have no essential or authentic meaning, only meanings that vary through time and space. While the very words "Canadian Rockies" tend to evoke a particular set of meanings, particularly beauty, wilderness, and recreation, Massey cautions that these dominant views are only "maintained by the exercise of power relations in some form."[45]

Strategies for a Critical Reading of Mountaineering Narratives

From my reading of this theoretical work, I have developed strategies for critically evaluating public and private mountaineering texts. In the next three chapters I analyze textual representations of experience, place, and self by working with the conceptual relationships that I have identified above. I investigate each variable in turn, focusing on the different ways that the linkages do appear in mountaineering texts.

In the first analytical chapter, I make extensive use of direct quotations from mountaineering texts in order to convey a vivid sense of the climbing and exploring experience. Modifying a sociological model of mountain experience developed by Richard G. Mitchell, Jr., I structure my arguments by identifying a range of activities and social contexts that characterized turn of the century Canadian mountaineering.[46] Planning, conditioning, travel, technical climbing, and companionship are discussed in turn. To understand how place and self-representation came to inform these different aspects of experience, I consider how both the spatial context of activities and the gendered subject position of different mountaineers came to influence the interpretation of mountaineering experience.

[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Massey, "Places and their Pasts," 190.
[46] Richard G. Mitchell, Jr., *Mountain Experience: The Psychology and Sociology of Adventure* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983).

Mountaineering narratives were filled with detailed descriptions focusing on an array of subject matter ranging from vast panoramas to the smallest alpine flowers. To analyze these representations, I identify five themes that characterize the prominent elements of Rocky Mountain description. First, I analyze the descriptions that were informed by the particularities of mountaineering and exploration. I argue that the physicality associated with these modes of contact with the natural environment encouraged a particular way of seeing places. Next, I turn to the kinds of descriptions that emerged from, and were reinforced by, the subject positions of alpinists. The prominence of certain themes in their texts was a direct reflection of the interests and priorities of the middle-class climbers who came from Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. I identify three themes: the description of an aestheticized and spiritualized wilderness, the use of 'mountains as playground' metaphor, and the symbolic linking of Canadian national identity to mountain scenery.

An investigation of self-representation strategies concludes the analysis of mountaineers texts. I identify five subject positions that characterize the kinds of ideas that mountaineers articulated when they described themselves. The five positions represent both gendered and experiential identities and they emerge from the contexts provided by place and the particularities of mountaineering experience. I first discuss the tendency of mountaineers to refer to themselves and their peers as "ladies" and "gentlemen." Next, I examine how gendered individuals negotiated the other identities they assumed: the mountaineer, the scientist-explorer, and the nature enthusiast. Particular attention is directed towards the spatial variability of these identities because it is this aspect of subjectivity that pertains to geographical research.

Problems and Potentials

Each of the concepts identified above continues to be the subject of scholarly debate. While many contemporary researchers have adopted a postmodern stance that advocates the constructed nature of experience, place, and subjectivity, there is no broad consensus. More recently, in reaction to claims of strident relativism, researchers have begun to theorize a middle-ground between the fixed truths of

modernism and the negotiated truths of postmodernism or other forms of critical social theory. Most of the thinking that inspires my research is rooted in works that attempt to reconcile the existence of multiple truths with an empirical reality.[47] Sara Mills, however, argues that this debate was caused, to some extent, by a misreading of Michel Foucault's work. Foucault, she claims, never defined the nature of empirical reality but some critics have interpreted that omission as evidence that he denied the existence of the real. In contrast, Mills asserts that Foucault's point was "that what we perceive to be significant and how we interpret objects and events and set them within systems of meaning is dependent on discursive structures."[48]

The textual evidence left by mountaineers also presents some interpretive challenges. In many instances, biographical information about the writers, especially those who wrote for magazines, is unknown or obscure. Only some of these mountaineers were prominent figures whose careers and achievements both within and outside of mountaineering brought them public recognition. In some instances, these lesser-known individuals are identified only when their writings are deposited in archives. Typically, a brief life history, provided by the individual or his or her heirs, accompanies the archived evidence. For the scholar, this lack of biographical evidence presents difficult interpretive challenges, particularly when it comes to complex matter of self-representation. One argument that I advance is that mountaineering activity was an important aspect of each climber's lived identity and sense of self. I make this claim because mountaineering was something that people chose to do. The difficulty is that I know very little about the lives of the mountaineers I consider. While my focus in this dissertation is solely on the textual representation of mountaineering experience, future scholars could investigate a few of the better-known climbers to determine the influence of mountaineering on each individual's "off-mountain" life.

For this dissertation, I have decided not to focus on the lives and accomplishments of individual mountaineers; rather I have decided to interrogate how climbers, as a group, constructed specific and mutually reinforcing visions of

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[47] Linda McDowell, "Spatializing Feminism: Geographic Perspectives," in *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Nancy Duncan (London: Routledge, 1996), 37-43.

mountaineering experience, the Canadian Rockies, and the mountaineer identity. Thus, instead of constructing a linear history of mountaineering in the Canadian Rockies at the turn of the century, I conduct a textual analysis of mountaineering writing. As a result of this focus on discourse, I am able to work with a set of data that is rich in its descriptions of the mountaineering experience but scanty in its account of the breadth of individual lives. Mills described the value of this approach as follows: "Discourse is therefore useful in that it allows us to analyze similarities across a range of texts as the products of a particular set of power/knowledge relations."[49]

Critical social theorists argue that experiences, places, and subjectivities are all constituted through social relations. Moreover, these three concepts are interconnected in specific ways. Strong connections exist between experience and place. Experiences, such as repeated group activities, lend meanings to place. Once those meanings are in circulation, however, they help reinforce social notions about what types of activities or behaviours are deemed to be "in place" or "out of place." Subjectivity shapes experience because it can result in an individual's actions being perceived as socially acceptable or improper, even wrong. Alternatively, subject positions are set up within particular contexts of actions. Place and subjectivity are also mutually reinforcing. Individuals derive a sense of their identity from the places in which they have lived or visited; however, those places themselves have no inherent meanings. By working with these relational theorizations of experience, place, and subjectivity my analysis focuses on the ways that mountaineers' texts reflected their social contexts yet simultaneously contributed to the continued existence of those same social contexts. Since I decided to interrogate the socially constructed representations of mountaineering, the Canadian Rockies, and mountaineers, I relied on data that emphasized climbing activities instead of individual lives. Also, I structured my analysis of mountaineers' texts thematically to feature specific types of actions, practices, and social relationships.

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[48] Mills, *Discourse,* 50.
[49] *Ibid.,* 23.

Chapter 4
"The pure joy of being alive and there"[1]: Representing Canadian Mountaineering Experience

No, believe me, there are some secrets you will never learn, there are some joys you will never feel, there are heart thrills you can never experience, till, with your horse you leave the world, your recognized world, and plunge into the vast unknown.

Mary T. S. Schäffer, *Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies*.[2]

Mary Schäffer, in the opening chapter of her book *Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies*, argued compellingly that direct experience was the best way to learn the "secrets" of the mountains. Just over a decade later, C. B. Sissons made the same point. He argued that small groups of people "should find their way into some cranny of our vast mountain spaces, perhaps a cirque hardly to be discerned from the valley below, and pitch their tent with a little clump of trees for shelter and firewood and Alpine grass studded with flowers, and the music of a water-fall from the glacier above." He added that "[o]nly thus, far away from pullmans and waiters in boiled shirts, can the mountains give their best."[3] The quest for first-hand knowledge of the mountains was a characteristic common to all mountaineers. While these individuals certainly enjoyed hearing about the exploits of others, they also wanted to participate in camp life, to travel through the valleys on horseback, and to rope together for a safe glacier traverse. For the mountain enthusiast, written narratives produced by other mountaineers often reinforced the belief that the Canadian Rockies were best experienced in person. In describing the "call" of the Northland, Henrietta Tuzo recalled how her friends were drawn to the Rockies by their interest in the Saskatchewan River, which she called "a magnet for the adventurous." She added,

[1] Arthur O. Wheeler, "The Alpine Club of Canada's Expedition to Jasper Park, Yellowhead Pass and Mount Robson Region, 1911." *CAJ* 4 (1912), 24.
[2] Mary T. S. Schäffer, *A Hunter of the Peace: Mary T.S. Schäffer's* Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies, ed. E. J. Hart (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911; reprint Banff, AB: Whyte Foundation, 1980), 19 (page reference to reprint edition).
[3] C. B. Sissons, "Mountaineering in Canada," *Canadian Forum* 3 (September 1923), 366.

"Five enthusiastic women fell victims to the call late in the summer of the present year, and the result was that they decided to go and see the great river in its rocky fastness, for themselves."[4]

When mountaineers wrote about their experiences they described what they did and, in the process, discussed how the geographical setting both limited and encouraged their different actions. In their texts, mountaineers addressed both the imaginative and physical qualities of Rocky Mountain geography. The rugged terrain was an integral component of their imaginative construction the Canadian Rockies as an ideal *place for* adventurous activity. In the Rockies, mountaineers had an expanded sense of what was possible for themselves both athletically and socially.[5] Some of the mountaineers stressed that they were "in place" or that they felt "at home" in the Rockies. By making the argument that their activities were ideal for the place, mountaineering writers linked their ideas about place to their ideas about experience.[6]

The Rockies' rugged terrain and limited infrastructure provided the context that made wilderness camping and travel the prominent characteristic of turn of the century Canadian mountaineering. By focusing on the mountaineers' actions, I gain an opportunity to explore how the physicality of experience shaped the meaning-making process. Mountaineers did not simply view peaks and valleys from a distance; they contacted the environment directly by walking, scrambling, climbing, and horseback riding. In the process, they went through forests, over mountain passes, across ice-fields, and into rivers and streams. Moreover, their experience was multi-sensory; not simply visual. Recently, geographers James Duncan and Derek Gregory argued for this type of analytical approach. They claimed that researchers need to pay attention to the materiality of travel writing production in order to avoid accusations of "textualism." Their concern was that critical readings of travel texts too often focused

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[4] [Henrietta] Tuzo, "Lady Explorers on the Trail: Though Pipestone Pass to the Saskatchewan River," *RGC* 8 (December 1906), 564.

[5] Emphasis mine. cf. Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 9-10.

[6] cf., Tim Cresswell, *In Place / Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Rachel Woodward, "'It's a Man's Life!': Soldiers, Masculinity and the Countryside," *Gender, Place and Culture* 5 (1998), 282.

on "the constitution of authors as subjects through the process of writing" and the linkages between "strategies of representation and ... wider cultural formations" but, ultimately, said "very little about the places these travellers encountered or the physical means through which they engaged them."[7] Thus, a focus on the mountaineering experience will highlight the connection between textual representation and the various ways that individual writers interacted with the world around them.

The social position of mountaineers also encouraged and limited the possibility for different types of actions. PearlAnn Reichwein, David Robbins and Peter Hansen, three scholars who have studied mountaineers in nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, demonstrated that mountaineers were a fairly homogenous social group. Among the characteristics that most mountaineers shared were: middle-class economic status, urban residence, professional occupations, and education.[8] The key social variant between mountaineers was gender. Gender discourses consequently framed the experience of mountaineering itself and how it was reported in mountaineering texts. The connection between mountaineering and masculine ideals of adventure and athleticism led to the formation of social barriers that restricted women's participation in climbing, particularly on the most challenging peaks.[9] Similarly, when a woman climber made an ascent, it was not described simply as an ascent, but as a *woman's* ascent.[10]

In another respect, mountaineering experience was crucial to representation since both the writer's authority and the reader's interest derived from the detailed

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[7] James Duncan and Derek Gregory, "Introduction," in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, ed. James Duncan and Derek Gregory (New York: Routledge, 1999), 5.

[8] For Canadian mountaineers see PearlAnn Reichwein, "At the Foot of the Mountain: Preliminary Thoughts on the Alpine Club of Canada," in *Changing Parks: The History, Future and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes*, ed. John S. Marsh and Bruce W. Hodgins (Toronto: Natural Heritage; Toronto: Natural History, 1998). For British mountaineers see David Robbins, "Sport, Hegemony, and the Middle-Class: The Victorian Mountaineers," *Theory, Culture & Society* 4 (1987); Peter Hansen, "Alberta Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain," *Journal of British Studies* 34 (July 1995).

[9] David Mazel, "Introduction," in *Mountaineering Women: Stories by Early Climbers*, ed. Davel Mazel (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1994); Peter Hansen, "British Mountaineering, 1850-1914," Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991).

[10] Emphasis mine. cf., Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad 1830-1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997).

retelling and interpretation of events. Through their anecdotes, writers validated their presence in the mountains and claimed an authoritative voice.[11] Similarly, writers could spark a reader's interest by interpreting their experiences in different ways: humorously, heroically, exuberantly, solemnly, reflectively, or ironically. For example, a humourous account of mishaps along the trail or in camp not only entertained the reader but it also allowed the writer to offer advice in a non-pompous manner. Entertaining anecdotes not only engaged both armchair and active mountaineers, they also provided a way to share confidences and understanding. Additionally, through humorous writing, an author displayed the wit and charm that were emblems of Edwardian education and breeding.[12]

While in the Canadian Rockies, mountaineers participated in a range of different activities. Certainly, the time spent climbing mountains was a focal point. Yet even a cursory reading of mountaineers' texts revealed that climbing, itself an activity that often had several distinct components, was just one pursuit. Also required was the overland journey to the base of desired peaks, the making of camps en route, and the camaraderie of shared experience. Mountaineering, though often associated with technical climbing, encompassed a wide range of different activities and social interactions. Sociologist Richard Mitchell Jr., in his study of contemporary mountaineering practice, suggested that "technical climbing provides more spice than actual substance to the venture." He then argued that studies of mountaineering should not allow technical climbing to "overshadow the importance of other elements ... which make up mountaineering."[13] Mitchell identified planning, companions, conditioning, travel, technical climbing, equipment, and talk as the seven components that encompass the totality mountaineering experience. The first five of these components are used to structure this chapter because they point to the kinds of experiences commonly discussed in late Victorian and Edwardian narratives. I depart from Mitchell in two

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[11] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 25-35.
[12] Jonathan Rose, *The Edwardian Temperament 1895-1919* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986).
[13] Richard G. Mitchell Jr., *Mountain Experience: The Psychology and Sociology of Adventure* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 1, 2.

respects. The contentious question of equipment and ethics is not addressed because that issue did not become prominent until the period after 1925.[14] Since the question of "talk," or climbers' conversation, is difficult to discern from published articles, that facet of mountaineering was removed from consideration. Mitchell's insight into talk derived from participant observation and interviews, two practices not feasible for a historical study ending in 1925 [15]

Planning

Mountaineers who came to the Canadian Rockies at the turn of the century could plan different types of trips. Climbers could focus on peaks in the vicinity of the railway stations or they could organize an expedition. Some climbers favoured the peaks found in the vicinity of the railway because of their ease of access and their proximity to hotel accommodation. These nearby peaks, however, were among the first to be ascended by mountaineers.[16] As climbers sought new challenges, either unclimbed peaks or peaks surrounded by icefields, the more distant peaks became their focus. But before those peaks could be climbed, the mountaineers first had to reach them. Since travel through the mountain wilderness could be slow, even peaks that appeared relatively close could require a journey of several days.

While it was desirable to plan ahead, it was not essential for short excursions located near the rail lines. There was plenty of opportunity for the inadvertent mountaineer. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Berens, of Kent, England:

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[14] As well, the topic of equipment is discussed in chapters two and six. See also Bruce Fairley, "Mountaineering and the Ethics of Technique," in *The Canadian Mountaineering Anthology*, ed. Bruce Fairley (Vancouver: Lone Pine Publishing, 1994), 230-240.

[15] While observation and interviews are not possible for this study as it is currently configured there is potential for future research to incorporate oral traditions. For example, the Glenbow Archives in Calgary, Alberta have two collections of oral history interviews that focused on guides and outfitters. The Kreg Sky series was conducted between 1982 -1985 and the Sierra Club of Western Canada series was completed in 1980. Another relevant oral history project that focused on British Columbia mountaineers is housed in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. Refer to Susan Leslie, comp. and ed. "In the Western Mountains: Early Mountaineering in British Columbia," *Sound Heritage* 8, No. 4 (1980): 1-76.

[16] For a listing of the first ascents of major peaks in the Canadian Rockies see W. Neate, *Mountaineering and Its Literature* (Seattle: The Mountaineers, 1980), 66-71.

happened to climb Sir Donald by the merest chance, for when they left their Kentish home to take a run through Britain's biggest colony the last thing they had in mind was mountaineering, but, finding themselves at Glacier and becoming permeated by the enthusiasm of the place, they resolved to do or die.[17]

A mountaineer's enthusiasm was whetted by the planning process. Mary Schäffer's and Mary "Mollie" Adams's goal of viewing the Columbia ice-field came about from their research on the region believed to be the site of the head waters of both the Athabasca and Saskatchewan Rivers. While reading James Outram's account of exploration in the territory north of CPR line, Schäffer recalled one descriptive passage that concluded with the phrase: "But the crowning feature of the panorama was the survey of the immense area of the Columbia ice-field, possibly the largest known outside the Arctic regions and their fringe." It was Outram, Schäffer wrote "to whom we were indebted for our curiosity."[18]

Route Planning

Route-planning required considerable ingenuity on the part of early mountaineers because of the limited information that was available. Despite occasional explorers, settlers, missionaries, railroad surveyors, artists, and travellers who preceded the mountaineers, portions of the Canadian Rocky Mountains remained little known until World War I.[19] Only a fraction of the early knowledge was ever published and by the 1880s when the first mountaineers began arriving, most early explorers and

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[17] C. A. B. "A Woman's Venture." *RGC* 4 (May 1903), 431.

[18] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 48; For the original quotation refer to James Outram, *In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905), 42. James Outram was the British climber who achieved fame for his first ascents of Mount Assiniboine, Mount Columbia, Mount Forbes and Mount Bryce between 1900 and 1902. Following the 1902 climbing season, Outram made his home in Canada.

[19] Large scale mapping facilitated by aerial surveys did not commence until 1923. Dan Smith, "Those Magnificent Men and Their Flying Machines: Aerial Reconnaissance in the Alberta Rocky Mountains During the 1920s." *Western Geography* 7 (1997), 86-88.

traders with first-hand knowledge of the mountains were long gone.[20] Referring to his early exploratory mountaineering, Arthur P. Coleman noted:

> From [the Saskatchewan River at Kootenay Plains] onwards to the Athabasca pass is practically virgin ground. Though a few prospectors have followed up some of the northern tributaries of the Saskatchewan, there is, so far as I am aware, no printed record of their journeys. The route followed by Earl Southesk was probably farther to the east, since we could not fit his map and descriptions to the region through which we travelled. Palliser's map proved quite useless. In the previous summer our Indian guides had led us quite astray, taking us out into the foothills and through wretched muskeg trails to the Brazeau.[21]

As Coleman suggested, mountaineers who were planning trips to the Rockies routinely consulted as many relevant maps as they could. Walter Wilcox wrote that the usefulness of the maps was limited since they gave "only a rough idea of the country at best."[22] Poor maps made it difficult to plan trips because mountaineers could seldom gauge the time required to reach their goals. As Wilcox observed, "the maps are on a scale which does not permit of much detail, so that what seems a short and easy journey on the map often proves a struggle amongst bewildering ranges of mountains when the trip is commenced."[23] The inaccuracy of such maps, however, presented an opportunity for mountaineers to both gain recognition and contribute to geographical knowledge by supplementing and revising the existing maps.

As more and more exploratory mountaineers came to the Rockies the amount of published information grew significantly. Before planning their 1907 trip, Mary Schäffer and Mollie Adams read as much as possible about trips taken by their

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[20] "Around 1850 the Hudson's Bay Company decided to ship furs ... from the west coast rather than by the overland route" ending most of the cross mountain traffic. "Athabasca Pass was seldom crossed in the years ahead and Jasper House was staffed less often; in the 1860s it was abandoned." Ben Gadd, *Handbook of the Canadian Rockies* (Jasper, AB: Corax Press, 1986), 752. Some individuals who worked on the railway survey, however, did remain. Tom Wilson, who later gained fame as a guide and packer, was one notable example. Thomas Wilson, *Trail Blazer of the Canadian Rockies*, ed. Hugh A. Dempsey (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1972).

[21] A. P. Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Sources of the Athabasca," *GJ* 5 (January 1895), 55.

[22] Walter D. Wilcox, *The Rockies of Canada*, Third Edition (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), 117.

[23] *Ibid.*

predecessors. Two articles describing Arthur P. Coleman's exploratory mountaineering were published in the *Geographical Journal* in 1895 and 1903 with corresponding sketch maps. Hugh E. M. Stutfield and J. Norman Collie's 1903 book, *Climbs and Explorations in the Canadian Rockies*, also contained sketch maps and detailed route descriptions. A third edition of Walter Wilcox's *The Rockies of Canada* (1909) was in print and James Outram's *In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies* (1905) was available. While Schäffer considered the information pertaining the region surrounding the headwaters of the Saskatchewan River to be "scanty" and "limited" she indicated that the writings contained valuable hints. She and Adams learned that "one may pass through the country for days and see no signs of wildlife." This observation proved significant because they further discovered that there were many previous "unfinished or abandoned" expeditions to their destination since weather and difficult terrain caused unanticipated delays resulting in food shortages that could only be remedied through hunting. They realized that this was a "beautiful, but inhospitable land." Thankful for this information the women laid their plans "both long and deep."[24]

Another alternative for route-planning was to talk to local residents. Both Mary Schäffer and Mollie Adams had spent time in the Rockies prior to 1907. Thus they were also able to rely on verbal information received from individuals with first-hand experience. Schäffer described how "[w]ith willing ears we listened to the tales brought in by the hunters and trappers, those men of this land who are the true pioneers of the country in spite of the fact they have written nothing and are but little known."[25] Native people could, and did, provide information that mountaineers found useful. For some Europeans, however, Native knowledge was difficult to comprehend because it reflected a different way of knowing space and time.[26] Still, the early mountaineers

[24] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 17.
[25] *Ibid.*, 16.
[26] For a compelling study that juxtaposes Native and European ways of knowing refer to: Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier* (London: Jill Norman & Hobhouse, 1981).

eagerly sought whatever information they could, even if it later proved unhelpful for mountaineering purposes.

Logistical Arrangements

Since a mountaineering trip required serious planning and preparation, most climbers and explorers began their preparations early. This was a time-consuming process that began long before the mountaineers even arrived in the Rockies. Mary Schäffer described: "And so in the east, the early spring days went by ... with a constant discussion as to the best air-bed, the proper tents and their size, the most enduring shoe, etc., with trials and tests of condensed foods, ending mostly in trials." But trip planning did have its humourous moments, as this warning by Schäffer revealed: "beware of the dried cabbage; no fresh air in existence will ever blow off sufficient of the odour to let it get safely to the mouth.[27]

For the earliest mountaineers, logistical planning was both costly and challenging because in the 1880s tourism infrastructure was poorly developed. Arthur Coleman, who made five trips to the Rockies before 1895, purchased horses for use in his expeditions and then re-sold them before his return to eastern Canada. Coleman also had to provision his parties with food, shelter, and camping gear. Since only a handful of merchants operated shops in the mountains at that early date, he had to purchase his supplies in Calgary and Morley, and then transport them by train to departure point.[28]

For the mountaineers who followed Coleman, the task of planning was much simpler because they could hire an "outfit." The outfitting business emerged slowly through the 1880s and 1890s, but with the increasing popularity of wilderness holidays, the enterprise became firmly established in the regional economy by 1900. A trail guide, packers, a cook, and a pack-train of horses comprised the outfit. An outfit was flexible in composition; the positions overlapped or expanded depending on the size of the client's party, the duration of the trip, and the number of horses required. Trail

[27] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 18.

guides managed the outfit's personnel, made route decisions, and arranged both camp equipment and provisions. While they were attentive to the interests of their clients, their first priority was the well-being of the horses. Packers assisted the guide, packed the horses, watched over the pack-train, and performed camp chores. The cook managed provisions and prepared all meals.[29] Mary Schäffer had her trail guide William "Billy" Warren arrange the "the best outfit of horses, saddlery, blankets, the hundred and one other things needed and so apt to be forgotten, for in this land to which we were going there were no shops, only nice little opportunities for breaking and losing our few precious possessions." [30] While outfitters usually arranged the provisions, some mountaineers were quick to offer suggestions:

> In regard to outfit:- I understand that your are to provide a tent, food and sundries, but we bring out bedding. We shall certainly want both an axe and a hatchet. As to food:- we want plenty of jam and marmalade (but very little strawberry jam, as Mr. Thompson can't eat it-; no butter; no sweet crackers; plenty of lemons; ... either chicken or lambs' tongues, preferably the former, and certainly not ham or corned beef or beef tongues; more coffee than tea; and a number of cans of soup - canned ox-tail or tomato being the best. We will provide our own chocolate and raisins, as we can do it more cheaply and get somewhat better quality ... We will also bring our own protection against mosquitoes.[31]

By hiring an outfit, mountaineers not only simplified their planning, they also benefited from the outfitters' experience and expertise. Outfitters knew the mountainous terrain and they were familiar with the dangers of the trail, such as flooded rivers and streams. One of their most important skills was the ability to pack gear on a horse so that the load was carefully balanced and securely attached. The ability to execute a "diamond hitch" – an intricate rope arrangement that kept packs

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[28] Arthur P. Coleman, "1892 Rockies, June 6 to Aug 16," A. P. Coleman Collection, Field Notebooks, Box 1, File 12, Victoria University Library, Toronto, Ontario.
[29] E. J. Hart, *Diamond Hitch: The Early Outfitters and Guides of Banff and Jasper* (Banff: Summerthought, 1979), 10-47.
[30] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 18.
[31] Philip Abbot to Tom Wilson, 28 June 1896, Thomas E. Wilson Papers, M1322, Folder 1, Glenbow Archives, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.

from shifting while on the trail – was a trait of an accomplished packers.[32] Norman Collie was so impressed by the value of this skill that he advised others, interested in Rocky Mountain travel, to learn how to "throw a diamond hitch."[33]

The 1906 founding of the Alpine Club of Canada (ACC) introduced a new option for mountaineers interested in climbing the more remote peaks. The ACC sponsored an annual summer camp for its members. Each year the camp was located in a different region. Ideally, the site was near peaks that were at least 10,000 feet and of sufficient difficulty to allow graduating members to achieve active status.[34] In addition to actual climbs and horseback excursions, the ACC executive arranged all baggage transport, food provisions and tent accommodation. By handling all the material logistics associated with backwoods travel, the ACC made difficult trips accessible to a greater number of people. ACC camps were also affordable because the Club secured government grants which subsidized some of the costs. Additionally, the CPR loaned Swiss guides and cooks, plus extended half-fare privileges to Club members travelling to camp. The North West Mounted Police and the Superintendent of Rocky Mountain Park (later Banff National Park) loaned tents and camp equipment.[35] Writing in 1909, Mary Crawford emphasized the role that climbing clubs had in encouraging women to climb:

> Ordinarily, the idea of mountaineering as recreation only occurs to those who live in the vicinity of mountains or whose business takes them there, or in whose family a love of mountaineering is inherited. But now that alpine clubs exist which admit women to membership, and

[32] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 122-23; Hugh E. M. Stutfield and J. Norman Collie, *Climbs and Exploration in the Canadian Rockies* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), 25.
[33] Christine Mill, *Norman Collie A Life in Two Worlds: Mountain Explorer and Scientist 1859-1942*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 108.
[34] The ACC had five membership categories: Honorary, Active, Associate, Graduating and Subscribing. Only Active members had a vote in the ACC's organization. An Active member had to demonstrate climbing proficiency with a 10,000 ft. climb or be an established alpine scientist or artist. Graduating members were those people who desired Active status but had not fulfilled the climbing qualification. After joining the ACC graduating climbers were given two years to complete their graduating climb. Alpine Club of Canada, "Constitution," *CAJ* 1 (1907), 178-181.
[35] For the first summer camp held in Yoho in 1906 the Dominion Government contributed $500.00 and the Alberta Legislature provided a grant of $250.00. Refer to [Anon.], "Camp Notes and News," *RGC* 8 (September 1906), 254.

> which, by assuming all responsibility for equipment at a reasonable rate, place the mountain summits within reach of all, there is no reason why every woman may not seriously ask herself 'Why should I not spend my holiday in the mountains.'[36]

The ACC's activities made mountaineering accessible to segments of the population that either had no interest in complicated planning or the financial resources that such excursions demanded.

Conditioning

Because the physical exertion of mountain travel and mountain climbing required a good level of fitness, actual or would-be mountaineers were encouraged to embark on some sort of training program before arriving in the mountains. Mary Crawford suggested about walking, rowing, and other energetic exercises. She observed: "Preparation for the climb can be made by following these more every-day exercises and, viewed in this light, they take on fresh interest. The daily physical drill has an object now, and every long walk leads to the mountains."[37] Also, by the turn of the century, the need for altitude training for mountaineers was well known. The relatively low elevations of the Canadian Rockies meant that this type of training did not have the same urgency that it did in the Himalayas or Andes.

Novice climbers tended to be acutely aware of their lack of training. For writers interested in producing a humourous tale, poor fitness provided an opportunity for self-deprecatory humour. Recalling the 1914 ACC camp in the Upper Yoho Valley, J. Macartney Wilson jokingly remarked: "'But wait awhile,' the greenhorns said, / "Before we have our chat; / For some of us are out of breath, / Yes, some of us are fat."[38] Despite the humour intended by such statement, organizers of ACC Camps were concerned. By 1921 the ACC initiated a program of "test climbs." As one ACC official present at the Lake O'Hara Meadows camp recalled: "Before inexperienced

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[36] Mary E. Crawford, "Mountain Climbing for Women," *CAJ* 2 (1909), 86.
[37] *Ibid.*, 88.
[38] This poem was based on Lewis Carroll's "The Walrus and the Carpenter" from *Through the Looking Glass*. J. Macartney Wilson, "The Camp in the Upper Yoho Valley (1914)," *CAJ* 6 (1914-1915), 226.

members were allowed to tackle the Graduating climb they were sent on preparatory instructive climbs and according to reports of their fitness were permitted to attempt graduation."[39]

Travel

Exploratory Mountaineering

Many early mountaineers who arrived in the Canadian Rockies more often found themselves inadvertently exploring instead of climbing. Their goal was to climb mountains but, first, they had to determine how to reach those mountains. Norman Collie described these competing goals as follows:

> I did not intend to trouble myself with exploration - the expedition was merely to be a mountaineering one; but, soon finding the maps, such as they were, covered only a very small portion of the ground I proposed to go through, and as no knowledge whatever of the snow-fields and peaks seemed to exist; it at once became obvious that exploration might very well be combined with mountaineering.[40]

Unlike the trained surveyors and mapmakers of earlier generations who worked for the government or railway, many exploratory mountaineers were essentially enthusiastic amateurs.[41] While these individuals were not affiliated in any official capacity with the Dominion survey, they did receive both encouragement and information from the government.[42]

Curiosity motivated many exploratory mountaineers. At the turn of the century some unsolved geographical puzzles captured the attention of these individuals. Charles Fay described his "great satisfaction" at solving for himself "the mystery of

[39] [Anon.] "Report of the O'Hara Meadows Camp, 1921," *CAJ* 12 (1922), 201.
[40] Norman Collie, "Exploration in the Canadian Rockies: A Search for Mount Hooker and Mount Brown," *GJ* 13 (April 1899), 339.
[41] Even those mountaineers with scientific training, specifically the chemist Norman Collie and the geologist Arthur Coleman, were not trained or employed for survey work.
[42] Mary Schäffer, "The 1911 Expedition to Maligne Lake," in Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*; 146-7; William Spotswood Green, *Among the Selkirk Glaciers: Being an Account of a Rough Survey in the Rocky Mountain Regions of British Columbia* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1890), 3.

[Bow Range] section of the continental divide."[43] The elusive peaks Mount Brown and Mount Hooker, featured on some early maps with the erroneous elevation of 15,700 feet, attracted the interest of several early mountaineers, including parties led by Arthur Coleman, Norman Collie and Walter Wilcox. Coleman summed up his interest as follows: " A high mountain is always seductive, but a mountain with a mystery is doubly so."[44]

More commonly, turn of the century explorers in the Rockies claimed that their motivations to explore were rooted in the pleasure of problem solving. Collie expressed this sentiment when he wrote: "There is a great pleasure in standing on a high mountain in a country but imperfectly known, so many uncertainties vanish in a moment, often with the remark, "I thought so," whilst masses of new opportunities and further queries take their place."[45] Wilcox reiterated that idea when he stated that "the necessity for self-reliance and the use of one's own judgment in picking a way through the countless obstacles of these mountains are great sources of pleasure."[46]

Exploratory mountaineers had the opportunity to contribute to existing geographical knowledge. These individuals knew the value of accurate maps, so they felt a sense of accomplishment when they either produced new maps or corrected the existing ones. Hugh Stutfield remarked how completing a map could transform an otherwise frustrating trip into something intellectually worthwhile: "I am responsible for taking the west side of the mountains" he wrote, "but I am not responsible for the weather and the maps being entirely wrong. As, however, Dr. Collie was afforded the opportunity of putting the maps right, our trouble was not entirely wasted."[47]

Route-finding was a practical concern and it was a primary activity for expeditions in the Canadian Rockies. Not all mountains had established access trails so, for many peaks, individuals simply had to figure out how to get to the base of

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[43] Charles E. Fay, "The Continental Divide on the Bow Range," *Appalachia* 11 (May 1906), 127.
[44] Arthur P. Coleman, *The Rockies of Canada: New and Old Trails* (Toronto: Henry Frowde, 1911), 79. This topic is address further in Chapter Five.
[45] J. Norman Collie, "Further Exploration in the Canadian Rocky Mountains," *GJ* 21 (May 1903), 489.
[46] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 117.

them. Route-finding in the mountains combined judgment based on experience, a certain degree of trial and error, and first-hand information. Wilcox wrote that he, along with his peers, found their way:

> ...by following the great rivers which, by their relative position and direction, are always a certain clue. The several ranges of the Rockies have an almost constant trend north north-west, and south south-east. This fact, along with a general knowledge of the streams and lakes, or information picked up from the Indians, is the main reliance of the camper.[48]

In areas where there were no trails, explorers had to work their way through the forests and find ways around obstacles. Typically, members of a party would take turns leading during the enterprise because:

> Two hours of such work were enough to exhaust all of one's good temper and patience. It was surprising with what a will and dash either of us would commence to lead the procession, and how, after a time, this gave way to hopeless despair. Then from the front something like this would be heard. 'It is absolutely impossible to get through here. There is a rock-slide on one side and the timber is piled five feet high on the other.' 'Then why don't you go ahead?' came from the rear. 'Because I am standing on the edge of a cliff twenty feet high.' About such time we simply changed leadership, and while one rested his nerves, the other used his in making a slow advance.[49]

Cutting trees was a regular, and difficult, part of travel through the wilderness of the Canadian Rockies. Collie described this process when he recalled one view of his desired destination, the Columbia ice-fields: "the extremely unpleasant fact [was] that ...our goal, lay nearly 15 miles away up a valley, every yard of which would have to be cut with an axe." Later, Collie mentioned "we were all heartily sick of the work."[50]

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[47] Hugh Stutfield in the discussion following the paper's reading at the Royal Geographical Society, January 14, 1901. Cited following J. Norman Collie, "Exploration in the Canadian Rocky Mountains," *GJ* (March 1901), 270.
[48] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 117.
[49] *Ibid.*, 179.
[50] Collie, "Canadian Rocky Mountains," 264.

Route recording and mapping was a technical practice that required the use of many different scientific instruments. Coleman's description of the varied work he conducted during his explorations revealed this trait. He wrote:

> Distances were measured by pedometer or dead reckoning, checked by frequent latitude observations; heights by means of three aneroids and a boiling-point apparatus, the height of the Athabasca at the mouth of the Miette, which was determined years ago in railway surveys, serving as a check. The readings were compared with sea-level barometer readings for the region, kindly supplied by Mr. Stupart, of the Meteorological Service of Canada. It is believed that the heights determined are not more than 100 or 200 feet astray.[51]

Like science generally, mapping the Canadian Rockies was a collaborative and cumulative process. Exploratory mountaineers worked to fill in the details on maps by comparing their own work to the work of their peers. Collie described this process in this way: "The rough survey map that was made by the expedition under Prof. Coleman has been fitted to our own."[52] Alternatively, mountaineers jointly produced maps. Collie, for example, recalled one instance "When Mr. Parker returned to the States, he kindly handed over his map to Baker to continue it to the north."[53]

The route descriptions and maps produced by exploratory mountaineers offered a partial and particular perspective on the Canadian Rockies. The process of exploration is linked to the idea of discovery. As a concept, discovery implies newness and it suggests that an explorer is the first to witness a place. Exploratory mountaineers, however, were aware that they were not, in the strictest sense, discovering a new land. Walter Wilcox described that realization in this way: "But when trails, either good or bad, penetrate it, how can a country be unmapped or unknown."[54] Arthur Coleman made the same point when he wrote the phrase "practically virgin ground."[55] Thus, discovery implied knowledge translation because

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[51] Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Athabasca," 61.
[52] G. P. Baker in the discussion following the paper's reading at the Royal Geographical Society, February 13, 1899. Cited following Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 356.
[53] Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 342.
[54] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada,* 126.
[55] Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Athabasca," 55.

the Rockies were known; it was simply a case that the existing knowledge did not conform to western European "cartographic ideal."[56] Similarly, the middle-class mountaineers' knowledge was partial because it rested on the claim of scientific authority. Unlike the Native people or the white hunters and prospectors, only mountaineers with some scientific training conducted scientific measurement. The mountaineers' science was a "a bourgeois and genteel" European conception that distinguished its users from both the Native population and the less educated, less wealthy Euro-Canadian population.[57] Through their measuring and mapping, exploratory mountaineers created a rational and ordered space that could be managed, governed, or, in the case of mountaineers, used for recreational purposes.[58]

Wilderness Travel

Reaching the base of a peak to be climbed occupied a significant portion of the exploratory mountaineer's time. For the tourist-explorer, the journey through mountain trails was itself the primary expedition goal. Sometimes travellers found themselves in areas without trails, and at other times, after travelling days without any sign of people, travellers stumbled across a blazed trail.[59] Consequently, a single journey could involve trips through both well-known and poorly-known regions. The difficulties that mountaineers encountered on their journeys, however, made the trail experience a central focus in their narratives.

Descriptions of trail life figured prominently in written narratives and some of the most intense and colourful language was used to convey its caprices and

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[56] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 202; Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 17-27.
[57] Edney, *Mapping Empire*, 32.
[58] *Ibid.*, 34.
[59] The established trails were typically made by Native hunting parties, prospectors, or traders. Trails were blazed by removing a section of tree bark with an axe to reveal the white wood. The white blaze, easily visible against the greens and browns of the forest, was a welcome sight for mountain travellers. Since trail cutting was such hard work and it slowed progress, explorers were thankful whenever they came across old trails.

hardships.[60] Arnold Louis Mumm, for example, appraised "Canadian travel" as follows:

> Canadian travel has a very distinct individuality of its own, and the causes of that are, firstly, what you may call the psychological make-up of the cayoose; and secondly, the almost diabolical ingenuity and resource of nature in planting all sorts of unforeseen obstacles to human progress.[61]

According to the Austrian guide, Conrad Kain, the challenge was in reaching the peaks, not climbing them. He recalled: "Not incorrectly is this called the 'Wild West.' No houses, no roads; only old Indian trails. The valleys are wet and boggy, and one often sinks in to the knees. We have already ascended some mountains. They are not difficult, *but the getting there!*"[62]

Once the mountaineers disembarked from the railway they were dependent on non-mechanical transportation. The horse was used for long distance journeys. There were limits to where horses could travel, thus, the phrase "accessible by horse" became common in mountaineering writing. Dense forest was difficult for horses to negotiate and paths could only be established once a trail was cut. Indeed, trails, when they existed, often resembled an obstacle course. Arthur Coleman provided this recollection: "The pass is not an easy one, since snow-slides have mowed down the forest for half a mile in width at one place, and the fallen trunks make a most disheartening obstacle for ponies to cross."[63]

The "cayuse," or the western horse raised by Native people, was versatile and famed for its ability to jump logs, swim rivers, and negotiate tangled forests, but there were obstacles that even this resourceful animal could not overcome. When it was

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[60] Refer to: Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*; Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*; and, Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*.

[61] A. L. Mumm in the discussion following the paper's reading at the Royal Geographical Society on January 29, 1912. Cited following J. Norman Collie, "Exploration in the Rocky Mountains North of the Yellowhead Pass," *GJ* 39 (March 1912), 235.

[62] Conrad Kain, *Where Clouds Can Go*, ed. J. Monroe Thorington, 3d. ed. (New York: American Alpine Club, 1976), 282.

[63] Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Athabasca," 56.

impractical to go around, over, or under a fallen tree, the mountain traveller's only recourse was to cut through the tree. Fallen trees were a perennial problem and their removal was tiresome and grueling work.

For mountaineers and their horses, wilderness travel presented both discomforts and perils. Using vivid language to convey this point, Mary Schäffer wrote: "We boiled and we burned as the sun beat down upon us from an unclouded sky; and words or comments became useless as we leapt log after log, with all energy reserved to keep ears, eyes, and nostrils free from the swarms of gnats."[64] Another writer observed: "if you go mountaineering you must not expect to remain dry shod. As the ice melts more rapidly during the day time when the sun overhead swelters everyone, the little stream of the morning becomes a raging torrent in the evening." The writer then described a group who encountered such a stream and had "to remain on the banks ... until rescued by the pack-horse train and forded across on one of the guide's horses." It was an incident that "impressed the visitors on the first day with the fact that the Camp was meant for work and not merely for play."[65] Describing the dangers of river crossings, Schäffer recalled one guide's advice in her book: "'If your horse rolls over, get out of your saddle, cling to his mane, tail, or anything you can get hold of, but *don't let go of him altogether! He* may get out, you *never* will, alone.'"[66] Schäffer counseled her readers that "caution and judgment mean safety" and that she would "never advise a belittling of the possibilities for accidents in these mountain streams" because "contempt for danger" had "caused so many of the accidents which are recorded." In Schäffer's words: "the power of the water is that of the avalanche from the mountainside, and it sweeps along throbbingly, intermittently, cruelly, and relentlessly."[67]

Muskeg caused all kinds of difficulties for the horses and frustrations for their riders. Pack horses often got mired in the mud and there were lengthy delays as rescue attempts proceeded. Wilcox described the character of trail travel in the Rockies by

[64] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 33.
[65] [Anon.], "The Alpine Club of Canada: First Summer Camp," *RGC* 8 (September 1906), 247.
[66] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 26.
[67] *Ibid.*

heartily agreeing with the writer who wrote: "'We were surrounded ... by muskegs, burnt timber and bad language."[68]

For many mountaineers, travel by horse was central to the mountain experience. Coleman recalled how horseback riding offered a particular perspective on the scenery: "Here Buckskin gave me plenty of time to see mountains and glaciers and leaping falls now invisible to the travellers on the observation-car, for so sure as there is fine scenery the train takes to earth like a rabbit, burrowing through a tunnel or swinging downhill through miles of those artificial tunnels the snowsheds."[69] As Coleman suggested, travellers who enjoyed the Rockies while riding a horse had more opportunities to experience both the variety and variability of mountain environments.

When it became impractical to cut trail then horses would not be used and the only other alternative was to travel by foot. This happened on rocky surfaces that could render a horse lame. It also happened through long stretches of burnt timber.[70] Mumm, recalling the arduous approach to Mount Robson, claimed that "a Canadian forest is not so easily circumvented." He elaborated:

> That was what made the whole thing such a nightmare, the absolute compulsion to attend, ceaselessly, unremittingly to what one was doing and where one was putting one's feet. Mere walking would have been, relatively, delightful, but walking there was practically none, only clambering, crawling, balancing, dodging, through the unending complexities of almost continuous windfall.[71]

Mumm stated that he could not "resist dwelling at some length" on the experience of the forest trek, because it was the trek itself that gave the Canadian expedition "a place among all my mountaineering experiences."[72]

Travel through the Rockies, especially in the forested regions where there were few opportunities for views, was often described as boring or monotonous.[73]

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[68] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 126.
[69] Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 55.
[70] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 110.
[71] A. L. Mumm, "An Expedition to Mount Robson," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 8, 9.
[72] *Ibid.*, 8.
[73] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 124.

Ultimately, the varied scenery and modes of travel interested the travellers. In many mountaineers' writings, this variety was conveyed through descriptions of different sensory experiences. Some writers described both the sounds and smells of the mountains. For example, Wilcox noted how the "excitement of fording deep streams or noisy torrents of the lower valleys is in great contrast to quiet travel through some mountain pass where an eternal silence reigns."[74] Another writer described camp beds made of "fragrant" balsam and "springy heather blossoms. He wrote: "We had mattresses fit for kings, the fragrance of which could not be described."[75] Recalling both touch and pain, mountaineers also described the coolness of rocks and snow, the stinging of Devil's Club needles, and the eye-watering caused by camp-fire smoke.

Rugged terrain in the Canadian Rockies meant that travel, either by foot or on horse, could be strenuous, exhausting, and often frustrating. For this reason, the activity was sometimes perceived to be inappropriate for women. Yet both women and men seemed to relish the experience. Some women writers, arguing that women's fitness for such activities was the equal of men's, conveyed pride at the successes. For example, K. B. Hallowes, a participant at the 1915 ACC camp at Mount Robson, described some different impressions of a hike from the railway to the Robson Camp:

> I had been told that a surveyor in that district had remarked that he would not care to do the trip, and wondered what the Alpine Club authorities were thinking about in suggesting it for ladies. Well, ... I have not heard of anyone being one whit the worse for the tramp. In fact, I believe that some enthusiasts tried to break pace-records.[76]

Camp-Life

The first task after a day's journey was to locate a suitable site for a camp. Wilcox identified the key criteria: "with fire-wood and water conveniently near, and a meadow not far away where the horses may find pasture."[77] However, when ideal campsites could not be found, the first priority, always, was a site that had feed for the

[74] *Ibid.*, 126.
[75] Reverend George A. Mitchell, "The Cathedral Camp (1913)," *CAJ* 6 (1915): 203, 205.
[76] K. B. Hallowes, "Mount Robson Camp (1913)," *CAJ* 6 (1915), 213-14.

horses. To make this point Coleman recalled: "We could not even camp where we wished. There must be feed for the ponies, and afterwards we might look for unessentials like wood and water for ourselves and a flat place for a tent. Scenery was quite an afterthought."[78] This point was emphasized by Schäffer who commented: "But one cannot camp with twelve horses without grass."[79]

Descriptions of food were common. Tuzo notes that beautiful scenery was not the only "absorbing topic in camp." She continues

> No, at 'Rice Camp' that excellent grain gave a lot of worry! No less than seven recipes were produced for boiling it with the best results, and in the end a squashy mass was served which caused much lamentation. One member of the party tried to eat it disguised with apple sauce and pickles but it was hard work even to dispose of her share, and all voted it an economical dish – it went so far![80]

Mountaineers relied on a variety of portable foods to provide energy for their climbs. One participant at the 1906 ACC summer camp recalled: "All the way up we had the sustaining influences of prunes and chocolates."[81] Hunting for food was often required to supplement supplies on longer trips. Conrad Kain recalled "Then I shot a grouse. I was sorry, but what could one do? In the wilderness one must live off the land, for it is impossible to carry everything one needs. This evening I had a mulligan: beans, rice, grouse, onions and a cup of cocoa."[82]

The evening campfire was the source of many fond recollections. In Walter Wilcox's words "the period after dinner, when the long day ends and the campfire lights up the forest, is the best time for stories of adventure and sociability."[83] At ACC summer camps, the campfire was among the most popular features. Commentators, writing about their adventures, never failed to describe it. Hallowes, who attended the

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[77] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 118.
[78] Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 129.
[79] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 45.
[80] Tuzo, "Lady Explorers to the Saskatchewan," 565-66.
[81] S[mith], "The Alpine Club of Canada: How We Won Our Qualifications," *RGC* 8 (October 1906), 349.
[82] Kain, *Where Clouds Can Go*, 280.

1913 camp at Mount Robson, fondly recalled "a sympathetic crowd round the camp-fire eager to hear 'all about it.'"[84] An earlier commentator noted that "[t]he big camp-fire, surrounded by long logs for seats, was witness to much evening jollity and good fellowship." Among the activities he described were ACC business meetings, "a mock-court filled full of brightness and wit," a reading of the camp newspaper, and "songs and good stories."[85]

The question of tents and bedding revealed a blend of traditions. Teepees were used by some backcountry travellers who appreciated their functional qualities and their nostalgic appeal. A-frame tents were the other popular choice. Some hardy individuals elected to sleep on the ground but there were alternatives. One practice involved cutting branches from coniferous trees to form a mattress. As with any wilderness practice that deviated from the norms of civilization, the brush mattress evoked sentiments of delight. One writer proclaimed: "Here your sleep on balsam brush that outrivals the best mattresses and has a fragrance and aroma only had at tree-line."[86] The folding camp-bed was a popular option because it elevated the sleeper from the ground.

Most humorously, among the lore of Canadian Rocky Mountain exploration, was Hugh Stutfield's mattress. Acquired from the manager of the Banff Springs Hotel in 1902 after some Stutfield's luggage was lost while en route from Britain to Canada, the mattress elicited much scorn and sarcasm from the outfitters. Upon seeing the mattress at the train station one packer "inquired if he should wait for the wardrobe and the rest of the bedroom suite" while another commented that "no self-respecting cayoose would submit to carry it." Later in his narrative Stutfield recalled: "Finally, so bitter and cruel became the taunts levelled at the mattress that the soul of the outfit's Poet Laureate was stirred to its depths." Entitling his ode "To My Mattress," Stutfield opened his composition with these lines: "The plague of the packer, the tenderfoot's

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[83] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 134-35.
[84] Hallowes, "Mount Robson Camp," 216.
[85] Frank W. Freeborn, "Two Camps in the Canadian Rockies," *Appalachia* 11 (June 1908), 331.
[86] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 32.

joy, / Though mosquitoes be spiteful and bull-dogs annoy; / My bed after labour, my sofa in leisure, / They call thee a nuisance – I deem thee a treasure!"[87]

Camping, however, presented some unique considerations when it came to sleeping arrangements. While men and women travelled and climbed together, the need for separate sleeping arrangements was clear. The appearance of respectability and moral behaviour had to be upheld and in written accounts of mountain exploration, writers clearly described their separate sleeping arrangements. In late 1917, Mary Jobe went on an expedition in the northern Rockies with two male guides. Her writings clearly indicated that she slept alone:

> Up to this time we had each appropriated a big spruce tree at night and had unrolled our sleeping bags on the dry needles, which served as a most comfortable bed, but here it was necessary to pitch the tepee, which furnished us common living quarters during the day and protected the grub panniers and sheltered men at night, while my own sleeping quarters during inclement weather consisted of a little silk wickiup, or lean-to, pitched like a half tepee.[88]

Mosquitoes probably elicited the strongest reaction from mountaineers. "In the mountains everything is best or worst and this would have been a paradise but for the mosquitoes, which ceased no day or night."[89] In 1901, Collie described a camp site from the Bush River valley where "evening and night swarms of the most voracious mosquitoes [he] ... ever come across nearly drove [the party] distracted."[90] A more humourous interpretation was presented by Hallowes:

> we hoped to escape from the very demonstrative affection of the mosquitoes, but there is, undoubtedly, a most flourishing branch of the Mosquito and Bulldog Alpine Club, as we found devoted members of it already encamped on suitable places ... They welcomed us with buzzes

[87] Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 240, 308.
[88] Mary L. Jobe, "A Winter Journey Through the Northern Canadian Rockies: From Mt. Robson to Mt. Sir Alexander," *Appalachia* 14 (June 1918), 225.
[89] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 32.
[90] Collie, "Canadian Rocky Mountains," 257.

> of delight and only ceased their keen appreciation of our personal charms when we modestly veiled them in the smoke of a "smudge."[91]

In general, the appeal of camping was rooted in its opposition to civilized life. Camping's appeal also derived from its nostalgic connection to an earlier era of exploration. In his popular book *The Rockies of Canada*, Walter Wilcox argued: "Many customs of camp life in the North-west are derived from the fur traders. The earliest explorers and railroad builders have handed them down to the sportsmen and mountain climbers of to-day."[92] Wilcox added, however, that the "rugged simplicity and semi-starvation of old days are passing" and while "bacon and beans continue to be the mainstay of camp fare, as of right they should, campers are getting into the habit of carrying preserved fruits and vegetables, and such luxuries as make the old-timers wonder at the change of customs."[93] Despite the comforts and luxuries, Arthur Wheeler described the appeal of camp as a longing for the "simple life." He argued:

> The sun on the snow, the gleam of the ice, the rush of the torrent, the smell of the balsam, the precipices, the waterfalls, the roar of the avalanche, infect the blood and carry you back sub-consciously to pre-historic days; the days when we lived in the wilds and fastnesses of Nature, eat [sic] when hungry, drank when dry, slept when tired, and feared only the wilder and stronger beasts who had a life partnership in them.[94]

This sense of primitivism was also found in the writings of women. Mary Vaux's description of the appeal of camp life made the point: "Then, when you return to civilization, you will have many happy memories, and the 'call of the wild' will so enter your blood, that you will count the days till you can again be free among the everlasting hills."[95] Historian Patricia Jasen observes that in the late nineteenth century back-to-nature holidays were popular among the urban middle-class. Urbanization and

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[91] Hallowes, "Mount Robson Camp," 213.
[92] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 114.
[93] *Ibid.*, 114.
[94] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 32.
[95] Mary M. Vaux, "Camping in the Canadian Rockies," *CAJ* 1 (1907), 70.

its associated ills, poor mental and physical health, could be remedied by direct contact with wilderness. Associated with this trend, according to Jasen, was "a new passion – or fashion for rediscovering the wild man within oneself." According to Jasen "[t]he emphasis was on creating a balance: cultivating enough exposure to wild nature, or the illusion of wild nature, to offset the debilitating effects of civilized life."[96]

The "simple life" brought certain hardships but most campers joked about the discomforts. At other times, hardships were even recalled with some degrees of fondness and wistfulness. A small degree of hardship, in the end, was appealing.

> It is odd to think that some people can still enjoy life while sitting in thick smoke, with a cup of tea balanced on one knee, and a plate of porridge, bacon, dampers and a few other comestibles on the other, and trying to snatch a mouthful in the intervals of wiping away smoke-teas. Yet, I wonder how many of us, who made that glorious four-day trip, would have exchanged our Auberge à la Belle Etoile for the most luxurious hotel in the world.[97]

Historians interested in explaining the appeal of wilderness, roughing it, and the simple life, find a series of linked causes. The conveniences and material prosperity that followed industrial and urban expansion in North America encouraged a nostalgia for the "uncivilized," particularly among the middle- and upper-class population. Equally important, the abandonment of camping practices as a way of life helped to increase the attractiveness of outdoor recreation.[98]

The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan made the important observation that camp provided a home away from home. The journey, predicated on departure from home, is bounded because it can never be complete until the return to home is made. Still, Tuan observed that "homeplace... wherever it occurs, has two primary physical traits:

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[96] Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 105.
[97] Hallowes, "Mount Robson Camp," 213.
[98] Reynold E. Carlson, Theodore R. Deppe and Janet R. Maclean, *Recreation in American Life*, (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc, 1967), 176; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3d ed., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 141-160.

enclosure and multisensory texture."[99] Mountaineers took refuge and comfort in the camp. As much as it provided for the physical needs of sleep, food, and shelter, it also provided security to the psyche. After a day encountering unfamiliar landscapes, the traveller could latch onto the familiarity of their belongings. Tuan adds: "Camp is a home-away-from-home, which can seem all the more homelike in the way it caters to and satisfies the body's demand for familiarity and comfort by contrast with the indifference or active hostility of the ice-bound nature outside."[100]

Technical climbing

The Physical Experience

Reaching the summit was the climber's most commonly cited goal. A number of different summit rituals commemorated the achievement. The Reverend J. C. Herdman described the ritual this way: "On the summit you are supposed to build up a cairn or 'stone man'."[101] The cairn itself was both a symbol of accomplishment and a repository for the varied items that mountaineers often left behind on the summits. J. Addison Reid, upon ascent of Mount Fay, found cards that identified the first ascent of Gertrude Benham's party and the second ascent of Charles Fay's party. He noted "I had one of my cards with me, and on the reverse side of it we wrote the date and names of our party. Mr. Haggirth also had his card, and these two were placed underneath the cairn with the one we had found there."[102] Among the sometimes competitive mountaineering community, the cairn was absolute testimony for one's mountaineering success. The summit cairn could not be doubted, whereas the word of the climber could. Wheeler, recalling Conrad Kain's solo ascent of Mount Whitehorn, a climb where Kain was unable to construct a summit cairn due to snow and was thus forced to construct one on the nearest Rocky site. Wheeler wrote: "So his story ran. Knowing him I have no doubt of its truth, but it will not count as a first ascent as there

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[99] Yi-Fu Tuan, "Desert and Ice: Ambivalent Aesthetics," in *Landscape, Natural Beauty and the Arts*, ed. Salim Kemal and Ivan Gaskell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 139.
[100] *Ibid.*, 139, 150.
[101] Rev. J. C. Herdman, "A Notable Centre for Climbs in the Selkirks," *RGC* 8 (June 1906), 11.
[102] J. Addison Reid, "A New Ascent of Mount Fay, Canadian Rockies," *Appalachia* 11 (June 1908), 338.

is nothing in the way of evidence except his word and that little cairn which may never be seen again."[103] Another summit ritual was the obligatory summit photograph. Photographs were popular and as one anonymous writer claimed: "A camera is a very delightful adjunct, for it is pleasant to have some tangible results to show, on your return home."[104]

If interested in ascending an already climbed peak, climbers who wanted a challenge would select an untried route. Mumm, recalling his 1909 attempt on Mount Robson, wrote how his party "resolved to make an attempt on that side of the mountain without delay, being urged thereto by the weightiest of all possible reasons, namely, that Mr. Kinney had been up the other one."[105]

There were various types of ascents. Their quality depended on the type and variety of work that was needed to complete a successful climb. When the Alpine Club of Canada held their first camp at Yoho in 1906, they chose Mount Vice President as the task for graduating members. The summit, above the required 10,000 feet, was considered good because it presented "a varied experience in the different phases of mountain climbing, grassy slopes, timber, rocks, and ice fields all having to be negotiated before the peak is reached."[106] Indeed, Arthur Wheeler, the first President of the Alpine Club of Canada noted that the "true Alpine climber" seeks variety and not simply a hard walk up a slope. For this reason, he noted that Mount Rundle, located adjacent to the Banff townsite, was "not of very great interest."[107] Climbing had not advanced to the same technical level as in Europe. Kain wrote: "Tourism is still at an early stage in Canada; on which account people have not made much strides in Alpine technique as in Europe. One climbs the mountain from the easy side."[108]

Starts were typically made early in the morning, owing to the lengthy time required for the approach and ascent; sometimes as early as 1:00 a.m. and other times as late as 5:00 a.m. Hallowes joked about the famed early starts at ACC outings:

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[103] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 47.
[104] Vaux, "Camping in the Canadian Rockies," 69.
[105] Mumm, "Expedition to Mount Robson," 11.
[106] [Anon.], "The Summer Camp Arrangements," *RGC* 8 (June 1906), 12.
[107] A. O. Wheeler, "The Alpine Club of Canada at Work," *RGC* 8 (June 1906), 7.
[108] Kain, *Where Clouds Can Go*, 213

"First of all, one has to put on a fictitiously wide-awake voice when the Director's call announces that it is 4:30 a.m. Hair does not take long at that hour, ablutions are even more rapid – the wise climber washed and dressed overnight."[109]

A round trip could take more than a day. "We were really back again after an absence of just over 29 hours, a record for, and I sincerely hope it will remain so, but Hastings beats it easily with an outing of 35 hours on Nanga Parbat" in the Himalayas.[110] For Phyllis Munday's ascent of Mount Robson, the departure time was 3:30 a.m. from High Camp, lunch at 9:30 a.m., the summit attained by 4:30 p.m., a stop during descent due to darkness (9,500 feet) at 10:30 p.m., recommencement of the descent at 3.30 a.m., breakfast at High camp at 5:00 a.m., and finally a return to Main Camp by 2:00 p.m.[111] The round trip took 34½ hours.

Even during their climbs, mountaineers thought about descent: "It was one of those very steep slopes where one's main preoccupation is the question what will it be like coming down?"[112] When it came to descent, knowledge of the risks led to caution, especially when the light was waning. There could be fabulous scenery, but enjoyment of the view would be a low priority. On a descent from the upper reaches of Robson, Mumm remembered one instance where a "new world of mountains ... suddenly became visible. But I was less interested in them at the time than in the question of whether we should get to the col and down to the lower levels of Robson Glacier while daylight lasted."[113]

In many accounts, the descent received little attention from the writer. After the excitement and challenge of the ascent, the descent seemed to be anticlimactic. If climbers encountered no obstacles or witnessed no incidents, they wrote nothing. The glissade was a key exception. Described as a "slide down a steep snow-slope," a glissade required the mountaineer to sit or stand, depending on the snow condition. Ice-axes were essential: they helped with steering and functioned as a brake.[114]

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[109] Hallowes, "Mount Robson Camp," 215.
[110] Mumm, "Expedition to Mount Robson," 10.
[111] Phyllis Munday, "First Ascent of Mt. Robson by Lady Members," *CAJ* 14 (1924), 70-74.
[112] Mumm, "Expedition to Mount Robson," 15.
[113] *Ibid.*, 18.
[114] Arthur O. Wheeler, comp., "Glossary of Mountaineering Terms," *CAJ* 1 (1907), 125.

Glissades were exciting, because in the words of one climber, mountaineers turned themselves into "human toboggans."[115] Most times the glissade was uneventful but it could provide a humourous break in narratives. Norman Collie provided one example:

> We descended by a shorter but more precipitous way, and on one steep glissade of about 300 to 400 feet, in attempting to save my pipe, which I had knocked out of my mouth with my ice-axe, I lost my balance and completed the last half of the descent in all sorts of positions, sometimes head first, and sometimes rolling over and over. Fortunately there were neither rocks nor crevasses, and the snow was soft, so no damage was done; and what also fortunate, nobody on the glacier below was quick enough to photograph me during my ignominious descent.[116]

Wheeler provided another light-hearted account of a glissade which discussed the mishaps but emphasized the fun:

> One after another, the party came hurtling down the frozen slopes with a speed of some twenty miles an hour, some sitting, some standing, with ice-axe or alpen-stock acting as rudder, and a greater or less amount of skill, resulting in the latter case in a confused jumble of arms, legs, hats, caps, and other paraphernalia at the bottom of the slope.[117]

The Psychological Experience

Mountaineering tested the psychological, as well as the physical, abilities of climbers. Movement through steep terrain required strength, endurance, and balance in addition to determination, courage, and persistence. Climbers proclaimed the mental benefits of mountaineering. Central to the climbing experience is what contemporary writers call the "flow experience." Sociologist Richard Mitchell, Jr. identified three elements constituting flow: the freedom to choose mountaineering as an activity; the negotiation of climbing challenges that tax but do not overwhelm individual ability; and, a focused concentration on climbing that leads "consciousness of the tasks at hand and the doing of it [to] blend [so that] action and awareness become

[115] Freeborn, "Two Camps in the Rockies," 330.
[116] Collie, "Further Exploration," 495.
[117] Wheeler, "Alpine Club of Canada at Work," 8.

indistinguishable."[118] One early mountaineer described the experience in this way: "In the actual climbing the whole attention is so absolutely concentrated on the business at hand that every worry is put to flight and nothing is of any moment beyond reaching the top of the mountain. The therapeutic value of this one feature alone is inestimable."[119]

Mountaineering had another powerful mental component: the satisfaction and confidence that resulted from achieving a goal. Indeed, the confidence of the mountaineer could only come through such experience. Addressing the topic of mountaineering's benefit to women, Mary Crawford argued that a woman "is going to know herself as never before – physically, mentally, emotionally." As a woman climbs, Crawford continued, she "gains confidence with every step" and "finds the dangers she has imagined [are] far greater than those she encounters." Upon reaching the summit, the woman is able to "gaze out upon a new world"[120] It is a "new world" in the sense that a climber sees "the world" from a two new vantage points. Physically, the climber's elevated position, enables her to look down upon the landscape. Psychologically, the climber's success in reaching her goal provides her with self-confidence and new lens through which she can interpret her "world." Climbing in the Rockies was so strenuous that a complete ascent could take twelve or more hours. However, the sense of personal achievement was proportionately rewarding. Upon reaching the summit of Mount Robson in 1924, Phyllis Munday exclaimed "Thank Heaven" because it was a "four-year-old ambition at last achieved."[121] Referring to the first graduating climb on Mt. Vice President, an ACC commentator remarked that the peak

> was sufficient to try the endurance of any man, and was particularly severe upon the beginners. Unearned honors however [sic] are never worth much and it is gratifying to the new active members who can now

[118] Richard G. Mitchell, Jr. incorporated Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi's ideas on "flow" into his analysis of the enjoyment and intrinsic rewards of mountaineering experience. Mitchell, Jr., *Mountain Experience*, 154.

[119] Crawford, "Mountain Climbing for Women," 86.

[120] *Ibid.*, 88.

[121] Munday, "Mt. Robson by Lady Members," 72.

> call themselves mountain climbers to know that pluck, perseverance and endurance were shown by each and everyone of them before winning the position they now hold.[122]

The commentator noted that despite a "strenuous day of twelve hours continual and trying exertion," nearly everyone appeared around the evening camp-fire following a short rest. These actions were considered "strong testimony to the efficiency of the mountain air and to the recuperating qualities of camp fare accompanied by a short rest."[123]

On challenging climbs, mountaineers encountered a range of hazards. Cracks in glacial ice, or crevasses, were especially dangerous. If hidden by snowcover, an incautious climber could stumble upon one, fall, and risk serious injury, even death. Safe glacier travel required a rope, an ice-axe, sturdy footwear, and a minimum of party of three, to effect a crevasse rescue if necessary.[124] Munday recalled the impossibility of simply walking across a glacier. "The snow was inclined to avalanche, and masked crevasses, often rendering them troublesome. Some of them we crossed by lying down and wriggling over."[125] A climber also risked falls if handholds or footholds gave way, if a cornice of overhanging snow broke away from the mountain, or even through a momentary loss of balance. Thus, climbers needed to be continually aware of their surroundings and vigilant when they moved over rock, snow, and ice.

Other dangers included falling rocks and avalanches. The impact of a stone could injure climbers, knock them unconscious, or disrupt their balance; incidents that could spell disaster for a climber on a steep rock face. On one occasion, shortly after a decision to call off an ascent and return to base, Mumm's party narrowly escaped certain disaster. "We had scarcely started when a tremendous band and crash made everyone stop and look round hastily" at the rocks and ice blocks "shooting through the

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[122] [Anon.], "First Summer Camp," 250.
[123] *Ibid.*, 250-1.
[124] In some Rocky Mountain glaciers crevasses measure between 30 and 40 metres in depth. Gadd, *Handbook of the Canadian Rockies*, 214-15. Today crampons are considered essential for glacier travel but in the early 20th century they were just starting to gain acceptance. For a review of glacier practices in Canada at the turn of the century see: Val A. Fynn, "On Equipment," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 187-191 and J. P. Forde, "Hints on the Use of the Rope in Mountain Climbing," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 191-196.

narrow neck in the rock which has been selected as the best line of ascent." He added that the projectiles "passed within a few feet of us, but nothing came our way. Very little was said, indeed there was little to say. 'We should all have been kilt [sic],' Inderbinen observed thoughtfully."[126] Avalanches were also deadly. Describing her party's descent from Mount Robson, Munday wrote: "On the glacier below we found our tracks all obliterated by heavy avalanche snow."[127] Though she did not write it, the implication was clear; it was only the luck of timing that saved the party from a disaster with an avalanche.[128]

Some climbers described their fears or concerns, but experienced mountaineers countered these emotions with cautious judgment. When the risks of a particular climb were too great, mountaineers found little pleasure in the climb. Kain described that sentiment this way: "I had absolutely no pleasure in that climb. The time was too short and the dangers were too great."[129] Hazards, however, provided the challenge that many mountaineers sought. In Outram's words: "It is a vast mistake to think that danger *as danger* lends any enchantment to the climb: what the mountaineer delights in is bringing skill and science .. to bear upon the difficulties ... [so] that their hazards are eliminated."[130]

Companions

Mountaineering was rarely a solo activity. Solo glacier traverses and rock wall ascents were very dangerous. More important, perhaps, was the fact that solo mountaineers missed the fulfillment and pleasure that came from sharing alpine experiences with others. Mountaineers treasured the friendships they forged in the mountains. Their affinity extended to peers, guides, outfitters, and even the horses. The alpine guide Conrad Kain wrote: "In the mountains one finds out more about a

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[125] Munday, "Mt. Robson by Lady Members," 71.
[126] Mumm, "Expedition to Mount Robson," 17.
[127] Munday, "Mt. Robson by Lady Members," 72.
[128] Stutfield and Collie recalled how they had similar luck in timing their first ascent of Mount Forbes. Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 281.
[129] Kain, *Where Clouds Can Go*, 286.
[130] Outram, *Heart of the Rockies*, 21.

stranger in a single day than in the city during months or years, and a friendship originating in the mountains is not so easy to dissolve." Shared interests, shared experiences could forge, according to Kain, "one more link in the chain of mountain friendship"[131] Norman Collie, for example, maintained a correspondence with outfitter Tom Wilson that continued for decades after his last visit to the Rockies.[132]

Companion selection was important. After all, the enjoyment of the trip depended to no small extent on the dynamics of interpersonal relations. One person whining about the hardships of the trail could dampen the spirits of the whole group and diminish everyone's enjoyment of the trip. Thus, mountaineers and explorers alike sought out "kindred spirits," those individuals who thrived in the mountains and relished in the spartan existence that camp life provided.[133] Companions had to be individuals who could tolerate the mosquitoes, muskegs, cold mornings, and searing hot afternoons, days of rain, and then recall those experiences with fondness. William Spotswood Green described his "successful combination" with his cousin Henry Swanzy: "We had travelled together in Switzerland, and had attained the great stage of perfection - that of being able to squabble with impunity."[134] Careful companion selection was necessary since an affinity for the mountains and camp life was not universal. Many acquaintances among the mountaineers' home cultures simply had no interest in strenuous pursuits or primitive camp-outs. Collie made this point: "... all the small things that had interested us for the last six weeks, when placed before the inhabitants of the civilized world, would either fail to interest, or fall on the ears of those who would not understand."[135]

At ACC camps, mixed-group outings were the norm. Mixed groups of climbers embarked on qualification climbs which could last as long as eight hours, if not longer. At camp the climbers shared meals under a giant mess tent and gathered

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[131] Kain, *Where Clouds Can Go*, 162-63, 194.

[132] Norman Collie to Tom Wilson, 22 March 1898, 6 June 1910, 25 May 1916, 15 January 1923, 26 February 1924, 9 January 1928, 8 March 1928, 19 December 1928, 29 January 1930, 18 April 1931, Thomas E. Wilson Papers, M1322, Folder 3, Glenbow Archives, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.

[133] Mary Schäffer used this term to describe Mollie Adams.

[134] Green, *Among the Selkirk Glaciers*, 4.

together for the evening camp-fire. Still, Edwardian rules of conduct persisted and campers were expected to maintain a certain level of propriety. For this reason, the sleeping quarters were kept separate and an "official chaperone of the ladies" kept watch.[136] Frank Freeborn, a participant in the ACC's 1907 camp at Paradise Valley, noted this strict separation when he described the campsite. Compared with Yoho Camp used the year before, he found Paradise Camp to be "less convenient and picturesque" yet "it far surpassed it in the grandeur of the surrounding scenery." Interestingly, the camp "was built on both sides of an ice-cold torrent" so "a new log bridge" was required to join the two sides. To house the 150 people who attended the camp there were "[t]he tents of the officers, the big-dining tent, the cooking-tents, the camp-fire, and the tents of the women were on one side of the creek, and the men's tents on the other."[137] It was not surprising then that the Reverend J. J. Robinson answered the question "Could a lady go there all alone?" with a confident "Yes" adding that even a "young girl" would "be just as safe as in her home at Brighton or Toronto."[138]

To make sense of this mixing between the sexes it is helpful to look at John Lowerson's work on the Youth Hostelling movement in Britain during the 1930s. Lowerson noted that the Youth Hostels Association's "achievement" was to create "a sense of institutionalized respectability for activities all too readily seen as subversive."[139] Alternatively, Jasen hints that "spending several days in the bush in the company of men or with other women was suggestive of the New Woman's claim to true equality."[140]

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[135] Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 353.
[136] A. C. Galt, "Consolation Valley (Rocky Mts.). Annual Camp, 1910," *CAJ* 3 (1911), 143.
[137] Freeborn, "Two Camps in the Rockies," 329.
[138] Reverend J. J. Robinson, "Vermilion Pass Camp, 1912," *CAJ* 5 (1913), 106.
[139] John Lowerson quoted in David Matless, "'The Art of Right Living': Landscape and Citizenship, 1918-39," in *Mapping the Subject: Geographies of Cultural Transformation*, ed. Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift (London: Routledge, 1995), 99.
[140] Jasen, *Wild Things*, 152.

Alpine Guides

The alpine guide was hired to guide his client safely through the technical portions of a mountain ascent. Swiss guides typically performed this role in the Canadian Rockies.[141] Clients hired the services of a Swiss guide separately from the outfit. There were two options for mountaineers: they could hire a guide in Switzerland and bring him to Canada with the climbing party or they could hire one of the Swiss guides the Canadian Pacific Railway stationed in the Rockies. For extended expeditions to remote peaks, mountaineering parties hired both an outfit and an alpine climbing guide.

The practice of using guides to lead mountain ascents originated in the Alps, where guiding protocols were introduced as early as 1862. The Chamonix system, as it came to be known, required that guides be tested on their literacy, knowledge of natural history, and moral fitness. The system also established hiring rules. Guides who met these requirements were identified by a special insignia and badge. The most important legacy of this system, was the creation of guide's books, of the *führerbüch*. After a climb clients would write testimonials in the book. Through time, it became standard procedure for a climber to view a guide's *führerbüch* before hiring him.[142]

With the introduction of Swiss guides into the Canadian Rockies in 1899, this European tradition was transmitted to Canada. The Swiss guides operated under contract to the CPR and the railway established its own hiring criteria and procedures. Still, in Canada as in the Alps, the individual guide's *führerbüch* and the practice of referral and recommendation remained influential.[143]

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[141] There was one Austrian guide, Conrad Kain, who emigrated to Canada after securing employment with the Alpine Club of Canada. Kain was not formally affiliated with the Swiss guides who came to Canada under contract with the CPR. Phil Dowling, *The Mountaineers: Famous Climbers in Canada* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1979; reprint, Canmore, AB: Coyote Books, 1995), 79-80.

[142] Hansen, "British Mountaineering," 339-343; Peter Hansen, "Partners: Guides and Sherpas in the Alps and Himalayas, 1850s - 1950s," in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. Jas Elnser and Joan-Oau Rubiés (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 212-221.

[143] For a discussion of the role of Swiss guides in Canada refer to: John Marsh, "The Rocky and Selkirk Mountains and the Swiss Connection 1885-1914," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985), 427-31; Andrew J. Kaufmann and William L. Putnam, *The Guiding Spirit* (Revelstoke, BC: Footprint Publishing, 1986), 79-97; Cyndi Smith, *Off the Beaten Track: Women Adventurers and Mountaineers in Western Canada* (Lake Louise: Coyote Books, 1989).

While the Swiss guides were the best known alpine guides, a number of writers described climbs made with other lesser known guides. At the ACC camps, a number of group climbs were simply led by more experienced mountaineers. Occasionally, even outfitters assumed a role akin to the alpine guide; however, they were less likely to attempt the most difficult peaks. Schäffer and Adams, for example, climbed with Billy Warren and Sid Unwin, their British-born trail guides. While accomplished and respected, these men did not have the same cachet as the Swiss guides.[144]

The ready availability of guides encouraged wider participation in mountaineering because they provided beginners with instruction and security. For travellers who ventured to the mountains only once a year but still wanted to climb, a guide could ensure both safety and success. In Europe, this practice was believed to blur the lines between climber and tourist. Thus, by the late nineteenth century, both European and North-American mountaineers were beginning to pursue guideless climbing as a strategy to distinguish themselves and elevate the status of their accomplishment.[145] Describing their 1898 preparations for exploratory mountaineering in the region of the Saskatchewan River headwaters, Stutfield and Collie made the direct statement: "We took no Swiss guides."[146]

Alpine guides had several responsibilities. Before attempting a first ascent, a guide would carefully study a peak from as many different vantage points as possible to ascertain the best route. Experienced guides had the ability to evaluate glaciers and suggest routes that avoided dangerous crevasses. On steep ice, guides used their ice axes to cut steps for their clients to ascend and descend. A gruelling task, step-cutting remained part of a guide's duties until high-quality crampons were readily available.[147] On rock faces, guides used their expertise to locate handholds and footholds. Guides also determined when the party would use ropes. When required, guides instructed or encouraged climbers. Since responsibility for the safety of the party rested with the

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[144] Marsh, "Swiss Connection," 427.
[145] Hansen, "British Mountaineering," 356, 350.
[146] Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 72.
[147] Climbers attached steel spiked crampons to their boots so that they could move easily and securely over ice. During the early stages of Canadian mountaineering references to crampon use are rare while descriptions of a particular guide's step-cutting prowess are common.

guide, they had to continually evaluate whether the advancing time and changing weather conditions justified a continued push to the summit or an early return.

The alpine guides were ambivalently positioned in relation to their clients - they were hired for their superior expertise but as such, they were also paid employees. Recalling his days guiding in Europe, Kain remembered one client: "She looks upon a guide as just another servant," it was, in his words, "an unjust viewpoint" since climbers must trust their life to the guide. While many climbers were friendly with their guides, it was friendliness dependent on the circumstances. Kain observed that place matters: "In the valley the guide is soon forgotten. In the mountains and in camp he is 'dear friend.'"[148] Historian Bruce Haley suggests that many kinds of sports encouraged temporary class integration. While feelings of "camaraderie" developed, they failed to weaken "the awareness of class distinctions."[149] Nevertheless, some climbers developed a close and long-lasting relationships with their guide. A. L. Mumm, who in 1909 attempted Mount Robson with a group of British climbers, described his guide Moritz Inderbinen as "my friend and companion in the Alps and elsewhere for more than twenty years."[150]

Austrian-born Conrad Kain guided in the Alps and in North America. His writings provide some insights into complex dynamics between client and guide. Interestingly, his writings reveal the spatial variation in these relations, particularly the more relaxed and equitable nature of social relations in North America. In one anecdote, Kain recalled a comment made by Arthur O. Wheeler: "Conrad, I am not a European! I do my own share of the work. Everyone works here in America and no one is ashamed! Everyone takes an axe and fells a tree if it is in his way." Furthermore, Kain observed "Every climber, male or female, carries for himself. It is one of the best qualities they have! In Canada the guide is never looked upon as a beast of burden."[151]

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[148] Kain, *Where Clouds Can Go*, 151-52, 224.

[149] Bruce Haley was not referring to mountaineering and client-guide relationship when he made this point; the argument, however, can be extended to this circumstance. Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 209-10.

[150] Mumm, "Expedition to Mount Robson," 1-2.

[151] Kain, *Where Clouds Can Go*, 211, 213.

While Swiss guides were considered "in place" in a Rocky Mountain environment they were a Swiss symbol transplanted into Canada. In an effort to encourage and promote mountaineering in Canada the CPR brought Swiss guides to the Rockies, believing their presence would make the association between Rockies and mountaineering more obvious. Swiss guides inspired confidence due to their successful legacy in the Alps. A mystique surrounding them was founded on a belief in superior skill and honoured climbing tradition. Still the presence of Swiss guides in Canada was, to a large extent, a tourist attraction. The guides' contracts with the CPR required that they wear traditional costumes of the Alps whenever they were in public.[152] That strategy essentially commodified Swiss culture for tourists. Interviews with the Swiss Guide Edward Feuz Jr. suggested that the CPR purposely hired handsome guides to appeal to female clientele. Rudolph Aemmer, reputed to resemble the American movie actor John Barrymore, was especially popular.[153] And the CPR's publicity efforts worked, as one woman's account from 1910 would suggest:

> While we were waiting one of my long cherished dreams came true. I saw a Swiss guide in the flesh. So many of one's dreams are spoiled in the realization; but that Guide was, as the Virginian puts it: "better than I dreamed." He wore the official badge on his coat lapel. He even sported the Tyrolean feather. His boots were as thick and full of nails as I had hoped. He carried an ice-axe, a rucksack and a coiled rope. I walked around him at a respectful distance and regarded him from every angle. He was a most satisfying person.[154]

This passage is interesting in several respects. It highlights the evidence for a mystique or aura that developed around the guide persona. Yet it is woman gazing upon a man: it was the male who was an object of aesthetic pleasure. The social status of guide, it is recalled, was determined not so much by gender as by ethnicity and class. In this way, the Swiss guides' ambivalent positioning in terms of place – a Swiss symbol in

[152] Marsh, "Swiss Connection," 427.
[153] Kauffman and Putnam, *Guiding Spirit*, 87, 123.
[154] Ethel Jones, "A Graduating Climb," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 159.

Canadian space - and in terms of gender - an aestheticized male object of the female gaze - is revealed.

The Outfit

The men of the outfit were often described as colourful characters who could spin a yarn and who enjoyed pulling the leg of any "tenderfoot" or "dude" they might encounter. Mountaineers often wrote appreciatively about the outfitters' skills and personalities. Through time, a romantic view of the outfitters' rugged, adventurous character emerged. In 1906, Arthur Wheeler, the newly elected president of the Alpine Club of Canada, articulated this widely held sentiment:

> There are in the mountain regions of Western Canada a number of picturesque men who dress in buckskin shirts and cowboy hats, men who ride like centaurs, know the mysteries of the diamond hitch, can guide a swimming packhorse across a rushing torrent with easy skill, can make a camp bed of fragrant balsam boughs and cook a supper of bannock, bacon and beans, with perhaps a few fresh trout or a juicy venison steak thrown in, to the highest degree of perfection.[155]

Mountaineers enjoyed the companionship offered by outfitters. In their texts, mountaineering writers recalled with fondness the conversations they shared with outfitters around the campfire. Stutfield and Collie described a rainy day in 1902 when both clients and outfitters "passed the time about the tents in conversation of a varied and instructive character." Reflecting on the day, they wrote that "[w]e were remarkably fortunate in our staff of men, most of whom had seen life in very different, but equally interesting, aspects in out-of-the-way parts of the earth."[156] At the end of their book Stutfield and Collie lavished this praise towards Fred Stephens: "[m]uch of the success, as well as the pleasure and good-fellowship, of our expeditions of 1900 and 1902 had been due to his unfailing tack, good temper, and management: and,

[155] A.O. Wheeler, "Canada's Mountain Outfitters," *RGC* 8 (June 1906), 8.
[156] Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 293.

when we said good-bye to him and stepped out to the platform at Banff, we felt we were at the same time bidding farewell to the Canadian Rockies."[157]

Most western Canadian outfitters working at the turn of the century were British born or North American born men. Typically, they were individuals who sought the outdoor life. Early in the twentieth century, however, a few women began participating in the enterprise. Between 1916 and 1918, Ethel Unwin took over the outfitting business when her brother, Sid, left Canada to fight in World War I. He later died of injuries sustained during the attack of Vimy Ridge, and in 1918 Ethel sold the business and moved to England.[158] In 1928, sisters Agnes Truxler and Mona Harrigan received their guides licenses and badges, becoming the first women guides licensed by the parks service.[159]

The relationship between mountaineers and their outfitters was complex. The two groups had a business relationship, but the mountaineers, as clients, had to learn to defer to the more experienced outfitters. As employers, climbers expected to have their wishes fulfilled, however, outfitters, more often than not, dictated the travel agenda. Outfitters were experienced horseman and they knew how to evaluate the performance of each animal and judge when the horses needed rest. If the horses were worked too hard they could become lame or saddle sore. Additionally, outfitters knew that the risk of injury was greater at the start of a trip when packs were heavy and the animals were not yet used to the rigours of the trail. In 1897, during his first trip to the Canadian Rockies, Norman Collie questioned his guide's decision to make camp early in the day. Bill Peyto, Collie's guide, replied that he "was there look after the horses" and that while his clients "might think [they] know how far a "cayoose" (Indian pony) could go ... he was not going to have sore backs or lame horses in his outfit." Collie recalled the quarrel and how he eventually "acquiesced" but he added: "That Peyto was right was abundantly proved in sequel."[160]

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[157] *Ibid.*, 318.

[158] Hart, *Diamond Hitch*, 133-134.

[159] Guide's licenses were not require until after World War I. Smith, *Off the Beaten Track*, 258-267.

[160] Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 41.

Unlike the alpine guides, outfitters challenged conventional class hierarchies. Indeed, it was considered part of their character to flout class norms. As the Austrian born guide, Conrad Kain, recalled "the packers have no sense of inferiority." To emphasize this point Kain presented the following anecdote:

> When the meal was ready, the packer called the lord to eat: "Supper is ready; don't wait, it gets cold." The lord came out of the tent and saw, to his great astonishment, that the two had already started in. So he shouted in his London dialect: "By Jove, don't you know I'm not used to eating with my servants!" "Goddam," said the packer, "if you are not, then just wait!"[161]

Outfitters also challenged conventional gender roles. Whether in the employ of female or male clients, outfitters assumed most domestic responsibilities on the trail, particularly cooking. Jasen, in her study of wilderness holidays in Ontario, found a similar "readjustment of gender roles with regard to duties in the woods." She elaborates: "If guides were employed they - rather than the women - assumed the usual servants' roles of cooking and cleaning up, while women could fish, hunt, and perform heavier tasks as they saw fit."[162]

Outfitters seldom participated in mountain climbing itself; their work was to guide their clients through valleys and over passes so that their clients could access remote peaks. While their clients climbed, outfitters attended to camp chores, cut trail, hunted, or prospected. The historian E. J. Hart observed: "While notoriously fearless in the face of any danger on the trail, be it enraged grizzly or swollen mountain torrent, guides and packers were usually skeptical about risking their necks in what they felt was sheer foolishness."[163] Fred Stephens, the outfitter and trail guide for Stutfield and Collie's 1900 and 1902 expeditions, "had always protested that climbing peaks, for the mere sake of climbing them was foolishness - only, if sheep or goats could be shot by so doing, there might be some use in taking the trouble to get to the top of a

[161] Kain, *Where Clouds Can Go*, 227.
[162] Jasen, *Wild Things*, 115.
[163] Hart, *Diamond Hitch*, 25.

mountain."[164] Outfitters, who did not understand "the ways of climbers," often worried over the fate of their clients, particularly when the climbers failed to return by nightfall.[165]

Encounters with these colourful characters, these symbols of the "wild" west became part of the Canadian wilderness experience. In essence, the outfitters were considered to be "in place" in the Rocky Mountains. The norms of employer-servant relations, founded on class hierarchies, was transgressed. Yet the spatial context, the geographical setting for these actions altered the interpretation and meanings of those transgressions. In a wilderness context, the employer was dependent and "surly" outfitters were expected. Moreover, the class hierarchy between employer and their Canadian guides was often ambiguous. Some trail guides were well educated; indeed Sid Unwin was known for cracking jokes in Latin.[166] For outfitters who chose their occupation for its adventurous appeal and not for economic necessity, there was no sense of inferiority informing the social relations, instead there was an expectation of mutual respect.

Horses

In addition to the guides and packers, exploratory mountaineers and backcountry travellers relied upon their horses, who Schäffer described as "our four-footed companions of the trail."[167] The horse breed considered ideal for travel in the Rockies was the "Indian pony" or "cayuse." Walter Wilcox stated that, "In the Rockies of Canada the only animal suitable to convey the explorer and his outfit through the mountain forests and over the swelling rivers that oppose his progress is the Indian pony."[168] A kind of mythology surrounds the trail experience in general and the cayuse in particular. Mountaineers eagerly supported this mythology, for the same

[164] Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 218.
[165] *Ibid.*, 115, 283.
[166] Unwin, the nephew of British book publisher T. Fisher Unwin, was undoubtedly well educated though the details of his schooling are sketchy. Hart, *Diamond Hitch*, 126-127.
[167] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 52.
[168] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 113.

themes are repeated again and again by different writers, male and female, from different decades.

It is not surprising that the horse should occupy such a prominent position in the Canadian mountaineering narrative. The long journey required to reach the base of most peaks meant that human and horse had ample time to get to acquainted. As Schäffer commented: "Living with them, trailing with them, watching over their interests, they soon ceased to be beasts of burden alone, and became our friends with characteristics almost as marked as though they were human."[169]

Mountaineers depended on their pack animals to a very large extent because few of them could be self-sufficient in the wilderness without heavy and bulky supplies. Hunting for food was important for the earliest exploratory mountaineers but it became a last resort in later years when game was scarce and legally protected. With no system of backcountry huts in place, canvas tents had to be brought along. Given the large quantities of food and bulkiness of camp equipment, horses were an obvious, and less strenuous, solution to back-packing. The back-packing option was used only in extremely rugged terrain where horse travel was impossible.

Horses were indispensable for river and stream crossings. At the turn of the century only the streams and rivers closest to the CPR were bridged. For climbers who wanted to reach distant peaks there were numerous unbridged waterways to cross. These "torrents," as they were often described, were dangerous. Fast-flowing water, uneven footing, jagged boulders, and deep chasms effectively halted travel. Horses, however, could safely cross most "torrents" and keep their riders fairly dry. Some of the earliest mountaineers who came to the Rockies chose not to ride horses, but travel by foot proved impractical. Trail guides, who nearly always rode horses, ultimately had the slow and frustrating job of ferrying their clients across the water.[170] Thus, the horse became the accepted mode of travel during the pioneer era of mountaineering in the Canadian Rockies. Yet there were waterways that even horses could not negotiate safely. The Saskatchewan River was particularly famous in this regard. When

[169] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 25-26.
[170] Hart, *Diamond Hitch*, 24.

flooded, the Saskatchewan forced exploratory mountaineers and travellers to delay, even change, their plans.[171]

Mountaineers were thus very conscious of their dependence on the horse. As Wilcox observed, "[n]o one can travel far on a camping expedition without feeling an interest in the Indian pony, upon which so much depends."[172] Horses transported riders and supplies and they provided security. Their presence comforted travellers that should it be necessary, civilization was within reach. Horses were even more useful for transporting climbing gear, scientific equipment, or photographic supplies for a backwoods studio. At times, horses were called upon to haul the most bewildering assortment of outdoor equipment: from mattresses to boats.[173]

Mountaineers were in awe of the cayuse's special skill at negotiating tangled forests, steep slopes, narrow ridges, and turbulent rivers. Mary Jobe's account of her winter journey through the Northern Rockies in late 1917 conveys the admiration and trust that horses could inspire:

> In half a dozen places on this descent you suddenly look off into space and feel sure that the cayuses will never venture down such an incline; but they do and I think they rather enjoy the excitement of balancing in mid-air, of doing the thing in the proper manner without losing their heads; for they are Donald Phillips' horses and like his ways. I'm sure old 'Wendy' could write a book on mountaineering, if only she could speak the English language.[174]

Wilcox offered similar praise: "Familiarity breeds no contempt for these agile Indian ponies, and new difficulties only cause renewed admiration of their wonderful skill, in jumping logs with heavy packs on their backs, threading the obscure trails and pitfalls

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[171] Coleman described one occasion where he crossed the Saskatchewan River by ferrying supplies by raft and swimming the horses, and another time where the party re-routed up-stream to look for a ford. Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 177-78, 246-8, respectively. Refer also to Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 25-26, 83; Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 85.
[172] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 129-30.
[173] Reference to the boat was found in Mary Schäffer, "The 1911 Expedition to Maligne Lake," in Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 142. Reference to the mattress was found in Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 243.
[174] Jobe, "Winter Journey," 227.

of burnt timber, or fording the icy rapids of mountain streams."[175] After one stream crossing in which a horse lost then quickly regained its footing, one writer was led to observe that it "was a little bit of personal experience that gave one added respect for these mountain ponies whose intelligence in overcoming difficulties of a special character caused a never ceasing admiration for their cleverness."[176] Peyto's horse Pinto was credited with knowing "more than anyone else about the trails."[177] Another mountaineer recalled that a Chestnut mare of "remarkable intelligence" that "took the lead and never faltered but twice, leading us at an extremely fast pace through the maze of brulé and underbrush right back to Palliser Pass."[178]

Yet it was the personalities of the horses, even more than their skills, that became the focus of most narratives. Henrietta Tuzo's article for *Rod and Gun in Canada* provides one example:

> For a short time these animals were just horses, but not many hours elapsed before their personalities asserted themselves. There was Ena the adorable, a good trail finder ... Eagle, Queenie, Grasshopper, and Charlie were there, with Gravy, best of all cayuses. These were saddle horses though, and it was the pack who gave the most concern. They were a fine old bunch; Pinto known to fame, and Haggie who had his own opinion on most subjects - Tommie; and Paddy, and Piebald. All these could be trusted to take the accustomed route even though it led though a river in flood.[179]

Writers tended to recall particular horses that did not quite meet the ideal and their distinguishing personalities. For Mary Jobe's 1917 trip the troublemaker was "Blue." She recalled: "Once Jack and I said goodbye to 'Blue' as we saw him plunge through an overhanging cornice. Presently, he struggled out, trembling all over at his narrow

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[175] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 128.
[176] [Anon.], "First Summer Camp," 249.
[177] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 131.
[178] "Brulé" was a term used to describe burnt over areas of forest. V. A. Fynn, "Around Lake Louise in 1919 with Ascents of Mts. King George and Assiniboine (Canadian Rockies)," *AJ* 33 (November 1920), 203.
[179] Tuzo, "Lady Explorers to the Saskatchewan," 564.

escape. He was always going his own way, picking out a new route, and tempting the other ponies to disaster."[180] Wilcox recalled "Denny" who was

> ... born with an unconquerable tendency to be slow, and though you shout till you are hoarse, old Denny pursues his dignified way regardless... However, he is a conscientious old fellow, and never kicks or bucks or crushed his pack against trees. So he was selected to carry the most perishable packs, and has safely transported my valuable cameras hundreds of miles through the mountains.[181]

The most unruly of the horses tended to be described as mischievous children engaged in a battle of wills with their parents. An incident at Schäffer's camp at a pass near Panther Falls illustrated this tendency. It was a typical day, the party awoke to discover the horses, despite their hobbles, had spent the evening hours retracing their route in an effort to return home. Schäffer wrote:

> ... they were found four miles on the home-stretch. I am sorry to say my own intimate companion, Nibs, was the aggressor and instigator, of the mischief, and on the band being brought back to camp, he was caught trying to sneak off again. As a final punishment the hobbles were clapped on his hind legs, and the poor little naughty buckskin, taking a few futile hops, gazed reproachfully at us and refused to move or eat for the rest of the day. It was a painful occasion all round but Nibs never forgot that lesson.[182]

At one point Schäffer worried that readers might "think that I have infused too much human personality into our four-footed companions of the trail." She added that she once had those concerns too, but no longer, because "[a] daily acquaintance with them had bred friendship, affection and understanding. On the trail we lived with them and talked to them till they and we understood each other's movements thoroughly; their characters were as individual as our own."[183]

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[180] Jobe, "Winter Journey," 231.
[181] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 133.
[182] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 29.
[183] *Ibid.*, 52.

Part of the mythology that emerged around the trailing experience was the oft-repeated belief that cursing was the only means available to compel horses to properly behave. Wilcox claimed: "In bad places [the outfitters'] efforts are accelerated by torrents of profanity that shock the tenderfoot. The men claim that pack-horses will not travel well unless roundly cursed, because it is the only language that they understand."[184] Another writer made the very same point when he recalled one particular incident:

> even yells and threats failed to prove of any effect. Then Mr. R. E. Campbell, the head guide, with a half apology and pleading the necessity of the occasion, indulged in strong language ... Curiously enough the animals would start off with the first sentence couched in strong and forcible language.[185]

Exploits of the pack horses and the human reaction to these exploits became a common theme in many Canadian mountaineering narratives. "A day's march is often attended by incidents that give zest to the work of making progress," Wilcox observed. He added: "Bucking ponies try to rid themselves of their packs or riders. Packs come loose and must be adjusted, and sometimes a panic is caused among horses when a hornet's nest is disturbed."[186] When dealing with the horses, Schäffer commented how one learned "the art of self-control" for there was "little in civilized life to prepare the nervous system for the shocks to be endured ... on the trail behind untrained horses."[187] Arthur Coleman, in reflecting on his expeditions of 1884, 1885 and 1888, noted that even though ponies "could actually be induced to carry small loads in any direction through the mountains" they were "filled with the spirit of the Evil One." Still, Coleman concluded: "If the camel is the 'ship of the desert,' the cayuse should be the 'canoe of the mountains.'"[188] Despite the troubles, the antics of the horses provided a break from the monotony of travel. More significant was the affection and admiration

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[184] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 124.
[185] A. H. S[mith], "How We Found the Alpine Club Camp," *RGC* 8 (November 1906), 478.
[186] Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 127-28.
[187] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 27.
[188] Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 121.

for horses that the narratives conveyed. After all, even the troublesome moments were recalled with nostalgia, fondness, and a wry sense of humour.

Careful scrutiny of the descriptions and narrative techniques in the horse anecdotes reveals the subtle but ever-present influence of gender ideology. Both men and women displayed a combination of admiration and frustration of the cayuse, and all writers invariably found some degree of humour in recalling the trail escapades. Schriber identifies this tendency to focus on mode of transportation in travel writing as "the vehicle convention." She notes that "[v]ehicles are made to serve as signs of the peculiarity of foreign ways and the fortitude of the traveler tolerating their discomforts"[189] While humourous, many of these anecdotes reinforced the writers accomplishments. The influence of gender ideology was revealed somewhat in the metaphors used by writers. Mary Schäffer's exuberant affection description of "naughty" horses conveyed a maternal tone whereas male writers couched their affection in more practical terms, emphasizing the conscientiousness and competency of the animals.

Many of the mountaineers who climbed in the Canadian Rockies at the turn of the century claimed that they had enjoyed a unique experience. For European mountaineers who trained in the Alps, the contrast between climbing in Canada and in Europe was dramatic. The wilderness environment, combined with a lack of accessible geographic information, meant that pioneer mountaineers found their journeys to the base of mountains to be more difficult than the ascents themselves. A range of activities including planning, conditioning, travel, technical climbing, and companionship combined to produce a unique experience. Because mountaineering was frequently a cooperative enterprise, a climber's choice of companions, such as an outfit, Swiss guides or horses, had a strong influence on the character of the trip. In the next chapter I turn my attention to the various ways that mountaineers represented and imagined the Rockies. When mountaineers wrote about the physicality of

mountaineering, the basic routines of camp and trail, the opportunity to journey through vertical space, and the enthusiasm and pride they felt after accomplishing their goals, they inscribed a particular, but nonetheless dominant, vision of the Rocky Mountains as recreationalists' destination.

[189] Schriber, *Writing Home*, 75.

Chapter 5
"These far distant western wilds"[1]: Representations of Rocky Mountain Scenery

Descriptions of the Rocky Mountains figured prominently in the narratives of mountaineers, who argued that the Rockies were a unique place. Hyperbole was commonly associated with those descriptions. Readers often encountered passages such as this one by Alpine Club of Canada President Arthur O. Wheeler: "It was a glorious day, and the whole wonderful panorama lay before us. So stupendous, so superb, so unexpected was it that we were struck dumb with amazement."[2] Wheeler, an indefatigable promoter of Canada's alpine treasures, often relied on superlatives. Later in that same article he wrote: "the immediate vicinity of Robson Pass is distinctly unique, and nowhere throughout the whole of Canada's mountain areas can more striking, more impressive or more lasting memories be secured."[3] Readers appeared to welcome this enthusiasm, though not without reservation. As one contemporary observer commented: "No doubt there is a quantity of gush in some of the accounts, but many pages are well worth reading."[4] The narratives were worth reading, because in addition to the "gush," there were vivid descriptions, humour, and precise geographic details that, in combination, resulted in entertaining and informative narratives. Today, scholars inspired by contemporary social theory also promote the "worth" of these narratives.

Scholars argue that representations, such as those contained in travel texts, are sites of symbolic meaning. In this chapter, I demonstrate that the meanings formed through the representation process reflected the values, interests, and priorities of the mountaineers' social group. Moreover, these representations revealed a way of seeing shaped by the demands and priorities of turn of the century Canadian mountaineering experience.

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[1] Norman Collie, "Exploration in the Rocky Mountains north of the Yellowhead Pass," *GJ* 39 (March 1912), 232.
[2] Arthur O. Wheeler, "The Alpine Club of Canada's Expedition to Jasper Park, Yellowhead Pass and Mount Robson, 1911," *CAJ* 4 (1912), 19.
[3] *Ibid.*, 63.
[4] Reverend J. C. Herdman, "A Notable Centre for Climbs in the Selkirks," *RGC* 8 (June 1906), 10.

Linda McDowell suggests, "Places and landscapes have no intrinsic meaning. Instead they are socially constructed, embedded with the sets of social relations and value systems of a period."[5] Places are constituted through peoples' ideas and experiences. The particular experiences of mountaineering and mountain exploration, I argue, generated a mode of contacting the natural environment, one that reflected and reinforced specific ways of seeing. The subject position of mountaineers - middle-class, educated, and urban dwellers of European descent - also informed a particular way of seeing, describing, and ultimately interpreting the Rocky Mountain wilderness. The mountaineers' ideas represented values and interests that extended beyond the actual participants to the climbers' wider social groups and larger bodies of sentiment.

To discern how both experience and subject position inform representations of Rocky Mountain scenery, I will analyze some prominent themes that appear in the mountaineers' narratives. Landscape descriptions were informed by the demands of mountaineering itself: the need to conduct a journey through vertical space; as well, by the priorities of exploration, or the need to travel through wilderness to reach different mountains.

With respect to the mountaineers' subject position, I argue that scenery descriptions also exhibit three emphases that reflected the interests of the mountaineers' social group. Wilderness aesthetics, rooted in Romantic sensibilities, is the first theme. The taste for the wild was learned and cultivated through the production and reception of various cultural forms, both literary and visual. Second is the attention writers directed towards identifying what was distinctly Canadian about the landscape. Descriptions were underpinned by an awareness of political boundaries and the issues intertwined with the maintenance of those boundaries. Thus, imbued in the descriptions of mountain scenery, were the sentiments of optimism and anxiety that often characterized emergent Canadian nationalism. Finally, several descriptions envisioned a future of tourist development, particularly the transformation of the Rockies into a mountain playground. This imagining of the Rockies and their future

[5] Linda McDowell, "Imagined Places: Editorial Introduction," in *Undoing Place? A Geographical Reader*, ed. Linda McDowell (London: Arnold, 1997), 262.

potential reflected the interests of a social group that both valued leisure and had the means to access leisure.

Underlying these themes is an understanding that the mountaineers, as a self-selected social group, were relatively homogenous in terms of their class, ethnicity and lifestyle. Gender, I argue, is the key variable in distinguishing the social position of the mountaineer. Thus, the representations of the Rockies I examine in this chapter offer a partial perspective on place. These partial perspectives, however, are worth investigating because mountaineers were a group with social power and they had the ability to produce and circulate their particular imaginative geography. Ultimately, the mountaineers' representations of the Rockies as a place to be both preserved and used became part of the dominant discourses on what mountain parks are and what they should be.[6]

The five themes I have identified are best considered a working hypothesis. Few narratives touched upon all five themes and the degree that any one theme is emphasized by a particular text varied widely. I identified these five themes because they figured prominently in the mountaineers' books, articles, and unpublished writings. Yet as research into the imaginative geography of the Canadian Rockies continues, other themes may be developed as well. Extensive quotations were used to express the variety of narrative voices used by mountaineers and to highlight the complexities of landscape description. For in addition to the "gush" I want to demonstrate the humorous, the thoughtful, the ambivalent, and even the negative views presented in mountaineering texts.

The Exploration Perspective

The earliest mountaineers who climbed in the Canadian Rockies were considered "exploratory mountaineers" because their climbing was often intertwined with exploring. Many climbers never ventured beyond the peaks located near the CPR.

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[6] PearlAnn Reichwein, "At the Foot of the Mountain: Preliminary Thoughts on the Alpine Club of Canada," in *Changing Parks: The History, Future and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes*, ed. John S. Marsh and Bruce W. Hodgins (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History Inc., 1998).

But for climbers who wanted the challenge of difficult glaciated peaks or desired the thrill of a first ascent, the distant peaks held more appeal. Access to those peaks was difficult. Maps were imprecise, even incorrect, and most local residents had no knowledge of how to reach specific mountains. With the exception of prominent peaks named by Dr. Hector of the Palliser survey, most of the peaks beyond the immediate vicinity of the CPR tracks were unnamed.

Climbers needed to learn the regional geography before they could even describe what peaks they wanted to climb and where those peaks were. Thus, the desire to climb inspired exploration. The Canadian exploratory mountaineer Arthur P. Coleman, made the observation that "mountains can only be seen from a mountain. You cannot really see them from a valley, even a high valley."[7] Coleman's contemporary, the accomplished British mountaineer, J. Norman Collie, made a similar point when he wrote:

> ... for once at the top of Freshfield, I should be able to see that part of the country which lay beyond the western side, and which on my map was blank; also the complicated geography of the South Branch of the Bush Valley would be capable of being followed for the first time, and lastly, the question of whether a low pass existed between the Lyell and Freshfield systems of ice-fields could be answered.[8]

The ultimate goal of exploration, however, was to impose a particular way of seeing the landscape. A scientific perspective was designed to bring order from chaos, as Arthur O. Wheeler, Canada's foremost promoter of mountaineering, so aptly argued:

> Hanging valleys cut the line of the main valley in every direction and small glaciers fill many of the hollows, the whole presenting a chaotic confusion of broken terrain that requires the occupation of many more camera stations than we had time for to disentangle and reduce to systematic order on a map.[9]

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[7] A. P. Coleman, *The Canadian Rockies: New and Old Trails* (Toronto: Henry Frowde, 1911), 21.
[8] J. Norman Collie, "Further Exploration in the Canadian Rocky Mountains," *GJ* 21 (May 1903), 488.
[9] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 55.

Wheeler made this point a second time: "but in the vast chaos – a boundless ocean of peaks – it was impossible to identify them, and it will take years of exploration and topographical work before the gigantic tangle is reduced to accurate order in map form."[10]

The naming of geographical features was part of exploration. A careful examination of naming reveals its complicated relationship to the question of discovery. In the Canadian Rockies during the late nineteenth century, place names were insufficient and unreliable. For example, place names were often repeated, resulting in situations where the same name was applied to several different locations. In a 1903 article for the *Geographical Journal*, Arthur Coleman noted:

> The Canadian Pacific authorities have introduced the name Wapta for the Kicking Horse river, apparently unaware that Wapta is simply the Stony word for "river" in general, and should not be applied specifically to one of the minor rivers in the region. Collie has employed the name also for an ice-field near the source of one fork of the river. Finally, Wilcox uses the name Whirlpool river for the Sunwapta, or east branch of the Athabasca. As the same name has long been applied to a tributary coming into the Athabasca from the Committee's Punchbowl to the south-west, it is evident that the new use of the name can only make confusion.[11]

The name Wapta was later dropped. Collie, in a rebuttal piece, suggested that Coleman was also guilty of naming errors. Collie referred to Mount Meurliton, a peak named by the fur trader Alexander Henry in 1811 which Coleman misnamed as "Minster mountain."[12]

Explorers were often bewildered by the landscape. Without accurate maps they had no way of correctly ascertaining which name belonged to which mountain. Mary Schäffer, an American who gained fame for her explorations of Maligne Lake, elaborated on this point when she recalled a view from Wilcox Pass:

[10] *Ibid.*, 71.
[11] A. P. Coleman, "The Brazeau Ice-Field," *GJ* 21 (May 1903), 510.
[12] J. Norman Collie, "Canadian Rocky Mountains," *GJ* 21 (June 1903), 685-6.

> At its northern terminus we gazed out upon a new world to us and among [sic] the bewildering mass of peaks which Dr. Collie's party had explored for the first time in 1898, leaving such names as Woolley, Stutfield, Douglas, Diadem, The Twins, and Alberta upon them. Those names bewildered us then, and I presume will continue to do so till the Government Survey reaches there, confers with the original explorers, and gives us a scientifically correct map.[13]

Confusion about these place names led Schäffer to wonder if a peak she previously named "Edward VII" was, in fact, "the mountain which Dr. Collie saw through the haze and smoke from the summit of Mount Athabaska in 1898 and called 'Alberta.'"[14]

In 1897, the Government of Canada established a Geographical Board in order "to secure uniformity of nomenclature" and to avoid the confusion that resulted from the duplication of names. The vast extent of unnamed territory in the western Canadian mountain ranges also concerned the Board because map-makers at the equivalent organization in the United States had begun naming some of those unnamed peaks and mountain rivers.[15]

Place names reflected many different things. There were logical considerations. When Schäffer's party decided to name "Maligne Lake" they did so because the lake, which they knew informally as "Chaba Imne of the Stony," was located at the headwaters of the Maligne River. The party agreed that "the river named the lake, and it has since been so recorded."[16] Names often characterized the physical attributes of a location: "As this mountain commands views up or down five long valleys, we named it Sentinel mountain."[17] Alpine aesthetics were also considered. For example, Wheeler agreed with Coleman's decision to name a peak Mt. Resplendent for its "ethereal brilliance."[18] Simple designations referring to trees, plants, and animals were

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[13] Mary T. S. Schäffer, *A Hunter of the Peace: Mary T. S. Schäffer's* Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies, ed. E. J. Hart (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons 1911; reprint Banff, AB: Whyte Foundation, 1980), 31 (page number to the reprint edition).
[14] *Ibid.*, 42.
[15] R. Douglas, "Notes on Mountain Nomenclature," *CAJ* 10 (1919), 32.
[16] Mary T. S. Schäffer, "The Finding of Lake Maligne," *CAJ* 4 (1912), 93.
[17] A. P. Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Sources of the Athabasca," *GJ* 5 (January 1895), 55.
[18] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 19.

ubiquitous; and mountain colours, warfare, landform morphology, alpine weather, and geological features also provided names.[19]

Tributes to friends, leaders, and eminent men were common. Norman Collie was one exploratory mountaineer who adopted that practice: "A magnificent peak, that is probably near to 14,000 feet high, stood alone keeping guard over these unknown western valleys. We have ventured to name it after the Right. Hon. James Bryce, President of the Alpine Club."[20] The use of personal names to identify sites had particular cultural significance because they conveyed the history of a place. Via place names, the "ghosts of the past" could "haunt" the landscape, reminding the travellers of the human past, and thereby diminishing the sense of emptiness that wilderness could inspire.[21]

The respected packer and trail guide, Tom Wilson, was considered one of the local experts on the Rockies and their history. Government officials and mountaineers who were in the process of map-making frequently consulted him. In one unaddressed memo, he offered his perspective on the place name debate. Wilson believed that the Parks Department should take over "all future naming of physical features" not only because of the tendency of mountaineers to give places more than one name but also because there was

> ...room for a few more Canadian names in the Canadian Rockies. So far Old Country, European and Americans head the list and now Egypt is crowding in – Tut at the head, don't believe he ever did anything for the Parks, rumor has it that he died before Columbus got this far? On looking over Old Country and American maps I failed to find any Canadian names.[22]

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[19] For example: Birch, Larch, Lichen, Cougar, Lynx, Marmot, Blue, Copper, Olive, White, Fortress, Gendarme, Rampart, Flattop, Pinnacle, Roundtop, Airy, Blustry, Thunder, Granite, Slate, and Sulphur are all names that used for mountains. Douglas, "Mountain Nomenclature," 34-5.
[20] J. Norman Collie, "Exploration in the Canadian Rockies: A Search for Mount Hooker and Mount Brown," *GJ* 13 (April 1899), 350.
[21] Douglas, "Mountain Nomenclature," 36.
[22] Tom Wilson, undated memorandum, Thomas E. Wilson Papers, M1322, Folder 19, Glenbow Archives, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.

As in the examples of Wapta or Chaba Imne, some explorers used Native languages when they assigned place names. In 1919, the Geographic Board of Canada estimated that nine percent of the names used in the mountains were "of Indian origin."[23] While this practice suggested that Europeans were conscious of Native presence, the naming practices nevertheless expressed the political and cultural power of the explorers and mountaineers, rather than of Native nomenclature. One member of the Geographic Board suggested that naming practices employed by Natives and European populations were different: "The majority of Indian names were not applied by the Indians themselves to the peaks, but were given originally to other features such as rivers, that had more influence on their daily life."[24] Native names for the foothills often continued in translation, but few mountain names were translated. Coleman was on exploratory mountaineer who translated Native place-names into English. For example, he translated "the Hahasigi-Wapta" to "Cataract river."[25] More commonly, exploratory mountaineers and tourist pioneers applied Native "dictionary words" to mountain peaks. Unlike the Natives who described physical features with an entire descriptive sentence, the travellers simply used single words. Some examples of this practice include: Hungabee (chieftain), Odaray (brushy), Waputik (white goat), Wenkchemna (ten), and Yoho (Cree exclamation of surprise).[26]

Still, some mountaineers clearly believed that Native presence and precedence should be reflected in mountain nomenclature. Coleman, as a tribute to Jonas, a Stony Chief who had provided valuable information about the region's routes, rivers and topography; applied the name "Jonas Pass."[27] Other peaks named for Native individuals included: Kananaskis, Peechee, Tekarra and Tzuhalem. The American mountaineer Samuel Allen, while preparing his maps and publications, wrote to Tom Wilson, a Banff outfitter, asking if he could "ascertain whether these lakes + rivers have Indian names + what they are." Allen added, "Of course I can give them other

[23] Douglas, "Mountain Nomenclature," 33.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Athabasca," 55-56, 57.
[26] Douglas, "Mountain Nomenclature," 34.
[27] Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Athabasca," 56.

names but I prefer to keep their names if they have any."[28] Nevertheless, this practice of using Native names was likely a result of whites' nostalgia rather than any real concern for Natives and their land tenure. Mountaineers' use of Native names in fact tended to emphasize the "wildness" of the Rockies.

Exploration Stories: The Tale of Mount Brown and Hooker

A common occurrence in the early history of Canadian mountain exploration was the revision of earlier estimates of mountain elevation, typically downward. The story of Mount Brown and Mount Hooker provides the most striking example. In Keith Brown's *Physical Atlas of Natural Phenomena* Mount Brown was listed at 15,900 feet and Mount Hooker at 15,700 feet, elevations that far exceeded any other peaks in the United States and Canada. The botanist, David Douglas, who travelled through the region in 1826 was considered the source of these estimates. Arthur P. Coleman was, like many of his contemporaries, "fascinated" by the giant peaks. He spent three summers (1888, 1892, and 1893) searching for these peaks. Finally, and disappointingly, a measurement in 1893 proved Mt. Brown to be just 8950 feet. Coleman reflected:

> Mount Brown must descend, then, from the position long accorded to it, of being the highest summit in North America between Mexico and Alaska. It has no right to be mentioned in connection with Mount St. Elias in Alaska, nor Orizaba in Mexico, much less with the recently discovered Mount Logan ...[29]

The idea of giant peaks hidden somewhere in the remote wilderness was so powerful, however, that some individuals did not want to believe Coleman's results. In 1899, for example, Collie wondered if perhaps Coleman was mistaken. He wrote:

> That the two highest peaks in the Rocky Mountains, peaks that have appeared in every map of Canada for the last sixty years, peaks that every Canadian has been taught at school may be found amongst the

[28] S.E.S. Allen to Tom Wilson, 14 April 1897, Thomas E. Wilson Papers, M1322, Folder 1, Glenbow Archives, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.
[29] Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Athabasca," 58-9.

> western mountains beyond the prairies -- that these mountains were only, after all, not so high as thousands of others in the main chain, seemed impossible to believe.[30]

Collie decided that he must go to the mountains himself so he could make a final determination. His exploration brought no answers.[31] It was not until he returned to England and "looked up every reference [he] could find that dealt with the Rocky Mountains of Canada and British Columbia" that the mystery was solved. In David Douglas' journal, published in Volume II of the *Companion to the Botanical Magazine*, there was an account of his afternoon ascent of the peaks which he then named. As Collie concluded, "That Douglas climbed a peak 17,000 feet high in an afternoon is, of course, impossible; the Mount Brown of Prof. Coleman, 9000 feet high, is much more likely."[32]

"Probably never before seen": The Ambivalence of Rocky Mountain Exploration

The perception that the Rockies were a new and undiscovered land was never forcefully articulated because mountaineers continually encountered evidence of both Native and non-Native precursors as they made their journeys. Still, several mountaineers who considered themselves to be explorers were fully cognizant of the fact that geographical exploration implied the discovery of new places thus a tension emerged between the designation of new and known. One consequence was that an ambivalent language of discovery came to characterize Rocky Mountain exploration.

When mountaineers ventured into the Rockies they soon realized that other humans inhabited the region. Blazed trails, abandoned campsites with teepee poles, and trappers' cabins were the usual signs. Among the unusual artifacts sighted by explorers along mountain trails were "an old weather-beaten copy of 'Hamlet'" in the Siffleur River Valley, and "a marble topped washstand" in the Columbia River valley.[33] "Explorers" sometimes stumbled across blazed trails, and they were typically

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[30] Norman Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 345.
[31] *Ibid.*, 351.
[32] *Ibid.*, 353-54.
[33] Hugh E. M. Stutfield and J. Norman Collie, *Climbs and Exploration in the Canadian Rockies*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), 81; Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 97.

thankful instead of resentful because established trails avoided most of the mud, rock falls, cliffs, and other obstacles that could impede horse travel. Additionally, teepee poles left behind on the ground identified prime camp locations with adequate water, pasture, and well-drained, level ground. At times, mountaineers actually met prospectors and trappers of European ancestry or Native people while journeying through "unexplored" regions.

The local inhabitants, who were Native, European, or Chinese, had some knowledge of the mountain geography. However, their information was not easily shared because it was orally transmitted by people living in relative isolation. The local prospectors or Native people did not publish in the *Royal Geographical Journal* or produce maps for the Dominion Survey. When the mountaineers and explorers arrived in the region, however, they never failed to ask local residents for geographic information. For example, Coleman wrote "but this year we took a more direct pass suggested by Chief Jonas."[34] Another mountaineer-explorer commented

> we were in a country beyond the limits of the map-maker, and that it was due to T. E. Wilson, of Banff, that we were able to obtain some information of the country we were to traverse. He was able to indicate on paper the number of lakes and washouts we were likely to pass, the glaciers we should see, and muskegs to avoid.[35]

Collie also observed that the oral knowledge of the old-timers unfortunately could be lost: "All local knowledge of the district dates from the Canadian Pacific railway survey; the older work has been entirely forgotten."[36]

Discovery in the Rockies was qualified because mountaineers were never sure if they were the first to travel through a location. As a result, most mountaineers offered hesitant claims. Collie, for example, wrote: "We were looking on country *probably* never before seen by human eye."[37] Schäffer did not state that her party travelled

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[34] Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Athabasca," 56.

[35] G. P. Barker in the discussion following the paper's reading at the Royal Geographical Society, February 13, 1899. Cited following Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 355.

[36] Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 345.

[37] Emphasis mine. *Ibid.*, 350.

through unknown country. Instead, she emphasized it was a journey "through *unmapped* country."[38] Coleman, writing in 1895, described the region stretching north from the Saskatchewan River to Athabasca pass along the front ranges of Rocky Mountains as "*practically* virgin ground."[39] Because the geographical information was incomplete Coleman and his contemporaries were able to take "matters into [their] own hands" and experience both novelty and challenge that was associated with discovery.

Explorers attained both recognition and appreciation when they gathered and disseminated knowledge about places that were unknown to their culture. The possibility of having one's name linked with a major discovery and receiving fame and accolades was a powerful incentive for some individuals. The search for status engendered by exploring led to a phenomenon that Schäffer called "hog mountaineers." She elaborated that this "being 'first' is about one of the worst diseases I ever met and the longer I live the worse it gets." Already recognized as a pioneer herself, Schäffer could confidently evaluate her peers. Later she added, "I never sought the glory of 'first' anywhere but the people who can lie are more numerous than the mountains they ascend."[40] Elaborating on this idea in a letter to Tom Wilson she wrote how:

> Howard Palmer wrote me last fall that I was not the first person to 'discover' Maligne Lake. Lord help us! I never pretended I did. First we tagged after Will and Sidney Unwin and Sid made the first location, but when we got there, we could find all sorts of camps, sticks placed for boiling water, and all that sort of stuff. DISCOVER! Why the biggest thing I have discovered in these mountains is petty glory for finding things such as you knew before these young Smart Alecs were born.[41]

Tom Wilson's daughter, Ada, made a similar point in response to an article by Julia Henshaw in the Vancouver *Sun* (4 October 1933) that claimed Tom Wilson did not

[38] Emphasis mine. Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 31.
[39] Emphasis mine. Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Athabasca," 55.
[40] Mary Schäffer [Warren] to Tom Wilson, 15 August 19--, Thomas E. Wilson Papers, M1322, Folder 19, Glenbow Archives, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.
[41] In this passage Schäffer employed the feminine writing strategy of modestly claiming achievement by referring to the opinions of hers peers (refer to Chapter 6). *Ibid.*

discover Emerald Lake. In a letter to Henshaw, Ada Wilson made the following corrections:

> Tom never claimed that he was the first to see Emerald Lake, as his story was that this Lake had been known for a long time by the Indians, who had a well beaten trail to that point, but his claim to have been the first white man to see Emerald Lake has, so far as I know, never been disproved.[42]

Anger and hurt feelings seemed to follow insinuations of improper claims to exploration or the perception that due credit was not properly assigned. An example from a 1923 letter from Tom Wilson to J.B. Harkin, the Parks Commissioner, regarding the early history of Yoho, is suggestive:

> In 1897, in order to get the C. P. R. interested in this region, I got a German professor, [Jean Habel] to go in and take photos and write it up in the magazines. I gave him three men, Frank Wellman, Fred Stephens and Ralph Edwards ... and seven head of horses, provisions, tents, etc., all for $7.00 per day and it cost me $11.50 per day cash and then the dam German took all the credit.[43]

In another instance, Mary Schäffer recalled: "Think how all Sam Allen's work fell into other hands! Excuse me, Tom, its [sic] a hobby of mine to be fair and play the game, but I fail to see where others have played it."[44]

The Mountaineering Perspective

As mountaineers ascended a peak they embarked on a journey through vertical space, which encouraged a particular way of describing mountains.[45] Climbers viewed

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[42] Ada Wilson to Julia Henshaw, 13 October 1933, Thomas E. Wilson Papers, M1322, Folder 7, Glenbow Archives, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.
[43] Tom Wilson to J. B. Harkin, 28 June 1922, Thomas E. Wilson Collection, M1322, Folder 19, Glenbow Archives, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.
[44] Mary Schäffer to Tom Wilson, 15 August 19--. Thomas E. Wilson Papers, M1322, Folder 19, Glenbow Archives, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.
[45] cf. Rachel Woodward, "'It's a Man's Life!': Soldiers, Masculinity and the Countryside," *Gender, Place and Culture* 5 (1998): 290; Karen Morin, "Trains through the Plains: The Great Plains Landscape of Victorian Women Travellers," *Great Plains Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1998).

the mountain landscape through the imperatives of route-finding. Obstacles, such as sheer rock walls, deep crevasses, and tangled forests, were prominent in their writings. The details of a mountain space were described in a language of hand holds, foot holds, anchor points, and newly discerned passages. Prominent geographical features commanded attention because they were landmarks that identified the progress of the journey. Mountaineers valued decision-making, action, and accomplishment, and these ideas underpinned their images.

The progress through different climbing stages shaped the narrative and influenced how mountaineers represented both mountain geography and mountain scenery. Departure marked the first stage. Either a wilderness camp or a more luxurious hotel established the departure point. Next came the ascent, a journey characterized by upward movement, often part by pack train and foot, and part by a vertical technical climb. In ideal conditions the midway point was the summit, the apex of the vertical journey. Circumstances occasionally forced some climbing parties to turn back before attaining that goal. Deteriorating weather, dangerous terrain, or a weakened climber were the most common causes of peril and in those situations a retreat was the prudent strategy. Descent marked the final stage of the vertical journey. Last was the return to camp or the hotel.

Departure and Ascent

At the time of departure, mountaineers experienced both hope and anticipation. Climbers hoped that the day's goal would be achieved, though at times their enthusiasm was tempered with trepidation when they were faced with a daunting ascent. Representations of the mountains, describing this point in time and this juncture in space, usually conveyed a sense of enthusiasm and opportunity.

Ascent marked the start of a journey through vertical space. This journey was characterized by changing ecosystems – distinct flora and fauna that changed as the elevation increased. Climbers sometimes reached false summits. Additionally, as

climbers gained elevation they experienced a "change in the worlds of vision."[46] Views that were blocked by an adjacent mountain would open up as the climber gained elevation.

In their narratives, climbers detailed the route they followed. Some statements were fairly general: "For the next two thousand feet it was merely a careful selection of gullies and scree slopes, with occasional rock climbing."[47] Others contained a greater degree of precision, such as this excerpt from Val Fynn's ascent of Mt. Victoria:

> Rudolph and I left the hotel at 1.30 A.M. on July 31, made the plain of six glaciers in two hours, and reached the breakfast place at the foot of the upper Victoria Glacier at 4.30, stopped for fifteen minutes, and at 6.45 were at the foot of the col between Collyer and the North Peak of Mt. Victoria. Continuing at 7.20, reached the col itself at 8 and the summit of the North Peak at 9.50.[48]

Detailed route descriptions had several practical motivations: they were a source of authority, a source of evidence of a climber's achievements, and a compendium of trip planning information. Careful descriptions also helped future climbers plan their own ascents.

Climbers' narratives featured obstacles that barred their progress. The obstacles were cast as problems to be solved or as struggles to be surmounted through skill and courage. The focus on obstacles produced some interesting rhetorical practices. One practice was to use battle metaphors like "attack" to convey the degree of effort required to make an ascent. Coleman recalled how his climbing party "held a council of war" to determine their strategy after encountering some projecting rocks encountered on the upper portion of the Brazeau Icefield. The party ultimately decided "that further climbing was too dangerous to risk" so they stopped their ascent at an

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[46] Reverend Charles L. Noyes description of his 1898 ascent of Mount Balfour was cited in Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 36.
[47] Walter Dwight Wilcox, *The Rockies of Canada*, 3d ed., (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), 244.
[48] Val A. Fynn, "Around Lake Louise, Canadian Rockies, in 1918," *AJ* 32 (June 1919): 307-8.

elevation they estimated to be 10,550 feet.[49] These metaphors, when applied to a recreation context, suggested the romantic notion that warfare could be exciting and adventurous. However, mountaineers like Coleman were writing before the First World War; a long and bloody conflict that led to powerful challenges to the notion of warfare as exciting, romantic, or glamorous.[50]

The tendency to personify the mountain or smaller landforms as an adversary with agency was another way that mountaineers cast the landscape as obstacles. Walter Wilcox's mention of "the great rock wall which had defeated us last year" suggests this practice.[51] The adversarial landscape was at times described as having a personality. Alfred Mumm, describing worsening weather conditions, describes how "Mount Robson was only having a last bit of fun with us and did not really mean mischief."[52] Historian Bruce Haley interpreted this rhetorical practice by suggesting that a "mountain was no longer regarded only as a sublime object or as a place of simple recreation but as a challenge to man's courage."[53]

The language used to describe a mountain at any given point during the climb reflected feelings of security and certainty or fear or worry, depending on the situation of the climbing party. Alluding to such emotions was a staple of the adventure genre. After all, if the landscape was the adversary, then geography and climate were the sources of danger. Recounting an episode during his party's failed attempt on Mount Robson, Alfred Mumm wrote: "The slope on which we were standing was perhaps the steepest, and in [Mortiz] Inderbinen's opinion it was the nastiest bit that we had yet encountered."[54] John Patterson's description of standing on the crest of a col on Mt. Ball provides another illustration. He wrote: "for even with the confidence which the

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[49] Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 230. Several references to peaks being "attacked" are also found in Coleman, "The Brazeau Ice-field," 506-09.

[50] The fiction of Robert Graves (*Goodbye to All That*) and Erich Remarque (*All Quiet on the Western Front*) are two examples of this dramatic shift in popular sentiment towards warfare.

[51] Walter D. Wilcox, "The First Ascent of Mount Temple," in *Tales from the Canadian Rockies*, ed. Brian Patton (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1984; reprint, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993), 142.

[52] A. L. Mumm, "An Expedition to Mount Robson," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 19.

[53] Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 132.

rope inspired, it was far from pleasant with such uncertain footing, either to look down upon the precipitous snow-field to the one side, or at the short and hardly less steep slide terminating at the edge of a perpendicular rock wall, on the other."[55]

In many instances climbers either did not, or could not, enjoy the scenery. The strenuous nature of climbing, for example, did not always leave the climber with enough energy to appreciate the scenic beauty of their surroundings. In one humorous anecdote Ethel Johns, a novice climber, recalled:

> People who have never done any climbing have since asked me how I enjoyed the glorious view which unfolded before us as we went up. I have been forced to draw on my imagination for a reply to this question. As a matter of fact all I saw on the way up [Mt.] Huber was Edouard [Feuz]'s boots. They prevaded [sic] the whole landscape and rose and fell with the regularity of clock work. Occasionally, *very* occasionally, these boots were near enough to be studied in detail, but more often I had to content myself with mere impressionistic glimpses of them disappearing upwards, ever upwards.[56]

For other climbers, the dizzying heights prompted them to focus their attention on more immediate concerns. Evelyn Berens, the first woman to ascend successfully Mount Sir Donald, recommended: "In climbing always look for your next foothold and nothing more, as if you look down it is apt to frighten you, and if up you may become discouraged."[57]

Summit: Representing a Landscape of Achievement

On the summit itself, however, climbers often had more leisure for contemplation. Descriptions of scenery viewed from the summit were a common

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[54] Moritz Inderbinen, a Swiss guide from Zermatt, was both Alfred Mumm's friend and personal guide. Mumm, "Expedition to Mount Robson," 15.

[55] Patterson was a founding member of the Alpine Club of Canada. John D. Patterson, "The Ascent of Mt. Ball," *CAJ* 1 (1908), 88.

[56] Edouard Feuz was one of the Swiss guides brought to Canada by the CPR Ethel Johns, "A Graduating Climb," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 162.

[57] C. A. B., "A Woman's Venture," *RGC* 4 (May 1903), 431. Mount Sir Donald is located in the Selkirk mountains of British Columbia. Evelyn Beren's first ascent is also described in Arthur O. Wheeler, *The Selkirk Range*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1905), 337-338.

feature of mountaineering narratives. Typically, the writer focused on the beauty of the surroundings. As one enthusiast noted: "There was nothing but scenery, grand, glorious, scenery all about us. Beginning at our feet, it was without end -- one vast sea of wondrous grandeur, with the motionless white-capped waves sparkling in the sun."[58] This description conveys not only what was seen but what was felt. Attaining a summit was the realization of a goal, and in many descriptions, the pleasure of personal success was conveyed along with the landscape descriptions. Other climbers offered a more restrained inventory: "To the south only a few miles off rose Mt. Ball with its three white domes, the eastern one showing a cornice that would vie with that on Temple. Far away in the south-east, Mt. Assiniboine thrust its unmatched pinnacle into the gathering clouds."[59] Ambivalent responses were also possible: "The view in some respects was disappointing, although I might have expected it as I have been on high mountains before. Everything else was dwarfed as we were 2,000 feet above the next highest mountain."[60]

At times, the weather would diminish the view. Schäffer recalled how "[o]ur disappointment was keen enough when we looked off to the group of desired peaks and found them too enveloped in the mist for photography to be of the slightest use, and so, like the King of France, 'we climbed down again.'"[61] Gertrude Benham, whose successful ascent of Mount Assiniboine in 1904 was the first by a woman and only the third overall, provided this restrained account: "We reached the summit at two p.m. but though the day was cloudless there was too much smoke from forest-fires, in the horizon, to get a very distant view. The summit was much corniced, so we gave it a wide berth, and after a short stay began the descent."[62] Significantly, the editor of the *Canadian Alpine Journal,* in a note following Benham's article commented on her "modest and unassuming" quality, pointing out that Benham did not mention the

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[58] Welford W. Beaton, "A New Canadian Glacier. A Story of Mountain Climbing in the Rockies," *CM* 18 (January 1902), 218.
[59] Frank W. Freeborn, "A Qualifying Climb on Storm Mountain," *RGC* - (191-), 938.
[60] Phyllis Munday, "First Ascent of Mt. Robson by Lady Members," *CAJ* 14 (1924), 72.
[61] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace,* 47.
[62] Caused by drifting, cornices are overhanging ledges of snow found at the crest of a peak or along ridges. Gertrude E. Benham, "The Ascent of Mt. Assiniboine," *CAJ* 1 (1908), 94.

significance of her own ascent. The editor also suggested that "[p]resumably, Miss Benham's wonderful record of mountains climbed in the European Alps, in New Zealand and in Japan ...has led her to regard but lightly her ascent of Mt. Assiniboine."[63] Mt. Assiniboine was one of the prizes of the Canadian Rockies because it offered challenging climbing and striking aesthetics. Perhaps Benham had unwittingly ruffled the feathers of Canadian nationalists by failing to emphasize the significance of her achievement on this peak.

Mountain "Conquest"

Scholars debate how to best interpret the cultural significance of summit descriptions. A case in point is Alison Blunt's response to Mary Louise Pratt's critique of the imperial ideologies displayed in the writings of the Victorian explorer Mary Kingsley. Pratt argued that Kingsley's travel writings revealed a feminized "mastery" of West African geography that was distinct from the conquering and acquisitive rhetoric of male explorers.[64] Blunt disputed this interpretation and particularly Pratt's choice of evidence: a passage of text where Kingsley enthusiastically recalled her travels through a swamp. Blunt questioned Pratt's thesis because it relied on a stereotype of women travellers as eccentric and it implied that the "spatiality" of Kingsley's subjectivity was "confined to literal and metaphorical swamps." To rebut those findings, Blunt introduced Kingsley's ascent of Mount Cameroon and her gaze from the summit. Both activities, Blunt argued, "implicate[d]" Kingsley in "masculine and imperial discourses." Interestingly, mist obscured Kingsley's summit view but her scenic descriptions emphasized the beauty of the climatic effects. Blunt argued that Kingsley's focus on the "aesthetic" qualities of the summit view, instead of its "strategic" value, indicated a distinctly feminine perspective. Moreover, the mist-obscured view, Blunt asserted, symbolized Kingsley's unease with respect to the

[63] "Editorial Note" *CAJ* 1 (1908), 94.
[64] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London: Routledge, 1992), 214-215.

masculine and imperial values imbued in mountaineering.[65] While Blunt's argument offers a compelling analysis of the symbolism of summit views its evidence is gathered from a single summit experience. Furthermore, the suggestion that an aesthetic response is feminine and a strategic response is masculine is not, as this thesis suggests, representative of all climbers.

Recently, Karen Morin offered a critical re-interpretation of the "conquest" symbolism of summit views. Morin, who examined the writings of British women travellers in the American West, argued that "women's exaltations over achieving a grand view ... may be best analyzed as a mastering of the *self*" rather of landscapes. She added that the enthusiastic summit view marked an "emotional attachment to place and conquest of ... [the individual's] own frailty."[66]

Mountaineers who climbed peaks in the Canadian Rockies conveyed similar sentiments. Writing in 1918 about her graduating climb at the ACC's Cathedral Valley camp, Rhoda Edwards recalled her first summit and declared how "the rapture of that hour is indescribable." According to Edwards the "triumph of victory was preceded by the anguish of uncertainty" and the "shadow of failure stalked [her] to the finish. But at the summit," she wrote, "it left me to the contemplation of a new world, with the eyes of a new born self."[67]

The persistent use of the term "conquest" in mountaineering literature, however, prompted some climbers to offer their own interpretations as to its meaning. Charles Fay, one of the earliest American climbers to visit the Canadian Rockies, argued that the "conquest" that climbers engaged in was "an impersonal struggle, a struggle with the forces of Nature." According to Fay, because this type of conquest was individual and moral it was "permissible." He elaborated:

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[65] Alison Blunt, "Reading Authorship and Authority: Reading Mary Kingsley's Landscape Descriptions," in *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, ed. Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose (New York: Guilford Press, 1994), 63-67.
[66] Karen Morin, "Peak Practices: Englishwoman's 'Heroic' Adventures in the Nineteenth-Century American West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89 (1999), 589.
[67] Rhoda W. Edwards, "Impressions of My Graduating Camp," *CAJ* 9 (1918), 109.

> There is in every active man conscious of the possession of powers that which longs for something on which to exercise them. It is the wish to overcome, not so much for the conquest as for the conquering. Misdirected, it makes of the boy a bully, of the man a "jingo." Wisely guided, it may develop the scientist, the discoverer, the statesman, the patriot soldier, and certainly the good citizen.[68]

Alternatively, James Ullman, a historian of mountaineering, argued that "conquest" was simply "a label of convenience" because "a mountain is never 'conquered.'" He pointed to the skill, knowledge, and patience required to climb a mountain and concluded that "It is not a love of conquest that bring a man to a great summit - and down again alive. It is a love - and respect - for the mountain itself."[69]

An understanding of conquest rhetoric also requires a brief discussion of the record-keeping practices of mountaineers. The idea of a summit view symbolizing "conquest" was most appropriate when it was used to describe first ascents. Climbers who achieved a first ascent essentially claimed that peak or route by having their names inscribed in mountaineering journals and climbing guides. First ascents were prestigious because climbers needed both technical skill and solid judgment to successfully ascend a mountain when they had limited advance knowledge of the rock, ice, and snow conditions. Alternatively, a repeat ascent by an established route had a different connotation. While mountaineers who made these repeat ascents sometimes used the rhetoric of conquest, it was applied to each individual's struggle. In a leisure pursuit, "conquest" implied victory over personal limitations. Its rewards were not fame and power, but self-confidence and pride.

Turn-Around Point

Mountaineers typically related tales of success, yet many climbs were left unfinished. Poor preparation, errors in judgment, bad luck, and deteriorating weather were the typical causes of unsuccessful ascents. Noting the dangerous avalanches that roared down Mount Robson during their ascent, Mumm commented: "It was the mild

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[68] Charles E. Fay, "The Mountain as an Influence in Modern Life," *Appalachia* 11 (June 1905), 37-38.
[69] James Ramsey Ullman, *The Age of Mountaineering* (London: Collins, 1956), 335.

night and that abominable warm wind in the morning that caused the mischief; I believe it would have been perfectly safe the day before, but I must admit that we had no business to be in that place on that afternoon."[70] Basil Darling, writing of his party's 1915 attempt of a new route on Mount Robson, recalled the turning point: "it soon became apparent that if we were to get off the ice before dark, we must turn back. After a brief conversation, we decided to do so, and bitterly disappointed, began to descend at 6.15 p.m."[71] Sometimes, parties would change their plans midway through the climb: "Realising that with a weakened party [the writer], and under existing unfavourable conditions of weather and snow there was no chance of a successful ascent of Mount Clemenceau, a minor peak was made the final objective."[72]

Deciding to give up the day's goal, however, was difficult and it could cause friction among party members. Mumm, in recalling his party's failed attempt on Mt. Robson, recalled the point when "it became alarmingly obvious that there was not the faintest chance of our getting back to the bottom of the wall before dark, and that meant spending the night either on the ridge itself or somewhere on the face of the wall." Mumm stated that he "was appalled by the prospect, and lost no time in announcing, apologetically but firmly, that nothing would induce [him] to face either alternative." Mumm's companion, Amery, wanted to continue but Mumm refused: "It was a bitter moment for Amery." A lesser goal was also ruled out by the party, at which point they "gloomily" started their descent."[73]

The mountaineering history of several famous Canadian peaks reveals that several failed attempts preceded the eventual first ascent. Indeed, it was the repeated failures of parties to attain summits that increased the allure of certain peaks. The tragic death of Philip Abbot on Mount Lefroy only increased the mystique of that peak. Abbot's climbing companion, Charles Fay, eager to re-try Lefroy, assembled a party of experienced mountaineers in order to reach Abbot's goal for him and thereby offer a

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[70] Mumm, "Expedition to Mount Robson," 18.

[71] Albert H. MacCarthy and Basil S. Darling, "An Ascent of Mt. Robson from the Southwest (1913)," *CAJ* 6 (1915), 34.

[72] Henry B. de Villiers-Schwab, "First Mt. Clemenceau Expedition, July-August, 1922," *AJ* 35 (May 1923), 48.

[73] Mumm, "Expedition to Mount Robson," 16-17.

poignant tribute to a friend.[74] Alternatively, when John D. Patterson was trying to decide on peaks to climb in the spring of 1904, his guide Christian Kaufmann suggested Mount Ball. Kaufmann, Patterson commented, was "doubtless influenced, good sportsman that he was, by the memory of his defeat."[75] As successive parties met "defeat" on Mount Assiniboine and Mount Robson, those peaks became increasingly perceived as elusive prizes. When finally they were climbed, the achievement was gratifying.

Descent

The ascent and the summit, however, only represented half of the journey. The descent came next and it offered its own unique challenges and opportunities. Fatigue after a strenuous climb and time of day certainly came into play. Fatigue characterized some descriptions with forest trails being described as "endless." Sometimes, descents held unique challenges. Daytime melting of snowpacks on glaciers frequently forced mountaineers to change their return routes. Ice slopes could become dangerously slick and small creeks could become raging torrents in the heat of the afternoon. Moreover, the downward momentum of descent often made the ever-present danger of falls seem more tangible. But descents could also be exhilarating because climbers were able, at times, to travel with greater speed. The glissade, a slide down a snow-slope, was particularly thrilling and it had the practical benefit of reducing a climber's return time.

At times, climbers reached the summit late in the day. Those instances often required rapid descents to avoid bivouacs on the exposed upper reaches of the mountain at night. The combination of urgency and caution left little time for viewing or appreciating scenery. Mumm recalled one instance: "The surrounding scenery here merited more attention than we could well spare."[76] Uneventful descents were not described at all. Gertrude Benham described her descent of Mount Assiniboine in just

[74] Charles Sproull Thompson, "Mt. Lefroy, August 3, 1896," in *The Canadian Mountaineering Anthology*, ed. Bruce Fairley (Vancouver: Lone Pine Publishing, 1994), 74-78; Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 11-22.
[75] Patterson, "Ascent of Mt. Ball," 85.
[76] Mumm, "Expedition to Mount Robson," 18.

one sentence. "Having no lantern with us, we hurried on, as we did not want to be benighted on the mountain, but the loose stones made care necessary and we did not reach our camp till 8:45 p.m."[77]

Return

Francis Walker, a self-described "one-day tripper," recalled "For my part, when I have climbed a mountain, I like to sit down for a while and think about it." While at the ACC's Paradise Valley Camp he was perplexed by the more enthusiastic climbers, those people who came "back into camp with half the nails gone from their soaking boots and with a considerable gap in the garment that bears the brunt of a glissade, who will at once rush to the bulletin board hunting for more trouble. What are you to do with people like that?"[78]

Climbing activity also informed the representations climbers made of individual peaks. Most often, the climbers' texts contained some form of evaluation of route's difficulty or an opinion regarding its overall appeal. A challenging climb, filled with obstacles that were successfully surmounted, provided a feeling of accomplishment that was often manifested in an enthusiastic endorsement of the climb. Two passages written by Val. Fynn after successful climbs provide examples. On one occasion, he described a new route that his party pioneered on Mount Temple and he concluded: "I can warmly recommend this route as not very difficult, not longer and incomparably more interesting that the usual one from Sentinel Pass."[79] In this second passage, Fynn bolstered his appraisal of the peak by citing the opinion of his guide: "As far as my experience goes, Mount Louis is the hardest rock climb in the Canadian Rockies or Selkirks. Edouard [Feuz Jr.] thinks the same."[80] The Reverend S. H. Gray compared Mount Hermit, the site of his party's first ascent, with the more famous Mount Lefroy, a peak they successfully climbed a week later. He argued that Hermit, while lacking the "awe-inspiring grandeur" of Mount Lefroy, was superior both in terms of scenery

[77] Benham, "Ascent of Mt. Assiniboine," 94.
[78] Francis C. Walker, "Paradise Valley Camp," *CAJ* 1 (1908), 284.
[79] Fynn, "Around Lake Louise," 314.
[80] Val. A. Fynn, "Mount Louis (Canadian Rockies)," *AJ* 32 (February 1918), 72.

and climbing. He concludes that "[t]his, of course, is a matter of taste, but I think my companions will share my view."[81] These examples suggest that some climbers tended to both favorably evaluate the peaks they climbed and dismiss, either explicitly or implicitly, other peaks. When circumstances warranted, climbers also voiced their negative views. For example, Freeborn's evaluation of his tedious 1912 ascent of Storm Mountain left no possibility for misinterpretation: "As a thriller the ascent was a disappointment, as a grind it was a complete success."[82]

Describing the Canadian Wilderness

Most mountaineers emphasized the wild character of the Canadian Rockies. The language they used to describe it, however, varied. Generally, there were a range of responses that can be placed on a continuum from a simple inventory of features to a complex emotional response. The writings produced by most climbers contained elements of both inventory and emotion, yet the emphasis tended to fall towards one or the other. Either way, discussions of "the wild" were an essential element of representations of the Canadian Rockies.

Characterizing Beauty: Aesthetics

Mountaineers were a well-educated group and they were influenced by aesthetic ideals circulating in their culture. In a telling example Parker writes: "And what haunts the memory yet, is that lovely mountain landscape in the changing seasons. It was one of those early days in Banff that gave me an understanding of Wordsworth when I came to read his poetry."[83]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was a reappropriation of Romantic ideas in a popular movement that Roderick Nash identified as the "wilderness cult."[84] The eighteenth century Romantic movement, which originated

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[81] The Rev. S. H. Gray, "The Ascent of Mt. Hermit," *CAJ* 1 (1908), 99.
[82] Freeborn. "Qualifying Climb," 937.
[83] Elizabeth Parker, "Some Memories of the Mountains," in *Tales from the Canadian Rockies*, ed. Brian Patton (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1984; reprint, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993), 138.
[84] Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3d ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 141-160.

with the literary and artistic elites of Western Europe, provided the vocabulary for the later generations of nature enthusiasts. An example of prose by Arthur O. Wheeler, President of the Alpine Club of Canada, is typical. He wrote: "It cannot be called a beautiful valley – tremendous cliffs and rock gorges are on every side and the feeling is one of austerity and gloom but it is very impressive and very wonderful."[85] And in another instance he penned the phrase: "glorious vistas of green glacial torrent rushing madly between walls of spruce and pine, while overhead a sky of cerulean blue fleeced with snowy clouds made the whole seem a picture from fairyland, and set the blood coursing through our veins, almost as fast as the torrent."[86]

The references contained in these passages suggest that Wheeler was familiar with the three key aesthetic theories associated with Romanticism: the sublime, the beautiful, and the picturesque. Edmund Burke, in his *An Inquiry into the Origins of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757), distinguished the calming and pleasing scene from the awful or terrifying scene by identifying them respectively as "beautiful" and "sublime." In both instances the terminology emphasized how the viewer responded emotionally to a particular scene. In conventional usage critics associated the "beautiful" with harmony, balance, and mellow light; in all instances the scenes described were considered shapely or definable. In contrast, sublime scenes suggested tumult, vastness, and obscurity; qualities that critics considered "indefinable and immeasurable."[87] A third aesthetic category, the "picturesque," evolved from ideas articulated by William Gilpen in his *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape* (1792). To state that a scene was "picturesque" implied that it exhibited compositional elements that corresponded to painted scene.[88]

"Sublime" was the term most often associated with mountains. The language associated with the sublime requires some interpretation because the eighteenth century

[85] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 50.
[86] *Ibid.*, 24.
[87] Susan Glickman, *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of Canadian Landscape* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 9-10.
[88] *Ibid.*

meanings do not correspond directly with contemporary connotations. "Terror" was the emotion used most often to refer to sublime scenes, yet that emotion is dismissed by contemporary readers as a negative response. According to Susan Glickman "critics unfamiliar with sublime theory may not recognize that fear of the unknown may be transitional, and the first stage in an imaginative ascent. In such cases, fear contributes greatly to one's spiritual and emotional development."[89] These kinds of transitional emotions certainly characterized the alpine sublime described by turn of the century mountaineers. Moreover, the language of that aesthetic corresponded with the mountaineers' arguments that wild mountain landscapes were an ideal setting for transcendental or spiritual enlightenment.

Among the themes associated with mountains was an emphasis on the infinite. Mountaineers often noted the vast area covered by mountainous terrain. Conrad Kain emphasized vastness when he wrote: "As far as the eye can see there are peaks, snowfields, glaciers and valleys."[90] A similar idea was conveyed by H. R. Carmichael who described: "We walked for over two miles up this immense glacier and nothing but the most stupendous and awe-inspiring views greeted the eye in every direction."[91] Sometimes writers attempted to quantify the scale of the scene as this example by Welford Beaton revealed: "Our eyes sweep the horizon for three hundred miles or more in every direction, but we see nothing but the untarnished whiteness of snow-capped summits."[92] When Wheeler penned the phrase "this galaxy of alpine glories" he demonstrated how the idea of infinitude could extend into hyperbole.[93]

Mountains were also considered to be evidence of the incredible timespan of geologic history. In Beaton's reference to a glacier, the theme was eternity: "it still grinds away the mountains as it did untold ages ago."[94] A similar idea was expressed in Norman Howard's poem entitled "Storm Mountain." Howard wrote of the "air of

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[89] *Ibid.*, 45.
[90] Conrad Kain, *Where the Clouds Can Go*, ed. J. Monroe Thorington, 3d ed. (New York: American Alpine Club, 1976), 282.
[91] H. R. Carmichael, "Two Pioneer Trips Through a Pleasure Ground of To-Morrow," *RGC* - (191-), 930.
[92] Beaton, "New Canadian Glacier," 218.
[93] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 63.

an eternal morn," the peaks "where eternal snows cover the way" and described the mountains as "Vales of Eternity."[95] More tritely, Vaux described "the everlasting hills"[96] As Marjorie Hope Nicolson observed, the focus on the infinite and eternal was a legacy of early scientific discovery. Geologists demonstrated that the earth was incredibly old and optics technology introduced a new understanding of scale – from the infinite heavens to the indeterminate world revealed by the microscope.

The irregular forms that were frequently associated with wild environments were another key feature of the sublime aesthetic. Artists and poets considered irregularity the hallmark of wilderness because it contrasted with the linear aesthetics of humans and their cultivated lands or urban settings. Arthur Wheeler's description of a "delightful" scene provides a succinct example: "The shore line is delightfully irregular, a prominent point protrudes in the centre and there are several small bays. On the west side the lake is hemmed in by bold rocky cliffs."[97] In this passage, Wheeler's depiction of protrusions and "rocky cliffs" highlighted the landscape's asymmetrical qualities.

Writers often evoked the sublime by emphasizing nature's power and they accomplished that goal by incorporating vivid descriptions of change and movement. When Arthur Wheeler wrote that "water boils and churns in a wonderful manner," his choice of verbs created a palpable sense that nature was both powerful and thrilling.[98] In a separate passage, Wheeler used similarly dramatic language to emphasize power and grandeur of the avalanches he saw falling from Mount Robson down to Lake Kinney. "[W]e watched them for several hours," he wrote, adding how "there would be a crack; a crash" and then "an immense mass would break away and, with a roar like thunder, come leaping from ledge to ledge into the gorge, and then go sizzling to the valley below."[99] For Walter Wilcox, the continual movement that he sensed around himself epitomized wildness: "Violent gusts of wind roaring through the trees, clouds

[94] Beaton, "New Canadian Glacier," 215.
[95] Norman Howard, "Storm Mountain," *RGC* - (191-), 942.
[96] Mary M. Vaux, "Camping in the Canadian Rockies," *CAJ* 1 (1907), 70.
[97] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 52.
[98] *Ibid.*, 48.
[99] *Ibid.*, 55.

of dust sweeping over the exposed flats, and the rushing swirl of torrential streams seemed to accentuate the wild grandeur around us."[100] Conventional references to "thundering" avalanches or "violent" winds were particularly effective in communicating meaning because they suggested both movement and intensity. Significantly, writers generated this sense of intensity by selecting words that were commonly used to describe familiar human emotions.

Unlike the mountain tourists who rarely ventured away from their hotel verandahs or observation rail cars, mountaineers did more that simply view the mountains from a distance. As part of their mountain journeys, many mountaineers walked over glaciers, climbed up rock faces, rode along trails, and camped in the open air. The physicality of these activities and the prolonged contact with the natural environment provided mountaineers with opportunities to engage all their senses. Thus, when climbers wrote about their mountain experiences they could share with their readers a multi-sensory appreciation of mountain settings. Norman Collie's reflective musings at the end of one mountain expedition provides an example of this style of writing. He wrote: "it was hard to realize that we should no longer sleep under an Indian 'teepee' in a sleeping-bag, and feel the fresh air play over our faces during the still nights, nor should we listen to noises of the streams nor the winds in the pine much longer."[101] Mountaineers also referred to their sensory experiences to create different moods. In this passage, for example, Walter Wilcox recalled the sound of the pica and its curious effect of encouraging nostalgia: "The pica's only music is a dismal squeak, but they are so characteristic of upland parks and lonely though beautiful valleys, that the mountain climber comes to associate them with some of his finest experiences and so to love them."[102]

Writers often used metaphors to describe the power and beauty of particular scenes. Two broad categories of metaphors were typically employed by writers to create these meanings and, unsurprisingly, both groups of metaphors depended on links

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[100] *Ibid.*, 157.
[101] Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 353.
[102] Picas are small rodents that typically inhabit the rocky terrain found at treeline in the Canadian Rockies. Wilcox, *Rockies of Canada*, 66.

to cultural institutions that wielded extensive social power: the military and the crown. The particular connotations of these metaphors, however, tended to evoke different meanings. Writing in 1903, R. J. Burde used a series of military metaphors to convey the sense of wonderment he experienced after viewing a vast panorama from the summit of Sulfur Mountain. He described: "Peaks stretching out as if in skirmishing order, peaks lining up to peaks in imposing display, and peaks compact, crowded, in solid phalanx, peaks predominating, countless. What an army of mountain peaks. What a marshaling of the hosts of God!"[103] In Burde's passage, the "skirmishes" and "phalanxes" seem to suggest an incongruous blend of order and disorder, yet the overall impression is remains one of awe-inspiring power. In contrast, Julia Henshaw, who wrote her article just a year before, relied on "royal" terms to convey a sense of majestic beauty:

> The fast-flowing Kicking Horse River, the lakes lying like a chain of sapphires and emeralds of the purest water upon the bosoms of the hills; the grand old mountain-monarchs drawing their snow-mantles closely around their superb shoulders, and holding erect their stately ice-crowned heads; the glaciers clinging to the upper slopes between the castellated ranges, and clasping the rocks with their sparkling fingers.[104]

By describing the mountains as aged monarchs Henshaw expressed her belief that mountains commanded both respect and admiration by merit of their innate character and their longevity. When she described alpine lakes as "sapphires" and "emeralds," however, she repeated one of the most common metaphorical associations used to describe features found in the Canadian Rockies. As Arthur Wheeler once wrote, Rocky Mountain lakes had "magic hues, like quaint jewels in rare old settings."[105] This practice of describing alpine lakes as jewels also served a dual purpose. While invoking a particular gemstone allowed readers to imagine specific colours, the concept of gems and jewels introduced the idea that these landscape features beautiful, rare, and precious.

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[103] R. J. Burde, "Climbing Sulfur," *RGC* 5 (July 1903), 77.
[104] Julia W. Henshaw, "A Summer Holiday in the Rockies," *CM* 20 (November 1902), 8.
[105] A. O. Wheeler, "The Canadian Rockies: A Field for an Alpine Club," *CAJ* 1 (1907), 38.

Some writers described the Rockies using metaphors that relied on a link that equated nature with women. This rhetorical practice created meaning by drawing upon prevailing discourses of gender operating within Western European and North American cultures. Descriptions of "virgin" land were the most common and most obvious of these metaphors.[106] Yet references to veiled nature, mysterious nature, and secretive nature played on the same association of meanings. Occasionally, male writers introduced a female nature to convey a particularly strong connection between individual and place, one that implied an intimacy found between lovers. Hugh Stutfield, for example, described how "there are occasions when we seem to get on closer and more intimate terms with Nature: when she seems to speak to us as to a friend and soul-mate in whom she can safely confide her secrets."[107] On another occasion, Stutfield made another revealing comment when, using himself as a model, he identified the mountaineer as one who "loves the high places of the earth" and who, "lover-like ... is apt to expand, with what outsiders may consider unnecessary prolixity, on the perfections of his adorable mistress."[108] In these excerpts the metaphor of female nature is founded on the idea that women are objects of male desire, sources of visual pleasure, and intimate partners who share confidences.[109]

Women writers also used feminine metaphors to add meaning, even humour, to their landscape descriptions. Feminine metaphors were effective because they drew upon widely circulated cultural beliefs about what constituted typically feminine behaviour.

> The scene is never the same for an hour together, for a mountain has more moods even than those attributed to woman, and spends much of

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[106] Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989).
[107] H. E. M. Stutfield, "Mountaineering as Religion," *AJ* 32 (September 1918), 247.
[108] Stutfield, "Mountaineering as Religion," 242.
[109] For a discussion of these 'masculinist fantasies' refer to Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 93-99. A similar analysis of the feminine metaphor is found in Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975). Refer also to J. Douglas Porteous, *Environmental Aesthetics: Ideas, Politics and Planning* (London: Routledge, 1996), 63.

its time in trying-on the latest confection in cloud-drapery and casting it aside for another yet more novel and bewitching.[110]

This playful example by K. B. Hallowes relies on stereotypical notions of femininity to convey humour when she suggests that a mountain has fickle moods and a fondness for the latest fashions. Significantly, Hallowes does not explicitly identify the mountain as female, she only ascribes feminine characteristics to a landform with ambivalently identified gender traits. Indeed, in that same essay Hallowes used a number of masculine metaphors to explain why some climbers had difficulty with their ascent of Mount Robson:

> ...for we all know that it was not their fault that they did not make the actual peak, though getting very near it. It simply was that the cloud-spirit who claims Mt. Robson for his own, discovered that he had been caught napping and that mortals had dared not only pluck his icy beard, but to set their feet on the very top of his hoary head. So he called from the vast deeps of his crevasses his guardians of fog, mist and storm, and bade them do their worst on all other invaders of his solitude.[111]

Again, Hallowes drew upon popular stereotypes of gendered behaviour to generate humour and in this instance the figure of the sullen, solitary man gave substance to the metaphor. Male writers also used the "old man" metaphor. When he described "[t]he old grey face rudely scarred from its age-long conflict with the elements, looked down in silent challenge," Ralph Connor used the metaphor to convey the apprehension he felt before embarking on a climb up Cascade Mountain. Bravado replaced apprehension when Connor later announced: "We'll stand on your head some day, old man."[112]

The mountaineers' strong attachment to the mountains did not preclude negative feelings. Writers often identified bad weather as the cause for their negative reactions

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[110] K. B. Hallowes, "Mount Robson Camp (1913)," *CAJ* 6 (1915), 214.
[111] *Ibid.*, 212-13.
[112] Ralph Connor, "How We Climbed Cascade," in *Tales from the Canadian Rockies*, ed. Brian Patton (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1984; reprint, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993), 131, 130.

to the mountains. Frank Freeborn's recollection of finishing a hike by making a "dismal retreat" through a rain-soaked forest with "dripping underbrush," and "dreary dampness," emphasized the depressing effect of rain and cloud.[113] At other times the language writers used to describe geography reflected, to varying degrees, their emotional state. Arthur Coleman, for example, described the landscape in the vicinity of The Committee's Punchbowl by stating "the general effect of the surroundings was lifeless and austere."[114] While this passage could be explained as simply Coleman's efforts to describe the landscapes above treeline, it is worth considering that presaging Coleman's arrival at the Punchbowl, was his disheartening realization that his expedition to locate the famed summits of Mount Brown and Mount Hooker had failed. Mountaineers also recalled ugly and unappealing scenes they encountered. Burnt forests were the most frequently cited example as this excerpt by Arthur Wheeler suggests: "The summit of the Pass ... is not very attractive. The timber on the north side has been burned and is now an unsightly array of fallen and standing skeletons."[115] Dismay over the careless destruction of forests due to fires left unattended by railway workers, prospectors, or travellers also underpinned many descriptions of burnt forests.

Language and culture provided mountaineers with a variety of ways to create meaning, however, there were instances when mountaineers believed that words were insufficient. Welford Beaton summed up this belief as follows: "No pen in the world and no brush could do justice to the scene that met our eyes."[116] Mary Schäffer, made a similar argument when she recalled her response to friends who asked "'Why did you not tell us to go [to the Rockies] before?'" She stated: "Alas! it takes what I have not, a skilled pen. Perhaps the subject it too great, and the picture too vast for one small steel pen and one human brain to depict, -- at least it is a satisfaction to think the fault is not my own."[117] Even Arthur Wheeler, a writer noted for his vivid and imaginative descriptions of scenery, sometimes found it impossible to describe mountain scenery.

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[113] Freeborn, "Qualifying Climb," 939.
[114] Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Athabasca," 59.
[115] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 12.
[116] Beaton, "A New Canadian Glacier," 217.
[117] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 19.

Recalling one panoramic scene he wrote that "From the summit the scene beggars description."[118] Still, a belief that words were insufficient did not preclude hyperbole as this curious passage by Wheeler revealed: "The magnitude of [Jasper region] is so stupendous that it has been found impossible to do it even an approach to justice in details."[119]

When words failed, some mountaineers turned to photography or painting to portray mountain grandeur and beauty. While illustrations had aesthetic appeal, part of the rationale for using visual media was a tacit belief that pictures offered evidence, or truths, that could not be conveyed through language. Modern scholars argue that such "truth" claims are illusory. Like written texts, photographs and paintings need to be interrogated because their composition and their content both reflect and sustain specific cultural discourses. Although a discussion of visual representation is beyond the scope of this thesis it does provide ample opportunity for future research. The direction of this research can take inspiration from the work of Joan Schwartz and James Ryan, scholars who have critically assessed the connections between photographic images and imaginative geographies.[120]

The Restorative Qualities of Mountain Wilderness

Wild areas also inspired a notion of peace and calmness. Mountain wilderness was often described as a retreat. Julia Henshaw, writing in 1902, agreed with the prevailing sentiment that mountains were "restful" and "soothing to nerves racked and tortured by the din of city life." She elaborated on this idea by suggesting: "The level world has been marred by man, by sin, by sorrow, by suffering. The mountains are ever pure, and sweet, and holy; steadfast and calm above all strife; untainted by time: unspotted by humanity. This is the secret of their unresting restfulness."[121] Norman

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[118] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 36.
[119] *Ibid.*, 83.
[120] James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997); Joan M. Schwartz, "*The Geography Lesson*: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22 (1996), 16-45.
[121] Henshaw, "Summer Holiday," 3-4.

Howard agreed. In his poem "Storm Mountain" he wrote "Far from the city your lost health awaits you / Up on the summit of beautiful Storm."[122]

The idea that the mountains were a retreat was reinforced by the metaphorical language linked to Christianity and the clearly stated belief that the mountains were God's creation. Metaphorically, God was identified as an architect: "It is the Divine Lesson taught by Nature as it left the hand of the Creator."[123] Other metaphors relating to the Divine or Christian religion included: cathedrals, alters, shrines, "mansions of the clear city of God," and "God's pulpit."[124] In support of this idea, mountaineers described themselves as pilgrims, the faithful, or people who listened to "the Gospel of Nature preached anew from the perfect hills."[125] Hugh Stutfield went further and suggested that mountaineering itself was "a joy, a passion, an inspiration -- one might say 'a religion.'"[126] Mountains, he argued, gave help and consolation while inspiring devotion and reverence from the mountaineer.[127] Perhaps the strongest statement came from Elizabeth Parker who wrote of a "presence" encountered in the mountains. She referred to:

> the presence interfused in Nature; the presence that dwells among the sheer peaks and in the living air and the blue sky and in the mind of man; the motion and the spirit that rolls through all things. Browning sums it in his swift way: "which fools call Nature and I call God."[128]

Christian themes were revealed in more subtle ways as well. For some mountaineers, the climb was a metaphor for life - suffering through life and a reward at the end. Despite the "suffering" many climbers still seemed to enjoy the journey. One mountaineer recalled the moment when the summit was reached: "Then were we rewarded for the dangers we encountered and the exertion we exercised."[129] Hallowes

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[122] Howard, "Storm Mountain," 942.
[123] Henshaw, "Summer Holiday," 4.
[124] Balfour in Burde, "Climbing Sulphur," 77; Henshaw, "Summer Holiday," 3.
[125] Henshaw, "Summer Holiday," 3-4.
[126] Stutfield, "Mountaineering as Religion," 241.
[127] *Ibid.*, 242.
[128] Elizabeth Parker, "The Alpine Club of Canada," *CAJ* 1 (1907), 8.
[129] Beaton, "New Canadian Glacier," 217.

also expressed the idea that scenery compensated for hardship. She wrote: "In spite of the weather not being altogether kind, the scenery was too glorious for one to realize the length and hardness of the way."[130] Schäffer described a "picture worth many a troubled hour to reach."[131] A similar idea was expressed by another writer known only as A. H. S. who wrote that "not a single individual would have forgone the arduous work, the pleasures far outweighing the discomforts, and the wonderful sights being well worth all the trouble and toil, and even the dangers encountered."[132]

Scenery was not only a reward, it was temptation. Schäffer, writing of the Poboktan Valley recalled "The following day we climbed yet higher, made our way across an unmapped pass, and looked down upon a beautiful unfiretouched, flower-strewn valley ... Too tempting to ignore..."[133] Wheeler reiterated this idea when he wrote: "The gaze into the depths of the historic valleys ended all too abruptly. It simply whetted the appetite and created a strong craving for a closer acquaintance."[134]

Wilderness vs. Civilization

When writers described their mountaineering experiences in the Canadian Rockies, they often identified the wilderness setting as the factor that made those experiences qualitatively different from all other aspects of their life. Mountaineers cast wilderness as the antithesis to the civilized life they led in their urban homes. Camping in the wilderness provided departure from both paid work and unpaid domestic work routines. Mountaineers enjoyed their time in the wilderness because they were not tied to a civilized routine dictated by schedules and clocks. "With no one to order us to be bed, we yarned and sang, indifferent to the passing of the night or to the tasks of the morrow ..."[135] For Norman Collie, wilderness and camp life was a source of "freedom" and "immense peacefulness." It was a place where "the hours do

[130] Hallowes, "Mount Robson Camp," 213.
[131] Schäffer, "Finding of Lake Maligne," 96.
[132] A. H. S[mith], "The Alpine Club of Canada: How We Won Our Qualifications," *RGC* 8 (October 1906), 351.
[133] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 93.
[134] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 71.
[135] Connor, "How We Climbed Cascade," 132.

not fall heavily" and as such was "healthy for both mind and body." In the mountains, Collie concluded, one "can feel with far more certainty than most that 'all's well in the world.'"[136]

Moreover, mountaineers valued the "freedom" and "correctives" that, in their words, derived from the physical experience of non-mechanized travel and the simplified daily routine that gave priority to the most basic human needs: food and shelter. Norman Collie articulated this idea as follows:

> Civilized life no doubt teaches us much, but when one has once tasted the freedom of the wilds, a different kind of knowledge comes. The battling with storm, rain, cold, and sometimes hunger, and the doubt of what any day may bring forth, these at least teach that life, that mere existence, is beyond all price.[137]

Elizabeth Parker, one of Canada's most vocal advocates for mountaineering, argued that vigorous exercise in the mountain environment offered benefits to both individuals and their society. Repeating a theme common to turn of the century advocates of wilderness leisure, she argued that mountaineering offered a "corrective" to weakness and decadence fostered by urban modern society.[138] Fearing "that effeteness which is worse than the effeteness of an unbalanced culture," Parker argued:

> Among other correctives none is more effective than this of the exercise of mountain-craft. No sport is so likely to cure a fool of his foolishness as the steady pull, with a peril or two of another sort attending, of a season's mountain climbing in one of those 'thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice' in the wild alpine playground of Canada. The ethical value of mountaineering is a subject upon which our statesmen would do well to ponder; and there is considerable Alpine literature from which they may gather data.[139]

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[136] Collie, "Exploration north of Yellowhead Pass," 233.
[137] J. Norman Collie, "Exploration in the Canadian Rocky Mountains," *GJ* 17 (March 1901), 266.
[138] For a discussion of arguments outlining the civic value of wilderness refer to:
[139] Parker, "Alpine Club of Canada," 7.

Introducing the idea that individuals benefited from the simple life she stated that mountaineers "gained immensely in the Spartan virtues." Moreover, Parker believed that it "is the people's right to have primitive access to the remote places of safest retreat from the fever and the fret of the market place and the beaten tracts of life."[140]

Despite these touted benefits, mountaineers were only temporary wilderness residents. Wilderness life was never meant to replace civilized life; instead, experiences of the wilds accentuated civilized life. Norman Collie was one mountaineer who reflected on the relative advantages of both wilderness and civilization. He wrote: "Still, civilised life no doubt is a great blessing, but an occasional return to the wilds will also teach us much that is good for both one's mind and body, much undreamt of in the philosophy of the ordinary man."[141] Yet, some of the earliest pioneering mountaineers had to temper their enthusiasm for wilderness life because they knew, from bitter experience, that hardship and privation were real risks. For Norman Collie and his companions, there was the realization that food and shelter were precious commodities that could not be easily replenished if supplies ran low or camping equipment became damaged or lost. In his early expeditions, the unfortunate combination of poor planning and bad luck left Collie and his companions cold, wet, hungry, and short of temper. Thus, it was unsurprising when Collie concluded his 1899 article describing his expedition in search of Mount Brown and Mount Hooker by stating: "civilization has its advantages, and gains much by contrast with the life that is experienced amongst the mountains and the wild and desolate places of the Earth."[142] Hardships encountered in the wilderness made mountaineers acutely aware of their physical vulnerabilities and it reinforced their appreciation of the comforts and security found in established settlements.

[140] *Ibid.*, 7, 5.
[141] J. Norman Collie, "Old Memories: The Columbia Icefield," *AJ* 35 (November 1923), 242.
[142] Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 353.

Mountain Symbolism and Canadian Identity

Mountaineering was one of many forums for the turn of the century struggle to define a Canadian national identity.[143] Canada was in the process of redefining its role within the British Empire. Confederation had produced a nation with its own government control over internal matters, yet international relations were still the responsibility of London. At the same time, Canada was trying to establish an identity within a North American context where individual, familial, economic, and geographic forces were forging stronger ties with the United States. The Canadian struggle to define a distinct identity, apart from both Britain and the United States, was evident in the mountaineers' efforts to identify uniquely Canadian traits for the Rockies north of the 49th parallel.[144] It is not surprising that the Rockies became an arena for this struggle since the practice of identifying particular landscapes as national icons has a long history.[145] In Canada, the Rockies were just one of many regional landscapes used to symbolize nationhood.[146]

The strong link between the scenic qualities of the Rockies and Canadian national identity was expressed several different ways. The strong assertion that the mountains were *Canadian* mountains - in terms of their geographic location and in terms of their unique character -- was the most obvious way. Secondly, there was symbolic significance associated with having Canadians making the first ascent of Canadian peaks. The symbolic impact of a first ascent was so significant as to inspire the formation of the ACC and organization of repeated expeditions to Mount Robson.[147]

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143 Raymond Huel, "The Creation of the Alpine Club of Canada: An Early Manifestation of Canadian Nationalism," *Prairie Forum* 15 (1990), 25-43.

144 The Rockies are an extensive chain of mountains following a northwest-southeast axis across the North American continent. Thus, it is important to remember that references to the Rockies could also mean the American Rockies.

145 Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); David Lowenthal, "British National Identity and the English Landscape," *Rural History* 2 (1991).

146 Brian S. Osborne, "The Iconography of Nationhood in Canadian Art," in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 169-175.

147 For a discussion of the symbolic impact of first ascents refer to Peter H. Hansen, "Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain," *Journal of British Studies*, 34 (July 1995), 300-324.

Interestingly, anxieties about Rocky Mountain scenery were intertwined with debates about Canadian national identity. A curious mixture of pride and bravado was tempered by insecurity and a need for external validation.

Landscape Pride and the Founding of the ACC

William Foster articulated his pride in Canada's scenery from the summit of Mount Robson when he wrote: "In all, the vision bounded only by horizon, must have included eight to nine thousand square miles of wonderful alpine territory." He added that he was "awed ... by the realization that this was but a tithe of the country's vast scenic heritage."[148] One of the explicit goals for founding the ACC was to foster Canadian pride in the natural landscape. It was a national resource that could attract international attention, and, ideally, international praise. Elizabeth Parker made this point:

> The education of Canadians to an appreciation of their alpine heritage, is of itself a *raison d'etre*. The Canadian Rocky Mountain system, with its unnumbered and unknown natural sanctuaries for generations yet unborn, is a national asset. In time we ought to become a nation of mountaineers, loving our mountains with the patriot's passion.[149]

After the first ACC camp, a participant concluded: "The success of the first camp must lead to an increased interest in the Canadian Alps, in many respects the most wonderful part of the Dominion and assist to keep Canada more than ever in the eyes of the world."[150]

A Canadian alpine club was deemed essential. It would be a corrective to "Canadian apathy to Canadian mountains." Elizabeth Parker, for example, was concerned over "Canadian indifference to a sport for which Nature had provided so vast a playground on our own immediate territory." Equally troubling was that Canadian indifference opened the way for English and American climbers. As Parker

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[148] W. W. Foster, "Mount Robson (1913)," *CAJ* 6 (1915), 15.
[149] Parker, "Alpine Club of Canada,: 7.
[150] S[mith], "How We Won Our Qualifications," 352.

claimed, it was they who were "telling the story" of the Canadian Rockies.[151] For example, Stutfield and Collie commented how it was "due to [the Appalachian Mountain Club of Boston] and to other Americans from the States that mountaineering as recreation was first undertaken amongst the Canadian Rocky Mountains." Delivered by British observers, the comment was significant, particularly because those very same observers were describing their own pioneering "climbs and exploration" in the Canadian Rockies.[152] Considering this state of affairs, Parker commented how she and others were "jealous for their compatriots sake." Despite this jealousy, Parker paid tribute to the American and British climbers for their "great and splendid service" they had "rendered to our mountains and Canadian mountaineering." [153]

By interesting Canadians in mountaineering and the Canadian Rockies, it was hoped that ACC members would find the "charms" of the Rockies to be "irresistible." Thus, the organizers hoped, members would act "as missionaries" and encourage the interest of others.[154] Another climber suggested the evangelizing spirit: "Once imbue those present with mountain enthusiasm, and they will carry with them into every corner of the world the knowledge of the wonderful playground the Canadian Alps afford to all."[155]

The Idea of "Canadian" Mountains

The idea that the Rockies were a unique mountain range had a basis in fact because the Rockies had a unique location, climate, geology, geological history, and topography. Sir Martin Conway, who gained fame for his pioneering explorations and climbs in the Himalayas, remarked: "The common but erroneous opinion seems to be that all mountain scenery is very much alike; as a matter of fact, there is the widest possible diversity in the character of mountain scenery in different parts of the

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[151] Parker, "Alpine Club of Canada," 3-4.
[152] Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 16.
[153] Parker, "Alpine Club of Canada," 3-4.
[154] "Club Notes and News," *RGC* 8 (October 1906), 353.
[155] "The Summer Camp Arrangements," *RGC* 8 (June 1906), 12.

world."[156] After viewing slides of Norman Collie's explorations for Mount Brown and Hooker, Conway pronounced: "there are no mountains which combine grace and at the same time boldness of form with forest and with water more beautifully, as far as I can judge, than those mountains Mr. Collie so well described to-night."[157]

In Canada, both mountaineers and Rocky Mountain promoters expressed anxiety about the mountains. A primary concern was how well the Canadian peaks would compare with the Alps. In turn of the century mountaineering, certain mountains were more desirable than others. Large hills with rocky cliff faces permitted technical climbing but they were not prestigious alpine peaks. The distinction between alpine peaks and other landforms hinted at the snobbery and status-seeking that was, to differing degrees, inherent in mountaineering. Still, it was a distinction based on tangible reality. While these distinctions were subjective they emerged for a reason. Alpine refers to the Alps, the birthplace of modern mountaineering. When European mountaineers left the Alps to search for new climbing grounds, they looked for areas that were familiar, that had the characteristics and features they had learned to associate with mountaineering. As a result, the Alps became the measuring stick against which other mountains were compared, both in terms of aesthetics and climbing potential. Freeborn's description of the Vice President, a peak located near Yoho Pass, emphasized that it "gave a proper variety of alpine experience - broken rock, and cliffs, and glaciers, and wide snowfields."[158] Wheeler identified similar elements of "alpine" aesthetics: the "scenic combination of snow-crowned mountain, ice-encircled amphitheatre, tumbling glacier, turquoise lake and leaping waterfall."[159] Alpine metaphors were one of the most common ways to describe Canadian mountains. The Rockies were the "the Canadian Alps" and Mount Assiniboine was described as "the Matterhorn of the Rockies."

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[156] Sir Martin Conway in the discussion following the paper's reading at the Royal Geographical Society, February 13, 1899. Cited following Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 357. For information Conway's achievements refer to Ronald W. Clark, *Men, Myths and Mountains*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976), 93-107.
[157] Sir Martin Conway in discussion following Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 358.
[158] Frank W. Freeborn, "Two Camps in the Canadian Rockies," *Appalachia* 11 (June 1908), 326-7.
[159] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 63.

The relatively low elevation of Canadian peaks was a concern to visiting mountaineers, whether they were Canadian, American, or British. To justify their interest in the low elevation peaks writers focused on the other alpine attributes that made Canadian peaks both worthy and distinctive. In 1907 Arthur Wheeler, one of Canada's most enthusiastic mountain promoter, wrote: "It is true we have not the great height of other mountain systems of the world. ... we can only boast a general altitude of 10,000 to 12,000 feet; but, for primeval forests, beauty of glaciers and labyrinthine organization, the Rockies of Canada cannot be surpassed."[160] Wheeler reiterated that argument in 1913: "While our mountains are not the highest in the world, they are remarkable for the great natural beauty of their features."[161] On another occasion, referring to the peaks in the vicinity of Mount Robson, Wheeler argued that "the alpine character of the region cannot be judged by these altitudes."[162] Famed British mountaineer Norman Collie weighed in on the debate and suggested that "[t]he scenery of the Rocky Mountains has a charm all its own; one is not dependent on the mountains for the chief effects." He emphasized that elevation and mountain form was not the chief appeal. Instead, Collie drew attention to "the under-world of forests, lakes, rivers, and far-reaching valleys" which provided "the chief note to the scenery of these far distant western wilds."[163]

While there was no shortage of praise for Canada's mountain scenery, the Rockies' reputation as a challenging climbing ground did not fare so well. Offering "a word about the Rockies from the point of view of an Alpine climber," the British climber Hugh Stutfield made this assessment of Canadian climbing deficiencies and scenic assets:

> I think it may be said at once that, though they are very fine, they are not equal to the finest mountains in the Alps, that is to say, there is nothing in the Rockies quite so stately as the Matterhorn or the Italian

[160] Wheeler, "Field for an Alpine Club," 41.
[161] Alpine Club of Canada [ACC], Unpublished transcript from the 'Annual Meeting,' Sunday July 20, 1913. ACC Fonds, M200, AC 027, Folder 15B, Archives, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta.
[162] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 63.
[163] Collie, "Exploration north of Yellowhead Pass," 232.

side of Mont Blanc: and also, from what Mr. Ruskin would call the greased-pole point of view, they do not afford such fine climbing. Our climb on Mount Forbes was distinctly very difficult and also a sensational one; it would be so considered, I think, in the Alps. But for the majority of mountains they are not equal to the Alps in that respect, but in other respects the Rockies are superior. Those vast primeval forests with their wonderful undergrowth, with the magnificent trees and the tangled ruins of trunks, are things which you cannot find in Europe. The scenery of the Rocky mountains is exceedingly beautiful ...[164]

Ultimately, subjective assessments of the Rockies' suitability for mountaineering were relative to the experiences of each mountaineer. In 1923, Collie wrote a retrospective where he considered his experiences in the Rockies in relation to his other climbs around the globe. He referred to Canada as "that land [where] things are not too easy and not too difficult" and in contrast he pointed to the Himalayas, a place where "one must be a giant to cope with the vast heights, and one wearies of the immensity of everything."[165] Collie's tempered assessment of Canada's low elevation peaks came after he experienced severe setbacks and tragedy in the Himalayas. As an organizer of the British Alpine Club's failed expeditions to Mount Everest in 1921 and 1922, Collie found himself wondering if some mountaineering challenges were too great and if, in retrospect, his dismissal of the Rockies as relatively easy was too harsh.

Some mountaineers believed that comparisons of different mountain ranges served no purpose at all. Wallace, a Canadian climber who served for several years as Secretary of the Alpine Club of Canada, argued that point when he wrote:

> Lovers of the Alps look with a jealous eye upon the newly exploited Rocky Mountains of Canada; and Canadians are constantly in fear lest this or that feature should be inferior to the Alps. That is ridiculous. Judge the Rockies by the Swiss standard, and our mountains are hopelessly inferior; judge the Alps by a Canadian Rocky Mountain standard and the Alps are nowhere. The two ranges are absolutely different. What is typical of one is rare in the other, and each surpasses in its own particular beauties. We have no lovely snow mountains (unless it be the single example of Mount Robson) comparable to Monte

[164] Hugh Stutfield in discussion following Collie "Further Exploration," 499.
[165] Collie, "Old Memories," 242.

> Rosa or the Jungfrau; we have no gigantic isolated peak with a history like the terrible Matterhorn; no quaint-villages on the hillsides with clustering chalets, tiny church spires, and flocks of goats with tinkling bells: but we have broad sweeping valleys clad with primeval forests; we have pretty glacier fed lakes, and great rivers rushing through long gorges, or meandering past meadows and forests with islands and falls and long white rapids; we have wild peaks of untrodden rocks split and torn into daring shapes, and seas of mountains stretching far as the eye can penetrate, stormy seas rolled and tossed as though the earth was molten and the mountainous waves in a tempest. These are the things in which the Rockies excel, and those are the things we should seek among them..[166]

Wallace concluded by stating: "We should not boast of possessing 'fifty Switzerlands in one,' but content ourselves with prizing the Rockies for their own qualities rather than trying to persuade ourselves that we have a fairly good imitation of a foreign range."[167]

An interesting feature in certain descriptions was the comparison of the Canadian Rockies with the American Rockies. In an era when Canada was struggling to find its political, economic, and cultural place in the North Atlantic triangle, it was not surprising that cultural anxiety led some Canadians to proclaim Canadian superiority in the arena of mountain scenery. Even the British, as staunch promoters of the Empire, entered the debate and sided with the Canadians:

> ... Dr. Collie and his predecessors, in their mountaineering in Canada, have opened out the new playground of America. No doubt America has playgrounds of her own -- of a sort. Though she has mountains as high, possibly a little higher, than these, they are lacking in surroundings which to us climbers, at any rate, are indispensable -- I mean the glories of the eternal snows, and the marvels and mysteries of the upper ice-world. In these things America cannot compete.[168]

Assurances that Canadian scenery was being appreciated were welcomed as this passage from the 1906 "Club Notes and News" suggests:

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[166] P. A.W. Wallace, "Vermillion Impressions," *CAJ* 5 (1913), 114-15.
[167] *Ibid.*, 115.
[168] Hugh Stutfield in discussion following Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 357.

> Professor Fay is keenly appreciative of the charms of the Canadian Alps, and he particularly won the hearts of the members present when he assured them that though the Americans knew a good thing when they saw it - and many of them woke to the beauties and possibilities of the Canadian Alps before Canadians themselves - there was never a thought or wish that those wonderful mountains should ever be otherwise than Canadian.[169]

Canadians also sought recognition from European climbers. Mr. William Whyte, Second V. P. of the Canadian Pacific Railway, praised the organizers of the Alpine Club of Canada for their efforts in promoting the Canadian Rockies. His hope was "that in the end our brother mountain-lovers in the Old Country, who now go far afield in foreign lands for their pleasure ground, will find in the Canadian Rockies ... the mecca of their desires."[170]

Some familiar themes appear in these representations of Canadian peaks. Canadians who were self-conscious about their country were also self-conscious about their scenery. Writers expressed concern that Canadian citizens did not adequately appreciate their "mountain heritage." And there was also a desire to have foreigners, meaning the British and Americans, recognize the superior quality of Canadian mountains. While foreign climbers appreciated the Canadian peaks, their praise was not entirely laudatory. Many testimonials implied that Canadians could not recognize the worth of their own scenery.

Claiming Canada's Peaks for Canadians - The Race for Mount Robson

By 1900 there was consensus that Mount Robson was the highest peak in the Canadian Rockies. More significantly, for mountaineers, was the fact that the peak was unclimbed. For Canadian mountain enthusiasts, this was a patriotic opportunity. British and American climbers had claimed almost all of the other prestigious peaks in

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169 "Club Notes and News," *RGC* 8 (October 1906), 353.
170 *Ibid.*

the Rockies by merit of their successful first ascents.[171] Meanwhile, initial efforts to organize Canadian climbers into a section of the US based American Alpine Club were underway. To ardent nationalists, such as Winnipeg journalist Elizabeth Parker, this was a distressing trend. Arthur Wheeler articulated this concern when he wrote: "The eyes of the world are upon Canada. She is preparing to take her place among the Nations of the earth. Why then should she be behind in the matter of an Alpine Club to exploit her own Alps?"[172] In a counter move Parker began advocating the formation of a Canadian Alpine Club through pages of the Winnipeg *Free Press*.[173] In 1906 this goal was attained.

Once the Alpine Club of Canada was formed, the club's executive set their sights on Mount Robson. In the winter of 1906, Arthur Wheeler, ACC president, contacted Professor A. P. Coleman, a geologist at the University of Toronto. As Canada's pre-eminent mountain explorer, Coleman was an ideal Canadian to make a first ascent of Robson. Coleman, his brother Lucius, and the Reverend George Kinney, all founding members of the Alpine Club of Canada, made two expeditions in 1907 and 1908. Bad weather at high elevation repeatedly thwarted their ascents. Eventually, the onset of Fall and dwindling supplies forced the party to turn back without having reached the summit.[174] These failed attempts, however, only increased the mystique of Mount Robson.

Explorers and mountaineers interested in ascending Mount Robson faced a basic problem; not only was the area around the peak essentially unknown, it was also exceedingly difficult to reach. Access from the west was made difficult by dense forests and deep canyons filled with dangerous torrents of water. The southern and eastern approaches were facilitated by rail access but journeys of several weeks to reach

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[171] R. W. Sandford, *The Canadian Alps: The History of Mountaineering in Canada*, vol. 1 (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1990).
[172] Quoted in Huel, "Alpine Club of Canada [and] Canadian Nationalism," 31.
[173] *Ibid.*, 30.
[174] Rev. G. B. Kinney, "Mount Robson," *CAJ* 2 (1909), 1-9; Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, chapters 27 - 39.

the base were still required. Furthermore, the established travel routes were often overgrown, littered with windfall, and interrupted by long stretches of muskeg.[175]

In 1909, the race to reach the summit began in earnest. The Reverend George B. Kinney, a member of the Coleman party in 1907 and 1908, had been planning a third attempt with Coleman when he heard a rumor that a group of British mountaineers were also planning an ascent. As he wrote in 1910: "In May I received word that foreign parties had designs upon the mountain."[176] Distressed at the thought that "foreigners" would claim the pre-eminent peak, Kinney hurriedly planned his own solo expedition. While waiting for the flood waters on the Athabasca River to recede he met Donald "Curly" Phillips, a guide from Ontario who had just recently ventured west, and convinced him to become a partner in his ambitious venture. Phillips had never climbed a mountain in his life. After a long journey the pair reached Mount Robson and established a base camp. They made several attempts at the peak before making one last effort through driving snow. Kinney, upon reaching what he perceived to be the summit, announced: "In the name of Almighty God, by whose strength I have climbed here, I capture this peak, Mt. Robson, for my own country, and for the Alpine Club of Canada."[177] Harsh conditions on the summit meant that a cairn could not be built and the Canadian flag could not be left behind. Kinney's achievement, though motivated by nationalist sentiment, also realized personal ambitions. His accounts of the climb were published in three different journals and he received acclaim from the mountaineering community. The acclaim, however, was short-lived and Kinney's climb quickly became the centre of a mountaineering controversy.[178]

Doubts about Kinney's success emerged among the mountaineering community. A 1911 scientific survey of the Mount Robson region had allowed closer inspection of Mount Robson and the route followed by Kinney. When A. O. Wheeler saw the route that Kinney had described he stated: "Seen from our point of view, the route looked

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[175] *Ibid.*

[176] Rev. G. B. Kinney and Donald Phillips, "To the Top of Mount Robson," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 22.

[177] *Ibid.*, 40.

[178] Chic Scott, "Robson Revisited – Who Was Really First to the Top of the Rockies?" *Mountain Heritage Magazine* 1 (Summer 1998), 14-17.

impossible, and certainly one of tremendous peril."[179] That Kinney had made such a climb with an inexperienced mountaineer raised further doubts. Finally, shortly after Kinney's ascent, two experienced British climbing teams had attempted to reach the summit but failed, as well.[180] A conclusive ascent of the peak seemed to be the only way to test the verity of Kinney's claims. In 1913, the ACC formed three teams of experienced mountaineers, led by experienced guides, for the attempt. Only the experienced climbing team of Albert MacCarthy and William Foster, guided by Conrad Kain, reached the summit. Later, Phillips concluded that he and Kinney had not reached the final peak, only the "final dome" just beneath the summit. New names were entered into the record books. All members were Canadians because by that date Conrad Kain, a guide originally from Austria, had already decided to make Canada his permanent home.[181]

National Identities

National identity was the issue when the phrases "Canadian Alps" and "Canada's Scenic Wonderland" were used. Place identity was linked to Canadian national identity. The words Rocky Mountains referred not to just a specific geography in western Canada but they became emblems of the nation as a whole.

Certain identities become dominant when they are advanced by social groups with the power to communicate their version. Place identities, after all, are simply versions, not *the* versions, of meaning. Alternative identities, resistant to the dominant identities, usually exist.[182] Thus, the linking of Rocky Mountain scenery to Canadian identity was not completely hegemonic. For, Natives, foresters, railway workers, and

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[179] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 53.
[180] Mumm, "Expedition to Mount Robson," 1-20; Collie, "Exploration North of the Yellowhead Pass," 223-235.
[181] P. A. W. Wallace, "Robson 1913," Unpublished papers, Alpine Club of Canada Fonds, M200, AC 027, Folder 14, Archives, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta; Conrad Kain, "The First Ascent of Mt. Robson, the Highest Peak of the Rockies (1913)," *CAJ* 6 (1915), 19-28; B. S. Darling, "First Attempt on Robson by the West Arête," *CAJ* 6 (1915), 29-36; MacCarthy and Darling, "Robson from the Southwest," 37-48.
[182] Doreen Massey, "Imagining the World," in *Geographical Worlds*, ed. John Allen and Doreen Massey (Milton Keynes: Open University; Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995), 22.

the labourers of German or eastern European ethnic heritage in World War I prisoner-of-war camps, it is doubtful that the Rockies were a "Wonderland."[183]

Using specific places or geographical symbols as a focal point, or symbol, of national identity is a common practice. These symbolic places can function as a powerful cohesive force because they are perceived to be a source of commonalties, and shared traditions rather than differences. Powerful symbols, such as the Rockies, can function as national icons even if only a few citizens ever visit or experience them in person.

A Rocky Mountain Playground

For many mountaineers, views of the mountains also contained speculations about the future prospects of the Rockies, prospects that invariably involved the provision of expanded tourism facilities and services. This way of seeing the landscape was underpinned by the mountaineers' subject position as recreationalists. In several mountaineering narratives, a clear ideology of development centred on the belief that tourism was an ideal way to achieve progress. The development stance was controversial because some mountaineers believed that tourism negatively impacted the mountain environment. These conservation-minded mountaineers critiqued the development ethos and they offered the "flip-side" of a debate that engaged middle-class Canadians.

Imagining

Mountaineers used the Alps as their frame of reference whenever they pondered the Rockies' tourist potential. As the birthplace of modern recreational mountaineering and the training group for many early mountaineers, the Alps became the standard against which all other mountaineering regions would be compared. The Alps, with their efficient transportation routes and comfortable accommodation, provided a model for those mountaineers who saw tourism development as an ideal, or even inevitable.

[183] cf. Bill Waiser, *Park Prisoners: The Untold Story of Western Canada's National Parks, 1915-1946* (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1995).

course of development. Mountaineers may not have considered themselves to be tourists, but many encouraged infrastructure development because it would benefit climbing parties as well.

Speculation and suggestion were one form of this tourist imagination. Wheeler. describing an unnamed lake near Fitzhugh [later Jasper], wrote: "I can see the day when it will be graced by the handsome summer residences of those who come from the turmoil of the prairie cities to obtain rest and renewal of health amidst the snow-clad mountains." In another example he claimed: "This would be a charming spot for a chalet, where visitors would be in touch with Nature at her wildest and best. It is about twelve miles from the railway, and undoubtedly a good trail will soon be built."[184]

Road development was key because access had everything to do with scenery. Coleman's description of Pinto Lake made that argument: "if it were not so far from a railway this romantic pool among the woods and hills should be as attractive to mountain-lovers as Lake Louise."[185] Observing one group of peaks "as yet outside the limelight," Wheeler concluded that their "inaccessibility" meant that they would "never be popular favorites." He concluded: "Some day, when access to it has been made by pony trail, it will be a very popular expedition."[186]

The lament for the unrealized potential and wasted opportunity was another form of the tourist imagination. In 1899, the British climber Hugh Stutfield stated that the Rockies had many advantages: "Splendid mountains and magnificent scenery, new Alps, and a new Switzerland, larger than the old one, and scarcely inferior in beauty of the mountains and the varied charms of lake, forest, and river scenery. But, unfortunately," he added, "it is a Switzerland very little visited." Stutfield continued:

> There, I venture to think, in the days to come will be the Grindelwald or the Chamonix of the Canadian Alps, but now it is all 'wasting its sweetness on the desert air.' It gets no encouragement from the authorities in command. The Canadian Pacific railway people are

[184] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 67-8, 17.
[185] Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 182.
[186] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 1, 25.

> sending two Swiss guides to Glacier House next year; but, though exceedingly keen business men, they have only just begun to tumble to the commercial value of glaciers.[187]

Stutfield reiterated the argument that the "chief wealth of the country lies in its scenery" just two years later:

> It seems out West they have little appreciation of natural beauties, and in spite of the general cuteness [sic] of the American mind, they have yet to learn the commercial value of scenery. In the Rockies they must live on scenery for some time to come. After all, the Swiss have been living on it for a long time, and they have grown pretty fat.[188]

Over the next decade several mountaineers repeated that theme.

Yet it was not entirely correct for Stutfield to suggest that the economic potential of the scenery was unrecognized. In 1912, after commenting how "[t]he railway has done its part," Wheeler concluded that improved access to the Rockies would result in "enormous revenue."[189]

Not all mountaineers were sympathetic to the development idea. Some expressed concern, if not outright fear, regarding "the vandalisms of the luxurious utilitarian age."[190] For these individuals, the Alps were not a model to which Canadians should aspire; instead, the Alps were a model to be feared. They argued that the Rockies were fine just the way they were and that further development would only destroy the character of the place. Wheeler argued:

> We do not want these stalwarts [the packers and outfitters], who are part and parcel of the scenery to go. We do not want to climb our mountains by elevated railroads, to have fences and turn-stile gates around the ice tongues of our glaciers, or ferry boats and screw steamers on our magic mirror lakes of blue and green; methods that are now making all true lovers of nature avoid Switzerland as the plague.[191]

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[187] Hugh Stutfield in discussion following Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 356.
[188] Hugh Stutfield in discussion following Collie, "Canadian Rocky Mountains," 271.
[189] Wheeler, "Expedition to Jasper Park," 63.
[190] Parker, "Alpine Club of Canada," 5.
[191] A. O. Wheeler, "Canada's Mountain Outfitters," *RGC* 8 (June 1906), 8.

Instead, Wheeler continued, Canadians had to ensure "primitive methods of transport, such as saddle ponies, pack-ponies, birch bark and log canoes."[192] Some mountaineers used writing simply as part of broader advocacy effort to ensure that mountain development did not proceed unchecked. Historian PearlAnn Reichwein traced both the advocacy efforts of prominent women mountaineers and of the ACC organization as a whole.[193] While the ACC tended to strive for balance between its preservation and use mandates, individual members articulated a wide ranger of conservation thought. To illustrate how thinking among mountaineers in the ACC varied, Reichwein contrasts Elizabeth Parker's "aesthetic preservation" impulse, with the "utilitarian conservation" stance of Mary Schäffer, and the "pragmatic" realism of Arthur Wheeler.[194]

Other mountaineers argued that development had already gone too far and that any further incursions into the wilderness should be discouraged, if not outright prohibited. This antipathy towards development had several possible sources: it could have been rooted in an essentially romantic idealization of nature or, more likely, linked to the primitivist ideals of the frontier West. Canadian frontier residents expected less freedom than Westerners in the United States due to the literal and symbolic presence of the Royal North West Mounted Police. Still, frontier life seemed to imply certain limits to development. Many tourists and local residents feared the possibility of infrastructure expansion, commercial growth, and residential development because that outcome would diminish the sense of wildness and cause the West to become just like the urban East.

The Idea of Progress

The concept of progress was central to the ideology of development. Progressive ideals espoused the notion that things could be improved. In the industrial

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[192] *Ibid.*

[193] Reichwein, "At the Foot of the Mountain,"; PearlAnn Reichwein, "Guardians of the Rockies: Beauty, Health and Moral Uplift," *Beaver* 74 (August-September 1994); PearlAnn Reichwein, "'Hands Off Our National Parks': The Alpine Club of Canada and Hydro-development Controversies in the Canadian Rockies, 1922-1930," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, n.s., 6 (1996).

[194] Reichwein, "At the Foot of the Mountain," 168-169.

age of the late nineteenth century, improvement meant resource extraction, industrial growth – all in the pursuit of profit, power, and prestige. In turn of the century Canada, progress was an ideal that was manifested by expansionist sentiment and boosterism.[195] In Western Canada, especially following the completion of the trans-continental railway, there was a sense that prosperity was near because eastern markets could be tapped. Moreover, land and natural resources were increasingly accessible, particularly since the Native populations had been relocated onto reservations.

Tourism development, including mountaineering, was considered consistent with the ideals of progress. Like tourism, mountaineering was desirable because it was profitable. Hugh Stutfield even went so far as to quip: "Out there they look on all climbers, as so many people do at home, as lunatics, but I would point out that the lunatics pay, and they ought to be encouraged."[196]

Enterprise in the Rockies

A recognition of the ideology of development is crucial to understanding the context of these turn of the century representations by mountaineers. The way that this ideology was realized, or expressed in material terms, was through institutions. Only through institutions such as the Canadian Pacific Railway, Rocky Mountain National Park, and the Royal North West Mounted Police could development dreams become a reality. The institutions were a prerequisite yet they were also products of Canadian expansionist ambitions.[197] Mountaineers, like tourists, were able to pursue their activities because institutions sustained and supported them, yet it is also important to note how mountaineering activity itself worked to reinforce both the institutions and their associated infrastructure.

The history of economic development in the Rocky Mountains, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was intimately connected with the

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[195] cf. Doug Owram, *The Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).
[196] Hugh Stutfield in discussion following Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 357.
[197] For reference to RNWMP and CPR see Owram, *Promise of Eden*, 141, 200, respectively. For reference to the commerical orientation underpinning national park development see J. Gordon Nelson, "Wilderness in Canada: Past, Present, Future," *Natural Resources Journal* 29 (1989), 87.

history of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Until the railway was completed, the region was poorly known. A few explorers, adventurers, artists, and missionaries had made the long and difficult journey across the prairies or struggled eastward through the dense, and mountainous, forests of British Columbia, but their numbers were small.[198] Distance ensured that the Rockies remained on the margins of Canadian society, both materially and intellectually. Confederation and the subsequent decision to construct a trans-continental railway ended some of this isolation. Since railway-building through the mountains proved to be extremely expensive, the railway sought ways to recoup its costs. Through the prairies revenue was not a problem because the railway brought immigrants west and shipped grain east. The mountains, with their small population, sustained little fare paying traffic. Tourism development was the obvious way to encourage ridership.[199]

The influence of the CPR was extensive and pervasive. Transporting tourists was just one of its activities. It also constructed hotels, hired Swiss mountaineering guides, and offered some packing and outfitting services. Tourist promotion, however, was where the CPR excelled. Lavish brochures and detailed pamphlets were available from rail agents in Canada, the United States, and Europe.[200] By providing free passes to artists, photographers, and writers, the CPR extended its promotional efforts even further. To showcase the mountaineering potential of the Rockies, the CPR even brought the famous British alpinist Edward Whymper to Canada as its guest to both promote and climb in the Rockies.[201] The CPR also supported the Alpine Club of Canada's summer camps by arranging cheap transportation, providing the services of Swiss guides, and loaning other equipment and personnel as required. Consequently,

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[198] Esther Fraser, *The Canadian Rockies: Early Travels and Explorations* (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd, 1969).

[199] E. J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginning of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983), 7.

[200] Canadian Pacific Railway, "Mountaineering in the Canadian Rockies, With Hints to Mountain Climbers," 1901; Canadian Pacific Railway, "The Challenge of the Mountains: The Canadian Rockies - the Playground of America," 1910.

[201] While Whymper's did help promote the Rockies by writing for periodicals and newspapers, his trip was controversial because he ultimately did very little climbing. Moreover, Whymper's abrasive personality offended many Rocky Mountain residents, particularly the outfitters and Swiss guides.

more than any other institution, the CPR helped define what the Rockies were. Through CPR advertisements Lake Louise, Banff and the Rockies as a whole became icons of Canada both at home and abroad.[202]

The relationship between the CPR and mountaineers was reciprocal. By publishing their accounts, or even sharing tales with friends and family, every mountaineer contributed, inadvertently or not, to the CPR's promotional effort. The CPR routinely incorporated excerpts from mountaineers' narratives to bolster their claims about the Rockies climbing appeal and spectacular beauty.[203] Ultimately, the railway hoped that their potential customers would consider these opinions to be impartial, reliable and authoritative.

Other institutions concerned with regional development operated alongside the railway to encourage and sustain the development ideology. The Dominion government as landowner and land administrator set the policies that encouraged various forms of economic development. Later, the park system assumed this role, assessing proposals for overseeing the processes of resource extraction, infrastructure and commercial development. The Royal North West Mounted Police as the legal authority ensured that practices and behaviours were conducive to the development ideal. Finally, small entrepreneurs, by providing goods and services in support of the tourism industry (e.g. small hoteliers, restaurateurs, packers, guides, and merchants), helped create and sustain economic expansion.[204]

Development, especially tourism development, clearly influenced the imaginings of some mountaineers. In some cases, the imaginings assumed a prescriptive quality since they conveyed what mountaineers thought should happen. The mountaineers' speculations were infused with many different emotions. Fears that

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Raymond Huel, "Edward Whymper in the Rockies: Part I," *Alberta History* 29 (1981); Raymond Huel, "Edward Whymper in the Rockies: Part II," *Alberta History* 30 (1982).

[202] For a thorough discussion of the CPR and its role in creating this particular Canadian iconography refer to Hart, *Selling of Canada.*

[203] Canadian Pacific Railway, "The Challenge of the Mountains," 1910. Sir Martin Conway, Frank Yeigh, Walter Wilcox, and Dr. T. G. Longstaff, all climbers, are cited on pages 3, 5, 17 and 32 respectively.

[204] Sid Marty, *A Grand and Fabulous Notion: The First Century of Canada's Parks* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services; Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1984).

the mountains would be overcome with tourist hordes existed alongside optimistic outlooks that fully expected the economic potential of the Rockies to be realized through tourism. Understanding the cultural context of these imagining is critical because the prescriptive imagination draws upon known precedents.[205]

The question of how place representation was influenced by mountaineering experience and the subject position of the mountaineer was considered in this chapter. When I considered experience I argued that the climbers' mode of contact with the environment influenced the way they described the Rocky Mountains. Travelling mountain trails, camping in the wilderness, and technical climbing on mountain slopes engendered a physicality that led mountaineers to produce evaluative views of the Rockies that focused on routes, obstacles, solutions, and goals. While visual details were dominant, the immediacy of the climbers' contact with the wilderness resulted in a multi-sensory perspective on the Rockies. I also examined the arguments mountaineers made regarding the significance and potential of the Rocky Mountains. Reflections on wilderness aesthetics and spirituality, mountains and Canadian national identity, and tensions between preservation and use, betrayed the interests of an activist social group with both the means and opportunity to engage in wilderness-focused leisure and advocacy. In the next chapter, I shift my focus from places to people when I investigate how mountain-based leisure activities became intertwined with the mountaineers' efforts at self-representation.

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[205] Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*, (New York: Routledge, 1991), 15.

Chapter 6
Exploratory Mountaineers and "Tourist Pioneers"[1]: Representations of Experiential and Gendered Identities

In 1911, Mary Kirkbride described her Rocky Mountain adventures in a letter she wrote to her uncle Alfred in Scotland. At one point in the text, Kirkbride described how her time in the mountain wilderness gave her a different sense of herself. She wrote: "But after nine months of New York to suddenly find oneself a pioneer, well if only a 'tourist pioneer,' was stirring enough. One seemed constantly to feel the throbbing of the blood of this new country which somehow made one a part of itself for the time being. We understood as we never had before all the stories of the early pioneer days."[2] Hugh Stutfield described how he accepted Norman Collie's 1898 invitation to join in an expedition to explore the Rockies at the headwaters of the Columbia, Athabasca, and Saskatchewan Rivers plus investigate the mystery of Mount Brown and Mount Hooker. Stutfield, an avid hunter, "hoped to work in a little sport" but only "so long as such frivolities did not interfere with the more serious business of map-making and mountaineering."[3]

Mountaineers and backwoods travellers framed their self-representations with descriptions of their outdoors activities. Both men and women used descriptions of the rugged existence of camp life and the strenuous exertions of mountain journeys to convey specific messages about their personal identities. In the most obvious cases, they described themselves as mountaineers, explorers, or nature enthusiasts. Yet it was not the actions *per se*, but how the writers interpreted those actions that was crucial. Most writers consciously linked specific, often idealized, and certainly gendered, personal qualities and moral characteristics to their actions. Conventional notions of masculinity and femininity provided a code of conduct that mountaineers and travellers had to balance with their enthusiasms for the outdoors. Occasionally, writers produced

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[1] Mary B. Kirkbride to Alfred, 22 August 1911, Elizabeth Kirkbride Papers, 68.257, Folder 2, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Hugh E. M. Stutfield and J. Norman Collie, *Climbs and Exploration in the Canadian Rockies* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), 72.

rhetoric that contradicted Victorian and Edwardian ideals: men sought a disreputable life or women the adventurous life. Yet the contradictions were never complete, male travellers seldom forgot that they were "gentlemen" and the women continued to display their "ladylike" behaviour.

Background

In this chapter, I work with a number of inter-related concepts: self, subject position, subjectivity, and identity. Each of these concepts has been the subject of intense deconstructive critiques by scholars working in a range of disciplines. A consequence of these critiques is that these, and other, key concepts are "under erasure." In Stuart Hall's words, these concepts are "no longer serviceable" in their original form.[4] The difficulty is that scholars have no other concepts to work with in their place. Thus, Hall suggested, these concepts "cannot be thought of in the old way" yet researchers have no choice but continue with the traditional wordings because without those terms "certain key questions cannot be thought at all."[5] While Hall's work deals most directly with the concept of identity, his insights are equally applicable to the concepts of self, subject position, subjectivity, and identity.

The Cartesian subject of the humanist tradition is the starting point for understanding these complex, but inter-related concepts. The Cartesian subject is most commonly associated with the Enlightenment philosophy that holds the "I" as the essence or core of individual identity. According to this philosophy, individuals are "the author of their own experience and of their knowledge of the world."[6] This humanist model, explains Sidonie Smith, postulates a "universal human subject who is marked individually." Furthermore, Smith continues, by the Victorian era the subject was conceptualized as a fixed entity that consciously pursued his or her unique destiny. Smith argues that this way of thinking derives "from a culturally specific orientation of

[4] Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?" in *Questions of Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 1.
[5] *Ibid.*, 2.
[5] Henrietta Moore, *A Passion for Difference* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 35.

the individual to the social."[7] Specifically, the Cartesian model of the unitary subject is based on the assumption that the self is "independent of forces external to it" such as social relations of gender, race, class, and ethnicity. While this model recognizes that social roles and their meanings may be inevitable, it assumes "they do not entirely absorb the essential self, whose internal integrity lies elsewhere in a discrete core, abstracted from society."[8]

Deconstructive critiques challenge the primacy of the Cartesian subject. Unlike the fixed and unitary self of the humanist tradition, the discursive subject of contemporary social theory is considered to be in process, or constantly in a state of becoming. This model is preferred because it is more able to account for differences within and between human cultures.[9] This new model, featuring a deconstructed or discursive subject, holds that "there is no singular essence at the core of each individual which makes them what they are and which guarantees the authenticity of their self and the world."[10]

Conceptual models of the discursive subject rely on the concepts of self, subject position, subjectivity and identity to further their explanatory power. The meanings ascribed to these concepts under contemporary critical models are distinct from their everyday definitions. With respect to the concept of the "subject," there is little agreement among theorists apart from the most basic understanding of the subject as "a primary element of being."[11] Today, "subject" is often used by researchers to emphasize the departure from the Cartesian "I," or the more everyday idea of self. In contrast, the idea of "self," is less readily associated with contemporary critiques.

Definitions of subjectivity imply that it is an attribute of the subject. Like the subject, or self, it too is conceptualized as constructed or created, as opposed to being something that is inherent or eternal. Teresa de Lauretis suggests that in forging one's

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[7] Sidonie Smith, *Subjectivity, Identity, and the Body: Women's Autobiographical Practices in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 5-6.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift, "Mapping the Subject," in *Mapping the Subject: Geographies of Cultural Transformation*, ed. Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift (London: Routledge, 1995): 14-15.

[10] Moore, *Passion for Difference*, 30.

subjectivity, the individual interacts with the "material, economic, and interpersonal" relations that characterize social reality. De Lauretis does not envision a fixed subjectivity; instead she argues that subjectivity is produced from experience:

> The process is continuous, its achievement unending or daily renewed. For each person, therefore, subjectivity is an ongoing construction, not a fixed point of departure or arrival from which one then interacts with the world. On the contrary, it is the effect of that interaction - which I call experience; and thus it is produced not by external ideas, values, or material causes, but by one's personal, subjective, engagement in practices, discourses, and institutions that lend significance (value, meaning and affect) to the events of the world.[12]

The concept of "subject position" is conceptualized in a similar fashion. Discursive models, in particular, suggest that individuals, at any given moment, may be situated in a particular nexus of social relations. The term "fluid" is often used to describe the ever-changing, and context dependent, discourses that these individuals negotiate. This concept relates to the various ways that individuals "construct themselves and their social practices in terms of a competing set of discourses about what it is to be a man or woman."[13] Geographer Alison Blunt worked with this concept in her analysis of life and writings of Mary Kingsley, an English woman famed for her travels in West Africa during the mid-Victorian era. Blunt argues that it is more helpful to explore "the discursive complexities and ambiguities of gendered subjectivity than to focus on Kingsley as an eccentric individual."[14] Moreover, through her book, Blunt repeatedly argues that an analytical focus on subjectivity enabled her to connect Kingsley's practices of self-identification to wider social processes. Like Blunt, I, too, work with the idea of subject positions, but instead of drawing upon the works of one individual, I draw out themes from the work of many different people.

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[11] Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift, "Introduction," in *Mapping the Subject: Geographies of Cultural Transformation*, ed. Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift (London: Routledge, 1995), 11.
[12] Teresa de Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 159.
[13] Moore, *Passion for Difference*, 56.
[14] Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (New York: Guilford Press, 1994), 99.

Below I identify five subject positions commonly exhibited in mountaineers' texts that are central to my analysis of how representations of place and experience intertwine with an individuals' sense of self.

I cannot explore questions pertaining to an individual's sense of self without first discussing identity. One perspective is that multiple subject positions are held together by "the subjective experience of identity."[15] A slightly different concept suggests that identity is the connecting point, or "suture," that binds subjects to discursive practices. This, according to Stuart Hall, is a "strategic and positional" conceptualization of identity. Moreover, Hall suggests that identity, despite its popular connotation, does not suggest some origin-point in historical past. Thus, it should not be used to "signal" a "stable core of the self, unfolding from beginning to end through all the vicissitudes of history without change." Like subject positions, Hall maintains that identities are ever-changing, fragmented, and fractured. In his words, identity is "never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices, and positions."[16]

A key feature of the discursive subject and its associated concepts is multiplicity: meaning that any individual person has the possibility to occupy multiple positions or to express multiple identities. Moreover, it is entirely possible that these subject positions might be inconsistent, if not explicitly contradictory. In this chapter, I identify this kind of ambivalence in several writings by women mountaineers who seem equally comfortable adopting the norms of femininity while at the same time participating, with relish, in activities that are seemingly unfeminine. Theorists suggest that these kinds of inconsistencies represent the ways that subjects are "multiply designated."[17]

Any consideration of individuals' identities or subject positions cannot be separated from a discussion of the social context. Different subject positions vary in their levels of social acceptability depending on the social context. At any given time, and in any given place, individuals may find it easier to identify with certain subject

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[15] Moore, *Passion for Difference*, 55.
[16] Hall, "Introduction," 2-4.

positions and to reject others. Individuals who occupy highly valued positions tend to be rewarded with pleasure, satisfaction, or material prosperity. The question that emerges, then, is whether the individual will consciously construct him or herself "as a particular sort of person ...interacting with others in specific sorts of ways."[18] While choice may be possible, it is not necessarily conscious nor simple. Instead, Wendy Holloway suggests considering how individuals become "invested" in maintaining particular self-representations and social evaluations.[19]

Place must be considered in this discussion because the articulation of identities is spatially variable. Simply stated, individuals tend to consider their location, both geographical and social, when they decide whether to hide or to express certain aspects of their identity. Tim Cresswell, in his analysis of unspoken and place-based social norms, argues that geography influences the meanings ascribed to both individuals and their behaviour. He observes how actions or behaviours are judged to be either "in place" or "out of place" depending on where they occur. Cresswell contends that most spatial boundaries proscribing behaviour are typically unspoken and taken-for-granted, and revealed only when transgressed.[20]

Mountaineers and Self-Representation: Gendered and Experiential Identities

When mountaineers wrote about themselves as men and women, they typically did more than identify their sex; they also articulated a gender identity. Whenever they wrote about themselves, social ideas about femininity and masculinity were either implicit or stated outright. In this chapter I consider two specific gender and class - based identities: the gentleman and the lady. These were labels that individual mountaineers applied to themselves and they reflected the relatively high economic status that most mountaineers enjoyed.

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[17] Moore, *Passion for Difference*, 59; Smith, *Subjectivity, Identity, and the Body*, 21.
[18] Moore, *Passion For Difference*, 59.
[19] Cited in Moore, *Passion for Difference*, 59, 65.
[20] Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 7-9.

When mountaineering men and women represented themselves in their texts, it became clear that they also expressed identities rooted in their alpine experiences. In their most obvious form, these experiential identities were distinguished by the labels that individuals used to identify themselves. Whether individuals called themselves mountaineers, explorers, or nature enthusiasts, these were identities that individuals claimed for themselves. While mountaineers' texts provide opportunities for exploring some of the different ways individuals represented themselves in writing, silences remain. Several aspects of individual identity were seldom discussed in mountaineering accounts, including public traits such as employment and private traits such as sexuality. Moreover, the texts cannot tell scholars what mountaineers thought about themselves because that information is unknowable.

An unspoken and implicit masculinity typically characterized climbers' experiential identities. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the rhetoric produced by mountaineers themselves clearly linked mountain climbing to ideas of masculine adventure.[21] The exploratory mountaineer, whether an amateur or a professionally-affiliated scientist, was similarly associated with the masculine hero of the adventure narrative. Less clear, however, was the gendering of the nature enthusiast. During the nineteenth century, amateur nature study was perceived as a rational, even moral, form of leisure pursuit. Self-described nature enthusiasts advanced the argument that nature's diversity reflected a divine plan. Contemplation of nature, the enthusiasts argued, was therefore, contemplation of the Divine. Since Christian ideals advocated moral and spiritual development for both men and women, the gender ideology underpinning the nature enthusiast is not immediately clear. Nature study, like exploration, did have strong ties to the pursuit of science. In its emphasis on Linnaean classification and natural history was not only a scientific way of interpreting the world, it was also masculinist. Geographer Gillian Rose identifies both the practice of

[21] Peter H. Hansen, "British Mountaineering, 1850-1914," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1991), 275-324.

imposing systematic order on the natural world and the pursuit of pleasure in purportedly objective observation as the key evidence of this masculinist perspective.[22]

Analyzing Identity

My identification of five prominent subject positions often expressed in mountaineering texts is only an initial analytical step. Individuals did state that they were gentlemen or ladies, mountaineers, explorer or scientists, or nature enthusiasts. They also stated, in subtle and not so subtle ways, what those identities meant to them. By analyzing what the identities meant to the writers, insights into both the individual and broader societal values may be attained. Models of the discursive subject are predicated on the idea that individuals achieve a sense of who they are through their continual engagement with the social world. The negotiation process is *relational*: individuals continually forge identities in relation to some "other." Thus, self-representation is seldom simply about only oneself. The remaining problem is to determine what types of reading strategies will help reveal these complex identities.

Self-declared characteristics are the most obvious source of insight into self-representation. Some writers used forthright statements to present their characteristics. Writers also utilized some less obvious self-representational strategies. Some mountaineers, by expressing their desire to belong to a social group, unwittingly declared aspects of their identity. Belonging is characterized by shared social rules and norms. For example, individuals who belong to a social group know how to act in a particular situation.[23] In its most basic sense, belonging is linked to the notion of identification with a group. Hall defines this as "recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation."[24] Belonging, like the subject itself, is best considered a process and not a static state of

[22] Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
[23] Moore, *Passion for Difference*, 2; Pile and Thrift, "Mapping the Subject," 39.
[24] Hall, "Introduction," 2.

existence. Part of the process is the "marking of symbolic boundaries."[25] Another reading strategy is to identify encounters. Individual identity is most readily recognized, however, through encounters with an "other" or a "constitutive outside."

Lady

When women climbed mountains and spent time camping in the wilderness, they were aware that their actions were seldom associated with women participants. Similarly, the men were quick to note the presence of "lady" participants. But what was meant by the subject position of lady? In the context of turn of the century Canada, the subject position "lady" carried specific connotations. Most significant was the association with an idealized notion of appropriate feminine behaviour. In Canada, the term did not carry the same rigid class associations as in Britain, but class still was important. A lady mountaineer's status was middle- or upper-class. A number of female mountaineers may even have considered themselves to be "New Women" and part of the first-wave of feminism, since they were eager to assert their right to enjoy mountains and mountain climbing alongside men.[26]

Although mountaineering was strongly associated with masculine forms of leisure, female climbers' strong display of feminine characteristics ironically contributed to a social climate where women's participation in mountaineering was accepted. If women climbed, but did not lose their proper sense of middle-class decorum, then it was difficult for critics to sustain arguments that their behaviour was scandalous. When women consciously displayed or emphasized their feminine qualities, they could neutralize the negative associations that might emerge from their transgressive behaviour. Mary Suzanne Schriber found that women travellers could consciously use femininity to their advantage. Strategically used, it could help women achieve their goals because it meant that despite a somewhat different leisure choice, femininity was uncompromised.[27]

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[25] *Ibid.*, 3

[26] Late Victorian and Edwardian writers used the term "New Woman" to refer to ...

[27] Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad 1830-1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 60-61; Karen Morin, "Peak Practices: Englishwomen's 'Heroic'

By the turn of the century, women mountaineers were no longer a novelty yet most writers continued to distinguish the presence of "ladies" in a climbing group. Explicit identification of women participants occurred because the term "mountaineer" continued to imply a male participant. In Canada, the mountaineering community accepted women as mountaineers; for example, guides routinely climbed with women, outfitters targeted their advertising towards women climbers, and the Alpine Club of Canada welcomed women members.[28] Nevertheless, a woman's gender remained inseparable from her identity as mountaineer. The alpine guide, Conrad Kain, described how he guided a party of three ladies and one man up Mount Huber: "The weather changed in the meantime, but as the ladies knew that we were the only ones out of fifty-five people who had not given up the tour they were full of joy and desire to reach the summit, despite the obstacles presented by the unfavorable weather."[29] Kain was commended for leading a successful ascent under such challenging conditions, however he added that "[n]aturally the ladies were also given a thunderous Hurrah."[30]

Encounters

The social dynamics of mixed gender climbing parties is an example of a particular kind of encounter that often highlighted the idealized forms of both masculinity and femininity. The most compelling expression of this kind of encounter came in the display of chivalry. Jeffrey Richards argues: "The chivalric code was reformulated [by Victorians] to provide a living and meaningful code of behaviour for the nineteenth century gentleman, who was seen as the embodiment of bravery, loyalty, courtesy, modesty, purity and honour and endowed with a sense of *noblesse oblige*

Adventures in the Nineteenth-Century American West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89 (1999), 493.

[28] Andrew J. Kaufmann and William L. Putnam, *The Guiding Spirit* (Revelstoke, BC: Footprint Publishing, 1986), 121-135; E. J. Hart, *Diamond Hitch: The Early Outfitters and Guides of Banff and Jasper* (Banff: Summerthought, 1979), 61.; Reichwein, "Top of the World," 46-7.

[29] Conrad Kain, "Hip-Hip-Hurrah!" in *Tales from the Canadian Rockies*, ed. Brian Patton (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1984; reprint, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993), 174.

[30] *Ibid.*, 176.

towards women, children and social inferiors."[31] Richards notes that the "virtues" of this new chivalry, "courage, loyalty, skill, character and manliness," were often applied to games. While Richards himself does not mention mountaineering, Canadian climbers made the same link.

"Alpine chivalry" assumed many forms, but as this humorous account by Ethel Johns suggests, it was a welcome act. Johns, a novice climber who attended the 1909 ACC camp at Lake O'Hara, detailed the physical difficulties she experienced on her ascent of Mount Huber, a peak she needed to climb in order to qualify for Active Member in the Club:

> It was a very disagreeable sensation. A kindly individual with a handkerchief gracefully draped over the back of his neck noticed my distress and suggested that the party halt as he was tired. I sank down on a log and made noises like a dog who has been chasing a rabbit. This was my first experience of Alpine chivalry. For some strange reason it is always the strongest member of the party who gets tired first. Just as the weaker ones are praying for death as a relief from their sufferings one of the strong ones who could go all day without stopping, suddenly discovers that he is quite exhausted, in fact, cannot go another step. This condition of affairs terminates abruptly when the weaker vessels have got their breath and are beginning to take some interest in life once more.[32]

Johns used self-deprecatory humour in this excerpt. She described how a strong male climber, who did not appear to need a rest, was the one who requested a break. Johns' concern about appearing weak before their peers is revealing, and hardly uncommon. In another example, from a male narrator: "After lunch the Professor declared that ... he had been accustomed to a noon spell, and must have one. Being the least fatigued, or the most unwilling to acknowledge fatigue, this suggestion of a noon spell he could afford to make."[33]

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[31] Jeffrey Richards, "'Passing the Love of Women': Manly Love and Victorian Society," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, ed. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 113.
[32] Ethel Johns, "A Graduating Climb," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 159-160.
[33] Ralph Connor, "How We Climbed Cascade," in *Tales from the Canadian Rockies*, ed. Brian Patton (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1984; reprint, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993), 134.

Chivalry was not restricted to the ascent. Ralph Connor, recalled an 1891 climb of Cascade Mountain, where the men again came to the assistance of the women in the party. According to Connor's account of the exhausting climb:

> ...we finally, in more or less battered condition, arrive at camp. The indomitable Professor, aided by the Missionary and the Man from California, set about supper. But long ere it is ready the rest of the party are sound asleep. They are mercilessly dragged forth, however, to the refreshment of tea, toast and bacon, for which they are none too grateful, and after which drop back upon their pine beds into dreamless sleep.[34]

Alpine chivalry did not surprise its recipients. Mountaineering, so its advocates proclaimed, fostered the development of ideal moral citizens. As Johns suggested, the most chivalrous of the mountaineers tended to be the most experienced. She stated: "the better the climber the more sympathy he has for those weaker than himself. Which after all is what one would have expected."[35] Johns' reasoning followed the accepted belief which held that climbers, by merit of their vigorous activity and beneficial contact with wilderness, attained a higher morality and civility.

Not all women welcomed the chivalrous attempts at assistance. Phyllis Munday described:

> On the steep climb of 3,500 feet to High Camp not a drop of water was to be found. This was extremely trying with heavy packs, as we had to take up food from the cache at Lake Kinney. Having seen my lady companion's pack lightened, unbeknown to her, of the supplies she was going to carry, led me to guard mine most closely.[36]

The challenge of the climb and the desire to achieve a goal were Munday's motivations. In this passage, Munday expressed her desire to be treated as a climber and not as a woman climber.

At other times, the perception of women as lacking in strength and endurance served to limit their climbing opportunities during some mixed-group ascents. During

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[34] *Ibid.*, 136.
[35] Johns, "A Graduating Climb," 160.

a slow ascent, where attention turned to the quickly diminishing number of daylight hours, groups were forced to re-evaluate their options. For any mountaineer, the decision to turn back before the summit was difficult. While the wisdom behind such a move was evident, it was hard for individuals to give up on a goal they had spent hours working towards. For some women climbers, the decision to give up on a summit was doubly difficult because their male counterparts unilaterally imposed it on them. Yet in some instances, the men who recalled these kinds of events, noted that the women continued to climb anyway. Connor, describing his party's ascent of Cascade Mountain, noted the late hour and how the poorly equipped women were proceeding more slowly than the men. The men decided to continue to the summit without the women. Upon reaching the summit, Connor described: "Without a word, we look our fill and turn to the descent. A hundred yards or more and we come upon our party who, with a reckless ambition, have been climbing after us." The women, due to injury and the late hour, were unable to complete the ascent. In Connor's words, however: "The party has been successful, though individuals have failed."[37] Given the tone of the article, this passage should be interpreted as a sincere statement, without any condescension towards the women. Connor recognized that the women were climbing at a great disadvantage. One woman's boots disintegrated, yet she completed the journey despite bleeding feet; an action equal in heroism to achieving the summit. In another instance, occurring more than two decades later, Val Fynn recalled a similar incident involving his wife and the wife of another male climber:

> ...it was decided that the ladies should go back to camp with [the alpine guide] Rudolph [Aemmer], while Mr. Eddy and myself were to climb the false Queen Mary. When about half-way up, we found that those behind were following us. Rudolph never relished the idea of going back to camp within a few stone-throws of an unclimbed peak, and finally persuaded the ladies to let him take them up. We enjoyed a beautiful view from the summit.[38]

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[36] Phyllis Munday, "First Ascent of Mt. Robson by Lady Members," *CAJ* 14 (1924), 68.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] Val. A. Fynn, "Around Lake Louise in 1919 with Ascents of Mts. King George and Assiniboine (Canadian Rockies)," *AJ* 33 (November 1920), 198. The mountaineering literature contains little

Since Fynn's wife does not describe her ascent in her own words it is difficult to known how much persuading she and Mrs. Eddy needed. Fynn, in a different article, described his wife as an enthusiastic mountaineer who was ever eager for new challenges.[39]

The gendered encounter between men and women also characterized the relationship between female mountaineers and their male guides. Traditional gender roles were reversed because in the Rockies the male guides and packers were responsible for domestic activities, particularly cooking. Mary Schäffer, who was always quick to credit others for assisting her in her travels, argued for the necessity of skilled camp cooks. "This fourth member of our party must know how to cook bannock that would not send one to bad dreams after a hard day's travel, to fry a piece of bacon exactly right, to boil the rice, and make bean soup, all at the camp-fire; it sound simple, but try it." Schäffer concluded that she and her companion Mollie Adams, claimed "only for ourselves the cleverness of knowing a good thing when we saw it."[40] In her book, Schäffer presented several anecdotes that highlighted the fact that it was the men who cooked and not the women. Schäffer not only poked fun at her own ineptitude when it came to cooking, she also described the almost guilty pleasure she experienced whenever she could sneak into the forbidden space of the camp kitchen. During the four-month trip, there would days when Schäffer and Adams remained in camp while the two male guides went searching for possible routes. Recalling one of these "rare days in camp," Schäffer noted how "[t]hese days always began with admonitions from the departing ones "not to meddle in the kitchen

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information about Fynn's wife, who was never formally identified. The same problem exists regarding the Eddy's, a couple that accompanied the Fynn's during the 1918 climbing season. Valére Alfred Fynn, an accomplished electrical-engineer and inventor, was also a skilled mountaineer. He achieved numerous first ascents and new routes in both the Alps and the Canadian Rockies. Phil Dowling, *The Mountaineers: Famous Climbers in Canada* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1979; reprint, Canmore, AB: Coyote Books, 1995), 32-48 (page references to the reprint edition).

[39] Val. A. Fynn, "Around Lake Louise, Canadian Rockies, in 1918," *AJ* 32 (June 1919), 314.

[40] Mary T. S. Schäffer, *A Hunter of the Peace: Mary T.S. Schäffer's* Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies, ed. E. J. Hart (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911; reprint Banff, AB: Whyte Foundation, 1980), 18 (page reference to reprint edition).

department, or to waste the laundry soap," and ended with our flying at both the minute our guardians were out of sight."[41]

Encounters with other people, particularly non-climbers and non-tourists, highlighted the female climbers' class status of lady. The type of feminine behaviour deemed desirable by mountaineers had powerful socio-economic undertones. Mary Schäffer's description of her June 1911 trip to the Jasper region is revealing. During this trip Schäffer and her party rode the still incomplete Grand Trunk Pacific Railway to reach the front ranges of the Rockies.[42] Schäffer's account of the train trip contained a reference to the train's "weird collection of passengers - the like of which is only seen in a 'new' country" and the existence of passenger cars where "disinfectant seemed ... imperative".[43] Yet the crowds seemed to find Schäffer's party equally incongruous for the women travellers attracted stares and curiosity wherever they went. In one passage, Schäffer described walking through a train to the dining car: "we filed out as inconspicuously as possible, though even in that jumping-off part of the world, where one would naturally suppose that slouch hats, short skirts, and buckskin coats had their original being, we caused heads to turn and eyes to open."[44] In another passage Schäffer revealed her class status when she described an encounter with the crowds at the train station:

> It was only a train for carrying the flotsam and jetsam which pour always into a newly opened country - the thousands of labourers employed on the road, the seekers after mineral wealth, the surveying outfits of a great corporation. Tourists, such as we, were neither expected nor wanted (their day in the country is still to come); we were merely tolerated, so we meekly took our position on the platform, hoping in some way to melt the heart of the owner of the caboose which

[41] *Ibid.*, 38.

[42] The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway followed a route to the north of the CPR, crossing the famous Yellowhead Pass. "A second transcontinental railway was built through Yellowhead Pass in 1913; the Canadian Northern, headed for Vancouver (the GTPR line to Prince Rupert). One line would have done the job as far as Yellowhead Pass; the government assumed control during the First World War and sent some redundant track to France. Both lines went broke after the war, so in 1922 Ottawa picked up the pieces and created the Canadian National Railways system." Ben Gadd, *Handbook of the Canadian Rockies* (Jasper, AB: Corax Press, 1986), 761.

[43] Mary Schäffer, "The 1911 Expedition to Maligne Lake," in Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 132, 133.

[44] *Ibid.*, 133.

> was attached to the rear. Thanks to the mining engineer, it was quickly rumoured round that "friends of the president of the road were aboard." Magic rumour, if somewhat untruthful! But I am sure if he had been there to put his nose inside that coach, he would have instantly pardoned the fib. In less time than it takes to tell it, the door of the caboose swung just wide enough to let us through, then went shut with a bang and a spring lock.[45]

A ride in the caboose meant that they did not have to be part of the "flotsam and jetsam." The "rumour" is revealing because it emphasizes that the tourist party could not be mistaken for the typical working-class passenger. While Schäffer and her party wanted to be inconspicuous, they also desired special treatment. Thus, a ride in the caboose, while graciously received, was nevertheless anticipated.

Belonging

Women mountaineers occasionally wrote about their concerns regarding the perceived appropriateness of their actions. Female writers often placed a heavy emphasis on clothing. This was not surprising because clothing was the most outwardly visible expression of femininity and socio-economic status.[46] Women mountaineers who wanted to fit in with their fellow climbers were sure to dress the part; and at the turn of the century, women climbers wore trousers. The desire to "fit in" with the climbing community was a powerful motivation, but other factors were considered as well. A desire for comfort and safety also influenced the decision to wear "men's costume" while climbing.

Women did not easily fit the male model of a climber, and the climber model was sometimes located on the fringes of social acceptability by observers who considered all mountaineers to be lunatics. The question of belonging required a balance between fitting in among other male climbers, or the peer group and fitting in with broader societal expectations about appropriate feminine conduct.

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[45] *Ibid.*, 134-5.

[46] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (London: Routledge, 1995), 174.

The issue of appropriate clothing was the arena where this tension was revealed most explicitly. For women to climb safely and comfortably they had to forego traditional feminine attire. When women first began regularly participating in mountaineering, it was customary for them to climb in skirts. As the century progressed, however, an increasing number began to modify their climbing attire, designing special skirts. By the late nineteenth century, the practice of wearing knickerbockers was gaining popularity. Yet, it was a place- and activity-specific occurrence.[47] At the turn of the century, most women were embarrassed at the idea of wearing men's attire and did so only with some reluctance. Evidence of this reluctance continued into the twentieth century and was revealed by the increasing prevalence of clothing rules. At the ACC, for example, women wearing dresses would not be allowed on the rope. The official circular distributed for the 1906 camp at Yoho proclaimed: "No lady climbing, who wears skirts, will be allowed to take a place on a rope, as they are a distinct source of danger to the entire party."[48] The excess fabric in long skirts could easy become snagged on rocks and branches, not to mention become entangled with ropes, ice-axes and hob-nail boots. Alpine guides, who were responsible for ensuring the safety of climbers, also encouraged women not to wear skirts. Edward Feuz, Jr., a Swiss Guide, recalled in one interview: "And those women wanted to climb in skirts that touched the ground. Naturally, the dresses caught on rocks and got torn and the women tripped and sprained their ankles. And then I got blamed!"[49]

Light-weight trousers were also essential for the pursuit of vigorous physical activity, such as walking up steep alpine grades. Historians note that "[b]y 1890 fashionable urban women 'wore an average of 37 pounds of street costume in the

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[47] Squire suggests that "[m]ountain camping and hiking afforded women the opportunity to break free of some of the social customs and conventions of their day, many of which were reinforced by dress." While Squire comments that women wore trousers when they were away from "civilization," the idea that women only "broke free" in specific settings is not developed. Shelagh Squire, "In the Steps of 'Genteel Ladies': Women Tourists in the Canadian Rockies, 1885-1939," *Canadian Geographer* 39 (1995), 8.
[48] [Anon.],"The Summer Camp Arrangements," *RGC* 8 (June 1906), 14.
[49] Kauffman and Putnam, *Guiding Spirit*, 113-114.

winter months, of which 19 pounds was suspended from the waist.'"[50] Clearly, such attire would be a hindrance in mountaineering. More importantly, women who wore "men's costume" were able to have more fun: "And as the rules of the club and a natural adaptation to the fitness of things led the women of the parties to adopt for such days the costume of men, they could get their full share of the advantage and exhilaration of glissades."[51]

When E. Evelyn Berens, along with her husband and two guides, Karl Schluneggar and Charles Clarke, successfully climbed Mount Sir Donald, on August 3, 1901, commentators referred to the event as the "first ascent of Sir Donald by a lady."[52] In the hotel Minute book Berens' wrote: "Before deciding on taking the trip I was greatly puzzled as to what I should wear -- as not being a new woman, I did not have unmentionables packed away at the bottom of my trunk, and did not think it safe to attempt it in skirts and frills."[53] Berens explicit announcement that she was not a "new woman" highlights the tensions women experienced as notions of appropriate femininity were in flux at the turn of the century. Berens did not want her readers to think that she was a feminist or the kind of woman who had masculine apparel readily available, which would have implied a lesser level of decorum and respectability. Indeed, when Berens described the apparel she eventually wore, she carefully highlighted its attractiveness, thereby asserting her femininity:

> After a time my kind friend Mrs. Schäffer, of Philadelphia, suggested that I should go through my husband's wardrobe. The result was I picked out a pair of something -- and, naturally, being a woman, I picked out the very best pair of shooting knickers, as being the prettiest color, so as to be as becoming as possible under the circumstances. I

[50] Beth Light and Joy Parr, "Breaking the Mould: Introduction to Chapter Five," in *Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920,* ed. Beth Light and Joy Parr (Toronto: New Hogtown Press and The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1983), 200.

[51] Frank W. Freeborn, "Two Camps in the Canadian Rockies," *Appalachia* 11 (June 1908), 330.

[52] A. O. Wheeler, *The Selkirk Range,* Vol. 1 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1905), 337.

[53] C. A. B., "A Woman's Venture," *RGC* 4 (May 1903), 431. Evelyn Berens wrote her account of the climb in the "Minute Book" at the Glacier House hotel. An unknown person transcribed the account for the version published by *RGC.* Beren's entered her account after her husband's version, titling hers "A Mere Women's Account." William L. Putnam, *The Great Glacier and Its House: The Story of the First Center of Alpinism in North America, 1885-1925* (New York: American Alpine Club, 1982), 117-120.

> account my greatest courage was not in getting up at 2 a.m., but in appearing before the guides in my new rig, and I think that most people will confess that, having been a girl all my life, it was certainly embarrassing (to say the least), this sudden blossoming into a boy.[54]

Particularly interesting was Berens' refusal, on several occasions, to state that she was wearing knickerbockers -- first she describes them as "unmentionables" and next as "a pair of something."[55]

The strong interest in women's appearance was rooted in the belief that clothing mirrored the character or quality of the individual. Schäffer, for one, rejected this notion. In the introduction to her book, she denounced the idea that wearing moccasins and foregoing hat-pins and the "lingerie waist" could cause the "character to coarsen. and the little womanlinesses to be laid aside."[56] She also seemed bemused by the fact that individuals she met in the city focused on her appearance, silently noting her well-cut garments then expressing surprise at her exploration accomplishments. Indeed, Schäffer recalled one dear friend who introduced her: "My friend, the little explorer, who lives among the Rocky Mountains and the Indians for months at a time, far, far in the wilderness. You would not expect it would you? She does not look like it, does she? She ought to look some other way should she not?"[57]

Women could not be blamed for focusing on concerns such as clothing and appearance because these topics were frequent fodder for social commentary. One unnamed magazine commentator, in a discussion of "modern" women and their pastimes, implied that a woman who participated in leisure activities should be aware that she was under public scrutiny. The author emphasized that:

> ...one binding canon be observed ... And this is - that no game or situation where girl or woman is seen in public should be such that from its nature she is liable to pose therein ungracefully, clumsily, or unbecomingly.

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[54] C. A. B., "A Women's Venture," 431.
[55] *Ibld.*
[56] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 19.
[57] *Ibid.*

> And surely this has only to be stated to be accepted. If there be one unwritten axiom that the universal custom of civilized communities has stereotyped into recognition, it is that the gentler sex must on all occasions consult appearances in a special manner not demanded of men. It is (or was) not only *de rigeur* in society that a woman should try to look her best ...[58]

Women mountaineers were no different, and even though the mountain geography provided some opportunity for transgressive activity, their transgressions were observed and evaluated. Even in the mountains, the usual attire of women mountaineers and women trail riders drew attention. Tuzo recalled her reception upon returning from a horseback trip in 1906. Describing the last "drive ... before civilization was reached," she wrote:

> That last trip was through burnt timber and so in spite of all care it was a grimy crowd that emerged on a hot afternoon by Laggan Station! The tables were turned on them and those who had snapped cameras at so many unoffending mountains were themselves the angry victims of a wild crowd of trippers who ranged up to take pictures of the "cowboy women" -- while the guides, with innocent faces, told the questioners some most surprising yarns.[59]

Because women's clothing was such a matter of concern it is not surprising that so many women mountaineers offered advice on just what to wear. In a 1902 magazine article, Julia Henshaw referred to some women climbers and their successful climbing expeditions. In the passage that immediately followed, she provided advice on the type of attire suitable for mountain activities:

> I am frequently asked questions regarding the sort of clothes a woman should wear on such expeditions, and, after several years of practical experience amongst the Rockies and Selkirks of British Columbia, I would most unhesitatingly say to any of my sex who may contemplate a summer tour amid these glorious mountains, that the only feasible and suitable costume to wear consists of a short skirt, falling about eight

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[58] [Anon.], "Modern Mannish Maidens," *BM* 147 (February 1890), 254.

[59] [Henrietta] Tuzo, "Lady Explorers on the Trail. Through Pipestone Pass to the Saskatchewan River," *RGC* 8 (December 1906), 568.

inches off the ground, made of some light weight, dust-coloured, woollen material, and a saque coat to match, cut loose; a cotton or flannel blouse, according to the weather; tan spat-puttees, or gaiters; thick-soled, laced tan shoes, with a few hobnails in them; and a wide brimmed straw or a soft felt hat. For hot days a coat and skirt made of galatea, or strong brown holland, are desirable; and, if preferred, a pair of high laced boots may be substituted for the shoes and gaiters. A short riding-habit skirt is also necessary' with this any blouse may be worn.[60]

Just a few years later, another women mountaineer offered similar advice. Mary Vaux discussing "appliances and outfit" emphasized that "it is presupposed that the women of the party wear rational clothes." She identified "knickerbockers, a flannel shirtwaist, and knotted kerchief at the neck; stout boots, with hobnails, laced to the knee, or arranged for puttees; woollen stockings, a felt hat with moderate brim, and a sweater or short coat completing the outfit."[61] Even the Alpine Club of Canada provided advice. In an early camp circular the following suggestions were provided under the heading "Additional Suggestions for Ladies":

> If women could only realize that wearing their mountaineering clothes rightly they would not only add to their comfort but their good appearance, much would be gained. It is the dropping of the waist line down to the hip that is the secret of women wearing their knickerbockers gracefully. The top of the knickerbockers should hang on the point of the hip with the belt as loose as possible. This makes discarding corsets, which is absolutely necessary, more comfortable.[62]

The tone of the advice implied that some women were reluctant to abandon their dresses and corsets.

By the 1920s, women wore pants while climbing, it was deemed an obvious choice, and the matter no longer raised eyebrows. In a manuscript written in 1924, Schäffer recalled how women's clothing had changed since her first visits to the

[60] Julia W. Henshaw, "A Summer Holiday in the Rockies," *CM* 20 (November 1902), 4-5.
[61] Mary M. Vaux, "Camping in the Canadian Rockies," *CAJ* 1 (1907), 68.
[62] The undated Alpine Club of Canada circular was included among the papers and ephemera pertaining to Elizabeth Kirkbride's Rocky Mountain travels. Kirkbride, a resident of Albany, New York, made an unspecified number of visits to the Canadian Rockies between 1901 and 1927. Elizabeth Kirkbride Papers, 68.257, Folder 1, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

Canadian Rockies. For riding "cross saddle," Schäffer described a skirt that had buttons "hind and fore." The skirt enabled women riders to advance "amidst the public looking respectability itself." She added: "As soon as the village and critics were well left behind, you poked the old thing into your duffel bag and that was the end of anything but modern britches, till you hailed back to civilizations." A few sentences later Schäffer commented on the women "'dudes' of to-day": "No longer do they wander with long, annoying skirts or get caught by intruding trees in their voluminous garments. They have reached out for an equality in clothing and have got it."[63]

Rhetorical Practices

Women used a range of narrative voices to describe their mountaineering activities. Some women were comfortable using the narratorial "I." Writing in 1902 Julia Henshaw claimed her "I," using it to support her "woman's point of view."[64] In 1915, Mary Jobe started her article for the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* with the confident statement: "During six weeks of the past summer (1914) I made an expedition into the Canadian Rockies of Alberta and British Columbia, northwest of Mt. Robson."[65] Mary Springate and two guides, Donald Phillips and Bert Wilkins, accompanied Jobe on this expedition. Throughout her article, however, she emphasized the collective nature of the expedition enterprise by emphasizing collective pronouns. For example: "we named this pass Eagle Pass" and "We named it the Menagerie Glacier" - this last example was excerpted from a passage describing Mary Jobe climb of Mount Kitchi with Donald Phillips.[66]

Other women seemed less comfortable with this first-person voice. Henrietta Tuzo described her first ascent of Number 7, the second highest of the Ten Peaks at 10,648 feet. Only once in the brief article did she refer directly to herself. She wrote,

[63] Mary T. S. Schäffer, "Teepee Life in the Northern Hills," (1924), Unpublished Manuscript in Mary Schäffer Fonds, M79, Folder 6, Archives, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta, 16.
[64] Henshaw, "Summer Holiday," 4.
[65] Mary L. Jobe, "Mt. Kitchi: A New Peak in the Canadian Rockies," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 47 (1915), 481.
[66] *Ibid.*, 485, 492.

"On the morning of July 21st, I rose early ...."[67] Through the rest of the account, she referred to the climbing party using the collective "we." She recorded her climbing achievement: "At four forty the summit was reached and the climbers could congratulate each other on the conquest of the last of the Ten Peaks. No time could be spent on the top as the remaining hours of daylight were few."[68] In another article published that same year Tuzo continued the practice. In "Lady Explorers on the Trail," she never referred to individuals by name, only by the term "members" or collectively as "the campers."[69]

Some women referred to themselves indirectly. The awkwardness of this style is curious: "We two women were in charge of a government official, who is so expert a camper, that one of them promptly conferred upon him the title of 'Campaigner' by which he will be known." Ellen Elizabeth Spragge, who wrote as simply "Mrs. Spragge," referred to her female companion with the phrases "the older woman" or "the elder woman." Spragge used the collective pronouns "we" and "our," but not the narratorial "I." At one point, Spragge described the guide, carrying "one small red and one green lantern, also one candle and several magnesium wires" for the carbide lantern. "Thus armed," she continued, "the twain followed their guide docilely to the upper cave...."[70]

A strategy of displacement, focusing their narrative on the activity and agency of another person, was also an alternative. Mary Schäffer used this strategy when she wrote some manuscript drafts about her 1911 trip to Maligne Lake. In the drafts, Schäffer's young nephew Paul is the protagonist of a narrative that describes the fun of climbing, hunting, boat-building, and horse travel; activities that Schäffer also

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[67] H[enrietta] Tuzo, "First Ascent of Number Seven," *RGC* 8 (October 1906), 352.
[68] *Ibid.*, 353.
[69] Tuzo, "Lady Explorers to the Saskatchewan," 566, 565.
[70] Mrs. Arthur Spragge, "In the Heart of the Selkirks: The Caves of Cheops," *RGC* 8 (January 1907), 646, 647, 651. A travel writer who published numerous magazine articles, Ellen Elizabeth Spragge was best known for her 1887 book *From Ontario the Pacific by the CPR*. George Melnyk, *The Literary History of Alberta: From Writing-on-Stone to World War Two*, Vol. 1 (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1998), 66.

participated in.[71] Helen Buss, in her study of Canadian women's autobiography, studied how women used the strategy of displacement to discuss, even disguise, topics that were difficult to write about publicly. For example, displacement allowed women to tell the truth about how they confronted dangers or enjoyed frivolous activities while removing attention from themselves. Buss observes that this "displacement into another's experience, both of pleasurable adventures ... and of her pain and fear ... is a strategy that while seeming to de-emphasize herself and her feelings, draw attention to them."[72]

Jill Ker Conway discusses silences, especially those that disguise women's agency and their active decision making. Conway referred to life stories told by women social reformers: "Like the frontierswomen silent about their physical strength and courage, pioneer women professionals were silent about their ambitions and recounted their lives as though their successes just happened to them."[73] Conway notes that one cannot conclude that such women are unaware of their agency because their diaries reveal that they did articulate their agency in private. Thus, "the problem is one of censorship for public self-presentation."[74] Self-censorship in public mediums occur, Conway concludes, because "[e]very autobiographer wants to persuade others to learn from his or her life .... To achieve this they cannot afford to depart too dramatically from popularly accepted stereotypes ... To do so is to risk losing their persuasive power."[75]

Gentleman

The gentleman was a gendered subject position characterized by specific ideas and practices. Mountaineers came largely from the ranks of the educated middle-

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[71] The titles of these unpublished manuscripts are "An American Boy's Summer in the Canadian Rockies," "A Small Boy's Summer in the Canadian Rockies," "An American Boy in the Canadian Rockies." Mary Schäffer Fonds, M79, Folder 4, Archives, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta.

[72] Helen M. Buss, *Mapping Our Selves: Canadian Women's Autobiography* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 43.

[73] Jill Ker Conway, *When Memory Speaks: Reflections on Autobiography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 15.

[74] *Ibid.*, 16.

class.[76] The gentleman was a position that implied a certain standard of behaviour, level of education, and class identity. The ideals of honesty, fairplay, and chivalry were associated with masculine athleticism and sporting life.[77]

Encounters

The geologist, Arthur Coleman, made eight trips to the Rockies and Selkirks between 1884 and 1908. Both Coleman's book, *The Canadian Rockies: New and Old Trails* (1911), and his field notebooks are filled with accounts describing encounters with a diverse array people including natives, prospectors, traders, scientists, and mountain explorers.[78] Coleman often described his actions but he seldom made explicit reference to himself. A careful reading of the language he used to describe others, however, provides insight into his personality and personal beliefs.

Prospecting was the goal for Coleman's first two trips in 1884 and 1885. In his notebooks Coleman referred to himself as "a prospector" but only during those first trips.[79] During his weeks in the mountains, Coleman climbed several peaks, but his motive was route finding, not mountaineering: "We tried our usual panacea for troubles of the trail next morning, and climbed the mountain behind us to have a look at the country.[80] What is interesting about these early expeditions is the variety of people that Coleman encountered on his travels through the mountains, largely due to

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[75] *Ibid.*

[76] David Robbins, "Sport, Hegemony, and the Middle Class: The Victorian Mountaineers," *Theory, Culture & Society* 4 (1987), 584-586; Peter H. Hansen, "Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain," *Journal of British Studies* 34 (July 1995), 309-312.

[77] Hansen, "Albert Smith and Mountaineering," 312-13; Allen Warren, "Popular Manliness: Baden Powell, Scouting and the Development of Manly Character," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, ed. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 199-200.

[78] Arthur P. Coleman, *The Canadian Rockies: New and Old Trails*, (Toronto: Henry Frowde, 1911).

[79] In his field notebook entry for June 17, 1884 Coleman wrote about the difficulty of travelling through dense forest and concluded "The prospector's life is a hard one." Later, on June 21, 1884, after dealing with hot weather, muskeg, stiff climbs and bad food he wrote: "A prospector's life is not to be envied." Arthur Coleman, "Rockies 1884," in Arthur Coleman Collection, Field Notebooks, Box 1, File 5, Victoria University Library, Toronto, Ontario.

[80] Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 109-10.

the demand for railway construction workers. In referring to his location along the Columbia River he remarked:

> We were on the high-road from Montana to the new railway line, and often had other visitors ... Disgusted railway workers, with their small "turkeys" slung on their back, passed us, beginning the three hundred miles tramp over rough trails to the land of freedom in Montana; eager fellows, tired of prospecting and finding nothing, were pushing hopefully north to make some money on the grade.[81]

Yet Coleman's life was more comfortable and less precarious than the lives of the prospectors he described. Many of the men Coleman encountered were in desperate condition. He described:

> A number of fellows came in last night from Kicking Horse, or Columbia City as they call it, with packs on their backs. Starved out on the C.P.R. Board wretched and $5.00 a week, while rain prevents their earning that much at even $1.75 a day. I am sorry for them. They have 300 miles of wild country before them and they reach Sand Pt. Most are Germans, one only out since Easter. Poor fellow, he has seen better days and his clothes + appearance don't suit with his condition. He says he has no money and two companions are helping him along. The 3 have only one blanket, in this weather to sleep out in. They hardly have any provisions.[82]

Coleman was more fortunate; he had money, connections that gave him access to the hospitality of the railway contractors, and employment as a university professor.[83]

Coleman frequently used the notion of Christian respectability to evaluate the people and places he encountered. His field notebooks contain references to "fallen" women, "lazy Indians," "tents and squalid log huts dignified as stores and hotels," and "the inevitable saloon with a billiard table."[84] Coleman's book was less frank but the

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[81] *Ibid.*, 30.
[82] Underline emphasis by Coleman in notebook entry for June 27, 1884. Coleman, "Rockies 1884," in Arthur Coleman Collection, Field Notebooks, Box 1, File 5, Victoria University Library, Toronto, Ontario.
[83] Many mountaineers used personal connections to acquire comfortable accommodations. Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 23.
[84] Notebook entries for May 23, May 17, May 23 and June 17, 1884 respectively. Arthur Coleman, "Rockies 1884," in Arthur Coleman Collection, Field Notebooks, Box 1, File 5, Victoria University Library, Toronto, Ontario.

same themes are present. In one telling passage, Coleman conveyed his esteem for hard work and moral behaviour by expressing the dismay he felt when confronted with lawlessness and vice:

> One night, at dusk, a wild party of desperadoes and Indians cantered in from nowhere ... and the significance of the ranch became evident. It was a 'whisky ranch,' purposely planted outside the mounted police limit of ten miles on each side of the 'right of way.' We began to esteem our Chinese neighbours, whip-sawing lumber and floating it down to Golden, as respectable citizens compared to the white ranchers.[85]

While Coleman did not consider the Chinese to be gentlemen, his comments revealed that hard work and moral behaviour were characteristics he valued. Coleman's passage conveyed the idea that individuals can never fully be characterized by racial stereotypes. A similar ambivalence is found in his reference to Natives. While often expressing paternalistic attitudes, Coleman held some Native individuals in esteem.

Belonging

As a gentlemen, Coleman was concerned about his appearance. In 1888, after spending several weeks in the dense, tangled forests, Coleman recorded how he and his travelling companion, Frank Stover, spent time on the outskirts of the settlement attending to their appearance before continuing on their travels: "We were not anxious to meet civilisation too soon ... and waited out of sight on an island opposite the lumber piles, where we could patch our ragged clothing and make ready for the train the next morning."[86] One diary entry with a parenthetical aside revealed: "It is a delightful day for loafing. Mr. Grier + I washed our underclothing this morning (cleanliness is next to godliness)."[87] Such concerns were not trivial because travelers and explorers did meet their peers, even in the remotest stretches of the mountains. On August 14, 1884 Coleman wrote: "Had Prof. Blake of University College Nottingham, a member of the Brit[ish] Ass[ociation] here one afternoon. He had heard of me + came to my camp ...

[85] Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 31.
[86] *Ibid.*, 117.

Had some pleasant conversation with him + some controversy..." Coleman and Blake differed in opinion when it came to a discussion of the origin of metamorphic rocks and certain types of fossils.[88]

By describing his encounters and his surroundings in this way Coleman conveyed the ideals and values of the Victorian gentleman: dignity, politeness, hard work, moral behaviour, and respectable dress. Indeed, gentlemanly behaviour was revealed in the most surprising of contexts. For example, Coleman had commented often on the challenges of cooking on the trail, especially when he had to fight off mosquitoes at the same time. He recalled one occasion when the bannock, laced with ash and mosquitoes, failed to rise. His companion, when faced with this fare, ate very little, leading Coleman to speculate: "His heart must of sunk at the prospect of such provender for the next two months, but he was gentleman enough even to praise the bread, and to express his wonder at my ability as a cook."[89]

Not all pioneer mountaineers were equally interested in maintaining the gentlemanly ideal. The British climber, Hugh Stutfield, provided a dramatic counterpoint to the ideals expressed by Coleman. While describing his participation in an 1898 expedition with Norman Collie and Herman Woolley, Stutfield commented:

> For many weeks it would be good-bye to civilisation and its conventions and boredoms; its feather-beds and *table-d'hôtes;* its tall hats, frock coats, and stick-up collars. The wilderness lay between us and dull Respectability; we could wear what we liked, and enjoy the ineffable delights of being as disreputable as we pleased.[90]

For Stutfield, the mountains were a place for his liberation from the rigid rules and disciplines associated with the discourse of gentlemanly masculinity. Significantly, both Stutfield and Collie relished mountains trips because they offered "the free,

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[87] Notebook entry for June 21, 1884. Arthur Coleman, "Rockies 1884," in Arthur Coleman Collection, Field Notebooks, Box 1, File 5, Victoria University Library, Toronto, Ontario.
[88] *Ibid.*, notebook entry for August 14, 1884.
[89] Coleman, *Canadian Rockies*, 82-83.
[90] Hugh E. M. Stutfield and J. Norman Collie, *Climbs and Exploration in the Canadian Rockies* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1905), 74-75.

disreputable life of the woods."[91] Thus, it was possible for some groups to claim affinity, or belonging, by their shared rejection of certain societal norms.

Stutfield was not content to reject just the gentlemanly ideal. On several occasions he also described how he was willing to dispense with the heroic ideal as well. Also on that 1898 expedition, Stutfield recalled an evening campfire shared by the expedition party and their outfit. He described how "[v]ery tall were the yarns that circulated" and how the guides seemed to rejoice in informing their clients that "Death ...confronted the backwoods traveller in a quite remarkable variety of shapes." When Stutfield's companion, Herman Woolley, revealed his fears by announcing that he had decided to sleep in his boots, Stutfield described his own "growing terror." His decision to sleep with his head at the tent door, presumably to facilitate a hasty exit if required, provided another example that countered the conventional model of heroic masculinity.[92] In another anecdote Stutfield described his growing fondness for wilderness luxuries. While he rejected a feather-bed in 1898, his experience of harsh conditions on earlier expeditions led him to change his mind. By 1902 he harboured no reservations about seeking comfort in the wilds – so he brought a bedroom mattress with him. Stutfield was ridiculed by his outfitters for his pursuit of luxury but he proudly stated that he was willing to challenge convention. He jokingly made his point when he commented on the sleeping arrangements of his party: "One depraved person [Collie], for instance, had brought a camp-bedstead. This luxury was viewed with the strongest disapproval, as out West, for some occult reason, it is considered unmanly to sleep otherwise than on the ground."[93]

Significantly, Stutfield had no difficulty distancing himself from the "Western" model of manliness. While his British identity may have made it easier for him to reject that discourse of masculinity, there was another mitigating factor. Stutfield's participation in exploratory mountaineering and his established record as a mountaineer likely provided him with a sense of security that made it easier for him to joke about

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[91] *Ibid.*, 217.
[92] *Ibid.*, 84.
[93] *Ibid.*, 239.

fears, quests for luxury, and longings for the "disreputable" life. Also, self-deprecatory humour could increase a book's appeal to the reading audience.

Mountaineer

Self-identification

Most of the individuals who wrote about their climbing and exploring experiences in Canada were eager to present themselves as mountaineers. They were aware that their climbing activities, even their desire to spend time in wilderness away from modern luxuries, was somewhat novel. Most Canadian, American, and British citizens, after all, were not mountaineers. As an identity, the mountaineer ascription conveyed both physical accomplishment and a certain mental disposition. Whether that disposition was crazy or heroic, however, was the matter of some debate. Thus, when describing themselves as mountaineers, the writers would point to physical achievement, mental constitution, and relative expertise.

The most basic definition of the mountaineer was founded on mountaineering achievement. By reaching the summit, climbers demonstrated the necessary degree of competency and could thus be justified in calling themselves climbers. In relating the feats of novices at the ACC's first camp at Yoho, one writer recalled: "The last few yards was a stiff climb, and then we all shook hands and congratulated each other that we were in very word and truth Alpine climbers and true mountaineers."[94] Climbing clubs reinforced the primacy of this summit requirement by linking full membership to elevation goals. For individuals to be considered a full member of the Alpine Club of Canada, they had to demonstrate that had climbed a mountain of a height greater than 10,000 feet. The easiest way for beginners to meet this requirement was to participate in the summer camps organized each year by the ACC. At these camps, a suitable mountain was selected for those interested in making a "graduating climb." To ensure safety, the group climbs were led by either Swiss guides or experienced ACC mountaineers who could assist and instruct the novices. Full membership status could

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[94] A. H. S[mith], "The Alpine Club of Canada: How We Won Our Qualifications," *RGC* 8 (October 1906), 349.

also be attained by petitioning the club in writing and providing some alternative evidence of achievement. Summit descriptions and certificates from guides were among the evidence used by petitioners in support of application for full membership status.[95]

Another mark of the mountaineer was an enthusiasm for vigorous physical activity. One writer recalled how "[w]e were informed that there was a good trail all the way, and although it necessitated some stiff climbing there was nothing in it to daunt those who wished to be considered mountaineers."[96]

Climbing expertise was another quality used to designate the mountaineer. While beginners and experienced climbers alike called themselves "mountaineers," it was an identity founded on a hierarchy of skill. For example, novices were self-conscious about their newly acquired experiences, especially when they compared themselves to their more experienced peers. One beginner, in the introduction to his article, established this distinction almost immediately:

> Two weeks before the ascent of which I am about to write, I had never seen a mountain. This by way of explanation in case experienced mountaineers should smile if I exaggerate the commonplaces of a mountain-climb into exploits and the parts perhaps not more than ordinarily difficult into achievements.[97]

Beginners were often exuberant about mountaineering yet they worried that their enthusiasm was exaggerated and they did not wish to appear silly in the company of "true" mountaineers. The distinction between novice and experienced climber was fluid, however. Experienced climbers, eager to share their enthusiasm for their pastime, encouraged and assisted their less-experienced peers. Sharing of this nature

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[95] During this era is was customary for climbers to leave some personal token such as a business card at the base of summit cairns as testimony of their achievement. Correspondence files containing membership petitions are found in the archives of the Alpine Club of Canada (ACC). ACC, Executive Papers, 1906-1925, ACC Fonds, M200, AC 90, Folder 1B, Archives, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta.

[96] A. H. S[mith], "How We Found the Alpine Club Camp," *RGC* 8 (November 1906), 475.

[97] J. Addison Reid, "A New Ascent of Mount Fay, Canadian Rockies," *Appalachia* 11 (June 1908), 332.

occurred most frequently at the summer camps of the Alpine Club of Canada. The importance of the camps in fostering this interconnection cannot be underestimated because, in most other circumstances, beginners and experts would climb different routes, and certainly different peaks. Such sharing typically occurred on peaks that were already climbed. If the prestige of a first ascent, or new route, was not at stake, then competitiveness was less of an issue.

Amateurs who successfully climbed in the Rockies exhibited pride in their accomplishments. While many did not feel that they were of the same calibre as the "mountaineer" they were certainly in the same scale of consideration. In a telling example, one novice exclaimed:

> I went out to the camp fire to tell fearsome tales of the day's adventures. Now for the first time I felt as though I belonged in that circle. Never, never should I be a mountaineer, the precipices of Crow's Nest were not for me, but nevertheless the climb had been made, badly, falteringly, but to the top and accordingly I was made free of the great and noble company of mountaineers.[98]

Some women climbers and mountain explorers evaded, even spurned, the label of mountaineer. Mary Schäffer, one of the best known women to explore and occasionally climb in the Canadian Rocky Mountains, often denied that she was a mountaineer. On one occasion she noted that "no serious climbing [was] anticipated" then she immediately inserted the parenthetical comment: "(this is only a story of the valleys);" a strategy that doubly minimized her achievements.[99] She indicated that her travels were not "serious" and further emphasized that her achievements are "only" a matter of journeying through valleys. Yet her own text repeatedly refutes these claims because Schäffer subsequently described several ascents. While her ascents were not of any of the prestigious peaks, they were still ascents. Moreover, there was nothing "mere" or "simple" about travel along the valleys at the turn of the century, a time when few trails were in good condition.

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[98] Johns, "A Graduating Climb," 164.
[99] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 46.

Mutual encouragement between mountaineers, however, did not preclude a sense of competition. Among experienced mountaineers, the race to achieve first ascents prompted some rivalries. First ascents or ascents via new routes testified to a climber's confidence, adventurous spirit, and skill. In the early years of the twentieth century, however, the number of accessible, unclimbed Canadian peaks declined with each passing year. Since the mountaineering community differentiated itself according to hierarchical scale based on accomplishment, the search for increased status led some climbers to pursue risky climbs or endure gruelling treks through the wilderness just to beat a rival to the prize. For example, the Reverend George Kinney, along with first-time climber Donald Philips, made a dangerous ascent of Mount Robson drive because they believed it be a matter national pride.[100] Alternatively, Val. Fynn made an unabashed claim that his strenuous, but ultimately unsuccessful, race to Mount Sir Douglas, was motivated solely by personal ambition.[101]

Stressing a mountaineer's ability as the marker of achievement was intersected with broader societal expectations of accomplishment. Although gender ideology did not fully define the woman mountaineer, several accomplished women climbers discovered that their climbing skills led to a public identity that was linked as much to climbing as to femininity.

Ideas about aging were also perceived through the lens of ability. Sissons, for example, observed that men and women enjoyed mountaineering "in their prime -- and beyond it."[102] Jeffers was more explicit in his appraisal of mountaineering and ideas about aging: "Its thrill may be enjoyed in safety far later in life than many other forms of vigorous exercise."[103]

[100] George Kinney, "To the Top of Mount Robson, the Highest Peak in the Canadian Rockies," *Appalachia* 12 (July 1910).
[101] Fynn, "Lake Louise in 1919."
[102] C. B. Sissons, "Mountaineering in Canada," *Canadian Forum* 3 (September 1923), 366.
[103] Le Roy Jeffers, *The Call of the Mountains* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1922), 2.

Belonging

When considering the self-representational strategies used by mountaineers in their texts, the notion of belonging was articulated in two different ways. In one respect mountaineers described how they belonged to a community of climbing enthusiasts. Alternatively, mountaineers described themselves as a somewhat eccentric group that did not quite belong in the wider culture. The latter point is of special interest because the risks associated with some forms of mountaineering challenged social norms pertaining to gentlemanly and ladylike behaviour. Mountaineers viewed risk diplomatically; they recognized its existence but argued that skill and judgment would minimize its threat. To the uninitiated, the mountaineers' non-climbing peers, these arguments were never fully grasped.[104] Mountaineering, advocates argued, had to be experienced in person; only then could the risks, as well as the rewards, be fully understood. Because of this gulf between climbers and non-climbers, the social position of the mountaineer was ambivalent.

Mountain climbing was a status symbol; it differentiated the mountaineer from the tourist. Some mountaineers relished in their eccentricity, viewing their difference from non-climbers with a clubbish air of superiority. Bringing her readers into her confidence, Hallowes described a discussion with a railway porter who announced his belief that climbers were odd and that he personally had no interest in the sport.[105] By selecting this anecdote, Hallowes, who was writing for an audience of her peers, exhibited pride a mountaineers perceived eccentricities.

Late Victorian and Edwardian mountaineers sometimes found it necessary to defend their actions against criticisms. The claim that mountaineering contributed to science was the most common justification, particularly in the Victorian era. That argument, however, became increasingly difficult to sustain in the twentieth century. Most recreational mountaineering excursions and texts contained very little science. The obligatory inventory of topography and the determinations of elevations were

[104] Stutfield and Collies described one instance when Collie took Fred Stephens, his non-climbing outfitter, up a peak so that Stephens could experience "all the pleasures of the initiated." Stutfield and Collie, *Climbs and Exploration*, 218.
[105] K. B. Hallowes, "Mount Robson Camp (1913)," *CAJ* 6 (1915), 212.

insufficient in terms of science. Instead, in the early twentieth century, the argument that mountaineering was an ideal route to moral citizenship and self-improvement, became the increasingly popular justification.[106] This justification was reflected and paralleled in the ideology of muscular Christianity.[107]

The encounter of mountaineers and a non-climbing public was most evident in the aftermath of mountaineering tragedies. Historically, this can be seen in the public reaction that followed the Matterhorn disaster in 1865. Fay remarked on the public's tendency to focus on the negative aspects of mountaineering: "The unfamiliar character of the sport, and too often the nobility and worth of the victim, perhaps call attention unduly to the attendant risks."[108] Mountaineers argued for a different interpretation of risk, one that highlighted the nobility of the action and the social value of the pursuit:

> To assume risks, and especially unnecessary risks, does not constitute the hero; to avoid every form of risk is excellent training for a coward. To recognize dangers, to study them in their every aspect, to provide means for removing them or reducing them to a fairly negligible minimum, and then to proceed with infinite caution to carry out the enterprise, not over-confident, not over-persistent, but always ready to turn back whenever the element of danger fore shadows disaster, seems to my mind a proper and effective education for those on whom large responsibilities are to rest.[109]

The climber's ability to show sound judgment ensured success both in climbing and in society. Jeffers comments that "[a] true mountaineer will be cautious, but fearless in the face of danger."[110] In discussing the various perils that mountaineers faced, Jeffers praised their "skill and resourcefulness" yet he suggested that mountaineers "need never experience fear, for on the heights Divine protection seems near."[111] Still,

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[106] Charles E. Fay, "The Mountain as an Influence in Modern Life," *Appalachia* 11 (1905), 38.
[107] Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).
[108] *Ibid.*, 40
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] Jeffers, *Call of the Mountains*, 4.
[111] *Ibid.*, 5.

achievement in the face of obstacles was most highly praised. Mumm, in recognition of Kinney's claimed first ascent of Mount Robson, his "gallant achievement," wrote: "Surely no mountaineering success was every more richly deserved, or won by a finer exhibition of courage, skill and indomitable perseverance."[112] Fay also argued also that mountaineering developed the socially valuable traits of responsibility and leadership.

Climbers who took undue risk were criticized by their peers. One notable Canadian example arose from the race for the first ascent of Mount Robson. A first ascent was claimed by the Reverend George Kinney in 1910 but that achievement was later discounted. Kinney's chief skeptic was Arthur O. Wheeler, the first President of the Canadian Alpine Club. Wheeler simply refused to believe that Kinney's route was climbable. He concluded that the route was not the "proper" one "for a safe and rapid ascent." He also rebuked Kinney for taking an inexperienced companion with him on the ascent. Wheeler's dismay over the event was expressed when he wrote: "Kinney took a desperate last chance and succeeded."[113]

Encounters

Victorian and Edwardian mountaineers were proud of their unique identity. This pride was exhibited in their encounters with sight-seers. These encounters tended to occur in places at the boundaries between the wilderness world of the climber and the relatively civilized space of the tourist. Train stations and mountain hotels were boundary points where the climber's and non-climber's space overlapped. At those points, mountaineers left the structures of work or home and entered the rustic world of the wilderness camp.

When mountaineers wore their climbing clothes and carried their equipment, they prominently displayed their distinctive identity. Upon arriving in Calgary by train, Mumm, describing himself and his companions L. S. Amery, G. Hastings, and M. Inderbinen, noted that they were "a most suspicious looking band, equipped with

[112] A. L. Mumm, "An Expedition to Mount Robson," *CAJ* 2 (1910), 3.
[113] Arthur O. Wheeler, "The Alpine Club of Canada's Expedition to Jasper Park, Yellowhead Pass and Mount Robson, 1911," *CAJ* 4 (1912), 53.

ruck sacks, ice-axes and full mountaineering kit."[114] Mountaineers realized that tourists considered their leisure choice somewhat extreme. Rhoda Edwards, a novice mountaineer who attended the ACC Camp at Cathedral Valley in order to make a "graduating climb" recalled one encounter with tourists:

> As the engine shrieked "good bye" we turned instinctively to watch the departing train only to meet the derisive gaze of the goggle-eyed tourists who, from their observation platform, stared at our alpine costumes with the scornful scrutiny of provincial intolerance.[115]

In another text, a female mountaineer recalled her efforts to conceal her "alpine eccentricities." She wrote how "[f]or a half day at Calgary I was very busy trying to remove all traces of the mere climber, and look like a 'shentleman,' or its feminine equivalent." Her efforts were fruitless for she added, "I was unhesitatingly spotted as, I dare not say a mountaineer, but one of those strange beings who always want to scramble up something or other just in order to see what is on the other side."[116] Her language conveys a double meaning: a sense of pride at her uniqueness -- she was, after all, able to joke about her difference. At a same time she exhibits a women's discomfort with the label "mountaineer."

The focus on the mountaineers' physical appearance was justified - they did dress differently. They had to look different, as prerequisite for safe climbing. Still, clothing stereotypes were in continual need of challenge:

> He was not dressed as I imagined a mountaineer should be. But apparently clothes are no criterion of mountaineering. The real celebrities don't bother with frills. They often scorn artistically adjusted puttees and tie their trousers round their boot tops with a bit of string instead. They wear fearsome sweaters and shocking bad hats. So much for the modesty of true greatness.[117]

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[114] *Ibid.*, 2.
[115] Rhoda W. Edwards, "Impressions of My Graduating Camp," *CAJ* 9 (1918), 107.
[116] Hallowes, "Mount Robson Camp," 212.
[117] Johns, "A Graduating Climb," 160.

Mountaineers and mountain explorers less commonly encountered non-climbers in the wilderness itself. Prospectors, timber-cruisers, Native hunting parties, Native settlers, and ex-railway workers were among the people met on mountain trails. Mary Schäffer, describing an encounter with timber cruisers, recalled how the other party was disappointed at finding "only four picnickers." While such labels do suggest that Schäffer was modest about her actions, they also highlighted her recognition that she and her party were in the wilderness for fun and not to earn a livelihood. Schäffer employed the tourist identity in an ambivalent fashion. She called herself a tourist whenever she compared herself to the pioneers of Canadian mountaineering. Later in her life, however, she resisted the tourist label due to her reluctance to be perceived as a newcomer, one of those "butterflies of travel" who, despite their limited experience in the Rockies, claimed to "really *know* Banff."[118]

Inadvertent Explorers and Amateur Scientists

Self-declared identity

In the Rockies at the turn of the century, the role of the scientist and the role of the explorer were often overlapped, if not inseparable. Mountaineering was still undergoing the transition from its scientific, and more elitist origins, to a more popular leisure based activity. An uneven transition and tensions emerged as participants tried to reconcile competing desires for scientific respectability and unabashed leisure.[119] In considering different narratives, it becomes clear that mountaineers occupied a range of subject positions along the continuum between explorer-scientist to tourist. In the earliest stages of Canadian mountaineering, from 1885 to approximately 1900, mountaineers, who were primarily male, were more inclined to identify themselves as explorers in either the scientific or heroic traditions. As the Edwardian era progressed, the perceived stigma of mere fun declined, and there was less of a tendency for mountaineers to justify their actions. While it was less common to find women mountaineers engaged in scientific or exploratory pursuits, some participated as

[118] Original italics. Mary S[chäffer] Warren, "The Byways of Banff," *CAJ* 10 (1919), 78.
[119] Robbins, "Sport, Hegemony, and Class," 588-89.

amateurs. In field of botany, for example, both Julia Henshaw and Mary Schäffer published books on Rocky Mountain flowers. For both men and women, the role of scientist and explorer was appealing because of the purpose, status, and respectability it conferred.

Several mountain explorers were, in fact, trained scientists with university positions. For example, Arthur Coleman was a geology professor at the University of Toronto and Norman Collie was a professor of organic chemistry at University College, London.[120] An author's professional status often followed his or her name on a publication with an ascription such as "Ph.D." or "F.R.S." Other mountaineers were amateurs who had no professional credentials but nevertheless conducted research and wrote in a style that suggested their scientific interests. One notable woman among this group was Mary Vaux Walcott who assisted her father and brothers with their glacier research in Yoho Valley. She received no formal post-secondary education but acquired her knowledge through practical experience. In 1911, she took over the family's studies and continued them sporadically until 1922.[121]

The scientist subject position sometimes merged uneasily with other positions. Some writers, for example, assumed a role that can be characterized as the "inadvertent" scientist. In this position, the mountaineer's identity was emphasized and the scientist identity was subsumed. G. P. Baker stated that "the little geographical and mapmaking work which the two expeditions led by Dr. Collie have accomplished, is due more to our mountaineering instincts than to a search after geographical knowledge." Still, Baker added that he "seized the opportunity offered ... by Mr. Parker, of Columbia University, to obtain the reversion of his plane-table, and by accident we were able to pick up the survey of the Topographical Department of Canada, and, having got our base-line, Dr. Collie continued it last year right away up

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[120] Refer to Lila M. Laakso and Raymond K. Laakso, *A. P. Coleman Geologist 1852-1939: Science, Art and Discovery* (Toronto: Victoria University Library, 1994) and Christine Mill, *Norman Collie A Life in Two Worlds: Mountain Explorer and Scientist 1859-1942* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987).

[121] Edward Cavell, *Legacy in Ice: The Vaux Family and the Canadian Alps* (Banff, AB: The Whyte Foundation, 1983), 12. See also: Cyndi Smith, "Mary Vaux Walcott (1860-1940)," chap. in *Off the*

to the headwaters of the Athabasca."[122] In Canada, many mountaineers became inadvertent geographers because the existing maps tended to be inaccurate or incomplete. Scientific achievement, though laudable, was presented as something that could occur almost by accident.

The tension between the identities of mountaineer and scientist reflected the evolving status of recreation and leisure at the turn of the century. David Robbins and Carl Berger suggest that the Victorian and Edwardian ideals of rational recreation are the source of this tension.[123] One perception that circulated in middle-class Western society during this era was that leisure time could generate unrespectable behaviour and laziness. Few mountaineers, however, were bothered by such concerns. Indeed, some felt no need to claim science in order to justify their pastime and they were irritated, even amused, by those who did:

> Leslie Stephen ... used to take delight in making attacks upon the wretched people who were unable to enjoy mountaineering for its own sake, and must need be perpetually trying to carry inconvenient scientific instruments into inaccessible places in order to record inaccurate results.[124]

In 1911, as an effort to publicize the Northern Rockies, the Dominion Government of Canada arranged for Mary Schäffer to conduct a scientific survey of Maligne Lake. While Mr. D. B. Dowling of the Canadian Geological Survey felt confident that Schäffer would be an admirable surveyor, Schäffer herself did not. In an unpublished article she expressed her doubts:

> In my duffle bag reposed a log, compass, protractor, scale, lined paper and, most valuable of all, intricate and detailed directions how to use,

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Beaten Track: Women Adventurers and Mountaineers in Western Canada (Lake Louise, AB: Coyote Press, 1989), 23-49.

[122] G. P. Baker in discussion following Collie's paper presentation at the Royal Geographical Society on 13 February 1899. Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 355.

[123] Refer to Robbins, "Sport, Hegemony, and Class," 588-89; for an overview of the Canadian context at this time see Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983).

[124] H. Preston-Thomas, "The Alpine Club," *BM* 182 (August 1907), 171.

> what to me at that time [??] a set of very formidable weapons. I confess my doubts were grave indeed that anything seriously worth while could possibly result from an expedition of this kind in such unskilled hands, and if the knowledge brought back has any value, it must be owing entirely to the careful notes and instructions so patiently worked out and sent me by Mr. Dowling.[125]

To Schäffer, the scientific devices were unfamiliar and lack of formalized training in scientific survey led her to doubt her abilities. Indeed, so great was her anxiety over surveying that she reported "no sense of elation" as she began her compass readings. Worse than her fear of making a mistake was the boredom associated with her "weary task"[126] Yet, Schäffer's discomfort with the label of scientist was most strongly articulated when she discovered errors in her survey. She wrote that "[b]lunders are usually suppressed in print, I think, but should this case of mine reach the eye of even one who has the temerity to attempt to use such unaccustomed tools, I am willing to sacrifice my pride and expose my stupidity." It was not until later, that she identified the cause of the errors, a "steel screw in the brass head of the tripod had been the undoing of three days' hard labor."[127] Ultimately, Schäffer found science and aesthetic appreciation of the mountains to be incompatible. She concluded that her survey was "probably crude and will bear more scientific inspection; but not science, no other plotting can ever rob each mile of its great charm and beauty."[128]

Schäffer's experience reveals a tension between the persona of the lady nature enthusiast and the objective scientist. She demonstrated that she was able to complete a scientific survey, yet her discomfort with the entire enterprise tended to overshadow her accomplishments. It is difficult to gauge the extent to which her protests were simply a the modest guise adopted by a lady or the genuine dislike of activity she, irregardless of her gender, simply found to be boring.

Schäffer also conveyed the tensions she felt with regard to the explorer identity. In the first chapter of her book *Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies*, Mary

[125] *Ibid.*, 93-94.
[126] *Ibid.*, 94.
[127] *Ibid.*, 94-95.
[128] *Ibid.*, 97.

Schäffer described the region she and Mollie Adams wanted to explore. She wrote: "It is bounded by latitudes 51°, 30' and 52° 30'; and longitudes 116° and 118°. Our chief aim was to penetrate to the head waters of the Saskatchewan and Athabaska rivers." Yet, Schäffer undermined this scientist voice and highlighted her discomfort with the role in her next sentences:

> To be quite truthful, it was but an aim, an excuse, for our real object was to delve into the heart of an untouched land, to tread where no human foot had trod before, to turn the unthumbed pages of an unread book, and to learn daily those secrets which dear Mother Nature is so willing to tell those who seek. So the "Saskatchewan and Athabaska sources" were a little pat answer which we kept on hand for the invariable question, "Goodness! what ever takes you two women into that wild, unknown region?" It seemed strange at first to think we must announce some settled destination, that the very fact of its being a wilderness was not enough; but we could not be blind to the fact that nine-tenths of our loving relatives and friends thought us crazy ...[129]

In the next paragraph, Schäffer highlighted her ambivalent relations to the explorer identity. She noted with pride: "I cannot resist speaking of it," that a friend had "showed sincere pride in introducing us as her friends 'the explorers'" yet Schäffer follows this comment with the parenthetical statement: "the true explorer had better skip this part."[130] While it is a strategy that announces her discomfort with the role of explorer, it is disingenuous in several respects. Schäffer linked her name with role explorer, not by asserting it herself, an action that would likely be perceived as immodest. Instead, she announced the link through the voice of a friend, thereby presenting an indirect recommendation. While she implied that she is not a "real explorer" the humour suggested by a parenthetical statement, and more significantly the evidence presented via the description of her actions in subsequent chapters, clearly undermines her assertion. Schäffer refuses to explicitly claim the identity of explorer but she nonetheless ensured that it was an identity linked to her person.

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[129] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 18-19.
[130] *Ibid.*, 19.

Belonging

Scientists belonged to a community of scholars. One of the key tenets of that community was a belief that knowledge-building was cumulative. Scientists adhered to that tenet by placing their work in the context of earlier works. Thus, they demonstrated the progression of knowledge and they recognized the intellectual debts they had incurred. In the mountaineering narrative, this practice is typically completed by referring to the work of the "pioneers" – the fur trade explorers and the surveyors who worked for the government and the railway. While many mountaineers commented on the incompleteness and inaccuracies of this early knowledge, they recognized that the early efforts provided the foundation for their own work.

Scientists also expressed pride in their tradition and accomplishments. After Norman Collie read his paper "Exploration in the Canadian Rockies: A Search for Mount Hooker and Mount Brown" at the Royal Geographical Society on February 13, 1899, the President of the Society made this concluding statement:

> We have been reminded that ... Captain Palliser and Dr. James Hector, who may be considered the pioneers of the Canadian Rockies, were recipients of our Royal awards, and I think it must be with great satisfaction that the Fellows of this Society remember that it was due to our urgent and pressing representations that the expedition of Palliser for the discovery of passes over the Rocky mountains was organized and undertaken. Prof. Collie and his companions have very worthily trodden in the steps of these eminent explorers...[131]

Rhetorical Practices

The persona of the scientist was associated with objectivity and neutrality. In the texts of scientists, readers did not expect to find hyperbole or glowing accounts of alpine wonders. The typical example would be Arthur Coleman. Describing his journey to Mount Brown he simply stated that it was "not so easy as it looks upon a

[131] Discussion following J. Norman Collie, "Exploration in the Canadian Rockies: A Search for Mount Hooker and Mount Brown," *GJ* 13 (April 1899): 358.

map."[132] In his diaries, however, the hardships he and his party endured emerge as painfully obvious. In one disastrous year, they faced injury and the loss of several pack horses. Similarly, upon discovering that the mysterious giant mountain he had spent several seasons to locate was only about half the expected elevation, he wrote only, "Mount Brown greatly disappointed us."[133] After three seasons of slogging through inhospitable wilderness, this simple statement can only be interpreted as a gross understatement. In the pages of the *Geographical Journal* such restraint was expected. Yet not all scientists relied on muted and understated language. Arthur Wheeler, ACC President and unfaltering promoter of the Rockies, was formally trained as a surveyor yet his prose contained excessive amounts of hyperbole.

Detailed observations of the natural world were the trademark of the scientist. Furthermore, efforts at interpretation of the landforms revealed the scientist: "The glacier itself is most interesting and appears to be advancing very considerably: in fact most of the large glaciers that I have visited in the Rocky mountains during the last fourteen years seem to be advancing."[134] Collie's careful attention to the character of creeks was also revealing. On one occasion he noted "the fact that the volume of water in them was small and did not contain glacial *débris* obviously meant that no great area of mountain country was drained by them; also that either they came from lakes, or had their rise in the small foothills where no glaciers existed."[135]

Nature Enthusiast

Middle-class men and women who were raised and educated in Canada, Britain, or the United States often acquired an appreciation for wild natural settings. The enthusiasm for nature which gained acceptance in Europe during the eighteenth century influenced diverse elements of European culture, from art and literature to theology and science. Consequently an enthusiasm for nature complemented, if not fostered, an interest in mountaineering. An enthusiasm for nature even inspired some individuals to

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[132] Arthur P. Coleman, "Mount Brown and the Sources of the Athabasca," *GJ* 5 (January 1895), 53.
[133] *Ibid.*, 58.
[134] *Ibid.*, 229.
[135] J. Norman Collie, "Exploration in the Canadian Rocky Mountains," *GJ* 17 (March 1901), 254.

begin climbing. Thus, the "nature enthusiast" persona could be held in conjunction with other identities.

Two metaphors, the student of nature and the nature-lover, were used to characterize both the individual and their connection with the natural environment. The writer LeRoy Jeffers provided an example in the introduction to his 1922 book *The Call of the Mountains*: "In mountaineering one enters into intimate relations with the greatest heights and depths our planet has to offer, while a new world is opened to the student and lover of nature."[136] Jeffers suggested that some climbers may come to the mountains interested only in records and routes, but he believed they were few in number. He elaborated:

> Perchance the climber may never awaken to the vision of God that awaits him on every mountainside. His summit may only be a point en route on which to eat, to sleep, to leave a record; or it may be his open door to a new experience of reality and to a deeper acquaintance with his heavenly Father.[137]

By the late nineteenth century, numerous British and North-American writers expounded upon the appeal of nature for city dwellers. The recuperative and energizing effect of even a short time spent in the bush, the forest, or the wilderness, was a recurrent theme. In an article announcing the founding of the ACC, Elizabeth Parker wrote:

> It is the Club's business to support the picturesque and wholly enjoyable transit to the mountain-places by pack-horse and saddle, and to promote the too much neglected exercise of walking. Your true lover of Nature is also a man of the unfamiliar roads and forest trails.[138] (Parker 1907:5)

For Mary Schäffer, the love of nature was the powerful motivation for her four-month trip to the Rockies in 1907. To Schäffer, this motivation was perfectly reasonable. However, her friends and family were perplexed. Recognizing that many

[136] Jeffers, *Call of the Mountains*, 2
[137] *Ibid.*, 6

people, including her readers, preferred life in the cities, Schäffer offered a counter argument. She challenged the notion that cities alone could satisfy "the heart-hunger, the artistic longings, the love of the beautiful." Schäffer also rejected the notion that "the lover of the hills and the wilderness drops the dainty ways and habits with the conventional garments and becomes something of coarser mould." In her view the nature enthusiast was misunderstood and it was, in her belief, an illogical misconception. Concluding her argument, Schäffer wrote: "Can the free air sully, can the birds teach us words we should not hear, can it be possible to see in such a summer's outing, one sight as painful as the daily ones of poverty, degradation, and depravity of a great city?"[139]

Belonging

The self-declared "nature lover" was a persona that appeared in many mountaineering narratives. As a persona, this trait became a point of connection between varied individuals and it contributed to their sense of belonging to a community. Conrad Kain, one of the Rockies' most famous guides, was fondly remembered as an individual who had an uncontainable enthusiasm for nature and mountain wilderness. Dr. T. G. Longstaff, a climber who garnered fame for his exploits in the Himalayas and Arctic, once wrote that Kain "was a real companion – interested in hunting and natural history as well as climbing, with a love of fine scenery not common in guides."[140] Kain himself also wrote about how a shared appreciation of nature was crucial among climbing companions. Recalling the first ascent of Mount Robson, which he successfully guided in 1913, he wrote: "For this ascent I could have wished for no better companions. Both *Herren* were good climbers and Nature lovers, and made no difficulties on the way."[141] Kain articulated a similar sentiment in a passage in his book: "It is a gift of God if one enjoys Nature, and indescribably

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[138] Elizabeth Parker, "The Alpine Club of Canada," *CAJ* I (1907), 5.
[139] Schäffer, *Hunter of the Peace*, 19.
[140] Conrad Kain, *Where the Clouds Can Go*, ed. J. Monroe Thorington, 3d. ed. (New York: The American Alpine Club, 1976), 281.
[141] *Ibid.*, 321.

delightful if one passes through such fabulous loveliness with a friend who has similar feelings." At an earlier point, when Kain described the happy mood that one experiences after spending time in Nature, he stated that "it is a matter that one can only discuss with a like-minded friend of nature."[142]

Enthusiasm for nature was apparently not especially common among the general Canadian populace. Indeed, many mountaineers and explorers regretted that their acquaintances did not share their passion for all things wild. It was a world and a form of existence that could only be appreciated by a few kindred spirits. Describing his return to Laggan railway station, Collie stated that the "link with the mountains and camp life was broken." He elaborated, writing: "Our small world was shattered, our conversation and all the small things that had interested us for the last six weeks, when placed before the inhabitants of the civilized world, would either fail to interest or fall on the ears of those who would not understand."[143]

Rhetorical Practices

The nature lover's position of the amateur enthusiast offered both security and respectability. Since the nature lover's claim to authority was based on sentiment it could not be challenged by objective measures, nor held up to the same standards of rigour as a scientist. Furthermore, a love of nature was not ridiculed or deemed frivolous when nature was understood to be God's creation. The historian, Carl Berger, traced the roots of Victorian natural history to an earlier tradition of natural theology which asserted that the overall design of nature was, itself, evidence of "a transcendent guiding intelligence." Thus, in Berger's words, natural theology "gave to natural history a legitimacy and status in Victorian evangelical culture that went beyond practical utility."[144] Devout Victorians equated their enthusiasm for nature with enthusiasm for God and His creations and in their cultural milieu, this stance seldom

[142] *Ibid.*, 173, 145.
[143] Collie, "Search for Hooker and Brown," 353.
[144] Berger, *Science, God, and Nature*, 32. For a further discussion of natural theology refer to David N. Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992) 105-113.

required further justification. Significantly, the mountaineers' writing indicated that this way of thinking continued into the Edwardian era.

A writer's announcement that he or she was a nature enthusiast sometimes functioned as a disclaimer. Readers would not expect mere enthusiasts to have literary skill or scientific expertise. Thus, enthusiast status enabled writers to counter, in advance, some of the more common criticisms directed towards travel and exploration texts. James Outram, an accomplished British climber who recorded several Canadian first ascents including one of Mount Assiniboine in 1901, was one of these self-declared nature lovers. In the preface to his 1905 book *In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies,* he wrote: "[t]he only claims to consideration the writer can put forward are those of an enthusiast: first, as a lover of Nature and her infinite Creator ... and, secondly, as a mountaineer."[145]

Mountaineers and Mountains: A Place-based Identity?

Mountaineers' sense of themselves was strongly intertwined with the qualities of places they articulated in their texts. Mountaineers' identity as climbers was reinforced by their situatedness in place. In their writings, the mountaineers' awareness of the Rockies as a particular kind of place - a wilderness place, a place for strenuous leisure - underpinned their ideas about who they were and what they could do. In particular, mountaineers cited confidence, pride in achievement, and spiritual rejuvenation as part of the many character benefits that accrued from strenuous physical activity in a mountain wilderness setting. Women climbers' ambition to climb peaks and engage in strenuous exercise was not out of place in the Rockies.[146] Indeed, the Rockies were precisely the kind of place where such purportedly unladylike behaviour was not only accepted, but even encouraged. For example, a woman's apparently transgressive act of wearing men's clothing was spatially limited. It was not surprising to see women wearing trousers on a glacier; it was expected, if not required. A women wearing trousers on the streets of Banff or Calgary would have been more blatantly

[145] Outram, *Heart of the Rockies*, vii.

transgressive because in those spatial contexts the action would be considered out of place. Similarly, men who were expected to maintain a dignified and reserved demeanor in urban settings could, in the mountains, relish the opportunity to participate in outwardly fun, if not silly, activities such as the glissade where they would slide down a glacier on their posteriors.

Edwardian writers strongly expounded the belief that wilderness places such as the Canadian Rockies were a positive influence on humans.[147] Mountains were made by God and imbued the qualities their divine Creator. According to the reasoning of the day, it followed that individuals who spent time in direct contact with the mountains would be positively influenced by the noble qualities of place. The nobility of mountaineers, therefore, was an outcome of contact with place. Given these connotations, self-representation in mountaineering texts understandably conveyed a sense of identity connected to place.

Significantly, the identity of the mountaineer was made possible by a temporary stay. Yet individuals were strongly invested in their chosen identity. In their writings, climbers expressed a belief that they personally thrived in the mountains. Despite the fact that mountaineers spent a relatively small fraction of their lives in the mountains, and an even smaller amount of time actually engaged in climbing, the designation "mountaineer" was a powerful identity. This chosen sense of self appeared to be disproportionately weighted in terms of its significance when compared to individuals' total activity patterns.

In considering the persona of the mountaineer, the inadvertent explorer, the amateur scientist, or the nature enthusiast, it is possible to think in terms of an atypical place-based identity. Traditionally, place-based identities are associated with nationalism or political geographies: individuals are Canadians, westerners, or Calgarians. Yet mountaineers rooted their identity in their actions and experiences. Likewise, the identities of nature enthusiast and explorer-scientist were reinforced by

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[146] Cresswell identifies transgression as a marker for delimiting the social norms associated with different kinds of places. Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*, 21-27.
[147] John Rennie Short, *Imagined Country: Society, Culture and Environment* (London: Routledge, 1991), 21.

the fact that individuals made a conscious effort to spend their leisure time in the Rocky Mountain wilderness.

While these identities emerged from a temporary occupation of place, they were reinforced by activities that individuals completed in many different spatial settings. Mountaineers and explorers often read the works of their peers, wrote about their own experience, joined together in clubs, and participated in group outings in "off-mountain" locations. Similarly, the nature enthusiast would sometimes spend time classifying collections and preparing biological specimens in distant locations. Scientists, often had well established professional identities tied to government, universities, or museums. Equally, the mountaineers' sense of themselves was strongly intertwined with their physical experiences. Mountaineers considered themselves mountaineers because they climbed. The more they climbed, and the more experience they gained, the stronger this identification became.

The identity of "mountaineer" was one that had to be negotiated through gender and gender provided both opportunities and constraints. Women climbers sometimes found gender ideology restricting because it was used to justify their exclusion from certain kinds mountaineering activity. For example, some male mountaineers believed that "snow peaks" or "giants" were not the type of mountains that women should climb.[148] Contemporary notions of femininity led some mountaineers to believe that either women had little interest in dangerous peaks or they were physically and mentally incapable of such difficult work. Those arguments, rooted in gender ideology, were so taken for granted that they remained influential even when contrary evidence was available. For example, alpine guides who were asked to comment on the relative abilities of male and female climbers, reported no significant gender based variation.[149] Alternatively, gender ideology provided women with opportunities.

[148] In opening her article Munday referred to "the prevailing impression that no women would be allowed to attempt the 'big climb.'" Munday, "Mt. Robson by Lady Members," 68; Val. Fynn made several climbs with his wife but he wrote that Mt. Queen Mary was "clearly beyond the reach of the ladies" since it required a bivouac (a camp at high elevation with minimal equipment). Fynn, "Lake Louise in 1919," 198.

[149] Andrew J. Kauffman and William L. Putnam, *The Guiding Spirit* (Revelstoke: Footprint Publishing, 1986), 121-134.

When women were successful in their ascents, but still retained and conveyed ideal middle class feminine qualities, they proved false the arguments that women who climbed were not ladies. Mountaineering was not so much a challenge to gender norms as it was a negotiation of those norms in new terrain.

In this chapter I examined the various ways that mountaineering texts revealed a writer's sense of self. Subjectivities, I argued, can be conceived of relationally which means that they are produced through negotiation. They are not fixed, but exist in a state of perpetual becoming. Relational theorizations are helpful because they accommodate inconsistent or contradictory expressions of lived identities. In the first part of this chapter I examined gendered identities by considering the personas of the lady and the gentleman. Spatially variable discourses of femininity and masculinity provided men and women mountaineers with different codes of conduct that they could accept or challenge according to their individual needs and preferences. These gendered identities also became a mediating factor in how men and women related to experiential identities. For example, competing discourses of femininity, both feminist and feminine, led some women to embrace the identity of mountaineer while others denied the label, preferring the less masculine label of tourist. Male mountaineers also embraced different ideals of appropriate masculine behaviour; some men believed that they had to maintain a "civilized" demeanor at all times while others actively sought the "disreputable" life which they were able to pursue in the wilderness. These experiential identities, the mountaineer, the scientist/explorer and the nature enthusiast, were chosen by individuals and therefore they reflected a certain degree of individual agency. Additionally, these experiential identities were informed by the interplay of ideas regarding the Rocky Mountains as place for mountaineering and other wilderness experiences. In my conclusions I will elaborate on some of the insights raised through investigation of identities and their constitution through both place and experience.

Chapter 7
Conclusions and Future Research

No one who goes to the mountains can possibly forget the thrilling and marvellous experiences which will be theirs.
A. H. S[mith], "How We Won Our Qualifications," (1906)[1]

The sport and art of mountain climbing is in many ways the finest and most interesting of outdoor activities.
Le Roy Jeffers, *The Call of the Mountains*.[2]

The mountains, according to A. H. Smith, provided individuals with the opportunity to enjoy "thrilling and marvellous experiences." Le Roy Jeffers' suggestion that mountaineering was "the finest and most interesting of outdoor activities" also conveyed a belief that climbing provided individuals with the opportunity to obtain cherished experiences. Both Smith and Jeffers presented a particular interpretation of the mountaineering experience and its cultural significance. These types of partial visions were critiqued in this dissertation as I analyzed how mountaineering experiences were intertwined with place-representation and self-representation. I was motivated to pursue this research because I perceived a need for a more complex interpretation of mountaineering. Critiques of mountaineering previously employed in contemporary scholarship on the history of travel and exploration had cast climbers as unproblematically heroic and identified mountain climbing as primarily a vehicle for masculine conquest over real and symbolic spaces. The difficulty with these interpretations was that they did not adequately explain the variety of mountaineering practices or the actions of many mountaineering participants. When I considered a range of mountaineers, both men and women, scientists and recreationists, novices and experts, I encountered many kinds of mountaineers with many different motives. Moreover, a mountaineering trip in western Canada at the

[1] A. H. S[mith], "The Alpine Club of Canada: How We Won Our Qualifications," *RGC* 8 (October 1906), 352.
[2] Le Roy Jeffers, *The Call of the Mountains* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1922), 2.

turn of the century involved a range of different activities. Participants valued the entire journey and not simply the symbolic moment of standing atop a summit and claiming victory. The mountaineers often wrote with humour and their focus on laughter and fun challenged the notions of mountain climbing as primarily scientific or conquest driven. Mountaineers commented at length on how they valued their connection with wilderness, yet their temporary occupancy in the mountains belied their appreciation for their "civilized" homes. Mountaineering, according to these writers, was treasured because it brought both companionship and an inner journey of self-realization.

Using the climbing narrative as evidence, I examined the connection between experience, place, and subjectivity through the lens of turn of the century mountaineering in the Rocky Mountains of western Canada. My goal was to present an empirical study that was informed by critical social theory. The advantage of the contemporary critiques, broadly categorized as relational theory or discourse theory, is that they identify place, subjectivity, and experience not as fixed entities, but as sites of meaning that are always in a process of formation, or in a state of becoming.[3] Two assumptions underpin these relational concepts: first, meanings reflect social relations; and second, meanings, once they circulate in society, function as a guide to future social relations.[4] Relational theories are flexible and they enable researchers both to accommodate and to learn from data sources that appear inconsistent or contradictory.

Places shaped experiences. For mountaineers who climbed in the Rockies, their experience was influenced by the mountain landforms and the forested wilderness environment. When the earliest mountaineers arrived in the Canadian Rockies they contended with sparse settlements, limited infrastructure, and inaccurate maps. These

[3] Some geographers advocate relational definitions of concepts like place without explicitly citing discourse theory, for example: Dorreen Massey, "Places and their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal* 39 (Spring 1995). Other geographers clearly insist that they are employing discourse theory, for example: Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, "Introduction: Writing Worlds," in *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, ed. Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan (London: Routledge, 1992).

[4] Linda McDowell, "Spatializing Feminism: Geographic Perspectives," in *Body Space: Destablizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Nancy Duncan (London: Routledge, 1996) 28-9; Sara Mills,*Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1997), 11.

distinctive traits meant that even some of the easiest climbs had an exploration quality. Place characteristics even shaped the type of companions with whom mountaineers travelled, notably outfitters and horses.

These physical qualities of place encompassed just the material aspect of the Rockies. Wilderness and mountainous places also had symbolic qualities that mountaineers drew upon when they concluded that the Rockies were *a place for* escaping civilized routines, participating in strenuous exercise, enjoying intense camaraderie, seeking personal fulfillment, or overcoming fears. In these ways, the ideas about the Rockies circulating with the mountaineering community contributed to a belief that the place had at least some degree of transgressive potential. At the turn of the century, the Rockies were clearly demarcated as a leisure places by the CPR publicity machine. The mountaineers, however, interpreted the Rockies not as a picture to be viewed but as an environment that one became immersed in and experienced through body, mind, and spirit. Yet mountaineers did not simply react to some fixed notion of the Rockies, they engaged the ideas, accepting some, rejecting others, and ultimately setting new ideas into circulation.

Mountaineers contributed to the cultural meanings associated with the Canadian Rockies by repeating specific actions and practices. Activities as mountain climbing and camping, when repeated with frequency, can themselves become established traditions. Thus. in the present-day mountain parks, the actions of the pioneer mountaineers continue to have influence because they are viewed as part of a particular tradition.[5] Today, Lake Louise and Banff continue to be associated with beauty, health, energetic fun, and adventurous holidays.

Actions also had a physical influence upon representation because they favoured certain modes of contact with places. Mountaineers and explorers, for example, saw the mountain environment in terms of its potential for first ascents or for challenging climbs. Climbers described individual peaks with strategic language that emphasized routes and obstacles. Mountaineering and mountain exploration demanded a very physical mode of engagement with the natural environment. This physicality was

strongly revealed in mountaineers' place descriptions. Their writings conveyed a multi-sensory experience of sounds, smells, textures, tastes, and temperatures that reflected their immersion in the mountain wilderness.

Places are also sites of meaning and identity for individuals. In an everyday sense this relationship is represented by claims to place-based identities, such as the national identities that Canadian, American, and British climbers claimed. Most mountaineers, however, were only temporary visitors to the Rocky Mountains. Nevertheless, the Rocky Mountains became for some individuals a place associated with special memories. Thus, mountaineers claimed a connection with place but it was a connection based on temporary occupancy. Further research is required to discern how these affinity based identities are maintained and reinforced by individuals when they are "off-mountain."

Alternatively, places like the Rockies reflected the specific interests and priorities of the social groups who represented them. In the case of mountaineers, their middle-class backgrounds informed their interest in landscape aesthetics, political symbolism, and regional economic development. The development of the Rocky Mountains as a symbol of Canada and Canadians suggested this process. In one respect, the linkage between the Rockies and Canadian identity reflected the stereotypical qualities of mountaineers. Mountaineers were popularly represented as strong, vital, and adventurous, so when Canadians were represented climbing Canadian peaks, the symbolism of the mountaineer was transferred to the nation. Alternatively, when mountaineers and travellers represented the Rockies as Canada's ancient landscapes, features akin to European ruins and monuments, Canadians value the Rockies for their heritage. Underpinning that process was the Romantic view of mountains as God's handiwork, or landscapes unsullied by human intervention.[6] A third perspective on the symbolism of the Rockies reflects a different impulse. Following Confederation, Canadian nationalists urged a process of nation-building and that required a taming of wilderness lands including the mountains. When Canadian

[5] Massey, "Places and Their Pasts."

mountaineers mapped and inventoried the mountain geography they made both imaginative and physical claims in support of Canada's achievements in nation-building.[7]

Did men and women differ in their representations of the Rockies Mountains? This question is difficult to answer because there were many similarities. Both men and women mountaineers frequently cited personal rewards as their motive for climbing. Mountain wilderness was seen by both sexes to be a place of beauty, a source of spiritual regeneration, and a liberating environment. Women as well as men enjoyed their time in the Rockies because they were freed from the social rules that governed behaviour and the rigid schedules of "civilized" routines. J. Macartney Wilson's recollection of the relaxed dining rules of camp provides a humorous example: "It was a joy to me to see so many people who at home would be dreadfully fastidious, cheerfully and happily eating ALL their courses from one plate."[8]

Certainly gender discourses influenced the kinds of topics or perspectives deemed appropriate for commentary by men or women. Men often represented the mountains in terms of their economic potential, their influence on citizenship, or their systematic order according to scientific principles. Alternatively, women's descriptions emphasized appropriately feminine themes. Yet the rise of first wave feminism was clearly evident. Many women described the mountains in terms of wilderness preservation or national pride.[9] Landscape representations framed by those two concerns reflected the New Woman's interest in social reform, an appropriate topic for women since the focus was the betterment of society. The New Woman's interest in equality was also an influence. Mary Schäffer, for example, wondered why men were expected to explore and women were expected to listen. At one point she and her friend Mollie Adams decided they were finished with listening and according to Schäffer's "we looked into each other's eyes and said: 'Why not?'" and then they

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[6] John Rennie Short, *Imagined Country: Society, Culture and Environment* (London: Routledge, 1991), 5-10.
[7] *Ibid*, 19.
[8] J. Macartney Wilson, "The Camp in the Upper Yoho Valley (1914)," *CAJ* 6 (1915), 221.
[9] PearlAnn Reichwein, "Guardians of the Rockies: Beauty, Health and Moral Uplift," *Beaver* 74 (August-September 1994).

proceeded to plan their own trip.[10] Gender discourses led to variation between the types of representations made by men and women, however, further research will better delineate how both the similarities and differences changed through time and space.

Leisure experiences were an important feature of the mountaineers' sense of self. Mountaineers saw themselves as people who were defined in part by their climbing. By working from the assumption that mountaineering was a leisure choice, it became possible to consider mountain climbing as a site of personal fulfillment. Mountaineering was one vehicle that individuals used to insert more meaning into their lives. This meaning took many forms: for some it was athletic achievement and for others it was the opportunity to encounter nature on a more intimate and multi-sensory way. Mountains were not something looked at or even merely scrambled over, they were a place self-expression and self-discovery. Their complex experiences often transcended the rhetoric. While some climbers used heroic language and metaphors of conquest, this language was, to some extent, a reflection of individuals appropriating a pre-conditioned fashionable vocabulary. The rhetorical practice of claiming that "words cannot do justice" can be dismissed as just another convention. These phrases, however, were just as likely to be a sincere reflection of the writers' struggle to vocalize meaning regarding difficult-to-describe wild places.

The mountaineers' social position as white, middle-class, educated, men and women, shaped and constrained the type of activities they pursued. The most obvious constraints were directed against women. The opposition to women climbers had many roots, and widely circulating ideas about men were equally as important as circulating ideas about women. Some critics doubted whether women had the mental or physical abilities necessary for climbing while other critics simply believed mountaineering to be unfeminine. Additionally, male climbers who subscribed to discourses of heroic masculinity opposed women climbers because these men believed that women's accomplishments undermined their own.

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[10] Mary T. S. Schäffer, *A Hunter of the Peace: Mary T.S. Schäffer's* Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies, ed. E. J. Hart (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911; reprint Banff, AB: Whyte Foundation,

Mountaineers had enough leisure time to allow them to participate in Rocky Mountain holidays. This ability to choose a wilderness holiday provides insight into the way a climbers' subjectivity shaped experience. The willingness to endure, even seek, hardship reflected an approach to experiences that was unavailable to many other workers and settlers in the mountain regions. This question of how the mountaineers' subject position shaped experience can be analyzed from another angle as well. According to Reichwein, the ACC's membership was "an articulate and politically alert body with a pro-active commitment to public-policy formation."[11] The suggestion that ACC members were social activists provides clues to these individuals' non-climbing lives and it suggests that among mountaineering's constituency there were individuals who sought various venues for action and challenge. More needs to be known about the breadth of mountaineers' lived identities before the multiple connections between leisure experience and subjectivity can begin to de discerned.

Mountaineers in 1885-1925 wrote about their activities in a variety of public and private media but most researchers have focused on the unpublished diary or the published popular book. While these sources provide a wealth of information they do not represent the full spectrum of mountaineering writings that circulated at that time. Journal and magazine articles, though often overlooked by researchers, were a popular communication medium at the turn of the century.[12] In Canada, "at least ten journals ... devoted exclusively or in part to out-of-door activities, began publication" between 1890 and 1910.[13] Periodicals are a valuable research sources because they are so diverse. Scientific journals and mountaineering journals were directed to specialized audiences and the writers knew they were communicating with people who shared their interests. Yet, articles on mountaineering were also found in more general interest

1980), 17 (page reference to reprint edition).

[11] PearlAnn Reichwein, "At the Foot of the Mountain: Preliminary Thoughts on the Alpine Club of Canada," in *Changing Parks: The History, Future and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes*, ed. John S. Marsh and Bruce W. Hodgins (Toronto: Natural Heritage / Natural History, 1998), 172.

[12] Richard D. Altick, "The Reading Public in England and America in 1900," chap. in *Writers, Readers, and Occasions: Selected Essays on Victorian Literature and Life* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 225-27.

publications as well. Whether in popular, general interest magazines, such as the *Canadian Magazine,* or in magazines with an outdoor recreation focus, such as *Rod & Gun in Canada,* the mountaineers' narratives found their way to a wider audience.[14] I have already identified how excerpts from mountaineering writing were used in railway tourist brochures. Further research in these diverse mediums is required to evaluate the reciprocal sharing of ideas between mountaineers and their society. The opportunity for further investigation of magazine articles is promising, particularly for questions relating to leisure.[15]

The importance of visual data became evident through the course of this research. Almost all published texts were illustrated and archival collections typically contain a range of visual material produced by individual mountaineers. Maps, photographs, paintings, and sketches were all incorporated into texts in varying degrees. Walter Wilcox, one of the more well-known Rocky Mountain explorer-mountaineers, discussed the importance of illustrations in his preface and I present here, his full argument:

> The work is illustrated with reproductions of photographs taken by the author. Pictures are an essential, if not the most vital, element of every book of travel, and no pains have been spared to achieve the best possible results in this part of the work. The views have been selected to give a comprehensive idea of the mountains and cover a large variety of subjects. Many of the landscapes, especially the views of lakes, were obtained only after patient effort and long delays, while awaiting the favourable opportunity to secure a photograph. Nature, especially in the mountains, reveals her most inspiring moments and her most beautiful combinations of sky and clouds, of distant peaks, half veiled in purple haze, of reflected forest trees or sparkling water, so rarely, that only a tireless patience may claim the prize of a perfect picture. Year after year the author has returned to artistic spots, in the effort to get difficult

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[13] George Altmeyer, "Three ideas of nature in Canada, 1893 - 1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 11 (August 1976), 23-24.

[14] Altmeyer, using data obtained from *McKein's Directory of Canadian Publications*, discovered that *Rod and Gun* was the most popular of the periodicals dedicated to nature and outdoor recreation. Its circulation reached over 18,000 in 1913. Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature," 35fn28.

[15] Patricia Jasen has incorporated these sources into her research on early tourism in Ontario. Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

> subjects, and amongst these, success and failure have been measured out in a manner as uncertain and capricious as the weather itself. Most of the views have been reproduced with remarkable fidelity to the original negatives, and though a few of the most artistic effects cannot be rendered by any mechanical process, the author hopes that the general standard of illustration has been materially raised.[16]

Wilcox raised a number of issues that require further research, particularly in the context of Rocky Mountain tourism. While some research does exist on western Canadian paintings, promotional art, and photography; the visual history of the Rockies still needs to be integrated with the textual histories.[17] Similar critical practices have been introduced in other contexts and they could guide future work in this area.[18]

The mountaineers' texts contained references to many different groups of people: Natives, trappers, prospectors, hunters, timber cruisers, sport hunters, guides, packers, natives, railway workers, prostitutes, miners, lodge operators, and hotel workers. While textual records pertaining to these individuals are elusive, their presence in the Rockies is testimony to multiple stories that exist and still need to be told.[19]

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[16] Walter Dwight Wilcox, *The Rockies of Canada*, 3d ed. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), iii-iv.

[17] For research on painting see: Lorne E. Render, *The Mountains and the Sky* (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute/McClelland and Stewart West, 1974); Christopher Jackson, *With Lens and Brush: Images of the Western Canadian Landscape, 1845-1890* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1989); and Lisa Christensen, *A Hiker's Guide to Art of the Canadian Rockies* (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1996). References to promotional art are discussed by: Hart, *Selling of Canada*, and Margery Tanner Hadley, "Photography, Tourism and the CPR: Western Canada, 1884-1914," in *Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian West: Regional Perspectives on the Settlement Process*, ed. L. A. Rosenvall and S. M. Evans (Calgary: University of Calgary, Dept. of Geography, 1987), 48-69, 179-182. For research on photography see: Brock V. Silversides, *Waiting for the Light: Early Mountain Photography in British Columbia and Alberta, 1865-1939*, (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1995); Graeme Pole, *The Canadian Rockies: A History in Photographs*, (Canmore, AB: Altitude Publishing, 1991); and Edward Cavell, *Legacy in Ice: The Vaux Family and the Canadian Alps*, (Banff, AB: The Whyte Foundation, 1983).

[18] Joan M. Schwartz, "*The Geography Lesson:* Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22 (1996), 16-45; James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[19] For a discussion of the lives of women who worked in hotels in the Canadian Rockies see: Shelagh Squire, "Rewriting Languages of Geography and Tourism: Cultural Discourses of Destinations, Gender and Tourism History in the Canadian Rockies," in *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism*, ed. Greg Ringer (London: Routledge, 1998).

Through the course of this research, I attempted to contextualize mountaineering by discussing its early history and by identifying the various ways mountaineers experienced climbing in the Canadian Rockies. Mountaineering, as it was practiced in turn of the century Canada, blended the older traditions of the Alps with the local practices that were better suited to Canadian wilderness conditions. Turn of the century mountaineering was a social practice in transition; its scientific roots remained strong but its leisure orientation was becoming more openly declared. Yet the extent to which one emphasis predominated, varied according to the practitioner. Mountaineering, therefore, was a practice that individuals continually mediated according to their own interests and priorities. The idea that different people experienced mountaineering in different ways was certainly true when it came to gender. The critical history of mountaineering remains largely unwritten and scholars have just started the process examining the activity as a complex social practice. To date, most of this work has focused on the Alps, so further investigation into mountaineering in other eras and other contexts is required.[20]

The element of fun, I argued, was a key ingredient of mountaineering. My impression is that too often, in constructing critical social theory and in elaborating that theory through case studies, researchers focus on oppression and the identification of limits to what individuals can do with their lives. My interest in mountaineering stemmed from my personal experiences of mountain climbing and from the sense of joy and exhilaration that I experienced in the Canadian Rockies. Since I found similar reactions by climbers in the texts of 1885-1925, I began to think about fun as a lens that I could use to examine the mountaineering experience. I do not deny that Victorian and Edwardian mountaineers sometimes wielded their social power in ways

[20] Peter H. Hansen, "Vertical Boundaries, National Identities: British Mountaineering on the Frontiers of Europe and Empire, 1868-1914," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 24 (January 1996), 48-71 and Peter H. Hansen, "Partners: Guides and Sherpas in the Alps and Himalayas, 1850s-1950s," in *Voyages & Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 210-231, 316-319.

that oppressed other people.[21] Moreover, mountaineering and wilderness travel did have ecological consequences that require serious consideration. Today, for example, park administrators in the Canadian Rockies remain sympathetic to recreationalists who want access to Canada's mountain playgrounds, but they must struggle to ensure that region's ecological integrity is not destroyed.[22] I argue, however, that the enjoyment and personal fulfillment brought through leisure activities such as mountaineering should also be a topic for scholarly investigation. For researchers interested in the variety of human experience, leisure provides insight into one of the most highly prized facets of an individual's lived identity.

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[21] For a recent interpretation of Canadian mountaineering writing from this position see George Melnyk, *The Literary History of Alberta: From Writing on Stone to World War Two*, Vol. I (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1998).
[22] Banff-Bow Valley Study. *Banff-Bow Valley: At the Crossroads*. Summary Report of the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force: Robert Page, Suzanne Bayley, J. Douglas Cook, Jeffrey E. Green, and J. R. Brent Ritchie (Ottawa: Minister of Canadian Heritage, 1996).

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