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**Rails and Ties:
A Comparison of Late Nineteenth-Century Images of Western Railways
in Canada and the United States**

Martine Fournier

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

**Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

May 2000

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Abstract

Rails and Ties: A Comparison of Late Nineteenth-Century Images of Western Railways in Canada and the United States

Martine Fournier

This thesis is a comparative examination of late nineteenth-century (c. 1869 to 1900) images of railways in the Canadian and American Western landscapes, focusing on differences in how transcontinental railways were depicted in the mountainous Western terrain of each country. It pits Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis" about colonization of the American West against Northrop Frye's view of Canadian development, the "garrison mentality" theory, exploring how these theories manifested themselves in the culture of each country, first using nineteenth-century literature, then examining visual examples. Drawing on Gaile McGregor's theory that nineteenth-century representations of the Canadian landscape demonstrate a negative relationship with wilderness, and Barbara Novak's examination of positive aspects of American landscape such as warm light and calm water, the thesis traces how images of railways in the mountains of the West reflect the reactions of Americans and Canadians to landscape. The study concentrates on American railway imagery as evidence of a fulfilling and peaceful relationship with wilderness, and Canadian images as repositories for more fearful reactions. However, it also highlights the complexity of attitudes about Western landscape in both countries by exploring examples that contradict this dichotomy, and examining the

ambiguous nature of many landscape components. Artists and photographers discussed include Lucius O'Brien, John A. Fraser, F. M. Bell-Smith, and Oliver Buell in Canada, and Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Moran, Carleton Watkins, and William Henry Jackson in the United States.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the Fulbright Foundation for giving me the opportunity to spend a year in the United States completing research for this project. I owe a debt to many people who helped along the way: Dr. David Van Zanten, who agreed sight unseen to informally supervise my research at Northwestern University, the very patient staff at Concordia University Inter-Library Loans, the staff of Northwestern University Library, in particular Russell Maylone at Special Collections, the Photography Department at the Chicago Art Institute, the reference staff at the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, and the staff of the Newberry Library and the Chicago Public Library. I give very special thanks to Dr. Brian Foss for his support and guidance, to Dr. Loren Lerner and Dr. Jean Bélisle, to all friends and family who tolerated numerous rants about the thesis, and to Keith, for not wanting me to talk about it at all.

Martine Fournier

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Introduction

When the first transcontinental tracks were being laid in North America, railways were advertised by their makers as the symbols of national unity and pride. In both Canada and the United States artists and photographers traveled West, first on exploratory expeditions sponsored by railroad companies, then on the rails themselves, searching for new inspiration from the western landscape. Yet often the ways in which they pictorially treated the landscape varied remarkably. This comparative study of late nineteenth-century western American and Canadian railway imagery takes advantage of the fact that examining the similarities and differences between the railroad imagery of the two countries will ultimately provide a fuller understanding of both. Simon Schama has observed, "Landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected at wood and water and rock. [...] But it should also be acknowledged that once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than their referents: of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery" (61).¹ The railway paintings and photographs demonstrating differences between Canada and America also reflect this. While they were to some degree a result of prevailing attitudes toward landscape, they also constructed and perpetuated beliefs about that landscape in their respective countries.

¹Many others have also written of the ideological landscape. See for example Anderson and Ferber, Appleton, Boime, Cosgrove and Daniels, Danly and Marx, John Davis, Goetzmann and Porter, Hyde, Angela Miller, Naef and Wood, Nash, Novak, Prown, Henry Nash Smith, Tippet and Cole, and Wilderming.

Chapter 1 of this thesis begins with the theory of colonization and western development in each country, examining some of the differences between this development in the United States and its pattern in Canada. Frederick Jackson Turner's American "frontier thesis" is compared with and pitted against the later "garrison mentality" theory put forth by Northrop Frye in Canada. While Turner describes American social development as a continual rebirth, an inevitable expansion rolling virtually unfettered across the great American West, Frye's vision of Canadian development is a stilted one, consisting of isolated communities (such as the garrison) barricaded *against* the wilderness. The chapter goes on to explore the thinking of other theorists who likewise identify important differences between American and Canadian development. Specific theory relating to the conception and building of transcontinental railroads is examined, along with the public reaction to them. Travel literature, novels and poetry from the two countries is discussed as evidence that the railroad in the West was viewed somewhat differently in America than in Canada. While these differences are being emphasized as examples of the two opposing theories, the binary division set up here is not a means to end discussion, but to begin it. As this study progresses into imagery, a more complicated picture of American and Canadian visions of landscape will emerge.

Chapter 2 begins the exploration of how western railway imagery reflects the differences in theory discussed in the previous chapter, starting with the art and documentation of the Canadian Pacific Railway (the driving of the last spike occurred in 1885, and the earliest image of the railroad examined here was made in 1886). Gaile McGregor has made it possible to use literary theory such as Frye's for the examination of

visual imagery, extending his concept of the garrison mentality in her book, The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Landscape (1985). McGregor outlines a formula for the detection of repulsion in nineteenth-century Canadian landscape painting, examining specific landscape features and identifying the ways in which they alienate the viewer from the wilderness. Her scheme provides a starting point for the examination of art and documentation of the CPR as revealing in some cases a fear of wilderness. Using artists such as Lucius O'Brien, John Fraser, Frederic Marlett Bell-Smith, and George Horne Russell, and photographers such as William McFarlane Notman and the Vaux family, I trace the negative use of landscape features such as overcast skies, high horizon lines, and looming mountains, discussed by McGregor. Unlike McGregor, though, who limits her brief study of Canadian painting to a searching out of negative feelings towards landscape. Chapter 2 reveals that the feelings betrayed by most CPR artists in their western imagery were quite ambivalent.

Chapter 3 is an examination of corresponding American artists and photographers who worked for such railways as the Central Pacific, the Northern Pacific, the Denver and Rio Grande, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railways. While their work has many things in common with Canadian railway imagery, there are important differences as well. Paralleling Gaile McGregor's theory is Barbara Novak's interpretation of American landscape features in Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875 (1980). Her discussion of light, clouds, water, and the presence of technology in the American landscape is compared with McGregor's exploration and then used to examine American railway imagery. Often in these images of railroads the general atmosphere is

more inviting; the railroad is depicted from a closer range and is therefore larger; the mountains are shown from a distance or from summit viewpoints, decreasing their power to intimidate. Artists such as Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran, and photographers such as William Henry Jackson, Andrew Joseph Russell, and Carleton Watkins demonstrate this. Albert Bierstadt's work provides compelling discussion because he painted the West in both countries, and his paintings depicted formidable mountain scenes long before he reached Canada. In addition, Bierstadt was an important influence on Canadian artists who painted for the CPR, having worked closely with Lucius O'Brien and F. M. Bell-Smith. His work is evidence of the complicated relationship between Canadian and American railway imagery, proving that to label Canadian railway imagery as negative and American as positive would be a gross simplification. One of the aims of the thesis is to explore as fully as possible the complexity of the imagery of both countries.

There are many limitations to this study that must be acknowledged. First and foremost, it would be inaccurate when discussing the imagery generated by a small group of people for a specific portion of the population, to assume that any conclusions drawn apply to the majority of the country's population. For instance, in Canada, it is unlikely that the average farmer would consider the western "wilderness" in which he lived a completely foreign, hostile force. The artists and photographers who visited the West did not live there. Their impressions were gathered during brief periods of time, and they approached the West with the mentality of those who came from cities in the East. Furthermore, they created their images for a very small portion of the population: railroad barons, art critics, those who went to museums and exhibitions, and those who could

afford to travel the West as tourists. “For a domestic audience composed largely of armchair tourists eager for pictures of the landscape along the route, the pride of possession generated by paintings of western Canada had been bolstered by the societal values created for the landscape by the class of tourist they thought would travel there” (Jessup 214). The majority of the population, either in Canada or the United States, was not involved in the cultural production that stemmed from the settlement of the West. Yet this culture is essential to understanding this portion of history because it was celebrated by the powerful in these countries, and it was used by them to project an image of Canada or the United States to the rest of the world. This was the dominant culture, even if it did not represent the views of the majority.

The viewpoint of many related groups regrettably goes unexplored here, because of the limited scope of this particular study. The First Nations way of living in and relating to nature of course does not fall within the parameters set out by Turner and Frye. In fact, traditionally these groups have been viewed as a part of that wilderness, feared in Canada according to Frye, and revered but conquered in America according to Turner. As “part of the wilderness”, Natives were often depicted as a foil for the train in western landscapes, even as attacking it in some instances. Because the issue of how European-descended North Americans related to First Nations is so complicated, I have tried to avoid such imagery whenever possible, believing it would be impossible to do this vast subject justice within the scope of this work. Where Native groups do appear in the imagery discussed, I have acknowledged their presence and speculated on their symbolic inclusion by the artist, but have been unable to undertake any closer examination. The same is true of Chinese

labourers, who were imported by the Canadian government to work on the western railroads. The Chinese often suffered terrible living conditions and were used for the most dangerous tasks on the line; consequently, many of their lives were lost. They were often the subjects of photographs, but their history in this country is so complicated that it deserves a separate study in order to be examined properly.²

It is also important to note that the artists and photographers on the western railroads in North America were, for the most part, male. The female viewpoint is virtually absent (except in published literature), because very few female artists went West during this time period. While almost every female tourist carried with her a sketchbook in which to interpret scenery, none of this material would have been exhibited at the time, and very little has been published. Neither does this study include the viewpoint of French-Canadian artists, for those who went West on the CPR were of English background, and when Frye discusses the garrison mentality in Canadian literature he is referring to English literature alone. Lastly, while the thesis uses both painting and photography to demonstrate the mentality in each country, the relationship between the two is not fully explored. While

²Andrew Onderdonk, the American contractor in charge of the construction of the line, brought Chinese labourers in from Kwangchow, China, and from San Francisco, California, and Portland, Oregon. Chinese labourers often worked on the most dangerous construction tasks, falling victim to rock slides, collapsing tunnels, and disease (McKee and Klassen 21). Of those who came to Canada from China by boat, around ten percent died of scurvy after disembarking (Con et al 21). For more detail on the circumstances of Chinese immigration and settlement during this period, see Con et al. American railroads also employed Chinese labourers, beginning with local lines in Northern California during the 1850's and '60's, and including the Central Pacific for which Chinese labourers constituted ninety percent of the work force by the end of construction (Tung 12). These labourers also suffered difficult conditions, and were the targets of many who resented their being employed in place of white workers (Tsai 73-4). For more information on Chinese immigration in the United States, see Tsai and Tung.

there were differences between the uses of these two art forms, and the public's perception of them, this is not discussed at length precisely because they *are* examples. As part of a larger body of thinking, the paintings and photographs act as visual evidence, and as their relationship to each other does not significantly affect that role, I have simply noted sources in which the reader may obtain more extensive background on this subject.

Schama has argued that North Americans viewed wilderness as Arcadia, and that essentially two kinds of Arcadia existed in this context: one of "bucolic leisure" and one of "primitive panic" (517). In terms of this study these can each be assigned to their portion of the New World: leisurely Arcadia as the American West, and primitive Arcadia as the Canadian. "Arguably, *both* kinds of arcadia, the idyllic as well as the wild, are landscapes of the urban imagination, though clearly answering to different needs [...] and as irreconcilable as the two ideas of arcadia appear to be, their long history suggests that they are, in fact, mutually sustaining" (525). Irreconcilable as they may be, as well, in the context of western railway imagery, the study of this imagery will show that they are bound up within each other, continually shifting, existing simultaneously and side by side within each country.

Chapter 1

Following the settlement of the American West from the Mississippi to the Pacific Coast and the closing of the frontier around 1890, historian Frederick Jackson Turner gave a paper outlining the role of “The Frontier in American History” (1893). His thesis, which stipulates that the American imagination and way of life revolved around the idea of a constantly moving western frontier, struck such a loud chord with the rest of the country that it would resonate for over a century. Historians are still exploring his ideas today.

In order to set the scene for an examination of railway imagery in the West, this chapter will explore Turner’s ideas and contrast them to Northrop Frye’s theory of Canadian development, using the more recent work of other historians to demonstrate the persistence of their ideas over time. Once these theories of colonization have been established, the era of the first transcontinental railways will be examined specifically, as a time when nationalist feelings ran high and different attitudes toward the West and its development clearly presented themselves in Canada and the United States. Finally, examples of these attitudes as found in various types of literature will be discussed, providing a background for the examination of the visual material.

According to Turner, “The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development,” (1) and American character was ultimately defined by this kind of growth. “American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new

opportunities [...] furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West” (2-3).

In Turner’s thesis, the American settler went West with plenty of European accouterments which the wilderness, being at first stronger than the settler, soon stripped from him. “Little by little he transforms the wilderness, but the outcome is not the old Europe [...]. The fact is, that here is a new product that is American. [...] Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines” (3-4). Adapting to the wilderness eventually allows the new settler to conquer it, freed from the constraints of European culture. When the settler has learned to accept the wilderness and adapt to it, s/he finds strength in the experience and gains a stronger sense of identity, American identity, because of it.

To the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom – these are traits of the frontier [...]. (37)

In Turner’s concept of the frontier that pushes ever westward, the settler constantly sought dominion over the landscape in order to improve his economic situation (211). Emphasis was always on the individual because there was so little organization of

social or political life: “The individual was exalted and given free play. [...] The United States is unique in the extent to which the individual has been given an open field, unchecked by restraints of an old social order [...] The self-made man was the Western man’s ideal [...] Out of his wilderness experience [...] he fashioned a formula for social regeneration, — the freedom of the individual to seek his own” (212-13). Yet even though individualism was a focal point, it “rarely extended itself during this period into the impractical realms of alienation” (Novak 187). and so contributed to American society as a positive element.

For Turner and the Americans who subscribed to his theory, American expansion was an inevitable occurrence, and the disappearance of the frontier had always been just a matter of time. Humanity’s relationship with Nature was a source of strength, since despite the difficulties wilderness presented to colonization, civilization’s eventual dominion over nature, as people spread in greater numbers over the continent, was never in question. Turner describes the western settler as both optimistic — “Early Western man was an idealist withal. He dreamed dreams and beheld visions. He had faith in man, hope for democracy, belief in America’s destiny, unbounded confidence in his ability to make his dreams come true” (214) — and extremely powerful — “Fired with the ideal of subduing the wilderness, the destroying pioneer fought his way across the continent, masterful and wasteful, preparing the way by seeking the immediate thing, rejoicing in rude strength and wilful achievement” (270).¹

¹Historian Russell Nye has echoed Turner’s viewpoint on progress in America, asserting it was “an inexorable law of history; mankind advanced always toward perfection [...]. The impediments he encountered were surmountable; he contained within himself the

American confidence in the face of the overwhelming task of settling and taming the western wilderness is connected to what had been labeled previously as the “Manifest Destiny” of the American people. This sense of destiny centred on the belief that Americans were intended by God to settle the continent, and that He welcomed them into the new land with open arms. The Reverend William Gilpin expressed this sentiment in 1846: “The untransacted destiny of the American people is to subdue the continent - to rush over this vast field to the Pacific Ocean [...],” he wrote. “*Divine task! Immortal mission!* Let us tread fast and joyfully the open trail before us! Let every American heart open wide for patriotism to glow undimmed, and confide with religious faith in the sublime and prodigious destiny of his well-loved country” (qtd. in Hills 101). It was common for Americans to compare their country during its post-revolutionary days with the Holy Land (Hills 15), as Gilpin compared the “Plateau of Syria” to the Mississippi basin, viewing the two as “twin cradles of human civilization,” where those favoured by God created great centres of progress and thus fulfilled a divine mission (John Davis 17). Furthering this sort of biblical analogy, Daniel Boone was often figured in nineteenth-century American imagery, leading pilgrims into the New World in a way highly reminiscent of Moses leading the Israelites (Hills 113-14). Roderick Nash, in his Wilderness and the American Mind (1967), explains that pioneers welcomed the challenge of bringing godliness into uncivilized wilderness (43), and that by the mid-nineteenth century they recognized the wilderness as a resource for culture, morality, and self-esteem, in a sense as giving back to them what they had brought into it (67).

elements of his ultimate success” (9).

It is obvious from the number of later historical interpretations using Turner's original frontier thesis that his ideas have continued their hold on the American imagination even to this day. They have affected Canadian scholarship as well. In 1963 Northrop Frye wrote his own theory of wilderness and the Canadian imagination, in his conclusion to Carl Klinck's Literary History of Canada: A History of Canadian Literature in English. Frye's essay expresses thoughts at times so much in direct opposition to Turner's statements that it does seem on some level to be a reply to the "frontier thesis".² Frye identifies the Canadian literary imagination as a thing imbued with what he calls a "garrison mentality", because this imagination was largely the product of early isolated communities, "communities that provide all that their members have in the way of distinctively human values, and that are compelled to feel a great respect for the law and order that holds them together, yet confronted with a huge, unthinking, menacing, and formidable physical setting [...]" (830). While this reference to the garrison locates the origins of this mentality in an eighteenth-century Canada where "the only inhabited centres are forts", Frye extends his concept right into the twentieth century, noting that psychologically it "remains true of the cultural maps for a much later time" (830).³

²There is no evidence that Frye was responding to Turner, and he does not refer to Turner specifically in this essay, but as a prominent literary critic and theorist he was almost certainly aware of Turner's work.

³It is important to note that Frye's use of the term "fort" here must be considered loosely, since architecturally speaking the fort was a French structure, while the garrison was built by the English. Frye is only referring to a mentality of English Canadians, one that is present in Canadian English literature, and does not include the French. His interchanging of "fort" and "garrison" points to a symbolic use of the word, since he is not referring to an architecture but to a state of mind in which one erects barricades between oneself and the wilderness.

Specifically, Frye was writing about literature:

I have long been impressed in Canadian poetry by a tone of deep terror in regard to nature [...]. It is not a terror of the dangers or discomforts or even the mysteries of nature, but a terror of the soul at something that these things manifest. The human mind has nothing but human and moral values to cling to if it is to preserve its integrity or even its sanity, yet the vast unconsciousness of nature in front of it seems an unanswerable denial of those values. (830) ⁴

However, although Frye's principal concern in his 1963 essay is with literature, it is possible to apply his theory to other forms of culture, as will be explored in the following chapter. ⁵

Through his analysis of its mentality Frye places Canada in direct opposition to the United States. Frye's vision of the early isolated garrison communities, barricaded against the wilderness and completely static, contrasts heavily with Turner's emphasis on the "fluidity of American life" and the continual rebirth of the frontier. Other Canadian authors and historians have also written of a Canadian mentality that contrasts with Turner's

⁴Wayne Grady has criticized Frye's garrison-mentality theory, questioning whether one can view garrisons as created to keep out nature when their first function was to keep out people (Natives and French soldiers) (113). Grady argues that much of Canadian literature does not exhibit a fear of nature, so that while Frye's ideas are usable as literary theory, they are incomplete as a basis for literary analysis (115). I am less concerned with the "completeness" of Frye's thinking than the notion that a garrison mentality is present in Canadian literature (and painting), regardless of whether or not it is detectable in *all* Canadian literature.

⁵See his essay on Tom Thomson, "Canadian and Colonial Painting", in The Bush Garden. 199-202.

image of the American imagination. Margaret Atwood, for example, has written extensively on the Canadian imagination in Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature (1972): “The central symbol for Canada. [...] is undoubtedly survival, la *survivance*. [...] For early explorers and settlers, it meant bare survival in the face of ‘hostile’ elements and/or natives: carving out a place and a way of keeping alive” (32). She, too, implicitly compares the Canadian to the American imagination when she writes, “Our central idea is one which generates, not the excitement and sense of adventure or danger which the frontier holds out [...] but an almost intolerable anxiety” (33).⁶ Atwood has recognized that a fundamental aspect of the human relationship with Nature in Canada has been based on opposition, the attempt to fit a square pioneer into a round hole, so to speak. The Canadian pioneer attempted to run straight lines through curved space, falling victim to an inability to fit *into* nature rather than mold Nature according to perceived needs (120). This is undoubtedly why Canadian settlement consisted of first sending missionaries and surveyors West to take the lay of the land, followed by Mounties and troops who were expected to maintain order, in particular clearing away First Nations groups to make way for white settlement (Susan Wood 199). Instead of charging independently like Americans into a vast wilderness and allowing the law to follow as rising numbers required it, Canadians attempted to organize settlement before it occurred. Having learned from American development that allowing the “natural progression” of

⁶See also her short story, “Death by Landscape.” in Wilderness Tips. 107-129. In this story a young girl, participating in a group camping trip, wanders only a short distance into the surrounding woods and disappears. Her body is never found, and her mysterious death leaves an indelible mark on the narrator, telling the story many years later.

settlement involved an undesirable period of social instability. Canadians attempted to control the growth of western society as much as possible in order that this society be one of peace and order (Owram 138).⁷

Canadians also differed from Americans in their desire, not to create a truly new society, but to transplant that of Britain directly into the New Land. George Altmeyer makes an interesting interpretation of Frye's theory that pits Canada against America in a much more direct way than Frye did: "Forced always to cling to the mother country for security, Nature became, for Canadians, the evil antithesis of all they most cherished in English society," these cherished things being order, security, and civilization. Because Canadians did not break with Britain through revolution, as Americans did, they did not bring the same positive outlook to the harsh realities of nature that Americans did (21).

John Moss also writes of this phenomenon:

The garrison is a closed community whose values, customs, manners have been transported virtually intact from some other environment and are little influenced by their new surroundings. It is the stage of occupation. [...] The frontier, in contrast, is a context of undifferentiated perimeters, where the experience of one reality comes into direct conflict with that of another, a more immediate and amorphous reality. The frontier provides an alternative to conventional society. It is a place of flight and of discovery [...]. (12-13)

⁷John O'Connor has also pointed out that Canada's West was based on a sense of community rather than "rugged individualism, anti-social attitudes, and rigid self-sufficiency," the Canadian frontier being one of Mounties and railroad engineers, rather than saloons and posses (6-7). See also McCourt 3-5 on this point.

John Francis McDermott refutes some crucial points of Turner's thesis in The Frontier Re-examined (1967), yet still describes an American frontier different from the Canadian. While Turner tends to romanticize the settling of the West by focusing on the image of the pioneer with axe and plow, McDermott states that in fact in some areas cities arose first, before any farmers arrived (2). These cities accelerated the settling of the frontier, often eliminating the isolation that Turner saw as a main component of frontier life. On the other hand, the cities were few and far between and therefore formed isolated pockets of civilization, until the sweeping tide of immigration engulfed them with wider settlement (3). Physically this situation sounds much like the Canadian West that Frye describes, with its isolated garrisons dotting an immense wilderness. Mentally, though, these cities and towns, such as Denver, San Francisco, and Salt Lake City, were different because they were the outposts of an entire movement, much larger than garrison towns and thus more likely to affect the landscape around them than the landscape was likely to affect them.

The age of the transcontinental railways (1860's to 1880's) strongly reflects these differences in the ways Canadians and Americans have interpreted western landscape, as nationalist discourses at this time tended to be centred on the new ability to link opposite ends of the continent through industry. In many cases the distinctions become more pronounced, since nationalism during this time period was at a fever pitch. Basic geographical differences between Canada and the United States can in part account for this dissimilarity in attitudes. While in Canada mountains line the West coast, the chain of the Rockies as it descends into the United States curves inland, so much of the chain is

surrounded by arable land. The flood of American immigration sped quickly over the mountains in order to reach the agricultural paradise on the other side, but in Canada there was no such dream beyond the formidable mountains. For Canadians, very little but the cold Pacific Ocean lay beyond the Rockies, while Americans knew that their growing population surrounded the mountains on both sides.⁸ While the greatest peaks of the American Rockies are a little higher than the Canadian (the highest elevations in the United States being around 14 000 feet, compared to 13 000 feet in Canada). they become lower and farther apart as the chain descends southward. The Canadian Rockies did not contain a convenient break in the chain such as South Pass in the U. S.,⁹ where a twenty-mile gap in Wyoming leads up to the divide so gradually that most rail travelers didn't notice it (Holmes 27). Nor did western Canada contain a chain such as the Oregon system of the United States, in which each mountain is separated from the others by miles, eliminating the kind of claustrophobia generated by a tightly-knit group of mountains such as the Canadian Rockies.

In Canada the railway was built to connect an eastern region of four million to less than fifty thousand people (of European descent) in the West. In the United States, though, much of the population had already advanced beyond the Mississippi and the

⁸Perhaps Americans had a comparable mountain barrier in the Sierra Nevada chain of California. However, this is not the chain that seems to have concerned railroad prospectors when it came to finding a feasible route across the continent, although Nancy Anderson describes how difficult it was to build the Central Pacific through this chain of mountains ("Kiss of Enterprise" 259-60).

⁹Sanford Fleming's 1877 report on preliminary CPR surveys gives a vivid account of many difficulties and disappointments in trying to locate a pass for the railway through the Rocky Mountains of British Columbia.

Rockies by this time. the transcontinental railroad uniting *forty* million people of the East and West (Morris 85). In addition, the United States had already connected East and West with a complicated stage coach system before transcontinental railways were built (Billington 269). Americans followed the lines of wagon roads that had been in place for decades, while Canadians faced the formidable task of threading their way through many unknown areas of the mountains (Gibbon 298). For the most part, Americans seemed always more afraid during settlement days that their overwhelming numbers would encroach upon the innocent wilderness and spoil it, rather than fearing the wilderness might subdue their efforts to conquer it: “If God speaks to us in the sublimity of Nature, then was not the flood of pioneers a devilish stratagem for drowning the voice of God?” (Miller, Nature’s Nation 203)

Once the first transcontinental railway was completed in the United States, in 1869, incontestable dominion over the landscape seemed complete. While many parts of the West were still sparsely settled, the building of the railway ensured that now vast numbers of settlers could travel to the West with greater speed and ease.¹⁰ Upon the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1869, the Reverend Dr. Vinton gave an address on how the new railway would unify the nation, giving the railroad its place as part of the American Manifest Destiny discussed earlier, and wiping out the idea of

¹⁰Following the completion of the Union Pacific in 1869, other railways to the West and through the West were built, which also contrasts with the situation in Canada, where the nineteenth century saw the completion of only one main western railway, the CPR. Several American railroads are discussed in this and upcoming chapters, including the Central Pacific, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, and the Denver and Rio Grande Railway.

conflict between nature and technology by subsuming the intrusion of railroads in the West under one plan made by God, one “natural law” (“Pacific Railroad” 342). When Colonel Cyrus K. Holliday made a speech about the planning of the Santa Fe Railway in 1869 he said: “The coming tide of immigration will flow along these lines of railway, and like an ocean wave will advance up the sides of the Pacific Rockies and dash their foaming crests down upon the Pacific slope” (qtd. in D’ Emilio and Campbell 5). This vision of a tide of immigrants flooding the land is in opposition to the idea of a “sea of mountains” which engulfs travelers to the West as they encounter the Rockies, an image that was extremely popular in Canada.

Canada, for its part, considered the advent of a railway in a somewhat different light, even though pride and a sense of accomplishment were major elements entering the national psyche during the time of the CPR. Frye provides a link between the garrison and Canadian westward expansion that allows for a consideration of the Canadian Pacific Railway as a site of the garrison mentality:

Civilization in Canada...has advanced geometrically across the country, throwing down the long parallel lines of the railways, dividing up the farm lands into chessboards of square-mile sections and concession-line roads. There is little adaptation to nature: in both architecture and arrangement, Canadian cities and villages express rather an arrogant abstraction, the conquest of nature by an intelligence that does not love it. The word conquest suggests something military, as it should--one thinks of General Braddock, preferring to have his army annihilated rather than fight the

natural man on his own asymmetrical ground. ("Conclusion" 829)

Canada, of course, is not the only country in which cities are laid out geometrically, but in Canada the abstraction of the railway in the landscape is truly Atwood's square peg in a round hole. Along with triumph, there was a feeling of uncertainty surrounding the CPR, which Doug Owram has identified: "The prevailing mood in Canada in the 1890's was far from congratulatory," he states, even though the goal of the Canadian Expansionist movement had been reached with the CPR's completion. "That decade brought instead a national sense of doubt and raised all the old questions of uncertain future. The bustling confidence and youthful nationalism of the Confederation period had long since given way to doubts [...]" (217).

These doubts were probably at least in part due to the fact that the motivation for building transcontinental railways was different in Canada than in the United States. During the 1870's, Americans began to feel expansion was necessary to accommodate their ever-growing population, which it was predicted would rise quickly within the following fifty years. In Canada, however, there was very little need for expansion due to excessive population. Rather, low numbers of people in the West prompted the building of a transcontinental railroad without enough population to financially support it, for there was a fear that the West could be easily invaded by Americans as they sought new territory for expansion (John Jackson 19-23). The railway was used as the main bargaining chip for encouraging the western provinces to join Confederation (Waite 222), creating a stronger bond from East to West and thus averting the very real possibility that western

“Canadian” territory would be annexed by the United States.¹¹

Because of this the railway was naturally a source of extreme national pride in Canada, particularly just after its completion, and before the doubts discussed by O'ram set in during the 1890's: “Canada began...as an obstacle, blocking the way to the treasures of the East, to be explored only in the hope of finding a passage through it” (Frye, Conclusion 824). By the mid-nineteenth century, when the idea of a national railway began to take form, Canada was beginning to create a national identity of its own that transcended this earlier role as barrier, and then, provider of natural resources. Part of this new-found confidence, though, meant equating the CPR with a military force, conquering the wilderness in the style of an advancing army, perpetuating the mentality of garrison times. The CPR in fact proved its military value in 1885 when it had already reached Manitoba, and was thus able to transport troops out West quickly and efficiently to quash the Riel Rebellion of that year. The Governor-General, Lord Lorne, emphasized the military aspect of the Canadian relationship with nature in a speech about the CPR to the Manitoba Club in 1881: “On approaching the mountains, their snow caps look like huge tents encamped along the rolling prairie. Down from this great camp [...] the rivers wind in trenches, looking like the covered ways by which siege works zig-zag up to a besieged

¹¹ Ironically George Grant, in his Lament for a Nation, has described the CPR as tying Canada even more closely with the United States, as it made Canadians a part of the American belief in technological advancement above all else. By connecting Canada more closely to the American railway system, it also increased the amount of American culture and ideals absorbed by Canadians (qtd. in Den Otter 10). However, although Canada was being influenced by American culture, even in its style of railway imagery, depictions of the railroad show that despite this Canadians still reacted somewhat differently from Americans to their transcontinental railroad and to their western landscape.

city” (qtd. in Gibbon 223). The image of an army was also used in “Ho! For the Klondike!”, an article published in McClure’s of March 1898:

The Yukon country is a grim and terrible country, and the man who goes up there to spend a year is likely to earn with the ache of his bones and the blood of his heart every dollar he finds in gold. He should go like a man enlisting for a war. He should be able to pass the examination which is required of a soldier in the German army, or of an officer in the mounted police of the Canadian government. It is no place for weak men, lazy men, or cowards. (qtd. in Gish 99)

For the rest of this chapter, Canadian and American literature (such as this example) about the railway in the western landscape will be explored in order to establish that Frye’s garrison-mentality theory and Turner’s frontier thesis were consistently present in the cultural production of their respective countries. It would be an extreme simplification to insist that there are no negative or frightening descriptions of wilderness in American travel books or other literature, or by the same token, that Canadians never made positive observations on Nature in theirs. Nor would it be true to say that Canadian writers did not see God in the mountains of the West.¹² However, as will be demonstrated, in American writing God appears more frequently, and more importantly, appears as an

¹²To gain a more complete background on the multi-faceted nature of nineteenth-century landscape ideology and iconography, see Anderson (“Kiss of Enterprise”), Appleton, Boime, Elizabeth Brown, Clarke, Cosgrove, Cosgrove and Daniels, Danly and Marx, Davis, Francis, Gilmore, Glanz, Hyde, Ketner and Tammenga, Marx, Miller (Errand in to the Wilderness and Nature’s Nation), Mitchell, Nash, Nicolson, Peters, Price, Prown, Sear, Henry Nash Smith, Tippet and Cole, and Truettner.

endorser of western settlement, as a guiding and protective force, while He rarely plays such a role in Canadian writing. The differences in the literature of the two countries, as well as in their visual expression (see Chapters 2 and 3), are addressed by Berenice Gilmore, who proposes that the people of British Columbia and Vancouver Island considered themselves to be “visitors” in Canada, regardless of how long they had lived there. “Home” for them was in Europe, while most immigrants to the United States set about creating a new life for themselves that included a new, American, identity. Settlers and visitors to the Canadian West recorded the landscape as a foreign thing, a wilderness apart from themselves (65). This sense of alienation is essential in understanding part of the difference between American and Canadian visions of landscape, for the American was more likely to embrace it as s/he also embraced American culture and values.

Canadian railway literature was full of conflict, not only arising from this barrier between self and wilderness, but also from the pitting of society’s technological devices against nature in a fundamental contest for survival. The CPR experience of the West was fraught with the contradictions of approaching wilderness only under “civilized” conditions. The railway was advertised as a triumph of the West, but even this glowing description of its comforts seems to highlight its function as a protective shell, bringing travelers closer to the western wilderness yet sheltering them from any real experience of its harshness: “There will be no hardships to endure, no difficulties to overcome, no dangers or annoyances whatever. You shall see mighty rivers, vast forests, boundless plains, stupendous mountains and wonders innumerable: and you shall see all in comfort, nay, in luxury” (CPR, The Canadian Pacific Railway 11). In the visitor’s book at Lake

Louise one traveler wrote a poem called “The Train De Luxe” (n.d.), which describes how one could travel the CPR virtually without leaving behind the civilized East:

For husbands there’s a clubroom, for wives a social hall —

A valet and a ladies’ maid are at your beck and call;

Stenographer for business men, a barber shop and bath

The train is one of luxury, its route a sunny path. (qtd. in Alfred Price 254)

The two main hotels in the mountains were the Banff Springs Hotel at Banff, and the Glacier House in the Selkirk range. Most of the guests at the Glacier House were upper-class, educated, and accustomed to travel. They used the train as a means to enter into a new relationship with nature, since they were now brought closer to it than they had been before (Backhouse 37). Yet ironically this “new experience” of the wilderness was usually through a screen of relative luxury. Because of railway dangers, “it is hardly surprising that the railway company took special care to emphasize the safety and comfort of its trans-continental trains [...]. However, to heighten the travelers’ experience, the company’s route descriptions also referred to the harshness of the mountain scenery and the problems it posed for the railway” (Marsh, “Landscape and Recreation” 198).

Evidence of Frye’s garrison mentality can also be found in other areas of Canadian literature during the period of the CPR’s heyday. While travel accounts¹³ are the most

¹³Some of the travel accounts used as examples in this chapter were written by visitors from other countries, but as Moss has reasoned, “There are a number of works by non-Canadians that are clearly a part of Canadian literature. Their authors have been transient residents in this country, and even temporary citizens, and have experienced it without the commitment of the immigrant, or the intimacy and involvement demanded by frontier or colonial life” (16-17), yet they have experienced the West in as profound a way as any artist of the CPR or travel writer who only visits for one or two months and then

common forum for fearful descriptions of Canada's western scenery, the latter can also be found in promotional literature, poems, and fiction. Sanford Fleming wrote about the hostile nature of the landscape when the railroad was still only in the planning stages, as he crossed the Kicking Horse Pass (later one of the most dangerous areas of the railroad line) on foot: "We cross clay, rock, and gravel slides at a giddy height. To look down gives one an uncontrollable dizziness, to make the head swim and the view unsteady, even with men of tried nerve. I do not think I can ever forget that terrible walk; it was the greatest trial I ever experienced" (England and Canada 248-9). Surveyor R. M. Rylatt, who kept a diary of his travels from 1871 to 1873, painted a most desolate picture of the Athabasca Pass, writing: "In the snow storm, I could only see the bases of mountains on either hand, the clouds overhead hanging low and pall like, black, threatening, and floating like huge wings, giving one a depressed feeling [...]" (115). Charles Horetsky, describing a survey East of the Cascade Mountains, wrote in 1874: "We beheld a scene of surpassing grandeur. Southward, a perfect sea of glaciers obstructed the horizon [...]. A terrible silence, broken only now and again by the dreadful crash of some falling avalanche, reigned over this scene of desolation" (138).

Once the time of the surveyors had passed, tourists continued the theme of the terrible wilderness in their accounts. In the beginning of his book on a holiday trip taken

returns to the East. In addition, their writings became a part of Canada's literature and the image Canadians presented to the rest of the world of their country's vast, overwhelming landscape. As Elizabeth Waterston describes these travel accounts, "A few were very widely read, by both sophisticated and unsophisticated readers: the memoirs of Lady Dufferin and descriptive sketches by Kipling and Lord Lorne, the Duke of Argyll. These helped fix the picture of Canada for the next generation" (347).

on the CPR, Dean Carmichael explained that negative reports on Canada's West had been around at least as early as the 1860's. Ontario was then Canada's frontier, all territory West of this being the domain of the Indian. the Hudson's Bay Company, the trader, the buffalo. "All reports reaching civilization were antagonistic to settlement — the cold was made colder, the rivers were impassable, the prairies as graves for white men — and wise men showed their wisdom by remaining on the fringe of Canada [...]" (2). An example is one highly exaggerated account of British Columbia that appeared in the London Truth in 1881: "The people who have gone there cannot stand the coldness of the winters. Men and cattle are frozen to death in numbers that would rather startle the intending settler if he knew, and those who are not killed outright are often maimed for life by frostbites. [...] and it is through a death dealing region of this kind that the new railway is to run" (qtd. in "Cold Barren West" 25).¹⁴ Carmichael's book is filled with descriptions that corroborate this viewpoint, capturing his sheer terror in the face of the great mountains: "There they were, the most gigantic and roughest mountains I ever looked at, and so close to you that you felt instinctively as if you were in walls [...]," he wrote. "I never saw or hoped to see anything so awfully grand [...] the sense of awfulness never wholly left me as long as we were under the shadows of these giant piles of rock which seemed to rise and swell like

¹⁴It should be noted that in Canada, as in the United States, visions of the wilderness were constantly changing. While earlier accounts tended to reflect the fear of the unknown, later ones focused on the western landscape as a potential paradise, neither approach being particularly accurate. For Canadians this view of the West as land of milk and honey came somewhat later than in America, and as already explored, never resounded with the same certainty that it had in American writings inspired by belief in the Manifest Destiny.

the waves of an infuriated Atlantic [...]” (15).¹⁵

The Kicking Horse Pass was frequently described by travelers, since it was a feature “not to be missed” along the CPR route. Stuart Cumberland (1887) considered it a veritable terror:

In the narrow cañon which the train enters there hardly appears to be room for the railway [...]. Gingerly we feel our way across the bridges spanning the narrow fissure in the rocky bed, where surges the boiling water. The beetling sides of the cañon frown down upon us, casting dark shadows in our track [...]. The towering mountains gave back with increased shrillness the oft-sounding whistle of the engine, whilst the groanings and puffings of the straining locomotives reverberate with a strange distinctness. [...] It is just as if hell’s flood were let loose; and the torn character of some of the precipices, with the rugged mass of fallen rocks below, increases the impression that some diabolic agency has been at work. (166-7)

Mrs. Howard Vincent, author of Newfoundland to Cochin China by the Golden Wave, New Nippon, and the Forbidden City (1892), also gave a chilling description of the mountain scenery: “Cold despair settled on us all, for the mountains loomed gloomily through a colourless haze. Exceedingly cold and depressed, we huddled into the sheltered corner of the observation car [...]” (82). Hamlin Garland, who captured his reaction to the West in The Trail of the Goldseekers: A Record of Travel in Prose and Verse (1899),

¹⁵Other vivid descriptions include his encounter with Mounts Hermit and Carroll, 22.

described the landscape as equally dark and threatening: “It was the wildest land I have ever seen. A country unmapped, unsurveyed, and unprospected. [...] Desolate, without life, green and white and flashing illimitably, the gray old peaks aligned themselves, rank on rank until lost in the mists of still wilder regions” (142). On another mountain climb he described the misty, lifeless landscape in words that evoke an image of infernal damnation:

The pinnacles all around us were like those which top the valley of Desolation. We seemed at each moment about to plunge into ladderless abysses. Nothing ever imagined by Poe or Doré could be more singular, more sinister, than these summits in such a light, in such a storm. It might serve as the scene for an exiled devil. The picture of Beelzebub perched on one of those gray, dimly seen crags, his form outlined in the mist, would shake the heart. [...] Crags beetled beyond crags, and nothing could be heard but the wild waters roaring in the obscure depths beneath our feet.

(234-5)

Douglas Sladen (1895) described how depressing some people found life in a mountainous land: “Mt. Stephen, with its terrific shoulders and flanks cloaked in grim matted forest, is most awesome, like an evil giant guarding with supernatural terrors its vast treasures of silver.” he wrote. “Right under the mountain is the little Field Hotel [...]. It is said that neither the hotel manager nor servants ever stay here long, fearful of going melancholy mad, so depressing is the personality of the mountain” (279). Of the Glacier of the Selkirks he wrote that one of its feet “is planted so threateningly above the hotel and railway station, that it looks as if it meant to stamp them out of existence with the stealth

of a thief in the night” (300). Even in advertising pamphlets put out by the CPR, the western landscape was described as forbidding, as in this description of the Fraser River: “The view here changes from the grand to the terrible. Through this gorge, so deep and narrow in many places that the rays of the sun hardly enter it, the black and ferocious waters of the great river force their way [...]” (Canadian Pacific Railway 41). Another pamphlet warned, “In their cold and awful solemnity these snow-clad peaks, the glistening glaciers, the cold bare rock, the dizzy gorges, the rushing torrents, fill the mind with a sense of dazed fatigue. I have repeatedly heard [...] the confession that man really feels how little and insignificant he is in scenes like this [...]” (From Britain to British Columbia 37).

There were also poets who characterized the landscape as remote, sometimes terrible. Isabel Mackay wrote on the “Sleeping Beauty”, a range of mountains above Vancouver harbour shaped like a woman:

Only the snow can reach her as she lies
Far and serene, and with cold fingertips
[.....]
Man has no part — his little, noisy years
Rise to her silence thin and impotent —
There are no echoes in that vast content,
No doubts, no dreams, no laughter and no tears! (249)

Mackay here conceived of the mountains as an unwelcoming environment, removed from humanity’s experience. Robert Allison Hood described the moment of “Crossing the Great

Divide” not as a triumph, but as a dismal experience:

’Twas a scene
to chill the heart with loneliness and dread:
and as we gazed around upon this sea
of mighty mountains rising wave on wave
far in the distance and then turned our eyes
on one another, such a forlorn band
of pusillanimous pygmies, then our hearts
seemed turned to water, all our courage dead. (270-1)

A number of novels written during the late nineteenth century also captured a formidable western Canadian landscape. In Lilly Dougall’s The Madonna of a Day (1896), a young woman sleepwalks off the platform of a slowly-moving train and finds herself lost in this British Columbia wilderness: “The bare railway embankment rose sheer from these rocks [...]. Directly opposite her to the south and south-east, hill above hill, peak above peak, range beyond range, stood cold and white” (73). Frightened and freezing cold in the winter snow, “it seemed to Mary that the trees looked down upon her [...] and that they spoke to one another, saying how weak and insignificant she was, and that she was going forward amid great dangers [...]” (82). In J. MacDonald Oxley’s The Boy Tramps (n.d.), two boys undertake the adventure of traveling across Canada, eventually finding themselves riding on the cow-catcher of a train in the Rocky Mountains, the rail “twisting and turning like some gigantic serpent [...]. With the towering cliffs almost shutting out the sunlight [...] and the roar of the train and of the river that seemed to be competing with

each other echoed and reechoed from the mighty walls, the full sublimity of their situation revealed itself to the boys, and they made no attempt to speak [...]" (318-19). Their impression of the Cariboo road also shows a deference to the surrounding wilderness: "As the mountains drew together, and the valley deepened into another cañon, the scenery grew wild beyond description, so that the boys marvelled at men having the daring to run a wagon road, not to speak of a railway, through such a place" (349).¹⁶

While these excerpts provide examples of how often negativity appeared in writing about the railroad in the West,¹⁷ it should be noted that Canadian writing about landscape has been highly varied. While the examples examined furnish essential evidence of the theory that the garrison mentality was indeed present in Canadian literature during the CPR's heyday, they leave out the many instances in which the West was viewed in a more positive light. Ralph Connor, for example, wrote several novels about the Canadian West, such as Black Rock: A Tale of the Selkirks (1901), in which he portrayed the West as a land of opportunity. Such writings, however, often stressed the hardships of western life while they extolled the virtue of its ultimate rewards.

This more positive image of the West is much more typical of the American literature of Turner's time and the decades before it, when the frontier was continually being pushed toward the Pacific coastline. As opposed to the Canadian descriptions of

¹⁶For similar description of mountain scenery in the Canadian novel, see Knowles 63.

¹⁷There is a wealth of literature available along these lines. See Lady Dufferin, Phillips, Milton and Cheadle, Devine, Wright, Macoun, Coleman, Bryce, Watt, Byron Johnson, Birrell, Whympier, McNab, St. Maur, Tennyson, Parkin, Countess of Aberdeen, Wilcox, Burpee, Outram, Webb, Roberts, and Green.

riding in cars on the CPR. William Howard wrote glowingly of observing the Denver and Rio Grande Pacific Express in America:

A locomotive, all fresh and bright and glistening, its driving-wheels whirling like so many indistinct blurs, and its pitman-rods flashing up and down like rays of sunlight, shot out from behind the hill, at the head of a long train of cars, and came roaring down the curve. The compact, well-proportioned locomotive and gently-swaying cars, each window and panel gilded with the fervent Colorado sun, made one forget for a moment that the track was narrow [...]. (78)

C. A. Higgins wrote of the Grand Canyon in 1893 that it was a “chaotic underworld,” real yet “spectral as a dream, eluding all sense of perspective or dimension, outstretching the faculty of measurement, overlapping the confines of definite apprehension [...]. Never was picture more harmonious, never flower more exquisitely beautiful” (qtd. in d’Emilio and Campbell 17), indicating a landscape that may have been spectral but not threatening. J. Edward Hungerford, writing for Harper’s Magazine, described not a powerful landscape but a mighty technology: “The railroad is a monster [...]. His fingers clutch the treasures of the hills [...]. His steel muscles stretch across great rivers and deep valleys; his tireless hands have long since burrowed their way through God’s eternal hills” (qtd. In Alfred Price 54-5). Along similar lines Howard wrote of the 10, 820-foot high Marshall Pass as “hardly an obstacle to construction engineers who laugh at grades and speak lightly of elevations” (79).

In Harper’s Weekly (1886) an illustrated story about a snowed-in train managed to

make this ghastly experience sound almost entertaining: “The passengers in this case [...] are faring much better than snow-bound railroad travellers usually do. It is surely no great hardship to step from the disabled train into those great comfortable-looking sleighs, and be whisked away over the glistening plain to the town close by” (“A Snowed-In Train” 62). Meanwhile Isabella Bird, also a traveler in the American Rocky Mountains, wrote disappointedly of crossing the Laramie Range: “The ascent of these apparently level plateaus is called ‘crossing the Rocky Mountains,’ but I have seen nothing except two peaks like teeth lying low on the distant horizon” (qtd. in Bernard 61). The summit of Long’s Peak she described as “so uplifted above love and hate and storms of passion, calm amidst the eternal silences, fanned by zephyrs and bathed in living blue [...] as if it were some region where falls not rain, or hail, or any snow or ever wind blows loudly” (225-6). The land Bird surveyed she claimed as her own, hers “by right of love, appropriation, and appreciation” (234), as though these feelings automatically granted her dominion over the landscape. Thomas Starr King, a Boston preacher who had traveled to the Yosemite Valley, expressed similar feelings about its grandeurs: “The scene was sublime, but it was not lonely, desolate or sombre, as I had expected. And all the angularity and hardness of line in the ramparts was soothed by some indefinable, mystic grace,” he wrote (qtd. in Anderson, “Albert Bierstadt” 177).

Samuel Bowles highlighted a sense of familiarity in his description of the mountains, which contrasts with some of the Canadian writing in which authors present themselves as aliens in the mountain world: “How difficult to realize that, whereas, twenty years ago, they and their location and character and the region about them were

almost unknown,” he wrote, “now, two weeks from home, I am sporting familiarly under their shadows, following tediously up their sides, galloping in the saddle around their summits, drinking from their streams, playing snow-ball in June with their imperishable snow banks [...]” (Across the Continent 31). In his descriptions of the Sierra Nevada mountain range, Clarence King focused chiefly on the quality of light there: “Sunlight reflecting from every object shot up to us,” he wrote, “enriching the brightness of our amphitheater. We drank and breathed the light, its mellow warmth permeating every fibre” (248).¹⁸ Looking down from Mt. Whitney he described the same peaceful, calming light: “It was like an opal world, submerged in a sea of dreamy light, down through whose motionless, transparent depths I became conscious of sunken ranges,” he wrote. “The hollow blue which over Tyndall led the eye up into vacant solitudes was here replaced by a sense of sheltering nearness, a certain dove-colored obscurity in the atmosphere which seemed to filter the sunlight of all its harsher properties” (361-2).

Americans also wrote poetry about the glories of the western landscape, such as W. E. Pabor’s “At Castle Gate” (1890), which expressed the idea that the West was a Paradise set aside by God for the American people:

Lying over Soldier Summit
In the valleys of the West,
With the bloom and blush of Eden
Lying softly on their breast,

¹⁸This concern with light will become important later, when I consider the difference in the quality of light in American and Canadian paintings.

Vales of splendor, vales of beauty,
Meet to melt a heart of stone:
Vale of Tempe pales in glory
When beside thy brightness shown.
[.....]
But my lips cannot keep silence.
Or my eyes their rapture bate,
As they catch a glimpse of Eden
Through the cliff-crowned Castle Gate. (59)

A similar sentiment pervades the poetry of Barbara Ann Scharr (published in 1925):

In the West you'll find there's laughter
– falls from out the sky somewhere!
In the West you'll find there's freedom
– Folks don't seem to, somehow, care.
[.....]
Don't know why, but drifting
– On a glassy lake out West
Makes you feel you own creation
– from the sea to mountain crest. (“In the West” 251)

These contrasting examples of Canadian and American literature, while incapable of representing the entire scope of North American literature about the West from the late nineteenth century, support the theory that Canadians and Americans viewed the West

differently despite all they had in common. Both Turner's and Frye's theories of how their respective populations relate to landscape extend backwards and forwards beyond the time frames in which they were written. While a very specific group of western paintings and photographs will be used to illustrate these theories in the next two chapters, both countries gave birth to other art movements that, though not necessarily centred on the landscapes of the West, reflect the theories in question. In America, the Hudson River painters and the Luminists treated the landscape as an idyllic setting, not a wilderness but a peaceful venue for self-discovery, for quiet contemplation. In Canada that sense of solitude could become cold and forbidding, as in some of the landscapes of the Group of Seven, or Emily Carr's (1871-1945) brooding forest scenes.¹⁹ David Stouck made a connection between the "Canadian Imagination" and Canadian art in a 1972 article, which was probably based on Frye's thinking: "While it is the special function of the imagination to make us more fully aware of life's potentialities, the Canadian imagination has traditionally been obsessed with the limitations rather than the possibilities of human experience" (9). Stouck argues that, partly because of our particular geography and climate, survival and not freedom is at the centre of Canadian life, reflected in art by an acceptance of limitations and an aesthetic that seeks to function within those limitations (9). While it is debatable whether there is any single "Canadian" imagination, or that all Canadian art reflects the simple acceptance of life's many boundaries, a sense of physical and even spiritual limitation does pervade many early landscapes of the Canadian West.

¹⁹For more information about these artists, see: Howat's Hudson River and American Paradise and Maddox on the Hudson River School; Shadbolt on Emily Carr; Wilderming on Luminism; Boulet and Hill on the Group of Seven.

American nineteenth-century landscape. on the other hand, leans toward an interpretation of openness and invitation, rather than obstacles or boundaries.

Images of the western railways, in particular, provide some of the most interesting examples of Canadian and American attitudes manifested in visual culture. Dick Harrison has aptly noted that one cannot simplify the difference between the Canadian and American West by assuming one was exclusively orderly and the other exclusively wild. In Chapters 2 and 3, this will be highlighted through the use of visual examples that contradict those supporting this dichotomy, and through an examination of the varied interpretations which are possible for each image. As Harrison contends, Americans were also preoccupied with order in their own way. "The question becomes: 'What sort of order, embodying what complex of values?'" ("Introduction" 6). A study of the railway imagery of each country's West can reveal much about these values, about different attitudes toward the landscape, and about the complexity of these attitudes, to which Harrison is pointing.

Chapter 2

In 1885, the last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway was driven at Craigellachie in British Columbia, marking the creation not only of a transcontinental route through Canada, but of a nation that extended “from sea to sea.” While photographers were on hand to capture the scene, they were hardly the first. Images of British Columbia, its mountainous landscapes in particular, had been circulating for years, in large part due to the CPR’s massive advertising campaign. Spearheaded by William Cornelius Van Horne, then the company’s General Manager, this campaign involved the creation of pamphlets and posters, as well as the circulation and reproduction of paintings and photographs.¹ As E. J. Hart explains in The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism, “through the company’s efforts Canada was for the first time ‘sold’ to the rest of the world, as a place for settlement in its immigration campaigns, and as a travel destination in its tourist promotions. A positive world view of Canada was the result” (8).

The company aimed to promote Canada by creating this positive image through exhibitions in North America and Europe,² and the circulation of advertising pamphlets

¹Van Horne was at the helm of the CPR project for many years, first as General Manager and then as Director of the company, and initiated the plan to use artwork in promotional campaigns for the railway. Artists were so eager to travel West on the line to paint that it was not necessary for Van Horne to commission them. While certain accommodations were made for particular artists, in the main all the railway had to do was hand out free passes and wait for the outpouring of material offered by artists for its use (Reid, Our Own Country 370).

²The most common exhibitions featuring western landscapes were those of the Royal Canadian Academy, the Ontario Society of Artists, and the Art Association of Montreal. For instance, the joint RCA and OSA exhibition during the Spring of 1888

and guide books. It is also possible Van Horne used his influence with newspapers to ensure some positive reviews of CPR imagery (Pringle, "William Cornelius Van Horne" 60). However, a study of the art and documentation generated by CPR artists and photographers during the 1880's and '90's, much of it used in these publications and shown in the exhibitions, reveals widespread feelings towards the British Columbia landscape that cannot be labeled simply as "positive." More often than not, the landscape appeared as a dominant, sometimes threatening force, tempering the triumph of the railway's passage through it with brooding mountains and lowering skies. It is possible to trace this conflict between overwhelming nature and the intrusion of civilization using Frye's garrison-mentality theory.

The early history of Canadian landscape painting was tied to the country's military history, since the first Canadian landscapes were in fact topographical watercolours painted by army officers such as Thomas Davies (1737-1812). One of the more consistent features of these works is the vantage point taken by the artist. The viewer is often situated in the road, or near a road, or separated from the expansive landscape by a road, which is tentatively identifiable as a symbol of human development of the land. The road thus represents a safe place from which to admire the significantly less safe wilderness, and becomes a kind of garrison in itself, although it has no walls. In fact, Dennis Reid in his A

featured work by Frederic Marlett Bell-Smith and Marmaduke Matthews. In addition, several Canadian artists (including John Arthur Fraser and Lucius O'Brien) showed work in the Canadian section at the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* at South Kensington in 1886. The CPR also had its own pavilion at the *Columbian Exhibition* in Chicago in 1893. For more information on the dissemination of CPR works, see Allan Pringle's M.A. thesis, as well as the studies by Reid (Our Own Country) and Chown.

Concise History of Canadian Painting refers to the topographical artists who produced such views as “garrison artists” (22). One may consider a few examples from London, Ontario, such as Philip James Bainbrigge’s (active 1832-1880) *Moravian Indian Village on the Thames, September 1838* (fig. 1), in which the viewer is situated above a road that lies just beyond the village. Henry Francis Ainslie’s (1803-1879) *Barracks at London, Canada West, May 1842* (fig. 2) also focuses on the road, running through cleared forest, that cuts diagonally through the picture frame.³ Because Canada is so vast, images of transportation indicate an invaluable link to civilization: “A vast country sparsely inhabited naturally depends on its modes of transportation, whether canoe, railway, or the driving and riding ‘circuits’ of the judge, the Methodist preacher, or the Yankee peddler. The feeling of nomadic movement over great distances persists even into the age of the aeroplane [...]” Frye has commented (“Conclusion” 828), identifying this need for transportation as one that is certainly not limited to the eighteenth, or even the nineteenth, centuries.⁴

It is, however, unavoidable that to apply a theory of literature such as Frye’s to the visual arts in Canada will cause certain problems. Using Frye’s concept of a garrison

³For more examples of the use of roads in early Canadian painting, see Burant and Saunders.

⁴The CPR itself has demonstrated a continued fear of the landscape in its recent film, *!Challenge! The Rogers Pass Line* (1989). The creation of a second line through the pass in order to accommodate heavier traffic along the railway prompted the creation of this film, which is about the line’s construction and emphasizes the work through the Roger’s Pass as a continued source of pride to the company. The film contains a revealing reference to the ability of the landscape to intimidate when the narrator admits that the Rocky Mountain region has tolerated the railway for a hundred years, but has never really been conquered by it.

mentality, which he has identified as residing within words, this attempt to “read” such a mentality into Canadian Pacific Railway painting and photography will be complicated. However, there are germs of such a comparison within Frye’s essay that may grant tacit permission for this. He writes: “The sense of probing into the distance [...] comes into Canadian painting a good deal, in Thomson whose focus is so often farthest back in the picture, where a river or a gorge in the hills twists elusively out of sight, in Emily Carr whose vision is always [...] ‘deeper into the forest’” (“Conclusion” 828). It is Gaile McGregor, however, who makes the most useful contribution to understanding how fear of the wilderness can be identified and plotted in Canadian art, in her book The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Landscape (1985). McGregor’s work, a comparison of the “frontier” cultures of Canada and the United States, begins with an exploration of the literary devices used to depict landscape in John Richardson’s Wacousta (1832) and those used by American writer James Fenimore Cooper in his Leatherstocking novels.⁵ As McGregor develops her argument, Wacousta becomes the quintessential example of a Canadian work portraying landscape negatively, while the Leatherstocking novels reveal a fundamentally positive attitude toward landscape supposedly shared by

⁵Richardson’s Wacousta is omitted in Frye’s discussion of the fear of wilderness in Canadian literature, even though it seems to be the work that led to Frye’s coining of the term “garrison mentality”. In Wacousta the soldiers of Detroit experience a feeling of being confined to their fort, which is set within a small clearing in the vast Canadian forest. From this introduction until the end of the novel the reader is fairly barraged with descriptions of the dark, gloomy, mysterious, and impenetrable forest that lies beyond the fort walls. Richardson uses the forest as a venue for incorporating the essential “ghostly” aspects of the European Gothic novel into this new Canadian setting. His motive for describing the forest in this way is based, therefore, on European cultural ideas. Yet what is truly Canadian about it is Richardson’s decision to use the wilderness, and its Native inhabitants, as the mysterious and frightening elements of his novel.

most Americans.⁶

McGregor briefly connects Frye's "garrison mentality," upon which much of her book seems to be based, to Canadian landscape painting. In the chapter "A View From the Fort" she attempts to demonstrate that certain aspects of nineteenth-century Canadian landscape painting reveal the same underlying fear of wilderness that are apparent in Richardson's novel. In effect, McGregor provides a framework for interpreting art as the product of a garrison mentality by constructing a list of artistic devices used in Canadian painting in the nineteenth century (the "markers of a truly indigenous pattern of response"), and interprets them as creating a negative translation of landscape. The list consists of six pictorial devices: 1) human activity tends to be dwarfed, and modes of transportation figure as a thwarted attempt to dominate the landscape, symbolizing a need to escape; 2) exaggerated breaks between fore-, middle and background planes deny any meaningful sense of humans relative to nature as panorama; 3) backgrounds are often indistinct or hazy, implying the same denial of landscape vista; 4) the horizon is raised or hidden by features in the fore-to-middleground, and obstacles prevent visual entry into receding space; 5) geographical features such as mountains are often depicted as looming, creating an effect of claustrophobia; and 6) in many paintings the atmosphere is ominous, if not because of an overcast sky then because the general colour scheme creates a sinister

⁶John Moss views *Wacousta* as part of Canada's frontier literature rather than part of the garrison stage. Even though the story takes place during the garrison era of Canadian history, Moss claims that the exile of Wacousta (the main character) from "civilized" society is an exile of the frontier variety (35). Even so, Moss admits that the novel's landscape is that "of a troubled dream; dark, forbidding [...]. It is the outer perimeter of reality, a morass of limitless depth, and man at its centre is in utter isolation [...]" (50).

impression (16-17). McGregor's list, which revolves around an expectation of negativity in Canadian landscape, does not leave room for the complexity she has described as prevalent in late nineteenth-century Canadian painting (10), but it can be used to explore the reactions of CPR artists and photographers if one remembers that these devices were not the only things occurring within CPR images, and that sometimes they do not function in the way McGregor anticipates. It must be taken into account that depending on a work's social context and the artist's intent, McGregor's framework may have a tendency to collapse now and again. In the case of the images to be examined here, a closer analysis will show that the feelings toward landscape betrayed by most artists of this category were far more ambivalent than the scope of McGregor's work can acknowledge. However, her main purpose of detecting the signs of uncertainty toward landscape in Canadian painting needs to be included in this attempt to interpret some of the images produced for and/or of the CPR during the late nineteenth century.

In examining imagery generated by artists and photographers of the Canadian Pacific Railway, this chapter will first reinforce McGregor's arguments about Canadian landscape through examples of works in which the small size of the train emphasizes the dominance of wilderness over human endeavour. Following this, arguments questioning and complicating McGregor's view will be presented, as ominous mountains and other visual obstacles in Canadian Pacific Railway landscapes are examined alongside other factors affecting this imagery. The tendency of Canadian artists to create mixtures of the beautiful, the sublime, and the picturesque will be discussed as a sign of the struggle between opposing perceptions of landscape as both terrifying and uplifting. Mountains will

be examined for their potential role as both barriers and inspiring signs of God, and the nature of fear as both an attractive and a repulsive emotion is examined, with particular reference to Van Horne's penchant for using frightening views along the line as advertisements to potential tourists. The effects of working from photography, such as high contrast and the creation of seemingly flat mountain walls, will also be discussed, and the use of mist as both a visual barrier and an element of the beautiful landscape will be examined

Following the early imagery of the garrison artists came other depictions of roadways and transportation, and as more people traveled to the West such images of British Columbia became common, even before the railway made its appearance. Frederick Whymper's (c. 1837-1901) *Bute Inlet, British Columbia* of 1864 (fig. 3) is one of these early pieces. It shows a narrow road, partially paved with logs, passing between a rock face on the right and water on the left. In the extreme foreground is a pile of logs, perhaps to be used in paving the rest of the road. The mountains rise steeply to the right and just ahead of the viewer, creating the sensation that the landscape closes in on all sides. In this situation, the road is used as a safe vantage point from which to view the surrounding wilderness, as it had been in early topographical paintings and drawings, but here the landscape has a scale and threatening potential not seen in figures 1 and 2.⁷ In Henry J.

⁷Bute Inlet has been described in writing by many visitors, their words also reflecting the overwhelming aspect of the land. In his progress report on surveys done in British Columbia in 1872, Marcus Smith wrote of the Inlet: "It pierces directly into the Cascade or Coast Range, between walls of granite rocks, bold and ragged in outline [...] altogether forming a scene of gloomy grandeur probably not to be met with in any other part of the world [...]" (qtd. in Gibbon 162). St. John expresses similar feelings, 267-8.

Warre's (1819-1898) *The Rocky Mountains from the Boat Encampment on the Columbia River, May 2, 1846* (fig. 4) the safety of the civilized vantage point is implied in the title. Once again the view, though less constricted than in Whympers's painting, focuses on a high wall of mountains, preceded by a wall of trees that comes down to the edge of the water. Warre wrote as well as painted his impressions of the Rocky Mountains: "We encamped under an apparently inaccessible scarp of rock upon which the glaciers seemed to hang and over which innumerable cascades tumbled, glistening in the bright moonlight. The scene was grand but awful in its savage solitude. Not a vestige of human life was to be seen [...] beyond our own party" (qtd. in Patton 42-3).⁸

One can determine from these two examples that the pictorial devices broken down by McGregor in her book were already at work in Canadian western imagery during the first half of the nineteenth century, since the mountainous terrain of the West posed great difficulties for explorers and surveyors like Warre. This kind of depiction in which the landscape is dominant, even threatening, continued even after the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed and the Western landscape supposedly tamed by human forces. One of the reasons McGregor's analysis of Canadian landscape often works with regard to CPR scenes is that the incredibly small size of the train or track being shown can't help but cause the wilderness to seem intimidating, even threatening. A photograph titled *Albert Canyon, Selkirk Range* (fig. 5) was featured in the CPR's 1890's pamphlet, Glimpses

⁸One can find similar writings by Warre in Major-Frégeau and in Patton: "The scenery through which we passed onwards was grand beyond description, but oh how desolate! Mountains upon mountains raised their naked heads high above the mists which rolled upwards from the valleys below. [...] No living thing dared to brave the awful loneliness [...]" (Patton 44).

Along the Canadian Pacific Railway: Mountain Series A, and shows an almost impenetrable scene. In this image the dark, rocky mountains rise in huge cliffs on either side of the viewer, nothing but mountains lie behind, and our only breathing space is a tiny piece of sky in the upper right-hand corner. A bit of the rushing river can be seen in the left foreground, but there isn't really any place for the viewer to stand — only a shelf of rock. The view here reveals tracks at the upper right-hand side of the cliffs, with a tiny train making its way along them. The train, elevated as it is to the very top of the scene, is placed in a dominant position, but it is so small as to be almost unnoticeable. It is impossible to tell how it will make it through this terrain, as its position is so precarious, and the length of it visible to us is framed by pillars of rock.⁹ George Horne Russell's *Moonlight, Fraser Cañon* (189?, fig. 6) is a scene of obscurity and tension as well as diminutive human presence. This time the small train is seen crawling around a rocky ledge on the right, a little more obvious in this work because its trail of smoke stands out against the dark cliff. The Fraser River is unusually placid below, reflecting the moonlight in soft ripples. The scene could not be more intimidating. The canyon is a narrow slice of space between two rocky crags that rise on either side of it to the top of the frame, and through the gap a misty mountain completely blocks the eye's passage, closing us in, a hint of more mountains receding behind it. The sky is a mysterious night sky with a

⁹Henry Field's written comments echoed the feeling generated by this work: "Among the wild scenes of the afternoon was the Albert Cañon, where a mountain stream has forced a passage that is hardly wide enough for itself, but in which the iron track has demanded room, and found it high up on the cliffs above. Here the train halts for a few minutes, that the passengers may walk upon a platform and look down into a gorge three hundred feet deep" (77).

ghostly moon lighting its clouds from behind.

William Brymner's (1855-1925)¹⁰ *Mount Cheops, Rogers Pass* (c.1892, fig. 7), though horizontal in composition, still creates the impression that the wilderness towers over the railway in the West. Brymner's foreground, though bushy, gives way fairly easily into the scene, where at the centre of the image a train is heading toward the great mountain along a track that curves out of sight. Mount Cheops is a gigantic, bulky form, crusted with snow at the top, without question dominating the insignificant train below it. The sky, though a benevolent blue, seems icy cold. John Hammond's (1843-1939) *The Three Sisters* (c.1895, fig. 8) was used to illustrate the 1896 CPR pamphlet, Glimpses Along the Line of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Chown 76), and achieves a similar effect.¹¹ The space in this image is open and light, the horizontal composition consisting of a wet marshy foreground, a rounded hill rising up on the right hand of the middleground, and a background of rocky peaks. The light plays a crucial role here, as it did in Martin's work, infusing the entire scene with a warm yellow glow, highlighting what might otherwise be harsh cold peaks, and gleaming off the watery foreground. Hammond's view

¹⁰Brymner was sent West by the CPR on at least three occasions, in 1886, 1892 and 1893, and the company's intention was to exhibit his works at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893

¹¹Hammond had a long and close relationship with the Canadian Pacific Railway, beginning with his participation in a CPR survey of the West in 1871 (George Stanley 213). In 1884 Van Horne commissioned the Montreal photographic firm of Notman and Son to send a party West, and the party included Hammond and photographer Benjamin Baltzly (Hart 31). Following this, Van Horne commissioned Hammond to paint the Rockies in 1891 (George Stanley 221). His work was shown at the CPR Pavilion at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, after seventeen of his paintings were bought by the CPR (Chown 79). Van Horne worked closely with Hammond, actually retouching one of Hammond's works himself (Nesbitt 10).

of the landscape seems to be a positive one, yet his train, which is entering the scene on the very edge to the left, is absolutely minuscule, and would disappear into the lines of the flat land were it not for a tiny white puff of smoke signaling its presence. It is heading, too, for the dark splotch of hillside in the middleground, which creates the sense that it will soon be swallowed by the overwhelming scenery. The tension between this inviting, glowing landscape and the sheer size with which it overpowers the human presence, is palpable. Hammond's written reaction to the landscape is one of awe, perhaps explaining the insignificance of the train in *The Three Sisters*. He described the West as a land of "wonders in lake and mountain scenery such as hardly can be imagined or described. Towering glacial studded peaks pierce the zenith, while great fields of ice descend to the water's edge [...]" (Stanley, George 222). In William McFarlane Notman's (1857-1913) *Looking Across the Valley from First Trestle Loop on the Canadian Pacific* (1887, fig. 9), civilization is presented not only in the lacy trestle that rises quite high amidst the trees, but also in the presence of a small camp of tents below.¹² The smoke from this camp floats up to mingle with the clouds, perhaps implying a kind of compatibility between humanity and nature. Undoubtedly, though, the most striking aspect of this view is how diminutive the human presence becomes when dwarfed by such overwhelming scenery. Not only do the dark evergreens look about ten times taller than the tents in front of them, but beyond these trees are the snow-capped mountains, ten times taller still, looming over the scene in such a way as to make the tents of the camp seem undeniably small and fragile.

¹²William McFarlane Notman was sent West on a commission from the Canadian Pacific Railway, and according to Dennis Reid tended to focus on the mountains in his photographs, even though his purpose was to record the trains (*Our Own Country* 150-1).

This kind of fragility prompts a comparison between the attempt of the soldiers in *Wacousta* to gain dominion over a portion of Canadian landscape using the garrison, and the construction of the CPR and the attempt in Canada to overcome vast distances in order to create a unified country. Awareness of the difficulties involved in building the railroad often resulted in images such as those just discussed, which reinforce the view of Western landscape as powerful and menacing. The introduction of the railroad, however, also complicated perceptions of western landscape. During the 1870's in Canada, "art was seen increasingly as a force for cultural progress, with a consequent strengthening of the relationship between the fine arts and national pride. At that time, too, the concept of patriotism became inextricably associated with the portrayal of the Canadian landscape" (Mulley 28). In many images of British Columbia from this period, the contradictory feelings of pride in the accomplishment of a national railway, and persistent fear in the face of overwhelming landscape, can be seen. As outlined in Chapter 1, the creation of the railway was extremely important in Canada, not only to facilitate expansion but in order to prevent encroachment of the United States on what was considered Canadian territory in the West. At the same time, building the road involved highly dangerous work and entailed the sacrifice of many lives (most of those lost were Chinese labourers, mentioned in the Introduction, who were hired specifically to undertake this kind of perilous labour for low wages). This dichotomy of pride in the building of the railway, and recognition of the enormous dangers such work entailed, is reflected in the ambivalent feelings about the railroad in the landscape portrayed by most railway artists and photographers.

In the late 1880's and early 1890's there was a veritable flood of artists traveling

the railway in order to profit from the popularity of Rocky Mountain scenery, some who were asked to do so by the CPR, and some who were not.¹³ Van Horne and the artists of the CPR perceived the western railway not simply as a gateway to the Far East,¹⁴ but as a gateway in time to the future of the nation: “The story to be told was of man’s conquest of [...] natural monuments and how easily they could be reached” (Reid Our Own Country, 370). Viewing images of the railway on one level as portraits of nature’s conqueror pokes a hole in McGregor’s formula. McGregor claims that transportation implies a preoccupation with escape, yet transportation imagery within the context of CPR art and documentation necessarily also includes connotations of national unity, and of pride in human domination over an intimidating landscape. Many images, though revealing the railroad traversing a difficult landscape, do not depict it as overwhelmed by the wilderness around it. In an undated work, *Train in the Mountains* (fig. 10), Thomas Mower Martin (1838-1934)¹⁵ shows a small track in a largely mountainous area, yet highlights the

¹³There were far more artists and photographers writing to Van Horne to ask for private cars or free rail passes than there were commissioned by the General Manager. The highest favour typically granted by Van Horne was a free pass, following the use of which artists would offer Van Horne images for use in exhibitions and promotional material. Having a wealth of paintings and photographs, taken at various points along the line, to choose from, Van Horne simply bought the right to reproduce an image and used it to advertise the railroad to potential customers.

¹⁴One of the great benefits of the Canadian Pacific Railway was that it offered travelers a route across Canada to Asia, using the train to transport people to the Pacific Coast, and from there shipping passengers across the ocean on Canadian Pacific cruise lines.

¹⁵Martin made at least ten trips to the Rocky Mountains, and his work was part of the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* at South Kensington in 1886. Martin was also illustrator of a guide-book, Canada (1907), written by Wilfrid Campbell.

railroad by painting it a glowing sienna. The approaching train is barely discernable where it emerges from behind a rocky ledge, and the track circles around to the centre foreground of the painting, so that once again the viewer is placed almost on the railway itself, viewing the landscape from the site of civilization. The terrain is extremely rocky, and the bulk of the middle and foreground is darkened by shadow, stubbly with spiky evergreens. Still, the overall impression is peaceful, and a sense of space is created through an open sky and horizontal composition. Most importantly, golden light pervades the scene, bathing the background mountains in a soothing yellow, and mediating the sensation that this landscape might overpower such a small object. This was unusual treatment of light for a Canadian artist in the West; as Berenice Gilmore has commented: “most [artists] tried to capture the clear colours of the province’s landscape rather than to give their paintings the golden hues of some formal dictates” (13). When making comparisons with American painting of railroads in the West, it will be seen that the quality of light in these works tends to be different from the bold, harsh lighting typically found in Canadian painting. Martin’s glowing colour is more closely aligned with the choice of American artists than with that of his Canadian compatriots.

It is fruitful to compare this image of Martin’s with some of his written reactions to the western scenery: “At Field itself the interest is limited to the view of one or two mountains which are too close to be properly seen, but a few miles farther west [...] the scenery can best be described as magnificent,” he wrote. “To the north, a fine range of nameless mountains with two extensive glaciers glistening in the sun. Behind, to the east, rise Mounts Field and Stephen, at a better distance now than when seen from the station,

altogether making one of the finest panoramas that can be found throughout the line [...]” (“Artist’s Letter” 682). Martin obviously preferred to keep a distance from the mountains in order to “view them properly,” reflected in his painting of an open passage through them. His description of Mt. Field and Mt. Stephen comes to life in Edward Roper’s (1832-c.1904) painting of that title. (c.1887, fig. 11). In Roper’s work, another horizontal composition, the two mountains frame the scene on either side but do not appear very high, and are far from threatening. The foreground land is quite flat and clear of obstacles, marked only with a few bushes here and there, allowing the viewer to imagine easily entering the scene. At the far left the train on its small track is making its way out of the picture frame, but the impression of a benign landscape is too strong for us to interpret this as McGregor’s train, rapidly trying to escape a hostile wilderness. Marmaduke Matthews’ (1837-1913) *Puffing Billy* (undated, fig. 12) also shows a landscape that is not particularly overwhelming, although it is craggy and mountainous. The train, in defiance of McGregor’s assumption that travel indicates escape from the wilderness, is moving *into* the scene, a clear path cut for it across the bushy ground. There is something almost amusing about the puffy stylized bushes, mirrored by uniform puffs of cloud in the sky above. A mountain rises up directly behind the train, but is not high enough to dwarf it. The peachy colour scheme furthers our sense that this landscape is primarily welcoming, emphasized by the large amount of pink sky, with its delicate floating clouds, that is visible.

There are also examples of photography in which the railroad takes the dominant position, and the landscape provides an inviting background. Oliver Buell’s (1844-1910)

Roger's Pass, Summit Settlement (fig. 13) uses the railroad as the main feature of the foreground, dotting it with a few figures.¹⁶ The viewer is safely separated from the mountain vista by this track, and then again by the shanties in the middle ground just beyond it. A few sparse trees stand behind the houses, and behind these, the mountains. In this view the mountains are relatively far away, functioning more as a rugged, picturesque background to the scene than as intimidating elements of unbridled nature. The Notman and Son photograph published in an 1890's CPR catalogue under the title *Bird's-eye view, Lower Kicking Horse Cañon, Rocky Mountains* (fig. 14), is also one of the less intimidating photographs taken along the line. We are looking down on the track here, as it curves into the background and disappears into a tunnel. The land to the left is slightly eroded because of the construction on the railroad and the mountains, though they slope down on either side, are not tall enough to make the viewer feel trapped. Even though the composition is vertical, there is a feeling that we push easily into the background of the scene, following the sweep of the railway back to a sky that is overcast but lit by an intense sun right behind the clouds.

While these examples show an inviting landscape, or at least one that is fairly easily penetrated, there were many other images produced of the CPR in the West that displayed the opposite (such as the examples discussed earlier in the chapter), or complicated mixtures of positive and negative reactions. Of the artists who had a close relationship with the company responsible for the Canadian Pacific, John A. Fraser (1838-1898) and

¹⁶Photos by Buell and photographer Alexander Henderson were lent to artist John Fraser by Van Horne, indicating Buell was probably commissioned by the Canadian Pacific (Hart 32).

Lucius R. O'Brien (1832-1899) are two of the most famous. O'Brien, in particular, because he was President of the Royal Canadian Academy during the 1880's, has often been viewed as an important promoter of the concept of a national art in Canada, one that became intimately tied to the nationalism stirred by the CPR.¹⁷ O'Brien took seriously his job of using landscape to promote the CPR, yet his western paintings do not always portray a landscape conquered by the railway line. *On the Cariboo Road* (1887, fig. 15), though not a depiction of the railway, demonstrates the kind of conflict occurring between humans and nature which O'Brien so ably captures. The Cariboo road is built up over the rocky ground on stilts, and in this representation seems barely able to sustain the passage of a few riders across it. The mountains tower over these people, who disappear into the haze as though about to be swallowed by it. Edward Roper, whose work has already been mentioned, wrote of the Cariboo road:

It was hard to believe that the mere scratch we could see on the cliff-side *was* a road; but, by following it carefully, one began to realize that it was so. In places it appeared to be a thousand feet or so above the river [...] but it was always in sight, now hovering amongst the precipices, clinging to the mountain's side, hanging in midair, a very fragile-looking shelf of logs, right over the raging river [...]. (By Track and Trail 172)¹⁸

¹⁷In addition to this, O'Brien was in charge of the illustrations for Picturesque Canada, a comprehensive guide to Canada published in 1888 which also aimed to promote the country through positive imagery.

¹⁸Other visitors to British Columbia echoed this sentiment, as did one Dr. Parker, who described the Cariboo Road as "the most dangerous road in the world." The team of horses he traveled with "carried us along at a rattling rate over heights that would make

As one might imagine from this harrowing description, the figures in *On the Cariboo Road* seem vulnerable and alone as they face the dangers of the wilderness. Greg Thomas and Ian Clark have discussed the effect of such feelings of isolation with reference to the early communities of Canada's garrison times. They observe that isolation led to a sense of insecurity, compelling those in the New World to maintain not only a political and economic tie with Britain, but a psychological one as well (84). This psychological connection included culture, and affected the borrowing from British pictorial tradition that occurred in Canadian art well into the late nineteenth century (and beyond). Even O'Brien's desire to promote a national art in Canada was based on the notion that such art should be made by Canadians, not Europeans, never questioning that it would contain European elements of style (Mulley 27). Most of the landscape traditions in Canada descended from European ideas, and it was in Europe, particularly Britain, that the distinct definitions of the beautiful, the picturesque, and the sublime in painting were formulated. These three categories of landscape need to be examined briefly in order to provide a better understanding of how O'Brien and other Canadian artists were reacting to and interpreting Canadian landscape for the public.

While the beautiful landscape depicted a smooth kind of beauty, a polished and peaceful scene, the picturesque was associated with roughness, where "the mood is not one of idyllic repose, but rather of a stimulated attention to wild, uncultivated landscape" (Ketner and Tammenga 17). According to Sir Uvedale Price, the picturesque stood

your blood curdle. Sometimes we were over a thousand feet above the river on a road barely wide enough to carry our carriage" (qtd. in E. M. Saunders 314).

between the beautiful and the sublime. The sublime is associated with the overwhelming landscape. “characterized by obscurity, and the overwhelming effect of vastness and infinity, all of which had in common the element of terror” (qtd. in Peters 14). The appeal of the sublime is different from that of the picturesque because the sublime experience is one which also gives rise to aversion.¹⁹ The word “also” is important to this study, for as Joseph Ketner and Michael Tammenga note in their book on the beautiful, the sublime and the picturesque in American landscape painting, Americans tended to create mixtures of these three styles instead of maintaining a separation between the three concepts (10). Canadian art can be seen to reveal the same tendency: “As imagination responded to the appeal of the grand and vast in Nature...the sublime and beautiful were more and more closely merged. Sometimes the sublime was a ‘dreadful’ Beauty...sometimes it was a ‘higher’ Beauty” (Nicolson 326). This multi-faceted nature of the sublime is reflected in images of the CPR. Moreover, in many cases, the picturesque and the sublime meet in one painting as artists struggle to confront the spiritual, terrifying aspect of the mountains which is countered by the taming influence of the railroad and other signs of human industrialization. O’Brien was no exception to this, in the sense that his work revealed all three landscape traditions. The sublime, most closely connected to the garrison mentality because it involves awe and fear in the face of Nature, was mixed with and tempered by other pictorial devices belonging to the beautiful and the picturesque. This was necessarily so, since the Canadian conception of the sublime at this time was one in which God, so

¹⁹Helen Bergen Peters discusses definitions of these terms in Painting During the Colonial Period in British Columbia 1845-1871.

important to the European Romantic notion of the spiritually uplifting sublime, had disappeared and left humans to face a hostile wilderness alone (Stouck 13-14).

There were other areas in which CPR artists working in the West were probably influenced by the evolution of European thought on landscape, and this included the way they thought about mountains. In Europe, the attitude toward mountains changed over centuries from distaste to reverence (Nicolson 1-3), indicating that as there may have been more than one way of viewing the railroad in the nineteenth century, there was more than one way to view the mountains surrounding it. This is important because “although every kind of scenery could be found in the West, it was the variety and ubiquity of the mountains that interested the late nineteenth-century visitors” (Tippett and Cole 49). In paintings and photographs the mountains double as places for spiritual enlightenment, and as dark barriers towering over the railway, seeking to impede its progress not only by their size but through frequent avalanches in winter. O’Brien’s description of the Rockies’ fascination helps elucidate their ability to inspire conflicting emotions (emotions that required the use of such varied mixtures of the beautiful, the sublime and the picturesque for them to be captured within a single painting):

The interest of this scenery is inexhaustible, not only from the varied aspects it presents from different points of view, but from the wonderful atmospheric effects. At one moment the mountains seem quite close, masses of rich, strong colour, then they will appear far away, of the faintest pearly grey. At one time every line and form is sharp and distinct; at another, the mountains melt and mix themselves up in the clouds so that

earth and sky are almost velvet, and presently they look like cast metal.

(“North-West Scenery” 9)

The artist describes a situation in which the landscape itself is shifting between ideals of beauty, sublimity and picturesqueness.²⁰ Now it is soft and mild, now hard and cold; it is at times inviting and at times repellent, because the atmosphere is constantly changing.²¹

O’Brien’s first visit to the West was in 1886, when he covered the terrain of the Selkirks and the Kicking Horse Pass. In 1887 he went instead to Banff, attempting to procure new material for the CPR’s promotional campaign. He wrote about Banff for the Toronto Globe, comparing it to the Selkirks where “in the desolate wilderness at the summit of the Rockies, the tourist is an intruder and an offence.” At Banff, on the other hand, tourists abounded, and “the aspect and sentiment of the scenery is as different from the stern majesty of the Selkirks as it is possible to conceive. The mountains are as high,

²⁰In most examples of writing that have been and will be used to complement images of the West in this study, the landscape is more frightening in the writers’ work than in that of the artists. Diana Chown has commented on the difference between writing about mountains and painting them between 1845 and 1923: “This contrast between visual and literary conceptions of mountains,” she writes, “often resulting in picturesque depiction beside sublime description, is seen throughout the period under consideration” (27). Examining a variety of images, though, will reveal that there is a good deal of the sublime in many visual as well as literary depictions. At the very least, there is a mixture of the sublime and the picturesque in painting that Chown does not acknowledge.

²¹The traveler Mrs. Howard Vincent described the mountains in the Banff area similarly: “We have been with them early in the morning, when the pale-rose tints, the opalescent blue, the delicate pearl-grey, lay lightly on their rugged summits, and made them seem so near and tender. We have seen them in the heat of noon, looking strong and hard, with black shadows in the crevasses and their great stony veins and muscles standing out in relief in the sunshine. [...] We have watched these same mountains in the glammers of declining days, soften again as the shadows steal up the pine woods, leaving patches of sunlight.” (76-7).

but the valley is wider, and they stand off to be admired instead of towering over one's head. There is no want of grandeur, but one is filled with a sense of beauty rather than of awe" ("National Park" 4). From this description it seems that such an area would have been ideal for sketching the kind of inviting scene that would be likely to draw visitors and settlers West, which was the CPR's goal and therefore O'Brien's as well. However, the artist did not stay there for the summer, preferring Laggan at the head of the Kicking Horse pass, where "the Kicking Horse River [rushes] westerly down a precipitous gorge in a foaming torrent," and "the railway has to follow its descent as best it can, clinging to the slopes in a serpentine path which often overhangs the stream, flashing white through the tree-tops hundreds of feet below." Here, he wrote, "the sides of the pass are dominated by the highest mountains on the line, Mt. Stephen and Cathedral Mountain being 7000 feet above the track. The grade of the railway is extraordinarily steep, making the bare possibility of a runaway train or carriage frightful to contemplate" ("Grandeur of the Rockies" 10). The question arises of why O'Brien chose to forego the very pleasant scenery of Banff for this admittedly frightening environment. It is obvious he takes pleasure in his own fear, allowing it to charge his perception of the landscape instead of repelling him from it the way McGregor would have predicted.

It is the nature of fear that it is not simply a negative experience. As is obvious from the number of amusement park rides, horror movies and other frightening yet entertaining experiences undergone willingly, fear has its attractions as well as its element of repulsion. Yi-Fu Tuan has observed: "It is a mistake to think that human beings always seek stability and order. The study of fear is therefore not limited to the study of

withdrawal and retrenchment; at least implicitly, it also seeks to understand growth, daring, and adventure” (*Landscapes* 10). Ralph Keyes, in his extensive study of why we take risks, ends his discussion of positive biological effects produced by small doses of fear, and the positive bond forged between human beings who cope with fear together, by saying that “in a nutshell: fear provides both a tonic to our body and spirit and an incentive to forge human ties” (33). Keyes ties the human sense of daring and adventure, discussed by Tuan, to the experience of riding the CPR when he explains how amusement park rides came into popularity toward the end of the nineteenth century. He points to Coney Island’s Switchback Railway, modeled after a mining train and opened in 1884, as a forerunner of today’s roller coasters. The ride was so popular, he explains, that it led to the creation of higher, longer, and more innovative rides all based on the train (259).²²

Considering the scholarship on human attraction to fear, one is forced to acknowledge the possibility that O’Brien enjoyed the thrill attached to the more rugged scenery of the Canadian West. In his endeavour to paint scenes that would inspire tourists to visit this land, he must have realized that they might be just as attracted to intimidating

²²Tuan further explores fear in its relationship to technological advances: “Success engenders pride, and pride is destined to meet, sooner or later, its nemesis. All the technological triumphs of the modern age have not been able to eradicate that ancient belief. Every step that seems to take us further from our rootedness in nature has caused unease among some elements of the population [...]. Such expressions of doubt and anxiety have been frequent since the beginning of the industrial revolution” (*Landscapes* 212). As an important technological advancement, the railway, too, was capable of engendering this doubt in people, doubts that may have led to some of the ambivalence in Canadian railway imagery.

scenery as they would be to more placid scenes.²³ He may also have decided that Canada's "national" art should not be entirely without the element of fear, since this was a natural reaction to some of the more overwhelming landscape one encountered in the West. Whatever the reason, O'Brien chose to leave Banff, indicating he was not interested in the relatively domesticated scenery he might encounter at a comfortable CPR hotel. This offers an important qualification of Frye's theory of the garrison mentality, and one that is essential to bear in mind when examining images of human presence in the Rockies.²⁴

O'Brien's fascination with the scenery on the Kicking Horse pass resulted in *Through the Rocky Mountains, a Pass on the Canadian Highway* (188?, fig. 16), which quickly became a banner piece for the CPR. It was shown frequently because the

²³There is evidence of this in many reviews of CPR imagery, such as this positive reaction to John Fraser's work, which appeared in the *Toronto Globe* in 1886: "In depicting the dark canyons and snow-capped peaks of the Rockies, instead of bringing them down to the character of the tamer scenes which might have been expected to have left an ineffaceable impression on his methods, he [Fraser] has risen to their sublime plane and depicted their dizzy heights, cavernous depths, dazzling lights and massive shadows, with the same bold firm touch, daring but truthful colour [...] that has formerly been so much admired in his charming little pictures of unpretending pastoral scenes" ("The Rocky Mountains" 5). While this comparison of Fraser's "dizzying" mountain views to his earlier pastoral work is odd, the reviewer clearly delights in the artist's bold treatment of the mountain scenery, one that does not shrink from portraying the grimmer aspects of the landscape.

²⁴In a letter to his friend H. P. Dwight, O'Brien reveals contradictory desires to be both close to nature yet not completely subsumed by it: "From our tents, which we pitch where we please, we look with pity upon the tourists. The latter, indeed, have all that civilized man can look for; comfort convenience and luxury in Pullman car and palace hotel; scenery, varies [sic] and magnificent beyond description; but we were free, free to rough it and be at home with nature; attuned, in our life and surroundings, to her wildest mood, and yet not without the comforts of savage life and what we care to have of the resources of civilization. Our canvass [sic] roofs are weatherproof; our mosquito bars are insect proof [...] A tent 8 feet square gives room for a small sheet iron cooking stove, light and portable, but large enough for our purpose [...]" ("Grandeur" 10).

harshness of the view demonstrated the CPR's greatness in overcoming that terrain (Pringle, "William Cornelius Van Horne" 64). It may also, as just demonstrated, have appealed to tourists because of the exciting ride it promised. Van Horne was aware that danger appealed to tourists, as evidenced by a letter to John Fraser urging that artist to make his mountains higher (Pringle, "William Cornelius Van Horne" 61). O'Brien does exaggerate the height of the mountains and the narrowness of the canyon in this view, also placing the bridge higher above the river than it really was, not only to thrill the viewer but to emphasize the CPR's greatness in overcoming such an obstacle (Reid, O'Brien 80). While it has this effect, the painting also makes the landscape seem even rougher, more frightening than it really was. These opposing effects resulting from O'Brien's treatment of the mountains stem from the two opposing interpretations discussed earlier, in which mountains can be seen as either terrifying or as conquered beasts. O'Brien, though he is usually described as a restrained artist who did not invest much emotional content in his landscapes, admitted that this work was not intended to be naturalistic, but to convey how the scene made him feel.²⁵ The painting shows the passage of the train over Kicking Horse Bridge in the Kicking Horse Pass, which has the longest and steepest gradient in the world (Reid, O'Brien 79).²⁶ To see this tiny train with its cloud of smoke mirroring the froth on

²⁵In a letter to Van Horne dated January 17, 1888, O'Brien wrote: "I send you a black and white sketch of the Kicking Horse Pass which I hope you will accept as a memento of a very interesting summer spent in the mountains. It does not pretend to be literal but is an endeavour to convey the impression made by the scene upon the artist" (Canadian Pacific Archives RG-1 19481).

²⁶One section, known as the "Big Hill", was notorious through twenty-four years of "temporary" use for its high operating costs and fearful accidents. The gradient here was 4.5% when the absolute limit set for acceptable safety standards was 2.2% (Marsh,

the turbulent waters below causes an inevitable sense of alarm at the thought of the train falling into the chasm. As Lady Dufferin wrote in her published journal account of travels in the West (1872-78): "I find the skeleton bridges trying to the nerves; one can see through them, and they make no attempt at having sides, and are so weak-looking, and so high from the ground" (195). The viewer in O'Brien's interpretation is situated on the rocky uncleared terrain below the bridge, next to the water. A log in the foreground points diagonally into the picture, using a common landscape technique to invite the eye to enter. At the same time this broken tree is part of a craggy terrain that hinders any sense of being able to approach it. Elizabeth Brown has commented on O'Brien's preoccupation with detail (7), an interesting observation in this case because the nature of the foreground detail creates a cluttering that prevents the viewer from mentally entering the landscape. The steepness of the mountains coming down to the river on either side accentuates the feeling of verticality, blocking out any sense of horizontal panorama.²⁷ George Horne Russell's (1861-1933) view of *Kicking Horse Pass* (1900, fig. 17), commissioned by the CPR, is one of the most intimidating examples of humanity being dwarfed by mountain surroundings. It too shows the raising of the horizon line that blocks the viewer's sense of penetrable distance. Once again our view to the left and right is cut off by steep mountain

"Spiral" 173).

²⁷Looking at the image forces one to recall what Stuart Cumberland wrote of the Pass, quoted in Chapter 1, and to consider that he was far from alone in his reaction to this landscape. Bertram Tennyson was a writer sympathetic to Cumberland: "I have not spoken of the Kicking Horse Pass over which Mount Stephen towers, giant amongst mountains, nor of the famous trestle bridge. Their surroundings are picturesque and grand, but terrifying, and chiefly to be admired when left behind [...]" (21). For an equally anxious description of the Pass, see Carmichael 19-20.

sides, and our foreground is screened by a few dark trees. This painting is considerably darker than most Rocky Mountain scenes, emphasizing the landscape's ominous aspects. The train in this case is so small that it is barely noticeable as it winds its way around the mountain on the left. The amount of brush on the side of the mountain also contributes to the obscurity of the train, causing it almost to disappear into the background rock as one more line within its striated surface. This fusion of the train with the landscape may of course represent the unity of civilization and nature, yet the train is so small it appears to be swallowed whole by the mountainside. The surrounding scenery seems to move up the painting like a wall, rather than receding back into space. A journey of twists and turns around these mountain barriers seems next to impossible.

One can observe the same kind of tension between landscape and railroad, a tension arising from the various factors discussed in the preceding pages, in the work of O'Brien's chief rival, John Arthur Fraser. Fraser's experience of the land out West first occurred second-hand, as Van Horne commissioned him to paint views for the CPR from photographs Van Horne would send to him. It is important to note that photography tended to create sharp distinctions between foreground, middleground and background, and sometimes contracted the space within an image. Thus, a painter working from photography might accidentally incorporate into a work one of the features McGregor has identified as revealing an inability to confront landscape distances: exaggerated breaks between the three picture grounds which prevent any meaningful relationship to panorama. However, since working from photography essentially circumvents the need to confront landscape firsthand (unless the artist takes his or her own photographs),

McGregor's interpretation may still play a role here.²⁸ Photography had other results as well, discussed by Ann Thomas in "The Role of Photography in Canadian Painting 1860-1900". Drawing using photographs, as Fraser did, can result in arbitrary framing and composition, and detail that remains consistent from foreground to background, creating a lack of selection and embellishment (7).²⁹

In Fraser's case, one of the results of working with photography was the creation of looming mountain masses that present themselves as flat walls. Working with photographs supplied by Van Horne, Fraser struggled to achieve the effects his commissioner was looking for. In one exchange, Van Horne actually sent a sketch of Mt. Stephen back to Fraser asking him to rework it because it "will hardly answer our purpose, the mountain not being sufficiently imposing", and enclosed a sketch of what he wanted to see. When Fraser replied he couldn't follow Van Horne's sketch exactly because its composition consisted only of a large mountain with nothing for contrast (most likely due to the 'arbitrary framing' resulting from working from a photograph), Van Horne suggested adding a train in the foreground (Pringle, "William Cornelius Van

²⁸In Canada the bulk of western imagery occurred after photography had already infiltrated the West and depicted it realistically, so "views of western Canada often dwelt more on the harshness of the wilderness than on its Eden-like quality" (Christopher Jackson 51).

²⁹Thomas feels the prevailing nineteenth-century attitude about photography, that it was always accurate and portrayed reality faithfully, was transmitted to realistic painting (16). For further discussion of this point and the relationship between painting and photography, see her thesis. For the purpose of this study photographs and paintings are both being treated as interpretations of the landscape, and examined for what they reveal about attitudes toward that landscape. Therefore, the distinctions between their creative processes and the public's perception of their different roles has only marginal bearing on this exploration.

Horne" 61). In the end Fraser fabricated an image of Mount Stephen (c.1886, fig. 18). Fraser's engraving was done after a photograph by Notman and Son (fig. 19), which perhaps accounts for the contraction of space and the sense that the mountain is a flat wall. Fraser's image resembles the photograph closely, except, of course, for the added train, and is an excellent example of McGregor's claim that looming mountains have played a negative role in Canadian landscape history. The foreground, what little there is of it, consists of a roadway, running between evergreen bands of forest, where the viewer may enter the picture but is immediately brought up short against the broad face of the mountain. Its lumpy surface fills the picture frame, giving no clue as to what may lie behind it, and at its base the small train with its puff of smoke appears minuscule and frail. Apparently Van Horne understood, as O'Brien did, that promotion of the railway could succeed by appealing to the tourist's taste for danger and adventure. A mountain's threatening aspect would not necessarily create a simple feeling of revulsion, but might also serve as a means of attraction.³⁰

When Fraser did actually travel to British Columbia in 1886 he painted works such as *Fraser River Line of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (fig. 20), in which he continued to

³⁰Charles Dudley Warner's description also helped to spread the fame of Mt. Stephen's frightening countenance: "We stood upon the rear platform watching the apparent recession of the great mass," he wrote, "when suddenly, and yet deliberately, the vast white bulk of Mount Stephen began to rise over the intervening summit in the blue sky, lifting itself up by a steady motion while one could count twenty, until its magnificence stood revealed. [...] The surprise was almost too much for the nerves; the whole company was awe-stricken. It is too much to say that the mountain 'shot up'; it rose with conscious grandeur and power. [...] I have never seen anything to compare with it for awakening the emotion of surprise and wonder" (447). Also see William Spotswood Green for a similar description, 55-6.

emphasize the mountain as flat obstacle. In this painting the track is a typically tiny line running along the side of a mountain to the right of the viewer. It heads into the centre of the image, where two mountains rest in a dark and dramatic attitude, painted as virtually flat purple obstacles. While they are not so close as to leave no breathing space, and we are distanced from them by the smooth, meandering Fraser River, the tracks once again seem to come up against them in a focal point of confrontation just above the horizon line, perhaps symbolizing the fundamental confrontation between humanity and nature itself. The bareness of the foreground mountainside, having been wiped virtually clean of vegetation due to the destructive work of railway crews building the line, echoes this. Fraser captured his reaction to the West, and to Mt. Stephen in particular, in a speech given to the Canadian Club in New York:

From the entrance of the Gap at Canmore, and up, up, ever up, past peak after peak, glaciers innumerable, ever madly-roaring boiling torrents [...]. Still up and up, until seven thousand feet above the sea level your train crawls past the base of Mount Stephen, its peak piercing the clouds a mile still higher up, and with head swimming and eyes and neck aching and your heart thumping against your ribs, you cry, enough! (239)

McGregor points to visual obstacles in the landscape as one of the tell-tale signs of a negative reaction to landscape, also in evidence in many images of the CPR. O'Brien's 1886 *Mountain Scene—Loop at Glacier* (fig. 21) is a perfect example. There is a decisive split between foreground, middle ground and background, and at each of these stages an obstacle blocks the viewer's path. The dark foreground trees effectively separate two

forms of civilization from the wilderness, the men in the foreground and the train in the middleground, all dwarfed by the incredible surrounding scenery. There is another train beyond these trees to the right, but it appears fragile, traveling under the dark crest of a mountain that is huge in comparison. Apart from the roadway on which the men stand with their horses (here humanity views the mountains from the safety of the roadway or the tracks, which represent the inroads of society), the foreground consists of fairly thick brush and fallen trees, making visual access to the landscape somewhat difficult. The background mountains create a wall, obliterating the horizon. Of distant sky we can see only a few patches in between mountain peaks. O'Brien's watercolour *View of the Rockies* (1887, fig. 22) is similar, cluttered in the foreground with brush and rocks, although beyond this is a flat expanse in which the viewer could imagine walking. The rest of the middleground is dark with shadowy trees, beyond which the snowy white mountains rise. Though they are not tall enough to be threatening, the absolutely minuscule size of the train causes the landscape to dominate in this image.

One can also trace the use of cloud and mist as an effective barrier in Canadian Pacific Railway images. In an 1890 photograph (fig. 23) of the Loop, the viewer is situated on the track that crosses a creek (the first obstacle) before receding into the distance. Another, more distant, section of the Loop is also visible on the right. Here a train is making its way to the foreground, on its way out of the picture, perhaps representing McGregor's theory that transportation signifies a need to escape. It is the background, however, that is relevant as a good example of the obscurity of mist or haze. Here we can once again make out a tall snowy mountain that creates the illusion of

blocking access to the landscape. As it is shrouded in mist, its peak is completely invisible so that we cannot gauge where mountain ends and sky begins. We are curtailed off from the distance by this mist, which was a common occurrence in the Rocky Mountains and most likely one of the reasons why many travelers, artists or otherwise, found it difficult to mentally access their surroundings. A. O. Wheeler captured this sensation when he described the Loop as surrounded by “frowning peaks, part hidden by drifting masses of cloud,” going on to comment: “as the vapour-filled pass gradually closes to your view and Glacier House, the one bright spot of the surroundings, fades slowly in the distance, your thoughts [...] pass to [...] a wilderness that even now, seen from the midst of luxury, sends a feeling akin to a shudder through your frame” (22).

From this description, and the photograph itself, it is easy to understand why McGregor identifies mistiness and haze as negative elements in Canadian landscape painting. Yet this feature, too, has a more complicated discussion surrounding it. In fact, the kind of haze or cloud McGregor identifies with the sublime can just as easily be seen as a by-product of the beautiful. Traditionally the beautiful landscape is associated with serene, idealized forms, an Arcadian mood, and land that is bathed in a soothing light or haze (Ketner and Tammenga 10). The obscurity of distance in many CPR works might simply be a reaction to perceived beauty, or a kind of idealization perpetrated by the artist. It certainly received a positive response from many who viewed CPR imagery. Louis Lloyd (1880) wrote of O’Brien’s work: “We are transported quite into the heart of the mountains, where we may wander all enraptured with the beauty that is revealed to us [...]. Our artist’s passion for cloud and mist has so taken possession of him, that we rarely

find a mountain completely unveiled. Vapoury cloudlets are ever floating about his pictures, half-concealing and half-revealing with charming effect” (233). The reviewer enjoys this screening mist, though it is difficult to guess whether this is because he revels in the dark mystery or because he too, prefers to see a barrier between himself and the awful mountains. Even Van Horne indicated a preference for misty views by proposing that O’Brien create a painting of a valley filled with mist on his 1886 trip to the Rockies (Chown 56).³¹ Frederic Marlett Bell-Smith (1846-1923), who made about twenty trips to the Rockies and was closely associated with Van Horne’s campaign (Tippett and Cole 53), focused on this subject in an 1890 watercolour titled *Mist, Rocky Mountains* (fig. 24). In this scene the left foreground shows a calm river that meanders back into the distance, while the right foreground is composed of rocky terrain at the base of a mountain. The train track runs along a shelf into the centre of the picture where it disappears around a corner, leading the eye into the focus of the painting, the bank of mist in the background. The mountains behind it rise to the top of the picture, but most of this area is lost in a wall of cloud. This mist casts a gloom over the scene, and closes in the landscape. Evidently mountains were not the only landscape feature that could create a barrier between viewer and vista: in Bell-Smith’s work the track appears to head right into the wall of mist, about

³¹G. M. Grant makes similar positive comments on the presence of haze in the mountains: “There are still a few fires in the woods along the base of the mountains, and the air is slightly hazy in consequence; but this helps rather than hinders the effect on the mind of the onlooker. When the weather is perfectly clear, all the mountains within the range of vision seem close at hand [...]. A little haze gives the requisite perspective. When clouds are wreathed round the base or roll midway up, the peaks come out with nothing between them and you, and they seem so near that one fancies he could almost put his hand on them” (45-6).

to be blinded by an enveloping cloud. Bell-Smith described his experience of climbing in the Selkirks chiefly in terms of the atmospheric effects: “The clouds were rising from the valley in long festoons [...]. [...] I came up to get a sketch of the panorama! That was impossible, there were only fleeting glimpses and the constant shifting of the clouds made sketching impossible. I could only take out my book [...] and make a few notes in pencil” (93-4)³²

One of the most interesting representations of CPR scenery is George Horne Russell’s *Wings of the Morning* (undated, fig. 25), also one of the best examples of McGregor’s claim that the overall atmosphere of a painting can be instrumental in reading its meaning. Russell was commissioned by the CPR on more than one occasion, and his works appeared in the 1890’s pamphlet Glimpses Along the Line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In this composition Russell creates a dramatic, Turner-esque interpretation that is nothing like the usual, realistic paintings generated for the CPR. The train in this image is actually very close to us, and therefore much larger than is typical for such paintings, its own cloud of smoke mingling with the misty surroundings. Instead of a clear representation of the landscape’s dangers, Russell’s image is almost more frightening in its obscurity. The atmosphere is so dense in its swirl of bluish colours, we can’t see a thing beyond the rocky crag that supports the train. Although the title implies that the lighting and even the mistiness is simply due to the time of day and the sunrise, there is a lurid quality to the atmosphere that belies the fresh innocence typically associated with the

³²In contrast, Bell-Smith is also quoted as finding the Rockies inviting. See John Stanley 88.

dawning of a new day. Perhaps it is because the sun is rising so high in the picture frame, making us aware that the bluish hue behind the train is probably the shadow of a large mountain looming in the background. Whether due to mountain or mist, the entire landscape is hidden from us; the train is flying through a mysterious land, cut off by a gloomy atmosphere.

From these examples, it is obvious why Gaile McGregor has focused on negativity in her assessment of nineteenth-century Canadian landscape, even though they also highlight the need for discussion of the complex nature of landscape imagery during this time period. There is no denying that many images of the railway in the West contain a kind of stilted movement, a railway that is blocked at every turn by some mountain obstacle, or threatened on its way by yawning chasms and steep inclines. The mountainous landscape often closes in on the track, rising so high around the viewer that there can be no thought of a panoramic, spacious expanse. During the nineteenth century, in places such as mountain peaks, humanity's impermanence "was generally rectified by the erection of a stone cairn, by the naming of the peak, or by writing an article on the achievement" (Marsh, "Landscape and Recreation" 204). It could also be rectified by the taking of a photograph, or the painting of a picture. Yet somehow in the Canadian West a sense of impermanence remains, captured in the images that fought against this very condition. Pride in the technical accomplishment of the railway is never in question, but set within the grandeur of this particular landscape the railroad's diminutive aspect consistently renders it seemingly subservient to the land, its existence a mere scratch along the great bellies of mountains, a target for their thundering avalanches.

“As the most foreboding physical barrier between Canada’s East and populated centres of B.C., the rugged mountain terrain symbolized the struggle to unite the Dominion and the strength of that bond” (Pringle, “National Park” 25). Yet the nature of the railway journey across Canada was such that the rail moved easily across the Prairies, encountering no obstacle, and the sudden coming upon a vast range of mountains that rose up forbiddingly against its progress was an alarming shock. It is hardly surprising that such a shock prompted in many artists a return to the garrison mentality that Frye has observed recurring in Canadian culture throughout our history.

Chapter 3

“A story - a true story - is told of an American woman who, after gazing at one of the world’s wonders, the great Illecillewaet Glacier, a mighty mass of crystal ice towering thousands of feet from the level of the Canadian Pacific Railway track, asked in all earnestness: “Is it a real glacier, or only one that the Company have put there for an advertisement?”” (Morris 102).

While it may be impossible now to substantiate the claim, made by Keith Morris in The Story of the Canadian Pacific Railway, that this anecdote is a true story, it nonetheless highlights a significant difference between American and Canadian attitudes toward the Western landscape. The American woman is comical because she innocently presumes it would have been possible for the CPR to construct something as large, heavy, and awe-inspiring as the Glacier that became one of the line’s great tourist attractions. Yet, along with innocence, she demonstrates confidence, coming from Canada’s southern neighbour where human dominion over landscape is taken for granted.

As the previous chapter was concerned with imagery displaying the respect of Canadian artists and photographers for the powers of wilderness, this chapter will use American painting and photography to point out some ways in which the American relationship with wilderness differed from the Canadian. While Canadians tended to picture the wilderness as a barrier to civilization. “Americans were busy discovering it, and hailing their own triumphs over nature” (Robert Hughes 137). As the image of the train came into American landscape painting, bringing civilization into the virgin land, its

appearance struck the American imagination as providential. The train of the West was seen as an instrument of Manifest Destiny, God's plan for American settlement of the West, and the harsher the landscape in which it was depicted, the more powerful the railway appeared to be. Yet often in American images of railways in the West, the harshness of landscape featured in Canadian work is absent; instead, the land welcomes the trains into its midst as part of civilization's destined westward trek. Although this was due in part to purely geographical factors (the geological differences between the mountains in Canada and the United States, as discussed in Chapter 1), it is clear that other, less physically tangible factors — factors closely related to the ideology underpinning Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis" — were also at play. While Americans revered nature as an unspoiled Eden in which humanity could redeem itself, agents of technology were equally respected, as "figurations of the human capacity to approximate the unsurpassable, never wholly expressible, power and immensity and majesty — in short, sublimity — of the creation itself" (Marx, Machine in the Garden 191).

The railroads' success was fueled by public relations campaigns that preceded, and paralleled, Van Horne's advertising campaign for the CPR. In the images created by American artists who traveled the railways to depict western scenery, one can find evidence that "the unsettled portions of this new land represented in the minds of those early painters [...] the clear indication of God's presence [...]" (Truettner, "Natural

History” 38).¹ This approach to landscape was in fact immanent throughout American culture, seen in the paintings of Thomas Cole (1801-1848) and the Hudson River School, and in Transcendentalist literature. In addition, since the New World was “culturally thin” compared to Europe, its landscape was important in replacing history as a form of self-definition (Angela Miller 7). Consequently, American images of landscape often took on a different role from that of the more negative Canadian landscapes. McGregor compared Wacousta to James Fenimore Cooper’s Leatherstocking novels with good reason: “the remarkable thing about Leatherstocking is that he felt as much in peaceful harmony with the sublime as with the beautiful” (Gelpi 299). Reaction to the sublime, and the use of it in artistic production, is thus one of the major differences between American and Canadian depictions of the wilderness. While American railway artists were able to use the sublime in a positive way, stressing its uplifting aspects, Canadians, as seen in Chapter 2, were more likely to emphasize the sublime as terrifying and humbling. As Canadian work tended to be fraught with contradictions, though, so was the American, in the production of images which lauded economic expansion, symbolized by the railroad, alongside images supporting preservation of a pure, unspoiled wilderness (Danly, “Introduction” 16). Such contradiction, as will be seen with the examination of paintings and photographs, also

¹Americans borrowed this idea from a long association of wilderness with God. Biblically the word “wilderness” referred primarily to the desert, the place of punishment to which God banished people when he disapproved of them. However, God also protected people in the wilderness, as he protected Moses and the Israelites. This led to the idea of wilderness as a place where one could connect with God in a meaningful and positive way (Nash 13-16).

occurred within individual images.²

Canadians, as evidenced by Chapter 2, tended to define the sublime using early theories such as Edmund Burke's, which emphasized the enjoyment of nature's dangers witnessed from a safe remove. As theories of the sublime evolved, though, it came to be defined in America as a willing and painless subjection of the self to nature's forces. The artistic sublime at this point became an experience in which the meaning of nature was found in its regenerative, inspiring, even nurturing powers, rather than in its threatening or destructive moods (Angela Miller 249-50).³ At the same time, sublimity moved from the depiction of loud noise (such as thunder and volcanoes) that struck fear into human hearts, to views of peaceful serenity and quiet: the contemplation of light-filled panoramas (Novak 39). Mountains, too, changed their aspect alongside this change in the sublime; Americans went from interpreting them as symbols of turmoil (due to the earth's upheaval during their creation), to seeing them as representative of calm strength, permanence, and tranquility (Angela Miller 270). While before the Age of Enlightenment they were seen as dangerous barriers, later on a new, religious interpretation of mountains was born in which they became signs of the wonder and majesty of God (Ketner and Tammenga 22). Americans, identifying with this later philosophy, saw mountains as symbols of God, freedom, and patriarchal power (Angela Miller 268), unlike the more ambiguous Canadian

²Novak also points out that contradiction can occur in American landscape: "solitude could lead to peace or dread, immense space to universal tranquility or overwhelming awe – that is, to the newer, more tranquil sublimity or to the older, rhetorical one. The artists were capable of practicing both simultaneously" (150).

³Barbara Novak has also written extensively on the evolution of the sublime in American art, in Nature and Culture 34-39.

interpretation of mountains seen in Chapter 2, which associated them with *both* turmoil and tranquility.

The mountain, however, is only one symbol to be dealt with in this chapter. Barbara Novak also discusses still water in the American landscape as connected to the new sublime, symbolizing spiritual calm (40). This is particularly telling when remembering how many Canadian landscapes, connected to an earlier definition of the sublime, contained rushing, turbulent water, such as the images of the Kicking Horse River.⁴ Considering cloud, Novak emphasizes the American artist's attempt to capture ever-changing clouds on canvas in order to create an image of eternity (82). The sky, seen as the vessel of the spirit, always symbolized divinity in nature (90). This contrasts with McGregor, who writes of cloud only as a negative, gloomy element. About light, Novak insists that "in all instances, the spirituality of light signals the newly Christianized sublime" (42). The use of warm light in American painting usually connotes the presence of God as a comforting, benevolent being, while in most Canadian works this light is absent. In this sense McGregor points out a truth when she writes of the negativity of overcast landscapes in nineteenth-century Canadian painting. While the mere presence of clouds or gloomy atmosphere need not necessarily be construed as revealing a fear of one's surroundings, it does seem as though the absence of warm light implies an absence

⁴The Rev. Daniel Gordon, a visitor to the Fraser River, captured the relationship between moving water and terror: "For wild and startling scenery this drive has few equals. [...] You look down on the Fraser, at the foot of the sheer and rugged cliff, wild, masterful, turbulent, whirling and swirling in rapids and eddies that invariably prove fatal to any who fall within their grasp" (28). There is a fair amount of dangerous water described in American literature, as well, but it is not as prominent in American western imagery.

of God, or absence of the belief that the landscape is God-given, which would otherwise mitigate the terrifying aspect of the mountains.⁵ Like McGregor, Novak comments on the small size of figures in American landscape, but she interprets this as a sign that humanity is absorbed into the landscape in a positive way, embraced by God (191-2). Civilization may be an intruder in the Garden of Creation in American landscape (198), but it never seems to be overwhelmed. This is in large part because the landscape *around* the figures appears welcoming, indicating that their small stature simply implies they do not encroach upon the wilderness. Similarly, Novak writes about the diminutive size of trains as an attempt by the artist to blend technology into the landscape (169). Artists tried to reconcile nature with technology, representing trains as small to alleviate guilt about the desecration of nature as American civilization rolled inexorably — as Frederick Jackson Turner describes it — westward (171).

American artists felt they had to capture a pristine wilderness before it disappeared at the hands of advancing civilization (Goetzmann 12), since, as discussed in Chapter 1, the American western population was significantly greater than the Canadian. According to the 1890 census, the unsettled portion of the West was so broken by isolated areas of settlement that it had essentially disappeared (Turner 1). This vast increase in settlement was largely due to the transcontinental railroads built during the previous three

⁵Ross Cox, writing of Canadian mountain scenery (1816), expressed the difference even between soft light and the harsh sun that appears in many Canadian landscapes: “The country round our encampment presented the wildest and most terrific appearance of desolation that can well be imagined,” he wrote. “The sun shining on a range of stupendous glaciers, threw a chilling brightness over the chaotic mass of rocks, ice, and snow, by which we were surrounded. [...] I’ll take my oath [...] that God Almighty never made such a place!” (qtd. In Patton 17-18).

decades, accounting for artists' attempts to minimize the train's pictorial impact on the landscape when depicting it. Canadian artists feared the destruction of nature as well, but it is unlikely they felt as strongly. Canadians were busy trying to settle the West, so there were not many places in the Canadian West at this time where an artist would have keenly sensed the encroachment of civilization upon wilderness. In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 1, Canada had only one transcontinental railroad during the nineteenth century, while Americans had several. The Central Pacific was started in 1861 by a group now known as the Big Four: Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford (President), Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker. It was built from San Francisco and joined to the Union Pacific, which came from the East, at Promontory, in Utah, in 1867. The Union Pacific began with William B. Ogden as President, and in 1874 was taken over by Jay Gould, who commissioned artists and photographers in much the same way as Van Horne. The Southern Pacific Railroad went from San Francisco to New Orleans, joining the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad in 1881 to create the second transcontinental line. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, one of the largest railroads in the United States, was founded in 1859 by Cyrus K. Holliday. At the turn of the century, W. H. Simpson was at the helm of its advertising campaign, which also paralleled Van Horne's. The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, started by General William Jackson Palmer, was finished in 1881. Using artists and photographers to advertise itself, it took advantage of the fact that the landmark Mountain of the Holy Cross was on its line. Images of this mountain will be discussed later in the chapter. The Northern Pacific, started in 1864, was in 1869 under the direction of Jay Cooke. Cooke supported the creation of Yellowstone National Park,

since this was on the railway's line and would increase tourist use, and took advantage of the magnificent scenery of the park for advertisements (Runte 24). The line was completed in 1883, and increased settlement from its advertising campaign led to the creation of the States of Montana, Washington, North Dakota, and South Dakota in 1889.

However, long before the train made its appearance in the landscape Americans glorified western settlement in imagery and emphasized the inviting aspects of western landscape. While Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show advertised the American West as a dangerous battleground where cowboys and Indians faced off, this was somewhat of an exaggeration. The American pioneer's desire for order, in fact, resembled the Canadian mentality more closely than the stereotypical image of the gun-slinging western man suggests (O'Connor 14). In a famous excursion organized by the Union Pacific Railroad in 1866 for some wealthy patrons, in fact, a mock Indian battle was part of the show, catering to the tourists' desire to see the exciting, "Wild" West they had been led to expect through entertainment such as Cody's. In reality, the West for the average traveler and pioneer was far more peaceful, and this is reflected in much western imagery. Emmanuel Leutze's (1816-1868) *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way* (1861, fig. 26) depicts settlement before the advent of the railway. This work seems to literally represent "the flood" of immigrants so often described in American rhetoric, as the scene is inundated by mounted men and covered wagons. They sit atop a hill, looking out on a flat and presumably fertile land into which they will flow to seek out their livelihood and their destiny. The landscape glows a vibrant violet and gold in the sunset light. Two pioneers have climbed to a higher pinnacle of rock and one of them stands, waving his hat,

symbolizing human triumph over nature's obstacles. Others, in particular the focal group, who resemble the holy family in their biblical "flight into Egypt" — another connection to divine intention — point to their path on the downward slope (Sweeney 32). The Rocky Mountains are present in purple and white frozen waves, but are shoved into the right-hand corner like a bit of the past, a difficulty already overcome. The triumph of the people recalls William Gilpin's words: "Behold the sublime panorama which crowns the middle region of our union, fans the fire of patriotism, and beckons on the energetic host of our people" (Boime 145). Another early image of the West is Titian Peale's (1799-1885) *Rocky Mountains...From a Sketch by S...* (undated, fig. 27). It resembles the topographical images discussed at the beginning of Chapter 2, and is comparable to Warre's work in Canada. However, even though it depicts the Rockies, they hardly seem as formidable as in Warre's images. From a foreground dotted with a few bushes, the ground rolls away gently to the low, distant mountains. The emphasis is on horizontal panorama, and the view to the horizon is unobstructed. A similar image is Alfred Jacob Miller's (1810-1874) *Trappers Saluting the Rocky Mountains* (1864, fig. 28). In this work the figures are very small, but the sense of space is similar, a few foreground trees giving way to a long sweep of water, and the Rockies rising rather unimpressively beyond the opposite bank. The scene is illuminated by a rosy glow, most of the picture space being given over to sky, and the distant mountains appear as soft as a bank of cloud. The inviting nature of the painting reflects, perhaps, Miller's feeling that "the time is rapidly approaching when villas and hotels will rise on the shores of these charming sheets of water — and when railways are carried through the South Pass, will inevitably become not only the 'grand tour' but the

Grand Highway of this celestial empire” (qtd. in Hunt 22).

Before exploring how this positive trend continued into the era of western railways, some of the more negative imagery should be examined. While Americans created many depictions of railroads that are almost diametrically opposed to Canadian images, they also produced a number of frightening landscape depictions, indicating their views on landscape were just as complicated as those explored in Chapter 2. Harvey Otis Young’s (1840-1901) painting *The Heart of the Rockies* (1899, fig. 29) shows no train, but in other respects closely resembles Russell’s *Wings of the Morning* (fig. 25). We are standing in this image on the backbone of the mountain range, which glows a golden orange and slants down on either side into blackness. The view is no comfort, though, since mist surrounds us and we can see nothing beyond a few feet except a hint of the ridge disappearing into the cloud. The inability to see any of the land below or around is disconcerting. Photographer William Henry Jackson’s (1843-1942) image of the Canyon of the Rio Las Animas in Colorado (c.1880, fig. 30) is also unlike much American railroad imagery.⁶ Standing at the foot of the canyon near the rushing river, we look straight up the rocky, crumbling canyon wall to a train snaking its way along the ledge. While the train is placed high up and above us in a position that should be dominant, its diminutive size and precarious position on the canyon wall fail to inspire confidence.⁷

⁶In 1874 Jay Gould of the Union Pacific, Denver Pacific and Denver and Rio Grande railroads agreed to take Jackson on as a photographer. The canyon was on the route of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad (Hales, William Henry Jackson 141).

⁷When the railroad was built, “Jackson was now working extensively with the largest available cameras: 20 × 24-inch negatives produced spectacular prints as big as most easel paintings, forcing the viewer into the scene” (Hales, Masters n.p.), as this

An engraving of *Animas Cañon and the Needle Mountains* (1887, fig. 31), also published by the Denver and Rio Grande, is even more intimidating. Beyond the rushing river and its rocky bed, a small train passes between cliffs of extraordinary height. They tower on either side and fill the background of the picture, leaving only traces of the sky above, dwarfing the train. Thomas Moran (1837-1926) also created imagery that could easily be construed as negative. An engraving after him entitled *The Cliffs of Echo Cañon, Utah* figured in The Pacific Tourist: Adams and Bishop's Illustrated Transcontinental Guide of Travel, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean: A Complete Traveler's Guide of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads (1884, fig. 32). It shows a small track passing between rocky cliffs, an equally rocky foreground creating a feeling of difficult access. One cliff rises all the way up the left-hand side of the frame and overhead, while another on the right leans dangerously over the track, as if about to topple. Into this scene a distant train is making its way from the background, so tiny as to be initially unnoticeable, and heading right for the jagged rock that seems about to fall and crush the track at any moment. A print by Moran, called *The Chin Chan Above its Juncture with the Rimac* and published in Scribner's Monthly in 1877 (fig. 33), is also an overwhelming view. Situated high up in the mountains on a rocky pinnacle, we look out over a deep gorge to a large mountain in a series of peaks. Across this rocky face an incredibly small train makes its way from left to right, its position on the rocky ledge a precarious one, as is ours looking down over the abyss. The sky is a mixture of clouds and light, and while the tips of the mountains are illuminated, the train is symbolically in shadow, as is most of the land

photograph demonstrates.

below.

While it is obvious from these examples that Americans did sometimes construe landscape in a negative fashion (if only, perhaps, to glorify human technology), a different approach to nature from the Canadian is visible in many more railway images. Even before the transcontinental railways, this new transportation represented dominion over the landscape: “In the 1830's the locomotive...is becoming a kind of national obsession. It is the embodiment of the age, an instrument of power, speed, noise, fire, iron, smoke [...] a testament to the will of man rising over natural obstacles [...]” (Marx, Machine in the Garden 191). Thomas Rossiter's (1818-1871) *Opening of the Wilderness* (c.1858, fig. 34) illustrates this. It shows the railway close to us, and therefore dominant in the landscape. Beyond, a low range of mountains lies under a lurid sunset light. Rossiter presents the railway, rather than the land, as an ominous feature (Walther 84), a phenomenon completely opposed to Canadian railway art. One imagines these smoking beasts heading off into the wilderness, polluting it and carrying more destructive civilization with them. This feeling is emphasized by the horizontal layout of the painting, the trains lined up on the left facing unknown wilderness on the right, and smoking like angry beasts about to charge. A Currier and Ives print after Frances Palmer's (1812-1876) *Across the Continent: Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way* (1868, fig. 35) was designed before the completion of the first transcontinental railway and thus doesn't represent any particular view along the Union Pacific line, but ideologically it presents a very particular viewpoint. The mountains in this lithograph are distant, perhaps representative of obstacles easily surmounted, while the railroad runs diagonally almost down the centre of

the plain, clearly dividing the civilized world from the uncivilized (Walther 91). To the left we see the buildings and townspeople of a settled pioneer region, and to the right we see trees, the aforementioned mountains, and a pair of Natives whose view of the landscape is obscured symbolically by a stream of smoke emanating from the train. In one sense the train acts as a barrier to the wilderness, one that protects the town from it, following suit with the kind of mentality already seen in Canadian art. Yet there is a confidence in the fact that civilization will prevail, that neither wilderness nor its Native inhabitants can stop progress, which is rarely present in Canadian paintings of the same theme. The land toward which the train is heading is uninhabited, but the sweeping view shows every promise of an easy journey into fertile terrain. An 1870 Currier and Ives print, *The Great West* (fig. 36), depicts a train heading away from a mountain range and into the foreground, appearing large compared to more distant houses and trees. The land is easily entered, the plain stretching away until it hits the background mountains. These are high, but a pass through them leaves a fair amount of sky visible, and also shows the tracks winding through them until they disappear at the horizon. The colour scheme of bright green grass, pale mountains and a pale blue sky coming down to a pocket of pale pink on the horizon, adds to the feeling of accessibility.

It is important to understand, as in Canada, how much a sense of nationalism was projected onto the landscape in America, and sustained through images that used landscape as a forum for symbols of national strength and unity. Americans also pictured western landscape as the site of Manifest Destiny, seeing God's presence in the wilderness as the ultimate endorsement of American unity. "With such a range of religious, moral,

philosophic, and social ideas projected onto the American landscape, it is clear that the painters who took it upon themselves to deal with this 'loaded' subject were involved not only with art, but with the iconography of nationalism" (Novak 15). One of the most famous American artists ever to paint the mountains was Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902), whose colossal works of the Great West quickly vaulted him to fame during the 1860's and 1870's. Bierstadt's works were popular precisely because they represented the West as both grand and welcoming, using beams of heavenly light to connote the divine presence that would please the public. Bierstadt catered to the nationalist sentiment of Americans who wished to see the West as both representative of America's greatness, and as a land that turned a benevolent face toward the coming tides of immigration. His conception of the West was different from the Canadian in part because by the time he traveled West, wagon ruts through South Pass had already been worn, and in 1863 when he entered California, it was fifteen years since the discovery of gold there had brought significant settlement (Anderson, "Wonderfully Full" 69-70). Although he presented the West as an as-yet-uncivilized Eden, he was in fact traveling in the footsteps of many who had gone before him. Bierstadt was also painting his early western landscapes during the Civil War, when the distant plains and mountains he depicted represented to Easterners an idyllic landscape untouched by war (81). In this light, it is easy to understand why Bierstadt focused on positive, if awe-inspiring, aspects of wilderness, using landscape to represent the strength and inspiration that Americans considered to be their inheritance, and why the public for its part interpreted his work positively. His mountains may have often towered over his viewer, as do mountains in Canadian scenes, but other features,

such as welcoming light and open foreground space, countered the mountains' chilling effect. An interesting example is Bierstadt's *Passing Storm Over the Sierra Nevada, 1870* (fig. 37), because it not only makes use of calm water and glowing light, but it does so in the context of a storm, a subject that would have been a most ideal candidate for the older concept of the sublime. As discussed in Chapter 2, McGregor identifies overcast skies and gloomy mist as chief elements representing negativity in Canadian landscapes, seen in figures 23 and 25. Bierstadt, however, manages to put a positive spin on the mountain storm in this image. The viewer is standing on the shore of a lake which is surprisingly calm, except for a few ripples. The right side of the picture is somewhat crowded with rocks and trees, and is cast in the dark shadow of passing cloud, but the eye may wander back over the water on the left to distant mountains. Here the storm is passing, and the sun is already breaking through the clouds, lighting the mountain peaks with a soft glow.

Bierstadt's use of calm expanses of water and mellow light not only symbolizes the connection to God in nature, which in turn connotes western settlement as a destined process, but also reflects his association with the Luminist school, which was grounded in an identification of the self with nature. Angela Miller has identified atmospheric luminism as a technique which virtually eliminated topographic divisions, creating of landscape a seamless, light-suffused "container of colored air" (243-8), which places it in direct opposition to McGregor's observations on the sharp distinction between picture planes in Canadian landscape painting. From within this "womblike" space of warmth and glowing light, the viewer would experience landscape as fusing with the self (281), rather than as the separate, even hostile, entity featured in many Canadian paintings. Appropriately,

Luminist works tended to be small, emphasizing an intimacy with nature, using water and light in a calm, peaceful landscape to create a mood of tranquil contemplation. In addition, according to Novak, Luminist painting also involved the “eradication of stroke,” which led to an erasing of the process of painting and a confrontation with detail (28), making it easier to enter into Bierstadt’s created world.

While Luminist art was not related to the art of the frontier, and while Bierstadt’s work in the West did not conform to all the characteristics of Luminism (for instance, in the case of the large size of his western paintings) Bierstadt did incorporate aspects of the school into his work. Using the characteristic stillness and light, he reinvented the feeling of Luminist peaceful reflection in the invigorating landscape of the West. Americans responded positively to this, as their concept of a landscape aesthetic was closely related to the Luminist school, thus imbuing his western subjects with the above-noted optimistic and confident attitudes of a nationalist landscape in which the subject feels at home and at one, and in which s/he finds God. The peaceful landscape, in which the unity between humanity and nature symbolized the embrace of God, was also in tune with the optimistic vision of Manifest Destiny. In Luminist works, the spectator confronted a world without movement and was “brought into a wordless dialogue with nature, which quickly becomes the monologue of transcendental unity” (Novak 29). This kind of projection onto nature fostered a sense of unique destiny within the American heart (7).

Light, so central to Luminist art, therefore also played a crucial role in many western American images. Bierstadt’s *Emigrants Crossing the Plains* (1867, fig. 38) uses it to glorify and sanctify western settlement. In this image there is no railroad, but a

caravan of mounted riders, domesticated animals, and covered wagons makes its way into a glorious sunset, the West once again welcoming and beckoning. Small points that probably signify the teepees of a Native village show themselves in the glow, but don't appear to present any threat or impediment to progress, as neither do the rocky cliffs rising to the right. The setting is one of glorious expansion, heralded by fluffy pink clouds and a blazing sun. As Bierstadt wrote in a letter to The Crayon: "At a distance, you imagine you see cleared land and the assurances of civilization, but you find nature has done all the clearing" (qtd. in Sweeney 133). Bierstadt envisioned the West as a place so welcoming that it had literally cleared itself, according to God's will, to make way for coming civilization.⁸

Another work that makes use of this kind of glowing colour is Thomas Moran's *Golden Gate to the Yellowstone* (1893, fig. 39). It shows no railroad, either, but does feature a small bridge clinging to the side of a cliff and dotted with travelers. Moran altered the view here to make it both more and less frightening than it actually was. The ravine is deepened and cliffs heightened, but at the same time, distances are lengthened and the vista widened (Trenton and Hassrick 195). It represents the Golden Gate Canyon near the Mammoth Hot Springs, in the northwest corner of Yellowstone Park where the cliff walls are covered with yellow lichen, emphasized by Moran's palette of warm golden

⁸In an interview in the Boston Evening Transcript on March 29, 1860, Bierstadt in fact emphasized the trials and privations of traveling in the West, down to eating bread and water and fearing Indian attacks. While he probably exaggerated his accounts for the sake of creating drama, it makes an interesting contrast with Canadian emphasis on fear, because Bierstadt sees himself as western hero rather than garrisoned artist (Anderson, "Wonderfully Full" 73).

tones. While celebrating nature, Moran “also carefully represented the effect of man’s appearance in the wilderness: the road built along the canyon walls was a considerable engineering feat. Yet, the [...] human presence has not diminished the glory of nature” (Boehme 39-41). The foreground rockiness renders the scene difficult to enter, but the open space beyond and the warm colour create a feeling of invitation. One can compare this image with Lucius O’Brien’s painting of the Cariboo Road (fig. 15), which is similar but has some important differences. In both paintings a spindly bridge with small figures traversing it is shown on the right, but O’Brien’s picture is vertical instead of horizontal, his sense of space contracted, and his lighting lacks the glowing sense of welcome created by Moran’s view. Moran’s *Wilhemina Pass, Weber Cañon* (fig. 40), published in The Pacific Tourist, shows a startling use of light, considering that it is a black and white engraving. It shows a small track with a distant train heading through the mountains toward the viewer. The mountains slope up on either side, but are far enough away from the train and low enough to leave ample breathing space. The light is most carefully conveyed as gleaming from behind the puffy clouds, and illuminating the mountain slopes and the gently rippling river of water beside the track, creating a glow of benediction.

It was not until Bierstadt was commissioned by the railroad baron Collis P. Huntington that he painted a view in which a railway was visible (Anderson, “Wonderfully Full” 95). *Donner Lake from the Summit* (1873, fig. 41) was painted following a trip to San Francisco taken by Bierstadt with his wife in 1871 in order to fulfill the commission. “Responding to Huntington’s wishes that the picture celebrate the conquest of the Sierra by the railroad, Bierstadt attempted to create a composition that would accommodate both

the natural and the technological sublime” (97). Bierstadt shows the landscape where the scene was laid for one of the greatest tragedies of the pioneer era. In this wilderness the Donner party, a group of pioneers overtaken by snow in the Sierras during the winter of 1846-7, lost 36 of 83 people, those surviving forced to resort to cannibalism to stay alive (Shearer 242). Huntington probably chose the location because the presence of the railroad here, indicated by tiny snow sheds on the right of the painting, symbolized human triumph over a terrible wilderness. The railway promised that no tragedy such as that of the Donner party need occur again. Bierstadt’s approach to the scene is to make the railway very small, most likely to show the road without allowing it to encroach upon pristine nature. Huntington, in fact, at first rejected the picture because Bierstadt failed to paint the railroad as dominant (Anderson, “Wonderfully Full” 97). The scene takes in a wide expanse of land, and although the mountains could be treacherous in this area, our vantage point at their summit allows us to look out on what seems a gentle incline of receding peaks and cliffs. The soft light of a sun just about to set pervades the landscape. The land itself lies in russet shades while the sky, which stretches out fully from one end of the painting to the other, is a golden yellow, its light suffusing Donner Lake and the peaks surrounding it. Bierstadt’s vision is in direct contrast to the snowy scene that would have been background to the Donner Party disaster. It seems as though the land has finally given up raging at invading settlers and has opened its arms, inviting us into a western Eden. The painting lends itself to Angela Miller’s interpretation of landscapes in which the familiar symbol of mountain is inverted, and what occupies its place is “the radiating, impalpable glow of the sun, whose light and heat hollow out a great well at the center of

the composition” (281), creating a protective womb of warmth for the viewer. One can see how Bierstadt idealized the scene by comparing it to a photograph by Carleton E. Watkins (1829-1916) (c.1880, fig. 42), who traveled along the Central Pacific with the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey into the Sierra Nevada mountains in 1878 (Rule 17). In Watkins’ image the same vista is visible, with the lake in the distance, the land sloping down, and the snow sheds to the right. All this is familiar, but the ground is extremely rocky and unappealing. Bierstadt obviously softened and smoothed the scene in order to make it appear more inviting,⁹ as well as shrinking the snow sheds down to nothing so they would not intrude upon the scene. He “poured all his rhetoric, inherited and invented, into this canvas [...]. The crowds that assembled to view this tour de force when the Central Pacific Railroad exhibited around America learned three things: first, that the Donner Pass held no more terrors for the traveler; second, that the railroad didn’t damage Nature; and third, that the deep cushions of a Pullman Palace car on the CPR were the right throne from which to view its splendors” (Robert Hughes 198). Thomas Moran’s engraving *Donner Lake, From Near the Summit, Nevada* (published in The Pacific Tourist, 1884, fig. 43) is a cross between Bierstadt’s and Watkins’ images, showing a rocky foreground, with a small figure to emphasize the scale of the scenery, and the familiar snowsheds to the right. In the distance a train, passing on a mountainside above the lake, is visible. While Moran more realistically captures the rocky ground and scraggly trees of the area, he uses Bierstadt’s technique (as much as is possible in an

⁹Danly has compared the painting to A. J. Russell’s photograph, *Snow Sheds of the C.P.R.R. and Donner Lake*, in order to prove the same thing (“Introduction” 29-30).

engraving) of emphasizing rays of sunlight, as they flood the sky and glance off the water of the lake, to create a more idyllic scene.

Later on, in 1871-72, Bierstadt made another image of the scene, *View of Donner Lake, California* (fig. 44). This time the painting is a vertical slice of landscape, the rocky land on either side much closer to us, emphasizing the harshness of this difficult terrain. Below, a narrow path winds its way between these rocks. The snow sheds on the line of the Central Pacific railway are closer to us, also, but still appear quite small. Mitigating this view is our ability to see all the way down to the lake, which is once again bathed in golden light under a yellow sky. Similar to this work is William Keith's (1838-1911) *Donner Lake* (c. 1878-9, fig. 45), which shows the same view looking down the slope to the misty blue lake below. Keith's work shows no train, and is not as easy to enter as Bierstadt's interpretation. The foreground is relatively clear, but a dark cliff and trees on the right block out most of our view, and the warm golden tones of Bierstadt are absent. Keith's technique is also responsible for preventing the viewer from entering here, since his loose, painterly brush strokes distract from the view, causing one to look at surface rather than the space. While it is possible to see all the way to infinity over the low peaks in the distance, the work shows that Bierstadt chose a view particularly well suited to revealing a vast distance (or *created* such a view), and his smooth style allows it to be contemplated as though it lies right before us.

Bierstadt's work also provides an important link between Canadian and American western artistic production, because he painted the Canadian West as well as the American. In the 1880's Bierstadt's popularity was declining and his vast western scenes

had fallen out of favour with American art critics. In 1888 he came to Canada, where images of the West were still in vogue,¹⁰ and people still viewed the West with awestruck wonder. “Bierstadt’s association with the Dufferins and Lornes is significant [...] for it shows that these aristocratic personages were drawn to a certain view of landscape” (Reid, Our Own Country 295). Provided with a private car by Van Horne, Bierstadt came into contact with many Canadian artists, and no doubt had an effect on their production. Because he had painted the American West earlier, artists promoting the Canadian West in their work looked to him, to a certain extent, for style and subject matter (Pringle, “Albert Bierstadt” 3). On a trip to Quebec in 1880, Bierstadt painted with Lucius O’Brien, continuing his relationship with O’Brien later as they both visited the Canadian Rockies. O’Brien returned East convinced that the portrayal of mountain grandeur would be ideal for a Canadian national art based on landscape (6). Bierstadt also had considerable influence on F. M. Bell-Smith, who had been on the point of abandoning painting until he spent a summer at Lake Louise with the American artist (Bell-Smith 95). Bell-Smith became fascinated with capturing the variations of light in the West, and abandoned precise documentation of the location of his studies in favour of a more universal concept of the romantic mountain landscape (Pringle, “Albert Bierstadt” 14).

Bierstadt also influenced the use of photography by Canadian painters (such as Fraser, discussed in Chapter 2), since he used it himself in painting at a time when this was

¹⁰By the time Bierstadt visited the Canadian West in 1888, there was in fact a decline in the initial popularity of mountain scenes (Pringle, “Albert Bierstadt” 9). However, with the completion of the railway only three years old, they were at this time much more sought after than in the United States, where it was almost twenty years since the completion of the first transcontinental railroad.

considered unacceptable in the Canadian art world (Pringle, “Albert Bierstadt” 6). Many of Bierstadt’s techniques — his high contrast, use of deep space, protruding foreground objects, and the sense of a foreground floor on which the viewer can practically set foot — can be attributed to the influence of photography and stereoscopy (Lindquist-Cock 361). Bierstadt’s use of foreground detail may have affected Canadian artists such as O’Brien, whose work, discussed in the previous chapter, often contained a large amount of it. Yet while O’Brien’s scenes are often overwhelmingly cluttered, Bierstadt uses detail in order to lead the viewer gently into the landscape. Initially overwhelmed by the grand scale of his scenes, they would be drawn to the surface detail and in this way invited to enter the landscape completely (Anderson, “Wonderfully Full” 94). One can see the resemblance between Bierstadt’s and Canadian images by comparing his view of Sir Donald to Lucius O’Brien’s (1886, fig. 46). Strangely, Bierstadt’s *Mount Sir Donald – Asulkan Glacier* (1890, fig. 47) is even more impenetrable than O’Brien’s work. Perched on a rocky foreground, the viewer looks across a maze of evergreen trees to mountain heights that rise sharply up from a grassy slope into rocky, glacier-covered pinnacles. This scenery rises up like a wall, obliterating almost all sky and any sense of receding distance. The sense of glowing light pervading his American scenes is absent. One is forced to wonder whether Bierstadt alone was influencing Canadian painters, or whether in fact they had an influence on him. In light of this, Bierstadt’s reaction to the landscape in his letters to Van Horne is revealing: “If the company will give me some stock for the Sir Donald I will think well of it,” he wrote on one occasion, “as I would like to be a part owner of some of the finest scenery in this continent” (June 11, 1890), indicating that he viewed the

railroad as owner of the land and the scenery, having power over the land because of it.¹¹ Still, Bierstadt approached the Canadian landscape differently from the American. Possibly it really was so different, so much more hostile and unsettled than American western regions, that the difference naturally came out in his work. More likely, though, other factors were involved. Bierstadt was fifty-nine by the time he visited Canada, and roughing it with the younger artists may have been difficult, accounting for some of his more negative views. *Canadian Rockies* (c. 1889, fig. 48), for example, is more like a view by Fraser or O'Brien than a classic "Albert Bierstadt". The foreground is cluttered with logs and rocks, fall foliage showing up brightly against a wall of dark green trees, a wall that blocks our view of anything but the snowy mountains beyond. At the top of the frame is an overcast sky, with no familiar welcoming light or beaming rays of sun, as Bierstadt was wont to paint in America.¹²

There are other cases in which Bierstadt's Canadian work resembles his older

¹¹He also writes of the painting: "I think they would give it a good place in London, and call attention to the beautiful scenery on your road," and in the same letter, "Mt. Sir Donald has been called the best picture of mountain scenery I have ever painted" (Feb. 27, 1890). While Bierstadt is obviously trying to "sell" the painting to Van Horne by communicating this enthusiasm, it may also indicate that such a work was well received despite its somewhat harsh nature.

¹²Interestingly, Bierstadt was often maligned by American critics for what they perceived to be the influence of the Düsseldorf school, where he studied in Germany (Anderson and Ferber 29). Bierstadt's landscapes were seen as cold and unfeeling in their meticulous attention to detail and smooth surface. However, the lighting in many of his American landscapes, discussed earlier, belies this notion of coldness. Many of Bierstadt's Canadian works, on the other hand, do present a harshness or cooler kind of light. Though he was obviously influenced by his studies in Germany, Bierstadt adapted his style according to the scene with which he was presented, or the message he was trying to convey.

views. His study of *Mt. Baker from the Frazier* [sic] *River*, (c.1889, fig. 49) is so much like an earlier view of Mount Hood in the United States (1865, fig. 50) that the two have been confused (Pringle, "Albert Bierstadt" 25). Both place the viewer on a grassy shore, looking out over calm water to a low range of mountains beyond which the focal mountain, Baker or Hood, thrusts its white peak into the sky. Neither view is particularly intimidating, but creates instead a sense of openness and calm.

Both Mount Baker and Mount Hood were isolated peaks which lent themselves to what one might call "mountain portraiture", and they were perhaps less intimidating in their solitude than a claustrophobic, tight chain of mountains. The most famous single mountain subject of late nineteenth-century American landscape was the Mount of the Holy Cross, an elusive mountain in the Rockies that became famous because its rocky fissures lay in such a way that when completely snow-filled, a white cross was displayed across its face. Because of the popular notion of western settlement as Manifest Destiny, the cross became legendary as a sign that the West was a land marked by God for the American people, and was written of as such: "the snow-fields lay in the form of an immense cross, and by this it is known in all the mountain views of the state. It is as if God has set His sign, His seal, His promise there, — a beacon upon the very center and high [sic] of the continent to all its people and all its generations" (Bowles, *Our New West* 132). Will L. Vischer's poem, "Mount of the Holy Cross" of 1891, also celebrated it:

Its white arms stretching through the sheen
Of silvery mist, are gleaming;
A talisman, the world to screen,

Hope's symbol, in its seeming;
A wonder grand, a joy serene.
Upon the ages beaming. (45)

The cross was so famous that pilgrimages to it were arranged as early as the turn of the century (Fisch 58). Photographer William Henry Jackson went West to capture it on film, and his trek, too, became somewhat legendary. Having made the arduous journey and climb in 1873 to see it, cloud obscured the cross that day and he was disappointed. Then, suddenly the clouds separated and it was revealed (34). Jackson's image (fig. 51), published in his Gems of Colorado Scenery (c.1890),¹³ shows the cross plainly in the rocky range of the mountains, a stark view with the cross as its focus, giving an impression of completely honest photojournalism. Ironically, the cross was not at its best when Jackson saw it, being not completely filled with snow, and he was forced to touch up one of its arms on the negative. The Cross was the most famous picture from Hayden's 1873 survey of the Rockies, and became "a fixture on the walls of American homes, rectories, and even chapels for decades thereafter" (Hales, William Henry Jackson 130).

One of the most important images Thomas Moran made of western scenery was his *Mountain of the Holy Cross* (1875, fig. 52). Completely different from Jackson's, and obviously romanticized, Moran's view is from a low vantage point so that we are looking up at the distant cross from a worshipful position. He has added a rocky path up to the mountain, some lush vegetation, and a picturesque waterfall. Moran writes about how

¹³Jackson and Hayden published many photo catalogues like this one. His work was also widely exhibited, as in the 1876 Centennial exhibition (Hales, William Henry Jackson 113).

difficult the journey to the cross was, which may account for why his image shows it hovering in the distance, at the end of a long and bumpy vista (Kinsey, "Sense of Place" 398). In reality Moran would never have seen the combination of things he put into the picture, because the cross could not be seen from the ground (Trenton and Hassrick 200), but the artist's view represents the difficulty of the journey, recounted in letters to his wife. "Two thousand feet below us lay the *Moutonnie Valley* with the Holy Cross Creek rushing through it and at the head of the valley the splendid peak of the Holy Cross, with the range continuing to the left of us," he wrote on August 24th from Westons on the Arkansas River. "The descent into the valley was even steeper than the ascent had been but was freer from fallen timber. We got down all right and without accident, but Horror!!! the way up the valley was infinitely worse than anything we had yet encountered," he continued, going on about how rocky and swampy the terrain was, and the difficulty making progress (Home-Thoughts 53).¹⁴ The journey was an arduous one, but the cross blessed that journey, lying on the pink, misty breast of the mountain, beckoning civilization onward. Both Moran's and Jackson's images of the Holy Cross were frequently exhibited and won awards at the 1876 Centennial exposition in Philadelphia (Kinsey, "Sense of Place" 384). In 1874 the Holy Cross painting was awarded a gold medal and diploma at the Centennial exposition in 1876 in Philadelphia

¹⁴Jackson, in "With Moran in the Yellowstone", described the artist as out of his element in the great outdoors, explaining how the journey was particularly difficult for him (qtd. in Fryxell, Moran 53).

(Fryxell, Moran 10).¹⁵

Many other versions of the cross sprang into being, since the subject so captured public imagination. William H. Holmes' (1846-1933)¹⁶ version, *Mountain of the Holy Cross* (1873, fig. 53), resembles Moran's, as Holmes' rocky terrain and ravine prevent entry into the landscape. Here too, though, these are only obstacles to be overcome on the way to God-given land. Holmes' cross is closer and larger than Moran's, and our vantage point is higher so it doesn't seem so unreachable. In addition, the shape of Holmes' painting is a domed vertical, a cathedral shape that reinforces the presence of God within the painting. Thomas Hill's (1829-1908) *Mountain of the Holy Cross, Colorado* (c.1884, fig. 54) is more like Jackson's photo, a horizontal panorama in which the cross is viewed from another mountain peak. In this image, a group of Natives huddles on the mountainside by a group of trees. Their presence seems to indicate their future assimilation, the cross floating over them a sign of the Christianization, as well as "civilization", of the West. During an 1873 trip to the Colorado Rockies, both Hayden and Jackson complained in their journals of being hindered by too much civilization, not by the mountains (Hales, William Henry Jackson 111). The terrain of Hill's image is not the easiest to traverse; it is mountainous and partly forested, but the golden colour pervading everything overrides this, bathing the land in an idyllic glow. What makes the images of

¹⁵In another version of the Holy Cross, Moran incorporated a rainbow, possibly as a Christian symbol, and used a cathedral shape for the canvas which obviously refers to faith and perhaps the Far West as Eden (Morand 18). Moran sold this painting to Dr. William A. Bell of the Denver and Rio Grande (Danly, "Introduction" 30).

¹⁶Holmes was a geologist on the 1871 Hayden survey of the West, as well as a painter.

the Cross so important here, apart from their connection to the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny, is that there was nothing like them in Canada. Canadians partook little in the rhetoric of divine invitation to settle the West, and had no famous mountain to support the idea. Perhaps the only image of a cross, apart from telegraph poles, in Canadian western paintings at this time was O'Brien's watercolour titled *At Rest, Yale, B.C.* (1888, fig. 55). In this image, a misty scene in which the viewer is enclosed in shrubbery and towering mountains, a small graveyard of crosses stands in the foreground. It is half overgrown with wild flowers, one particularly large cross standing out against the dark foliage, a symbol of peace, but also of death.

American artists and photographers did from time to time employ the same kind of imagery that Gaile McGregor has connected to the "Wacousta Syndrome," but their images rarely project the same feelings as Canadian works because the railroad tends to be bigger. Because it takes up more space, it has a more forceful presence. Painters tended to integrate the railroads into their images, but photographers often showed them as central features of their work, decreasing the effect of the landscape around it (Walther 13). Photographers also had just as much control as the painter over the mood their work would create, and whether the land or the railroad would dominate an image (we saw earlier how Jackson altered his image of the Holy Cross to achieve the effect he wanted). Choice of lens could drastically affect the sense of space, creating compression or adding depth. The time of day, the length of exposure, and the camera position and angle all affected factors such as lighting, space, viewpoint — in short, whether a viewer would feel overawed by a scene or superior to it (Hales, William Henry Jackson 49). Andrew J.

Russell's (1830-1902) *Temporary and Permanent Bridges and Citadel Rock, Green River, (Wyoming)* (1867/8, fig. 56) is a good example.¹⁷ Russell was hired by the Union Pacific as its official photographer in 1868, and shot construction views in 1868-9 (Taft, Artists 280). Russell reveals here a land under construction, the tracks and train clearly being the focal point of his image. Men and bricks dot the scene, the piles of rock echoed on a grand scale by Citadel Rock itself, a huge structure rising into a squared-off peak. The Rock, however, is set far enough into the background of the photograph that we can see that landscape rolling beyond it, and it does not appear to pose any threat to the industry taking place below it. The effect is to reveal the power of hard work and determination in the face of an unwelcoming sublimity, reflecting what Russell wrote in 1869: "The Continental Iron Band now permanently unites distant portions of the Republic, and opens up to commerce, Navigation and Enterprise the vast un-peopled plains and lofty mountain ranges that now divide East from West" (Danly, Andrew Joseph Russell 93). Frank Jay Haynes' (1853-1921) stereograph of Northern Pacific Railroad construction along the Yellowstone River, *Grading Eagle Butte* (1881, fig. 57) is similar, showing a land ravaged by workmen. A denuded slope curves up to the right of the men, now nothing but sand, and to the right we see the bend of the river, low land in the distance and a large expanse of sky. A shot of Haynes' Palace Studio Car along the

¹⁷It should be noted that photographers documenting the railroad under construction naturally used landscape only as background, focusing on the railroad itself (Naef 42). This occurred in Canadian photography as well, but more often in American imagery there is included an underlying message about the power of technology in the landscape. Such a message cannot be dismissed in the study of Canadian railway photography, but it is not as compatible with the theories of Canadian westward expansion, examined in Chapter 1, as it is with American theory.

Northern Pacific (1889, fig. 58) also emphasizes rocky piles and the gravelly slope to which the mountains have been reduced below the track. The train is very large in this shot, the men posing confidently before it under a big plume of its smoke. Behind, the highest ridge of the mountain ends only slightly above the train, curving back under a small strip of sky. Haynes was a second-generation western photographer, coming after Jackson, Watkins, and others of the earlier group. The West he captured, therefore, was “not a raw, unexplored territory, but a softer, accessible, more subdued West” (Nolan 199), accounting for his tendency to lend more attention to trains and people than to the landscape.

In an engraving by William Thayer (dates unknown) of *Veta Pass and Dump Mountain*, after William Henry Jackson (figured in Over the Range to Golden Gate: A Complete Tourist’s Guide to Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon, Puget Sound and the Great North-West, fig. 59) we return to a greener wilderness, and a train that heads into a landscape teeming with vegetation. The bushes crowd around the train, and a mountain slopes up behind it, but the train is large enough not to seem threatened. A ring of clouds encircles the mountain, but one can still see a landscape beyond, rolling into the distance, presumably to be entered by the train. William Allen Butler wrote of Veta Pass: “The road is a mere groove cut in the side of the mountain [...] But thrilling as this passage is, up the sinuous roadway along the mountainside, it has no real elements of danger in it. No accident has ever happened here” (18), echoing the confidence inspired by this image. Jackson’s *In the Cañon of the Rio Los Animas near Rockwood* (c. 1881, fig. 60) shows a different take on the same area where his *Cañon of*

the Rio Los Animas was taken. This time, though, we are at the bottom of the canyon by the river, looking out at a wall of forested mountain. Similar to many Canadian views, these mountains prevent a sense of vista, closing in the scene, the distance vaguely blotted out with mist. Yet the effect of the scenery is not entirely the same because the train is so much bigger, heading toward us beside the river, heading away from the mountains that block the scene rather than into them as in so many Canadian images. Jackson was on Hayden's 1870 survey, and most likely influenced by Hayden's opinion that the glory of nature existed merely to attract man's attention. "In this scheme, all rivers were scenic, waterbearing, or navigable" (Hales, William Henry Jackson 69). Jackson wrote about the Hayden survey in Colorado: "It was important to me in that it was just about the last chance anyone had to see the 'old' Colorado, for the Denver Pacific was just coming in. There was as yet no city at Colorado Springs, but by the following autumn, when I again happened to be there, men were at work plowing the lines for its streets" (Time Exposure 192), revealing his greatest concern was that the wilderness he wished to photograph would disappear.

While the size of the train or track certainly makes a difference in our perception of the relationship between nature and technology, trains were often as tiny in American imagery as in Canadian. Yet the landscape around these trains tends to be a more welcoming one, as in Bierstadt's work. Sometimes the smallness of the train is mitigated by the amount of track visible, and the amount of landscape vista it is able to traverse. Often, it is shown winding around a great portion of land, encircling it and therefore exuding power despite its small size. For example, *The Horseshoe in Elk Creek Cañon*

from America's Wonderlands (c.1893, fig. 61) is a bird's-eye view, causing the railway to appear small and distant. While the mountains rise behind the tracks, almost completely blocking out the sky in this image, the railway seems to dominate because its "horseshoe" encompasses a large area of forest. It comes out from between the trees on the left, completely encircles the land, and curves away and out of sight to the right. Jackson's *The 'Loop' near Georgetown, Colorado — U.P.R.R.*, published in his Gems of Colorado Scenery (c.1890, fig. 62), produces a similar effect from a different angle. As in Russell's image of Citadel Rock, the land here is harsh, the mountain sides nothing but rocks and dirt, perhaps due to construction. Our vantage point is lower, so the bulk of the frame shows nothing but mountains rising on either side. The loop, though, also occupies its share of the frame. It encircles the land and rivulet between the mountains, curving into the front of the image and back around the mountain's base. Charles Graham (1852-1911), who was on Henry Villard's survey for the Northern Pacific in 1874, and in 1883 traveled to Helena, Montana, to record the joining of its eastern and western links, painted a view called *Eastern Slope, Marshall Pass—The Great Loop on the D&R. G. R.R.* in 1887 on a western tour (fig. 63). This view also focuses on the train as it winds around landscape.¹⁸ The slope of the pass is not particularly awe-inspiring, the large rocks in the foreground seeming more formidable than the gently rounded mountain. The track, which

¹⁸A Denver and Rio Grande pamphlet describes the Pass: "As the train progresses up the steep, the view becomes less obstructed by mountain sides and the eye roams over miles of cone-shaped summits. [...] Slowly the steeps are conquered, until at last the train halts upon the summit of the continental divide [...]. Wonder at the triumphs of engineering skill is strangely mingled with feelings of awe and admiration at the stupendous grandeur of the scene" (Rhymes 50).

passes close to the viewer in the foreground, loops around the back of the mountain but instead of vanishing, reappears on the right side and loops again to the next mountain on the right. Though small, it winds itself around the landscape easily, flowing unrestricted on its way. *Sangre de Cristo Range — from Marshall Pass* (fig. 64), published in Over the Range to Golden Gate (c.1894), shows three trains: a large one crossing the foreground beyond a rocky terrain, a train in the middle ground following the curve along the mountainside, and a distant one running between mountains, all of them apparently heading toward us. The mountains here rise in pinnacles in the middle ground, and paler tips recede in the distance after a stretch of plain, but our viewpoint is again looking out over their peaks into the distance. These are not the sort of mountains to pose any great barrier to the progress of civilization.

Crossing the Raton Mountains into New Mexico — A. T. & S. F. R.R.,¹⁹ an engraving from Frank Fossett's Colorado: Its Gold and Silver Mines, Farms and Stock Ranges, and Health and Pleasure Resorts: Tourist's Guide to the Rocky Mountains (fig. 65), also shows three trains in a mountainous landscape. The foreground contains not only rocks and grass but sheds as well, further signs of human industriousness. The trains, though small, seem everywhere at once, with two in the upper left-hand corner and one in the lower right-hand corner. The tracks zig-zag their way across the entire picture, showing a mountainside surrounded, wrapped up by technological progress. Watkins' *View of Loop. Tehachapi Pass on Line of Southern Pacific Railroad* (c.1876, fig. 66)

¹⁹William Haskell Simpson was put in charge of advertising for the Santa Fe Railway in 1900, and he developed a program much like Van Horne's, sending artists out West and then buying their images (d'Emilio and Campbell 16).

shows the track from such a distance that it had to be scratched into the image in order to be visible. It may be only a thin line in the landscape, but it is a line that continually loops around the land, encircling it. Furthermore, the mountains around the pass where the railroad lies appear relatively low, and the distance between them is vast, leaving ample room for travel and settlement. Dorothy Dimond's poem, "Song of the S. P. Dedicated to the Southern Pacific Company" (1901), captures the smooth, enjoyable ride such a track supposedly offered:

And when. Soft **P**ulsing in the west,
The low **S**un **P**oints the way to rest,
Across that last fair **S**hining **P**lain
Which borders the eternal main;
Ere yet our **S**hadowy **P**orter spreads
The last berth for our nodding heads.
May we, as now, in **S**abbath **P**eace,
While dust, and noise, and friction cease,
Care left behind, and grief, and wrath,
Glide smoothly down our **S**unset **P**ath. (44)

One of the most commented-upon features of railways in the mountains were their snow sheds, protecting track and trains from winter avalanches. In some American examples, winter scenes manage to avoid the connotation of danger by emphasizing the size of sheds and tracks, and minimizing the impact of surrounding mountains. In J. W. Buel's *America's Wonderlands: A Pictorial and Descriptive History of Our Country's*

Scenic Marvels as Delineated by Pen and Camera (c. 1893), a snowy image of *Cascade Bridge and Snow-Sheds on the Sierras* (fig. 67) shows the railroad in one of its more dangerous situations. The snow sheds, erected to protect the line from winter avalanches, remind one of this danger at the same time they indicate civilization's ways around nature's dangers. The scene occurs near the peak of the Sierras, so only a gentle slope rises beyond the train, dotted with evergreens. The scene is blanketed in a heavy layer of snow, but the train heading into the snow shed from the left-hand foreground is large enough to emit a strong presence, as does the wooden support for the track and the snowshed itself. Jackson's photo of Hagerman Pass, Colorado (1899, fig. 68), also shows a train near the summit of a snowy, forested mountain, about to enter a snow shed. Again we are high enough here not to have too much mountain overhead, and the train is so large, its square end and the square opening of the snow shed reinforcing each other, marking the scene with signs of industry, that humans seem to be in control. Joseph Becker's (1841-1910) *Snow Sheds on the Central Pacific Railroad in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, 1869* (c. 1869, fig. 69) is a folk-art style view showing a crowd of onlookers waving to a train as it enters a protective snow shed in the mountains. The train is between these viewers and the landscape, but the slopes beyond are not steep enough to be threatening. Becker's evergreens seem small, almost toy-like, and he leaves a wide gap between the mountains, allowing us to see plenty of sky, avoiding the sensation of claustrophobia that snow-covered mountains might otherwise generate. "The construction of the snowsheds represented [...] a special kind of triumph, for it was snow that killed some members of the Donner party [...], [but] the men of the Central Pacific, with their

tunnels and snowsheds, robbed the Sierra Nevada range of much of its destructive power. In a confrontation pitting nature against technological ingenuity, the Central Pacific claimed victory” (Anderson, “Kiss of Enterprise” 260). Comparing these images to a Vaux family photograph taken in Canada is revealing. *Break in Snowshed at Glacier from Below. Glacier Crest in Distance, 1898* (fig. 70) shows the ravage of a snow shed built to protect vulnerable trains from winter avalanches. While the track is huge in this image, lessening the impression of the large mountains in the distance and the dark forested slope to the left, the focus on disaster can convey only one thing: humanity may erect whatever structures it wishes in the middle of the wilderness, but these structures will always be subject to Nature’s temper. “The Company make snow-sheds through the entire Range [the Selkirks], but can they make sheds strong enough to withstand the snow-slides which in these mountains, carry trees, huge rocks, and everything along with them, and sweep bare the whole mountainside?” (Phillips 3, 1885).

High vantage point was another factor that was often critical in giving viewers a sense of domination over landscape, no matter how forbidding. American artists took advantage of this in order to avoid the effect created by Canadian views such as figures 16 and 19. An anonymous painting titled *Mineral Creek and Sultan Mountain* (undated, fig. 71) on the Denver and Rio Grande Railway, published in *Around the Circle* in 1896, uses such a vantage point, with the prominent track curving away to the right from the foreground edge of the frame. The land beyond it is not intimidating, showing rivulets in a valley framed by gently sloping mountains on either side. More mountains show themselves in the distance, but don’t impede the view out to the skyline. The trees near the

road have been burnt by forest fire and the land slides away in a rocky slope, showing the effects of railway construction. However, the valley beyond appears lush and green, every bit the promised land Americans expected to settle. Molyneux St. John's comment about the Sierra Nevada mountains is particularly appropriate to this image: "Here the traveller looks down on the mountains. The valley appears like a little winding creek, the pine trees like shrubs," he wrote. "The fact that one has got this power and pull over the mountain below enables one to seek a commanding position, and feel a little self-satisfaction about man's dominion over nature, and so forth, which is not so easy when he feels himself a mite under an eminence of two or three million tons weight [...]" (122-3).

Harry Learned's (active 1870-1890) *Robinson, Colorado* (1887, fig. 72) appears almost like an illustration for Bowles' words. One can see the tiny railroad in this painting, two tracks with two trains puffing behind the scattered houses of the western town. Our view is from an elevated tree-covered slope, unobstructed as we look down past a cluster of buildings on the left to the town in its valley. Though hemmed in by mountains it is not trapped. They are low, gentle slopes, and seem to protectively encircle the town and the railroad without barring growth or progress. Knight, Leonard and Co.'s *Mount Ouray, East Slope of Marshall Pass*, published in the Denver and Rio Grande guide book *Around the Circle* (1896, fig. 73), also uses a high vantage point to make the mountains seem even flatter and lower than they are. The tracks snake effortlessly around in this landscape, and the view across the mountains to the skyline is unobstructed.

While it cannot be said that American artists and photographers completely differed from Canadians, that they never portrayed the land around them in a harsh or

threatening light, much of their work (such as these examples) placed human technology peacefully within its wilderness setting of the West. If the surrounding terrain was unwelcoming, the size of trains and tracks could be enlarged so they would not seem overwhelmed, and where technology showed itself only as a tiny presence, the land around it was softened and sometimes suffused with gentle, inviting light from above. Americans settled their West with a confidence Canadians simply didn't have, and the artists and photographers who captured this settlement reflect that. Believing it was their Manifest Destiny to populate and develop the West, and armed with a view of the landscape that subsumed notions of national identity, the immanence of God, and the sheltering of humanity within the bosom of the nurturing land, they naturally depicted the pathway of progress as a thing of power, and as welcome.

Conclusion

As demonstrated by the paintings and photographs examined here, both American and Canadian reactions to the landscape during the era of transcontinental railroads were complicated. While they have their differences, the Canadian and American stories of colonization obviously have far more in common than they have distinguishing them: both involve a long journey from East coast to West coast, moving through a landscape with countless faces, overcoming natural obstacles, and attempting to eradicate First Nations cultures perceived as standing in the way of progress. Neither group of artists or photographers was completely comfortable or completely uncertain in the face of the West, and for the most part the images they created reflect this; many combine reverence for the powerful forces of nature with undeniable respect for the challenging force of human intrusion.

However, as outlined in Chapter 1, Americans tended to view the settlement of the West with greater confidence than most Canadians. One of the most important reasons for this may be the relationship each country had with Britain. Because Americans broke with Britain in the eighteenth century, they had a mandate to define their national culture, which was more urgent than the corresponding desire for a national culture in Canada. More importantly, they faced the building of their new country alone. Without the full weight of Britain behind their settlement process, Americans may have felt the need to put God behind it instead. Ironically, as this translated into the Manifest Destiny of Americans, it became more powerful than the English Canadian vision of settlement. Canadians, while

maintaining close ties with Britain, were not necessarily more empowered because of this. Instead, they remained crippled in many ways the Americans were not, as they struggled to transplant a culture without adapting it to new circumstances, and as they never left the shelter of Britain's rule to gain confidence through their own successes.

Naturally, the American also sought to bring familiar British traditions into the New World, and the day-to-day effort of setting up "civilization in the wilderness" may have been very similar to the Canadian effort. However, the American *imagination* functioned differently as a result of independence. As in Turner's description of a fluid, inevitable colonization in which the pioneer surrenders himself to the wilderness and emerges stronger and wiser for it, American views on contact with nature were fairly positive during the nineteenth century. Literature reinforced this kind of philosophy with descriptions of nature as benevolent and welcoming, which continued when it came to depictions of the West. The land into which the transcontinental railways would travel was seen as both a challenge and a birthright. Though it may pose difficulties, particularly in the mountainous regions, it was also awaiting the fulfilment of God's plan for the American people, and would be forced ultimately to surrender to the tide of civilization.

David Stouck has commented: "American art has received its special character from this dynamic urge to growth and unceasing condition of movement. In Canada there is little comparable movement possible; Canadians may journey thousands of miles within their country but they remain physically in the north" (9-10). He points to an added harshness in the quality of Canadian life, a state of restricted movement that is due to the mentality of being trapped in a northern climate, rather than a product of being physically

unable to move. “This response to the Canadian landscape — the reluctance to set forth, the holding fast to what is known and safe — makes it possible to define a tradition in Canadian art” (10). This metaphysical, if not necessarily literal, inability to move freely within the landscape is a byproduct of Frye’s garrison mentality, and is often reflected in Canadian landscape imagery just as a frontier mentality can be detected in American imagery. In Canada, the land was never quite viewed as the Eden that Americans saw in their wilderness.

When artists and photographers attempted to capture the essence of humanity pitted against nature in a battle for sovereignty, they inevitably drew on the landscape histories of their respective countries. Consequently, the general trend in American railway imagery leaned toward representations of the railroad as conqueror, while Canadians tended to waver between feelings of pride and uncertainty, in imagery where civilization often finds itself dominated by its surroundings. While Chapters 2 and 3 have attempted to demonstrate the complexity of reactions to landscape portrayed by both American and Canadian artists and photographers during the late nineteenth century, they also reveal that the transcontinental railway era was no exception to the theories of colonization put forward in the first chapter. Ultimately, the Canadian wilderness differed from the American despite their geographical similarities,¹ because they were perceived so differently by those who inhabited them.

¹The Canadian North is of course excepted in this instance.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

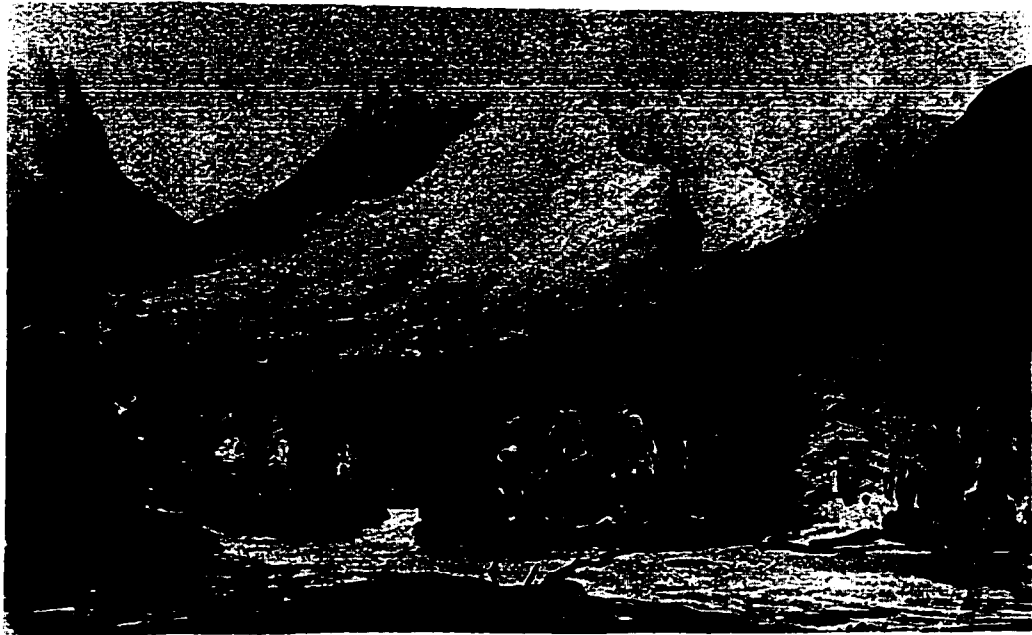


Fig. 4

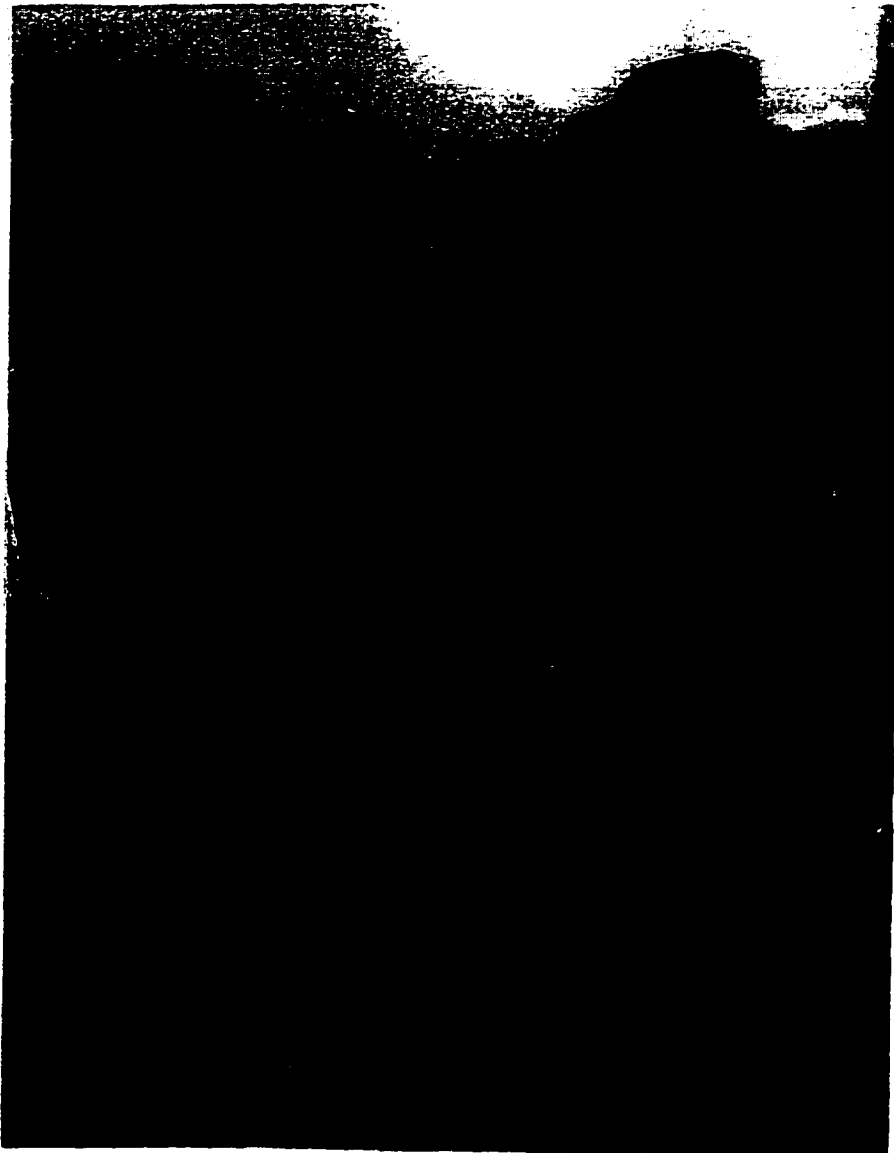


Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

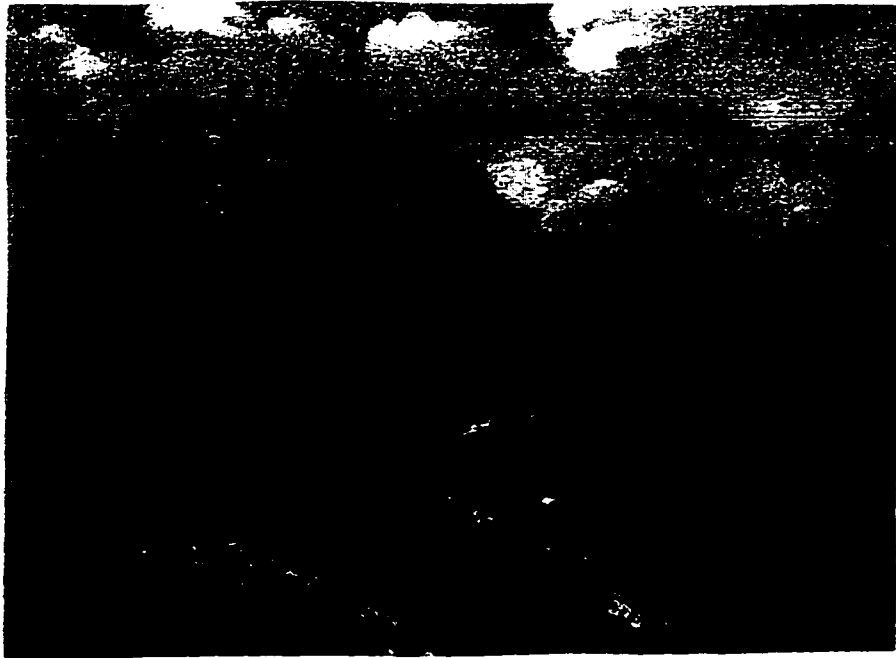


Fig. 12



Fig. 13

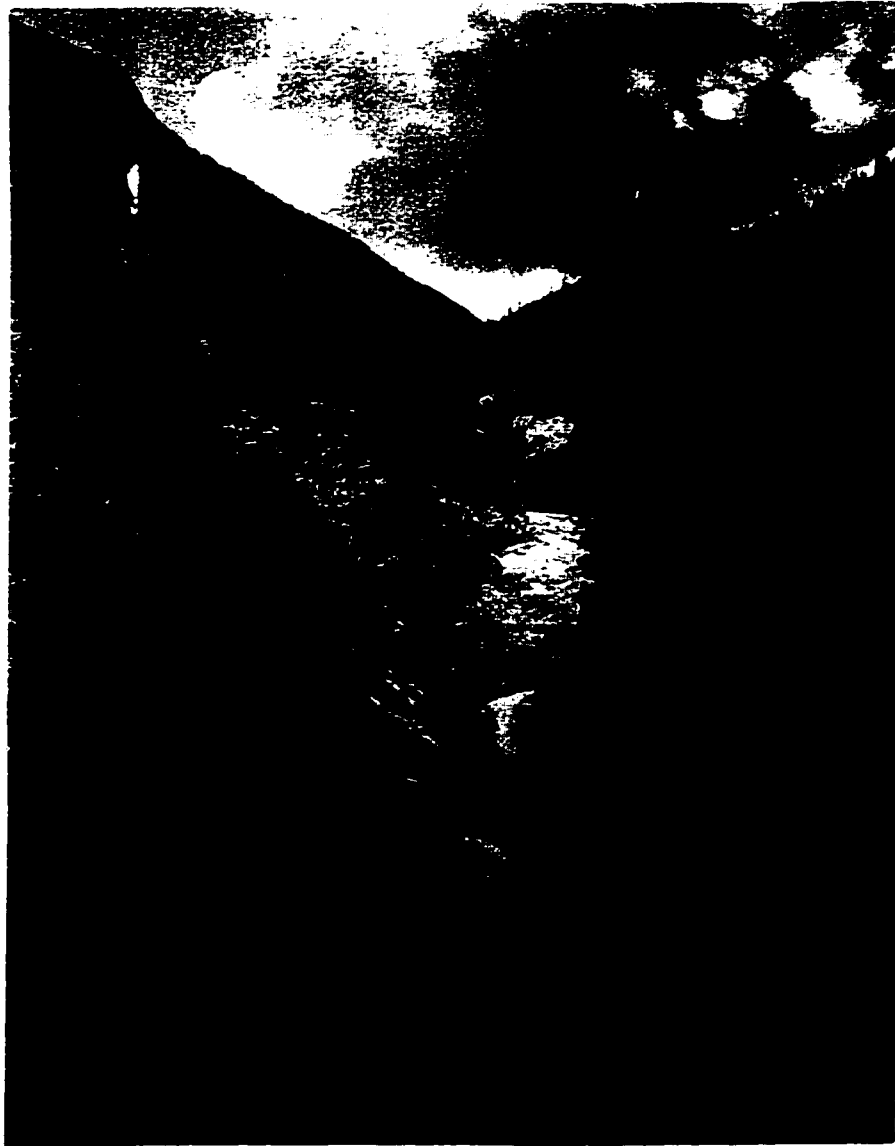


Fig. 14



Fig. 15

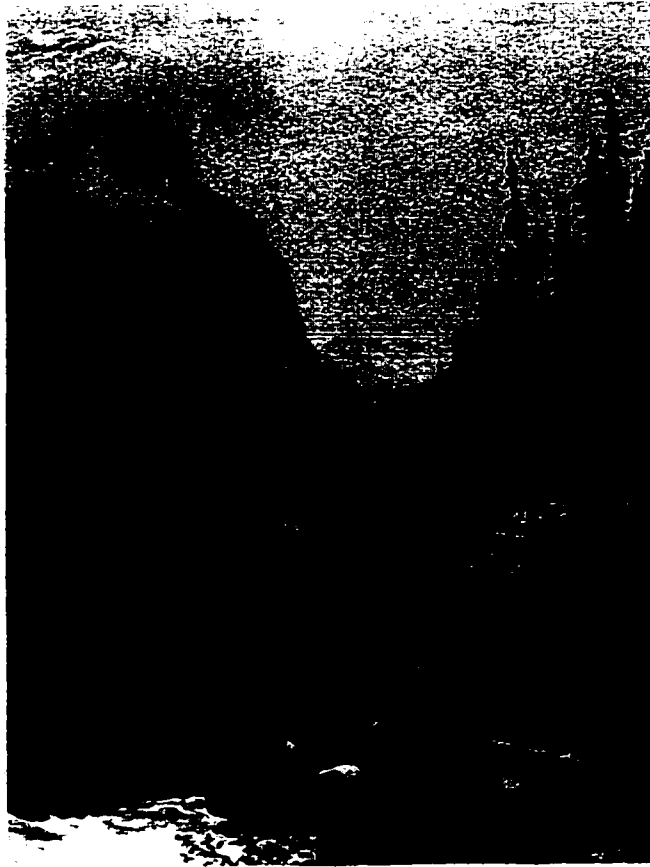


Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



detail



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

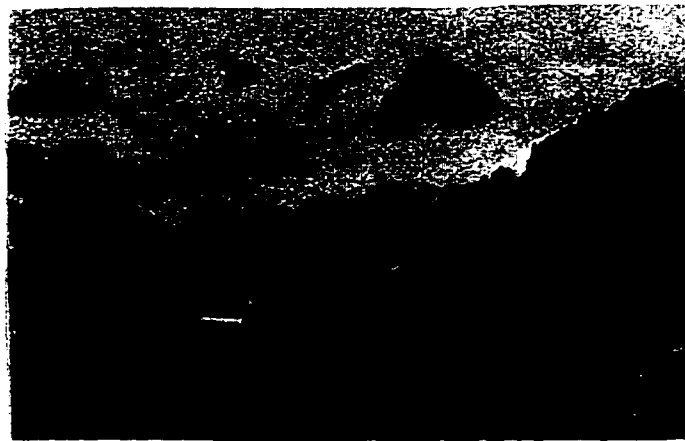


Fig. 24

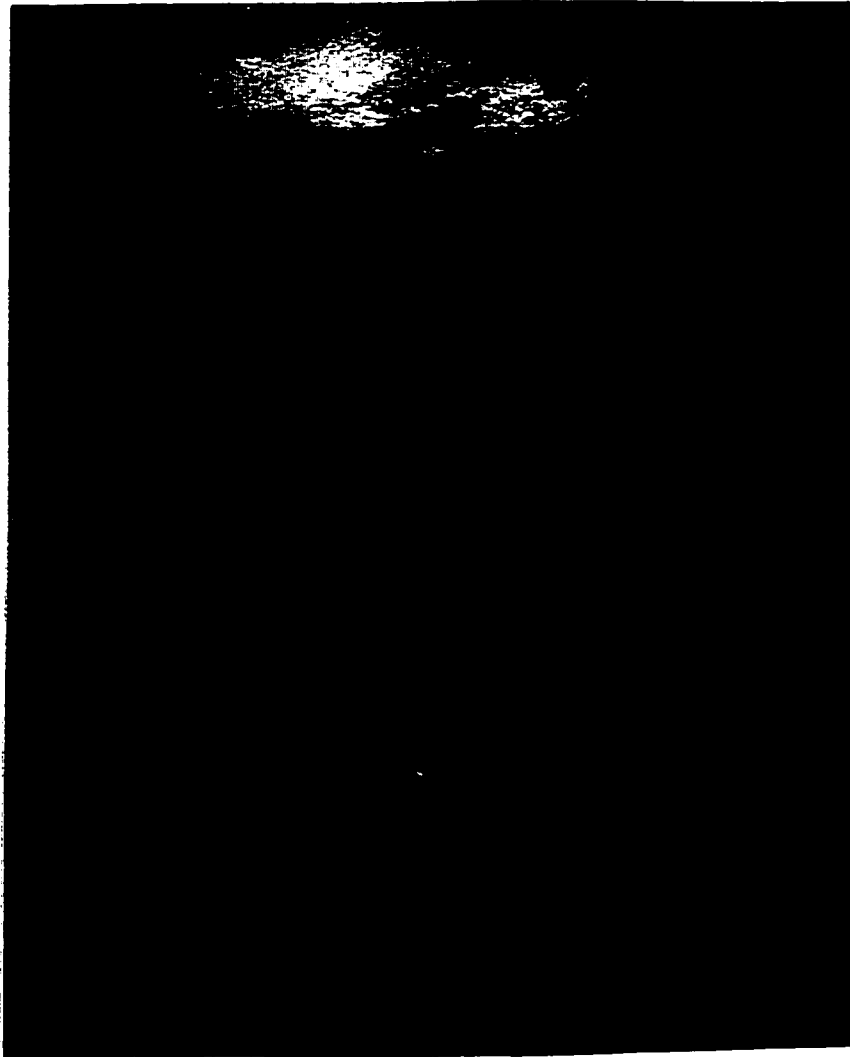


Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28

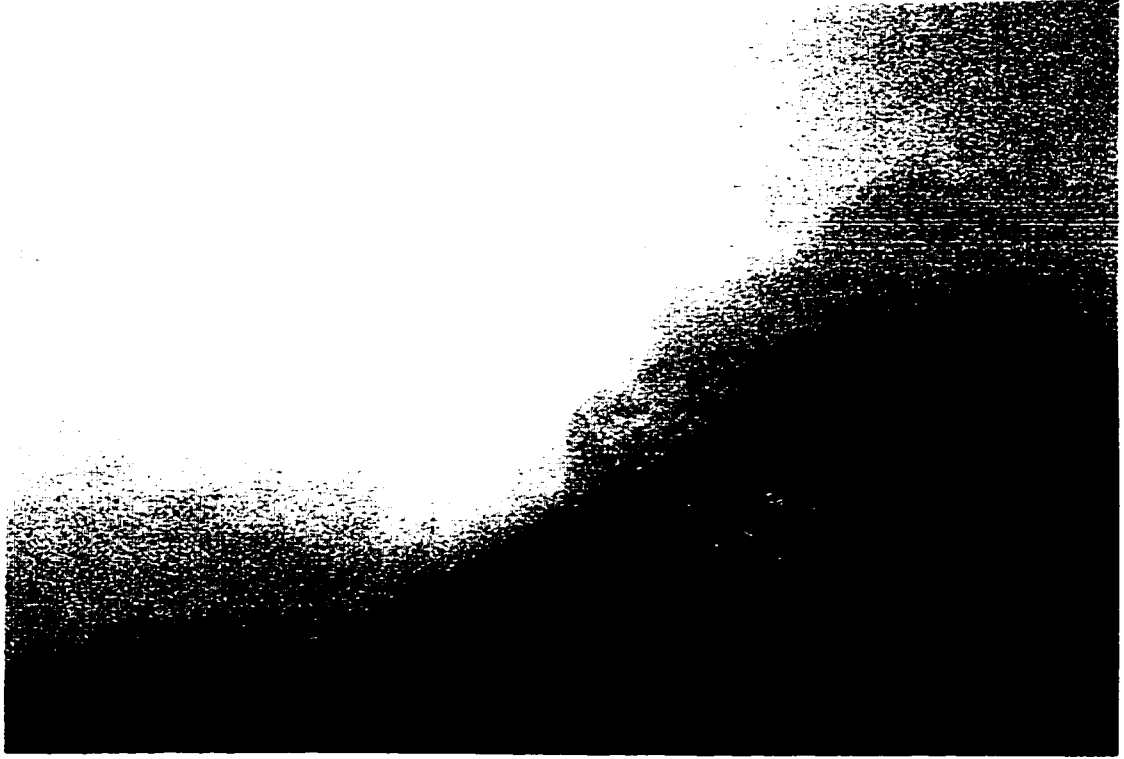


Fig. 29

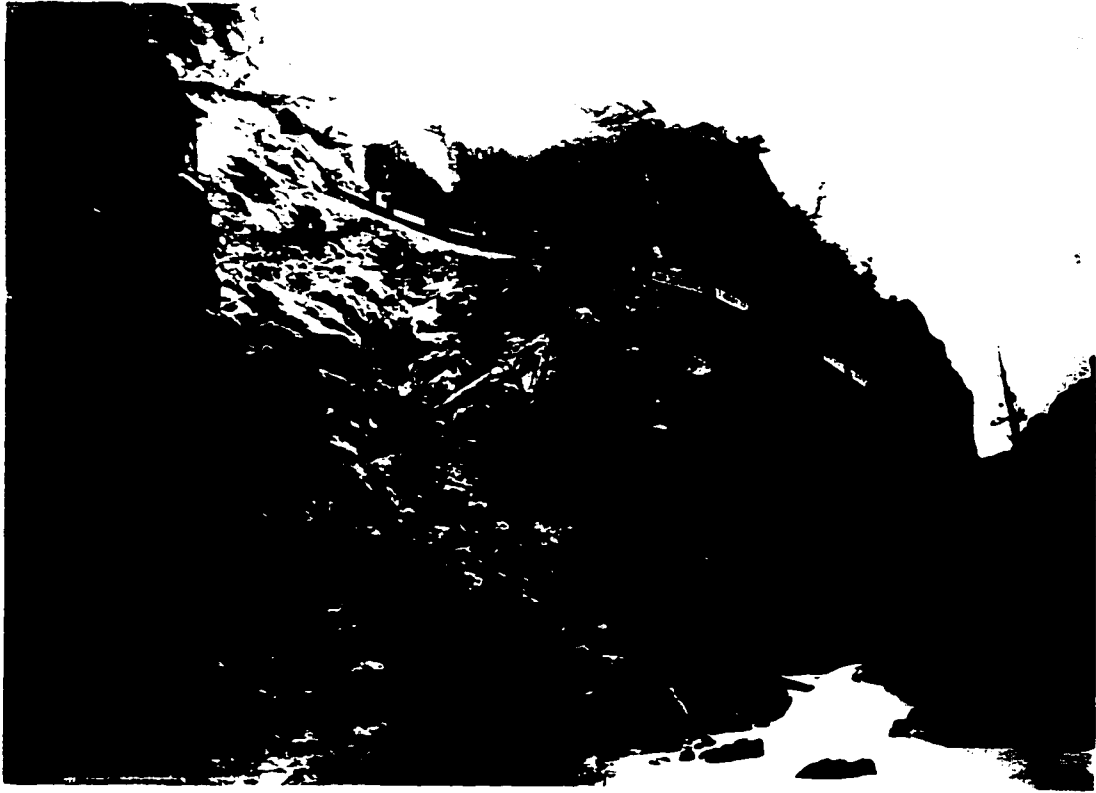


Fig. 30

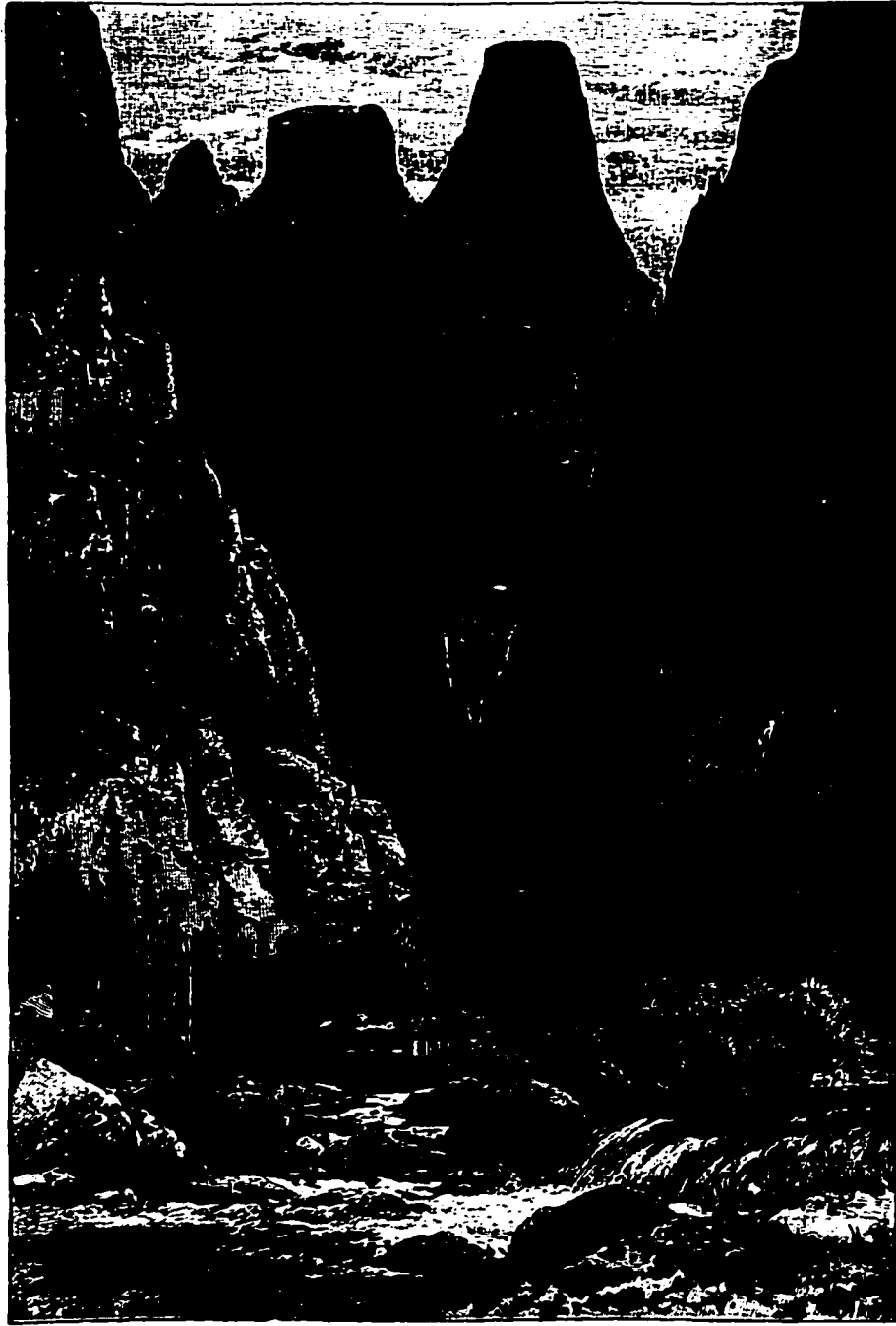


Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



THE GREAT WEST.

Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38

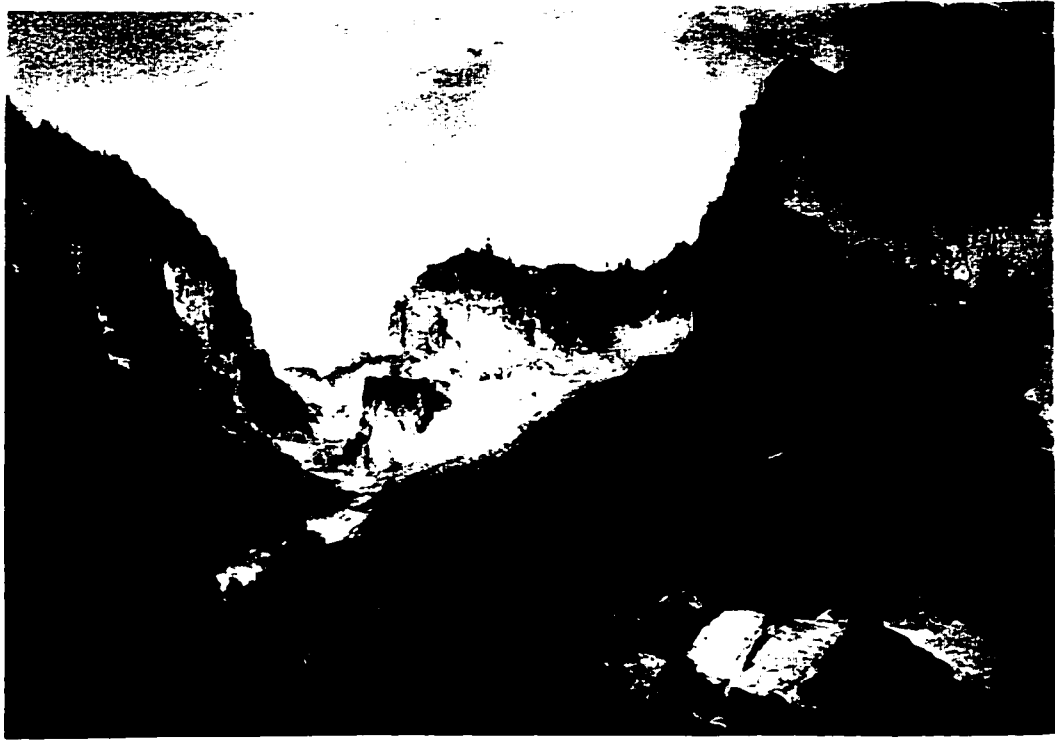


Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46

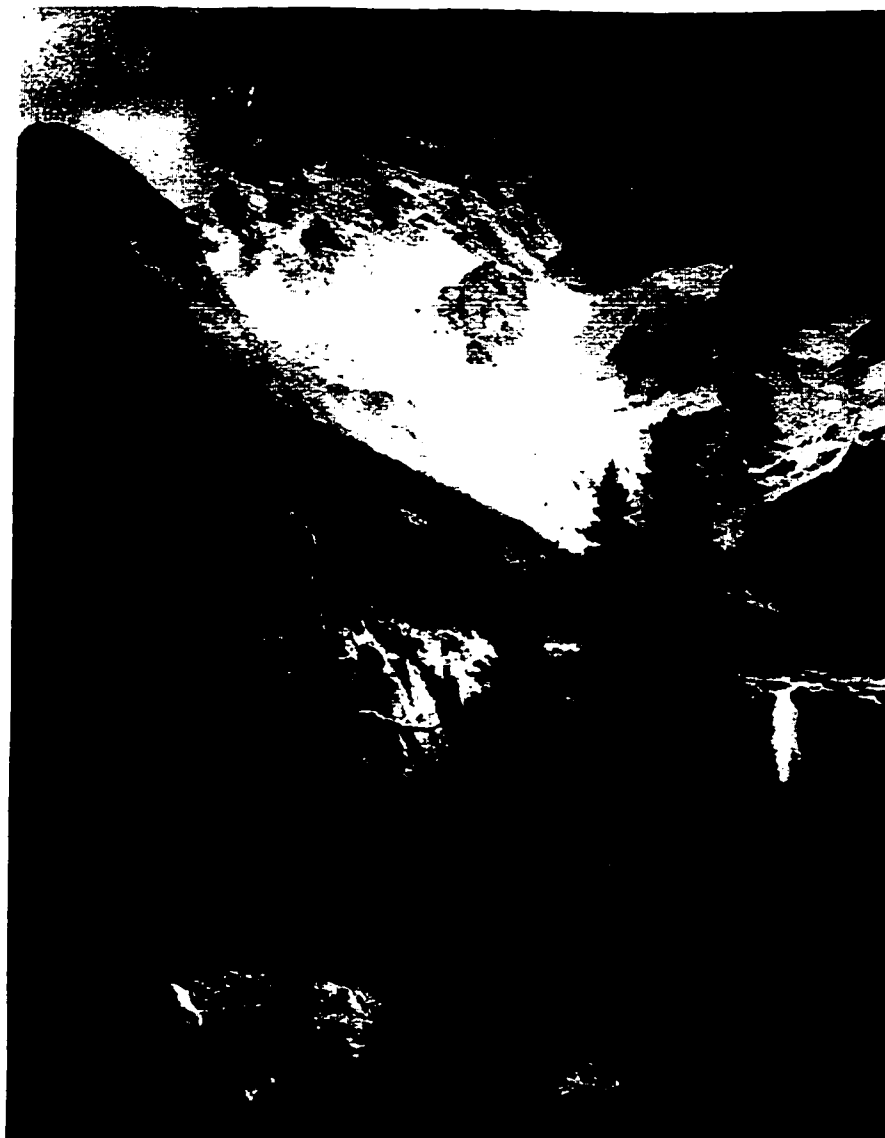


Fig. 47

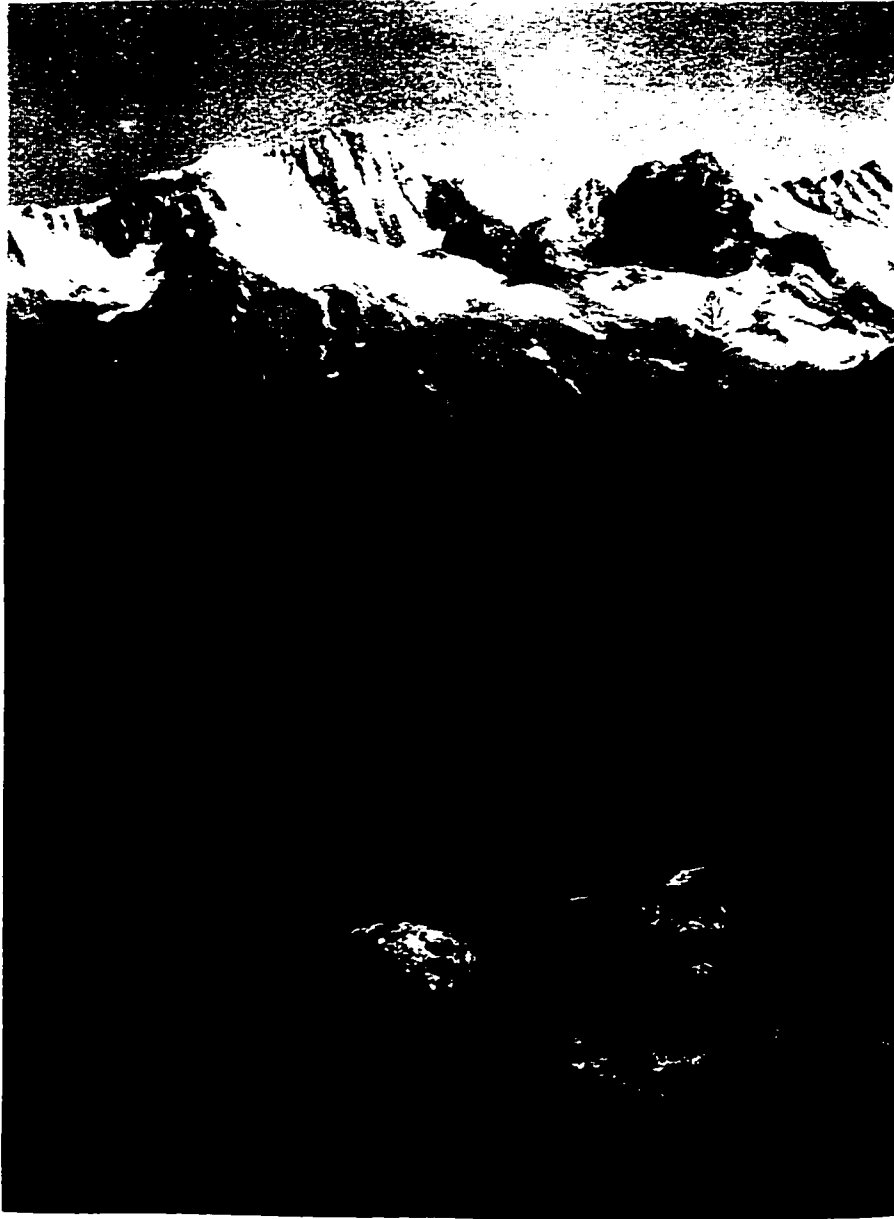


Fig. 48



Fig. 49



Fig. 50



Fig. 51

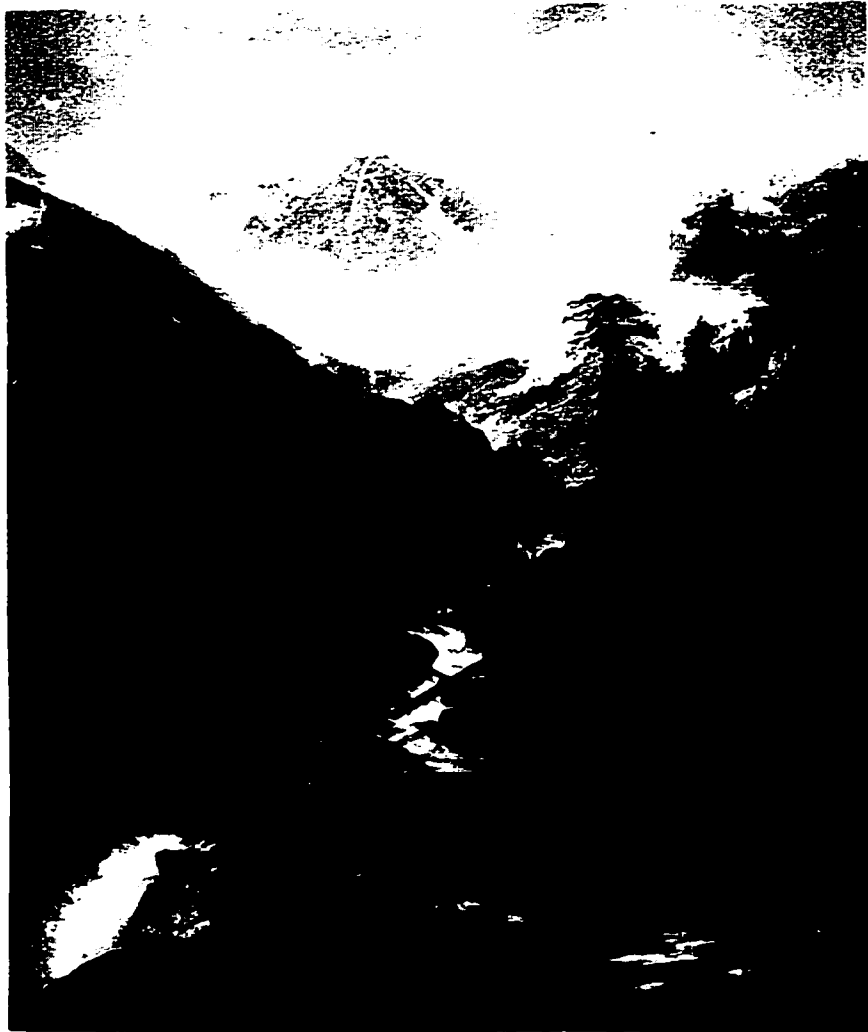


Fig. 52



Fig. 53

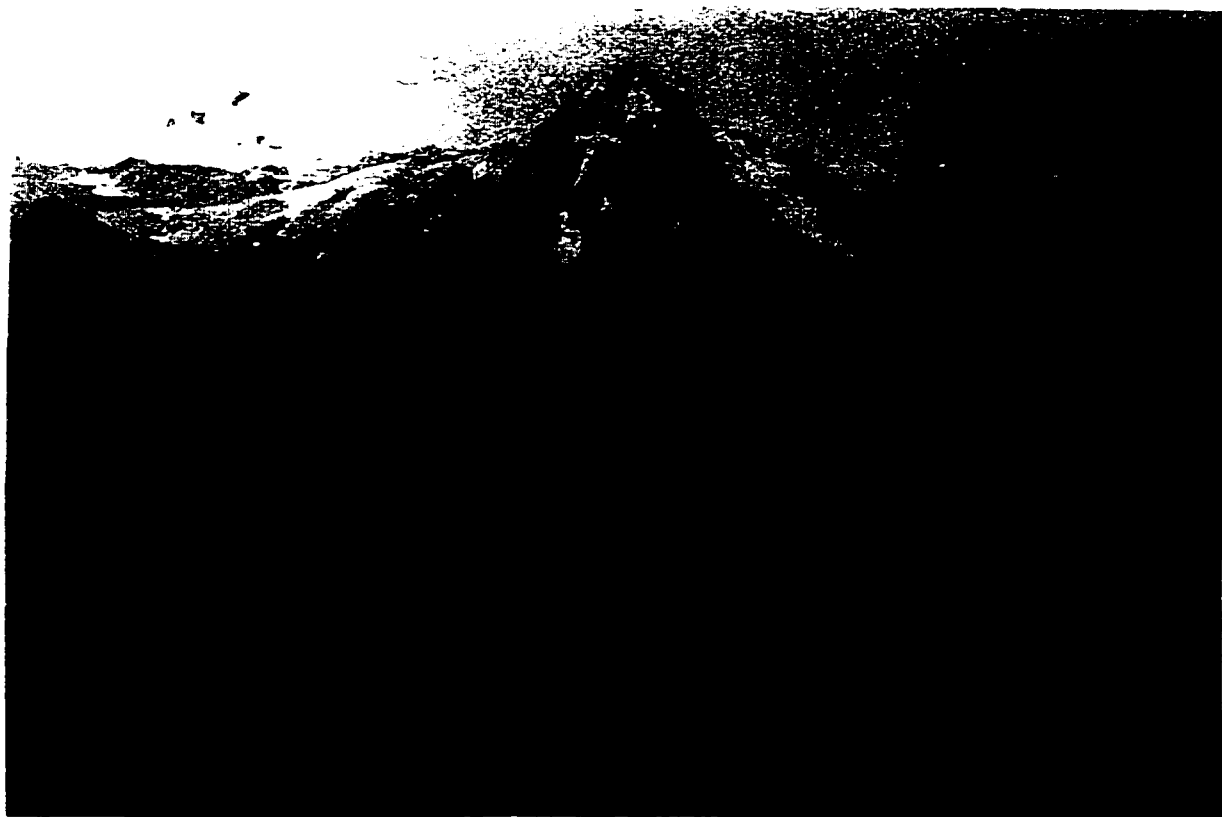


Fig. 54



Fig. 55



Fig. 56



Fig. 57



Fig. 58



Fig. 59



Fig. 60

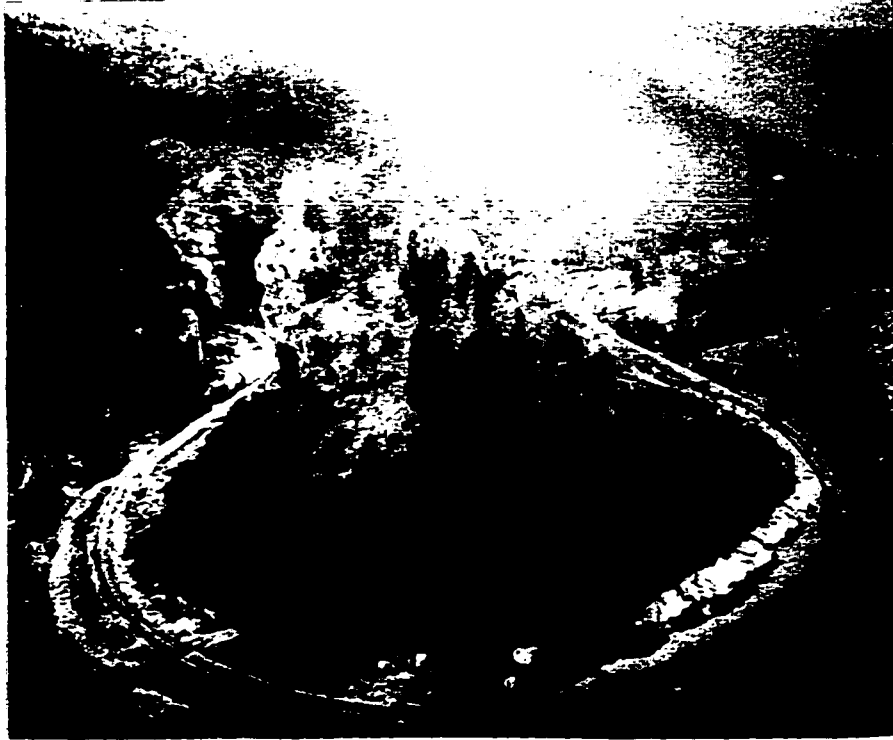


Fig. 61

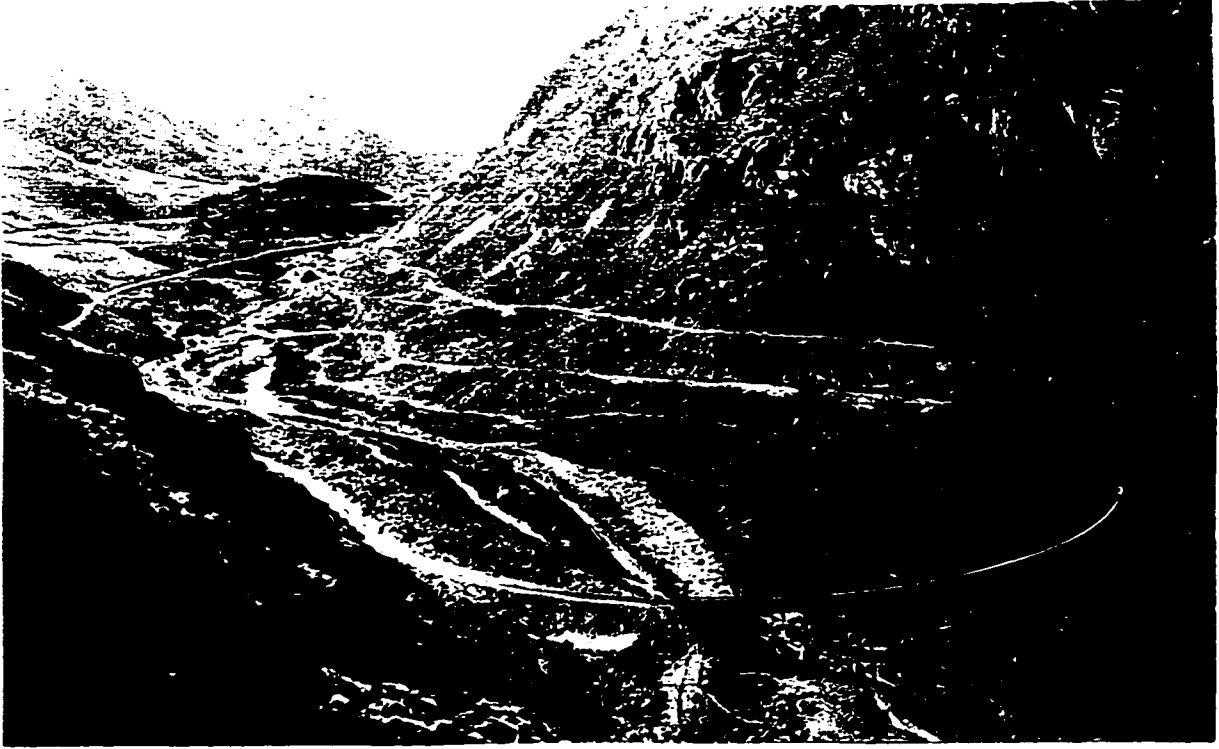


Fig. 62



Fig. 63



Fig. 64

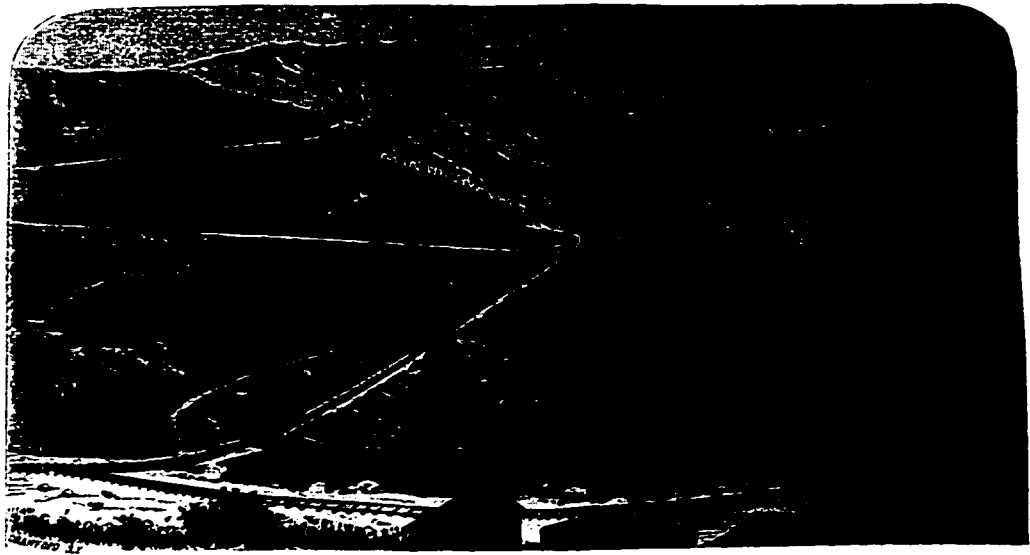


Fig. 65



Fig. 66

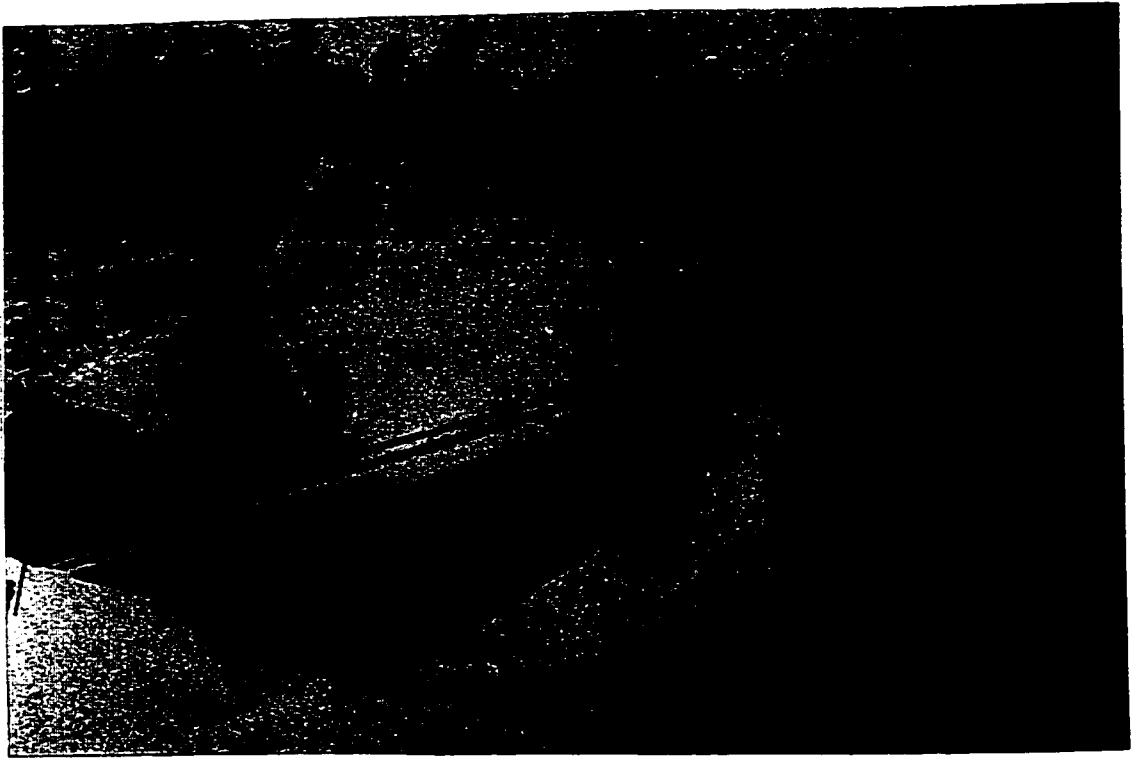


Fig. 67



Fig. 68



Fig. 69



Fig. 70

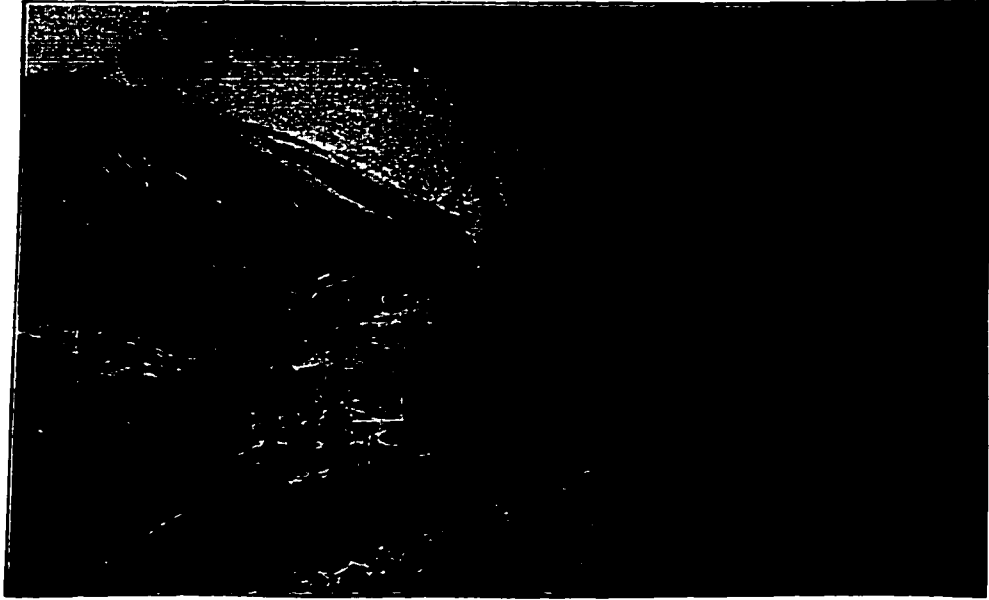


Fig. 71



Fig. 72

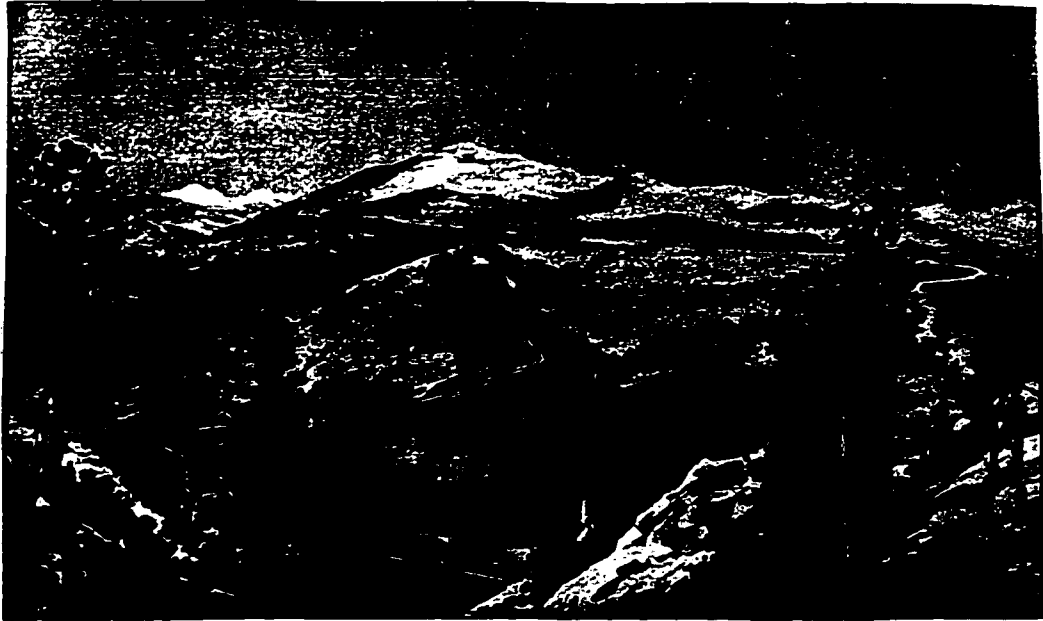


Fig. 73

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