

“The Empire Traveller”:
Purposeful Tourism in Western Canada, 1885-1914

by

Monica Accola

Supervised by

Dr. Mariel Grant

A Graduating Essay Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements, in the
Honours Programme.
For the Degree of
Bachelor of Arts
In the
Department
Of
History

The University of Victoria

April 26, 2019

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter I: Setting the Stage: Tourism, Empire, and the Canadian Pacific Railway.....	2
Chapter II: A Study in Advertising Canada to the British Through the Lens of “Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M.P., in Canada”	18
Conclusion	40
Bibliography	43
Appendix	50

Introduction

For both advertisers and tourists, British tourism to Western Canada between 1885 and 1914 was not just about taking a holiday; it was purposeful. While Canada was marketed to Britons for its magnificent scenery and recreational possibilities, the end goal of advertisers was to attract capital by encouraging tourists to search out opportunities for emigration and investment, thereby strengthening imperial ties. Wealthy tourists could not possibly have read about travelling to Canada without reading about the business possibilities as well; advertisements for banks and investment companies flanked those for hunting and hotels in the promotional literature of the era.

A 1910 Grand Trunk Railway advertisement in *The Times* of London listed information about Canada in three columns: “Investor, Businessman,” “Settler,” and “Tourist.”¹ However, as other advertisements for Canadian tourism geared towards British travellers show, these were not necessarily assumed to be three different people – ideally, one individual would be all three. Tourism advertisements targeted the travelling elite with hopes that they would invest in Canada—in the Empire, either from a distance or by emigrating. Advertisements for Canada not only encouraged Britons to invest, they also encouraged them to go and see the opportunities available in Canada for themselves. Tourism was perceived to be an important tool for encouraging investment, as personal travel to Canada was viewed as the best means to facilitate an understanding of the opportunities that were available in Canada. In 1912 an article in the *Illustrated London News* stated:

If Canada were ever to adopt a slogan, she might very well take that of Calgary, which reads, “Come and See.” For anyone who wishes to realise what is going on in this wonderful Dominion must go to Canada in person.²

¹“Canada’s Grand Trunk Railway System,” *The Times*, 24 May 1910, 25.
<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/97ZxN8>.

²“An All-Red Tour Through Canada,” *Illustrated London News. With Supplement Dealing with the Progress of Canada*, 9 March 1912, 40.

This paper will highlight the degree to which tourist advertisements emphasized imperial ties by engaging in a case study of the pre-1914 years through the use of a primary source – four issues of the Canada Supplement which were published annually by the *Illustrated London News* between 1911 and 1914. Each supplement ran between twenty-five and thirty-six pages and was largely dedicated to informing Britons of the resource potential of Canada, the impressive development of Canadian cities, and opportunities for emigrants. However, each edition also featured a substantial article about taking a holiday in Canada, in which the prominent themes in advertisements of Canada to Britons since 1885 come together: emigration, investment, the benefits of travelling within the Empire, comfort and luxury, “perfect” scenery, and good sport. These supplements are examples of how advertisements of this era promoted tourism that was actually about more than tourism. This paper will work through the 1911 Canada Supplement’s article on tourism, employing it and the other three supplements to illustrate how advertisements for Western Canadian tourism during this time appealed to current tourism trends that would resonate with an elite audience, while also playing on imperial sentiments to cultivate an idea of purposeful tourism that was really about strengthening the British Empire.

Chapter I: Setting the Stage: Tourism, Empire, and the Canadian Pacific Railway

In 1867, the British colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were united into a new country - the Dominion of Canada. In 1871, the colony of British Columbia joined Canada on the condition that a transcontinental railroad would be built to connect British Columbia to the rest of the country.³ Canadian tourism began to gain speed in the 1880s, during a period of accelerated colonial expansion by European powers. This timing was tied to the completion of the

³ Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 101.

promised transcontinental railway, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), in 1885. The CPR revolutionized the potential for land travel from coast to coast, opening up regions which had previously been difficult to access and providing opportunities for investment, settlement and tourism. Stretching across the country and facilitating British Columbia joining Canada, the building of the CPR is primarily associated with the emergence of a Canadian national identity and growing Canadian independence. However, it was also part of a very different narrative - that of Canada as part of the British Empire. The CPR was not only seen as linking a nation, but as strengthening the links of empire.

Not unexpectedly, Canada and the CPR were eager to draw people and capital into the newly opened-up regions of the country, particularly if they were British. Britain also saw possibilities for the British Empire in the resources of western and central Canada and the opportunity to avoid social unrest by sending unemployed Britons to farm in Canada. Emigration and tourism campaigns marketed Canada as “the land of opportunity” and emphasized the important place that Canada had within the British Empire.⁴ Although Canada was becoming an increasingly independent nation, imperial ties to Britain remained important as Canada did not want to become the United States, nor did it want to lose territory to the United States. There were plenty of potential investors such as the nearby Americans, so it is of interest that a great deal of effort and energy was directed towards attracting British investment in particular.

British tourism in Canada cannot be discussed without first touching on broader trends and changes in British tourism during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. Travel at this time was

⁴ “The Land of Opportunity: Canada’s Invitation to Britons,” *Illustrated London News. With 36-Page Canadian Supplement: The Great Dominion*, 18 February 1911, 41.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroupName=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100214142&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

expensive and time-consuming. Consequently, it was traditionally only the landed elite who enjoyed the wealth and leisure time that were necessary for lengthy holidays abroad.⁵ The British elite travelled for enjoyment, in search of adventure, to prepare for public life, and to avoid social disgrace or scandal.⁶

Up until the mid-1800s, the Grand Tour, with its emphasis on the culture of the Ancient World, was the ultimate travel experience for British aristocrats.⁷ The Grand Tour was a social ritual, lasting anywhere from months to years. It was intended to prepare young aristocratic men to “assume the leadership positions preordained for them at home,” by rounding out their education by “exposing them to the treasured artifacts and ennobling society of the Continent.”⁸ Young women of means also took part in the Grand Tour, although they were not thought to be preparing for public life in the same way as men.⁹

During the Victorian era, the Grand Tour became a less-exclusive undertaking.¹⁰ The mid-1800s saw the rise of mass tourism in Britain, enabled by technological developments such as steam power, which increased the speed and decreased the expense of travelling, as well as innovations including the standard railway timetable, improvements in arrangements for currency

⁵ David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (Avon: The Bath Press, 1990), 371.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Pamela Horn, *Pleasures & Pastimes in Victorian Britain* (Thrupp, England: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 143.

⁸ Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds., *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 38.; Ibid.

⁹ Annie Kristina Polzella, “Self-Representation of Women in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Lady Anna Miller and the Grand Tour,” (MA thesis, University of South Florida, 2016). <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=7943&context=etd>.

¹⁰ Hulme and Youngs, eds., *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 42.

exchange, and the advent of the organized tour, which made travelling simpler.¹¹ All of these developments made the Grand Tour more affordable, safer, and easier to undertake, meaning that even more people could take part in this formerly exclusive tradition. In 1841, Thomas Cook organized his first cheap excursion to the English countryside and after this success embraced the travel business; Cook began offering Continental tours for the middling classes in the 1860s and round-the-world tours in the 1870s.¹² Some aristocrats looked down on such tours, referring to them as “Cook’s Circus” or “Cook’s Hordes,” and resented the presence of these types of groups in Europe. In reality, however, most participants of such tours were serious middle-class people, eager to educate themselves through travel on the Continent, who conducted themselves with dignity.¹³ Tours enabled people to visit places which would have otherwise been impossible or difficult for them to visit, “either on grounds of cost or of social convention.”¹⁴ Aristocratic resentment likely stemmed from the fact that what had once been exclusively aristocratic was now “common.” Consequently, aristocratic travellers might have desired to go further afield for their holidays than Europe in order to preserve the exclusivity of travel.

By the late-nineteenth century, the Continent had become a home away from home for many wealthy Britons, rather than a place to visit once in a lifetime, and no longer held the same promise of adventure and discovery that it had once held.¹⁵ Wealthy Britons began to look beyond Europe to North America, Asia and Africa as alternative travel destinations which were not

¹¹ Hulme and Youngs, eds., *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 47-8.

¹² E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff, Alberta: Altitude Publishing, 1983), 41.; Horn, *Pleasures & Pastimes in Victorian Britain*, 144.

¹³ Horn, *Pleasures and Pastimes in Victorian Britain*, 149.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 372.

plagued by mobs of middle-class tourists. Aware of this desire for exclusivity and adventure, the CPR emphasized the exclusive nature of travelling to Canada in their tourism campaigns.

Alternative travel destinations chosen by elite travellers frequently had the perceived benefit of being part of the British Empire in the instance of India, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Hong Kong, and parts of Africa and the Caribbean. For men who viewed travel as an essential component of preparing for or aiding a career in public life, it seemed appropriate to visit places still considered imperial rather than France, Italy or other “foreign” regions. Such travel offered the best opportunities to make connections with important politicians throughout the British Empire, as well as the opportunity to experience the its grandeur first-hand.¹⁶

A new appreciation for wilderness and an awareness of the beauty of nature emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century which also had an impact on why and where tourists travelled.¹⁷ Influenced by the writings of William Wordsworth and Lord Byron, some travellers sought out the beauties of the natural landscape in a new way, and Switzerland, Scotland, and the Rhineland region of Germany became tourist destinations for the natural landscapes and aesthetics that they offered. Mountains began to be seen as attractions to be admired rather than obstacles to be dreaded.¹⁸ The rise of the Swiss Alps as a popular tourist destination would have a large impact on Canadian tourism and how Canada was advertised to Britons in this era. As we shall see, advertisers attracted British tourists to Canada by drawing attention to the appeal of the great and wild outdoors and the promise of splendid scenery and adventure, as well as the promise of comfortable transport and accommodations. Advertisements promised the prospective tourist that

¹⁶ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 377-8.

¹⁷ Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 41.

¹⁸ Horn, *Pleasures and Pastimes in Victorian Britain*, 143.

nature would “open for him her gallery of wonderful sights with prodigal liberality, while the managers of the Canadian Pacific insure his material comforts as regularly as if he had never left Pall-mall.”¹⁹

Wealthy Britons began to travel more and more frequently over the course of the nineteenth century.²⁰ In *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, David Cannadine argues that one of the reasons why British aristocrats began travelling almost “epidemically” in the forty years preceding the First World War was their growing sense of “aristocratic alienation” caused by the beginning of the breakdown of the “stable world of patrician activity - territorially defined, politically related, and socially exclusive.”²¹ Consequently, travel became seen as a more enjoyable alternative to remaining at home, rather than its traditional casting as “dutiful recreation” to help one fulfil one’s role in society.²²

Another significant change to travel during the late Victorian period was the growth of travel literature and promotional material. Travel companies, shipping companies, and colonial organizations all became involved in publishing guide books.²³ Travel writing was an immensely popular genre in the Victorian and Edwardian periods and it was seemingly “*de rigueur* for any

¹⁹ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 375.; “Our Tourist Correspondent in the Canadian Dominion,” *The Times*, 7 October 1886, 9. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/9dMrj0>.

²⁰ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 371.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 382, 386.

²² *Ibid.*, 386.

²³ John M. MacKenzie, “Empire Travel Guides and the Imperial Mind-set from the Mid-Nineteenth to the Mid-Twentieth Centuries,” in *The British Abroad Since the Eighteenth Century, Volume 2: Experiencing Imperialism*, eds. Martin Farr and Xavier Guégan (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013), 119.; John M. MacKenzie, “Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries,” in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. J.K. Walton (Clevedon: Channel View, 2005), 22, 26.; T.R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London: Heinemann, 1982), 15.

tourist who was anyone” to publish an account of their journey in his or her respective home newspaper or journal.²⁴ A number of Britons who travelled through Canada published an account of their journey, such as Clive Phillips-Wolley’s *A Sportsman’s Eden* (1888), Edward Roper’s *By Track and Trail* (1891), and Marion Cran’s *A Woman in Canada* (1910).²⁵

These developments in British tourism took place during a period of British imperial expansion and “raised imperial consciousness.”²⁶ Consequently, British tourists often carried with them convictions of British supremacy when they travelled abroad, especially when to Empire destinations such as Canada.²⁷ By the early twentieth century, the “Dominions of the British Empire” was a phrase informally used to refer to Canada, Newfoundland, the Irish Free State, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. Despite the fact that the dominions were essentially nations in their own right, albeit ones with foreign policies controlled by the Imperial Government, they were still viewed by many in Britain as the core and ultimate purpose of the Empire.²⁸ Among the dominions, Canada was regarded, at this time, as the ultimate example of British imperial success and was referred to as the “Great Dominion,” which signifies its important place within the British Empire.²⁹ Dominion government propaganda advertised the dominions to the Mother

²⁴ Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 44.; Hulme and Youngs, eds., *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 37.

²⁵“#81 Clive Phillips-Wolley,” BC Book Look, <https://bcbooklook.com/2016/01/26/81-clive-phillipps-wolley/>. (accessed 26 March 2019).; Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 45-7.; Colleen Skidmore, ed., *This Wild Spirit: Women in the Rocky Mountains of Canada* (Edmonton: the University of Alberta Press, 2006), 143-150.

²⁶ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 377-8.

²⁷ Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 41.

²⁸ James Morris, *Pax Britannica: The Climax of an Empire* (London: Penguin UK, 1968), 41, 200.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 386.

Country as desirable destinations for tourists. Thus, just as in this period Australia shed some of its convict associations and New Zealand lost its connection with cannibalism, Canada attempted to shed its reputation as an arctic wasteland.³⁰

The expansion of the British Empire and its growing network of ports, shipping lines, railways, and telegraph cables made it possible to envisage a global “all-British” route, and the completion of the CPR made it possible to see Canada as a central part of such a route. Imperialists naturally wanted there to be steamship passages from Britain to Canada that rivalled the speed of those to the United States so that the “all-British” itinerary would be the fastest way to reach North America; “The Empire traveller,” was encouraged “to go straight to the Dominion, and to reserve his interest in the United States for a separate occasion.”³¹ The British were preoccupied with ensuring that their empire was linked to London by routes that were entirely within British territory, with no reliance on any other power for security. Such “all-red” routes, referring to the way in which the areas of the British Empire were depicted in red on maps, positioned Canada as having an important linking function between Britain and Asia.³² In an advertisement in the 1912 Canada Supplement, the Grand Trunk Railway promised that with its completion, “the trip round the world will be shortened by one week, and Europe will be brought just that much closer to Asia.”³³

³⁰ Ashley Jackson and David Tokins, *Illustrated Empire: A Visual History of British Imperialism* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2011), 127.

³¹ “How to See the Empire,” *The Times*, 24 May 1910, 48.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=&docId=CS805501624&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

³² Morris, *Pax Britannica*, 51.

³³ “Canada’s Grand Trunk Railway System.”

Although Canada was moving into a post-colonial era, imperial ties continued to be stressed on both sides of the Atlantic. For example, at the 1907 Imperial Conference, Canadian Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier proposed the creation of a new “All-Red Route” between Britain and Australia, through Canada.³⁴ The scheme envisaged the construction of a new port on the west coast of Ireland, from which a new fast steamship line would sail for Halifax. Travellers, mail, goods and resources could travel across Canada on the CPR and upon reaching Vancouver, another line of steamers would be available to facilitate travel to Australia and New Zealand.³⁵ This route would never leave the British Empire, preventing the Empire from losing trade to the United States, promoters promised. This “All-Red Route” scheme was celebrated as an endeavour which would “bring the distant parts of the Empire nearer to the centre and... make the Empire more compact,” cutting the trip from Britain to Australia by about five days.³⁶ This scheme lay dormant for want of financing until it was revived in 1913. Ironically, it was capital raised in Boston, combined with British capital, that facilitated this endeavour, which meant that Boston was added to the route.³⁷

The emphasis on securing “all-red” routes demonstrates the centrality of empire during this period. References to the benefits and symbolism of “all-red” routes are featured in advertisements and in imperial displays. Throughout the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, the Empire was

³⁴ “Canada And the Empire: The All-Red Steamship Project,” *The Times*, 22 June 1907, 6. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/9ap2y6>.

³⁵ Morris, *Pax Britannica*, 369.

³⁶ “Canada (From our Correspondent),” *The Times*, 9 August 1907, 7. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/tinyurl/9aog72>; “The All-Red Route.” *The Times*. 4 December 1907, 8. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/9apmM6>.

³⁷ “The All-Red Route: A New Development of the Scheme: Blacksod-Halifax-Boston,” *The Times*, 12 November 1913, 8. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/9apZfX>.

presented to the British public in highly visual forms through events such as Empire Day, coronations, jubilees, and extravagant exhibitions such as the 1911 Festival of Empire at the Crystal Palace in London.³⁸ The Festival of Empire was “intended to demonstrate to the... British public the real significance of our great self-governing Dominions, to make us familiar with their products, their ever-increasing resources [and] their illimitable possibilities.”³⁹ While the Festival of Empire was a celebration of the “whole glorious Empire,” it celebrated in particular “the four jewels in Britain’s crown” - India, South Africa, Canada, and Australia.⁴⁰ A miniature railway called the “All-Red Route” ran around the grounds, taking visitors to the different exhibitions – a tangible, visual representation of the “all-red” routes that connected the Empire around the globe; As one advertisement expressed, this was “the line that links the Empire, showing you... the most fascinating vision of past, present, and future Imperial glories.”⁴¹

Although the effects of advances in transportation and the circumstances of the construction of the CPR have already been touched on, the CPR needs to be dealt with in detail as the broader trends of late Victorian and Edwardian British tourism discussed to this point would not have manifested in Western Canada so significantly without the visions and ambitions of the CPR, let alone the physical railway itself. The CPR was pivotal in Canada’s development as a nation and in becoming a full partner in the British Empire, providing a faster way to transport

³⁸ Jackson and Tokins, *Illustrated Empire*, 174.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁴⁰ “Festival of Empire,” *The Times*, 11 May 1911, 6.
<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/tinyurl/9YsPa8>.; Mark Hobbs, “Let’s go to the Colonies!’: The Festival of Empire at the Crystal Palace, 1911,” In *The Jungle of Cities: Essays on Urban Culture*, <https://inthejungleofcities.com/2016/07/29/festival-of-empire-1911/> (accessed 20 January 2019).

⁴¹ “Festival of Empire.”

people, emigrants and tourists alike, making travelling across Canada a much more straightforward and practical undertaking. Prior to the CPR, a trip across Canada would have taken months by boat, horse-back, and on foot, rather than days.⁴²

For Britons obsessed with time and distance, the completion of the CPR was momentous as it “seemed the key to the unity not only of Canada but of the whole Empire, for it offered a new, secure and all-red route to the orient.”⁴³ Newspapers in Britain were filled with praise for the transcontinental railway, celebrating how “it has become impossible for all the Powers of Europe to deprive England of direct access to the East, since Canada has made for us a road through the Far West to the Far East, by which a belt of steam-traffic, on sea and land, under the British flag, binds together the Old World and the New.”⁴⁴ John Campbell, the Marquis of Lorne, wrote in 1886 that although the CPR’s primary purpose was to connect the provinces of Canada, its “still greater importance” was the opportunities it opened up for imperial trade and the security it offered to movement within the Empire.⁴⁵ Troops, freight, and mail “may thereby be sent by a route twelve hundred miles shorter than any other to China and Japan... and none but British ground, and none but British ships, need be touched from London to Hong Kong.”⁴⁶

⁴² “Tourism and Recreation,” CP Connecting Canada. <https://cpconnectingcanada.ca/#tourism-recreation> (accessed 10 February 2019).

⁴³ Morris, *Pax Britannica*, 368; Flynn, “Letting off Steam,” 185-6.

⁴⁴ “The Canadian Pacific Railway,” *Illustrated London News*, 10 November 1888, 21. <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100131940&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

⁴⁵ Marquis of Lorne and Princess Louise, *Our Railway to the Pacific* (London: Isbister and Company Limited, 1886), 31. https://archive.org/details/cihm_30265/page/n5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

The CPR was completed in 1885, after four years of political, economic and physical difficulties. Heavily in debt, the company immediately began looking for ways to raise capital to help reduce its debt and pay the high costs of operating the railway; tourism was one such avenue.⁴⁷ The CPR's general manager, William Cornelius Van Horne, proposed that the company attempt to make money out of the beautiful mountain section of the railroad, which had been particularly difficult and expensive to build. "If we can't export the scenery," Van Horne proclaimed, "we'll import the tourists."⁴⁸ Although the majority of tourists who travelled on the CPR were American, as part of an "Imperial Highway" within the British Empire the CPR viewed attracting British tourists as an important part of establishing Canada as the central part of an all-British route to Asia.⁴⁹ Thus, the CPR devoted considerable time and resources to advertising in the United Kingdom.

In its early days, the CPR catered to a wide range of people by offering three classes of travel: colonist, second-class, and first-class.⁵⁰ Tourism was only a small part of the CPR's operation; freight traffic was the priority, and at the outset it was assumed correctly that most of the passenger rail service revenue would come from immigrants and local passengers, rather than tourists. Despite the small part that tourism initially played in generating the CPR's overall revenue, tourism was Van Horne's main concern and he was committed to providing elite travellers with first-class services and accommodations. Moreover, he steered the CPR tourism campaigns towards the extremely wealthy, coining slogans such as, "Said the Prince to the Duke:

⁴⁷ Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 7.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

How High We Live on the CPR.”⁵¹ Van Horne personally designed elaborate parlour, dining, and sleeping cars, ensuring that the berths of the sleeping cars were longer and wider than those found in the American-made Pullman cars.⁵² The impracticality of hauling the heavy dining cars through the mountains led the CPR to establish high-class restaurants in the mountains. In the spring of 1886, construction began on three restaurant stops: Mount Stephen House, Glacier House, and Fraser Canyon House. All three buildings were designed with a deliberate Swiss feel, so as to connect to an advertising plan to promote the Rockies and Selkirks as the “Canadian Alps.”⁵³ These restaurant stops soon developed into resort hotels as the railway also saw the potential for creating new tourist hubs in the “new” Alps.⁵⁴

For several decades, the CPR was essentially the driving force of tourist advertising in Canada; around the turn of the century, the federal and provincial governments, other railway companies and cities, which began to create tourist boards, began to be involved in tourist advertising as well.⁵⁵ In 1884, the CPR’s London office moved to a desirable location on Cannon Street, near to London Bridge and St. Paul’s Cathedral.⁵⁶ To attract passers-by, paintings and photographs of Canadian scenery and CPR facilities were displayed in the windows and in the large reception room. It has been estimated that as many as three-quarters of a million people

⁵¹ Peter Pigott, *Sailing Seven Seas: A History of the Canadian Pacific Line* (Ottawa: Dundurn Press, 2010), 44.

⁵² Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 13.

⁵³ Margery Tanner Hadley, “Photography, Tourism and the CPR: Western Canada, 1884-1914,” in *Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian West: Regional Perspectives on the Settlement Process*, ed. L.A. Rosenvall and S.M. Evans (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1987), 51.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 14.

⁵⁵ Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 7.

⁵⁶ “Canadian Pacific Railway Company,” *The Railway News*, 16 February 1884, 277.

passed the office every day.⁵⁷ By the time that the *Illustrated London News* published the Canada Supplements, the CPR's London office had moved to 62-65 Charing Cross, an equally-desirable location near Trafalgar Square.⁵⁸ Recognizing the potential of the impressive mountainous regions, particularly considering Switzerland's popularity during this period, the CPR launched a promotional campaign to attract wealthy travellers, making extensive use of landscape photography. Canada was not advertised as exotic or different, but as a place where Britons could find all the luxuries and comforts of home alongside the inspiring mountains of Switzerland and investment opportunities that would never again be seen in the British Empire.

By the turn of the century, the focus of CPR tourist promotional material had shifted from the mountains to the string of luxury hotels that had been constructed along the rail line.⁵⁹ After building the initial, modest Hotel Vancouver, Van Horne turned to the Banff Springs Hotel, which opened in 1888. This hotel was devised to provide luxury, extravagance, and comfort, while simultaneously appealing to the tourist's desire for a wilderness experience.⁶⁰ The hotel was designed by one of the foremost architects of the day, Bruce Price of New York, whose vision for the hotel was inspired by the sixteenth-century Chateaux of the Loire Valley in France. It was

⁵⁷ Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 22.

⁵⁸ "Canadian Pacific: The Empire's Greatest Railway," *Illustrated London News. With 36-Page Canadian Supplement: The Great Dominion*, 18 February 1911, 67.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100214173&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

⁵⁹ Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 87.

⁶⁰ Hadley, "Photography, Tourism and the CPR," 51. Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 16, 55.

designed to rival the facilities of luxurious European spas such as Bath and Baden-Baden, and to become a “gathering place for tourists from all parts of the world.”⁶¹

The Banff Springs, along with the other hotels that followed – such as Glacier House in the Selkirk Mountains, the Empress Hotel in Victoria, and Château Frontenac in Quebec – was designed to attract a very specific kind of clientele. These grand, palatial hotels were intended for very well-off people. The fact that the CPR built a string of luxury hotels along the railroad reinforced the notion that a tourist going across Canada by train was on a route – a route which included all of the CPR’s luxurious hotels. A 1913 advertisement describes the CPR hotels as “a chain of comfort from Atlantic to Pacific,” located at the “great centres of trade and in the Rocky Mountains.”⁶²

Early tourist brochures often made a strong pitch to the upper class, English traveller with a love of empire, picturesque landscapes and sporting adventure. The CPR’s first tourist guide was published in 1887: *The Canadian Pacific: The New Highway to the East. The New Highway to the Orient* followed in 1890.⁶³ These titles depict the CPR as a link within the British Empire, appealing to British imperialists. The 1887 guide opened with an address to the upper-class English traveller:

May I not tempt you, kind reader, to leave England for a few short weeks and journey with me across that broad land, the beauties and glories of which have only now been brought

⁶¹ Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 55.; Catriona Sandilands, “Observing Nature, Observing Canada: National Parks, Discipline, and Spectacle,” in *Canada Observed: Perspectives from Abroad and from Within*, eds. Jurgen Kleist and Shawn Huffman (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2000), 93.; *British Columbia*, (Vancouver: Bolam and Baker, 1916), 36.

⁶² “Canadian Pacific,” *Illustrated London News. With Canadian Supplement and Photogravures*, 15 March 1913, 66.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100220613&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

⁶³ Hadley, “Photography, Tourism and the CPR,” 64.

within our reach? There will be no hardships to endure, no difficulties to overcome, and 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. If you are a jaded tourist, sick of Old World scenes and smells, you will find everything fresh and novel. If you are a sportsman, you will meet with unlimited opportunities and endless variety, and no one shall deny you your right to hunt or fish at your sweet will. If you are a mountain climber, you shall have cliffs and peaks and glaciers worthy of your alpenstock, and if you have lived in India, and tiger hunting has lost its zest, a Rocky Mountain grizzly bear will renew your interest in life.⁶⁴

The CPR knew their audience and they targeted elite travellers, who, “sick of Old World scenes and smells,” would be receptive to the idea of travelling further afield to an exclusive destination with “innumerable” natural wonders and abundant game.⁶⁵ The focus on elite British travellers reveals that tourism in Canada was about more than just tourism. From the beginning, Canada received more American tourists than British, but the CPR frequently directed its advertisements specifically to Britons by appealing to their experiences travelling in Europe, living in India, and their interest in and concern for the British Empire. Attracting British tourists to Canada during this era was not really about tourism and revenue from tourism, it was about strengthening imperial links through attracting British investment and British emigrants.⁶⁶

By 1906, the Canadian Pacific had fulfilled its long-time goal of having shipping lines in both the Atlantic and the Pacific.⁶⁷ Consequently, goods and passengers could travel the entire way from Britain to Asia or Australia, via Vancouver, with the CPR; This was attractive to tourists who

⁶⁴ *The Canadian Pacific: the New Highway to the East Across the Mountains, Prairies and Rivers of Canada*, 1887, Reprint, Montreal: Railfare Enterprises, 1972, 11.
<https://archive.org/details/canadianpacificn00mont>.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Hadley, “Photography, Tourism and the CPR,” 48.

⁶⁷ Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 83.

wanted the simplicity of booking their entire holiday through one company.⁶⁸ The Canadian Pacific's steamers were named *Empresses*, reflecting the two ideals with which Van Horne and the CPR wanted the public to associate Canadian Pacific's ships, trains, and hotels: the highest caliber of service possible and the imperial dream.⁶⁹

Chapter II: A Study in Advertising Canada to the British Through the Lens of “Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M.P., in Canada”

Looking in depth at published, primary documents from the period further elucidates this point and the specific ways in which purposeful, imperial-oriented travel was promoted. Indeed, a case study of the four supplements devoted to Canada published annually by the *Illustrated London News* between 1911 and 1914 demonstrates how tourist advertisements for Canada reflect broad trends of British tourism at this time, but they also reveal a desire to strengthen imperial ties. The supplements sought to inform Britons of the opportunities in Canada so that Canada would benefit Britain and the Empire. Tourism was a small, but vital, part of this goal, as travelling to Canada not only encouraged wealthy Britons to be invested in the “Great Dominion,” but it also symbolically strengthened the Empire by reinforcing the idea that the British Empire was linked by transportation routes that lay within British territory.

The *Illustrated London News* was founded in 1842 by Herbert Ingram, a bookseller, newsagent and printer from Nottingham, who noticed that the demand for papers increased when they featured woodcut illustrations.⁷⁰ Frederick William Naylor Bayley, the first editor, set the

⁶⁸ Morris, *Pax Britannica*, 388.

⁶⁹ Pigott, *Sailing Seven Seas*, 36.

⁷⁰ Isabel Bailey, “Ingram, Herbert (1811-1860),” Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1093/ref:odnb/14416> (accessed March 12, 2019).

tone in the first issue when he wrote that the magazine was determined to uphold purity, public morality and “withhold from society no point that its literature can furnish or its art adorn.”⁷¹ Set apart from other journals by such principles as well as by its numerous illustrations, the *Illustrated London News* was an immediate success and became a well-respected magazine which reached a large audience with its wide range of topics. In 1911, the magazine began to publish annual supplements on Canada which continued through 1914. The publishers felt that information, in the form of both words and images, was needed if Britons were to understand, and take advantage of, the possibilities that Canada held for them.

The first Canada Supplement, “The Great Dominion: Canada,” was published on 18 February 1911. This publication began with the bold statement that “in the whole of history it would be difficult, probably impossible, to find an instance of a country progressing so swiftly, scientifically, and consciously to its place among great and prosperous civilized nations as is the case with Canada at the present time.”⁷² The first supplement makes it clear why the editor, Bruce Ingram, felt that it was important to publish an in-depth and lengthy magazine about Canada for the British audience; there was anxiety that the Americans were recognizing the potential of Canada and taking advantage of it while the British, the ones who really should have been

⁷¹ “Our Address,” *Illustrated London News*, 14 May 1842, 1.

<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100004322&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

⁷² “Our Special Supplement: The Great Dominion of Canada,” *Illustrated London News. With 36-Page Canadian Supplement: The Great Dominion*, 18 February 1911, 2.

<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100214049&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

benefiting, were not, “to their incalculable loss.”⁷³ This was due, it was posited, to Britain’s great distance from Canada and consequent general lack of knowledge about the Dominion. The supplement’s overarching message was that Canada had a bright future, and Britons should act quickly to have a part in it, lest the Americans “take the cream,” and leave “the milk for the Britisher.”⁷⁴

In order to combat the perceived general lack of knowledge about Canada, the *Illustrated London News* published supplements informing Britons how they could have a part in Canada’s bright future within the British Empire: “It will, we trust, be of use both to the emigrant who goes out to seek a new home in a new land, and also to the investor who stays in the old home, but helps to provide the capital which enables the new land to develop its resources.”⁷⁵ The emphasis on the importance of Britons gaining knowledge and awareness of Canada so that they would not be “anticipated in every detail” by the Americans meant that tourism had an important role.⁷⁶ Tourism advertisements which convinced wealthy Britons to travel to Canada for a holiday were a way to get Britons interested in Canada and physically to a place where they could see the opportunities for themselves.

⁷³ “British Columbia & the British Investor,” *Illustrated London News. With 36-Page Canadian Supplement: The Great Dominion*, 18 February 1911, 57.

<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100214158&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1>.

⁷⁴ “Canada for the British,” *Illustrated London News. With 36-Page Canadian Supplement: The Great Dominion*, 18 February 1911, 59.

<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100214160&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

⁷⁵ “Our Special Supplement: The Great Dominion of Canada.”

⁷⁶ “British Columbia & the British Investor.”

The 1911 Canada Supplement's tourism page is entitled "Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M.P., in Canada," and takes the form of a conversation between Smith and Jones and the narrator, H.S. Carmichael of the Canadian Pacific Office in Charing Cross, who was familiar with travelling in Canada.⁷⁷ The CPR featured prominently in each of the four supplement's tourist articles, in addition to full-page advertisements in the 1911, 1913 and 1914 supplements.⁷⁸ Along with the CPR, the supplements also featured articles on transport corporations such as the Grand Trunk Railway and the steamers of the Donaldson Line.

The opening sentences of the 1911 supplement reveal a lot about the kind of people whom this advertisement was trying to attract to Canada.

Smith and Jones are two inseparables who came to me the other day for advice. Smith is a novelist who wishes to get local colour for his next masterpiece, while Jones is a young M.P. who feels he does not know as much as he talks about Tariff Reform and the British Empire.⁷⁹

Tourism advertisements targeted well-off people with money and leisure time, and therefore people likely to have political ties and an interest in the Empire. Jones, a Member of Parliament, felt that a trip to Canada, to see more of the Empire, would benefit him in that role as it would

⁷⁷ "Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada," *Illustrated London News. With 36-Page Canadian Supplement: The Great Dominion*, 18 February 1911, 46.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100214146&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

⁷⁸ "Canadian Pacific: The Empire's Greatest Railway," *Illustrated London News. With 36-Page Canadian Supplement: The Great Dominion*, 18 February 1911, 67.; "Canadian Pacific," *Illustrated London News. With Canadian Supplement and Photogravures*, 15 March 1913, 66.; "Canadian Pacific," *Illustrated London News. With Canadian Supplement with Colours and Photogravures*, 28 March 1914, 69.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100486437&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

⁷⁹ "Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada."

increase his knowledge of imperial matters. This message is stated even more strongly in the 1914 supplement's tourism page, which takes the form of a conversation between "Mr. Jones, M.P." and "Sir John Smith" in "the smoking-room of the Imperial Club in Pall Mall:"⁸⁰

Jones: When a man has been hard at work for the great part of a year he wants a change of scene; and if he is in Parliament or has wide business interests, he ought to go and see something of the Empire and of other empires too... What do you advise?

Sir John: That's an easy question. Go right through to the Far East.

Jones: That's all sea and very little British Empire.

Sir John: Pardon me, I don't suggest the Mediterranean route in summer; go through Canada.⁸¹

Sir John assured Jones that he could travel the whole way from "Liverpool to Hong Kong" with the Canadian Pacific, which provided both luxury and convenience. Travel within the Empire allowed travellers to "learn something of Imperial problems on the spot. And there's a business side to it too, for you can find many opportunities for profitable investment, and many new fields for enterprise."⁸²

One of the most important "fields for enterprise" in Canada was that of agriculture, particularly wheat. Wheat had great economic and symbolic value in Europe during this period. Consequently, for imperial-minded Britons travelling through Canada, the vast agricultural potential of Canada's prairie region was of great importance because access to Canadian wheat

⁸⁰ "From London to the Far East – A Conversation," *Illustrated London News. With Canadian Supplement with Colours and Photogravures*, 28 March 1914, 55.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100486417&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² "From London to the Far East – A Conversation."

meant that the British Empire could hypothetically be self-sufficient.⁸³ Smith and Jones were clearly not farmers, but in the 1911 supplement the “wheatfield of the Empire” in Canada was pointed out as something that they would not only notice and appreciate, but would want to view from the train’s observation car, as men who were concerned with Britain and the Empire.⁸⁴

These publications also encouraged travellers to go further afield by exploring opportunities for recreational motoring in Canada, which became a popular elite activity in the years directly preceding World War One.

By this time Smith and Jones probably desire a change from the railway track, and Calgary is fortunately in the centre of a good motoring country. They could hire an automobile for a few days, and drive around from farmer to farmer, picking up stories of struggles and success that would teach them more of Canada than a thousand books.⁸⁵

Motoring was advertised as a good way to see cities such as Calgary or Vancouver, as well as a way to see spots of great natural beauty that were off the beaten track. Such an activity was clearly very exclusive; it was expensive and one needed to know how to drive. Motoring also provided tourists with a way to see a city or the countryside without a guide, an experience that showed that one had money and did not have to engage in tours such as those of Thomas Cook who catered to the masses. The 1912 and 1914 Canada Supplements both featured a page on a “motor-highway” built between Banff and Windermere to attract motor enthusiasts.⁸⁶ The 1913 supplement suggests

⁸³ Flynn, “Letting off Steam,” 189-90.

⁸⁴ “Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada.”

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ “Motor Highway of the Great Divide: A Pleasure to Be,” *Illustrated London News. With Supplement Dealing with the Progress of Canada*, 9 March 1912, 41.
[http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGr](http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroupName=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100483533&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0.;)
 groupName=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100483533&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0.; “Built Specially for Motor Cars: A Splendid Road in Canada,” *Illustrated London News. With Canadian Supplement with Colours and Photogravures*, 28 March 1914, 48.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGr>

motoring as the best way to see Winnipeg: “It is not, of course, the cheapest way, but Winnipeg deserves it.”⁸⁷

Not surprisingly, Smith and Jones wanted to visit Canada during the summer and early Fall. They were advised to “leave on July 28th... and catch the *Empress* boat before the heaviest tourist season begins.”⁸⁸ Canada was almost exclusively advertised as a summer destination during this era; Canadian Pacific poster creators were instructed not to depict snow in their advertisements after Rudyard Kipling referred to Canada as “our lady of the snows” in 1907, which the CPR felt gave people an unfavourable impression of the country.⁸⁹ Advertising summers was a way to assure people that the pleasant climate of Canada was “suited to the fullest development of British people.”⁹⁰

The 1913 Canada Supplement included a page entitled “Our Lady of the Sun: Canada, the Perfect Summer Resort.”⁹¹ This page featured five photographs of well-dressed men and women enjoying “perfect summers” in Canada, in boats and on beaches. The commentary on the photographs reads:

oupName=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100486410&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0.

⁸⁷ “How to Enjoy a Canadian Holiday: By an Old Hand.”

⁸⁸ “Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada.”

⁸⁹ “Our Lady of the Sun: Canada, the Perfect Summer Resort,” *Illustrated London News. With Canadian Supplement and Photogravures*, 15 March 1913, 48.
[http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroupName=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100220587&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0.](http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroupName=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100220587&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0;); Marc H. Choko and David L. Jones, *Posters of the Canadian Pacific* (Richmond Hill, Ontario: Firefly Books, 2004).

⁹⁰ “The Land of Opportunity: Canada’s Invitation to Britons.”

⁹¹ “Our Lady of the Sun: Canada, the Perfect Summer Resort.”

When Kipling wrote of Canada as “Our Lady of the Snows” patriotic Canadians were by no means over-pleased, for they can boast of perfect summers as well as fine, if cold, winters, and they felt it not a little hard that the Dominion should be thus associated chiefly with wintry conditions. All the world knows by this time the climate conditions Canada rightly boasts, but such photographs as these here given cannot fail to illustrate the point in a striking manner.⁹²

In addition to Kipling, Canadian advertisers were concerned with refuting the famous words of Voltaire:

“Quelques arpents de neige!” With that phrase Voltaire ignorantly and jestingly consoled France for her loss of Canada; but to have crossed, though ever so hurriedly, from Atlantic to Pacific, the great country lightly dismissed as no more than “a few acres of snow” is to forget the folly of the philosopher in the vastness of the reality.⁹³

The 1911 Canada Supplement was careful to point out that such words were merely “eighteenth century absurdity,” and the magazine assured its readers that “to recall these historic errors would be to raise a smile, did not the vastness, the variety, the irrepressible vitality of the country leave the traveller incapable of any emotion but amazement and admiration and again amazement.”⁹⁴

Advertising Canada as a summer destination promoted various outdoor activities, particularly the opportunity to spend time in nature and “go off into the wilds.”⁹⁵ The emergence of a critique of modernity around the end of the nineteenth century heightened the popularity of outdoor activities such as camping, hiking, trail riding and sport hunting. Anti-modernists were

⁹² “Our Lady of the Sun: Canada, the Perfect Summer Resort.”

⁹³ “The Dominion Which is as Large as Europe,” *Illustrated London News. With 36-Page Canadian Supplement: The Great Dominion*, 18 February 1911, 37.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroupName=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100214138&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ “How to Enjoy a Canadian Holiday: By an Old Hand.”

unhappy with what they saw as modern life's "corrosive effects on nature, the spirit, and the self."⁹⁶ They believed that the way to combat the detrimental effects of modern life, and in particular to restore manliness to men, was to seek out authentic experiences "in the primitive."⁹⁷ In the 1911 supplement, five days of immersion in the wilderness of Ontario would seem to have restored Smith and Jones' manly self-sufficiency and appreciation of nature:

For five days, then, imagine our two heroes camping out and fishing. At the end of four days you would find them scornful of hotels, expert cooks, and just as truthful as fishermen usually are. If they have taken provisions for four days, they will make them last for five, and only when necessity compels will they return to Fenton's headquarters. By this time they will have begun to understand the real charm of Canada.⁹⁸

The anti-modernity movement further heightened the popularity of sport hunting around the world. Big-game hunting was extremely popular from the late-nineteenth to the early-twentieth centuries as a symbol of Europe's imperial power.⁹⁹ Sportsmen were extolled as masculine empire-builders with a passion for exploration and "the drive to classify and order the natural world through a new scientific understanding."¹⁰⁰ Sportsmen sought to discover and name new species, frequently after themselves.¹⁰¹ A number of big-game hunters combined their interest in hunting

⁹⁶ Tina Loo, "Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939," *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (Autumn, 2001): 300.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*; Tina Loo, "Making a Modern Wilderness: Conserving Wildlife in Twentieth-Century Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (2001): 99-100.

⁹⁸ "Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada."

⁹⁹ Loo, "Of Moose and Men," 299.; John M. MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1988), 7.

¹⁰⁰ Loo, "Of Moose and Men," 299.; MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 23.

¹⁰¹ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 38.

with a love of natural history and they sketched, painted, and photographed animals, as well as hunting them.¹⁰²

Hunting figured prominently in the appeal Western Canada held for elite Britons. The “touring sportsman,” it was hoped, would “take a wider interest and a definite stake in the Dominion as a result of a pleasure trip of this kind.”¹⁰³ Hunting and fishing were mentioned in almost every tourism advertisement for Western Canada of any length. The 1911, 1913, and 1914 supplements featured pages about hunting and fishing, with collages of drawings and photographs of the animals that could be hunted.¹⁰⁴ In addition, the publications mentioned the possibilities of hunting and fishing in their tourism features, such as in the 1911 Supplement:

By this time they are fairly hardened, and could undertake a little hunting trip up in the Columbia Valley. I say a “little” hunting trip, but they must not imagine that they can pot bears from the window of an hotel and then step off on the next train. Bears and mountain-goat are “shy birds” and it is only fair to allow ten days for this interlude... if within say five days they have not got some trophies, they must be very poor shots.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Horn, *Pleasures and Pastimes in Victorian Britain*, 116.

¹⁰³ “British Sportsmen and Canada,” *Canada* 26, no. 327 (13 April 1912): 40.

¹⁰⁴ “Sportsman’s Paradise: Canada for the Hunter and Fisherman,” *Illustrated London News. With 36-Page Canadian Supplement: The Great Dominion*, 18 February 1911, 60.
[http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100214161&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0](http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100214161&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0;); “Sporting Canada: Perfect Shooting and Fishing in the Dominion,” *Illustrated London News. With Canadian Supplement and Photogravures*, 15 March 1913, 65.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100220612&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>; “Gun and Rod in Canada: Sport in the Great Dominion,” *Illustrated London News. With Canadian Supplement with Colours and Photogravures*, 28 March 1914, 59.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100486422&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

¹⁰⁵ “Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada.”

The abundance of Canada's big game species was frequently extolled in promotional material. Around the time that big game in other parts of the British Empire, such as elephants and tigers, were becoming increasingly scarce due to overhunting, the interior of Canada became more accessible because of the completion of the CPR, attracting British sportsmen to Canada as a place for sporting adventure.¹⁰⁶ Along with big-game hunting, shooting ducks was very popular with British tourists, who were impressed with the many varieties of waterfowl in Canada and wondered why "more visitors do not come over for duck-shooting."¹⁰⁷ The 1914 supplement boasted that "there is no lack of first-rate sport in Canada... with its vast virgin forests full of game, its thousands of lakes and rivers alive with fish."¹⁰⁸

The big-game hunters who travelled to Western Canada for sport represented the landed elite of British society. These men had the personal wealth and leisure time for lengthy holidays and sporting tours, and a number of them were active in politics and public life.¹⁰⁹ Across the Empire, upper-class British sportsmen advocated, although they did not always adhere to, an elite sporting code, the rules of which ensured that their elite sport remained within the boundaries of

¹⁰⁶ Karen Wonders, "Hunting Narratives of the Age of Empire: A Gender Reading of Their Iconography," *Environment and History* 11, no. 3 (August 2005): 270.; R. G. Moyles and Doug Owrarn, "'Hunter's Paradise': Imperial-Minded Sportsmen in Canada," in *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988): 64.

¹⁰⁷ "The Most Exciting Method: Shooting Duck Over Decoys in Canada," *Illustrated London News. With Canadian Supplement and Photogravures*, 15 March 1913, 59.
<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100220600&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

¹⁰⁸ "Gun and Rod in Canada: Sport in the Great Dominion."

¹⁰⁹ Greg Gillespie, "'I Was Well Pleased with our Sport Among the Buffalo': Big-Game Hunters, Travel Writing, and Cultural Imperialism in the British North American West, 1847-72," *The Canadian Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (December 2002): 2.

respectable manly leisure.¹¹⁰ Sportsmen used their sporting code of conduct to conceptualize big-game hunting as a noble and fair pursuit and the activities of those who hunted for subsistence as uncivilized, unmanly, and unsportsmanlike.¹¹¹ The sporting code also connected the collection of hunting trophies to science and the study of natural history in order to justify the killing and taking of animal specimens.¹¹²

Displays of hunting trophies and taxidermized game animals also became symbols of imperial power and masculinity.¹¹³ For British sport hunters, ideas about hunting and masculinity, which were connected to their elite sporting code, directed how and what they hunted. Despite elite women's increased, although still limited, participation in hunting and shooting at home, the imperial hunt was a largely male affair and its "rituals and its alleged character-forming qualities were depicted as being 'manly' and unsuitable for women."¹¹⁴ Sport hunters, conflating their abilities with the abilities of the animal that they had targeted, sought out game displaying characteristics which were deemed masculine. It was also important to hunt and display, whether as a trophy or as a photograph, animals that were "worthy adversaries, as indicated by their size, strength, agility or ferocity," as this displayed the hunter's "sportlyness" in hunting an animal that was a match for their skill.¹¹⁵ In Western Canada, Grizzly bears were the most sought after game animal; a CPR annotated map of "Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies" promised that "the

¹¹⁰ Karen Wonders, "A Sportsman's Eden," *The Beaver: Exploring Canada's History* 79, no. 6 (December 1999): 43.

¹¹¹ Loo, "Of Moose and Men," 307.; Gillespie, "I Was Well Pleased with our Sport Among the Buffalo," 2.; Wonders, "The Empire's Eden," 43.

¹¹² Wonders, "The Empire's Eden," 43.

¹¹³ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 30.; Wonders, "Hunting Narratives of the Age of Empire," 281.

¹¹⁴ Horn, *Pleasures and Pastimes in Victorian Britain*, 22.; Loo, "Of Moose and Men," 301.

¹¹⁵ Wonders, "Hunting Narratives of the Age of Empire," 282.

hunter who succeeds in bagging one of these huge and ferocious animals can be assured of pulse-quickenning memories for the rest of his life.”¹¹⁶ Bighorn or Rocky Mountain sheep were also highly valued hunting trophies. This was partly due to their “massive, wide-spreading horns,” which hunters thought made “a beautiful ornament,” and partly because “of all Canadian big game the bighorn is most wary and difficult to bag.”¹¹⁷

Around the turn of the century, sport hunters and hunting clubs began to realize that the myth of abundance that surrounded the wildlife of Western Canada was, in fact, a myth. Recognizing the need to conserve game species in order to ensure that sport hunting could continue, sportsmen “put themselves in the vanguard of husbanding the wilderness remnants.”¹¹⁸ By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the sports hunting lobby succeeded in pushing provincial governments to play a more active role in wildlife management and to take more responsibility for game resources.¹¹⁹ While provincial governments were attracted to wildlife conservation for a number of reasons, the economic value of wildlife as tourist attractions and its use in symbolizing abundance ranked highly.¹²⁰ Images of animals and displays of taxidermied animals were used by provinces, communities, and businesses in Canada to suggest overall abundance and opportunity in order to attract tourists, settlers, and investment.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ *Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*. Canadian Pacific Railway Map, 1924. City of Vancouver Archives.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Wonders, “A Sportsman’s Eden,” page.

¹¹⁹ Loo, “Making a Modern Wilderness,” 97.; Loo, “Of Moose and Men,” 302.

¹²⁰ Loo, “Making a Modern Wilderness,” 103.

¹²¹ Colpitts, “Wildlife Promotions, Western Canadian Boosterism, and the Conservation Movement, 1890-1914,” 104-5.

Along with sport hunting, the Rocky and Selkirk Mountains, “the Switzerland of America,” and the associated activities such as mountaineering, hiking, painting and photography, were the main tourist attractions of Western Canada.¹²² In the narration of the adventures of Smith and Jones, for example, the mountains feature prominently.

From the plains round Calgary they would see the snow-white peaks of the Rockies on the far horizon. On Thursday I book them for Banff... The morning fills up nicely with a drive round Tunnel Mountain to the buffalo park. Then in the afternoon a little motor-launch makes a delightful trip up the river, deeper into the heart of the mountains.¹²³

Some travellers came to the mountains “seeking the comforts of home in a wilderness playground,” while others sought something physically and intellectually challenging and used the CPR hotels as departure points into the mountains.¹²⁴

Starting in the 1810s, British mountaineers began to travel to Switzerland to scale the main peaks of the Bernese Alps.¹²⁵ The Alpine Club in London was founded in 1857 and by the 1860s Switzerland had become an increasingly popular European destination for British tourists. The period between 1854 and 1865 was considered the “Gold Age of Alpinism,” during which most of the peaks in the Alps were summited.¹²⁶ Many of the mountains of Western Canada had not been summited by Europeans when the CPR opened up the Canadian West, and the added draw of potentially achieving fame through a first ascent attracted many British mountaineers to Canada.

¹²² *British Columbia*, 36.

¹²³ "Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada."

¹²⁴ Skidmore, ed., *This Wild Spirit*, xvii, 162.

¹²⁵“Tourism: When the Mountains Became a Tourist Destination,” Discover Switzerland.
<https://www.eda.admin.ch/aboutswitzerland/en/home/dossiers/die-schweiz-und-ihre-bergrekorde/tourismus--die-entdeckung-der-berge-als-feriendestination.html> (accessed 13 March 2019).

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

Moreover, by the 1890s, elite British travellers were concerned that Switzerland was becoming increasingly crowded with middle-class tourists. Alive to these sentiments, the CPR advertised Canada to elite travellers as a less crowded, more exclusive, and perhaps even more spectacular alternative to Switzerland. Canada provided a mountainous landscape that, along with beauty, offered travellers with the feeling that there were still new places to explore, including pristine wilderness. Travelling to Canada, rather than Switzerland, would also provide travellers with the chance to return to Britain and tell their family and friends of a new experience – everyone had been to Europe, but not everyone had been to Canada.

The promotion of the mountains was clearly aimed at constructing an image of Canada similar to that of Switzerland, but with the added advantage of being in the British Empire – the “Canadian Alps.”¹²⁷ In the CPR’s 1887 promotional pamphlet, Mount Sir Donald is described as “an acute pyramid of rock shooting up nearly eight thousand feet above us, a dozen Matterhorns in one.”¹²⁸ In 1912, the magazine *Canada* featured a page comparing photographs of Canadian mountain scenery with European mountain scenery to prove visually that the Rockies and Selkirks were a match for the peaks of Europe.¹²⁹ As discussed above, the CPR built hotels designed to look like Swiss chalets, and the company also brought Swiss guides in to guide mountaineers in the Rockies.¹³⁰

In 1909, CPR passenger traffic manager Robert Kerr suggested that in order to save money on providing return passage for the guides to Switzerland each year, a Swiss village might be

¹²⁷ Hadley, “Photography, Tourism and the CPR,” 51.

¹²⁸ *The Canadian Pacific: the New Highway to the East Across the Mountains, Prairies and Rivers of Canada*, 39.

¹²⁹ “Mountain Scenery in the Old World and the New,” *Canada* 26, no. 326 (6 April 1912): 14-15.

¹³⁰ Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 92.

constructed for them to live in and to provide an attraction for tourists.¹³¹ Kerr's village, named Edelweiss, was established just to the north of Golden near the main line so that it could be easily seen from the train.¹³² The page "Switzerland in the Rockies" in the 1911 Canada Supplement drew the reader's attention to Edelweiss and to the availability of Swiss guides "capable of escorting the climbers who wish to scale the great peaks of the locality," as well as to the presence of the Canadian Alpine Club, whose "annual camp has become so popular that climbers come from all parts of the world to attend it."¹³³ Although this scheme proved unsuccessful and the village was sold, Edelweiss demonstrated the CPR's commitment to promoting the Rockies and Selkirks as an exclusive alternative to Switzerland.¹³⁴

One of the trends that emerged out of Canadian mountain tourism was that of riding through the mountains while seated on the cowcatcher at the front of the train's engine. In 1886, Agnes Macdonald, wife of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, rode a large part of the way through the mountains on the cowcatcher and it became an adventurous trend for brave and influential travellers, particularly female travellers, who could ride on the cowcatcher if they agreed to sign a waiver.¹³⁵ This trend was a result of the combination of the transportation technology of the CPR, the mountain scenery itself, and the anti-modernist drive to immerse oneself in the wonder, even

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ "Switzerland in the Rockies: 'Edelweiss,' Canada." *Illustrated London News*, 18 February 1911, 48. <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroupName=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100214148&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

¹³⁴ Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 92.

¹³⁵ Skidmore, ed., *This Wild Spirit*, 80.; Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 24, 29.

the terror, of nature. It is ironic that it was the modern technology of the railway that provided travellers with the opportunity to immerse themselves in the wilderness of Canada.

Advertisements such as the 1911 Canada Supplement not only promoted various adventurous activities to be enjoyed in Canada, but also extolled the many possibilities available for leisure and for enjoying the beautiful scenery:

Lake Louise is so beautiful and so restful that I have dedicated it to Sunday as well as Saturday. They would sit on the verandah, watching the play of colour on that marvellous surface - emerald, sapphire, amethyst and turquoise, held in a chalice of eternal snow.¹³⁶

Scenes were frequently described as “sublime” or “perfect”: Lake Louise was described as “the most perfect bit of scenery,” which could only be criticized for being “too perfect.”¹³⁷ It is of interest that while Smith and Jones were only allocated one day each for Ottawa, Niagara and Quebec, they were given two days to “sit on the verandah” by Lake Louise and take in the beauty. Advertisers anticipated that an emphasis on beauty and time spent appreciating nature would resonate with their readers, as would the comfort in which tourists would be able to appreciate such beauty.

With their focus on mountain scenery and opportunities to spend time in the outdoors, the tourism pages of the Canada Supplements could give the impression that advertisers were not concerned with promoting Canadian cities: “most of the sights of Quebec can be seen in a day... I give them a day at Toronto and a day at Niagara Falls.”¹³⁸ The 1913 supplement states: “I love Canada; but I go there, not for the cities, but for the vast waterways and forests and prairies and

¹³⁶ "Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada."

¹³⁷ "How to Enjoy a Canadian Holiday: By an Old Hand."; "Built Specially for Motor Cars: A Splendid Road in Canada."

¹³⁸ "Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada."

mountains.”¹³⁹ However, the pages about tourism in Canada are surrounded by articles proclaiming the importance of Canadian cities that “grow while you’re looking at them.”¹⁴⁰ Canadian cities were not the attraction that was being sold to tourists, but their growth and prosperity needed to be emphasized so that visitors would be comfortable investing in urban areas. The person targeted with the tourist advertisements emphasizing wilderness was the same person targeted with the articles on cities: the wealthy Briton with money to both travel and invest.

Two cities in Western Canada that were particularly concerned with advertising themselves to tourists were Victoria and Vancouver.

Vancouver can be done in a day by motor-car, and they could take the night boat on to Victoria, where in the beautiful Empress Hotel, they would find excellent headquarters for a few days of delightful excursions through Vancouver Island - an outpost of Empire whose charm never fails to captivate every visitor.¹⁴¹

Victoria, “an outpost of Empire” on “the loveliest island of the Pacific,” was the leading port city in British Columbia until the turn of the century, when Vancouver surpassed it after becoming the western terminus of the CPR.¹⁴² By the Fall of 1890, with Vancouver’s economy developing rapidly, Victoria’s Board of Trade turned to tourism as a way to compete with Vancouver in attracting industrial development and settlers.¹⁴³ The Tourist Association of Victoria was created in February of 1902 and the Tourist Association of Vancouver followed in June.¹⁴⁴ These cities

¹³⁹ “How to Enjoy a Canadian Holiday: By an Old Hand.”

¹⁴⁰ “From London to the Far East, A Conversation.”

¹⁴¹ “Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada.”

¹⁴² Ibid.; “An All-Red Tour Through Canada.”; Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890 – 1970* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 24.

¹⁴³ Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 26.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 29, 37.

recognized that they could use tourism to attract potential investors and businesses to their area as visitors with the hope that they would either decide to stay, or invest remotely.¹⁴⁵ At the turn of the century there was much optimism in British Columbia about an anticipated resource-extraction boom and the province's economic future. This likely led British Columbians to see tourism as a mechanism that would facilitate the development of agricultural and industrial sectors by attracting investment, rather than as an end in and of itself.¹⁴⁶ Herbert Cuthbert, one of the leading tourism boosters in Victoria, was convinced that the word-of-mouth publicity that would result from increased visitors to the city would ensure that "Victoria's importance as a commercial and mining centre would be advertised more by these visitors coming amongst us than by anything else."¹⁴⁷

Advertisements from this time period are noticeably lacking in any mention of Indigenous peoples and are full of descriptions that represent Canada as "waiting" for British action. The 1911 supplement suggests that Smith and Jones "might catch on to a party of landseekers at a CPR land office, driving out with them and realising the tremendous land-hunger which is pulling men from all over the world to these great waiting acres."¹⁴⁸ Apart from the occasional mention of an "Indian guide," the Indigenous peoples of Canada are essentially ignored in this promotional material.¹⁴⁹ The Banff Indian Days tourism festival began in 1894 and then occurred annually from 1910 until 1972.¹⁵⁰ However, it does not seem to have appeared in advertisements for British tourists until

¹⁴⁵ Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 29.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁴⁸ "Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada."

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Courtney W. Mason, "The Banff Indian Days Tourism Festivals," *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol 53 (July 2015): 78, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2015.04.008>.

the 1920s.¹⁵¹ From the 1880s onwards, Indigenous peoples were refused access to the land that became part of the Rocky Mountains Park, which was the precursor to Banff National Park. The Banff Indian Days tourism festival provided an opportunity for local Indigenous peoples to once again access the region for a brief period, but it also displayed them to people of European origin as a tourist attraction and presented them as “part of a bygone era – a stagnant or unchanged aspect of Alberta's past, not an active component of the historical present.”¹⁵²

Even though the festivals were held annually, they were not mentioned in any of the four supplements. In an effort to assure tourists that they would feel comfortable in Canada, the promotional literature and images of this period emphasized the similarities between Canada and Britain and stressed that travellers could access all of the comforts of home while travelling in the Dominion. A desire for emigration and investment shaped the tourist campaigns, and therefore advertisers wanted to portray Canada as empty and available. Canada was depicted as passive and the British traveller and investor as the active party in a place of “lands that do but await the advent of industry to yield their natural wealth to those who seek it.”¹⁵³ Likewise, the forests and streams of Canada were sold to sportsmen in advertisements as “untouched” or “virgin” territory.¹⁵⁴ A reminder that there had been people on the land that became Canada before the British or the

¹⁵¹ “A Canadian Holiday,” *The Times*, 4 March 1926, 2. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/94FBD8>.

¹⁵² “The Banff Indian Days Tourism Festivals.”; Courtney W. Mason, “The Construction of Banff as a ‘Natural’ Environment: Sporting Festivals, Tourism, and Representations of Aboriginal Peoples,” *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 2 (2008): 231, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/stable/26404820>.

¹⁵³ “Canada, the Great Dominion: A Record of Progress,” *Illustrated London News*, 15 March 1913, 42. <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=uvictoria&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100220581&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

¹⁵⁴ Greg Gillespie, “The Empire’s Eden: British Hunters, Travel Writing, and Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century Canada,” in *The Culture of Hunting in Canada*, ed. Jean L. Manore and Dale G. Miner (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007): 46.; “Gun and Rod in Canada: Sport in the Great Dominion.”

French, and that they were still there, would have subverted the image that the CPR, as well as the British and Canadian governments, were trying to cultivate and sell, that of Canada “awaiting the strenuous Englishman.”¹⁵⁵

If Smith and Jones’ westward trip had been focused primarily on the beautiful scenery of Canada, it seems that their trip home would be spent seeking out and admiring, and perhaps investing in, the resources of Canada.

If I were Smith and Jones I would not come back by the main line of the CPR. I would break off at Revelstoke, and take the steamer down the Arrowhead Lakes to West Robson, passing the lumber camps and little isolate settlements that are so characteristic of Southern British Columbia. Then I would diverge for a day to Rossland and see the gold mines and the smelters at Trail. The eastbound trail now runs along the Crow’s Nest Pass branch of the CPR, but first one spends a day at Nelson, the fruit centre of the Kootenays. All along the line through the Crow’s Nest Pass are coal-mines and the like in a marvellously mineralised region set in fairy-like scenery.¹⁵⁶

The assumption that Smith and Jones’ interest in lumber camps, smelters and “marvellously mineralised” regions would be so great as to warrant an entirely different route back just to see them is worthy of note. A 1916 promotional book simply titled *British Columbia*, with information “compiled and published by Bolam & Baker, Timber Merchants” from Vancouver also illustrates how tourist literature from this period focused simultaneously on commercial development and tourist attractions, as opposed to one or the other.¹⁵⁷ This book stated its purpose directly: “The object of this publication is to advertise the wonderful scenic attractions of British Columbia to the Tourist, and at the same time bring to the notice of financial men and investors the numerous fields covered by the natural resources of the Province awaiting capital to develop them.”¹⁵⁸ The

¹⁵⁵ “Canada, the Great Dominion: A Record of Progress.”

¹⁵⁶ “Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada.”

¹⁵⁷ *British Columbia.*; Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 33.

¹⁵⁸ *British Columbia*, 1.

majority of the book was dedicated to topics such as: “The Province of Boundless Resources,” “The Mineral Wealth of British Columbia” and “The Harvest of the Sea.”¹⁵⁹ When describing the climate of British Columbia, the lower coast and Vancouver Island were compared to the South of England – indicating that this information was directed towards people who were familiar with the climate in the South of England, i.e. Britons.¹⁶⁰

Conclusion

A reasonable query in response to this discussion of advertisements aimed at convincing British tourists to travel to Canada is “did it work?” British travellers certainly did come to Canada, but due to the nature of the sources it is hard to determine exact numbers. *The Times* and *Canada* report notable travellers who were travelling to Canada or returning to Britain from Canada, but for the majority of travellers, it is difficult to ascertain the purpose of their travel, or even in which country they resided. However, for those with the wealth and leisure to travel around the globe, Canada does seem to have become an appealing destination in this period. A passenger list for the *Empress of Ireland*, sailing from Liverpool to Quebec in August 1913, lists 242 saloon passengers, 96 of whom list addresses in the United Kingdom.¹⁶¹ From a list of guests registered at the Banff Springs Hotel, we are able to ascertain that between 1888 and 1891, while the number of guests from Britain did increase, the percentage of guests that were British fell slightly from 19% to 15%. Meanwhile, the percentage of American guests rose and surpassed that of Canadian guests.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ *British Columbia*, 2, 8, 12, 18, 22, 26.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁶¹ City of Vancouver Archives, City of Vancouver Archives Pamphlet Collection, AM1519, PAM 1913-31, Canadian Pacific Railway Company’s Royal Mail Steamship Empress of Ireland Saloon Passenger List, 8 August 1913.

¹⁶² Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 44.

The CPR and other advertisers were clearly aware that only the extremely wealthy could partake in all of the opportunities, tourist and investment alike, that they were promoting. They knew the clientele that they were trying to attract – politicians, aristocrats, mountaineers, big-game hunters – and they did succeed in attracting them. A collection of representative travellers in the appendix shows some of the British tourists who travelled to Canada during this era. Their experiences were surely not representative of all British tourists to Canada, but they provide us with an insightful sample.¹⁶³

Between 1885 and 1914, advertisements which promoted tourism in Canada to Britons stressed not only the beautiful scenery and recreational possibilities in Canada, but also sold a picture of Canada as the “Great Dominion,” the ultimate success story of the British Empire which would resonate with the landed elite. The changes in technology and transportation that characterized the Victorian era had made Europe, the traditional destination of the British elite, a more affordable, and consequently less-exclusive, travel destination. This led the traditional travelling elite of Britain to seek out new places to vacation and explore, including Canada. The CPR, completed in 1885, and other advertisers, took advantage of this desire for an exclusive holiday experience in their promotion of Canada. For advertisers, tourism was seen as a mechanism to get potential investors to Canada, and they encouraged tourists to see their trip to Canada as an act that would not only provide great pleasure and even adventure, but would also strengthen the Empire through their direct investment in a dominion which had so much potential. The overall aim, it would seem, was to keep the “all-red route” all-red well into the future. The Briton these advertisements targeted was a tourist, a potential emigrant, and hopefully an investor in Canada’s future.

¹⁶³ See Appendix.

All of these themes and motives come together in the final paragraph of “Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada,” which clearly elucidates the true purpose of the Canada Supplements produced by the *London Illustrated News*, and demonstrates the ultimate aim of the advertising of the era at large. When the article finally broached the topic of expense, its intended audience is undeniable:

Expenses of course, vary according to the individual, but Smith and Jones both like to be comfortable, and so I have booked them first cabin on the steamer both ways in a cabin to themselves, and, of course, on the trains they will travel Pullman. Their fares should not amount to more than £75 each, but to that must be added the canoe and guide and tackle for the fishing trip, the hire of the motor at Calgary, the ponies and guide for the Yoho Valley, the steamer in the Columbia Valley, the guides, horses, camping outfit, etc., on the hunting trip, and the various hotel expenses in the various cities. I think they would do themselves well all the time for this eleven weeks’ holiday for £160 to £180, and if they kept their eyes open at Calgary and in the Columbia Valley they could probably make investment in land or real estate which alone would be worth the journey.¹⁶⁴

At a time when the average Englishman’s annual income was £70, at £160 a “proper” trip to Canada was clearly only within the reach of the extremely wealthy.¹⁶⁵ “Comfortable” meant first class for Smith and Jones – luxury rather than simply comfort – and luxury was what companies such as the CPR and the Grand Trunk Railway sought to provide. With the assertion that Smith and Jones “could probably make investment in land or real estate which alone would be worth the journey,” the advertisement’s intended purpose of the whole trip is made clear; British tourism to Western Canada in this era was not simply about taking a holiday, it was about investing in Canada and, through Canada, the Empire.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ “Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada.”

¹⁶⁵ “Cheaper in Those Days? Prices and Earnings,” Parliament.uk, <https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/research/olympic-britain/incomes-and-poverty/cheaper-in-those-days/> (accessed 1 March 2019).

¹⁶⁶ “Smith (Novelist) and Jones, M. P., in Canada.”

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Appendix

Clive Phillips-Wolley was a big-game hunter and writer who published a number of books on hunting. Phillips-Wolley undertook a two-month hunting trip in British Columbia in 1882, and returned to hunt in 1886, before settling in Victoria with his wife and children in 1890.¹⁶⁷

Politician Sir Charles Dilke spent two weeks hunting and fishing in British Columbia in 1886, and then travelled to Australia. He presumably undertook this trip to escape the Crawford Scandal in London.¹⁶⁸

Mountaineer and wood-engraver Edward Whymper made a lecture tour of the United States and Canada in 1900 and then returned to the Canadian Rockies periodically between 1901-1909. In exchange for promoting tourism on behalf of the CPR, they agreed to pay the transportation costs for Whymper and his four guides.¹⁶⁹

Mary Gibson and Jane E. Dawson, both of Glasgow, spent a “very pleasant week” at Glacier House in July, 1902, despite some days of heavy rain.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷“New Tourist Publications,” *The Times*. 28 August 1889, Book Reviews, 13.
<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/tinyurl/9YwuS2>; “#81 Clive Phillips-Wolley.”

¹⁶⁸ George Frederic Watts, “Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth, second baronet (1843-1911),” Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1093/ref:odnb/32824>. (accessed 21 January 2019). “Sir Charles Dilke, registered as ‘J. C. Tatlow,’ and the Earl of Kingston have left Winnipeg over the Canadian Pacific Railway for British Columbia,” *The Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 3 September 1886, 5. <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/tinyurl/9YLsj3>.

¹⁶⁹ Peter H. Hansen, “Whymper, Edward (1840-1911),” Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1093/ref:odnb/36884> (accessed 28 February 2019).; Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 60.

¹⁷⁰ Skidmore, ed., *This Wild Spirit*, 185.

Mountaineer and explorer Gertrude Benham arrived in Banff in June 1904 and climbed numerous peaks in the Rockies and Selkirks with two Swiss guides, including a first ascent of Mount Fay.¹⁷¹

On 15 May 1906, *The Times* reported in the Court Circular that “Sir John Jordan’s present intention is to leave Liverpool by the [CPR] steamship *Empress of Britain*, en route for China, on July 7, in order to take up his new post at Peking.”¹⁷²

Lord Hawke, an amateur cricketer, left England in the Fall of 1907 for a winter hunting expedition in Canada.¹⁷³

Novelist, philanthropist, and political lobbyist Mary Augusta Ward, who wrote as Mrs. Humphry Ward, travelled to Canada in 1908. She wrote the following of Lake Louise: “It is, I think, more wonderful than any place of the kind in Switzerland, because of the colour of the rocks, which hold the gorgeous glacier and snow-peak.”¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Raymond John Howgego, “Benham, Gertrude Emily [Truda] (1867-1938),” Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1093/ref:odnb/57169> (accessed 1 March 2019).

¹⁷² “Court Circular,” *The Times*, 15 May 1906, 10.
<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/tinyurl/9YiVZ8>.

¹⁷³ James P. Coldham, *Lord Hawke: A Cricketing Legend* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2003), 178.; City of Vancouver Archives, City of Vancouver Archives Pamphlet Collection, AM1519, PAM 1907-6, Canadian Pacific Railway Company’s Royal Mail Steamship *Empress of Britain* Saloon Passenger List, 2 November 1907.

¹⁷⁴ Janet Penrose Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1923), page. Project Gutenberg. <https://gutenberg.ca/ebooks/trevelyanjanet-ward/trevelyanjanet-ward-01-hdir/trevelyanjanet-ward-01-h.html#Chap-11>.

In May 1909, Conservative Party politician Lord Frederick Hamilton arrived back in Liverpool on the *Empress of Britain* after a tour around the world, the latter part of which had been spent in Canada.¹⁷⁵

In the summer of 1911, Cromartie Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, the Duke of Sutherland, accompanied by Lord Desborough, travelled to Canada where they sailed the Great Lakes on the Duke's own yacht, and then made an "extended tour of Western Canada, in which he is now a considerable property owner." Sutherland had become concerned that his landed estates in England were no longer viable, and toward the end of his life began moving his wealth to Canada.¹⁷⁶

Mr. and Mrs. Albin Hunt of Chesham, Buckinghamshire embarked on a "trip through Canada nearly as far as the Rocky Mountains... determined to see what Canada was like."¹⁷⁷ Mr. Hunt wrote a piece for the journal *Canada*, published on 15 July 1911, which was entitled "Cities of Western Canada: An Englishman's Impressions." Hunt bought a farm in Alberta and he reported that "anyone investing money in [Edmonton], either in business or land, cannot do wrong."¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ "Court Circular," *The Times*, 31 May 1909, 9.

<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/tinyurl/9YkSJ3>.

¹⁷⁶ "Purely Personal," *Canada* 23, no. 288 (15 July 1911) 3.

¹⁷⁷ "Cities of Western Canada: An Englishman's Impressions," *Canada* 23, no. 288 (15 July 1911).

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*