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THE HUMAN HISTORY OF JASPER NATIONAL PARK, ALBERTA

by Brenda Gainer

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The Human History of
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Illustrations

Abstract

This report details the human history of the area which was eventually to become Jasper National Park in the Rocky Mountains of Canada. Although brief attention is given to pre-historic native visitors, the report really begins with the movement of Iroquois Indians into the area around the turn of the nineteenth century. The report then provides a roughly chronological discussion of Jasper's history during the last two centuries, starting with the "discovery" of the Athabasca Pass by David Thompson in 1810-11, and following through the use of the Athabasca and Yellowhead passes by both fur traders and other adventurers during the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century a few farmers, native-born for the most part, had settled on homesteads in the broad flats of the Athabasca Valley, eventually to be displaced by the establishment of Jasper National Park in 1907. As the move for conservation grew in Canada, the history of Jasper Park came to be dominated by the resolution of a general conflict over the purpose and nature of a national park. In addition, the construction of a national railway line through the new park ensured that Jasper would continue in its nineteenth century position as a major trans-continental transportation route throughout the twentieth century. The construction of the Yellowhead highway reinforced this position. The report concludes that certain features of the history of Jasper Park are of national historical significance because of their connection to two major themes of Canadian development—the conservation movement and transcontinental transportation and communication.

Précis

This report consists of nine major chapters in addition to introductory and concluding chapters. Although brief mention is made of pre-historic settlement, the report is mainly concerned with the period from about 1800 to the present day. Basically a chronological division of chapters is followed, except for the first in which the native people who have lived in Jasper through this entire period are discussed. After a brief attempt to place the various Alberta Indian tribes in 1792, the history of the Iroquois who moved into the area around the turn of the century is told, including their origins in Caughnawaga and their activity at Lac Ste. Anne and elsewhere in Alberta in later years. The twentieth century descendents of the Jasper House Iroquois who settled in the park and then moved to Edson or Grande Cache are included at the end of the chapter. Mention is also made of two other groups of Indians, the Stoneys and Shuswaps, who were occasionally at Jasper House during the fur trade era.

The following chapter on the fur trade first tells the story of the Northwest Company employees who passed through the valley, beginning with David Thompson's discovery of the Athabasca Pass in 1810-11, and including mention of Gabriel Franchère and Ross Cox. Then the Hudson's Bay Company period is outlined. In this section the first use of the Yellowhead Pass is mentioned and the position of Jasper House in the western fur trade is discussed. The final section of the chapter deals with the problem of fur trade sites in the park and attempts to alleviate some of the confusion over the several Henry Houses. The next chapter deals with the subject of visitors to the posts and the area generally during the fur trade era who were there for other than commercial reasons. Paul Kane the artist and Pierre Jean de Smet the Jesuit missionary were among the most famous of these early visitors, and later in the century the "Overlanders of '62" and Viscount Milton and Dr. Cheadle passed through the area. At the end of this period a

survey was done for the Canadian Pacific Railway through the Yellowhead Pass, but ultimately a route was chosen further south.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the railway had been built elsewhere, the fur trade had disappeared, and the upper Athabasca Valley was only inhabited by several Métis settlers and one white homesteader from the United States. Shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, however, plans were developed to build two new transcontinental rail lines through the Yellowhead Pass and the Canadian government decided to establish a national park along the route of the first of these, the Grand Trunk Pacific. Consequently Jasper Park was established in 1907. The fourth chapter tells the story of the settlers in the valley and the establishment of the national park. The next chapter gives an account of the history of the railways in the park, including details of the construction of two separate lines, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern, and their eventual amalgamation.

Once the park was established and the railways made it accessible, tourists began to visit the area in ever-increasing numbers. The sixth chapter describes the earliest of these; the mountaineers and explorers who came north from the Banff area or west from Edmonton, and who, in the company of local guides and outfitters, mapped much of the new park. This chapter includes a discussion of early tourist accommodation, notably Jasper Park Lodge, and the development of trails in the park.

The railways opened the area to industry as well as tourists, and several resource extraction ventures operated in Jasper Park in the years immediately following its establishment. Coal mining, quarrying and lumbering are all described in the chapter on industry in the park, and finally a discussion of the growth of a conservation ethic in Canada and the development of a national parks policy to respond to this phenomenon is provided. While the first part of the report centres around the theme of the development of transcontinental transportation, the chapter on industry introduces a second major theme of Jasper's past, which is the growth of a conservation movement in Canada and concerns about the nature and purpose of our national parks.

The eighth chapter returns to the theme of national transportation, this time in the twentieth century, and describes the history of the major highways in the park. These roads were largely built during the Depression and World War Two, first by relief workers and then by Japanese prisoners. During the war Jasper Park was also used for several military projects; the development of the ice-ship "Habbakuk" and the training of an Arctic regiment, the Lovat Scouts.

While all the preceding chapters dealt with national or regional developments in which Jasper played a part, the final chapter is of a more local nature and describes the growth of the town of Jasper from its early days as the tiny divisional point of "Fitzhugh" on the Grand Trunk Pacific line to its present status as one of the most popular of Canadian tourist centres. Local buildings and institutions, as well as a few local businessmen and the role they played in Jasper's development, are included.

The report concludes that the seemingly diverse topics listed above form a historical continuity when viewed from the perspective of two major themes in Canadian development; national transportation history and the growth of a Canadian conservation movement. It is suggested that certain features of the park's history therefore have a heritage value for Canadians. An accompanying report, "The Historic Sites of Jasper National Park," describes historic sites in the park and evaluates their significance in terms of communicating the value of Jasper's past to present-day Canadians.

Acknowledgements

Two sources must be acknowledged without which it would have been much more difficult, if not impossible, to complete this manuscript. The Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society has a collection of artifacts from the Jasper area which they kindly allowed me to view—Mrs. Swift's beadwork, the Otto brothers' shovels, old photograph albums, Indian arrowheads, and geneological charts, to mention only a few items. All this material is useful and stimulating, and it is with great pleasure I recently received the news that the Society is undertaking the construction of a museum in Jasper to house and display their collection. Even more valuable to historians than these artifacts are the manuscripts and tapes preserved in the Society's archives, which will also be housed in the new museum. I have been allowed generous and unrestricted access to the Society's archives, and I would like to thank the whole membership of the Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society for this privilege. In particular, the aid and enthusiasm of Mr. Rory Flanagan, Park Superintendent and president of the Society, must be acknowledged.

The second source which was invaluable is the informal information provided by Dr. W. C. Taylor and Elsie Park Gowan of Edmonton and by several long-term residents of Jasper. To all these people I am very grateful and particularly to Miss Joan Robson for the photographs and information she provided, and to Mrs. Annie Richardson for her newspaper clippings, manuscripts and memories. Lastly, I am indebted to Mrs. M. L. Peterson for the information, support and enthusiasm she provided throughout the course of the research. I wish to join my thanks to those of a long line of researchers who have already acknowledged her invaluable aid on other projects about Jasper's past.

Introduction

A great deal of diverse literature exists on the history of Jasper already, and it may be asked what justifies the production of another historical manuscript. The answer lies in the very diversity of the existing literature; most of the readily available material is either published primary documents, colourful enough but necessarily focused on a very particular aspect of the past, or else amateur efforts consisting of strings of dates and names, often completely undocumented and highly inaccurate and contradictory. Neither of these types of material is sufficient to provide a comprehensive picture of the whole realm of Jasper's human history. J. G. MacGregor's book Overland by the Yellowhead, the only published detailed history of Jasper, combines fact and fancy in a judicious mixture to produce an interesting and exciting book to read, but one which is not appropriate for park interpretation or to use as a basis for further research. Overland by the Yellowhead is designed to appeal to a popular audience, and therefore often concentrates on style to the exclusion of dry, documented, historical evidence. So it appears that a gap in the historical literature on Jasper does exist and that there is a need for a study, based exclusively on documented primary evidence, to cover the broad general outlines of Jasper's human past. This, then, is the gap the present study seeks to fill. It is directed primarily at the park interpretive staff, since its main fuction is to relate facts, document the sources from which they come, and perhaps point the way to further specific studies on aspects of the park's human history that are deemed to be of significance once the general story has been told.

However it is hoped that this report, while intended to meet the

needs of specialized government employees, may have a slightly broader appeal than that alone. The events that have occurred during the last two centuries in Jasper are not important because they accidently happened to occur in an area which was later to become a national park because of its scenic beauty. Jasper Park is an area which has been called "rich in history." Jasper participated at first hand in every major development in the history of the Canadian West. The displacement of Indian tribes by the fur trade, the search for rich trading areas by the fur trading companies, the exploration of transcontinental routes and wilderness areas in the nineteenth century, the pushing back of the "settlement frontier," the railway boom, and the growth of a Canadian interest in wilderness conservation are all aspects of western Canadian history in which Jasper participated. These are the themes developed in the following chapters.

The first chapter deals with the history of the native people in the park, and is the only one which deals with a general subject. The rest of the report is arranged in a rough chronological manner, and each chapter deals with a general time period. Although the chapter on the native history of the park starts chronologically, giving a very brief summary of the pre-contact and the proto-contact period in the park area, I have followed the history of these people throughout the whole nineteenth century and into the twentieth in this one chapter. This treatment provides a background then for the human activity which is discussed in the following three chapters. The first of these chapters deals with fur trade activity in Jasper, starting with David Thompson's first trip across the Athabasca Pass for the Northwest Company and ending with the closure of the Hudson's Bay Company's Jasper House in the latter part of the century. The next chapter tells the stories of other nineteenth century visitors who came to the area to investigate something other than its commercial possibilities. After the fur trading era was over, a very few farmers began to clear land in the valley. Most of these were "squatters" of Indian descent, and when the park was established, just after the turn of the twentieth century, these people were bought off and removed from the park. The

story of this conflict between taming the wilderness and preserving it—at the root of the conservation movement—is told in the next chapter.

The park was established along the rights-of-way of two major transcontinental railways, and the subject of the fifth chapter is the construction of these two railways through the park and their subsequent amalgamation. Of course the railways brought tourists to the park and the early development of this industry is related in the sixth chapter, while the following one contains a full discussion of other industrial development allowed in the park in the early days. This chapter culminates with the passing of the National Parks Act in 1930 which established once and for all that the primary purpose of national parks was to protect the geology, flora and fauna within their bounds. By the time the Act was passed, it was clear that the Canadian public was most interested in any case in the parks' potential as recreational areas, and resource extraction only interfered with this new industry. During the nineteen-twenties and even more in the two decades which followed, park facilities, especially roads, were constructed at a rapid pace to keep up with the influx of visitors to the park. This development is discussed in the eighth chapter. The following chapter shows that as the park attracted more and more tourists, those tourists attracted business and business people. Some details about the history of the town—both its physical and human aspects—are provided in this chapter. The concluding chapter sums up some of the themes developed in the earlier chapters, and tries to evaluate their national historic significance.

A separate and more specialized report has been prepared to accompany this report on the human history of Jasper Park. This document should be of particular interest to Parks Canada interpretation staff or other researchers with a specific interest in historic sites in the park. This paper,"Historic Sites of Jasper National Park," describes and documents the sites in the park and includes an evaluation of their relative historical significance. A list of photographs of historic interest, arranged by repository, has also been prepared.

This list and a collection of copies of all these photographs (with the exception of those owned by the Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society) have been turned over to the Historical Research section in the Western Regional Office of Parks Canada. In addition, I have compiled a list of taped interviews with various people who have first-hand knowledge of Jasper's past. During the course of the research for this project it was discovered that most of the people with information of value have been taped by at least one agency, and some by several archives. A collection of duplicate tapes of the Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society's collection, as well as transcripts of taped interviews done by other archives which I could not copy, has been turned over to the Western Regional Office. At the end of this report is an exhaustive bibliography of material available on all aspects of the human history of Jasper Park. A more detailed annotated bibliography has been turned over to the Western Regional Office, where it is available for research purposes. Finally, a list of the historical derivation of certain place names in the park has been prepared, and is also in the possession of the Western Regional Office.

Native People

Pre-Contact

From the early days of fur-trade activity in the Jasper area, and for a century after, native people have played a prominent role in the region's history. Yet, when the first white people began penetrating the upper reaches of the Athabasca, the area had few native inhabitants. The mixed-blood family names which came to be so closely associated with Jasper—Moberly, Cardinal, Joachim, to mention only a few—derived from Indians who entered the valley with the onset of white activity in the area. Many of these Indians who came and made this part of the Rockies their home were Iroquois employees from Quebec who were employed at one time or another by the Northwest Company. Thus their arrival in the Jasper area took place relatively recently in terms of the native history of North America. However, long before these Indians connected with the fur trade moved into the upper Athabasca region, groups of other native people had travelled through the Jasper area to exploit the few resources it provided.

Although there had been native use of this area for centuries before fur trade activity commenced, it appears that there was no tribe of native people who laid claim to the southern area of what is now the park as their "home." In fact, Diamond Jenness, the author of The Indians of Canada, an old but standard work on this subject, estimates that at the time white men first reached the eastern coast of Canada from Europe, there were about 220,000 native inhabitants who roamed over the whole area of what later became Canada—with the single exception of the south Jasper area. "There was only one section of the country (apart from the mountain peaks and some islands in the Arctic archipelago) to which perhaps no tribe laid claim, namely, a tract of a

few hundred square miles in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains between the headwaters of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca rivers."[1]

Jack Elliott, in a federal government report detailing the results of his archaeological investigations in the present National Park, suggests some reasons for this apparent lack of permanent inhabitants, and the resulting small number of prehistoric sites within the Park.

> . . . there is no indication of a high site density in the Upper Athabasca valley within the mountains. [i.e., within the Park]. Conversely, in the valley, east of the mountains, a higher density of prehistoric sites is indicated—suggesting that the region within the mountains was of marginal cultural and ecological importance for prehistoric groups preferring to reside outside the mountains.
>
> Apparently, that portion of the valley within the mountains provided only seasonal gathering and ungulate resources—probably big horn sheep. The few faunal remains from sites within the Park indicate a generalized and marginal subsistence based on shellfish and rodent gathering, and the hunting of medium-sized game. This single factor probably accounts for the low density of prehistoric sites within the Park.[2]

However, Elliott does go on to suggest that archaeological investigations in other areas of the Park besides the upper Athabasca Valley could possibly discover evidence of a higher degree of occupation. In particular he recommended the Snake Indian River, the Brazeau River, and the Upper Rocky River as being areas in which to carry out extensive survey investigations. His reason for suggesting these particular areas was that they were better areas for large herding and grazing mammals and would have provided a better subsistence base for prehistoric people.[3] In fact, his projections turned out to be correct, for he later did investigate the Upper Snake Indian drainage basin, and it did exhibit a higher prehistoric site density than the upper Athabasca, probably because it was a good area for summer hunting of big game animals.[4] Generally Elliott felt that artifacts collected from sites

both inside and outside the northern part of Jasper Park suggested it was occupied as early as the Middle Prehistoric Period (5500 B.C. to A.D. 200-700). In the upper Athabasca Valley, the first occupation could have been as early as 7500 B.C. Projectile points found in this area indicate occupation ranging from the Early Prehistoric (10,000 B.C. to 5500 B.C.) to the Late Prehistoric (A.D. 1800) periods.[5]

Putting this more recent archaeological evidence together with Jenness' research, it appears that while no Indian tribe permanently occupied the area which is now the southernmost part of Jasper Park in prehistoric times, there was certainly penetration of the high mountain areas by groups in search of game. Presumably these hunters and gatherers came from close neighbouring areas, for all of the areas immediately adjoining the park were inhabited.

Proto-Contact

While our information is very scanty about native occupation and movement before white men had any contact with these groups, a clearer picture of their whereabouts at the time of first contact emerges from the early records of explorers and fur traders in western Canada. Using these manuscripts, anthropologists have been able to build up a fairly accurate "map" of where various tribes were living at the time of first white contact. Of course, by the time white people actually met these tribes, there had already been much movement and displacement as a result of white fur trade activity in areas further east. Therefore these records do not give a picture of the prehistoric location of the various tribes with which they deal, but simply an indication of their location in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In addition, however, certain cultural features of these societies (such as language) may give an indication of their movements before they appeared in the Jasper area.

Lydia Skeels has done a considerable amount of research using these primary historical sources, and tried to reconstruct the location of the Indian tribes in Alberta in 1792. Her thesis on this subject

contains a number of useful maps and diagrams pertaining to the location of Alberta Indian tribes at the time of white contact. Basically these maps indicate that at the time of white contact, the Sarcee was the tribe living in the Jasper area to the east of the summits. To the north of the Sarcee area, on the eastern side of the mountains, lived Beaver Indians, and the Blood and Blackfoot controlled the area to the south of the Sarcee territory. On the western side of the summits, the Kootenay appear to have occupied the area directly west of what is now the park, with the Carrier Indians to their north, and the Salish to their south.[6]

However, it must be emphasized that these locations only pertain to the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and there was certainly a great deal of movement by all these groups before this time. The Sarcee, for example, who appeared to be occupying the headwaters of the Athabasca in this period, had only recently penetrated the area. The Sarcee are an Athabascan-speaking tribe, closely related to the Beaver Indians of northern Alberta, and it is thought they moved down south to the source of the Athabasca River only shortly before white penetration of the prairies—possibly towards the end of the seventeenth century.[7] Then, by the end of the eighteenth century, they moved even further south and east into the prairies.[8] This movement was due to intensified attacks by the Cree and their allies, the Assiniboine, who after obtaining guns from the Hudson's Bay Company were able to push westward into lands they had not traditionally occupied. Faced with this pressure, the Sarcee, despite their different cultural origin, allied themselves wholeheartedly with the Blackfoot and became the fourth tribe in the Blackfoot Confederacy along with the Blood, Peigan and Blackfoot tribes.[9]

Pressure from the Cree Indians and their allies also had an effect on the movements of the tribes on the western slopes of the Rockies. During protohistoric times Kootenay and Salish tribes lived east of the Rockies along the Bow River. At the end of the seventeenth century, as the Cree moved west, they exerted pressure on the Indian tribes already in the western plains, such as the Blackfoot. And when the Blackfoot eventually were able to acquire guns from Cree "middlemen," they were

able to drive the Kootenay and Salish tribes to the west of the high mountains, where they took up residency on the western edges of the park area.

While the area around the headwaters of the Fraser River towards Yellowhead Pass was occupied by the Salish Indians early in the nineteenth century, it appears that by mid-century, and perhaps earlier, it was occupied by a group of mixed Salish, Iroquois, Cree and European people.[10] This group of mixed-blood people occupied the whole area which was to become Jasper National Park—from Jasper House on the east through to Tête Jaune Cache on the west.[11] The origin of this group is not a protohistoric phenomenon, however, but rather a direct result of fur trade activity in the area, which commenced just after the turn of the nineteenth century.

Nineteenth Century

It was mentioned earlier that the fur trade further east had an effect on the native people of the Rocky Mountains long before white traders themselves actually began to penetrate their lands. While the white traders were still in the area which is now Manitoba, the Cree began to push westward to obtain furs from the western Indians in order to trade them with eastern traders. Then, during the latter years of the eighteenth century, as the white employees of the eastern companies began trading in the western plains and Rocky Mountain areas, Indians of other eastern tribes—the Ojibwa, the Iroquois, and the Algonquin—began to "immigrate" to the West.

The Indians of these latter tribes were originally brought to the west as employees of the Montreal-based fur trading companies. Then, as their contracts expired, some of these "freemen" decided to remain in the west. Many of them settled in the Red River Valley, but a number of them also decided that the area north and west of Fort Edmonton was to their liking. In addition to these employees of the Northwest Company, it appears that a number of eastern Indians migrated to the west more or less independently. David Thompson, for example, records

meeting a group of them at Fort Augustus, one of the upper posts on the Saskatchewan, in 1798. He also related that another similar group had gone up the Red Deer River at the same time. Of the three eastern tribes mentioned above, he estimated that the Iroquois formed about half the number of these immigrants. Thompson and the other experienced traders counselled these Indians to go to the forest lands of the north where they could more easily live by trapping, and apparently the Algonquin and the Ojibwa followed his advice. The Iroquois, however, chose to go south instead, into Blackfoot territory, and as Thompson had predicted, fell to war with the Plains Indians. Eventually, after an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the northern Indians to join them in an attack on those to the South, the Iroquois separated into small parties which went to settle on the east slope of the Rockies, to the west and north of Fort Augustus.[12]

These Indians from eastern Canada, of course, mingled with the other tribes already living in the Rockies, as well as with white traders, both English and French, passing through the area. However, they never became completely assimilated, and a unique group of Cree, Iroquois, Shuswap and white mixed-bloods developed which considered the Yellowhead Pass area, from the Jasper area on the east through to the headwaters of the Fraser, as their home. Rather than settling permanently in one location in the valley, these people led a fairly nomadic life throughout the whole Athabasca area, following game and employment. This is the group of Métis who were the main inhabitants of the Jasper area during the entire nineteenth century, and whose descendents were still living there in the early twentieth century when Jasper National Park was established.

There are two contemporary sources of information about these people. The traditional source is the records left by the white travellers through the Jasper area—the fur traders, missionaries, scientists and "tourists," who occasionally made reference to the Indians already living in the mountains and those who had come to work for the fur trading post. More recently, geneological research on this group of mixed-blood people has been completed by medical personnel, the Oblate

historians in Edmonton, and a local historian in Jasper, Constance Peterson. Although this second source provides more concrete information on the family connections and geographical origins of the Jasper House Métis, the primary records offer indispensable information about which Indians were in the area at what time, and their reasons for being there—that is to say, their economic activity. In addition, these primary documents often give us very colourful descriptions of these people.

Although David Thompson is credited with being the first white man to cross the Athabasca Pass, there was evidence of civilization preceding him on this journey. During their peregrinations throughout the Athabasca, Fraser and Miette river valleys, the group of eastern Indian "immigrants" and freemen described above had naturally explored the passes through the mountains. Consequently the fur traders (and other travellers as well) came to rely on them as their guides when crossing the divide. In 1810, when Thompson made his first trip across the Athabasca Pass, he had an Iroquois, Thomas, as his guide. This guide led Thompson to a place on a small island in Brûlé Lake where the remains of a small "hunter's cabin," inhabited by Métis some years earlier, were still visible.[13] In the same year that Thompson recorded this evidence of early Métis penetration of the upper Athabasca Valley, Alexander Henry wrote in his diary that the Athabasca Pass route was known because a party of Nipissings had crossed the mountains by it several years earlier.[14] Thompson's diary supports Henry's statement by recording that he found traces of previous Indian travellers all along his route.[15] After he crossed the divide, he ascended the Columbia River where he met a number of Nipissings and Iroquois who crossed the mountains from the east regularly.[16]

Thompson was only the first of many early travellers through the present Jasper Park area who have left us accounts of the Indians who were its inhabitants during the nineteenth century. When George Simpson travelled the Athabasca route in 1824, he mentioned meeting a group of freemen at Lac La Biche, who were accustomed to trading at Kamloops. Instead he tried to persuade them to "frequent the

Establishment in the Mountain," which was on the shore of Brûlé Lake.[17] It is clear from Simpson's remarks that at least one of these freemen, the half-breed Cardinal, was a regular visitor along the entire length of the Athabasca. These Iroquois and French-Canadian half-breeds evidently traded in the whole area between Lac La Biche and Jasper House.[18]

In 1846 Paul Kane mentioned another group of Indians living in the vicinity of Jasper House (in addition to Colin Fraser's wife, a Cree). These Indians were Shuswaps who had fled to Jasper House for protection after having been tricked and attacked by a hostile tribe. Kane estimated that there were only fifteen or twenty of them living at Jasper House.[19] Evidently these Indians travelled back and forth across the divide, for a year later at Boat Encampment on the west side Kane met their leader and two of his men who had come over from Jasper House to hunt.[20]

At about the same time that Kane visited the Athabasca Valley, Father Pierre Jean de Smet, a Jesuit missionary, also passed through. He reported that it was not only the Indians from the eastern side of the mountains who crossed the summits westward, but that "many wandering families of the Carrier tribe and Ashiganés or Sock Indians of New Caledonia, compelled by hunger, have quitted their country, traversed the east of the mountains, and now range the valleys of this region in quest of food."[21] De Smet also mentioned meeting a group of about thirty-six Iroquois who had left their native area of Caughnawaga some forty years before, and had been living in the Athabasca and Peace River areas ever since.[22] Apparently both this group of Indians and a group of Carriers who de Smet met in the vicinity of the Miette River were overjoyed to meet a priest. They begged him to baptize as many of them as possible.[23]

H. J. Moberly, a fur trader at Jasper House, wrote an account of his contact with these Iroquois Indians. In 1855, when he was put in charge of a summer hunting party at Jasper House, he arrived at Brûlé Lake to find a large group of Iroquois camped there.[24] At about that time, the post at Jasper House was not trading furs, and Moberly

recalled that the Shuswaps went to the west side of the Rockies to trade, while "the Jasper House Iroquois" went to either Lac Ste Anne or Fort Assiniboine.[25] Moberly, after having spent a summer at Jasper House, was sure that the Iroquois would return to that post if it were re-opened, and suggested as much to the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Accordingly he was put in charge of the post himself. His description of his subsequent activities there makes clear how important a role the Iroquois played as packers, horse-keeps, builders and most importantly, hunters for the men at the post.[26]

By 1859, the Shuswaps were also coming from west of the mountains to trade at Jasper House again. Archibald McNaughton, one of the "Overlanders" of 1862, said of Jasper House that "at this place the Company trade with the Shuswaps,"[27] and mentioned meeting a group of Shuswaps camped at Tête Jaune Cache.[28] In the same year, W. B. Cheadle also wrote of meeting a group of Shuswaps who came to Jasper House from Tête Jaune Cache to trade.[29]

At about the same time as these two groups met the Shuswaps near Jasper, James Hector of the Palliser expedition wrote one of the most detailed descriptions of the Jasper House Iroquois half-breeds and their way of life. In the Athabasca Valley in 1859, he met a group of four tents, very badly off for provisions, who were trying to subsist on hares which were apparently very scarce that winter. These people were originally employees of the Northwest Company who had become freemen and stayed to trade in the Jasper area, according to Hector, although some were likely the "immigrants" from Caughnawaga too. Hector reported that they all appeared to speak Cree by this time, as well as Iroquois, and had intermarried extensively with the Cree half-breeds from Lac Ste Anne.[30] Apart from these Iroquois-Cree-white half-breeds who traded at Jasper House, he spoke of two or three Iroquois who were actually employed at the post as hunters—mostly of big horn sheep and an occasional moose.[31]

Hector also added another bit of intriguing information about the way of life of these Indians. Evidently, in addition to hunting for whatever game the area could provide, they had occasionally attempted,

"as an experiment," the cultivation of turnips, potatoes and barley in the valley of the Smoking River, to the northwest of Jasper House, where the winters were much milder than at Jasper House.[32] Although Hector stated that this country was traditionally occupied by the Beaver and Sekani Indians, George Grant said in 1870 that the Iroquois had been settled there for at least fifty years by that time.[33] In addition to the area's agricultural potential, Grant offered a much more plausible reason for the Iroquois having settled there; he said it was ". . . on account of the abundance of fur-bearing animals and of large game such as buffalo, elk, brown and grizzly bears, then in that quarter."[34]

By the 1870s, the fur trade was waning in the Jasper valley, but railway affairs were bringing new people into the area. Walter Moberly, the brother of H. J. Moberly and a surveyor for the Canadian Pacific Railway, was sent to the Yellowhead Pass to assess its potential as the route for the first transcontinental railway. Further up the valley from the old Jasper House he established a post—the "Athabasca Depot"—which was to be maintained for a period of several years. One of the men who spent some time in charge of the Depot was J. J. Trapp, who left a diary from the winter of 1876 which he spent at the Depot. This diary gives some quite specific details about the various Indians who were living in the area by that time. Several times he mentioned meeting Mrs. Moberly, the former Susan Cardinal and wife of Factor H. J. Moberly mentioned earlier. Trapp wrote of meeting this woman and her sons (in fact these young boys were probably her grandsons) both at the Athabasca Depot and later at Brûlé Lake, among a larger group of half-breeds and Indians. He mentioned these people "spoke a little Chinook," though it is likely their heritage was mainly Iroquois. He also spoke of meeting other Iroquois descendents who would turn up at the Depot every week or so to trade. Among this group he mentioned the names of Louis Campbell and his brother Paulette, Susie Goshie (probably Gauthier), and J. Moberly (probably one of H. J. Moberly's sons). These men all seem to have been half-breeds, as do their wives, Mary, Theresa and Isabel among others. Some of these "half breed Iroquois Indians," notably "Pierre" and his wife Marie, seem to have been taken on as

employees of the survey party, since references are made to them packing goods to Tête Jaune Cache.[35]

Dave Moberly of Entrance was one of this group of native people who was in the Jasper area in the 1870s, and could recall meeting the surveyors as a small boy. In fact, Walter Moberly, who was in charge of the survey party, was Dave's great-uncle. Dave recalled that his relative was very kind to him and his family. He also provided some information about Jasper's well-known Lobstick, which dates from this time. Apparently this Lobstick, made to mark the meeting place of Walter Moberly and George Grant on the western edge of the Athabasca, was cut by Michel Gauthier, presumably the same Iroquois half-breed mentioned in the Trapp diaries.[36]

All the accounts mentioned above together give a fairly clear picture of the native inhabitants of the Jasper area throughout the nineteenth century. It is clear from these records that the fur trade brought native people to the area in two ways. First, the mere establishment of a post along the upper reaches of the Athabasca, although never meant to be a point of major trading activity, did attract a number of Indians to Jasper House from the surrounding areas. Secondly, the fur trade companies brought in a number of Indians and Métis from eastern Canada to work for them in the Japser area. This in turn attracted other Indians, either the "freemen" released from their contracts with the fur companies, or other eastern Indians who had travelled to the area independently of the fur companies. Ultimately, many of the descendents of these Indian "immigrants" were hired in later years to work for the fur trading companies in western Canada.

The two tribes who seemed to frequent the area because of the Hudson's Bay Company's post and the trade it provided were the Stoney (or Assiniboine) and the Shuswap. The references to the Stoneys are from Michael Klyne's journals, who was in charge of the post around 1830. It will be recalled that in the "proto-Contact" section above, Lydia Skeels' information indicated that the Stoneys were in this area around the turn of the nineteenth century. However, the references in the Klyne journals appear to be the last mention of the Stoneys being

in the Jasper House area. Although Klyne's journals occasionally mention trading with a Stoney, and once refer to a Stoney lodge nearby killing meat for him, perhaps an entry from 1827 is significant in terms of explaining the absence of Stoneys at Jasper House in later years. In that entry Klyne records an occasion on which five Stoneys arrived to trade at Jasper House. Klyne sent them away without trading with them, and told them that all his goods were for trading with the Iroquois who frequented the post.[37] If this incident indicates any kind of policy, even unofficial, of the Hudson's Bay Company at Jasper House, it is not surprising that no references are found in later accounts to Stoney Indians being at the post.

The Shuswap, on the other hand, appear to have been treated differently, and, as we have seen, relatively frequent references are made to their presence at Jasper House throughout the nineteenth century. Klyne's diary indicates that most of the Shuswap who came to Jasper House at that time came in small groups of two or three,[38] and fifteen years later, when Kane wrote of seeing them there, he also mentioned a very small number—fifteen or twenty.[39] He did say, however, that this number were actually living at the post—perhaps others were coming to trade. In any case, in the 1850s, H. J. Moberly wrote that the Shuswap were by then trading at posts west of the Rockies, while the Iroquois were going to the prairie posts.[40] The two groups seem to have remained fairly distinct, for even after Moberly re-opened the post in 1858, there is mention of two separate groups of Indians trading there. After the 1860s however, it seems that most of the Shuswap continued living to the west of the summits. Two accounts from around that time indicate that they lived in the vicinity of Tête Jaune Cache and only crossed the Pass to trade.[41]

Therefore, the records all seem to agree that by about 1860, the main Indian inhabitants of the upper Athabasca Valley were people of Iroquois descent. Of course, by this time, as Hector mentioned, they were well mixed with Cree Indians from Lac Ste Anne, and spoke Cree as fluently as Iroquois.[42] By the early twentieth century, the Jasper natives' only Indian language seems to have been Cree, and it was that

language that had to be translated in order to negotiate a land settlement with them when the park was established.[43] Many years later, James Shand-Harvey, a guide in the Jasper area in the early twentieth century, commented on the mixed-blood of those Jasper natives:

> Ewan Moberly's mother was an Iroquois woman—that Cardinal. Well, she was Iroquois-Stoney—they never seemed to know themselves, what everybody was. But she was either Iroquois or Stoney. I don't think there was much Cree up around [there]. . . .[44]

Despite the intermarriage of the Iroquois with other tribes, there was less of it than among many Indian bands, and it has been possible to trace the lineage of the main Iroquois families of the Jasper group. Research on this subject first began when medical personnel working with Indians from the Paul's reserve in Alberta noticed that they had a peculiar blood characteristic similar to Indians on the Caughnawaga Indian reserve just outside of Montreal in Quebec. Research was begun to try to connect the people of Iroquois descent in the west with some names in the birth registers kept by the early Catholic priests in the Caughnawaga area. Eventually Father Tardiff, of the Oblate Archives in Edmonton, was able to put together a family tree showing the connections between some present Métis families in Alberta, and the original Iroquois who left their eastern home nearly two centuries ago.[45]

It has been possible to determine the names of at least three Iroquois men who immigrated to the Jasper area from Caughnawaga at the end of the eighteenth century. There were many other Iroquois who ended up in the Northwest, of course, but it seems that those Métis who were active in the Jasper area throughout the whole nineteenth century were the descendents of these three men. Their names were Ignace Wanyande, Ignace Kwarakwanté and Louis Kwarakwanté. Wanyande is, even today, a common name among the Métis in the Grande Cache area, many of whom migrated north from Jasper. But it is the name of Louis Kwarakwanté which is of more significance in trying to trace the background of the specific families who are mentioned in the records pertaining to Jasper House, and later to Jasper Park.

An entry in the name of Louis Kwarakwanté, born on October 17, 1782, has been located in the baptismal register of Caughnawaga, and after his entry is written ". . . alla au Nord, sy maria, y eut famille, n'en revint jamais."[46] His parents' names were given as Thomas Anatoha and Marie Anne Tekonwakwehinni. Perhaps this lack of continuity of family names is part of the reason that Kwarakwanté and his descendents are known variously in the West as Kwarakwanté, Karakonte, Karakonttie, Kalliou, Callihou and Liroquoi. The latter name obviously derives from Kwarakwanté's tribal background, and seems to have been the way he was known to the fur traders. Michael Klyne's diary makes several references to "Louis Liroquois" and "Ignace Liroquois", presumably the Ignace Kwarakwanté who accompanied Louis from Caughnawaga.[47]

The name Kalliou, or Callihoo as it is often spelled today, seems to have first been used by Louis Kwarakwanté's son, Michel. Several explanations have been offered for the origin of this name. One story is that Father Lacombe, to distinguish the different branches of the extensive Kwarakwanté family, gave those settled near St. Albert, under the leadership of Michel, the name "Cailloux" (French for "rock," and presumably some obscure reference to their home in the Rocky Mountains). This name was later corrupted to "Callihoo" and over twenty other derivatives.[48] This story, though romantic, appears unlikely, for Michel seems to have been known as Callihoo during the fur trade era, which was before he and his band of followers settled near St. Albert. A linguistic explanation has also been offered, which appears more plausible. According to this story, the name Kwarakwanté was also written as "Karhiio," and the closest anglophone approximation of the Iroquois pronunciation of that word was "Calihoo."[49] In any event, the main point which concerns us here is to note that all these various surnames were used for members of the same family, and often several surnames were used for one individual, depending on the time and circumstances. Generally here the original Louis will be called Kwarakwanté, and the other members of his family called by the name by which they appear most often in the records.

When Louis Kwarakwanté first arrived in the Athabasca, he married

a woman of the Montagnais nation called Marie Katis Le Sekanaise. Later he married a half-breed woman called Marie Patenaude, whose father had been expelled as a Hudson's Bay Company factor at Fort Carlton. One of their children was a girl called Angelle or Angelique, who married a man called Louis Loyer at Lac Ste Anne in 1852. He was known as "the one-armed trapper" or "Bonhomme," and a legend persists in Jasper to this day that he was the "Tête Jaune" who gave his name to the Cache. He came of a family of men engaged in the fur trade. His grandfather appears to have been an engagé of the Northwest Company who formed an alliance with an Indian woman in the West. Their son Louis was active in the fur trade at Jasper. Edward Ermatinger's journal mentions this Louis Loyer at Jasper House in 1827, and Klyne's journals from 1827 to 1831 make frequent mention of him. He seems to have been a hunter for the fort, and is referred to as "Loyer, a free man."[50] He was married to a woman, either Indian or Métis, called Louise Casper or Jasper, and their son was "Bonhomme." After he married Angelle Kwarakwanté, he and his wife moved east, around the French Catholic missions of central Alberta, likely in the company of Angelle's brother Michel.

Michel was another child of Louis Kwarakwanté and Marie Patenaude. During the fur trade era, he worked as a river pilot from the Athabasca country via Edmonton down to Fort Garry. At the end of the fur trade era, many of the Indians and Métis of Iroquois descent, being French-speaking Catholics, congregated around the missions at Lac Ste Anne and St. Albert. In the 1870s, the federal government of Canada began negotiating with the Indians of the Prairies about a land settlement. In return for the Indians' renunciation of all aboriginal rights to the territory, the Dominion government undertook to set aside certain tracts of land, called reserves, for each band. Since it was considered that a person with any Indian blood at all had aboriginal rights to land, any Métis was entitled to a share in the land settlement, in addition to all those people of pure Indian blood. People with any Indian background had to declare themselves either "Métis" or "Indian"—in the former case they received "scrip" or phony money worth a grant of land, and in the latter case they were considered to be a member of an

Indian band with an interest in the reserve to be surveyed for that band.

Many of the Métis from the Jasper area, left with no source of livelihood after the fur trade wound down, chose to become "Indians," and, through the intervention of Father Lacombe, two reserves were surveyed for these Iroquois descendents in the Treaty Six area of central Alberta. One, the Paul Reserve, was surveyed near Wabamun Lake, and included some Stoneys as well as Iroquois Métis. The other, the Michel Reserve, named after the band's "chief," Michel Calihoo, was surveyed nine miles northwest of St. Albert. The descendents of Michel and his followers continued to live there until the nineteen fifties, when the members of the band chose to enfranchise and give up their Indian status. The people from the reserve, no longer officially "Indians," went to live elsewhere and their reserve land was sold. The Paul Reserve is still in existence, however, and some of the band members today are descendents of the Iroquois fur traders from Jasper.[51]

Although most of the Indians and Métis from Jasper moved to the vicinity of the missions as the fur trade waned in the Athabasca area, a very few Métis families remained in the Jasper Valley after the 1860s and seventies. These people settled down, built cabins, cleared land and became farmers when the hunters and traders left the area. Thus they became the first "settlers" of what later was to become Jasper National Park—though the creation of the park was to eventually expel them from their farms and drive them from the area.

The park was established in 1907, and by the beginning of 1910 arrangements were made to buy out those people living in the park area. One farmer, an American, had actually filed a homestead claim and could not be evicted, but the other six families living there, all Métis, left the park for the Entrance-Edson area, or Grande Cache. (The details of their removal will be dealt with later in the chapter concerning the establishment of Jasper National Park.) It was stated in the 1911 report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks that "at the time that the park was reserved by the government there were a number of squatters settled in it, some of whom had been there for a great many years, in fact some of

them had been born there and had grown up in the Jasper Pass."[52] Just who were these "squatters," and how long had they inhabited the Jasper area?

In 1910, the Canadian government bought out six families—two brothers, Ewan and John Moberly; Ewan's two sons, Dolphus and William Moberly; Ewan's son-in-law, Adam Joachim; and Ewan's father-in-law, Isador Finley. All of these men and their wives appear to be Iroquois descendents. The Moberlys, John and Ewan, are the easiest to trace. Their father was the Hudson's Bay Company trader who was mentioned earlier, H. J. Moberly. Their mother, however, was an Iroquois Indian who was the daughter of Louis Kwarakwanté, the same man who was the ancestor of the Loyer and Callihoo families. Mrs. Moberly's mother was a different woman, though, called Marguerite Cardinal. Mrs. Moberly's first name was Susan or Susanne, and her last name was usually given as her mother's name, Cardinal. However, her surname is recorded as Karaconti in the marriage register where her marriage to Henry Moberly is recorded. These two co-habited in Jasper in the 1850s and had at least two sons, but were not married until October 9, 1861, in Edmonton—one day before Moberly left for British Columbia, never to return to Jasper or his family. Afterwards he formed a union with a Métis woman called Françoise Guilbeault, who appeared in the Saskatchewan scrip records in 1900 with his surname.[53]

The name Cardinal was very common among Indians working in the fur trade, not only in the Jasper area, but the whole length of the Athabasca. A Jacques or Jacko Cardinal was employed by Alexander Henry at Rocky Mountain House, and was probably the same man that was later in charge of the horse brigades from Jasper House. It has been suggested that he was the father of André Cardinal, a guide known to have been born at Jasper House, who later guided the Overlanders over the Rockies.[54] Mark S. Wade, in The Overlanders of '62, spoke of him thus:

> . . . a French half-breed named André Cardinal, a Freeman of the settlement of St. Albert, who was born at Jasper House, where he had spent a greater part of his life, and who had passed over the trail between Edmonton and his birthplace no

> fewer than 29 times, and also on several occasions made the trip between Jasper House and Tête Jaune Cache, on the Fraser River.[55]

This description of the area André Cardinal travelled in probably pertains to most of the other Iroquois Métis from Jasper too. Another noteworthy fact about André Cardinal is that he, like so many other Iroquois in the Jasper area, married a mixed-blood descendent of Louis Kwarakwanté—his wife's name was Rosalie Breland, the daughter of a trader called Francois Breland and Theresa Kwarakwanté, Louis' daughter.[56]

A final family group of some importance in this area was the Joachims, who appear to have come out from the east at about the same time as Louis Kwarakwanté. Like him, they appear to have been "immigrants," and not have come as employees of the fur trade like Jacques Cardinal. In any event, the Joachims also intermarried with the same small group of Jasper House Iroquois. Simon Cardinal, Mrs. Moberly's brother, married a Catherine Joachim. Her half-brother, Alexis Joachim, was the son of a Breland girl. His daughter, Marie, married John Moberly.[57]

The purpose of the above geneological discussion has not been to actually sort out the intricate family relationships of the Jasper Indians, but to demonstrate what a small, tightly-knit band this was. The people still living in the valley in the early twentieth century almost all had a Cardinal, a Joachim or a Breland in their background. Most important, however, was Louis Kwarakwanté, whose three wives and innumerable children account for much of the confusion of the geneology, as well as its interest. In 1845, Father de Smet met him at Jasper House, about forty years after he had left Caughnawaga. He was with his family, which comprised at least 36 people at that time![58] It is little wonder that nearly all the Indians and Métis of Iroquois descent in Jasper's past can trace their origins back to this one pioneer.

The Fur Trade Era

Northwest Company

By the end of the eighteenth century, the men of the Northwest Company were beginning the explorations which were to lead them across the Rocky Mountains into the fur trading territory which is now British Columbia, and eventually all the way to the Pacific Ocean. Alexander Mackenzie was the first white man to journey overland to the Pacific in 1793 by following the Peace and Parsnip rivers to their source, and then crossing the summits to reach the Fraser River on the west side of the divide. Several years later Simon Fraser travelled into this same area of northern British Columbia and built a trading post, called Fort George, to which the Indians who lived west of the Rockies could travel along the Fraser River.

East of the Rockies fur trading posts were established by both of the fur trading companies. On the Saskatchewan, Fort Augustus (of the Northwest Company) and Fort Edmonton (of the Hudson's Bay Company) were the two major posts, though several smaller outposts were established west of Edmonton and in the foothills (Boggy Hall; Pembina House). The furthest western post along the Saskatchewan River was Rocky Mountain House, established by the Northwest Company in the late eighteenth century. From this point, Duncan McGillivray and David Thompson travelled west, over the mountains, to another area of modern day British Columbia in which the fur companies were interested. This southeast area of British Columbia was known as the Columbia; the area in the more northerly interior along the Fraser was known as New Caledonia.

To get to the Columbia, these Nor'westers habitually used the Howse Pass. This pass had evidently been used for some time by the Kootenay Indians from west of the Rockies who came to the eastern

slopes to trade, but the first two white men to cross it were probably two Canadians called LaGassé and Le Blanc who accompanied the Kootenay on one of their return trips in 1800. Later, in 1806, David Thompson sent Jaco Finlay across the pass to cut a pack trail, and a year later he followed the trail himself. Then for several years this became the established route by which trade was carried on with the Kootenay Indians of the Columbia Valley.[1]

The Peigan Indians, however, who frequented the eastern approach to the pass and were the traditional enemies of the Kootenays, were not at all eager to see the traders supplying the Kootenays with arms and ammunition. For a few years Thompson was able to effect his crossings while the Peigans were away to the south. However, by 1810, Alexander Henry, who was in charge of the post at Rocky Mountain House, discovered that the Peigans were ready to halt the brigade over the pass. On October 7, when a group of Peigans came into the post, it was discovered they had one of David Thompson's horses with them, as well as a pair of leggings belonging to William Henry, one of Thompson's men. This convinced Alexander Henry that the Indians had intercepted Thompson's party upstream. On the 12th of October, one of Thompson's men arrived to inform Henry that Thompson had, in fact, stopped below Rocky Mountain House, having realized that the Indians intended to interfere with his brigade. The next day Alexander Henry set out and met Thompson in his camp. Henry recorded Thompson's new plans as follows;

> His canoes having been stopped by Peigans induced him to alter his route and endeavor to open a new road from North branch by Buffalo Dung lake to Athabasca river, and thence across the mountains to the Columbia—a route by which a party of Nepisangues [Nipissings] and freemen passed a few years ago. By this route we should never be subject to the control of the Slaves, but should avoid their country and war lands entirely; for it lies far N., in a rugged country, which these Meadow Indians never enter. It was therefore determined that the canoes should be ordered to

return below as privately as possible, to avoid any misunderstanding with the natives.[2]

Henry continued on October 15 by saying that he ". . . sent Wm. Henry and Dumont on horseback to desire the Columbia canoes to return to Mr. Thompson."[3] As soon as they returned, Thompson proceeded to go overland to Chip Lake, west to the Athabasca and make his historic crossing of the Athabasca Pass. He crossed the summit early in 1811, and this is commonly considered to be the first time a white man crossed the Rockies by that route.

It has been suggested, however, that David Thompson's voyage in 1811 might not have been the first time a white man reached the area, and that perhaps Duncan McGillivray had already crossed the mountains by that route some eleven years before. A. S. Morton brought this hypothesis forward in 1929 in the appendix to the published edition of the journals of Duncan McGillivray, which Morton edited. The journal itself only deals with the years 1794 and 1795, but Morton speculates on McGillivray's movements after that date, and argues that McGillivray must have crossed to the west side of the Rockies because of the association of his name with several geographical features in that area.[4] Morton defended his theory as follows:

> . . . the sole documentary evidence remains in the names "Duncans Mountains" and "McGillivray's River" in Thompson's map, and the fact that in Thompson's Itinerary he calls the Kootenay-Columbia portage "McGillivray's Portage." While the mountain range and the mountain river might have been named simply in Duncan McGillivray's honour, though that was not the practice of the fur-traders of that day, Thompson's calling an insignificant portage "McGillivray's Portage" is definite evidence of his chief having crossed it. McGillivray, leaving Rocky Mountain House, must have entered the Rockies, here "Duncans Mountains," from the neighbourhood of Exshaw, reached the autumn before in his preliminary survey, and got over by the Kananaskis River and Pass or the White Man Pass, or, possibly, by Banff and

> Simpson Pass, into the valley of the Kootenay, "McGillivray's River." On the return he must have crossed to the Upper Columbia Lake by "McGillivray's Portage" and so down the Columbia River to recross the mountains by the Athabasca Pass. At the height of land he may have camped under the august shadow of "McGillivray's Rock." He would finally emerge in the immediate neighbourhood of the limit of his other preliminary exploration of the autumn before and follow his former steps back to Rocky Mountain House.[5]

J. B. Tyrell, another historian who studied David Thompson's movements, argued with Morton that these assumptions were incorrect. While the argument focused primarily on which of the two surveyors was the first to cross to the Columbia, and what year that first crossing took place, the only point with relevance for the history of our area is whether McGillivray first crossed the Athabasca Pass eastbound in 1801, or whether Thompson was the first white man across, westbound, in 1811. Morton's arguments on this specific point seem less than convincing—the only evidence of Duncan McGillivray's presence in the Pass itself is the name "McGillivray's Rock," and this mountain, in fact, may well have been called after William McGillivray, one of the partners of the Northwest Company, as both Gabriel Franchère and Ross Cox stated only a few years later.[6]

In any case, Thompson is generally considered to have been the first white man to travel through the Athabasca Pass, and the story of that historic venture is well documented. Thompson's notebooks, in which he recorded the daily events of all his travels in the Northwest, are preserved in the Ontario archives, and another source, his Narrative, which he wrote many years after his retirement from the fur trade, gives an even more complete account of the first recorded trip over the Athabasca Pass. Since Thompson's Narrative is a published volume, it is hardly necessary to repeat the details of his adventures here. A brief outline of his movements will suffice.

Thompson collected a group of twenty-four men and twenty-four horses late in October of 1810 and set out with this party from the

Saskatchewan River to cross overland to the Athabasca. It took them a month to reach the Athabasca, and then they began to travel up the river valley. On December 3 they reached Brûlé Lake, where Thomas, their Iroquois guide, showed them an Indian hunter's cabin standing on an island. They could not camp there as there was no pasture for the horses, so instead they moved back about five miles and found a camping place where they were to stay another twenty-five days while making their preparations to cross the mountains. Thompson's guide told him that it was too late in the season to consider taking horses up over the pass, so they spent over three weeks in the valley constructing snowshoes and sleds and building log huts to store their goods and provisions. Here, at the end of December, Thompson left his man William Henry to look after the horses, and set out with his French-Canadian men, their dogs and three horses for the Columbia. By January 6, they reached "the last grass for the horses" (Prairie de la Vache), and consequently left them there to make out as best they could over the winter. The next day they began to follow the Whirlpool River up its course, and three days later they crossed the height of land (January 10, 1811).

Once Thompson had crossed the summit, he continued his travels down the Columbia through the present day areas of British Columbia, Idaho and Washington until he reached the mouth of the river in July, 1811. Once there, he turned around and travelled back over the Rockies by the same route. On September 29, 1811 Thompson started to cross the pass from the Canoe River, and in six days was back once again in the Athabasca Valley at William Henry's house. Thompson picked up supplies here at "Henry's House," as he called it, and then almost immediately went west over the pass again. After spending the winter in the Columbia, he travelled once more back over the pass in May, 1812.[7]

As soon as Thompson had crossed the pass the first time, he suggested to the directors of the Northwest Company that the new route he had pioneered was a better means of transporting goods for the trade in the Columbia region than the old Saskatchewan River-Howse Pass route had been. However the Company decided to disregard his advice. The

minutes of their meeting at Fort William in 1811 read: "After a full discussion it was determined that the Route newly proposed, and which Mr. Thompson attempted last Winter to pass through would be attended with more expense and difficulty than the old one, and that therefore the Trade should continue to be carried on by the Route of the Shaskatchiwane River."[8] Yet despite this resolution, it appears that the Athabasca route continued to be used by the Northwest Company during the next decade, and two very good accounts of trips with their brigades over this route still exist.

The first account of travelling through the Athabasca Pass is that of Gabriel Franchère, who travelled east from Astoria with the Northwest Company's brigade in 1814. Franchère himself was not an employee of the Northwest Company, but rather of the rival American Fur Company which had arrived at the mouth of the Columbia first and established a fort there. However, after the War of 1812 the American fort was transferred to the Canadian company, and Franchère, despite his French Canadian background, refused to work for his former employers' rival. Thus, he made the journey with the Northwest Company's 1814 brigade in order to return to eastern Canada.[9]

The regular brigade travelled east in the spring, leaving the mouth of the Columbia in April, and working upstream to Boat Encampment by the middle of May. Franchère obviously found the climb up into the pass very difficult, and his description of the features of the route over which so many were to follow is evocative:

> On the morning of the 14th we began to climb the mountain which we had before us. We were obliged to stop every moment, to take breath, so stiff was the ascent. . . . After two or three hours of incredible exertions and fatigues, we arrived at the plateau or summit. . . . This mountain is placed between two others a great deal more elevated, compared with which it is but a hill, and of which, indeed, it is only, as it were, the valley. . . . At last we arrived at a good hard bottom, and a clear space, which our guide said was a little lake frozen over. . . . This lake,

> or rather these lakes (for there are two) are situated in the midst of the valley or cup of the mountains. On either side were immense glaciers or icebound rocks. . . . One of these icy peaks was like a fortress of rock. . . . Mr. J. Henry, who first discovered the pass, gave this extraordinary rock the name of M'Gillivray's Rock, in honor of one of the partners of the N. W. Company.[10]

By the evening of the 16th, Franchère's party had reached Prairie de la Vache, where they found the tracks and bleached bones of many of the buffalo after whom the grassy plain was named. The next day they passed old Fort Point and "an old house which the traders of the N.W. Company had once constructed, but which had been abandoned for some four or five years."[11] This, of course, was William Henry's old house, standing by the mouth of the Miette River.

On the 18th of May they passed "Millet's Rock," and forded the stream around its base. This point, although translated as "Millet's Rock" in the English version of Franchère's account, was called "Le Rocher de Miette" in the original French volume he wrote—the earliest mention of the name by which this mountain is still known.[12] The name "Miette" appears to originate from one of the voyageurs who must have been through the area earlier—possibly with Thompson. There are several legends about the name—the earliest perhaps being the story told to Paul Kane in 1846 which was that it was called after a certain voyageur who climbed to the top of the mountain and sat dangling his feet over the edge smoking a pipe.[13] Recently another fanciful explanation has been invented which suggests that the Cree word for mountain sheep, "My-a-tick," pronounced by French-speaking voyageurs became "Miette."[14] Both of these stories, while colourful and interesting legends, are unsupported by any primary documentation. The more prosaic truth is likely that the mountain simply came to bear the name of a voyageur who may have lived or worked in its shadow.[15]

In any event, after leaving Roche Miette, Franchère's party travelled on and came to "the Rocky Mountains House," as he called it, on Brûlé Lake. This little post was under the charge of François

Decoigne, a Northwest Company employee of fifteen years' experience. Franchère explained that the post had not been established with a view to procuring furs for the company, but simply as a provisioning depot for the brigades passing by on their way to, or returning from, the Columbia.[16] Unfortunately Franchère's account gives no further details of when the post had been built, by whom, or who else was employed there besides Decoigne. The Northwest Company's minutes are of little use either, for they give no more specific information. In 1814, they do reinforce Franchère's estimation of the place as having no use as a trading post, for they order the Rocky Mountain Portage House to be closed except for a couple of men to be left there with horses and provisions for the brigades crossing the mountains en route elsewhere.[17]

Franchère and his party passed on their way north-eastward at the end of May, 1814, and it was not until three years later that another person passed by who wrote an account describing the Athabasca Pass and Jasper House, as it was known by then. This person was Ross Cox, who was in charge of a large brigade travelling east in the spring of 1817. He, like Franchère, told of seeing the "Old Fort," which was Henry's abandoned house, near the entrance of the Miette River. He also mentioned stopping at another building, a hunting-lodge, belonging to the Northwest Company—this may have been near Talbot Lake, since it was about four hours before they crossed Disaster Point. A day later he described his arrival at Jasper House, the same post where Franchère had visited Decoigne:

> . . . We came opposite Rocky Mountain House, which is built on the Western shore of the second lake, Brûlé Lake. A canoe was immediately dispatched for us, and we crossed the river. This building was a miserable concern of rough logs, with only three apartments, but scrupulously clean inside. An old clerk, Mr. Jasper Hawes, was in charge, and had under his command two Canadians, two Iroquois, and three hunters. . . .[18]

Cox only stayed one night at Jasper House before heading farther east. His is the last account which describes Jasper House and the Athabasca Valley during the Northwest Company's period of control.

Hudson's Bay Company

Although the Athabasca Pass and its approach through the Athabasca River valley had been used only by the Northwest Company until the rival fur companies amalgamated in 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company had also been interested in the trading regions west of the Rocky Mountains to which the pass gave access. Just before the two companies amalgamated, the Hudson's Bay Company had sent Ignace Giasson to cross the mountains into New Caledonia to establish trade with the natives there.[19] Giasson went by way of the Smoky River, however, and it was not until after the merger and Simpson had been appointed Governor of the Northern Department that the Hudson's Bay Company began to give consideration to the Athabasca River route. For a few years directives from the Company regarding Jasper House were confusing.

In 1822, the Council directed William Connolly to "re-establish the Rocky Mountain House,"[20] but by 1823 they had changed their minds and ordered the Rocky Mountain post to be abandoned and a new one established in the vicinity of modern-day Grande Cache. Joseph Larocque, who had been in charge of the Jasper House post, was to be sent to another establishment at the mouth of the McLeod River.[21] However this plan appears to have been abandoned, according to a diary left by John Work, who passed Jasper House in the fall of 1823 with the brigade heading to the Columbia via the Athabasca. Work described leaving Jasper House with pack horses, while another group took canoes further upstream to old Henry House to leave for the use of the eastbound brigade. The eastbound brigade was waiting at Boat Encampment to meet the westbound brigade and use their horses to go back over the pass to Jasper House.[22]

A year after Work travelled through the pass, Governor George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company passed through during the course of an extensive investigation of the operation of the Northern Department. He arrived at Jasper House on October 10 heading west, and two days later the party split up in the same way Work's had—some of the group went forward with the horses while the rest took canoes up to the head of navigation at Henry's House to leave them there for later travellers

going east. On October 17 Simpson's party reached the height of land, and paused by the ". . . small circular Lake or Basin of Water which empties itself in opposite directions and may be said to be the source of the Columbia and Athabasca Rivers as it bestows its favors on both these prodigious Streams. . . ."[23] Simpson treated his men to a drink of wine at the summit and named these small pools the "Committee's Punch Bowl" in honour of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the spot is still known by the same name today.

The plan during these first few years of the Hudson's Bay Company's control of the areas west of the Rockies was to use the Athabasca Pass to communicate with the Columbia, and to have the provisioning depot for the brigades further down the Athabasca than Jasper House. Access to the New Caledonia area was to be provided by way of the Smoky River, and it was decided to build a post somewhere in that northern vicinity. However by 1824, Simpson apparently had decided to change these plans and build a post right in the heart of the mountains to serve the Indians who lived along the Fraser. On his return from his journey to the regions west of the Rockies he stopped and wrote about Jasper House in his diary:

> This is merely a temporary Summer post for the Convenience of the Columbians in crossing; the Winter Establishment was last Year on the borders of the Smoky River about 80 to 100 Miles to the Northward, but it was this Season determined that it should be removed to Moose or Cranberry Lake. . .[24]

Thus, while Jasper House was only considered to be a provisioning and horse depot, the new establishment in the Yellowhead Pass was to be a real fur trading post. It was hoped it would attract the Shuswaps and Iroquois from both east and west of the mountains, many of whom had been going all the way to Kamloops to trade their furs.[25]

At the same time as Simpson was planning to open up this new post in the mountains, he saw the potential of adopting the pass which connected the Athabasca area and the Fraser area as the main route for the brigades travelling to New Caledonia. This was really the first

recognition of the superior route the Yellowhead Pass offered through the Rockies. Simpson immediately grasped its possibilities:

> Great advantages would arise from changing the route now pursued by the New Caledonia Brigade. . . . My plan would therefore be to forward the New Caledonia outfit in two Boats and thirteen men in company with the Saskatchawann Brigade; from Edmonton cross over to Fort Assiniboine in three or Four Days then proceed in two Boats to Henry's House in the mountain in Ten Days; thence by Horse to Buffalo Dung Lake (1 pipe across) [the present Yellowhead Lake] in Two Days; thence by land or Water to the head of Frazer's River in Three Days and thence by a fine bold stream to the different Posts.[26]

His enthusiasm led him to write to his employees at Jasper House, Connelly and Larocque, ". . . requesting them to get the route properly examined in the course of the Winter and Spring."[27]

Apparently the pass was not as hospitable as Simpson had expected. When Simpson returned to the Athabasca in the spring of 1825, he recorded in his diary that Larocque had tried to winter at Cranberry Lake in the Yellowhead Pass, the location which Simpson had suggested for a trading post. Before penetrating the pass, Larocque had built some shacks on the bank of Cottonwood Creek. Due to a lack of either game or fish in the pass itself, he was forced to retreat to these shacks, and it was here that Simpson found him when he returned to the Athabasca in 1825. Alexander Ross, who was travelling with Simpson's party, left a charming description of Larocque's "Mountain House."

> We advanced, from the water's edge, up an inclined plane, some two or three hundred yards in length, smooth as a bowling-green, and skirted on each side by regular rows of trees and shrubs, the whole presenting the appearance of an avenue leading to some great man's castle, which had a very pleasing effect. Here, however, we found no lordly dwellings, but a neat little group of wood huts suited to the climate of the country, rendered comfortable and filled with

> cheerful and happy inmates; and what gave to the place a cheering aspect was the young grass, forming a pleasing contrast to the snow-clad heights around.[28]

Ross also described their arrival at Jasper House the next day:

> Starting at an early hour, we passed through the first lake, and found at the end of the second, another establishment, named "Jasper's House," still smaller, and of less importance than the first; so called in honour of the first adventurer who established it; but now in charge of a man by the name of Klyne, a jolly old fellow, with a large family.[29]

Since it was impossible to establish a post right up in the pass, Simpson had to make other plans for the area. He decided that the Shuswaps could continue to trade at Kamloops, and that the Iroquois and freemen east of the mountains could send their furs to Fort Assiniboine, much further down the Athabasca. Consequently he recommended the posts in the upper Athabasca Valley be abandoned. At the same time he was proposing to have two different brigades passing through the area en route to both the Athabasca and the Yellowhead Passes. He was not concerned about the effect this withdrawal of facilities would have on the brigades:

> The Columbia Gentlemen may complain of this measure as exposing them to personal hardships in crossing the Mountain by being deprived of the usual facilities; one good consequence will arise from this change which is, that it will effectually put a stop to the practise of Gentlemen transporting their Families and heavy luggage across the Mountains; the Co^{y} require no transport it is therefore quite unnecessary to keep a band of Horses, Horsekeeps and Hunters as Single Gentlemen can or ought to be able to Walk. . . .[30]

Although Simpson suggested using the Yellowhead Pass to take supplies into New Caledonia as well as to transport furs out, it appears from the minutes of the Council, which met shortly after Simpson

returned from his western travels in July 1825, that the furs were to continue to be sent out to Fort Vancouver and the new outfit shipped in by the same route. However, it is also recorded that the new route was to be used officially for the first time to ship in the leather goods, always in short supply, from east of the mountains for the New Caledonia outfit.[31] The Company sent James McMillan to survey this new route, from Jasper House to the head of the Fraser, in the fall of 1825.[32] From 1826 to 1829 the Yellowhead Pass became the route of the "leather brigade" bound over the Rockies for New Caledonia.

The Minutes of the Council of the Hudson's Bay Company for 1825 provide some information about these first brigades through the Yellowhead:

> That he [William Connolly] also be directed to employ ensuing spring two men with Indians to transport about Thirty Packs, containing dressed Leather, Pack Cords, etc etc from the Rocky Mountains where the same are to be deposited by the Saskatchewan District for New Caledonia Outfit 1826.[33]

The following year even more explicit instructions were given:

> That 800 Skins dressed Leather of which not exceeding 1/4 to be thin Buffalo, 30 Parchment Skins, 2,000 fms. Pack Cords, 30 lbs. Sinews and 70 lbs. Babiche, be provided by the Saskatchewan District and forwarded to the Rocky Mountains, say to Tête Jaune Cache by the close of September 1827 from whence C. F. Connolly is directed to employ the requisite hands to get the same transported to New Caledonia for the use of Outfit 1827.[34]

This situation, whereby the leather procured in the area east of the Rockies was sent over the Rockies to supply the area on the western side, seems only to have lasted a few years. By 1829 the Company decided that while leather for New Caledonia was still to be furnished from the Saskatchewan district, it was to be sent over the Rockies via Dunvegan and the Peace River. William Connolly replied that these instructions would be carried out for the 1830 outfit and added that

although the northern route was longer than the Yellowhead Pass, he hoped it would ". . . never be attended with such vexatious circumstances as have of late occurred in fetching those supplies from the latter place."[35]

While the Yellowhead Pass route appears to have faded in importance for some years after 1830, the Athabasca Pass continued to be used by brigades passing to and from the Columbia. And although Simpson wanted to close the Jasper post down, accounts which survive from the late 1820s seem to indicate that it remained inhabited continuously throughout this period. Edward Ermatinger's is one such account which dates from 1827, and speaks of Michael Klyne as still being in charge of "Jasper's House." At this time, of course, two brigades were still passing Jasper House going west in the autumn, and Ermatinger tells of a large brigade leaving Edmonton together, travelling to Fort Assiniboine and then following the Athabasca to arrive at Jasper House at the beginning of October. From there the brigade continued up the Athabasca to what Ermatinger called "the Portage." This was the point near the mouth of the Miette which is the furthest point upstream on the Athabasca that canoes can reach. From here the crews had to walk over the mountains. At "the Portage" the brigade separated and George McDougall with about forty horses in his brigade took the trail up the Miette for the Yellowhead Pass route to New Caledonia, while the other brigade went up the Whirlpool and over the Athabasca Pass to the Columbia.[36]

Klyne's Jasper House diary, though unpublished, still exists in the Hudson's Bay Company archives, and gives a detailed account of what life was like there over a period of several years from 1827-1831. It starts at the beginning of October, 1827, when Klyne returned to the post from Edmonton with the brigade Ermatinger described above. It seems that Klyne only stayed at the post in the fall and the spring and would travel to Edmonton for several months in mid-winter and over the summer. This indicates, of course, that in line with Simpson's recommendations, the main purpose of the post was to provide provisions for the brigades and not to trade furs. Nevertheless, when Klyne was in

residence, he did do a small amount of trading with the Assiniboine. It is clear from his diary that initially he was only trying to obtain provisions from these Indians and that otherwise he encouraged them to take their furs to trade for goods with J. E. Harriott at Fort Assiniboine. But as these Indians often seemed to be faced with starvation he did trade with them over the years, but still continued to encourage them to bring pemmican to the post and to kill meat for him.[37] Although his diary gives no information on this point, it appears from other accounts that sometime around 1829 he built a new Jasper House post further up the Athabasca, near the mouth of the Snake Indian River.

This second Jasper House was the one that Colin Fraser would have inhabited when he succeeded Klyne at the post in 1835. Fraser had originally come to Canada in 1827 from Scotland. He was a piper and had been sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company at Simpson's request. (Simpson had some idea that a piper, in full Highland costume, would add an extra touch of splendour to the parades which he formed to impress the natives of New Caledonia as he entered a trading post). In this position, Colin Fraser accompanied Simpson on a trip into New Caledonia, leaving York Factory in 1828 and returning there in 1829. By 1835 he had been promoted, and was then sent to the vacant post of Jasper House with his half-breed wife, Nancy Gaudry, and their young daughter. During the fifteen years he spent at Jasper House, Fraser had at least six more children. His first three children were baptised by Fathers Blanchet and Demers in 1838, and the next four by Father de Smet in 1846.[38]

Fraser's activity at the post must have been much the same as Klyne's—mainly providing for the brigades that crossed the mountains twice a year, and doing a small amount of trading with the Indians in the area for provisions. By Fraser's time, the Indians who predominated in this area were no longer Assiniboines, but rather a mingled group of descendents of the early French-Canadian voyageurs (such as the Finleys, the Loyers, and the Brelands, one of whom was Colin Fraser's servant)[39] and the Iroquois "immigrants" described in Chapter One. During the

1840s the importance of Jasper House, never great, was further reduced by the Columbia brigades coming to an end. (This was an after-effect of the Treaty of Washington, 1846, by which control of most of the Hudson's Bay Columbia district passed into American hands.) After this time, only occasional travellers, explorers and surveyors passed through the two Jasper passes until the railway, in the early twentieth century, finally opened the area to commercial traffic once again.

The Company did not officially close the Jasper House post down until a decade after the Treaty of Washington, 1846, however. Although Fraser was transferred to Fort Assiniboine in 1850, other traders were appointed to succeed him at Jasper. The first of these was J. E. Brazeau, who stayed four years, and then Roderick McKenzie and J. R. Watson followed, each for a year. By 1857 Simpson was ready to close the post altogether and wrote to the Company that the ". . . small post of Jasper's house situated in Rocky Mountains and chiefly intended to facilitate the communication with the west side (now discontinued) will be abandoned. . . ."[40] That summer most of the horses there were sent to Edmonton, and the next winter the horsekeeper, André Cardinal, was sent to get the remaining horses, give the Iroquois there some ammunition and inform them the post was being abandoned. After this time the Shuswap began going to trade on the west side of the Rockies, while the Iroquois went either north along the Athabasca to Fort Assiniboine or due east to Lac Ste Anne.[41]

However only a year later the post was re-opened. This time it was to function entirely as a trading post for the Iroquois, since the need for supplying provisions to the brigades was long past. M. J. Moberly, a young man who had spent a summer at Jasper House three years previously in charge of a hunting party, was put in charge. In his book, When Fur Was King, he described the situation thus:

> Having myself spent a summer at Jasper House I felt convinced that the Iroquois would return to that post if it were re-established. I therefore made an offer to return, which Mr. Christie was glad to accept. I communicated with the Iroquois, advising them to "pitch up," hunting in different

> directions, and when short of ammunition or other supplies to come to Jasper House. I then took some forty-odd horses with an outfit and started for the post, accompanied by my cook, his wife, a French Canadian horse-keeper and six young Iroquois.[42]

Moberly stayed at Jasper House for three years, off and on, and his experiences there (and elsewhere) make fascinating reading. The one aspect of his life in Jasper which does not figure in his book at all, however, is his wife, Suzanne Cardinal, and their two sons. As mentioned in Chapter Two, he did eventually marry Suzanne in Edmonton, but only on the day before he left the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, and consequently the Athabasca valley, forever.

After Moberly's departure, Brazeau was nominally in charge again, though travellers through the area in 1862 wrote that Jasper House looked deserted.[43] In 1863, when Milton and Cheadle passed the place, a man called John McAulay was in charge.[44] Sometime after the mid-1860s the Company stopped staffing the post, and in September 1872, when George Grant passed Jasper House, he described the post by saying, "The houses are untenanted, locked and shuttered. Twice a year an agent comes up from Edmonton to trade with the Indians of the surrounding country and carry back furs."[45] It seems that after that time it was not reopened until 1881 when the agent at the Company's post at Lac Ste Anne ran both posts for a few years. Finally in 1884 the Company closed the post for good and the business of trading for the few furs it provided was taken over by private Edmonton merchants.[46]

Fur Trade Sites

For a long time there has been a great deal of confusion with respect to the exact, or even approximate, locations of the various structures constructed by the two fur trading companies in the upper Athabasca Valley. It is, of course, vain to hope that this report will close the debate, but it may at least make a modest contribution to historical interpretation in the Park by providing a summary of the buildings and

their approximate dates of construction. In the discussion below, an attempt has been made to include all buildings and all the names for them that exist in both the primary documents and the historiography.

Henry's House or Camp

As stated earlier, when David Thompson first entered the region in late 1810, a hunter's cabin was standing on an island in Brûlé Lake. However, while it is known that other people preceded Thompson in the area, there are no records of their presence, and William Henry is the first person whose habitation there is recorded. Thompson's journal records that he left Henry to camp on the east side of the mountains in December of 1810, and then returned to visit him in the fall of 1811, and again in the spring of 1812. On both occasions Thompson surveyed the spot where Henry was living, and the fact that the readings differed has given rise to endless speculation as to where Henry was living when, and whether he had a "camp" or a "house" or both of these at different times.

In addition to the confusion caused by Thompson's readings, both Franchère and Cox, travelling down the Athabasca after the house had been abandoned for a new post at Brûlé Lake, speak of passing the "old Fort" which had been deserted for some years. It is unfortunate that a rather singular point of land near the confluence of the Miette and Athabasca rivers has since come to bear the name "Old Fort Point" since this seems to indicate that the "Old Fort" was located there. However, the only bit of evidence which points to that location for Henry's house is Arrowsmith's map, which is surely inaccurate as it was prepared at a later date by someone who was relying only on the written accounts of others. Survey readings are a more accurate indication, and, considering the period, verbal descriptions probably as safe as any. Franchère's description indicates that they passed Old Fort Point quite some distance before finding what he speaks of as the "old fort" on the east bank of the river to the north of the point,[47] and Cox's account even gives a latitude, which is 52° 53' 10"N.[48]

This spot is north of Old Fort Point, close to the present location of Jasper Park Lodge.

So the descriptions of the ruins of this place indicate that it was somewhere to the north of Old Fort Point, along the east bank of the Athabasca. Turning to David Thompson's original notebooks should confirm its location, but instead has only obscured it. This problem has arisen because Thompson gave two different readings for Henry's location in 1811 and 1812. Unfortunately this led Judge Howay, in an article written in 1926, to speculate that he had moved in the interval—that the first location was only a "camp" and the second the "house" he had built.[49] The fact that Thompson actually refers to both "Henry's camp" and "Henry's house" has been taken as additional evidence in support of this theory. A closer examination of the readings suggests that this explanation for the discrepancy is unlikely, however. It is true that the 1812 latitude (52° 55' 16") is a point just north of Lake Edith and that the 1811 latitude of 52° 53' 24" suggests a point in the vicinity of Jasper Park Lodge. However, another latitude taken in 1811, only a day after the first, is 52° 45' 5", a point somewhere in between Lake Edith and Lake Annette. It will be recalled that Cox's reading confirmed one of the 1811 locations, near Jasper Park Lodge. Rather than indicating that Henry had a different "camp" in 1811 from his "house" in 1812, Thompson's readings simply confirm the inaccuracy of early 19th century survey instruments. Likely J. G. MacGregor is right that what Thompson called Henry's "campment" in 1811 was the same spot he called Henry's "house" in 1812.[50] And far from being able to pinpoint this spot, we can only agree with the park naturalist who writes that ". . . we will just have to accept that this Henry House was somewhere between Lake Edith and Old Fort Point."[51]

Henry's Winter House

This name seems to have been introduced by Ida M. Thompson in an article she published in 1930 about Henry House. She writes of finding a location on the west side of the Athabasca, south of the Snaring

River, where William Henry established a "ranch" to keep the horses since the feed was good there. This, she says, was probably the same place which later became the "Campment de Cardinal." At this spot she found the remains of tamarac logs, used in the construction of a building.[52] While this certainly could be an old horse ranch and could even be a place where William Henry wintered his horses, I have been unable to find any documentation in the primary sources which confirms his connection with the place.

The First Jasper House

This post was the Northwest Company's first official establishment on the upper Athabasca after the discovery of the Athabasca Pass. Franchère's account, the first we have of this place, indicates that it had been built on the north-western side of Brûlé Lake, sometime before 1814.[53] Since it must have been built sometime after Thompson and Henry left the area in 1812, the year 1813 has been fixed on as the date of its construction. When Franchère passed in 1814, the post was under the charge of François Decoigne who subsequently accompanied Franchère's party to eastern Canada. Shortly after this the post must have been put under the charge of Jasper Hawes, who was there when Ross Cox passed by in 1817. He described the building and its inhabitants thus:

> This building was a miserable concern of rough logs, with only three apartments, but scrupulously clean inside. An old clerk, Mr. Jasper Hawes, was in charge, and had under his command two Canadians, two Iroquois and three hunters.[54]

Jasper Hawes, of course, gave his name not only to the fur companies' posts, but to the whole area around them and the twentieth century town as well. While some historians have called this "Decoigne's House" in order to distinguish it from another later Jasper House, the Northwest Company's Minutes refer to it as "the Rocky Mountain Portage House." The Hudson's Bay Company, after their takeover in 1821, called it "the Rocky Mountain House" and by 1823 it figures as "Jasper's

House" in Simpson's correspondence.

During the first few years of the Hudson's Bay Company's rule, the directives about whether to close the post or continue to use it seemed to alternate annually. However it appears that "Jasper's House" did stay open fairly continuously. In 1824, when Simpson passed by, Michael Klyne was in charge.[55] Although Simpson did not record a description of the place that year, Alexander Ross, the following year, mentioned that Jasper's House was "smaller, and of less importance" than the buildings Larocque had built upstream by that time.[56]

Larocque's House

In 1824 Joseph Larocque was sent up the Miette to go into the Yellowhead Pass and establish a post somewhere near Cranberry Lake. However, as related earlier, he found it impossible to do so, and consequently built several shacks as far up the Athabasca as was practical, on the west side, on the banks of Cottonwood Creek. Ross described this "neat little group of wood huts" as being very charming when he saw them in 1825. However Simpson did not see any need for a post in that location, and Larocque was accordingly transferred to eastern Canada. The records, though, show that this site was continually used by the brigades passing by, since it was in a location significant for two reasons—it was at the "head of navigation" of the Athabasca, i.e., where travellers had to change from water to land transportation (hence the Athabasca Pass was known to the fur traders as the "Portage"), and it was at the point where the routes over the two passes diverged and the brigades had to split to follow either the Whirlpool over the Athabasca or the Miette through the Yellowhead. After Larocque left, the post was usually called "Henry House." James Hector called this place "Miette's House" in 1859, but in fact Miette had only been engaged to haul coal there in 1830, and actually lived on the far side of the river, almost immediately opposite. Hector also referred to his house on the east side of the river as "Miette's House."[57]

It seems that the actual site of Larocque's House, this second Henry House, was located in 1928 by Ada Thompson. Just southeast of the railway underpass east of Jasper townsite, at the former site of Milner's Dairy, she found two large holes which she felt were the cellars of Larocque's buildings. Her description of this place is as follows:

> The natives say that they were six to eight feet deep in the 90's, funnel-shaped and overgrown with grass. They are now [1928] only three or four feet deep and about ten feet square. Assuming that they were cellars and considering that they have filled in from the edges, the originally imposed buildings were at least eighteen feet square, or perhaps several times that as the structures would extend two feet at the very least on each side of the cellars. . . . Beyond the end of each of these excavations are the remains of a stone chimney covered with earth and grass.[58]

Mrs. M. L. Peterson, the most knowledgeable person about the history of Jasper, thinks that Ida Thompson ". . . seems to have come to her conclusions with the help of Mr. Swift and other old timers whom she talked to in 1928. . . . The Grand Trunk Construction camp was somewhere about the same spot, but I feel that Swift, who was here before the railroad construction, would have known if these cellars which Mrs. Thompson mentions, were here prior to the railroad crews."[59]

Athabasca Depot

Mary Schäffer was perhaps the first who confused the site of Henry House with what was really the Athabasca Depot or Moberly's Survey Camp. This camp was established in 1872 by Walter Moberly who had been sent to survey a line for the Canadian Pacific Railway through the Yellowhead Pass. Although the story of this camp belongs in another chapter and has nothing to do with the fur trade, it is necessary to deal with the location of the camp in the present context as it has contributed to the confusion over the site of the second Henry House.

According to Ida Thompson, Moberly's camp was established on the west side of the Athabasca, a bit south of the mouth of the Maligne River.[60] She located this site in 1928, with the aid of Lewis Swift who had arrived in the valley in 1892, only two decades after the camp was established and who knew many of the Métis who were living there when the camp was occupied. She described the ruins in 1928 as follows:

> The ruins of this camp . . . are right alongside the old pack trail, leading to Jasper House. Its three buildings formed three sides of a square (the open side on the Athabasca) situated on a low flat in a clearing half an acre or less in extent. . . . At the back of the square and facing the river, is the outline of the main building or living quarters, approximately forty-five feet by twenty feet, with the ruins of a fire place at each end. On the south, or right hand side, one can discern the outline of a storehouse about thirty feet by twenty feet, with the remains of a fireplace on the end next the centre building. On the opposite side of the square facing the storehouse, or to the left of the living quarters, the stables stood. They were about fifty-four feet by twenty feet, with a small blacksmith shed and forge on the end next the river. . . . Along each side of each building, except for spaces opposite doors, are trenches several feet deep from which dirt had been taken for the roofs.[61]

Nowadays no traces of the buildings are immediately discernible on the site—the only obvious evidence of some sort of camp being a flat inclined area on the bank of the river indicating a spot where boats were pulled up.

Although some traces of buildings remained in 1928, they had largely been destroyed by fire even at that time. In 1908, however, Mary Schäffer had seen the site from the opposite side of the river and described it in her book, Old Indian Trails:

> Opposite us lay all that remained of Henry House. . . . Built as a rival to Jasper House, the site was close to

> the water's edge opposite the mouth of the Maligne. All that was left of it were the remains of two chimneys and a few scarred logs.[62]

However, later in the book, after talking with Swift, she realized it was not actually the fur trade post but the Athabasca Depot she had seen and refers to the site as "old Henry House or Athabasca Depot."[63] Whether she thought the Athabasca Depot was built on the site of Henry House is not clear. However, it is easy to see how this confusion could arise, then and later, for J. J. Trapp, who spent the winter of 1876 in charge of the Athabasca Depot, left a diary in which he referred to "Henry House" and the "Athabasca Depot" interchangeably. For example, the entry for August 30, 1876 reads "Reached Henry House, Athabasca Depot about noon."[64]

This does not indicate that Henry House and the Depot were on exactly the same site. It seems that this name "Henry House" in his diary only refers to the general area in which the depot had been built. The two sites are very close together, and presumably the whole area on the west bank of the Athabasca between the mouths of the Maligne and Miette Rivers was loosely called "Henry House" by the 1870s and continued to be called this in the early twentieth century when Schäffer visited the area, and even later. Not only did Ida Thompson find the remains of two distinct sites in this area, however, but Walter Moberly, who had the Depot built, quite clearly states in his report that it was four miles below the mouth of the Miette, twenty-one or two miles above Jasper House, and a couple of miles <u>below</u> the "Old Rocky Mountain House" or "Old Fort Henry House."[65]

The Second Jasper House

After that long digression into the 1870s, it is necessary to go back half a century to the 1820s. As we saw earlier, although Larocque's establishment seemed to be more impressive than Michael Klyne's Jasper House when Ross described them in 1826, it was the latter post which continued to be occupied as the main provisioning post in the valley.

However the building itself seems to have been a miserable concern and so eventually Klyne constructed a new "Jasper House" a little further up the river. The date of construction of this post is a bit vague. In 1827, David Douglas and Edward Ermatinger passed by this route, and Ermatinger records the location of Jasper House at the second lake. Yet by 1835, when James Douglas passed, it had been moved a considerable distance upstream. Howay, in the course of preparing his article on Jasper House in 1935 wrote to the Hudson's Bay Company Archives for information on the exact year the new post was constructed, and received the answer that the Jasper House Journal of 1829/30 indicated that Klyne continued to live at the old post on Brûlé Lake until the spring of 1830, when he left to go to Edmonton with the returns. On his return to the area in the fall of 1830 he appears to have moved into the new post.[66]

The site of this second Jasper House is well known, located at the north end of Jasper Lake on the west side of the Athabasca near the present Devona siding. It is not known exactly how many buildings Klyne constructed, but in 1846 Paul Kane speaks of the post as consisting "of only three miserable log huts." He went on to describe them:

> The dwelling-house is composed of two rooms, of about fourteen or fifteen feet square each. One of them is used by all comers and goers: Indians, voyageurs, and traders, men, women, and children being huddled together indiscriminately; the other room being devoted to the exclusive occupation of Colin and his family. . . . One of the other huts is used for storing provisions in, when they can get any, and the other I should have thought a dog-kennel. . . .[67]

Kane made a sketch of Jasper House which appears in his book. After the post was temporarily abandoned in 1857 and 1858, H. J. Moberly had to make extensive repairs upon his arrival, and wrote that "the buildings, so long untenanted, badly needed repairing, the chinks between the logs re-mudding, the chimneys patching and the windows fitting with new parchment—glass in those days being unknown."[68] Many years

later, when Moberly was 94 years old, he drew a sketch of Jasper House as it was between 1854 and 1861, which is now in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.[69] This sketch agrees roughly with Kane's description a decade earlier, though perhaps a third room had been added to the main building in the interval. After Moberly had renovated the post, its attractive appearance impressed Hector who visited it in 1859.

> The little group of buildings which form the "fort" have been constructed, in keeping with their picturesque situation, after the Swiss style, with overhanging roofs and trellised porticos. The dwelling-house and two Stoves form three sides of a square, and these, with a little detached hut, form the whole of this remote establishment.[70]

The only discrepancy between this description and Moberly's sketch is the mention of a second storehouse on the third side of the square, which perhaps Moberly forgot to draw in. On the other hand, when Thompson examined the site in 1928 she found no traces of this third building located on what would be the third side of a square. She did, however, find the remains of another building, not included in Moberly's sketch, further away from the river behind the main building, and on the other side from the storehouse. She deduced that this building had already been abandoned and left to decay before Moberly took up residence there. Certainly by 1872, when George Grant described Jasper House, he only mentioned seeing two log buildings.[71]

During the 1870s the Canadian Pacific Railway surveying party visited the area, and Charles Horetzky took his famous photographs of Jasper House. These pictures show several angles of the main building, seemingly in good repair at that time. However by 1884 the post was abandoned and left to decay. Early in the 1890s, Lewis Swift, an American homesteader, and his Métis wife from St. Albert, Suzette Chalifoux, took up residence in the valley and moved into the abandoned building. According to the account Suzette Swift told Ida Thompson, Swift found that one end of the main building had been burnt, and accordingly rebuilt the end wall, shortening the building by eight feet

in the process. After some time the Swifts moved up the river to their homestead at what is now "The Palisades." There Swift kept a stove from Jasper House as well as a door from the old building. In 1910, after the park was established, Swift was made a game guardian, and, making his rounds in February of that year, discovered that the old Jasper House had been torn down. The entry in his diary reads: "Feb. 2—Drove to Jasper House found Jasper House tore down by indications found that Mr. Stevens party of Grand Trunk surveyors had tore it down."[72]

Whether because of this incident or some other, when Thompson examined the site in 1928 she found the ruins of the buildings in place but the cemetery in confusion. She described an area of about 50 feet square, at one time enclosed by a picket fence, where she counted at least twenty-three graves. From correspondence with one of Colin Fraser's daughters, she was able to discover that only one white man, Logan, had been buried there, and also a daughter of Colin Fraser's. Thompson found both these graves, the former marked by white stones and the latter by three shrubs. Suzette Swift was able to give her additional information since the grave yard was in perfect order when the Swifts lived there. According to Mrs. Swift, the last man was buried there in 1895 and three or four others in the 1880s and 1890s. All the other graves were much older. She said quite a number of children were buried there, and said that the grave of an Indian child which Thompson saw was at least sixty years old. This grave was of the same type as Suzanne Cardinal's—a small wooden hut in the shape of a pup tent—in this case roofed with scraps of tin.[73] During the course of this century the visible remains of the structures at this site have all but disappeared. The elements can only be partly blamed for this destruction. Unfortunately vandals have been allowed to remove many of the artifacts from the site.

Nineteenth Century Exploration

It has been emphasized that as a commercial post in and of itself, Jasper House was of little importance compared to many other fur trading points. During the time when fur trading activity in New Caledonia and the Columbia was at its height, the small post in the Athabasca valley was maintained only in order to provide food and transportation for the brigades crossing the mountains. The main importance of the Jasper area during the nineteenth century was as a transcontinental transportation route which provided access to the rich resources on the western side of the Rockies. It was not only the valuable furs of British Columbia which brought people through Jasper. Later the lure of gold was to attract the "Overlanders of '62," and throughout the whole nineteenth century a steady trickle of "explorers" stopped at Jasper House, in search of scientific discovery, religious converts, or simply adventure.

One of the first people unconnected with the fur trade to visit Jasper was a botanist, Thomas Drummond, who was exploring uncharted regions of North America with Sir John Franklin. During the winter of 1825-26, Drummond separated himself from the rest of the expedition at Cumberland House, and travelled overland to Jasper House, eventually reaching that location in the middle of October. On the way he made a very thorough study of the flora and fauna of the northern parkland, which he wished to continue in the area north of Jasper. Consequently he abandoned his original plan of crossing the Rockies, and arranged to stay alone in the Jasper area with an Indian guide over the winter. He planned to travel north to the Hudson's Bay Company's post on the Smoking River, but bad weather prevented him from doing so, and instead he spent the winter months camped by the Baptiste River. In

April he returned again to Jasper House, and stayed in the area until May when the first brigade arrived from the Columbia River. During the summer he explored the eastern edge of the mountains, and then in October finally travelled across the Athabasca Pass, returning immediately after reaching Boat Encampment. During his travels in the Rocky Mountains, he observed and recorded details about every plant, animal and bird he saw, and later published an account of his travels and observations in Great Britain, which added greatly to what was known in the scientific world about the Northwest at that time.[1]

Only a year after Drummond had left Jasper, another botanist, the David Douglas who gave his name to the famous fir tree of western Canada, passed by. He was accompanying Edward Ermatinger, whose account of his trips with the York Factory Express were published many years later. Douglas also kept a journal and subsequently wrote an article about his trip to western Canada for the Royal Horticultural Society. In the latter he gave an exciting account of crossing the summit of the Athabasca Pass.

> May 1, 1827—Being well rested by one o'clock, I set out with the view of ascending what seemed to be the highest peak on the North. Its height does not appear to be less than 16,000 or 17,000 feet above the level of the sea. After passing over the lower ridge, I came to about 1,200 feet of by far the most difficult and fatiguing walking I ever experienced. . . . The view from the summit is of too awful a cast to afford pleasure. . . . This peak, the highest yet known in the Northern Continent of America, I felt a sincere pleasure in naming "Mount Brown," in honour of R. Brown, Esq., the illustrious Botanist. . . . A little to the southward is one nearly of the same height, rising to a sharper point; this I named "Mount Hooker," in honour of my early patron, the Professor of Botany in the University of Glasgow.[2]

These names are still used today for two mountains in the Athabasca Pass. However, J. Monroe Thorington, a late nineteenth century mountain climber, wrote an article one hundred years after Douglas' ascent of

Mount Brown in which he pointed out several discrepancies between the article quoted above and Douglas' original journal. In fact, an examination of Douglas' journal shows that while he recorded climbing one mountain in the pass and viewing another, he did not at that time mention their stupendous heights or name them. Thorington says it was not until he was back in England, many years later, that he named these mountains and greatly exaggerated their heights to make his account more exciting. This led to them being considered the highest mountains in the Canadian Rockies for many years. Thorington also states that it is likely that the mountain Douglas called Mount Hooker is the one we know today as McGillivray's Rock, since the mountain which is presently called Mount Hooker cannot be seen from the pass. He also feels that it is extremely unlikely that Douglas ever attained the summit of Mount Brown, as he said he did.[3] None of this should detract from the interest to be found in Douglas' splendid description of the Athabasca Pass, however, as well as that of a supper of whitefish and a rousing evening of fiddle music and dancing a few days later at Jasper House.[4]

As mentioned earlier, scientists were not the only people interested in exploring the unknown regions of the Northwest. A decade after Douglas had been to Jasper, two Catholic priests were sent to travel to the western prairies and mountains and eventually set up a mission on the Columbia west of the Rockies. These were the first missionaries to reach the upper Athabasca. These two, Modeste Demers and François Norbert Blanchet, were recruited in Canada in 1837 in response to a petition that Bishop Provencher of Red River had received from some former Hudson's Bay Company's servants who wanted a priest in their area. In the summer of 1838 Blanchet and Demers set out from Red River and went to Norway House, where they met the Hudson's Bay Company's brigade that was to take them across the Rockies. They travelled by canoe to Edmonton, then overland to Fort Assiniboine, and then up the Athabasca River to Jasper House which they reached on the second of October. Once there, "il y eut 35 baptêmes, dont le plus grand nombre êtaient pas trouvé à ce poste lors du passage des missionnaires."[5] They left again on the fifth of October to cross the Athabasca Pass, at

the summit of which they celebrated Holy Communion.

Although it seems that most of the children baptised at Jasper House were the offspring of retired voyageurs from Edmonton, three of them appear to be the eldest children of Colin Fraser.[6] Colin Fraser's wife, however, was not baptised herself until 1846, when another Catholic priest, this time a Jesuit from the United States, visited Jasper House. Father P. J. de Smet was a Belgian Jesuit who had been working in Idaho and Montana with the Plateau Indians who had been suffering constant attacks by the Blackfoot Indians from the north. Consequently in 1845 de Smet travelled north through present-day Alberta to try to conclude a peace between these two tribes. He reached Fort Edmonton, after much hardship, by the end of December, and stayed there until the following March. Then he left for Jasper in the company of three half-breeds that Father Thibault, a newly arrived priest from Red River, had recruited for him.

Father de Smet wrote voluminous accounts of his adventures back to his bishop, in which his impressions of both the people and the geography of the Jasper area are recorded in great detail. On his approach to Jasper, near Brûlé Lake, de Smet encountered Louis Kwarakwonté. In his company, de Smet travelled on to Jasper House where ". . . after mass, on Easter Sunday, all were regenerated in the waters of baptism, and seven marriages renewed and blessed."[7] Among the baptisms those of Nancy Gaudry, Fraser's wife, and four of their children are recorded. De Smet writes that forty-four baptisms took place at Jasper House, but the Church's records show only eleven.[8]

De Smet stayed two weeks at Jasper House, and by the end of April was ready to proceed on his journey across the Athabasca Pass. Before he left, the Iroquois named a mountain in the vicinity of Jasper House in his honour, but it appears unlikely that the mountain we call Roche de Smet today is the same one that they chose at the time. J. G. McGregor points out that de Smet described the mountain as jutting out in the form of a sugar loaf, being over 14,000 feet high, and covered with perpetual snow. This does not seem to be the present Roche de Smet at all, but, as Ian Coates of Jasper has suggested, perhaps it is

Pyramid Mountain which is visible from Jasper Lake, usually covered by snow, and, more importantly, was known for many years as "Priest's Rock" by the Indians in the vicinity of Jasper.[9]

As de Smet and his party entered the Athabasca Pass, they met the Hudson's Bay Company's spring brigade passing eastward towards Jasper House. With the brigade were Captain Henry J. Warre and Lieutenant M. Vavasour, R.E., who had been sent on a strategic mission for the British army. Their instructions were that they were to travel to the west coast disguised as private citizens travelling merely for amusement with Sir George Simpson. In reality, however, they were to report on the best way to defend these western reaches of British territory from possible American attack, and specifically, indicate the best route for troops to move through the Rocky Mountains. They went out westward by the Bow River in 1845 and returned via the Athabasca Pass in the spring of 1846.

Their report, which they wrote in Red River two months later, suggests the adoption of the Athabasca Pass in preference to the more southern routes, but nevertheless emphasizes the great difficulties attendant in its use.

> Although the more northern route [i.e., the Athabasca] to the Columbia River is in every way preferable to that by which we entered the Oregon Territory last year, the difficulties of conveying men, provisions, horses, etc., should it ever be deemed advisable to send troops overland to that country, are also very great.
>
> The ascent of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca Rivers, which we descended with great facility, causes much delay and loss of time.
>
> The "Portage" between the two rivers, altho' not impracticable would require much improvement; [this is the trail between Forts Edmonton and Assiniboine] . . . The snow covered the whole country to the depth of several feet at the season we crossed the Rocky Mountains, and provisions etc. were carried on men's shoulders the greater part of the

> above mentioned distance, 110 miles; but later in the year the Hudson's Bay Company are annually in the habit of forwarding furs, stores, etc. on horseback through the same Pass, and without any serious impediments, except those arising from the denseness of the forests on either side, the occasional swamps which could be made practicable by "fascines" and the necessity of constantly fording the headwaters of the Canoe and Athabasca Rivers.[10]

This is really the first discussion of the route through the Jasper region as a major transportation link between the eastern and western regions of the British empire in North America, with major consideration given to its improvement and maintenance. But the impetus to connect the two sides of the Rockies by a major wagon route soon disappeared when British differences with America were settled in the Treaty of Oregon, signed the same year as Warre and Vavasour completed their mission. Consequently the valley relapsed once again into relative obscurity.

It was this unknown aspect which attracted another "explorer" to the area in the fall of that year. This was the famous artist of western Canada, Paul Kane. He accompanied the Hudson's Bay Company's brigade west from Edmonton in the fall of 1846, arriving at Jasper House in a fearful blizzard at the beginning of November. However, he appears to have received a welcome at Colin Fraser's "miserable log huts": "I was soon cheered by a blazing fire and five or six pounds of mountain sheep, which I certainly then thought far more delicious than any domestic animal of the same species."[11] (The provision situation seems to have improved from the spring of the same year when de Smet visited, at which time everyone—residents, visitors, Indians—had to leave Jasper House to hunt for food elsewhere.) At Jasper House, Kane made a sketch of the buildings, including the Indian teepees pitched around, which appears in his book about his travels. He also made a famous sketch of a chief of the Shuswap tribe he met at Jasper House, "a simple, kind-hearted old man" called Capote Blanc. The brigade left Jasper House only a few days later to cross the

Athabasca Pass, and Kane's description of the adverse conditions of that trip and the methods used to overcome them make fascinating reading. Since this description is so extensive it is not quoted here, but for specific interpretation work on the Pass or the brigades it is invaluable since it is as detailed as it is colourful.[12] Kane continued to the coast, and then returned to Jasper House again about a year later on his journey eastward.

It has already been mentioned that in the 1840s some consideration was given to the idea of constructing a transcontinental road, cutting through the Rockies and linking the far-flung reaches of the British territories in North America. In the 1850s the possibility of constructing such a road became even more interesting to the British Government, and when the Palliser Expedition was sent out in 1855 to explore the Rocky Mountains, part of its mission was to assess the possibility of constructing a wagon trail across the continent in British territory. Dr. James Hector visited Jasper House early in 1859, arriving from Fort Edmonton by the overland route to Fort Assiniboine and then down the Athabasca. Jasper House was at that time inhabited by H. J. Moberly and a very few Iroquois hunters—in his notes Hector explained that the post was now very quiet, but "as late as 1853 there was communication at two seasons by the post with the Columbia district." His report went on to describe the valley, its wildlife and vegetation, the post and the brigades in excellent detail.[13]

Most of what he wrote need not be repeated here, since it repeats descriptions already mentioned, but one piece of information seems novel. This is his description of the Jasper horses.

> In former days, the people residing at this place used to subsist during the greater part of the spring on horseflesh, as there were large bands of these animals running about almost wild in the lower part of the valley. Their numbers have, however, been much reduced of late years, by large bands having been driven down to Edmonton. It is found, however, that these mountain-bred horses will not thrive in the plain country, but die in the course of a few years.

> This is either owing to the greater severity of the winter, or to the change in the nature of the pasture.[14]

Hector stayed the better part of two months at Jasper House, and, in addition to hunting and exploring with Moberly, his genial host, he managed to accomplish quite a bit of surveying in the valley. He wanted to explore the Athabasca Pass, and in the company of Moberly, a Canadian called Arkand, and an Iroquois guide named Tekarra from Jasper House, he set out to do so in February. Two days from Jasper House they came to the place at which the trail separated; one fork going up the Miette and through the Yellowhead to the Fraser, and the other following the Athabasca and then the Whirlpool River up into the Athabasca Pass. In the end Hector did not actually get into the latter pass since his guide had a bad foot and could not make the trip, but they did follow the Athabasca upstream to the mouth of the Whirlpool. At this point Hector climbed a mountain opposite the mouth and was able to look up the valley formed by the river and see what he thought were Mounts Brown and Hooker. Afterwards Moberly and Hector continued on up the Athabasca a short distance before making the return trip to Jasper House.[15]

At the end of February, Hector's guide Tekarra led him overland to Edmonton, instead of following the old route of the brigades down the Athabasca River to Fort Assiniboine and then following the pack trail from there south to Edmonton. The new route cut almost due east from the entrance to the Jasper valley, and went to the Catholic mission at Lac Ste Anne—in fact, very much the same route that the modern Yellowhead highway follows into Jasper from Edmonton. Hector's visit to Jasper did not result in opening a road for transcontinental traffic through the area, but it did serve to establish this "new" route from Edmonton to Jasper. In reality, the route was not new at all. J. G. McGregor has already included a discussion of this point in his book on the Yellowhead route, but since it pertains to the development of the major transcontinental transportation link which is now established through Jasper Park, the history of this overland route from Jasper to Edmonton will be summarized here.[16]

Hector, of course, did not claim to be the first to travel this

route, and it is evident from his report that by the time he did so, in 1859, the trail was already clearly blazed. Moberly, in his memoirs written many years later, did claim to have taken the first pack train over the route in 1858. His claim may well be true as far as taking a train of forty-odd horses is concerned, but it is clear that Indians had previously travelled the route since it is their trails he followed west of Lac Ste Anne.[17] In addition, at least two white men had previously travelled the route: Father Albert Lacombe, in 1857, with a Métis guide, and J. E. Brazeau, sometime during his residency at Jasper House from 1850 to 1854. The latter had left markings along the route which Hector found in 1859.

The actual pioneer of this very difficult route through the swamps and black spruce west of Lac Ste Anne will never be known. It is likely that it was one or several of the "Jasper House Métis," that group descended from French-Canadian voyageurs and Caughnawaga Iroquois described earlier. These people had retained their religious background from Lower Canada, and, as described earlier, had welcomed the priests, Blanchet, Demers, and de Smet with enthusiasm. When J. B. Thibault, also sent by Bishop Provencher from Red River, established a mission at Lac Ste Anne in 1845, these Catholics were eager to visit it and presumably began to travel overland rather than by the circuitous Athabasca River route. Later, after Father Lacombe established a mission at St. Albert in the 1850s, some of these Jasper natives moved even farther east, including André Cardinal. However, it is clear he retained his knowledge of the land route to Jasper, because in 1862 he was engaged to direct a party of Cariboo Gold Seekers through the muskeg and swamps to Jasper House, and then on over the Yellowhead Pass.

The Yellowhead Pass had really relapsed into obscurity since the 1820s when the Hudson's Bay Company had used the route to transport leather from the prairies to New Caledonia—only a minor traffic, and also a short-lived one. By the 1850s, traffic through the Athabasca Pass also slowed considerably as the fur brigades ceased to cross the Rockies. The importance of communication and transportation by land

across the Rockies declined as the fur trade in the interior of British Columbia waned. But then, at this important juncture in the history of the interior of British Columbia, gold was discovered in the Cariboo. It was imperative to find a land route from eastern Canada, across the prairies, and through the Rockies to the gold fields, and what better connection than the old "leather pass"?

The possibility of travelling overland to the Cariboo attracted men from all over eastern Canada, and in the spring of 1862 many of these fortune-seekers gathered in Fort Garry and began a long tedious journey westward. Around the end of July there were about 115 people at Fort Edmonton ready to set out over the last leg, the modern Yellowhead highway route for Jasper House and then over the mountains. After splitting into smaller groups, the first party left Edmonton July 29 under the leadership of Thomas McMicking. He, and many others who made the trip, left detailed accounts of their heroic journey, many of which have been published. It is unnecessary therefore to quote extensively from these works, as they are readily available and much of their content does not relate specifically to Jasper. However, a brief account is useful for the light it sheds on this first use of the Yellowhead "highway."[18]

When the travellers were all gathered in Edmonton, consultations were held with J. E. Brazeau, who had spent several years at Jasper House, and Thomas Clover, who had accompanied Timoleon Love eastward over the Yellowhead Pass in 1860 en route from the Cariboo. McMicking wrote of these conversations:

> All parties with whom we conversed on the subject, both at this time and previously, agreed that the Boundary, Cootenie and Sinclair passes were the easiest and presented the fewest difficulties; but recommended the Leather, Cow-dung Lake, or Jasper pass for our purpose, as being the shortest and most direct way to the Cariboo; altho' some of them represented the road as nearly impassible, and fore-saw difficulties and dangers which they considered almost insurmountable.[19]

Nothing daunted, the group hired André Cardinal as their guide, and he led them to St. Albert and then on to Lac Ste Anne over a rough wagon road. From that point it was necessary to follow the Indian trails, often through terrible swamps and muskeg, to Jasper House. By the eighteenth of August they camped at the foot of the Rockies, and the next day crossed Disaster Point, from which they viewed Jasper House, shut up at this time. On the twentieth they crossed the Athabasca on rafts, and the next day turned up the Miette towards the Pass, passing the ruins of Larocque's "Henry House" as they did so. They reached the summit on the twenty-second, and Tête Jaune Cache five days later.

By this time, almost a month after leaving Edmonton, their provisions were nearly gone—they had already killed an ox and an old horse on the shores of Cow Dung Lake for food, and some members of the party had completely run out of salt and flour. At Tête Jaune Cache they found a group of Shuswap with whom they could trade for food. Unfortunately these Indians knew nothing of the way to reach Kamloops, and neither did André Cardinal, who was familiar with the trails only as far as Tête Jaune Cache and had undertaken to guide them only that far. Eventually it was decided that most of the McMicking party would build rafts and float down the Fraser, while a smaller group of about twenty would try to go overland to the headwaters of the Thompson with the cattle they had brought with them. All of the men following the McMicking party chose the Fraser route as well, and likewise built rafts on which to travel to Quesnel.

André Cardinal, although he had not travelled the route before, continued to accompany the land party for some days, until they eventually reached the confluence of the Albreda and North Thompson. At that point he left to return to St. Albert, and the little group was left to struggle on over unfamiliar territory and eventually by the river to Fort Kamloops and then further down to the Fraser.[20] After all their hardships, the promise of gold at the end of their travels proved to be false in the end. While a very few of the "Overlanders of '62" reached Barkerville, most either continued down the Fraser to the coast or settled in the interior as farmers or labourers. Nevertheless,

reaching Kamloops over land from the Yellowhead Pass was a magnificent achievement, and one that served to point the way to the development of this land connection between the western prairies and the interior of British Columbia as a major transportation route across Canada.

Only a year later two English visitors followed the same path, though they were travelling simply out of curiosity to see the western reaches of the Continent and had no illusions about making their fortunes in the gold fields. These two were Viscount Milton of Fitzwilliam and his companion, Dr. W. B. Cheadle, who wrote two very entertaining and informative accounts of their journey. They left Fort Edmonton at the beginning of June, determined to cross the Yellowhead Pass despite the advice of experienced people at the post who said that the rivers were still too high to make such a journey practical. They travelled west from Edmonton via Lac Ste Anne as the Overlanders had done, and finally reached a spot opposite Jasper House by the twenty-ninth of June. The little post was apparently closed up, though a half-breed they met the next day informed them that John McAulay was in charge, but was away with a hunting party. Consequently they did not cross to the house, but continued on the east side of the river until they met McAulay on the third of July. He told them ". . . that a winter rarely passed now without a great scarcity of provisions at Jasper House, and their being driven to horse-flesh as a last resource."[21] He also suggested "an old Iroquois half-breed" to accompany their party through the pass. Under the guidance of this man they crossed the Athabasca, passed the site of Larocque's Henry House, and followed the Miette up to the summit of the pass—which they passed unconsciously, the ascent up to it being so very gradual.

The fact that the slopes of the pass were so gentle led Cheadle to reflect on its potential several years later. Although long, it may be useful to quote this passage, since it speaks of all the advantages of the Yellowhead route over any other pass through the Rockies.

> . . . it may be well to consider the question of the practicability of a road across the mountains by the YellowHead, or Leather Pass. The necessity for opening a

communication between the eastern and western sides of the Rocky Mountains, and the advantages of a route across the continent which passes through British territory, will, we apprehend, appear clearly enough upon a more intimate acquaintance with the resources and requirements of British Columbia. At present we wish merely to show that a road might be constructed by the YellowHead Pass without any great difficulty, and that this route is in many respects superior to others hitherto more generally known. In the first place, then, we may safely state that . . . there are no engineering difficulties of any importance. . . . From Edmonton to Jasper House, a distance of about 400 miles, the surface is slightly undulating, the lower ground universally swampy, and everywhere covered with thick forest. There is little doubt that a better trail than the one at present used might be found for this portion of the way, by keeping to the higher ground, for the pioneers of the Hudson's Bay Company sought the swamps in the first instance, as offering fewer impediments to their progress, on account of their being less heavily timbered. From Jasper House to Tete Jaune Cache—the pass through the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains, about 100 or 120 miles in length—a wide break in the chain, running nearly east and west, offers a natural roadway, unobstructed except by Timber. The rivers, with the exception of the Athabasca and the Fraser, are small and fordable; even at their highest. The ascent to the height of land is very gradual, and, indeed, hardly perceptible; . . . and the descent on the western slope, although more rapid, is neither steep nor difficult. . . . The flooding of the river by the melted snows from the mountains does not interfere with the passage along the valley, for we traversed it at the season when the waters are at the highest. The most serious difficulty to the adoption of a route by Jasper House would be the want of pasturage for cattle. . . . Of the passes to the

> south, all, with the exception of the Vermilion Pass, descend abruptly on the west through rugged and difficult country. The Vermilion Pass, which is the lowest, is 4,944 feet above the level of the sea, or about 1,000 feet higher than the Leather Pass; and although Dr. Hector states that a road might be constructed across it without material difficulty, it is open to the same objection as the rest, that it communicates with the valley of the Columbia, far to the south of the gold regions of Cariboo, passes through the battle-ground of the Crees and Blackfeet, and is in unsafe proximity to the American frontier.[22]

This passage is perhaps the best description of the Yellowhead route and summary of its advantages to survive from the nineteenth century. It shows clearly the interest that was growing in a good land connection between Canada and British Columbia in the second half of the century. It also lists the factors that were being considered in the choice of a route through the Rockies—gradual slopes, direct access to the northern interior of British Columbia, friendly Indians, and distance from the American border. The superiority of the Yellowhead in all these regards no doubt led to its selection as the best route for a transcontinental telegraph line proposed about that time by the Hudson's Bay Company, among others. In preparation for this project, Dr. John Rae was sent to travel the proposed route. In the spring of 1864 he made this trip alone, on foot, surveying as far as Tête Jaune Cache.[23] The telegraph line was never built, possibly because the importance of this type of communication paled before a project of enormous magnitude brought forward shortly afterwards. This was the construction of a transcontinental railway.

The impetus to build a transcontinental railroad passing exclusively through British territory had begun long before Confederation. It has already been mentioned that the British Government had seen fit to send the Palliser expedition out to explore the region west of the Great Lakes in 1857, and particularly to determine whether a feasible pass for a road through the Rockies could be found. However, the

instructions for this mission expressly limited their explorations to passes south of the Athabasca, and therefore Palliser never gave his consideration to the Yellowhead as a possible route. It was possibly this omission that led him to his conclusion that a line of communication across the continent passing exclusively through British territory was impossible. However, after the Canadas, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick united to form the Dominion of Canada in 1867, and the Hudson's Bay Company relinquished its control over the land between Canada and the Rockies two years later, British Columbia began to consider uniting with Canada. In 1871, British Columbia became a new province in the Dominion, but one of the confederation agreements was that a railway link would be built across the prairies and through the Rockies to join the existing railways of the eastern provinces with the Pacific. It was stipulated that this project was to be completed in ten years.

Thus, as soon as British Columbia joined the federation, in July 1871, surveys began all along the line. John A. Macdonald, the prime minister, appointed Sandford Fleming as Engineer in Chief of the project, and after receiving the preliminary survey reports, Fleming himself set out in 1872 to travel over the route the railway was to take. With him he took his son, a doctor called Arthur Moren, a botanist called John Macoun, and a surveyor, Charles Horetzky, who took the famous photographs of Jasper House which have been reproduced in so many works. The Reverend George Grant accompanied the party as "the secretary," and his account of the voyage was eventually published as a book called Ocean to Ocean.

Their party arrived at Edmonton House in late August of 1872 and travelled west via Lac Ste Anne, reaching Jasper House by September 12. A few days later, a short distance up the Miette River, Fleming's party met Walter Moberly, the engineer in charge of surveying the railway line in British Columbia. Moberly travelled with Fleming's party to the west end of Moose Lake, where there was a survey camp under the direction of Edward Mohun. From there Fleming and his men continued west to Tête Jaune Cache and then on to Kamloops. Moberly, however,

remained in the Yellowhead area to establish his provisioning camp, the "Athabasca Depot" mentioned earlier.[24]

Moberly had organized large pack trains in the spring of 1872 from Victoria, to take supplies across British Columbia to Boat Encampment and then over the Athabasca Pass for the use of the surveying parties based in the Jasper area during the autumn and winter. He himself crossed by the Yellowhead Pass at the end of August, in order to check on the whereabouts of the survey parties he had previously sent into that area. He then continued down the Miette to the Athabasca and up the Whirlpool to meet the provision trains in the Athabasca Pass, and urged them to hurry over the pass before winter, to the depot he had instructed William McCord to construct on the Athabasca River. He then went back to the depot himself, about the beginning of October, by which time McCord had one storehouse built. By this time the summits, particularly in the Athabasca Pass, were experiencing snow, and because he was worried about getting the provisions down to the depot, Moberly paid a visit to Jasper House to see Logan, the man in charge of the post, about providing dog sleds and moccasins later in the season. Then at last, on October 24, he was able to begin the survey at the divide in the Yellowhead Pass, surveying as far as the Athabasca Depot, about four miles below the mouth of the Miette, by November 26. Some little time later the pack animals from the Athabasca Pass arrived down in the valley, and supplies were then forwarded to the most eastern point of that season's work, a new depot McCord had constructed on the banks of Fiddle Creek. The survey was completed as far as this point by January 2, 1873.[25]

By 1876 Fleming and his crews had examined six different passes through the Rockies, and the final choice was narrowed down to two—the Howse Pass and the Yellowhead. Finally the Yellowhead was chosen, and during the course of the next summer a definite survey line was staked through the pass, from the mouth of the Miette at the eastern end to Tête Jaune Cache on the other side. Other surveys were also carried out in the general area. One exploration was made by H. A. F. McLeod, who went up the Maligne River valley and discovered Maligne

Lake, naming that beautiful stretch of water "Sorefoot Lake." The purpose of his exploration was to ascertain if a railway could be built to the Yellowhead by following the Saskatchewan and Brazeau rivers, and then descending the Maligne River to the Athabasca. This plan was quickly abandoned, of course, after McLeod experienced the difficulty of travelling the valley of the Maligne.

On account of the surveying activity going on in the area, the Athabasca Depot was manned and heavily provisioned during the winter of 1876-77.[26] However, by 1878, the Conservative government in Ottawa changed the route of the railway and decided to build it through the Kicking Horse Pass instead. This decision was not based on technical considerations, since it was generally agreed that the Yellowhead Pass was superior to the other routes through the Rockies from an engineering point of view. However the government in Ottawa felt that the railroad must pass closer to the American border to be able to compete with American railroads. Consequently, all surveying activity was immediately halted in the Yellowhead area, and the Athabasca Depot was abandoned. A few years later two Edmonton merchants purchased the goods left there from the railway company, and contracted Dan Noyes, an Edmonton packer, to bring the supplies to Edmonton. Shortly after he left the valley the building burnt down, leaving only a stone foundation to mark the site.[27]

The Establishment of Jasper National Park

During the last few decades of the nineteenth century, Jasper's importance as a transportation route declined. Travellers and settlers who wanted to reach British Columbia passed through the Rockies by way of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the south, and the two mountain passes which had previously attracted outsiders to Jasper lay neglected. Of course the area continued to be important to the local Métis families, described in Chapter Two, who were left there after the fur traders abandoned it. And around the turn of the century Jasper came under the influence of two other outside developments. The first of these was the great move to settle the west and tame the wilderness, while the second, which closely followed the first, and was in part a reaction to it, was the movement to establish large parks in the public interest where tracts of wilderness could be maintained in the midst of civilization and settlement.

As mentioned earlier, the Hudson's Bay Company finally abandoned Jasper House in 1884, and the next outsider who left a record of his visit to the area was Inspector A. E. Snyder of the N.W.M.P. Detachment in Edmonton, who made a patrol to Jasper in 1897. In his report, written in the fall of that year, he mentioned the presence of two "traders" in the area which is now Jasper Park—"J. Swift at Henry House, and . . . G. Cowan on Birch Creek. . . ."[1] Any other details about G. Cowan have long since disappeared, and there is very little information about any other of the few traders who occasionally visited the area.[2] About Lewis Swift and his family, however, a wealth of information remains, for this hardy pioneer and his wife not only established a working farm along the banks of the upper Athabasca, but stayed in the valley for many years as owners of the only private

property within the park boundaries. Thus they have become a legend to all who are even slightly familiar with the history of this area.

According to Ida Thompson, Mrs. Swift told her that she and Lewis Swift came into the Jasper area in 1891 or 1892 and lived in the old Jasper House, trading with the Indians.[3] Certainly some of the Jasper old timers can remember that Lewis Swift had a sign on his house in later years which read "Established 1892."[4] J. G. MacGregor says that Swift first came to the Jasper area with the Moberlys in 1890, and then later came back to live as a trader at Jasper House from 1893 to 1895, but he does not say from what source his information comes.[5] The Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society has found exact information about Swift's birth, on February 24, 1854 in Berlin, Ohio, and his marriage to Suzette Jane Chalifoux at the Wylie's home near Edmonton on September 30, 1897.[6] An anonymous manuscript in the possession of the Society also adds the uncertain information that during the two years previous to his marriage Swift was not living in the Athabasca Valley but near Rossland, British Columbia, where he was prospecting.[7]

In any event, although his movements from year to year in these early days cannot be traced exactly, it does appear that a few years before their marriage, Lewis and Suzette chose a site for their farm at what later came to be called "Henry House Flats," along the west bank of the Athabasca about four miles north of the mouth of the Miette. (This site later came to be known as "The Palisades" and is presently the Parks Canada Training Centre). By 1899, he apparently had 16 acres under cultivation there, on which he was producing wheat, potatoes and a few vegetables and barley.[8] He had built a wooden water wheel by hand, the remains of which could still be seen up until a few years ago in the creek at the Palisades. A taped interview that the Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society conducted with Alex Wylie adds the information that the small mill run by the water wheel would take a whole day to grind one bushel of wheat. Mr. Wylie also remembers that Swift had built a system to irrigate his farm from the same creek.[9] He also had horses and cows, and according to J. G. MacGregor, packed in a few pigs and chickens just after the turn of the century.[10]

The Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society has a number of excellent photographs of the Swifts' establishment, showing the main house and various members of his family. The Swifts had six children, two girls and four boys. Two of the boys died young; one, John Sidney, the youngest child, died as a baby, and the fourth child, James Willis, died by an accidental shooting when he was two years old. Both of these children are buried just outside the old Swift property, up the creek several hundred yards beyond the property line, on the right hand side at the top of a little hill.[11] The other four children grew up in Jasper and went to school in the town, and were well-known and still remembered by many of the townspeople.

Of course, Mr. and Mrs. Swift are remembered by many people still living in Jasper too. The Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society has in its possession a small black trunk belonging to Mrs. Swift, Suzette Chalifoux. In it are Lewis Swift's accounts of the trade goods he sold from 1898-1910, his diary for a few months in 1910 when he was appointed as a game guardian in the new park, and some brochures for the never-realized "Swiftholm." In addition there are a few of Suzette's more personal possessions, notably a Catholic breviary printed in Cree Syllabics. The Society also has a pair of very beautiful beaded moccasins which Mrs. Swift made. Her fine handwork was much admired by those who saw it, and Mrs. A. B. Arends in her "reminiscences" of 1915 recalled that Mrs. Swift

> . . . delighted us with her beautiful beadwork. She made slippers, gloves, jackets and vests out of animal hides, and worked out designs for beading these garments that were fantastic . . . we spent those winter months watching her at work and listening to the adventures and really exciting lives of both she and her husband.[12]

Lillian Roots (nee Taylor — the first teacher in Jasper in the early days) could also remember the Swifts. They ". . . had a good sized, comfortable log cabin, which Mrs. Swift kept scrupulously clean." She added that ". . . "Old Man Swift" as she called him, had another cabin across the creek, where he entertained his friends to his own

brew (alcohol and cold tea)."[13]

Swift performed a more essential service than this latter one to the early travellers and visitors to the Park though. Mary Schäffer in her book tells of arriving on the east bank of the Athabasca and firing a couple of shots which brought Swift over in his dugout to take her party across to his homestead, where they spent a night before pushing on up the Yellowhead Pass.[14] Alex Wylie also recalled that Mr. Swift would ferry the supplies for the Grand Trunk engineers across the river in his dugout, while the crew swam the horses.[15] No doubt Swift was able to tell all these visitors much about the geography of the area.

R. W. Langford, the first warden to be appointed to Jasper Park, later wrote that "Swift was a great help to me in locating trails and valleys in the Park."[16] It was probably because of his easy familiarity with the territory which became Jasper National Park that Swift himself was appointed a game guardian there in the very early years, just after the other permanent residents of the park were expelled.

The expulsion of the other settlers in the Athabasca valley after Jasper Park was established is a story which shows clearly the conflicts between the two developments that were taking place in western Canada around the turn of the century. Because the Athabasca valley was on the edge of the vast prairie region, and was connected so closely by the old river transportation route, it was experiencing the settlement and taming of the "wild west" as plows and livestock were brought in from Edmonton. Yet this development occurred only to a very limited extent, because although the Athabasca valley had easy connections to the great plains, it was really a river of the woodlands, and more importantly, the high mountains. And for this reason, it also remained aloof from the extensive homesteading which occurred in much of Alberta in the few decades before the Great War. It was still in a largely untouched state when other men, not farmers but politicians and civil servants, influenced by ideas other than those of submitting the wilderness to the plow, began to consider the potential of the Athabasca river valley and its surrounding mountains as a public domain.

Of course the origins of the national park movement went back many years before Jasper National Park was established, to the development of an interest in the United States in preserving the natural beauty of the American landscape. America's first settlers had been preoccupied with taming the wilderness, but as they began to be successful in their struggle, an awareness grew, largely among writers and artists, that there was some value to nature preserved in its original state. The first suggestion of a great public park to do this was made by the Indian artist George Catlin in 1832. In the same year, the Congress of the United States reserved in the public interest four sections of land around some hot springs which had been discovered in the Ouachita mountains in Arkansas. This reserve was not a park however; reserving the land for the government was simply a means of ensuring that the public would own and preserve the springs, thereby protecting them from the dangers of private monopoly. Commercial development was not only allowed but entrusted to private enterprise, and later provided an example of the dangers of this type of development to both the American and Canadian governments.

It was not until forty years after the Arkansas reserve had been created that the first national park was established in the United States. This was a two million acre site in northwestern Wyoming which became Yellowstone National Park in 1872. The extraordinary scenery of this area had caused several visitors to the area to consider the potential of making private claims in view of the enormous tourist traffic which was expected to develop. However, one man who visited the springs felt differently. Judge Cornelius Hedges wrote that "This place is too big and too beautiful to belong to any private individual. It should be set aside by the government for the use and employment of the people for all time as a National Park."[17] His suggestion eventually became law in the Yellowstone Park Act of 1872, and as Sylvia Van Kirk has pointed out, "this action marked a dramatic departure from general American public land policy, embodying the new concept of the right of the people to share in the most scenic areas of their country.[18]

In Canada, it was not so much public-spirited individuals who pressed for the establishment of our first park as business interests wishing to reserve the commercial potential of the wilderness for themselves. William Van Horne, the general manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway which was cutting through the Kicking Horse Pass in the 1880's, suggested that a park should be established in that area — in fact, he suggested Lac des Arcs as a particular beauty spot. At the same time as he was thinking of a park which would benefit the railroad, private speculators were staking claims to the area around the hot springs which had been discovered on Sulphur Mountain. In 1885 the Minister of the Interior investigated these springs and reported that as the area was certain to become a popular resort, it should not fall into the hands of private developers.[19] Consequently the Rocky Mountains National Park Act was passed in 1887, establishing the area around the Sulphur Mountain Hot Springs as Canada's first national park. Although the park was owned in the public interest, it was initially the railway which expected to benefit from its creation. Not only did the Canadian Pacific Railway provide the only access to the park, but the luxury hotels it built there ensured that tourist development would be of a very elevated and expensive kind. The government was quite willing to approve this type of park development by the railway companies (not least because the government itself had invested so heavily in the Canadian Pacific Railway), and Glacier and Yoho national parks were also established along the CPR right-of-way. It is significant that Jasper National Park was not created until 1907, when it was also established along the right-of-way of another transcontinental railway, the Grand Trunk Pacific. Revenue-producing development was the main interest of the government in creating the parks, not preservation of the wilderness in its original state.

Jasper park was established in 1907 as "Jasper Forest Park", an area of land of 5000 square miles bordering the route of the railway along the Athabasca river and the Yellowhead Pass. This, of course, was a very large area, and Jasper Park's size was considerably reduced — in fact, to one-fifth its original size — in 1911 when the federal

government cut down the area of many parks. In 1914, bowing to public pressure, the government increased the size of Jasper Park again, this time to 4400 square miles. Later the park was extended to include the whole Columbia Icefields in 1927, but two years later it was decided that the national park boundaries should follow heights of land, and therefore the height of land separating the Athabasca and Saskatchewan drainage areas was established as the boundary between Banff and Jasper parks. Finally, in 1930, a last revision of park boundaries was established in the National Park Act. By this legislation some land along the eastern boundary was cut off the park, but it is still one of the largest Canadian national parks, having an area of 4200 square miles.[20]

In 1907, when the federal government established Jasper Park, it was not quite the unsettled wilderness that eastern politicians thought. Earlier in this chapter Lewis Swift's homestead was described, and Chapter Two also mentioned various Métis families who were still in the area in the early twentieth century, some of whom were farming on the flats along the river. Of course, the government was not prepared to have islands of privately owned land in the midst of a public domain and took immediate steps to remove the Métis settlers from the area. It was estimated by A. P. Coleman in an article published in 1911 that there were about one hundred "Indians" in the Jasper Valley.[21] (In fact, his statement must refer to a year or two earlier, around the time the park was established, since he speaks of buying supplies from Ewan Moberly's place and Ewan moved out in the spring of 1910.) In addition to the six squatter families that the government bought out, Coleman's estimate would likely include a few women of Indian background married to white men, and perhaps their children. Mrs. Lewis Swift was a French-Iroquois Métis from St. Albert, for example, and Mrs. Jack Gregg was a first cousin of John and Ewan Moberly — their common grandfather appears to have been the same Louis Kwarakwanté described earlier.[22] In addition, certain other Indians may well have been camping in the valley, though not actually "squatting" there since they had no permanent buildings. These more

nomadic Indians were probably related to the settled families in some way.

Susan Cardinal, for example, the mother of two of the "squatters," was camping in the valley with other Métis at the time of her death, just two years before the park was established. Albert Norris, the Métis son of Mrs. Swift, was living at the Swifts' cabin in 1905 at the time of Susan's death and later recounted the story of what was probably the last native ceremony to take place in the valley. Mr. George Camp, to whom he told the story, later wrote it down. The following is his account:

> Albert Norris told me this story of the passing of Suzanne Cardinal, the Indian wife of H. J. Moberly the factor for the Hudson's Bay Company at Jasper House. Suzanne was camped on the Miette River with her grandson Adolphus Moberly, when she was taken sick, Adolph fixed up a travois for one of their horses and brought his grandmother down country to a cabin formerly owned by Donald McDonald, which stood in the poplars on the left side of the old Edmonton highway. . . . There Mrs. Moberly died. There was much sorrow in the valley all the native people gathered there and said prayers for her. There being no priest available, they were led by Adam Joachim, who had studied for the priesthood in St. Albert and Montreal. Albert's stepfather Mr. Lewis Swift split boards by hand and planed them down and made the coffin for her.
>
> The coffin was placed on a travois and the horse pulling it led by Adam the funeral procession started, relatives and neighbours following. Albert estimated there were between 45 and 50 saddle and pack horses, it was roughly between 8 and 9 miles by the old pack trail to where she is buried, May 5, 1905, not far from the home of her son Ewan.[23]

Her grave is still visible in the park today, marked by a very

dilapidated white cross and now surrounded by a white picket fence, standing in a clearing just off the Celestine Lake road.

Some little distance away, in the same clearing, Ewan Moberly's cabin is still standing as well — a monument to the hardy construction techniques of these French and Iroquois Métis, for the cabin has been left for over seventy years without supports, floors or fencing to protect it from the all too obvious assaults of the elements, animals and, most importantly, vandals of Jasper Park. Aside from these two monuments on the Celestine Lake road, the only other structure still surviving from Indian days in the park is the cabin of John Moberly, Ewan's brother, still standing across the Athabasca from Ewan's cabin, along the side of the present "Overlander" hiking trail.

Although we now can see only two cabins, there were six establishments of a similar nature in the valley when the park was established. In November 1909 the federal government sent J. J. McLaggan from Ottawa to buy out the squatters. Presumably the more nomadic natives were simply told they were trespassers and herded out of the valley. But at that time some men had already built houses and plowed fields. Lewis Swift lived on the west side of the river, along with Ewan Moberly, Dolphus Moberly, William Moberly and Adam Joachim. John Moberly and Isidore Findlay lived on the east side.[24] Years later James Shand-Harvey, a guide in the area when the park was first established, recalled McLaggan's negotiations.

> J. J. McLaggan, the Commissioner from Ottawa, came up here to Jack Gregg's . . . and the next day he drove onto Jasper Park . . . He saw Ewan Moberly, Adam Joachim, John Moberly, Isadore Finley. He saw them and he saw Swift. Swift told him to get the hell out. He wanted nothing to do with him. "You can't buy me, you can't drive me out of here." And McLaggan just put his tail between his legs and left.
>
> Then he went over to Ewan's and said "All I can pay you for is the value of your buildings." He says "I can't pay you for land you're on because you're

> a trespasser. "But" he says, "I will grant you a squatter's claim, anywhere you like, outside of Jasper park." He said the same thing to Adam Joachim. Of course, Adam spoke perfectly good English. He understood and interpreted for them. He told Isadore Finley the same thing, and he told John Moberly the same thing. Then they all agreed that he'd put a value on the shacks they had, they would accept the cash money and they would move out. But there was no word said as to where they would move,—"anywhere outside of Jasper Park" . . .[25]

An initial payment was made to the squatters in February, 1910, when the agreement was finalized, although the final payments were not made until some time later. An Order in Council of April 15, 1910, lists the following compensatory payments which were made:

Ewan Moberly	$1670
William Moberly	$ 175
Adolphus Moberly	$ 180
John Moberly	$1000
Isadore Findlay	$ 800
Adam Joachim	$1200[26]

Harvey said he acted as a translator for these people and tried to get them a better deal from the government. He also said he knew they would go to Grande Cache, though the government apparently did not care where they settled—as long as it was outside the Park boundaries.[27]

J. G. MacGregor, in his book about Shand-Harvey's life, relates the story of the Métis leaving Jasper Park, apparently based on material he received from Shand-Harvey himself.

> John and Ewan and the other heads of families made a trip to Edmonton, where they bought sleighs, wagons and ploughs, before they started to build on the new land they had selected. In the spring John Moberly and his family moved out to Prairie Creek and filed on

> a quarter section which to this day remains in the family's hands. Ewan and his sons and Adam Joachim went further afield, to Grande Cache, long a favorite rendezvous of the Indians. This pleasant area on the upper waters of the Smoky River can be reached today by travelling some eighty miles along the Forestry Road from Entrance and then following a pack trail west for about twenty miles. Ewan Moberly and his group took their machinery and over 200 head of stock, mostly horses, over a road which they cleared out along older hunting trails. Up Solomon Creek they went up the Wildhay River, past Rock Lake and on over the pass to the Sulphur River. By descending that, they came to Grande Cache. Ever since, this has been called the Moberly Road.[28]

Descendents of both these families of Moberlys still live in the areas to which John and Ewan moved. John and his wife, Adam Joachim's sister, are both buried in the tiny cemetary on his quarter section just east of the Jack Gregg place, now the Bar F ranch on Prairie Creek. Mrs. Moberly died in the flu epidemic of 1918 and her husband lived until 1933. Ewan Moberly also died in the flu epidemic of 1918 at Grande Cache. There is a graveyard on Joachim Flats, just west of Jervis Lake, where he is buried. His wife, Madeleine, lived to an old age and always maintained an interest in Jasper, for she loaned money for the building of the old Roman Catholic church in Jasper.[29] In 1967 many descendents of the old Jasper Métis families travelled back to the Park for a meeting with the Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society. An excursion was made to the old Ewan Moberly place on the Celestine Lake road, and the Historical Society has in its possession several pictures of the children and grandchildren of the last native people who lived in the Park before they were expelled from within its boundaries.

Although the native homesteaders were persuaded to leave by McLaggan, it has already been mentioned that Lewis Swift absolutely refused to go. He had filed a claim for his homestead which was just

under a quarter-section; 158 acres in the S.E. quarter of Section 15, Twp. 45, west of the 5th meridian. The survey of the 6th meridian was completed in 1906, so that when the park was established a year later, Swift had a previous claim to his land and was eventually granted a patent for homestead purposes in 1911. The Grand Trunk Pacific wanted their line to go through his land and Swift sold the right-of-way to them, but the government could not move him. He had dreams of greater wealth to be gained through private development.

In Swift's papers now in the possession of the Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society there is a pamphlet describing "Swiftholm", a resort townsite which was being promoted by the President of the Grand Trunk Pacific railway, Charles Hays. This townsite was to consist of approximately five hundred privately-owned lots in the middle of Jasper Park. The lots were offered by the firm of Inglis, MacDonald and Thom of Edmonton, at prices ranging from $150 to $500 each, and were supposed to go on sale for the first time on February 12, 1913. However, although the pamphlet had been printed and the land subdivided, Hays went down on the Titanic in April of 1912 and the plan fell through. Swift never sold his land and continued to work his farm.[30]

The government, of course, was still interested in buying him out, and in 1926 offered Swift $6,000 for his land. Swift was not ready to sell at such a low price though, and instead leased part of his land to a man called Joe Saladina who was apparently a market gardener and raised produce there to sell in the town.[31] By 1935 Swift decided to retire and move into Jasper, and offered his farm to the government for the same price they had suggested nine years previously, $6,000. The government delayed the purchase at that time, and meanwhile Swift took a better offer of $8,000 from A. C. Wilby, an Englishman who had recognized the commercial potential of the area while touring through Jasper some time previously.

Wilby developed Swift's farm into an impressive dude ranch during the next ten years. He poured money into the venture and carried out extensive landscaping of the site and the construction of the existing buildings. The ranch was called Pyramid Mountain Lodge. In 1947

Wilby died — his grave is on the property — and again the government negotiated for the purchase of the property. Evidently Wilby had spent more than $100,000 in improvements to the ranch, and his estate offered it for sale at $70,000.[32] The federal government once again decided this was too high a price and instead the property was sold privately, this time to Gordon Bried, a local Jasper resident. Bried also made improvements to the site over the years, including the construction of a bungalow development. (Bried was well-known in Jasper for his interest in local history, and made a splendid collection of Indian artifacts from the park which he turned over to the Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society.) He called the ranch "The Palisades", the name by which it is still known. During the 1950s the Trans-Mountain pipeline right-of-way crossed the property as well as the proposed route for a new highway to Edmonton. Bried had the property appraised and offered it to the government again. This time the government finally bought it — for a final price of $227,850 in 1962. Thus it was fifty-five years after the establishment of Jasper Park that the government of Canada finally acquired title to all the land within its boundaries. Of course, the Palisades ranch had a considerable development on it by the time the government acquired it, and eventually it was decided to use the buildings for a Parks Canada training centre. The buildings have since been winterized and are now used year round to train Parks Canada personnel from national parks all across Canada.[33]

Although it was many years before the government gained control of this last bit of privately-owned land, development of the park proceeded quickly after the other settlers had been dispersed. Within a very few years of establishing the park, an administration building was built, a park superintendent appointed, and a warden service established. Soon a bustling little town grew up as two railways reached the park and tourists began to arrive. The establishment of the park and the expulsion of the native settlers was the end of one era and the beginning of another. Henceforth the area was to be developed in the public interest and not left in the hands of a few quiet frontier

farmers. But although it was settled by 1907 that a public park was to be developed in the upper Athabasca country, Canadian government policy was not yet clear about exactly what a national park was and how it was to be managed. The early American and Canadian park policies had both been characterized by a concern over the "use" of national parks and the "benefit" to be derived from them. Janet Foster has aptly pointed out the differences between the ideals of conservation on the one hand, which embodied the management of parks and their resources to make them available for commercial exploitation, and preservation on the other, which concentrated upon the maintenance of the parks in as close to their original state as possible.[34] This debate was not to be settled finally for another twenty years in Canada, and the resolution of that question as it pertains to Jasper is dealt with in a later chapter. First the story of the railroads must be told, since neither resource extraction nor the tourist trade, both of which could present dangers to the natural environment of the park, could develop without this transportation link to the rest of Canada.

The Railway Era

It has already been described how the importance of the Jasper area as a transcontinental route deteriorated after the decision was made to build the Canadian Pacific Railway through another pass further south. But during the last few years of the nineteenth century, once the Canadian Pacific Railway was constructed, certain businessmen and politicians became convinced of the need for an alternative transcontinental railway line, following a more northerly route across the prairies. The advantages to railroads of the Yellowhead over the other passes through the Rockies were well known, and just after the turn of the century the Grank Trunk Pacific project was begun. However, it was to be another decade before steel reached the new national park which had been established along the right-of-way.

The National Transcontinental Railway Act became law near the end of 1903, representing an agreement between the Ministry of Railways and Canals and the newly incorporated Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company for the construction of a railway from Moncton, New Brunswick, to the Pacific Coast.[1] The early plans for the western line, developed in 1902, were to follow the route from Edmonton to the coast through the Yellowhead Pass, along the original Sandford Fleming survey.[2] However, the 1903 act of incorporation of the railway authorized construction through the Peace River Pass, the Pine River Pass, or any other pass through the Rockies that was found convenient and practical. In 1904 the Grand Trunk Pacific decided to build its terminus at the mouth of the Skeena River, and that consideration, plus an interest in developing the Peace River district, meant that one of the northern passes would be used. But by 1906 the Canadian Northern Railway, which had also received permission to build from the prairies to a terminus on

the West Coast, filed plans to build through the Yellowhead Pass. The Canadian Northern would have to build to a terminus south of the Skeena River (since the Grand Trunk Pacific was building there) and the Grand Trunk Pacific was aware that if the Canadian Northern could be forced to go through a pass north of the Grand Trunk Pacific's line, the latter railway would have a very great competitive advantage by virtue of its shorter line. Accordingly, late in 1906, the Grand Trunk Pacific filed plans to go through the Yellowhead Pass too. Eventually the Ministry of Railways and Canals accepted their plans, returning those of the Canadian Northern to that company. The Canadian Northern promoters planned to enlist the British Columbia and Alberta provincial governments in their favour when they protested the decision, but before a major federal-provincial confrontation could develop, the personnel and hence the attitudes of the Ministry changed. At the beginning of 1908 it was decided to allow the Canadian Northern Railway to build its line right beside that of the Grand Trunk Pacific west of Edmonton and through the Yellowhead Pass. This policy, though foolish enough, barely escaped becoming even more ridiculous. In 1908 the Grand Trunk Pacific also began campaigning to have its line approved through the interior of British Columbia to Vancouver, paralleling the route already approved for the Canadian Northern. Fortunately the Ministry of Railways and Canals rejected such an idea altogether. It was only on the stretch from Edmonton to the Yellowhead Pass that the Canadian government allowed, and the Canadian people subsidized, these two parallel lines running through the same territory.[3]

The Grand Trunk Pacific began building north west from Winnipeg in the summer of 1905, and by the next summer over 5000 men were at work across the prairies. By December 1908 the roadbed was complete as far west as Wolf Creek, 129 miles west of Edmonton, a place which had been selected as the point at which the "Prairie Section" ended and the "Mountain Section" began. The first seventy-one miles were to be completed by July 1, 1910, and the next distance to Tête Jaune Cache, British Columbia, by the end of the year. By January 22, 1910, the track had been laid as far as Wolfe Creek, which allowed the

shipment of materials to McLeod River to build the bridge there. By June the bridge was completed and the track laid as far as Edson, to which place construction trains were running. The construction of this whole section was delayed because of labour shortages. However, the government eventually lifted certain restrictions on foreign labour, and the contractors were able to recruit Chinese workers from the United States where railroad work had declined.[4] Consequently, on September 1, 1911, steel reached Fitzhugh, the divisional point which the Grand Trunk Pacific Company had established at Mile 112 in Jasper Park and named after one of the directors of their company. Application was made for a station site there in October, 1911.[5] By the end of 1911, the railway contractors were completing a steel bridge across the Athabasca. However labour shortages intervened again, and the new railway was not joined all the way to the west coast until 1914.

The contracts for construction of this mountain section had been awarded to the firm of Foley, Welch and Stewart. The American Foley brothers had received contracts for the construction of just over three-quarters of the railway west of Lake Superior, and for the section going through Jasper Park were teamed up in a company with Patrick Welsh, another American, and John Stewart, a Canadian. This company hired the labourers and provided equipment and supplies for the whole operation. Work camps, designed to accommodate 120 men each, would be established for each sub-division of six miles. These men were responsible for building the roadbed, mostly by hand. After the bed had been built up with fill and culverts constructed for drainage, the surface of the bed was graded. As the prepared roadbed was finished, the track layer followed along the route. This machine was an enormous steel structure run by an engine at the back which carried the rails. The front of the machine had large beams through which the rails were fed from the flat car in the middle, and then lowered onto the ties. After the rails were fitted and tightened together, the track layer moved forward over the length which had just been laid to lower the next two rails. About two miles of track could be laid in a ten-hour day.[6]

The first group of men to start work on any section of the railroad were the engineers who did the location survey. The group which worked west of Wolfe Creek consisted of about fifteen men and about twenty saddle and pack horses. Every four or five days the surveyors moved camp further west, and one man who worked with them estimated that it took about two months to reach Pocahontas from Edson. The survey party stayed at Pocahontas longer than usual because they noticed the warm sulphur water in a nearby creek and decided to investigate its source. After finding the spring and a primitive dam and pool made by Indians, they made a rough survey of the area and a sketch map which they sent to headquarters in Winnipeg. Later they learned that the railway already had plans to build a resort at this site. After leaving Pocahontas, their next camp was at Henry House Flats, near Swift's ranch. The same man mentioned above recalled that one of the Swift's sons had just died when they arrived, and Mrs. Swift insisted on a burial service. Of course there was no priest or minister available, but Mrs. Swift had a Roman Catholic breviary while both a Presbyterian and a Church of England prayer book were found among the men. One of the men in the survey party who was "religiously inclined . . . quite a novelty for the engineering dept", read the burial service from all three rituals, and the child was buried just behind the Swift ranch.[7]

The line was surveyed through the Swift homestead, for which Swift had sold land for the right-of-way, and then the surveyors moved on to the newly established headquarters camp at Fitzhugh, where they stayed only one night before moving on to a camp on the Alberta-British Columbia border. As they were going through the Yellowhead Pass the Canadian Northern surveyors were working in the same area, and both crews tried to sabotage each other's progress by moving or pulling out the other party's stakes or reference points. As the survey was run through the pass, the engineers found quite a number of survey stakes and bench marks used by the Canadian Pacific Railway engineers when they made the original survey for that railway over thirty years before.[8] Alex Wylie, a man who still lives in Jasper, packed freight

along the whole length of the survey to Tête Jaune Cache for the engineers in 1908. The freight was hauled with about fifty head of horses and four or five packers. When the party arrived opposite Swift's ranch, someone would fire two shots and Swift would come out to ferry the supplies across the Athabasca in his dugout canoe while the packers swam the horses.[9]

After the surveyors came the grade builders. The survey line not only ran through Swift's property, but in fact, right through his cabin. When the grade builders arrived they offered to move the building to another location so they could get on with preparing the road bed. Swift had not stood up to the Dominion government earlier only to be moved by a railway, and refused to budge. Construction was held up for two days until the survey crew turned around and came back to re-survey the line in a different location. When the track was eventually completed, the train ran only about ten yards away from Swift's root house.[10]

As the grade and eventually the tracks moved across the country, construction towns grew up suddenly along the route and then died as quickly. Wherever the end of steel remained stationary for even a short period of time, a motley collection of tents was set up by the contractors as their temporary headquarters. In addition to the cookhouses and offices belonging to the company, rooming houses, restaurants and stores were set up. As the steel moved forward, so did the business of the towns, rarely leaving anything behind.[11] In addition to these "towns" at the end of steel, stopping places were opened by private entrepreneurs further along the line of construction. A stopping place was a camp for freighters where meals and bunkhouses were provided for the men and stable room for the teams. "Freighters" were the men who hauled supplies from the end of steel along the tote road to caches along the way — sometimes as far as eighty miles ahead. This was usually done in winter, when it was easier to haul freight on sleighs over the ice rather than on wagons over the swampy roads in the summer. Outside Jasper Park there was no restriction as to the location of these stopping places, but inside the park they were only

allowed every six to eight miles. The chief superintendent of the park, who still lived in Edmonton in 1910 at the time the road crews were approaching the park, was nevertheless very strict about enforcing the regulations and conditions governing these places.

During the construction of the railway, the Grand Trunk Pacific handled all the freight traffic to the end of steel, but after that their contractors, in this case Foley, Welch and Steward, were in charge. They usually had several "swings" hauling supplies — a swing consisted of ten or twelve teams under the direction of one foreman. Usually single teams were used on a sleigh or wagon, but four horses were not unusual. During the winter many of the farmers and homesteaders from northern Alberta would come down to work on the railway to make money for the following summer. Many of these men brought their own teams and equipment. They picked up their loads at the end of steel and were given directions as to which cache to deliver their goods. Mile 111 (very near to the present town of Jasper at Mile 112) was used as the headquarters camp during the winter of 1910-1911. At this time Pat Burns had men at Mile 111 looking after beef contracts for the men, and a stopping place for freighters was set up by two Edmonton men at Mile 109. At one point during the winter that the railroad was built into the park, there was room for eighty teams at this stopping place. In addition to the freighters and a few railway officials, the men blasting the rock cuts were also accommodated in the park over the winter.[12]

During the winter of 1910-1911, one of the establishments set up in Fitzhugh was the "Jasper House Hotel"; really a big tent comprising one large room with single beds in two rows down either side.[13] By the summer of 1911, there was a depot, a temporary roundhouse, railway yards, a store kept by the railway doctor, and a hospital.[14] This building was constructed on the south side of the Miette River, a little bit west of the Wynd siding. Although the railway was being constructed on the north side of the Miette, the tote road was on the south. A part-time doctor (possibly called Dr. Baker) was in charge there, who also used to visit all the construction camps within

reasonable distance on horseback. The hospital also had a male nurse on twenty-four hour duty. A separate tent was provided for isolation cases. Patients were brought to the hospital by wagon over the rocky tote road. As they were not even provided with a blanket in the wagon and were often too sick and weak to brace themselves, a man could arrive at the hospital bruised and bleeding all over. When released, the patients walked back to their construction camps through the snow, as it was winter. Extra clothes were not brought for the patients, and so they would have no change of clothes the whole time they were ill. Not surprisingly, a good number of men died, and they were buried right next to the hospital. When the Trans-Mountain Pipeline was built much later it ran very close to this site and at this time the Park authorities exhumed the bodies and reinterred them in the Jasper cemetery. Up until a few years ago the site of the old cemetery along the railway route could still be located however.[15]

Unsanitary living conditions and poor health facilities were not the only hardships to contend with in the construction camps, of course. In the summer of 1911, J. Burgeon Bickersteth, an Anglican lay minister sent from England, made several trips from Marlboro west to the end of steel, which at that time was at the western end of Moose Lake, beyond the park boundary. In his letters home to England he gave excellent descriptions of the tough and lonely life of the railway construction workers which were later published as a book, The Land of Open Doors. Although the details he recorded do not pertain specifically to the camps in Jasper Park, the lives of the railway workers would have been similar all along the line of construction.

The men who came to work on the railway were of enormously varied ethnic backgrounds, as were all the immigrants to the prairies at that time. Bickersteth records seeing Swedes, Italians, Ukrainians, Russians, Englishmen, Americans and Canadians all waiting in Fitzhugh for the work trains to take them to the end of steel. After riding on the train with these men he said that "they behave very much like animals . . .".[16] Later, after visiting the camps in which these

workers lived, he wrote home:

> I wish you could have seen these men. They came in covered with mud from head to foot, and proceeded to divest themselves of their wet boots and socks and overalls, which they hung from every conceivable corner. Some put on dry socks, but most stayed with barefeet. The floor was soon as muddy as it was outside, with men coming in and out, and, of course, everyone spat where they wished. When you see the conditions under which these men live, you could hardly be surprised if the outlook which many of them have on life is little better than a beast's. They work like horses, eat like pigs, and sleep like logs. Is it to be wondered at that after months of this they go wild when they reach the lights and glare of a city, and that the height of enjoyment is to be found in the whisky bottle? The foreigners stay longest with this kind of work. The English-speaking men go from one job to another, and seldom seem to stay any length of time in any one camp. The pay is not bad; in the fall, when there are other attractions such as harvesting, they can get three dollars (12 s.) a day, out of which they pay one dollar (4 s.) a day for board . . . . There is also a charge of one dollar a month for doctor and twenty-five cents a month for mail.[17]

Despite the fact that Bickersteth did not consider that this pay was bad, he said elsewhere that many of the men were

> . . . very strong in their condemnation of the contractors for the way in which they treat their employees . . . Certainly twelve dollars for a pair of boots, five to ten dollars for a pair of blankets, forty cents for a twenty-five cent packet of tobacco, and twenty-five cents for a ten cent cake of soap do seem excessively high prices. On the other hand, the contractors have

> to freight everything into the camps at great expense and are often treated dishonourably by the men.[18]

But, as Bickersteth stated many times in his letters, the greatest problem for the men along the railway was drink. Despite the high prices charged by the contractors for their supplies, the men were able to save enough money to buy quantities of liquor whenever it was available. By law, liquor was banned in the area along the railway line and construction camps. This situation did not prevent the men from getting liquor, of course, but simply ensured that the business went underground and became very expensive on the black market. According to Bickersteth, the authorities often knew about the bootlegging which occurred in the camps but shut their eyes to the situation since they felt they had to let the men drink in order to keep them in the camps. When the men left the camps their conduct became even wilder, and they would take their wages and head immediately for gambling and drinking joints in the towns, where they were often drugged and robbed of the money they were known to be carrying.[19] In addition to drinking and gambling, prostitutes were available in the end-of-steel towns, and Bickersteth recorded that some of them made $200 to $300 a week.[20]

Some of them earned their money in a more honest fashion than others, apparently. One of the surveyors has left us a colorful account of two camp followers who travelled along the line of construction camps west of Edmonton to Tête Jaune.

> During the summer months our camps were frequently visited by different religious groups and all asking for donations which caused our Chinese cook to remark: "Wasa Matter? Jesus Clist all time bloke!" Most all of the camps had a telephone and we were usually advised when any of these groups were on their way. On one occasion we were advised that two nuns were coming and were soliciting donations for some charity or other. They duly arrived and thankfully received our donations and proceeded on their

> way . . . Some three weeks or so following the nuns visit to our camp we received news by phone that two more nuns were on their way down the river by canoe. This seemed so unusual that we became more than a little suspicious and decided to question them and also ask for credentials if they stopped at our camp. A day or so later they arrived and without being asked they produced their credentials and on being questioned regarding the other two nuns they said that they had heard of them but had no knowledge of what group they represented. We then decided to report the matter to our headquarters camp at Fitzhugh . . . They had discovered that the first two "nuns" were two prostitutes who had once lived in Tête Jaune and had figured out this way of making some easy money. They had rented two nuns complete costumes from a masquerade costume supply store in Edmonton . . . Investigation showed that they must have got away with considerably more than two thousand dollars, which was good money in those days. I guess they believed in the charity that begins at home.[21]

Of course there were genuine religious workers who visited the men in the camps and held services for them, Bickersteth among them. He and the other missionaries were given free passes for the railway and every other assistance to reach even the most isolated camps. The railway obviously had an interest in providing access to the camps in the hopes that the ministers would have a moral effect on the workers, although it is debatable if they were able to do anything at all towards curbing the violence of the camps. The Royal North West Mounted Police were also supposed to be keeping the peace and maintaining law and order, and while the official reports indicate that they did so, independent observers recall much illegal activity. For example, the route along the railway was considered a dry area and yet illicit alcohol was one of the most extreme and persistant problems in the camps, as Bickersteth noted.

Although the R.C.M.P. kept an inspector and six or seven men patrolling the Grand Trunk Pacific camps, bootleggers always seemed to elude them. Two bootleggers in Fitzhugh seem particularly notable:

> Two other characters I remember, female this time, whose actual names I never did know, . . . had been dance hall girls at Tête Jaune but figured they could make more money selling moonshine liquor or legal liquor which they could purchase in Edson or Edmonton. There was no legal liquor from Edson west to Fort George where there was an hotel with a bar . . . They evidently did not fancy packing bottles of liquor around in suit cases so they purchased two rubber hot water bottles each complete with the red rubber tubing attachements which come with some of these bottles and they had a tiny tap fitted to the opposite end to the end which screws into the bottle. Two bottles were connected together with a moose hide lace thru the holes in the tabs at the bottom of these bottles . . . These bags were filled with whisky and hung around the girls necks, hanging in front and the little tap was pushed in the top of the fancy garters which most ladies wore in those days . . . They did most of their business in the camps around Fitzhugh and out on the line and they carried their "bar" with them until the bottles were empty. In the summer they wore a loose cotton dress over the bottles and a Hudson's Bay Blanket shirt during the winter. They also carried a small whisky glass made with very thick glass which I doubt very much if it would hold an ounce of liquid. This glass was used to dispense the liquor which was accomplished by lifting the skirt, releasing the tap from the garter, holding the glass underneath, turn on the tap and fill the glass, drop the skirt and everything was under cover so to speak.

> Whisky 50 cents, moonshine 2 bits. This business was carried on for quite a while until a sharp eyed policeman happened to notice that they appeared to be somewhat stouter when they arrived in town than when they left, so he got hold of a woman to act as police matron, had them searched, and that was the finish of their activity in Fitzhugh.[22]

Despite bootleggers and con artists, the railway camps in Alberta, including Jasper, were fairly peaceful and law abiding compared to those in British Columbia. In Alberta the camps were at least under the nominal protection of the R.C.M.P., but their jurisdiction stopped at the border where the British Columbia government was supposed to take over. However this area of B. C. was fairly remote from the centres of population where the police were concentrated, and therefore essentially lawless. As the camps moved west, the prostitution, bootlegging, gambling and violence increased.

When the crews had moved on to build new stretches of the railway, train service was implemented on the new tracks left in their wake. Steel reached Fitzhugh in August, 1911, and the first locomotive, Engine Number 60 of the Grand Trunk Pacific, arrived a short time later with Noble Findley at the throttle. The bell of the locomotive served for many years on the thirteenth green of the Jasper Park Lodge golf course. The steel was pushed on to Yellowhead by November of 1911, and by the end of the year regular work trains were running to the British Columbia border. By January 1912 passengers were travelling to Fitzhugh on the train, though the line was not officially opened. No freight was accepted on the railway, and thus the few merchants in the fledgling town were forced to pay exhorbitant freight charges for having their goods hauled in. Meanwhile Foley, Welch and Stewart would sell their goods to local people at cheaper prices and undercut the local merchants. When this was discovered and investigated the Board of Railway Commissioners ordered the contractors to cease selling their goods to "outside parties" and also stopped allowing passengers to use the line until it was officially

opened for service to Fitzhugh in June, 1912.[23]

Meanwhile, the development of the recently established divisional point of Fitzhugh went ahead. In 1912, a new twelve stall roundhouse and a station were built by the Collins Brothers. They also built the first house in Jasper as well, situated where the stone administration building (the present information building) was built a few years later.[24] Early commercial development was delayed until 1913, at which time the townsite was formally surveyed and leases for lots issued. The same year Fitzhugh resigned as Vice-President of the Grand Trunk Pacific in some disgrace, and the town's name was changed to Jasper.[25] The subsequent history of the townsite is discussed later in the report.

While the Grand Trunk Pacific construction crews were leaving Jasper and pushing through British Columbia towards the coast, the Canadian Northern Railway was just starting to construct its line west out of Edmonton. Work began on the St. Albert to Pembina section early in 1911, and in the summer of 1912 the contract for the construction of the western section, from the west bank of the Pembina River to the Yellowhead Pass, was awarded to the Crown Construction Company. By the end of 1913, steel was laid to Lucerne, a place five miles over the British Columbia border that the Canadian Northern had chosen as their divisional point in the Rockies. They had also established a station just west of the Grand Trunk Pacific's station at Jasper. This Canadian Northern station was known as "Sleepy Hollow," perhaps because they built bunkhouses there for their section men. However, they built their round house, workshops and employees' houses at Lucerne, and the new community quickly developed into a bigger centre than Jasper. Although their tracks were down to the summit by the end of 1913, construction problems delayed the completion of their enormous trestles over the Pembina and McLeod rivers for several years. Consequently their line was not officially opened until October 4, 1915.[26]

But Jasper was only to be served by two railway lines for just over a year. By 1916 the war situation had worsened, and railway tracks were desperately needed in France. A consolidation of the

parallel lines of the two lines began, and the dismantling of considerable mileage of both companies' tracks took place. The Grand Trunk Pacific's tracks were the sameweight as those needed in France, so they were sent overseas. The Canadian Northern's tracks from the abandoned sections of their line were laid on the parts of the Grand Trunk Pacific bed that were to continue in service. The Canadian Northern line was abandoned from Chip Lake to Obed, but then left in service into the park all the way to Snaring on the west side of the Athabasca. The Grand Trunk Pacific was dismantled west of Obed, although a local line was left in service between Pocahontas and Snaring. After the Grand Trunk Pacific's line crossed the Athabasca at Snaring, it was left in service to Geikie, and the Canadian Northern's line was abandoned. From Geikie west the Canadian Northern was used again.[27]

It was mentioned that after the lines were amalgamated, the Grand Trunk still ran a small service up the east side of the river to Pocahontas, because of the mine and town which had been established there.[28] But after the coal mining operation was closed down in the early twenties, the rail service closed and the line was left intact, with the ties and rails still in place. The parks administration had a small vehicle built called a speeder to take advantage of this situation. The vehicle had flanged wheels to fit the rails, and a small platform supporting a gasoline engine and wooden seats for five or six persons. The speeder would follow the regular line for six miles east of Jasper to Snaring Junction, but then it could be lifted over onto the abandoned track and travel on to Pocahontas with no interference. The speeder was also used to go to Brûlé, a mine on the west side of the Athabasca which was still within the park boundaries in the twenties, but this trip was a little more fraught with danger since regular train service was operating on this line.[29]

By 1915, even before the two tracks had been amalgamated, both companies were in grave financial difficulty. The government had extended interim aid to the Canadian Northern during the first year of the war, in the hopes that the company would be able to recover financially once its main line was completed. However, as the war progressed

and the international money situation became worse, it became obvious that more drastic government action was called for. In 1916 a Royal Commission was set up to investigate all the railways, and as a consequence of its findings, the Canadian Northern Railway Company was nationalized in 1917. Although it was clear that the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was in no better financial shape than the Canadian Northern, the government stopped short of nationalizing that company too, and instead advanced another loan.[30] This was only a temporary measure, though, and in 1919 the government finally took over the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company as well.[31] It was another four years, however, before the Canadian Northern, the Grand Trunk, the Grand Trunk Pacific, the Intercolonial, the National Transcontinental and several smaller railways were amalgamated to form the Canadian National Railways, which line has served Jasper Park ever since.

Of course, once the amalgamation of the two companies had taken place, the two divisional points twenty miles apart at Lucerne and Jasper had to be consolidated. Eventually it was decided that Jasper would be the divisional point, and in 1924 the railway's business was transferred from Lucerne to Jasper. There was a considerable amount of opposition to the move on the part of railway employees. There was not a spare house to be had in Jasper, and the town, by virtue of its position within the boundaries of a national park, had much more rigid building regulations than those enforced in British Columbia. The railway settled the matter by taking over two blocks of building sites at the north end of Jasper townsite, and building about twenty houses for its employees there. Since these houses were not completed immediately, and the people from Lucerne arrived before they were finished, some of the families had to live in box cars on the railway tracks for a few months.[32] In addition to new construction, a number of houses and buildings were hauled from Lucerne to Jasper—Fred Brewster had a contract for all the horse work involved in this operation.[33] Transferring Lucerne's population to Jasper added 250 to 300 people to the town, which approximately doubled the population of Jasper. Jasper got its first resident doctor, Dr. T. O'Hagan, from

Lucerne and through his efforts later received a hospital largely funded by the Canadian National Railways. In addition, since Lucerne was quickly becoming a ghost town, most of its businesses moved to Jasper after the railway employees left to go there.[34] With this kind of development underway, a controversy emerged as to the propriety of having a railway divisional point and its attendant buildings and commerce in a national park—a controversy which is still unsettled today.

The First Tourists

Wilderness Climbers and Explorers

The railroads not only caused the town of Jasper to develop as a divisional point on a main transcontinental line. When the railway reached Jasper, it also made the national park accessible to tourists from around the world. After 1913, Jasper quickly developed as more and more tourists arrived to enjoy the wilderness surroundings. But although the development of a real tourist industry in the park had to wait until the railway made it easily accessible, the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway many miles to the south had brought a few early tourists to the Jasper area before a national park was even established. These were a few hardy mountaineers and one adventurous female traveller who used the Canadian Pacific Railway stop at Laggan (now Lake Louise) as the jumping-off point for their trips north through the mountain passes towards the Athabasca country. In the two decades before the railway brought a sudden influx of tourists to Jasper and the park developed to accommodate them, these pioneers came north from Laggan to explore the passes, mountains, rivers and lakes and accordingly put much of Jasper Park on the map.

Seventy percent of the highest peaks in the Rockies lie at the heads of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca rivers. That in itself would be enough to interest mountain climbers from around the world, but the stories of the legendary peaks of Mounts Brown and Hooker that David Douglas had estimated at over 17,000 feet held a special attraction. Before the Canadian Pacific Railway was even completed, Professor Arthur Philemon Coleman of Toronto took the train as far west as Laggan to examine the area. Four years later he returned to the west and organized a party which tried to reach the Athabasca Pass by approaching

it from British Columbia. This attempt failed, and in 1892 he returned and tried to reach the pass from the east. This attempt was also a failure, since they did not find the Whirlpool River to follow up into the Athabasca Pass. But a year later, Coleman succeeded in achieving his goal—in 1893, he and his party finally reached the Athabasca Pass and saw Mount Brown and Mount Hooker. However their "victory" was in reality a disappointment to these explorers, for of course they discovered that the legendary peaks were not nearly as high as Douglas had estimated. Coleman later wrote of this discovery that, "We could not even raise a cheer. Mt. Brown and Mt. Hooker were frauds, and we are disgusted at having been humbugged by them."[1] Three years later another group attempted to find these peaks again, believing that Coleman's party had missed their destination. Walter D. Wilcox and R. L. Barrett travelled up the North Saskatchewan and through what later became Wilcox Pass in search of the two giants. They eventually reached Fortress Lake before they returned to Laggan, with the mystery of the location of the two enormously high mountains still unsolved.[2]

In 1898, the next major "tourist" party made its way into the territory that is now Jasper Park. This group included J. Norman Collie, and, barring previous Indian visitors, he and his colleagues are credited with being the first to discover the Columbia Icefield. Collie and Herman Woolley climbed Mount Athabasca, from which they could see the whole icefield spread out before them. Collie, naturally, was amazed at their discovery. Later he wrote of it, "A new world was spread out at our feet; to the westward stretched a vast ice-field probably never before seen by human eye, and surrounded by entirely unknown, unnamed, and unclimbed peaks."[3] Collie also spoke of two enormously high mountains which rose from the field ". . . like lonely seastacks in mid-ocean. . . ."[4] Believing these mountains to be Brown and Hooker, three members of the party set off to reach one of them but were forced to turn back. Eventually they realized these could not be Brown and Hooker (later they came to be called Mts. Alberta and Columbia) because they could not see a pass between them. They did not have enough food to continue to search for the Athabasca Pass, and so

eventually returned to Laggan.

Later Collie, after studying Douglas's account of his climb of Mount Brown, realized that the two mountains of which he wrote could not be anything like the height he estimated, and that Coleman had indeed been successful in reaching the Athabasca Pass and the two famous mountains in 1893. Collie's disappointment in Douglas's mountains was more than made up for by his fascination with Mount Columbia however, and he planned an ascent of this mountain for several years, and made several unsuccessful attempts to capture it. In 1902 his party set out to capture Mount Forbes in conjunction with Rev. James Outram, the climber who had just made the first ascent of Mount Assiniboine. Before meeting Collie's party, and without informing anyone of his plans, Outram made a quick dash and captured Collie's peak, Mount Columbia.[5] Collie was unfortunately deprived of being the first to stand at the summit of the mountain which he had discovered, but perhaps the deed for which he will continue to be known will be the discovery of the Columbia Icefield in any case.

In addition to these areas along the continental ridge north of Laggan, interest was beginning to be generated in certain quarters in a different area of the brand new Jasper Park. Mary Schäffer, a young Quaker woman from Philadelphia, had been visiting the Banff area regularly since the 1880s both before and during her marriage to an American botanist, Charles S. Schäffer. After his death in 1903 she continued to visit the Rockies, always intent on visiting more remote areas of the mountains as other tourists began to crowd the known spots. Finally she and her friend Mary Adams were ready to make their first long pack trip in 1907. Under the guideship of Billy Warren and Sid Unwin, they rode north through the Bow Pass and up to Wilcox Pass, and then along to Fortress Lake. Returning to Wilcox Pass, they met Professor Coleman and his brother (whose party also included the Reverend George B. Kinney), who were on an investigative trip to the vicinity of Mount Robson. Some time later, further down the Saskatchewan, they crossed paths with Jimmy Simpson, a guide from the Banff area and supposedly the first to tell the two women about what was later to be called

Maligne Lake, of which he had heard from the Stonies. After a side trip up the Alexandra River to the Thompson Pass, they turned north, crossed the Nigel Pass and camped at Brazeau Lake in an attempt to reach Maligne Lake.

The weather at Brazeau Lake was appalling and finally they turned back, through the Jonas Pass, Cataract Pass and ultimately out onto the Kootenay Plains where they camped with some Stoney Indians that Mary Schäffer had visited the previous year. From Samson Beaver, who had visited the lake he called Chaba Imne as a boy, they received directions as to how to reach Maligne Lake. As it was too late to venture any further that year, they returned to the railway.[6]

These two women had explored country into which only a very few men, mostly experienced mountaineers, had ventured before, but they were not satisfied with their exploit. The next June they again travelled to Laggan and headed north to Brazeau Lake. From there they ventured into new territory; once over Poboktan Pass they had to rely on Samson Beaver's map and directions. Eventually they reached Maligne Lake, and once there built a raft which they christened the H.M.S. Chaba to float down the water. After several days they reached the narrows and at the far end of the lake christened the surrounding mountains; Mounts Samson and Leah in honour of the man and his wife who had told them the way to the lake, Mounts Warren and Unwin after their two guides, and Mount Mary Vaux after a dear friend of Schäffer's who had often accompanied her on trips to the Rockies.

After several weeks at the lake they abandoned their raft and set out on horseback again to reach Swift's place on the Athabasca. They knew the Maligne River led right to their destination, but it was an impassable valley and they had to go instead to the Sunwapta and follow the Athabasca River down to Old Fort Point and then on to Lewis Swift's farm. After hearing their rifle shots Swift appeared and ferried them across to his cabin. After several days there they made a last side trip to see Mount Robson, of which they had heard from Coleman, before heading south again to the railway.[7]

During these years, this area of the Rockies was attracting the

attention of several experienced mountain explorers and climbers. Mount Robson was known to be a very high peak—perhaps the highest of the Rockies—but had not attracted serious climbers until A. O. Wheeler, the founder of the Alpine Club of Canada, persuaded the Coleman brothers to try to capture it as a fitting inauguration of the new Canadian club. Accordingly, they set out in August of 1907 with the Reverend George B. Kinney to try to make the ascent. (This was the trip on which they met the Schäffer party.) The weather defeated them however, and so they returned in August, 1908 with the same purpose. This time they hired Ewan Moberly at the Swift homestead for a guide, and exploring the approaches with his advice, decided to ascend from the east side. Three times they were driven back by storms, but did succeed in reaching an altitude of 10,500 feet. Then they left the area, planning to return the following August.

However four months before that Kinney heard that an American climbing party was about to make an attempt to reach the summit. Determined that the Alpine Club of Canada should take the peak, Kinney quickly got together an outfit and three months' provisions and left Edmonton alone, heading west along the Moberly trail, looking for someone to share his impractical adventure. At Jasper Lake he ran into Donald "Curly" Phillips, who had just arrived in the mountains. Bert Wilkins, Curly's brother-in-law, later recounted what Curly had told him of the encounter.

> In the late spring of 1909 he [Curly] decided he would get a few horses and go into the mountains, and locate country . . . for trapping on prospect that he would get some parties to guide on hunting trips. . . . I cannot remember the dates, but he got as far as Jasper Lake, and camped on a sand dune for the night . . . he stopped at a stream to water his horses, and another outfit joined him. It turned out to be a Dr. Kinney from Vancouver. . . . He was on his way to make a try to climb Mt. Robson . . . he understood that there was another party coming in to try and climb it too, so he wanted to beat them to it. He wanted Curly to go with him

> and make the climb. Curly had never attempted a climb and had never been in the mountains in his life before, but Kinney persuaded him that there was nothing to it, so they pooled what they had and started for Mt. Robson, going over Yellowhead Pass and down the Fraser where the trails were scarce and bad. In late July they reached its base, at what is now known as Kinney Lake, on the south east side of the mountain. Making camp, they proceeded to make their climb.[8]

After two or three attempts, and waiting a week because of storms, they finally attempted to reach the summit from the 10,500 foot level on August 13 during a snow storm. They slowly crept up the ridge and Kinney, in a later publication described the moment of reaching the summit thus:

> . . . through the little gap that I had made in the cornice, I was looking down a sheer wall of precipice that reached to the glacier at the foot of Berg Lake, thousands of feet below. I was on a needle peak that rose so abruptly that even cornices cannot build out very far on it. Baring my head I said: "In the name of Almighty God, by Whose strength I have climbed here, I capture this peak Mt. Robson for my own country, and for the Alpine Club of Canada."[9]

However Bert Wilkins said Curly told him later that they had not quite reached the top.

> . . . after four attempts, which was made from the south side, they reached what they figured the top, except an ice pinnacle which stood up about thirty-five feet. The weather was stormy and bad, . . . it was impossible to climb this pinnacle, and as it was late, and they must get down from there, they went back to about ten thousand feet.[10]

As doubt grew as to whether Kinney had actually reached the summit, Wheeler, determined that the Alpine Club of Canada should have the glory of this accomplishment, organized another party to ascend the

mountain in 1913. Conrad Kain, with Albert MacCarthy and William Foster, did succeed in reaching the summit of the mountain. Kain later wrote that Kinney and Phillips deserved more credit than his party for they had chosen the most dangerous way up the mountain, and in 1909 had many more obstacles to overcome in getting to the mountain, since the railway was not completed then.[11] J. Monroe Thorington, a friend of both Kain's and Phillips', in an introduction written for Phillips' diaries, described the situation:

> Conrad Kain and the writer were in Curly's company on several occasions, always failing to discuss the Robson adventure. Conrad, . . . had never inquired into the matter, possibly embarrassed by his own conquest of the great peak. Kain always gave Phillips the credit of success.[12]

In addition to wanting a Canadian to capture the nearby Mount Robson, Wheeler had a scientific interest in the Jasper area itself. In 1911 he organized a scientific expedition which spent three months in Jasper Park collecting samples for the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. Fred Brewster was a guide for the group, as was Shand-Harvey, who recalled fifty years later that one of the men on this trip collected the biggest ram's head ever taken in that area.[13] As well as these types of scientific samples, Byron Harmon accompanied the group and took his incomparable series of photographs.[14] The group also mapped much uncharted territory and began the inter-provincial boundary survey which was to take Wheeler many years to complete along the continental divide.

In the same year, 1911, Mary Schäffer also undertook a scientific expedition in the park. She took the new rail line as far as Hinton, and then rode into Maligne Lake over the Shovel Pass, so named because the Otto Brothers, who had been hired by the government to cut a trail and outfit her party, had left two large wooden shovels standing upright in the path. (These shovels are now in the possession of the Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society.) Schäffer's party packed in boards to make a boat which they constructed when they reached the lake, christening their craft H.M.S. Chaba the Second. Schäffer had been asked by

D. B. Dowling, the Dominion Land Surveyor, to measure the lake after she had discussed her discovery with him. He gave her measuring instruments and instructions as to how to use them, and she, her sister and little nephew spent several weeks in the solitude of Jasper Park exploring Maligne Lake again.[15]

Although these wealthy visitors described above received the credit for many discoveries in the park, in fact it was the guides and outfitters who worked in the area who made their explorations possible. None of these people would have been able to find Maligne Lake, the Columbia Icefield or climb any of the extraordinary peaks they captured without the knowledge and service provided by these men. Those climbers and explorers who came into the southern part of the park and to the Athabasca Pass relied heavily on the knowledge of the Banff outfitters and their guides. However around the turn of the century interest began to be generated in the Yellowhead area, and eventually the Snake Indian area and regions even further north. With this development, and then the construction of a railway to the park, outfitters began to establish businesses in the Jasper area offering similar services to those headquartered in Banff, Laggan or Field along the Canadian Pacific Railway.[16]

Stanley Washburn was one of the first to try to reach the Yellowhead area before the railway was constructed, and hired as his guide and outfitter a man named Fred Stephens. Stephens came to know the Jasper area intimately and guided Washburn into the region for several years, both by travelling north from Laggan and then, in later years, west of the end of the Grand Trunk Pacific steel which was approaching the park from Edmonton. Stephens was basically established in Lacombe, however, and never located a permanent business operation in the Jasper area. The first guides who were to stay and locate permanently in the area arrived simultaneously with the railroad construction. Alex Wylie and James Shand-Harvey, mentioned earlier in connection with the Métis settlement, were both hired as packers for the horse crews working on the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific grade in advance of the steel. Eventually Wylie settled in the town of Fitzhugh

and ran a small outfit there, concentrating mostly on day trips, as well as occasionally doing other horse work such as delivering water to the town's residents. Shand-Harvey also eventually acquired a few horses of his own and worked as an outfitter and guide in the early years, one of his most notable trips being that which was mentioned earlier on which he and Curly Phillips took Wheeler and the Smithsonian party to the Mount Robson area. Shand-Harvey never built up a large tourist business in Jasper, however, preferring to live outside the park at Entrance and live a more independent life as a trapper and hunter, occasionally guiding hunting parties up north to the Grande Cache area.

At the same time that Wylie and Shand-Harvey were establishing themselves in the area, three other businesses which were destined to operate for many years in Jasper were also becoming established. Donald "Curly" Phillips was mentioned earlier in connection with George Kinney's attempt on Mount Robson in 1909. Phillips had been in the general area of the Rockies for several years by that time and after his escapade with Kinney decided to settle in the Jasper region. By 1912 he had established his horses in corrals in the little town of Fitzhugh, where the government had surveyed a number of sites together at the back of the townsite for the horse businesses. In later years Phillips went on to expand his outfitting business, and then, when the trail business declined with the onset of the automobile era, he expanded into the boat-building business and eventually began to offer boat cruises on Medicine and Maligne Lakes for tourists.

The Otto brothers, like Curly Phillips, came to the Jasper area just before the railway arrived, in anticipation of the business which it would bring to the area. The Ottos, Jack, Closson and Bruce, had previously been established at Field, British Columbia, where they offered their services to wealthy clients arriving by the Canadian Pacific Railway. However in the spring of 1910 they sold their business there, and rode over the mountains from Laggan to the Athabasca River in the fall. They spent the winter in Edmonton, and arrangements were made at that time to cut a trail and outfit Mary Schäffer's surveying party to Maligne Lake. This trip formed their main business for 1911,

but shortly afterwards they, like Phillips, established corrals on Pyramid Drive in Fitzhugh and began to expand their outfitting business. By 1913 both they and Phillips were well established and collaborated to outfit the Alpine Club of Canada's camp at Mount Robson that year. They also were selected by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle to outfit him for a short trip when he visited the park in 1914, and Closson Otto can reasonably be supposed to be the packer referred to in the poem which Conan Doyle composed about the occasion, called "The Athabasca Trail." The Ottos, like Phillips, diversified their interests after the war, and in addition to participating briefly in the lumbering industry (discussed later), they acquired many teams and buggies and entered the livery business. By 1921 the government began to issue automobile permits in the park, and the Ottos quickly acquired a large motor bus. Two years later they expanded their fleet of motorized vehicles and began the construction of a motor garage in Jasper, and subsequently also operated a pool room and a dance hall.

The Brewsters, however, who began as outfitters and guides in Jasper at about the same time as Phillips and the Ottos, developed the largest business concerns in the area. Fred and Jack Brewster and their brother-in-law, Phil Moore, moved north from Banff in 1910 to work as freighters in railway construction, but Fred Brewster realized that with the completion of the railway, outfitting would become a profitable business in Jasper and therefore by 1912 the Brewster corrals were established alongside the Phillips and Otto corrals in Fitzhugh. The Brewsters outfitted wealthy clients in the park until the outbreak of World War I, at which time Phil Moore and Fred Brewster both went overseas, leaving Jack to attend to their business interests in Jasper. Like the other successful outfitters in the park, after the war was over the Brewster company diversified their interests. One of their earliest ventures was the tent hotel on the shores of Lac Beauvert (discussed in the following section). The hotel was sold to the new Canadian National Railway in 1923, but Fred Brewster retained the rights to the outfitting concession at the Lodge. This eventually became very profitable because even as the business of outfitting and

guiding wealthy hunters and mountaineers on long pack trips declined, the tourists arriving at the Lodge provided the impetus for the development of short day trips and "civilized" overnight trips, stopping at chalet camps which Brewster constructed, notably in the Medicine-Maligne area. After Phillips' death, Brewster obtained the boating concession at the lakes as well. Like Phillips and the Ottos, Brewster was able to adapt to the changing nature of the tourist trade after automobiles opened the park to the masses.

Although the outfitters discussed above arrived around the time the park was established and made their services indispensable to parties arriving to visit the park after that, there was another group of men already in the area on whom the outfitters had to rely heavily for their knowledge of the mountains as well as their ability to work with horses. These were the Métis settlers whose ancestors had inhabited the valley for nearly one hundred years by the time the park was established. Although the early explorers and climbers relied heavily on their services, they received even less credit than the major outfitters for the role they played on these excursions. This was largely because the Métis guides did not establish their own businesses and continue to reside in the park as the tourist trade grew. Instead they left their homesteads in the Athabasca Valley and moved to either Grande Cache or the Entrance-Edson area, only coming to the park as employees of the outfitters there. Adolphus Moberly was one of the guides of whom we have the earliest mention, in connection with help he gave the Mumm party in finding a route to Mount Robson when they tried to take the peak in 1908. Later, Adam Joachim and Dave Moberly became well-known, largely for the packing and guiding work they did for Curly Phillips' outfit.

Railway Tourist Development

At the time of Schäffer's second trip to Maligne Lake the railway had nearly reached Fitzhugh and her sister's diary records on July 29, 1911 that ". . . they are laying out a new townsite. . . ."[17] Of course the

railway and the resulting tourists meant development—not only of a townsite, but of the surrounding wilderness too. Coleman had been one of the early proponents of a plan for a trail from Laggan to Jasper, and in 1910 Howard Douglas, the Commissioner of Parks, wrote to Schäffer that the government was ready to act on his suggestion.

> You will no doubt be pleased to hear that I have put in an estimate of Five Thousand Dollars to make a good pack trail from either Lagan or Field to some point on the Athabasca reserve and would like the trail to take in Maligne Lake on the way. I have a reply from the minister that the appropriation will be made but not in time to go on with the work this year. . . . The Grand Trunk Pacific expect to have the steel laid as far as Swifts this season and next year early development of the Jasper Park will be taken up.[18]

One of the services even more necessary to the tourists that were expected to visit the park than trail development was the provision of overnight accommodations. Jasper had had its few boarding houses and crude hotels since the beginning of railway construction, of course. Some of these early businesses have since closed down and disappeared but a few, like the Athabasca Hotel, are still operating today. The Athabasca started as a rooming house in 1916 and by acquiring the building next door began to call itself a hotel in 1921. In 1928 the present Athabasca Hotel was built. Two other hotels, the Pyramid and the Astoria, were both established in the twenties as well.

But, as in Banff National Park, it was the railway which was most interested in hotel development in the early days. Once their line was completed to the park, the Grand Trunk Pacific owners were quick to see the potential of a luxury tourist development such as the Canadian Pacific Railway had constructed along its line. Originally the Grand Trunk Pacific Company applied for the exclusive privilege of building and operating all the hotels within the park, but naturally the government refused to allow one company to have a monopoly of that sort. The government did, however, inform the railway company that sites for hotels would be granted under lease, and so in 1911 the company went

ahead and planned a large and luxurious hotel to be built just east of Fiddle Creek, which was considered to be a desirable location because of the attraction of the hot springs upstream. In the Montreal Standard in 1912 an illustration appeared of the preliminary drawing of the new hotel; a beautiful arched structure built around three sides of a central garden with a fountain in the middle.[19] However, although the railway company appeared eager to begin construction immediately, the government delayed granting the lease for the land until they could ascertain whether it would interfere with the Canadian Northern Railway Company's plans in the park. Once they received assurance that it would not, the government finally drew up the lease for a fifty-acre site on the east bank of Fiddle Creek early in 1914.[20]

During 1913 the Grand Trunk Pacific Company also developed plans for a five-acre site for a large hotel at the south end of the Jasper townsite near Cabin Creek. (This was the site where their engineers' camp had already been located for two years by that time.) Although the government had been slow to grant the leases for these hotel sites, by 1914 the need for tourist accommodation in Jasper Park was easily appreciated and the government itself began to press the railway company to begin construction. However by that time the company was in financial trouble, and was only able to find funds to complete its main line. By 1915 the government was so desperate to have some form of tourist accommodation in the park that the railway company was approached about the possibility of providing cheap, temporary lodging if constructing high class accommodation was beyond their means. The government expressed itself willing to be ". . . not too stringent in regard to the appearance of the buildings and . . . [to] be prepared to deal generously in the matter of temporary sites" for this venture.[21]

The railroad did not build a camp itself, but instead approached an Edmonton businessman about the matter. Robert Kenneth, of the Edmonton Tent and Mattress Company, thought perhaps there was a good possibility of encouraging tourists to visit the park after travelling to the World Fair in San Francisco in 1915, and H. F. Tilley of the Grand Trunk Pacific was sent to Jasper to investigate locations for

Kenneth to set up a camp. Jack and Fred Brewster showed him the magnificent scenery of Lac Beauvert with Edith Cavell in the distance and there "Tent City" was developed. Eight large tents, all with wooden floors and walls, were constructed and the camp opened on June 15, 1915. The camp had a good first season, and tourists came from both Canada and abroad. However, because of the increasingly serious war situation, the camp closed down until 1919 when it was bought by Fred and Jack Brewster. They built a large log cabin which was to be used as a main kitchen and dining room for the guests staying in the tents, and re-opened the hotel for business. Two years later, when the Canadian National Railway was formed, its hotel department took the camp over from the Brewsters. They immediately built eight temporary log bungalows to accommodate guests, and "Jasper Park Lodge" opened in June of 1922.

The Canadian National Railway Company had plans for a much more elaborate development on the shores of Lac Beauvert, however. Godfrey Milnes, a young Englishman, was taken on as a draughtsman for the project, and it was he who made the first architect's drawing of the new lodge. A large central building incorporating lounges, a dining room, a ballroom and accommodation was built, as well as surrounding bungalows which eventually provided accommodation for 650 persons. The jackpine for the first bungalows came from the site and the land which is now the golf course. Later logs were brought from the Colin Range and hauled in by the Brewster brothers on sleighs during the winter. There was a great deal of fancy woodwork inside the main building, all carved by a local man, Ralph James. The stone used in the building site came from the site as well. In addition to the facilities described above a boathouse was built, and a golf course of international reputation.[22]

Stanley Thompson, the golf architect who laid out the famous course at St. Andrews in Scotland, was brought in to design the Jasper course. The site was covered with boulders and timber but was cleared in one summer by the work of 50 teams and 200 men. After the ground had been cleared the soil was very thin and too poor for growing the

thick carpet of grass needed for a golf course. The Canadian National Railway, sparing no expense, bought a quarter section of good farm land near Stony Plain just west of Edmonton and stripped all the soil off the farm and hauled it to Jasper to dump on the golf course.[23] The course was completed in 1925, and the first annual "Totem Pole Tournament" held in 1926.

When the hotel was completed it was a fabulous resort, but in 1952 disaster struck when the large central lodge building was completely destroyed by fire. That year the hotel continued to operate in temporary facilities and the next year a modern new building costing $2,000,000 was opened. Following this modernization a programme was undertaken in the sixties to replace and update all the cabin accommodation at the lodge. Since its original construction, the luxurious hotel has attracted famous visitors from all over the world. Perhaps the most notable guests Jasper has ever entertained were King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, who visited the town in 1939 and stayed at the Lodge. The story is still told that Queen Elizabeth was very impressed with the beautiful display of flowers on the Lodge grounds, and asked the Park Superintendent how they could be growing at that altitude in May. It turned out that the gardener at the Lodge, Mr. Glass, had grown them in pots in his greenhouse and stayed up through the night before the Queen arrived to set them out in the beds at the last moment for her. The Queen was apparently very pleased by this gesture and invited Mr. Glass into her cabin for a twenty-minute chat with her and the King to thank him for his thoughtfulness.[24] Famous visitors were not only attracted to Jasper by the magnificent accommodation provided by the Lodge. The golf course alone was a considerable attraction. Bing Crosby, who had stayed in Jasper while filming the movie "The Emperor's Waltz," returned year after year to play in the annual Totem Pole Tournament.

Early Trail Development

Golf, of course, was not the major attraction, either at the Lodge or

in the park generally. Most people came to Jasper to see the splendour of the Rocky Mountains, and in the twenties and thirties trail rides were a popular way to do this. The local outfitters, who had previously concentrated on taking parties of either climbers or hunters on long trips through extremely rough and often uncharted territory, began to arrange for tourist trips of a shorter duration and a "softer" nature. Gone were the days of only being able to see the park by struggling through virgin wilderness to reach an isolated peak or valley. The "wilderness" was becoming accessible and popular. More and more tourists wanted to go out on the trails but in safety and relative comfort, and of course this called for the development of cleared trails and some rudimentary accommodation for them. As the Miette hot springs were considered one of the major attractions in the park, a pack horse trail was developed in that area in the very early years. Shand-Harvey first showed Howard Douglas the trail to the springs in 1909,[25] and by 1913 the government built a crude bath house and sleeping shelter at the springs. Ralph James was the foreman of the crew which improved the trail to Punchbowl Falls and the springs, built the first bridge over the falls, and constructed the two buildings. He and Pete Girvan, who lived in the Pocahontas area, outfitted visitors for the trip into the sulphur springs area. It is said that once a man came to Ralph James so terribly crippled up with rheumatism that he could not sit on a horse to get into the springs. James tied him to a horse like a sack of flour and packed him in and always swore afterwards that the water cured the victim so completely that after three weeks he walked out—carrying his own blankets.[26]

Another early trail development, and one which was to prove the most popular over the years, was in the Medicine-Maligne Lakes area. As mentioned earlier, the government had facilitated Schäffer's 1911 survey trip to Maligne Lake by hiring the Otto Brothers to locate and clear a rudimentary trail from the Athabasca River into the lake. Their trail went along Wabasso Lake, and through the pass which is still named after their shovels. From there the route to Maligne Lake varied over the years. By 1914, the government had begun the construction of

a trail around Medicine Lake and into Jacques Lake, but it is not clear whether the packers would drop down from the Shovel Pass to Medicine Lake, or whether a trail from Maligne Canyon into Medicine Lake had been constructed by this time. During the war, a trail was cut from Medicine to Maligne Lake, and Fred Brewster began outfitting tourists for the trip to Maligne Lake and back.[27]

During the twenties there were two ways for tourists to approach Maligne Lake. Two very poor roads had been built during the First World War; one linked Medicine and Maligne Lakes, and the other went in to Medicine Lake past Maligne Canyon. Tourists to Jasper in those early years can remember driving to Medicine Lake, travelling the length of the lake by boat, and then being driven to Maligne Lake.[28] This business was run by Fred Brewster, who was still outfitting tourists to go in on horseback by the Wabasso Lake and Shovel Pass route as well. By 1930 Brewster was looking for a more direct and scenic approach to the Shovel Pass from the area of the town and Jasper Park Lodge, and by 1933 he had found it. It took him four years to develop the famous "Skyline Trail" which connects Signal Mountain and Mount Tekarra with the Shovel Pass. The first trail riders went over the new trail in 1937, and it has justly been one of Jasper's most famous and popular trails ever since.[29]

Another very popular trail in Jasper for many years has been the one into the Tonquin Valley. This route also had its origins during World War I, when the trail was first developed up Portal Creek and over Macarrib Pass, replacing the former route up Whistlers Creek.[30] In addition to these short excursions near Jasper town, local outfitters took tourists for extended trips further afield. During the twenties Jack Brewster would take a six week round-trip from Jasper to Lake Louise, leaving Jasper Park Lodge in July and returning in August. Then in September he outfitted hunting parties going north out of the park boundaries. The Hargreaves brothers, other well-known Jasper outfitters, ran a chalet for tourists during the summer on the borders of Berg Lake near Mount Robson.[31] Their visitors did not have to pack in from Jasper, however, but only over a shorter distance up a steep trail

from the Robson railway station.

During the 1920s, the government began the development of longer trails to the isolated regions of the park which were mainly for warden patrol work. A trail was constructed in a south-east direction from Athabasca Falls to the eastern boundary through the Southesk Valley, and another in a north-west direction up the Snake Indian Valley to reach the Smoky River. This latter trail started at Devona, followed the Snake Indian River and then eventually crossed the Smoky and followed it south to the north side of Mount Robson, near the park border. On these trails the trees and bushes had to be cut out to a width of ten feet, and the largest roots and rocks dug out so as not to obstruct a horse. Small creeks which a horse could cross easily were left alone, but anything larger had to be bridged. The bridges were made with an axe out of timber in the vicinity, simply by laying down two long poles cross-timbered with shorter ones. Tourist bridges had side rails added to them. Every twenty miles or so, in a good natural grazing area, a warden's cabin would be built. The last addition to the trails was telephone lines, so that the wardens, or anyone else on the trails, could get in touch with the head office.

The wardens' cabins were not all occupied all of the time, but the doors were always left open for trail emergencies. Some of the wardens would stay in these isolated areas all winter, and patrol between the cabins on snowshoes or skis. At that time of year their duties were to protect the fur-bearing animals from people who might be tempted to trap in the park. In the fall they had similar duties, making sure the big game hunters in the areas immediately adjacent to the park did not hunt in areas inside the park boundaries. In the summer the focus of their activities was the trees, not the animals, and their main job was to guard against fires started by careless tourists.[32]

The wardens, unlike the other services that were beginning to develop in Jasper, were not working to make the park more accessible to tourists, but rather to protect the park from their onsloughts. The Canadian Pacific Railway had allowed the first few "tourists" to explore north from Laggan, and large areas of the wilderness that were

previously unknown were mapped and charted in the decades around the turn of the century. Then, as another railway gave thousands of visitors direct access to the park and facilities developed to allow them to penetrate it quickly and easily, it gradually began to be perceived in government circles that people could destroy the very wilderness they had come to enjoy. The need for preservation and a policy to encourage it was growing increasingly obvious as tourism grew in Jasper during the 1920s.

Industry in Jasper National Park

The development of tourist facilities in the tens and twenties showed clearly that the main economic importance of Jasper Park was as a tourist centre. As mentioned earlier, "use" and "benefit" had long characterized Canadian government attitudes towards national parks. This policy has been described by an historian as follows: "Far from 'preservation', the Canadian government's emphasis was on development, exploitation, and usefulness. . . ."[1] However tourism was not the only industry to exploit in the parks, and development such as we would now consider absurd in a national park was not only permitted, but encouraged, deemed to be in the public interest. Thus coal mining, lime quarrying and lumbering all were permitted in Jasper National Park during the first two decades of its existence. It was not until 1930 that this type of exploitation of the natural resources of the parks was stopped. A few dedicated civil servants had for many years been aware of the value of the preservation of a small part of the Canadian wilderness in its natural state. But public pressure and therefore political considerations had made it impossible for these idealists to put their ideas into practice. It was only as it became obvious that the economic value to the nation of a recreational area was greater than that of a coal mine or lime quarry that the National Parks Act could finally make it illegal to destroy or remove anything in a national park. In the following chapter, the history of the various coal mining, lime quarrying and lumbering operations in Jasper is described, and then followed by a discussion of government policy with respect to these activities.

Coal Mining

Jasper is an area rich in natural resources. The coal deposits in the area of Roche Miette were known to the very early voyageurs and there are stories of Miette himself hauling coal from that location to Jasper House.[2] But commercial exploitation was really out of the question until a railway connection could be made to the coalfields. It was not until 1908 that the first claims were actually staked out in the park. These claims were in the names of Frank Villeneuve and Alfred Lamoureau, two prospectors who were scouting westwards in advance of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Line. Both claims were four miles long and one mile wide; that of Alfred Lamoureau extended up the valley of Moosehorn Creek from the Athabasca, and that of Frank Villeneuve started at the mouth of Moosehorn Creek, crossed the Athabasca, and continued up Mountain Creek. Previous to staking their claims, they had discovered coal seams thick enough to mine in both areas—at the eastern base of Roche Miette, and on the opposite bank of the Athabasca in the Moosehorn Creek valley.

Almost immediately Canadian and American financiers became interested in these claims, and the Jasper Park Collieries was formed, a subsidiary of a company with headquarters in Duluth, Minnesota. As soon as the territory was surveyed the company began intensive prospecting, particularly on the south side of the Athabasca, and consolidated five mining leases covering an area of 12.45 square miles.[3] Once the claim was established, the company worked at a feverish pitch to be able to start the operation as soon as the railway was through. D. B. Dowling, the Dominion Land Surveyor who was sent to the area in 1910, reported that:

> Great activity in exploration and prospecting work on the coal areas of western Alberta, in the vicinity of the Grand Trunk Pacific railway, was noticeable during 1910. Although the end of the completed portion of the railway was distant from the mountains about 80 miles, a force of about 20 men was employed on the construction of temporary mining works near Roche Miette, and a force of perhaps 30 men on properties

between that point and the Brazeau.[4]
During this construction phase, a Mr. Morrison, a mining engineer, was the manager at Jasper Park Collieries, and his superintendent was a Mr. Johnson. Mary Schäffer's sister recorded that Mr. Johnson had been there just over a year when they passed by on their way to Maligne in 1911, and that he insisted on photographing the first women he had seen in that lonely place. He then developed his pictures right away to make sure that they turned out properly before they left![5]

Grand Trunk Pacific steel reached the park in August of 1911, and only a month later the first car load of coal was ready to be shipped away from the new mine. A spur line connected the railway with the company's temporary tipple. At this time there were only a few log houses and temporary buildings at the mine site, and the mining operation was mainly carried out by sinking pits on the outcrop of the main seam, although a temporary tunnel had been started. The operation was eventually carried on through a tunnel in a steep ten-foot thick seam, which ran for a distance of over 2,000 feet to where a vertical depth of coal of over 200 feet was reached. The entry to this seam was on a terrace about 270 feet above the railway tracks. Once a permanent entry to the seam had been constructed, the temporary tunnel was used as an airway. The coal cars were loaded in the tunnel at chutes, and then drawn to the top of the tunnel by horse. As the entrance was so high above the tracks, the cars were lowered by cable and hoisting engine to the temporary tipple.[6] By 1913 a new tipple had been built at the siding, and a substantial little town, "Pocahontas," had developed there.[7]

The next year, 1914, the Canadian Northern Railway reached the park. This second railway, running on the opposite side of the Athabasca River, allowed the exploitation of coal seams in that area, and the Bedson Coal Mine was opened there by the Jasper Park Collieries Company. (The Bedson railway station is the present Miette siding.) The mining operation was small, the coal easily accessible, and a temporary plant was all that was ever built at Bedson.[8] Plans

of both the Pocahontas and Bedson mines have been obtained from the Energy Resources Conservation Board and filed with the Western Regional Office of Parks Canada. Since the Park boundaries extended further east at that time, two mines at Brûlé were also inside the park, and plans of these have also been submitted to the Western Regional Office.

Although the major mining operation was on the south-east bank of the river at Pocahontas, when the two railway lines were amalgamated in 1916 it was the Grand Trunk Pacific's tracks east of Pocahontas that were removed. This left a rail line between Pocahontas and the town of Jasper (this service was known locally as the "Bed Bug Flier," according to one Jasper old-timer),[9] and thus the only direction the coal could be shipped from the mine was westward. Then it was re-distributed in Jasper, and if going to the east, shipped over the Canadian Northern line back past Pocahontas on the opposite side of the river. The company which ran the mine claimed that this inefficient transportation system made it impossible to continue to operate the mine profitably.[10] However, it appears that the main reason the mine was unprofitable was that it produced coal of an inferior quality. The coal was high in ash, which was very costly to separate out, and a large percentage of the mine's output was in a pulverized condition, making it difficult to sell. Lastly, the mining operation itself was hampered by thrust faults in the seams. For all these reasons the company felt the need to close the mine in August of 1921, after extracting a total of 840,200 tons of coal.[11]

Closing down the mine meant that the little town of Pocahontas which had grown up closed down as well. The post office and Grand Trunk Pacific railway station had been named Pocahontas in 1911, called after the town of Pocahontas in Virginia. The original Pocahontas was the centre of an excellent low-volatile bituminous coalfield, and the directors of Jasper Park Collieries hoped the mine in Jasper would live up to the reputation of its namesake. The town started as a motley collection of log cabins and temporary office buildings in 1910, but grew to have a population of over 2,000 people

before the mine was shut down. The town itself consisted of a lower part in the area behind the present-day service station at Pocahontas on Highway 16 east, and an upper section on the bench east of Punchbowl Falls. The two areas were connected by at least one covered staircase. At the site today two sets of steps can be found in the bank, but it is unclear whether both were protected from the elements by a roof.

The lower town consisted mostly of structures pertaining to the mining operation itself, and official buildings. The railway spur came into the mine here, although the Pocahontas station itself was on the north side of the present highway and the town on the south. (Highway 16 is built on the railway bed of the old Grand Trunk Pacific line at this point.) The foundations of the tipple may still be seen in this area, as well as fragments of the foundations of a generator and four boiler houses. A large slag heap is behind the town, and the other main relic which remains is an old concrete vault. There is some question as to whether this was the vault of a hotel, or the vault of the administration building. It is known there was a hotel in the lower town, as well as a rooming house. The company also kept a store there which had a root cellar behind it which was later used as an explosive shed. The mine officials' houses were also built in the lower town. The mine superintendent's house, which is the large white frame house still standing behind the present service station on Highway 16 at Pocahontas was evidently located further south at the time the mine was operating. In the last year of the town's existence, there was also a hospital in the lower town, hauled down the hill from the upper town. Lastly there was a post office and a small R.C.M.P. office which was manned from 1914 to 1917 and then again from 1919 to 1921. The police station was evidently on about the same spot as the present Bungalow camp, along with a pool room and a restaurant.

While the lower town contained most of the business and official life of the place, the upper town was its residential area. The miners' houses were built up here, and although they have long since

disappeared, bits of the water pipes which ran along the streets can still be seen which give some idea as to their location. The remains of a water tower, which was filled by a nearby spring, are still to be seen in the brush covering the site. Nearby are several old shacks in various states of decay, and the site is littered with bits of broken glass, pottery and metal cookware. The garbage on the site leads one to believe that there may have been a small dump outside each house. According to one old-timer who was a miner at Pocahontas as a very young man, there were about fifty two-room houses and twenty three-room houses arranged in two streets. This same man says that in the summer of 1920 the company moved the houses from the upper town down the hill and placed most of them in the area where the present motel is, which would have been in the vicinity of the police station and the tiny business area which had developed. At that time the pool hall was torn down, and the pool tables moved to the basement of a large hotel which was built to accommodate the miners.[12] About half a mile beyond the upper town along the brow of the hill is a small cemetery, which looks out over the Athabasca Valley. The grave markers are mostly wooden and have weathered badly, so that they provide few details about the people buried there. They are now surrounded by white picket fences placed there by the Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society. A plan of the town in 1920, as well as one of the cemetery, obtained from the Department of Indian Affairs, is in the possession of the Jasper Yellowhead Historical Society in Jasper.

It is very difficult half a century later to try to piece together any details about the people who lived in Pocahontas. Some of the names have survived—in 1911, for example, a George Bowyer was timekeeper at the Collieries and David J. Gwilliam was fire boss. Frank Villeneuve, the same man who had made the first claim in the area, ran a pool room and restaurant. A man called Tom Morris was the mine blacksmith at one time. Mr. Burroughs was the first postmaster, and was later succeeded by George Bowyer. Robert Stone, who lived in a shack near the railway tracks, carried the mail from the train station to the post office in the town.[13] Later, after the town was closed

down, a Pocahontas post office continued to operate for some years and was known as "Canada's Smallest Post Office"—this, presumably, was Stone's little shack.

Ralph James, who has been mentioned earlier as an outfitter in the Miette area as well as in connection with the fancy wood work at Jasper Park Lodge, had his ranch near Pocahontas, about one mile east of the town near the beaver slough. Evidently he delivered milk and vegetables to the residents of the town. Both Ralph James and Pete Girvan, who started his career in Pocahontas as a butcher in the company's store, had outfits operating from Pocahontas. Girvan packed hunting trips up the Snaring River and Moosehorn Creek to areas outside the park, as well as taking people to the hot springs with James.[14] There were reports that the Pocahontas guides' prices were ". . . outrageous compared with prices charged by Jasper guides. . . . Several people remark[ed] on heavy charges for this short trip."[15]

Local people as well as tourists used to avail themselves of the pack horses to get to the springs. As early as 1913 Ralph James was in charge of a crew which improved the trail and built two temporary buildings at the site, one for a boathouse and one for a sleeping shelter. In these early days there appear to have been three bathing pools. Two were open baths made of stone walls filled in with sand which were supposedly watertight "on account of the action of the sulphur water forming a greenish substance between the stones."[16] The third bathing pool was evidently constructed out of the same materials, but covered over with a small wooden shack. The sulphur water ran continuously through these pools, and a woman from Pocahontas who could remember bathing there wrote later that only about a dozen people could crowd in at one time, but that it certainly was a soothing experience after a thirteen-mile trek on horseback.[17]

This same woman recalled that the first log pool was built at the hot springs by the miners from Pocahontas. This was in 1919, when the One Big Union strike hit Jasper Park Collieries. According to this story,

> . . . many of the workers took tents and provisions and

> camped out at the hot springs. . . . The miners, who were quite efficient at "timbering" . . . chopped down trees, trimmed and notched them—skidded them down the hill and fitted them into an oblong about 20 X 24 leaving the small pool in the centre. We all helped gather moss to chink around the logs and for some days the water leaked out fairly fast. But with perseverence, mud, sacking and what have you, the water remained. . . . It was of course quite a few days before the pool filled enough to swim. . . . To keep the water changed a hole was made at the corner and a door plug. When this was done, the plug was pulled in the evening and when it was emptied, the plug was replaced, and by the morning ready for another swim.[18]

It is hard to say whether Jasper Park Collieries really did close down for six weeks during the One Big Union strike—there appears to be no documentation for this. The papers of the Coal Operators' Association of Western Canada make mention of several other strikes and labour disputes there, however. In 1918 there was a dispute over wages paid to a box car loader at the Pocahontas mine, although it is unclear how this problem was resolved. At the end of the same year the firemen at the mine went on strike for higher wages, and the mine actually ceased operations for three days. The outcome of this strike is better documented—by early January the strikers had been replaced by scabs and the mine's operations resumed. In 1919 there was also a Pithead strike, seemingly more serious, as it closed the mine again for a week.[19]

This kind of scanty and brief information is really all there is available on the miners and their lives. There were about 250 of them working at the mine in 1913.[20] A man who was a missionary at Pocahontas in 1915 and 1916, Albert Jones of the Edmonton Mission, wrote later that the miners for the most part were married men with very young families, although there were some single men who boarded at the large hostel mentioned above. There was no church for the miners before he arrived in 1915, and he reported that the visiting

clergymen were heartily welcomed. He held his services in the elementary school at first, and then later he and the head of the Edmonton Mission built what he described as a "crude shack." This missionary spent only four or five days a month at Pocahontas visiting, baptizing and conducting his services.[21]

While perhaps deficient in clergymen, the town did have its own doctor, Dr. Frank Grey. In 1918, when the man who had been the doctor in the town of Jasper left to live in Calgary, Dr. Grey had to deal with patients in Jasper as well, travelling from Pocahontas and back on a speeder sent by the Park Superintendent. 1918 was the year of the terrible influenza epidemic in western Canada, but a long-time Jasper resident said that Dr. Grey never failed to make the trip, riding through the cold on an open speeder all winter long. The same woman, Mrs. A. B. Arends, also recalled that as she had assisted the Jasper doctor before he left town, Dr. Grey would later call her to Pocahontas to help him there with a particularly sick patient. According to her recollection, she was not the only person to ride the Bed Bug Flier to see the doctor:

> Dr. Frank was still in practice there and as we had no doctor in Jasper, it was necessary to journey to Pocahontas to see Dr. Grey. At that time we had to get a permit from a medical man to buy a bottle of liquor. Needless to say, every pay day the Bed Bug Flier had a carload of passengers, all to see Dr. Grey and get their permit.[22]

Pocahontas also had a school, which was established very soon after the miners began to move into the houses the company had built for them. By the beginning of 1912 there were enough children of school age resident in Pocahontas to make the need for a school felt, and the management of Jasper Park Collieries was the first to take steps in this direction by appointing one of their employees to investigate the formation of a School District. Three trustees were elected in August, 1912, and assessments were made of all the property in Pocahontas. The Company, of course, paid most of the school's revenue, being assessed on all their equipment and buildings, while the miners

were only assessed against their houses. The Company deducted the school taxes from the employees' wages and turned the money over to the trustees. Jasper Park Collieries erected the school house in the middle of the upper townsite. The building was 42' x 28' and complied ". . . in all particulars with the Provisions of the Alberta Public School Act . . . said school being equipped with a Waterman Waterbury Heater, with 52 Latest Model Preston Desks, and the necessary amount of Maps, Globes, Blackboards and other necessary appurtenances. . . ."[23] The trustees paid the Company $200 per year for rent, and agreed to pay for the furnishings as soon as enough money was raised. A teacher was hired, and the Pocahontas school formally opened on November 1, 1912. In 1913 the enrollment hovered around forty pupils, and attendance was excellent. Presumably this school continued to operate until the miners left the town. The building was left standing until 1927, when the Park Superintendent gave the Company permission to raze and remove the structure.[24]

In addition to the above services, some provision was made for the enforcement of the law. Ralph James was appointed a Justice of the Peace in the very early years.' One of his early cases concerned a man called William Rattigan, to whom the Park Superintendent had accorded permission to build a restaurant near the Pocahontas train station. This man had been a cook for the railway, and Colonel Rogers, the Park Superintendent, thought it would be a fine thing if he, as well as tourists passing the area, were provided with a place to eat at Pocahontas, since in 1913 ". . . there was no place . . . to get . . . meals at that place except as a favor in a crowded boarding house of the Collieries."[25] However, only a month later it transpired that this man was selling liquor without a license, and the Superintendent ordered a warden to try and secure evidence in the matter. This was eventually done, and Ralph James fined the man $200 and costs. He chose not to pay the fine, and managed to escape during the night. As far as is recorded, he was never apprehended, and Rogers later ordered his goods to be sold by public auction to assist in paying the fine.[26]

Presumably law enforcement improved the following year, when a constable of the Royal North West Mounted Police was sent to Pocahontas. At the same time a constable was stationed in Jasper, but in 1915 Jasper was left without police, while two constables, Bryant and Thornwall, were stationed in Pocahontas. The Pocahontas force was reduced to one again in 1916, this time a Constable Sandwell. This member's service only lasted a short time before it was terminated abruptly—apparently he had a reputation for drinking and gambling. The detachment at Pocahontas was then closed until 1919, when First Sgt. A. A. MacDonald and then Sgt. A. J. Calow were sent to that station. The Pocahontas detachment was finally closed for good in 1921, and Sgt. Calow was transferred back to Jasper.[27]

After the mine closed down in 1921, it was easier to trace what happened to the buildings than the people. Presumably the miners and their families moved to other coal mines—perhaps at Brûlé or down the Coal Branch, or maybe further afield. Since their houses were owned by Jasper Park Collieries Ltd., they were left standing after the people cleared out. In about 1922 the houses from the town were hauled away to Edson, Hinton and Jasper, but the mine buildings were simply abandoned and left standing, much to the displeasure of the Park Superintendent who wanted to get the townsite cleaned up and back to its natural condition as soon as possible.[28] The abandoned buildings at the Bedson mine were used for some time after by the Park for a warden station,[29] and in October, 1932, the Hinton Collieries were given permission to salvage the Jasper Park Collieries railway tracks at the Bedson mine.[30]

In 1932 the Park Superintendent complained to the Commissioner about the unsightly "shacks" at the old mine site at Pocahontas.[31] Commissioner Harkin replied that the Company had a permit for the protection of these buildings, which covered ten acres of land on which their buildings were located and which was renewed annually. In 1924, the Company appeared interested in obtaining a long-term lease for the area so that they could develop a tourist resort out of their buildings. They described the area in the following terms;

> We believe it is most unlikely that any mining will be attempted at Pocahontas for some generations because there are available in the Province large resources of coal of much better quality, and the only apparent use to which the buildings can be put is for resort purposes. . . . Several hundred people annually go [to Miette Hot Springs] . . . many of whom require overnight accommodations at Pocahontas.[32]

About the same time the "Good Roads" magazine of Edmonton, a journal "devoted to the interests of motorists and the building of highways in the province," wanted to take over the site and develop it. By 1926, the Park's resident engineer recommended that the whole townsite should be sold and developed as a resort. At least two other people appeared interested in purchasing the site, but were waiting to receive some assurance a road would be built to replace the pony trail to Miette. Eventually the Department decided to allow the development of a bungalow camp on the site in 1931, and the concession seems to have gone to Ross Wardell.[33]

Finally, in August 1932, the Jasper Park Collieries Company abandoned their lease protecting the buildings. Thus, when R. W. Langford, the Supervising Warden, suggested that the old mine tipple should be dismantled and burned as it was getting dangerous as well as being an eyesore, the Park Superintendent gave permission to blow it up.[34] By 1934 the Acting Superintendent suggested that a good winter relief project would be the demolition of the rest of the buildings on the site. Wardell had not developed his bungalow camp, although the Company had sold him their buildings after giving up their lease. The last record we have of this affair is a letter to Wardell from the Park demanding to know which of the mine buildings he intended to use in the development of his camp.[35] Presumably he never did make any use of the buildings. As there are now only fragments of concrete foundations on the site, it is assumed that the Park eventually destroyed the incongruous remains of this operation.

Quarrying

The Fitzhugh Lime and Stone Company was formed in 1911 to quarry and coke limestone in Jasper Park. The company was started by two young Englishmen, George Brown and H. H. Needham, who had been construction engineers for the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway before taking up homesteads near Carrot Creek. Brown had had earlier experience in burning lime in Manitoba, before he went further west with the railway. He had business connections in Edmonton, and through them got an advance tip as to when the park was going to be open for commercial enterprises; on that date he and his friend Needham went to Fitzhugh and staked a 40-acre claim on the shoulder of Disaster Point. They formed their company to exploit the claim in 1911. The company's headquarters were in Edmonton, although Brown and Needham both lived in the park. They had a building just west of their kiln which they used both for an office and their house. This was a small stone building built by John Protti, one of the coal miners at Pocahontas. Later a wooden addition was built on the front of the house and it was painted green. The building, now owned by the Alpine Club of Canada, still stands on the south side of the highway, west of Disaster Point.

George Brown first went to work on the site in 1912, with two or three other men to help him open and lay out the works. The kiln itself had a concrete foundation, and a steel shell was to go on top of that. The railway was not carrying freight at that time through the park, but soon a spur was put in from the Grand Trunk Pacific line, and as soon as freight was being carried over the line, sometime in 1913, the steel plates for the kiln arrived. The company put its own track into the rock face, which was above the top of the kiln. Thus the rock, once quarried, could be dumped right into the top of the kiln for burning. The whole operation ran by gravity; once the limestone was coked the burnt lime was wheeled down from the kiln into box-cars in the siding.

As far as Mr. Needham could remember in 1971, the first load of lime was ready for shipping to Edmonton at the same time as the First World War broke out. This lime was to be used in a construction

enterprise in Edmonton, but most works of this nature closed down with the outbreak of war, and the company ceased operations. The lime was dumped beside the siding and the box-car taken away empty. A car-load of lime can still be seen at the edge of a small pond at the western edge of Disaster Point. A story has grown up that this lime represents "the first and last load" the company produced, but in fact the railway shipped several loads of lime out of the park before the company closed down.[36] As soon as the war broke out, Needham immediately volunteered for the British forces, and went to England where he stayed the rest of his life. During the war the tracks east of Pocahontas were lifted, and thus the lime would have had to be shipped west to Jasper and then east again if the operation were to continue. Whether for this reason, or Needham's continued absence, the lime plant never re-opened.[37]

At about the same time that Needham and Brown staked their claim, another company, the Hydraulic Lime and Quarries Ltd., also took out eight quarrying leases in the park. These claims were later sold to the Edmonton Portland Cement Company. This latter company had started working a bed of marle about one hundred miles east of the park in 1921 or so. Marle had not proved a success, and they wanted to change their operation to limestone. In order to do that they bought up the leases to a limestone quarrying area about four miles east of the town of Jasper along the right-of-way of the Grand Trunk Pacific railway. By 1916 the company was on the site, ready to construct a rock crusher and buildings for their management and workmen. They proposed the construction of a railway spur at this locale, in order to haul the material to their plant at Marlboro. The company planned to take the rock from a face within several hundred feet of their crushing building. They intended to use powder or dynamite to blast the face, and then transport the rock to the crusher in small cars running on light railway tracks and hauled by horses. The rock would then be hauled into the plant by a hoist, using power from their own power plant. They also built an engineers' quarters on the site, which in 1917 was being used as a boarding house since the number of men at the

operation was not large.[38] Later there were a dining room, cookhouse and sleeping quarters for the men. In its heyday, forty box-car loads per week of rock were sent to Marlboro, but the plant closed down in 1929. The reason for this is unclear, but it may have been due to the new National Parks Act which was about to be passed and would prohibit quarrying operations in a national park.[39]

Originally the company seems to have had very good relations with the park administration. The Acting Superintendent in 1916 described the plant at Marlboro as being "a model in its way" and referred to the proposed plant in Jasper as "a worthy project."[40] Later he visited the site and pointed out to them that any excavation had to be as unobtrusive as possible. He suggested that they should make an entrance and secure the bulk of their rock from behind, leaving the face of the rock as intact as possible. Presumably the company fell in with his suggestions, for he reported to the Commissioner that ". . . I think we have safeguarded that feature on the lines I pointed out to them."[41] After Colonel Rogers returned as superintendent again, however, the Edmonton Cément Company came in for a good deal more criticism. In 1923 he wrote to them as follows:

> Please inform me when you propose covering your unsightly Rock Crushing Plant with suitable metallic or other fire proof material, as the appearance of this building alongside the main transcontinental railway is far from reflecting credit upon your company or this Park. In addition you have three or four temporary stable and other shacks most unsightly in appearance scattered immediately south of your crushing plant. . .[42]

After being pressed for two years, the company finally promised to clean up their plant, but it is unclear whether they ever did so. Two years after the plant was closed their foreman's house burnt down, and two years later their large boarding house was also completely destroyed by fire. The Park Superintendent attributed the cause of this fire to "bohunks sheltering in the building from the very severe storm."[43] In any case, the fire seems to have removed an unsightly

feature from the park.

Lumbering

Lumbering was never very extensive in the Jasper area, but around the time of the First World War several timber leases were surveyed in the Whirlpool River Valley. At least one person who acquired the leases to cut timber here was a Mr. A. McNeice Austin, who was a big operator of pulp mills in northern Ontario. Then a man called James Gibson, a Toronto businessman, took over Austin's concession, paying him a royalty called "stumpage" on the timber which was finally cut. Gibson in turn contracted out the operation on a piecemeal basis, and the Otto brothers, among others, took on this work. Gibson then obtained a large contract from the railway to make railroad ties out of the lodge pine that was cut. Cutting started there about 1919.[44]

All the supplies and tools for the camps had to be packed into the area on pack horses until the river froze solid enough for teams and wagons. Trails were cut into the bush, and bunkhouses erected. One man recalls there were about fifty or sixty men in the camp.[45] A portable sawmill and a steamboiler were hauled up the river, and the timber was cut and hauled to the mill to be cut into ties. Some of the timber higher up was cut and shot down chutes to be hauled to the sawmill. The ties were then stacked on the banks of the Whirlpool during the winter, ready to be shoved in the water when the ice broke in the spring and then driven down the Athabasca for delivery to the railway.[46] As soon as the water was high enough the ties were put into the water, with a crew working along the banks directing their progress and making sure that they did not get caught in the eddies and wash up on the banks. Lower down a boom was put across the Athabasca River to gather these ties in.[47] The first year the boom was stretched across the Athabasca just before the entrance to Jasper Lake. Apparently the foreman in charge of this operation miscalculated the extent of the spring floods, and the force of the current broke through the boom, with the result that the entire winter's production

was lost and floated away to the Arctic.[48] After that loss the site of the boom was moved, and the whole set-up improved. Piers were built into the river and the booms made out of bridge timbers, about 18 inches x 8 inches, which had originally been used in trestles along the railway grade.

After the ties were caught in the boom, they were lifted out of the water by a "jack-ladder." This was a type of conveyor belt, built out of two chains with erect spikes which would catch and hold the ties. One end was anchored below the water, and the ties were guided onto the ladder with pike poles—long poles of about 15 feet with a spike and hook at the end. The ladder then elevated the ties out of the water and up the slope to where they were loaded on a wagon and hauled by teams of horses over to the Henry House siding. From there they were loaded onto railroad cars. The leases for the lumbering concessions in Jasper expired in 1924 or 1925 and were not renewed, since by that time lumbering was no longer allowed in national parks.[49]

Park Policy

It was stated in the introduction to this chapter that national park policy was in the early years characterized by the concept of "use" and "benefit." Janet Foster, in a book entitled Working for Wildlife, has discussed the growth of a conservation movement in Canada during the early years of this century. She describes clearly the difference between the ideas of "conservation" and "preservation" at the beginning of the twentieth century. The former idea concerned the management of natural resources, including flora and fauna, so that they could continue to reap economic benefits for the government of Canada. This idea was behind the formation of our first national parks, and constituted the basis for their management. Thus commercial logging, for example, could be allowed in a national park, particularly if the forest were managed to produce even more trees later. Even as far as wild game was concerned, certain early conservationists advocated controlled hunting in the parks, and saw the need to destroy "bad"

animals—those that preyed on others—in order to encourage the multiplication of other "good" species.[50] The idea of preserving parks in their natural state grew much more slowly, since it was not widely felt that natural wilderness areas were part of the wealth of Canada. Thus, even after the establishment of our first national parks, there was a great deal of controversy over how they were to be managed. The conflicts are very evident in most correspondence dealing with the administration of Jasper National Park in the first two decades of its existence.

It has already been described how Banff (Rocky Mountains National Park) was established in order to prevent the hot sulphur springs, which were believed to have great commercial possibilities, from falling into the hands of private exploiters. But from the start, Canadian politicians had no intention of preventing commercial development of the springs. Their intention was to have the parks as assets which would provide revenue to the government, and commercial development of the parks' resources was encouraged.[51] Early in the twentieth century Canadian politicians became aware that the natural resources of the parks could not be exploited indefinitely, and Laurier's Liberal government did go so far as to establish the "Commission of Conservation" in 1909. The Commission was intended to be an autonomous non-partisan body that would explore the conservation of natural resources in Canada, and Clifford Sifton, former Minister of the Interior, was chosen as chairman. In his opening remarks to the Commission he stated his own views on natural resources, which seemed to mirror those of the other members as well as the politicians who has appointed them:

> If we stand in the way of development, our efforts will assuredly be of no avail either to stop development or promote conservation. It will not however, be hard to show that the best and most highly economic development and exploitation in the interests of the people can only take place by having regards to the principles of conservation.[52]

Certainly the politicians could not be looked to for leadership in the struggle for preservation. But even in 1910, when Sifton made these

remarks, a handful of civil servants working with parks and dedicated to the ideals of preservation had begun their work to change the definition of a national park.

Howard Douglas, first as Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park and later as Commissioner of Canada's Dominion Parks, had, by the time he left office in 1912:

> . . . established the policy of wildlife preservation throughout the dominion parks and . . . made government aware of the vital importance of continual protection. . . . He understood that economic arguments alone would justify increased park appropriations and greater wildlife protective measures, and he persuaded the government to embark on a course of park wildlife protection by demonstrating that the result would be increased tourist revenue.[53]

Douglas had not only convinced others of the need for protection of game, however, but also of the need to carefully control commercial activities and resource development. In 1911, when the administration of the national parks was reorganized, Frank Oliver, the Minister of the Interior stated in the House:

> It may as well be understood from the beginning that it is not proposed that these parts of reserves set apart for purposes of recreation shall be primarily places of business. There will be no business there except such as is absolutely necessary for the recreation of the people.[54]

Park regulations would ". . . look to the enjoyment by the people of the natural advantages and beauties of these particular sections of the reserves."[55] Oliver then appointed his Private Secretary James Harkin, a former journalist, as Dominion Parks Commissioner in 1911. Though Harkin apparently had no relevant experience for the job, he did have a deep respect for untouched wilderness areas, comparing them to priceless works of art. He was firmly opposed to the sale of park lands for commercial purposes, and to anything else which would impair their natural beauty.

Although Harkin had an almost mystical belief in the value of preserving the wilderness, he was also a man with a keen appreciation of politics and the pressures which politicians bear. He was "as aware of the commercial importance of national parks as Howard Douglas had been before him and he also knew that only the parks' proven commercial success would ensure a continuous flow of appropriations from Parliament."[56] Thus he was continually at pains to balance the need for development with the need for preservation. Much of his correspondence touching on this conflict in Jasper was over the granting of coal leases within the park boundaries.

While Harkin, as a civil servant in Ottawa, could not help but be aware of political pressure, the superintendents and wardens living in Jasper Park were far removed from those considerations. They, too, were men who believed in the value of preserving natural wilderness areas. Ominous signs of the almost continuous disagreements which would arise over the years started from the moment a permanent staff was appointed to the park. In 1914 an application for a coal lease was received for a northern area only recently added to the park. The superintendent recommended that the lease should not be granted, since it was in a splendid game area, or that if it were, a special warden should be appointed to protect it. Despite this advice, Harkin ordered that the lease be granted in the usual way.[57]

In 1918, a warden was sent to inspect another area for which there were two applications for a coal lease. He reported that "the ground is covered with valuable timber and I rather think it more for timber than coal that both parties are after this ground."[58] The superintendent also wrote to Harkin that

> As to the desirability of throwing this area open for mining purposes you are no doubt aware that a coal mine does not improve the scenic beauties of any area where located. In regard to game protection a coal camp is one of the hardest districts there is to protect game in the vicinity of . . . [since] the coal miner poaches if he gets the chance. The foothills here where the coal is deposited is a breeding

ground for sheep and deer.[59]

He added later that the area in question was the best moose breeding country in the district and the timber was excellent. In view of those considerations, and the fact that there was at the time a great shortage of labour and the mines already in operation could not produce their full output, he recommended very forcefully that the new applications be turned down. Harkin replied that these considerations were not good enough to satisfy the public in refusing these applications, and that the game consideration was not of "sufficient importance"—so the leases were granted.[60]

Harkin's reasons for agreeing to these leases were outlined clearly in a letter he wrote a few years later. In 1923, in connection with some applications for leases near Brûlé Lake, the superintendent had written to him as follows:

> I had a long talk with Mr. Challis, Director of Mines, in connection with any further granting of mining leases of coal areas in Jasper Park. He quite agreed with me that in view of the very patent fact that there were at present fully 900% too many small mining areas under operation in Alberta than were sufficient to supply the demand for coal he would back our Department in refusing any further grants of mining leases within the Park area. . . .[61]

Harkin replied:

> I think your argument . . . is a very sound one, but so long as our parks are open to applications for coal mining purposes under the regulations we cannot justly refuse any such applicants unless it can be clearly shown that the granting of such applications would seriously interfere with the park.[62]

A year later he spoke even more forcefully of his disapproval of mining in national parks in a letter to the mining branch of the Department of the Interior;

> While this Branch is of the opinion that no more coal leases should be issued in any of the National Parks it

> will offer no objection to these leases in view of the fact that the applicant has apparently carried on under existing regulations and has complied with same.[63]

Despite the fact that during the 1920s Harkin apparently felt compelled to grant new leases for mining purposes in the national parks as long as the regulations allowed it, he was at the same time working tirelessly to change those regulations. By 1926 he seemed to have some hopes of success, and he wrote to the superintendent of Jasper about a new application with quite a different tone from his letters written ten years previously.

> As you are no doubt aware, the parks are still open under the Coal Mining Regulations and we would therefore not be justified in refusing to allow anyone to prospect for coal, except on areas which would seriously interfere with the use and welfare of the park. I would suggest that Mr. Rice be advised that the Department is opposed to the development of any coal mining areas at this point and that if he proceeds with prospecting work he will be doing so at his own risk as we cannot promise him any coal mining rights at this point. I may say . . . that in the meantime we are taking up the question of having the parks withdrawn from the operation of the coal mining regulations, but until this has been done each application will have to be dealt with on its own merits.[64]

Four years later his efforts were rewarded. A new National Parks Act was passed, which not only ensured that there would be no future commercial or industrial development of minerals, water power or forests in the parks, but there would also be no power to revive any such rights that had been granted before the Act came into force.[65]

The passage of the National Parks Act in 1930 made it illegal to destroy or harm the flora, fauna and geology of the parks, and many people consider that Act to have been the final victory of the preservationist forces in Canada. It is true that coal and quarrying leases were no longer allowed in Jasper after 1930, and that the

government appeared at last to be interested in maintaining the park in as natural a state as possible. But what did that position imply? The parks were still publicly owned, and politicians were still subject to public pressure. People outside the park demanded increased access to it, and more facilities, once there. People within the park too were interested in the development of the tourist industry. Today much of the value of parks is still seen to be their "use" as developed recreational areas, and few Canadians even yet appreciate the dangers of a policy which allows excessive tourist development in our parks. Few agree with Harkin that ". . . it is as much a desecration to mar this natural harmony as to draw a razor across the Mona Lisa. . . ."[66]

Depression and War—the Automobile Era

It was not perceived in 1930 after the passing of the National Parks Act that tourism could be an industry just as potentially damaging and dangerous to the preservation of wilderness as coal mining or lime quarrying. Thus, even after 1930, parks policy was characterized by an interest in development, though now it was the new industry of tourism which was more profitable, both economically and politically. As the park became more widely known, people both inside and outside Jasper began to increase the pressure to build wide highways and provide better facilities for tourists, and the government could do little else but comply. In the 1930s and forties federal relief projects and then military factors provided an excellent opportunity for expanding and improving the relatively simple facilities that the park had provided in the twenties.

Early Roads in the Park

The railroad, of course, provided virtually the only transportation to the park in the first two decades. This was not seen to be a problem since automobiles were rare. In any event, there had been some notion amongst government officials even before Jasper Park was established that cars would scare wild animals and that horseback riding should be encouraged since it was quieter or more healthful.[1] This type of vacation was quite acceptable to the well-heeled travellers who came to Jasper on the train and could afford to rent horses and carriages to see the sights once there. A few very rudimentary roads were built within the park, and early photos show tourists such as Arthur Conan Doyle and his wife, who visited the park in 1914, being driven by

horse to see Maligne Canyon.[2] Mr. Turner, a man who could remember those very early days in Jasper Park, recalled that before automobiles were allowed in the park and roads were built, one Park Superintendent had an automobile body mounted on special wheels to fit the railway tracks so that he could move from one area of the park to another along the railway.[3]

Whether this detail is correct or not, it is certainly true that there was no need for motor roads in the very early years. Instead the early development consisted of narrow trails for horses and occasionally something a little wider and more sophisticated to accommodate a horse-drawn wagon. Of course there were old Indian trails in the area, but one of the first trails the park administration developed was the trail to the Miette hot springs in 1910. Later the railway investigated the possibility of building a mono-rail system to take tourists up the river to the bathing pools, but nothing ever came of this.[4] Instead the existing trail was improved in 1913 by a crew which was also responsible for building what "improvements" there were at the springs. These consisted of several shacks for dressing rooms which were apparently very poorly built since they were falling down only a few years later. No latrines or garbage facilities were provided, or supervision of any sort. The road into the springs was said to be very dangerous, although the bridges were well built. Despite this, and the woefully inadequate and "simply disgusting" facilities at the site, the springs were very popular and drew many visitors for medical reasons. The warden who inspected the site in 1918 and reported on its condition described it thus:

> The whole construction is unusually amateur and it can plainly be seen that no systematic planning of improvements was ever done at these Springs. I was informed unofficially that the sum of $700.00 had been opened for improvements. If this is so, I fail to see any signs of improvements that would call for even half that expense. . . . The site is littered with tin-cans, empty boxes, ketchup bottles and piles of other rubbish. There is no evidence of latrines

> in sight and accommodation for ladies is simply disgusting where a small expenditure in the right direction would improve things wonderfully.[5]

The warden suggested improvements in sanitation, accommodation, bathing facilities and to the road to bring the springs up to a "minimum" level of public safety. Despite this damning indictment, the park did not take steps to build an adequate road, clean campground or improved bath facilities for another decade.

In 1913 steps were taken to build other roads to give access to the park's attractions. In addition to the so-called "improvements" to Miette, a trail was roughed out to Medicine Lake, giving access en route to Maligne Canyon. During that winter a group of volunteer men with teams and equipment co-operated with the Park administration to build the first bridge across the Athabasca. They took teams across the river on the ice to Lake Annette and cut firs for the bridge timber. The logs were hauled to Old Fort Point and used with salvaged cables from abandoned railway construction equipment to build the bridge. (That log suspension bridge was replaced in 1920 by a steel one.) The following summer the government built a carriage road from the bridge, across the area which is now the golf course, to Maligne Canyon. From there a trail was built around Medicine Lake to Jacques Lake. The road to Maligne Canyon was the second road to be built outside of the townsite; the previous year a carriage road had been built connecting the town with Pyramid Lake, where a summer cottage subdivision had been surveyed.[6]

During the First World War, roads both in the town and outside were improved by the men in an internment camp situated in Jasper. This camp was one of the ones set up to keep under surveillance individuals who were considered security risks—mostly Germans and Austrians. The 19th Alberta Dragoons were assigned to the duty of camp guards. The internees were not compelled to do road work, but those who volunteered to do so received $1 per day for their efforts.[7] During this time a gravel road was started to Mount Edith Cavell which was not finished until 1924 as funds were short for road-building

during and just after the war.

One of the roads which bore the most traffic during this period was the short three-mile stretch from the town to Jasper Park Lodge. This was a gravel road, and was very dusty, particularly after cars were allowed in the park and the Lodge regularly sent their large Buicks to the train station to pick up guests. In the mid-twenties it was decided to pave the road, and the Dominion Government and the Canadian National Railways (owners of the Lodge) decided to use an experimental method to cover the road and also the sidewalks at the Lodge grounds. This method consisted of covering the road surfaces with the natural asphalt of the tar sands near Fort McMurray. For this purpose a small mixing plant was built at Jasper. The tar sand was loaded on barges, shipped up the Clearwater River, unloaded at Fort McMurray and then shipped by railway to Jasper. There it was mixed with gravel under heat, and taken to the road by trucks, where it was spread about two inches thick and rolled with a light roller. The surfacing of the road was done between 1926 and 1928, and proved to be very durable and to need very little maintenance over the years.[8]

The Edmonton Highway

When Jasper Park was established, the railway was the only means of access to the area that was planned. The Grand Trunk Pacific railway reached the park first, and some years later the Canadian Northern followed. During the railway construction, the contractors had constructed tote roads along the right-of-way to haul in supplies. One of these, constructed by the contractors Foley, Welsh and Stewart, ran from the town of Fitzhugh to the summit of the Yellowhead Pass, and also some distance east of Henry House. However, as the Canadian Northern advanced into the park, they began using parts of this road bed to run their line. In 1912 there were complaints to the Commissioner in Ottawa about this, since the road was being ruined. The Chief Superintendent of the Dominion Parks wrote from Edmonton that

the town of Jasper was by the end of 1912 cut off from all points east of Henry House by road. This of course, made park management almost impossible in those eastern areas. The matter finally rose to the Deputy Minister of the Interior who instructed the Canadian Northern to construct new roads to replace all of the tote roads they had usurped in the construction of their rail line.[9] Even at that time there seems to have been some intention of developing these rudimentary roads into one good road from the eastern boundary to the western summit.

By 1917 the Park Superintendent reported to the Commissioner that about twenty miles of good road existed through the park—fifteen to the east of the town, and five to the west. At the time the provincial road system only reached as far west as Edson. He added that the lifting of the railway steel because of the amalgamation of the two railway companies' tracks afforded an excellent opportunity to construct a highway on the discarded roadbed. Between the two companies, a fairly good roadbed existed all the way from Resplendent to Dandurand.[10] During the next few years, the government took steps to acquire these abandoned roadbeds from the railways, though no road construction was possible under war-time conditions.

By the early 1920s, a group of Edmonton boosters was actively promoting the development of this road. Both the Overland and Ford motor companies decided to sponsor automobiles which would attempt to reach the west coast by driving to Jasper and then through the Yellowhead Pass. The team in the Ford apparently reached Victoria first, having driven over seventy-seven miles on railway ties and trestles.[11] Two years later another driver accomplished the same feat—this was Charles Grant, an Edmonton man, who was to spend many years in active promotion of the Yellowhead highway route. Though it was to be a long time before the Yellowhead highway was to be constructed, the Dominion and provincial governments did decide to go ahead with construction of an all-weather road from Edmonton to Jasper in 1923. The Dominion government completed their share of the construction to the eastern boundary of the park that same year. The provincial government did not complete their part of the road for

another five years, however, but finally in 1928 the last bridges on the dirt road were finished and the road was declared open.[12]

This road, although open for travel, was impassable for much of the year. Therefore, during the 1930s, public attention in Edmonton and Edson focused on getting a good gravelled road built. This was seen to be particularly urgent as plans for the construction of the Jasper-Banff highway connection went ahead, for promoters in the towns all along the present Highway 16 were eager to develop a "Circle Tour" through Alberta. They feared that if tourists could get to Jasper from the south on a good road while the one to the east was allowed to deteriorate, that they would simply turn around and head back to Banff again, thus cutting off the entire northern part of the province from the lucrative tourist trade the new highway would attract. In addition to the "Circle Tour," pressure was mounting for a connection from Jasper westwards to Blue River, since the British Columbia government had just opened a new road joining Blue River to Kamloops.[13]

The necessity of providing relief work for unemployed men during the Depression gave the provincial government the means to improve the Edmonton-Jasper highway. Plans went ahead during the winter of 1933-34 to set up two relief camps to crush gravel to fill in the road. Complaints continued for two years that the work was not proceeding quickly enough, and threats were made that the provincial government would most assuredly lose its seat in the district if the road were not completed.[14] However, by 1937 the road was gravelled and graded the whole distance from Jasper to Edmonton and a year later, with the completion of a section of gravel road in Saskatchewan, an all-weather road was completed all the way from Jasper to Winnipeg.[15] Edmonton boosters were not satisfied with this, but the same year began urging the completion of the highway through to the west coast, and also the hard surfacing of the section from Edmonton to Jasper.[16] This latter job was not completed until many years later.

Depression

Road construction was the work carried out in relief camps established across Canada during the great depression of the thirties. Like every other place in the country, Jasper suffered from the hard times. During the late 1920s the Canadian National Railway began laying off employees, and in 1929 the Canadian National Railways hotel department deferred their development programme so that people who depended on the construction work were without that as well.[17] In the fall of 1930, the Park Superintendent estimated that by mid-winter over one hundred men would be unemployed in Jasper.[18] By the next summer he reported that although some of the unemployed people had left the park to look elsewhere for work, they had been forced to come back to Jasper since there was no work anywhere else either. He wrote that:

> . . . fully 70% of the population are railway employees and their families. Since early in 1930 the Railway Company has been laying men off and this still continues. . . . There are a great many railway men living here who have been unemployed for more than a year. Many of them find that their savings have been expended and they are without credit at the local stores. . . . You will see that some immediate relief will have to be provided for the people of Jasper. While approximately two hundred persons were given relief work last February and March, this fall and winter relief will have to be extended to three hundred or more persons living here.[19]

Faced with this necessity, the government provided relief work for the unemployed. Some of the projects were under the supervision of the Parks Engineering Service, and some under the direction of the Park Superintendent himself. The latter were largely a matter of park improvements, and mostly employed local men who had to prove residency in the park. The project under the Engineering Service was the construction of the Jasper-Banff highway, and these camps were for destitute men from points outside the park—most of the men on the Jasper end of the project were sent from headquarters in Edmonton.

The men worked an eight hour day, six days a week, and food and tent accommodation were provided, though deducted from their wages. There was also a commissary run by the relief service at which they could buy necessary articles of clothing. An order of priority was established for the work—married men were generally taken before single men, and returned soldiers before others. Married men were generally allowed more weeks of work in the month than single ones. Later, as lay-offs increased on the railway, single men would be taken off the relief work and replaced by married men.

Although these camps provided necessary work and wages for needy men, there was often criticism of them and problems running them. In the fall of 1931 a letter appeared in an Edmonton newspaper from a Jasper minister, begging for charitable donations of warm clothes and boots for the men in the camps and declaring that conditions there were appalling.[20] Although this appeal was met most generously and the Reverend Edwards was able to distribute warm clothing to the men and even some of their families, it was a severe embarrassment to the government. The Engineering Service had been carrying suitable warm winter clothing for the men, who were allowed credit against their wages in purchasing them. The Chief Engineer pointed out that if the men were inadequately clothed for winter work, it was because they chose not to purchase their clothing at reasonable rates, but rather to spend their money on other things as long as there was a chance of getting their clothing free. In reply to criticism that the government's prices were too high (they were the equivalent of retail prices in Banff and Jasper), he replied that it would be unfair to undercut the local merchants in the towns who were experiencing hard times too and had already been carrying many families on their books who could not pay their bills.[21]

The publicity given this affair drew a great deal of attention, not least in the camps themselves. In November a worker in one of the camps on the Jasper Banff Highway wrote to the Bulletin, describing his camp and the life there in detail:

It is true that some of the wearing apparel bought by men

> in this camp is costly. Let us look at the real crux of everything: the price of labor. We get 25 cents per hour. When we have worked six full days, we have, after paying board and other stoppages, $5.80. Now then when a man wants to buy anything he naturally looks at his wages. Take for example a mackinaw or a windbreaker. Those two articles alone would take over two weeks' wages to purchase. Our board is 85¢ a day, which runs to $5.95 a week. Of course anyone who grouses at the food here, is nothing more or less than a natural born fool. Our food is the best and we have one of the best cooks it is possible to get.[22]

The man went on to say that the men in the camps would much rather be there with work to do than elsewhere living on relief hand-outs.

> I am willing to throw out this challenge to the newspaper in question to send a man out here, and let him go round the camps asking each man what do you want, "relief or work?" Ninety-nine percent of the men would say "work." There are certain people who would like to see this work stopped and I say indignantly it is a curse and a shame when a body of unemployed ex-soldiers are to be made the pawns in a political controversy.[23]

The correspondent had not missed the fact that the Liberal Bulletin which ran the story, which the Reverend Edwards had intended to be secret, was all too willing to use the issue to embarrass the Conservative government!

However, while conditions in all the camps were probably similar, not all the men seemed to be as satisfied as the writer above. In the winter of 1931-32, a small labor problem arose in another camp on the Jasper-Banff highway project. An "agitator" was discharged at the end of December, but shortly re-hired when he asked for another chance. A week later he was fired again, and then twenty-two other men quit work and walked into camp in a sympathy strike. Consequently they were all paid off and discharged, although several evidently regretted their action. The camp foreman reported later that when cleaning out their

tents afterwards, he discovered several articles of good clothing sent in by the charitable organisations had been purposely destroyed so that anything which the men could not stuff into their kit-bags and carry off could not be used by any of the other men who stayed. The Chief Engineer wrote to Harkin with respect to the firing that he had no sympathy with the strikers and that the firmness of the man who had fired them had prevented further trouble.

By the next year the Commissioner was again worried by labour unrest in the Jasper camps. In the summer of 1933 all the provincial camps in Alberta were on strike, and pamphlets were circulating amongst the men in the federal camps in the Parks encouraging them to organize committees to deal with small grievances,". . . such as recreation tent, sport equipment, free soap, the right to go to town and return."[24] There is no indication that Harkin had to give in to demands such as the ones in this "red" letter, and the rules governing the Parks camps continued in effect. Perhaps one of the harshest rules was one which governed the men's movements. As the men on the Jasper-Banff highway project were not allowed to leave their camps, truck drivers were under orders not to carry anyone to town who did not have permission in writing.[25] Harkin, as well as the Park Superintendent, was also personally in favour of prohibiting men on relief work from buying liquor or being served in a beer parlour when they were in town even with permission. This rule was not adopted, however, as it could not be enforced without there being a general ban throughout the province.[26]

Generally, although the camps run by the Department of Interior inside the national parks were harsher than those run by the Department of National Defense on highways outside the park, the Department of Interior did not experience nearly as much labour trouble in their camps. J.M. Wardle, the Chief Engineer, attributed this to the fact that although the Department of the Interior in Banff and Jasper provided poorer sleeping accomodation and poorer bath and sanitation facilities than the Department of National Defense, as well as no free rations of tobacco, towels, soap, tooth brushes, etc., and no

Saturday afternoons off such as the Department of National Defense granted to the men in its camps, the Department of the Interior did provide better food than the Department of National Defense. "A well fed man is not so receptive to "red" propoganda as a man poorly or insufficiently fed."[27]

What labour trouble there was in the camps in the parks seemed to be concentrated in the ones on the Jasper-Banff highway. These camps, as has already been mentioned, brought men in from other areas and established them at either end of the highway to work towards the Icefields. Since the first three years of the construction of this road (1931-1934) were entirely undertaken to provide as much relief work as possible, the purchase of grading and motorized equipment was kept to a minimum so that a maximum amount of money was available to pay for hand labour. There were six camps at the Jasper end of the highway, each housing fifty men, spaced three miles apart. Each camp had a large kitchen and dining building, a large sleeping tent, and an office and storehouse building. The buildings were of log construction, with lumber floors and rubberoid roofs.

After 1934, the work on the Jasper-Banff highway was changed to a regular wage project instead of a relief project, and was continued on that basis for another five years until its completion in 1939. After this time more power equipment was used. Instead of hauling supplies by team, trucks took materials to the end of the completed grade and then the loads were hauled by wagon and tractor over tote roads to the section where work was going on. The tote roads would later be used as the road bed for the finished highway. About four hundred fifty men worked for six months each year on this project.[28] A glorious official opening of the new highway was scheduled for July 1, 1940 at the Columbia Icefield, just inside the border of Jasper Park. However, because of the worsening war situation, the celebrations were abandoned and the road opened quietly on June 15, 1940.[29]

Less spectacular, but just as beneficial to tourists in Jasper Park, were the other projects undertaken as relief work during the Depression. During the winter of 1931-32, a project was opened on

the highway west of Jasper, the purpose being to link up with a road in British Columbia to Blue River. The first six miles of this road west of town were cleared, and a truss bridge was constructed along the route. After that year the work was closed, since there seemed little possibility of the British Columbia government taking it up.[30] Other projects were the improvement of the road to Maligne Canyon and Medicine Lake, and the development of campgrounds at Cottonwood Creek and Patricia Lake. A site for a campground was originally suggested at Lake Edith, but the park superintendent and engineer recommended that the Lodge guests and cottage owners should not be troubled with the traffic of campers driving by, so alternative sites were chosen at Cottonwood and Patricia. Public pressure had all been in favour of a site on the Lodge side of the river. By 1941, despite the fact that the Patricia Lake campground was not popular with campers and was considered to have an unsafe drinking supply, it was being heavily used, but only because the Cottonwood site was being taxed to capacity. Finally, the following year, the restrictions on the operation of buses and other motor transportation during the war forced the closing of several tourist facilities in the park. The Patricia Lake and Miette campgrounds were then closed down, the former never to be re-opened.

The Miette hot springs development had been partially constructed as a relief project too. By the early thirties there had been a log pool there for over a decade, and the site was very popular with campers. They left the train at Pocahontas, where they could rent a hotel room or get a meal from Ross Wardell, and then went by pack horse up the trail to the springs. A fee of $1, payable to the warden, was charged for camping, but many people seemingly abused the privilege. The site, as well as the pool, was overcrowded, and sanitary conditions were known to be appalling by 1933.[31] In 1934 the pool was closed and camping prohibited until new facilities could be constructed. By 1935 a road had been blasted, cleared and opened into the campground, although it was not yet open or provided with services. Finally, in 1938, the new bath house opened which attracted hundreds of visitors to the springs.

A critical situation developed in the campsite since there were no sanitary facilities provided, but by the following year the campsite was much improved and operated for several years. Certain abuses continued though. In 1940 it was discovered that someone had erected permanent tents there with wooden baseboards which were being rented out to tenants![32] This problem was no doubt taken care of when the campground was closed in 1942 because of gas rationing. After the war the campground opened again, and a permanent caretaker's cabin was built on the site.[33]

World War Two

In 1940 the National War Services Regulations were enacted, which provided for the calling up of young men for compulsory military training. Conscientious Objectors to the Act (mostly Mennonites and Doukhobors) were allowed to render a term of alternative service for the same four month period of military training. It was estimated that about 700 Conscientious Objectors would have to be provided with work in the National Parks. Camps were set up for about 150 of these "Conchies," as they were called, in Jasper. The men were paid at the military rate for privates, and subject to military-type discipline. The first camps opened in July of 1941. Although it was originally planned to have the men do silviculture and wildlife work, they ended up working on much the same type of projects as the relief workers had earlier.

By the end of August, 159 Conchies were working in Jasper on the Maligne Canyon-Medicine Lake road removing rock, and it was decided to continue this work over the winter. At the same time other men were working on a trail through the Lake Edith subdivision, a loop road at Lac Beauvert, and beginning to build the road to the new fish hatchery and the preliminary pools there. The Edmonton highway was widened to the eastern boundary of the park, and the extension of this highway to the western border to link up with the British Columbia government's new highway was taken up again. A good number of new and better fire

trails were constructed in the park, including the Medicine and Maligne Lake fire trail, the trail to the Palisades fire look-out, the Devona fire trail, the Watchtower Valley fire trail and the Geikie fire trail. The men also did a considerable amount of work improving and cleaning up the townsite. Finally, three log shelter sites were built for tourists along the magnificent new Jasper-Banff highway, at Athabasca Falls, Jonas Creek and the Icefield.[34]

During the winter of 1941-42, the men were located in different camps for these projects and shifted back and forth as the work demanded. By April, the park requisitioned a greater number of Conchies, since it was felt they were excellent workers. However, during 1942, the idea surfaced among military planners that the Japanese might attack Canada by dropping incendiary bombs on British Columbia, and consequently most of the alternative service workers were sent to British Columbia to do forest work there. After this time there continued to be some Conscientious Objectors in Jasper until the fall of 1943, but only about twenty-five men at a time. By the end of 1943, Conscientious Objectors were allowed to join the non-combatant units of the armed forces, such as ambulance or parachute units, and many did so, some even being sent overseas. At this time the Jasper camps closed down, since only "recalcitrant" Conscientious Objectors were being sent to the national parks after that. In the summer of 1944, another camp was opened in Jasper for this latter type, a group of sixty-four Jehovah Witnesses from Petawawa. The Superintendent complained bitterly about these workers, saying he could use more men for park projects, but only "if they were better workers than Jehovah Witnesses . . . . these are of a class who are difficult to handle and cannot be counted on to give much of a work return."[35] However, these men stayed at Jasper, and in March of 1946 there was still a nominal roll of forty-six alternative service workers at Jasper, though most were on leave. The remainder were transferred to Banff and the Jasper camp closed.

It has already been mentioned that in 1942 a panic started about Japanese activities in British Columbia, and in January a government

plan was announced to remove all Japanese nationals as well as nationalized Canadians born in Japan from a "protected area" west of the Cascade range of mountains. Camps were to be set up outside of this area where the men would be made to do road work. The Parks Branch did not really want Japanese workers in the parks, but it did want to see the completion of the Jasper-Blue River highway. The Parks Branch finally agreed that if Japanese were going to work on the British Columbia section of this highway, the Parks branch would ask the Department of Labour, in charge of the Japanese internees, to take over the section within the park as well and the Park would co-operate by providing equipment for the construction.[36] The controller of the National Parks Branch made their policy towards the Japanese workers clear, however.

> Families of any supervising personnel, guards or Japanese workmen will not be allowed to take up residence within the National Park. It is quite possible that the Japanese . . . would wish to have [their families] at some point as close as possible to the work . . . on account of the fact that they will be paid so much less than the Fair Wage rates . . . it should be out of bounds for them to visit any area considered a tourist centre: for instance, they should not be allowed into the townsite of Jasper or any area adjacent to the main highways.[37]

By the end of February, work camps were being constructed along the route west of Jasper. Altogether there were to be twenty camps for one hundred men each. Two of these were to be in the park, one at Geikie and one at Decoigne. The foreman of the Geikie camp was a Jasper man, James Baker, and there were fifteen other officials at the camp and one hundred Japanese prisoners. The Japanese had their own cooks and mess hall which served western meals, but the white officials ate separately. Rules were strictly enforced. The Japanese were not allowed out of their camps from one hour after sunset until dawn. They could not walk near the railroad, except during working hours and only if accompanied by a white man.[38] There were railway guards at every

bridge and special Royal Canadian Mounted Police constables along the railway lines near the camps. Both bridge guards and R.C.M.P. specials kept a twenty-four hour watch with loaded rifles.[39] At the end of each month, a single man received a cheque for between $25 and $30. Deductions for board and supplies he had purchased at the commissary were made before he received it. If the man was married, an additional $20 deduction was made for the upkeep of his family, and he only received between $5 and $10. Out of this latter amount he was supposed to purchase his work clothing—which most of the men claimed was an impossibility.[40]

The most cruel aspect of their detention was none of the above features, however, but the fact that many of the men had been separated from their families and few had any idea where their wives and children were, or if they were all right. The Edmonton Journal printed the story of one man in the Geikie camp.

> Sakamoto says he likes it in the camp and "under the situation" thinks he is getting a square deal. His main worry is his family, a wife and six children and an aged father. Before he was sent to the camp, Sakamoto owned one of the largest strawberry farms at Langley Prairie, B.C. He owned several trucks and a car. He turned these over to the dominion government officials at Hastings Park, Vancouver, before he left for the camp. "The last time I saw my wife and children they were at Hastings Park," Sakamoto says. "I'm worried about them . . . I haven't heard how they are getting along or how my old father is. It used to cost me $75 a month to keep that family. Now the government is taking $20 off my wages for their upkeep. If that is all they are getting I don't see how they will get along." Mr. Baker [the Jasper man in charge of the project] allays Sakamoto's family worries by telling the Japanese he's lucky he's living in a "white man's country . . . at least we won't let people starve here."[41]

This market gardener was described as "typical of the most co-operative

type of Japanese."[42] The article also went on to tell of several other men in the same camp. One had been an honours science graduate from the University of British Columbia, won the governor-general's medal for the highest marks in his faculty, and gone on to publish a newspaper. Another had been a druggist, and another a cook. As the paper continued, "few have handled picks and shovels and building a road will be a new job for most of them. Backaches and sore muscles are plentiful."[43]

Given their treatment, perhaps it is not surprising that not all of the men in the camps were as "co-operative" as Sakamoto. By July, although there were plans afoot to reunite the married Japanese with their families, the Japanese workers were worrying the Parks' engineer. There had already been a sit-down strike at Decoigne in March over inadequate accommodation and facilities. More had started at the end of June when a worker had attacked a teamster and been arrested. Another was scheduled for July 15th.[44] The Parks Engineer from Banff wrote to Ottawa that there was continuous trouble over reprimands the Japanese received about not working hard enough. He accused them of deliberately frittering away most of their days "sitting on the bank and discussing world affairs."[45] When the foreman told them to get at their work, they held meetings the same night and asked their leaders to request the dismissal of the foreman. The Engineer told them that none of the white men would be dismissed, a strike would be to no avail, and that if they struck they would not receive the benefit of the new policy to reunite families. Two men, leaders of a Japanese national group in Vancouver, were sent by the British Columbia Security Commission to explain the new policy and use their influence to persuade the refractory group to abandon their strike.[46] Whether the last one was held or not is unclear, but by the end of July the camps in the park had closed in any event. The married men had been sent to other projects where they could live with their families and as the British Columbia government wished to use as much Japanese labour as possible in private industry (logging and agricultural work, for example), there were only a few single men left

on a stretch of highway near Blue River.[47]

While Parks officials were suspicious of the Japanese workers, the townspeople of Jasper were implacably hostile. The Superintendent wrote to Ottawa to say that:

> . . . feeling is running very high in Jasper over the conditions under which the Japanese are being taken care of in the camps established west of Jasper. It appears that these men are permitted to visit Jasper, providing they have permission from the Police. I have seen a number of them around town myself, and I have been asked by individuals, what steps are being taken to keep these men in bounds.[48]

Two weeks later he wrote again to say that the opposition to the unrestricted movements of the Japanese was not abating, but that people were becoming more insistent on some definite action being taken. This type of attitude was no doubt stirred up by irresponsible journalism such as the following by Harold Weir in the Edmonton Bulletin:

> Without being unduly unkind or forgetting that Japanese are human souls like ourselves, it must be remembered that many Canadians and their visitors will regard this intrusion [into a National Park] as not unlike allowing the dogs in the drawing room . . . we cannot escape the conviction that somewhere in the Japanese race is a barbaric strain that makes them loathsome animals in the fever of conflict. . . . The Japanese in Canada, then, must be closely and continuously guarded. We cannot afford to allow them liberties.[49]

The citizens of Jasper, while perhaps not so literary in their protests, were just as hysterical. The Canadian Legion pressed on the Superintendent the need to arm the local Veterans Volunteer Reserve Company with rifles and ammunition to protect the citizens of Jasper. Superintendent Wood even went so far as to agree with them and asked Ottawa to consider supplying twenty-four rifles and a supply of ammunition to the Company. After the sit-down strike in June, the Jasper Women's Institute petitioned the Department of National Defense for

military protection since they viewed "with trepedition the freedom which has been permitted the Japanese coming into this town. They walk along the streets singly and in pairs and seemingly have ample opportunity for infiltration."[50] Then, at the end of June, a general meeting was held by the Jasper Canadian Legion, Chamber of Commerce, Daughters of England, Women's Institute, and Catholic Women's League to draft a resolution to be sent to the Minister of National Defense. This resolution claimed that the Japanese were "out of hand" in their camps, and making weapons out of their road tools and photographing "indiscriminately." The resolution demanded military units be sent to the area at once, but that if not, the citizens of Jasper at least be allowed to arm themselves.[51]

Faced with this imminent annihilation of Jasper, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were surprisingly calm. The Commissioner in Ottawa wrote to say that he had advised the Japanese in the camp near Jasper to stay away from the town, more for their own safety than that of the town. As they appeared to be well-disciplined, he was satisfied they would obey all reasonable requests. If they were in the town in any case, he said, it was because they had first obtained permission from the police and satisfied them that there was some cause to go there, such as purchasing work clothes or visiting a doctor. The R.C.M.P. Commissioner strongly advised against arming the local volunteer company.[52] The Edmonton Journal backed up this calm view of the crisis by saying that the white men in charge of the camps agreed the fears of the residents of the town were unfounded, and that for the most part they had received co-operation from the workers in the camps.[53] The Japanese workers themselves retaliated against the town. In May they decided to boycott the merchants of Jasper and purchase all their goods from mail-order houses.[54] None of these moderate views or tactics had any calming effect on the fears of Jasper residents, however. In June, when the strike occurred at Decoigne, the Veterans Volunteer Reserve Company went so far as to arm themselves with borrowed rifles, in contravention of the law.[55] Fortunately the Japanese were moved away from the Park before the

situation deteriorated any further.

After the Japanese workers left the park in July of 1942, a crew of white workmen was employed to fill in a swamp near Decoigne, which they did in a very rough manner. After that effort, the park did not maintain the highway at all, since they felt the road had only been built in the first place to employ the Japanese, and it was only intended to be a rough tote road for emergencies. By the fall of 1944, reports began to appear in newspapers saying the Yellowhead Highway would be open to tourists the following year, but as the road west of Jasper town was in appalling shape, it appears these reports were merely intended to pressure the government into constructing a standard road to the border. In the summer of 1945 about thirty or forty cars did manage to cross from Blue River to Jasper, but considerable labour was involved in cutting out trees and digging out slides along the route.

As neither the British Columbia government nor the federal government appeared interested in constructing or maintaining a standard road, local British Columbia communities along the route undertook to keep the track clear by 1947.[56] Finally, by the 1950s, the federal, Alberta and British Columbia governments undertook to complete the Yellowhead Highway all the way to Vancouver. The Alberta government completed its undertaking first, and in 1956 the ribbon was cut across Highway 16 at the eastern boundary of the park to mark the completion of a paved road all the way from the Saskatchewan border to the town of Jasper.[57] In the same year the British Columbian government opened their highway, though it was not really completed. However they promised to spend $2,000,000 on the road that year and hoped for completion of the hard-topped road within five years. A few years later, in 1958, it was suggested this road should be completed as a British Columbia centennial project, but in fact it was not until the late 1960s that motorists could drive from Jasper to Vancouver on paved roads and bridges all the way.[58]

In addition to a great deal of road building, there were two projects of military significance which were carried out in Jasper

Park during the war. One of these was the training of a special Arctic-trained regiment, the Lovat Scouts. They began their training in Scotland and Wales as specialist mountain troops and came to Jasper in December of 1943 to complete their training under winter conditions. Their regimental headquarters were on the grounds of Jasper Park Lodge, and outlying camps were established at Maligne Lake, the Columbia Icefield, the Tonquin Valley and Edith Cavell. Evidently the men's skills developed to an extraordinary degree in the short training period, and discipline and morale were excellent.[59] One tragic incident occurred during their training, however. At the end of January a snow-slide fell off Mount Nigel, where the group was training, and killed a Corporal Collie. He was later buried in the Jasper cemetery.[60]

The other military project carried out in the Park was the experimental "Habbakuk" project. This idea originated with Geoffrey Pyke, an Oxford graduate, who felt there was a need for large aircraft carriers as bases for anti-submarine warfare and for providing air-cover for troop landings on the coast of Europe. Pyke felt that the use of ice as a strategic material would allow the boats to be built more cheaply than using conventional materials, as well as making them practically invulnerable. Although icebergs, for example, are very resistant to blasting, it was felt that pure ice was not quite strong enough, and experiments were carried out in laboratories in the United States and Great Britain to produce a stronger substance by incorporating a binding material, such as wood pulp, into the ice. This material, when finally perfected, was named Pykrete. Eventually it became obvious that large-scale experiments would have to be carried out, and they could only be done in Canada. The Canadian government agreed to co-operate in the construction of a model in Jasper and put the project under the direction of Dr. C. J. MacKenzie, President of the National Research of Canada.

In addition to problems of strength, the problem of melting had to be overcome, and the design for the experimental model to be built on Patricia Lake involved both external insulation and internal refrigeration. A block model of this type of vessel was constructed

in the early months of 1943. Rather than paraphrasing, the Press Release issued by the Department of National Defense describing the project in Patricia Lake will be quoted at some length:

> Its dimensions were 60 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 20 feet deep. A wooden framework carrying the insulation was first constructed on the Lake ice, and was gradually built up with blocks of lake ice and allowed to sink into the lake. A central hold containing refrigerating engines which circulated cold air through a series of sheet iron pipes placed [sic] immediately behind the insulation. It weighed in all about 1,000 tons and was constructed by a gang of 15 men in about two months. The refrigeration system after a few initial difficulties worked well and was kept in a frozen condition till near the end of the ensuing summer. This showed that insulation and refrigeration were feasible for an ice ship. Difficulties were foreseen in case the outer insulation was removed by weather or enemy action, and further research was done on the melting of exposed Pykrete and on possibilities of repair. It was found that the addition of wood pulp to ice had a remarkable effect on slowing down its melting in water. . . . The resistance of Pykrete to projectiles, explosives and incendiary bombs, was also studied and was found to be very much higher than ordinary ice owing to its resistance to cracking. It was estimated that an ordinary torpedo exploding under water on a Pykrete surface would have only made a crater 3 feet in depth. It was also extremely resistant to penetration by projectiles. A revolver bullet which shattered an ordinary block of ice rebounded from Pykrete surface on one occasion, somewhat to the danger of the eminent audience, to which it was being demonstrated.[61]

The final report submitted on this project indicated that the feasibility of the project was doubtful because although the materials involved were abundant and cheap, the cost of labour to build the ship

and run it would be very expensive. At that time it was planned to build it near either Corner Brook, Newfoundland, or Sept-Iles, Quebec, since both had large pulp factories. However, by the summer of 1943 the need for this type of craft in the Atlantic had disappeared, although it still seemed as if it could be useful in the war against Japan. Sites were investigated on the Pacific Coast, all of which proved disappointing and which it seemed would involve even higher labour costs. Therefore, by the end of 1943, it was decided to abandon the project altogether since other war plans seemed to have greater priority. The ship of ice was never built.[62] The experimental block which was constructed in Jasper was allowed to fall to the bottom of the lake, where its twisted pipes can still be seen by divers today.[63]

The Town of Jasper

The history of Jasper Park to this point has been discussed in terms of the development of the park as a whole, by focusing on topics such as resource development, mountain exploration and accessibility of the wilderness to tourists. But Jasper Park is not only an area of rugged wilderness, and the people concerned with the park are not only government employees and visitors. Since the early days the park has had at its centre a vigorous, active little town. The development of the town itself is of some interest as it is the focus of park activities, and the history of the townsite will be related here first. Finally a few details about the community of Jasper and some of the individuals within it will be given, since these people often provided the impetus and direction for the development of the park.

The Early Townsite

It was mentioned earlier that when the park was first established in 1907, there were one white homesteader's family and six Métis farmers and their families living within its boundaries. Within three years the Métis settlers had left, and only the Swift family was left in the valley. However, already the surveyors for the new railroad were working in the area and other railway employees followed quickly in their wake. In anticipation of the need to protect and govern the park area, the Superintendent of Forestry, R. H. Campbell, and the Commissioner of Parks, Howard Douglas, had made a preliminary inspection of the park in the fall of 1909. By the end of that year J. W. McLaggan had been appointed as acting Superintendent of the park. McLaggan himself did not live in the park, but in Edmonton. In 1911

he sent the first permanent park officials into the area under the direction of R. W. Langford. Langford recalled years later that he went out from Edmonton on the fire train with men, equipment and a Union Jack, which they planted at the log cabin they built. This cabin, built at Cabin Creek, was the first administration building in the park. Langford lived in the cabin for several years.[1]

For neighbours Langford had the Grand Trunk Pacific engineers, who built their camp at Mile 113 in 1911, the location later to be known in Jasper as Snape's Hill. This engineers' camp consisted of several log houses and office buildings, as well as wall tents, some small outbuildings and a sports field. While Brian Reeves' report for Parks Canada on this site (see bibliography) is often confused about the name and history of this camp, it does contain some excellent photographs of the buildings there in 1911. During the several years previous to Langford's arrival, other development had taken place in the park. It was mentioned earlier in the discussion of the railway construction that "stopping places" had been authorized by the acting superintendent at several locations in the park along the railway right-of-way. Quite a big camp was operating at Mile 111, about a mile east of the present town, in 1910. By the end of 1910, however, McLaggan reported that in addition to eight stopping places throughout the park, he had authorized three blacksmith shops, three stores and one veterinary office at Mile 112. This is the present location of the town of Jasper, the site which the Grand Trunk Pacific chose in November, 1910, as the location of their divisional point and new station of Fitzhugh.

The railway company was displeased about the commercial development that the superintendent authorized at this site. Although the businesses mentioned above had erected their tents or buildings under permit from government officials, the railway company wanted to keep the control of the townsite in their own hands. One of the railway officials discussed the situation in Fitzhugh in 1910 thus:

> I wish to do everything possible to keep the townsite there in sanitary condition for our own protection.

> As you well know, these road houses are generally kept in a filthy condition both internally and externally, and they almost invariably pollute the streams near which they camp. I should suppose that within the section of land reserved for the Company's townsite, the Park Superintendent would not have the right to give permission for buildings. I intend talking to him about this on the first opportunity, and will, if possible, prevent the giving of any more permits, even if he has the right to give them.[2]

Of course the Forestry Branch quickly informed the railway company that the company had no jurisdiction over the townsite at all, but only over lands they had been granted specifically for railway purposes. The Minister of the Interior replied that the government would survey the townsite where it was agreeable to the railway, but that it would be administered by the government in accordance with park regulations.[3] After this exchange, the development of the town went ahead unimpeded by the railway.

Business and Government Buildings

As the passage above indicates, there was already a certain amount of haphazard development in the townsite. During the construction of the railway, two tents had served as stopping places for the workers, and eventually Phelan and Shirley, railway contractors, put up the first building, called "Stevenson's Stopping Place." Then in 1910 the Stewart Brothers built a store facing the railway tracks (close to the location of the present pool hall) and a rooming house further back from the railway (where the present Athabasca Hotel stands). Another large tent serving as an eating establishment was opened facing the tracks, by "Doc" Nagle (on the site of the present Totem Men's Wear Store). The Grand Trunk Pacific constructed their engineers' camp at the southern end of town, and the first warden lived nearby. A few other people besides railway employees and park

officials were appearing in Fitzhugh, and many of these lived in tents at the back of the townsite. In 1911 the railway completed their new station and roundhouse, built by the Collins Brothers. The Collinses also built a small house where the Administration Building was later to be located (the present Information Centre). They lived in this house during construction of the station, and then later, when the site was chosen for the Administration Building, A. B. Webb, who had arrived in town to cook in the station restaurant, bought the house for $500 and had it moved to 522 Patricia Street where it still stands.[4] This is the oldest surviving structure in the town, and, with the exception of the Moberly buildings, in the park.

Although the government stated it would carry out the survey of a townsite on the site chosen by the Grand Trunk Pacific for its divisional point, it was not until 1913 that the survey was actually completed. Originally the government had plans to have a landscape architect—William Bernhard, a prize-winning urban designer from Chicago was suggested—carry out the survey and draw up an artistic plan for Fitzhugh. However, this plan was eventually abandoned, and finally a Dominion Land Surveyor was authorized to do the survey. In June of 1913 he did so.[5] The town plan eventually accepted was unfortunately devoid of any imaginative or artistic features, being a plain grid-iron pattern following the railway tracks, with the main street facing onto the tracks. The only interesting feature was two streets (Pyramid and Miette) which intercepted the grid diagonally, leaving a suitable lot for the new park administration building at the point where they joined. Unfortunately this location, since it was immediately opposite to the station, focused subsequent town development and attention even more definitely on the railway tracks, which many consider to be one of the ugliest features of the town.

Before the survey was even completed, a resident superintendent, Lieutenant Colonel S. Maynard Rogers, was sent from Ottawa in March, 1913. At this time a combined residence and office for the superintendent was erected on the lot described above. The building was designed by an Edmonton architect, A. M. Calderon. Until 1936 it

served as a combined residence for the superintendent and administration office for the park, at which time a separate residence for the superintendent was built, further back in the townsite. The park administration continued to use the building until 1972 as its headquarters, when new offices for the superintendent and his staff were provided in a modern building elsewhere in the town. The building now houses the information and interpretive office for the park.[6]

In addition to supervising the construction of the administration building, Rogers was responsible for the issuing of leases for lots for businesses and housing in the newly-surveyed townsite. Of course, several businesses had already established themselves before Rogers received the new town plan, and it was quite a job to straighten out the resulting problems. By the end of 1913, he had issued a license for a corner lot to the Stewart Brothers for a new store and another to Dr. Niven for a post office and drugstore. He suggested that boulder-front buildings would be suitable for these businesses. Next to Stewart Brothers he wanted to have the Macnamara Pool Room, owned by a Mr. Kallal. In 1913 Kallal already had his business a few lots down, in the middle of the block, but the Weiss hotel, "for which such artistic plans had been prepared",[7] was proposing to take up five lots there. Mr. Kallal refused to move from the middle of the block, however, and complained to the Minister of the Interior about the problem. Eventually one of the Otto Brothers went into business with Mr. Kallal and he presented no objections to moving and agreed to erect a permanent building on the new site in the spring of 1914.[8] By the end of 1914, the superintendent had issued 46 leases for various businesses and houses in town.[9]

In 1914, there were about 125 people living in the town of Jasper, as it had now come to be known. Many people were living in tents, and some moved into rooming houses in the winter. As told earlier, Stewart Brothers store, Dr. Niven's post office and drugstore, and a pool hall were already located. In addition, Mah Hay's restaurant was established where the Whistlers Drug Store is located now and Mr. C. V. Jeffreys and his family built a store on the main street

and lived in a suite above it for three years before moving elsewhere in the town. The Wooleys had a grocery store and a ladies wear on the site of the present Athabasca Hotel, and a rooming house upstairs. Next door to them was a photography shop owned by a Mr. Anderson. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police had offices located on Geikie Street.[10] During the same year the old Anglican log church was built and the United Church started (a more complete account of the history of Jasper's churches will be provided later).

Not much development took place in the town during the First World War, except more private houses were built. Mrs. Arends recalled the sanitation in the town was very poor in those days — no sewers, running water or proper garbage disposal.[11] Even after the war was over it took some time to install proper water facilities. By 1921 the only water supply for the town was an eight-inch wood pipe, running from Cabin Creek through the town to the Canadian National shops, across from the station. Houses near to this pipe could connect up to it through small galvanized iron pipes, but other houses only got water in the summer through supply pipes run down trenches in the lanes. During the winter water was hauled to the residents who had to pay for several buckets every few days. After the Lucerne residents moved to Jasper in 1924, the government decided to take over the water system and put in running water to all the houses and fire hydrants. The water pressure from Cabin Creek was increased by the construction of a concrete dam higher up the creek than the old earthen one the railway system had used.

A few years after the town water system was installed, a couple of beaver interfered with the supply of water from the creek by building their own dam across the creek, higher up than the town's dam. The park engineer sent a man up to clear out the debris every couple of days, but obviously that was not a permanent solution to the problem. Finally someone suggested that as beaver are nocturnal creatures, illuminating the site would prevent further construction on the dam and scare them away. The park engineer fell in with the suggestion and strung a stable lantern filled with oil across the

stream just above water level. When he returned a few days later he found that the beavers had not only rebuilt their dam, but incorporated his lantern right into the middle of it! After this effort he asked the warden service to move the beavers out of the area altogether, and the town had no more trouble with its water supply.[12]

During the early years in Jasper there was also no electricity service in the town. Prior to 1925, only the railway had power, generated in its own plants for use in the roundhouse. The townspeople used lamps or acetylene lights. However in 1925 the government built a distribution system for the town and negotiated with the railway company to buy power from them to retail to Jasper residents, and thereafter Jasper houses had electricity.[13] A sewage system was installed in 1928 although, ironically in a national park, raw sewage from the town was dumped straight into the Athabasca River, causing considerable pollution of this lovely river. It was not until 1972 that this situation was corrected and new anaerobic lagoons brought into operation.[14]

During the 1920s and 1930s there was a considerable number of new buildings put up. The old R.C.M.P. building (now the Jasper Public Library) was built in 1925. Not only was Jasper Park Lodge built across the river from the town in 1923, but in 1921 the Athabasca Hotel was opened and then replaced with the present three-story brick building in 1928.[15] That same spring a thirty-bed hospital was planned for Jasper and the Women's Institute appointed a committee to provide linens.[16] Plans were also approved for the attractive little Imperial Bank Building which still stands just north of the old administration building.[17] The Edson-Jasper Signal reported in June of 1928 that "buildings under construction and projected this year in Jasper total well over the quarter-million mark."[18] They went on to give a list of these projects which included the Athabasca, Astoria and National Hotels, the Imperial Bank, the Masonic Hall, St. Mary's church, the Otto Brothers pool hall, the Elks' Clubrooms, and the businesses of J. Claxton, D. Wooley, Fred Brewster, George Cook and A. Wiley.[19] During the 1930s a residence was built for the park

superintendent beside the R.C.M.P. station and a new fire hall constructed behind the administration building.[20] During these years a fish hatchery operated in the basement of the administration building, until a modern hatchery was built during the war across the Athabasca near the mouth of the Maligne.[21] It opened in 1942 and operated for over thirty years, providing speckled trout for the Maligne drainage system.[22]

Schools

Schooling in Jasper seems to have been a fairly ambulatory arrangement during the first few years. A. B. Webb was instrumental in starting the first school which opened in 1914, for he procured the building which was to be used, an old construction shack left by Phelan and Shirley, the railway contractors. He also engaged the first teacher, Miss Lillian Taylor, who came from Banff at age 19 to work for $840 per annum. A box social was held to raise money for the children's desks, and a blackboard was provided and nailed to the shelves of the old shack. School opened on January 3, 1914. Miss Taylor recalled years later that it was fairly quickly decided that the shack was an eyesore for tourists, so it was removed and replaced with a large tent at the back of town against the hill and out of sight. The tent school was even more primitive, as there was no floor so the seats rocked on the dirt and the blackboard, resting on chairs, blew down whenever the wind blew.

The first schoolhouse was built the same year, however, and is still in Jasper, located at 305 Patricia Street and now converted to a house. Another cottage was built on the corner of Patricia Street (301 Patricia) and the space between used as a playground. In 1922 the cottages were sold for homes, and temporary accommodation for the school provided elsewhere. The house at 301 was eventually sold to a Mrs. Weaver, who moved it to 206 Colin Crescent and used it for a nursing home.

For a few years after the school grew out of its two-cottage

arrangement, school was held upstairs in the old Legion Hall. It was also held for a time in the house still standing at 610 Patricia Street. F. A. Jackman, who owned a drug store and post office, had bought this building which had been built in Jasper for an office by the Hayward Lumber Company. He moved the building to its present location at 610 Patricia Street, and lived there in it until he finished his new house across the lane from his business. Then, in 1920, he sold the house at 610 Patricia Street to the Roman Catholic mission, which held services there once a month and rented the premises to the school board during the week.[23]

However, by the early 1920s, Jasper's school-age population was really growing too large to be held in temporary quarters. In 1922 a grade ten class was added for the first time, and the next year the newly-arrived residents from Lucerne also raised the number of school-age children in town. Finally in 1925 construction was completed on a four-room schoolhouse, and three years later four more classrooms were added in a second story. In 1942 two more classrooms, a gym and a library were added, and the building continued to house both the primary and secondary schools until the 1950s, when separate high school and junior high school accommodation was provided. In the early 1960s the old elementary school was torn down and replaced with the present modern building.[24]

Church Buildings

Anglican

The first religious services in Jasper were held by missionaries of several different faiths who travelled along the railway line during construction ministering to the workers. As a tiny settlement developed at Fitzhugh, services began to be held with some regularity. By 1914 Reverend G. S. Provis, working as a missionary from the Edmonton diocese in the western area, was holding Anglican services

in the schoolhouse. That year it was decided to build an Anglican church. The local superintendent of the Grand Trunk Pacific, a Mr. McCall, donated cedar logs, cut in British Columbia, for the church construction. Two donations of £50 each were made by Mr. Provis and a Miss Stewart, and the Women's Auxiliary raised the remaining funds. The picturesque log building, of upright vertical logs, was constructed by the voluntary efforts of Langford, Lofts, Almack and several other Jasper men.[25] The little church was consecrated on August 2, 1914 by Bishop Henry Allen Gray and named the parish of St. Mary and St. George. Services were held fortnightly by Mr. Provis in Jasper and Edson. By 1915 a need developed for permanent accommodation for the clergy and a two story tower, 16 feet by 16 feet, was added to the church. The lower story of the tower was a living room and a kitchen and the upper story of the tower provided two bedrooms. The inside of the church was finished in pressed sheet metal painted a light grey colour. An altar and communion rail were at the front of the church, with a reed organ and a couple of long wooden benches for the choir on either side. Chairs were provided for the congregation.[26]

In 1923 the Anglican parish received its first full-time priest, the Reverend Harold A. Edwards. Both he and his wife played active roles in the community until 1932 when they returned to England. Mr. Edwards built the present rectory himself, wiring it for electricity and installing plumbing before the town mains were hooked up. In 1927 he supervised the construction of a parish hall at the back of the log church on Geikie Street, and two years later the old log church itself was incorporated into the parish hall when a new church was built.

The new church, designed by A. M. Calderon of Edmonton, was the gift of an anonymous benefactor in England, who nine years after her death in 1953 was revealed to be Mrs. Marion Beatrice Smith of Bournemouth. Her son had been killed in Palestine during the First World War, and as a memorial to him she provided the funds for the new church in Jasper as well as projects in several other dioceses in western Canada. Her son's New Testament and a string of olive beads,

found on his body at the time of his death, are embedded in the church's cornerstone, laid by Viscount Willingdon on July 29, 1928. The church was opened in 1929, and the Edith Cavell memorial tower added in 1932. The church bell was given at that time by Viscount Willingdon.[27] While Mrs. Smith's generosity had provided over $20,000.00 for the building and all its furnishings, the organ, of course, was the responsibility of the congregation. Although J. B. Snape, the organist, wrote to Casavant Frères of St. Hyacinthe about a pipe organ, the cost was prohibitive for a small congregation, and eventually a large electric organ was bought from Edmonton.[28] By 1958 the old log church had deteriorated greatly and it was demolished. The remaining parish hall was moved to a site closer to the present church and modernized.

United

Jasper's Methodists and Presbyterians, like the Anglicans, were served by itinerant missionaries from Edmonton in the early days. In 1914 a load of lumber solicited in Edmonton arrived in town and the little white Union Church was built by a group of local men, including A. B. Webb, Ed Cottam and Bill Shovar.[29] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, on a visit to Jasper in 1914, laid the cornerstone for the church. (On the same visit he laid out a nine-hole golf course for the Grand Trunk Pacific and provided the Jasper baseball team with uniforms).[30]

In 1925 the Union Church of Jasper became part of the United Church of Canada, and also received a new minister, the Reverend Joseph Coulter. Shortly after his arrival the manse was built. By the end of the 1930s, plans were approved for a new church, Sunday school and manse, but were cancelled when the war broke out.[31] No construction took place until 1948, when a large addition to the church provided room for the Sunday schools and other parish needs. During the 1960s the little white church was finally sold to the Baptist Union of Western Canada (which is the present owner), and the United Church built the new McCready Christian Education Centre. The old manse is still used by the United Church minister.[32]

Roman Catholic

In 1914 the Catholics in Jasper, like the other Christians there, received services from missionaries in Edmonton. Reverend Father Louis Culerien ministered to the people of Jasper, as well as to those of all the other little towns on the route between Edmonton and Prince George. Much of his travelling was done on foot, trudging along the railway tracks with a pack on his back.[33] Father Patrick Beaudrey was the first resident priest in Jasper, and the first chapel was in the present Brasnett home, at 610 Patricia Street, which has already been described in the section on schools. The first Catholic church in Jasper was built in 1924 by the Archdiocese of Edmonton. The church, built of brick and shingles, stands on the corner of Pyramid Avenue and Geikie Street. Two years later a presbytery was built on the same lot, which faces onto Geikie Street.[34] In 1966 plans were approved for the new Our Lady of Lourdes church, parish hall and presbytery. The buildings were subsequently built at the back of the townsite, at which time the old buildings were turned over to the Lutheran congregation, which has owned them since 1967.[35]

Hospital

Medical care in Jasper during the decade between 1913 and 1923 was often poor. Several doctors were in practice off and on, but occasionally Jasper would be left with no doctor and have to rely on the services of Dr. Grey at Pocahontas and later Dr. O'Hagan at Lucerne. After the residents of Lucerne moved to Jasper, however, with Dr. O'Hagan among them, the people of Jasper had a physician whose understanding and sympathy they could rely on as much as his skill. During the late 1920s Dr. O'Hagan spoke to Sir Henry Thornton, president of the Canadian National Railways, about the need for a hospital in Jasper. Sir Henry responded to the request, and funds from a substantial grant from the railway were channelled through the Catholic Archdiocese of Edmonton for the construction of a hospital in Jasper.[36]

In January 1930, four Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul

(a Halifax order) arrived in Jasper to run the hospital, which opened its doors on January 27, 1930. The hospital was originally known as St. Martha's, but later changed to Seton hospital after the name of the founder of the Sisters of Charity. For many years these Sisters managed the hospital, and eventually acquired its ownership as well. In 1954 the Sisters built a nurses' residence next to the hospital, and an addition to the hospital itself was made in 1964. Finally in the late sixties it became obvious the building would have to be replaced, and in 1970 the Sisters of Charity gave notice of their decision to quit operating the hospital. Consequently, the hospital has since been managed by a local hospital authority established by the provincial government, and a new hospital building was built, mainly with provincial funds, in 1974.[37]

Townspeople

The population of Jasper is approximately divided in thirds, with one-third working for the park, one-third working for the railroad, and the remaining third running businesses and providing services for both the local residents and tourists. Although this report has dealt extensively with both the railroad and the park, little has been said about the other third of the population which has contributed just as much to the history of Jasper. Although Jasper was designated a national park because its wilderness beauty was considered to be of national significance, and although the town became a divisional point on a major transcontinental railway, the development of the park has not been initiated or directed entirely from outside. The initiative and efforts of local people have done a great deal towards developing Jasper park and its facilities over the years.

It has been mentioned that the government began to develop trails into some of the scenic areas of the park almost immediately after the park was established. However, to do this the park officials had to rely heavily on the knowledge of local men who had already explored the territory. James Shand-Harvey, who made his living

guiding tourists in the area, first showed the park commissioner the trail to Miette hot springs, for example, and the Otto brothers cleared the first trail into Maligne Lake. The Ottos became outfitters in the Jasper area and took tourists out from the town to see the park's beauty, as did Alex Wylie, the Hargreaves, the Brewsters and Curly Phillips, to mention only a few. All of these men actively promoted and advertised the attractions of Jasper, as well as developing new trails and other facilities in the park. Fred Brewster, for example, developed the "Skyline" horse trail as well as a boat and motor service into Maligne Lake. Curly Phillips promoted boating of all sorts on the lakes in the park, and evidently constructed such magnificent boats himself that one was even bought by a French scientist and shipped back to France to be re-assembled there.[38]

In addition to promoting summer recreation such as trail-riding and boating, local promoters also became very interested in winter sports in the park, notably skiing. When Peter Withers, one of the early wardens, arrived in Jasper in 1920, he owned one of the two pairs of skis in town, and during the winter of 1921 he used his skis to make his winter patrols. The same year Vern and Doug Jeffreys explored the Maligne Lake area with him on skis. As interest grew during the twenties, local people cleared ski runs by hand up at Patricia and Pyramid Lakes. Cross country skiing became popular too, and races were held around Medicine Lake, a distance of about thirty miles. Several local men who had skied together eventually decided to make a long ski trip to Banff in 1930. Caches of food were placed along the route during the fall, and on January 15, 1930 a group left Jasper to ski to Banff. A few years later another group made a similar long trip to the Columbia Icefied, under the direction of Joe Weiss. Around the end of the twenties, the clearing of the runs at Whistlers was also begun, all by hand.[39]

Jos Weiss was one of the first to see the commercial possibilities of developing skiing in the park (at Marmot Mountain, for example). During the thirties, tourists began to come to ski in Jasper. Fred and Jack Brewster "abandoned their saddles for skis" in the winter to guide

ski groups up the glaciers. Curly Phillips had also been active in the move to develop skiing in Jasper, and in fact met an early death in 1938 while out searching for new ski areas. A local boy, Reginald Pugh was killed with him by an unforeseen avalanche.[40] This tragedy did not stop the development of skiing in Jasper, however, and only the following year Jasper played host to an inter-club ski meet designed to promote Jasper as a "winter playground."[41] This campaign was certainly successful, as Jasper has over the years developed into an internationally famous ski area. In recent years the popularity of cross country skiing has led to the development of extensive winter trails in the park. Now, in winter as well as summer, the pressure for tourist accommodation in Jasper exceeds the availability on virtually every weekend.

Conclusion

This report has detailed the development of Jasper from a small and relatively unimportant post in the enormous network of the fur trade to its present status as one of the most popular and famous tourist attractions in Canada. Many diverse elements go to make up this story, but this report has tried to show that there are connections between these elements; to detail the continuous story of Jasper in the past and to show how each new development grew out of a past one. More importantly, however, this report has endeavoured to place Jasper and its past in the context of a national history; to show that events and transitions outside the park had an influence on Jasper's history and also to show that Jasper played a role in and contributed to these national developments.

Many topics of national interest have been covered here. The movements of the Indian tribes in and around Jasper have been shown to be the result of fur trade activity starting either in Montreal or Hudson Bay and moving westward. The fur traders, in addition to disrupting the Indians, also discovered and explored vast new territories to the north and west of the settled areas of North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. And fur traders were not the only people to participate in this extension of the western Canadian frontiers. Missionaries, scientists, and mere curiosity seekers also came to Jasper to explore this newly discovered wilderness. Of course mere discovery of the Jasper area was not the only goal of these travels. More important than the Jasper area itself in the nineteenth century was the area west of the Rocky Mountains to which it gave access. Jasper was situated at the entrance to two major passes through the mountains. This position came to ensure Jasper's importance in a national transportation and communication scheme. During the

nineteenth century, the possibilities of Jasper as a major trans-continental route were repeatedly investigated; for troop movements, a wagon road, a telegraph line and finally, a railway. Although the Yellowhead route was used by one historic group of travellers en route to the Cariboo, it was, however, generally overlooked until the early twentieth century. At that time a transcontinental railway was finally built through the Yellowhead Pass, and Jasper's importance in terms of national transportation in the twentieth century was ensured. Jasper is still a divisional point on the Canadian National Railway today. This theme of the development of a national transportation route, then, has been continuous throughout Jasper's past. From the first time David Thompson entered the valley to seek a route to the Columbia to the present day, Jasper has witnessed a steady stream of traffic moving east and west across the country.

The railway, in addition to linking east and west through the Jasper area, also brought Jasper into a position of national prominence in its own right. Jasper is an area of outstanding natural beauty, and as soon as plans were developed to make it accessible to the rest of the country by train, the Canadian government established a national park in the upper Athabasca area. However, although the land within the park's boundaries was to be protected, Canadian government policy with respect to the park was somewhat contradictory in the early years of its history. Though most of the park was publicly owned, leases were extended to private companies for commercial exploitation of the natural resources in the area. The realization that mining, lumbering and quarrying would permanently destroy the wilderness beauty that the park had been established to protect grew slowly. But finally in 1930 the National Parks Act was enacted which prohibited forever resource exploitation in the park.

However, the National Parks Act did not guarantee that Jasper would remain a virgin wilderness. The park had been established for the enjoyment of the people of Canada, and they came in ever increasing numbers to visit it. This, of course, meant the growth of facilities to accommodate them—hotels, camp grounds, roads, hiking trails and

ski runs. All development of this sort has been carefully controlled by the government to ensure that as little of the wilderness as possible is destroyed while at the same time allowing people the privilege of visiting one of the loveliest natural beauty spots on the continent. This growth of an interest in preserving the wilderness and developing a policy by which to achieve that goal is the second major theme in Jasper's past.

Today, Jasper is important as a national park preserving a small part of the Canadian wilderness, and also by virtue of its position at the entrance to the Yellowhead Pass, one of the major transportation corridors across the country. These two aspects of Jasper's present situation are themes which recur constantly in Jasper's history as well. The events and developments of the past two centuries in the Jasper Park area are of significance when interpreted in the framework of our national transportation history and our national history of the conservation movement. Thus, in addition to Jasper's contemporary significance as a national park and as a transportation route, it appears that it also has a heritage value for Canadians because of its historic development. Transportation and conservation are the two basic themes linking Jasper's past to Canada's national development.

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5 PAC, RG 30, Vol. 3360, fol. 644. It should be noted that the town which was established at Mile 112 and which was to be the divisional point for the railway was called Fitzhugh until 1913, at which time the name of the town was changed to Jasper. Confusion about the name "Fitzhugh" has arisen because Fitzhugh has been suggested as a name for an historic site within the present town. This site is the old Grand Trunk Pacific engineers' headquarters camp which was located at Mile 113 between 1911 and 1914, and later used by local families for housing. This camp was never called Fitzhugh. These headquarters were located in a spot which later came to be known locally as "Snape's Hill" after the last resident of the buildings there, J. B. Snape (Park Engineer from 1921 to 1949). Since Snape had no connection with the railway which originally built the camp, Brian Reeves suggested in a report about the site for Parks Canada that the name "Snape's Hill" is unsuitable for a historic site from the railway period. While this may be true, his suggestion that the site be called "Fitzhugh" is equally unsuitable, since the whole town was called Fitzhugh and not just the engineer's camp. (See Brian Reeves, "Fitzhugh Park: Historical/Archaeological Assessment: Final Report," Manuscript

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4 Canada. Parliament, "Coal Fields of Jasper Park, Alberta," by D. B. Dowling, in Sessional Papers, 1911 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1911), No. 25, p. 150.

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9 JYHS, Arends file, "Reminiscences of Mrs. B. R. Arends," p. 6.

10 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 277, fol. J30-10.

11 JYHS, Pocahontas file, "Pocahontas-Moosehorn Creek Coal Basin, Jasper Park, Alberta," by B. R. MacKay, p. 2.

12 Most of this description of the town comes from correspondence and an interview that a Jasper Park naturalist had with Mr. Sam Protti, an Enderby man, a few years ago. Mr. Protti was born in 1903 and lived at Pocahontas on and off from 1913 to 1917, after which he went to Brûlé and began to work in the mine there at the age of fourteen. The report written as a result of the interview, at which time Mr. Protti visited the site, is the best source of information we have as to the layout of the town and buildings. See Susan Wolff, op. cit.

13 JYHS, Murphy file, D. Murphy to C. Peterson, 17 July 1967.

14 The information in this paragraph comes mainly from Susan Wolff's report, op. cit., and presumably was gleaned from her dealings with Sam Protti. Annie Richardson of Jasper corroborates some

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42 PAC, RG84, Vol. 148, fol. J32-62, S. M. Rogers to Manager, Edmonton Cement Company, 1 Mar. 1923.

43 PAC, RG84, Vol. 148, fol. J32-62, S. M. Rogers to Commissioner, 1 Mar. 1933.

44 JYHS, Gibson file, J. Gibson to C. Peterson, 30 Nov. 1973.

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47 JYHS, Camp file, "Tie Timber and the Jack Ladder," 19 May 1968.

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49 JYHS, Camp file, "Tie Timber and the Jack Ladder," 19 May 1968.

50 Janet Foster, op. cit., pp. 27, 28 and 32, 33. Although her book deals mainly with the growth of a movement to protect wild game, there is much in it of value pertaining to the preservation movement in general and the differences between the ideas of conservation and preservation in the development of Canadian parks policy. See especially chapters 2 and 3.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

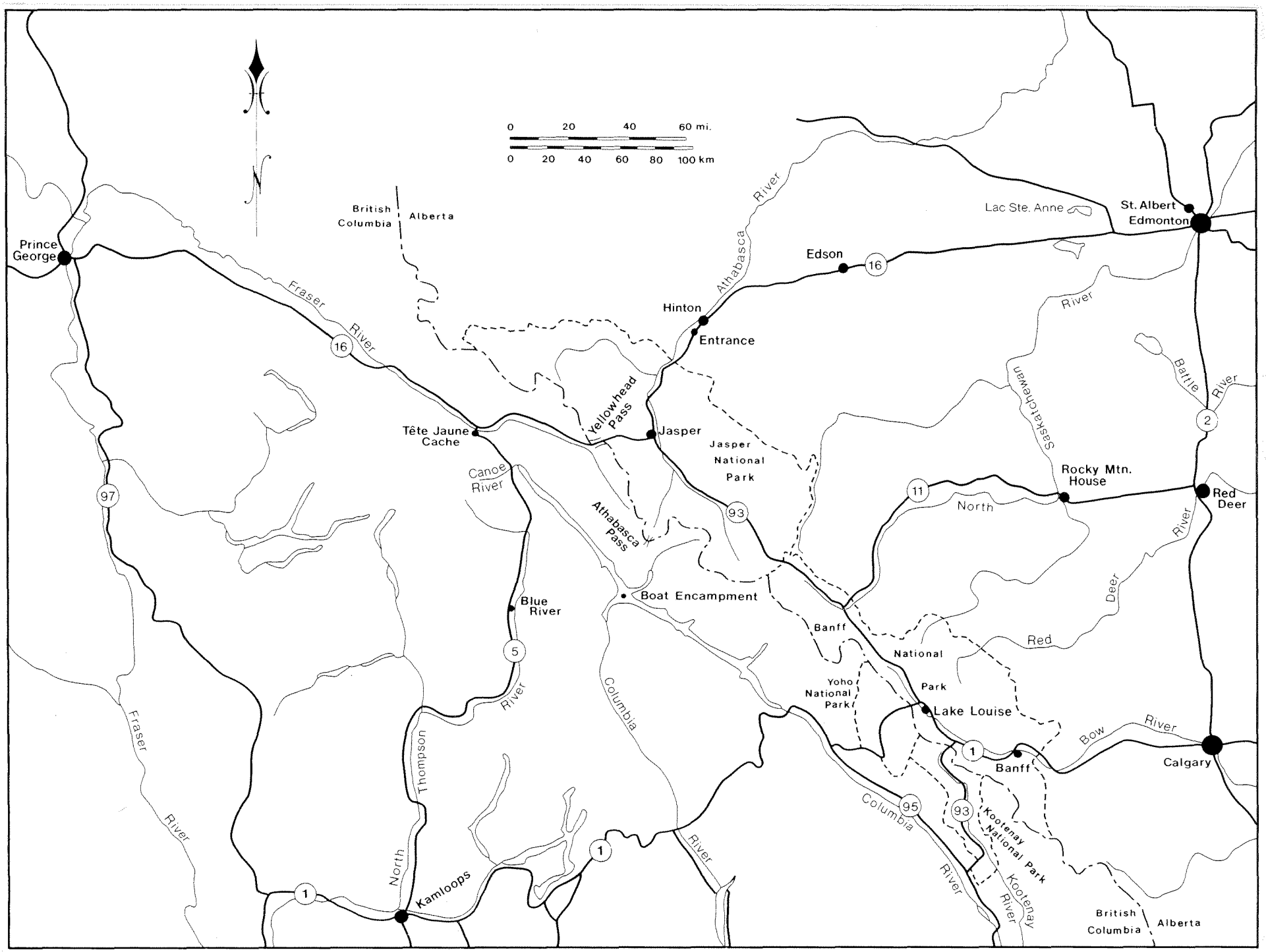


Figure 1. Regional map of Jasper area (author)

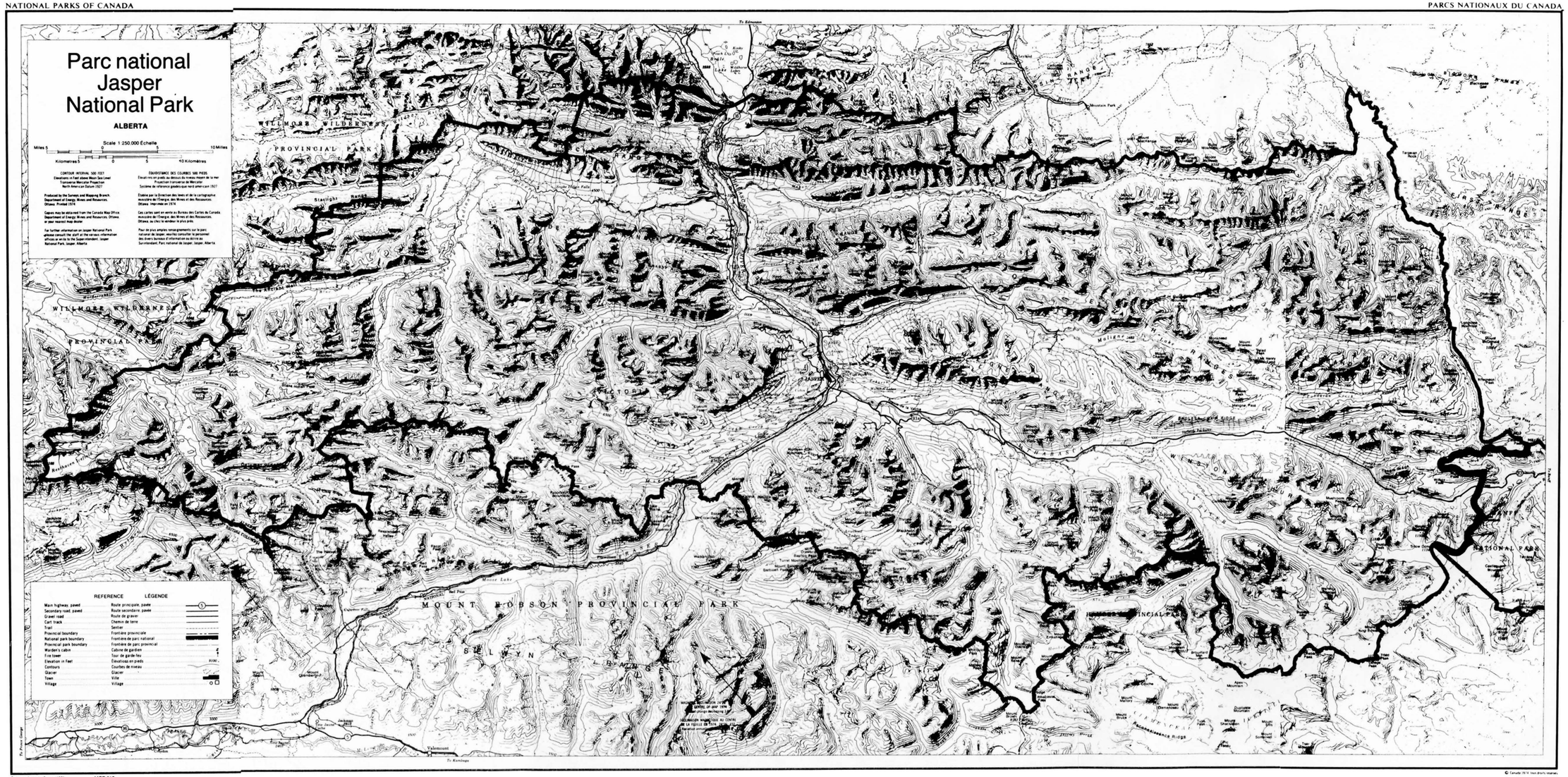


Figure 2. Topographical map of Jasper National Park

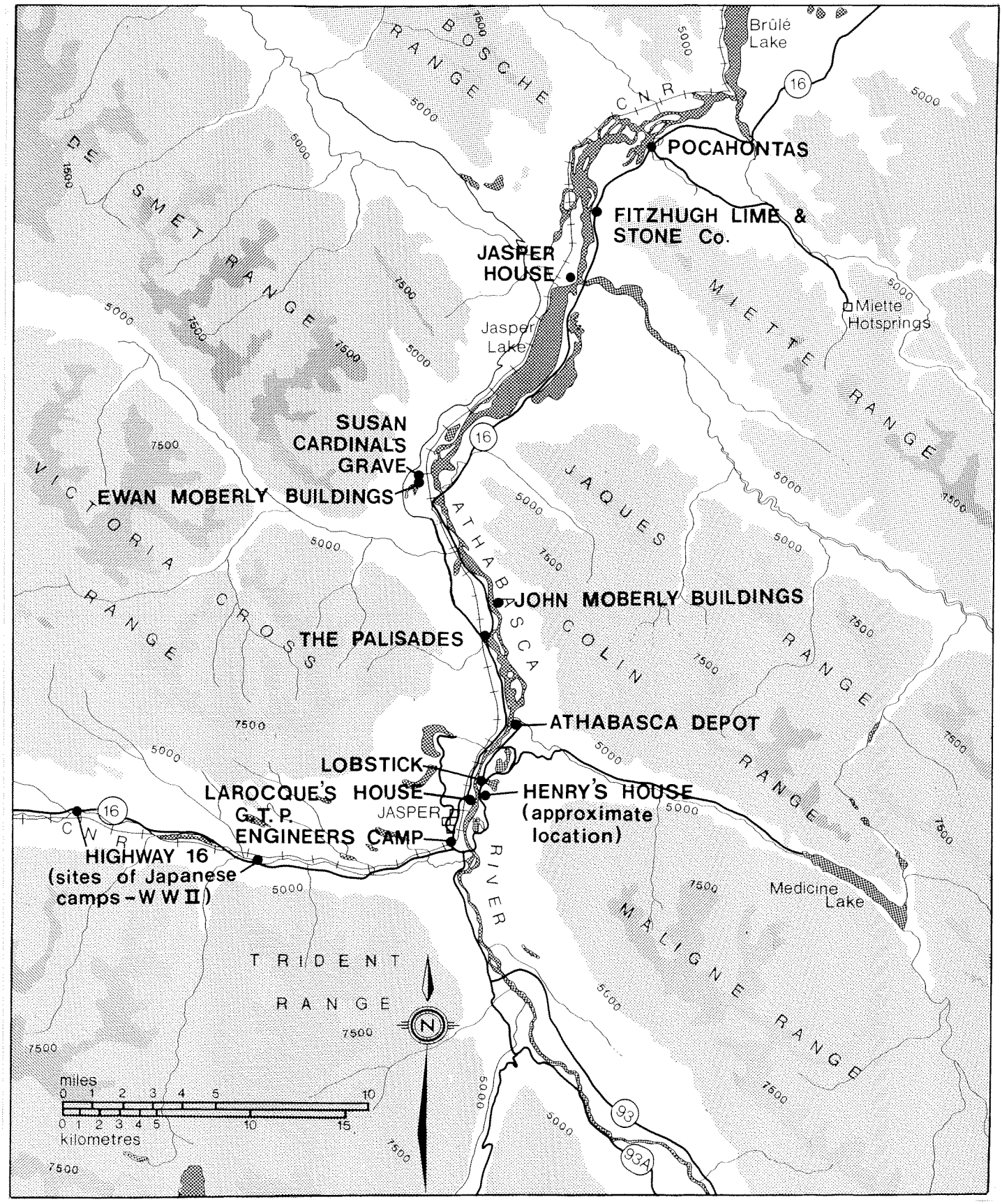


Figure 3. Historic sites of Jasper National Park (author).

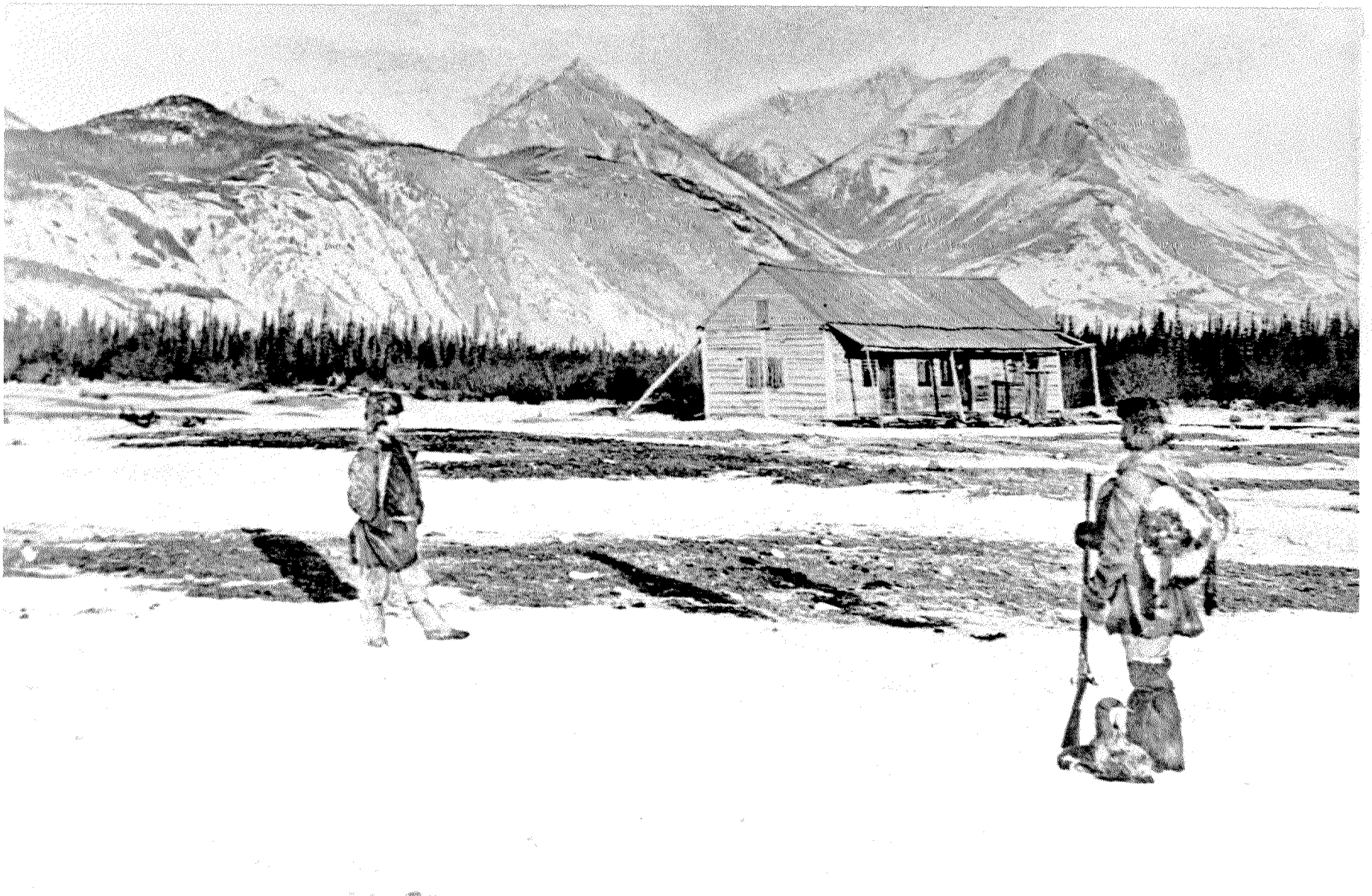


Figure 4. View of Jasper House, 1872, by Charles Horetzky. Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Archives, NA-382-5

Figure 5. Construction of Grand Trunk Pacific line in the Jasper area, 1911. Archives of the Canadian Rockies, NA-71-1173

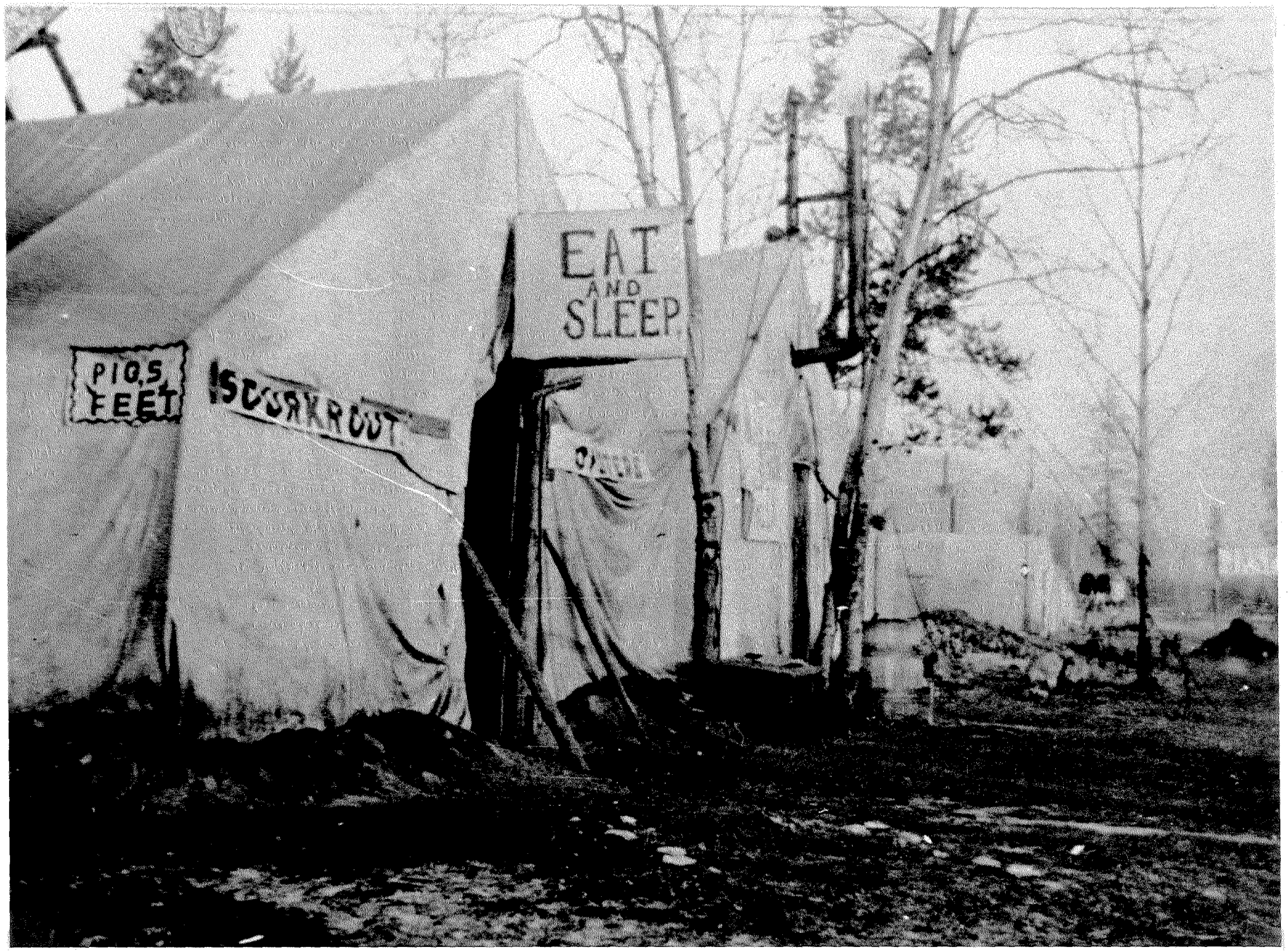
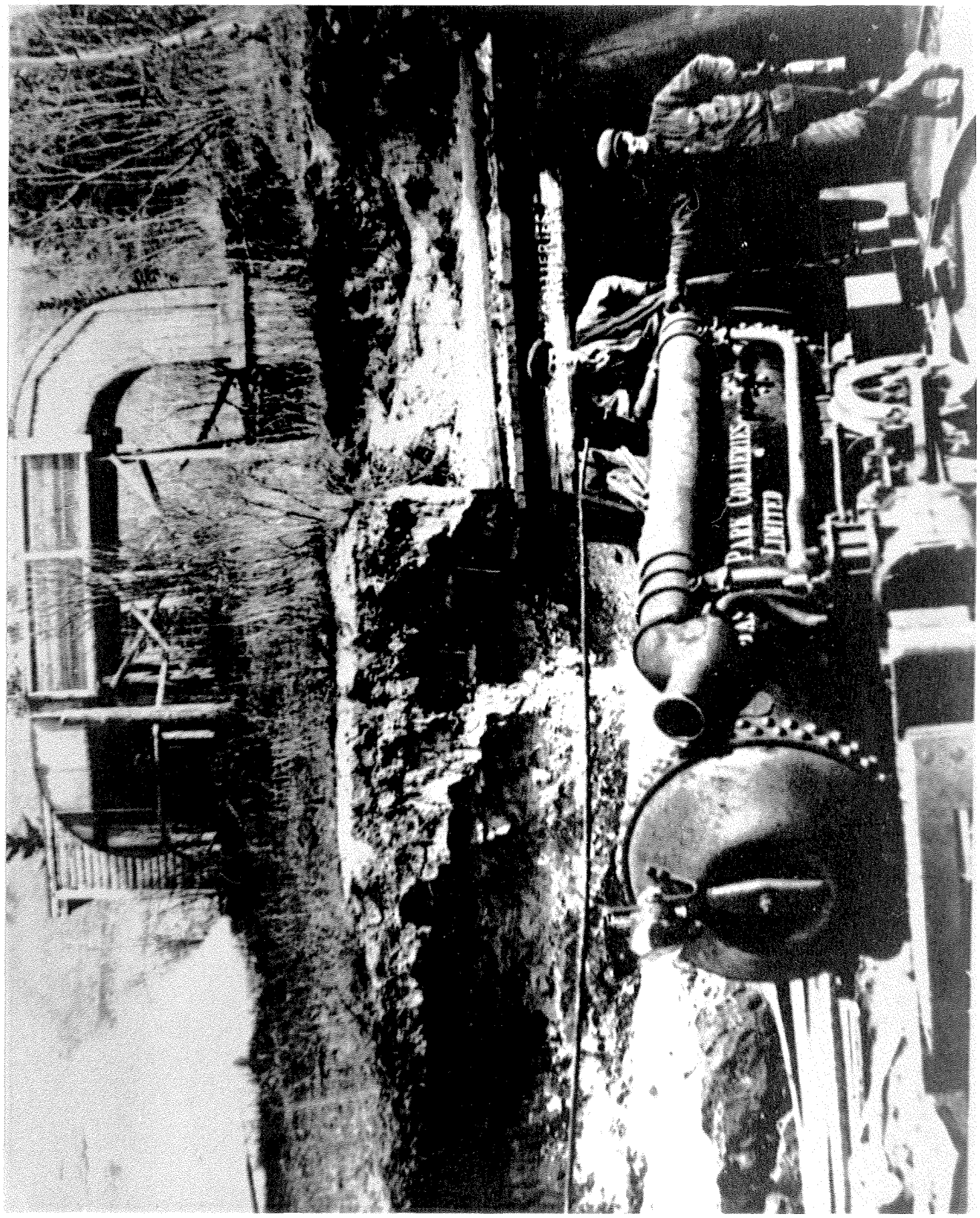


Figure 6. Railway construction camp at Fitzhugh, 1910. Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Archives, NA-1679-12

Figure 7. Lewis Swift's family and cabin in Jasper National Park, 1911.
Archives of the Canadian Rockies, NA-71-1158

1911 Looper House Yellowhead Summit

Figure 8. Men and equipment, Jasper Park Collieries, Pocahontas, 1912.
Provincial Archives of Alberta, 67:92/21


PAUL COLLINS

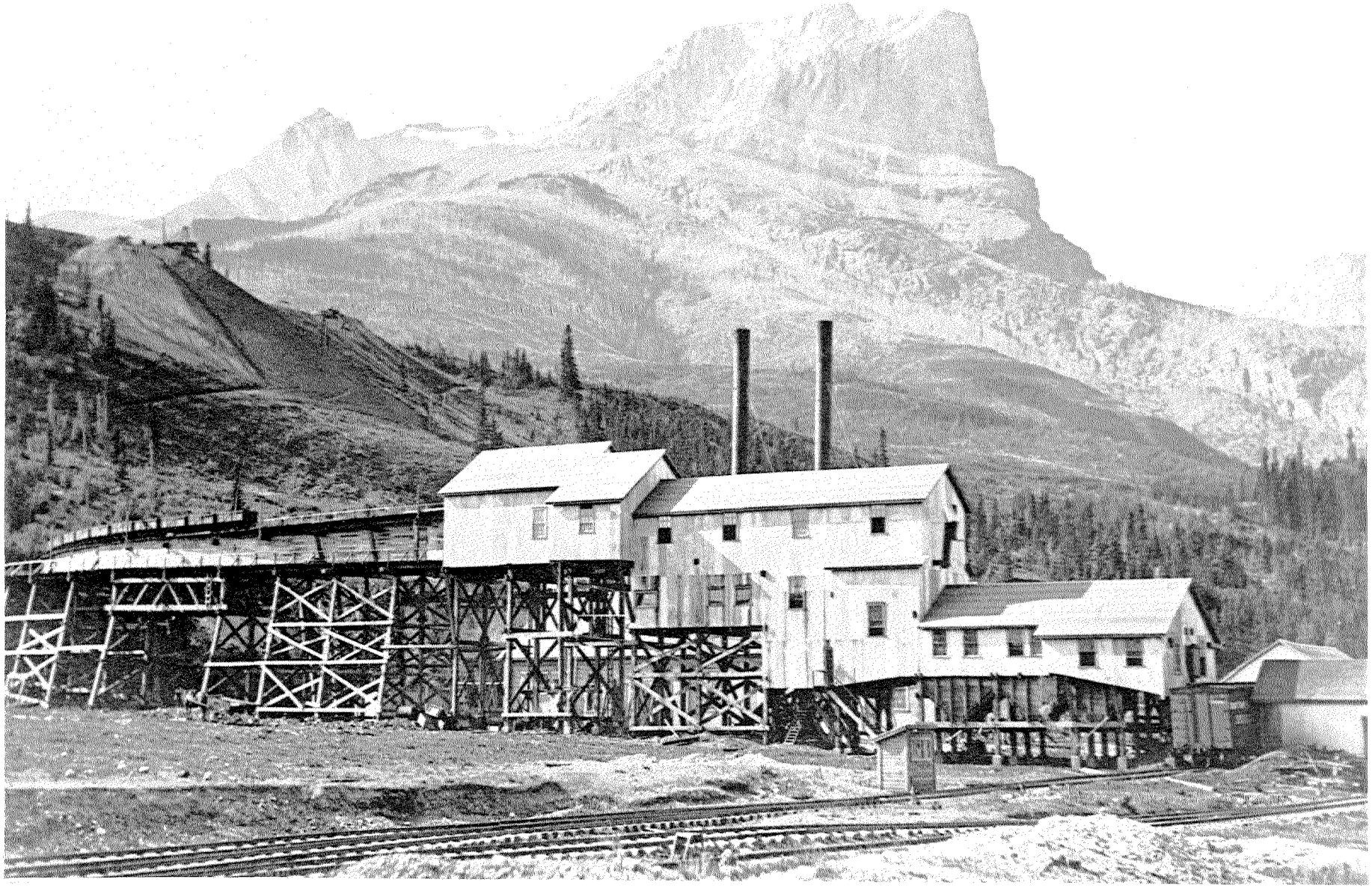


Figure 9. Mine at Pocahontas, 1920. Provincial Archives of Alberta, 72:87/2 later changed to A671b

Figure 10. Fitzhugh Lime and Stone Company plant, 1913. Provincial Archives of Alberta, 67:92/22

Figure 11. View of internment camp in Jasper National Park, c.1915. Glenbow-Alberta Institute, NA-1044-23