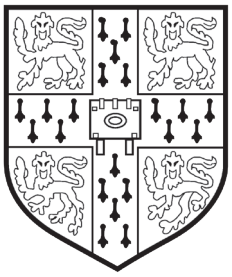
Nature Unsettled

the making of the wilderness imaginary and the Canadian settler state

Tiffany Kaewen Dang



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Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for any degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

Abstract

Despite the economic significance of extractive resource industries to the national economy, Canadians hold their national parks—as spaces of untouched nature—in high regard as a key aspect of national pride and identity. By critically investigating the cultural framing of nature in Canada as contextualized within the structure of settler colonialism, I attempt a fuller understanding of these landscapes. Paying particular attention to how settler colonial difference has historically intersected with the cultural framing of nature in Canada, this thesis aims to bring to light histories of racialized labour and non-settler migration alongside histories of Indigenous dispossession regarding the design and control of natural landscapes. Three intersecting themes drive the core of this thesis: (1) landscape representation as a tool of colonisation, (2) the relationship between urbanization, infrastructure, and settler colonisation, and (3) the potential for landscapes futures engaged in decolonial and other-than-human knowledges.

This work has primarily focused on the development of landscapes in the Canadian Rocky Mountains as a hinge between Indigenous dispossession and racialized migrant work regimes at the turn of the twentieth century. This is achieved by achieved by an analysis of three historically significant moments in Canadian history. The first considers the development of the earliest national parks in the Rocky Mountains at the turn of the twentieth century as discursive landscapes of settler colonial nationalism. The second recounts the significant racial component of the labour behind infrastructure construction and facilitation i.e. the work of accessing the wilderness. In the third, a major flood event reveals tensions between other-than-human agencies and the material infrastructures of settler colonialism. The scale of these settler colonial landscapes not only encompass Canada as a settler nation, but also the broader geographies of the British Empire. The historical aspects of this thesis have been informed by archival research conducted in Canada and the UK, with significant attention paid to the marketing materials produced by the Canadian Pacific Company and the Canadian Parks Department. These archival sources are complimented by readings of contemporary news media and scientific papers on river hydrology and ecology. Ultimately, this thesis unsettles the nature imaginary in Canada by bringing together landscape studies, urban theory, and settler colonial studies; it expands landscape studies through new considerations around labour, poses a spatial-power link between processes of urbanization and settler colonisation, and moves beyond Indigenous-settler binaries in settler colonial studies by intersecting it with racial histories and other-than-human futures.

For my maternal grandmother, who believed all girls should go to school (because she never had that chance).

Land Acknowledgements

The research for this thesis was conducted in various places across the lands known today as Canada. I would like to acknowledge those lands and their stewards for bearing the stories, life, and knowledge that have made this research possible.

This thesis begins in the Bow Valley. The town of Banff and the city of Calgary lie within Treaty 7. Treaty 7 includes the traditional homelands of the Blackfoot Confederacy (Siksika, Kainai, Piikani), the Tsuut'ina, the Iyârhe Nations, the Otipemisiwak Métis Government of the Métis Nation. Beyond the bounds of Treaty 7, the Bow Valley has been a gathering place for for many Indigenous nations, including Iyârhe, Blackfoot, Tsuut'ina, Ktunaxa, Secwépemc, Dene, Mountain Cree, and Métis.

Moving westward over the mountains to the Pacific coast, this research has also been informed by the lands occupied today by the city of Vancouver. Vancouver is located on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam), Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (Squamish), and səlilwətaɬ (Tsleil-Waututh) Nations, and has been stewarded by them since time immemorial.

In addition, this project has taken me to the cities of Ottawa and Montreal in eastern Canada. Ottawa is situated within the traditional unceded territory of the Anishinaabe Algonquin Nation, and Montreal is located on the traditional territory of the Kanien'kehà:ka.

Personal Acknowledgements

The road to completing this thesis has been a long one with many highs and many lows. It would have been impossible to have taken this journey alone, and for that I am sincerely grateful to all the people who have made this research possible.

First and foremost, I owe a deep gratitude to my supervisor, Matthew Gandy, who not only fostered my intellectual growth over the last few years but also provided much support and encouragement along the way. His many insights have been invaluable to the development of this work. I am also appreciative of his professional advice on navigating the often-challenging landscape that is academia.

Embarking on archival research can be an arduous task, and therefore I would like to acknowledge the assistance provided by the archivists and staff at the various archives I visited while undertaking this research, these include Library and Archives Canada, the Whyte Museum Archive, and the Expo Rail Archive.

In addition to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada who awarded me a Doctoral Fellowship to undertake this PhD, and Newnham College from whom I received a studentship; this research was supported by funds from the Canadian Federation of University Women, the Landscape Architecture Canada Foundation, and the Canada Council for the Arts.

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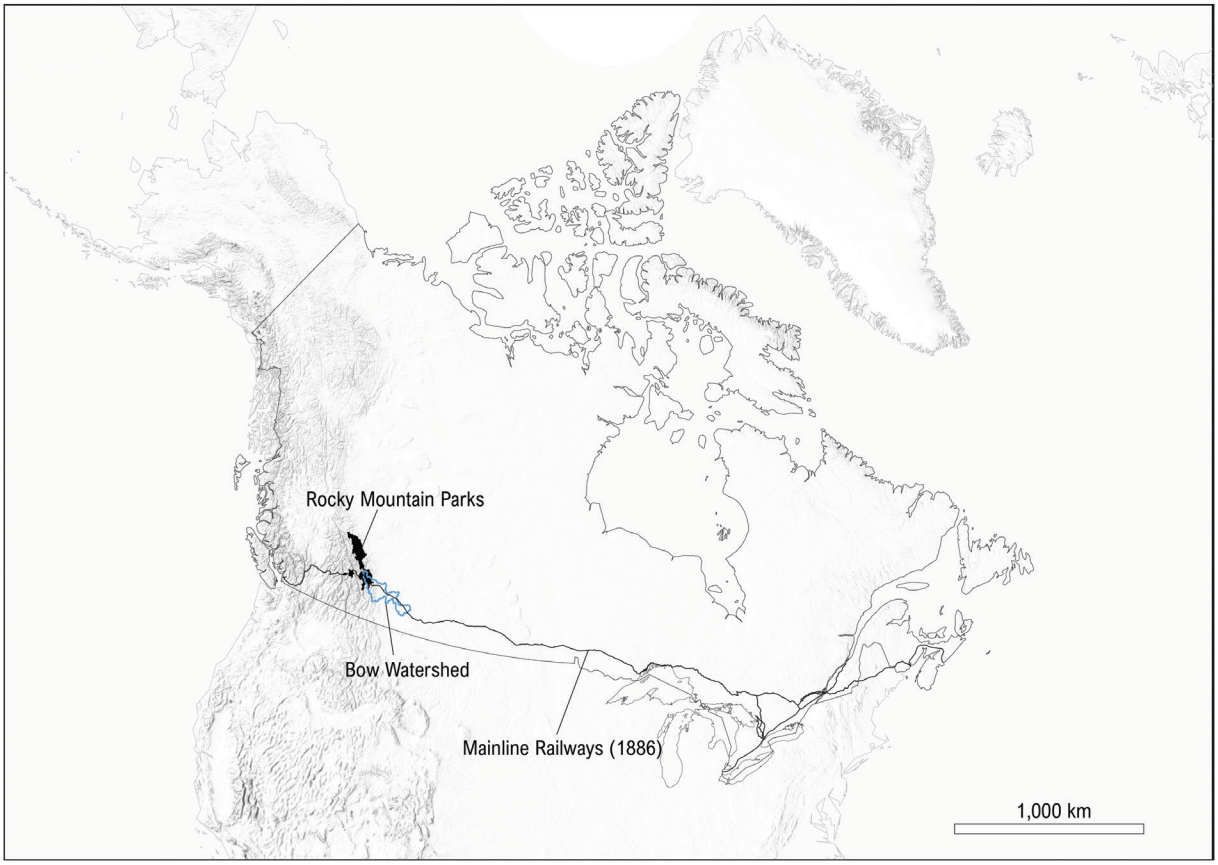
Finally, I am forever indebted to my brother Thomas and my parents Daniel and Cindy, who have all supported me unconditionally throughout this journey even if they didn't always understand exactly what it was that I was doing. Without you, none of this would have happened.



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introduction

Unsettling Questions

> National parks are among Canada's—and the world's—natural jewels.
>
> —"Introduction" from the Parks Canada website (2019)

There is a meme about Canada that has been circulating in Latin American communities on social media for the last few years. It shows two very different views on Canada and represents an interesting contradiction about the country that I have been curious about for some time. The image is composed of two photos, placed vertically: on the top is a photo of the majestic Lake Louise—an alpine lake in the Canadian Rocky Mountains famous for its turquoise blue glacial waters—captioned with *"Cuando visitas Canadá"*;[1] the image below is strikingly different—a large open pit mine bearing the text, *"Cuando Canadá te visita a ti"*.[2] The joke calls attention to Canada's international reputation as an environmentally friendly paradise of globally renowned natural beauty and contrasts this directly with its status as a prolific player in the environmentally degrading global mining industry. For context, not only is mining a significant contributor to the Canadian economy domestically, but the Canadian mining industry also has a large global reach; nearly half of the world's publicly traded mining and mineral exploration companies are headquartered in Canada,[3] with approximately 40 per cent being listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange.[4]

1. *When you visit Canada*
2. *When Canada visits you*
3. Natural Resources Canada, 'Canadian Mining Assets'.
4. Toronto Stock Exchange, '~40% of the World's Public Mining Companies Are Listed on TSX and TSXV'.

In some parts of the world, the country's seemingly stellar environmental record is undermined by the problematic practices undertaken by the overseas operations of various Canadian mining companies. About half of the overseas assets owned by these Canadian mining companies are in Latin America and the Caribbean (reflected by the meme's popularity in Latin American communities)—another quarter are located on the African continent. Although it is a fact hidden from most Canadians at home, the reputation of Canadian mining operations abroad is not a good one, and the industry has been mired by numerous accusations over the years on various environmental and human rights issues.[5]

The *"Cuando visitas Canadá"* meme highlights a complex relationship between other-than-human nature and the Canadian state. The valorisation of nature in the Canadian imaginary is antipathetic to the reality that mining and extraction remains incredibly important to the Canadian economy at home and abroad. While Canadians often pridefully boast about the country's bounty of natural landscapes and nature protections as core aspects of Canadian identity, the reality of the nation's relationship with nature has a darker side. There is an underlying structure to which both Canada's reliance on mining and its positive cultural framing of nature are rooted: settler colonialism. A history of settler colonialism and colonisation drives both seemingly divergent relationships with theother-than-human world. At its founding as a colony of the British Empire, Canada was a territory from which the empire profited by extracting and exporting its natural resources—first fish, then fur, and later lumber. Today, this economic reliance on the export of natural resources continues with the prominence of the Canadian oil and gas industry. Over the years, Canada's politically hospitable policies towards the extractive industries has led to its growth in mining on an international scale. This speaks to the historical embeddedness of settler coloniality within the Canadian state. Over the years, I have come to recognise that in the Canadian settler colonial context, the national obsession with nature stems from the same unsettling settler colonial structures which legitimise the most environmentally and socially damaging extraction-based industries. The settler colonial desire to control land and extract value from it extends beyond mining and is also the foundation of the country's appreciation for other-than-human nature—a cultural construct of settler Canadian identity that I call the wilderness imaginary.[6]

Broadly speaking, in this thesis I explore some of the dimensions through which the wilderness imaginary in Canada can be understood as a settler colonial construct, using the Canadian national parks

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5. Occasionally, human rights violations committed by Canadian international mining companies do enter Canadian mainstream consciousness, for instance when fraud and corruption accusations surrounding an SNC Lavalin project in Libya led to a political scandal involving Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Minister of Justice Jody Wilson-Raybould in 2019.
6. Generally, in this thesis, when I use the term "nature," I am simply referring to the non-human world. The politically charged settler colonial version of nature is more specifically addressed as the wilderness imaginary.

system and the transcontinental railway as my main objects of analysis. In doing this, this thesis also acts as a conceptual deliberation on the complexity of the idea of nature, embedded as it is with various social, political, and cultural dimensions. In many ways, the wilderness imaginary works culturally and materially to uphold the power imbalances set by the settler colonial state and contribute to its resilience. Landscape, as a conceptual framework, is useful in exploring these dimensions because it exists fluidly between cultural and material worlds. There are three key intersecting themes related to landscape which frame this thesis. Firstly, this thesis shows how landscape representation can be used as a tool of colonisation. This is achieved methodologically through the close textual analysis of various marketing and promotional materials surrounding the early development of national parks in the Canadian Rocky Mountains. Secondly, this thesis considers the different ways in which processes of urbanisation, settlement, and infrastructure building intersect with the power formations of the settler colonial state. The Canadian transcontinental railway is a key infrastructure which facilitated the urbanisation and settlement of western Canada. In addition, the building of the railway itself reveals specific racial dimensions of settler colonialism which are sometimes overlooked in settler colonial studies. I argue that under settler colonisation, urbanisation and settlement can in some measure be considered analogous. Finally, I propose that the unsettled future lies in embracing practices involving other-than-human knowledge exchange. There are powerful other-than-human agents of change—such as rivers, winds, and beings—which can disrupt the infrastructure of the settler colonial state and reveal alternative futurities.

In choosing to focus on the Canadian national parks system and the transcontinental railway, this thesis adds to a rather large body of work on both institutions. A wide range of literature in environmental history have been published on the topic of national parks in Canada, considering both the parks as a system,[7] as well as focusing on individual parks and regions.[8] There are also many studies relating the national parks in different historical processes in human history, including Indigenous relations,[9] prisoner of war camps,[10] and landscape planning.[11] Likewise, the transcontinental railway in Canada has been the subject of a great number of studies looking at Canadian nationalism,[12] British imperialism,[13] the

7. Shoalts, 'How Our National Parks Evolved'; Lothian, *A History of Canada's National Parks*; Hart, *J.B. Harkin*.
8. McCormack, 'The Political Economy of Bison Management in Wood Buffalo National Park'; Luxton, *Banff*; Sandlos, 'National Parks in the Canadian North'; Sadler, 'National Parks, Wilderness Preservation, and Native Peoples in Northern Canada'.
9. Binnema and Niemi, '"Let the Line Be Drawn Now"'; Mason, *Spirits of the Rockies*; Sandlos, 'National Parks in the Canadian North'; Stevens, *Indigenous Peoples, National Parks, and Protected Areas*.
10. Waiser, *Park Prisoners*.
11. Nelson and Byrne, 'Man as an Instrument of Landscape Change'; Scace, *Banff: A Cultural-Historical Study of Land Use and Management in a National Park Community to 1945*.
12. Innis, *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway*; Charland, 'Technological Nationalism'.
13. Cowen, 'Following the Infrastructures of Empire'; Ranganathan, 'Empire's Infrastructures'.

settlement of the prairies,[14] Indigenous dispossession,[15] and Chinese labour.[16] Within this backdrop of existing research, my approach is unique in its filtering of the history of each institution through the power relationas of settler colonialism and coalescing them with the entangled frameworks of landscape studies, urbanism, infrastructure, racial difference (Indigenous and non-Indigenous), and more-than-human agency. In collapsing all these concepts together into the body of work that is this thesis, my aim is to demonstrate precisely how tightly wound they are in support of the project of Canadian settler colonialism. Furthermore, the combined analysis of the history of the national parks system alongside the transcontinental railroad makes clear that settler colonial infrastructures do not exist in isolation, but rather they feed each other and work together to ensure the continuity of the settler state.

In the remainder of this introduction, in lieu of a more traditional overview of chapters, I present two different organising frameworks for this thesis. First, I provide an overview of my core site of analysis—the Bow Valley—and describe how the thesis has been structured to move across, within, and beyond the region. Within this overview, I also offer some annotations on my methodology, including the various archives I visited and the importance of each. Following this geographical framing, I then trace how the concept of wilderness has acted as a kind of conceptual scaffold for the thesis. I outline how its importance waxes and wanes in each chapter and how the meaning of the term itself evolves as it travels through the different geographies analysed in the different chapters. That being said, although I give much attention and care to situating the concept of wilderness within the Canadian settler colonial context (especially in chapter one), the main lines of critical discursive inquiry in this thesis are much broader than topic of wilderness itself. In chapter two, I provide a review of the main conceptual frameworks which form the discursive foundations of this thesis. It is structured as a series of intersecting discourses which presents literature at the conceptual overlaps of settler colonialism with landscape and infrastructure, racial difference, Indigenous studies, and posthumanism. I have chosen to present the literature in this way to highlight the complex and layered ways in which settler colonialism has impacted the Canadian body politic. Finally, to wrap up the introduction, I finish by reflecting on the importance of visual methodologies[17] to the central themes of this thesis and how this emphasis on the visual is represented throughout the rest of the text.

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14. Voisey, 'The Urbanization of the Canadian Prairies, 1871-1916'; Artibise, *Winnipeg*.
15. Chan, Essaji, and Gillezeau, 'Railroads, Land Cessions, and Indigenous Nations'.
16. Chang, *Pacific Connections*; Faustino-Santos, 'A Race of Cuckoos'; Chan, 'Chinese Bachelor Workers in Nineteenth-Century Canada'.
17. Rose, *Visual Methodologies*.

0.1 The Bow Valley

The places that I write about in this thesis are all intimately known to me. As a child, I spent many summer vacations in the national parks of the Canadian Rockies. These trips—to "the mountains," as we Albertans say—hold some of my earliest and fondest childhood memories. In one memory, I am wearing Disney's *Pocahontas*-themed pyjamas and helping my mother place stones in a circle around an open fire; in another, I am sitting on the bumper of a parked car, and in the distance, I can see a moose in the forest. It is in the Canadian Rockies—or more precisely, in Banff, Jasper, Yoho, Kootenay, and Mount Revelstoke national parks—that I developed a lifelong fascination with the natural world and our place in it. Further downstream along the Bow in Calgary, I experienced a community that shared my family's diasporic languages, stories, and values. For a number of years my father worked in Calgary, and he had in an apartment near Chinatown, a stone's throw from the Bow River. During school holidays, I got to know the city—and most importantly, I got to know Chinatown. The days spent walking, eating, and shopping in Calgary's Chinatown taught me about cultural difference and the importance of having and respecting community. My personal connections to these places (the Rockies and the Bow Valley) have shaped the themes explored and directions taken in this thesis. It would be ignorant to claim otherwise.

The Bow River originates in the meltwaters of the glaciers of the Wapta icefield, a series of glaciers located in the Canadian Rocky Mountains on the continental divide straddling Banff and Yoho national parks in the Canadian provinces of Alberta and British Columbia. Banff and Yoho are, respectively, the first and second national parks to be established in Canada in 1885 and 1886. In 1984, the four contiguous national parks in this region of the Rockies (Banff and Yoho, along with the subsequently established Jasper and Kootenay national parks) were designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. This region serves as the geographical core of this thesis. As the historian Simon Schama has asserted, landscapes hold cultural meaning and memory—there is a plethora of "myth and memory that lie beneath the surface"[18] of every landscape, suggesting that the histories of nature and culture are both human constructs, and therefore, indivisible. Landscapes are constructed through the influence of both human and other-than-human processes, holding evidence of cultural, social, and political, as well as environmental and ecological histories in the morphology of the land. Along this vein, one of the primary aims of this thesis is to uncover some of the hidden stories held by the landscapes of the Bow River Watershed. Taken into context with the colonial history of the Canadian state, these lands contain scars and marks caused by several hundred years of colonial tensions. These lands have witnessed violent and destructive episodes of

18. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*.

Indigenous dispossession, settler infrastructural development, and racially motivated human exploitation. With these tensions in mind, the three empirical chapters (chapters three, four, and five) of this thesis present three analytical vignettes which zoom in and out of this region, recounting the significance of these landscapes to different forms of colonial injustice.

Chapter three, "On the Origin of Parks," explores how the Bow Valley region, with special attention to Banff national park, has been constructed discursively as a landscape of settler colonial nationalism through various forms of cultural and political media since its inception. In the first decades after Canadian confederation in 1867, under the direction of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, several large infrastructural projects were undertaken by the new Dominion Government in order to further the process of settler colonisation, including the building of the transcontinental railway and the implementation of the Dominion Land Survey. These infrastructure projects have had profound spatial and cultural impacts on Canada as a nation over the last century and a half. In this thesis, I treat the national parks system—which began in the high reaches of the Bow Valley in the heart of the Rocky Mountains and has origins tied to the completion of the transcontinental railway—as one of these nationally significant infrastructural projects. This chapter gives a historical reading of the national parks system through a decolonial lens, revealing the system to be a political infrastructure of territorial acquisition and Indigenous dispossession. This is achieved through a discursive critique of the ways in which the earliest national parks were designed and promoted in the image of settler cultural conceptualisations of nature. This approach builds on previous work in environmental history about the direct ties between the making of national parks in North America and the dispossession of Indigenous peoples on the continent.[19] As part of this critical discussion, I demonstrate how the concept of landscape has been used historically as a political tool to support Canadian settler colonialism and justify Indigenous dispossession. This historical analysis is underpinned by an urban theoretical framework which uses the landscapes of the national parks to complicate the urban-periphery spatial model of power distribution that is dominant to settler colonial geographies.

Moving beyond the internal geography of the nation of Canada itself, chapter four "The Far West," shows how the development and promotion of settler tourism in the Rockies pulled transit infrastructure from across the prairies westward to the Pacific coast and eventually across the ocean to Asia, positioning Canada as a strategic corridor within the global scale of the British Empire. By taking an archival journey through the operations of the Canadian Pacific Railway at the turn of the twentieth

19. For instance, see Binnema and Niemi, '"Let the Line Be Drawn Now"'; Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*.

century, this chapter aims to intersect histories of non-Indigenous settler colonial difference with the cultural construction of natural landscapes in the Canadian West. This is achieved by revealing how the systemic toil of Asian and Black communities has been crucial to the facilitation and cementation of a wilderness ideology within settler identity and society in Canada. This trans-Pacific context allows new dimensions to be explored with regard to the labour of infrastructure and the facilitation of occupation—the "work" of accessing the wilderness. Conceptually, this chapter aims to contribute to a growing body of work within settler colonial studies which opens up the racial dimensions of settler colonialism beyond an Indigenous-white binary to include the structural entanglements of non-Indigenous, non-white diasporic communities of colour living in settler colonial states. This involves a historical look at intersecting histories of race, labour, and landscape in western Canada.

Finally, chapter five, "The Rite of Water," returns to the Bow River itself, and attempts to reveal the tensions between other-than-human river agency and settler colonial infrastructure development. Through a posthuman analysis of the 2013 southern Alberta floods framed as an other-than-human dialogue with the Bow, this chapter points to possible landscape futures for the region. Specifically, I posit that the disruptions caused by the flood can be framed as an expression of other-than-human refusal by the river against the material infrastructures of the settler colonial state. These performances of refusal reveal both the weaknesses and the resiliencies of the settler state. Simultaneously, the surging waters of the river offer moments for other-than-human resurgence through the creation of emergent ecologies, as well as moments of interspecies knowledge exchange and production. Beavers in particular, are a species which have much to teach about how to be agents of landscape change in ways that are ecologically respectful and beneficial to interspecies communities. This chapter is shaped conceptually with reference to discourses on other-than-human agency found in posthuman geographies as they intersect with ideas about other-than-human forces in Indigenous studies and decolonial geographies.

As the structure of this thesis suggests, the troubling history of settler colonialism in Canada has had impacts on both the human and other-than-human world. The landscapes of the Canadian Rocky Mountains and the Bow River Valley have borne witness to many dimensions of the troubled relationalities of Canadian settler colonial difference, including processes of Indigenous dispossession, race-based labour exploitation, and functional interruptions to natural watersheds and ecosystems. These uneven relationships are reflected not only symbolically and rhetorically in the landscape, but also in the material qualities of the land—the systems and structures of settler colonialism have had a number of spatial consequences and have generated historical landscape changes that are still visible today. My focus

on the Rocky Mountains and the Bow River Valley aims to show how the layered and complex impacts and consequences of settler colonialism have marked the land.

Each empirical chapter is shaped by a core set of archival sources. Chapter three draws primarily from planning and promotional materials surrounding the national parks in the Rocky Mountains. This includes the annual reports of the parks department on the planning of Banff national park in the last decades of the 19th century, as well as official guidebooks produced during the first decades of the 20th century to market the parks to Canadian and international audiences. Together, these documents show how the national parks were designed and represented to reflect a certain aesthetic version of national wilderness. Chapter four also explores promotional materials featuring the Canadian landscape. However, unlike the guidebooks discussed in the previous chapter, these books were not produced by the Canadian national parks department, but the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. This places the landscapes of the Rocky Mountains within a wider geography of coloniality—reflected in this chapter by the transportation network of the Canadian Pacific at the turn of the twentieth century, which provided (via steamship and railway) connections from England to Asia and the Pacific *vis-à-vis* the Canadian transcontinental railway. These materials have been consulted by me at various institutions in Canada and the UK over the course of my fieldwork.[20] They include Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa, the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies in Banff, the University of British Columbia Archives in Vancouver, the Expo Rail Archive in Montreal, and the British Library in London. This research also draws from materials preserved digitally by the *Canadiana* collections, which have been made available to consult online by the Canadian Research Knowledge Network. In the fifth chapter, I methodologically move from the archival past into the more recent past. Instead of consulting archival sources, the landscapes of the Bow River Valley are represented in this chapter by media reports of a catastrophic flood caused by extreme weather in June 2013. These media reports are complimented by a reading of scholarly articles form the fields of hydrology, meteorology, and biology analysing the aftermath of the flood. While the media reports generally provide a human perspective on the impacts of the extreme weather event, the scientific papers offer a lens for interpreting an other-than-human version of events.

Together, the three empirical chapters seek to unsettle the place of nature and the wilderness concept in Canada by exploring different but interconnected aspects of settler colonial conflict: Indigenous-settler, settler-labourer, and nature-infrastructure. These spheres of conflict are multi-scalar, and this reflects the nested systems of power dictating Canadian settler colonialism. Generally, in colonial

20. Both in-person and online.

contexts political and economic power are held in a centralised metropole, which exerts power over peripheral colonies. Within the geography of the British Empire, England—or even more specifically, the city of London—can be considered such a metropole. In settler colonial contexts, power is held in a colonial metropole which is located within the settler state—in the Canadian case this is Canada's capital city Ottawa. There can also be smaller regional metropoles within the settler state, such as the city of Calgary, which control more local spheres of influence. Figure *v.* in chapter three visualises how this spatial distribution of power can be applied to the management of the Canadian national parks system.

The hierarchical geography of colonial power is also reflected in the way in which archival sources were gathered for this thesis. In conducting the research for this thesis, I visited a number of archives across Canada. The locations of these archives reflect the spatial power dynamics of Canadian settler colonialism, which in turn reflects the wider urban-periphery geographies of colonial knowledge production. The Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies is located in the town of Banff, in the heart of the Canadian national parks system. The Whyte Museum Archive holds many documents about the local history of landscape change and settlement in the national park, these include original landscape design and planning drawings of George Stewart, the first superintendent of Banff National Park. Across the mountains on the Pacific coast in Vancouver—the western terminus of the transcontinental railway—is the University of British Columbia Archives where the Wallace B. Chung and Madeline H. Chung Collection is held, containing documents important to the history of Chinese immigration and settlement to the west coast of North America. In Ottawa, Canada's capital city, an imposing grey granite building located on the shores of the Ottawa River is home to Library and Archives Canada, an institution created in 2004 by the merger of the National Archives of Canada and the National Library of Canada. Here, amongst other things, the official fonds of the Canadian national parks department are held. Back in the UK, I also discovered some relevant historic documents of the Canadian national parks department in the collections of the British Library in London, the same establishment which holds two of the four remaining original copies of the Magna Carta. I also consulted materials held at the Expo Rail Archive in Montreal, where the corporate archives of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company are held. This sojourn into Quebec reflects the Franco-Anglo intra-settler conflicts which have shaped Canadian history (some of which feature in chapter four of this thesis). In many ways, the journeys taken to collect archival information for this thesis have followed the flow of colonial power and Canadian settler colonialism from the peripheral spaces of Western Canada and the Rocky Mountains to the very symbolic heart of British imperial power.

0.2 The Wilderness Idea

At the turn of the twentieth century, a shift occurred at in Europe and North America regarding the cultural value of natural landscapes. While previously wilderness was "synonymous with barren desolation, by the end of the nineteenth century wilderness came to symbolise the opposite qualities, becoming for many the embodiment of Eden."[21] This is a recurrent theme within environmental history and one of the central ideas that is interrogated in William Cronon's 1995 book, *Uncommon Ground.* The book focuses on the notion that wilderness is a true form of nature which (at least within Euro-America hegemonic thought) exists and finds value in the complete absence of human presence and influence. Cronon's own contribution to the book, "The Trouble with Wilderness," begins with the observation that from an American perspective, "wilderness stands as the last remaining place where civilisation, that all too human disease, has not fully infected the earth."[22]

My approach to wilderness has drawn much influence from the discussions on nature highlighted in *Uncommon Ground*.[23] In particular, I am interested in the contradictory understandings of the word "wilderness." While dictionary definitions of wilderness generally refer to places which are isolated from and untouched by human activity, in the realm of landscape studies and related fields such as cultural geography, wilderness is widely regarded as a profoundly human construct. The tension held by the word wilderness—as both a wholly human conceptual construct and also a thing existing outside of the human world—is also interestingly (perhaps accidentally) present in the different subtitles of the two different editions of *Uncommon Ground*. The 1995 hardcover bears the subtitle "Toward Reinventing Nature," while the 1996 paperback is subtitled "Rethinking the Human Place in Nature." Do humans have the ability to invent nature, as the hardcover suggests; or is our role limited to just thinking about our place in it? Looking from within the context of this thesis, the answer is probably somewhere in-between. From a settler colonial perspective, nature can be (and has certainly been) materially shaped into and presented as wilderness to serve political and cultural aims. I explore this in chapter three with the example of Banff national park, a place that was made and marketed at the turn of the twentieth century to present a very specific settler version of the landscape.

But as the discussions in chapter five will later suggest, natural systems also have agency to materially intervene in the environment (both urban and non-urban) and enact landscape changes. In this

21. Loo, *States of Nature*, 12.
22. Cronon, *Uncommon Ground*, x.
23. Cronon, *Uncommon Ground*.

regard, it is interesting to reflect on the idea of wilderness against the notion of wildness—as understood through contemporary discourses in rewilding. If wilderness is a colonial concept, then perhaps wildness—achieved through re-wilding—can serve as an alternative framework for exploring nature futures outside of settler frameworks. Rewilding strategies centre on landscape management regimes which incorporate allowances for other-than-human beings and processes to exercise autonomy.[24] A focus on nature autonomy is a core feature of most rewilding discourse. This form of independently acting yet still controlled unfolding of natural processes central to rewilding certainly mirrors the tensions present in the idea of wilderness. I explore this possibility in chapter five, where I posit the notion of other-than-human agency as a counterpoint to autonomy in generating landscape change for unsettled futures.

Core to this thesis, I explore some of the different ways in which the systems of the natural world intersect with the systems of settler colonialism in Canada. At the heart of the interconnection between nature and nation in Canada lies the concept of wilderness. The national relationship in Canada to nature—and its framing as wilderness—is the focus of chapter one, which sets up the important cultural backdrop for the topics discussed in the rest of the thesis. I would like to note here that unless otherwise stated, this thesis treats the "Canadian" imaginary as largely synonymous with a "Canadian settler" imaginary; after all, Canada itself (as a modern nation state) is a construct of settler colonisation.

Throughout the thesis, I use the Canadian cultural relationship with wilderness as a contextual vehicle to investigate larger questions around settler colonialism, decoloniality, and landscape. As the thesis has evolved over the years, my attention to the idea of wilderness has also evolved. This can be observed in the overall structure of the thesis, as the focus on wilderness ebbs and flows through the chapters. The wilderness concept is given more attention at the beginning, especially in chapters one and three. The first chapter lays out how the notion of wilderness in Canada is very much born out of its histories of colonisation—much in the same way that indigeneity is co-produced by coloniality,[25] spaces become wilderness through processes brought on by settler colonisation. To reflect on this relationship, I draw on the many conceptual and material parallels between infrastructures of urbanisation and settler colonisation, both of which depend deeply on complex stratifications between urban and rural spaces (sometimes also referred to as metropolis-hinterland, city-countryside, and other binary terms). To put it simply, colonialism is in many ways organised through the infrastructure of cities.[26] One strand of thought that

24. Woods, 'Ecological Restoration and the Renewal of Wildness and Freedom'.
25. See Byrd and Rothberg, 'Between Subalternity and Indigeneity'; Bryan, 'Where Would We Be without Them? Knowledge, Space and Power in Indigenous Politics'; Radcliffe, 'Geography and Indigeneity III'; Radcliffe, 'Geography and Indigeneity I: Indigeneity, Coloniality and Knowledge'.
26. See Cowen, 'Following the Infrastructures of Empire'.

runs through much of urban research is that the uneven social, political, and economic prescience of cities relies on capitalist forces which extract resources from outside of its formal boundaries and transforms them metabolically to support the city.[27] Even discourses on planetary urbanisation, which posit that all corners of the planet are touched by systems of urbanisation in some way—and therefore, urban—relies on a conceptual framework which questions the field's traditionally isolated focus on the space of the city.[28] These assertions have parallels to the ways in which colonial power is distributed between distant colonies and the powerful metropole.[29] It is with these theoretical foundations that I make the case in chapter three that constructing a space (conceptually or materially) as wilderness is akin to urbanising it.

This formulation of wilderness in relation to urban theoretical frameworks also serves to tie the wilderness to the idea of infrastructure, another key conceptual strand which runs through this thesis. In chapter four, the thesis shifts to a focus on how labour and racial difference have shaped infrastructure in western Canada. By the middle of the chapter the idea of wilderness seems to almost drop entirely out of focus. However, the notion of wilderness remains key (albeit slightly hidden within) to the central discussion around race and labour, as the history of building infrastructures of access (like railways) in the Canadian Rocky Mountains has a direct causal relationship with the origins of the Canadian national parks system. The railway ultimately made visiting and viewing the wilderness possible for white settler Canadians at the turn of the twentieth century, and the expansion of the national parks system over the last century and a half can be considered a spatial infrastructure project of settler colonialism. In the last pages of the chapter, the concept of wilderness returns more explicitly as a political symbol of unity, bringing home the many layered uses of the concept within the Canadian cultural imaginary. Finally, as chapter five begins, the wilderness concept has evolved so significantly that it no longer resembles its form in the preceding chapters. At this point, in the final empirical chapter of this thesis, the critical approach to nature takes a sharp turn away from wilderness (now firmly understood to be a humanist-focused settler understanding of the natural world) and reimagines the landscape of western Canada through an other-than-human analytical lens.

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27. Smith, *Uneven Development*.
28. Brenner, *Implosions/Explosions*; Arboleda, 'In the Nature of the Non-City'; Angelo, 'From the City Lens toward Urbanisation as a Way of Seeing: Country/City Binaries on an Urbanising Planet'; Ruddick et al., 'Planetary Urbanisation: An Urban Theory for Our Time?'
29. Stoler and Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony'.

0.3 Viewing the Land

It is important to recognise the hegemonic relationalities that can be embedded within visual images, especially in relation to landscape, an important conceptual framework of this thesis. Landscape, as Denis Cosgrove has asserted, is a "primarily pictorial"[30] medium, and as such it carries deeply entrenched ideologies and political histories, including those of colonial origin. For instance, the genre of landscape art is fraught with colonial undertones. Indigenous art historians have argued that the ways in which the colonisation of the Americas have been aestheticized as part of landscape painting are forms of historical colonial violence.[31] Others have noted how stylised pastoralist depictions of 18th century plantations in the British Empire had a role in naturalising plantation slavery as part of imperial cultural imaginations.[32] Beyond art, cartography and mapping are also visual mediums which are heavily imbued with colonial undercurrents.[33] In particular, nationalist and military mapping projects have been utilised for colonial and imperial objectives in Europe for centuries.[34] However, it is equally possible for visual media such as landscape art and cartography to serve as tools of counter-colonial expression—and for which there are also long traditions.[35] While this thesis is not a direct reformation of the power of the visual medium, by including references to historical graphic materials, it does demonstrate some of the ways in which images throughout history have been created to promote coloniality. The visual materials which have made their way into the final layout of this thesis have all been carefully chosen and strategically placed. Each appears on its own blank page, un-mired by adjacent text. This is my attempt to draw attention to the works and invite readers to take a closer look at each individual piece. When considered closely, different cultural, social, political, and environmental dimensions of the landscapes of Canadian settler colonialism can be teased out of each image beyond what I have described in my text.

In addition to the figures scattered throughout the main text, each of the three empirical chapters opens with a frontispiece image. These images serve to simultaneously set the tone and context of each chapter as well as act as symbols representing the import role of utilising visual methods in conducting landscape archival research. The third chapter, "On the Origin of Parks," is visually introduced by

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30. Cosgrove, 'Cultural Landscapes', 67.
31. See Rickard, 'Aesthetics, Violence, and Indigeneity'.
32. See Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica*.
33. See Harley, 'Maps, Knowledge, Power'.
34. The role of cartography as a tool of nationalism and "spatial discipline" is further discussed in chapter 2. See Cosgrove, 'Cultural Landscapes'; Cosgrove, 'Landscape and Landschaft'; Cosgrove, *Mappings*; Nelson, 'Interrogating the Colonial Cartographical Imagination'.
35. For example, see Wainwright, Decolonizing Development; Board, Development, and Project, The Sahtu Atlas; Johnson, 'Heads, Hearts and Museums: The Unsettling Pedagogies of Kent Monkman's Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience'; Nagam and Swanson, 'Decolonial Interventions in Performance and New Media Art: In Conversation with Cheryl L'Hirondelle and Kent Monkman'.

one of the most iconic photographs in Canadian history; often referred to as the "Last Spike" photo, the image captures the moment in which the ceremonial final spike was driven into the Canadian Pacific's transcontinental railway at Craigellachie, British Columbia on the morning of 7 November 1885. Two decades after its visionary conceptualisation by Canada's first Prime Minister as a promise of Confederation, the five-thousand-kilometre railway connecting Canada from the Atlantic to Pacific coasts had finally become reality. Crossing the vast Canadian landscape, the transcontinental railway was simultaneously an infrastructure of colonisation (playing a key role in the urbanisation of the Western Canadian prairies) and a symbol of unity in the new nation, formed by the merger of Britain's North American colonies. It is also impossible to decouple the history of the Canadian national parks system from the influence of the Canada Pacific Railway Company, who's lobbying efforts in the 1880s ultimately led to the designation of the Banff region as the nation's first national park a mere three weeks following the taking of the historic "Last Spike" photo. In the earliest decades of their existence, the national parks of the Canadian Rockies were heavily marketed by the Canadian Pacific, who operated their own hotels in the region and saw the parks as an important driver of ridership. Building from the Canadian Pacific's role in the settlement of the prairies, the development of national parks in the Rockies can be read as an extension of the settler colonial urbanisation of the landscapes of Western Canada.

Chapter four "The Far West" is graphically presented by a 1918 Chinese language Canadian Pacific timetable of sailings of the *Empress* steamships between Hong Kong and Vancouver. Upon the completion of the Canadian Pacific's transcontinental railroad in 1885, the company began offering trans-Pacific steamship service which—combined with their trans-Atlantic steamship route—provided a link between Europe and Asia entirely within the territory of the British Empire. I chose this particular timetable to reproduce in this thesis because it is written entirely in Chinese characters (other timetables I came across in the archives used a combination of both English and Chinese). The labour of Chinese migrant workers was crucial to the construction of the transcontinental railway and despite racially discriminatory immigration regulations aimed at stopping migration from East Asia after the railway's construction, the influence of immigrants from Asia on the Canadian nation did not end with the railway's completion. This chapter aims to activate the Pacific coast as a significant territory of settler colonial difference beyond a traditional Indigenous-settler dichotomy, meanwhile simultaneously situating the Canadian settler colonial project within the wider context of British imperialism.

Chapter five "The Rite of Water" is visually fronted by a poster advertising the 2013 Calgary Stampede. The Calgary Stampede is an annual western-themed fair and festival centred around its outdoor

rodeo competition, the largest in the world. In the summer of 2013, heavy rains led to severe flooding in Southern Alberta, which caused significant damage to the fairgrounds of the Stampede two weeks before opening day. As the sentiment of the poster—"HELL OR HIGH WATER"—suggests, despite the flood damaged grounds, the 2013 Stampede would ultimately go ahead. The tenacity of the Stampede's organisers to soldier on in the face of this natural disaster reflects a tension between settler colonial development and natural landscape systems which also frames this chapter. This approach treats urban infrastructural conflict with the Bow River as a system-to-system encounter. The conceptual framework for this chapter draws from both posthuman geographies about other-than-human agency as well as metaphysical dimensions of Indigenous studies.

Beyond the figures and the frontispieces, the primary historical sources referenced in this thesis can all be considered representations of the Canadian landscape (although not all are necessarily visual). Critical visual methodology suggests that the analysis of visual images must also address the source and context of the creation of the images. In this regard, the materials I have chosen to show and discuss in this thesis come from varied and diverse sources, all created with different intentions. Some of these materials, such as the land surveys conducted and drawn by George Alexander Stewart, the first superintendent of Banff national park, have didactic roots as tools for recording and controlling land. Others, such as the national park guidebooks written by Mabel Berta Williams for the Dominion Parks Department were designed to frame certain landscapes in very precise ways (such as for marketing and promoting the national parks). There are also documents imbued with political conflict over landscapes such as petitions, letters, and telegrams recording dialogues between angry citizens, elected officials, government bureaucrats, and other significant historical figures. It is also worth briefly reflecting on the logic and intentions behind the diagrams and maps that I have produced as part of this project. Primarily, my reasons for making these were didactic. The maps have been included to help readers follow the narrative presented in the text by providing the spatial context of the places of which I write. Likewise, the diagrams and timelines are intended to clarify the chronology of different moments and events in history. In making these figures, I tried to be as modest as possible. They are designed to give you exactly the contextual information that I felt was required to assist readers in following the text, and no more. Taken together and analysed against a framework intersecting landscape studies and settler colonial theory, these materials provide a nuanced and complex understanding of the relationship between nature and nation in the context of Canadian settler colonialism.

chapter one

Nature and Nation

> Part of our problem in Western culture has to do with how we reframed nature.
>
> —John Mohawk, "How the Conquest of Indigenous Peoples Parallels the Conquest of Nature" (1997)

One of the most iconic works of Canadian art is an oil painting called *The Jack Pine*, painted in 1916 by a man named Tom Thomson. It depicts a stylised silhouette of a pine tree with drooping branches, set against an evening sky represented by horizontal bands of grey-blue fading to green and pale orange. Outlined with a thin red line, the tree appears to glow against the twilight behind. The original painting is held in Ottawa at the National Gallery of Canada, whose website describes the work as "a masterpiece of Canadian art."[1] In their gift shop, there are many ways that one can pay to take the work home: as an art print in a size of your choosing, stamped onto the side of a ceramic mug, or even in the form of a jigsaw puzzle. *The Jack Pine* is one of the most famous and recognizable works associated with a group of painters known as the Group of Seven,[2] a collective from Toronto who set out in the 1920s[3] to define a distinct national art tradition for Canada, unique from European and American styles. It is significant that the Group of Seven decided on landscape painting as the genre with which to initiate this important

1. "The Jack Pine."
2. Also previously known as the Algonquin School, for reasons which will be revealed later.
3. Tom Thomson, the artist of "The Jack Pine," unfortunately died in an accident in 1917 before the official formation of the Group of Seven. Nevertheless, his art had a huge influence on the Group and his work is commonly associated with it.

i. *The Jack Pine*, Tom Thomson, oil on canvas (1916)

national art movement, which has since come to define modern art in Canada.[4] In their paintings, the Group of Seven broke with the picturesque traditions of European and American landscape painting, and instead chose to stylistically emphasize the distinctive natural elements of Canada's landscapes (as spaces largely devoid of people) with bold colours and strong contrasts, tapping into the special connection between wilderness and the Canadian imaginary. It is widely acknowledged in Canadian cultural studies that for the Canadian settler imaginary, the idea of the nation as a vast landscape of wilderness is a defining characteristic of what it means to be Canadian. Part of this nature-centred nationalism involves the telling and retelling of national myths where land is continually re-territorialised under settler terms, according to settler histories. Because they developed a uniquely Canadian view of the landscape, the paintings of the Group of Seven are important and exemplary collection of artwork representing Canada's national identity.

With the genre of landscape painting, the Group of Seven painters had inherited a legacy of Romanticist aesthetic traditions from Europe and the United States from which to base their work. According to art historian Jonathan Bordo, the various traditions of landscape art in the late 19th and early 20th century can be distinguished by the degrees to which the landscapes were peopled. At the time, the European style of picturesque landscape painting usually included human figures and architectural elements, either ruined or otherwise. In Bordo's reading, European landscape paintings "can never surrender the inescapable, unerasable traces of human continuance."[5] Paintings featuring the European landscape would include things such as distant cottages within an expanse of rolling hills or ancient ruins set against a cliff edge, while those depicting scenes from abroad portrayed Indigenous figures as part of the landscape to emphasise its primitiveness. Meanwhile, landscape painting in the United States—exemplified by the American Sublime style of the Hudson River School of Painting—had a different attitude towards the inclusion of humans in landscape art; although it had left behind the architectural elements found in the European tradition, it was ultimately unable to entirely escape the presence of humans. Paintings of the American sublime are punctuated with human figures set against sweeping wilderness backdrops. By contrast, the Group of Seven's distinctly unpeopled depictions of wilderness signified a novel Canadian approach to landscape imperialism, departing from predominant European and American notions at the time which essentially placed Indigenous peoples (in the European art) and settlers (in American art) as part of new world wilderness landscapes.[6] The difference between the un-peopled wilderness of the Canadian Group of Seven and the landscapes of the American Hudson River School lies in a fundamental

4. See Bordo, "Jack Pine."
5. Ibid., 110.
6. Ibid.

difference between their respective national mythologies surrounding settlement. The American dream is rooted by the idea of manifest destiny, and therefore the taming of the American wilderness requires people to witness it. On the other hand, in Canada national identity is tied to the very un-tameability of the natural landscape. Northrop Frye, perhaps Canada's most famous literary critic of the 20th century, was a strong proponent of the idea of a Canadian exceptionalism rooted in a collective fear of nature; Frye wrote that to "enter the United States is a matter of crossing an ocean; to enter Canada is a matter of being silently swallowed by an alien continent."[7] In this interpretation, a key aspect of Canadian identity is to surrender to being lost in the frontier. The Group of Seven captured this sentiment by prominently featuring other-than-human elements of nature—such as a lone jack pine tree—as the primary protagonists of their work.

1.1 Settling Nature

With no evidence of Indigenous (or settler) presence, the Group of Seven paintings serve not only as a visual enactment of Indigenous erasure, but also a representation of a non-existent anachronistic past where nature exists in a world completely without humans. This very specific representation of wilderness in Canadian art, plays an important role in subtly reinforcing a fundamental aspect of Canada's historical reality—that is, the idea of wilderness acts as a cultural buttress to the underlying structure of Canada as a settler colonial nation. By excluding human presence and any traces of settlement, and instead centring other-than-human objects, the Group of Seven's paintings represent the landscape as a symbolic wilderness and *terra nullius*, void of Christian civility, and open for conquest.[8] Wilderness, as depicted in Canadian landscape art, exists at the intersection between aesthetics and settler colonial politics. By framing the landscape as wilderness, the paintings serve to symbolically claim the landscape for the settler domain. In this way, the wilderness imaginary in Canada can be thought of as akin to an ideological infrastructure which does cultural work to support the settler colonial state. Beyond landscape painting, the uniquely Canadian wilderness is also represented in many important works of Canadian literature throughout the 20th century, including those by the author Margaret Atwood and the Nobel Laureate Alice Munro.[9] Nationalist narratives throughout Canadian history have predominantly featured images and narratives of land and landscape portrayed as wilderness.[10] Sometimes the Canadian wilderness is depicted as empty of

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7. Frye, *The Bush Garden*, 217.
8. See Bordo, "The Terra Nullius of Wilderness."
9. For example, see Margaret Atwood's "Death by Landscape" in her 1991 short story collection *Wilderness Tips* and Alice Munro's "A Wilderness Station" her 1994 collection *Open Secrets*.
10. For further ruminations about wilderness in Canadian literature, see Frye, *The Bush Garden*; and Atwood, *Survival*.

people (as in the Group of Seven's paintings), while in other works the wilderness is a dangerous place to be confronted by white settlers. Set against this backdrop of coloniality, the framing of nature as wilderness serves as a form of ideological control over colonised and settled lands.

As a political-ecological process, colonialism is driven at its core by a colonising ideological ambition to assert dominion over exotic lands (including the natural world).[11] This process occurs in parallel with the oppression and dispossession of the Indigenous peoples who call those lands home. Settler colonialism is composed simultaneously by Indigenous dispossession and land appropriation. In this way, under processes of settler colonisation, the conquest of nature is linked to the conquest of Indigenous peoples, who are widely considered the primary cultural stewards of the colonised lands.[12] The conceptualisation of nature as wilderness in settler colonial nation states—understood as an ideological component of settler colonisation—has had violent consequences for Indigenous peoples since the very beginnings of the European settler colonisation of the Americas. The framing of nature as wilderness is not unique to Canada but is a common characteristic of many settler colonial countries, including the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Many environmental historians have shown this version of wilderness (as a place profoundly and anachronistically other-than the human world) to be an absurd fabrication of the settler colonial imaginary. Ideologically, wilderness ideals served to naturalise the systemic enactment of Indigenous dispossession in the Americas under the guise of wilderness protection and conservation. Regarding this cultural violence in the United States, Mark Spence's *Dispossessing the Wilderness* details how—through tracing the early histories of Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Glacier national parks—in the history of the American west, the creation of nature reserves parallels the displacement of Indigenous peoples into reservations, making an argument for how the "uninhabited wilderness had to be created before it could be preserved."[13]

In the Canadian context, similar histories of dispossession have also been observed. An account of the historical relationship between Indigenous dispossession and national parks creation in Canada can be found in Ted Binnema and Melanie Niemi's 2006 article "Let the line be drawn now," which outlines how the Stoney Nakoda[14] were systematically excluded from Banff National Park between 1890-1920 in order to facilitate settler leisure activities (such as sport hunting and tourism) and hasten Indigenous

11. For an in depth analysis of the colonial mentality as it relates to land acquisition, see Howkins, "Appropriating Space."
12. Mohawk, "How the Conquest of Indigenous Peoples Parallels the Conquest of Nature."
13. Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 4.
14. Today, the Stoney Nakoda are also known as the Îyârhe Nakoda. In this thesis, I have chosen to use the older "Stoney" denomination, as this is how they are called in most of the literature and historical sources that I have consulted.

assimilation.[15] The paper shows how policies prohibiting Indigenous presence and subsistence hunting within the park boundaries soon threatened the livelihoods of the Stoney Nakoda, leading to their forced displacement into an Indian reserve. In contrast to Spence's interpretation, in Binnema and Niemi's reading the idea of wilderness (as an un-peopled place) was not a precondition for Indigenous exclusion from Banff Park, but rather, they argue that Indigenous dispossession predated the wilderness movement in Canada.[16] Popular conceptions of wilderness at the time of Banff Park's formation did not require the landscape to be empty of humans; in fact, in 1904 a coal mining operation was established within the boundaries of Banff Park, an action that would today appear completely at odds with the notion of a national park. Although the creation of Banff Park in 1885 did not dictate that it be devoid of people, it did however require the specific exclusion of Indigenous peoples in order to facilitate settler interests in sport hunting (which viewed Indigenous subsistence hunting as uncivilised), tourism, and Indigenous assimilation. Notably, Binnema and Niemi point out that George Stewart, Banff National Park's first Superintendent, remarked in his first annual report of 1887 that, "It is of great importance that if possible the Indians should be excluded from the park."[17] The relationship between the Stoney Nakoda and Banff National Park set a precedent for future national parks in Canada; as representative landscapes of apparently "natural" places, reserved for the enjoyment of urban Canadians, created through policies enforcing Indigenous territorial dispossession.

Today, the national parks system remains a strong source of pride for Canadians. In 2016, the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society reported that, "Canadians continue to value our national parks as one of the top symbols of Canadian identity," and furthermore, "Canadians continue to value unspoiled nature and wildlife above all else in their national parks."[18] The following year in 2017, as a marker of their significance and iconic status in the Canadian national imagination, Parks Canada offered free admission to all national parks across the country as part of the sesquicentennial "Canada 150" celebrations. A gesture which suggests that the connection between ideas of wilderness and Canadian identity remains strong in the contemporary moment. Despite the popular valorisation of these natural landscapes, the discomfiting reality remains that underneath this national myth of natural beauty and pristine wilderness lies a dark history of colonisation.

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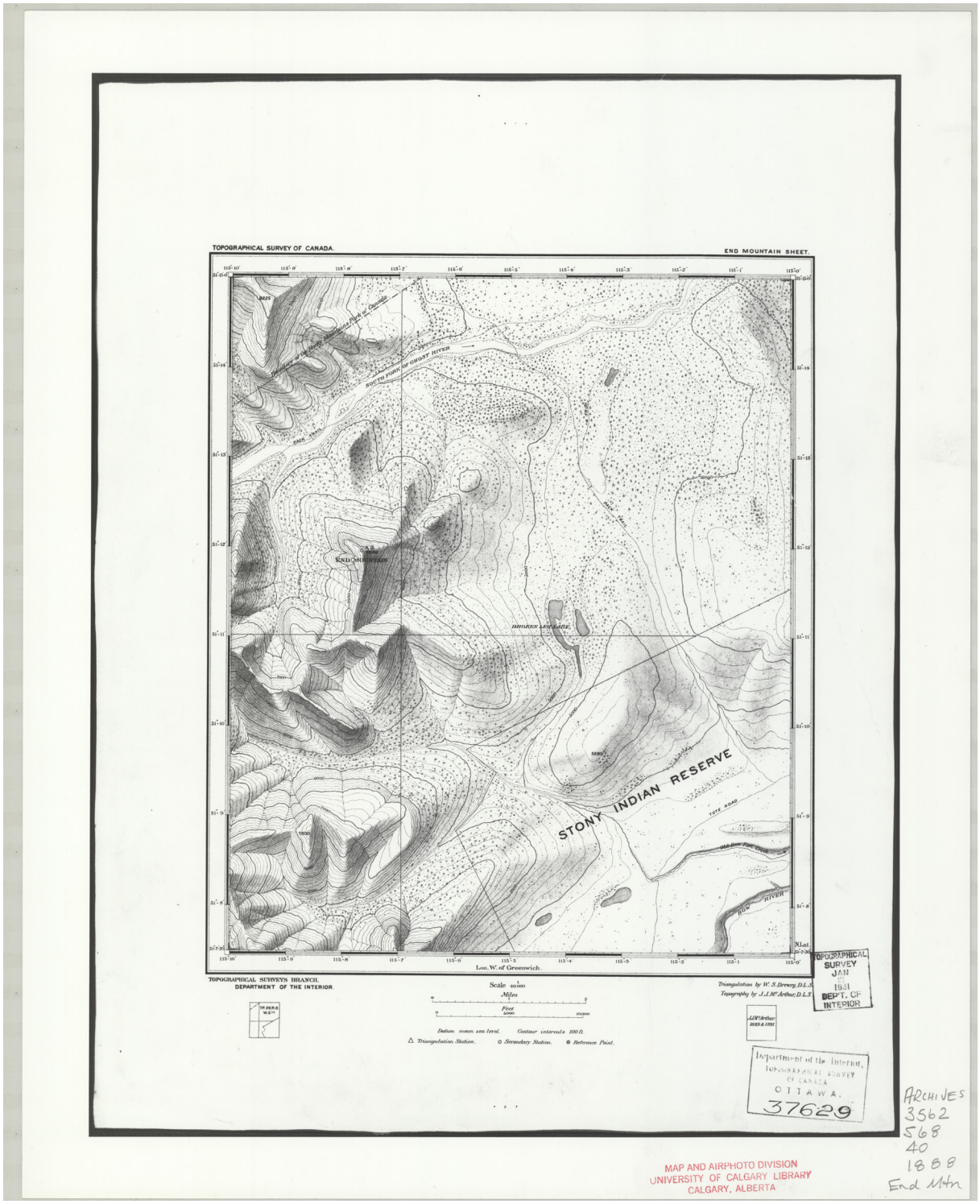
15. Binnema and Niemi, "'Let the Line Be Drawn Now"'; also see Mason, *Spirits of the Rockies*.
16. Binnema and Niemi, "'Let the Line Be Drawn Now,'" 726.
17. Department of the Interior. "Part VI. Report of the Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park," *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year 1887*. Ottawa: Printed by Order of Parliament, 1888.
18. Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, "Protecting Canada's National Parks," 7.



ii. Topographical survey map showing boundary of Stoney Indian Reserve and Rocky Mountains Park (Banff National Park) (1888)

The settler colonial project of conquest and dispossession takes place across a contested terrain framed through a cultural landscape of imperialism. In this regard, a brief history of European coloniality is useful for setting the backdrop of contemporary settler colonialism in states such as Canada. At the beginning of the European colonial period in the 15th century, Spanish and Portuguese explorers began the process of claiming vast areas of overseas territories for their respective empires through violent and extractive techniques. They were quickly followed by other imperial powerhouses in western Europe including England and France. These expeditions were justified through the 15th century papal decree of *terra nullius* which directed and empowered colonial land acquisition through a racialised formulation of land entitlement. This medieval Christian doctrine justified Indigenous dispossession and jumpstarted the European Age of Discovery through the flawed dogma that "'we' could use the land better than they could."[19] Organised systems of plunder, exploitation, and dispossession became systematised through the development of global colonial networks and institutions including trans-Atlantic slavery and plantation colonies. Over the last century, a number of movements for independence (or other forms of decolonisation) have occurred in polities in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America, resulting in the official end of colonialism in various places (and the start of postcoloniality). However, one of the most troubling things about contemporary settler colonialism in states such as Canada is that decolonisation has not occurred. Although, the legacies of the European colonial period are still very much felt today around the world from Asia to Africa and the Americas. In places like Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, the settlers have never left and settlers continue to occupy the land and dominate the contemporary body politic. Accordingly, for settler states there is no "post"-colonial, and colonialisation is literally not over.

The continued valuation of certain landscapes as wilderness reflects an ongoing assertion of settler territoriality and a rejection of Indigenous claims over it. In the context of decolonisation (understood here as Indigenous self-determination), these continuing claims of settler territoriality stand as conceptual and material barriers. While this thesis does not directly address decolonisation, I am interested in exploring how the settler relationship with nature can be rethought and reimagined. Throughout this text, I will identify various slippages and inversions of settler ideals in relation to the wilderness idea which serve as openings for the emergence of unsettling thoughts. These ruptures to the settler colonial fabric of spatial relations can be contemplated against conceptual frameworks that exist on the margins of settler hegemonic thought—for instance, Indigenous intellectual thought—to point towards future imaginaries

19. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 389.

that can be found beyond the settler view. This generative conceptual friction is directly addressed in the next chapter where I review some of the overlapping literature between posthumanism and Indigenous studies. Later in chapter five, I expand on this discourse and engage in a version of two-eyed seeing[20] by reading research based on western scientific principles against Indigenous approaches to interspecies knowledge making and kinship. I also make an attempt to broaden (and unsettle) the theoretical space of decolonial theory by rejecting the dominant treatment of decoloniality which overwhelmingly places that-which-is-Indigenous in a binary conflict against that-which-is-Western (or colonial). This is achieved by engaging with additional layers of racial difference which exist within the settler colonial structure beyond Indigenous-settler relations. In this regard, the main focus of chapter four explores histories of labour and indentureship in relationship to the material making of nature as wilderness in the Canadian Rocky Mountains.

On the topic of wilderness and contemporary issues related to non-Indigenous racial difference in Canada, there is an interesting aside to consider. As a reflection of its historic and contemporary reliance on migration, Canada has adopted an institutionalised narrative of itself as a multicultural nation since the 1980s. This was codified into Canadian law in 1985 with the passing of the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*. The rise of the importance of multiculturalism as part of the Canadian identity in recent decades has also somewhat reshaped settler narratives about wilderness. Longstanding ideals about the Canadian landscape as wilderness, now interpreted alongside discourses on multiculturalism have become more inclusive in appearance. But, as scholars of race and decolonial theory have observed, inclusion is not the answer to decolonisation.[21] Since the 1980s, the wilderness imaginary has frequently been "coupled with images of cultural pluralism which highlight Canada's Native peoples."[22] Eva Mackey has highlighted this as a problematic late 20th century development of Indigenous erasure. Through inclusion narratives, Indigenous cultures are appropriated into nationalist histories to serve as cultural stewards of the natural landscapes of the nation. In this shared national goal of protecting the culturally constructed "Canadian" wilderness, the "profound differences and deeply asymmetrical relations between Native people and settler cultures is transformed into a mythic narrative of natural, peaceful, and tolerant progress."[23] This narrative conveniently erases a dark history of colonisation and dispossession by claiming Indigenous people as "the

20. Two-eyed seeing is a research methodology which co-considers Indigenous knowledge alongside Western science, I will discuss this in more depth in chapter five. See Bartlett, Marshall, and Marshall, "Two-Eyed Seeing and Other Lessons Learned within a Co-Learning Journey of Bringing Together Indigenous and Mainstream Knowledges and Ways of Knowing."
21. Pulido, "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity III," 309.
22. Mackey, "Becoming Indigenous: Land, Belonging, and the Appropriation of Aboriginality in Canadian Nationalist Narratives," 151.
23. Ibid., 162.

ancestors of the nation, [passing] on an inheritance"[24] which links all Canadians to the land. Building on Mackey's observations about the problematic relationship between wilderness and multiculturalism, one of the important themes of this thesis is to decouple the various dimensions of racialisation in relation to cultural constructions of wilderness and settler colonial difference in Canada.

1.2 Conserving Nature

Although they share some influences, the history of conservation and environmental movements in Canada is distinct from those that occurred in the United States. In America, the conservation movement of the late 19th and early 20th century was led by President Theodore Roosevelt, an avid hunter and outdoorsman who was instrumental in the creation of the United States Forest Service, five national parks (including Yosemite, with John Muir), and a large number of bird, game, and forest reserves. Nature conservation during this period was influenced by the writings of naturalists such as Henry David Thoreau and Aldo Leopold who touted the philosophical importance of protecting the wilderness. In addition to ethical arguments, the conservation approach taken in the United States at this time was partial to scientific management principles, and primarily inspired by a desire to manage the nation's land and resources more efficiently in the wake of rapid urbanisation and development of the western parts of the country. By contrast, in Canada, the generally slower pace and smaller scale of urbanisation did not lend to the same sense of urgency surrounding nature conservation at the turn of the twentieth century. Although an attempt was made with pressure from the United States to bring the issue of conservation to political attention in Canada, efforts fell largely on deaf ears. In 1909, Roosevelt invited Canadian representatives to participate in the North American Conservation Conference. As a result of the conference, the Canadian federal government created the Commission of Conservation, led by Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton.[25] The goal of the Commission, which was active between 1909-1922, was to conduct and publish research in order to determine the most scientifically efficient way to manage Canada's resources. Although the Commission published hundreds of books, reports, and papers during its 12 year existence, there was ultimately little political interest in translating the results into policy.

From the very outset, the establishment of national parks in Canada was not motivated by environmental protection or preservation. Officially, the national parks system in Canada began in 1883 when workers constructing the transcontinental railroad in the Rocky Mountains discovered a series of hot

24. Ibid., 161.
25. For an analysis of the Commission of Conservation in relation to Indigenous dispossession, see Tough, "Conservation and the Indian."

springs. Upon suggestion by Canadian Pacific Railway manager William Van Horne, the area surrounding the springs was declared by Prime Minister John A. Macdonald to be reserved as Canada's first national park, known today as Banff. The primary impetus for Van Horne's proposition to turn the Banff area into a national park was to generate additional ridership—and therefore, revenue—for his company's newly constructed railway through the largely unsettled Rocky Mountain region. This economic focus of national parks in Canada persisted well into the 1930s, particularly under the direction of James Bernard Harkin, who served as the commissioner of the Dominion Parks department between 1911-36. In his annual reports, Harkin touted the huge untapped commercial potential of systemically developing the national parks for tourism. To this end, the Parks department embarked on an aggressive strategy to advertise the parks and increase tourist traffic. Some of these efforts will be discussed in chapter three of this thesis.

The next significant period of environmentalism in North America occurred in the 1960s-70s. This time, concerns about the environment in Canada were more closely aligned with the sentiments expressed in the United States. Environmental concerns during this period on both sides of the border were fuelled by increased public awareness of pollution issues; in particular the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962 brought to light the damage to the environment caused by pesticide poisoning. The negative ecological impacts of Cold War era nuclear testing was also an influencial factor on public attitudes towards protecting the environment. In Canada, the environmental movement coalesced around several major energy projects, including the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline in the Northwest Territories and the James Bay Hydroelectric project in northern Quebec. In response to public outcry against the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, the Ministry of Indian Affairs and Northern Development commissioned an inquiry led by Justice Thomas Berger to determine the impacts of the project on the local environment and communities. The three-year inquiry costing $5.3 million was conducted in consultation with environmental scientists, local residents, and Dene, Inuit, and Metis communities in the Mackenzie Valley. Berger's efforts culminated in the publication of a two-volume report in 1977 concluding that a ten-year moratorium be applied to allow issues regarding the environmental, social, and economic impacts of the proposed pipeline to be addressed.[26] It was found that there would be extensive negative ecological and cultural impacts from building a pipeline through the Mackenzie Valley. As a result, the pipeline project was cancelled—a historic resounding victory for the environmental movement and Indigenous rights.

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26. See Berger, "Northern Frontier Northern Homeland."

During this same period, there was also much discussion in federal government about the future direction of Canada's national parks system. At the parks department, the main issue of contention revolved around the question of what the primary goal of the national parks system should be—nature conservation or providing Canadians with tourism and recreation opportunities. This divide saw environmentalists and scientists on one side and politicians on the other. Consulting biologists, zoologists, and other scientists made numerous appeals to have the parks maintained in ways that were beneficial to their local ecosystems.[27] However, these desires were overlooked by political interests which saw the primary benefits of the parks as providing spaces for public use and tourism. This competing vision over the purpose of the parks created many tensions within the department. In an internal document from 1967 in response to government representatives' suggestions about parks planning, the department's Chief Planner Lloyd Brooks wrote in exacerbation:

> There appears to be an almost total lack of understanding that we are first and foremost a conservation organisation, and that any development control which does not include input from the preservation aspects of park management or is not in some way limited through a conservation oriented framework, cannot be considered a suitable form of management for a national park system.[28]

This conflict between competing interests in tourist development and nature conservation suggests the reality that despite the environmentalist sentiments held by the Canadian public during this period, the structural roots of the national parks' origins as an infrastructure of settler colonialism remained politically prominent. At the end of chapter three, I will discuss how some of the changes made to the management of national parks during this period were mobilised in support of the continuity of the settler state. In particular, the parks department saw the national parks as an opportunity to expand its territorial reach; using the cover of the need to preserve a representative sample of Canada's landscapes, the parks department was able to justify and systematise the spread of settler ideologies about space into the northern territories. It was also during this period of national parks management that the category of national park reserve was created. The "reserve" designation was introduced to refer to areas which have been slated for development into national parks, but currently contain lands which are subject to unsettled Indigenous land claim processes. Nahanni National Park Reserve, established in 1972, was the first national park to carry the reserve distinction. Today in 2024, more than half a century later, it remains

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27. Some of these concerns are highlighted in the proceedings of a 1968 conference on the future of National Parks. Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, delivered the conference's opening address which I will reference in chapter three.
28. "Planning Section – Development of Long Range Plan (incl. Background Material and Studies)," Parks Canada Agency fonds, RG84-A-2-a, volume 1814, file PS28-3, part 2, microfilm number T-15484, Library and Archives Canada.

a reserve, as the Dene Nations continue to negotiate land claims in the region with the Government of Canada. Within the value system of settler colonialism (with its roots in a colonial mentality centred on the domination of white man over nature and its Indigenous stewards) the protection of ecological systems has never been a primary concern and territorial conflicts continue between Indigenous peoples and their settler colonisers.[29]

1.3 Geographies of Wilderness

Of the seven original members of the Group of Seven, four—Franklin Carmichael, Lawren Harris, A. Y. Jackson, and Frank Johnston—were born in Ontario and Quebec, while the remaining three—Arthur Lismer, J. E. H. Macdonald, and Frederick Varley—were English emigrees from Yorkshire and Durham. All seven were men and all lived and worked in and around the Toronto-Ottawa-Montreal corridor of southern Ontario and Quebec (an area sometimes referred to as the Laurentian Corridor or Laurentia, after the St. Lawrence seaway).[30] This cultural background and location is significant. Although the group members later travelled to different parts of the country, in their early years they were primarily inspired by the landscapes of the Canadian Sheild—an area of east-central Canada sometimes also referred to as the "Laurentian Plateau." In particular, the Group were frequent visitors to Algonquin Park, a provincial park approximately 250km north of Toronto near the Quebec-Ontario border, and many of their paintings feature different landscapes found in the park. For this reason, the Group is also sometimes referred to as the "Algonquin School."

The Laurentian Corridor region has historically held a majority of the cultural, economic, and political power of the settler state; it was (and continues to be) the heart of colonial life, especially in the early years of Canadian nationhood and in the era prior to confederation. For centuries, the St. Lawrence River has been an important connecting line between French and English colonial Canada. Between 1791-1840, this region was comprised of the British colonies of Upper and Lower Canada (named for their relative locations on the St. Lawrence River). Lower Canada was historically colonised by the French but transferred into British hands in 1763 following the Seven Years' War. The colonies were merged by the British into a single Province of Canada in 1840 but maintained internally subdivided into Canada East

29. Nevertheless, it is important to note that in the recent past there have been some efforts to combine Indigenous land stewardship practices with conservation activities. For example, see Jenkins, "Thaidene Nëné: Self-Determination Through Strategic Re-Appropriation of National Parks"; and Cullen, "Transitional Environmentality – Understanding Uncertainty at the Junctures of Eco-Logical Production in Timor-Leste."

30. Although Emily Carr, a contemporaneous female landscape artist working in Victoria on the west coast is sometimes affiliated with the Group.

GEOGRAPHICAL, STATISTICAL, AND HISTORICAL MAP OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA, AND THE OTHER BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN NORTH AMERICA.

No. 4.

BRITISH POSSESSIONS.

LOWER CANADA.

SITUATION, BOUNDARIES, AND DIVISIONS.

Lower Canada lies between 48° and 52° N. lat. and between 64° and 82° W. long. It is bounded north by the territory of the Hudson's bay company, or East Maine; east by the gulf of St. Lawrence, and part of the Labrador coast; south by New Brunswick and the United States; and west by Upper Canada, from which it is separated principally by the Ottawa and Attikibbee rivers. It is divided into fifteen districts, viz. Gaspe, Three Rivers, Quebec, and Gaspe, which were erected, Three Rivers, Quebec, by the governor in 1792, into the following 25 counties, viz. Bedford, Buckingham, Cornwallis, Devon, Dorchester, Effingham, Gaspe, Hampshire, Hertford, Huntingdon, Kent, Lennox, Montreal, St. Maurice, Northumberland, Orleans, Quebec, Richlieu, Surrey, Warwick, and York. The minor divisions are, lat, the seigniories, or the original grants of the French government, which are bounded by rivers, and again partitioned out into townships; 2dly, the town slips or grants of land made by the English government since the year 1796, in five and common socage.

RIVERS.

The *St. Lawrence* passes through the whole length of the province in a north-east direction, and discharges itself into the gulf of St. Lawrence, by a mouth 90 miles wide. It is navigable for ships of the line 450 miles to Quebec, and for ships drawing 14 feet water, to Montreal, 180 miles.

Ottawa river rises in lake Temiscaming, or Timiskaman, in lat. 47° 30′ N. long. 80° 40′ west; and, running at first south-east, and then east, falls into the river St. Lawrence just above Montreal, after a course of 500 miles, during nearly the whole of which it forms the boundary between Upper and Lower Canada. The navigation is obstructed by numerous rapids.

The *Saguenay* is a large river which rises in lake St. John, in 48° 30′ N. lat. and 73° 30′ W. long. and falls into the St. Lawrence, in lat. 48° north.

The *St. Maurice* falls into the St. Lawrence on the north side, at Trois Rivieres, about half way between Quebec and Montreal.

The *Chaudiere* falls into the St. Lawrence, 6 miles above Quebec, after a course of upwards of 100 miles. It is not navigable, owing to numerous rapids and falls, of which the most remarkable are those 4 miles from its mouth.

CLIMATE, SOIL, AND PRODUCTIONS.

The climate is favourable to health in an eminent degree. Heat and cold are indeed felt in their excess, but they are not oppressive. The clear sky and pure atmosphere render the country both pleasant and healthful. The general description will convey an adequate idea of the soil of Lower Canada. In the part of the province south of the St. Lawrence, a triangular district, included between the St. Lawrence, the Chaudiere, and the parallel of 45° N. lat. consists of excellent land, laid out in townships, and in many parts settled and cultivated, and has little fair to become the most flourishing part of the province. From the Chaudiere to the sources of the St. John, the country is hilly, and of an indifferent quality. From the sources of the St. John to the gulf of St. Lawrence, the country has been but partially explored, but has every appearance of sterility. On the north side of the St. Lawrence, a ridge of heights commences at the eastern extremity of the province, and runs along the margin of the river, from 64° to 71° W. long.; it then leaves the river, and taking a south-west direction, forms the northern boundary of the province, and confluences with the St. Lawrence, inclosing between it and the two rivers a level, well-watered and beautiful country. On the north side of the ridge just described lies the remaining part of Lower Canada, which has been so little explored that it is only known to be covered with immense forests. The principal productions are wheat and lumber.

POPULATION.

The population of Lower Canada has rapidly increased within a few years. In 1739, when it was conquered from the French, it was estimated at 70,000; in 1779 it had only increased to 90,000; but in 1814, a capitation showed no less than 335,000, of whom 27,500 were descendants from the original French settlers, and the remainder English, Scotch, Irish, Americans, &c.

CHIEF TOWNS.

Quebec is situated in lat. 46° 50′ N. and long. 71° 10′ W. on the north-west side of the St. Lawrence, on a promontory formed by that river and the St. Charles. The ridge of land which terminates in this promontory runs from east to west, and separates the town St. Lawrence and St. Charles. Its greatest breadth is from one to two miles. It has ridge in the middle, which terminates in a point at the end of the water, on the north; and narrow in, at the north-east or lower end, the town of Quebec is built. The fortifications, extending across the breadth of the peninsula, shut in the ground on which the city stands, the circuit of which is about 2½ miles. The town is divided into two parts, the Upper and Lower. The Lower town is situated immediately under cape Diamond, nearly on a level with the water. The Upper town is on the rock 300 feet above, and the communication with the Lower town is by a steep road, which winds up to the top of which is a fortified gate. In its present state, Quebec may rank as a fortress of the first consequence: the citadel on the highest part of cape Diamond presents a formidable combination of powerful works, from which a strong wall, supported by batteries in different places, runs to the edge of the precipice, along which it is continued to the gateway leading to the Lower town, which is defended by a regular bastioned fortification on the Mountain street, both established and flanked by many guns of large calibre; thence a line of defence connects with the grand battery, a work of great strength, armed with a formidable train of 24 pounders, and commanding the basin and passage of the river St. Lawrence, which is here only a mile wide. The basin of Quebec is very spacious, being sufficient to contain 300 sail of the line. The population of the city, in 1814, was estimated at 18,000.

CHIEF TOWNS, *(continued.)*

Montreal, the second town of the province in size, but the first in commercial importance, is situated on the south side of the island of Montreal in the river St. Lawrence, which is navigable to this place for vessels drawing 14 feet water. The harbour is not large, but is always secure: the greatest disadvantage is the rapid of St. Mary, about a mile below the town, the current of which is so powerful that without a strong north-east wind, ships cannot stem it, and are sometimes detained even for weeks, about two miles only from the place where they are to deliver their cargoes. The population of the town, in 1820, was estimated at 20,000. *Trois Rivieres*, situated on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, at the mouth of the river St. Maurice, contains 2500 inhabitants.

COMMERCE.

The principal exports consists of lumber, pot and pearl ashes, peltry, wheat, flour, Indian corn, pulse, salt provisions, fish, and other articles, which employ generally about 130,000 tons of shipping. In return are imported wines, rum, sugar, molasses, coffee, tobacco, salt, coals, and British manufactures. In 1821, the amount of the imports of Lower Canada was 2,185,196 dollars.

RELIGION.

The prevailing religion is the Roman Catholic, under the direction of two bishops, 9 vicars general, and about 200 curates and missionaries.

GOVERNMENT.

The government is under the direction of a governor, lieutenant-governor, executive council, and legislative council, who are appointed by the king; and a house of assembly, who are elected by the people. For the defence of both the Canadas, a regular military establishment is maintained by the British government, which was estimated, in 1818, at from 27,000 to 30,000 men.

UPPER CANADA.

SITUATION, BOUNDARIES, AND DIVISION.

Upper Canada is situated between 42° and 52° N. lat. and between 73° 30′ W. and indefinite boundaries to the westward. It is bounded north by the territory of the Hudson's bay company; north-east and east by Lower Canada; south-east and south by the United States; on the west and north-west no limits have been assigned to it.

It is divided into eight districts, viz. the Eastern, Johnstown, Midland, Newcastle, Home, Niagara, London, and Western. These are again subdivided into 23 counties and 64 ridings, which, when ships contain, in all, 9,694,400 acres, of which 3,000,000 are granted, and 5,000,000 are reserved for the crown and clergy. 1,794,238 are reserved for the crown and clergy. 5,700,238 are still remain to be granted. These townships are laid out along the banks of the St. Lawrence, lake Ontario, lake Erie, and lake St. Clair, and extend back for a distance varying from 40 to 50 miles.

LAKES AND RIVERS.

Lakes *Ontario*, *Erie*, *St. Clair*, *Huron*, and *Superior* lie on the southern and western boundaries of the province.

Nipissing lake, 36 miles long and 15 broad, discharges itself into the north side of lake Huron, through French river.

Simcoe lake communicates with the eastern part of lake Huron, through Severn river.

The *Shallow* lakes lie to the east of Lake Simcoe, and communicate through a short river with Simcoe.

Rice lake discharges its waters through Trent river into the bay of Quinti, which opens into lake Ontario near Kingston.

Grand river is a large stream, which falls into lake Erie, near its eastern extremity.

The *Thames* rises near the sources of Grand river, and flows south-west into lake St. Clair.

SOIL AND CLIMATE.

The soil throughout is scarcely excelled by any portion of North America. In the rear of the townships are large tracts of land stretching far to the north, covered with immense forests, and little known except to the Indians; but it has been ascertained that they contain much rich soil. The climate is salubrious. The winters are shorter and milder than in Lower Canada, and the spring opens usually from six weeks to two months earlier than at Quebec.

POPULATION.

The population of Upper Canada has increased with great rapidity. In 1783 it did not exceed 10,000 souls, but in 1814 it was 90,000. It is composed principally of emigrants from the United States, and a few English, Irish, and Scotch. The most populous and improved part of the colony is along the banks of the St. Lawrence and the eastern part of lake Ontario.

BRITISH POSSESSIONS.

UPPER CANADA, *(Continued.)*

CHIEF TOWNS.

Kingston, the largest town, is advantageously situated at the eastern extremity of lake Ontario. During the last 20 years it has attained to considerable mercantile importance. It is now the centre of commerce between Montreal and all the settlements along the lakes to the westward. It possesses a fine harbour, formed by a bay on lake Ontario, the station of the British navy on lake Ontario. Ships of war of the first rate have been constructed here. Population between 2 and 3000.

York, the capital, is situated on the north-west coast of lake Ontario, and has an excellent harbour, formed by a large peninsula, and sufficiently capacious to contain a considerable fleet. Population between 3 and 3000.

GOVERNMENT.

The government of Upper Canada is administered by a lieutenant governor, (who is almost always a military officer,) a legislative council, an executive council, and a house of assembly. The legislative council consists of not less than seven members, who hold their seats for seven years. The judges hold their seats, under certain restrictions, for life. The executive council is composed of six members. The house of assembly consists of 24 members, who are returned from their respective counties, and the duration of the assembly is limited to 4 years.

NOVA SCOTIA.

SITUATION, BOUNDARIES, AND DIVISIONS.

Nova Scotia is situated between 43° 20′ and 46° N. lat. and 61° and 66° W. long. It is a narrow peninsula, more than 300 miles long, stretching from south-west to north-east.

It is bounded on the by the gulf of St. Lawrence; north-east by the island of Cape Breton, from which it is separated by the gut of Canso; west by the bay of Fundy; north-west by the province of New Brunswick; and on all other sides by the Atlantic ocean. It is divided into nine counties, viz. Halifax, Hants, King's, Annapolis, Shelburne, Queen's, Lunenburg, Sydney, and Cumberland.

SOIL.

The north-east part of the province presents a gloomy and barren aspect, but the counties to the south-west of Halifax, and along the bay of Fundy, have a rich soil, and produce good crops of grain.

POPULATION.

The population is estimated at above 100,000; the great body of the people are principally emigrants from New England. After these the Scotch and Irish settlers are most numerous.

CHIEF TOWNS.

Halifax, the capital, is situated on the west side of Chebucto bay, near the middle of the southern coast. It has a spacious and commodious harbour, of a safe and easy entrance, and open at all seasons of the year. Here 1000 of the largest ships might ride with safety. On the north side of the harbour is the King's navy yard, completely built, and supplied with stores of every kind for the royal navy. Population 15,000.

Liverpool, on the Atlantic coast, 43 miles south-west of Halifax, has a harbour for vessels.

Pictou, on the gulf of St. Lawrence, 120 miles north-east of Halifax, has a fine harbour, and exports great quantities of lumber.

Windsor, 43 miles north-west of Halifax, has a college, which has been handsomely endowed by the legislature.

RELIGION.

The established religion is that of the church of England.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

SITUATION AND BOUNDARIES.

New Brunswick is situated between 45° 5′ and 48° N. lat. and 64° 30′ and 67° 30′ W. long. It is bounded north by Lower Canada; east by the gulf of St. Lawrence; south-east by Nova Scotia and the bay of Fundy; and west by Maine and Canada.

BAYS AND RIVERS.

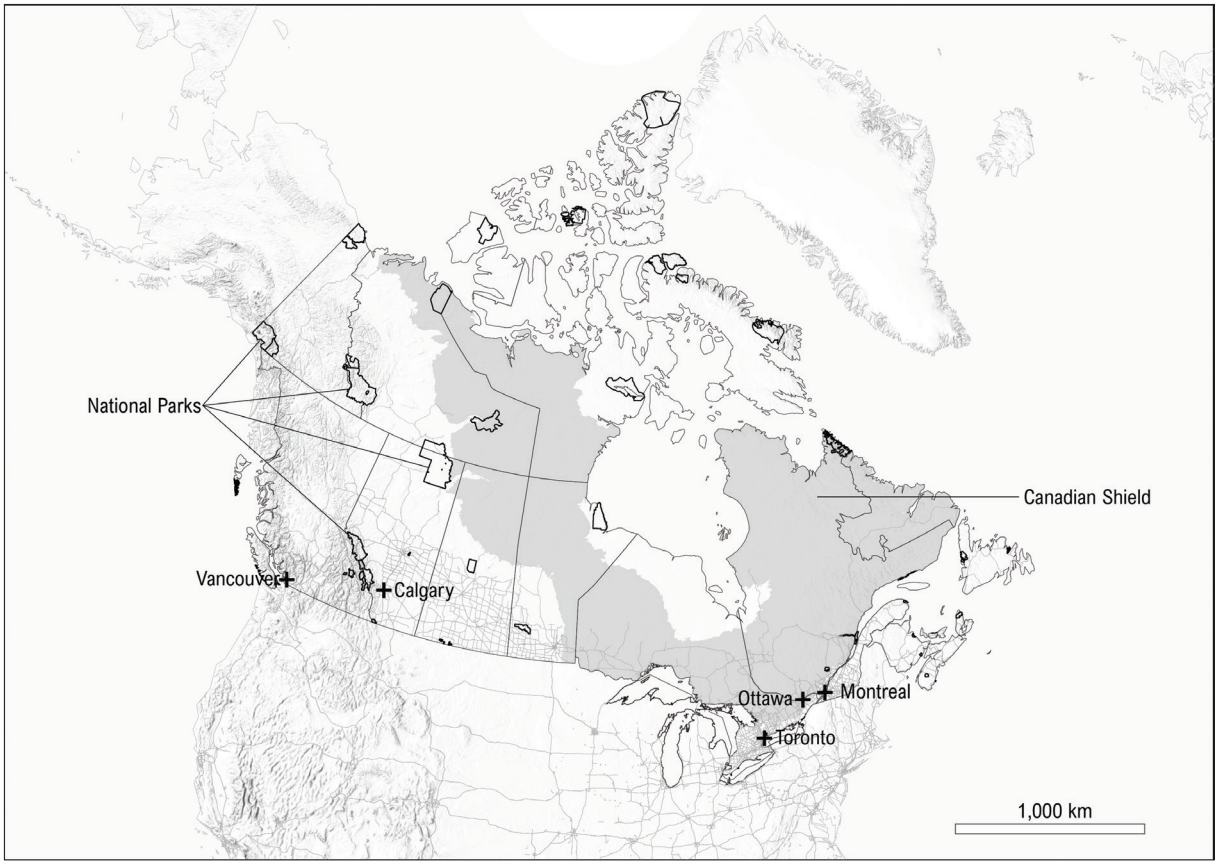
The principal bays are *Passamaquoddy* bay, which separates the province from Maine; the bay of *Fundy*, which separates it from Nova Scotia; *Chignecto* bay, which is an arm of the bay of Fundy; and *Miramichi* and *Chaleur* bays, which communicate with the gulf of St. Lawrence.

St. John's river, the principal one in the province, rises in Maine, and, pursuing a circuitous course, enters New Brunswick, and discharges itself into the bay of Fundy. It is navigable for sloops 80 miles, and for boats 200.

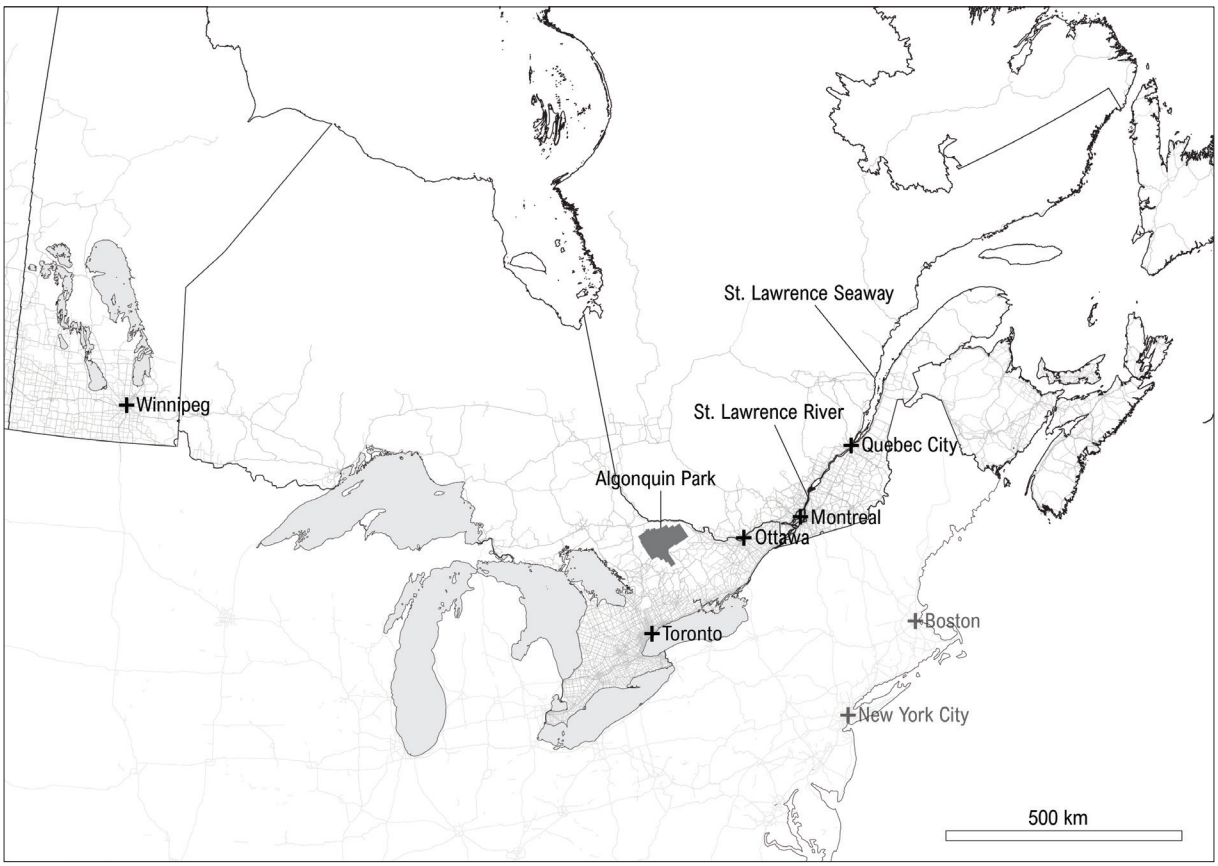
Miramichi river, which falls into Miramichi bay, is famous for its salmon fishery.

(See Appendix to this sheet

v. Historical map showing British possessions in North America, including Upper and Lower Canada (1840)



iii. Map of Canada showing major cities, national parks, and the Canadian shield



iv. Map of Eastern Canada showing the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence region

and Canada West where tensions between the largely anglophone west and predominantly francophone east remained tenuous. During Canadian confederation in 1867, an attempt to reconcile across the cultural divide led for the location of the new nation's capital, Ottawa, to be established on the historical boundary between Upper and Lower Canada. Geographically, the Laurentian region is the colonial glue which has historically held the settler nation together. This historical context is relevant to this thesis because the version of Canadian wilderness I have chosen to focus on not only predates the founding of the Group of Seven but is also located geographically far away from Laurentia in Western Canada. To understand this geographical distribution gives credence to one of the main positions I make in this thesis; that the development of the idea of wilderness was key in the process of expanding settler colonialism and its associated imaginaries into Western Canada in the closing decades of the 19th century.

Until the construction of the transcontinental railway, which allowed for the settlement of the prairies in the 1880s, settled colonial life in Canada was largely consolidated to the region surrounding the St. Lawrence River and seaway. When the railway company lobbied to have the land around the Banff hot springs turned into a national park in 1883, the seeds were planted for the exploitation (through tourist development) of the Rocky Mountain landscape—which would later be framed as wilderness—in the name of settler nationalism. All of the subsequently created nationally significant media, rhetoric, and tourist infrastructure would become crucial in transforming the landscape into an image of Canadian wilderness. Although the Group of Seven painters began their quest to define a landscape art tradition in Algonquin Park in the 1910s, different members of the collective eventually did travel to other parts of the country in search for inspiration for their work. Notably, A. Y. Jackson spent a considerable time in the Rocky Mountains in the 1940s where he taught summer courses at the Banff School of Fine Arts,[31] an arts and culture educational institution located in Banff National Park. The geographic discontinuity between the 20th century rise of the wilderness idea in eastern Canada and the creation of the nation's first national park several decades before in the west reflects the complex dynamics of how the power landscapes of Canadian settler colonialism are spatialised. This spatial tension will be reflected upon in this thesis in a number of different ways, including in the historical patterns of Canadian urbanisation and the distribution of the national parks system. Within the settler colonial distribution of power in the Canadian state, the idea of wilderness emerges at different historical moments as an enactor of settler colonial power.

31. Today, the institution is known as the Banff Centre for Arts and Creativity.

chapter two

Settler Colonial Intersections

> Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and sometimes, from all of them.
>
> —Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins" (1989)

The geopolitical force driving this thesis centres on making sense of some of the historical manifestations of settler colonial difference in Canada. This focus on settler colonial difference is filtered through the conceptual framing power of landscape as a medium for producing and reproducing these uneven differences *vis-à-vis* cultural constructions of nature as an ideological instrument for settler nationalism and identity formation. To give conceptual framing to these ideas, this chapter is conceived as a series of theoretical intersections linking different themes from human geography to the geopolitical context of settler colonialism. The first intersection looks at the spatiality of settler colonialism through the frameworks of settler colonial theory as applied to geographical scholarship. This involves a close look at the linkages between settler colonialism and urban theory, landscape studies, and infrastructure. The second intersection opens-up the binary roots of settler colonial theory (as a struggle between Indigenous and settler peoples) by bringing settler colonialism, environmental racism, racial capitalism, and Black studies into dialogue. This intersection draws from scholarship within and beyond human geography, including the adjacent interdisciplinary humanist fields of literature, history, native studies, and ethnic studies. The third and final intersection attempts to give voice to the landscape through a look at

entanglements between the other-than-human world and the settler colonial world. This includes a review of the discursive relationship between the posthuman turn in cultural geography and the prescience of Indigenous cosmologies within Indigenous studies.

As a conceptual framework and body of scholarship, settler colonialism is related to wider interdisciplinary discourses on postcoloniality and decoloniality. Within geography, there has been a relatively recent move to engage with decolonisation from a disciplinary perspective. This shift breaks down disciplinarily endemic north-south divides in knowledge production and implores the discipline of geography to critically recognise the ways in which the power relations of coloniality have shaped not only the contemporary world, but also the field of geography itself. The legacies of empire on contemporary colonial modernity include the intersecting hierarchies of race, gender, and class; as well as institutions of capitalism, democracy, and liberalism which have evolved and existed in various forms since the rise of European global empires in the 16th and 17th centuries. This thesis is very much part of this broader disciplinary shift to acknowledge and incorporate decolonial approaches. My focus on settler colonialism in Canada raises an interesting inversion of the dominant decolonial approach in geography, which overwhelmingly focuses on historically other voices from the global south. Locating this project in the geographic global north but engaging with decolonial discourse from the theoretical south,[1] has allowed for some interesting discussions to emerge.

It is important to note that this literature review focuses primarily on settler colonialism in the context of Anglo-western-settler states. These states include Canada, the United States, Australia, and Aotearoa/New Zealand. I would like to acknowledge that there is also a significant and distinct body of work which focuses on settler colonial contexts in Latin America which is not directly addressed in this thesis. Although a majority of Latin American states could be considered settler colonial in nature, this scholarship has tended to utilise the terminology of postcoloniality and decoloniality rather than settler coloniality to refer to the contemporary condition of colonial modernity. This literature includes important work in decolonial theory and Indigenous studies, although direct discursive overlaps and cross-engagement with Anglo-American literature on the same topics are limited. Important scholars working in the space of decolonial and Indigenous theory in the Latin American context include Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, María Lugones, and Maristella Svampa. There is also another branch of settler colonial theory outside of the immediate scope of this thesis which utilises settler colonialism as a framework for examining conflicts around Zionism, especially pertaining to the ongoing territorial conflict between Israel

1. By "theoretical south" I am referring to historically marginalised voices and fields of knowledge such as Indigenous studies.

and Palestine. Scholars who have contributed to this important discourse include Omar Jabary Salamanca, Kareem Rabie, and Eyal Weizman.

It is also worth noting the slight differences in meaning between the terms *posthuman*, *non-human*, *other-than-human*, and *more-than-human*, all of which I use throughout this thesis. In this thesis, I have chosen to use the term *posthuman* when referring broadly to the field of study in western academia which is characterised by a fundamentally anti-humanist conceptualisation of knowledge—the specificities and origins of this discursive field will be discussed in more detail later on in this chapter. The scholars working in this area are refered to as "posthumanists" and these include prominent figures in science and technology studies such as Donna Haraway and Bruno Latour. *Non-human* generally refers to organisms, beings, and life-forms that are not human. Meanwhile, both *other-than-human* and *more-than-human* similarly denote approaches focusing on interspecies perspectives which prioritise non-human outlooks and processes. In this thesis, I have mostly chosen to use the *other-than-* variety, as the term makes an etymological nod to posthumanism's theoretical linkages to postcolonial discourse, which is important to the overall conceptualisation of the thesis. However, when quoting or referencing the work of others, I have opted to keep the author's originally chosen term. The link between posthuman and postcolonial theory will also be discussed in some detail later on in this chapter.

2.1 What is settler colonialism?

Lorenzo Veracini has written that settler colonialism is a "distinct form of colonialism"[2] in which settlement is a core distinguishing feature. Under systems of settler colonialism, settlers arrive in a foreign land to stay and permanently replace the Indigenous peoples of that land through an insistence on settler sovereignty. Patrick Wolfe has theorised that settler colonialism is best understood as "a structure not an event."[3] According to Wolfe, settler colonialism is a structure because colonial invasion does not end at the moment of arrival, it requires the establishment and development of a hegemonically powerful settler colonial society built on the back of Indigenous dispossession. This entails the active and continuous reproduction of settler sovereignty over specific appropriated territories, achieved through a totalizing appropriation of Indigenous life and land, achieved through the consistent enactment of ideological, ontological, and epistemic violence. Underlying this violence is what Wolfe refers to as a "logic of elimination," wherein settlers "strive for the dissolution of native societies, [meanwhile erecting] a new

2. Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 2.
3. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 388.

colonial society on the expropriated land base."[4] At the crux of the settler colonial structure is land. As Glen Coulthard has concisely stated, settler colonialism is "territorially acquisitive in perpetuity."[5] Veracini and Wolfe have both ascertained that the social and political structure of settler colonialism is predicated on a triad relationship between three groups of people: settler, native, and slave.[6] Upon the seizure and settlement of colonised lands, the land is developed for capital extraction, primarily through the introduction of regimes of exploitative labour practices, including chattel slavery, indentured labour, migrant labour, and other forms of labour exploitation. Land is the common point of intersection for Indigenous land dispossession and the exploitation of labourers who are kept landless, and therefore not party to the settler project of settlement. In this way, the settler state is responsible doubly for Indigenous dispossession and racialised labour migration and exploitation. The very notion of settler citizenship is predicated on the power held by a nation state built on stolen land by exploited workers.[7]

Settler colonial states present a unique challenge to decolonial movements, as they are exceedingly resilient to decolonisation. The naturalisation of settler colonial states as liberal western democracies in various polities (such as the United States of America, Canada, Australia, and Aotearoa/New Zealand) is partially responsible for this.[8] Decolonisation—literally and fundamentally—requires the return of colonised lands to self-determined sovereign Indigenous rule. As Frantz Fanon wrote in *The Wretched of the Earth*, "for a colonised people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land."[9] Veracini has pointed to the complexities of decolonising settler colonial states in regards to the difficulty of negotiating for sovereignty *within* a state rather than *between* states, as a significant barrier to achieving Indigenous self-determination in settler colonial states.[10] The term "The Fourth World" was coined by George Manuel in the 1970s referring to the situation of Indigenous nations attempting to gain sovereignty from within settler colonial states.[11] This is reflected by Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's description of how settler colonialism operates simultaneously through internal and external modes of colonisation.[12] The lack of spatial separation between metropole and colony in settler colonial contexts (i.e. the colonising metropole is located within the colonised territorial boundaries and not an external

4. Ibid.
5. Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 125.
6. These are Wolfe's preferred terms, Veracini variously refers to this third group as "a variety of differently categorised exogenous alterities," "subaltern exogenous Others," and other related terminology. See Chapter 1 "Population" in Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 16.
7. Walia, "Transient Servitude."
8. Morgensen, "The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism."
9. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*.
10. Veracini, "Settler Colonialism and Decolonisation."
11. Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*.
12. Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor."

state) presents the near impossibility of granting straightforward forms of territorially-centred sovereign independence. This unique internal/external colonial spatial condition of settler colonial states also produces interesting internal power hegemonies related to urbanisation which I will touch on in the next chapter. In settler colonial contexts, decolonisation is not straightforward and is also largely without historical reference. Veracini has previously suggested that the virtual absence of reference to settler colonial contexts within decolonisation discourse has contributed partially to the lack of structural reformation (whether imagined or material) within settler polities.[13] In more recent years, this discursive gap has seen some interesting new scholarship from multiple fields, including in education,[14] anthropology,[15] geography,[16] literary studies,[17] and other interdisciplinary fields of study.[18] Much of this scholarship comes from Indigenous scholars, a positive and powerful reminder of the incomplete nature of settler colonisation.

2.2 Geographies of Settler Colonialism

In the context of this thesis, two concepts serve as heuristic entry points into settler colonialism as a topic of study in geography: landscape and infrastructure.[19] Firstly, regarding the intersection of landscape and settler colonialism, the medium of landscape has played a significant role in the ideological naturalisation and justification of European colonisation around the world. Landscape as a geographical concept primarily concerns the framing of land to reflect specific cultural relations and imaginaries. In the context of settler colonialism, landscape has been mobilised to impart settler values and ideals onto colonised lands as a part of the project of settlement. For instance, the conceptualisation of particular landscapes as wilderness. Second, the intersection of settler colonialism and infrastructure is materially intertwined, as colonial infrastructures have been built to facilitate colonial access and settlement into colonised territories. In settler colonial states, state infrastructure serves to reinforce and naturalise underlying settler colonial logics of the state. If settler colonialism is a structure, then settler colonial infrastructures are the

13. Veracini, "Settler Colonialism and Decolonisation."
14. See Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor"; Wildcat et al., "Learning from the Land"; Donald, "Indigenous Métissage."
15. See Todd, "An Indigenous Feminist's Take On The Ontological Turn."
16. See Daigle and Sundberg, "From Where We Stand"; Sundberg, "Decolonizing Posthumanist Geographies"; Naylor et al., "Interventions"; Leeuw and Hunt, "Unsettling Decolonizing Geographies."
17. See Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism"; Watts, "Indigenous Place-Thought & Agency amongst Humans and Non-Humans (First Woman and Sky Woman Go on a European World Tour!)"; Goeman, "Ongoing Storms and Struggles."
18. See Walia, "Decolonizing Together: Moving beyond a Politics of Solidarity toward a Practice of Decolonization"; Huygens, "Developing a Decolonisation Practice for Settler Colonisers"; Bhatia, "We Are All Here to Stay: Indigeneity, Migration, and Decolonizing the Treaty Right to Be Here."
19. There have also been notable attempts to combine landscape and infrastructure as analytical frameworks. This approach treats landscape as a form of ecological infrastructure which is crucial for supporting life. See Belanger, *Landscape as Infrastructure*.

frameworks which enable the organization of that structure; this includes both material and immaterial infrastructures. Material infrastructure can be broadly understood as built networks which systematically move objects, people, and other matter over space.[20] This includes roads, railways, dams, pipes, and electricity lines. There has also been growing interest in conceptualising ecology and ecosystems as natural or nature infrastructure.[21] The relationship between settler colonialism and both types of infrastructure are well documented and discussed in many contexts. Deborah Cowen, for instance, has written about how the transcontinental railway has served as infrastructure of settler colonialism in Canada.[22] Omar Jabary Salamanca has showed how infrastructural development functions as a material articulation of settlement in the West Bank.[23] Similarly, processes of urbanization and the creation of settler cities can also be conceptualised as an infrastructure of settler colonialism.[24] The creation of settler cities allows colonial cultural worlds to be imposed onto foreign lands. Beyond physical infrastructure, social infrastructure such as education, policing, and public health likewise have a role to play in processes of settler colonisation. In this regard, Sherene Razack has demonstrated how settler law operates as an infrastructure organising spatial and racial relations in the context of Canada's settler colonial state system.[25] Kim TallBear has argued that settler science has utilised DNA as a system for organising racial hierarchies of blackness and indigeneity.[26] In this way, concepts and assumptions within Western knowledge systems and can be seen as ideological infrastructures which naturalise settler hegemony and erase Indigenous life.

The logics of settler colonialism are so deeply embedded in settler colonial states that Veracini has suggested that they are "made invisible" through the use of "institutional apparatuses to 'cover its tracks'."[27] Nevertheless, other scholars have observed moments where significant ruptures to the settler colonial fabric of space have become visible. These ruptures frequently occur when acts of decoloniality rub up against settler colonial infrastructures. The importance of physical infrastructure to the continuance of the settler colonial state becomes especially astute in moments of its disruption. Notably, actions of anti-colonial resistance have repeatedly disrupted settler colonial infrastructures throughout history. Coulthard has offered a theorization of the blockade as a material act of disruption to settler colonial relations.[28] Over the last decade or so, an increasing number of spatially minded scholars from a multitude of

20. Larkin, "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure."
21. Nelson and Bigger, "Infrastructural Nature"; Wakefield, "Making Nature into Infrastructure: The Construction of Oysters as a Risk Management Solution in New York City."
22. Cowen, "Following the Infrastructures of Empire."
23. Salamanca, "Assembling the Fabric of Life."
24. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*.
25. Razack, *Race, Space, and the Law*.
26. Reardon and TallBear, "'Your DNA Is Our History.'"
27. Veracini, "Introducing."
28. Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 170.

disciplines, including Anne Spice,[29] Winona LaDuke,[30] Deborah Cowen,[31] Andrew Crosby,[32] Nick Estes,[33] Jeffrey Monaghan,[34] and Charmaine Chua,[35] have taken on the subject of pipeline protests as forms of infrastructural disruption actively dissenting against the authority of the settler colonial states in Canada and the United States. Within these acts of active infrastructural disruption, "is often where relations are formed, sovereignty and resistance are built, and where Indigenous resurgence gathers strength."[36] Spice has taken the recently instigated (seemingly retaliatory) legislative actions against blockages of critical infrastructure in Canada as a direct response by the settler colonial state against Indigenous resistance and self-determination.[37] In her interpretation, the categorisation by the settler colonial state of the infrastructures considered "critical" is itself an act of Indigenous dispossession; in other words, "by resisting pipeline construction, 'what we're doing here is protecting *our* critical infrastructure.'"[38]

The infrastructures of settler colonialism are important to the framework of this thesis in several ways. As a starting point, I have treated the Canadian national parks system as a territorial infrastructure which has organised and "settled" the country's hinterland regions over time. In the third chapter, I look at the Canadian national parks system as an infrastructure which reflects the colonial power dynamics of settler colonialism. Through an analysis of promotional discourse, landscape design, and public documents I demonstrate how the national parks in the Rocky Mountains exist as a spatial extension of the geographies of settlement and urbanisation. As the thesis unfolds, the transcontinental railway reveals itself as a crucial infrastructure not only for the settlement of Western Canada, but also in the making of wilderness in the Rocky Mountains. This infrastructure of access features prominently in the fourth chapter, which uses histories of the labour behind the making of the transcontinental railway in Western Canada as an entry point into a discussion about settler colonial difference in regard to non-Indigenous people of colour. Finally, infrastructure is represented in chapter five as a contested terrain of other-than-human agency. As floodwaters catastrophically disrupt national infrastructure in the Bow River Valley, a conversation about the other-than-human impacts of settler colonialism is prompted.

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29. Spice, "Fighting Invasive Infrastructures."
30. LaDuke and Cowen, "Beyond Wiindigo Infrastructure."
31. Ibid.
32. Crosby and Monaghan, "Settler Colonialism and the Policing of Idle No More."
33. Estes, *Our History Is the Future*.
34. Crosby and Monaghan, "Settler Colonialism and the Policing of Idle No More."
35. Bosworth and Chua, "The Countersovereignty of Critical Infrastructure Security."
36. Pasternak et al., "Infrastructure, Jurisdiction, Extractivism," 3.
37. Spice, "Heal the People, Heal the Land: An Interview with Freda Huson."
38. Anne Spice. (2019). Heal the People, Heal the Land: An interview with Freda Huson, spokesperson for Unist'ot'en Camp. In Jaskiran Dhillon, Nick Estes (Eds.), *#NoDAPL and Mni Wiconi: Reflections on Standing Rock.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. As quoted in Pasternak et al., "Infrastructure, Jurisdiction, Extractivism."

Beyond the material impacts of the building of settler colonial state infrastructure, the insurance of settler futurity has required a parallel cultural project of constructing a collective national identity to foster settler nationhood. The core tenet of colonisation is access to and control of territory, and this is achieved through not only the physical seizure and occupation of land, but also an ideological process of cultural engineering, which fits appropriated lands into a colonial imaginary, projecting settler value systems onto Indigenous lands. As a tool of ideological framing and nation building, the concept of landscape holds significant importance. First introduced to cultural geography in the 1920s by Carl Sauer's "The Morphology of Landscape," landscape gained significance as a humanistic field of study with a conceptual framework which tied together the interrelationship between nature and cultural landscapes.[39] Sauer's original approach was centred on the visual as a medium of analysis. Landscape is often described as "a way of seeing," and has strong humanist roots stemming from the development of linear perspective in the Italian Renaissance, which proclaimed to represent the landscape in a real, scientific way.[40] With these Renaissance roots, the "way of seeing" of landscape can also be understood as white, male, European, and upper class; landscape representations like painting are a method for projecting power and control onto the land. More recently, the landscape idea in cultural geography has become more textual in nature, reflecting a shift to a more subjective and culturally interpretive framework. Nevertheless, Sauer's notion that landscape can be a lens through which to see the world remains important to landscape studies today.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the new cultural geographers reinvigorated the concept by highlighting and emphasizing landscape's dual role as a medium capable of naturalizing[41] cultural constructions of space and realizing cultural relations.[42] In the words of Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove, "a landscape is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings."[43] In this way, landscape can enact both literal (as designed and built landscape parks) and ideological (as representations of cultural imaginaries across a variety of media) cultural constructions of space. Cosgrove has traced the Germanic origins of the English term "landscape" to the German *landschaft*, which carries with it political, social, and territorial meaning. Land, as Cosgrove explains, confers a territorial dimension to a socially identified group of people (for example when used as a suffix like in *England* or *Scotland*). Likewise, the French *paysage* and Spanish *paisaje* (which stem from the Latin *pagus*) are similarly linked to notions of common territory and collective land cultivation. Even the modern English usage of landscape, which

39. Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape."
40. Cosgrove, "Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea."
41. Cosgrove, "Landscape and Landschaft," 68.
42. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*.
43. Cosgrove and Daniels, *The Iconography of Landscape*, 1.

typically conveys "the sense of a view, a vista, scenery,"[44] and is "primarily pictorial,"[45] can be traced to a history aligned with the creation of the European nation-state wherein pictorial representations of so-called national landscapes are utilised as tools of national identity building. This political impetus can be seen in the development of national styles of landscape art, cartography, and literature which were "driven by an ideological imperative to identify and celebrate the unique heritage and beauty of nationalist landscapes."[46] With these epistemic origins in mind, it is important to take the landscape framework in geography as situated within a Western intellectual tradition with specific ideas about nature and culture:

> There is an inherent conservativism in the landscape idea, in its celebration of property and of an unchanging status quo, in its suppression of tension between groups *in* the landscape. When we take over landscape into geography, and particularly into public policy we inevitably import in large measure the realist, visual values with which it has been loaded: its connections with a way of seeing, its distancing of subject and object and its conservativism in presenting an image of natural and social harmony.[47]

This situated-ness of the landscape idea is especially relevant to this thesis, as one of my aims is to engage critically with different dimensions of settler colonialism. Significantly, this includes the ways in which landscape has been used as a conceptual tool of ideological colonisation.

Landscape as a discursive field of study shares some similarities with notions of territory. The political link between landscape and nation as engendered through the aesthetic construction of national landscapes echoes Stuart Elden's notion of territory, which he suggests is inextricably bound to the western construct of nationhood.[48] Within Latin American critical geographies, there is an complex decolonial conceptualisation of territory which stems from a distinct epistemic genealogy and goes far beyond an association with national boundaries and statehood.[49] I see this concept is a close mirror to the usage of "land" in Anglo-academic settler colonial and Indigenous discourses, which is frequently "shorthand for land, water, air, and subterranean earth" and "imbued with … long relationships [to place] and, … the pedagogies and knowledges that have emerged from those relationships."[50] Interestingly, in Anglo-art and architectural history, some scholars have chosen to drop the term landscape in favour of territory in an attempt to emphasise the political (as opposed to aesthetic) weight of landscape discourse.[51] But

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44. Cosgrove, "Cultural Landscapes," 67.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Cosgrove, "Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea," 58.
48. Elden, *The Birth of Territory*.
49. See Halvorsen, "Decolonising Territory."
50. Tuck, McKenzie, and McCoy, "Land Education," 8.
51. Including Alessandra Ponte and Antoine Picon; see footnote no. 3 in the Introduction to Scott and Swenson, *Critical Landscapes*.

in my view, it is precisely the dual aesthetic and political aspects of landscape that makes it valuable as a conceptual framework for studying colonial contexts. Framed through colonial intentions, landscape becomes an aesthetic medium for naturalising dispossession and strengthening nationalism. In this regard, Cosgrove points to the urbanisation of Europe, as the continent became increasingly urbanised during the industrial revolution and the power of the nation state became increasingly concentrated in cities, the aesthetic representation of so-called "national landscapes" gave city-dwellers an opportunity to connect with more rural regions and fostered a sense of pride in the agricultural territories of the nation.[52] One of the ways in which this nationalisation of rural territory is represented in the North American context is through the creation of national parks in the United States and Canada in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries.[53]

The ideology of landscape played a significant role in European colonisation around the globe by imbuing colonised lands with European cultural values. This ideological colonisation worked hand-in-hand with the material violences of colonisation such as war and dispossession. Writing about landscape painting in 19th century colonial Jamaica, Charmaine Nelson has posited that "landscape representation [can be] a form of spatial discipline;" with discipline understood as control, i.e. "the ways in which various actors (soldiers, geographers, etc.) used cartography and processes like mapping to exert control over geography, nature, and human inhabitants."[54] This ability of landscape representation to exert control extends beyond mapping and surveying into the aesthetic realm of painting and landscape or garden design, which achieves "visually and ideologically what survey, map making and ordinance charting achieved practically: the control and domination over space as an absolute, objective entity, its transformation into the property of individual or state."[55] In this sense, landscapes (such as in maps, paintings, and photographs) have agency, and are able to shape and influence social and material realities by simultaneously generating and reinforcing colonial conceptualizations of space. As I have written elsewhere, the field of landscape itself can be considered a colonising discipline, rooted in colonial origins which reproduce and reinforce exploitative and extractive colonial power relations.[56] Different representative landscape mediums, from art to architecture, have played significant roles in the naturalization of and justification for colonisation.[57] Indigenous art historians have regarded landscape

52. Cosgrove, "Cultural Landscapes," 77.
53. For an interesting discussion on the history of establishing Yosemite as the world's "first" national park in 1890 (despite its 1879 Australian precursor Royal National Park in New South Wales) see Robin, "Being First."
54. Nelson, "Interrogating the Colonial Cartographical Imagination," 51.
55. Cosgrove, "Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea," 46.
56. Dang, "Decolonizing Landscape."
57. Ibid.

representation, including landscape painting and cartography, as weapons of colonisation. Jolene Rickard has likened the erasure of Indigenous studies from art history to the former invisibility of feminist theory within art history, asserting that "critics can readily see gender inequities, due to the naming and canonization of the concept of feminism, yet they struggle to factor in an Indigenous perspective."[58] Regarding landscape, Tracey Banivanua Mar has asserted that settler colonial landscapes can be materially imprinted with historical narratives reflecting settler colonial hegemonic relations to the land.[59] Likewise, landscape architect Rod Barnett has written in reference to settler colonial contexts, that landscapes do important cultural work to "organise the creation and dissemination of national myths, which are naturalised over time."[60]

The colonial power of landscape is carried through as a subtext throughout the entirety of this thesis. In some places, the concept of landscape is treated materially and directly, for instance in chapter three's discussion of how the early landscape design of Banff national park reflected European aesthetic values or the fifth chapter's look at the recent river restorations of 8 Mile and Cascade Creeks. In other moments, landscape is the ideological and material terrain on which settler colonial violence unfolds. This is the case for most of the fourth chapter, which presents the landscape of western Canada as a tensioned space of racial difference and settler colonial identity construction. It is important throughout the thesis that landscape is understood fully as a multifaceted concept holding aesthetic, political, colonial, material, and ideological significance all at once.

2.3 Settler Colonialism and Others

In western settler colonial states like Canada, the United States, and Australia, the racial logics of settler colonialism are deeply ingrained and naturalised into the settler body politic. Most fundamentally, this racial condition is represented by its basis in a "logic of elimination"[61] aimed at exterminating Indigenous peoples (as posed by Wolfe) which holds together the structure of settler colonial society. The centrality of Indigenous dispossession to the settler colonial project suggests that within the settler colonial racial structure, indigeneity holds a "peculiar"[62] status. Wolfe, in explaining the settler-native-slave triad of settler colonialism, locates indigeneity in relation to but significantly distinct from the status of enslaved

58. Rickard, "Diversifying Sovereignty and the Reception of Indigenous Art," 83.
59. Banivanua Mar, "Settler-Colonial Landscapes and Narratives of Possession."
60. Barnett, "Designing Indian Country."
61. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."
62. Rifkin, "Indigenizing Agamben."

Africans and indentured labourers. On this point of settler colonial racial difference, Wolfe and others[63] have theorizsed that while indigeneity is constructed negatively by the settler state to be diminished over time (following the logic of elimination), blackness is positively reproduced over time (so as to enable the continuation of exploitative labour regimes). Kim TallBear has tied this relational racial construct to the material policy of "blood quantum" in the United States:

> Through the one-drop rule, blackness in settler colonial contexts is *expansive*, ensuring that a slave/criminal status will be *inherited* by an expanding number of 'black' descendants. Yet, Indigenous peoples have been racialized in a profoundly different way. Native Americanness is *subtractive*: Native Americans are constructed to become fewer in number and *less* Native, but never exactly white, over time.[64]

Together, the expansive racialization of blackness and subtractive racialization of indigeneity work towards strengthening the hegemony of whiteness.[65] In this way, the racial structure of settler colonialism intersects with the biopolitics of white supremacy.[66] However, Laura Pulido's 2018 review of the subject has pointed out that although race is a dominant factor in settler colonialism, the underlying theoretical linchpins behind native studies and ethnic studies are distinct, as settler colonialism "cannot be reduced to racism. Indeed the solution to racism is inclusion, but this does not address colonisation."[67]

One particularily provocative take on the wide-reaching impacts of settler colonial racial hegemonies comes from Scott Lauria Morgensen. Through a reading of Wolfe's "logic of elimination" against Giorgio Agamben and Michel Foucault's theorisations of biopower, Morgensen makes the case that due to the success of settler colonial states branding themselves as western liberal democracies around the world, settler colonial biopower relations have become naturalised in western law globally.[68] Morgensen's interpretation presents a sobering and confronting reality check on the "global history of colonial modernity."[69] Colonial modernity has come into existence as a legacy of global reorganisations of power (including systems of trade, labour, and natural resource extraction) stemming from the dominance of European colonial empires which were first established during the 16th an 17th centuries. In this regard, the decolonisation of settler colonial states would require a dramatic and wholesale revision of the global

63. See Reardon and TallBear, "'Your DNA Is Our History'"; Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor"; Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native"; Deloria, *Playing Indian*.
64. Kim Tallbear, as quoted in Tuck and Yang "Decolonization is not a Metaphor" 12.
65. Although outside of the scope of this review, which focuses on settler colonial studies as theorised from Anglo-European settler-colonial states, it is noteworthy that this two-sided racial construct of indigeneity and blackness in North America does not even come close to the varied colourised hierarchies of race in the settler colonial states of Latin America.
66. Smith, "Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy"; Pulido, "Rethinking Environmental Racism."
67. Pulido, "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity III," 309.
68. Morgensen, "The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism."
69. Ibid., 65.

power hegemony. This global history also prompts an interesting reflection on the global reach of the British Empire, as discussed in the fourth chapter.

Within the spectre of settler colonial studies, the topic of racial difference has (at least in Anglo-American academia) generally focused on the structural tensions between Indigenous and settler (European) peoples. Of particular relevance to this thesis, this includes the violent material conflicts of dispossession, war, incarceration, and genocide as well as immaterial tensions emerging from ontological differences regarding land and non-human nature. Nevertheless, there has been a recognition that in overwhelmingly characterizing settler colonial conflict solely as a conflict between European settlers and Indigenous peoples, settler colonial studies has failed to address the on-the-ground reality of the contemporary heterogenous communities of people who live under settler-colonial regimes. Pulido has further pointed out that with few exceptions, within the body of work written about race and settler colonialism in geography, the vast majority of literature "has only considered whites in relation to settler colonialism."[70] This, Pulido asserts, is a reflection of "the overwhelming whiteness of the discipline."[71] In this regard, a small but growing body of literature has started to address the significance of race in settler colonial contexts beyond an Indigenous/settler binary[72] to consider the importance of non-Indigenous, non-settler people of colour. Scholars working in this space have acknowledged that attempting to theorise the role(s) of racialised non-Indigenous minority groups within settler colonialism is a difficult endeavour, as the topic is deeply complex, plural, and discomfiting.[73] Stemming from my own personal positionality, it is precisely into to this unsettling discursive convergence of racial and settler colonial difference that the fourth chapter of this thesis aims to contribute.

Scholars including Veracini have come to recognise migrants (including slaves and refugees) who are non-Indigenous and non-white as distinct from settlers. Jodi Byrd refers to this group as "arrivants," while Veracini prefers the term migrants. "Arrivants," according to Byrd, arrive in settler states because they are fleeing the violence of colonialism and imperialism elsewhere;[74] for Veracini, migrants differ from settlers because of their permanently diasporic condition—while settlers come to stay and claim land as their own, migrants do not.[75] In either case, these "exogenous Others" are racially distinguished from

70. Pulido, "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity III," 310.
71. Ibid.
72. Barring a minority of scholarship which insists on the categorisation of all non-native people as settlers, including Lawrence and Dua, "Decolonizing Antiracism."
73. Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor."
74. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire*.
75. Veracini, "Introducing."

settlers and subject to settler hegemony—albeit in structurally different ways than Indigenous peoples.[76] On the specifics of terminology, it is important to articulate that in discussing conceptions of "Otherness," there are some limitations of using language borrowed from discourses on postcolonialism and Orientalism, as Audrey Kobayashi and Sarah de Leeuw point out:

> It makes a difference whether otherness occurs *at a distance* from the metropole within a colonial context, as in Said's original work; *in place* in colonial contexts, as has occurred in the subordination of most Indigenous peoples; or through the creation of *diasporic* or transnational communities of difference, as represented by most of the large non-white migrant groups today.[77]

Kobayashi and de Leeuw have also observed that in the plural spaces of urban centres, "spatial negotiations can no longer be understood as contradictory encounters between Indigenous peoples and Euro-colonial settlers. Particularly in cities, relationships unfold across and beyond categories of Indigenous/white-settler/racialized immigrant."[78] The consideration of Asian and Black histories in North America have in recent years started to open up settler colonial studies beyond the binary opposition of Indigenous-European/Native-Settler. Some scholars in Black studies have suggested that a triad model (Indigenous-Black-European) serves as a better analytical framework for understanding the hegemonic figure of modern western humanism.[79] Tiffany Lethabo King has posited that the intersection of Black studies and native studies can serve as a "shoal" to better articulate relationality across the spaces of the settler colonial state.[80] By treating Black abolition and Native decolonisation as co-constitutive, Lethabo King posits that the future will be a dialogic endeavour built at the collision of Black and Indigenous imagined alterities. Aileeen Moreton-Robinson has suggested that different constructions of the concept of whiteness in Black studies and native studies can serve as a productive tension for deeper understanding of racial structures in settler colonial states. As Moreton-Robinson describes, whiteness within Black studies "is theorized conceptually as a form of power, as supremacy, as hegemony, as ideology, as epistemology and ontology, [with a focus] on structural forces and conditions that shape racist praxis."[81] However, in contrast to conceptions of whiteness in Indigenous studies, Black studies has largely overlooked the violent settler colonisation process which precluded the creation of the United States as a hegemonic white settler state. This opening-up of the largely dialectical racial understanding of settler colonial theory by Black

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76. Day, "Being or Nothingness."
77. Audrey Kobayashi and Sarah de Leeuw. "Colonialism and the Tensioned Landscapes of Indigeneity" *The Sage Handbook of Social Geographies* (Los Angeles, SAGE: 2010), 130-1.
78. Kobayashi and de Leeuw. "Colonialism and the Tensioned Landscapes of Indigeneity" 128.
79. Including Sylvia Wynter and Frank Wilderson, as described by Lethabo King, *The Black Shoals*, 18.
80. Lethabo King, *The Black Shoals*.
81. Ibid xviii

studies resonates with my own thinking, however I am also interested in the rupturing potential of other frameworks beyond Blackness.

Through an analysis of Afro-pessimism's critiques of settler colonialism, Iyko Day has attempted to offer a more nuanced and complex approach to racial theorizations in North America by suggesting that the notion that "settler colonial racial capitalism is a zero sum game" must be problematized.[82] In Day's view, neither the Indigenous-settler dichotomy dominant in settler colonial studies nor the exceptionalism of Black racialisation presented in Afro-pessimism present an accurate or absolute theorisation of race in the American settler colonial context. Day's work suggests that such binaries can be opened up through a consideration of the racial geographies of the Asian American diaspora.[83] Specifically, Day 's work explores the how the perceived hyper-efficiency of Asian labour can be conceptualised as a negative form of capital. In the area of Asian American studies, Day's scope of work pertaining to the continental United States is fairly unique. At the moment, the majority of scholars working at the intersection of Asian ethnic studies and settler colonial studies, including Dean Itsuji Saranillio,[84] Candace Fujikane, and Jonathan Okamura,[85] write primarily from the context of Hawaii, where the histories of trans-Pacific Asian migration (including as an effect of Japanese Meiji imperialism) intersect with American settler colonial rule over Kanaka ʻŌiwi (Indigenous Hawaiians) lands. One of the main tensions underlying this body of literature lies in complicating the relationship between settlement and migration. Saranillio explains:

> While migration in and of itself does not equate to colonialism, migration to a settle colonial space, where Native lands and resources are under political, ecological, and spiritual contestation, means the political agency of immigrant communities can bolster a colonial system initiated by White settlers.[86]

To place this historically, Saranillio offers the example of how Japanese and Chinese plantation workers in Hawaii aligned themselves with the United States during the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The Japanese and Chinese workers demanded their inclusion in the settler state by successfully arguing that they were racially superior to the local Kanaka ʻŌiwi.[87] Saranillio further suggests that the consolidation of Asian American and Pacific Islanders into the same diasporic framework in Ethnic Studies (as Asian American Pacific Islander Studies, or AAPI) has had negative implications for theorising from the potentially productive intersection of Asian settler colonialism and native (Kanaka ʻŌiwi) studies.

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82. Day, "Being or Nothingness," 117.
83. Day, *Alien Capital*.
84. Saranillio, "Why Asian Settler Colonialism Matters."
85. Fujikane and Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism*.
86. Saranillio, "Why Asian Settler Colonialism Matters," 286.
87. Ibid., 287.

Outside the distinctive context of Hawaii, limited scholarship (such as the aforementioned work of Iyko Day, along with Mona Oikawa,[88] Natsu Taylor Saito,[89] Manu Karuka,[90] and Eiichiro Azuma)[91] has started the important work of placing the history of East Asian (primarily Japanese) migration to the Pacific coast of the Americas within settler colonial studies frameworks. Beyond the insertion of Black and (East) Asian histories into settler colonial discourses, a plethora of other diasporic histories not mentioned in this review also have a stake in the settler colonial project of the Americas, and understanding their place within settler colonial studies will no doubt open new avenues for thought.[92] Chapter 4 of this thesis contributes to scholarship on this migration through a look at the labour contributions of Chinese navvies in the construction of the Canadian transcontinental railway in the Rocky Mountains.

Returning now to Wolfe's characterization of settler colonialism as a relationship between settler/native/slave, a claim can be extended that the role of non-white, non-Indigenous people of colour within settler colonial contexts is closely tied to processes of capital accumulation (in the form of labour). As Byrd and others have acknowledged, colonisation and racialization are both constitutive of and contiguous with capitalism.[93] A precondition of value creation under capitalism is actively produced difference. Value is created both through the uneven development of space[94] and the production of racialised human relational difference.[95] In this way, racial capitalism creates value by engaging in practices involving the race-based devaluation of non-white bodies. Racial capitalism as a concept has a long history in ethnic studies; scholars in the field had been interested in the relationship between race and capital even before the term was coined in 1983[96] (although the concept has seen somewhat of a renaissance in recent years).[97] Pulido has observed land and labour to be two ways in which racial capitalism can be manifested.[98] Regarding land, racial capitalism can be observed in the appropriation of land through Indigenous dispossession and the subsequent imposition of race-based control regarding ownership rights and access. The devaluation of coloured bodies through racialised labour regimes (such as chattel slavery, indentured work, dual wage systems, etc.) can also be extended to include "ecologies of resource extraction, processing, and disposal,"

88. Oikawa, *Cartographies of Violence*.
89. Saito, *Settler Colonialism, Race, and the Law*.and the Law}.","plainCitation":"Saito, Settler Colonialism, Race, and the Law."
90. Karuka, *Empire's Tracks*.
91. Azuma, *In Search of Our Frontier*.
92. See Walia, "Transient Servitude"; Bhatia, "We Are All Here to Stay: Indigeneity, Migration, and Decolonizing the Treaty Right to Be Here"; Pulido, "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity III."
93. Byrd et al., "Predatory Value."
94. Harvey, "Globalization and the 'Spatial Fix.'"
95. Pulido, "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity II"; Cacho, *Social Death*.
96. Robinson, *Black Marxism, Revised and Updated Third Edition: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*.
97. Pulido, "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity II," 526.
98. Ibid., 528.

where "racially devalued bodies can also function as 'sinks'" into which pollutants can be discarded.[99] Both manifestations draw clear parallels to structures of settler colonialism. Indeed, the spatial formations of uneven urban and rural development under the structure of settler colonialism are also shaped by various historical forms of biopower and racialised land dispossession. Beyond a system for structuring racial difference, Jason Moore has further posited that capitalism—and by extension colonialism—can also be seen as a way of re-organizing nature as a way of generating differential value.[100] This posthuman reading of the relationship between capitalism and the natural world shares similarities to the cultural framing of nature posited by settler colonial studies.

2.4 Settler Colonialism and Other than Humans

In recent years, scholars across multiple disciplines have come to recognise the many ontological alignments between posthumanism and Indigenous and decolonial studies. These similarities rest on their common discursive de-centring (and frequently, outright rejection) of anthropocentrism in knowledge production, Western constructs of sovereignty, and the rigidity of disciplinary divisions, as well as their common interest in non-human agency and diverse interspecies relationalities. However, despite these conceptual commonalities, there has been very little cross-disciplinary dialogue or interdisciplinary engagement between Indigenous studies scholars and posthumanists. There are many structural reasons for this limited overlap, not the least of which stem from the colonial extractive foundations of research in Western academia which has historically devalued Indigenous knowledge as inferior to Western science. In this section I will outline some of the main debates embodied by this small but growing discursive intersection. In particular, I am interested in the relationships between posthumanism, postcolonialism, Indigenous studies, and settler colonial studies. I posit that within these discourses lie productive tensions which can be utilised to form new avenues of thought and inquiry.

Firstly, understanding the roots of posthuman scholarship provides some insights into the field's lack of engagement with Indigenous studies frameworks. Posthumanism came into Western theory and philosophy in the 1980s and 1990s as a challenge to predominant humanist perspectives (of human exceptionalism) that have been entrenched in the Western academy since the European Renaissance. In combination with the context of European imperial expansion and colonialism in the centuries following the Renaissance, humanist ideas were further layered with racial and gendered hierarchies which placed

99. Ibid., 529.
100. Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life*.

white, upper class, European men at its apex. Along this line, Western humanist thought and theory has long served as justification for European colonialism, as the discourse allowed European society to "construct itself as scientific, progressive, and culturally advanced" in contrast against non-Western peoples.[101] The posthumanist approach is focused around a rejection of this humanistic "God Trick" (as termed by Donna Haraway) and instead looks to opening up the possibility of "situated knowledges."[102] In other words, the posthumanist approach treats knowledge as culturally and ontologically situated within specific power relations. At its core, posthumanism rejects the superior position of human thought and agency in knowledge production, instead promoting "a relational conceptualization of the human as culturally embedded and materially embodied, constitutively connected with diverse environmental agencies and non-human others."[103] Posthumanism's relationality is both influenced by and developed in parallel with postcolonial theory's similar discursive foundations in subverting the power dynamics of Western knowledge production, as developed by Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha and others. As Edward Said has pointed out, the "occidental" imaginary of European colonial society is contrived through an active and sustained discursive differentiation from an equally contrived non-Western "oriental" discursive imaginary.[104] Posthuman ideas, together with postcolonial theory, also encompass a rejection of Euro-centric modes of thought; in this way, posthumanism can be seen as a convergence of ideas which simultaneously challenge hierarchical categorizations of humans as well as displacing anthropocentrism in knowledge production.

Within cultural geography, Sarah Whatmore has observed an increasing engagement with Science and Technology Studies by cultural geography that has led to new approaches for exploring the nexus between *bio* and *geo* which place increased significance on more-than-human worlds.[105] In this more-than-human turn in cultural geography, all life on earth is entangled with political, social, and technological impacts. Whatmore outlines four important shifts which characterise this development: (1) "a shift in analytic focus from discourse to practice," wherein social agency is grounded through action rather than discourse; (2) a shift from meaning to affect, in which "what things do" takes precedence over "what things mean;" (3) a shift "towards more-than-human modes of enquiry," as an adoption of posthumanist perspectives; and finally, (4) a "shift from a focus on the politics of identity to the politics of knowledge," which places emphasis on the power structures shaping knowledge production.[106] These

101. Bignall, "Colonial Humanism, Alter-Humanism and Ex-Colonialism," 308.
102. Haraway, "Situated Knowledges."
103. Bignall, "Colonial Humanism, Alter-Humanism and Ex-Colonialism," 306.
104. Said, *Orientalism*.
105. Whatmore, "Materialist Returns."
106. Ibid., 603–4.

shifts, Whatmore asserts, have been constructively shaped by the philosophical work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, and further influenced by the recent theoretical advances in Science and Technology Studies most eminently represented by the work of Bruno Latour.[107] Beyond the impact of poststructural philosophy and Science and Technology Studies on the more-than-human turn in cultural geography, Ruth Panelli also points to the significant contributions and potential sympathies that Indigenous studies and Indigenous cosmologies have to the conceptual space.[108] In this regard, Panelli is the exception rather than the norm, as the more-than-human turn in cultural geography has been overwhelmingly ignorant of Indigenous scholarship.

It has been argued by some scholars that posthumanism's discursive ignorance towards Indigenous scholars and thinkers stems partially from its relationship with postcolonial discourse, which has historically not included the specificities of settler colonial contexts as part of its realm of study.[109] However, in my view this is a naïve point, as many of the leading posthumanist thinkers, especially those affiliated with Science and Technology Studies, themselves write from settler colonial contexts; these scholars include Donna Haraway, Sarah Whatmore, Cary Wolfe, and Karen Barad. This observation builds on Juanita Sundberg's pointed reflection on posthumanist theory's "silence about location and silence about Indigenous epistemes."[110] Sundberg has observed that posthumanist scholarship remains predominantly Eurocentric because of its erasure of epistemological and ontological frameworks that are not fundamentally based on a nature/culture binary (such as Indigenous scholarship). In Sundberg's articulation, posthumanist literatures have—in failing to engage with alternate, non-Western, and non-Eurocentric ontologies—treated the nature/culture binary as universal, continued to reproduce colonial knowledge systems and thereby "further subordinating other ontologies."[111] Posthumanism's failure to locate itself has served precisely the opposite of the framework's aim for relationality by further entrenching Anglo-European academic and geopolitical circumstances as universal.

Indigenous scholars including Zoe Todd, Kim Tallbear, Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill have accused posthumanism's ignorance of Indigenous studies as being racially construed.[112] A growing body of work has sought to critique and call out the ignorant, yet "lingering," assumption within the Western academy that "Indigenous studies scholarship is primitive, less rigorous, less theoretically

107. Ibid., 601.
108. Panelli, "More-than-Human Social Geographies."
109. Bignall, "Colonial Humanism, Alter-Humanism and Ex-Colonialism," 306.
110. Sundberg, "Decolonizing Posthumanist Geographies," 35.
111. Ibid., 34.
112. Todd, "An Indigenous Feminist's Take On The Ontological Turn"; TallBear, "Why Interspecies Thinking Needs Indigenous Standpoints"; Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism."

refined, simplistically concerned with identity politics, and so on,"[113] which has very much coloured interdisciplinary engagement with the field. Nevertheless, there are many similarities between the relational new materialist approach of posthuman theory and Indigenous cosmologies, which largely underpin Indigenous studies. For example, Todd has outlined how Latour's notion of "Gaia" shares many similarities with Sila, an Inuit mythological being.[114] TallBear has likewise compared Dorian Sagan's concept of "interspecies communities" with Dakota scholar Vine Deloria Jr.'s "American Indian metaphysic," as both Sagan and Deloria view knowledge making as a product of a networked set of social-biological relations.[115] Deloria's American Indian metaphysic encompasses a larger scope of being than Sagan's which includes both material and immaterial worlds. These similarities are not coincidental. As some Indigenous studies scholars have pointed out, centuries of colonial ethnography have erased the voices of oppressed Others from academic literature, despite the heavy intellectual labour that these people and cultures around the world have contributed to academia as research informants, participants, and subjects.[116] This historical erasure of Indigenous voices from academic scholarship is a direct mirror to the pathological erasure of Indigenous lives and cultures which characterise the settler colonial imaginary. Uneven colonial power relations have also hindered attempts for Indigenous studies to gain acceptance and legitimacy within the Western academy.[117] Regardless of these interdisciplinary conflicts, it is important to note that despite the chronological precedence of Indigenous cosmological thought over posthumanism, the primary critique of posthumanism by Indigenous studies scholars "has not been efforts to dismiss, supplant, or displace new materialism, but instead have been calls for the new materialism to not be an agent of displacement."[118] The primary critique of posthumanism is not that it maintains a nature/culture binary, but rather that it is locationally silent and largely ignores Indigenous scholarship which touches on the same topics. Along this vein, the remainder of this section will highlight some instances of productive overlap between Western and Indigenous scholarship which are relevant to non-human agency and landscape change.

In contrast to traditional western scholarship, non-human agency in Indigenous studies is normally taken as a given and therefore less emphasized as a concept in particular. The focus in Indigenous studies instead tends to be on the formation of relations with and between specific other-than-human agents. Robin Wall Kimmerer's conceptualisation of her approach—as a Potowatomi biologist—to the

113. Rosiek, Snyder, and Pratt, "The New Materialisms and Indigenous Theories of Non-Human Agency," 333.
114. Todd, "An Indigenous Feminist's Take On The Ontological Turn."
115. TallBear, "Why Interspecies Thinking Needs Indigenous Standpoints."
116. Todd, "An Indigenous Feminist's Take On The Ontological Turn"; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*.
117. Smith, Tuck, and Yang, *Indigenous and Decolonizing Studies in Education*.
118. Rosiek, Snyder, and Pratt, "The New Materialisms and Indigenous Theories of Non-Human Agency," 334.

scientific method within her field of botany offers some insight into the productive tensions between Indigenous and Western thought:

> To me, an experiment is a kind of conversation with plants: I have a question for them, but since we don't speak the same language, I can't ask them directly and they won't answer verbally. But plants can be eloquent in their physical responses and behaviors. Plants answer questions by the way they live, by their responses to change; you just need to learn how to ask.[119]

By treating the scientific method as a way of dialoguing with her non-human research subjects (plants), Kimmerer's approach can be thought of as a relational method of knowledge production which revises completely the ontological relationship between human researcher and non-human research subject (in humanist-based Western science). In this regard, Kimmerer's approach stems from her Potowatomi background, which shares an Indigenous cosmology described by other Indigenous scholars. This includes Deloria's aforementioned "American Indian metaphysics," as well as the work of Glen Coulthard, Leanne Simpson, Zoe Todd, Matthew Wildcat, Vanessa Watts, Michael Marker, Janelle Baker, and other Indigenous scholars.[120] Kimmerer, working at the intersection between Western science (botany) and her Potowatomi background, embodies a productive space of epistemic tension, as described by Margaret Kovach:

> Indigenous researchers are incorporating tribal epistemologies into their research. What seems equally evident is that these researchers are taking action in at least two ways: (a) they acknowledge the breadth of tribal epistemologies, their relational and holistic qualities, and their necessity; and (b) they *use* tribal epistemologies in preparation for and conducting their research, in documenting the sources and methods of their knowing, and in acknowledging their influence on their research.

This reciprocal and relational way of thinking expands the ethical concerns of academic research beyond human-to-human research into the realm of research involving other-than-humans. In this regard, Indigenous scholarship also has insights to offer on how to act respectfully while engaging with non-human kinships; Kovach presents the Cree concept of *miýo-wîcêhtowin*, or "good relations"[121] as a practice

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119. Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass*.Robin Wall Kimmerer has been trained to ask questions of nature with the tools of science. As a member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, she embraces the notion that plants and animals are our oldest teachers. In Braiding Sweetgrass, Kimmerer brings these two lenses of knowledge together to take us on "a journey that is every bit as mythic as it is scientific, as sacred as it is historical, as clever as it is wise" (Elizabeth Gilbert
120. Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*; Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*; Todd, "An Indigenous Feminist's Take On The Ontological Turn"; Wildcat et al., "Learning from the Land"; Watts, "Indigenous Place-Thought & Agency amongst Humans and Non-Humans (First Woman and Sky Woman Go on a European World Tour!)"; Marker, "There Is No Place of Nature; There Is Only the Nature of Place"; Baker, "Research as Reciprocity: Northern Cree Community-Based and Community-Engaged Research on Wild Food Contamination in Alberta's Oil Sands Region."
121. Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 63.

of ethics which centres respectful relations (human and more-than-human) which situates knowledge production within an interconnected life network. This epistemic method bridging western science with tribal knowledge is sometimes referred to as "two-eyed seeing," a concept introduced by Cheryl Bartlett and Murdena and Albert Marshall in 2004 which aims to bring together the complementary strengths of Indigenous and western ways of knowing.[122] Two-eyed seeing has been adopted by a variety of fields, including biology, medicine, education, and environmental science.[123]

Chapter five of this thesis draws heavily from conceptual frameworks stemming from both posthumanist theory and Indigenous studies regarding other-than-human agency in an attempt to learn from and reflect upon the authority of waters of the Bow River. I will be the first to admit this is an imperfect attempt, as my interspecies engagements with the river (and other animals, like the beavers of Sibbald Fen and the bears of Cascade Creek) are not bodily,[124] but rather mediated primarily through my readings of hydrological and biological science papers and news reports of wildlife sightings in the aftermath of the flood. Nevertheless, I hope this contribution can be thought of as a starting point for future work in this discursive space.

2.5 Emergent Intersections

Conceptually, this thesis is broadly framed by discourses on settler colonialism, set within the Canadian context. In this chapter, I have sought to introduce additional layers of complexity to the existing literature on settler colonialism by critically linking it to different intersecting frameworks including landscape, infrastructure, race, labour, posthumanism, and Indigenous studies. Intersectionality as a concept was introduced in 1989 by Kimberlé Crenshaw to describe how a multitude of conditions—such as race, class, and gender—can be compounded, resulting in unique barriers and forms of inequality in different individuals.[125] As such, in the context of this thesis, these intersecting concepts and theories enable complex engagements with different dimensions of settler colonialism, opening unique avenues of inquiry and ways of conceptualising settler colonial power relations. Not only do these intersecting concepts bring

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122. See Bartlett, Marshall, and Marshall, "Two-Eyed Seeing and Other Lessons Learned within a Co-Learning Journey of Bringing Together Indigenous and Mainstream Knowledges and Ways of Knowing"; Marshall and Bartlett, "Two-Eyed Seeing."
123. Hatcher et al., "Two-Eyed Seeing in the Classroom Environment: Concepts, Approaches, and Challenges"; Reid et al., "'Two-Eyed Seeing': An Indigenous Framework to Transform Fisheries Research and Management"; Wright et al., "Using Two-Eyed Seeing in Research with Indigenous People: An Integrative Review"; Marshall, Marshall, and Bartlett, "Two-Eyed Seeing in Medicine."
124. In future work, I am interested in exploring ways to incorporate both interspecies community-based work as well as methodologies from critical physical geography in order to engage more directly with this form of knowledge production. For more information about critical physical geography, see Lave, Rebecca, et. al. 'Intervention: Critical Physical Geography'. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe Canadien* 58, no. 1 (2014): 1–10.
125. Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color."

about new areas of study within settler colonialism discourse, but settler colonialism also offers fresh perspectives on other bodies of literature—including urban theory and posthumanism.

Bringing together landscape, infrastructure, and settler colonialism has led to interesting spatial analyses of the settlement of western Canada and the making of national parks in the Rocky Mountains, which will be explored in chapter three of this thesis. The interconnected history of the transcontinental railway and the development of the first national parks suggests that the ideological foundation of urbanisation also underpins in wilderness landscapes. Wilderness, as a material construct in the Canadian settler colonial context (represented most notably by the creation of national parks) is an extension of processes of urbanisation. This is one of the ways in which settler colonialism can provide urban theory with new perspectives on the power relations shaping cities. As a field, urban theory has in the recent past undergone an internal reflection on the persistent north-south divide in its scholarship.[126] The themes explored in this thesis attempt to disrupt this dichotomous disciplinary divide by demonstrating how colonial power relations have shaped and impacted cities and countries of the so-called global north.

Studying infrastructure in tandem with settler colonialism has also brought to light labour histories intertwined with the conditions of race and migration. As chapter four will show, the building of the Canadian transcontinental railway and its cross-country services were made possible through a workforce of racialised Asian and Black men. This intersection of infrastructure, race, labour, and settler colonialism builds on existing bodies of work on race and ethnic studies (for example Black and Asian studies), and further complicates them with the power dynamics of settler colonialism. Simultaneously, this intersection does important work to break down the prevailing dichotomous approach to settler colonial studies and decolonial theory, in which contemporary literature focuses largely on colonial confrontations between European and Indigenous ontologies.

Taking settler colonialism in convergence with posthumanism and Indigenous studies offers up unique ways of conceptualising landscape and infrastructure. Landscape elements, such as ecology and other-than-human life can have agency; and this agency, as chapter five will demonstrate, can be disruptive to various infrastructures of settler colonialism. When the Bow River overflows its banks in the aftermath of a summer rainstorm, a major road and rail corridor leading into the Rocky Mountains (a right of way originally carved out in the 19th century by the building of the transcontinental railway) is made inaccessible, cutting off mountain communities along the TransCanada highway. Various areas

126. See Scott and Storper, "The Nature of Cities: The Scope and Limits of Urban Theory."

in the region's biggest city are also heavily damaged by the high waters. The chapter examines how these infrastructural disruptions can in turn be framed as acts of other-than-human protest against the settler colonial state. Pairing this disruptive power with ideas from Indigenous studies about other-than-human agency also leads to novel forms of knowledge production which emerge out of interspecies dialogues and collaborations.

As a conceptual starting point, the empirical chapters of this thesis use landscape as a framework to reveal the settler colonial drivers of the wilderness imaginary in Canada. This will show how the Canadian wilderness imaginary is very much also a settler imaginary. As a settler colonial construct, the wilderness imaginary is a cultural veneer which holds and hides many histories of colonial exploitation, exclusion, and violence. These include Indigenous dispossession, labour exploitation, and environmental degradation. The settler wilderness imaginary also extends beyond Canada's borders, having impacts which reflect the global reach of the British Empire. This broad scale of influence enables the wilderness imaginary to act as a kind of intellectual infrastructure which naturalises the Canadian landscape in its colonised and settled form. This has been achieved through the creation of different representations of the landscape, including painting, writing, and photoraphy, as well as material changes to the landscape itself. For the Canadian wilderness imaginary, the creation of the first national parks in the Rocky Mountains at the end of the 19th century represents a pivotal moment in the history of the transformation of the Canada's national landscapes. Therefore, it is in the heart of the Rockies that the next chapter begins, with the 1883 discovery of a series of hot springs near the railway siding of Banff and the origins of Canada's first national park.

Driving the Golden Spike, by Hon. D. A.

chapter three

On the Origin of Parks

> They told us how important the Iron Horse was, and the riches it would bring to all. Blinded by their promises, I led the way. It was only later that I realized they did not consider us part of the "all."
>
> —Kent Monkman, as Miss Chief Testickle, *Shame and Prejudice* (2017)

At 9:22 a.m. on 7 November 1885, the last spike was ceremoniously driven into the Canadian transcontinental rail line near the town of Craigellachie, British Columbia. With this historic act, nearly five thousand continuous kilometers of track finally came together—the longest in the world at the time—linking the bourgeoning nation from the Atlantic to Pacific. Although the event was momentous and the photographs captured on that day have since become iconic symbols of nationalism in Canada, the ceremony was simple and attended by only a small number of officials, as the cost of construction had nearly bankrupted the railway company. Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's first Prime Minister—whose vision and political will had lay the path for the railway—was not present and was only notified of the railway's completion by telegram after the fact. Less than three weeks later, on 25 November, Macdonald issed an Order-in-Council to reserve lands in the Rocky Mountains for the creation of the nation's first national park, then called the Rocky Mountains Park.[1] The close timing of the completion of the transcontinental railway and the official reservation of land to create Rocky Mountains Park was no coincidence. It is impossible to separate the early history of national parks in Canada from the national

1. In 1930, this park was renamed to its current name, Banff National Park.

project of the transcontinental railway and the urbanisation that came alongside it. In this chapter, I will explore some of the historical ways in which the Canadian national parks system, viewed through a settler colonial lens, operates as an infrastructure of settler colonial nationalism.

Officially, the history of national parks in Canada began in 1883, when several Canadian Pacific railway workers stumbled upon a series of sulphur hot springs in the Rocky Mountains near Banff station. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company—who had been responsible for building the transcontinental railway—was instrumental in the establishment of the earliest national parks in Canada. Under the leadership of General Manager William Cornelius Van Horne (who had attended the last spike ceremony in Craigellachie and sent the celebratory telegram to Prime Minister Macdonald afterwards), the Canadian Pacific Company successfully lobbied the government into declaring the area as a national park. Van Horne, an American railway entrepreneuer, foresaw the economic potential of a national park in the Canadian Rockies for the soon-to-be finished railway's bottom line, as it was a way of generating ridership (and therefore revenue) for the largely unsettled[2] mountain regions. It can be said that from the earliest days, a major driving factor behind the creation of national parks in Canada was profit. As a matter of fact, the establishment of Rocky Mountains Park was not the first attempt by Van Horne to have a national park created. Previously, he had proposed (albeit, unsuccessfully) that the Lac des Arcs area, approximately 30 kilometres southeast Banff, be reserved as a national park.[3] Yoho and Glacier national parks, established in 1886, were likewise created in response to the completion of the transcontinental railway; and as in neighboring Rocky Mountains Park, their earliest visitor facilities were built and operated by the Canadian Pacific Company. Most notably, the Canadian Pacific Company built a network of "Grand Railway Hotels" across the country along the new rail line,[4] the first of which was the Banff Springs Hotel, built in Rocky Mountains Park in 1888. In a way, the completion of one national colonising infrastructure (the transcontinenal railway) launched the instigation of another (the national parks system).

Beyond their role in the creation of national parks, the part of the Canadian Pacific Company and the transcontinental railway in the settler colonial history of western Canada cannot be understated.

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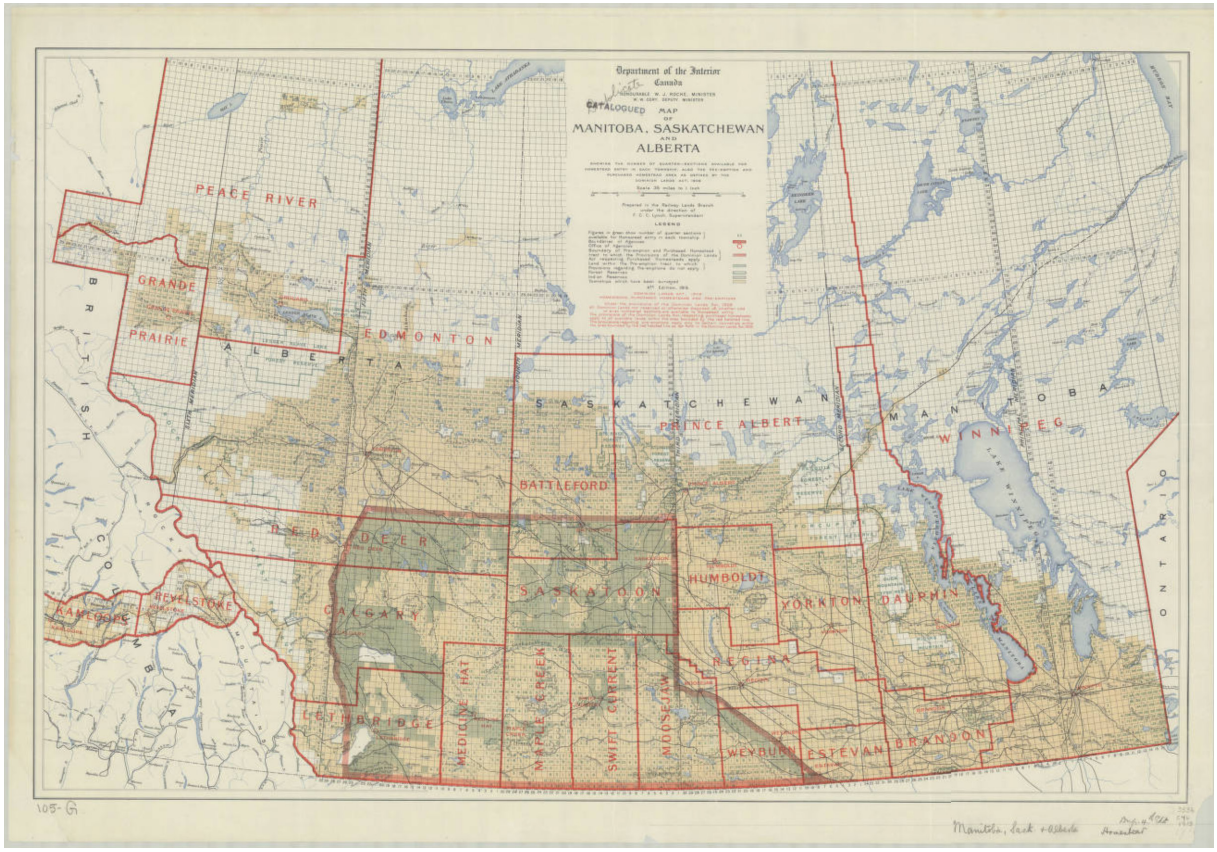
2. But not without human presence.
3. Byrne, "Man and Landscape Change in the Banff National Park Area Before 1911," 131-2.
4. The geographical span and timeline of the establishment of the Grand Railway Hotels provide interesting insights into the priorities and influence of the Company over time. The hotels, in order of completion are: Banff Springs Hotel, AB (1888); Mount Stephen House, BC (1886); Glacier House, BC (1887); Hotel Vancouver, Vancouver, BC (1888); The Algonquin, NB (1889); Chateau Lake Louise, AB (1890); Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City, QC (1893); Hotel Revelstoke, BC (1897); Fraser Canyon House, BC (1897); Place Viger, Montreal, QC (1898); Hotel Sicamous, BC (1900); McAdam Hotel, NB (1901); Emerald Lake Lodge, BC (1902); The Empress, Victoria, BC (1908); Empress Hotel, MB (1908); Kootenay Lake Hotel, BC (1911); Royal Alexandra Hotel, Winnipeg, MB (1911); Cameron Lake Chalet, BC (1912); Palliser Hotel, Calgary, AB (1914); Hotel Incola, BC (1927); Hotel Saskatchewan, Regina, SK (1927); Royal York, Toronto ON (1929); Chateau Montebello, QC (1930).

In the first decades following Canadian confederation in 1867, under the direction of Prime Minister Macdonald, several large infrastructural projects were undertaken by the new dominion government in order to facilitate settler colonisation in the Canadian prairies. In addition to the railway, a national mapping project—the Dominion Land Survey—was initiated in 1871 to systematically map the prairies, preparing the region for European settlement. Led by Surveyor General Lieutenant-Colonel John Stoughton Dennis, head of the newly formed Dominion Lands Branch of the Department of the Interior, the Dominion Land Survey mapped nearly 800,000 square kilometres of land in only a matter of decades. As Denis Cosgrove has observed,

> In European states, the project of national topographic mapping dates to the late eighteenth century, and was closely tied to military defense of the national territory (thus in Britain the map is published by the *Ordinance Survey* whose title reflects its early usefor artillery purposes; in Italy it is published by the *Istituto Geografico Militare*) and to the systematic inventory and bureaucratic regulation of the modern state.[5]

Reflecting a centuries long tradition of topographical mapping as a tool for nation-building in modern Western nation states, the colonial survey "embodied and inscribed a national teleology on a landscape that, although bounded by the cartographic abstraction of national borders, had not yet been rationalised in relation to them."[6] In this way, the topographic maps represent the national landscape in politically and culturally significant ways, and can be seen as "a guide to the correct way of seeing and conducting oneself in the actual landscape."[7] The map series generated by the Dominion Land Survey in the late 19th century transformed the vast heterogenous prairie landscape into an expansive, abstract property grid. Showing "only the section and range property lines,"[8] the main purpose of these maps was to serve as spatial ledgers of colonisation. In this index map from 1912 *(figure i)*, not only is the immense extent of the surveyed prairie lands visible, but also the importance of the railway as a vector for European settlement and the extent to which that settlement was reliant on the promise of an agricultural economy, as it makes legible how in the western mountain sections[9] only the strip of land directly adjacent to the railway line was surveyed. Facilitating the sale of much of these newly delineated lots also fell to the Canadian Pacific Company. As part of their agreement with the Dominion government to build a railway across the prairies, the Canadian Pacific was granted 25 million acres of land, which they were able to sell to settlers for a

5. Cosgrove, 'Landscape and Landschaft', 67.
6. Braun, 'Buried Epistemologies', 13.
7. Cosgrove, 'Landscape and Landschaft', 67.
8. Taylor, 'Official Geography and the Creation of "Canada"', np.
9. Which would be difficult, if not impossible, to farm.



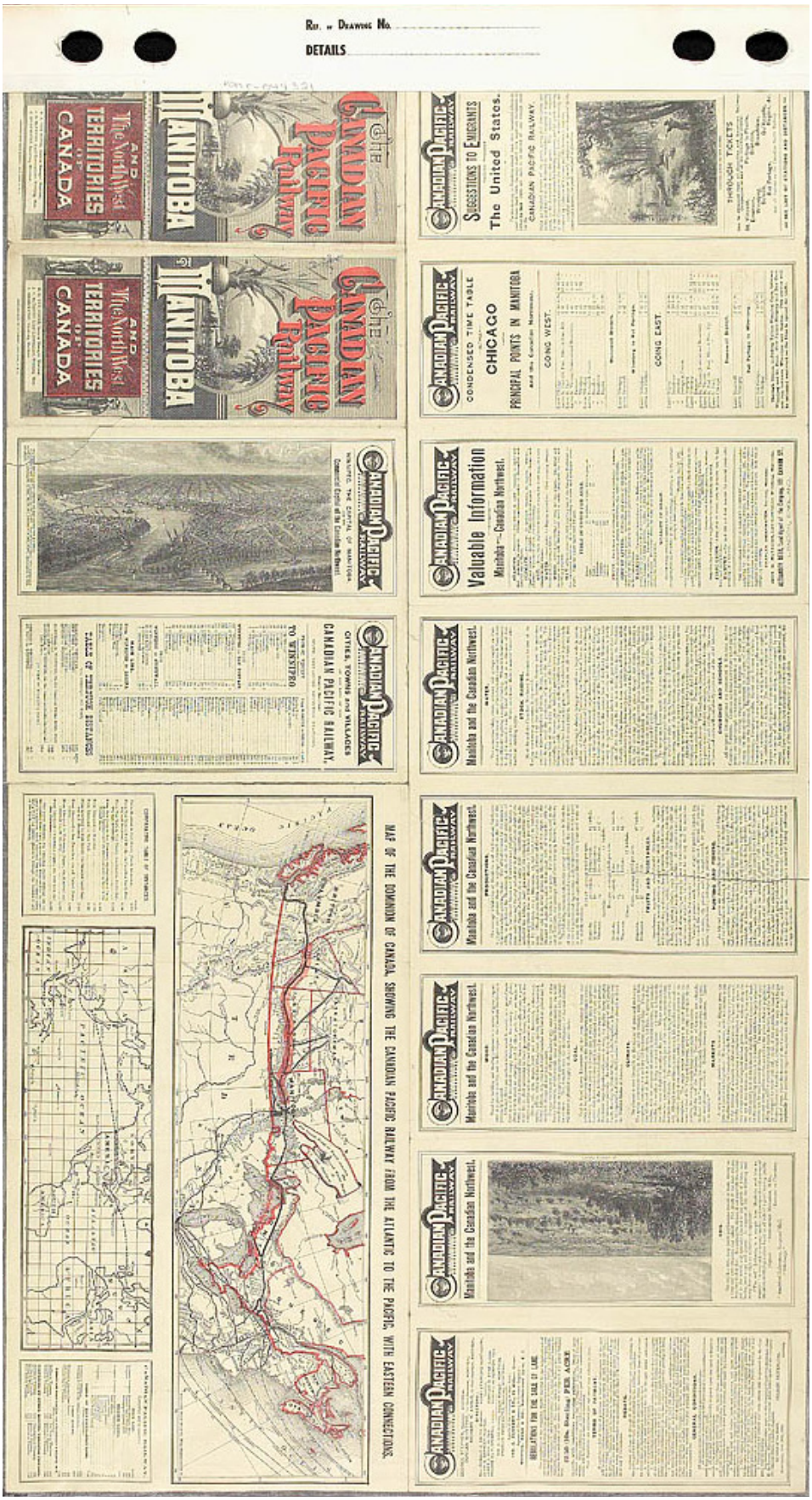
i. Map of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta (1915)

profit (in addition to the profit made from providing transportation for settlers from Europe on Canadian Pacific ship and rail services).

In the final decades of the 19th century, the Company undertook extensive marketing campaigns overseas aimed at bringing European settlers to the Canadian prairies. On a pamphlet from 1883 *(figure ii)*, Canadian Pacific Railway lands "within the Railway Belt along the main line" are advertised for a going rate of "$2.50 per Acre upwards, with conditions requiring cultivation."[10] Prior to the 1870s, European settlements in the prairies primarily comprised of small fur trading posts operated by the Hudson's Bay Company located on the shores of rivers. With the arrival of the Canadian Pacific line, the spatial pattern of settler occupation became systemically realigned to the railway as an immense network of cities, towns, and villages servicing the railway arrived with it. Of the six census-categorised metropolitan areas in the three prairie provinces today,[11] only two existed as prominent commercial centers prior to the construction of the transcontinental railway. Indeed, a third of the more than two million settlers who immigrated to the prairie provinces between the completion of the railway and the first world war came to live in these newly established urban areas.[12] This method of settlement generated a formal spatial pattern of urbanisation in western Canada, characterised by the systematic arrangement of towns and cities along the railway line surrounded by an expansive grid of agricultural homesteads. Although the prairie region was built on the back of an agricultural economy, this industrially scaled production of grains and livestock required regional transport, finance, production, and other infrastructures to support it and the settlers on whose labour it depended. Settlers' lives were deeply embedded within colonial markets and their subsistence not only depended on access to places in which to process and sell their agricultural products, but also on food, services, and commodities being made available for them to purchase in towns and cities. In this way, despite its reliance on agriculture, the settlement of the Canadian prairies was not rural, but profoundly urban.

In parallel with the mapping work of the Dominion Land Survey, between 1871-1921 eleven "Numbered Treaties" were signed with Indigenous groups in western Canada in order to appropriate land for the construction of the transcontinental railway and the forecasted European settlement. Under these agreements, Indigenous peoples found themselves dispossessed of their lands and displaced into reserves—lands on the peripheries of settler society set aside to contain Indigenous communities. Negotiations

10. The prairie section of the Canadian Pacific Railway / American Bank Note Company / Canadian Pacific Railway Company / Library and Archives Canada / G3471.P3 1884 .P72.
11. Calgary, AB; Edmonton, AB; Winnipeg, MB; Saskatoon, SK; Regina, SK; Lethbridge, AB
12. For an overview of the urbanisation of the Canadian prairies, see Voisey, 'The Urbanisation of the Canadian Prairies, 1871-1916'.



ii. Pamphlet providing information on Canadian Pacific Railway land grants in Manitoba and the North-West Territories (1882)

regarding the treaties reflected the asymetrical power relations between the parties, an asymmetry compounded by several severe environmental crises brought on by settler colonisation—including the systematic over-hunting and near extinction of the plains bison (*Bison bison* subsp. *bison*),[13] and the introduction of foreign European diseases—having devastating impacts on many Indigenous groups on the prairies, effectively forcing them into the welfare of the settler state for survival. In 1886, during a meeting with Prime Minister John. A. Macdonald in the aftermath of the NorthWest Rebellion, Chief Crowfoot of the Siksika Blackfoot Nation expressed his concern over the loss of the buffalo, saying that "his tribe were much frightened lest they might starve, as all the buffalo were gone."[14] The destruction of the plains bison (a keystone species which Indigenous peoples in the North American plains had hunted for centuries) can be attributed to multiple factors, the most notable of which were the introduction of new hunting techniques by settlers, the commercialisation of the bison hunt, and the destruction of native habitats by increasing European settlement.

The spatial parallels between urbanisation and the uneven distributions of colonial power can be seen in the aggressive pace and pattern of settlement and centralised development along the infrastructural corridor of the transcontinental railway through the Canadian prairies. Together, the linear pattern of settlement along the railway lines and the displacement of Indigenous peoples into a reserve system highlights how under structures of settler colonialism, the dichotomous center-periphery spatial formations of urbanisation and uneven development are further shaped by various historical forms of biopower and racialised dispossession. Settler colonialism is a form of colonialism rooted in the dual logics of Indigenous dispossession and territorial appropriation through occupation. Structurally, settler colonialism is centered on the elimination of a native Indigenous population, and the seizure of their land for economic gain.[15] Settlement is key to settler colonialism, as settlers arrive to appropriated Indigenous lands to stay, and claim the land as their own. As a group, the triad of infrastructure projects taken at the turn of the 20th century in the wake of Canadian confederation—the Numbered Treaties, the Dominion Land Survey, and the Transcontinental Railway—established a spatialised settler hegemony which mirrors the spatialities of urbanisation and persists into the present day. In this chapter, I demonstrate how the origin and evolution of the national parks system, likewise framed as a spatial infrastructure of settler colonisation, has shaped Canada—culturally, spatially, and politically—as a settler nation state. This is achieved through a historical look at the design, promotion, and politicisation of the Rocky Mountain

13. There are two main *B. bison* subspecies. The plains bison is *B. b. bison*, and the wood bison is *B. b. athabascae.*
14. As expressed through a translator and quoted by Lady Agnes Macdonald (the wife of Prime Minister Macdonald) in her account of 1886 travels with her husband: Macdonald, 'By Car and By Cowcatcher: Part I', 228.
15. Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native'.

National Parks as conceptually framed within literature from critical landscape studies and theories of urbanisation. Key to this discussion is exploring how the national parks in the Rocky Mountains have been materially and discursively framed through landscape (as a rhectorical tool of settler colonialism) to be conceptually urban spaces, albeit located in a geographic periphery compared to cities.

3.1 Made in the Image of Wilderness

In the spring of 1886—a few months after Prime Minister Macdonald's Order-In-Council reserving the lands surrounding a series of hot springs in the Rocky Mountains for the creation of the nation's first national park—George Alexander Stewart, Dominion Land Surveyor and landscape architect,[16] was sent to conduct a topographical survey of the area. Upon arriving in the Rockies, it became apparent to Stewart that along with the survey, the landscape development of the area to accommodate visitors was urgently required. As he noted in his first annual report, "it became evident that an effort must be made to meet the necessities of the public to reach the sulphur springs."[17] By the following year, he had been appointed as the Park's first superintendent, and over the next decade, he oversaw the planning, design, construction, and management of the Park, facilitating its transformation from a 'remote' railway siding into a major tourist destination. As the parallel histories of the transcontinental railway and the establishment of Rocky Mountains Park demonstrates, from their moment of conception the national parks of Canada were about profit.[18] The key to achieving this profit was in attracting tourist traffic, and this was accomplished through the mobilisation of landscape—both as a material representation of settler culture, as well as a socio-cultural medium of ideology.[19] In the earliest days, Rocky Mountains Park was transformed literally, by design, into a series of cultural images reflecting settler cultural imaginaries about the beauty of "natural" landscapes.

Stewart, with the support of the dominion government, went to great lengths to achieve and make legible such beauty. His ambitions for the park were significant; his landscape works included the clearing of land to build roads, the construction of a dam to enhance the shoreline of Lake Minnewanka for boating, implementing a piping system to convey water from the hot springs to the hotels, managing

16. Interestingly, when introducing Stewart in the House of Commons in 1887, Minister of the Interior Thomas White calls him a "clever landscape architect." To my knowledge, this is one of the earliest references to the profession of landscape architect in Canada, predating the formal professionalisation of landscape architecture in Canada with the formation of the Canadian Society of Landscape Architects in 1934 by nearly half a century.
17. Dominion of Canada, "Part VI. Report of the Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park" of Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1887 in *Sessional Papers* Vol. 6 First Session of the Sixth Parliament (1887).
18. Bella, *Parks for Profit*.
19. Cosgrove and Daniels, *The Iconography of Landscape*.

wildfires, and planting and maintaining vegetation to recreate views destroyed by wildfires. Annual Park reports written by Stewart during his tenure as superintendent from 1887-1897 describe in great detail his beautification and view framing projects. In particular, Stewart's recounting of how he designed paths and roads to bring visitors to specific views both resemble and recall techniques of English picturesque landscape design formalised by 18th century aesthetic theorists like William Hogarth and Edmund Burke:

> The path leads the traveller to the south end of the mountain top, where an extensive view of the Lower Bow valley meets the eye and brings the numerous islands of the Bow into the view of the spectator for the first time to advantage. This scene is unequalled from any other point so easily accessible, and the visitor is well rewarded for the labour in attaining this elevated spot.
> The path then winds along the crest of the mountain to the north end, bringing into view each moment the many attractive points in the several valleys which radiate from this mountain. On attaining the highest point, about midway along the crest, the Cascade valley presents all its beauties, and a portion of Lake Minnewanka is seen, with the Palliser and Inglismaldie ranges towering above it on either side.[20]

In this path up Tunnel Mountain, the winding geometry is reminiscent of Hogarth's "line of grace," the serpentine 's' curve that is supposedly emblematic of beauty in the landscape. Furthermore, the variety of views and vistas offered by this path also align with theories of English landscape picturesque. William Gilpin, the originator of the aesthetic concept of picturesque, emphasized in his travel writing that landscape was best experienced as a "series of views bound one to the next by a viewer's motion."[21] In this conceptualisation, the material inscription of the path into the landscape is notable, as it is thought that picturesque landscapes are most beautiful when viewed and experienced in motion, as if from a boat floating on a river, where specific landscape scenes are hidden and revealed over time as a viewer progresses through the landscape. A design for a road, extending east from the Banff townsite reveals the dramatic scenes of the valley from above:

> The design of this road requires it to be extended around the north end of Tunnel Mountain, and then on to the table land on the east side thereof and lying between the Bow and Cascade Rivers. The road will therefore, after leaving Tunnel Mountain, continue along this table land, which stands at an elevation of from 400 to 500 feet above the Bow, and will make this road probably the most attractive drive in the Park.[22]

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20. Dominion of Canada, "Part VI. Rocky Mountains Park" of Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1891 in *Sessional Papers* Vol. 14 First Session of the Seventh Parliament (1891).
21. Palma, 'Flow', 33.
22. Dominion of Canada, "Part VI. Rocky Mountains Park" of Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1891 in *Sessional Papers* Vol. 14 First Session of the Seventh Parliament (1891).

Again, ideas of motion—the road "leaving" and "[continuing] along"—are important to the description of the road, as is the view of the Bow River afforded by the height eventually achieved by the road. In Rocky Mountains Park, roads and paths were designed with dual functions in mind, as infrastructures of access and tools for landscape framing, both in the service of inscribing settler colonial control over the landscape.[23]

Stewart's aesthetic ideas extended beyond paths and is also applied to the visitor experience of the underground cavern of the Cave Hot Springs. According to Edmund Burke, certain landscape scenes evoke certain emotions, and he believed sublime landscapes such as mountains and caves were meant to "induce powerful emotions of astonishment, awe, and a sense of being overwhelmed."[24] Stewart seems to have shared Burke's view, as in 1981, he proposed to improve the lighting conditions in the Cave Hot Spring to allow visitors to more fully appreciate the interior of the cave, writing that:

> It is a question, also, if it would not be advisable to light up the cave with electricity, which would unquestionably make it the most attractive object in the Park, not only for its bathing facilities, but as a curiosity.
> In its present condition the many beauties contained in the arching and foldings of its side and roof, composed of myriads of crystals, are completely lost to the eye owing to the gloomy darkness of the place; but a few electric lights distributed around amongst the natural crevices and corners would produce an effect the most enchanting.
> At present the cave is lighted by ordinary lamps, which are only sufficient for guiding the people through the dark passages, without affording any means of discovering or admiring the great natural beauties of this subterranean vault and its crystallized walls.[25]

In this appeal for permission to improve the electric lighting in the hot spring, Stewart demonstrates his keen aesthetic eye for appreciating the beauty in natural landscape formations.

During this period, Stewart also sought to improve the landscape through the raising and planting of ornamental vegetation:

> I purpose also trying the effect of raising trees from the seed, and hope yet to be able to add somewhat to the beauty of the Park by the introduction of greater variety of foliage.[26]

In the history of English imperialism, the act of collecting and planting vegetation for aesthetic and cultural purposes (such as in botanical gardens, arboretums, and glass houses) can be seen as an

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23. Figures from Annual Reports show that roads were by far Stewart's biggest expenditure.
24. Myers, 'Power of the Picturesque', 40.
25. Dominion of Canada, "Part VI. Rocky Mountains Park" of Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1891 in *Sessional Papers* Vol. 14 First Session of the Seventh Parliament (1891).
26. Ibid.

"ornament" of empire.[27] The notion of a plant nursery is similarly part of this colonial tradition of culturing plants as a form of control over the natural world. Stewart's nursery for Rocky Mountains Park was also a space of experimentation:[28]

> The site selected for the young trees which were sent here two years ago presented every advantage as to locality, soil, and facilities for water, &c., but after two seasons' experience it is found to be to exposed to the strong winds that sweep down the Bow valley.
> The young trees took root and sprouted at the ground, but the tops being exposed to the cold winds no leaves appeared higher up than a few inches above the surface of the ground.
> Every means was taken to protect them from the blast, but without any satisfactory results, although there appeared to be ample vitality in the roots, the budding on the stem being arrested by the constant cold wind that prevailed in the locality. Being convinced that this was the cause of the failure of the trees to flourish, I tried the experiment of transplanting some six or seven hundred of them to the low sheltered ground below the Spray River, and the result was that every tree came out in full leaf to the top of the stem, and appeared full of life and vigour till autumn. I have therefore decided to remove the remainder of theses trees and plant them in similar portions of the Park, and by these means save the greater part of them.[29]

This description of the superintendent's efforts to nurture a group of young trees is a reminder that beyond a colonial mentality for collecting and growing plants for aesthetic purposes, Stewart was intimately involved with the landscape of the Rocky Mountains in a way that his superiors—the government representatives and bureaucrats in Ottawa—never were. In many ways, he served as a mediator of translating settler colonial ideologies about natural landscapes into real material landscape change.

Stewart's approach to planting also reveals his (and by extension, the settler state's) relationship to non-human life. In addition to planting vegetation for beautification, planting projects were also undertaken to preserve game animals within the park for sport hunting purposes:

> The wild rice sent up from Ontario by your directions was sown in the Vermillion Lakes, and also on the borders of the Devil's Lake, for the benefit of wild fowl frequenting these waters, and it is hoped in time by these means and proper protection to cultivate and encourage the game more effectually. And in connection with this matter it is of great importance that if possible the Indians should be excluded from the Park. Their

27. Casid, *Sowing Empire*.
28. It is also interesting to consider Stewart's nursery experimentations in relation to notions of more-than-human agency explored in Chapter 3 of this thesis.
29. Dominion of Canada, "Part VI. Rocky Mountains Park" of Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1891 in *Sessional Papers* Vol. 14 First Session of the Seventh Parliament (1891).

> destruction of the game and depredations among the ornamental trees make their too frequent visits to the Park a matter of great concern.[30]

He does not see the landscape as an ecological system. Instead, non-human life is described purely in value terms—plants are "ornamental," and wild animals are "game." The misogynistic qualities of sport hunting[31] very much go hand in hand with colonial paternalism over land.[32] The supplanting of Indigenous subsistence hunting with settler practices of sport hunting is an example of ideological landscaping, i.e. how Rocky Mountains Park was culturally remade into a space of concentrated settler cultural capital. As part of this inscription of settler cultural power, the exclusion of Indigenous bodies was required. The amendment of Park enforcement regulations to exclude Indigenous people is implied, as the discussion of a strategy for game preservation in the annual report two years later does not mention the exclusion of the Stoney, only that carrying out "Park regulations" will help in preserving game animals:

> The question of affording more attractions for sportsmen visiting the Park is now calling for some consideration. The many streams and lakes within its limits are well adapted to the propagation of fish, and the enforcement of stringent game laws will do much towards their preservation; and it is expected that the carrying out of the Park regulations will assist much in the preservation of game generally, and particularly in the protection of wild fowl.[33]

To be clear, nowhere in the historical record is it suggested that ideas of an uninhabited wilderness had any role in guiding the early landscape designs for Rocky Mountains Park nor in the exclusion of the Stoney Nakoda from the area.[34] In fact, as Stewart's efforts demonstrate, the Park was heavily designed to empower very specific forms of settler inhabitation—from trekking to bathing to sport hunting. Rocky Mountains Park represents a concentration of settler cultural capital because the landscape was literally remade into an image of settler conceptualisations of the natural world, as a beautiful series of images and as a playground for settler leisure activities.

The early cultural and political aims[35] of the national parks are made plain in reading the different versions of the National Parks Act that have been enacted over the last century:

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30. Dominion of Canada, "Part VI. Rocky Mountains Park" of Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1888 in *Sessional Papers* Vol. 12 Second Session of the Sixth Parliament (1888).
31. See Smalley, '"I Just like to Kill Things": Women, Men and the Gender of Sport Hunting in the United States, 1940–1973'; Beaver, *Hunting and the Politics of Violence before the English Civil War*; Hahn, 'Hunting, Fishing and Foraging: Common Rights and Class Relations in the Postbellum South'; Marks, *Southern Hunting in Black and White*.
32. Tina Loo, 'Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939'.
33. Dominion of Canada, "Part VI. Rocky Mountains Park" of Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1891 in *Sessional Papers* Vol. 14 First Session of the Seventh Parliament (1891).
34. Binnema and Niemi, '"Let the Line Be Drawn Now"'.
35. As opposed to environmental or preservationist aims.

> This said track of land is hereby reserved and set apart as a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada, subject to the provisions of this Act and of the regulations hereinafter mentioned, and shall be known as the Rocky Mountains Park of Canada. (1887)
> The Parks are hereby dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment, subject to the provisions of this Act and Regulations, and such Parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them *unimpaired* for the enjoyment of future generations. (1930)
> The national parks of Canada are hereby dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment, … and the parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them *unimpaired* for the enjoyment of future generations. (2000)[36]

Assented to in 1887, 1930, and 2000, the evolution of the wording in the acts show how at the beginning, the national parks were not intended to preserve nature in any way; they were only meant to serve as spaces for settler enjoyment and leisure. The idea that the landscapes of the national parks should be preserved (ambiguously characterised as 'unimpaired') comes later in the 20th century with the rise of environmentalism.

3.2 Myth Making

In the decade of the 1920s leading up to the Great Depression, the Dominion Parks Department in Canada underwent a particularly prosperous period under the leadership of Commissioner James Bernard Harkin. In the wake of the first World War, the British Dominions entered a period of increased independence from England, culminating in the 1931 Statue of Westminster, which gave Canada—along with Australia and New Zealand—more sovereignty and control over their own foreign affairs. During this period, there was an emerging interest in Canada to develop a national identity independent from the influence of British imperialism and the relatively newly established Dominion Parks Department was well positioned to take on this task. Published histories of this successful era in Canadian national parks development are plentiful; notably, Mabel "M.B." Williams, a former clerk and later publicity writer for the department, published in 1936 one of the earliest historical accounts of the development and evolution of national parks in Canada titled *Guardians of the Wild*, based on her twenty-year career working in the Dominion Parks Department with Harkin.

The Dominion Parks Department was established in 1911 as part of the Dominion Forests Reserves and Parks Act in order to administrate the growing number of national parks in the country.

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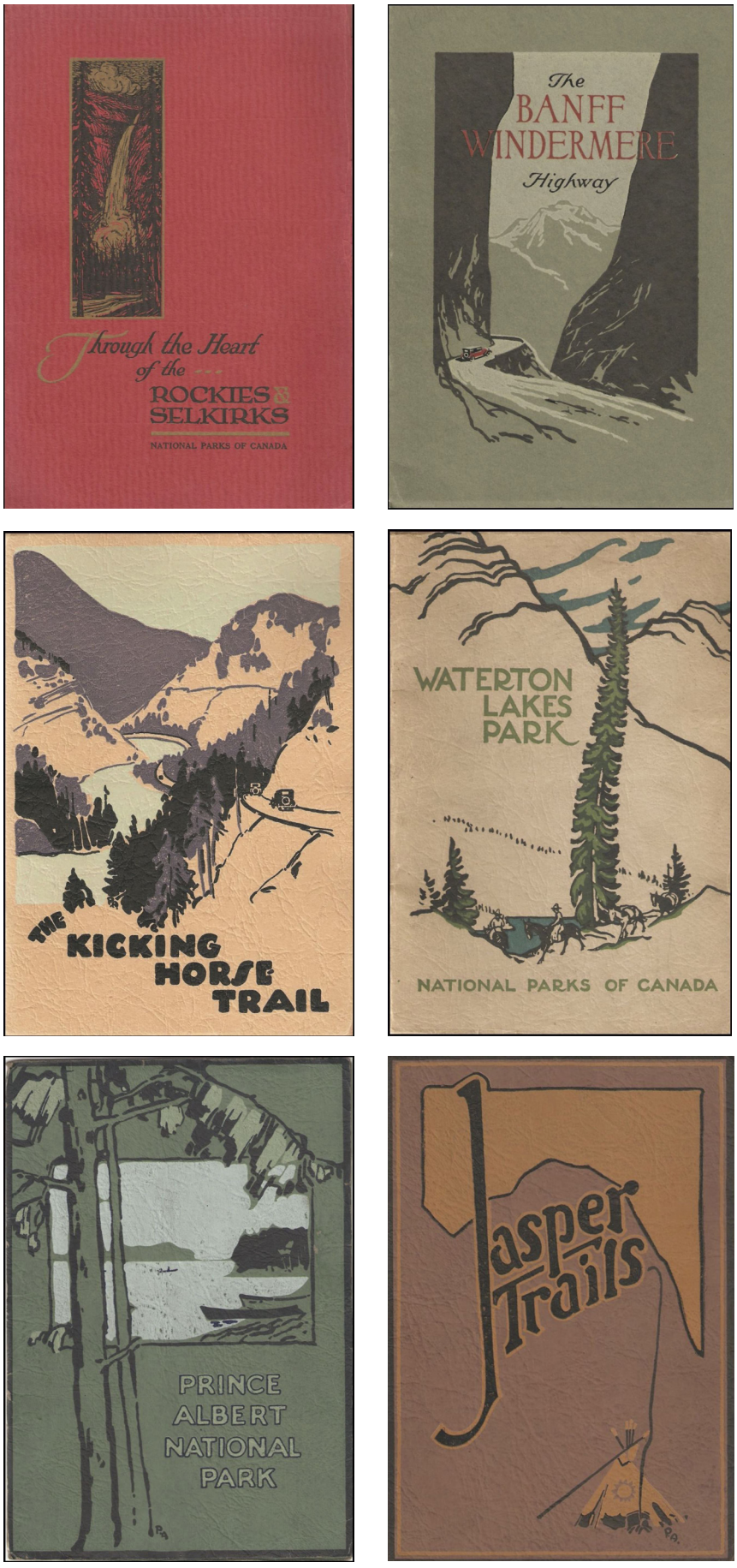
36. Canada National Parks Act, S.C. 2000, c. 32 (emphasis mine)

With the creation of this department, Canada became the first country in the world to establish a government agency solely for the purpose of managing its national parks. Harkin was appointed as the first Dominion Parks Commissioner overseeing the department, and ultimately went on to hold the position for 25 years until his retirement in 1936. In retrospect, this was a watershed moment for the national parks. During Harkin's tenure, the national parks rose to prominence in the public imagination with "a coherent and well-accepted philosophy"[37] which positioned the parks as national treasures deserving and requiring government protection. While the Canadian Pacific Company had been a long-time proponent of tourism in the national parks since the 1880s, including the construction of the Grand Railway Hotels, the Dominion Government did not take an active role in their promotion as tourist destinations until Harkin became commissioner in 1911. Prior to the consolidation of management of the national parks under the Dominion Parks Department in 1911, the marketing and tourist industry of the national parks were mostly relegated to railway companies such as the Canadian Pacific.[38] In *Guardians of the Wild*, Williams describes how under the leadership of the young and politically ambitious Harkin,[39] the tone behind the purpose of the national parks transformed from a mere strategy for territorial administration of remote regions into firstly a financial opportunity for the dominion government, and secondly as a cultural catalyst for developing national narratives of landscape, wilderness, and Canadian identity. Perhaps owing to Harkin's background in journalism before he entered politics,[40] this shift in the direction of the national parks was achieved largely through the delivery of strategic public discourse in the form of marketing and promotional media.

Shortly after taking control of the small and seemingly unimportant Dominion Parks Department (which initially only comprised of seven staff members, including Harkin and Williams), Harkin determined that the best way to increase the status of this new department, and therefore his own position within the government bureaucracy, was to use the national parks to turn a profit. As he stated in his 1913 Annual Report:

> Tourist traffic is one of the largest and most satisfactory means of revenue a nation can have … The commercial potentialities of tourist traffic are almost startling … On every hand there is evidence of a powerful and prevailing desire on the part of the people to

37. MacEachern, 'M.B. Williams and the Early Years of Parks Canada', 25.
38. Aspects of this history are discussed in the following chapter, "The Far West."
39. Although Williams downplays her own role in this formative chapter of the Dominion Parks Department in her 1936 book, other sources indicate that she held a key and well-respected position within the department's leadership. When Harkin was made Commissioner in 1911, he invited Williams (who was, at the time, a clerk in the Department of the Interior) to join him. It has been suggested that many ideas popularly attributed to Harkin may actually originate from Williams. See MacEachern (2013).
40. Harkin entered politics in 1896 working under Interior Minister Clifford Sifton (1896-1905). He later also worked as secretary to Interior Minister Frank Oliver (1905-11).



iii. Guidebooks released by the Dominion Parks Department (1921-1930)

> see and commune with the beauties of nature, their willingness to pay for it and the pecuniary benefit of the locality concerned.[41]

With this economic goal in mind, the department underwent an intense period of promotion and marketing, with an aim to monetise the parks for the Dominion Government by increasing tourism. In service of this goal, the department published a series of guidebooks featuring various national parks between 1921-1930 highlighting their natural beauty, serene landscapes, and abundant wildlife. Each guidebook was illustrated with drawings and photos of park landscapes and wildlife, and punctuated with poems and quotations from influential politicians, naturalists, and other literary figures. The guidebooks were primarily written by Williams, who developed a characteristic style of writing—under the pen name "M.B."—that was insightful yet simple, creative, and easy to read. She drew inspiration from the great Anglo-American and European thinkers of her time, pulling quotations from various famous literary works—from Edward Carpenter to Rudyard Kipling and Henry David Thoreau—as epilogues to the set the tone for her detailed and expressive descriptions of the national parks. In this way, she was able to convey that the parks represented more than just reserves for nature, her writing expressed that how they were "fulfilling important social, spiritual, or environmental goals,"[42] leading to their reverence in the public imagination. She had figured out how to describe a distinctly Canadian conceptualisation of nature. Her talent for this kind of writing led to a wildly successful two-decade long career in the department which saw her rise through the ranks to oversee a large staff in the Publicity Division.[43] Williams's writing and perspective played an instrumental role in this successful period of growth in national parks.

Apart from their promotional purposes as marketing materials for the national parks, the narratives about nature presented in the guidebooks are significant examples of how nature was mobilised as part of a larger settler colonial narrative in Canada, and accordingly came to hold a prominent place in the construction of settler national identity. These stories reflect the settler colonial ethos of the Canadian nation state by whitewashing Indigenous histories and highlighting European settlers as discoverers and new stewards of the Canadian landscape. Landscape architect Rod Barnett asserts that in the context of modern nation-states, landscapes do important cultural work to "organize the creation and dissemination of national myths, which are naturalized over time,"[44] and Williams' descriptions of

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41. "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks," by J. B. Harkin in *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior*, 1913, 5. As quoted in Binnema and Niemi, '"Let the Line Be Drawn Now"'.
42. MacEachern, 'M.B. Williams and the Early Years of Parks Canada', 39.
43. Gender discrimination meant that she never held the position of head of the division, that role was given to J.C. Campbell, a man. Williams' titles throughout the years include "publicity assistant," "publicity agent," and "head clerk."
44. Rod Barnett. "Designing Indian Country," Places Journal. (October 2016), np.

the landscape of the national parks certainly disseminated a particular version of Canada's settler colonial history. That being said, it is important to acknowledge that Indigenous histories are not entirely erased from the story presented by Williams in the guidebooks, rather they are downplayed through selective erasure and fictionalisation. The selective folding of specific aspects of Indigeneity into settler culture and history is representative of the settler colonial phenomenon of settler nativism, in which settler culture appropriates parts of Indigenous culture as a way of simultaneously erasing Indigenous agency and connecting themselves historically to the land.[45] The guidebooks frequently contained constructed histories of the landscape as magical or spiritual places, often inspired by imagined accounts of myths and legends claiming to be sourced from Indigenous oral history. These stories helped in marketing the parks to an international audience, as they gave them a special "sense of enchantment."[46] The 1921 guidebook *Through the Rockies and the Selkirks* claims that the hot springs at Banff were discovered by ancient grizzly bears:

> The springs, it is said, were known to the Indians long before the coming of the white man and there is even a story that old and rheumatic grizzlies had discovered that these warm waters eased the ache in ancient bones.[47]

Another version of the legend of the grizzly bear places the event in a more recent timescale:

> Report [*sic*] declared the original discoverer of these waters to have been an old and rheumatic grizzly bear. A year or so before the construction of the railway, a trapper had come across a well-beaten grizzly trail. He followed the tracks down the Bow Valley and came to a natural pool of the slopes of Sulphur Mountain, fed by a spring of unusually high temperature. There were unmistakable signs that the old bear had used the pool as a bathtub. Later it was even said that the trapper had actually seen him limping down the trail and lowering himself into the warm waters, so grateful to aching bones.[48]

The incongruous telling of the tale of the grizzlies suggests how Williams took many creative liberties to craft narratives which would evoke particular notions about the park landscapes. Williams, who herself was understood to be a long-time sufferer of a mysterious chronic illness, also wrote of the curative properties of the springs at Banff. In writing about the health benefits of the springs, she combined imagined Indigenous legends with information gleamed from scientific studies conducted by the department's geologists. In addition to the anecdote about the "rheumatic grizzlies," evidence is also given for the springs' healing properties owing to its unusually high amounts of dissolved radium and similar mineral

45. Deloria, *Playing Indian*.
46. MacEachern, 'M.B. Williams and the Early Years of Parks Canada'.
47. Williams, M.B. 1921 *Through the Rockies and Selkirks*
48. Williams, M.B. 1936 *Guardians of the Wild*

composition to the Roman bathing pools in Bath, England. Elsewhere, Williams wrote that the Cree, "must have known of the springs, although they were apparently ignorant of their medicinal qualities, regarding them rather with superstitious dread."[49] While she was quick to dismiss Indigenous knowledge as inferior to Western science, Williams' reduction of Indigenous oral histories into myth and legend served to enhance the portrayed healing properties of the springs.

In the guidebook about Waterton Lakes National Park, it is written that "the Indians, who like all primitive peoples, weave stories about the places they particularly love, have a legend that [the Rocky Mountains] was miraculously created."[50] Meanwhile, it is also mentioned that:

> possibly less than a century ago, the Stonies entered Bow valley, perhaps in search of game; the Shuswaps coming from the west to visit the Stonies built their half-buried dwellings at the base of mount Rundle … but the Indians left few more marks of their habitation than the wild animals.[51]

Confusingly, although Williams had written in 1921 that the Stoney only entered the Bow Valley less than one hundred years ago, she wrote later in 1936 that "The Stony tribe had their ancestral hunting-grounds in this region, and … they now live in reservations outside the park."[52] The anachronistic timelessness of Williams' prose, with its colonial undertones, draws parallels with Mary Louise Pratt's observations about imperial travelogues wherein "the landscape is written as uninhabited, unpossessed, unhistoricized, unoccupied even by the travelers themselves."[53] These white-washed narratives of colonisation ultimately contribute to perceived imperial superiority by the ruling colonisers. Although Williams' guidebooks all draw allegedly from Indigenous histories to suggest that the landscape holds supernatural powers, they also strategically make light of historic Indigenous inhabitation in the park regions and highlight European settlers as discoverers and the new technological stewards of these lands. In the 1921 guidebook featuring the Rocky Mountains and the Selkirks, it is stated that "it is a little more than forty years since, the Canadian Pacific Railway unlocked the long closed door to the Canadian mountains."[54] Two years later, in the opening paragraph of *The Banff-Windermere Highway*, Williams stresses the significance of the newly completed motorway through the Rockies, comparing the opening of the new road to the ceremonial hammering of the "last spike" in Craigellachie on 7 November 1885:

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49. Williams, M.B. 1921 *Through the Rockies and the Selkirks*
50. Williams, M.B. 1927 *Waterton Lakes National Park*
51. Williams, M.B. 1921 *Through the Rockies and the Selkirks*
52. Williams, M.B. 1936 *Guardians of the Wild*
53. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes.*
54. Williams, M.B. 1921 *Through the Rockies and the Selkirks*

> Since that rainy November morning of 1885 when Sir Donald Smith, later Lord Strathcona, drove the spike which completed the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, there has been no event in the history of road construction in Canada of more dramatic significance. The ringing blows of Lord Strathcona's hammer, echoing among the lonely solitudes of the mountains, announced that the Canadian Rockies, so long an impregnable barrier between the East and the West and a *terra incognita* to all but the most intrepid explorers had at last surrendered to the imagination, ingenuity and persistent courage of man. … but with the exception of these more or less confined and restricted methods of access to the paradise of the Rockies the only means of conveyance the picturesque but somewhat cumbersome pack train. The cutting of the ribbons on the Banff-Windermere highway on June 30, 1923, meant that a new triumph had been won over the physical obstacles of nature, a magnificent preparation made for the new and fascinating mode of travel which has already revolutionized modern life, and a new open-air and open-sky way provided to the scenic treasures of Western Canada.[55]

This focus on access through road and rail remakes the landscape as one that is thoroughly *settled*. Colonial states are materially infrastructural and the construction of the railway and highway to the Canadian Rockies represents the arrival and cementation of settler society and political power into the remote Rocky Mountains region.

Williams' distinct style—an application of early 20th century nature writing—characterised by her discursive free blending of myth, legend, history, fiction, and reality was designed to contribute to the construction of a settler imaginary of the Canadian wilderness. In this way Williams' writing can be read not only as a product of her time, but also an especially successful contribution to settler national myth making which helped define and solidify Canadian identity's connection with landscape by discursively framing the landscape in a specifically Canadian version of nature. As the historian Luke MacEachern has stated, "Williams did not invent this strategy, either in terms of the Parks Branch or the society at large, but she did help entrench it in the parks."[56] In particular, the mystical powers of the area around the Banff hot springs seem to hold particular longevity as a part of the settler imaginary. Even today, the promotional copy from the Banff spa's website alludes strongly to the renewing properties of the mountain landscape:

> Reawaken your senses and discover new energy at Fairmont Spa, an alpine sanctuary dedicated to your wellness and healing. Unwind with spa services to rejuvenate your body and mind, leaving you with a renewed sense of balance. Choose from a wide range of massage, body and facial experiences, salon services, and more.[57]

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55. Williams, M.B. 1923 *The Banff-Windermere Highway*
56. MacEachern, 'M.B. Williams and the Early Years of Parks Canada', 42.
57. 'Fairmont Spa & Wellness'.

> Discover Mountain tranquillity at Fairmont Spa. For over a century, this serene alpine sanctuary has beckoned anyone seeking respite with its heavenly views of the Rockies and expansive offering of reenergizing treatments. Unwind to the sounds of rushing waterfalls, bathe yourself in curative mineral pools, detox in the eucalyptus-scented sauna, and let the crisp mountain air renew your senses at our award-winning spa.[58]

3.3 Landscapes of Power

"It is of great importance that if possible the Indians should be excluded from the Park. Their destruction of game and depredations among the ornamental trees make their too frequent visits to the park a matter of great concern."[59] These are the words of George Alexander Stewart, Dominion Land Surveyor, landscape architect, and the first superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park, written in his first annual report on the Park. The "Indians" which Stewart wished to expel from the area were the members of the Stoney Nakoda First Nation, onto whose traditional hunting territory the newly declared national park had encroached. To be clear, the exclusion of the Stoney people from the Park is not a reflection of a desire for the parks be empty of human occupation; it was an act of racially motivated settler colonisation. There have been and continue to be settlers living in national parks, including in the Banff region, since before the establishment of Rocky Mountains Park. Euro-American cultural imagery of wilderness[60] during this period did not render or represent the landscape as empty of human presence. In fact, as art historian Jonathan Bordo points out, "aboriginal presence was not only a common but an exalted thematic in nineteenth-century North American art, be it as picturesque idealisation and/or ethnographic documentation."[61] Rather, the exclusion of the Stoney Nakoda from Rocky Mountains Park allowed the space of the park to take on settler activities such as sport hunting and tourism while displacing the Stoney into a reserve.[62] In this way, national parks can be understood as concentrated spaces of settler colonial power located outside the metropoles of settler society in the peripheries, where power is traditionally concentrated. This decentralised model of power concentration disperses settler cultural ideals beyond the traditionally 'urban' spaces of settlement by shaping the unsettled hinterland regions into the image of settler constructions of nature, both materially and representationally.

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58. 'Fairmont Spa Menu'.
59. Dominion of Canada, "Part VI. Report of the Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park" of Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1887 in *Sessional Papers* Vol. 6 First Session of the Sixth Parliament (1887).
60. For example, the landscape paintings of Lucius O'Brien, Thomas Cole, and Sanford Gifford. See Bordo, 'Jack Pine'.
61. Ibid., 105.
62. Binnema and Niemi, '"Let the Line Be Drawn Now"'.

From their earliest moments, national parks in Canada have been used as tools to enact spatial and cultural violence in service of the exclusionary racial logics of settler colonialism. With the exclusion of the Stoney Nakoda people, Rocky Mountains Park became, by design, a white space.[63] Over time, the enclosed space of Park was rebuilt into a landscape image reflecting settler ideologies about the natural world, projecting a settler colonial imaginary onto the land. As an extension of the settler colonial project, the creation of Rocky Mountains Park provided the settler government with a program for asserting racial and territorial control over the largely unsettled regions of the Rocky Mountains, in much the same way as the railway and European settlement shaped the spatial organisation of the Canadian prairies through a process of racialised urbanisation. In this section, I will show how the parks act as contradictory spaces of settler colonial power located in the periphery, providing insights into the spatial power dynamics of settler colonialism, as the concentration of settler culural capital in the peripheral spaces of the parks disrupts the spatial patterns of urbanisation in western Canada.

Beyond the landscape improvements to Rocky Mountains Park, one of Stewart's most important responsibilities was the urban development of the Banff townsite. As the national parks are first and foremost, places for profit, the development of the Banff townsite was crucial to the economic success of the park, serving as a commercial hub for tourists. The parcelisation of land in the prairies for settlement is mirrored in Stewart's survey of the Park lands. As part of his survey, Stewart was charged with administering lots in the townsite for lease and the creation of tourist infrastructure such as hotels, lodges, outfitters, and guiding businesses. In his first annual report, Stewart himself wrote that "Soon after the passing of the Act of Parliament last session establishing the Park and regulating its government, the leasing of lots on the town site was proceeded with."[64] A collection of Stewart's survey drawings is archived at the Whyte Museum in Banff. Significantly, despite the large amount of landscape construction Stewart directed in the region, the vast majority of drawings preserved in the archive are survey plans dividing the townsite into lots for lease. No drawings of his extensive tree and wild rice planting schemes, nor the Minnewanka dam or Bow River bridge constructions can be found in the museum archives.

By the 1910s, the population of settlers in Rocky Mountains Park had reached 2,000 with nearly half residing in the Banff townsite.[65] The governance of settlers living in national parks presents

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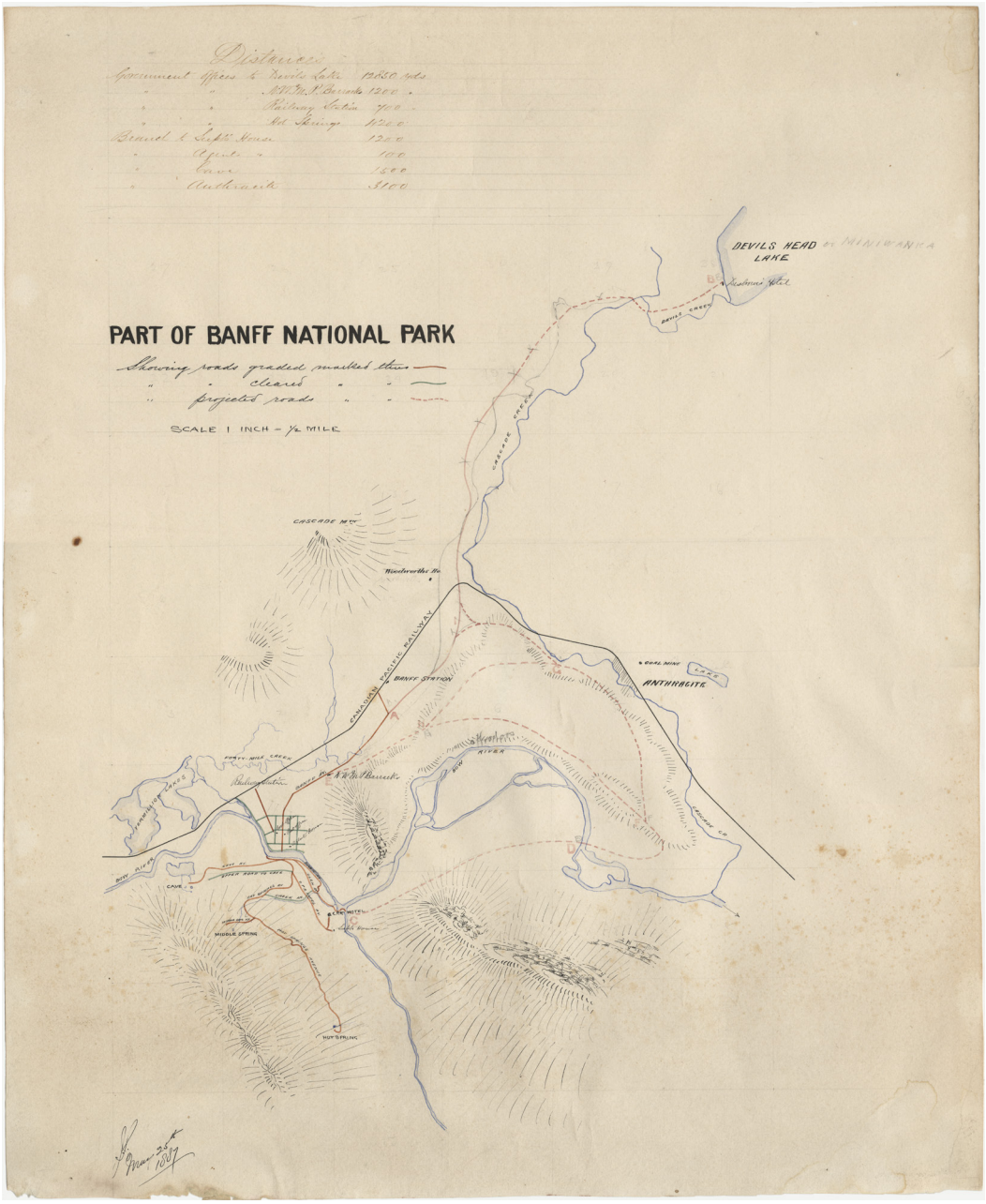
63. The next chapter will explore additional racial dynamics related to the origins of the national parks, showing how other racialised group have been excluded from the national body politic despite their key role(s) in materially preconditioning the landscape for the settler state.
64. Dominion of Canada, "Part VI. Rocky Mountains Park" of Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1888 in *Sessional Papers* Vol. 12 Second Session of the Sixth Parliament (1888).
65. Scace, *Banff: A Cultural-Historical Study of Land Use and Management in a National Park Community to 1945*, 53.



iv. Plan of Banff Town signed by George Stewart (1887)

an interesting hybrid condition of city and periphery, best illustrated through clashes between the needs and values of urban settlement and the goals of the national parks department. Several such incidents are recorded in a series of letters between Richard Bennett and James Bernard Harkin from the 1910s, who were the MP for Alberta and the Dominion Parks Commissioner, respectively. In 1917, Banff resident Hugh Dyer wrote to Bennett, his MP, explaining that he shot and killed a lynx in his garden as it was threatening his chickens. His gun and the lynx skin are subsequently confiscated by the warden. Dyer requests that his gun be returned to him and that the Parks Department pay him $15 for the lynx skin. He also claims that the gun was, in fact, given to him by the Chief Warden seven years prior to protect his chickens. Dyer's letter goes on to explain that the Chief Warden had even borrowed his rifle a few years ago and returned it to him, suggesting that he had a sort of passive permission from the warden to own the rifle. On receiving the letter, Bennet forwards it to Commissioner Harkin and asks him what action to take, noting that he believes Dyer should have both his firearm and the animal skin returned. Harkin responds by saying that it is illegal for Dyer to have a gun in the national park. He also states that all animals in the park are property of the government and that Dyer will not be paid for the skin. In fact, Harkin suggests that Dyer might be prosecuted for having shot an animal in the national park. He tells Bennett that he has asked the Park Superintendent to investigate the matter and decide whether or not to prosecute Dyer. In response, Bennett asks Harkin if he is incompetent:

> I am at a great loss to understand why there has been such increased friction at Banff since you became Commissioner in 1911. Is this to be attributed to your political zeal or your inefficiency? I am asking a perfectly plain question and without any personal feelings.
> The sooner [the warden] returns the gun to Dyer the better it would seem to me for everyone concerned.
> If the streets of Banff are to be regarded as a game reserve, why sell lots to the people to build houses on? Are you officials so inefficient that wild cats must roam at large in the back yards of the residents of the community and they be fined for killing a beast that would destroy the lives of their children or their property in the shape of hens, etc..?
> I think you might revise your whole idea with relation to Park Administration. I would like you to think over it at any rate from that standpoint as I am now doing. I propose to discuss the question with the Minister at an early date and if I can see no possible chance of improvement in the administration I will have to of course bring the matter to the attention of the Parliament when the vote to pay the salaries of Park Officials at Ottawa is being considered.[66]

66. "Letters to Bennett Part 5," Parks Canada Agency fonds, RG84 A-2-a, volume 45, file BENNETT, part 5, Library and Archives Canada.

This exchange between Bennett and Harkin reveals the confronting and uneven power relations between different parts of the Dominion government.[67] Although Bennett, as the MP for Alberta, is located in the space of the settler colonial periphery, he has the upper hand in this exchange over Harkin, who as the Commissioner of Parks is located in Ottawa (i.e. the settler colonial metropole).[68] This disrupts the traditional spatialisation of power in settler colonial contexts which historically privileges urban/city spaces as centres of settler political capital.

Under the political structure of settler-colonialism—at least in a classical understanding—urban spaces serve as the centre of settler society, where economic and state power are concentrated.[69] This spatial power relationship is an extension of the colony-metropole power structure of European colonial empires. However, in the settler colonial context, the colony-metropole model exists within the space of a singular nation state; in settler states, cities, or 'metropoles' are supported not by distant colonies, but peripheral regions acting as resource hinterlands from which capital is extracted for the benefit of settler-dominated metropoles. As Canadian political economist Mel Watkins notes, "not only is the hinterland interest being made subservient to the national interest, but by some sleight of hand, the national interest is equated with the metropolitan interest."[70] In settler colonial contexts, the spatial distribution of colonial power closely overlaps with the spatial distribution of urbanisation. National parks present an interesting rupture to this spatial hierarchy, as spaces located beyond the urban periphery, but also simultaneously acting as spatial concentrations of settler cultural, political, and economic capital. The power dynamics of imperialism, from which settler colonialism is derived, both complement and extend beyond the spatialities of Marxist theories of urbanisation as planetary processes. As the postcolonial geographer Tariq Jazeel has asked, "What planetary processes beyond and before urbanisation are at work in the socio-spatial dialectic?"[71] Jazeel advocates that the power structures and spatial dynamics of imperialism (of which settler colonialism

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67. This personal tension between Bennett and Harkin would also later lead to Harkin's political downfall—and the end of this prosperous era in national parks development—as Bennett becomes Prime Minister in 1930 and drastically cuts funding to the Dominion Parks Department, including the dismissal of nearly all of the women under M.B. William's charge in the Publicity Division. In protest, Williams resigned from her position, thus ending her 20-year tenure in the parks department. For more details about Williams' tenure in the parks department, see MacEachern, 'M.B. Williams and the Early Years of Parks Canada'.
68. Interestingly, Bennett's rise in political influence also offers a reflection on the spatialities of settler colonial power. Born and educated in the Maritimes, Bennett began his political career after moving west to Calgary, where he originally worked as a lawyer before being elected to the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories (of which Alberta was a part of at the time). He would later become an MP for Alberta and eventually rise to leader of the Conservative Party and serve as Prime Minister of Canada from 1930-35 during the Great Depression. He retired to England in 1939 and was given a peerage as the Viscount Bennett of Mickleham.
69. Additionally overlaid with geometries of race and biopower. See Massey, 'Concepts of Space and Power in Theory and in Political Practice'; Massey, 'Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place'; Massey, 'Imagining Globalisation: Power-Geometries of Time-Space'.
70. Watkins, *Dene Nation, the Colony Within*, 86.
71. Jazeel, 'Urban Theory with an Outside'.

is a derivative) can exist as useful analytical complements to spatial theories of urbanisation.[72] Locating this discussion on national parks at the discursive intersection between the power dynamics of settler colonialism and urbanism reveals how the establishment of national parks in Canada—espeically the early ones in the Rocky Mountains—represent a form of concentrated colonial spatial power that is distinct from cities. In other words, national parks act as centers of settler colonial power in non-urban areas.

In the structure of settler colonialism, national parks occupy peripheral spaces outside of urban life. This settler vision of the national parks is built on the premise of the parks as places of retreat and respite away from urban city life.[73] Acts such as Dyer attempting to protect his property from wild animals conflict with this premise. National parks are governed by settler ideologies about nature and conservation, and this is incongruous with the norms of settler life—which is nominally urban. The national parks system occupies the same peripheral spaces as resource extraction projects, both of which are required to support and sustain urban settler life. This hierarchical power dynamic is institutionally reflected in the lineage of federal government ministries which have been responsible for national parks since their inception. During the earliest days of national parks development in Canada, the parks were managed under the purview of the Department of the Interior, along with the Dominion Lands Survey, the Geological Survey, forestry management, and the administration of the Northwest Territories.[74] With the dissolution of the Department of the Interior in 1936, the responsibility of national parks became part of the Department of Mines and Resources, where it remained until 1966 when it was shifted into the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.[75] The historic pairing of national parks management with resource development suggests that the same extractive and colonial forces drive both national programs. Furthermore, the move in 1966 of national parks administration to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development[76] highlights the prerequisite ideologies of Indigenous dispossession underlying national parks management and development.

National parks—as spaces of settler colonial power outside of urban centers—represent hybrid spaces that are both decentralised (i.e., non-urban), and also cultural, economic, and political power centers. In 1966, Parks Canada (the federal agency in charge of the national parks) opened three regional

72. Ibid.
73. Extending from the uniquely settler colonial construct of nature as uninhabited wilderness discussed in the introduction of this thesis.
74. The 1888 Annual Report of the Department of the Interior consists of six parts: I. Dominion Lands; II. Dominion Lands Survey; III. Geological Survey; IV. Northwest Territories; V. Forestry; and VI. Rocky Mountains Park
75. The management of the National Parks System does not become responsibility of the Department of the Environment (where the portfolio of national parks is currently held) until 1979.
76. The alignment of national parks with northern development in the 1970s is also of significant and will be discussed later in this chapter.

offices in order to facilitate the "decentralisation of park administration to the field."[77] With this move, administration of the national parks transferred from the nation's political capital in Ottawa to regional offices in Calgary, Alberta; Cornwall, Ontario; and Halifax, Nova Scotia. In 1973, this was expanded to five regional offices with additional centers in Winnipeg, Manitoba and Ste. Foy, Quebec. The movement of administrative offices for the national parks from Ottawa to field offices suggests a diffusion of administrative power from central to decentralised *(figure v)*. As settlements in the periphery grew over time, spatial distributions of settler colonial power shifted alongside that urban growth, resulting in a wider distribution of centres of settler colonial power as different peripheral areas developed through urbanisation. Nevertheless, urban spaces like cities continue to retain the upper hand over rural regions most of the time.

While the 1917 incident involving Banff resident Hugh Dyer brings to light the inherent contradiction of attempting to live a settler/urban life in a national park, another incident recorded in the exchanges between Bennett and Harkin reveal how the cultural power of national parks can be mobilised to force government action. In late April 1914, the residents of Lake Louise (a small townsite in Rocky Mountains Park) petitioned Bennett, their MP, regarding the poor state of infrastructure in their town:

> That there is a colony of people located here the entire year, who live here because of various conditions making it their permanent home, many of such are married and have families, and have found that in the past several years the Government have done nothing in this vicinity in the way of road building or improvements.
> That we have been informed that a large amount of money has been voted annually for maintaining this Park, and why Lake Louise should be discriminated against, is not apparent.[78]

The residents request that money from the annual maintenance budget of the national park be relegated to improve road conditions in their town. This, the residents argued, would benefit both the locality of Lake Louise and the Park as a whole, providing work for residents in construction and maintenance, while also giving tourists better access to various natural sites in the vicinity:

> We feel that Lake Louise is *Nature's Masterpiece*, but many of the most charming points around Lake Louise are inaccessible for the want of a few thousand dollars to be spent in making roads.[79]

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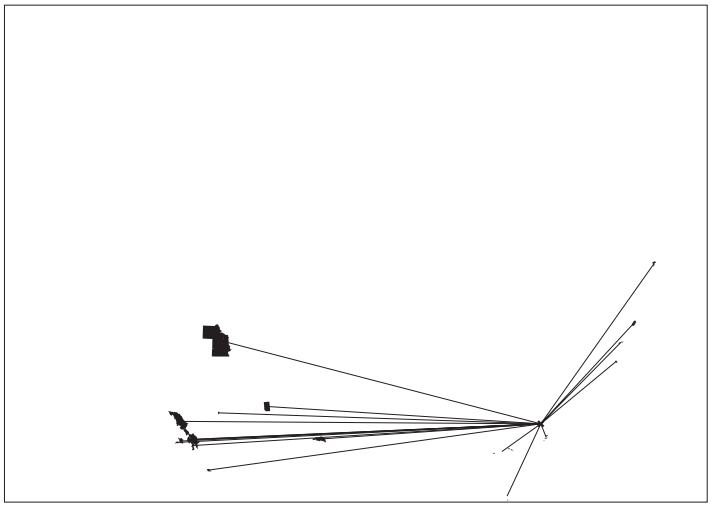
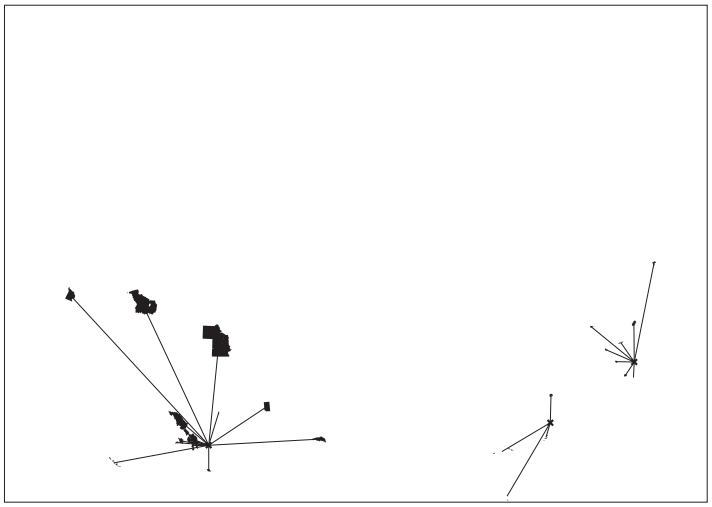
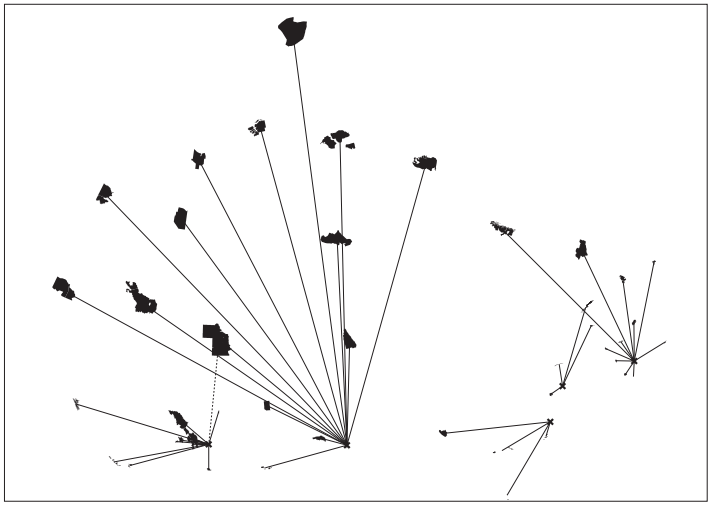
77. Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1966-67*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967.
78. "Letters to Bennett Part 2," Parks Canada Agency fonds, RG84 A-2-a, volume 45, file BENNETT, part 2, Library and Archives Canada.
79. Ibid.



1911-65
Dominion Parks Department
Ottawa ON



1966-72
Parks Canada Regional Offices
Calgary AB
Corwall ON
Halifax NS



1973-2020
Parks Canada Regional Offices
Calgary AB
Winnipeg MB
Corwall ON
Ste. Foy QC
Halifax NS

v. Distribution of regional offices of Parks Canada over time (1911-2020)

Forwarding the petition to Dominion Parks Commissioner Harkin, Bennett notes,

> Something I suppose will have to be done at Lake Louise this year and I will be glad to have you look into the matter, and advise me at your early convenience.
> I suppose we have always expected the Canadian Pacific to look after this matter heretofore, and so no action has been taken.[80]

It is telling, keeping in mind the spatial power dynamics of settler colonialism, that the residents of Lake Louise have chosen to justify their need for basic infrastructure by arguing that the road improvements would have benefits for the entire nation. This incident shows how contrary to the traditional spatialisation of colonial power, settler colonial power can, in some cases, be enacted from the periphery—only if that periphery is a place that has significance in the national imaginary, such as having been remade into an image of settler ideals about nature. The framing of nature as such functions as a form of soft power within the settler colonial state. This soft power emerges out of a persistent cultural link between the settler wilderness imaginary and settler national identity that has been held as a significant part of the Canadian body politic since confederation to the present day. In the last section of this chapter, the political potential of this soft power is explored in the context of the tumultuous political period of the 1960s in Canada.

3.4 Unité

Despite the underlying logics of settler colonialism embedded within the national parks since the nineteth century, a systemic approach to managing them was not officially codified until the 1960s.[81] With regard to the natural world, the decade of the 1960s is significant in terms of the shifting contours of environmental discourse. The 1960s also represents a chapter of great social unrest and political change across the globe, marked by an emergence of anti-establishment countercultures, unstable US-Soviet political tensions, and widespread decolonisation in the global south, with many European powers relinquishing their colonies in Africa and Asia. In Canada, this period marks some changes in Indigenous rights—with First Nations being given the right to vote in 1960—along with the tumultuous rise of Quebec nationalism and separatism. Efforts to soothe relations between English and French Canada led in part to the removal of the Union Jack as the national flag in 1965 and the election of the Quebecois Pierre Eliot Trudeau as leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister in the spring of 1968. During this

80. Ibid.
81. Although the formation of the Dominion Parks Department brought the administration of all the national parks together under one governmental agency, no official policy directed the national parks as a system until the 1960s.

period, significant changes also came to the realm of national parks planning and management in Canada. In 1964, the Parks department presented to the House of Commons a "Statement of National Parks Policy," the first ever comprehensive statement on national parks policy in Canada, this was followed in 1967 by the "Statement on National Historic Places Policy;" together these two documents for the first time explicitly outlined the overarching objectives of the Parks Department to consolidate national parks management and develop a strategic plan for the future direction of the national parks. Primarily, this manifested as a transition in national parks management from historically piecemeal methods to a systemic national approach. Prior to this period, although the National Parks all fell under the same government agency, individual parks were left largely alone by ministries in Ottawa, to be managed by local directors and superintendents without a centralised national strategy. Under the leadership of Trudeau in 1968, a young Jean Chrétien[82] was appointed to Cabinet as the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, which included the responsibility for the portfolio of national parks. During his six-year tenure as Minister in charge of national parks, Chrétien oversaw the establishment of eight new parks, including two of Canada's first national parks in the northern territories: Kluane National Park in Yukon Territory and Nahanni National Park in the Northwest Territories.

The late 1960s and 1970s in Canada (and the United States) was also a significant period in terms of Native American and Indigenous rights. In Canada, one of the most important political confrontations from this period was the presentation of a document called the "White Paper on Indian Policy" to the Canadian House of Commons in 1969 by Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs, and Prime Minister Trudeau. The now infamous "White Paper" proposed the abolishment of the Canadian Indian Act, with the aim of terminating all official and legal policies regarding Indigenous affairs in Canada, including but not limited to all land claims, treaty rights, and legal Indian status. In short, if passed, the "White Paper" would ensure the extinguishment of all First Nations, Metis, and Inuit rights to their ancestral, traditional, and treaty lands, thereby completing the forced and final colonising project of Indigenous cultural genocide and full assimilation. In response to the "White Paper," the Indian Chiefs of Alberta issued the document "Citizens Plus," also known as the "Red Paper," stating the importance of treaty rights, asking the federal government to continue recognizing the treaties, while also recommending several suggestions for how the federal government can better fulfil its treaty obligations. These events in Canadian politics coincided with broader Indigenous rights activism in 1970s North America, a period best known as the "American Indian Movement" with large political incidents and protests on both sides

82. Jean Chrétien was sworn in as Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development on 8 July 1968. He later became the Leader of the Conservative Party of Canada and served as Canadian Prime Minister between 1993-2003.

of the Canada-US border, including the occupation of Alcatraz between 1969-71, the 1971 occupation of Mount Rushmore, the Wounded Knee Incident in 1973, the occupation of Anicinabe Park in 1974, and the Dene Declaration of 1976.

At the surface, the Canadian federal government's focus on national parks development during this period may seem trivial against a backdrop of the tumultuous socio-political issues of Quebec separatism and the battles for Indigenous rights. However, a historical perspective on the relationship between nature and nation in Canada suggests that nature (reflecting a settler colonial wilderness imaginary and represented in the material form of national parks) was mobilised by the federal government as a strategy for inspiring national unity and common identity amid a period of strong political division. As a political tool, the power of the national parks serves as a settler-universal ideal (i.e. universal to all heterogenous settler communities) that can be utilised in times of political crisis to foster unity:

> The principle is a simple and important one and it is this—the natural beauty of Canada is a fundamental part of this country's national heritage. We must consciously preserve this part of our heritage so that our children, and our children's children, can share and enjoy the same natural beauty of the land which our fathers and fathers' fathers had the foresight and balanced sense of values to leave for us today.[83]

Speaking in an opening address for a conference on the future of national parks in October 1968, Chretien reinforces the importance of natural landscapes as part of the settler Canadian national imaginary. In the 1960s context characterised by of the lack of settler political unity, the weight of Chretien's words cannot be understated. The conference, organised in partnership by the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada and the University of Calgary, brought together a group of bureaucrats, academics, officials, and politicians to discuss the future of the important national asset of the national parks.

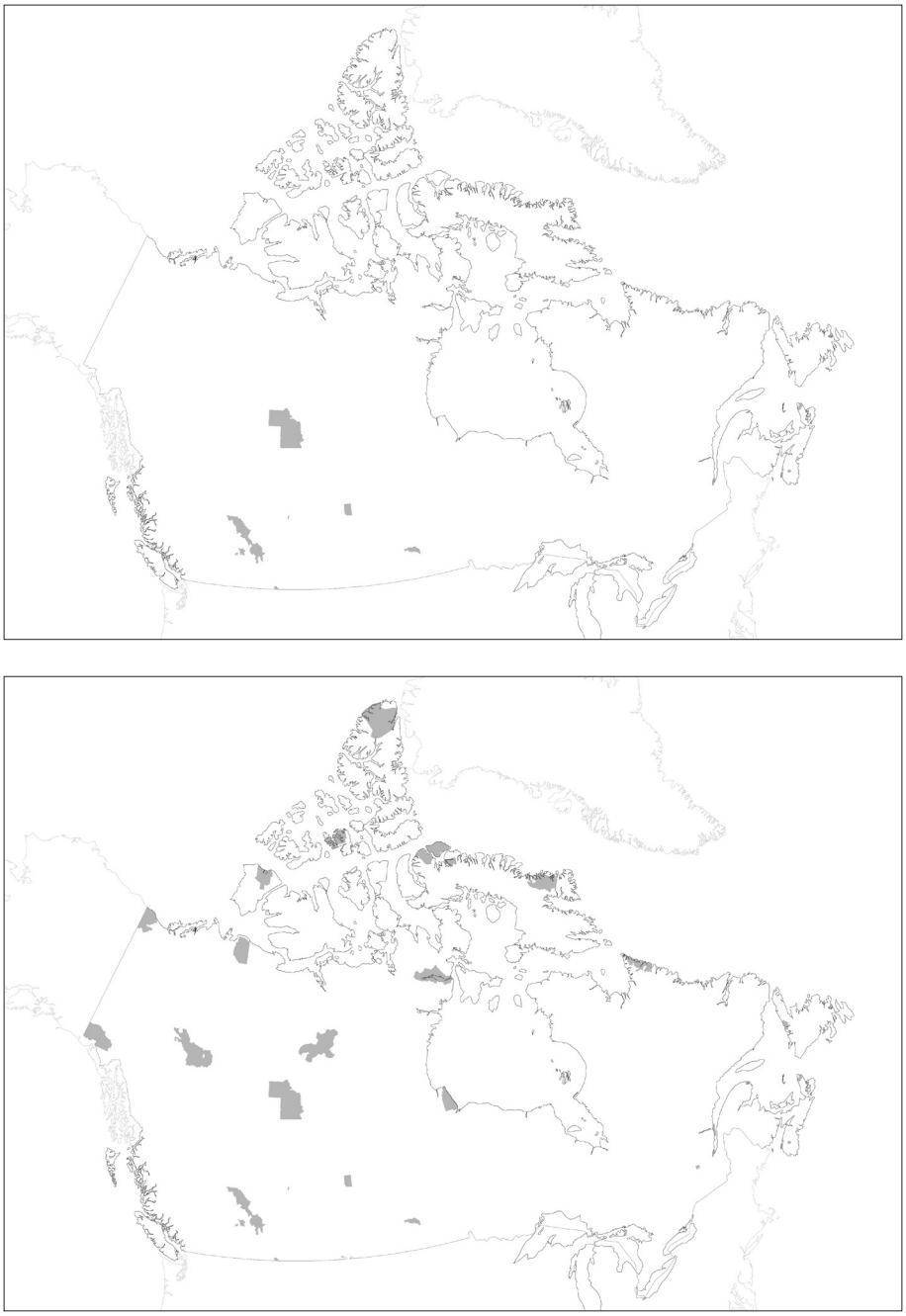
Amidst internal political pressures in Canada to prioritise national parks development, external factors also had a role to play in the prominence of national parks policy during this period—notably the emerging environmental movement in the United States which was slowly filtering into the Canadian consciousness. The strong interest in environmental conservation and protection in the United States during this period was led by naturalist groups such as the Sierra Club and marked by the publication of several significant texts including Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962 and Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb* in 1968. In parallel with this rapidly growing American environmental movement, the 1960s spring-boarded a new era of national parks planning in Canada. At the time of the future of national parks

83. J. G. Nelson and R. C. Scace, *The Canadian National Parks*, I:8.

conference in October 1968, nineteen national parks had already been established in Canada since the 1880s, primarily in the Western provinces—and there was growing interest to expand the parks system to other parts of the country. The aim of the conference was to facilitate an interdisciplinary dialogue on how to develop a comprehensive approach for managing and expanding the national parks as a *system.* Eventually, the ideas initiated by the 1964 Statement on National Parks Policy, the 1967 Statement on National Historic Places Policy, and the 1968 Conference on national parks culminated in the publication of the *National Parks System Plan* in 1970 by the Heritage Department of Parks Canada, a document which still guides national parks planning in Canada today.

As described in the *System Plan* the "fundamental principle" of Parks Canada is to "protect a representative sample of each of Canada's landscapes."[84] In order to achieve this objective, the nation was divided into 39 representative "natural regions," and Parks Canada set a goal of establishing at least one national park within each region by the year 2000. When the National Parks System Plan was first initiated in 1970, there were 19 established national parks in Canada. In the five decades since, twenty-eight new national parks have been established (many of which are in the Arctic and Sub-arctic). To date, the implementation of the National Parks System Plan remains ongoing, as 31 of 39 regions are currently represented by 47 national parks across the country.[85] In essence, the *National Parks System Plan* is a territorial expansion strategy, with an aim to expand the national parks system into all corners of the Canadian nation. By outlining a national territorial expansion strategy to be implemented over a target period of time, the *System Plan* reinforces the notion that the national parks function as a systematic infrastructure for colonising the nation's remote regions. The adoption of the *National Parks System Plan* by Parks Canada serves to explicitly codify into official policy the colonising agenda which has underscored parks development since the 1880s. Furthermore, under the lens of decolonial landscape studies, it is significant to consider why the *System Plan* utilises such an indefinite term as "representative landscapes,"[86] (as opposed to a more scientific term, such as biome or eco-region, especially as the 1968 National Parks conference was extremely well attended by researchers from the environmental sciences). In the context of landscape studies, "representative" brings to mind the notion of *landscape representation*, which is the idea that all landscapes are imbued with cultural meaning and symbolism by the medium through which they are crafted. With regard to the national parks and the *System Plan*, this representativeness is tied to landscape as much as it is to the idea of settler nationalism. I posit that this usage of "representative

84. Canada. Canadian Heritage. Parks Canada. *National Parks System Plan.* Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1997 (p. 4).
85. Figures include both National Parks and National Park Reserves.
86. Rather than terms evoking environmental scientific categorisations such as "ecological region" or "biome"



vi. Distribution of national parks in Canada in 1970 (top) compared to 2023 (bottom)

landscapes" serves to stress the role of national parks as primarily not spaces for environmental protection or conservation, but for reinforcing nationalism and national identity, which in the context of Canada, are very much imbued with conceptions of land and nature.

While the *National Parks System Plan* served to unify Anglophone and *Francoponie* settler Canadian communities, the aims of the *Plan* also had unintended effects in unifying Indigenous communities—albeit against the settler Canadian government. Shortly before the adoption of the of the *System Plan*, during the preceding summer of 1969, Government of Canada attempted to establish a new national park in the Northwest Territories on the eastern arm of Great Slave Lake. The plans were infamously foiled when meeting minutes from a public consultation were accidentally leaked to the Łutselk'e Dene First Nation's band office, who had been purposefully excluded from the meeting. Forced to organise consultation meetings with the Łutselk'e Dene, the government placed plans for the park on indefinite hold. This incident inspired the chiefs of the Dene nations across Denendeh (a network of traditional Dene territories which spans most of the Northwest Territories as well as parts of Alberta, Yukon, and Nunavut) to come together and form the Dene Brotherhood—a political alliance known today as the Dene Nation—to represent the interests of the Dene people, especially in regard to land use and rights.[87] A headline from a local newspaper in Yellowknife called *News of the North* succinctly captured the sentiment of the moment: "Government Stupidity Unites Indians."[88] In a twist of fate, half a century later in August 2019, this same area was officially established as the Thaidene Nene National Park Reserve after nearly two decades of collaborative planning and negotiation between the Łutselk'e Dene First Nation, the provincial government of the Northwest Territories, and the Canadian federal government. The process to turn the area into a national park had been re-initiated by the Łutselk'e Dene in 2000 in the hopes of protecting land from increasing diamond mining activity which has taken place in Denendeh since the 1990s.[89] This turn of events highlights some of the complexities of settler colonialism's impacts on Canada's natural landscapes. Although landscape's colonial power can certainly be used to dispossess Indigenous peoples and instill colonial value systems onto appropriated lands, the framing of those same landscapes as valuable wilderness spaces, empty of humans, also renders them worth protecting. In this same way, not unlike the residents of Lake Louise did more than a century before to obtain key infrastructural renovations for their town, the soft political power of national parks can also be leveraged by hegemonically marginalised groups—in this case, the Łutselk'e Dene—for their own benefits.

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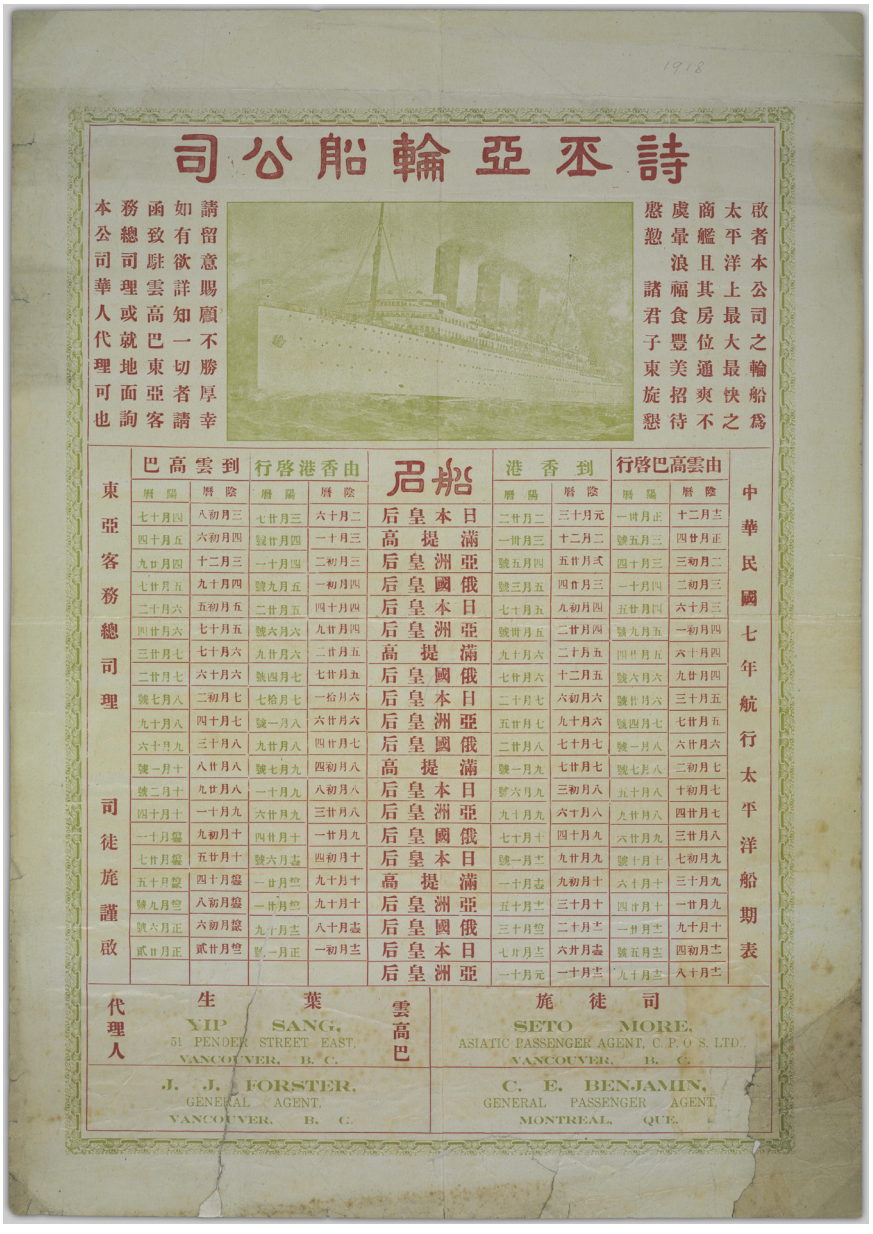
87. See Coulthard, 'For the Land: The Dene Nation's Struggle for Self-Determination'.
88. As quoted in Innes, 'Thaidene Nene', 254.
89. As of 2023, there are three active (and one inactive) diamond mining operations in the Northwest Territories, the mines are owned by global mining conglomerates Dominion Diamond Corp, Rio Tinto Group, and De Beers.

The Canadian national parks system, which began in the 1880s as an instrument of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, had by the 1960s (and into the present day), become completely entrenched into the national consciousness as a core aspect of Canadian identity. Since their earliest days, the national infrastructure of the national parks had been underpinned by cultural conceptions of nature framed as a wilderness imaginary. The framing of nature has taken many forms, ranging from the promotional discourse produced by the parks department to the design of the landscape itself. This chapter has demonstrated how as territorial markers of settler occupation, the national parks system furthers settler colonialism both materially (as an infrastructure of territorial accumulation through occupation) and ideologically (as an important aspect of the settler national imaginary). This has had implications for how settlement and urbanisation in western Canada has been conceived both ideologically and culturally. The landscapes of the national parks are part of a very particular settler colonial spatial distribution of power which both centres urbanity and is rooted in Indigenous dispossession and settler land appropriation. In this way, the Rocky Mountain national parks also act as expressions of settler-urban ideology and their existence can be interpreted as a way of urbanising (or settling) the wilderness. The national parks can also be instilled with forms of soft political power, where in certain moments, communities in the margins temporarily gain political voice and agency by invoking the national importance of the national parks as material representations of the settler Canadian wilderness imaginary.

In the next chapter, I will begin again by looking at the early history of the transcontinental railway and other infrastructures of the Canadian Pacific Company in order to delve into the racial politics of the infrastructures of access to the Rocky Mountain national parks. This will be achieved by shining a light on the hidden histories of non-white migration and exploitative labour regimes which have profoundly shaped, built, and made accessible the tourist landscapes of the Rocky Mountains at the turn of the 20th century, broadening the scope of landscape discourse to consider the geographies of labour behind natural landscapes as well as expand settler colonial frameworks on race to include non-Indigenous people of colour. While this chapter has shown how the completion of the transcontinental railway served to strengthen the importance of the wilderness imaginary to the Canadian settler colonial project within Canada, the next chapter will broaden the scope of influence of the Canadian wilderness imaginary into the larger geographies of the British Empire westward across the Pacific as well as eastward over the Atlantic to the UK and Europe.



1918

詩丕亞輪船公司

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中華民國七年航行太平洋船期表

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日本皇后	二十六	二廿月二	三十月元	一廿月正	十二月廿	
滿提高	一十月三	一廿月三	十二月二	號五月三	四廿月正	
亞洲皇后	二初月三	號五月四	五廿月式	四十月三	三初月二	
俄國皇后	一初月四	號三月五	四廿月三	一十月四	二初月三	
日本皇后	四十月四	七十月五	九初月四	五廿月四	六十月三	
亞洲皇后	九廿月四	號廿月五	二廿月四	號九月五	一初月四	
滿提高	二廿月五	九十月六	二十月五	四廿月五	六十月四	
俄國皇后	七廿月五	七廿月六	十二月五	號六月六	九廿月四	
日本皇后	一十六	二十月七	六初月六	號廿月六	三十月五	
亞洲皇后	六廿月六	五廿月七	九十月六	號四月七	七廿月五	
俄國皇后	四廿月七	二廿月八	七十月七	號一月八	六廿月六	
滿提高	八初月八	號一月九	七廿月七	號七月八	二初月七	
日本皇后	八初月八	號六月九	三初月八	五十月八	十初月七	
亞洲皇后	三廿月八	九十月九	六十月八	九廿月八	四廿月七	
俄國皇后	一廿月九	七十月十	四十月九	六廿月九	三廿月八	
日本皇后	四廿月十	號一月十	九廿月九	號十月十	七初月九	
滿提高	九初月十	一十月盞	九初月十	六十月十	三十月九	
亞洲皇后	九十月十	五十月盞	三十月十	四十月十	一廿月九	
俄國皇后	八十月盞	三十月盞	二十月十	一廿月十	九十月十	
日本皇后	一初月盞	七廿月十	六廿月盞	號五月十	四初月十	
亞洲皇后		一十月元	一十月十	九十月十	八十月十	

東亞客務總司理 司徒旋謹啓

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chapter four

The Far West

> what is the context for "you people are hard workers"?
>
> —Rita Wong, "value chain" (2007)

On 28 April 1891, the *R.M.S. Empress of India* docked in the Port of Vancouver after sailing across the Pacific from Japan in just eleven days, simultaneously setting a new speed record and signalling a new era of access for the British Empire. With this inaugural voyage, the Canadian Pacific Company began offering regularly scheduled Pacific crossings on their new purpose-built trio of '*Empress*' steamships. The launch of the *Empresses* of *India*, *Japan*, and *China* linked Canada's west coast—and the terminus of the Canadian Pacific transcontinental railway—to Asia, with destinations in Yokohama, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and India.[1] From the perspective of empire, the completion of the Canadian transcontinental railway and subsequent initiation of regular steamship services between Vancouver and Asia at the turn of the twentieth century became an important infrastructure of power, as it provided a transit link from Europe to the Far East that not only cut total travel time in half,[2] but was also situated entirely within the British Empire—via a geography of *the far west*. This transit was made possible in part by investment

1. The destinations are listed as thus in the Canadian Pacific publication *Around the World by the Canadian Pacific Route* (1900) 4-7.
2. The competing route between Great Britain and China through the Suez Canal took approximately 2 months, while the Canadian Pacific Route could be completed in just over 3 weeks.

from the British Royal Mail postal service, which had contracted the Canadian Pacific Company—who already operated trans-Atlantic steamship crossings between Liverpool and Montreal, and the Canadian transcontinental rail service from Montreal to Vancouver—to deliver post between Great Britain and Asia.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the building of the transcontinental railway was crucial to the development and urbanisation of Western Canada. Beyond acting as a vector of settlement in the prairies, the transcontinental railway also played a prominent political role in the formation of the Dominion itself. Under the national imaginary of the time, the railway was portrayed as necessary to solidify Canadian sovereignty over the western prairies and ward off perceived territorial aggression from the United States. The Province of British Columbia also negotiated its entry into the Dominion of Canada on the condition that a railway would be built to link the Pacific coast to major cities in the east.[3] Using this narrative, immediately following Canadian Confederation in 1867 Prime Minister John A. Macdonald announced his ambition to link the new nation coast to coast by rail from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For more than a decade, the subject of the transcontinental railway dominated Canadian domestic politics and became the source of much political turmoil, leading to the downfall of the first Conservative government led by Macdonald in 1873, who resigned after he was revealed to have rigged the bidding process for the construction contract in favour of a Montreal-based financier named Sir Hugh Allen. In the following years, little progress was made on the railway under the Liberal government led by Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie who attempted to build the railway as a public work. When Macdonald returned as Prime Minister following the 1878 election, he pursued a forceful strategy to finally complete the construction of the railway, including granting the railway contract to the Canadian Pacific Company.

The making of national infrastructure is key to the formation and success of colonial states—so called "infrastructure states"[4]—and the construction of the Canadian Pacific's transcontinental railway (and subsequent steamship service) played a crucial and strategic role in facilitating British access, control, and settlement of vast swaths of land not only within Canada, but around the world. Contrary to the popular narrative in Canada at the time, the desire for a transcontinental railway in fact preceded Canadian Confederation by more than two decades. As early as the 1840s, British merchants, bankers, and military elites advocated for a rail link from Britain to China through Canada as a way of securing the global reach and influence of the British Empire.[5] The search for a westward oceanic route to Asia from Europe had

3. Such as Toronto and Montreal.
4. This term originates from historian Jo Guldi, see Guldi, *Roads to Power*.
5. For an analysis of the links between the institutions of the City of London and the building of the Canadian transcontinental railway, see Cowen, 'Following the Infrastructures of Empire', 472–73.

been a key motivator of the Age of Discovery (the search for the so-called "Northwest Passage"), which ultimately led to the arrival of Europeans in the Americas and the rise of European colonial empires. By the middle of the 19th century, Britain's victories in the Opium Wars in 1842 and 1860 had hugely increased Britian's influence in China, leading to the cessation of Hong Kong to the British and resulting in the de facto British control over major trading ports on the Chinese east coast (including Shanghai). Asia had also by this point become an increasingly important source of cheap, exploitable labour for European overseas colonies, especially in the Americas. The labour systems utilising workers from Asia developed during the 19th century represent a key phase in the development of settler colonialism in the Americas—as new schemes formed to fill the labour void which resulted from the abolition of slavery. This is important to the continuation of settler colonialism, as the structure of settler colonialism is based not only on Indigenous dispossession, but also the extraction of value from appropriated lands through the exploitation of expendable bodies.

A brief history of migrant labour regimes in the Americas reveals how racial capitalism has shaped colonial infrastructure on the continent. Broadly speaking, the history of non-white labour in the Americas is inseparable from the establishment of settler-colonial states. The trans-Atlantic slave trade enabled widespread plantation economies which required the mass conversion of rich native ecosystems into agricultural monocultures. Following the abolition of slavery in the 1830s, a "Labor Question" emerged in the vacuum of exploitable labour left behind. Beginning in the 1820s, a system developed to import people (through various regimes of debt indentureship) from South and East Asia to work as plantation hands in European colonies in the Americas. These workers came to be known as 'coolies,' and took on the work of now freed African slaves.[6] Britain was the first empire to trial this labour system, bringing a couple hundred labourers from China to Trinidad in 1806. High numbers of labourers from China and Japan sought work in the Americas during this time in part due to the precarious political, economic, and climate situation in East Asia, including effects of the Opium Wars, the First Sino-Japanese War, and the reformation of the Qing Dynasty, combined with several major floods of the Yellow River.[7] In particular, the Chinese workers developed a reputation as "dependable, cheap industrial labour"[8] for infrastructure construction, and these workers ended up playing a key role in the building of railways in

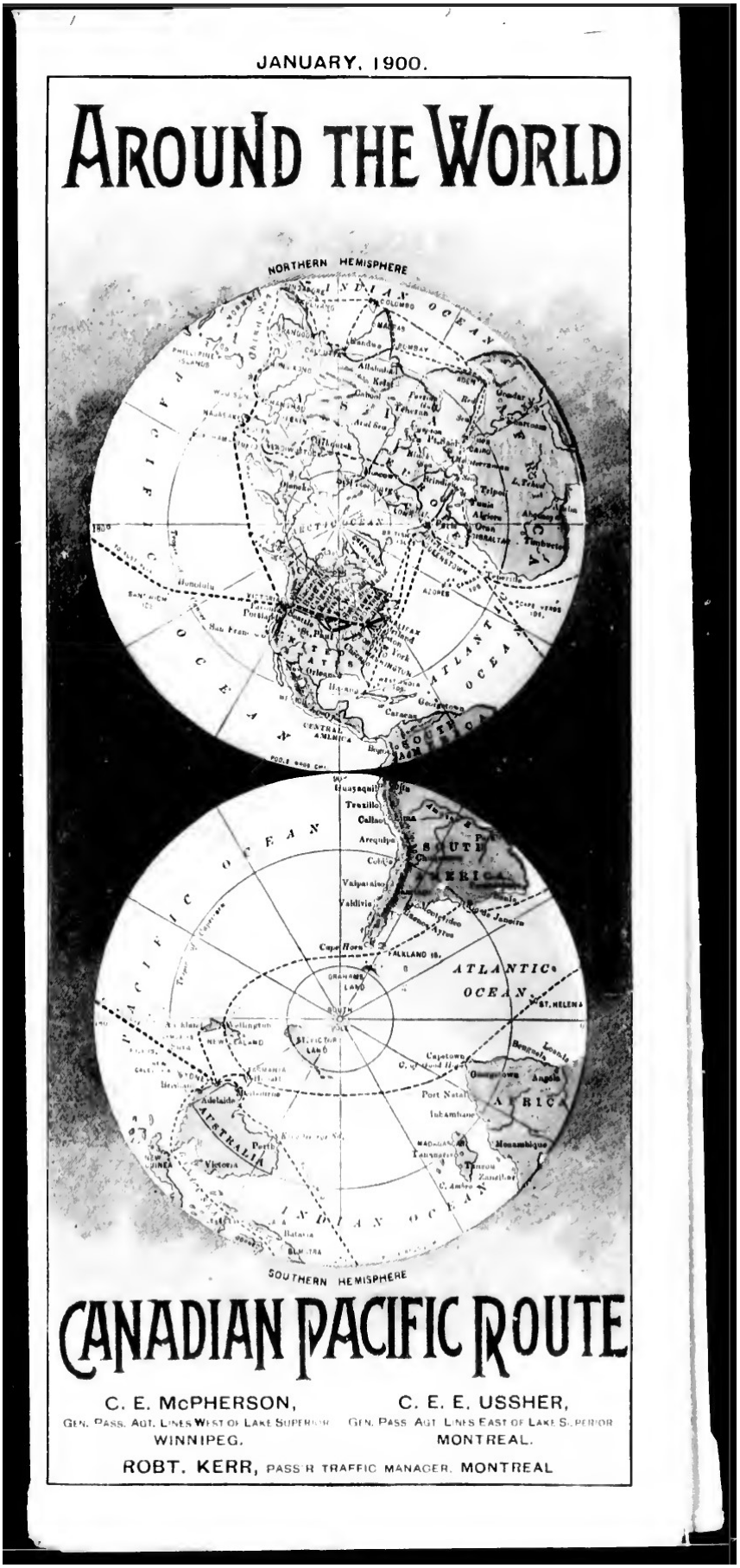
6. Annis, 'The "Chinese Question" and the Canada–US Border, 1885'; Guterl, 'After Slavery: Asian Labor, the American South, and the Age of Emancipation'; Allen, 'Slaves, Convicts, Abolitionism and the Global Origins of the Post-Emancipation Indentured Labor System'.
7. In Cantonese, coolies who went to work in the Americas during this era are known as 豬子, or "pigs." Today, Cantonese speakers, including in diaspora communities, refer to this period of migration as 賣豬子 ("selling pigs") or alternatively, 主豬子 ("owning pigs"). See Blue, 'Chinese Emigration and the Deck Passenger Trade'; and Weber, 'Vocabularies of Violence'.
8. Yoo and Azuma, *The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History*, 41.

both the United States and Canada. The Canadian Pacific Company in particular, utilised a significant Chinese workforce to build the most dangerous sections of the Canadian transcontinental railway in the mountains of British Columbia, without whom, it would not have been possible to complete the railway in such a short time. The use of this workforce conflicted with the white racial imaginary of settler culture, and led to heightened racial tensions, especially on the west coast. Prime Minister Macdonald infamously responded to opposition in the House of Commons in 1882 to the hiring of Chinese workers for railway construction by saying "It is simply a question of alternatives—either you must have this labour or you cannot have the railway."[9] With this history in mind, one of the goals of this chapter is to place the nature of Canadian settler colonialism within a larger context of British imperialism.

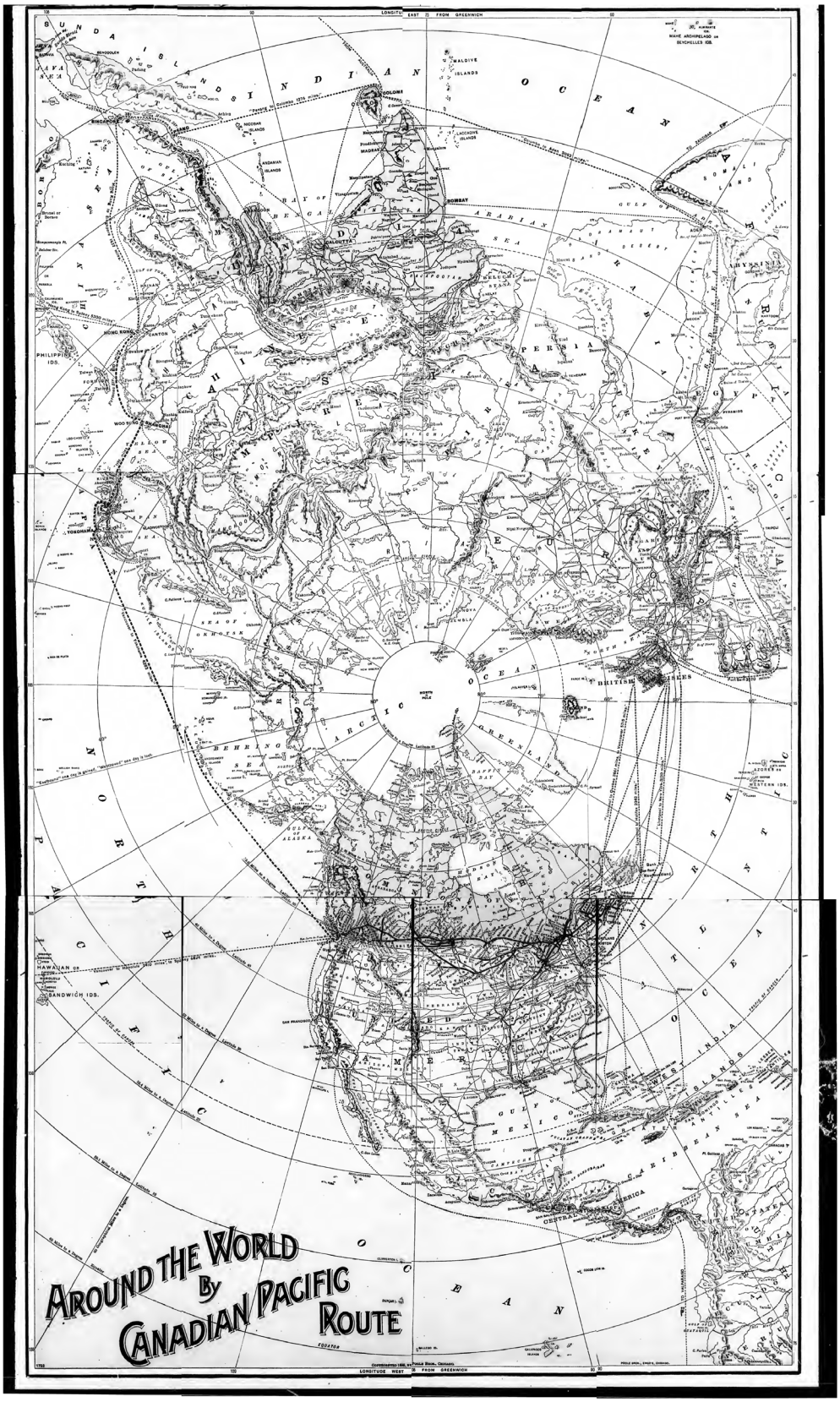
Through a historical account of the racialised labour force used by the Canadian Pacific Company at the turn of the twentieth century, this chapter aims to address the broader racial politics of settler colonialism as they are entangled with the constructed wilderness landscapes of the Canadian imaginary. In addition to being infrastructural, the workings of settler colonial states such as Canada are also deeply configured by biopolitics: they are founded on systemic hierarchies of racial difference, which are in turn tied to corresponding relationships with land, labour, and capital. As discussed in the previous chapter, Indigenous dispossession is tied closely to the making of the wilderness imaginary in Canada. This chapter introduces another biopolitical layer to this colonial history by intersecting landscapes of Indigenous dispossession with the labour histories of non-white migrants and immigrants of colour.[10] At the crux of settler colonialism is a racial structure tying Indigenous people to land (from which they are dispossessed), and people of colour to labour (for which they are exploited). Under this structure, non-Indigenous people of colour are consigned to a permanent status as new arrivals to the settler state, excluded from owning land—an entitlement reserved only for the settler population.[11]

Broadening the racial discourse surrounding settler colonialism and wilderness to include racialised workers also leads to an interesting conceptual expansion of the scope of labour discourse in the field of landscape. In landscape studies, the topic of labour—especially in historical and non-urban contexts—is admittedly understudied. The majority of labour discourse within contemporary landscape studies pertains to the making of agricultural landscapes in the United States. Notably, Don Mitchell has attempted to reframe landscape as understood from the perspective of how it has been worked and produced. Key to Mitchell's investigation of labour history in landscape studies is extending the

9. 1882 House of Commons Debates, as quoted in Lee, 'Chinese Construction Workers on the Canadian Pacific', 52.
10. This chapter will focus primarily on East Asian migration histories with a brief mention of a small aspect of Black history.
11. Veracini, 'Introducing', 71.



i. Cover of the "Around the World by the Canadian Pacific Route" Pamphlet (1900)



ii. Map on back of the "Around the World by the Canadian Pacific Route" Pamphlet (1900)

neo-Marxian contention that landscapes are culturally and socially produced to the material aspects of the production of landscapes. In this view, read through a lens of labour history, the morphology of landscapes can be interpreted to reveal complex histories of social, cultural, and political tension.[12] Furthermore, extending Carl Saur's position that landscapes are a materialisation of cultural work, Mitchell has also asserted that to read a landscape is to parse from it the social relations and formations of its making, "no matter how perverse."[13] Regarding the practice of landscape architecture, Sonja Dümpelmann has observed that there has been a pervasive "separation of manual work from mental work,"[14] where the latter (the mental work of design) takes precedence over the physical work of producing designed landscapes. Placed into this model, some of the works discussed in the previous chapter—the landscape designs of George Stewart and the written works of M. B. Williams—can be considered forms of mental landscape work. Their labour is in the intellectual shaping of the landscape into a reflection of the Canadian wilderness imaginary. The forms of labour discussed in this chapter fall somewhere in between manual and mental work. While I am interested in the construction of the transcontinental railway as a form of physical labour, I am also interested in how this labour, as a racialised initiative of the settler colonial state, has been represented in relation to the constructed landscape. An examination of the rhetoric (promotional and political) surrounding infrastructures of access suggests that the subject of labour *vis-a-vis* landscapes also includes the labour which facilitates access to different landscapes. In the context of the Canadian Rocky Mountains, this means that while a cultural imaginary of uninhabited wilderness has ideologically facilitated Indigenous dispossession, the labour of racialised migrants was exploited to materially facilitate European and settler access to that same constructed wilderness.

At this intersection of landscape, labour, race, and settler colonialism, the city of Vancouver emerges as significant geographical inflection point. The site of present-day Vancouver, located at the mouth of the Fraser River, was determined to be the Pacific railhead of the transcontinental railway in 1886, and this subsequently led to rapid development and urbanisation in the area.[15] Almost immediately, the port of Vancouver became a colonial contact zone[16] between European settlers, travellers, merchants, and migrants from Asia, intersecting with the broader settler colonial racial landscape of the Canadian state. Even before the construction of the transcontinental railway, the Canadian Pacific coast was already

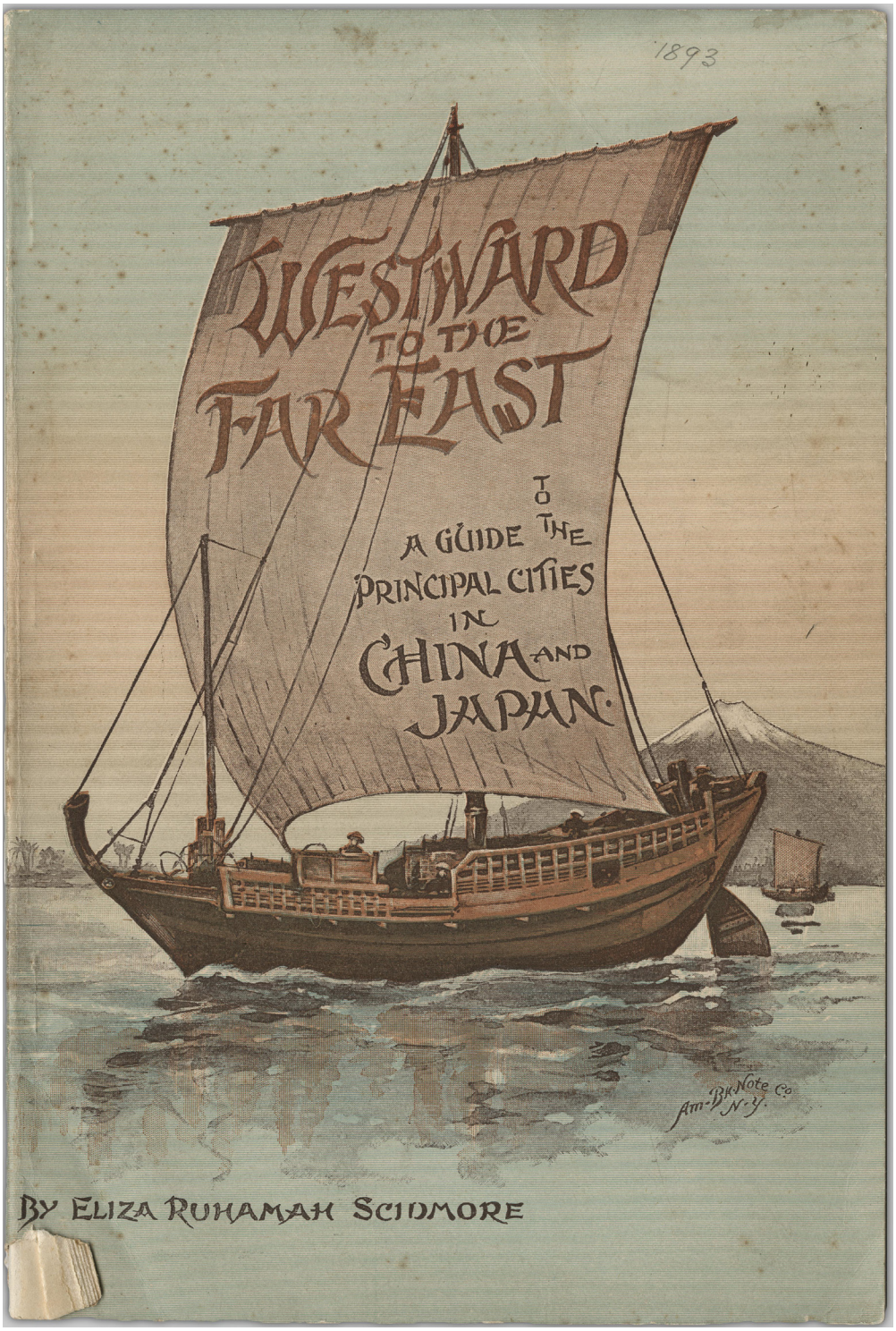
12. See Mitchell, *The Lie of the Land*.
13. Mitchell and Carlo Sica, 'Chapter 7: Landscape and Labour', 156.
14. Dümpelmann, 'An Introduction to Landscape Design and Economics', 556.
15. Without the transcontinental railway, Vancouver would likely not exist. Prior to the 1890s, the most prominent city on the Pacific coast of Canada was Victoria, located across the Strait of Georgia on the southern tip of Vancouver Island.
16. Coined by Mary Louise Pratt in the early 1990s, the contact zone describes a site where cultures meet and are forced to negotiate in the face of asymmetrical power relations. See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.

a significant point of entry for migration from East Asia. The city of Victoria on Vancouver Island is home to the oldest Chinatown in Canada. This racial enclave first emerged in the middle of the 19th century when Chinese miners from California and China came to prospect gold during a series of gold rushes in the 1850s and 60s. Alongside the growth of the city of Vancouver after the completion of the transcontinental railway as a port of entry for people and goods arriving from Asia, significant land dispossession and Indigenous displacement also occurred in the region. Present day Vancouver is located on the traditional unceded territories of the Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations. In this way, the city is a microcosm of the overlapping and sometimes conflicting polities of the Canadian settler state and the British Empire. By extending the landscapes of Canadian settler colonialism to the west coast, this chapter aims to activate the Pacific as a contested and racialised territory of Canadian and British imperial pasts, caught in an entangled web of labour, landscape, race, and dispossession.

4.1 On the Pacific

"There is a charm in sailing the Pacific to which everyone yields," explains a Canadian Pacific pamphlet from 1900. The pamphlet, titled "Around the World by the Canadian Pacific Route," advertises the company's routes to various destinations in the Pacific Ocean, all made accessible by the completion of the Canadian transcontinental railway. It explains the different itineraries and price points for how a person could travel around the world exclusively on Canadian Pacific services, first starting in London and traveling to Liverpool, then crossing the Atlantic via steamer to Montreal, traversing Canada by rail, and finally sailing over the Pacific to destinations beyond in Asia, Africa, and Australasia. The back of the pamphlet features a map of the world showing all the Canadian Pacific's routes, a striking image of the global influence of the British Empire. On the front, logistical information about each segment of the route "Around the World" is provided, presented alongside some information about local cultures and points of interest. For example, the section on Banff mentions "some hot sulphur springs of rare curative properties," as well as the "excellent hotel built by the railway company;"[17] meanwhile, the section on Egypt invites tourists to "leisurely examine the land of the Pharaohs," and "investigate the Sphinx."[18] In the section about the Pacific steamship service, the text describes a particularly distinctive onboard hospitality experience:

17. Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Around the World by The Canadian Pacific Route*, 3.
18. Ibid., 8.



iii. Cover of "Westward to the Far East: A Guide to the Principal Cities of China and Japan" (1891)

> There is an eastern air in the latter which will be new to many. The servants are not called "stewards," but "boys;" they are not black-jacketed Europeans, but white-frocked Celestials. There is no luncheon on board, but there is luxurious "tiffin," and so on.[19]

The creation of an imaginary of the Far East is important to colonialism, especially for maintaining colonial ideas of racial ordering and European supremacy. As a discursive formation, the rhetorically constructed "eastern air" is a version of the hierarchical power dynamics examined in Edward Said's *Orientalism*.[20] Through these descriptions of the Canadian Pacific steamers, cultural and racial difference have been commodified into expressions of luxury and utilised by the Company as a selling point for their Pacific service. In anticipation of their new trans-Pacific passenger services, the Canadian Pacific Company embarked on an advertising strategy consisting of a series of guidebooks promoting the new Canadian transcontinental rail line as simultaneously an unmissable tourist experience and a more comfortable, shorter route to Asia from London. The first of these guidebooks, titled "The Canadian Pacific: The New Highway to the East across the Mountains Prairies & Rivers of Canada," was published in 1887, just three years following the completion of the railway and four years before the commencement of regular[21] steamship services crossing the Pacific Ocean.

The *Empress* steamship services were widely advertised through a carefully crafted rhetorical imaginary of the Far East by the Canadian Pacific Company to evoke fantasies of the constructed exotic place of the Far East in their European passengers. Combining appropriated aspects of Chinese, Indian, and Japanese culture, the on-board experience is best described as a vulgar amalgam of stereotypes about "The Orient." This cultural performance brings to mind Homi Bhabha's reflections on stereotype; as Bhabha posits, British imperialism has relied on an ethnocentric worldview that placed European culture as separate and above the culture of Others. By constructing an amalgamated false version of the "Orient," difference becomes an identifiable and repeatable set of behaviours against which European superiority can be asserted.[22] This type of racialised rhetoric is not limited to the "Around the World" pamphlet and proliferates in Canadian Pacific marketing materials from this period. In another booklet issued by the Canadian Pacific in 1891 called "Westward to the Far East: A Guide to the Principal Cities of China and Japan," the narrative suggests that the on-board experience is akin to a kind of "spell" of the Far East under which European travellers could fall:

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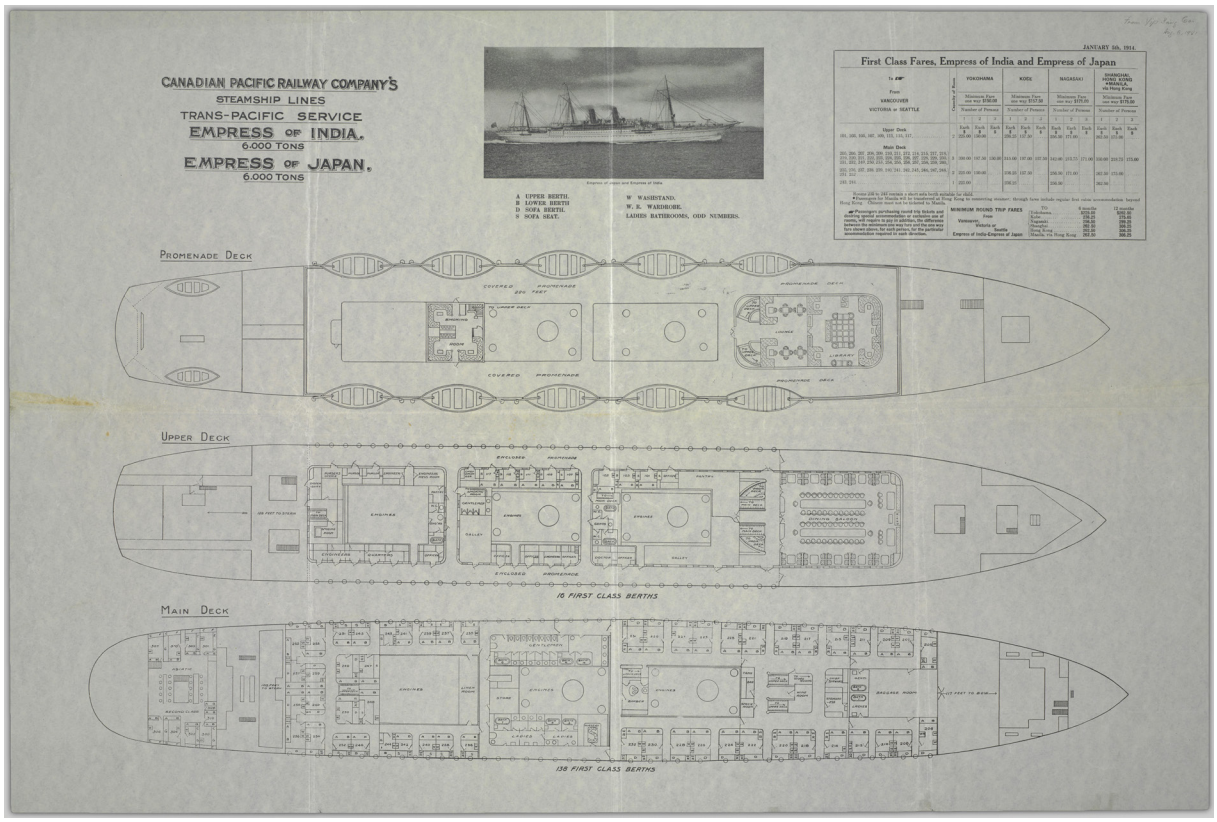
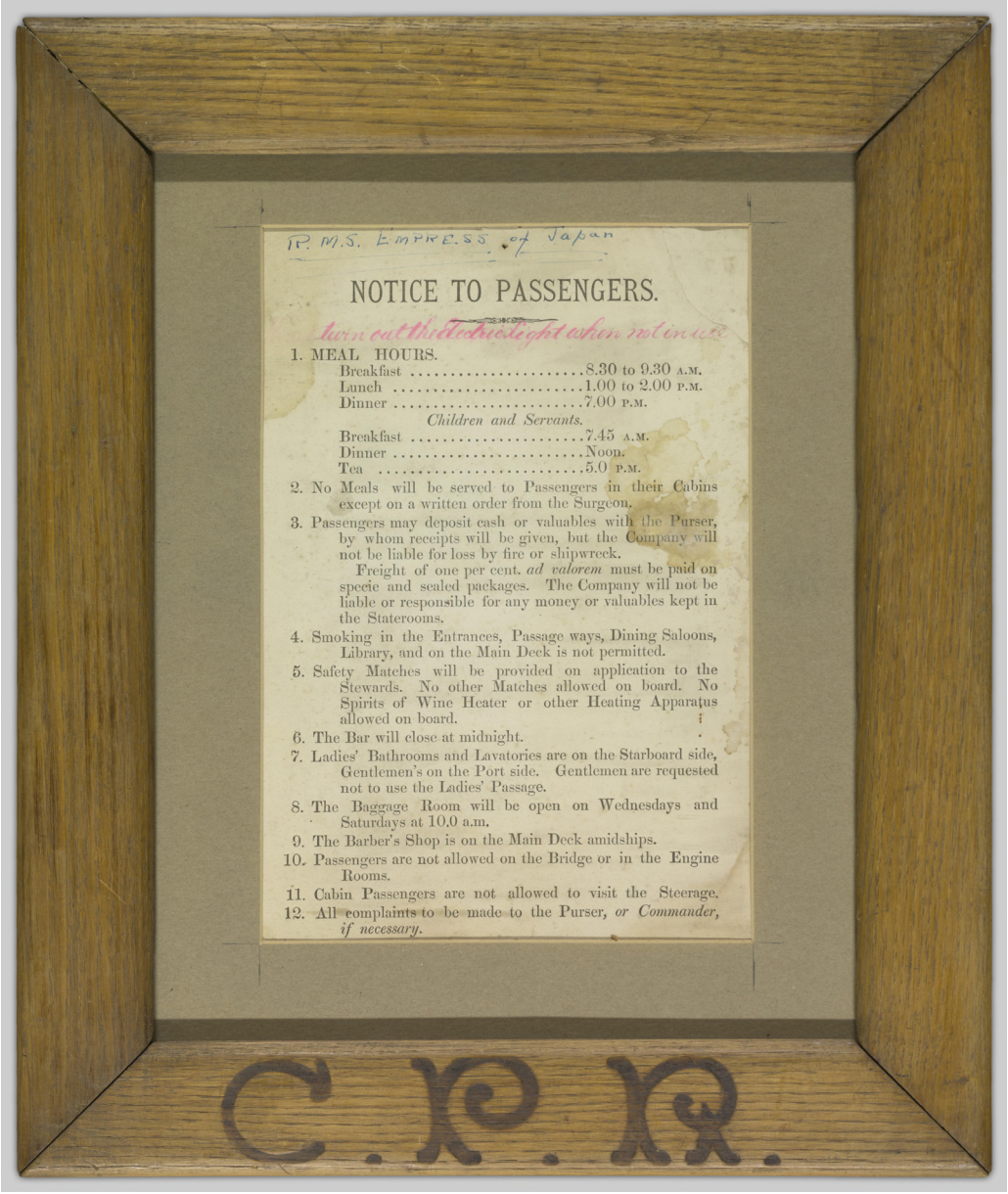
19. Ibid., 4.
20. Orientalism, as described by Edward Said, is a discursive formation which can be understood as the production and prescription of a cultural imaginary of the "Orient" by western ('Occidental') hegemonic thought. Significantly, this discursive formation is one-directional and un-reciprocated; the power dynamic of Orientalism is hierarchical. See Said, *Orientalism*.
21. Although some irregular Pacific crossings were operated by Canadian Pacific from 1887.
22. See Bhabha, 'The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse'.



iv. Deck plans of the *Empress of India* and *Empress of Japan* (1914)



P. M.S. EMPRESS of Japan

NOTICE TO PASSENGERS.

turn out the electric light when not in use

1. MEAL HOURS.

Breakfast	8.30 to 9.30 A.M.
Lunch	1.00 to 2.00 P.M.
Dinner	7.00 P.M.

Children and Servants.

Breakfast	7.45 A.M.
Dinner	Noon.
Tea	5.0 P.M.

2. No Meals will be served to Passengers in their Cabins except on a written order from the Surgeon.
3. Passengers may deposit cash or valuables with the Purser, by whom receipts will be given, but the Company will not be liable for loss by fire or shipwreck.
   Freight of one per cent. *ad valorem* must be paid on specie and sealed packages. The Company will not be liable or responsible for any money or valuables kept in the Staterooms.
4. Smoking in the Entrances, Passage ways, Dining Saloons, Library, and on the Main Deck is not permitted.
5. Safety Matches will be provided on application to the Stewards. No other Matches allowed on board. No Spirits of Wine Heater or other Heating Apparatus allowed on board.
6. The Bar will close at midnight.
7. Ladies' Bathrooms and Lavatories are on the Starboard side, Gentlemen's on the Port side. Gentlemen are requested not to use the Ladies' Passage.
8. The Baggage Room will be open on Wednesdays and Saturdays at 10.0 a.m.
9. The Barber's Shop is on the Main Deck amidships.
10. Passengers are not allowed on the Bridge or in the Engine Rooms.
11. Cabin Passengers are not allowed to visit the Steerage.
12. All complaints to be made to the Purser, *or Commander, if necessary.*

C. P. R.

v. A "Notice to Passengers" from the *Empress of Japan* (c.1910)

> The traveller soon adopts "boy" as the appellation of every kind of servant, his luncheon becomes "tiffin," he claps his hands quite as much as he rings the bell or presses the button, and the yellow servitors appear as quickly and silently as Ram Lal, with his key-hole entrances and cloud exits; and the ease, the luxury, and all the creature comforts of the Far East begin to work their spell before many Pacific meridians are left behind.[23]

In this same text, the Canadian Pacific also reassures the company's European clientele that their experience on board will not require co-mingling with Chinese passengers. Instead, their fleeting presence is a mere source of amusement for the European passengers:

> The Chinese passengers are sometimes interesting. After filling the air with paper joss money, to propriate the evil spirits of the ocean, they seldom come to the top again during the voyage, living sociably together in the Chinese steerage, where fan tan, opium smoking and chatter goes on.[24]

This representation of the Far East and its peoples by the Canadian Pacific Company as "at one and the same time passive, exotic, undeveloped, barbaric and alluring,"[25] is a direct example of the complex discursive imaginaries which underpin Orientalism and contribute to the racial subjugation of Asian people under the biopolitical power framework of white supremacy. In this case, Orientalism, as a discursive tool for producing difference, can serve to simultaneously enact geographies of exclusion and attraction. Utilized as a selling point for the Canadian Pacific, orientalism is intersected with racial capitalism. In capitalist systems, the production of difference underlies value creation. On the pacific steamships, racial difference produces value (i.e., it becomes attractive) through the curated articulation of that difference.

Although racist stereotypes and cultural difference—branded as 'exotic'—were used to entice Europeans to travel on the Canadian Pacific ships, the design of the on-board passenger experience was in actuality a highly segregated one. Despite the advertised "eastern air," there was very little cultural mixing on board the *Empresses*, as European and Asian passengers travelled in separate sections of the ships. This can be seen in the design of the deck layouts and in the documents providing ticketing information. Canadian Pacific handbooks show that while Europeans travelled in first class, Asian passengers travelled in Asiatic second class and steerage.[26] According to deck plans, Asiatic second class cabins were located in

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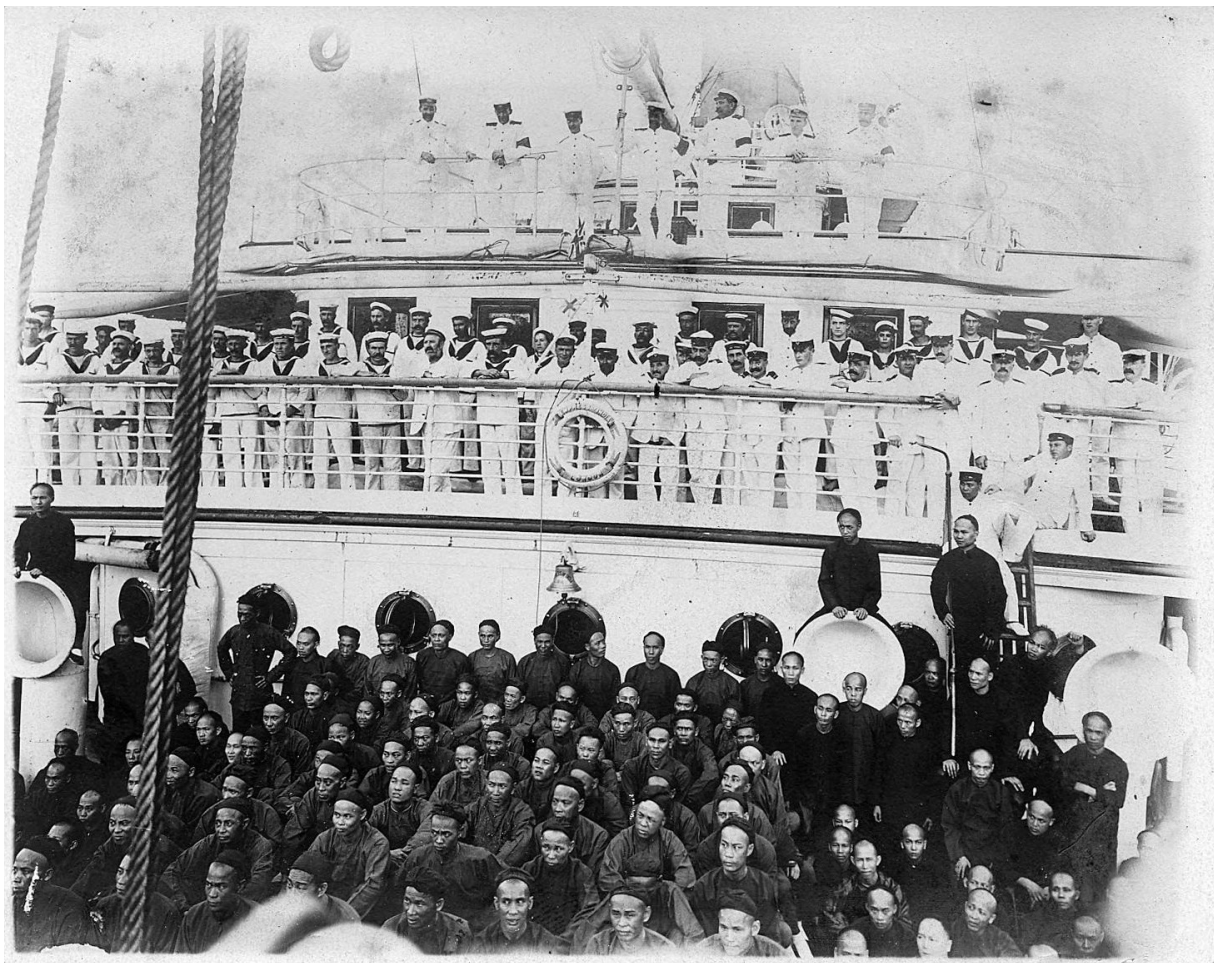
23. Scidmore, *Westward to the Far East*, 9.
24. Ibid, 13.
25. Tariq Jazeel author, *Postcolonialism*, 48.
26. "Canadian Pacific : the great highway across the continent to and from Europe, Japan, China, Australasia and around the world Hand Book No. 17," 1909, FC 02 0203 no. 71901. Canadiana Collection.

a segregated part of the ship, complete with their own dining area and bathroom facilities.[27] In addition to the upper-deck passengers in first class and Asiatic second class, the *Empresses* also offered lower-deck passage in Asiatic steerage. Asiatic steerage passengers were male-only,[28] and segregated completely from the upper-deck areas of the ship accessible to cabin passengers in first and second class; a 1919 passenger notice from the *Empress of Japan* states that cabin passengers in the upper decks were not allowed into steerage.[29] By segregating passengers based on race, the Canadian Pacific was able to cultivate and maintain an imaginary of European superiority while providing an on-board experience reflecting a misappropriated Asian chimera. In addition to the three *Empresses*, the Canadian Pacific also operated a more economical passenger service on the Royal Mail S.S. *Monteagle* as part of their trans-Pacific offerings. Even on the *Monteagle*, which did not have first class passenger cabins, Asian people were segregated into different areas of the ship from European people.[30] That being said, it is important to note that although some primary sources indicate that Asian passengers were not allowed in first class, passenger lists from the *Empresses*' manifests suggest that there may have been some exceptions.[31] All ships arriving on British Columbia's Pacific coast were required by immigration officials to provide detailed passenger lists. From these lists, it can be gleamed that the occupations of those arriving from Asia were diverse, ranging from laundry workers, general labourers, cooks, farmers, students, merchants, diplomats, and others.[32] These manifests point to a more complex racial ordering where race and ethnicity are further intersected by both nationality and social class.

A photo taken in 1899 captures a crew of sailors and other labourers employed on the *Empress of India,* offering a rare, pointed visual of the racial hierarchy of the ship's on-board workforce. In the photo, the sailors—all of whom are visibly European—are lined up on an upper deck, posing in their white naval uniforms, while the other workers stand below them on a lower deck. While sailors on the *Empresses* were of predominantly European ancestry, workers responsible for hospitality roles were Asian. Taken in tandem

27. Canadian Pacific Railway Company, "Empress of India and Empress of Japan deck plans," 1914, CC_OS_00117. Wallace B. Chung and Madeline H. Chung Collection, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada.
28. "Canadian Pacific : the great highway across the continent to and from Europe, Japan, China, Australasia and around the world Hand Book No. 17," 1909, FC 02 0203 no. 71901. Canadiana Collection.
29. Canadian Pacific Railway Company, "R. M. S. Empress of Japan notice to passengers," 1910-1919, CC_GR_00058. Wallace B. Chung and Madeline H. Chung Collection, University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver, Canada.
30. "Canadian Pacific : the great highway across the continent to and from Europe, Japan, China, Australasia and around the world Hand Book No. 17," 1909, FC 02 0203 no. 71901. Canadiana Collection.
31. It is important to note that this chapter focuses only on the services provided by the Canadian Pacific Company, other operators also offered Pacific crossings during this period, and each had their own different classes of service and policies on segregation.
32. Library and Archives Canada. 'Passenger Lists, 1865-1922', 15 May 2013. https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/immigration/immigration-records/passenger-lists/passenger-lists-1865-1922/Pages/introduction.aspx.



vi. Photo of sailors and labourers aboard the *Empress of India* (c. 1890)

with the racialised discourse used to market the Pacific steamship service, this photo highlights a key duality in the exploitation of colonial racial difference embedded in the operations of the Canadian Pacific Company during this period. The superficial appropriation of qualities perceived as culturally oriental is accompanied by a view of racialised concepts of work. In particular, their representation of Chinese workers reflects a colonial hierarchy of race which associates Asian bodies with work and servility. In some of the Canadian Pacific's texts, their work is described in quite favorable terms:

> The excellence of the Chinese servants who act as saloon and bedroom stewards is a point which invariably draws favourable comment. The majority of the native servants on the Company's ships are servitors of many years and thoroughly understand the requirements of passengers, peculiar to the East. They make perfect servants and in their clean, fresh-looking robes are quite picturesque.[33]

Taken together, the narratives presented in the marketing materials published by the Canadian Pacific Company as well as the racial hierarchies embedded in both the ship's crew and passengers reinforce a colonial order of racial hierarchy which puts white Europeans at the top and overwhelmingly associates Asian bodies with labour. This racialised association of the Chinese with work is underpinned by the broader racial formations of Canadian settler colonialism which are inseparable from racial frameworks of British imperialism.

4.2 Accessing Wilderness

Appropriation of and access to land, coupled with the devaluation of non-white labour are the primary processes associated with racial capitalism, which is derivative of colonialism.[34] Jodi Byrd, writing specifically on the context of racial capitalism and Indigenous dispossession, has posited that "colonialism and racial capitalism have been historically co-constitutive and are of necessity together confronted by Indigenous peoples and the racially subordinated."[35] Furthermore, Asian racialisation is constituted by the expendability of Asian bodies and therefore denied entry to the white settler body politic.[36] This denied entry is part of the racially exclusive structure of settler colonialism; Tuck and Yang assert that "settler colonialism involves the subjugation and forced labour of chattel slaves, whose bodies and lives become the property, and who are kept landless."[37] As the structure of settler colonialism would suggest, the entrance

33. Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Canadian Pacific : The Great Highway across the Continent to and from Europe, Japan, China, Australasia and around the World : Handbook No. 17* (Canada, 190-AD), 17.
34. See Pulido, 'Geographies of Race and Ethnicity II'.
35. Byrd et al., 'Predatory Value'.
36. Day, *Alien Capital*.
37. Tuck and Yang, 'Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor', 6.

of certain racial groups into Canada has been historically subject to heavy controls, many of which have been tied to different racialised work regimes. It is impossible to consider the historical link between labour and Asian racialisation in the Americas without accounting for the underlying settler colonial structure of Canada. The entangled practices of racialisation and capitalism are inseparable from colonialism, and this can be seen in history of the Canadian Pacific Company's racialised work regimes. In addition to the Chinese workers on their steamships, the Canadian Pacific Company also utilised a significant workforce of Chinese navvies in the building of the transcontinental railway as well as a workforce of Black men as sleeping car porters on the transcontinental service—a service which was heavily advertised by the Canadian Pacific as a perfectly luxurious way to experience the beautiful Canadian landscape.

A Canadian Pacific guidebook from 1887 called "The Canadian Pacific: The New Highway to the East across the Mountains Prairies & Rivers of Canada,"[38] presents a cross-country journey of Canada as experienced via the Canadian Pacific's Pullman sleeper cars traversing the Canadian landscape on the transcontinental mainline. The title suggests that at the time, the draw of the railway—at least for the largely European audience of the guidebook—was its connection to Asia. The Canadian imaginary, and its association with a settler colonial version of wilderness (as discussed in the previous chapter), was still in its infancy. This guidebook is one of the early documents which starts to introduce rhetorically the Canadian wilderness imaginary at an international scale, a precursor to the guidebooks that M.B. Williams would later write for the Dominion Parks Department in the 1920s. As if to emphasize that the journey across Canada is only a small portion—albeit a beautiful one—of the road from England to China, the entire travelogue is told as a story in motion: it is a passing view of the Canadian landscape from the comfort of the Canadian Pacific's trains, speeding westward from Montreal to the Pacific Coast. This journey, presented from east to west, follows the logic and history of colonisation. Like the Around the World pamphlet, the back cover of this guidebook also shows a map of the Canadian Pacific routes. This time, the map is drawn in a circumpolar projection with Canada at its centre, highlighting the geographic focus of the book's narrative. Throughout the book, colonial overtones mark the text and the railway is presented as the triumphal infrastructure of colonisation: "towns and cities sprang up about the old outposts of the missionaries and fur traders, the Indians receded and disappeared, and … the railway penetrating the interior in every direction;"[39] elsewhere, Indigenous dispossession is normalized through a paternalistic conception of civility: "[w]e are now in the country of the once dreaded Blackfeet, the most handsome

38. This is the title of the first edition from 1887. Later editions of the publication bear the title, "The New Highway to the Orient."
39. "The Canadian Pacific, the new highway to the east across the mountains, prairies & rivers of Canada," 1888, FC 02 0203 no. 14583. Canadiana Collection.

vii. Front and back cover of guidebook "The Canadian Pacific: The New Highway to the East across the Mountains Prairies & Rivers of Canada" (c. 1887)

and warlike of all the Indian tribes, but now peacefully settled on a reservation near by."[40] These poignant passages in the text serve as reminders of the crucial role of infrastructure in the process of colonisation. Photographs of the Canadian landscape punctuate the text, creating a dramatic and highly aestheticized telling of the nation's natural landscape features, reinforcing an ideology which equates Canadian national identity with ideas of wilderness and natural beauty. In particular, on this transcontinental journey, the Rocky Mountains are presented as a geographical high point—physically and metaphorically. As the text states, "you are impatient to see the mountains."[41] In the settler imaginary of western expansionism and wilderness landscapes, the Rocky Mountains serve as a lofty geographic marker; although they are nearly three thousand kilometres down the line from Montreal, the promise of their picturesque marvel already drives the narrative (and the locomotive engine) forward and westward, reproducing the direction of colonial expansion.

In 1879, the Canadian government granted a series of contracts to build the western portions of the transcontinental railway in the mountains of British Columbia to an American contractor named Andrew Onderdonk. The labour provided by Onderdonk's workers was ultimately responsible for the majority of the line from Port Moody (part of present-day Metro-Vancouver) east to Craigellachie (where the famous "last spike" was driven into the rail). After the Canadian Pacific Company won the tender to oversee the construction of the transcontinental railway in 1881, Onderdonk secured further work contracts directly with the Company. This portion of the transcontinental railway through the mountain ranges of Western Canada was by far the most dangerous to build, and it was these sections which Onderdonk had planned to build using Chinese labour—despite initially promising to employ white workers. Not only did the railway displace and dispossess Indigenous peoples across the country—as described in the previous chapter—but it was also built through the racialised exploitation of Chinese navvies. Previously, when constructing railroads in California, Onderdonk had utilized a workforce of Chinese men, who could be paid at rates much less than white men. Upon arriving in Canada, he unsurprisingly adopted the same strategy as before. The Chinese workers brought to Canada were subject to dangerous site conditions in the mountains, as they were required to work at perilous heights and to use live explosives, blasting tunnels through the mountain landscape with little safety equipment or protocol. Although some of these men were hired directly by Onderdonk (including some from California), the large majority of migrants arriving from China in the 1880s to work on the railroad were hired through

40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.

Chinese merchants based in British Columbia.[42] Onderdonk himself was particular to the firms Kwong Lee & Co. and Tai Soog Co., who acted as "labor broker[s]"[43] importing workers from Asia on their own ships. Through this system, merchants were responsible for recruiting workers in China, transporting them to Canada, and providing them with supplies (the costs of which would be contractually paid back to the firm through wage deductions). For the most part, contracts were made between Onderdonk and the merchants, and the Canadian government and Canadian Pacific Company "did not touch the worker directly."[44] Political interests also had a role to play in the coolie labour trade; in 1882, through a deal struck with the Governors of San Francisco and Hong Kong, "18 ships brought 7,500 workers from China to British Columbia."[45] Ultimately, more than ten thousand migrant Chinese workers were brought from Asia and California to build the transcontinental railway in the six short years between 1879-1885. By 1885, when the railway was completed, Onderdonk's Chinese workforce had constructed an extraordinary 385 miles of the transcontinental railway in the perilous mountains of British Columbia.

Throughout its history, the Canadian Pacific Company has demonstrated a pattern of utilising a racialised workforce.[46] After the completion of the transcontinental railway, the Company adopted a practice of employing Black men as sleeping car porters during the first half of the twentieth century, a practice that was also popular in the United States at the time. Capitalizing on a racial imagination not dissimilar to the evocation of an "eastern air" on board the Pacific steamship service, the presence of the Black porters was meant to propagate fantasies of white supremacy in their largely white first class passengers. On the transcontinental mainline, the passengers enjoyed antebellum fantasies of white supremacy, meanwhile on the Pacific steamships, they revelled in a performance of Oriental antics. William Van Horne,[47] who by now had risen to the position of President of Canadian Pacific Company, was familiar with the appeal and profitability of this antebellum performance with white passengers from his time working in the Chicago railroads. This practice of employing Black porters to service white passengers was a "racialised recipe for success"[48] popularised by the American industrialist George Pullman of the Pullman Palace Car Company, whose innovative sleeping car design came to epitomize luxury in nineteenth and twentieth century North American rail travel. In managing the transcontinental line, Van

42. Chan, 'Chinese Bachelor Workers in Nineteenth-Century Canada'.
43. Lee, 'Chinese Construction Workers on the Canadian Pacific', 47.
44. Ibid., 46.
45. Lee, 'Chinese Construction Workers on the Canadian Pacific'.
46. These practices were not unique to the Canadian Pacific, but are representative of historical attitudes from this period.
47. Van Horne was also a strong proponent for and key player in the establishment of the first national parks in the Canadian Rockies, as discussed in the previous chapter.
48. Mathieu, *North of the Color Line*, 11.

Horne imported not only Pullman's sleeping cars to Canada, but also his accompanying racialised labour model.

The working conditions faced by porters were difficult; the journey from Toronto to Vancouver took four days and four nights and porters were expected to serve passengers twenty-four hours a day. Stanley Grizzle, a former Canadian Pacific porter describes in his memoir *My Name's Not George* how he and the porter in the next car would take turns sleeping in three-hour shifts each night. Prior to unionization[49] there was no berth reserved for the porter, and they slept on a thin mattress laid across a seat in the smoking room. Porters' salaries were also heavily comprised of tips from their white passengers, which demanded high burdens of emotional labour from the men; Grizzle's memoir recalls how "some porters were a study in controlled anger during their work shifts, always angry. And they would simmer during those shifts—for this was a job where, every day, you were made to feel that you were beneath the passengers. You were a servant, the epitome of the white man's stereotype of the Black man."[50] Passengers frequently called porters "George," for George Pullman ("George's Boys"), although this practice decreased after the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters negotiated for each porter to be issued name cards. Grizzle's memoir also points to practices of racial segregation on board which echo the segregated experience of the Pacific steamships:

> Porters took their meals in the dining car. We would usually go for breakfast around 7:00 a.m., before the passengers, who were usually served at 8:00 a.m. There were always a few early-rising passengers who ate at the same time as the porters and we would be separated by a curtain because we were not allowed to eat with them. These curtains were removed after unionization.[51]

This description evokes similar sentiments of the photo of the pacific steamship crew in the previous section, where white sailors stood on the top deck with the Asian workers below. Despite the clear intention of the Canadian Pacific to profit off antebellum racial attitudes through their employment of

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49. Off the rails, the fabric of Black communities in Canadian cities experienced significant changes with the increased employment of Black men by the railway companies. Although the history of Black communities in Canada certainly has a much longer history predating the railway—the first Black person recorded to have lived in what is today Canada was an enslaved man named Olivier Le Jeune who was brought to New France during the early 17th century—the completion of the transcontinental line had a significant impact on Black life in Canada, as Black neighborhoods emerged and expanded dramatically in important rail hubs including Montreal, Winnipeg, and Calgary. The connectivity offered by the rail also contributed to the evolution of a strong civil rights and labour movement on both sides of the Canada-U.S. border with Black railroaders as a prominent driving force. A number of prominent American civil rights activists including Malcolm X were known to have worked for the Pullman Company as porters. In Canada this is epitomized by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (of which Grizzle was a prominent member), which was the first time a labour union representing Black workers in Canada successfully negotiated a collective agreement with a white employer. See Mathieu, *North of the Color Line*.
50. Grizzle and Cooper, *My Name's Not George*, 67.
51. Ibid., 40.

Black porters, in contrast to the advertising literature of the contemporaneous Pacific steamships service (which contained numerous passages explicitly praising the high level of service provided by the Chinese stewards), the Black porters of the transcontinental rail service did not appear in marketing materials. In fact, as Grizzle's memoir shows, the Canadian Pacific went to great lengths to keep Black porters away from white passengers. This contrast points to the different racialisations of Black and Asian people in white European and North American elites during this period.[52] The segregation of Blacks and whites did not only apply to porters and passengers, but also occurred between workers of different races:

> On layovers in Vancouver, we were billeted in a house owned by the CPR. All of the rooms were turned into bedrooms and there were double bunks like in the army. The quarters accommodated porters and the dining car staff, but the porters were on the first floor, and the dining car staff, who were all white, was on the second floor. We worked in segregated conditions so it just seemed normal that we were segregated when we were off duty.[53]

Not only a site of Asian-European-Indigenous racial tensions, as the terminus of the Canadian Pacific line, Vancouver also has a place in Black Canadian history. Grizzle's memoir also highlights an important characteristic of settler colonial societies, whereby race and class hierarchies are deeply entangled. In his recollection, "All the passengers were white, since most Black people were too poor to travel. In the 20 years that I worked for the CPR I can not recall having one Black passenger in any of my cars."[54]

Between 1911-1960s, young Black men were aggressively courted by the Canadian Pacific and other railway companies to work as sleeping car porters. Although initially porters were hired from within Canada, the majority came to Canada from the United States and the British West Indies.[55] Because of the political pull of the Canadian Pacific, the company was able to bypass some of the restrictions on immigration placed on Black immigrants. Thousands of pages of correspondence titled "Canadian Pacific Railway requests admission of Coloured Porters (Negros) (Blacks) (lists)" in Canada's National Archive in Ottawa documents the requests made by the Canadian Pacific for the Department of Immigration to allow the Company to admit Black railroaders from the United States.[56] Notably, as historian Sarah J. Matthieu has pointed out, this file is distinct from other files at the archive documenting Black immigration during

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52. A difference which continues to have many implications today. For instance, see Fellows and Razack, 'The Race to Innocence: Confronting Hierarchical Relations among Women'; Gonzalez-Sobrino and Goss, 'Exploring the Mechanisms of Racialisation beyond the Black–White Binary'.
53. Grizzle and Cooper, *My Name's Not George*, 41.
54. Ibid., 40.
55. Mathieu, *North of the Color Line*.
56. "Canadian Pacific Railway requests admission of Coloured Porters (Negros) (Blacks) (lists)," Immigration Branch Central Registry Files, R76 576, File 816222, parts 1, 8, 9, & 10, Library and Archives Canada.

this period, which are titled "Immigration of negroes from the United States to Western Canada" and "Dominion Immigration Agent … regarding vessels from the West Indies landing negroes."[57] Reflecting the national significance of the Canadian Pacific Company and the transcontinental railway to Canadian settler colonialism, Black men coming to work for the railroad were given special immigration privileges. Since the late 19th century, immigration policies in Canada have been tied closely to the country's need for workers in particular industries. The next section of this chapter will look at some of the policies shaping the landscape of Canadian immigration and settlement in the decades following the completion of the transcontinental railway.

4.3 Race to Work

> Mr. Speaker, I rise today to formally turn the page on an unfortunate period in Canada's past. One during which a group of people—who only sought to build a better life—was repeatedly and deliberately singled out for unjust treatment.
> I speak, of course, of the head tax that was imposed on Chinese immigrants to this country, as well as the other restrictive measures that followed.
> The Canada we know today would not exist were it not for the efforts of the Chinese labourers who began to arrive in the mid-nineteenth century.
> Almost exclusively young men, these immigrants made the difficult decision to leave their families behind in order to pursue opportunities in a country halfway around the world they called "gold mountain."[58]

These are the opening lines to a speech given by former Prime Minister Stephen Harper on 22 June 2006 in the Canadian House of Commons. In 2006, "symbolic" reparation payments of $20,000 were made by the Government of Canada to the survivors (or their surviving spouses) of an immigration policy called the Chinese "Head Tax," which sought to limit Chinese immigration to Canada following the completion of the transcontinental railroad. Despite the critical role played by Chinese labourers in building the transcontinental railway, Chinese workers and their families faced systemic barriers from settling in Canada as the government took a hard stance to curb immigration from China. Fears of so-called "yellow peril" gripped the white Canadian public,[59] and the same year that the transcontinental railway was completed, the Government of Canada passed the *Chinese Immigration Act*, placing a $50 'head tax' on all

57. Mathieu, *North of the Color Line*, 95.
58. Harper, Stephen. "Address by the Prime Minister on the Chinese Head Tax Redress." Speech, 22 June 2006. As quoted from the archived notes for the address: "https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2006/06/address-prime-minister-chinese-head-tax-redress.html"
59. Interestingly, the mutual desire by Canada and the United States to restrict Chinese immigration led to the strengthening of the Canada-US border at British Columbia and Washington State. See Annis, 'The "Chinese Question" and the Canada–US Border, 1885'.

Chinese persons entering Canada, including children. The act also required all Chinese people in Canada to register with immigration authorities, who would then issue the individual with a certificate. Over the next eight years, the head tax increased four times, ultimately rising to $500 per person in 1903. These policies and attitudes mirrored the contemporaneous situation in the United States. In 1923 the Chinese Immigration Act was amended to restrict virtually all Chinese immigration completely. However, unlike the United States, Canada never implemented broad restrictions on Asian immigration. This was in part due to Canada's place in the British Empire. Canadian legislators strategically avoided explicitly excluding immigration from other parts of the British Empire, such as India.[60] The policy would remain in place until 1947 when it was found to violate regulations of the United Nations in the aftermath of the second world war. At the time of Harper's apology in 2006, it was estimated that less than three dozen survivors of the Head Tax were still living, and no payments were made to the descendants of survivors.

As Harper's speech goes on to describe, "over 15,000 of these Chinese pioneers became involved in the most important nation-building enterprise in Canadian history—the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway."[61] Their labour was crucial for building "the ribbon of steel" which, as described in the previous chapter, "was instrumental to the settlement of the West and the subsequent development of the Canadian economy."[62] Although Harper's speech acknowledges the dangerous working conditions faced by the men on the railway construction sites, highlighting that "some one thousand Chinese labourers died building the [railway],"[63] the former Prime Minister does not elaborate on the dire conditions many of the workers became subject to following the completion of the railway. As I described in the previous section, through agreements with made by the contractor Andrew Onderdonk and the Canadian Pacific Company, many Chinese men had been brought to Canada by labour brokers. These brokers would often withhold workers' salaries as repayment for their passage from China. Under this system, many workers found themselves abandoned by the brokers and unable to afford the return trip home to China after working on the railway. Historian David Lee has described the "severe economic dislocations" in British Columbia which followed the completion of the transcontinental railway:

> It was the Chinese who made up the largest proportion of the unemployed. In November 1885 residents of Port Hammond were alarmed by the presence of 150 starving Chinese

60. See Henry Yu's chapter "Asian Canadian History," in Part 1 of Yoo and Azuma, *The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History.*
61. Harper, Stephen. "Address by the Prime Minister on the Chinese Head Tax Redress."
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.

> camped nearby. Some of these desperate men survived by fishing in the river while others tole chickens and pigs in the village.[64]

Left without work, the situation of the former railway navvies was dire. Those who could afford it went back to China. Eventually, many of those who stayed eventually found work in mining and gold prospecting, while others settled in Vancouver and Victoria—both cities had significant Chinese communities and Chinatowns stemming from the 1850s, when waves of migrants had previously arrived to participate in British Columbia's many gold rushes.[65] In the context of Canadian settler colonialism, the cities on the Pacific coast act as literal and metaphorical entry points for intersecting trans-Pacific East Asian histories of labour and migration with the underlying state structure of settler colonialism.

Despite the persistent association between Chinese workers and infrastructure construction, the transcontinental railway would ultimately be the only major work built with Chinese labour in Canada. In 1907, the lobbying of the Grand Trunk Pacific Company to import workers from China to build a railway line in Northern British Columbia led to a three-day riot in Vancouver targeting Asian people which destroyed hundreds of homes and businesses in Chinatown and Japantown.[66] The government of British Columbia subsequently barred the rail companies from bringing workers from China. Vancouver again appears as a colonial inflection point; as the terminus of the transcontinental rail line and the primary port to the Pacific, many racial tensions are interwoven into the fabric of the city. The riots also resulted in the curtailing of immigration from Japan through the arranging of "Gentlemen's Agreements" with the Japanese Foreign Office, which voluntarily limited the number of Japanese emigrants to Canada.[67] The difference in method for reducing immigration from China and Japan reflects a global colonial power dynamic in which Britain saw Japan as an empire and rising world power following Japanese victories in the Sino-Japanese (1894-95) and Russo-Japanese (1904-05) Wars.[68] Despite policies such as the Chinese Head Tax, which attempted to quell immigration from Asia during the first half of the twentieth century, historical documents suggest that some migration persisted.[69] Ship operators were required to provide lists documenting passenger information, including name, age, sex, occupation, nationality, and final

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64. Lee, 'Chinese Construction Workers on the Canadian Pacific', 55.
65. British Columbia experienced three major gold rushes during the middle of the 19th century: the Queen Charlottes Gold Rush (1850), Fraser Canyon Gold Rush (1858), and Cariboo Gold Rush (1861).
66. Actions by the Grand Trunk Pacific Company were the proverbial match in the tinder box. Racial tensions had been mounting for years, and groups such as the Asiatic Exclusion League had been actively campaigning for Canada to implement a policy (inspired by the White Australia Policy passed in 1901) to keep Canada white.
67. During the second world war, the racial tensions of global politics again brought a racialised work regime to the Rocky Mountains when several work camps filled with interned Japanese men to build roads were opened in Jasper National Park.
68. For a more detailed articulation of the relationships between Britain, Japan, and China during this period, see R. Saveliev, '"A Question between Empires".
69. See Takai, 'Navigating Transpacific Passages'.

destination for Canadian immigration officials upon arrival at port. Passenger lists from the *Empresses* show that migrants to Canada from Asia during this period included merchants, students, and labourers.[70] During this period of history, the fears of Asian immigration also led to increasingly restrictive Canada-U.S. border controls and legislations placed at crossings between the Lower Mainland and the Pacific Northwest.[71]

Although a number of historians have studied the role of Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian migrant labourers in North American society at the turn of the twentieth century, little attention has been paid to the process of transpacific migration itself. One notable exception is historian Yukari Takai, who has written about the role of pacific steamship operators in facilitating migration to North America from Japan during early decades of the 1900s. Building on work by historian Drew Keeling, Takai expands migration discourse beyond a binary relation between states and migrants into a network of three actors: "migrants (those who moved); nation-states (the regulators); and middlemen, or facilitators, of migration."[72] Read in this way, transpacific steamship operators acted as facilitators of migration, and as Takai demonstrates in her paper (which focuses on migration from Japan), their role in the process of migration is far from insubstantial. In addition to lobbying the Canadian and American governments to ease laws and procedures related to Japanese migration, the steamship operators played a significant advisory role in assisting eastward passengers to navigate the spectre of immigration protocols and achieving successful entrance into their chosen North American destinations. The steamship operators had economic incentives to ensure that their passengers were allowed entry into Canada or the US, as regulations meant that that the burden of return passage was usually placed on the operators themselves. Passengers were frequently advised by steamship operators in Japan to travel first to Canadian ports in Victoria or Vancouver rather than travelling directly to American ports such as Seattle or San Francisco. Takai shows that in some instances, steamship operators went so far as to provide Japanese passengers who endeavoured to travel to America free vouchers for steamer tickets from Victoria to Seattle, which could be picked up at ticketing agents in Victoria following their admission into Canada.[73] Although Takai's analysis did not specifically look at Canadian Pacific's steamship operations, it can be speculated that despite the Orientalist discourse employed in their marketing materials and their racialised workforce, the Canadian

70. Library and Archives Canada. 'Passenger Lists, 1865-1922', 15 May 2013. https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/immigration/immigration-records/passenger-lists/passenger-lists-1865-1922/Pages/introduction.aspx.
71. See Chang, 'Enforcing Transnational White Solidarity'.
72. Takai, 'Navigating Transpacific Passages', 10.
73. As far as I could find, Takai's analysis of the role of steamship operators in facilitating migration between East Asia and Canada and the United States is unique—no other studies on this phenomena exist in current literature.

Pacific Company also had an economic interest in, and therefore participated in, the facilitation of Asian migration into Canada at the turn of the twentieth century.

The control of non-white migration into Canada was a kind of political balancing act which placed the nation's need for labourers against its structural desire to stay racially white. Although the 1885 Chinese Immigration Act was the first piece of Canadian legislation used to explicitly exclude immigrants from a specific ethnic group, it would be far from the last. In 1906, a new Immigration Act introduced "several new principles to Canadian immigration law, including mandatory medical and character examinations and race-based exclusion clauses."[74] In 1908 the "continuous journey regulation" was passed, which required immigrants to travel by a single unbroken journey from their country of origin. This virtually barred entry of all migrants originating from South Asia, as no such commercial service existed. In 1910, further creation of new legislation allowed the department of Immigration to deny entry to immigrants from racial backgrounds which they thought were unsuitable to the nation's northern climate. This crucial rule set up the legal grounds for barring Black immigrants to Canada. The following year, an Order-in-Council was announced by the Minister of the Interior proposing to prohibit "any immigrants belonging to the Negro race, which race is deemed unsuitable to the climate and requirements of Canada."[75] Ultimately, although signed into law by Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier, the Order-in-Council was never enacted as the Laurier government fell several months later, and was replaced by the election of Robert Borden's Conservative government in the autumn of 1911.

The settler colonial association between non-white migrants and their value as labourers can be clearly and easily gleamed from the history of migration laws in Canada. In contrast to the Laurier government, under Borden's tenure as Prime Minister Black immigrants were perceived as a potential solution to Canada's labour shortage. Unsurprisingly, Canadian Pacific Company president William Van Horne shared this sentiment, and had been a vocal opponent of Laurier's stance on immigration restrictions. In fact, Borden had attempted to negotiate the transfer of jurisdiction of the colony of Jamaica from Britain to Canada so that Canada could have a territory in the West Indies from which to draw migrant workers. To be clear, Borden did not believe Black immigrants were equal to whites or could be easily assimilated into White Canadian settler society, but rather, that he merely hoped to admit "subservient African Americans and West Indians into the Canadian workforce."[76]

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74. Mathieu, *North of the Color Line*, 32.
75. Ibid., 57.
76. Ibid., 58.

1869
Immigration Act
First immigration policy following Confederation

1885
Chinese Immigration Act
Followed from 1885 Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, introduced 'head tax' on Chinese Immigrants [amended 1887, 1892, 1900, 1903]

1906
Immigration Act
Expanded categories of prohibited immigrants, introduced formal deportation

1908
Continuous Journey Regulation
Restricts immigration from India and East Asia

1908
Gentlemen's Agreement
Voluntary restriction of Japanese immigrants to Canada by Japanese foreign office

1910
Immigration Act
Empowered Immigration Minister to deny immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuitable to the climatic requirements of Canada

1911
Order in Council PC 1911-1324
Legislation passed banning all "negro" immigration on basis of climate unsuitability**

1919
Immigration Act Amendment
restrictive ammendments made in response to postwar economy

1922
Empire Settlement Act
British scheme facilitating immigration from Britain and some Commonwealth countries

1923
Chinese Immiration Act
Restricted virtually all Chinese immiration

1931
Order in Council PC 1931-695
Implmented during the Great Depression to limit immigration to Americans and British agriculturalists with capital to sustain themselves and their families

1947
Repeal of Chinese Immigration Act
as part of Canadian Citizenship Act, as it violated UN Charter

1952
Immigration Act
largely codified existing practices

1962
Order in Council PC 1962-86
establishes 'skill' as the main determining factor of immigration

1966
White Paper on Immigration*
called to promote and prioritize so-called 'highly skilled' immigrants

1967
Order in Council PC 1967-1816
'points system' is introduced for the first time, this system is still in use today

1976
Immigration Act
gave individual provinces more power to control immigration

1988
Multiculturalism Act
institutes official policy on multiculturalism

viii. History of Canadian immigration policies (1869-1988)

While the immigration of Asian, Black, and Brown people to Canada faced increasing restrictions in the first half of the twentieth century, strategies designed to increase immigration from Europe were put in place, reflecting a settler colonial desire to maintain Canada as a white nation. In 1922—the year before the Chinese Exclusion Act banned immigration from China completely—the British and Canadian governments launched a joint scheme called the "Empire Settlement Act," aimed at assisting the migration of white immigrants within the British Commonwealth. Through a series of grants, loans, and land settlement programmes, this scheme was designed to help farm workers, and agriculturalists and their families to immigrate from the British Isles to Canada, New Zealand, and Australia in the years following the first world war.[77] The goal of this scheme was to increase the white population of Britain's settler-colonies, "stressing the importance of some plan for the better distribution of the white population of the British Commonwealth," wherein "the primary consideration should be not the conditions of the country of emigration, but of immigration, having regard to the absorptive capacity of that Dominion."[78] Although the spirit of the scheme was to improve[79] Canada's population by enabling more white immigration from Britain, internal documents of the Department of Immigration from the 1930s reviewing the scheme suggest that the department felt the scheme in Canada was too costly and did not yield "desirable" immigrants. This attitude of the department is most aptly summarized in a question posed in a report from 1932, which asks:

> Has the assisted passage scheme brought to Canada a more dependent and less valuable class of migrant than might have come without this assistance?[80]

The response was clear and resounding: "The answer to this is unquestionably in the affirmative."[81] This led the Department to take a stance in the following decades that "the best immigrant is a self-reliant person who is able to pay his own way to Canada or is willing to come on a loan basis rather than accepting grants or subsidies."[82] This mentality more or less remains true in regards to Canada's contemporary immigration policies stemming from the 1970s. In particular, the "Express Entry" system facilitates immigration through a points-based "Comprehensive Raking System" which rates prospective immigrants based on various criteria including age, language, education, personal finances, and work

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77. Australia ultimately became the largest benefactor of this scheme.
78. "Empire Settlement Scheme," Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1950-1966) fonds, RG26 132 3-35-1 pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
79. In the eyes of white settlers and the colonial government.
80. A report on the outcomes of the Empire Settlement Scheme can be found in: "Empire Settlement Scheme," Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1950-1966) fonds, RG26-A-1-c, volume 132, file 3-35-1, part. 1, Library and Archives Canada.
81. Ibid.
82. A letter from H. H. Jones, Acting Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to a person with an illegible name in the Ontario Chamber of Commerce can be found in: "Empire Settlement Scheme," Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1950-1966) fonds, RG26-A-1-c, volume 132, file 3-35-1, part. 2, Library and Archives Canada.

experience.[83] Under this system, applicants who meet certain points thresholds are invited to apply directly for permanent residency before entering Canada.

On the other end of the immigration spectrum, people who enter Canada as part of migrant worker programs are also not eligible for Canadian permanent residency or citizenship. These programmes also originated during Borden's time as Prime Minister and continue to form a significant part of the Canadian workforce in industries such as farming and domestic work. Workers who come on these migrant work programmes are granted non-immigrant visas and are permitted to enter and work with the condition that they must return to their home countries upon completion of their work contracts. This reflects the structure of the Canadian settler state, as under the framework of settler colonialism, "migrant worker programmes allow for capital to access cheap labour that exists under precarious conditions, the most severe of which is the condition of being deportable."[84] This racialised ethos on immigration can be read in parallel with historical colonial labour programmes including the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the coolie labour system, and ultimately is symptomatic of Canada's underlying structure as a settler colonial state. Activist and legal scholar Hersha Walia has written that "the denial of Indigenous self-determination is closely linked with the exclusion of racialised immigrants, migrant workers, and refugees,"[85] meaning that the same colonial logics which justify Indigenous dispossession and genocide function conversely to exclude Black and Asian people from the settler body politic. The precarious legal status of immigrants, migrants, and refugees has always been linked to the politics hindering Indigenous self-determination, as "the granting or withholding of citizenship rights—both immigrant status and registered Indian status—is part of the way in which the state determines and regulates who is part of the national community."[86] In this system, racialised populations are further controlled within state borders through systems of segregation, divestment, surveillance, and criminalization.[87] Ultimately, the power for determining who qualifies or does not qualify as a citizen is held by the Canadian settler-state. This qualification requires an unspoken element of whiteness; read between the lines of more than a century of immigration policies aimed at enabling white settlers and limiting non-white migrants. The very notion of settler citizenship—who can, or cannot, be, or become, 'Canadian'—is predicated on a nation built on stolen land by exploited and landless workers.

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83. Government of Canada; Immigration, 'Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS) Tool'.
84. Walia, 'Transient Servitude'.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Tuck and Yang, 'Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor'.

4.4 Bodies in the Landscape

In the final part of this chapter, I return to the text of "The Highway to the East," where glimpses of these hidden histories of dispossession, exploitation, and exclusion can be found within the descriptions of the Canadian landscape, suggesting that although they may be largely absent from dominant settler narratives of Canadian national history, traces can nevertheless be found. The text follows a westward journey on the Canadian Pacific transcontinental railway, enticing prospective travellers with descriptions of the Canadian landscape. Having crossed the prairies, passed through the Rockies, and now entering into the Cascade Mountain Range of British Columbia, the narrative describes how the train emerges from the Fraser River canyon to arrive at the town of Yale, painting a moment of intermingled history between dispossession and exploitation:

> At Yale, the canon ends and the river widens out, but we have mountains yet in plenty, at times receding and then drawing near again. We see Chinamen washing gold on the sand-bars and Indians herding cattle on the meadows; and the villages of the Indians each with its little unpainted houses and miniature chapel, alternate rapidly with the collections of huts where the Chinamen congregate.[88]

In this description, the Chinese gold panners and Indigenous—likely Upper Stó:lō—community are depicted as a part of the natural landscape. In contrast to the more iconic renderings of the Canadian landscape by artists such as the Group of Seven (which are notably both un-peopled and un-tamed, as discussed in chapter one of this thesis), the landscape presented by "The Highway to the East" is markedly populated. This colliding representation of Asian and Indigenous bodies as part of the landscape, framed in a picturesque fashion by the infrastructure of settler colonialism (the train window) is surprisingly apropos—simultaneously reflecting the white supremacist biopolitics and the techno-spatial framework of settler colonialism. Under this structure, the Chinese are depicted as foreign arrivants, present solely to work the landscape ("washing gold"), while the Indigenous Stó:lō appear almost as anachronistic ornaments in the landscape. The description continues:

> Salmon drying on poles near the river give brilliant touches of color to the landscape, and here and there we see the curious graveyards of the Indians, neatly enclosed and decorated with banners, streamers, and all manner of carved "totems."[89]

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88. "The Canadian Pacific, the new highway to the east across the mountains, prairies & rivers of Canada," 1888, FC 02 0203 no. 14583. Canadiana Collection.
89. Ibid.

The association of the Stó:lō village with its graveyard serves to historicise and push Indigenous life into a supposedly bygone era which the arrival of the railroad and accompanying urbanisation has now supplanted. Earlier on in the guidebook, a group of Cree people near Maple Creek, Saskatchewan are likewise described as blending into the natural scenery of the landscape, framed by a picturesque backdrop of rolling hills:

> Leaving the station we catch sight of their encampment a mile or so away, tall, conical "tepees" of well-smoked cloths or skins; Indians in blankets of brilliant colors; hundreds of ponies feeding in the rich grasses; a line of graceful trees in the back ground, seemingly more beautiful than ever because of their rarity; —all making, with the dark Cypress Hills rising in the distance, a picture most novel and striking.[90]

Described in such a way, the Cree are rendered as if to fade into the landscape, receding perspectivally and ideologically into an anachronistic time and space of history, away from the present of the viewer, settled comfortably inside the luxurious interior of one of the Canadian Pacific's Pullman Sleeping Cars, in all likelihood being waited on by a Black porter.

Settler sentiments towards Indigenous people at the turn of the twentieth century were very much aligned with ideologies of erasure and assimilation. Norman Sanson, curator of the Banff Museum wrote in 1903 that it "would be well to get together a representative collection of Indian work (typical) before the day for these things is gone."[91] By allocating space for indigeneity in the settler Canadian imaginary as belonging to a fictitious past—despite Indigenous communities and people being very much alive and well—an equally fabricated white settler-state is able to assert its territorial power and cultural dominance. Likewise, a closer look at the language used to describe Indigenous people in the Canadian Pacific guidebook "The New Highway to the East" reveals an unsettling colonial undertone in the text which can be interpreted as vaguely genocidal—for instance, words like "rare"[92] and phrases such as "neatly enclosed,"[93] and "now peacefully settled on a reservation."[94] This particular and precise articulation of Indigenous and Asian bodies in the Canadian landscape suggests that rather than the absolute erasure of

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90. Ibid.
91. Norman Sanson, Curator of Banff Park Museum. "Banff Park Museum Report for 1902-1903," Parks Canada Agency fonds, RG84 572, Library and Archives Canada. Interestingly, Sanson's files preserved in the national archive also reflect a colonial spatial distribution of knowledge production which reflects the urban spatialities of settler colonial power (as discussed in the previous chapters). Sanson was extremely interested in documenting and displaying different insects, especially flies, that he came across in Banff at the museum. There are many pages of correspondence between Sanson and the director of the National Museum in Ottawa, in which Sanson would send insect specimens by post to Ottawa and the director would identify and return each specimens.
92. "The Canadian Pacific, the new highway to the east across the mountains, prairies & rivers of Canada," 1888, FC 02 0203 no. 14583. Canadiana Collection.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., 31–33.

Indigenous inhabitants and Asian labourers,[95] reinforcement of settler supremacy requires their bodies to be visible in the landscape—but only in very specific, controlled ways—underlining settler paradigms of subjugation, control, and dominance.

It is not only the Canadian Pacific guidebooks which represent the Canadian landscape in this way. Other travel writing from this period also include similar sentiments. Notably, in 1887, Lady Agnes Macdonald (the wife of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald), published a series of articles in a London-based women's periodical called *Murray's Magazine* about her experience riding across Canada on the transcontinental railway. Again, as with the Canadian Pacific's guidebooks, Asian and Indigenous people are not erased from the landscape, rather their representations are crafted to perform in very specific ways in service to settler imaginaries. Moving through the landscape on the front of a Canadian Pacific train engine,[96] Lady Macdonald observed how work camps of Chinese men dotted the mountain landscape of British Columbia. Some were doing work for the railway:

> A new feature in the landscape hereabouts were the camps of Chinese labourers—a certain air of neatness about them; their poor tents carefully pitched and closed; their tin cooking-vessels, sand-rubbed and shining, generally arranged on rustic tables just outside. We saw large numbers of these singular looking people working in gangs under a white superintendent, not only on the road-bed, but in building snow-sheds, which are found necessary for winter travel.[97]

While others were prospecting for gold in rivers:

> We passed many hamlets, chiefly composed of miners' houses, and many Chinese camps, on the gravelly shores of the Fraser far below, where the Celestials were washing sand for gold.[98]

In both instances, the Chinese men are represented by Lady Macdonald as a "feature" of the landscape to be observed from a passing train and also, most importantly, at work. It is also significant to note that the Chinese men are never depicted singly, but only in groups. An effect of this depiction is to signal the workers' lack of individual agency and reinforce their symbolic place as part of the infrastructure of Canadian settler colonialism (and its landscapes).

> These Chinese navvies, all ridiculously alike in form and feature, wearing queer little blue-and-white gowns, baggy trousers, wooden shoes, and thick flat straw hats, give a

95. And Black and Brown people
96. Famously, Lady Macdonald insisted on riding on the cowcatcher at the front of the train. Her husband did not join her.
97. Macdonald, 'By Car and By Cowcatcher: Part I', 303.
98. Ibid., 310.

> foreign air to the scene. Standing mute, wide-eyed and expressionless, their shovels all held at the same angle, ready to begin on the gravel the instant we had passed, they had a curious effect, as of some mechanical apparatus with an awful semblance of humanity. And yet we know theirs is the oldest civilization in the known world! How fortunate it is that all nations do not express civilization in the same way! [99]

Lady Macdonald's commentary on the Chinese labourers as working in an almost machine-like fashion prompts a reflection on the colonial entanglements with racial capitalism. The persistent rhetorical link between Chinese bodies and labour—that is, the seeming impossibility of writing about 19th century Chinese Canadians without them being at work—in these texts is not disconnected from Iyko Day's assertion that in settler-colonial North America, Asian bodies are perceived as symbols of excess and abstract labour which are as resolutely foreign as they are expendable.[100]

Lady Macdonald's article is also not without mention of Indigenous people. This aligns with contemporaneous 19th century depictions of wilderness landscapes in European art, where Indigenous bodies are represented as part of the landscape.[101] In this text, they are described to be serving as guides to white sport hunters:

> …just beyond the tunnel, I see a party of young English sportsmen standing near the roadside. They have evidently just climbed the bank, guns in hand, leaving a large canoe with two Indian paddlers on the lake below.[102]

Activities such as sport hunting, can be seen as an expression of the settler colonial phenomenon of settler nativism—variously referred to as "going native" or "playing Indian."[103] Settler nativism reflects a settler colonial tension which exists between the structural logic of Indigenous elimination and the desire for settler independence in which settler identity is constructed simultaneously through the cultural appropriation of indigeneity and the erasure of Indigenous life.[104] In Wolfe's words, "[on] the one hand, settler society required the practical elimination of the natives in order to establish itself on their territory. On the symbolic level, however, settler society subsequently sought to recuperate indigeneity in order to express its difference—and, accordingly, its independence."[105] In this form of cultural genocide,

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99. Ibid., 303.
100. See Day, *Alien Capital*.
101. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis.
102. Macdonald, 'By Car and By Cowcatcher: Part I', 305.
103. Deloria, *Playing Indian*.
104. Mackey, 'Becoming Indigenous: Land, Belonging, and the Appropriation of Aboriginality in Canadian Nationalist Narratives'; The cultural phenomenon of self 'indigenisation' by settlers is a common characteristic of settler colonial nations. Also see Deloria, *Playing Indian*.
105. Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', 389.

aspects of Indigenous culture are erased from the realm of the living and relegated into the domain of art, performance, recreation, and entertainment. Through activities like sport hunting, hiking, camping, and canoeing, settlers take on and perform aspects of Indigenous culture as a form of play, now taken as an expression of settler nationalism. Importantly, just as Indigenous and Asian bodies were not erased from depictions of the Canadian landscape, I will show how Indigenous people have a role to play in the carrying out of these activities. This complex and problematic simultaneous valorisation and historicization of indigeneity is a defining feature of the Canadian national settler imaginary. While the project of settler colonialism requires the dislocation of indigeneity into the realm of history, the building of a settler colonial identity tied to land and landscape has also required the settler appropriation and assumption of certain aspects of indigeneity. The contradiction of the idea of a bygone Indigenous past and the ongoing desire to appropriate the performance of indigeneity is not unique to the Canadian context, and is common to settler colonial states, including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.[106]

In the contemporary period, spaces like the national parks play an important role in facilitating such activities; as these territories have become landscaped and marketed as places for outdoor recreation, where certain aspects of Indigenous culture become appropriated into forms of settler recreation. As Lady Macdonald's 1887 article observed, Indigenous people were not excluded from these appropriated activities, but rather they have historically played an active role in their execution. In fact, the Canadian National Parks Department has for decades encouraged and facilitated the participation of Indigenous communities in these outdoor tourism activities through various programmes and initiatives. Annual Reports of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs starting in 1966—the year in which both national parks and Indian Affairs came under the responsibility of the same federal department—include sections pertaining to the development of Indigenous-led enterprises in the tourism industry. Primarily, the Department promoted activities in the two broad categories of "Outfitting and Guiding" and commercial "Tourist Development." "Outfitting and Guiding" included the assisting of "Indian people to become established as tourist outfitters and guides, providing accommodations and services to sportsman in a wide variety of hunting and fishing activities."[107] This practice replicates the colonial experience of exploration and expansion, facilitating a kind of recreational role-playing of European exploration, harkening back to the era of the fur-trade, when European traders and explorers were led through the continent by Indigenous guides. "Tourist Development" on the other hand, aimed to create commercial tourism

106. See Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition*.
107. Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1967-68*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968.

enterprises on or near Indian Reserve lands. Notably, the 1967-68 Annual Report of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs specifies that, "Many Indian reserves occupy strategic locations or contain highly desirable sites that can be developed to meet the needs of the tourist industry in Canada."[108] In this way, the appropriation of Indigenous land to serve settler tourism interests extends even beyond the landscapes of the national parks. These programmes encouraging the development of Indigenous-led tourism enterprises strongly reflect the assimilatory goals of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs of the late 1960s,[109] reducing First Nations, Inuit, and Metis peoples to instruments subservient to white settler interests—in this case, as anachronistic characters serving settler tourism and entertainment.

The commissioning of Indigenous people to perform aspects of indigeneity in national parks was not novel to the 1960s and has a long history dating almost to the origins of the Canadian national parks themselves. Although the creation of Canada's first national park at Banff in 1885 required the displacement of the people of the Stoney Nakoda First Nation from their traditional territory, within a decade of the establishment of Banff National Park, Stoney people were invited back to the park to participate in an event known as the park's "Indian Days." These annual events, in their earliest years, were held by the Canadian Pacific Company and reflect cultural conceptions of nature at the turn of the twentieth century whereby the Canadian wilderness was not empty of Indigenous presence. The promotion of an authentically Canadian experience of wilderness landscape required the settler-controlled return of the Stoney Nakoda to Banff National Park, albeit reduced to a form of entertainment. The first annual Indian Days were held in 1894 in Banff National Park. Members of the Stoney Nakoda First Nation—who had been displaced from the park lands less than a decade before—were invited into the park to perform for tourists staying at the Canadian Pacific-owned Banff Springs Hotel.[110] The Banff Indian Days were a form of minstrel entertainment which valorised Indigenous peoples as anachronistic characters of a bygone past, thus allowing displaced members of the Stoney Nation to perform indigeneity for a settler audience, and exist under specific racialised conditions set by settler culture—in this case, as dictated by exclusionary land policies of the Dominion Lands and Indian Affairs departments and desire for tourism profits by the Canadian Pacific Company. In the Indigenous-led tourist development programmes of the 1960s, the minstrel sentiments of the 19th century Banff Indian Days are replaced by 20th century enfranchisement and subjugation through assimilation disguised as economic empowerment.

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108. Ibid.
109. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the 1960s and 70s were a tumultuous political period for Native rights in North America. In 1969, the Canadian federal government unsuccessfully attempted to abolish the Canadian Indian Act. The 1970s was also the height of the American Indian Movement, a period marked by large political incidents and protests on both sides of the Canada-US border in favour of Indigenous rights.
110. Meijer Drees, '"Indian's Bygone Past', 8–9.

In the context of landscape studies, this work can also be though of as a form of provisioning of access infrastructure to wilderness landscapes. In this way, the presence of Indigenous bodies in the landscape as facilitators of settler outdoor recreation activities continues to be attuned to a very specific vision of settler colonial wilderness. As discussed in the previous chapters, this settler vision of wilderness also includes the notion that wilderness is a space outside of productive settler life, which happens primarily in cities.[111] The labours of access and facilitation discussed in this chapter demonstrate that this separation also occurs along racial lines: the settler wilderness imaginary is a place free only from settler labour, as it has been built and supported by infrastructures and systems which have long exploited racialised others.

The work of producing the Canadian wilderness has always been deeply racial. Together, the labour of Asian, Black, and Indigenous bodies has been crucial to the making of settler colonial wilderness landscapes in Canada. As this chapter has demonstrated, this racialised approach to work has been well represented by the historical practices of the Canadian Pacific Company and has taken many different forms, from the physical labour of railway construction to the domestic labour of hospitality and the abstract labour of producing promotional copy. This complex history of landscape, labour, race, and infrastructure supports on-going hegemonic racial politics in Canada in which Indigenous people are historicised; Black, Asian, and Brown people are relegated status as eternal newcomers; and no one other than White Europeans are able to truly join the settler body politic. As Sherene Razack has concisely stated:

> If aboriginal peoples are consigned forever to an earlier space and time, people of colour are scripted as late arrivals, coming to the shores of North America long after much of the development has occurred. In this way, slavery, indentureship, and labour exploitation—for example, the Chinese who built the railway or the Sikhs who worked in the lumber industry in nineteenth-century Canada—are all handily forgotten in an official national story of European enterprise.[112]

The intersecting histories of work, race, infrastructure, and landscape discussed in this chapter have also revealed some of the many entanglements between Canadian settler colonialism and the global reach of the British Empire, along the way activating the Pacific coast as a tensioned landscape of colonial history. In the first 1887 edition of "The New Highway to the East," Vancouver is described as a small but rapidly growing city under construction, nestled between "a beautiful group of the Cascade mountains" and

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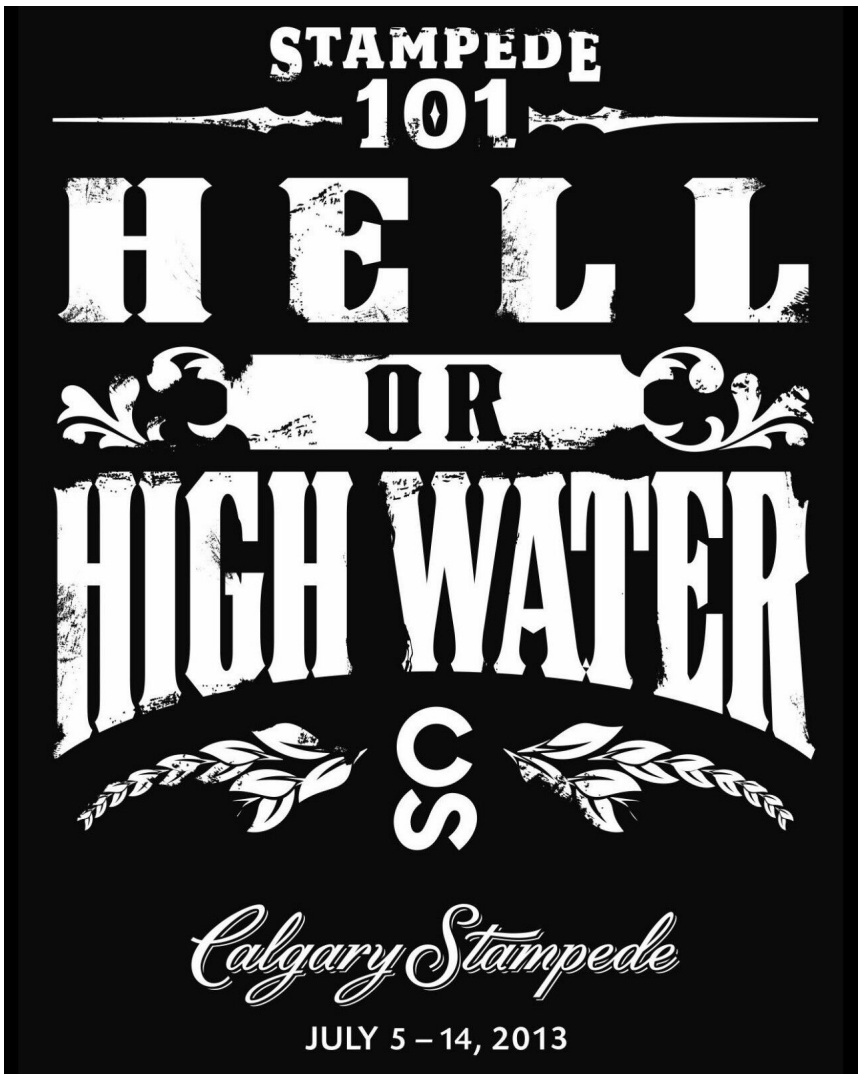
111. For an interesting discussion on the relationship between work and nature, see White, 'Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living: Work and Nature'.
112. Razack, *Race, Space, and the Law*.

the "tidewaters of the Pacific," where ships from are arriving from Asia carrying exotic cargoes of "teas, silks, … and many other commodities."[113] The city has since emerged out of a history of settler colonial racial tensions overlapping Indigenous, Asia, Black, and Other lives. In many ways, dispossession and exploitation are two sides of the same settler colonial coin, intersecting colonial systems of Indigenous dispossession with labour history and racial capitalism, with both having a role to play in the design of the Canadian landscape imaginary.

In the next chapter, I will jump forward to the 21st century and turn my attention back to the Bow River Valley in the Canadian Rocky Mountains, the watershed in which the nation's first national park was established around the Banff area. But this time, the river itself will serve as the chapter's protagonist and main object of inquiry. I will explore how the landscapes of settler colonialism, represented by road and rail infrastructure and urban space, intersect with the natural landscapes on top of which they have been built. Specifically, I will examine the ways in which the urban fabric of the city of Calgary and other towns in the Bow Valley have been disrupted by the surging waters of the Bow River. This will involve analysing the damage to infrastructure and ecological impacts throughout the watershed in the aftermath of the 2013 Southern Alberta Floods, offering interesting perspectives on the relationship between nature and settler colonial culture in Canada. While the previous two chapters have focused on the impacts of settler colonialism from various human perspectives, this next chapter will draw from Indigenous studies and discourses in posthumanism in order to introduce an other-than-human component to the wilderness landscapes of Canadian settler colonialism while also positing a potential direction for the future of nature imaginaries and relations in the Canadian context.

113. "The Canadian Pacific, the new highway to the east across the mountains, prairies & rivers of Canada," 1888, FC 02 0203 no. 14583. Canadiana Collection.


STAMPEDE
101
HELL
OR
HIGH WATER
SC
Calgary Stampede
JULY 5 – 14, 2013

chapter five

The Rite of Water

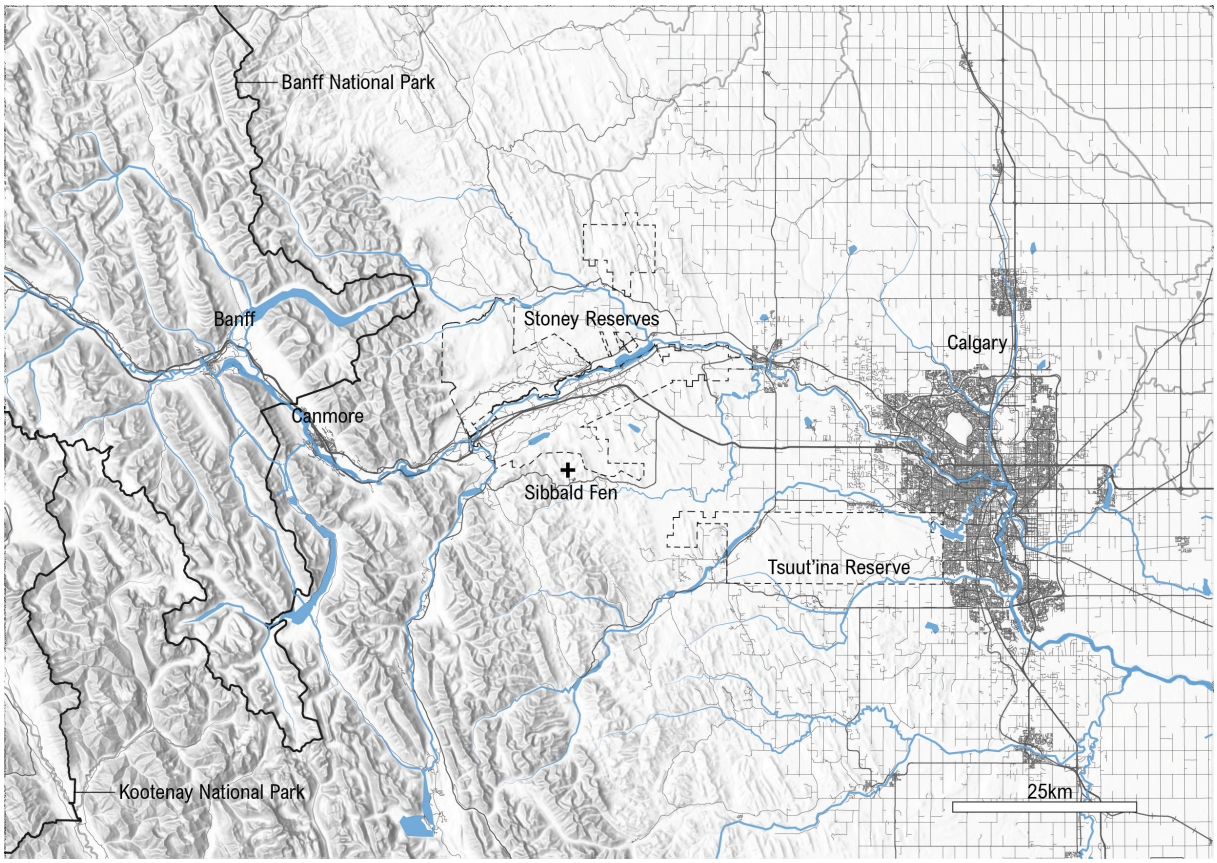
> Hello, says that river. Nice day. Maybe you want to take a swim. But Coyote don't want to swim, and she looks at that river and she looks at that river again. Something's not right here, she says. Where are those rocks? Where are those rapids? What did you do with them waterfalls? How come you're so straight?
> And Coyote is right. That river is nice and straight and smooth without any bumps or twists. It runs both ways, too, not like a modern river.
> We got to fix this, says Coyote, and she does. She puts some rocks in that river, and she fixes it so it only runs one way. She puts a couple of waterfalls in and makes a bunch of rapids where things get shallow fast.
> Coyote is tired with all this work, and those ducks are tired just watching. So that Coyote sits down. She closes her eyes. So she puts her nose in her tail. So those ducks shout, wake up, wake up! Something big is heading this way! And they are right.
>
> —Thomas King, exerpt from "The One About Coyote Going West" (1989)

"Come hell or high water." This was the slogan adopted by the Calgary Stampede in 2013 after severe flooding of the Bow and Elbow Rivers caused significant damage to the fairgrounds just two weeks before the scheduled opening day. Dubbed as "the greatest outdoor show on Earth," the annual 10 day western-themed fair attracts over a million visitors every July; the central event of the Stampede is its outdoor rodeo, one of the largest in the world. Located on a low-lying site in a bend of the Elbow River near its confluence with the Bow, the Stampede grounds were completely flooded by high water levels caused by a rainstorm in late June 2013. In the evening of Wednesday 19 June 2013, heavy rains began to fall in Southern Alberta over the eastern Rocky Mountains and foothills. A combination of unusual meteorological and ground surface conditions upstream exacerbated flooding throughout the Bow watershed during the storm. The storm was intense and protracted, stalling over the region for several days (due to convergence with a high-pressure system), with some weather stations recording as much

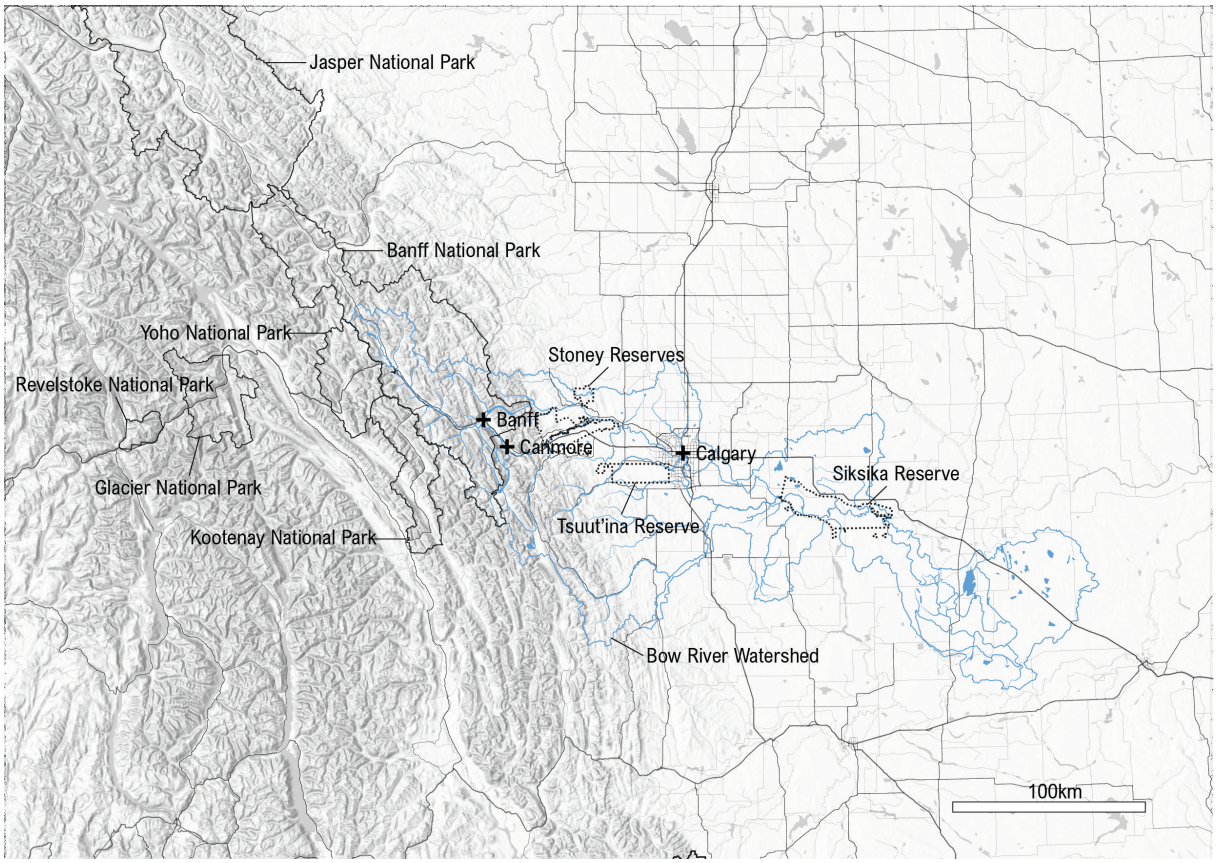
as 300mm of rainfall over the next 48 hours.[1] The majority of this precipitation fell on the upstream tributaries to the Bow River west of Calgary (the largest city in the province of Alberta and also the largest city in the Bow watershed) on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. This heavy precipitation was compounded by accelerated snow melt in the mountains, known in meteorological terms as "rain on snow" events, further increasing the amount of water entering the region's watersheds. A hydrological analysis of the storm published in 2015 stated that "[all] tributaries to the Bow River in the Front Ranges of the Rocky Mountains were affected, and many streams in the Oldman and Red Deer river basins as well. Flooding was widespread and manifested in different ways throughout the region."[2] Nevertheless, in an announcement on 24 June 2013, the Stampede's president Bob Thompson insisted that "We have pumped millions of gallons of water from our facilities, scraped the mud from our tarmac, [and] commenced clean-up … We will be hosting the greatest outdoor show on earth, come hell or high water."[3] Beyond the damage to the Stampede grounds in Calgary, the surging floodwaters of the Bow River Watershed carried sediment and debris flows that washed out highways, railways, buildings, and utilities, disrupting key vectors of nationally and regionally significant infrastructure across the region. The main stem of the Bow River surged to nearly 4 meters above its normal water levels in some areas and flooded large parts of downtown Calgary beyond the Stampede grounds. A number of reservoirs also became backed up as water levels rose and several dams were forced to open their spillways for the first time in history.

The headwaters of the Bow River lie high in the Rocky Mountains at the base of the Bow Glacier, part of the Wapta Icefield located in Banff National Park. This glacial stream flows southeast through the eastern ranges of the Rockies—joining up with the Spray and Kananaskis Rivers—before turning east into the foothills—where it meets the Elbow River—and winding across the prairies, where it merges with the Oldman River to form the South Saskatchewan River, which eventually flows into the Nelson River and into Hudson Bay, an inland sea between the Arctic and North Atlantic Oceans. The English name for the Bow comes from a translation of its various Indigenous names—including the Blackfoot name "Makhabn" and Stoney name "Ijathibe Wapta"—both of which refer to the river as a place where the reeds for making bows grow. The watershed region of the Bow River includes the traditional homelands of the Stoney Nakoda, Tsuu T'ina, and nations of the Blackfoot Confederacy (Kainai, Piikanai, and Siksika). Various sites along the Bow Valley hold significance as important shared gathering places between these First

1. Tamminga, Eaton, and Hugenholtz, 'UAS-Based Remote Sensing of Fluvial Change Following an Extreme Flood Event', 1465.
2. Pomeroy, Stewart, and Whitfield, 'The 2013 Flood Event in the South Saskatchewan and Elk River Basins', 106.
3. CBC News, 'Calgary Stampede to Go on "come Hell or High Water" | CBC News'.



i. Map of Calgary and Banff



ii. Map of Bow Valley

Nations and their neighbours (such as the Kutenai, whose hunting territories included parts of the Bow Valley) for trade, diplomacy, and festivals. Significant sites include the convergence of the Bow and Elbow Rivers (present-day city of Calgary) as well as Blackfoot Crossing, a meeting place 60 miles to the east of the city. These First Nations traditionally hunted buffalo for subsistence, using the topography of the Bow Valley to their advantage, and the Stoney also had a significant fishing culture within the river itself. Today, the Bow Valley is located within the territory of Treaty 7, signed in 1877 between the Canadian Crown and the Stoney, Tsuu T'ina, and Blackfoot Confederacy nations to acquire land for the construction of the transcontinental railway and allow for European settlement of the prairies. As an outcome of the treaty, members of the signatory First Nations were displaced into reserves.

Although the Bow was "discovered" by a party of Hudson Bay Company fur traders in 1787, unlike the other prairie rivers to the east and north (such as the South and North Saskatchewan Rivers) the Bow River did not play a significant role in the North American fur trade. Significant settler colonial development did not occur in the Bow Valley until the construction of the transcontinental railway in the late 19th century, which—as discussed in chapter three—brought large numbers of European settlers and facilitated a rapid urbanisation of the prairies, supported by an agricultural system relying on the extraction of water from prairie river systems such as the Bow. In this way, the Bow Valley can be seen as a river colonised primarily through settler colonial urbanisation and the development of an agricultural economy. This history of colonisation in the Bow Valley separate from the fur trade makes the region uniquely relevant to the topic of this thesis. The historical link between urbanisation and settler colonisation is significant to one of the main threads of this thesis, which posits that in settler colonial contexts such as Canada, urbanisation is a form of settler colonisation. This leads to a further contention related to the connection between colonialism and landscape change in the settler colonial context: urban infrastructure *is* settler colonial infrastructure.

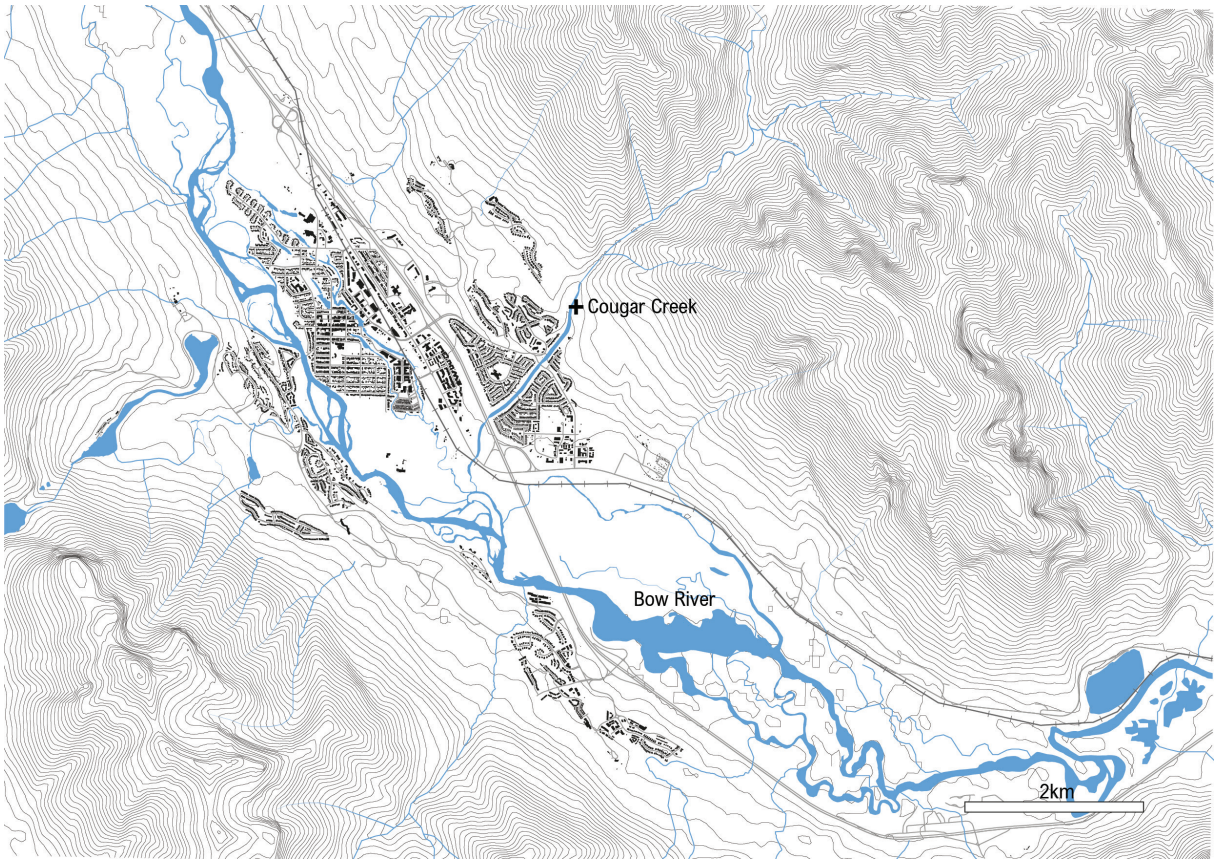
After the turn of the twentieth century, as the rapid urbanisation of the prairies took place, large-scale hydrological manipulation of the Bow River watershed began to radically transform the ecology of the river.[4] Settler engineers and politicians suggested that to supply the rapidly electrifying foothill city of Calgary, the Bow River, with its mountain topography and proximity to the city could be favourable to hydropower production. The glacial headwaters of the Bow lie about 200km upstream from the city of Calgary with a vertical difference of almost 1,000m. In 1910, the Calgary Power Company was formed to exploit this topography for power generation, completing its first dam the following year. However, it

4. During this period, emerging technological modernization, such as large scale damming, was taking place across the world.

soon became apparent that the seasonal variations in river volume created by the river's glacial headwaters made it unreliable as a year-round power source. Nevertheless, rather than seeking another source of power to support the increasing electrification of southern Alberta, the Calgary Power Company embarked on a campaign to heavily engineer the river over the course of the next five decades, adding reservoirs, weirs, and dams in an attempt to regulate the water flow and extract more even outputs of power.[5] During this period, seven dams were built on the river's main stem, and a further ten dams on its tributaries. In addition to hydropower production, the hydrological control of the Bow River also helped supply the irrigation needs of the agricultural industry on which the expanding settler colonisation and urbanisation of the Bow Valley was based.

The significance of the Bow Valley to Canadian settler colonialism extends well beyond energy and irrigation. It is not only settler water infrastructure that has shaped the Bow River, the river also has significance in infrastructures of movement and communication of the Canadian settler state; the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway line roughly follows alongside the Bow River Valley in parallel with transmission and telephone lines—as does, albeit to a lesser extent, the Trans-Canada Highway(the country's main east-west highway)—between Calgary and Banff. When the heavy rains of late June 2013 overwhelmed the settler water control infrastructures of the Bow River Watershed, it severed road connections between Calgary and the Rocky Mountains and disrupted several other forms of infrastructure vital to the continuance of the settler colonial state. The floodwaters acted as a disruptive force rejecting the material infrastructures of the settler state by disrupting the movement of resources and people. The total damage caused to the settler infrastructure of Southwestern Alberta in the aftermath of the June 2013 storm event would come to cost nearly $6 billion,[6] reflecting the great material agency of the floodwaters to create landscape change. In this chapter, I am interested in exploring the ways in which the various disruptions to settler colonial infrastructure caused by the high waters of the Bow River Watershed can be viewed as acts of other-than-human refusal. As part of this exploration, I will examine four different locations within the Bow Valley where the floodwaters of 2013 came into contact with built infrastructure: Cougar Creek, the Bow River, Cascade Creek, and Sibbald Fen. Each site of confrontation reveals different dimensions of the relationship between the landscape systems of the Bow Valley and the infrastructural systems of the settler colonial state. The first two directly consider the relationship between the river and the urban fabrics of Canmore and Calgary. The third begins to see hybrid and emergent futures in the

5. For a more thorough analysis of why the Bow River was developed for hydroelectric power despite its obvious unsuitability, see Armstrong and Nelles, *Wilderness and Waterpower*.
6. Figure in Canadian dollars; includes roads, railways, buildings, power lines, sewers, etc.



iii. Map of Canmore and Cougar Creek

re-aligned post-flood hydrologies in Banff national park. Finally, the last site points to the potential of other-than-human dialogues in producing unsettling futures.

5.1 Cougar Creek

In the evening of 19 June 2013, within hours of the rains starting, water levels in the mountain communities east of Banff National Park had reached dangerous levels, and the emergence of several large alluvial flows (mudslides) forced a series overnight evacuations and emergencies, including in the town of Canmore. Canmore is a small mountain town on the edge of Banff National Park about three quarters of an hour's drive west of Calgary on the Trans-Canada Highway. It was also one of the first towns to suffer damage from the storm which hit Southern Alberta in late June 2013. Overnight, rising waters overwhelmed a small creek in the southeast part of town, forcing an emergency evacuation of the surrounding residential area at around 2 a.m. Cougar Creek is a tributary to the Bow River usually resembling—as its name suggests—a small creek. However, by the early hours of the morning of 20 June 2013, the small creek had been transformed into a surging river washing out more than a dozen house foundations along its banks, normally located more than 10m away from the edge of the stream channel. As the floodwaters rushed through this residential neighbourhood, it carried with it not only rocks, trees, and sediment from upstream but also furniture and ruined structures from gardens picked up along the way, including decks, chairs, and even a trampoline.[7] Passing southwest beyond the residential area, the overflowing creek washed out stretches of the Trans-Canada and 1A highways, forcing closures of the only roads leading into Canmore (and Banff) from the east, thus severely disrupting—*refusing*—settler flows in and out of the region. According to *CTV News*, a town official reported that overnight, "20 or so people on the highway … got stuck (when) water covered the highway in two places, so we used a helicopter to get those folks out,"[8]—a testament to the graveness of the situation.

Settler colonial infrastructures—such as railways and highways—are materially critical to the maintenance of the flows of the settler state, "entrenching and hardening the very means of settler economy and sociality into tangible material structures."[9] In this infrastructural context, there is anti-colonial power in disrupting these structures, thereby "interrupting the logistic of [settler] state and society."[10] Building on Audra Simpson's concept of refusal, Deborah Cowen has suggested that disruptions

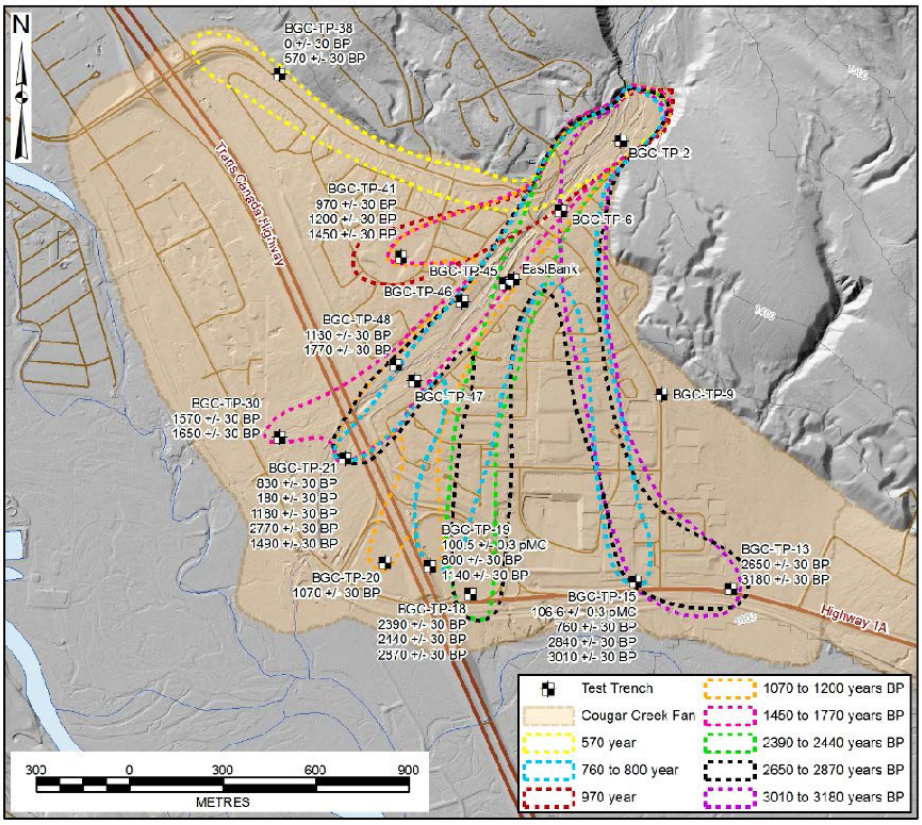
7. Many local news articles describe the extensive damage, including Russ Ullyot, 'State of Emergency in Canmore'.
8. CTVNews.ca Staff, 'Calgary Communities Evacuated as Flooding Prompts State of Emergency'.
9. LaDuke and Cowen, 'Beyond Wiindigo Infrastructure', 244.
10. Pasternak et al., 'Infrastructure, Jurisdiction, Extractivism', 3.

to state infrastructure can be read as a form of political refusal: "refusal in our moment often takes the shape of disrupting or interrupting the logistics of state and society."[11] In the case of Cougar Creek, the refusal of the Trans-Canada and 1A Highways by the floodwaters makes legible a landscape of competing systems in tension: the material disruptions to the urban fabric of Canmore caused by the flooding of Cougar Creek reveal spatial and structural tensions between the infrastructures of settler colonial urbanisation and underlying hydro-ecological systems. In other words, moments of disruption such as this are powerful material reminders that the infrastructural systems of settler colonialism are built on top of natural ecological systems. These systems are in constant interaction with one another, and these interactions can result in different impacts for either system. A deeper understanding of the geomorphology of Cougar Creek explains how it was in conflict—morphologically and spatially—with the overlying urban development.

The geophysical reason for the immense scale of destruction caused by Cougar Creek lies in the fact that it is not really a creek at all. Cougar Creek is an alluvial fan, which is a fan shaped area where sediments are deposited when a steep and narrow mountain stream opens out onto a wider plain. This topography makes alluvial fans such as Cougar Creek susceptible to infrequent but substantial recurring flooding, and due to the high volumes of debris (alluvium) carried by the floodwaters into the fan, they can be extremely damaging to any structures located on the fan. Significantly, these "highly dynamic landforms" are not easily controlled by typical flood attenuation structures, which are designed for clearwater floods. Such methods are often rendered ineffective in the face of heavy sedimentation, erosion, and avulsion processes that characterise debris flows in alluvial fans.[12] Due to the proximity of Canmore to Banff National Park, considerable pressures have been placed on urban development in the town over the last five decades, pushing development into unsuitable flood-prone areas such as Cougar Creek, which has an unusual amount of urban development in its fan area:

> Cougar Creek fan has an area of 3.1 km^2 and is unlike most fans in the Canadian Rocky Mountains in that it is very densely developed, including 1417 residential homes; a number of lodges/resorts between Highway 1 and Highway 1A; a light industrial area in the southeast corner of the fan; one elementary school (Elizabeth Rummel); a heliport (Alpine Helicopter); numerous roads including a crossing of the creek at Elk Run

11. Ibid. Cowen's conceptualization of disruption as refusal (or action) is not dissimilar from the notion of "blockadia" popularised by Naomi Klein in 2014.
12. Jakob, Clague, and Church, 'Rare and Dangerous', 166.



iv. Sediment deposition trails in Cougar Creek Fan

> Boulevard; Highways 1 and 1A; the Canadian Pacific (CP) Rail line; various municipal infrastructure (telecommunication lines, sewers, etc.); and powerlines.[13]

The spatial extent of the Cougar Creek fan is dangerously overlaid by the urban expansion of southeastern Canmore. Hydrological and geological studies of the Cougar Creek fan conducted since 2013 have revealed a fan-like pattern of sediment deposition trails which can be attributed to at least twenty-four historical debris floods between 1674 - 2013.[14] As a result of the settler colonial urbanisation of the Cougar Creek fan area during the last five decades, the stream has been confined into a single linear channel in opposition to its natural geomorphological form as a fan-shaped floodplain. During the flood event of late June 2013, the waters of Cougar Creek breached the banks of this imposed channel, reminding the settler state of its true form (a fan) and expressing its disruptive forces of refusal in the face of settler colonial occupation—in the form of urban development—of its floodplain territory.

The flooding that occurred in Cougar Creek would be the first of a series of disruptions to settler colonial infrastructure caused by the surging waters in the Bow River Watershed over the next few days. In addition to the highway closures east of Canmore, the Canadian Pacific Railway's main line also became impassable near Canmore overnight on 19-20 June 2013, as the track was inundated by the floodwaters. Flooding upstream in Banff National Park also washed-out parts of the Trans-Canada highway west of the Banff townsite; in conjunction with Cougar Creek's disruptions east of Canmore, this effectively cut off access in and out of the Banff-Canmore corridor, trapping residents, commuters, and tourists. A local news outlet in Banff described the stress placed on local accommodations that evening, reporting that "Banff's hotels were full on Thursday night, with stranded people diverted off the highway," however, "once the highway was opened allowing people to drive west to Golden, occupancy dropped down."[15] There is anti-colonial power in the disruption of colonial infrastructure—literally in stopping settler flows across the landscape, and in revealing the underlying weaknesses of the settler state—and in the case of the 2013 Southern Alberta Floods, the agent of this disruptive power was the high waters of the Bow River Watershed.

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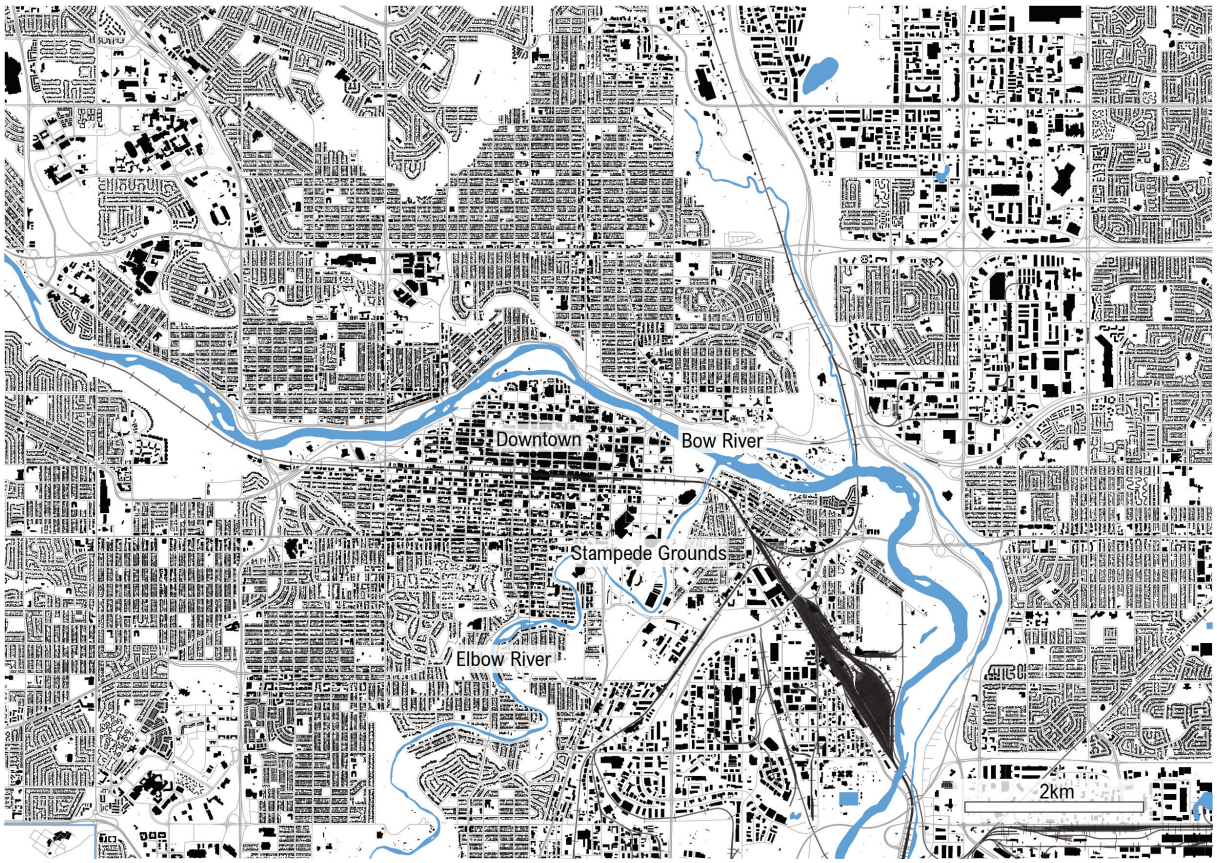
13. Jakob et al., 'Hydro-Geomorphic Response to the June 19-21, 2013 Storm in Canmore and the Municipal District of Bighorn, Alberta', 4.
14. Jakob et al., 'A Multi-Faceted Debris-Flood Hazard Assessment for Cougar Creek, Alberta, Canada', 17.
15. Rocky Mountain Outlook, 'Banff "feeling Pretty Lucky" in Flood Aftermath'.

5.2 Bow River

The disruptive impacts of the flooding upstream in Banff and Canmore overnight on 19-20 June served as a warning of what was to come for communities in the foothills—including the city of Calgary. The *Calgary Herald* reported, "For people living east of Canmore, the terrifying images on news websites, Facebook and Twitter added up to one worrying conclusion: trouble was headed downstream."[16] By mid-morning on Thursday 20 June, Calgary, along with over two dozen other municipalities in Southern Alberta, had declared states of emergency. Evacuation orders were issued to low lying areas of Calgary—including the downtown core—and schools were closed for the day. The anticipation of the incoming flooding had already disrupted the city, bringing it nearly to a standstill before the floodwaters had even had a chance to flow downstream.

Located at the confluence where the Bow and Elbow Rivers meet, Calgary is a significant city of the contemporary Canadian settler state. It is the largest city in the three prairie provinces, and fifth largest metropolitan area in the country. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Calgary's emergence as a prominent economic centre of Western Canada is tied closely to the construction of the transcontinental railway by the Canadian Pacific Company and the urbanisation of the prairies at the turn of the twentieth century. While planning a route through the Rockies for the transcontinental railway in the 1870s, it was initially suggested by engineer Sandford Fleming[17] that the route should follow the Yellowhead Pass to cross the mountains (located further north, east of the city of Edmonton, located north of Banff in today's Jasper National Park), as it was the safest route, having a gentle grade of less than 1%. However, as construction costs rose and political pressure to finish the project quickly mounted, Canadian Pacific manager William Cornelius Van Horne[18] approved a shorter, more direct southern route that would cross the Rockies at the steeper Kicking Horse Pass with a grade of more than 4% (double the typical maximum safe grade for a railroad). This more southerly route passed through the settlement of Fort Calgary and followed the Bow Valley west through present-day Banff National Park to the Alberta-British Columbia border. Prior to the arrival of the transcontinental railway in 1883, Fort Calgary was the site of a small, isolated settlement less than a decade old, first established as a North West Mounted Police post in 1875. The arrival of the transcontinental railway spurred Calgary's growth into a major urban centre of Western Canada in the foothills of the Rockies. The influence of the Canadian Pacific Company can still be seen

16. Herald and Nenshi, *The Flood of 2013*.
17. Fleming features in the "Last Spike" photo that serves as the frontispiece to chapter 3. He is the tall man with a white beard and high top hat standing behind Donald Smith, who is driving in the spike.
18. Van Horne is also present in the "Last Spike" photo. He is standing on Fleming's right side sporting a moustache and a top hat.



v. Map of Central Calagary

in the urban fabric of Calgary today; the initial streets laid out by Canadian Pacific in the 1880s at a small bend of the Bow River just west of its confluence with the Elbow River form the downtown core of Calgary today. Before to the construction of the railway station, most buildings in Fort Calgary were located east of the Elbow River, however, when the Canadian Pacific decided to build their station west of the river, most businesses relocated to the other side of the river near the station.

Today, Calgary's downtown core serves as the economic centre of Canada's oil and gas industry. It is where Canada's most significant fossil fuel companies (most of which operate extraction projects in the oil sands of Northern Alberta) are headquartered. Unsurprisingly, when the city was hit by disastrous flooding in late June 2013, the international energy markets took note. An article published by *Reuters* on 22 June 2013 was titled "Canada's oil capital to be shut for days after flooding,"[19] while *CNBC* reported in a headline, "Oil Prices Recover as Flooding Hits Alberta."[20] Despite these headlines, there was no significant impact on the price of the Canadian oil benchmark, Western Canada Select, as oil production was not directly impacted by the floods. However, the industry did experience some disruption in markets and distribution due to the inaccessibility of and partial loss of power to downtown Calgary,[21] which impacted the operations of major Canadian crude oil brokers, producers, as well as the temporary closure of several pipelines and railways.[22] One key Canadian crude oil broker, Shocan Energy, was forced to temporarily operate out of Toronto on Friday 21 June, while another, Net Energy Inc., closed completely and did not execute any trades that day.[23] As a result of the disruptions, there was no trading in Western Canadian Select Heavy Blend or Light Synthetic Crude on the Friday. Staff at the headquarters of major Canadian oil producers, including Suncor Energy Inc. and Imperil Oil Ltd., were unable to go into their offices downtown, and operations were impacted as employees struggled to work remotely or were temporarily assigned to satellite offices elsewhere in the city.[24]

Luckily for the energy sector, the flooding downtown was not as severe as it could have been. Although the inundation of many roads made the area inaccessible, "none of the skyscrapers with custom-made transformers in their basements were flooded,"[25] helping to minimise operational disruptions.[26] Limited disruption also occurred over the weekend, as several crude oil pipelines operated by Enbridge

19. Nia Williams, 'Canada's Oil Capital to Be Shut for Days after Flooding'.
20. 'Oil Prices Recover as Flooding Hits Alberta'.
21. Joseph Brean, 'Companies Roll out Contingency Plans as Power Remains Cut off in Areas of Downtown Calgary'.
22. CBC News, 'Calgary Floods to Cost Economy Billions | CBC News'.
23. Nia Williams, 'Canada's Oil Capital Calgary Could Be without Power for Months after Floods'.
24. Joseph Brean, 'Companies Roll out Contingency Plans as Power Remains Cut off in Areas of Downtown Calgary'.
25. Chris Turner, 'How Calgary Survived the Flood and Why Other Cities Won't'.
26. A sign of the resilience of the oil and gas industry.

were shut down due to possible damage sustained in the floods.[27] These disruptions—albeit quite small ones—to the financial infrastructure of the Canadian energy sector caused by the inaccessibility of downtown Calgary during the floods represent another instance of other-than-human refusal of the settler colonial infrastructure, this time of petro-capital markets. I would like to take this opportunity to point out that the spatial distribution of power within the Alberta oil industry also stem from the same settler colonial power structures which dictated the spatial ordering of urbanisation in Canada. While extraction and mining take place in remote areas (primarily in northern Alberta), trading in energy markets happens in cities like Calgary and Toronto. The spatial power dynamics of settler colonialism which tends to concentrate power in cities—as discussed in chapter three—bolsters conceptualizations of settler colonial wilderness as much as the operations of the settler colonial oil industry.

When the Calgary Stampede announced its plans on Monday 24 June to go-ahead with the event (scheduled to open in less than two weeks on 5 July) despite its inundated grounds and damaged buildings, Calgary's central business district was still closed and inaccessible. Downtown Calgary would not be deemed safe for office workers to return until two days later on 26 June, although some individual buildings experienced longer closures. That being said, the geographic dispersal of corporate information technology systems offered some resilience to the corporations of downtown Calgary, which are vital to the continuing operations of the settler oil economy. As the main servers for most corporations are located offsite from their main offices and headquarters, major disruption to corporate information technology infrastructures did not occur during the flood. The "hell or high water" slogan of the Stampede may well also serve as a motto for the resilience of the settler state. As the floodwaters surged down the Bow River, herculean efforts were made to reduce its spillover into the urban fabric. In one instance, when a temporary emergency berm failed, the military was brought in to infill the meandering banks with heavy machinery as the waters continued to rise.[28] In the face of the settler state's resilience and safeguards for its own futurity, the temporal and uneven nature of the disruptive agency of the Bow River Watershed's high waters—the material limits of its ability to refuse—are revealed. The resilience of the settler state can also be seen in the speed at which critical infrastructures to settler economic and social continuity were repaired to a functional state; the Trans-Canada highway linking Calgary, Canmore, and Banff reopened with a temporary diversion in time for the July 1st Canada Day public holiday less than 10 days after it was initially washed out.[29] This is contrasted by the slow rebuilding response in the Siksika First Nation

27. Edward Welsch and Gerrit De Vynck, 'Alberta Flooding Spreads as Water Subsides in Calgary'."
28. Chris Turner, 'How Calgary Survived the Flood and Why Other Cities Won't'.
29. Tamara Elliott, 'Trans-Canada Highway Reopened in Banff National Park'.

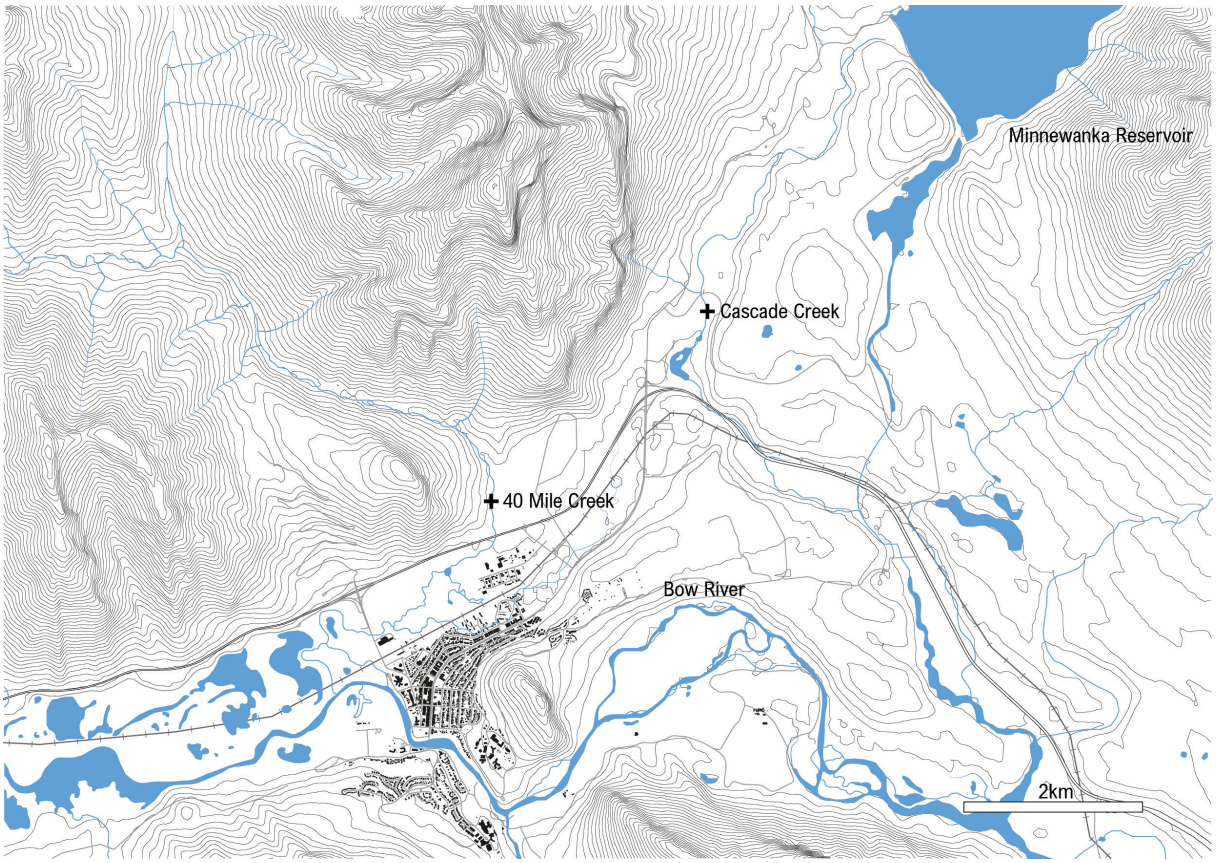
reserve, which also suffered a significant loss of infrastructure during the 2013 floods.[30] One thousand residents of Siksika First Nation Reserve were evacuated from their homes on Thursday 20 June, the same day as residents in low-lying areas of Calgary. Although the vast majority of displaced Calgarians were able to return to their homes by Sunday the 23rd (as the city's flood recovery operation included a response plan which allowed them to commandeer water pumps from across the country),[31] over a week and a half later in early July, most of the damaged homes in the Siksika First Nation were still underwater. The uneven distribution of reliable and safe infrastructure in the settler state is further revealed by the impacts suffered on the Siksika reserve.[32] As the reserve lies downstream from the city of Calgary, the municipality's toxic sewage had been swept downstream in the flood and now coated the unrecoverable homes and possessions of Siksika residents.[33] In this way, the floodwaters also made legible the racially differentiated systemic disparities of infrastructure provision under the settler colonial state. The biopolitical foundations of settler colonialism are revealed here by the spatial patterning of infrastructure and settlement.

5.3 Cascade Creek

On 30 July 2013, *CTV News Calgary* published an article on its website with the headline "Bears make a meal out of flood fish." Another article, published by the *Rocky Mountain Outlook*, stated that "Bears in Banff are getting a rare chance to feast on a sushi buffet."[34] Flooding in late June had required for the spillway of the Cascade dam—located within Banff National Park—to be opened for the first time in its 70-year history, re-inundating the riverbed of the Cascade Creek downstream from the Lake Minnewanka reservoir to the Bow River and allowing fish to enter the temporarily restored water channel. Despite efforts by national park workers to remove "thousands of fish,"[35] by late July (when the spillway was closed) the area had become a feasting ground for local black and grizzly bears who had come to eat the dead fish with their cubs; the *CTV* article explains:

> Park officials have closed off an area in Banff National Park after bears were spotted dining on fish trapped downstream from Lake Minnewanka.

30. Beyond the towns, cities, and reserves mentioned in this chapter, more than thirty local governments in the region declared states of emergency during the 2013 floods. These include the towns of High River and Okotoks, as well as the cities of Lethbridge and Medicine Hat. Four deaths are attributed directly to the floods.
31. Chris Turner, 'How Calgary Survived the Flood and Why Other Cities Won't'.
32. This is a form of environmental racism that permeates settler colonial states and does not exclusively target Indigenous communities.
33. Taylor Lambert, 'After the Deluge'.
34. Rocky Mountain Outlook, 'Closure in Place for Cascade River'.
35. Schmidt, 'Bears Make a Meal out of Flood Fish'.



vi. Map of Banff

> The recent floods caused a build up of fish in the ponds and many were trapped when the flows were reduced making them easy prey for wildlife in the area.[36]

The area surrounding the riverbed of the Cascade Creek—which includes several popular picnic areas and hiking trails, as well as the ruins of the abandoned coal mining town of Bankhead—remained closed for the rest of the summer and into the autumn. In addition to bears, birds of prey such as ospreys and bald eagles were also seen taking advantage of the abundance of food.[37] In a way, the agency of the floodwaters had given some territory back to the wildlife of Banff National Park, demonstrating the generative capacity of the other-than-human refusal enacted by the waters of the Bow River Watershed.

The closures caused by increased bear activity in the Cascade valley were far from the only disruption to tourism caused by the floodwaters in Banff National Park. The floodwaters also caused significant disruption to tourism infrastructure by washing out nearly 50 bridges in the extensive backcountry trail system of Banff National Park. Although the major national roads and railways—such as the Trans-Canada highway—were quickly restored to passable conditions, infrastructure in the backcountry took significantly longer to be repaired, with a large number of trails in the national park remaining closed for the entire 2013 summer tourist season. This notably provided an opportunity for park officials to redesign certain tourist infrastructures and "reconsider access to wilderness areas."[38] In this way, the disruptive powers of the floodwaters gave the settler tourism industry a chance to reimagine and reconsider its access infrastructures in ecologically sensitive areas. Indirect disruption to the labour behind the tourism industry in Banff National Park also occurred during the floods, when on 21 June 2013, the two residential buildings belonging to the Rocky Mountain Cooperative in town lost power and became threatened by flooding, causing several hundred residents to be evacuated.[39] Rocky Mountain Cooperative is a modest residential complex providing affordable staff accommodation for employees at various cultural and hospitality institutions in Banff. As the local newspaper reported, "most of the employees worked at the Banff Centre and the Mount Royal Hotel, so they took care of their own."[40] This was the only evacuation order that occurred in the Banff townsite during the flood—markedly different demographically from the evacuation of Cougar Creek in Canmore where the average home price is $1.5 million. While the breaching of the Cascade Dam may have caused the settler state to declare a state

36. Ibid.
37. Rocky Mountain Outlook, 'Closure in Place for Cascade River'.
38. Pomeroy, Stewart, and Whitfield, 'The 2013 Flood Event in the South Saskatchewan and Elk River Basins', 114.
39. Rocky Mountain Outlook, 'Banff "feeling Pretty Lucky" in Flood Aftermath'.
40. Ibid.

of emergency, the environmental disturbance caused by the flooding was an opportunity for ecological emergence.

The generative capacity of the disruptive high waters served to refresh local ecologies through both the inundation of old stream channels as well as the formation of new waterways, creating a landscape primed for the inception of emergent ecologies. As Eben Kirksey has suggested, emergent ecologies have the possibility of restructuring not only the natural world, but also to transform human political, ecological, and industrial systems.[41] As the remainder of this chapter will demonstrate, the restructuring and transformative potential of events like the 2013 floods is high. Elevation changes as large as 2m were recorded in conjunction with "widespread bank erosion, and a complete reorganization of channel pattern" in some places.[42] The opening of the Cascade Dam spillway was caused by a particularly notable instance of floodwater induced water channel reorganisation. During the flood,

> … in the upper tributaries of Ghost River which washed out near to the diversion channel into Lake Minnewanka; the diversion channel itself filled in which sediment which blocked flow into the reservoir. A breached berm then diverted the river into Lake Minnewanka, which created enough concern for the Cascade Dam spillway to be opened for the first time in its history.[43]

Channel modifications had a significant impact on local environments through the "[recharging] of riparian and upland wetlands [and the] renewal processes were reported by provincial and national park officials to be showing benefits to local fish populations in the summer of 2014."[44] In effect, the floodwaters gave riparian and aquatic systems throughout the Bow River Watershed an opportunity for a hydro-ecological re-design. The floodwaters carved new hydrological patterns into the landscape, leaving "visible changes to the landscape in Southern Alberta [as] many channels were substantially modified during the flood."[45] While the opening of the Cascade dam spillway on the evening of 22 June 2013 may have instigated the formation of new other-than-human relationships in the landscape—as evidenced, for instance, by the increased presence of predatory wildlife in the Cascade Creek area later that summer—the release of the high waters was also responsible for some of the disruptions caused to the settler infrastructure of Banff National Park, as discussed in the previous section. The high waters washed out the Trans-Canada highway near the Cascade hydroelectric plant, closing off access east from Banff towards

41. See Kirksey, *Emergent Ecologies*.
42. Tamminga, Eaton, and Hugenholtz, 'UAS-Based Remote Sensing of Fluvial Change Following an Extreme Flood Event', 1474.
43. Pomeroy, Stewart, and Whitfield, 'The 2013 Flood Event in the South Saskatchewan and Elk River Basins', 114.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.

Canmore.[46] A transformer at the facility also suffered an acute failure causing an overnight power outage in the Banff townsite. However, unlike the disturbances to settler infrastructure, most of which were only temporary, the transformative landscape changes made by the floodwaters are likely to be permanent (at least until the next high water event), "as the reach morphology is now stabilized and adjusted to larger flows."[47]

The unexpected re-inundation of the Cascade Creek stream channel had a positive impact on the ecological future of the Creek as it enabled the acceleration of a plan to restore the creek. When the spillway was opened, the floodwaters washed away decades of accumulated sediment from the former riverbed. This instigated a multi-year plan to rehabilitate the creek. For decades, invasive brook trout, *Salvelinus fontinalis*, have been out competing native *Salvelinus confluentus* and *Oncorhynchus clarkii lewisi*[48] (bull and west slope cutthroat trout).[49] Central to this restoration project was the removal of *S. fontinalis* and the re-building of the creek bed into a more suitable habitat for native *S. confluentus* and *O. c. lewisi*. As outlined by Parks Canada, the project phases includes seven steps:[50]

(1) Remove non-native fish
(2) Replace pipes and culverts to accommodate increased flows
(3) Restore the physical structure of the creek channel
(4) Install an upstream fish barrier, to prevent non-native fish from re-entering the stream channel
(5) Restore a more natural flow to the stream
(6) Replant streamside vegetation
(7) Reintroduce native fish

The new ecological relationships generated by the re-inundation of streams like Cascade Creek are simultaneously as emergent as they are a return to a previous pre-industrial condition. But this return is a modified return to a new hybrid (and hence, emergent) condition. Hybrid landscapes recognize human actions as embedded as part of a wider system of landscape processes which can include natural and artificial elements. The new stream topography of Cascade Creek includes physical barriers to prevent non-native fish from re-entering the creek. New outflow mechanisms from the dam have also been designed to control the water flows at ideal levels for *S. confluentus* and *O. c. lewisi*.

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46. Rocky Mountain Outlook, 'Banff "feeling Pretty Lucky" in Flood Aftermath'.
47. Tamminga, Eaton, and Hugenholtz, 'UAS-Based Remote Sensing of Fluvial Change Following an Extreme Flood Event', 1474.
48. This trout species is named for Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, who are credited for the first written description of the fish, recorded during their famous expedition from 1804-6. It is also the state fish of Montana.
49. Pacas and Taylor, 'Nonchemical Eradication of an Introduced Trout from a Headwater Complex in Banff National Park, Canada'; Schindler, 'Aquatic Problems Caused by Human Activities in Banff National Park, Alberta, Canada'.
50. Parks Canada Agency, 'Cascade Creek Restoration Project - Cascade Creek Restoration'.

The ongoing project of restoring of Cascade Creek is not the only instance where the agency of the Bow Valley floodwaters provided opportunities for ecological renewal in Banff National Park. In addition to Cascade Creek, a project to restore 40 Mile Creek northwest of the Banff townsite has also been underway since 2009, and the impacts of the 2013 flood expedited the timeline for this project as well. In 1946, the 40 Mile Dam was built to supply drinking water for the town of Banff and despite being out of use since the 1980s, the dam has continued to stand as a concrete barrier preventing endangered bull trout and other native fish from moving upstream to spawn. Progress to remove the structure had been slow due to the high project cost estimates, which amounted to upwards of $6 million. When the 2013 floodwaters washed away decades of built-up sediment behind the dam, the town's engineers saw an opportunity to drain the reservoir and prepare for the partial removal of the dam.[51] With the sediment washed away and the reservoir drained in the wake of the floods, the price tag of the 40 Mile Creek restoration reduced from $6 million to $1 million.[52] The following spring, a large section of the dam was removed, and gravelly riffles were constructed in the restored creek bed to improve the habitat for spawning fish. After more than six decades, 40 Mile Creek is flowing again and *S. confluentus* and *O. c. lewisi* can once again move upstream to reproduce. Like with Cascade Creek, the emergent ecologies resulting from this restoration created a hybrid condition in 40 Mile Creek, which combines and enhances the hydrological system of the creek with some designed landscape elements and human-made structures. Notably, the 40 Mile Dam was only partially removed, and the new stream channel meanders around the remaining portion of the old dam structure. It is a visual reminder of the new hybrid ecological condition of the stream and a material symbol of the generative potential of human and other-than-human alliances. The restorations of the Cascade and 40 Mile creeks are evidence of the restorative capacity of the floodwaters. These accelerated restorations can be seen as acts of resistance, suggesting that floodwaters have agency to refuse, transform, and contravene the infrastructures of settler colonialism and generate alternative futurities centring other-than-human life.

As an opportunity for further floodwater instigated landscape renewal, the post-flood moment is ripe for reimagining other-than-colonial infrastructural futures. Essentially, infrastructure are the networked relations which are foundational to social, ecological, and political life which can certainly (but not exclusively or necessarily) be mobilised for colonial gains. Along these lines, Winona LaDuke and Deborah Cowen have posited that "infrastructure is not inherently colonial, but rather essential for

51. 'Restoration of 40 Mile Creek | Banff, AB - Official Website'.
52. Rocky Mountain Outlook, '40 Mile Creek Dam to Be Demolished'.

transformation."[53] They have conceptualised that decolonial life will necessarily be supported by an "anti-colonial feminist assemblage of systems" that they call alimentary infrastructures.[54] In their articulation, alimentary infrastructure is essential infrastructure which is "life giving," supporting "the regeneration and becoming of more-than-human ecologies."[55] This notion of infrastructure supports Anne Spice's assertion that a river—and all the entangled ecological lives of the river, its "web of relations"[56]—is a critical infrastructure of Indigenous life. These anti-colonial interpretations of infrastructure break free of western, settler, and colonial conceptualizations of the interrelations between infrastructure and non-human lives. In animal geographies, studies on these interrelations have tended to focus primarily on the tensions between specific populations of non-human species and human-made infrastructure while also largely overlooking non-species specific non-humans, such as rivers and other large ecological systems.[57] By positing rivers as infrastructures and placing them in dialogue with the infrastructures of settler colonisation, in this chapter I have attempted to move beyond a conceptual framework that treats infrastructure and other-than-human life as a species-to-system relation. Instead, I want to reveal the value of understanding this interaction as a system-to-system relationship. There is also something important to note here about a conceptual shift in understanding landscape as a system and not an object (or picture).[58] As a further reflection on landscape, this system-based outlook also rejects at face value the pictorial humanist roots of the landscape idea as an object to be viewed and imbued with value.[59] This pictorial approach flies in the face of the material conditions of landscape as composed of a networked series of ecological and infrastructural systems.[60] The floodwaters of 2013—or more specifically, the high waters of the Bow River Watershed system, acting as active agential components of the landscape of the Bow Valley—have come up against, refused, and disrupted the material infrastructures—roads, buildings, dams, railways, dikes, and more—which underpin the futurity of the settler colonial state.

Botanist Robin Wall Kimmerer has articulated that other-than-humans communicate through the material language of actions and reactions. I quote here Kimmerer's interpretation of the scientific method:

> To me, an experiment is a kind of conversation with plants: I have a question for them, but since we don't speak the same language, I can't ask them directly and they won't

53. LaDuke and Cowen, 'Beyond Wiindigo Infrastructure', 245.
54. Pasternak et al., 'Infrastructure, Jurisdiction, Extractivism', 3.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Barua, 'Infrastructure and Non-Human Life'.
58. Cosgrove and Daniels, *The Iconography of Landscape*.
59. Cosgrove, 'Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea'.
60. Ian McHarg's 1969 *Design with Nature* is a notable exception, especially his "layer cake" analysis method. See McHarg, *Design with Nature*.

> answer verbally. But plants can be eloquent in their physical responses and behaviours. Plants answer questions by the way they live, by their responses to change; you just need to learn how to ask.[61]

In this way, scientific experiments (at least in a Western episteme) can be a way of mutualistically generating knowledge through interspecies dialogues. By blending Indigenous cosmologies with the Western scientific method, Kimmerer's approach holds much promise for the future of discourse around posthuman agency and knowledge production. Rivers, as with plants, do not speak verbally. But they can express their voice by affecting material transformations in the landscape (such as floods, droughts, and mudslides) and in changing their own morphological bodies (by braiding, meandering, or straightening). When the 2013 Southern Alberta floods caused Cougar Creek to wash away the Trans-Canada Highway, liberated the waters from Minnewanka reservoir to drown the Cascade hydroelectric power station, and empowered the Bow River to occupy its own floodplain (thereby inundating the roads leading into Calgary's downtown business district); the agency of the floodwaters can be interpreted as actioning not only a form of other-than-human refusal against the infrastructures of the settler colonial state, but also a declaration of the river' sovereign territorial borders. This begs a reformulation of current frameworks for rivers' rights, as current legal frameworks granting rivers legal personhood rights largely exclude their floodplains.[62] In the face of the Bow River's declarative occupation of its floodplain territory in late June 2013, the settler state was spurred to consider its own fragility. In the aftermath of the 2013 flood event, the settler state initiated a series of actions designed to reduce the severity of disruptions to its vital infrastructure in the next major flood event. The town of Canmore is currently building a debris dam upstream on Cougar Creek to mitigate against future breaches of the stream channel by debris flows on Cougar Creek.[63] Meanwhile, the city of Calgary is planning to build a reservoir upstream from the city on the Elbow River to mitigate against future flooding.[64] In light of all this infrastructure construction by the settler state, the tenacious refusing agency of the Bow River will likely return with the next large storm event. Although other flood resilience strategies—such as the relocation of structures and banning of future construction in the floodplain—were considered, the uptake of these measures has been minimal and unpopular,[65] suggesting that when the river next attempts to exercise its right to refuse and occupy its floodplain, further disruptions to the settler state will ensue. The next section will consider how engaging

61. Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass*, 158.
62. Brierley et al., 'A Geomorphic Perspective on the Rights of the River in Aotearoa New Zealand'.
63. Alberta, 'Cougar Creek Flood Retention Structure'.
64. Government of Alberta, 'Springbank Off-Stream Reservoir'.
65. For an analysis of the (largely social) reasons for why Dutch-style river retreat strategies were ultimately unsuccessful in Alberta, see Bogdan, Beckie, and Caine, 'Making Room for Nature?'

in interspecies dialogues with other-than-humans could aid in the envisioning of unsettling infrastructural imaginaries.

5.4 Futurities in Sibbald Fen

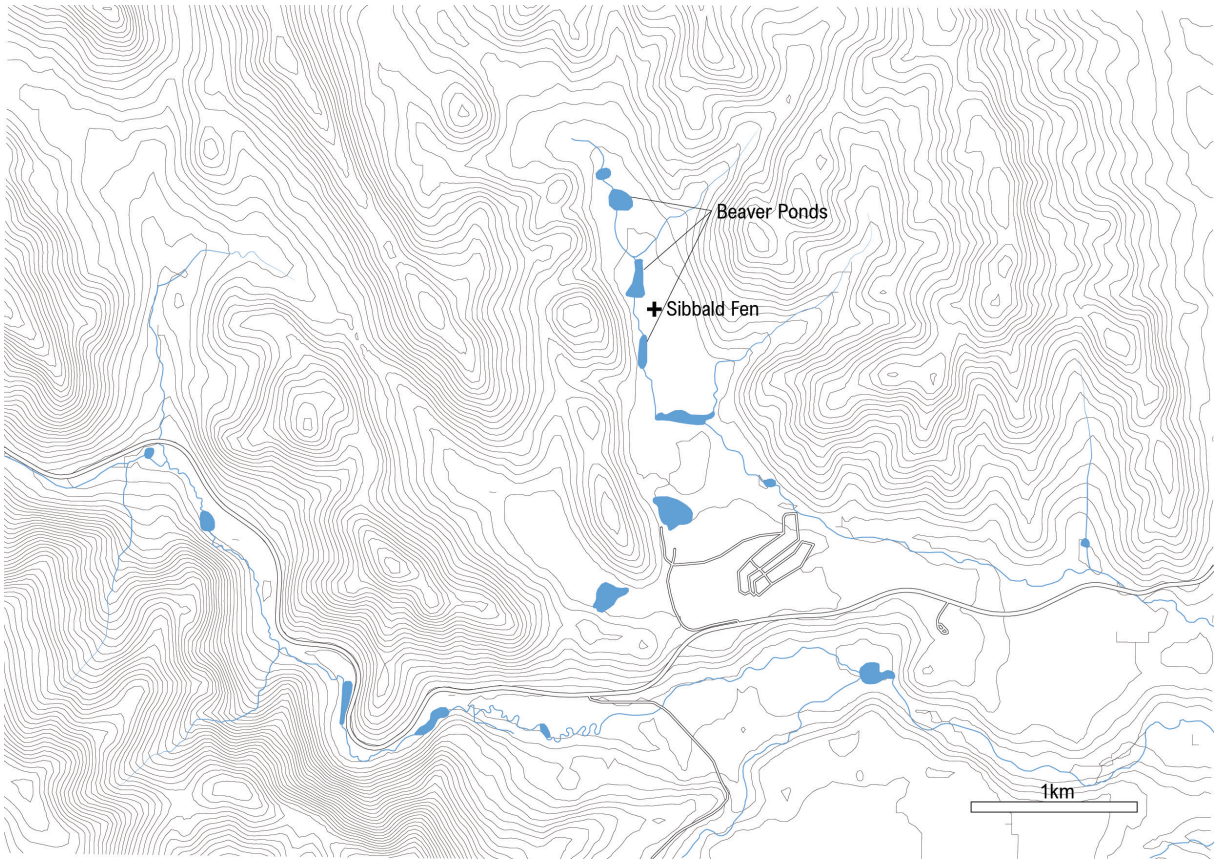
An opportunistic study of beaver dams in Sibbald Fen in Kananaskis Country conducted during the 2013 flood event demonstrated that beaver dams are able to not only structurally withstand, but also offer some storage capacity during large storms. Data from this study "[refutes] two long-standing hypotheses—that beaver ponds have limited flood attenuation capacity and that beaver dams commonly breach during large flood events,"[66] finding instead that:

> High beaver dam resistance to the flood occurred despite common reports in the literature that they tend to fail during high intensity rainstorms when landscapes have limited water infiltration capacity.[67]

By not only surviving the floods, but also actively attenuating the downstream impacts of the floodwaters, the beavers are refusing settler knowledge about them and demonstrating an alternative. As Kimmerer has posited, "experiments are not about discovery but about listening and translating the knowledge of other beings."[68] Out of this refusal emerges an anti-colonial and interspecies form of knowledge exchange.

Having been nearly hunted to extinction during the peak of the North American fur trade in the 18th century, beavers are an important recovering keystone species in North American freshwater ecosystems such as those in the Canadian foothills. Like settler infrastructural states, beavers are partial to heavily modifying their physical environments to better suit their needs. In ecological terms, this makes them ecosystem engineers. When a beaver family builds a dam, a wetland system is created. Within this constructed wetland the beavers build a home, known as a beaver lodge. The water surrounding the lodge protects the beavers from predators and provides a safe place for them to live. This wetland also has many mutual benefits for the beavers and their other-than-human relations. Studies have shown that beaver ponds can increase the abundance of riparian vegetation by up to 25% in a wetland, as the dams act as collectors of organically rich sediments.[69] This collecting of sediments also has ecological benefits in improving subsurface water flow and preventing erosion. As active participants in the landscape, beavers

66. Westbrook, Ronnquist, and Bedard-Haughn, 'Hydrological Functioning of a Beaver Dam Sequence and Regional Dam Persistence during an Extreme Rainstorm', 3733.
67. Ibid.
68. Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass*, 158.
69. Polvi and Wohl, 'The Beaver Meadow Complex Revisited – the Role of Beavers in Post-Glacial Floodplain Development'; Wright, Jones, and Flecker, 'An Ecosystem Engineer, the Beaver, Increases Species Richness at the Landscape Scale'.



vii. Map of Sibbald Fen

are selective in the woody plants they choose to harvest, thereby supporting the growth of their preferred food source: fast growing woody plants such as willows. These fast-growing woody plants in turn, function as bio-filters for the wetland, removing pollutants from the environment and sequestering nutrients.[70] The beaver ponds also act as reservoirs, increasing the local water table and charging aquifers.[71] These nutrient-rich wet meadows and riparian wetlands are able to support a high diversity of invertebrates which serve as an abundant food source for larger organisms.[72] The silt filtering capabilities of beaver dams also create ideal spawning habitats for fish (such as *S. confluentus* and *O. c. lewisi*).[73] As ecosystem engineers, beavers create not only preferred habitats for themselves, but also mutually beneficial conditions for a richly diverse community of other-than-human plants, insects, fish, birds, amphibians, reptiles, and animals. This mutually beneficial results of beaver engineering offers some lessons for the future of landscape and infrastructural planning in settler colonial states like Canada (and other kinds of states too).

Urban landscape architects[74] for example are starting to consider the benefits of designing beaver-friendly ecological landscapes as a method for bringing these mutual benefits (such as flood attenuation and ground aquifer recharge) to urban areas.[75] Mutually beneficial relations, as "the dominant modes of negotiation among most living beings,"[76] is a teaching common to many Indigenous cultures of North America and widely taken as a "given"[77] within the field of Indigenous studies. This mode of thinking requires a move beyond the nature-culture binary which continues to underpin much of the field of cultural geography, including posthumanist geographies.[78] There have also been a number of beaver reintroduction programmes in Europe (most notably, in northern Scotland) which have emerged in recent decades out of a renewed cultural respect for the species as ecosystem engineers within conservation and

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70. Polvi and Wohl, 'The Beaver Meadow Complex Revisited – the Role of Beavers in Post-Glacial Floodplain Development'.
71. Westbrook, Cooper, and Baker, 'Beaver Dams and Overbank Floods Influence Groundwater–Surface Water Interactions of a Rocky Mountain Riparian Area'.
72. McCabe and Gotelli, 'Caddisfly Diapause Aggregations Facilitate Benthic Invertebrate Colonization'; McDowell and Naiman, 'Structure and Function of a Benthic Invertebrate Stream Community as Influenced by Beaver (Castor Canadensis)'; Morley and Karr, 'Assessing and Restoring the Health of Urban Streams in the Puget Sound Basin'.
73. Hood and Bayley, 'Beaver (Castor Canadensis) Mitigate the Effects of Climate on the Area of Open Water in Boreal Wetlands in Western Canada'.
74. This way of working, in tandem with other-than-human beings and systems that inhabit the landscape alongside humans is not entirely foreign to contemporary landscape architectural practice. Landscape architects have long advocated for the importance of observing and understanding how the landscape has been shaped by various ecological, infrastructural, climate, and cultural systems as part of good design praxis. For instance, see Spirn, *The Granite Garden*; and Wolff, 'Agency, Advocacy, Vocabulary'. Although this is slightly tangential to the main focus of this thesis, I feel that it is important to note it here, as I myself am trained as a landscape architect and my outlook on landscape is very much shaped by this background.
75. See Passmore, 'Landscape with Beavers'; Bailey, Dittbrenner, and Yocom, 'Reintegrating the North American Beaver (Castor Canadensis) in the Urban Landscape'.
76. Baldwin, 'Conceptualizing and Recognizing Placemaking by Non-Human Beings and Lessons We Might Learn from Marx While Walking with Beaver', 381.
77. Rosiek, Snyder, and Pratt, 'The New Materialisms and Indigenous Theories of Non-Human Agency'.
78. Sundberg, 'Decolonizing Posthumanist Geographies'.

rewilding interest groups.[79] However, in my view something—that I admittedly cannot quite place but is definitely deeply ontological—is lost in the experiential aspect of some European projects. Larua Bissell has written about a workshop which brough a group of academics and artists (including herself) to the Bamff estate in Perthshire in the summer of 2019 to engage in landscape making with a population of beavers there.[80] Bissell describes in her text how as part of the week's activities, she and other participants (inspired by the writings of Donna Haraway) set out to "make kin" with the beavers through an act of gift giving, leaving various items including sticks and apple slices for the animals at the edge of the estate. Set against the kinds of interspecies exchanges that have been described by Indigenous scholars like Kimmerer, Simpson, and TallBear, this act by Bissell and her peers rings a bit hollow. In *Braiding Sweetgrass,* Kimmerer describes in each chapter of the book different lessons that can be learned from engaging in relationships with plants and ecosystems: "A Mother's Work,"[81] retells the lessons in intergenerational care learned through restoring a pond; in "The Three Sisters,"[82] observing the interconnected growing patterns of corn, beans, and squash plants imparts important wisdom about community and responsibility. On the other hand, in Perthshire the researchers' exchanges with the beavers is more superficial, lacking in ontologically meaningful historical reference and true knowledge exchange born from long-term (including intergenerational) coexistence and relation building. Even Bissell herself refers to these gifts as "performative" acts. The truth is that the most meaningful gift to the Perthshire beavers had already been given years before, by the Ramsey family, the owners of the Bamff estate, in their restoring of the landscape to allow beavers to be reintroduced to the site.

Under contemporary Indigenous studies frameworks, it is tacitly understood and well respected that agency (and therefore knowledge creation) emerges out of particular relationships between humans, non-humans, living, and non-living beings, where "[detailed] explications of the relation between particularity, non-human agency, knowledge, thought, place, and being are ubiquitous."[83] Anishinaabe scholars including Vanessa Watts and Leanne Simpson have acknowledged that Anishinaabe cosmology is based on reciprocal relations with non-humans and living lands.[84] Michael Marker has attested that in Coast Salish cultures, sacred places confer knowledge through being in the specific place, a kind of "Indigenous interface with two sentiences: the mind of the place, and the human mind that is convening

79. For example, see Bissell, 'Ecologies of Practice'.
80. Ibid.
81. Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass*, 82–97.
82. Ibid., 128–40.
83. Rosiek, Snyder, and Pratt, 'The New Materialisms and Indigenous Theories of Non-Human Agency', 337.
84. Watts, 'Indigenous Place-Thought & Agency amongst Humans and Non-Humans (First Woman and Sky Woman Go on a European World Tour!)'; Simpson, 'Land as Pedagogy'.

and opening to it."[85] Even non-Indigenous scholars have acknowledged that there is value in figuring out how to "learn from our biospheric place-mates."[86] I, myself fit into this category of scholars. Building on the work of both Indigenous scholars and posthumanists I explore the idea that moving to a landscape future beyond settler colonialism will require (in part) listening to and respecting diverse interspecies perspectives. Importantly, settler colonialism is an invasive structure which has not only impacted people, cultures, and societies, but also other-than-human worlds. I suggest that in observing the beaver in its self-engineered, mutually beneficial landscape community, an opportunity is presented to re-think the relationship between landscape systems and constructed settler colonial infrastructure.

Opening a dialogue with the beavers of the Bow Valley about mutually beneficial infrastructure building techniques presents a possible conceptual rupture to the body politic of the settler colonial infrastructural state. Not unlike the proposed flood mitigation infrastructures of the settler state, "beaver ponds create capacity for slowing and storing floodwaters at both local- and regional- scales, thus meeting the objectives of natural flood management strategies."[87] At Sibbald Fen during the June 2013 storm, it was observed that the beaver dams built sequentially in a cascade system had more resilience to the surging floodwaters than originally expected. Data from Sibbald Fen showed that when the upstream most dam suffered a breach:

> the outburst flood did not inflict fatal structural damage to the downstream beaver dams. It is likely that the dam immediately downstream (pond 52) was protected by the already full pond. Water level observations and the high water marks suggest that the water-sediment surge flowed over top of the pod 52 dam and spread across the valley floor.[88]

This most upstream dam was the only beaver dam to completely fail at Sibbald Fen during the entire storm. Even when beaver dams are damaged or suffer catastrophic structural failures during storm events, they are still able to retain some water and offer a reduced attenuation capacity. It is also significant to note that beaver ponds store water "transiently"[89] during large storms, simultaneously attenuating downstream impacts of flooding while also allowing the floodwaters to flow through the watershed. As the settler colonial state continues to insist on building more hard and ecologically damaging infrastructure in various attempts to mitigate against future flood events (such as a currently under construction debris dam on

85. Marker, 'There Is No Place of Nature; There Is Only the Nature of Place'.
86. Baldwin, 'Conceptualizing and Recognizing Placemaking by Non-Human Beings and Lessons We Might Learn from Marx While Walking with Beaver', 385.
87. Westbrook, Ronnquist, and Bedard-Haughn, 'Hydrological Functioning of a Beaver Dam Sequence and Regional Dam Persistence during an Extreme Rainstorm', 3735.
88. Ibid., 3734.
89. Westbrook, Ronnquist, and Bedard-Haughn, 'Hydrological Functioning of a Beaver Dam Sequence and Regional Dam Persistence during an Extreme Rainstorm'.

Cougar Creek)—rather than giving "room for the river"[90]—looking to the beavers of Sibbald Fen offers an opportunity to speculate on the possibility of an alternative infrastructural future for the Bow Valley. Beaver dams also have something to teach regarding time and longevity. The dams are intergenerational structures, collectively built and maintained by multiple generations of the same beaver family and passed on over generations. Following their abandonment by the beaver families beaver dams also become ecologically generative sites. After beavers leave a site, the dam slowly fails due to the lack of maintenance and the surrounding wetland is eventually transformed into a nutrient-rich and ecologically valuable meadow. To leave the landscape in a better condition than it was before damming is a lesson to be learned from beavers.[91]

There are many more things yet to be learned from beavers, their dams, and the ways in which they interact with their other-than-human environments. It is unsettling to think just how close these future lessons came to being lost to settler colonial violence. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the beaver was the centre of the North American fur trade, which saw the mammal hunted to the brink of extinction for its pelts, which were exported *en masse* to support of European hat fashions.[92] Already, potential beaver knowledges have been lost, despite the currently resurging populations of beavers. It has been posited that efforts to restore freshwater ecosystems in recent decades in America have been hindered by a lack of knowledge regarding the role of beavers in shaping those streams. By the time American surveyors mapped the watersheds of the continent, beavers had already been nearly exterminated from those landscapes.[93] As a result, the current "models for stream restoration have been built upon those profoundly disturbed, beaver-extirpated landscapes. Thus, the placemaking of most stream restoration efforts is seriously flawed because placemaking by non-human beings has been dismissed."[94] The beaver is not the only other-than-human species which has been pushed to the brink of extinction by the environmental violence of settler colonialism. An estimated quarter billion plains bison occupied the vast territory of the North American prairie from present-day New England to Oregon and Mexico to Alberta. By the late 19th century, their numbers had dwindled to only a few hundred as a result of settler hunting practices, drought, and settler

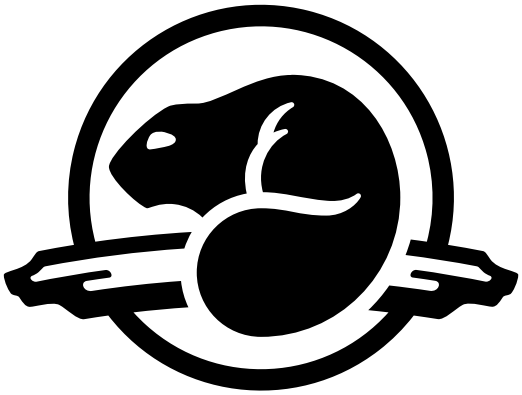
90. Bogdan, Beckie, and Caine, 'Making Room for Nature?'
91. Baldwin, 'Conceptualizing and Recognizing Placemaking by Non-Human Beings and Lessons We Might Learn from Marx While Walking with Beaver'.
92. Canada, as a settler nation, was built on the back of that fur trade. As a result, beavers have long held a special place within the Canadian imaginary. Canada's first postage stamp, issued in 1851, featured an image of a beaver. Since 1937 the design of the Canadian 5-cent coin has also included a beaver. In many ways, the beaver is an icon of the Canadian wilderness. An image of a beaver has also featured on the logo of Parks Canada since as early the 1920s, although the modern logo (a version of which is in use today) was designed in the 1970s.
93. Fouty, 'Current and Historic Stream Channel Response to Changes in Cattle and Elk Grazing Pressure and Beaver Activity'.
94. Baldwin, 'Conceptualizing and Recognizing Placemaking by Non-Human Beings and Lessons We Might Learn from Marx While Walking with Beaver', 382.

colonialism induced landscape changes (including the transformation of the prairie landscape into an agricultural region and the introduction of horses). In this way, the violence of settler colonialism has had impacts on all aspects of life on Turtle Island, and therefore, the development of unsettling futures must also include interspecies commitments involving the knowledge gleaned from other-than-human community life. Today, the beaver is an important emblem of the Canadian settler state. The logo of the national parks department has featured the beaver in many historical incantations including the current one. An image of a beaver also appears on the five-cent coin, opposite of the late Queen Elizabeth II. In a way, the two sides of this coin represent the settler colonial condition of the present day as well as a potential future beyond.

The Bow Valley emerges as a site of entangled infrastructures in tension. It is at once a natural watershed system, an access and communications corridor for the settler state, and a landscape shaped through beaver agency. In the aftermath of the June 2013 floods, the *Calgary Herald* published a book recounting its coverage of the event titled *The Flood of 2013: A Summer of Angry Rivers in Southern Alberta*.[95] The book's titular characterisation of the Bow River Watershed as *angry* is an interesting one, especially considering the topic of this chapter. One of the threads of this chapter includes exploring the capacity for the river to enact refusal and ultimately act as an agent of landscape change, the title of the *Herald*'s book seems to suggest something similar, that the river possesses some kind of innate other-than-human emotion or personality. This personification of the river implies an imaginary in which the river has agency and power. This idea is not new or unique to the Bow. There has been an increasing global interest in granting legal personality to rivers.[96] These have included the Whanganui River in Aotearoa/New Zealand in 2017, the Atrato River in Colombia in 2016, and the Rivière Magpie in the Canadian province of Quebec in 2021. However, in this chapter I have been interested in river personality not in the legal sense—which can be a useful framework in some contexts—but rather in a more ontological and experiential kind of personality, which I have elected to refer to as other-than-human *agency*. My decision to use the term agency is to emphasize that other-than-human entities like the Bow River and the beavers of Sibbald Fen can act actively as agents of landscape change. This other-than-human agency has the potential to directly and materially counter the changes imposed on the landscape by the settler colonial state. Finally, it is also important not to confuse this approach with the related but different framework of

95. Herald and Nenshi, *The Flood of 2013*.
96. For more information about river's rights and other legal rights of nature frameworks see Strack, 'Land and Rivers Can Own Themselves'; Rawson and Mansfield, 'Producing Juridical Knowledge'; O'Donnell and Talbot-Jones, 'Creating Legal Rights for Rivers'; O'Donnell, *Legal Rights for Rivers*; Witter and Satterfield, 'The Ebb and Flow of Indigenous Rights Recognitions in Conservation Policy'; Martínez Novo, 'Ventriloquism, Racism and the Politics of Decoloniality in Ecuador'.

viii. Two faces of the Canadian nickel



ix. Current Parks Canada logo

rewilding.[97] While rewilding is fundamentally about giving nature autonomy[98]—and autonomy is certainly related to agency—there is a significant ontological difference between allowing natural processes to unfold freely and directly dialoguing with other-than-human agents. What I am positing is a call for reciprocal knowledge exchange our other-than-human friends.

97. For more information about the approaches to rewilding in cultural geography see Prior and Ward, 'Rethinking Rewilding: A Response to Jørgensen'; Cloyd, 'Reimagining Rewilding'; Lorimer et al., 'Rewilding'.
98. See Woods, 'Ecological Restoration and the Renewal of Wildness and Freedom'.

conclusion

Wilderness and Infrastructure

> Decolonization is not an "and." It is an elsewhere.
>
> —Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor" (2012)

With this thesis, I have been interested in the different ways that natural landscapes have been framed and represented as wilderness within the Canadian cultural imaginary. In many ways, the wilderness imaginary in Canada can be thought of as an infrastructure of settler colonialism. Materially, the origins of the national parks system in the Rocky Mountains suggest that these constructed wilderness landscapes emerged as a spatial extension of the transcontinental railway and the settlement-urbanisation of Western Canada. As part of the infrastructure of settler colonialism, these landscapes have been made accessible and enjoyable through the labour of racialised Chinese and Black workers working for the Canadian Pacific Company in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The infrastructure of wilderness is also ideological in nature, as the cultural construction of nature as wilderness imposes a settler colonial power structure onto the land. While these settler colonial power dynamics have been traditionally spatialised as a hierarchy of urban and rural spaces, this thesis has shown how the making of wilderness landscapes can sometimes act in defiance to the traditional spatial distributions of power as set out under the framework of settler colonialism. On the ground, the infrastructures of settler colonialism are continuously interfacing with interconnected networks of social, ecological, and climatic systems which are themselves also in constant

flux in response to each other. Looking within the tensioned interactions between the infrastructures of settler colonialism and these underlying landscape systems (as a set of system-to-system relations) can reveal not only the strengths and weaknesses of the settler state, but also offer generative futurities. Moments of infrastructural disruption have served to unsettle the settler colonial status quo, revealing generative tensions which can be captured to envision a future landscape informed by decolonial and other-than-human relations.

This coming together of nature, urbanism, and rurality under settler colonialism draws lines of influence from a few different topics in urban research, which admittedly reflect my own intellectual background. First, it takes notes from planetary urbanism's notion that urbanity extends beyond the physical space of the city.[1] However, my arrival at this expanded notion of the urban beyond cities comes from a discursive journey through settler colonial theory rather than a reading of Marxist theory. As a framework, settler colonialism has different underlying theorisations of power which I believe are valuable to understanding the way in which urbanity is constructed. Setter coloniality centres land and nationalism as core supports for power (rather than markets and capital), allowing for a more direct understanding of how urban spatialisations underscore the violence of Indigenous dispossession and other forms of racial violence. Second, it introduces an opportunity to broaden discourses on the relationship between nature and urban space, further challenging the idea of urban nature's natural-ness (or lack thereof)[2]—even outside of cities. While a large body of previous work in environmental history[3] has engaged with the idea of rural nature's inherent constructed-ness, little work has placed this in direct dialogue with urban discourse, as I have done with this thesis. Thirdly, it positions settler colonialism as a significant actor on urban processes, diversifying the interdisciplinary influences on urban theory.[4] Viewed through the framework of settler colonialism, I have come to see the relationship between urbanisation and settlement as almost tautological—that is, settler space is ideologically urban and urban space is settler in conceptualisation. All of these urban influences are further filtered through the intellectual traditions of landscape studies, where an emphasis on the visual comes together with careful attention to ecology, design, and systemic thinking.

1. See Arboleda, 'In the Nature of the Non-City'; Brenner, *Implosions/Explosions*; Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labour*; Harvey, 'Globalization and the "Spatial Fix."'
2. Gandy, 'Urban Nature and the Ecological Imaginary'.
3. Cronon, *Uncommon Ground*.
4. Jazeel, 'Urban Theory with an Outside'.

6.1 Wilderness

Spatially, the wilderness imaginary has been produced as geographically removed and separate from urban space. But at the same time, this framing has also required the naturalisation of an ideology that can best be described as urban. Hegemonic power in settler colonial states is culturally and politically concentrated in metropole cities. However, as I have attempted to show in this thesis, in the Canadian context, nationalist cultural imaginaries are also heavily centred on a collective valuing of the nation's natural landscapes as wilderness, which are by definition, located outside of (and oftentimes far away from) cities. In other words, the wilderness imaginary urbanises—at least, conceptually—the hinterland. The contradiction between geographical space and ideological place presented by the notion that the wilderness imaginary is an urban idea allows for the emergence of interesting power inversions; where in some moments of conflict, rural interests can take precedence over urban ones. These inversions are also potential moments of rupture in the settler colonial landscape, where voices subverting colonial power dynamics can be found. For example, in chapter three, I discussed an incident in 1914 in which the residents of Lake Louise in Banff National Park successfully appealed to decision makers in Ottawa to improve roads in their town by citing the national importance of the national park. This incident shows how settler colonial conceptualisation of a geographically remote landscape as nationally valuable grants it special status within the hierarchy of colonial space, moving up its place in rank, so to speak. Beyond human actions, disruptions to the colonial infrastructural fabric can also be enacted through other-than-human means. This is one of the central frameworks of chapter five, where the assertions of territory by the Bow River during the 2013 Southern Alberta floods are shown to disrupt the spatial power dynamics of the settler colonial state by damaging its important infrastructures. Beyond physical disfigurations to the settler colonial landscape, the actions of the Bow River also represent an ideological subversion of colonial conceptualisations of nature as wilderness. By enacting material transformations on the landscape, the agency of nature (represented here by the Bow River system) rejects its settler colonial categorisation—wilderness—as a force separate from human development.

Wilderness has also long been used as a cultural justification for settler land appropriation in Canada. Different expressions of landscape, both as a cultural framing mechanism and as constructed material spaces, have contributed to that project of dispossession. Contrary to a more straightforward understanding of wilderness as a force for dispossession (i.e. that the landscape was emptied of people to create the appearance of an untouched nature), this thesis has shown the Canadian wilderness imaginary to be a highly populated and urban place. Along this same vein, my infrastructurally-centred approach

has revealed how beyond Indigenous dispossession, the creation of wilderness—or more specifically, *settler wilderness*—historically implicated communities of non-Indigenous, non-settler Others into the settler colonial project—primarily through their working bodies and their structural exclusion from settler citizenship. These landscapes of labour are entangled with a wilderness imaginary which reflects settler colonial ideologies about land. As an ideological infrastructure of settler colonialism, the cultural making of wilderness has aided in naturalising the violent processes which underpin the material makings of that wilderness. In the colonial context, art historian Charmaine Nelson has observed how landscape representation has the power to possess: "The process of colonization entailed the literal and material reconfiguration or re-landscaping of territory as well as its visual artistic re-presentation as a unique imperial possession."[5] Writing about landscape painting in colonial Jamaica, Nelson highlights how the pastoral portrayal of enslaved black bodies in paintings of plantation estates performs an ideological naturalisation of colonial biopolitics. Cultural representations of landscape in colonial contexts are simultaneously an "act of dispossession and re-possession, a dispossession of indigenous populations and presence and the installation of European populations, methods and ideologies."[6] This can also be seen in representations of the Canadian landscape. As chapters three and four of this thesis have shown, depictions of the Canadian wilderness from the turn of the twentieth century are dotted with anachronistic and racist representations of Indigenous people as well as migrant people at work. This is evident in the marketing materials promoting the Rockies for tourism—initially led by the Canadian Pacific Company, and later taken on by the Parks Department. It can also be seen in different forms of travel writing from this period, including the articles written by Lady Agnes Macdonald, the wife of Canada's first Prime Minister. The racial hierarchies of settler colonialism and British imperialism are clearly evident in these writings. As my analyses of the different guidebooks and travel texts about the Rocky Mountains has indicated, this rhetorically produced imaginary is nuanced in its contribution to settler colonial land appropriation; Indigenous people are not erased from the wilderness, but they are portrayed as fading relics of a long-ago pre-modern era. Similarly, Chinese navvies are represented at work, labouring to build the infrastructures of the settler colonial state. In this way, the constructed wilderness can be said to reflect the urban spatial patterning and biopolitics of settler colonialism, with the cultural development of the wilderness imaginary (as an expression of landscape ideology) operating as a naturalising political mechanism of soft power for the settler state. Put simply, the wilderness is a deeply biopolitical space.

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5. Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica,* 14.
6. Ibid., 19.

The geographies of wilderness are also revealing as spaces of settler colonial conflict and contradiction. The historical linkages between Indigeneity and the European representations of wilderness in landscape art exist in tension with settler colonial ideologies of elimination. This tension is remedied in part through cultural replacement: settlers take on aspects of Indigenous life as a way of simultaneously erasing Indigenous bodies and distinguishing settler life from life in the colonial metropole. As chapter four has suggested, these acts of settler nativism are heightened in spaces of wilderness such as the national parks. In addition, the inclusion of Indigenous people in these settler activities as guides, outfitters, and facilitators has throughout history resulted in various forms of colonial oppression, which has at times been disguised as enfranchisement. It is an often cited phenomenon in settler colonial studies that the creation of settler identity often includes the co-option of some aspects of Indigeneity, in part to distinguish the settler colony from the former colonial mother- or father-land (sometimes called settler nativism). The conceptualisation of the Canadian landscape as a shared national wilderness, in part, facilitates this, by providing nationally representative views of wilderness and spaces for settler performances of Indigeneity.

6.2 Infrastructure

When I first began my research for this PhD, I had envisioned in my mind a thesis which centred around the development of the Canadian national parks system, focusing on the four oldest and most famous national parks—Banff, Jasper, Yoho, and Kootenay—all situated in the Rocky Mountains. Together, this cluster of internationally renowned national parks (along with a handful of adjoining provincial parks and the protected Burgess Shale Cambrian fossil area) covers an area stretching approximately 400km in the north-south direction and forms the Canadian Rocky Mountain Parks UNESCO World Heritage Site. Centred on Banff, this region can also be considered the birthplace of the Canadian national parks system, and thus, a significant geographic node from which the Canadian landscape imaginary spread to all corners of the country. However, as my research progressed, the importance of the national parks seemed to fall away. While initially I was interested in how the national parks—birthed at the end of the 19th century in the Rockies—had expanded across the continent and became both a symbol and a system of Canadian settler colonial identity; as it turns out, the history of these parks, although significant, are only one part of the story of landscape, wilderness, and Canadian settler colonialism. The national parks are but one piece in the complex web of infrastructures which imprinted the western Canadian landscape with the marks of settler colonialism—to focus solely on the parks without contextualising their development within the wider processes of settlement and urbanisation of the west occurring at the end

of the 19th century would be too naive. With this wider view in mind, the transcontinental railway rose to prominence as a subject of study in place of the national parks system. It was the building of the railway in the Rockies that inspired 19th century industrialists to exploit its landscapes for tourist dollars, constructing it for the settler and European gaze as a must-see wilderness. It was also the construction and operation of the transcontinental railway that utilised Black and Asian workers to make those wilderness landscapes visible and visitable to settlers and European travellers. The railway is all at once an infrastructure of access, settlement, imperialism, and nationalism. It is also an infrastructure which ultimately led to the design and development of the Western Canadian wilderness.

Although the geographic core of this thesis can still be thought of as the Rocky Mountains and the Bow River Valley, the Canadian Pacific transcontinental railway has come to feature as the most prominent physical infrastructural system tying together this thesis. I will humbly admit that this focus on the transcontinental railway is not particularly groundbreaking, as this important infrastructure is a well-studied and multi-facetted subject of Canadian history. It was in fact, the topic of Harold Innis'—perhaps Canada's most famous political economist—PhD thesis, which was published as a book in 1923.[7] The link between the railway and the development of national parks in the Rocky Mountains is a well-known and often retold narrative in Canadian history books, including in official histories about the national parks put out by Parks Canada.[8] The labour of Chinese navvies in building the railway in British Columbia is likewise an often acknowledged and infamous part of national history—perhaps most notably, brought to national attention in 2006 with an official apology from the Prime Minister and symbolic payments to survivors. The significance of the railway continues into the present day. Although today the railways in Canada are not heavily used for passenger journeys, they remain an extremely important network for transporting goods and natural resources across the vast and unevenly populated country. Protests and inclement weather which disrupt the nation's railway lines frequently make national headlines and can be the source of political turmoil. These protests often also offer a reminder of the colonial origins of the Canadian railway system. For instance, in early 2020, protesters acting in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en Nation's fight against the Coastal Gas Link pipeline in northern British Columbia captured national attention by blockading a number of rail lines in Ontario and Quebec, disrupting crucial transportation connections in the St. Lawrence corridor.

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7. Innis, *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway*.
8. See Harkin, 'Our Need for National Parks'; Lothian, *A History of Canada's National Parks;* Luxton, *Banff*; Robinson, *A Report on the Natural and Human History of Banff National Park.*

Where my approach to the history of the transcontinental railway stands out is in engaging with it as a contested landscape of settler colonial difference, where it touches and is touched by the concepts of wilderness, design, race, urbanism, labour, other-than-human life, and decoloniality in intersecting ways. From the outset of this PhD, I have been intentional in engaging with this research in conceptually intersectional and historically cross cutting ways. That is why the literature review presented in chapter two is structured the way that it is. Settler colonialism is an all-encompassing tempest on the Canadian landscape and it is impossible to study any one aspect of it in isolation, even as a heuristic exercise. As a result, this thesis both challenges and builds on existing work studying nature and wilderness in settler colonial contexts by engaging simultaneously with the entangled topics of dispossession, labour, and other-than-humanism in all their overlapping complexity. In particular, I challenge that settler colonialism is a conflict between Indigenous and Settler ontologies and suggest that it can and should be studied intersectionally through more frameworks, including Asian studies, Black Studies, and posthumanism.

At the close of chapter five, I discussed how the Bow Valley between Banff and Calgary acts as a site of colonial and other-than-human conflict. Even more than this, the Banff-Calgary infrastructural corridor is a site which dually represents the material and ideological infrastructures of the settler state. The road, rail, and utility line connections between Calgary and the Rocky Mountains hold material legacies of the urbanisation of the prairies and the electrification of Calgary. Meanwhile, the cultural tensions between the city and the mountains also represent the creation of the Canadian wilderness imaginary—not only is this the birthplace of the Canadian national parks system, but very the idea of the wilderness cannot exist without its ideological dislocation from the colonial urban fabric of the city. Beyond this infrastructural duality, the corridor encompassing Calgary and Banff marks the main crossing of the Rocky Mountains in Western Canada, and can therefore also be thought of as the east-west inflection point of Canadian settler colonialism. This division between east and west is explored in chapter four, where the opening up of the Rocky Mountains by the transcontinental railway allowed the extension of the Canadian Pacific route from Britain to continue across Canada to the Pacific and onwards to Asia. The trans-Pacific aspect of Canadian settler colonialism is understudied, and although I touch on some parts of this history—notably the indentured migrant navvies from China who came to build the railroad—there is much opportunity for more work in this area. In contrast to the myriad research that exists exploring histories of forced trans-Atlantic migrations to the Americas resulting from European colonialism, the topic of Pacific crossings by labourers from different parts of Asia to the Americas is significantly less studied.

6.3 Towards Unsettled Futures

Exploring the wilderness idea as a settler colonial framing of nature in Canada has opened up a series of critical reflections about infrastructure and its relationship to the continuity of the settler state. Wilderness, as imagined through settler framing, is not only an ideologically urban concept, but its application to rural areas also has the ability to subvert the classical power dynamics between colonial cities and their peripheries. The strength of the wilderness idea within the Canadian settler imagination gives remote regions like the Rocky Mountain national parks power. Whether framed through works of literature, visual art, or landscape architecture, wilderness can serve as an operative concept to reconfigure the power infrastructures of settler colonialism. The travelogues, guidebooks, and nature writing I have discussed throughout this thesis demonstrate how historically, the Canadian wilderness is littered with Indigenous mythology but also narratively absent of the historically violent Indigenous dislocations caused by settler colonisation. Narratives erasing histories of Indigenous dispossession under the guise of framing the landscape as vast wilderness were predominant and unchallenged elements of the Canadian settler imaginary for a long time. Thankfully, this is no longer the case. Arts and culture in Canada is rapidly evolving and with it, so is the mainstream (settler) imaginary. Works in genres such as Indigenous futurism are breaking these dissociated pasts in many creative and inventive ways. These include examples in literature,[9] film,[10] and visual arts. In the first chapter of this thesis, I mentioned that Parks Canada celebrated Canada's sesquicentennial in 2017 by offering free admission to all national parks across the country as a symbol of their importance in the national imaginary. That same year, *Shame and Prejudice: a story of resilience*, an exhibition commissioned by the Art Museum at the University of Toronto featuring the work of Cree artist Kent Monkman, also toured the country. *Shame and Prejudice* tells the story of Canada's history from the perspective of Miss Chief Eagle Testickle (Monkman's two-spirit alter ego), in the form of a multimedia satire that is as queer as it is decolonial—a style that runs through much of the artist's work.[11] Of relevance to the themes I've discussed in this thesis, *Shame and Prejudice* includes several large oil paintings by Monkman which directly subvert the Canadian landscape imaginary and the culturally effacing force of landscape representation in producing colonial power. For example, the painting *Clouds in the Canyon* (2008) depicts a white man standing at an easel on the edge of a cliff

9. Some important authors working in this space include Cherie Dimaline, Eden Robinson, Alica Elliot, Terese Marie Mailhot, and Billy-Ray Belcourt.
10. Notable recent films include *SGaawaay K'uuna* (Edge of the Knife) (2018), "Biidaabaan" (The Dawn Comes) (2018), "Three Thousand" (2017), and *Trickster* (2020).
11. Cvetkovich, 'Kent Monkman's Shame and Prejudice: Artist Curation as Queer Decolonial Museum Practice'; Johnson, 'Heads, Hearts and Museums: The Unsettling Pedagogies of Kent Monkman's Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience'; Morris and Morris, 'Camping Out with Miss Chief: Kent Monkman's Ironic Journey'; Nagam and Swanson, 'Decolonial Interventions in Performance and New Media Art: In Conversation with Cheryl L'Hirondelle and Kent Monkman'.

painting the landscape beyond, while a group of Indigenous figures dressed in drag pose directly in front of him (who he does not paint)—an explicit reminder of the power of the wilderness imaginary to erase Indigeneity from the landscape. Another piece, *Iron Horse* (2015), portrays Miss Chief directing a group of indigenous men as they push and pull on a wheeled iron horse statue in order to move it across a mountain valley on a track, offering a commentary on the colonising infrastructure of the transcontinental railway. Monkman's body of artwork—and the work of others like him—engages in powerful subversions of Canadian history and is a signal that these ideas are starting to enter the Canadian mainstream—i.e. settler—imagination.

It is here that I will locate myself and this thesis. The goal of this project has not been to develop applications for national parks policy, infrastructure development, or urban planning; but rather, this project has been one of genuine curiosity, undertaken as an intellectual exercise to explore and reconcile the deeply racial and spatial power relations caused by settler colonial hegemony in Canada. There are obvious real-world limitations to some of the conceptual places in which this thought exercise has ended up, including the unsettling potential of engaging with other-than-human agency within a society such as Canada, where the commodity status of land is so deeply entrenched—especially to avoid the trappings of recent developments around the world aiming to incorporate other-than-human personhood into Western legal frameworks. For example, the granting of legal rights to rivers in Aotearoa has been criticised for reproducing neoliberal power frameworks and sidelining Indigenous land claims processes.[12] However, as with artists working with queer and Indigenous futures, I believe that there is soft power in pushing against hegemonic imaginations. Located within the intellectual imaginary that is the western academy, this thesis represents my small attempt to open new ontological pathways and point towards an unsettled future—creating conceptual links at the intersections of Indigenous studies, settler colonial and decolonial theories, Asian studies, Black studies, and posthumanist thought.

While it is positive that Indigenous subversions to the settler imaginary are beginning to become more commonplace, the same unfortunately cannot be said about other settler colonial biopower relations. The mask of multiculturalism remains strong in the Canadian imagination, and has not yet given space for biopolitical reimaginations of the scale seen in recent Indigenous art. The material configuration and maintenance of the Canadian wilderness as a place for settler respite from city life has—as chapter four has demonstrated—historically relied on programmes where Asian, Black, and Indigenous bodies have

12. See Coombes, 'Personifying Indigenous Rights in Nature?'; also, regarding buen vivir in Ecuador see Radcliffe, 'Tackling Complex Inequalities and Ecuador's Buen Vivir'; Radcliffe, 'Development for a Postneoliberal Era?'

historically laboured in the backdrop to support white settler access, enjoyment, and recreation (especially activities perpetuating settler nativism) of the so-called wilderness. The spaces of wilderness are not exceptional from the racially stratified labour systems on which the Canadian settler colonial project has been built. While settler labour does occur in the wilderness, it has tended to be of the "mental"[13] sort—design, art, literature—rather than physical labour. These interludes into race, work, and infrastructure have opened many more avenues for future inquiry. One of the objectives of the chapter is to "shoal"[14] Asian histories against more conventional narratives of Canadian decoloniality. This broadens the discourse on settler coloniality beyond an Indigenous and settler ontological conflict into a more racially diverse (and bio-politically layered) context which scales up to the global scale of British imperialism—as political relations between China, Japan, and Britain have significantly shaped the realities of Canadian settler colonialism. Bringing in discourses from Asian studies into the larger conversation around Canadian settler colonialism serves to activate the Pacific sphere as a contested site where the power dynamics of settler colonialism have been historically influential but understudied.[15] There is much work yet to be done to give a more comprehensive view on the role of trans-Pacific migration to the European colonial period post-abolition-of-slavery, in relation to infrastructure and also other topics. This applies as much to Canada as it does to the rest of the Americas, where historically, trans-Pacific migrations occurred all along the western coasts of North and South America from Canada to Chile.

Under the entangled conditions observed throughout this thesis, I posit that un-framing natural landscapes from the idea of wilderness is a useful starting point for reimagining the infrastructures of settler colonialism. This un-framing is explored in chapter five by engaging directly with the forces of nature themselves. Informed by a series of measurements taken from the landscape—measures including the extent of floodwaters, price of crude oil, number of days closed, dollars of damage caused, tonnes of sediment washed away, and strength of beaver dam resilience—I attempt to understand what the position of the land could be. In this way, when nature is reinterpreted through an other-than-human imaginary informed by both Indigenous and posthuman conceptual frameworks, glimpses of unsettling futures can be found. To be clear, my intention with the thought experiment that is chapter five—to see through the eyes of the land—is not to present a prediction of the decolonial future. The Rite of Water is a heuristic narrative study—drawing from both Indigenous and posthuman conceptual frameworks—of the ontological possibilities of treating the other-than-human natural world reciprocally as part of the process

13. See Dümpelmann, 'An Introduction to Landscape Design and Economics', 556.
14. Lethabo King, *The Black Shoals*.
15. Perhaps with the notable exception of Hawaii.

of knowledge production as situated within the confines of Western academic practice. In doing this, I am signalling that the unsettled future might be found by bridging across these currently ontologically divided discourses[16] and the underlying colonial power differential between them. Colonialism is not only something that happens to people, but it also impacts the air, water, soil, plants, animals, and other members of the other-than-human community. Human activism and protest have demonstrated that there is anti-colonial power in disrupting colonial infrastructure.[17] Building on this notion, I suggest that these disruptions can also be initiated by other-than-human agents—as acts of other-than-human refusal—to disrupt settler transportation flows, residential infrastructures, and even financial systems to bring about generative, transformative, and restructuring landscape changes. Other-than-human nature, when de-coupled from the wilderness idea, intersects with notions of infrastructure to offer unsettling future imaginaries for the Canadian landscape. There is opportunity here for allyship across the nature-culture line—and this practice of interspecies crossing is common to both Indigenous and posthumanist scholarship.

Contrary to the implication of prefixes commonly associated with the decolonial project—such as "de-" and "un-"—the work of unsettling the Canadian imaginary is neither an undoing nor is it a return a past condition. It is rather a generative, forward looking, and future-oriented undertaking which will be guided by a coalition of ideas and actions stemming from the social and intellectual margins. In closing this thesis, I want to highlight that the conclusions I have drawn are intended to be generative. Not only do they point to future directions for research, but they also offer positive gestures towards unsettlement. Subverting the spatial power dynamics of colonialism gives precedence for the possibility of future power transfigurations led by voices from the periphery. Meanwhile, an opening up of discourse on racial difference within settler colonial theory beyond Indigenous-White (and even Indigenous-Black-White) frameworks presents opportunities for imagining a greater diversity of futures. Likewise, the disruptive powers of other-than-human refusal will lead to novel infrastructural configurations and ecological relationships, incrementally reshaping the landscape in increasingly unsettling ways.

16. Of Indigenous studies and posthumanism.
17. Pasternak et al., 'Infrastructure, Jurisdiction, Extractivism'; LaDuke and Cowen, 'Beyond Wiindigo Infrastructure'.

Attribution of Figures

Abstract

i. Map of Canada, *by author*

Chapter 1. Nature and Nation

i. Tom Thomson, *The Jack Pine, 1916-17,* National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Purchased in 1918 (no. 1519)

ii. Topographical survey of the Rocky Mountains, End Mountain sheet, 1888, (CU14029452) by Canada. Topographical Surveys Branch, issuing body.Canada. Office of the Surveyor General, lithographer., Drewry, W.S. (William Stuart), cartographer., McArthur, J.J. (James Joseph), 1856-1925, cartographer. Courtesy of Historical Maps Collection, Libraries and Cultural Resources Digital Collections, University of Calgary.

iii. Map of Canada, *by author*

iv. Map of Eastern Canada, *by author*

v. "Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Map of Upper and Lower Canada, and the Other British Possessions in North America. [Sheet 1]," originally published in 1823 by Carey, Lea & Blanchard (Philadelphia: USA), currently held by York University Digital Library; <https://digital.library.yorku.ca/historical-map-collection/geographical-statistical-and-historical-map-upper-and-lower-canada-and>

Chapter 3. On the Origins of Parks

frontispiece: Hon. Donald A. Smith driving the last spike to complete the Canadian Pacific Railway / Alexander Ross / Library and Archives Canada / C-003693.

i. Map of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1915, (CU14089273) by Canada. Railway Lands BranchCanada. Natural Resources Intelligence Branch. Courtesy of Historical Maps Collection, Libraries and Cultural Resources Digital Collections, University of Calgary.

i. The prairie section of the Canadian Pacific Railway / American Bank Note Company / Canadian Pacific Railway Company / Library and Archives Canada / G3471.P3 1884 .P72.

ii. Through the heart of the Rockies & Selkirks / Canada, National Parks Branch / M.B. Williams / Library and Archives Canada / COP.CA.INT.243; Kootenay National Park & the Banff Windermere Highway / M.B. Williams / Canada, Department of the Interior / Library and Archives Canada / COP.CA.INT.447; The Kicking Horse Trail / M.B. Williams / Canada, National Parks Branch / Library and Archives Canada / COP.CA.2.1999-1262; Waterton Lakes National Park, Alberta, Canada / M.B. Williams / Canada, Department of the Interior / Library and Archives Canada / FC3664 W38 W56 1982; Prince Albert National Park / Canada, National Parks Branch / M.B. Williams / Library and Archives Canada / COP.CA.R.1613; Jasper trails / M.B. Williams / Canada, National Parks Branch / Library and Archives Canada / COP.CA.R.1794.

iii. [untitled] Map; hand drawn by George Stewart, acc.3120/M317/oversize F, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.

iv. Diagram of Parks Canada regional offices, *by author*

v. Maps of national parks in Canada, *by author*

Chapter 4. The Far West

frontispiece: Canadian Pacific Steamships. 1918. "Canadian Pacific Ocean Services Pacific sailings." E. Chung Oversize and Graphic Materials. University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0216168.

i. Around the world, Canadian Pacific route / Canadian Pacific Railway Company / Library and Archives Canada / HE2810 C2 C257 1900.

ii. Ibid. *(collaged by author)*

iii. Scidmore, Eliza Ruhamah, and Canadian Pacific Railway Company. 1893. "Westward to the Far East : A Guide to the Principal Cities in China and Japan." Advertisements. Chung Textual Materials. University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0374481.

iv. Canadian Pacific Railway Company. 1914. "Empress of India and Empress of Japan Deck Plans." A. Chung Oversize and Graphic Materials. University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0216074.

v. Canadian Pacific Railway Company. 1919. "R. M. S. Empress of Japan Notice to Passengers." P. Chung Oversize and Graphic Materials. Canadian Pacific Railway Company. University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0135151.

vi. [unknown]. 1899. "[Sailors and Chinese Labourers Aboard the C.P. R.M.S. Empress of India]." P. Chung Photographs. University of British Columbia Library Rare Books and Special Collections. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0216819.

vii. The new highway to the Orient across the mountains, prairies and rivers of Canada./ Canadian Pacific Railway / Library and Archives Canada / FC73 C34 1901 fol.

viii. Immigration Timeline, *by author*

Chapter 5. The Rite of Water

frontispiece: Hell or High Water poster, C&B Advertising

i. Map of Calgary and Banff, *by author*

ii. Map of Bow Valley, *by author*

iii. Map of Canmore, *by author*

iv. Jakob, Matthias, Hamish Weatherly, Stephanie Bale, Ashley Perkins, and Brent MacDonald. 'A Multi-Faceted Debris-Flood Hazard Assessment for Cougar Creek, Alberta, Canada'. Hydrology 4, no. 1 (March 2017): 7.

v. Map of Calgary, *by author*

vi. Map of Banff, *by author*

vii. Map of Sibbald Fen, *by author*

viii. Canadian Nickel, Royal Canadian Mint

ix. Parks Canada logo, Parks Canada

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