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**THE JOYS OF THE LONG TRAIL:
THREE WOMEN ADVENTURE-TRAVELLERS IN CANADA
AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY**

by

Jane E. Reid B.A.

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Studies**

**Carleton University
OTTAWA, Ontario**

August 1990.

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ADVENTURE-TRAVELLERS IN CANADA AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY"

submitted by Jane Reid, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

At the turn of the twentieth century there were a number of women who embarked upon travels of adventure and exploration. Three outstanding Canadian examples of the genre of women adventure-traveller were: Mina Hubbard, who journeyed through Labrador; Mary Schaffer, who explored in the Jasper area of the Rocky Mountains; and Agnes Cameron, who spent six months travelling along the Northern waterways to the Arctic Ocean.

The travel journals published by Hubbard, Schaffer and Cameron record their adventures and give the reader insight into the motivations and interests that spurred middle class women to travel to remote areas. Their journals also reveal that women's responses to the experiences of travel were often quite different from those of male travellers of the period. By expanding the societally prescribed limits of acceptable female behaviour, these three women helped extend the possibilities for all Canadian women of this era.

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INTRODUCTION

For thousands of years individuals have responded to the lure of travel with its excitement, adventure, discomfort and danger. But for much of this span of time those who were able to follow the yearning of their hearts were men. Women, bound by biological, social and cultural webs, were left behind to tend the home fires. The role model of Penelope, spinning her life away by the hearth, as she awaited Odysseus' return from his wanderings, was not an unfamiliar one to women. In the medieval age, a few women were able to use the justification of the pilgrimage to see the world beyond their home village and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the popularity of the Grand Tour of Europe gave certain privileged women the opportunity to travel. However, until the late nineteenth century, travel was simply not a possibility for most women.

Advancements in technology and the easing of some of the restrictions on women's activities in the late Victorian era enabled an increasing number of middle class women to recognize that opportunities for individual travel now existed for those who were willing to grasp the chance. In the late 19th century an increasing number of middle class women, primarily British and American, began to travel to all areas of the world. These women travellers were not potential settlers nor tolerated additions to a male party of explorers, they were travelling independently, primarily for the purposes of adventure and sightseeing. Canada, too, had a group of women who sought the new sights and sensations that travel offered. However, despite the potential for women to travel more easily, there were still many obstacles placed in the way of women who did avail themselves of the opportunity.

Independent travel to foreign lands was regarded as strictly a male prerogative, as the public sphere continued to be seen as the male's domain. The individual female traveller challenged this prevailing cult of manliness and in response conservative social commentators often portrayed her as an unattractive, masculine spinster. Despite this negative response women travellers embarked on journeys to many of the remote areas of the world.

Many middle class women must have felt a desire to escape from domestic confinement and the social restrictions imposed on females. The feat of adventure-travel was a defiance of the values of domesticity so emphasized by Victorian and Edwardian society. These women travellers had personal autonomy over their incursion into the public sphere: they chose their itineraries; they ultimately made all the final decisions. Davenport Adams in Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century (1906) commented:

Fettered as women are in highly civilized countries by restraints, obligations, and responsibilities, which are too often arbitrary and artificial ... it is natural enough that when the opportunity offers, they should hail even a temporary emancipation through travel.¹

Travel rewarded these women with a sense of physical and psychological freedom that was not possible within their own societies.

The reasons why these women went travelling were as individual as the women themselves. D. Middleton argues it was primarily to escape the stultifying restrictions of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' that women, who had spent a great deal of their lives in service to the Victorian ideals of submission and self-discipline, sought out the emotional release and intellectual freedom of travel.² C. Stevenson concurs with Middleton that women travellers were no doubt escaping domestic confinement, but she suggests that there was also a certain appeal to being viewed as an exemplar of the

new freedom and prowess of women.³ E.M. Kroeller posits that these women were the 'New Woman' of the late Victorian and Edwardian period, who rejected the ideology of femininity and set out to acquire a profession and fulfil their lives with a mission that would grant them a sense of individuality and independence.⁴ A key aspect of this search for independence was the freedom to travel at will. Mary Russell recognized that some of these individual women travellers set off on their journeys with no other motive than to have fun. However, the justification given by others in their travel accounts offers an insight into women's psyche. The reasons given as to why they went travelling were myriad; to recover from a broken love affair, to bring Christianity to the heathen, to pursue a scholarly interest, to expiate a private guilt, to carry women's civilizing mission to the far reaches, to glorify one's country, to finish a task begun by a loved one, to search for one's own identity. As Russell concludes, "... there may be no single one which predominates over all others. Like any spirited individual, each traveller is a conundrum, a tapestry of experiences whose pattern is so complex as to defy the simple definition."⁵

Whatever the impetus for their journeys, these 'lady' travellers recorded their experiences in diaries and journals. Some of these accounts were for personal or family consumption, others were for the express purpose of publication. The narratives produced offer not only interesting glimpses of the areas to which these women travelled, but also fascinating insights into their own lives and self perceptions. T.D. MacLulich has divided travel or exploration narratives into three categories: quests, ordeals and odysseys.⁶ In his analysis the quest and ordeal formats tend to dominate male travel literature; if the journey ended successfully, it is a quest, if it ended in disaster, it is an ordeal. The dangers and hardships are emphasized; the journey is seen as a series of crises, the explorer is portrayed as a

hero. In these two types of accounts each event has a clear relationship to the traveller's goal; people, episodes, the countryside are mentioned only if they relate directly to the traveller's progress towards his goal. Unlike quests and ordeals, odyssean accounts place less emphasis on the goal and more on the incidental details of the journey. This form, according to MacLulich, is the one most commonly used by women travellers in their accounts. The personal interests of the traveller determine the focus of the narrative, although generally there are two main themes that are emphasized: the anthropological or the personal. In the anthropological approach, the traveller investigates the nature of the native way of life; in the personal account, the traveller sets out her own learning process undertaken during the course of the journey. Whatever the particular slant, the female narrator is usually careful to portray herself as unheroic.

A survey of women's travel/exploration accounts in Canada in the years 1880-1914, reveals that there were three basic types of travel undertaken by women in these years. One category was the relatively straightforward sightseeing trip, taken usually by young single women or a woman in the company of her husband or family, with the objective of experiencing carefully controlled adventure and excitement.⁷ A second category involved trips into remote areas, basically untouched by European civilization, either with a male relative or individually, with the express objective of achieving self-imposed goals.⁸ The third group of women's journeys were fact-finding missions undertaken to investigate unique cultures and environments and were commonly funded by an organization that would benefit from a positive report.⁹ Many of the accounts written by the women involved in the more personal type of travel were never published for they were for their own or their family's eyes only. The narratives that were published do support

the validity of MacLulich's theory concerning women's inclination to write odyssean travel narratives.

The focus of this study will be to concentrate primarily on the travels of three women who sought adventure in the more remote areas of Canada in the years, 1905-1912 and each of whom published an account of her journey. The women selected as the subjects for this paper are Mina Benson Hubbard, Mary T.S. Schaffer and Agnes Deans Cameron. Hubbard and Schaffer fit the second category of woman traveller, for personal and emotional needs sent them off on their journeys, whereas Cameron, although self-funded, was seeking information on subjects with which she had no direct personal involvement.

Mina Hubbard in 1905 was the first European to successfully traverse Labrador from south to north. The account of her arduous journey, published in 1908,¹⁰ makes it clear that a major impetus of her endeavour was the desire to exculpate her husband's reputation. Leonidas Hubbard had perished two years earlier in his attempt to accomplish the same trek across Labrador. In addition to her published travel journal there also exists at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa (NAC), Mina's private journal written during the journey. This detailed daily recording of her experiences, reactions and emotional state provides an interesting comparison to her edited and revised public account. The Hubbard Diaries at the NAC also include the diary kept by Leonidas Hubbard on his ill-fated journey and an account written years later by George Elson, the guide on that expedition. The personal journals are augmented by extensive news reports on Mina's expedition found in the Halifax Herald and the New York Times of the period. After the successful completion of her journey Mina addressed the American Geographical Society and the Royal Geographical Society and embarked

upon a lecture tour. Interestingly enough, thirty years after her exploit, she went on a second lecture tour.

Agnes Cameron was an ex-teacher from British Columbia who undertook a second career in journalism. She hoped to take advantage of American, British and Canadian interest in the newly opened Canadian North by visiting the area and then writing and lecturing on the subject. In 1908 she set off on a journey of several thousand miles along the Northern waterways to the Arctic Ocean in a re-tracing of Alexander MacKenzie's trip of the eighteenth century. She published her experiences in an enthusiastically received book ¹¹ and embarked upon an extensive lecture tour. The popular response was so positive that the Canadian government hired her to spend two years in the British Isles giving lectures on the benefits of emigration to the Canadian North. Cameron had an extensive correspondence with Prime Minister Laurier and regularly sent reviews and accounts of her lectures, all of which are found in the Laurier Papers in the NAC. A first-hand account of Cameron's work in England can be found in the diary kept by her niece, Mabel Cameron, who accompanied her aunt during this tour.¹² In addition, Canadian and American newspapers widely reported on her lecture tours in their respective countries. Cameron wrote many articles for the popular magazines of the day and was a frequent subject for the women's section of Canadian newspapers.

Mary Schaffer was a Philadelphia socialite who first accompanied her husband on his botanical excursions into the Canadian Rockies. After his death she visited these mountains every summer spending several months on horseback excursions into remote areas. In 1911 she published an account of her expeditions of 1907 and 1908 into the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan and Athabasca rivers and Maligne Lake.¹³ The Canadian Alpine Journal also carried a series of

articles written by her about her experiences. The Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta, holds an extensive collection of her papers, articles and unpublished manuscripts. These three women all had unusual travel experiences and for the good fortune of current and later generations had them published.

The secondary literature concerning women travellers of this time period is relatively extensive for the British and American 'globe-trotters'. The most helpful books are D. Middleton's Victorian Lady Travellers, and M. Russell's 'The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt'; Women Travellers and Their World.¹⁴ Middleton gives an overview of the societal expectations for women in this era and discusses at some length the adventures of seven of the most outstanding examples of female adventure-travellers. The approach of Russell is to write a general historical survey of women travellers from the earliest records up until current times, in order to delineate the characteristics and experiences shared by the women who challenge their society's perceptions of women's capabilities. Her bibliography is helpful in its outline of the travel literature that is available. Other books, although focused on one particular geographical area or a different interpretation of travel, were helpful in their contribution to the composite image of the Victorian globe-trotter.¹⁵ Paul Fussell's work, Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars, serves as a helpful guide to the literary genre of travel writing; unfortunately, his focus is almost exclusively male writers.¹⁶ There are many excellent resources that provide the necessary information about middle class women's position, roles and obligations in the society of the time; two of them are, Alison Prentice et al., Canadian Women: A History and D.Gorham's The Victorian Girl.¹⁷

At the present time there is no overall study in existence on Canadian women travellers. There is a chapter devoted to women in E.M.Kroeller's Canadian Travellers

in Europe, 1851-1900 but the majority of the book concentrates on the male Canadian tourist and his experiences with European culture.¹⁸ Other secondary sources which provide some useful information about the main subjects of this study are: Davidson and Rugge's, Great Heart: The Story of a Labrador Adventure for material on Mina Hubbard, and Cyndi Smith's Off the Beaten Track which includes an account of Mary T.S.Schaffer's trips.¹⁹ Secondary information on Agnes D.Cameron appears to be restricted to the occasional journal article.

There are common threads that drawn together form an image of the late Victorian and Edwardian adventure-traveller. The literature indicates that the majority of independent women adventurers were older middle class women who, relieved for a time of familial and financial obligations, ventured out to try the liberating experience of travel. Their rationale for travelling and their personal response to their experiences are unique to each woman, but they were all subjected to similar pressures from their society as to the expectation of women's activities. By choosing to travel in a particular manner, adventure-travellers found themselves outside the accepted norm and in the somewhat uncomfortable position of being regarded as oddities. The accomodations and adjustments made by Mina Hubbard, Mary Schaffer and Agnes Cameron, travelling in Canada's wilderness at the turn of the century, offer insights into how individual women tried to find a compromise between society's ideology of women and their own personal dreams and ambitions.

¹D. Adams, Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century. (Bloomsbury, 1906).

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- ² D. Middleton, Victorian Lady Travellers (Chicago, 1982).
- ³ C.B. Stevenson, Victorian Lady Travel Writers in Africa (Boston, 1982).
- ⁴ E.M. Kroeller, Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851-1900 (Vancouver, 1987).
- ⁵ Mary Russell, 'The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt': Women Travellers and Their World (London, 1986).
- ⁶ T.D. MacLulich, "Canadian Exploration as Literature," Canadian Literature (Summer 1979). Chapter three will elaborate on MacLulich's use of the terms, 'quest', 'ordeal' and 'odyssey'.
- ⁷ Some examples of this genre are: Ethel Davies' tourist journal of a train trip across Canada in 1899, NAC, MG 29, C108; Gwladys Mather-Jackson's diary of a cross-Canada tour on the Grand Trunk RR in 1911, NAC, MG30, C174; Christine McMillan's diaries of travels in the Canadian and American West in 1904-05, Provincial Archives of B.C.. There are also several travel diaries of European trips made by women in the first decade of this century available at the NAC.
- ⁸ Other adventure-travel accounts available are: E. Bailey, a journey from Banff to Cranbrook in 1910, H. Woods, a trek from Nass River to Kinkolith, B.C. in 1880 and Olive Heritage, a voyage around Vancouver Island in 1879 in the Provincial Archives of B.C.; E. Griffis, a canoe trip from Norway House to York Factory in 1913, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.
- ⁹ The opening of the West provided many women the opportunity to go travelling. Some of the many accounts are: Ella Hall, a trip to the Klondike in 1898, NAC, MG 29, C49; Mrs G. Curtis' journey through the Athabaska region in 1911, NAC, MG 30, C65; Lizzie McFadden's trip from Winnipeg to Prince Albert in 1879, NAC, MG 29, C25; and Sarah Patchell's My Extraordinary Years of Adventure and Romance in Klondike and Alaska, NAC, n.d.
- ¹⁰ M. Hubbard, A Woman's Way Through Unknown Labrador (Toronto, 1908).
- ¹¹ A.D. Cameron, The New North: Being Some Account of a Woman's 1908 Journey Through Canada to the Arctic, (New York, 1910).
- ¹² Mabel Cameron, Diary. NAC (MG 30 C178).
- ¹³ M.T.S. Schaffer, Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies (New York, 1911).
- ¹⁴ D. Middleton, Victorian Lady Travellers (Chicago, 1973); M. Russell, 'The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt': Women Travellers and Their World (London, 1986).
- ¹⁵ L. Miller, On Top of the World: Five Women Explorers in Tibet (Seattle, 1984), J. Keay, With Passport and Parasol: The Adventures of Seven Victorian Ladies (London, 1989), C.B. Stevenson, Victorian Women Travel Writers in Africa (Boston, 1982) and L. Hamalian, Ladies on the Loose (New York, 1981) are worth reading.

16 P. Fussell, Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars (Oxford, 1980). J.P.Stout's The Journey Narrative in American Literature: Patterns and Departures is of use for a North American perspective on travel writing.

17 A.Prentice, et.al. Canadian Women: A History (Toronto, 1988); D.Gorham, The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal (Bloomington, 1982). L.Chambers-Schiller's Liberty. A Better Husband: Single Women in America: The Generations of 1780-1840 (New Haven, 1984) and Martha Vicinus' Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women. 1850-1920 (Chicago, 1985) are of benefit to understanding Agnes Cameron's life.

18 E.M. Kroeller Canadian Travellers in Europe. 1851-1900 (Vancouver, 1987).

19 J. Davidson and J. Ruge, Great Heart: The Story of a Labrador Adventure (New York, 1988); C. Smith, Off the Beaten Track: Women Adventurers and Mountaineers in Western Canada (Jasper, 1989).

CHAPTER ONE

In 1893 the Board of Governors of the British Royal Geographical Society (R.G.S.) was faced with a disturbing problem; a group of dissentient Fellows of the Society had challenged the Board's power to allow women to become full members. Many of the members were aghast at the thought of ladies invading this male bastion of travellers and explorers. George Curzon, a redoubtable traveller in the Far East, trumpeted, "Their sex and training render them equally unfit for exploration, and the genus of professional globe-trotters ... is one of the horrors of the latter end of the nineteenth century."¹ Curzon's opinion prevailed and an unsatisfactory compromise was reached. The twenty-two women already admitted to the Society were permitted to remain but there were to be no further elections of females. Not until 1913, despite the increasing numbers of illustrious accomplishments by women travellers and explorers, did common sense prevail and full membership in the R.G.S. opened to both sexes.

These female globe-trotters were a phenomenon of the nineteenth century who appeared as women began to take advantage of the prosperity of the era and the greater ease of travel brought about by the steamboat and railroad. The most famous of these adventure-travellers at the turn of the century were British and American middle class women such as Isabella Bird Bishop, Mary Kingsley, Fanny Bullock Workman and May French Sheldon,² but Canada's Sara Jeanette Duncan also garnered public notice with her trip around the world. The chief criterion needed to gain public attention was a series of travels to exotic areas of the world --- particularly areas that were remote and untouched by few other European travellers. The nineteenth century witnessed an

explosion in travel and exploration as Europeans sought excitement, adventure, fame and fulfilment in new areas of the world. This was the era when it was deemed a significant accomplishment to tread inaccessible areas preferably with suitable hardships of cold, starvation, hostile natives and generally any other miserable vicissitude needed to test a person's mettle. But the public found it much easier to admire and respect men who travelled the world rather than any woman who followed the same pursuits. Despite this less than enthusiastic response, increasing numbers of individual women set out to see the world with their own eyes. By the end of the century, a handbook for women travellers could boldly assert that, "Nowadays, there is in reality nothing to prevent a woman from seeing every civilized, and semi-civilized country in the world without other protection than her own modesty and good sense."³ That writer was somewhat overly optimistic; there were many obstacles placed in the way of a woman who might wish to leave the perceived comforts of her middle class home for the wilds of a foreign, or even domestic, clime.

Victorian society was severely polarized according to gender --- women's sphere was the private one: the hearth, the home, the care and nurturance of children and husband or relatives. The public sphere was the male's domain and any woman who ventured into this area was viewed as outside the acceptable norm. The image of woman as 'Angel in the House' had sunk deeply into the middle class psyche. Women, restricted to the private sphere, were expected to be vigilant guardians of the family's moral principles and social standing. In the perfect home, men, tainted from their struggle in the corrupting world of the public sphere, were to find solace and purification, and from this domain, children, pure of heart and character, departed to their rosy futures. The acceptance of male superiority and female dependence and

passivity was nearly universal. The duty of all women was to be good wives and mothers and as such to acquire the necessary skills and training that would best suit them to fulfil their roles. This training did not incorporate intellectual pursuits to any great degree as it was believed that learning and achievement were strictly masculine undertakings. Any knowledge acquired by the female need only be sufficient to better complement the role of her husband.

This ideology of woman's role in society as one of dependency was reinforced by the popularity of Social Darwinism. Many scientists argued that gender roles were biologically based and therefore immutable. Males were naturally aggressive and rational; females, naturally passive and intuitive. Since the entire evolutionary process was based on these qualities, neither political nor social change would alter these ordained male and female roles. Scientific alarm was expressed that women's natural altruism might suffer a serious set back if they became involved in masculine activities. Indeed, there could be social disaster if women began to compete in the public sphere with men.

Intrusion into the public sphere, or independence of thought, character and action could invest a woman with a fatal reputation for 'eccentricity'. However, it was next to impossible to be a 'globe-trotter' and not demonstrate such capabilities. The activities of the female adventure-traveller were too far outside the female traditions of the time to be taken as normal actions for a woman, for she challenged the prevailing 'cult of manliness' --- the masculine self-image of sinewy men protecting the frail and helpless child-woman.⁴ A woman who wished to travel independently had to tread a fine line between personal ambitions and societal strictures. Sara Duncan clearly managed this delicate balancing act for one of her admirers declaimed that she "... went

around the world ... preserving refreshing vitality and force, while at the same time never stepping across the line of good form and propriety. Other women of this continent have made the same journey and earned only a reputation for lack of femininity."⁵ Women adventure-travellers helped break down the barriers between the public and private spheres. With their individual endeavours they opened up new avenues for their gender to discover or to express an individuality separate from the family and home. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, more and more women were willing to risk the assorted public sobriquets to undertake journeys of 'venturing out'.

The motivations for these non-traditional actions by Victorian women were both a reflection of their society's values and of the individual's personality. The era's passion for self-improvement through knowledge certainly had an impact on many women who sought different opportunities for intellectual stimulation and expression than were offered in their homes or social circles. Despite the limited educational backgrounds of many of these women, this group of globe-trotters were able to achieve a remarkable level of expertise in their areas of interest and to attain considerable recognition within scientific circles.

Marianne North, freed from familial responsibilities by the death of her parents, and undeterred by her lack of formal training, set off to investigate the world's tropical vegetation. For the next sixteen years she journeyed to Jamaica, Brazil, Sarawak, Ceylon, India, Australia, South Africa and Chile, painting and collecting various botanical specimens.⁶ Her contributions to the field of botany are memorialized in the names of five botanical varieties and the North Gallery in Kew Gardens. Mary Kingsley, born thirty years after Marianne North, experienced similar long servitude

and delayed escape from family obligations. Her explorations of West Africa and subsequent published accounts of the 'fish and fetish' of that area brought her public acclaim. Self-taught, Mary felt considerable anxiety that her books would fall below the high standards of Victorian scientific circles, but her combination of entertaining narrative with accurate anthropological information proved to be enormously popular.⁷ Her books were best sellers and her advice was sought by the intellectual and political elite of the day.

The Victorians' pursuit of improvement extended to assisting other, less fortunate people to improve their lives. This assistance was commonly a blend of religion and charity, the emphasis reflecting the objectives of the individual involved. The driving force behind the journeys undertaken by several Victorian women travellers was this desire to serve others. Annie Taylor, spurred by religious fervour, journeyed thirteen hundred miles across China into Tibet in the hope that circumstances would permit her to reach the forbidden city of Lhasa. She firmly believed that God had chosen her to bring the word of Jesus to the benighted Tibetans.⁸ This courageous woman, supplied with poor provisions, but an iron will, came closer than any of the well-equipped and experienced male expeditions that had preceded her. She was turned back by the authorities twelve miles from her goal but became the first European woman to enter Tibet proper.⁹ Her astonishing journey made her a celebrity. On her return to England, she addressed the Royal Scottish Geographical Society and several evangelical organizations; she was also flatteringly compared to Dr. David Livingstone, the African missionary-explorer.

Religious conviction was also the impulse that sent Kate Marsden, a British missionary-nurse, twelve hundred miles into Russia to visit Siberian leper colonies in

1891.¹⁰ The rigours of the trip destroyed her health but her sacrifice inspired a wave of Russian philanthropy that raised enough money to establish a hospital and housing for the lepers of Viluisk, Siberia. Back home in England, Queen Victoria praised her endeavours and the Royal Geographical Society named her one of its first women Fellows.¹¹

It was ill health that brought Daisy Bates to Australia in 1884 but it was her desire to assist the aborigines that made her a confirmed wanderer in the outback.¹² In her championing of the aboriginal cause she came into conflict with religious groups; she believed that the churches' proselytisation was aiding the erosion of the indigenous culture. For thirty-five years, Bates, as Honorary Protector of the Aborigines of Western and Southern Australia, travelled in the outback working to slow the destruction of the aboriginal world. She recognized that she had no hope of stopping the desolation of the people; all she could do was feed, clothe, nurse and advise them. When such measures ultimately failed, she would sit by their death beds and talk to them of the 'dreamtime'. Her extensive knowledge of aboriginal culture brought her status in anthropological circles and a CBE from the King. These awards were no consolation for her bitter realization that of the hundreds of aborigines with whom she shared outback life, "not one ever returned to his own waters and the natural bush life."¹³

Victorian society could accept most of the actions of women who travelled for religious or charitable reasons for those causes were seen as appropriate concerns for women. The pursuit of scientific knowledge could also be tolerated, if the focus was botanical or anthropological, that is, in the 'soft' sciences. It was also helpful if one's father had been connected to the subject studied for the perception therefore, was that

the daughter was dutifully carrying on her father's work. However, the women who travelled primarily for pleasure had a more difficult time gaining acceptance from their society as their actions were regarded as rather self-indulgent, an unseemly behaviour for women.

Adventuring was a direct confrontation to domesticity for it permitted the enterprising woman to escape the frequently oppressive demands of familial obligations and much of the social etiquette of the private sphere. Lady Florence Dixie rationalized her decision to travel by horseback across Patagonia in 1879 by writing, "... a longing grows up within one to taste a more vigorous unction than that afforded by the monotonous round of society's so-called pleasures."¹⁴ On the whole, women adventure-travellers tended to have fewer family obligations than the majority of the women in their society. Most were unmarried, so that once their service to parents was ended they were not hampered by the burden of husband and children. Isabella Bird Bishop rejected the marriage proposals of a persistent suitor until she was in her fifties and past child-bearing age.¹⁵ She, no doubt, recognized that travel with a child would be impossible; it would be difficult enough with a husband. Those among the travellers who were wives, appear to have married men who were unusual for their times. Alexandra David-Neel's and May French Sheldon's husbands provided strong emotional and financial support, but remained at home. Daisy Bates was one of the few women adventure-travellers who was a mother, but her son was raised entirely by his grandparents when the marriage disintegrated and Daisy began travelling.¹⁶

Released from intimate family bonds and a restrictive lifestyle, women travellers found that travel often had unexpected benefits. The decision to embark upon such travel necessitated a series of concrete actions --- a deliberate seeking out of experiences

greatly at variance with a typical middle class woman's socialization. As travellers, these women experienced personal autonomy over their incursion into the public sphere: they chose their itineraries; they ultimately made all the final decisions. Travel offered these women, even if just for a short time, an emotional and physical release that was not possible within their own societies. Illnesses, created in part by the inactivity and boredom of a middle class woman's life, magically disappeared during the trip only to re-appear on the return home. The heady experience of the self-directed life called women travellers back on the road time after time. In her autobiography, Freya Stark wrote of the lure of travel: "... the beckoning counts, and not the clicking latch behind you: and all through life the actual moment of emancipation still holds that delight, of the whole world coming to meet you like a wave."¹⁷

For the most part the middle class woman traveller sallied forth beyond the 'clicking latch' with little trepidation. Her upbringing had armed her with the expectation that no matter what type of individual she might encounter on her solo travels, her 'lady-like' demeanour would smooth the way. Margaret Fountaine, a Victorian traveller, echoed this presumption in her account of a struggle with a Corsican bandit: "What providence preserved me, as I was completely in the power of this man, I can never tell, only that I believe there is a special and direct protection over a pure and high-minded woman, which no man, however base, can break through."¹⁸ Interestingly, this mind-set seems to have been universally shared. Very few lady travellers' accounts record any harassment by the male inhabitants of the world's remote places. This expectation of courteous treatment for a 'lady' placed specific demands on the woman traveller to present the appropriate image.

To ensure that any 'base' man would recognize a 'pure' woman, the Victorian traveller took care to attire herself in clothing suitable to her class. High-necked white blouses, stiff corsets, and long heavy skirts were worn whether climbing the Himalayas, trekking through the jungles of Africa or riding across the deserts of Arabia. A woman traveller's clothing style was a confirmation to others of her middle class status and to herself, a comfort and a reminder of her own identity. As the nineteenth century waned and the female globe-trotter was followed by growing numbers of lady tourists, dress styles became more relaxed --- a simple grey dress and comfortable shoes was the recommended attire. However, the equipment thought necessary to protect a woman from the possible perils and inconveniences of a journey became far more complex. One of the travel guides recommended that a woman traveller carry the following: a hot water bottle; a wedge for the door; an emergency rope and pulley fire escape; a portable bath; a minimum of 28 medications, as well as bug powder, and for the most delicate, a portable, mahogany-rimmed chamber pot disguised as a bonnet box.¹⁹ The image presented by such a tourist must have highly amused women travellers such as Alexandra David-Neel who journeyed through Tibet equipped with a small pack and a begging bowl.

The women who took advantage of the dramatic changes in transportation technology were not just the individual female globe-trotters. By the end of the nineteenth century, the woman tourist was an increasingly familiar sight on the world's roads and pathways. As societal changes opened up opportunities to gain some economic independence from the parental purse strings, many middle class women grasped the chance to see the world. The railroad totally revolutionized ideas as to where and how women could travel. "For the Victorian woman, deeply imbued with a

sense of duty and of her proper station in life, a trip abroad was a bold step: upwards, by means of cultural self-improvement, and outwards, into realms of danger and freedom, one of the most liberating things she could do."²⁰ For many this act of liberation was assisted by the solicitous services of Thomas Cook's Tours. This company, initially founded in 1845 to carry temperance supporters to various rallies, quickly capitalized on the potential offered by the railroad. This new form of transportation, surmised Thomas Cook, could be used to encourage travel and thus satisfy the popular desire for an activity that would provide both leisure and knowledge. At the end of the 1850's, Thos. Cook's Tours offered its clients trips to all parts of the British Isles and France. In the 1860's and 1870's, Cook's tours expanded into Switzerland, Italy, Egypt and the United States. As the Victorian era drew to a close, Thomas Cook & Son had become a household name in Europe and North America with tours to every part of the world, an extensive network of hotels and offices, and a library of guide books and newsletters. The leisurely eighteenth century 'Grand Tour' of the wealthy upper class had been democratized and replaced by the energetic and whirlwind pace of the Cook's Tour. The 'real' travellers sniffed in disdain at the sight of the "i Cucchi"²¹ tourists swarming en masse through what formerly had been their terrain. For the female participants of the tours, however, "...our lives needed no other romance than was afforded by the perfect freedom [we] enjoyed."²² Shortly after he set up his travel business, Thomas Cook recognized the potential market to be found in the middle class, and in women in particular, and tailored his tours accordingly. Cook's company recommended hotels, advised women as to what areas, cafes and dance halls could be visited with propriety, and praised them for their perspicacity in travelling with its tours. Furthermore, it assured each and

every one that she would be quite safe and never lonely, even if travelling alone. The women responded enthusiastically and appreciatively. Wrote one of Cook's satisfied clients, "Many of our friends thought us too independent and adventurous to leave the shores of England ... with no protecting relatives We could venture anywhere with such a guide and guardian as Mr. Cook."²³

By the turn of the century, the railroad and organized travel had opened to the enterprising middle class woman opportunities that twenty years before had been available only to a few wealthy or very intrepid middle class women. Women were not hesitant to grasp the situation and use it to benefit themselves personally and socially. Women travellers began to be singled out as exemplars of the new freedom and prowess of women. These 'New Women' signalled middle class women's increasing exasperation with the uselessness and stultification of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' and were harbingers of the social and political changes occurring in women's roles. Davenport Adams in Celebrated Women Travelers of the Nineteenth Century (1906) commented: "This great and rapid increase in the number of female travellers is ... due to the greater freedom which women of late years have successfully claimed, and to the consequent development of powers and faculties, their possession of which was long ignored or denied."²⁴

While Cook's Tours of England, escorted groups of tourists to the cities and historical sites of Europe and the Mediterranean, technology, following the British model, was also having an impact on Canadian travel patterns. Here, trains and ocean liners were changing the face of the traveller. More and more frequently it was single, middle class women who took advantage of the new opportunities. In previous decades, travel opportunities had been reserved chiefly for well-to-do young men who,

it was believed, would benefit culturally and educationally from a leisurely saunter through the European capitals. Occasionally, a young woman was offered the same finishing touch to her education but she was carefully chaperoned by a male of the family and generally treated as a delicate and frail burden.

Societal changes and the appearance of the 'New Woman' brought a replacement for this image of the female traveller. The development of women's 'powers and faculties' meant that more women no longer spent their time waiting for marriage but actively pursued a career or at the very least a lifestyle that would stand them in good stead all their lives. Women artists, sculptors, writers and journalists were the first to set off to tour Europe in an energetic and independent style, defying conservative commentators who deplored their lack of demureness and passivity. In their footsteps came many more women. True, the Baedekers and Murrays were clutched in their hands and they were hustled by their guides along well-established tourist routes but they were there, present in the cathedrals of Rome or climbing the Alps of Switerland. They were not at the family fireside nor at church choir practice. It is no surprise that the magazines and newspapers of the day, recognizing a new trend, frequently published travelogues featuring women, and articles full of advice for the female traveller.²⁵

The focus of travel by Canadians was by no means exclusively Europe, although 'society people' were more likely to travel to Europe than inside their own country. The trans-Atlantic crossing was still expensive --- Canadians could not dash across to Europe as the British did so easily. But the new era of the railroad began to change how Canadian travellers viewed their own country. Where the railroad went, so went people --- more and more of them with each passing year. The unexplored areas

of the world were shrinking; by 1900 the European imperial powers seemed to have swept up the open areas of Africa and Asia and the American frontier was closed. Perceptive Canadians realized the value of our seemingly unlimited open space as a balance to the feelings of claustrophobia one could feel at home in the 'civilized' areas. It was an era that felt the world opening up to it --- there was a sense of new spaciousness as technology shortened distances and made a visit to any geographical location physically possible. Lakes, mountains, tundra, oceans were no longer as far away as they had been for previous generations. The completion of a trans-continental railway in 1885 enabled Canadians to see their own country in relative ease and comfort. Far-sighted corporate thinking at CPR headquarters led that company to embark upon a publicity blitz to lure foreign travellers to view the natural beauty of Canada. In the last decades of the nineteenth century increasing numbers of Americans and British visitors arrived in Canada to ride the trains from 'sea to sea'. Guided by these examples, more and more Canadians were encouraged to see for themselves their own beautiful country. Now a train could carry you to the very doorstep of your destination, or so it seemed to the late Victorian traveller.

A fortuitous combination of technology, increased leisure time, a larger number of people enjoying a disposable income and the growing popularity of outdoor recreation created a market eager to experience Canada's natural wonders. A major focus, strongly reinforced by the CPR publicity department, was the Rockies. In a pictorial guide to Canadian scenes published in 1901, the writer sketched a vision of the Rockies:

Here Nature has heaped in wonderful profusion
her marvels of lofty peaks, stupendous mountain
chains, abyssmal canyons, vast glaciers and

magnificent waterfalls.²⁶

The CPR promised to carry any traveller in tourist season from Montreal to Vancouver in four days on its Imperial Limited Express train, with the understanding, no doubt, that the traveller would break her rapid cross-country trip with a brief stop to view such wonders. Not all writers of travel guides to the Canadian Rockies were so smitten by them. Charles G.D.Roberts wrote laconically of Banff, "... good points of view and features of special interest accessible."²⁷ A correspondent for Saturday Night enthused, not about the mountains nor the glaciers, but about the Banff Springs Hotel. "This palatial hostelry ... has every modern convenience and luxury ... and is filled with pleasant people from May to October."²⁸ But other visiting travel writers were more excitable. The Baedeker guide of 1900 outlined the itinerary and costs (\$280 return) of a trip from Montreal to Vancouver for six weeks and described Banff as "one of the most charming summer resorts on the American continent "and urged that a visit to the three Lakes in the Clouds in the Bow Valley "should not be missed except through dire necessity."²⁹ The author of The Tourist's North-West trudged resolutely through the facts so important to the Edwardian traveller --- costs, travel time, quality of service, calibre of hotels, financial services; hunting, fishing and trail-riding expeditions; geological and botanical features. Interspersed amongst the data were soberly-worded quotes from other illustrious visitors to the region. But with her personal account of trekking in the Rockies, the author lets the reader catch a glimpse of the emotional side of travel: "... views of summits, alone or in combination, to whose beauty you respond by a catch in the throat, a thrill in the spine, and tears that burn beneath startled lids."³⁰

By the 1900's appreciation of the wilderness had caught popular fancy. The North American perspective on the wilderness was altering; now it was "something to be enjoyed before it disappeared rather than ... something to be embraced and conquered in order to survive or to serve the national destiny."³¹ There was an increasing demand for reading materials focused on nature and the outdoors and 'roughing it' became the new theme of holiday travel. Organizations such as the Alpine Club in Canada and the Sierra Club in the U.S.A., that provided an opportunity for amateurs to enjoy a group experience in the wilderness, grew in membership. This alteration in approach fit much more comfortably into the middle class woman's world. There was now less social risk if a woman chose to go off viewing the wilderness; after all was it not part of a woman's essence to be attuned to the beauty and grace of Nature's splendour? There was little expectation of a confrontation with Nature's harshness, particularly if one's view was limited to that seen from the railroad lines. This controlled access to the wilderness encouraged many women to embark on train and steamer trips to the various renowned beauty spots of Canada. Banff, Glacier House, Lake Louise in the Rockies; Victoria, Skagway, the Inland Passage on the West Coast all became familiar names to the well-read or well-travelled woman of the day. Published travel journals of these women --- most of them British, not Canadian tourists, reveal the expectations and highlights of such a Canadian journey.

These women came from financially comfortable families. Several of them, in fact, were of the aristocracy, not the middle class. In a way they were participating in a reverse 'Grand Tour'; rather than the classical sights of Europe, they were to see the untamed beauty of Canada. From the beginning, the assumption was that all travel arrangements would be the top of the line: the private railroad car, the first class cabin,

the best hotels, the letters of introduction. When reality did not match expectation there was some complaint uttered. The Duchess of St.Maur was offended by the 'rough' people she encountered in a 1st class railway carriage and Mrs Caddick 'blew up' a hotel bellboy for his casual demeanour in her presence. A British traveller wrote in exasperation that, after having gone to the expense of bringing her maid across the Atlantic, the servant had to be left behind in Toronto. "Travelling with a maid in this country is more trouble than can be imagined as ... no accomodation is provided and she is consequently always in the way."³² Many of these women travelled as members of official parties: Gwladys Mather-Jackson spent eight weeks touring Canada as a participant in the Chairman's Official Trip of the Grand Trunk Railway System in 1911 and Mrs Holbrook accompanied Lady Trutch, wife of the Lt-Governor of British Columbia, on a steamer trip up the B.C. coast in 1891. Even among the women who were touring privately it was common practice to travel in a sizeable entourage of family members and friends and to be suitably equipped with letters of introduction to various leading citizens of Canadian business and political circles. Ethel Davies' trip to Western Canada in 1899 was in the company of her mother, uncle, sister and cousin. The party interrupted their cross-country journey in Winnipeg to be the weekend guests of the Governor who graciously arranged for the services of a sergeant of the North West Mounted Police to guide them about Banff on their arrival there.

The observations and comments of these lady tourists are constrained by their mode of travel and in some cases by their reluctance to exert themselves. Mrs Holbrook refused the opportunity to go ashore on the Queen Charlotte Islands to view the Haida totems for as she put it, "I did not care to go, it was rather late and I thought I could see the totems quite well enough with the glass."³³ Those taking the trans-continental train

trip generally made brief stops in Montreal and Toronto, with the required side trip to Niagara Falls, and then embarked on one of the Great Lakes steamers to Ft. William. The trip across the Prairies was not found to be of any great interest : "I am somewhat disappointed in the prairies ... so far they have been level plains and pasture grass ..."³⁴ But when the train pulled into Banff enthusiasm increased, arising no doubt both from the beauty of the scenery and the comforts of the Banff Springs Hotel. Helen Caddick could not resist comparing the Rockies to the Dolomites and Tyrol " but on a grander scale,"³⁵ whereas Ethel Davies was in raptures over the "great white snow-capped peaks towering in awful grandeur away above us till one is lost in utter bewilderment and admiration too deep for words"³⁶ The tourists would spend a few days in Rocky Mountain National park, bathing at Sulphur Springs, hiking up Tunnel Mountain and perhaps, even if just for a moment, catching a sensation of solitude. The perceptive Ishbel, Countess of Aberdeen, despite her brief one-day stopover, recognized that, "... to appreciate scenery such as this ... time should be allowed for the eye and mind to drink in and realize what is before them. Solitude too, and deep, unbroken stillness, are needed, if you would be in harmony with these surroundings."³⁷ But for most lady tourists this touch of stillness made them feel lonely or nervous. 'A queer feeling being all alone in such a wild part' wrote one traveller in her journal.³⁸ At the time of this comment she had been a mere mile from Banff. They felt more comfortable re-boarding the train to Vancouver and resuming the conviviality of social interaction with their fellow travellers. In all likelihood these women tourists would have strongly concurred with the conclusion to the Duchess of St.Maur's travel narrative. "To thoroughly enjoy home one must travel, and when far

away, by comparison is realized the rest, the comfort, and the repose which one finds in no other place."³⁹

Leaving the beaten track and disregarding the comforts of life were not alternatives sought by the upper and middle class woman tourist travelling on the CPR. But there were also other middle class women who did push beyond the rail lines and their restrictions. Seeking different objectives, they travelled by canoe, horseback and foot away from the civilized places and into the wilderness. Their journals or reminiscences indicate that these travellers shared certain similarities of experience no matter the location of their individual trip.⁴⁰ These women most commonly travelled with their husbands or brothers to a location selected by him. The one exception was Mrs. Ray, who was sent ahead with her three children on a dog sled trip from York Factory to Gimli by her husband, who had to travel a longer route.⁴¹ There was considerable variety of trip locations but they were all well off the beaten track, ranging from the Yukon and Lesser Slave Lake to Vancouver Island and the Skeena River in British Columbia. The objective of the trip was primarily of an economic nature, whether investigating the possibilities of establishing a sawmill in the wilds of Vancouver Island, prospecting for gold in the Yukon, or speculating in real estate in Athabasca Landing. Helen Wood's trip with her brother Edward was somewhat different; it was to visit her sister at a missionary outpost on the Naas River in the interior of E.C..

Although these women do not appear to have had much input into the decision-making process involved in such trips, the message that comes through clearly is their enjoyment of the experience and their quiet pride in themselves. Despite the hardships of struggling over the Chilkoot Pass, Ella Hall recalled laughing a great deal as she and

others skidded down the icy descent. When she and a female friend were left alone by their prospecting husbands amidst an encampment of Indians, Ella handled with aplomb a constant stream of curious visitors who crowded into their tent and watched the doings of these white women with considerable fascination. Helen Woods snowshoed for several weeks up the Skeena and Naas rivers, camping in the snow, enduring dunkings through the spring ice and generally keeping pace with her brother and Indian guides. She could record lightly in her journal that "... the snow this morning was in splendid condition - we nearly flew over it - it was jolly fun ... making fourteen miles before lunch."⁴² The letters written by Gladys Curtis reveal an energetic and resourceful personality in a woman raised to be a proper middle class lady. She and her husband canoed down the Slave River from Lesser Slave Lake to Athabasca Landing. "I don't think a white mixed double has ever done it before, I was considered quite an uncommon specimen,"⁴³ she wrote proudly to her mother-in-law. Gladys kept her sense of humour but was not immune to the irritations such wilderness travel can bring:

One might emphasize the woes of camping were one inclined to carp! The agony of smoke in the eyes, the damp, wet sop of everything, the hardness of the ground for sleeping, the mosquitoes, mice and other pestilent creatures ... the never settled weather except when it is settledly bad ... but with all the discomfort, purely of a minor kind really, we are having a most pleasant time and feeling fine. ⁴⁴

Gladys enjoyed her adventure but similar to the others in this category of women travellers, was relieved and happy when it was finally over. "I long for a breath of real civilization, cream, ... silver forks and spoons and a deck chair on the terrace."⁴⁵ Perhaps that is one of the most predominant features of this group of women travellers:

they enjoyed their wilderness experience but were quite satisfied to see the end of it. For them, this type of travel was an anomaly in their normal lives.

The separation between the middle class woman who followed the well-beaten tracks to Canada's publicized scenic wonders and those women who shied away from such trafficked places can be denoted with the terms, 'tourist' and 'traveller' respectively. Lady tourists followed formally-structured itineraries, travelled in comfort and ease and caught only fleeting glimpses of 'unspoiled nature.' The lady traveller experienced a more direct contact with the wilderness but this interaction was partially screened by her husband/brother who organized the trip and acted as her guardian. However, there was a third category of middle class woman traveller at the turn of the century in Canada. She cannot be classified as a tourist or as a traveller but rather as one of the 'lady adventure-travellers'. Similar to the example set by many of the British globe-trotters, the primary concern of this woman was to immerse herself as personally and directly as possible into the whole experience of travel in remote areas. Agnes Deans Cameron, Mina Benson Hubbard and Mary T.S. Schaffer were outstanding examples of adventure-travellers in Canada in the first decade of the twentieth century. Cameron journeyed down the Northern waterways to the Arctic Ocean; Hubbard traversed Labrador from south to north and Schaffer explored the remote areas of the Rocky Mountains. The female adventure-traveller operated with a considerable degree of independence from 'civilized' support systems. If she used the organized travel network at all, it was as a means to an end, definitely not the end itself. Her travels were primarily self-directed for if there were men in the party they were not relatives nor intimates but hired by her to provide guide and transport services. The journey was undertaken alone or in the company of another female who shared wholeheartedly the

enthusiasm for and joy of, travel. The emotional response to travel by these women was so positive and overwhelming that frequently the end of a trip brought despondancy and a desire to escape again into the wilderness. Mary Schaffer was able to return frequently to the mountains but Agnes Cameron's and Mina Hubbard's lives took different directions. Nevertheless, these women recognized that their particular travel experiences had reinforced a strong sense of self and had taught them a fine appreciation of personal independence. They no doubt would have been amused by the Duchess of St. Maur's comment about a single woman traveller met deep in the interior of British Columbia. "She was a strong-minded woman whose appearance would have warranted her being able to travel round the world alone."⁴⁶ What the Duchess intended as a belittling remark, they would have seen as a compliment and a recognition of well-earned independence.

¹ Quoted in D.Middleton, Victorian Lady Travellers (Chicago, 1982), p.13.

² Isabella Bishop travelled extensively in the American Rockies, Persia, Turkestan and the Orient. Mary Kingsley's accounts of her travels in West Africa were best sellers in England in the 1890's. Fanny Workman, with husband in tow, cycled across Europe and India and climbed the Himalayas. May French Sheldon -- Bebe Bwana to the Africans -- led a safari through East Africa and earned a fellowship in the Royal Geographical Society. Middleton, Victorian Lady Travellers, chap. 1,3,5 passim.

³ Quoted in C.B.Stevenson, Victorian Women Travel Writers in Africa (Boston, 1982), p.2.

⁴ E.M.Kroeller, Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851-1900 (Vancouver, 1987), p.89.

⁵ Hector Charlesworth, "The Canadian Girl and Appreciative Medley," The Canadian Magazine (October 1893): p.191.

⁶ Middleton, Victorian Lady Travellers, pp. 58-69 passim.

⁷ K. Frank, A Voyager Out: The Life of Mary Kingsley (Boston, 1986).

⁸ L. Miller, On Top of the World: Five Women Explorers in Tibet (Seattle, 1984).

⁹ Ibid., p.49.

¹⁰ M. Russell, 'The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt': Women Travellers and Their World (London, 1986) p. 48.

¹¹ Julia Keay, With Passport and Parasol (London, 1989) p.92.

¹² Ibid., p.118.

¹³ Quoted in J. Keay, p.137.

¹⁴ Quoted in W.D.H. Adams, Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century (Bloomsbury, 1906), p.438.

¹⁵ Russell, p.165.

¹⁶ Keay, p.120.

¹⁷ Freya Stark, Traveller's Prelude (London, 1950), p.37.

¹⁸ Quoted in M. Russell, p.182.

¹⁹ M.Feifer, Going Places: The Ways of the Tourist from Imperial Rome to the Present Age (London, 1985), pp. 170-1.

²⁰ Feifer, p.169.

²¹ The nickname commonly used in Italy in the 1870's to describe visitors on organized tours.

²² Feifer, p. 182.

²³ Feifer, p. 170.

²⁴ Adams, p. 383-4.

²⁵ Saturday Night (Toronto) carried a regular feature titled, "Travel and Talk" for several years, 1912-1914, in its women's section. The Girls' Own Annual, 29 & 30 (1907, 1908) produced a steady stream of articles with such titles as, "How to See Foreign Countries", "From a Desert Diary", "The English Girl in a Foreign Hotel".

²⁶ Canada's Scenic Grandeur from Photos Furnished by the Canadian Pacific Railway and Wm. Notman & Son 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1901), n.p.

²⁷ C.G.D.Roberts, The Canadian Guide Book (New York, 1898), p.289.

²⁸ Saturday Night, Aug. 22,1903, p.7.

²⁹ Karl Baedeker, The Dominion of Canada, with Newfoundland and an Excursion to Alaska; Handbook for Travellers 2nd rev. ed. (Leipzig, 1900), p.219 & 222.

³⁰ Ruth K. Wood, The Tourist's North-West (Toronto, 1916), p.359.

³¹ Earl Pomeroy, In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America (New York, 1957), p.89.

³² Susan Somerset, St.Maur, duchess of, Impressions of a Tenderfoot (London, 1890), p.20.

³³ Mary Holbrook, Jottings by the Way (Portland, 1891), p.14.

³⁴ Ethel Davies, Diary. NAC.

³⁵ Helen Caddick, Diary. vol.2 NAC.

³⁶ Davies.

³⁷ Countess of Aberdeen, Through Canada With a Kodak (Edinburgh, 1893), p.134.

³⁸ Caddick.

³⁹ Somerset. p.279.

⁴⁰ The journals referred to are those of Mrs. George Ray, Mary Cleaver Wilson, Mrs. G.S.Curtis, Ella Hall, and Helen Kate Woods located in the NAC or the Provincial Archives of B.C.

⁴¹ Mrs. George Ray, "York Factory to Red River by Dog Team," The Beaver (March, 1941): p.29. Her trip took place in December 1907 when her children were 7, 4, and 2. She was accompanied by 3 teams of dogs, 4 drivers and 1 guide.

⁴² Helen Woods, Diary, 11 March, 1880.

⁴³ Mrs. G.S. Curtis, Letters, 19 July, 1911.

⁴⁴ Curtis, 23 June, 1911.

⁴⁵ Curtis, 31 July, 1911.

⁴⁶ Somerset, p.158.

CHAPTER TWO

Three women, Mina Hubbard, Agnes Cameron and Mary Schaffer, helped establish a model for female adventure-travel in Canada and made a significant contribution to the Canadian public's perception of women travellers. In common with other women adventure-travellers, there were few signs in the early lives of Hubbard, Cameron and Schaffer that they would be acclaimed as travellers and explorers but accidents of fate re-directed all of them.

Mina, born in 1870 in the small Ontario village of Bewdley, was the youngest daughter in a farm family of five girls. As was relatively common at the time, she left Canada when a young woman, to train as a nurse in the United States. She graduated from the Brooklyn Training School for Nurses and nursed in New York City and Staten Island. Evidently, she was an excellent nurse and administrator for she rose to the position of superintendant of the Virginia Hospital in Richmond, Va. One of her patients in 1899 was a New York City journalist, Leonidas Hubbard Jr., who was recovering from typhoid fever. Once he had re-established his career as associate director of Outing, a wilderness magazine, they married on January 1, 1901. Within two and a half years he was dead of starvation in the wilds of Labrador.¹ This cruel twist of fate shattered Mina; all her hopes and dreams for the future were gone with Leonidas' death.

Mina was most supportive of her husband's plan to spend the summer months of 1903 with two companions in a search for the headwaters of the Nascaupi River in Labrador. Labrador was one of the few unexplored areas of North America and Hubbard was anxious to claim the honour of being the first white man to traverse its

wilderness from south to north. Hubbard was an impulsive young man with a taste for risk-taking and a strong belief in the power of the human spirit. One of his favourite poems was Rudyard Kipling's, "The Explorer", with its message: "Something hidden / Go and find it / Go and look behind the Ranges - Something lost behind the Ranges / Lost and waiting for you. Go! "2 Using the somewhat dubious training of a few summer and winter camping experiences in New England, Leonidas Hubbard planned his exploration of Labrador. The Hubbard expedition was doomed from the beginning. Inadequately equipped and under-supplied, the men turned up the wrong river the first day out. Weeks of endless portaging from one small lake to another brought them in mid-September within sight of one of their goals, Lake Michikamau. Here they turned back but they had left it too late; winter caught them and all game had fled from the area. Fifty miles from help, Hubbard collapsed and could go no further. His two companions, Dillon Wallace, a New York friend and George Elson, a half-breed Cree woodsman from Missanabie, Ontario, left him to go for help. Reaching the nearest food cache, Wallace turned back with some flour but in his weakened condition, amidst a blinding snowstorm, missed Hubbard's tent. Elson staggered on another five days until he reached a trapper's cabin where he was able to organize a rescue party. The party found Wallace alive but with badly frozen feet on October 28 but Hubbard was dead. His last diary entry was dated October 18 . He had written:

I am not suffering ... I'm sleepy. I think death from starvation is not so bad. But let no one suppose I expect it. I am prepared - that is all. I think the boys will be able with the Lord's help to save me.

To my wife, Mrs. Mina B. Hubbard

My Sweetheart:

Dearest, Dearest Girl: I want to write you a long, long letter but first I must write a few short ones ... Your sweetheart,

Leon.³

On one of the last pages of the diary were written in barely legible script, the words 'My Dearest dear' but nothing more.

Rumours of the fate of the Hubbard Expedition began to leak out to the newspapers. On November 1, 1903, The New York Times carried a headline, " Fear Explorers Are Lost,"⁴ but it was not until the end of January that the disaster was confirmed by a telegram from Wallace.⁵ In May 1904, Wallace and Elson finally reached New York bearing with them Hubbard's body. Stories began to circulate that the tragedy was a result of Hubbard's incompetence and poor planning. Distraught, Mina commissioned Wallace to write the story of the expedition in order to clear her husband's name. When The Lure of Labrador Wild was published, Mina was devastated. In her reading of the text, Wallace had done nothing for Hubbard's reputation but rather implied that Wallace was the hero of the expedition.⁶ Angry and bitter at this perceived betrayal, Mina severed all contact with Wallace. Her feelings towards Wallace were also no doubt coloured with the resentment that he had survived and her noble 'Laddie' had not. The widow of a lost explorer feels a special kind of grief, for she has both to endure the loss of a beloved partner and to live with the knowledge of something uncompleted.⁷ Early in 1905 Mina heard that Wallace was planning another Labrador expedition. He would reap all the glory that rightfully belonged to Laddie: she resolved to embark on her own Labrador expedition that summer. Mina was able to make such a decision because she had no family obligations with which to be concerned. The Hubbards had no children; perhaps they had chosen to delay a family until Leonidas was well-established in his journalist career and had made his mark as an explorer. It was this personal freedom that permitted Mina to set off on her own journey to Labrador in an attempt to achieve her husband's goal.

Early widowhood was also the fate that befell Mary Sharples Schaffer. After a pampered and protected life she found herself at the age of forty-two needing to rely on her own resources. Mary, born in 1861 into a wealthy Quaker family in Philadelphia, U.S.A. was given the education common among young Victorian ladies, an emphasis on the decorative arts rather than preparation for a career. However, as was frequently the case with other middle class woman adventure-travellers, her father was a role model for her chosen interests. Through her father's scientific pursuits she was exposed to opportunities that kindled an interest in natural history. As a young woman she studied flower painting with George Lambden, a well known American artist, neatly combining a personal interest with a socially appropriate activity. The family's wealth permitted them to embark on several major trips --- by train to California and the Rockies, by steamer to Alaska. Later in her life, Mary recounted how a story heard in her childhood of an Indian Wars' massacre kindled a romantic fascination with the West and its native peoples. "'Twas the story of a baby of the plains in the long ago which touched the heart of a baby in a sheltered home and opened her eyes to an understanding which surpasses words."⁸ Her personal knowledge of the reality of Indian life was severely limited but all her life Mary would treat with sympathy and respect the Indians with whom she came in contact, an approach that would bring decided benefits in her later explorations.

During her twenties, Mary pursued cultural and scientific activities appropriate to a young woman of her social class, background and wealth. In 1896 she was elected a member of The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia through her friendship with the Vaux family, whose interest in glaciers had taken them on several summer excursions to the Canadian Rockies to study the Illecillewaet Glacier. In 1889 Mary Vaux, a glaciologist and mountain climber, invited Mary Sharples to accompany her

family on their annual summer visit to Glacier House, near the Illecillewaet Glacier. It was on this trip, her first to the Canadian Rockies, that Mary met Dr. Charles Schaffer, a wealthy Philadelphian doctor with a passion for botany. The next year Mary married the doctor, who was some twenty years her senior. Her choice of husband meant that for the next eleven years Mary would spend her summers near Banff, Alberta assisting Charles in his collection of mountain flora for his pioneering study on the alpine flora of the Rockies. Mary was definitely not initially smitten with a love of the wilderness: she regarded the pack horses as tricky and vicious; feared the rocky trails along the precipices; disliked the cold and discomfort of camping and generally saw herself as too weak and fragile for the entire experience. When she was an experienced trailrider, she would laughingly tell the story of how a pack of ponies was specially brought seventy miles so that the Schaffer party could ride three miles to view Lake Louise. Despite her aversion to roughing it, Mary felt it her duty to leave the social circle and comfort of city life to accompany her husband each summer. The marriage produced no children to whom she could properly devote all her time, or stay in Philadelphia to nurture. Thus, in keeping with her upbringing, she felt she should be by her husband's side. Gradually, she developed an affection for the beauty of the Rockies; her attitude helped, no doubt, by her realization that she could work on an almost equal footing with her husband. Her artistic talents, newly developed in photography, and her training in drawing, proved to be invaluable in the illustration of Charles' collection. It is an indication of the quality of Mary's work that several of her hand-painted slides of mountain flowers were selected to be shown at the Paris 1900 Salon of Women Photographers.⁹ No longer would she simply be Charles' errand girl, she would make her own meaningful contribution.

This fruitful working relationship came to an abrupt end in 1903 when Charles died of heart failure. The shock of his death was compounded by the deaths that same year of her parents and the bitter realization that she had been left in a precarious financial situation. Near the end of her life she wrote that, "... I was left to stare the future in the face with very little. All this taught me ... to lean on no one and make the best of the crumbling fortunes ... I made my own life afterward."¹⁰ Mary's innate strength of character revealed itself in this crisis. With the guidance of R.B. Bennett, a friend of her husband, she was able to restructure her finances so successfully that they provided a comfortable income the rest of her life. Once this urgent matter was resolved, she turned her attentions to her husband's and her own incomplete botanical work. "I knew I must lay down the playing with botany and take it up in seriousness for I had touched the place where there was no longer the companion to help me in my work and I knew I must face the future alone."¹¹ She arranged that Stewardson Brown, botanist of The Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, should finish the writing of the book but she would collect the needed specimens. This final task was not an easy one, for the missing samples were only to be found far from the civilized areas, compelling Mary to travel far deeper than ever before into the interior of the mountains. Her decision to take on this last act of service to her husband had a significant impact on the rest of her life.

Agnes Deans Cameron too, had to deal with a loss. It was not a bereavement but rather the loss of her profession that re-directed her life. She was born the youngest of a family of six in the Crown Colony of Victoria, B.C. in 1863 of Scottish parents who had been lured north from California by news of the B.C. gold rush. Agnes wrote: "... like most overseas girls, I was brought up to do something and to earn my living"¹² She took her teacher's certificate, as had her mother and grandmother

before her, and taught in Granville and Comox. She returned home to Victoria to live with her mother in 1890 when her father died in an accident. Shortly after this move she became the first female high school teacher in B.C. and in 1894 was appointed the first woman principal. These 'firsts' give a clear indication that Agnes was determined to attain equality in the male-dominated hierarchy of the teaching profession. Cameron was one of the 'New Women' of the late Victorian age; she was a professional who supported herself and was deeply involved in women's organizations and causes. Roberta Pazdro identifies Cameron with "the first generation of Canadian feminists who have been called 'equal right feminists' for she believed in the full equality of men and women."¹³ Agnes' particular interest was education rather than suffrage and she wrote numerous articles outlining her views on how to improve the education system for both boys and girls. In fact, her strongly expressed opposition to the introduction of domestic science into the school curriculum led to a clash with her sister members of the Local Council of Women. "I was anathema and ultra-conservative. I was unprogressive and lazy. Did I know that cooking was a good thing..."¹⁴ Cameron devotedly held to the philosophy that education should teach one how to live rather than how to make a living.

As she became more outspoken in her views on curriculum and priorities, Cameron also came into conflict with the male authority structure. She antagonized her male supervisors and the Victoria School Board with public denouncements of their discriminatory attitudes and practices against women; they became determined to exert their 'male' authority. Agnes had crossed the line demarcated at this time for career women: "... as long as they (single women) were not too obviously ... assertive about their demands for themselves, independent women could be accepted."¹⁵ In 1901 she took the school board to task over their proposal to grant only male teachers a salary

increase. She lost the argument but garnered considerable public support for her stand. That June the school board felt it had found a way to punish Agnes for her outspokenness. The trustees suspended Cameron and another principal for allegedly disregarding their orders to replace written exams with oral ones. It was no coincidence that the two principals who were to be censured were female. The confrontation was eventually resolved privately and Cameron and her colleague were re-instated; no doubt this reversal by the board was partially due to public pressure, for Agnes was a popular teacher.¹⁶

A shrewd and resourceful woman, Cameron must have realized that there would be future conflicts and that it would be best to prepare herself for possible negative repercussions. In the following years, she spent more time on her secondary career of journalism, publishing articles in Canadian and American magazines on a myriad of topics. In 1905, Cameron and the School Board were at loggerheads again over the charge that she had allowed the Art students in her school to use rulers on their drawing exam. When the Board fired her, Agnes prepared to fight. Confronted by public petitions and outraged letters to the newspapers, the Board requested and was granted a judicial inquiry. Two months later Judge Lampman ruled against Cameron's case and her firing was upheld. Ironically, three other principals, all male, accused of the same infraction, retained their positions. Male authority was victorious. In April, 1906 the government suspended Cameron's teaching certificate for three years and she found herself:

... branded as one unworthy to hold the position of teacher, and turned out in the world with that slur upon me to make a living after a quarter of a century spent in the service of the young people of British Columbia. ¹⁷

That same year, Agnes' mother died and the family home was expropriated and demolished by the City of Victoria in order to extend Government Street. It is no wonder that she made plans to leave Victoria.

Fortunately, amidst all these personal troubles, Agnes' talent as a journalist was recognized by the Western Canada Immigration Association. As one of the guest speakers at the third annual convention of the Canadian Press Association, she was invited to be the Immigration Association's guest for a two week tour of northwest Canada. Shortly after, the Association offered her a job in their home office in Chicago writing promotional literature on Canada's West. Accepting this offer, Agnes moved to Chicago late in 1906 but began planning her own trip to the Northwest. This trip would be far different from the luxury of the Immigration Associations's private railroad car.

Travel was to be the response to the personal needs and obligations of these three women: Mina and Mary to finish their husbands' work; Agnes to build a new career. Their motives for 'going adventuring' were similar to those of the majority of late Victorian women travellers for it was frequently a personal or family change coming at a later stage in her life that acted as a catalyst to launch the middle class traveller on her voyage. Mina and Mary certainly had the justification deemed appropriate by their society to support the rationale for their journeys and thus need not be unduly concerned that they were stepping too far outside the bounds of acceptable female behaviour. The duty of the widow to her husband's reputation or endeavours was a very powerful sentiment. Agnes was in a less secure position from a traditionalist's perspective, but she was a spinster, free of family responsibilities and in need of an income so as not to be a burden on her brothers. Moreover, her earlier life was a clear indication that Agnes, as a 'New Woman', was already less susceptible to such old-fashioned thinking.

In the winter of 1905, Mina wrote to George Elson, her husband's guide on his ill-fated expedition, requesting him to meet with her, without Wallace's knowledge, in order to plan a trip through Labrador. 'Strong-willed and determined' was how Mina's great-nephew described her and it must have been those traits that convinced Elson to agree to accompany Mina on her challenge. She had also been able to arrange financial support from the American Peary Club through the assistance of two friends of Leonidas.¹⁸ One week after the Wallace expedition passed through the city, The Halifax Herald reported the arrival of Mina and George accompanied by two other woodsmen: "Mrs. Hubbard Doubts Wallace's Story of Trip: His Book and Her Husband's Diary Vary on One or Two Points and Mrs. Hubbard Is Determined To Find Out the True Facts of Her Husband's Death."¹⁹ The race was on, although Wallace was unaware of Mina's challenge until the two parties inadvertently embarked on the same supply ship to Rigolet, Labrador. There must have been a chilly silence until the two groups disembarked at N.W. River Post to begin their wilderness race.

On June 27, 1905, at the age of thirty-five, Mina set out on her six hundred mile journey up the Naskapi and George Rivers to Ungava Bay (map A.1). Amply provisioned, she was accompanied by four experienced canoeists and woodsmen in two canoes. Her equipment included a sextant as she intended to survey the river course of the Naskaupi River, a task that had been one of Leonidas' objectives. Her personal outfit consisted of a camera, a revolver and a .22 rifle for protection from wild animals, a 'short' skirt (above the ankles), moccasins, long underwear, a rubber automobile shirt [raincoat], a Swedish dog-skin coat, a blouse for Sundays, an air mattress, a feather pillow and hot water bottle.²⁰ Mina's baggage reflects the blend of practical planning and proper feminine attire adopted by the Victorian lady traveller. Thus equipped, she set out on her hazardous two month canoe journey through the

wilds of Labrador: "It did not seem strange or unnatural to be setting out ... rather there came a sense of unspeakable relief in thus slipping away into the wilderness, with the privilege of attempting the completion of the work my husband had undertaken to do."²¹

Mary Schaffer's preparation for the trips that would garner her acclaim as an explorer of the Rockies were more lengthy than those of Hubbard or Cameron. Her most immediate task was to develop the skills and endurance needed for longer treks into the wilderness, in order to gather the plants missing from her husband's collection. She turned for help to Tom Wilson, one of Banff's pioneer outfitters. Wilson assigned Mary to William 'Billy' Warren, a young Englishman who had emigrated to Canada in 1902 and within two years had built a reputation as a reliable guide. It was an excellent match. Later, Mary would write of Billy that, "... for kindness, good nature and good judgement under unexpected stress, he had no superior."²² In the summer of 1904, her preliminary trips began when Warren led Mary on several short collecting trips to the Yoho and Ptarmigan Valleys. The next season of 1905, they trekked to the country around the North Saskatchewan River and on to the Kootenay Plains where Mary met a Stoney Indian by the name of Sampson Beaver, who would play a key role in her famous 1908 expedition to Maligne Lake. On these summer treks Mary was kept busy gathering the necessary flora, learning to handle the recalcitrant Indian ponies and adapting to the rough life of wilderness camping and the unpredictability of the weather. However, there was also another matter that concerned her - the need for a travelling companion. Mary was not prepared to challenge the social mores of the period to such an extent as to spend weeks alone in the wilderness with an all-male outfit. Fortunately, on one of her early excursions she made the acquaintance of Mary

'Mollie' Adams, a teacher of geology at Columbia College, New York and also a Quaker:

... we two friends made all sorts of plans for the future, but firmly decided to keep our numbers to two. We never broke our rule after that. We never had a ruffle of disagreement in the thousands of miles we meandered with ponies, we had daily pleasure in spite of rain and snow, heat and mosquitoes and heavenly days in between.²³

Mollie and Mary travelled together three 'perfect' summers, until Mollie's sudden death in 1909.

The Schaffers' collection was finished by Mary by the end of the 1905 excursion and she turned it over to Stewardson Brown to complete the writing for she did not have the training, education or confidence to tackle the writing of a scholarly book on botany. Alpine Flora of the Canadian Rocky Mountains was published in 1907 under Brown's name; the dedication was to the memory of Dr. Schaffer and the coloured plates and illustrations duly acknowledged as Mary's work. Mary had fulfilled her obligation to her husband and wrote proudly that, "... while I went through case after case of heart failure ... I finished that botany, learned a little more about flowers ... learned considerable more about Indian ponies and learned a great deal about the people who lived three thousand miles from what I had always held sacred as civilization."²⁴ But what was she now to do with the rest of her life? She had come to love the mountain wilderness and missed "the aromatic bough beds, our loved horses, the evening camp-fire ... the soft sweet balsam-laden air ..." ²⁵ when she returned to her Philadelphia home. She had sufficient income, a compatible travelling companion, a trustworthy and reliable guide; why not continue to return to the Banff area every summer? As a well-to-do middle class woman, such summer perambulations would be regarded as just slightly unusual, particularly if Mollie and Mary kept their treks within frequently-travelled areas. But she and Mollie found that the increasing number of

tourists visiting Banff were leaving their imprint: hotels replaced tents, litter despoiled the landscape, new trails opened up former secret haunts. It was becoming more and more difficult each year to find what they both sought on these summer excursions: "the great un-lonely silence of the wilderness, and ... the emancipation from frills, furbelows, and small follies."²⁶ Trapped by the social expectations for women, Mary and Mollie sat and listened yearningly to stories of the beauty and ruggedness of the Rockies told by returning male explorers. In retrospect, Mary was to write that:

We fretted for the strength of man, for the way was long and hard, and only the tried and stalwart might venture ... In meek despair we bowed our heads to the inevitable, to the cutting knowledge of the superiority of the endurance of man...²⁷

But then came a momentous decision; Mary and Molly, chafing under the restrictions of women's limited horizons, defied such conditions and declared their equality to the ability of men to go exploring. "Then we looked into each other's eyes and said; 'Why not? We can starve as well as they ... the ground will be no harder to sleep upon ... -- so -- we planned a trip.'"²⁸ This resolve marked the first open defiance by Mary Schaffer of the prescribed roles of women and men. It was acceptable to travel in the wilderness if one did not stray far from the railroad or if one was travelling with male family members, but for two women to undertake exploration of the wilderness was eccentricity. It is an indication of how Mary and Mollie felt about the Rockies that they would consider braving the possible social repercussions.

It took Agnes Cameron two years to achieve the economic stability necessary before she could act on her travel plans. During this time she wrote numerous articles on the Canadian West and was elected vice-president of the Canadian Women's Press Club. Her new career as a journalist was well underway. A perspicacious individual,

Cameron no doubt recognized the journalistic value of an adventure trip through the Canadian North West to the Arctic Ocean. Stories of the West and North were quite popular with the magazine and newspaper readers of the day. Perhaps she understood the intrinsic appeal of these accounts in their association with the positive values of freedom and progress.²⁹ She declared in the opening pages of her travel account, The New North; "... the West that we are entering upon is the Last West, the last unoccupied frontier under a white man's sky. When this is staked out, pioneering shall be no more"³⁰ The possibility of augmenting her journalist subject material, coupled with a personal desire to see the North West, as an adventure-traveller rather than as a tourist, led Cameron to start serious planning of her adventure. Agnes did not wish to be part of a large organized tour party and let someone else, in all likelihood a male, structure her schedule for her. She was determined to travel as independently as possible so that she would have control over her own affairs. To Agnes' eyes, there were only advantages to be accrued from running her own show whenever possible. Initially, she approached the Thomas Cook Travel office in Chicago for assistance in planning her itinerary but they were completely flummoxed by her request. Guided perhaps by the 1900 Baedeker Guide to the Dominion of Canada, she turned to the Hudson's Bay Company office in Winnipeg.³¹ As she would later write:

No man or woman can travel with any degree of comfort throughout Northwest America except under the kindly aegis of the Old Company. They plan your journey for you, give you introductions to their factors ... and sell you an outfit guiltless of the earmarks of the tenderfoot.³²

In May 1908, appropriately equipped by The Company, Agnes Cameron, forty-five years old, set off on her great adventure. For companionship on this six month journey she took along her niece, Jessie Cameron Brown. Their route, by wagon, sturgeon-head scow and steamboat, would follow the Northern waterways from

Edmonton to the Arctic Ocean (map A.2). Agnes and Jessie travelled very lightly with minimal personal baggage: they "were determined not to be a nuisance and to show men that a woman could travel without half-a-dozen trunks."³³ As it was, their baggage, which contained a tent, bedding, food, rations, typewriter, camera and film as well as changes of clothing, must have been bulky enough for two women to wrestle on and off boats and wagons. On their first day out of Edmonton, despite the pouring rain and jolting wagon ride, Agnes was obviously exhilarated. This trip was to be the panacea for all the heartache of the last three years.

It is unfortunate that the travel diaries of Agnes Cameron and Mary T.S. Schaffer have been lost; thus it is necessary to extrapolate from Mary's and Agnes' published journals a sense of their personal response to the adventure of travel. Only Mina Hubbard's is still available to the interested reader. Mina Hubbard's travel journal makes an interesting contrast to her travel book, for the diary is as much a description of her interior journey as that of her exterior trek. This journey for Mina is not a light-hearted adventure but rather an attempt to find consolation for the sorrow of Leonidas' death and as his widow, devote one last act of service to her husband. Mina's journey is both a memorial and a race, involving honour and stamina, although underlying these virtues runs a strong vein of bitterness against Dillon Wallace. One of Mina's first diary entries shortly after her arrival in Labrador, hard on the heels of the Wallace expedition, consists of a diatribe against Wallace. She is clearly scraping an unhealed wound when she writes, "There was no trace of him [Wallace] having wandered about looking for the tent [where Leonidas died]. He simply turned around and went back ... it just looked as if he did not want to get to the tent."³⁴ The diary references to 'Laddie' are frequent in the first weeks of the journey as Mina's longings for him become almost insupportable:

Oh what this trip would be if he were here. I have to keep reminding myself that the hills he is climbing now must be so much grander and more beautiful ... an ever recurring feeling that it is wicked for me to be here when he is not and Oh how desperately hungry and sad. Yet not forgetting to be grateful that I can be here. But he was so brave and glad hearted and beautiful and he loved me.³⁵

But gradually the beauty of the region, the camaraderie with the crew and a sense of pride in her endeavour soothed the heartache. She recorded, "I had none of the feeling of loneliness ... I did not feel far from home, but in reality less homeless than I have ever felt anywhere, since I knew my husband was never to come back to me."³⁶ She can even wonder if Laddie might not wish sometimes to be with her. The excitement at intercepting the caribou migration, the appeal of the splendour of the river and hills, and the curiosity of seeing for the first time, the camps of the Montagnais and Naskapi Indians, enlivened Mina and gave her a pleasure she had not thought possible: "I wish I need never go back. I suppose I shall never again be taken care of in the gentle careful way I have been since we left N.W. River."³⁷ Despite this expressed desire to travel forever in a safe cocoon, Mina also recognizes that she has become a stronger person able to face a life without Laddie: "I mean to try to face the other life as bravely as I can and in a way that will honour the one I loved"³⁸

Initially, Mina's men led by George Elson, watched over her very closely: she was not allowed to go near rapids, if there were bear tracks she was watched constantly, and she could not explore the areas around the campsite alone. Mina is treated as a fragile package needing continual care. The one time she did receive 'permission' to climb a nearby hill alone, she frightened the men badly when she changed her route. Mina was so delighted to be finally left to her own devices that she decided to play a joke on her companions. She fired her rifle, then ran down one hill and up the next, and fired the rifle again. The men thinking she was in difficulties, rushed to find the elusive Mina. When they finally caught up to her she received a sharp

scolding from George who reminded her that she too had an obligation to ensure the success of this trip. If anything were to happen to her, Elson would be destroyed for he already had the disaster of the first Hubbard expedition on his conscience and reputation. Chagrined, Mina wrote: "I felt a good deal as I used to as a child,"³⁹ a reaction that is normal when one recognizes that one has behaved childishly.

She portrays herself as leader of this expedition but it is evident that it is Elson who makes most of the daily decisions and who has shouldered the responsibility of getting the group safely to Ungava in time to catch the last ship before winter. At times Mina chafes against her position --- "it seemed such an ignominious sort of thing to be an explorer, and have one of my party tell me I could not do something he has already done."⁴⁰ Mina is caught in the dilemma of many women adventure-travellers; the stereotypes of feminine behaviour she was inculcated with, have little application when travelling in an isolated area. She does enjoy being treated gently and carefully, but she also seeks the respect given to the person in command. Mina recognizes that it is on her companions' skills and expertise that the success of the expedition rests but she wishes she would have the opportunity to exert more meaningful authority. Her husband had little more wilderness experience than Mina but Leonidas' leadership was unquestioned by his companions even when it led them to disaster. Mina, as a woman, cannot expect the same obedience, nor for the most part does she really seek it. Most of the time, it is sufficient that she has full control over the one key decision --- if or when to turn back. This power, of course, comes from the fact that she is financing the expedition and the men are her employees. She must rely on George, Job, Gilbert and Joe to get her to Ungava safely and thus ensure Laddie's good name and lasting fame.

Mina has a crisis of confidence when the group reaches Lake Michikamau for this was the most northerly point in Labrador seen by Leonidas before he turned back

to his death. Her diary entries indicate that she is torn between the desire to succeed and the feeling that somehow she should not prevail where Laddie had failed; a response that reflects the difficulty Mina is having trying to balance her perception of a widow's appropriate role and the development of her own independence. Two days later, however, her spirits bounce back under the influence of the lake's beauty. "The two little canoes deep in the wilderness and those wild reverberant voices coming up from the invisible beings [loons] away in the 'long light' which lay across the water."⁴¹ By mid-August Mina begins to worry about reaching Ungava in time to catch the last boat out to 'civilization' and considers the possibility of turning back:

Am afraid I shall not have the courage to do it [turn back] ...
I have come far, strong and well ... the trip has been really
the greatest blessing and comfort and help. It has interested
me and given me pleasure to an extent I did not dream possible.⁴²

As her diary entry indicates, Mina recognizes some of the changes in herself but she is unwilling to accept the idea that she has personally demonstrated any heroic qualities. She decides to press on and urges her crew to push themselves harder although the constant series of rapids makes faster travel stressful. As the miles separating them from the Hudson Bay Co. post at Ungava dwindle, Mina realizes with surprise and dismay that she regrets the imminent end of her journey - "I have come these two months through this deserted wilderness and I have never felt far from home ... though I dread going back, I think I should like to spend the summer like this always"⁴³ On August 27, 1905 Mina and her companions arrive at the Post to find that neither the supply ship nor the Wallace party have yet arrived. The first night when Mina looks out the window of her bedroom at the sight of her men's tents she feels lonely and isolated. Her great adventure is complete and the camaraderie shared by them all has come to an end.

Mina had to wait six weeks for the supply ship to arrive; her last week at the Post was most uncomfortable as Wallace had finally succeeded in his own quest. Mina magnanimously commented on how wonderfully Wallace had done, but within a day felt compelled to stay in her room to avoid Wallace's 'claptrap'. Relations with her crew had cooled during the long wait; even with Elson she began to feel 'uneasy'. Perhaps this discomfort, coupled with the realization that she would most likely be returning shortly to 'civilized' perceptions, initiated a rather odd entry in her diary. On September 15, Mina had each of the men sign a declaration that:

... we at all times treated Mrs Hubbard with respect, and each also declares his belief that Mrs Hubbard was always treated with respect by the other men of the party. Each also here records his promise that he will never by look or word or sign lead any human being to believe that during the trip there was anything in the conduct of Mrs. Hubbard and her party towards each other that was unbecoming honorable Christian men and women⁴⁴

This entry was the only indication in Mina's entire diary that she was aware of her image as a single woman travelling for weeks in the wilderness with an all-male crew. On October 22, 1905, Mina left the George River post on her trip back home, reaching there late in November. Wallace did not travel with her; he would not return until spring, 1906, after an arduous dogsled trip down the east coast of Labrador. Mina had fulfilled her dream and Leonidas' and she had gained the strength to live her life without Laddie. But poignantly she would write in her diary on Christmas Eve, 1905:

Stars so beautiful. Heart so hungry. Oh so hungry.
How his eyes would shine if he could stand by me
now to tell me how proud he was of my success.⁴⁵

Mary Schaffer's and Mollie Adam's decision to follow the desires of their own hearts rather than to acquiesce with societal expectations produced three unforgettable summers of exploration in the Rocky Mountains' wilderness. In 1906 they trekked

north of Wilcox Pass into the Pinto Lake area for seven weeks; the next season of 1907 they travelled from June until October in the ranges around the North Saskatchewan and Athabaska Rivers. Despite the almost constant cold and storms of that trip, the next summer they were off again to find a lake called by the Stoney Indians, Chaba Imne. The previous year they had attempted to reach the lake but were rebuffed in their search by the lateness of the season and dwindling food supplies. Mary's rationale for the 1908 trek was to search for Chaba Imne for it lay in an unmapped part of the Rockies but as she confessed, "...[it] was a good excuse to be in the open, to follow the trail for the simple love of following it ... To me the whole charm was always looking for what was to come ahead."⁴⁶

Each of these trips was shared by the same four people: Mary, Mollie, Billy Warren, the guide, and Sid Unwin, the packer and cook. It was clearly a most compatible combination, for as Mary noted in one of her letters, "[o]ur evenings at the campfire were the best of the day because we could always talk on ANY subject. We would be gone five months and never a dissenting voice. You cannot get that in civilization."⁴⁷ The deep friendship between Mollie and Mary was based on a mutual passion for wilderness travel. They were at their most relaxed when they could shove their skirts into duffel bags, don their breeches and buckskin jackets and ride away from civilization. At the end of the day's ride Mollie would go off to collect her geological specimens and Mary would photograph or sketch mountain flowers. The following description of a 'dinner party' at Tete Jaune Cache from Mary's travel book Old Indian Trails reveals the trust and affection between the two friends:

I called 'M's' [Mollie] attention to the fact that when she was asked to have a second cup of tea she gazed into her cup and deliberately threw the cold remains on the floor behind her, and she retaliated by noting that when the dessert came around I forgot all my early training and peered in the pot saying, 'What's

this stuff?'⁴⁸

Both women were also in total agreement as to their share of the camp chores; they were more than happy to let Billy and Sid do the bulk of the work. "I have never insisted on my women's rights when it came to laying the bacon and flour ... and blankets slap up against the sides of the patient beast,"⁴⁹ wrote Mary. Occasionally, when the men were busy with other tasks or absent from camp, Mollie and Mary would hurl themselves into a flurry of laundry, baking and cooking, but the results frequently caused gentle mockery of the inedible product and a stern admonition to stay out of the kitchen. Mary once described their role in these expeditions as similar to 'the tail on an active horse' and stated uncategorically that, "if I want a perfectly glorious trip, I do want a man at the head of the party who can talk on any subject at the campfire ... who is cautious in nasty places and who always keeps a cool head."⁵⁰ Both Mary and Mollie were willing to ascribe to the accepted gender pattern and permit the men to do the bulk of the work entailed in such expeditions. They did not expect to, nor want to do the hard physical labour of setting up camp, loading the pack ponies or clearing the trail. In their perception it was an added bonus that both Billy and Sid were well-educated and articulate people who could converse on equal footing with them. Sid was even nicknamed 'The Professor' because of his ability to compose poetry in Latin. Because of Mary's gender and class attitudes, statements such as these are not a disparagement of Mollie's and her contribution, but simply recognition of Warren and Unwin's considerable abilities. Mary and Mollie knew that the quality of their adventures was possible because they had had the good sense to hire two talented guides.

Mary's 1908 expedition to Chaba Imne or Maligne Lake, as it is now called, brought her fame as an explorer (Map A.3). She is given the credit for being the first

white person to visit the lake, thereby adding her name to the short list of explorers of the Rocky Mountains, one of the few women to be included. On June 8, 1908 the group "started joyfully for the comfort of camp"⁵¹ with a pack train of twenty-two horses. In Mary's possession was a crude map of the route to Chaba Imne drawn from memory by Sampson Beaver, a Stoney Indian who had visited the lake as a young boy. The initial travel conditions were less than benign --- heavy rains, snow, cold, and mosquitoes tested the travellers. Mollie's diary entry for June 30 recorded laconically a typical day's trek:

Off at 9 a.m. Travelled till 2 p.m. The trail was a little fierce, quick changes from burnt timber to rock climbing, muskeg, quicksands, scree slopes and mud slides. Five or six of the pack horses were down and in trouble.⁵²

Despite such difficulties they proceeded with a certain degree of equanimity although Mary confessed to a feeling of depression on July 4, when she thought of the hot sun and celebrations back home in Philadelphia. That day they were camped at 7250 feet, the thermometer registered 30° F and a blizzard threatened to blow the tents and their occupants into the valley below.⁵³ Two days later they crossed over Maligne Pass but looked vainly for sight of the lake that was their objective.

The next day Sid Unwin decided to climb high enough to try and catch a glimpse of Maligne Lake. Mary wanted to go along but realized, "he was in no mood to have a snail in tow, and then it was far more important to locate our quarry than that I should personally be in at the death."⁵⁴ Her rationalization of her disappointment strikes a familiar female tone; she is willing to concede the hero's role, even though it is her expedition, if it will mean the ultimate success of the endeavour. Unwin returned to report the lake only seven miles away. Much buoyed up by the good news the group

reached Maligne the next day. "The long quest was over, the object found and it seemed very beautiful to our partial eyes."⁵⁵

Having found an excellent camp with fodder for the horses, the expedition decided to build a raft, take three days of supplies and explore Maligne Lake. Skeptical of Sampson's map they believed the lake was only a few miles long. One can imagine their surprise when they rounded what they thought was the last point and:

there burst upon us that which, all in our little company agreed was the finest view any of us had ever beheld in the Rockies ... there it lay, for the time being all ours, those miles and miles of lake, the unnamed peaks rising above us, one following the other, each more beautiful than the last ... How pure and undefiled it was! We searched for some sign that others had been there, - not a teepee-pole, not a charred stick; just masses of flowers, the lap-lap of the waters on the shore, the occasional reverberating roar of an avalanche, and our own voice, stilled by a nameless Providence.⁵⁶

To commemorate the visit, they carved their initials and the date on a tree and then rowed slowly back down the lake. Mary, as the expedition's titular leader, had the honour of naming the area's geographical features. With her customary selflessness, she proclaimed Mts Unwin, Warren, and Sampson Narrows and Peak, after the men who had helped her find the lake, and Mt. Mary Vaux after her longtime friend. There is no peak in the Rockies that carries Mary Schaffer's name.

The plans for the next stage of the trip were to follow the Maligne River to the Athabasca River, a distance of thirty miles. But after five days of arduous chopping of fallen timber in a burnt-over area that blocked their route, the plan came to nought. They were forced to re-trace their route back over the Maligne Pass to the Poboktan and Sun-wapta valleys and hence to the Athabasca, a trip of over one hundred miles. Days of bad weather and worse trails drove Billy Warren to comment "that in this country there were 24 kinds of weather for the 24 hours of the day --- hot, and cold and 22 kinds of rotten."⁵⁷ But on August 1 they reached the hills of the Athabasca River and

entered once more into unfamiliar country as they headed north towards the Yellowhead Pass and a sighting of Mt. Robson. The glamour of the unknown raised their spirits and made it easier to tolerate the many tough trail conditions. There were days of wonderful beauty: great, wild panoramas, small grassy meadows awash with hundreds of blooms, streams of crystal clarity. "To one who loves it, there can be no monotony on the trail, small events are exciting and larger ones becoming thrilling."⁵⁸ Days of travel brought the expedition to the Swift homestead on the Athabasca where they were treated to the pleasures of fresh eggs, new potatoes and conversation with someone new. Mollie and Mary spent an afternoon in feminine activity, 'calling on' Mrs. Swift and admiring her fancy-work : "it was a grand afternoon's shopping for us all, for the lonely Athabaska woman and the two white women who had not seen one of their kind for many a long day."⁵⁹

But after two days at Swifts', the Schaffer party moved on with relief, for as Mary explained, "We had travelled far and had thought to ourselves as going farther and farther toward the end of nowhere, so that the unexpected civilised influences ... struck us strangely."⁶⁰ It is clear that Mary and Mollie do not miss the pleasures of urban society. Trailing up the Miette Valley towards Yellowhead Pass, they met several parties of surveyors and prospectors also heading upcountry. Mary and Mollie found these contacts quite annoying for they felt compelled to wear their 'dress-up garb', that is, their skirts. Even in the wilderness, there were certain forms of female behaviour that the two women felt they could not abandon. Crossing Yellowhead Pass, three days travel brought them in sight of their goal, Mt. Robson, the highest peak of the Eastern Rockies. "To our weary, sunburnt eyes she loomed ... cold, icy, clean-cut, in a sky unclouded and of intensest blue."⁶¹

Their plan had been to turn back at this point but since they were only twenty miles from Tete Jaune Cache, it was decided to visit this historical site that was now the centre for the surveyors of the Grand Trunk Railway. This decision caused some trepidation on the part of the women for as Mollie mentions in her diary, "M. and I were a little scared thinking of the roughs and toughs of all descriptions landing in here from all directions ...;"⁶² they were not certain that they would be treated with the respect due their position as ladies. Their arrival in the village was greeted by total silence from 'very villainous-looking creatures' and the apparent hostility froze Mary and Mollie's blood. Moments later, pleasant smiles and cordial greetings helped them realize that it was not malice but rather pure astonishment at seeing two white women that had frozen everyone in his tracks. One of the 'brigands' and Mary had mutual acquaintances in Philadelphia and very shortly afterwards the group received an invitation to dine. A dinner party was an unusual affair for the Schaffer party so all made an effort to look their best --- razors were used, new moccasins put on and in honour of the occasion Mary carried "a clean pocket handkerchief never used before, of bright lilac colour, which was anything but harmonious with the red bandana she wears around her neck."⁶³ It was a pleasant evening that ended with a toast to 'a meeting in civilized lands' but Mary's unspoken wish was that "the civilised days might never come ... Civilisation! How little it means when one has tasted the free life of the trail!"⁶⁴

The next day they turned the horses' heads towards home and journeyed southwards through autumn colours and sudden snow squalls. Each day's travel meant a farewell to some familiar peak or valley, for all knew that the next time they came this way 'the hideous march of progress', associated with the coming of the railroad, would have irrevocably changed the trail. On September 19, 1908 as she sat by the campfire

watching the frosty stars, the sound of a train whistle told Mary that her 'play-days' were over. Years later she would write nostalgically:

I think I saw my heavenly hills under circumstances such as no one else ever did or could. Such clean, brave pals, so gentle to us and never a ruffle of anger or discontent or impatience in the years we followed our four-legged pets⁶⁵

Agnes Cameron's trip was considerably different from those of Hubbard and Schaffer. She was not escaping civilization as they, but rather searching for signs of a new frontier economy. Whereas Schaffer resented the encroaching railroad and all the changes it brought to 'her' wilderness, Cameron sought commercial development. "My great desire is to call attention to the great unoccupied land of Canada, to induce people from the crowded centres of the Old World to use the fresh air of the New."⁶⁶ Her motives were different from the other women: this trip was not a form of escapism or remembrance, but rather a carefully planned endeavour to collect materials that could be parlayed into furthering her journalism career. As a result, Agnes' travel plans were more structured and relied heavily on the existence of established travel routes and centres of population. Mina and Mary would be termed 'freedom travellers' in modern travel terms; Agnes was more an 'independent traveller'.

Relying on the arrangements she made with the Hudson's Bay Company, Cameron travelled by stage coach from Edmonton to Athabasca Landing and then joined the Fur Brigade of the Company to journey the remaining miles to Fort McMurray. There were seven sturgeon-head scows on this particular run carrying, in addition to the regular complement of local boatmen, twelve Europeans heading north. Agnes and her niece were the only women but they were well protected, for their party consisted of seven North West Mounted Police who were preparing to trek across the eastern Arctic from the Fort. When Cameron reached Ft. McMurray she was fortunate

to link up with a Canadian government Indian Treaty party who were about to travel to Fond du Lac at the eastern end of Lake Athabasca. Not a woman to hesitate at such an opportunity, she and Jessie joined the group and became two of the first white women to see that part of the North.⁶⁷ On their return to Ft. McMurray they used their booking on the new H.B.Co. steamer, "The Mackenzie River", to go from Ft. Smith to Great Slave Lake and then down river to Ft. Simpson. After that touch of luxury transportation, they reverted to the local means of travel, canoes and scows to carry them the remainder of their journey to the Arctic Ocean. Because there are no extant diaries of this trip, it is not possible to know Cameron's immediate response to the experiences of travel. We know nothing of her daily activities, crises or rewards. It would appear that her focus was not on the scenery as much as on signs of progress and habitation, on the people of the North rather than wildlife or vegetation. Her published journal is filled with accounts of the commercial potential of the North and anecdotes about the white and native people whom she met. She had a particular interest in examples of indomitable white women who were building interesting lives for themselves, but she also made shrewd observations about the Indian and Inuit women.

Agnes declared in the opening of her book that one of her objectives in travelling to the Arctic was to have fun. Amidst her journalistic activities, she did find time to enjoy herself. She went out fishing on Great Slave Lake and successfully hunted a moose in the Peace River area. Cameron was so proud of her prize kill that she included a photograph of her trophy in her published journal. She was not prepared to admit that women were less capable of hunting than men, nor that hunting was not an appropriate activity for females. One of her greatest pleasures was to gain access to the old Hudson's Bay Post libraries where she would spend hours reading the daily log

entries made by Company factors long gone.⁶⁸ Cameron was a intrepid enough traveller not to balk at trying the local culinary delicacies. The rather monotonous diet of bannock, beans and bacon endured by Schaffer and Hubbard was not for her. Showing no delicacy of constitution, she tackled moose-nose, beaver tails, reindeer moss, whale meat and seal blood, resisting only a dish of boiled muskrat.⁶⁹ Agnes made an effort to learn something more of the native way of life than just the eating habits. She spent ten days visiting with a family of Kogmollyc Inuit at the mouth of the Mackenzie River, an experience that left her filled with admiration and respect for the Inuit culture and customs. While observing the distribution of treaty money to the Cree Indians at Ft. McMurray, Agnes intervened to sponsor an infant when the father refused to do so. She wryly commented that she left behind a Cree girl able 'to draw treaty' because she carries the name 'Agnes Cameron'.⁷⁰ A leisurely pace back up the Northern waterways brought Agnes and Jessie to the Peace River district by September, and by October they were home in Chicago having travelled over ten thousand miles during their six month journey. In a newspaper interview a few months later, Agnes Cameron spoke of her trip:

New places, great silent riverways and solitary fastness
are alluring ... but there is a lure of the northland stronger.
The great magnet that drew me into the north was the people,
the strong, self-contained men and women who have lived
and are living their lives in the silences, holding that heritage
for those who are to follow.⁷¹

The discomforts and hazards of their journeys did not detract in any way from Mina, Mary and Agnes' enjoyment of their trips. Each of the three middle class women rose to the challenges presented by her decision to go adventure-travelling and in the process found a stronger, more independent woman than she had been led by her society to believe could exist. The successful completion of their journeys gave a clear

signal to Canadian society that women travellers could neither be ignored nor dismissed as insignificant eccentrics.

- ¹ J.W. Davidson, Great Heart: The Story of a Labrador Adventure (New York, 1988), p.127.
- ² Rudyard Kipling, "The Explorer", in J. Auslander (ed.), The Winged Horse Anthology (New York, 1929), p.580.
- ³ L.Hubbard Jr., Diary, 1903. (NAC, Ottawa).
- ⁴ New York Times, 01 November 1903, p.4. The newspaper's report came from Newfoundland where the supply ship to Labrador had reported no news nor sightings of the Hubbard party.
- ⁵ New York Times, "Labrador Explorer Dies of Starvation" 23 January 1904, p.1; "Hubbard's Terrible Death in Labrador" 24 March 1904, p.1.
- ⁶ New York Times, 18 February 1905, p.8. The review itself emphasized the scant supply of provisions and bluntly said: "Its manifest moral is that it does not do to start wrong if you would go exploring."
- ⁷ Mary Russell, The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt (London, 1986), p.17.
- ⁸ M.T.S.Schaffer, "The Heart of a Child," unpublished Mss. (Whyte Archives, Banff).
- ⁹ Cyndi Smith, Research notes (Whyte Archives, Banff).
- ¹⁰ M.T.S. Schaffer Warren, Letters (Whyte Archives, Banff).
- ¹¹ Schaffer, "Teepee Life in the Hills," unpublished Mss. (Whyte Archives, Banff).
- ¹² The Daily Colonist, 27 February 1910, p.6.
- ¹³ R.Pazdro, "Agnes Deans Cameron: Against the Current," in B.Latham (ed.), In Her Own Right, (Victoria, 1980), p.101.
- ¹⁴ Quoted in Pazdro, p.107.
- ¹⁵ M.Vincus, Independent Women (Chicago, 1985), p.16.
- ¹⁶ Pazdro, "Agnes Deans Cameron: Against the Current," p.113.
- ¹⁷ B. Latham, "A Simple Matter of Justice," Atlantis 10 (1), p.114.
- ¹⁸ Davidson, Great Heart, p.196.
- ¹⁹ The Halifax Herald, 15 June 1905, p.8.
- ²⁰ M.B. Hubbard, A Woman's Way Through Unknown Labrador (Toronto, 1908), p.53.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p.6.
- ²² Quoted in E.J. Hart, Diamond Hitch: The Early Outfitters and Guides of Banff and Jasper (Banff, 1979), p.126.

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- 23 Schaffer, "Teepee Life in the Hills," p.25.
- 24 Ibid., p.6.
- 25 M.T.S. Schaffer, "The Valleys of the Saskatchewan with Horse and Camera," The Bulletin of the Geographic Society of Philadelphia 5 (1907): p.42.
- 26 Schaffer, A Hunter of Peace (Banff, 1980), p.16.
- 27 Ibid., p.16.
- 28 Ibid., p.17.
- 29 J. Stout, The Journey Narrative in American Literature (Connecticut, 1983), p.6.
- 30 A.D. Cameron, The New North: An Account of a Woman's 1908 Journey Through Canada to the Arctic, rev. ed., edited by D.Richeson (Saskatoon, 1986), p.3.
- 31 The Baedeker handbook suggested that an 'adventuresome' traveller with the good will of the HBCo would find few real hardships on a trip to the Arctic. The estimated cost for such a trip was \$300.
- 32 Cameron, The New North, p.5.
- 33 The Daily Colonist, 27 February 1910, p.6.
- 34 M.B. Hubbard, Diary, 22 June 1905, (NAC, Ottawa).
- 35 Ibid., 16 July 1905.
- 36 Ibid., 23 July 1905.
- 37 Ibid., 10 August 1905.
- 38 Ibid., 24 August 1905.
- 39 Ibid., 28 July 1905.
- 40 Ibid., 21 July 1905.
- 41 Ibid., 03 August 1905.
- 42 Ibid., 16 August 1905.
- 43 Ibid., 24 & 25 August 1905.
- 44 Ibid., 15 September 1905.
- 45 Ibid., 24 December 1905.
- 46 M.T.S. Schaffer, Letters, (Whyte Archives, Banff).

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- ⁴⁷ Ibid., 28 February 1928.
- ⁴⁸ Schaffer, A Hunter of Peace, p.126.
- ⁴⁹ Schaffer, "Teepee Life in the Hills," p.18.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., p.19.
- ⁵¹ Mollie Adams, Diary, (Whyte Archives, Banff).
- ⁵² Ibid., 30 June 1908.
- ⁵³ M.T.S. Schaffer, "A Recently Explored Lake in the Rocky Range of Canada," The Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia 8 (1909): p.4.
- ⁵⁴ Schaffer, Hunter of Peace, p.93.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid., p.94.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., p.97.
- ⁵⁷ Mollie Adams, Diary, 28 July, 1908.
- ⁵⁸ Schaffer, Hunter of Peace, p.116.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid., p.119.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., p.118.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., p.123.
- ⁶² Mollie Adams, Diary, 19 August 1908.
- ⁶³ Ibid, 20 August 1908.
- ⁶⁴ Schaffer, Hunter of Peace, p.127.
- ⁶⁵ Schaffer, Letters. (Whyte Archives).
- ⁶⁶ A.D.Cameron, The New North, rev. ed., p.12.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., p.90.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., p.139.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., p.206.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 251.
- ⁷¹ The Toronto Globe, 06 February 1909, p.6.

⁷¹ The Toronto Globe, 06 February 1909, p.6.

CHAPTER THREE

The completion of their journeys brought renown to Hubbard, Schaffer and Cameron. In the first decade of the twentieth century increasing readership among middle class women had led many newspapers to include a 'women's section' in the daily press, and to hire journalists who were interested in publicizing women's endeavours and exploits. The unusual travels of these three women made excellent copy. Mina and Agnes personally sought out immediate press attention and although Mary was more reticent, she too caught the notice of the papers. It was very important to Mina in her campaign to clear her husband's reputation that a wide readership should know of her success, and thus by proxy, her husband's. Press coverage was relatively easy for Mina to attain as the public was already intrigued with the Hubbard story. For Cameron, publicity meant increased opportunities to publish more of her own articles, and to build her reputation as a journalist of note. For Mary Schaffer it was actually her lectures to various scientific organizations that eventually brought her achievement to the attention of the public and the newspapers. Each of these women parlayed the transient attention of the daily press into longer lasting fame by subsequently publishing their travel journals.

Travel books were quite popular in this period; the reading public of North America and Europe found accounts of life in places beyond their immediate urban community fascinating. As Paul Fussell argues in Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars:

... aren't travel books really romances in the old sense, with the difference that the adventures are located within an actual, often famous, topography to satisfy an audience which demands it both ways --- which wants to go adventuring vicariously ... but which at the same time wants to feel itself within a world declared real by such

up-to-date studies as political science, sociology, anthropology, economics and contemporary history? ¹

To the early twentieth century reader, travel accounts were the equivalent of the modern National Geographic television special. for they provided a series of adventures in which the reader could vicariously share. In his survey of travel books, Fussell discerned a tripartite pattern similar to the traditional quest romance, or what Joseph Campbell terms, the 'monomyth of heroic adventure'²: the traveller leaves the familiar to wander in unknown lands, experiences strange adventures, and returns home, thus completing the action. However, this model is found almost exclusively in travel accounts of men.

As outlined in the introduction, T.D. MacLulich would argue that there is a gender difference reflected in the form that female and male travel narratives take. He has constructed a typology of travel narratives in which he argues that most male travellers and explorers recount their experiences as quests or ordeals, whereas, only a few of their narratives have the structure of odysseys.³ In a quest narrative the explorer wishes to attain a specific goal, and so the experiences recounted pertain only to the helping or hindering of the achievement of this goal. The journey, in the narrator's view, consisted of numerous difficulties amidst which the male explorer/traveller is a brave, strong, resourceful hero revealing powers of mind or body that are beyond the reach of most people. There is no attempt to understand alien cultures; he wishes only to impose his own societal values on the people with whom he comes into contact for he regards himself as superior and enlightened. The ordeal narrative has a very similar structure except that the traveller has met with disaster or very nearly so. He therefore stresses his capacity to endure privation rather than his cleverness. He is a suffering hero, not a conquering one. In an odyssean account there is a wider vision displayed for the traveller wishes to gain an overall knowledge of the unknown regions rather

than concentrating exclusively on a particular goal. There are frequent and extensive descriptions of people and places coupled with a growing understanding of an unfamiliar way of life. As a result, the focus of the narrative is either the person's own adaptation to the ways of the wilderness or social commentary on her interaction with the people. There is very little stress on the difficulties faced, nor much comment on the person's role in ensuring the completion of the trip. If the self-portrayal in a quest or ordeal stresses forcefulness and endurance, in an odyssey the self image presented is one of tolerance and adaptability. The constructs of the epic and the ordeal in which there is a battle of opposing forces with a climatic victory for one side does not accord with the realities of women's experience.⁴

Because traditionally the female identity has not been a heroic one, women's travel narratives are usually odyssean in approach. Women do not see themselves as legends or representatives of their times; as a result the theme of accomplishment rarely dominates the narrative, unless their journey is for the purpose of completing the goal of a husband or father. In that situation, the female narrator is forced to take centre stage but she reminds the reader frequently that it is the male that should be there. Frequently, the story is calculatedly unheroic: the individual's valour and hardships are understated and only her patience and fortitude stressed.

The odyssey form permitted women travellers to mould their stories to a pattern expected by their society. The narrator was acutely aware that her actions were outside the proscribed definition of femininity and thus her record for public consumption was constrained by what Caroline Heilbrun terms 'bonds of womanly attitudes'.⁵ In a patriarchal society women find it difficult, when writing their personal story to claim achievement or to demand recognition for their accomplishments. Instead, they attribute their success to good fortune or the efforts of others.

It was expected that the women of this era be 'unambiguously women',⁶ a term which means basically that a woman's life should revolve around a man and her own interests take second place. In their narratives, the women adventure-travellers recorded their experiences in such a way as to appear as conventional as possible. The odyssean narrative permitted the traveller to preserve her femininity and to reassure the reader that social values were in no way threatened by her journey. Despite the evidence that such travel demanded that its participants act in a courageous and decisive manner, that is, in a 'masculine' way, the author's narrative voice, with its use of humour and self-deprecation, lulled the reader into accepting her rather unorthodox behavior. Odyssean travel narratives are one of the archetypal models for women's autobiography for they allow women to play a significant role on the world stage yet allow the author to maintain a double focus.⁷ This double focus means that the woman traveller can present herself both as conventionally female and as an adventurer without dismaying the public. In the cases of Hubbard and Schaffer, this combination was scientist-explorer and middle-class woman; for Cameron, it was investigative journalist and fun-loving traveller.

Mina Hubbard's travel journal, A Woman's Way Through Unknown Labrador, published in 1908, is an interesting amalgam of the ordeal and odyssean narrative form. The compelling force behind her journey is the tragedy of Leonidas' death - she is following the quest that he should have successfully completed. Thus her dead husband is the hero of a shadow ordeal narrative. Mina does not present herself as heroic but for much of the first half of the book she is indeed enduring privation, in her case, the loss of Leonidas from her life. As a reflection of how important it was to Mina to make her husband's presence felt by the reader, her book includes: the diary kept by Leonidas during his trip, an account of that disastrous expedition written by the guide, George

Elson, and a brief biography of Leonidas Hubbard. There is also a chapter written by Henry Cabot, a Labrador 'expert', that sets out all the potential disasters any canoe trip in Labrador could incur. The starting point for Mina's own story is her marriage; the implication being that nothing in her life was of value until she met her husband. Having made it clear to the reader that this account is really to be Leonidas' story, Mina begins the narration of her own journey.

Since her book is a description of her successful trip across Labrador, in sharp contrast to her husband's disaster, she feels a compulsion to rationalize her accomplishment. Mina insists at the start of her story that credit for her achievement must rest with her husband's expedition. According to her, it was the knowledge and experience derived from the first trip that ensured her success. She and George Elson recognized that they would need a larger crew, an earlier start and many more provisions than the 1903 trip in order to better guarantee accomplishing the trek. There is also an implication that since Mina had neither the outdoors craft nor physical skills of Leonidas, extra crew had to be hired. At the beginning of the journey Mina portrays her role as being the repository of her husband's spirit rather than the organizer and leader of the expedition. Initially, she is content to allow George Elson full control over all the daily decisions, for she acknowledges that George is "the trusty hero whose courage and honour and fidelity made my venture possible."⁸ An image of a bereft widow mournfully re-tracing her husband's route is very strong in the early part of Mina's trip. She describes the intense distress she feels the day her crew passes the river mouth where Leonidas, misreading the maps, had turned upstream to his death. Her mood is clearly despondant for some time after and there is an undertone of fretfulness. She worries about losing her nerve; feels too physically weak to maintain the necessary pace; and snaps at the men when they lose the pump for her air mattress.

But as the days pass her gloom begins to lift and there begins to emerge from her narrative, strong indications that the pleasures of wilderness travel are working their charm on Mina. The ordeal becomes an odyssey for Mina Hubbard. There continue to be references to her private pain but they are far less frequent and are overshadowed by descriptions of the scenery, anecdotes of the men's activities, and amusing depictions of her own wilderness education. She spends more time with her crew around the evening campfire rather than sitting alone in her tent and even joins them in the pursuit of a bear, peppering away at the disappearing bruin with her little .22 rifle, much to their amusement. Mina's self-confidence increases and she proves less malleable to George's close supervision. "George's tone of authority was sometimes amusing. Sometimes I did as I was told, and then again I did not."⁹ Pride in how well the trip is going and her own strength and health now percolates through the descriptions of each day's travel. Her enthusiasm for the beauty of the mountains and the river increases and when, in August, she sees one of the great caribou migrations, she is overwhelmed by the majesty of the scene. "How little I had dreamed ... that it would prove beautiful and of such compelling interest. Weariness and hardship I had looked for ..."¹⁰ Mina surprises herself by feeling quite 'at home' and even the moments in which she is reminded of Leonidas are accepted with more equanimity. "So much of life and its pain can crowd into few minutes. Yet I had wished very much to see what he [George] had shown me,"¹¹ wrote Mina after she viewed, from the height of land, the scenes of her husband's struggle. A meeting with a party of Montagnais Indians and a visit to a village of the Naskapis intrigued her. Her observations reveal a sensitivity to the hardships of their lifestyle and recognition of their fine qualities. Finding the Naskapi quite appealing, Mina was reluctant to leave and had to be reminded of their tight time limits.

As the expedition nears Ungava and the George River Hudson Bay Company post, Mina expresses feelings of ambivalence about the completion of her trip. Startled, she confesses that only then did she realize that "I have never actually counted on being able to get there."¹² She does not want this respite from 'life' to end: "I have not wanted to see anyone, I have been lonely for no one, I have come these 2 months through this deserted wilderness and I have never felt far from home;"¹³ but she is also anxious that she has missed the ship that is carry her out to civilization. Her concern, that the ship has already come and gone, is not that she will have to spend the winter in Labrador, but that she will lose her opportunity to be the first to tell the press about her victory over Wallace. This is the only time in A Woman's Way that she mentions Wallace's venture -- there is no other indication in the entire narrative that there were two groups competing for the honour of being the first to traverse Labrador.

Mina's story ends with her arrival at the Post. She discusses her relief at the news that the ship has yet to come, her sense of loss at the end of the camaraderie of the trail, and her feeling of depression with the completion of her task. Her tone in the conclusion is very similar to the beginning of the narrative for she declares that she is far less noble in character than Leonidas. Again she defends his failure and insists that his death brought him greater glory than possible with success. As to her own significant accomplishment, Mina dismisses it with the words, "The work was but imperfectly done, yet I did what I could."¹⁴ Mina feels compelled to put her husband back on centre stage and to remind the reader that Leonidas is the hero, and not herself. She tries to camouflage what was evident in her unfolding narrative, that Mina did realize that she was strong enough to carry on without Leonidas and that she did recognize the extent of her achievement. A hint of her own pride comes only in the preface to A Woman's Way where she declares that one of the purposes in publishing

this account was to put on record that, "[m]y journey with its results is the only one over this region recognized by the geographical authorities of America and Europe."¹⁵ An intriguing omission from the published text is any defense of the morality of her travelling alone for two months with four men. It will be remembered that her diary indicated that she was concerned enough about the issue to make the men sign a declaration of 'proper Christian conduct', but she never broaches the subject in print. Her implied assumption is, that as a bereaved widow, she held special status in such a delicate matter; no one of any decency should dare raise an eyebrow.

Old Indian Trails, Mary Schaffer's account of her 1907 and 1908 Rocky Mountain trips, was published in 1911. In the interval between the expeditions and publication, Mary was bereaved by the death of her dear travelling companion, Mollie. In the fall of 1908 the two women journeyed to Japan to visit friends of Mollie and it was there in January, 1909 that Mollie suddenly died. The moving dedication of Mary's book is: "To Mary --- Who with me followed the 'Old Indian Trails,' but who has now gone on the long trail alone."¹⁶ Despite the success of her published articles, it appears that Mary Schaffer felt some unease with writing a book about her travels. The preface is used to give a rationale as to why she felt it necessary to publish. Her rather interesting reasoning was that since her family and friends paid scant attention to her stories, she felt it necessary to share them with the general public in the hopes that such accounts would have a beneficial impact. According to Mary her book was for:

... the numbers who need 'enthusing'; they with aches and pains,
with sorrows and troubles. For them I have tried to bring the fresh
air and sunshine, the snowy mountains, the softly flowing rivers ---
the healers for every ill.¹⁷

It would appear that Mary feels it is necessary to imply to the reader that she has some nurturing qualities before she confesses that she began her explorations simply because

she wanted to do so. This general appeal for the consideration of the reader is followed by a lengthy justification as to the reasons why she chose to do her travelling in the wilderness. In her 'Explanation', she insists that wilderness travel does not coarsen a person ---

Can the free air sully, can the birds teach us words we should not hear,
can it be possible to see in such a summer's outing, one sight as painful
as the daily ones of poverty, degradation and depravity of a great city?¹⁸

She does not leave her defence there, she goes on to recount how even a close and supportive friend made her feel an anomaly in society by pointing out that Mary did not look 'different' despite, "living among the Rocky Mountains and the Indians for months at a time, far, far in the wilderness."¹⁹ In response, Mary declares that the pleasures found in an escape from the restrictive clothing and other appurtenances of 'civilization' cannot be realized until one personally experiences the 'vast unknown', since her pen is not capable of depicting the full sensations of such freedom. Mary, by openly mentioning societal perceptions of women travellers, is gambling that the reader will be won over by such candor and openness.

Mary's sensitiveness to implications about her 'womanliness' reflects the tension felt by most women adventure-travellers, as they tried to balance social expectations with their own desires and choices. In some respects, Mary appears to be less bothered than most women about such considerations. She quite openly admits that she preferred just to meander around in the wilderness, but since such unfocused wanderings unnerved people, she could always specify, if necessary, an objective for her trip. As a result, her expressed aim of the 1907 and 1908 trips was to explore the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan and Athabasca Rivers, but this purpose was

only a smoke screen to deal with the oft expressed question, "Goodness! What ever takes you two women into that wild, unknown region?"²⁰

Reflecting her preferred mode of unstructured travel, Mary's narrative has the structures of an odyssey. It is a collection of camp experiences; anecdotes about people and horses; descriptions of the flora and fauna and explanations of trail-riding hazards. There is some emphasis placed on the achievement of the goal to find Maligne Lake, but once that is accomplished, the narrative moves on to other incidents that are recorded at the same level of enthusiasm. Mary's narrative voice is distinctly anti-heroic; she mocks her efforts to participate in the tasks of the trek, lavishes praise on the men's talents as guides and generally leaves the impression that she contributed little to the success of the endeavour.

Mary's account of the 1907 trip is more a tribute to her developing passion for wilderness travel than a persuasive argument to others 'with aches and pains' to follow in her footsteps. There would be few people who could respond with the equanimity that Mary did, to the crises that beset this trip. From the moment the Schaffer outfit departed, amidst a sleet storm, the group's physical and mental stamina was challenged by the Rockies. There were days of driving rain and snow, evenings of tormenting mosquitoes, miles of muskeg, flooded rivers, and fallen timber to be endured; through it all Mary and Mollie, for the most part, rode quite contentedly. However, in case the reader might be getting the wrong impression of Mary's qualities, she records an incident that depicts her in an unheroic manner. Mary loses her composure when she was struck with snowblindness on Jonas Pass and has to travel with bandaged eyes. "All went well in the open, but the moment we struck timber, bang went the branches, scratch went the trees, and an occasional tear of self-pity fell on the passing landscape."²¹

It was important to Mary that her narrative depict the charm of the Rocky Mountain region and it is in her descriptions of nature that her love of this untamed land shines through.

I slipped from the comforts of bed and watched the coming of the day. The trees, the brushes, and the hardy little alpine flowers were all festooned with millions of frost needles Two ducks from the nearby marsh grasses silently paddled by, the amphitheatre of snowy summits was tipped with a rosy flush and aquamarine tints of the lake were richer and deeper than the night before.²²

But Mary was not a complete romantic --- she also described suffocating under hot blankets while thousands of mosquitoes filled the tent and her constant trepidation that a grizzly bear would chase her up a tree.

Many of the most entertaining moments in this account centre on the various escapades of their Indian pack ponies, for a love of animals was an endearing facet of the narrator's personality. Mary clearly had changed her original opinion of the ponies as vicious beasts, although she did admit that the art of self-control had to be learned quickly, for "... there is little in civilized life to prepare the nervous system for the shocks to be endured ... on the trail behind untrained horses."²³ As the trip progressed, Mary became very fond of these animals: she worried over their safety, laughed at their antics, and praised their stamina and good sense. She defended their frequent inclusion in the story on the grounds that their contribution to the success of the venture was considerable.

Mary's heartfelt pleasure in travelling in the mountains increased as the weeks passed: "... the spirit of the gypsy haunts those valleys and enters the breasts of those who pass the portals, we were now gypsies heart and soul."²⁴ However, she was not totally immune to the isolation of their expedition. When Billy Warren and Sid Unwin

had to leave the women alone for a few days, while they made a quick trip to one of their provision caches, she reported; "It was a rather uncanny sensation of loneliness which swept down our spines as we saw our preservers disappearing in the distance."²⁵ Ironically, that same day their 'Eden' was invaded by another woman adventure-traveller: Mary de la Beach-Nichol, an Englishwoman on a solo entomological expedition, and her guide visited their camp. "It was a comical meeting there of two of us, one from the civilization of London, one from Philadelphia."²⁶

Although Mary was careful to note that despite the rough style of travel, proper etiquette was not forgotten, she was quite casual about her lack of appropriate feminine domestic skills. She recorded with amusement that boiled pudding cooked by her:

... was a good pudding, that is if it had been intended for a canon-ball. It probably lies there to-day: our camp-site may fade, our trip be forgotten, but that pudding ought to be there when the next explorers go through.²⁷

And the simplicity of wash-day on the trail gave rise to musings that there was far too much fret, worry and fussiness involved in civilized life. While Mary is prepared to reveal her aversion to domesticity, she also wants the reader to recognize that her treks in the Rockies were not casual 'Sunday outings'. She recounts several episodes of physical hardship and danger experienced by her and is particularly adamant that, "... caution and judgement mean safety ... but I should never advise a belittling of the possibilities for accidents in these mountains."²⁸ Mary Schaffer may have been adverse to playing a heroic role in her narrative but she did want people to acknowledge her strength of character.

In September, the expedition spent a few idyllic days on the Kootenay Plains, in the company of a group of Stoney Indians whom Mary had met the year before.

They called her Yahe-Weha, 'Mountain Woman', and it was her rapport, particularly with the women and the children, that earned their trust and respect. A map showing the trail to Chaba Imne (Maligne Lake) was one result of this fortuitous encounter. Reluctantly, the group turned towards home as the days began to shorten and their supplies ran low.

Back to friends, the moving world and to all that makes life's wheels go round! Were we eager to push on and rush into the maelstrom? No! As day by day one familiar peak after another dropped behind, I think we all grew somewhat depressed.²⁹

At the end of her account of the 1907 trip, Mary tells of an incident that happened as the Schaffer expedition came off the trail close to Lake Louise. Dressed in her travel clothes, she encountered a very stylish couple riding in their carriage. The sharp contrast between the women's elegant blue gown and Mary's worn and frayed buckskin jacket made Mary fervently desire, " ... my wild free life back again"³⁰ This meeting was also reported in another literary record, for the couple was Mr. and Mrs. Rudyard Kipling. In Letters of Travel (1892 - 1913) Kipling gave his reaction to the encounter:

As we drove along the narrow hill road, a piebald pack pony came round a bend, followed by two women, black-haired, wearing beadwork squaw-jackets and riding straddle. 'Indians on the move?' said I, 'How characteristic!' As the women jolted by, one of them very slightly turned her eyes, and they were, past any doubt, the comprehending equal eyes of the civilized white woman which moved in that berry-brown face The same evening, at an hotel of all the luxuries, a slight woman in a very pretty frock was turning over photographs, and the eyes beneath the strictly-arranged hair were the eyes of the woman in the beadwork jacket Praised be A.'ah for the diversity of His creatures!³¹

Before Mary and Mollie left Banff for the winter, they hired Warren and Unwin for the next summer's attempt to reach Maligne Lake.

The tone of Mary's record of the 1908 expedition is more confident and forceful. Within the first pages she declared, "O ye who have never known the joys of the long trail, of the confidence begot of experience, how little you can guess the prideful, excited, satisfied sensations"³² She is less self-effacing than in the first account although she continues to joke about her domestic skills. Credit for the smooth functioning of the journey is still given wholeheartedly to the men, 'Chief' and 'K', (Warren and Unwin) but this time there are far more references to her participation in camp life and the management of the horses. The difficulties of riding new trails and exploring new country made this summer's trek even more arduous than that of the previous year. It would appear that the weather conditions were more favourable than in 1907, although this may only be a reflection of Mary's happiness and contentment when out in the wilderness. She does admit that there was a certain level of 'discomfort' associated with trekking but argues that if one is properly attired, the elements are no problem. Mary's discomfort was somewhat greater than usual on this trip as she suffered an accident. Her horse jammed her leg between a tree and the saddle and for three weeks she had to travel with her leg in a rope sling. Her sensible response to worried questions about medical care in such situations was merely to reply that one had to trust that one would stay healthy. This display of sang-froid by Mary Schaffer is an echo of the comment by sister-traveller, Isabella Bird Bishop, that "... no inconveniences are legitimate subjects for sympathy which are endured in pursuit of pleasure."³³ As the narrative ends there is a note of nostalgia to Mary's observations that must reflect the regret she felt as she wrote Old Indian Trails. She knew that never

again would she and Mollie ride off into the mountains with their guides and horses. In a comment about her book, Mary wrote:

I find that the best part of anything written must always be left out . Our small disappointments, our fun which lasted as long as our days, some terribly funny things which happened just because they could not help happen ... You can't put the SPIRIT of the trail in a book without tearing out your heart.³⁴

The 'spirit' was lost when she tried to fit the story of her own adventures into the pattern that was stipulated by her society. In Mary's mind, there was no way that she could convey the personal and emotional significance of her days of freedom and independence in the Rockies.

Agnes Cameron published the account of her travels in a very short time span; The New North was in print within a year of the completion of the journey. This rapidity of publication reflects Agnes' considerable writing skills and her desire as a journalist to capitalize professionally on the timeliness of the subject matter. In this era, the Canadian government and business were most anxious to promote the economic development of the Northwest. Agnes believed that this interest offered excellent potential for personal career opportunities, particularly in conjunction with her current work for the Canada Immigration Association.

The reportorial style so familiar to Agnes fit comfortably into her odyssean travel account. As an odyssey places less emphasis on the goal and more on the incidental details of the journey, The New North includes extensive descriptions of the people Cameron met and the places she visited. Her focus is primarily an economic and anthropological one, so that she reveals to the reader interesting details of the native way of life and the North's potential for growth and prosperity. Agnes rarely mentions any personal difficulties and, similar to Mary Schaffer, portrays herself in an anti-

heroic, amusing and affable manner. She blends discourses on the fur trade, the maintenance of law by the Royal North West Mounted Police, and the historical role of the Hudson's Bay Company, with personal stories of the North's inhabitants, both Indian and white. There are entertaining descriptions of the various culinary delicacies such as reindeer parasites and raw rotten fish, balancing favourable prognoses concerning the possibilities for the exploitation of the North's natural resources: "... there is gas enough here, if we could pipe it ... to supply with free illumination every city of prairie Canada."³⁵ Agnes is clearly pleased with what she sees on her trip; her enthusiasm spills over into patriotic optimism whenever she begins to enthuse about the North's future. After touring the Peace River settlement of Vermilion she writes, "if a handful of people four hundred miles from a railway ... can accomplish what has been done, into what status of producing activity will this whole country spring when it is given rail communication with the plains people to the south?"³⁶ However, she does not totally lose her objectivity for she wryly comments on "the weak efforts of one-season visitors who of necessity see only the surface ...,"³⁷ and is honest enough to describe the considerable aggravation of the clouds of feasting mosquitoes and 'bulldogs'.

Cameron's belief in human equality made her a more sensitive observer of the culture of indigenous people of the North than many other visitors to the area. Perceptively, she noted that aboriginal values, while different, were not less developed than those of the European; "... not all the real things of life are taught to the Cree by the Christian."³⁸ She was particularly fascinated by the Inuit; she admitted, her previous knowledge of their culture was restricted to textbooks that had informed her that the Inuit was "a short, squat, dirty man who lives on blubber."³⁹ In The New North, Cameron is highly complimentary of the Kogmollyc Inuit and devotes a

considerable portion of the text to them, describing their character, lifestyle and customs. She felt that the values of Inuit culture were far superior to those of European civilization:

What we have done for the Eskimo is a minus quality; what he has done for us is to paint a splendid moral of integrity, manliness and intrepid courage.⁴⁰

In her attempt to stress her on-going theme of human equality, Cameron edged towards the noble savage stereotype. But her feminist perspective did not give her total tunnel vision; she was able to observe the Inuit polygamous practises and understand the roots of the custom. She realized that in bands where women outnumbered men, polygamy was a highly sensible solution to the hardships of Arctic survival. As she pointed out these were few alternatives to marriage in the Arctic --- there were no means, "whereby unappropriated spinsters may become self-supporting wage earners as chaste typewriters, school teachers, Marcel wavers, or manicurists."⁴¹

Agnes Cameron was understandably sensitive to women's contributions to the Northern culture. She sought out examples of white women flourishing in this new frontier society and found women missionaries translating hymns into Cree, Grey Nuns growing prize-winning wheat, and Christine Gordon, a Scottish free trader, challenging the Hudson Bay Company's monopoly. This interest naturally extended to the lives of Cree and Chipewyan women. Cameron was dismayed to find that a Cree woman's life was one of toil and oppression, "... fated always to play a secondary part in the family drama, it is hard to see what of pleasure life holds for her."⁴² She was more heartened to find that, "the Chipewyan wife is the New Red Woman ... the traders refuse to make a bargain of any kind with a Chipewyan man without the active

approbation of the wife."⁴³ Agnes collected several examples of the women's handwork and took photographs of many others.

Cameron's travel account was most enthusiastic about her experiences but it is almost impossible to learn anything of the private person. She was far too skilled a journalist to reveal anything more about herself than she wanted the public to know. Amusing anecdotes, involving her 'tenderfoot' activities, were the extent to which Cameron would allow her persona to intrude into the narrative. Her views on the equality of all humans are evident, as is her feminism, but the latter is discreet enough not to offend. After her experience with the Victoria school authorities, Agnes must have felt she should curb her outspokenness. A certain prudence was in order, if The New North was to be parlayed into a successful book and lecture tour. Attached to a copy of her book that Cameron sent to Newton McTavish, editor of Canadian Magazine, was a brief note with the wry quote, "Nothing extenuate, nor set down ought (sic) in malice!"⁴⁴ There was however a feisty tone in the dedication of The New North. It read:

To the memory of my mother, Jessie Anderson Cameron,
and to all those who try to live out her simple rule, ---
'We must just try to do the very best we can.'⁴⁵

Of the three women travellers, Agnes Cameron was the most deliberate in her post-trip preparations. If all went well, she had every intention of using her Immigration Association and Press Club contacts to set up a lecture tour. With these plans in mind, she was careful to pack a camera and dozens of rolls of film along with her typewriter. Mary Schaffer had not considered such structured publicity, but she had already published some articles on her earlier trips and had addressed the Philadelphia Geographical Association. Moreover, she was a skilled photographer, who enjoyed

capturing with her camera camp vignettes and scenic views, if only for her own and her friends' interest. Mina Hubbard, it would appear, had scarcely considered such prospects as a lecture tour. Her entire focus had been the completion of Leonidas' journey and the subsequent restoration of his reputation. Nevertheless, she too carried two Kodaks in her baggage.

By the turn of the century, the technology of photography had become so familiar to a large section of the population that the expectation was that most travel books would be accompanied by photographs, and any public lecture worth its admission price would be illustrated with 'magic lantern' slides. It is evident from the press reviews of Cameron's lectures, that she was able to skilfully capitalize on this popular fascination with photography.⁴⁶ "Miss Agnes Deans Cameron gave an entertaining, instructive and altogether delightful stereopticon lecture..."⁴⁷ The publicity posters that still survive from her lecture tours emphasize in bold print, "EACH TALK IS ILLUSTRATED BY ONE HUNDRED DISTINCT STEREOPTICON VIEWS FROM THE TRAVELLER'S OWN CAMERA."⁴⁸ The published trip journals of the three travellers feature numerous photographs taken by them on their journeys. Mina's illustrations are primarily scenic in subject, although she did include some photographs of the Indian tribes she encountered, and of her crew and herself camping, portaging, and running rapids. There is one excellent photograph of Mina in her long skirt and mosquito-net hat, striding through the bush, exuding self-confidence and pleasure. The New North had over one hundred and twenty visual depictions of life and people of the North. There were photographs of transportation methods, industrial and agricultural progress, Indian and European individuals at work or in repose, Hudson Bay Co. trading posts, Indian women's handwork, and Jessie and Agnes as 'tourists'. The frontispiece showed Agnes holding up the head of the moose she shot with the caption,

'A Magnificent Trophy'. Mary Schaffer's coloured plates and photographs illustrating Old Indian Trails are outstanding; the level of her expertise in this field is evident. Mina's photographs were rather indistinct; Agnes' were well-focused with good contrast, but Mary's bring the scene alive. The majority of the plates feature vignettes of trail and camp life; there are also several panoramic views, taken at various times of the day and in variable weather conditions. Her hand-tinted photograph of Mt. Athabasca skilfully captures the shades of greys and greens of the trees and the shadows of the clouds crossing the mountain face. It is not difficult to accept the remark that, "her colored slide work was unequaled for brilliance and accuracy."⁴⁹ It was fortunate that Hubbard and Schaffer, as well as Cameron, recorded their historical trips in photograph and word, for all three adventure-travellers found that their photography was a valuable addition to their books and lectures.

There was some initial press skepticism as to whether Mina Hubbard had indeed accomplished what she claimed, but the general public was impressed. Mina recorded in her diary that, when her ship docked at Quebec City, on the journey home, "A lot of people came on board. Many came to shake hands with me ... and looked at me with genuine admiration and appreciation shining in their faces."⁵⁰ The New York Times issue of November 23, 1905, reported her return home with the headline, 'Mrs Hubbard Says She Succeeded in Getting All Credit for Dead Husband.' In the accompanying article, Mina is quoted as stating:

... the exact purpose of my venture was to carry out the work that my husband started to do. This I have done and I am satisfied. My work as an explorer is finished. I have secured to my husband the name of having been the first to have traversed these rivers.⁵¹

The reporter's reluctance to give credit to a woman for such a feat of exploration is demonstrated by a longer headline on the same page, that proclaimed: 'Labrador Crossed by Dillon Wallace --- Task Accomplished That Cost Leonidas Hubbard's Life --- Lone Companion with Him.' The article declares that Dillon was "the first white man to cross the peninsula without either guides or Indian assistants."⁵² The latter statement was technically correct, if not exactly fair to Mina's achievement.

The difficulty for Mina of starting a new life was eased somewhat by the lectures she began to give. Her first public talk on her trip was arranged by her pastor and was presented to the Protestant Ministers' Club in Williamstown, Massachusetts.⁵³ It went well and she was relieved to have 'something to do'. In the next two years she addressed the American Geographical Society, the Royal Geographical Society of England, the British Association, and other scientific and public groups. There is a reference to Mina Hubbard as guest of honour at the Geographical Society of Philadelphia meeting, in January, 1907. It was at this same evening that Mary Schaffer presented a paper on the Rockies. Unfortunately, no press reports of Mina's early lecture tours can be located.

During these two years, she also worked on her book and wrote articles describing her Labrador experiences and defending Leonidas. Her article for Harper's Monthly Magazine criticized Leonidas' detractors: "... he failed to accomplish his purpose, but that did not prove his expedition a carelessly and ignorantly - planned undertaking;"⁵⁴ whereas, her published report in The Bulletin of the American Geographical Society emphasized the nobility of her husband's spirit:

In utter physical weakness, utter loneliness, in the face of defeat and death, he yet wrote that final record of his life ... which turned his defeat to a victory immeasurably higher and more

beautiful than the success of his exploring venture⁵⁵

In the description of her actual trip, Mina usually focused on her crew's contribution, the highlights such as the caribou migration, and "the beauties of that lone land which can smile with so much grace, even though its mood has sometimes been one of such persistent cruelty."⁵⁶

Despite her fear "... of writing what people are not at all interested in and being thought silly or rather a bore,"⁵⁷ Mina's travel journal was published in 1908. A Woman's Way brought some favourable reviews and some less so. Jean Graham devoted her entire column, "Women's Sphere", in The Canadian Magazine to a discussion of Mina's book and praise for women explorers. Graham stressed the qualities of courage and fortitude shown by Mina in undertaking such a trip, and concluded her remarks with the admonition that the Canadian public should "... honour a woman whose claim to recognition rests upon pluck and brains."⁵⁸ The American and Royal Geographical Societies reviewed A Woman's Way in their magazines and found her research and narrative 'very interesting'. They both commented that while her work was not scientific, it was of interest because there were so few women engaged in pioneer exploration. The Times Literary Supplement gently chastised Mina for attributing her success to 'luck':

The explorer whose margin over all contingencies enabled her to part with a quarter of her whole original stock of flour to a band of starving Indians can hardly expect us to acquit her of a reasonable amount of good management.⁵⁹

Some of the male reviewers seemed to have difficulty remaining objective. Munson A. Havens, reviewer for Dial, an American literary magazine, was not sympathetic. He was obviously a fan of Dillon Wallace, as he spends the first part of

the critique discussing his positive response to Wallace's books, and their appeal to the male reader. Havens scolds Mrs. Hubbard for her implied criticism of Wallace: "... there were three heroes, not two, of the 1st expedition and the number of them should not be lessened as the tale is told."⁶⁰ He acknowledges that Mina was a woman of 'rare character' but condescendingly remarks on her 'naive femininity' because she included in the narrative a list of personal baggage.⁶¹ The Nation reviewer was even harsher, dismissing Mina's achievement as "a journey with singularly little hardship,"⁶² arguing that journeys through Labrador were quite common and not very dangerous. Mina is lectured for not taking time to study "... the flora, fauna, fish and wildlife ... for the expedition passed through fine game and fish country."⁶³ Despite the mixed reviews, Mina's speaking engagements continued and in 1908 she was invited to England to give a series of lectures.

Mary Schaffer once described herself as, "a writer, an unsuccessful writer, carrying some ambition and little talent and very likely to remain such."⁶⁴ Whatever the veracity of this view of her own writing, Mary clearly enjoyed the process. Since 1904, she had published articles on topics relating to her trips in magazines such as Rod and Gun, The Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia and The Canadian Alpine Journal, and several of her photographs had been used by Colliers and Canadian Life and Resources. After Mollie's death, Mary continued to spend her summers in the Rockies and her winters in Philadelphia, writing her book and giving illustrated lectures to various scientific organizations. Her presentations must have been pleasant experiences for the participants; not only were her hand-coloured lantern slides outstanding, but the written material reflected Mary's love of the wilderness and her delightful sense of humour. In her papers was a copy of an address on the topic of alpine flowers, in which she described putting her hand on a snake:

Porcupines in camp hold no terrors, a wild cat is a treat to behold,
a bear brings but a shiver, but a snake alas! is always too much
with a few undignified bounds I was out of that swamp⁶⁵

This is hardly the story that one would expect to hear from an intrepid explorer of the mountains.

Fame also came to Schaffer from some unexpected sources. A Chicago newspaper carried a lengthy report on the arrival in that city of two prospectors returning from the Rocky Mountains. One of those prospectors happened to be the 'brigand' with whom Mary and Mollie had dined in Tete Jaune Cache. Clearly the reporter was quite taken with the men's account of meeting Mary and Mollie, for the article enthusiastically, if erroneously, revealed that:

The women, Mrs Schaffer and Mrs. Adams, are elite mountain climbers. Every summer they have visited the Canadian Rockies and climbed the glorious peaks ... On August 19th, they reached Tete Jaune Cache, being three weeks away from the nearest cooking stove or chafing dish. The women had no husbands, brothers or other encumbrances along with them and needed none. They are described as anything but masculine in appearance, but nature to them is an open book.⁶⁶

Mary also found herself linked to one of the best-sellers of 1910. Lady Merton, Colonist, written by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, the popular English novelist, featured Maligne Lake, as the location of the heroine's honeymoon. The name had been changed to 'Elizabeth' but the accompanying photograph was one taken of Maligne by Mary. As Mrs. Ward explained in her preface to Lady Merton:

Lake Elizabeth has an original on this real earth ... and was discovered two years ago by my friend Mrs. Schaffer, of Philadelphia, to whose enchanting narrative of travel and exploration in these untrodden regions I listened with delight at Field, British Columbia.⁶⁷

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The publication of Old Indian Trails was received with enthusiasm. The reviewers were impressed by the descriptions, the anecdotes, the illustrations, the enthusiasm of the author for nature and the 'unfettered' life of the open spaces. As one reviewer commented, "Even a cripple would be tempted into mountaineering by this vivid and vivacious volume."⁶⁸ The New York City Sun did snidely observe that, "judging from the pictures one of the adventurers was by no means young, so that what they accomplished others can do pretty easily,"⁶⁹ but the other papers were highly laudatory of Schaffer's and Adams' adventuresome spirits. The prestigious New York Times Book Review section was highly complimentary: "... it is difficult to decide just what impresses us most: the excellence of the writing, the picturesqueness of the country described or the personality of the author herself."⁷⁰

Many of the reviews also tackled the issues of women's abilities and the expectations of feminine behaviour. There seemed to be a certain anxiety to reassure the reader that a female who did such extraordinary travel could still be a 'true' woman. The Calgary Chronicle stated soothingly, "The seasoned mountaineer, Mrs Schaffer, is yet always the woman sensitive to every note of feminine sentiment,"⁷¹ and the Brooklyn Eagle earnestly informed its readers that, "besides her old-fashioned accomplishments of knitting, embroidery, and every phase of needlework, Mrs Schaffer ... maintains a childish pride in the homelier knowledge of housewifery."⁷² The debate concerning the differences between male and female travellers occupied the New York Times book critic; his conclusions were predictable. In his logic, the physiology and temperament of the two genders meant that women travelled better in a Pullman, men better in the wilderness. Women could rarely cope with a wild and inhospitable country because of their "natural timidity, fastidiousness and love of ease."⁷³ His only explanation as to how Mary and Mollie were able to do their 'rough'

travel was that they wisely chose to be guided by men, although it is not quite made clear how their guides catered to the women's 'love of ease'.

Fortunately, there were reviewers who accepted the evidence that women were quite capable of adventure-travel. The Detroit Free Press pointed out that women felt wanderlust just as their male counterparts did, but societal conventions often hampered their abilities to act on such feelings.⁷⁴ The most receptive response came in the write-up of The Chronicle: A Weekly Newspaper for Women:

"Two plucky women were they who followed those 'Old Indian Trails' for they encountered difficulties without fear, and discomforts without a murmur ... reckoning little of rain or other trials so far, to them, outweighed by the joys of life on the trail."⁷⁵

This review must have heartened Mary for it went on to assert that Old Indian Trails would be sure to lead other women to experience the joys of trekking in the Rockies. After all, that had been Mary's major purpose in writing the book.

The same summer her book was published, Mary once again travelled to Maligne Lake. This expedition was planned at the instigation of D. B. Dowling of the Geological Survey of Canada. The coming of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (GTP) was changing the Yellowhead country dramatically as hundreds of labourers and pioneers poured into the area. Dowling thought that if Mary could be persuaded to survey Maligne Lake, her reputation would encourage more visitors to follow. Mary agreed to the proposal and the Commissioner of Parks financed a prior cutting of a trail to the lake from the railroad right of way. This time Mary's route was much shorter and less arduous, as she approached Maligne from the northeast, riding the GTP as far as Hinton and then taking the new trail the rest of the way.

The 1911 trip to Maligne Lake was guided by Jack Otto, but Sid Unwin was once again along as cook and packer. To keep her company, Mary invited her sister-in-law, Carrie Sharples, and her young nephew, Paul. The Schaffer party spent slightly over a month camped at Maligne, surveying the lake and enduring days of rain and cold weather. There was even a snowstorm on July 12 so heavy that Jack had to dig his way to Mary's teepee with a frying pan. The poor weather conditions and difficulties with the surveying equipment caused the process to drag on much longer than anticipated. Finally, the survey was completed and the group, before returning to Edmonton, enjoyed a few days of leisure in the fine weather that had finally arrived.

Mary wrote an article for the Canadian Alpine Journal about their experiences on the 1911 expedition and later expanded the information into a lengthier account which was not published until quite recently.⁷⁶ There is a discernable difference between Mary's 1908 and 1911 accounts. She still told amusing stories of camp and trail, described the horses' personalities, and painted word pictures of the beauties of the lake, but the tone had changed. The infectious enthusiasm and joy in the small happenings of every day were gone. Perhaps her fifty years of age were weighing heavily on her, or more likely, she felt the loss of her former trail companions and their wonderful camaraderie. Interestingly, the 1911 account also revealed a changed woman. The Mary Schaffer who once accepted the 'superiority of the endurance of man', now wrote the following passage about women - 'the true pioneers':

I thought of her and of all the other women who had given up life and home to follow the fortunes of their husbands into a new land ... One of the vastest continents of the world has been meekly and silently conquered by women and, even at this late date, few men know it.⁷⁷

Mary's sensitivity to women may have been the result of her own struggle to be given full credit by other explorers of the Rockies. She had always been quick to acknowledge her debt to earlier trail-breakers for their helpful information, and no doubt felt she deserved the same courtesy. The 1912 issue of the Canadian Alpine Journal illustrates Mary's situation. A short article by Mary concerning her trip to Maligne Lake is buried behind a very lengthy article by Reverend Kinney that describes a trip made in September, 1911, from Fitzhugh on the GTP railroad line to Laggan, Lake Louise. On this expedition were several of the prominent male individuals associated with exploration of the Rockies. In his account, Rev. Kinney makes no mention of Mary's name in his discussion of the survey of Maligne, despite the fact that she had completed it only one month prior to his trip. He refers to it as the Otto Brothers expedition; these men had been her guides and trail cutters. When Kinney does mention Mary in connection with Maligne Lake his comments are quite revealing:

Mrs. Schaffer has spent many summers in the Canadian Rockies, first coming to them with her husband, the late Dr. Charles Schaffer, of Philadelphia, a charming personality, and intense lover of Nature and a good botanist, altogether a man whom it was a delight to meet ... She [Mary] first visited and brought to notice this beautiful lake ... She has, therefore, undoubtedly the right to name its features. I would wish, however, that personal names had not been so prominent, for the surrounding peaks have many striking characteristic features that seem naturally to supply the names.⁷⁸

With this kind of grudging treatment, it is small wonder that Mary had become more attuned to the forgotten contributions of women. Despite such irritations, Mary found herself attracted more and more to the freer life of the Rockies rather than the rituals of Philadelphian society. In 1913 she requested that Billy Warren purchase property for her in Banff. The next stage of her life was about to begin.

Agnes Cameron returned from her Northern trip in the fall of 1908. By early spring 1909, she had organized her materials into four travel-talks and had begun to travel the lecture circuit. The attention paid Agnes by the press and public was highly complimentary. She was linked to other great women explorers such as May French-Sheldon, and her role in the promotion of Canada was paralleled to that of Kipling's for India. Her journalist contacts, and position as vice-president of the Canadian Women's Press Club, ensured wide press coverage of her lectures and articles and her brilliance as a lecturer helped considerably. The Toronto Globe carried several reports in the spring of 1909 of Cameron's lectures to various groups in that city, describing her as, "a woman of action ... with a tailor-made practicalness, extending even somewhat to a coiffure touched with grey, and the bubbling humour and rich appreciation of life that communicates itself to an audience like a stimulant."⁷⁹ The Evening Telegram (Toronto) reviewed one of her lectures and commented that, "she is undoubtedly one of the cleverest speakers in Canada. Her two hour lecture seemed much less than half that length."⁸⁰ The reviewer for the Edmonton Bulletin found that, "Miss Cameron has originality, magnetism, and a delightful sense of humour which keeps her audience in a merry mood ..."⁸¹ and commented that many people had to be turned away from her lecture when the hall filled to capacity.

When Agnes reached Toronto on her tour of Canadian cities, her feminist reputation ensured that she was feted by its women's network. She addressed the Toronto Women's Canadian Club, was featured at a Women's Press Club tea, and was guest of honour at a dinner given by the Suffrage Association, attended by such noteworthies as Dr. Augusta Stowe-Gullen, Flora MacDonald Denison and Dr. Helen MacMurchy. Jean Graham, editor to the women's section in The Canadian Magazine, wrote an enthusiastic and flattering report of Cameron's visit: "She is as freshly

stimulating as a September day on one of our northern lakes - and what more can a Canadian say in tribute to a daughter of the Dominion?"⁸²

The attention of the Canadian Government was caught by the publicity surrounding Agnes Cameron's subject material and highly successful lecture tour. Agnes herself worked hard on her own promotion; her correspondence in the Laurier Papers at the National Archives includes dozens of clippings of favourable reviews she sent to the Prime Minister. Late in 1909, her efforts were repaid --- she received a contract from the government to give a series of lectures in Britain in order to encourage more women, in particular, to emigrate to Canada. She also arranged with the London Daily Mail to write a daily column on Canadian affairs.⁸³

The two years that Agnes spent in England were a triumph of packed lecture halls and enthusiastic reviews. The Spectator commented:

Cheery, humorous, observant, nothing escapes Miss Cameron's notice or upsets her equanimity. She is doubtless one of those fortunate individuals who know how to travel, to whom travel is a joy, and who have the secret of getting on with people, the true traveller's tact.⁸⁴

Agnes, with the assistance of two of her nieces, Jessie and Mabel, maintained a hectic schedule of lectures, public appearances and writing. Mabel's diary records the wide variety of groups that Cameron addressed during her stay in Britain: the Royal Geographical Society, Swanley Ladies' Horticultural College, the Victoria League, the Women's Industrial Council, the Lyceum Club, the Boy Scouts, homeless men in Stepney --- the list went on and on.

Agnes' impressive public-speaking skills and slide collection ensured a positive response from whatever type of audience was present. A member of the audience at the Alpine Club dinner, gushed that, "...[Agnes] has kindled an unrest and longing in her

breast which will not be satisfied until she has seen all the beauty spots of Canada,"⁸⁵ and the undergraduates of Winchester College responded with, "... great gusto to the fruit pictures. We have never been able to understand why the strawberry slides invariably excite the audience that is not thrilled with the whale picture."⁸⁶ There must have been moments, however, when all of Agnes' skills and training as a public speaker were called upon: at the Royal Victoria Hall she had to share the platform with an impersonator, a juggler, and moving pictures.⁸⁷

The most important lecture given was February 23, 1910, at the Imperial Institute and was organized by the president of the British Women's Emigration Association, Lady Knightly of Fawsley. The purpose of the occasion was to encourage young British women to emigrate to Canada as teachers, factory workers and 'home help'. An impressive collection of people turned out to hear Agnes speak on the advantages of emigration to Canada's Northwest. Her niece recorded in her diary that:

The front row was filled up with very important personages, including the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, Princess Patricia, the Duke and Duchess of Argyll ... and others of that ilk. As somebody said, 'Auntie was lecturing Royalty'. The Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity and the audience was a kindly one.⁸⁸

Agnes Cameron's lectures at the Imperial Institute were attended by over a thousand people.

Agnes' success in England was enhanced by the positive reviews that greeted the publication of The New North in the spring of 1910. The Nation found it "intensely interesting ... the author tells well the history of the area and enlivens her narrative with spontaneous and real humour ... The book is well above the average story of travel."⁸⁹ The reviewer in the New York Times felt that, "... this lady's experience fills one with a yearning to forswear civilization and to flee away to the pathless forest ..."⁹⁰

Cameron returned to Canada in the summer of 1911 full of plans and enthusiasm for new journeys and books. The citizens of her hometown of Victoria took her back into their hearts; a civic reception was held in her honour and the Premier of British Columbia was pleased to chair one of the lectures she gave concerning her trip to England.

Agnes' triumphant return to her hometown was short-lived. In May of 1912 she was stricken with appendicitis and died of pneumonia at the age of forty-nine. Her funeral cortege was the largest Victoria had ever seen: a fact that would have pleased her, but she would have had a wry smile at the floral tribute sent by the Victoria School Board. Despite her life-long efforts on behalf of equality, Agnes could not escape, even in death, her society's differentiation between genders. Her obituary in Saturday Night read, "Miss Cameron was a brilliant and most likeable woman, with a boy's love of adventure and exploration,"⁹¹ and Victoria's Daily Colonist eulogized her with the words: "She was a woman of remarkable personality, in whose case an intellect that was almost masculine in its massive proportions, was balanced by a sympathetic and kindly heart."⁹²

Mary Schaffer and Mina Hubbard did not have the same dramatic departure from the pages of women's history as Agnes. Two years after she moved permanently to Banff, Mary defied social convention and despite the discrepancy in their ages, married her former guide, Billy Warren. During the war years she occupied her time writing articles, lecturing in hospitals and clubs, and organizing a slide show of the Rockies to be shown to Canadian soldiers in British hospitals. World War I caused considerable heartache for Mary: Eric, her favourite nephew, went missing in action at the Somme and three months later Sid Unwin died of wounds received at Vimy.

In the years following the war, Mary continued her involvement with her beloved mountains as a member of the Alpine Club of Canada and Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies. Many people wrote to Mary, as a recognized authority on the wilderness, to ask for advice; the result of her role as 'the expert' was a voluminous correspondence. With Mary's financial support, Billy's business ventures prospered to such an extent, that even the Depression did not adversely affect their comfortable lifestyle. A car accident in 1933 caused a flare-up of Mary's chronic neuritis and her health declined over the next few years. She died in 1939 and was buried in the nearby cemetery at the foot of her much-loved Rocky Mountains.

During Mina's tour of England she lectured to the Royal Geographical Society and, in recognition of the success of her Labrador expedition, was made an honorary member of that august body. She also met and married within the year Harold Ellis, an English coal magnate. This marriage eventually ended in divorce in the 1920's, but from the time of her marriage Mina's permanent residence became England. Occupied with raising of three children, she did not return to North America for several years. In 1936, Mina was invited by the University of Michigan to be present at the dedication of a memorial to Leonidas Hubbard that was erected by his classmates of 1879.⁹³

Accepting the invitation, Mrs. Ellis returned to Canada and spent several months visiting relatives and giving lectures on her Labrador trip of 1905. That long-ago trip must have been very much on Mina's mind as she attended the unveiling of the plaque to Leonidas, with their faithful guide, George Elson, by her side. Perhaps it was then that she made her decision to disinter Leonidas' body and have it buried close to her home in England. The latter years of Mina's life were spent at her home in England or indulging in organized travel. There were no further trips of exploration nor

adventure after Labrador. In 1953, accustomed to the end of getting her own way, she walked across railway tracks, challenging the locomotive to the right of way.

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 - ² Quoted in Fussell, p.208.
 - ³ T.D. MacLulich, "Canadian Exploration as Literature," Canadian Literature (Summer 1979), p.78.
 - ⁴ M. Mason, "The Other Voice: Autobiographies of Women Writers", p.210.
 - ⁵ C.Heilbrun, Writing a Woman's Life (New York, 1988), p.22
 - ⁶ D.Cameron, quoted in C.Heilbrun, p.20.
 - ⁷ M.G.Mason and C.Green, Journeys: Autobiographical Writings by Women (Boston, 1979), p.ix.
 - ⁸ Hubbard, A Woman's Way Through Unknown Labrador, p.55.
 - ⁹ Ibid., p.88.
 - ¹⁰ Ibid., p.177.
 - ¹¹ Ibid., p.88.
 - ¹² Ibid., p.225.
 - ¹³ Ibid., p.113
 - ¹⁴ Hubbard, A Woman's Way, p.237.
 - ¹⁵ Ibid., p.ix.
 - ¹⁶ Schaffer, Old Indian Trails, p. i.
 - ¹⁷ Ibid., p.vi.
 - ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 19.
 - ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 19
 - ²⁰ Ibid., p. 18.
 - ²¹ Ibid., p. 65.
 - ²² Ibid., p. 54.
 - ²³ Ibid., p. 27.
 - ²⁴ Ibid., p. 58.
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 - 43 Cameron, The New North, p. 103.
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- ⁷⁵ The Chronicle: A Weekly Newspaper for Women (Vancouver) 20 October 1911, p.21.
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- ⁷⁹ The Toronto Globe 22 April 1909, p. 6.
- ⁸⁰ The Evening Telegram 22 April 1909, Laurier Papers, C 879 (NAC, Ottawa).
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CONCLUSION

The women who travelled in Canada at the turn of the century covered the entire spectrum from pampered first class tourist to rough wilderness adventure-travellers. The one feature shared by all women travellers was a defiance of the social perception that women's place was solely hearth and home. The Victorian and Edwardian female traveller gave notice that henceforth women could choose to experience much the same joys and stimulation of travel as men. For centuries, tales of adventure had glorified male exploration and wanderings: it was the men who were resourceful, intrepid and restless; the men who set out to plumb the mysteries of the unknown world. Yet in the latter part of the nineteenth century, a number of individual women broke out of their restrictive upbringings to challenge this male monopoly. The female adventure-traveller, in particular, dared to show that her society's ideas about women's physical frailty and timid nature were fast becoming anachronisms. This woman did not deliberately set out to defy her society; she was not a rebel in that sense: what she did seek was the opportunity to see with her own eyes places that prior to this time she could only experience vicariously.

For the women adventure-traveller, travel was an individual act, the purpose of which was to satisfy her own curiosity or her personal needs. The journey was not done in mimicry of men's exploits or as part of a unified female crusade for equality. However, despite the uniqueness of the individuals involved, there can be discerned a basic model of the female adventure-traveller. Whether one studies the wide-ranging voyages of women globe-trotters such as Isabella Bird Bishop and Fanny Bullock Workman, or scrutinizes the Canadian journeys of women such as Hubbard, Schaffer

and Cameron, there are certain features that are shared by all these exemplary women travellers.

Mina Hubbard, Mary Schaffer, and Agnes Cameron were all born within the same Victorian decade of 1860-1870, and made their extraordinary journeys within four years of each other during the Edwardian years of 1905-1908. Born into middle-class families, the three women shared a common class background, but Mary's upbringing was the closest to the Victorian middle class ideal of femininity. Her family's wealth provided Mary with an education suitable only to a life of leisure. Mina and Agnes were less exposed to such restrictive ideals of Victorian womanhood; neither a rural Ontario community nor the frontier British Columbian society offered much scope for women to be fragile and timorous creatures. Their families encouraged them to pursue professional training that would enable them to earn their own living, but they were directed into the careers of nursing and teaching, fields of study believed suitable for women's nurturing qualities.

As with so many of the other adventure-travellers of the time, Hubbard, Schaffer and Cameron embarked on their travels relatively late in their lives. There were two major factors that acted as a catalyst to launch them on their journeys; a release from their marital or professional obligations and the absence of familial duties. Mina was 35, Mary and Agnes were 45 years old when they set off on their respective trips. Particularly for Mary and Agnes, it was an age "when there is very little reason to fear, or hide, or not attempt brave and important things."¹ With the deaths of their husbands, both Mary and Mina were faced with life alone, for neither had children to keep them close to home. The same year she was fired by the Victoria school board, Agnes was released from her duty when her mother, with whom she resided, died. She, like Mina and Mary, had the personal freedom to consider new directions in her life. It was this

independence from family ties that distinguishes the adventure-traveller from the vast majority of her middle class sisters. Most women were never able to escape the restrictions and obligations of lives dedicated to husband, children and family.

Once the decision to travel was made, the women, without exception, all headed towards the wilder and lonelier areas of the world. The jungles of Central Africa, the interior of China, the outback of Australia, the tablelands of Central Asia, the rocky fastness of the Himalayas, all felt the footsteps of these remarkable women. The lure of the wilderness also called to the women travellers in Canada. It was the solitude of the Northern tundra and the stillness of the forests and mountains of the West that attracted most of the women travellers. Mary Schaffer made several journeys, and each successive year saw her go deeper and deeper into the wilderness of the Rockies. Agnes Cameron chose the North as a potentially profitable subject for journalism but extended the scope of her journey well beyond what was necessary for her journalism. The wilds of Labrador were selected for Mina by the nature of her husband's death, but she too responded whole-heartedly to the wilderness experience. The solitude and isolation of the great empty spaces awakened a deeply felt response in the hearts of these middle class women. As Mary Schaffer wrote, "... only in the high places could I learn that I and mine were very close together ... they like to say 'explorer' of me, no, only a hunter of peace. I found it."²

The solitude, sought after by the adventure-traveller for her trip locations, was also reflected in the size of her travelling party. The majority of women travelled alone for months at a time "with a string of scruffy-looking male servants ... about whom they knew practically nothing and with whom they could not communicate very little if at all."³ This desire to be alone, evidenced by so many of the women travellers, strikes one as a clear indication of the relief they felt escaping, for a time, all the social and

familial demands expected of the middle class Victorian and Edwardian woman. To have time for themselves and their own personal interests, was not a situation most women could anticipate, for their role was to be the social and emotional heart of the family. These solitary travellers often went to great lengths to maintain this treasured isolation. A Miss Duncan and a Miss Christie meeting purely by chance in the wilds of Kashmir agreed to bivouac at separate ends of the valley and to break camp on different days so as to avoid future meetings on the trail.⁴ The encounter need not even be with a traveller of similar cultural and class backgrounds; in Isabella Bird Bishop's case, it was simply a reminder of her British home while deep in the trackless deserts of Tibet that distressed her. Catching a glimpse of a Tibetan wearing a chest belt with the British crown on it, Isabella moaned, "I never felt so extinguished. Liberty seemed lost, and the romance of the desert to have died in one moment!"⁵ Independent travel gave these women an opportunity to make decisions on significant matters; a control they so rarely got to experience at home. Solitary control means one can decide where to travel, in what direction, and at what pace, and not answer to anyone else.

The women who did chose to travel with a companion never travelled with more than one close friend or intimate. Fanny Bullock Workman was accompanied by her husband on all her trips, but it is evident from their co-written accounts that she was the driving force. Most of the married women travellers left their husbands at home and went off alone or with a close female friend. Agnes, Mina and Mary, as unattached women, had the option to travel alone or with companionship. Agnes took her niece with her on the trip North, but Jessie's role seemed to be one of secretary and errand girl rather than as equal partner in the endeavour. Mary chose a single travelling companion after the experience of a disastrous trip with a larger group. Mollie Adams was a good foil for Mary: she was quiet and unassuming and quite prepared to permit

Mary the role of leader of the expeditions. After Mollie's death Mary chose her totally inexperienced sister-in-law to accompany her on the 1911 expedition. Of these three women travellers in Canada, Mary seems to be the one most sensitive to the proprieties of travelling alone with a male crew, for none of her trips were done as a solitary woman. Mina, similar to the model of the globe-trotters, set off alone into the wilderness with an all-male crew, only one of whom she could communicate with; however, she was less concerned with leadership and decision-making than most of the other travellers and was content to allow the guide, George Elson, almost total control of the journey.

The clothing worn by the adventure -traveller was an important part of the self-image she wished to present to people encountered on her journeys. The selection of isolated areas for their travels meant that the women were removed from any of the comforts that accrue to trips in civilized places. They learned to travel 'rough', to spend hours on horseback, to endure all weather conditions, to eat simple and monotonous meals, to sleep in the open or under rough shelters. Many of the travellers dressed for these experiences as if they were still at home mingling in proper society. Mary Kingsley, the West African adventurer, wore a long heavy woolen skirt, corsets, and a high-necked white blouse for her treks through the jungle. Mina Hubbard carried a white blouse for Sundays on her trip through Labrador and wore skirts that reached her boot tops. May French Sheldon, in her flamboyant style, dazzled African tribal chiefs with a court gown spangled with artificial jewels.⁶ But the more women travelled, the more they shed their feminine inhibitions about clothing, depending more on their lady-like behaviour to make the necessary positive impression on their crew and the local people. Mary Schaffer and Mollie Adams wore buckskin jackets for all their trips and would change into trousers as soon as they were out of sight of Banff.

Women such as Alexandra David-Neel and Isabella Bishop even went so far as to adopt clothing styles of the area they were visiting. It was Alexandra's disguise as a Tibetan monk that enabled her to be the first European woman to enter the forbidden city of Lhasa and Isabella adapted her Chinese jacket so as to carry all sorts of travelling paraphernalia, including a portable oil lamp.⁷

The experiences of the women adventure-travellers would give pause to any but the most intrepid of today's travellers, and reveal that they shared the heroic qualities viewed by their time as only present in males. Imaginative and resourceful, independent and self-sufficient, they overcame the tedium and frustrations of travel, the obstacles and physical hardships, not with the tactics of confrontation, but with strategies of adaptation. In doing so they discovered, often to their surprise, that they were able to endure as well as men the vicissitudes of such remote wilderness travel. Contrary to their socialization, they were not too frail to leave the domestic sphere; women discovered that they had a physical toughness and resilience equal to any crisis. What is astonishing is that most of these adventure-travellers were nearly middle-aged, in fact, some of their exploits took place when they were rather elderly. Mary Schaffer had suffered neuritis from an early age and was regarded as an invalid by her family, yet she trekked in the Rockies until she was well past fifty. Isabella Bishop had such difficulties with her spine that she had to wear a steel cage to hold her head erect, but as soon as she began to travel all her physical ailments disappeared. Three years before her death at seventy-three, she rode horseback one thousand miles across Morocco, and the day she died she was packing her bags for another world trip.

It is somewhat unusual that the three women who travelled in Canada's wilderness published their journals. Many of the female adventure-travellers' stories are lost to history, for, if travel diaries were kept, they were only for family consumption

and have frequently disappeared. Since so few women were associated with organizations or exploration parties of importance, there was no place for them in standard documentation. The self-effacement common among women of this era also worked against the possibility that a woman traveller might consider her experience worthwhile enough to tell the general public. Fanny Bullock Workman was well aware of this reluctance to publish found among her sister travellers. In her book she urged women adventure-travellers to record their experiences:

When later, woman occupies her acknowledged position as an individual worker in all fields, as well as that of exploration, no such emphasis on her work will be needed; but that day has not yet fully arrived and at present it behoves all women for the benefit of their sex, to put what they do on record.⁸

The narratives that were published were usually due to family or friends' instigation. In very few prefaces was there a declaration by the author that she believed her trip to be intrinsically valuable in its own right, instead there were lengthy rationalizations and justifications as to the journey's scientific or anthropological value and a plea to 'bear with' the author in this personal indulgence of authorship. Even the form that the narrative took indicates the woman's reluctance to emphasize her accomplishments. An odyssey format permits the writer to show "things with all the go and glory and beauty in them as well as the mechanism and microbes"⁹ and to hide her own importance behind all the details. Women of this era found it quite difficult to acknowledge that any credit for success was due their strengths and capabilities; they attributed success to luck, or the efforts of others, and the women travellers were no exception.

An odyssey, unlike a quest or ordeal narrative, need not have a heroine as subject. Mary Schaffer gave all credit for the success of her trips to Billy Warren and

Sid Unwin, Agnes Cameron thanked the Hudson's Bay Company, and Mina Hubbard praised the loyalty and endurance of George Elson and the rest of the crew. This withdrawal from centre stage was also a useful device to detach oneself from any possible negative judgements. However, as Luree Miller points out, "if more women travelers had written confidently about their joy and success they might have established a talismanic source from which others could draw strength."¹⁰

It is difficult to determine what long-range impact women adventure-travellers had on their own societies. Miller argues that they were regarded as either eccentrics or anomalies, so far removed from the traditions of women that their actions seemed totally unrelated to the needs or aspirations of other women. Whereas male explorers or adventurers seemed to symbolize the heroic qualities found in all men, women adventurers were viewed simply as oddities, not to be taken seriously. In a more positive vein, it has been suggested that people of any time period will admire and respect spirit and courage in any individual, regardless of gender. The general public's response to publicity tours by the travellers was a very positive one: it was not uncommon to have a lecture audience numbering into the hundreds or even thousands. The press, despite the occasional hesitation, did cover the exploits of women travellers, and the reviews of women's travel narratives were generally excellent.

The one aspect that troubled the public, as expressed through the press, was its concern with the division between femininity and masculinity. The example of the female adventure-traveller confused the public's perception of the issue. In this respect one must agree with Miller; people did view these women as anomalies, for they did not fit clearly into the two separate and distinct spheres of male and female, public and private. By not fitting into the neatly arranged categories, the female traveller forced the public to question its perception of male and female differences. As a result, in many

accounts, both public and private, there are reassuring comments that women who trekked in the wilderness, who tested their physical limitations, who expressed joy in adventure and exploration were truly female in spite of 'manly' behaviour. This encouraging, if indirect, message must have given other women a signal: it is acceptable to perform in an unusual manner if one is willing to make certain sacrifices, and pay lip service to key social precepts. Mina, Agnes and Mary were careful to obey this formula. Mina and Agnes included in their books photographs of appropriate female behaviour; Mina is shown cooking at the campfire; Agnes dandling a small child. Mary, on the other hand, was rather defiant about her non-existent domestic skills, but was careful to record her 'shopping' excursion at the Swift homestead and her 'gossip' session with Indian women and children.

The clearest message that all three women gave their audiences was the one most likely to bring about change: they had gone on a journey, and they had enjoyed it immensely. Any journey is a metaphor for action and movement, implying, most significantly for women, freedom and the will to choose.¹¹ Mina, Mary and Agnes demonstrated publicly that the possibilities of personal independence were open to women as well as to men. How many women must have mulled over Mary's comment that "it is hard to leave behind the days of freedom ... to return to the beaten track, to four walls, and all the cares which know so well how to creep within them"¹² and reviewed their own lives. To the individual woman adventure-traveller in Asia and Africa, and to Mina Hubbard, Mary Schaffer and Agnes Cameron in Canada, the experience of travel not only stirred the blood, but also gave strength to the spirit.¹³

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- ¹ C.Heilbrun, Writing a Woman's Life (New York, 1988), p.121.
- ² M.T. Schaffer, Letters, 12 April 1928.
- ³ L.Miller, On Top of the World (Seattle, 1984), p. 20.
- ⁴ Ibid., p.202.
- ⁵ Ibid., p. 92.
- ⁶ D. Middleton, Victorian Lady Travellers (Chicago, 1982), p. 9.
- ⁷ Miller, p. 97.
- ⁸ Quoted in M. Russell, 'The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt' (London, 1986), p.99.
- ⁹ Mary Kingsley as quoted in C.B. Stevenson, Victorian Women Writers in Africa (Boston, 1982), p.121.
- ¹⁰ Miller, p. 203.
- ¹¹ M.G. Mason, Journeys (Boston, 1979).
- ¹² M. Schaffer, "Untrodden Ways," Canadian Alpine Journal (1907).
- ¹³ Alexandra David-Neel as quoted in L.Miller, On Top of the World, p. 203.

MINA BENSON HUBBARD'S ROUTE THROUGH LABRADOR

AGNES DEANS CAMERON'S ROUTE TO THE ARCTIC OCEAN, 1908

Map of the Author's Route

Old Indian Trails Expedition of 1907

Mary T. S. Schäffer

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