

# NOTES ON NINETEENTH CENTURY TOURISM ON LAKE MEMPHREMAGOG, 1850–1899

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## ABSTRACT

Nineteenth century tourism on Lake Memphremagog – situated in the Eastern Townships of Québec astride the Canadian/American border – was predominately American. Environmental and social circumstances isolated the region from the rest of Lower Canada and oriented it within an American sphere of influence. Through an analysis of tourist literature, it is argued that Lake Memphremagog's tourism was both reflective and constitutive of overwhelming economic, technological and socio-political transformations in the United States. Synthesizing these factors with the region's physical landscape, tourism on the lake provided a culturally and ideologically meaningful experience that people could embrace as a positive consequence of tremendous upheaval.

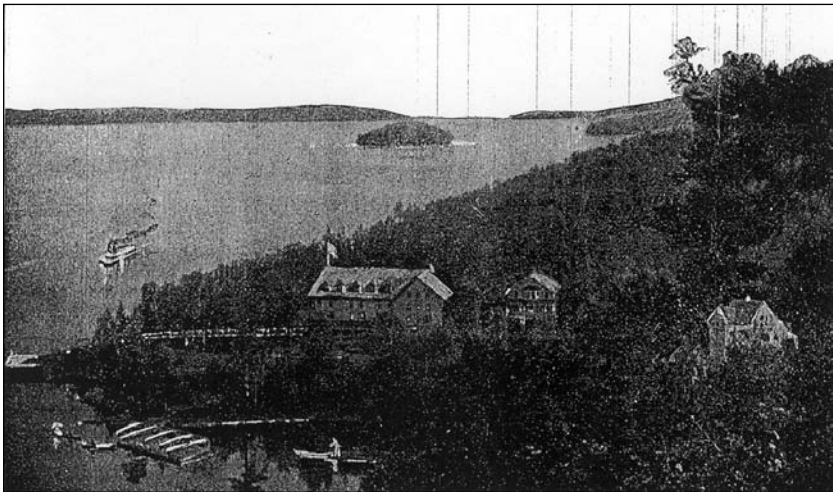
## RÉSUMÉ

*Au dix-neuvième siècle, le tourisme sur le lac Memphrémagog – situé dans les Cantons-de-l'Est du Québec, à cheval sur la frontière canado-américaine – provenait principalement des États-Unis. Des particularités sociales et environnementales avaient isolé la région du reste du Bas-Canada et l'avaient orientée vers une sphère d'influence américaine. Par une analyse de la documentation écrite sur le tourisme, le texte montre que l'activité touristique sur le lac Memphrémagog était à la fois le reflet et la composante d'importantes transformations économiques, technologiques et sociopolitiques aux États-Unis. En ajoutant à ces facteurs le paysage physique de la région, l'activité touristique sur le lac offrait une expérience culturelle et idéologique significative que les gens vivaient comme une conséquence positive d'un formidable bouleversement.*

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On October 11, 1899, a pot of tar left heating on a stove started a fire that completely destroyed the Mountain House hotel situated at the base of Owl's Head Mountain, on the western shore of Lake Memphremagog, in the Eastern Townships of Québec. The building's timbers and framed walls, sawn, ironically, from the very trees that hotel guests had escaped their workaday lives to enjoy, burned with alarming efficiency. As the *Stanstead Journal* reported, "the hotel ... with annex ... burnt to the ground in about an hour ... The boat house, dance hall, etc ... are still left but they present a lonesome appearance."<sup>1</sup> The hotel was never rebuilt; in many respects, its demise signaled the end of a specific era of tourism on the Lake that began in the mid-nineteenth century. This paper – as part of a larger research project that chronicles the advent and changing nature of tourism on Lake Memphremagog primarily through an investigation of American and Canadian travel literature – considers pertinent tourism historiography when contemplating the Lake Memphremagog region and introduces a new framework in which to consider the growth of tourism in the region during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

This paper poses and answers the questions: *who traveled to Lake Memphremagog in the second half of the nineteenth century, and why did they do so?* With due respect for the complexity of individual human



*Owl's Head Lake Memphremagog*

Newport, Vt. Owl's Head Hotel Co., ca 1890

*This image of the Mountain House Hotel at the base of Owl's Head Mountain on Lake Memphremagog appears in the 1890s, during the last decade of its existence. It epitomizes the culmination of physical landscape, technological and market change, and recreation – all central to the new liberal-oriented, middle class tourist experience in the region during the second half of the nineteenth century.*

choice – there are potentially numerous reasons why people chose this given tourist destination – it is suggested that sufficient evidence exists to offer a coherent (and multifaceted) answer to these questions. Indeed, the advent of tourism on Lake Memphremagog must be interrogated as both reflective and constitutive of broad-pattern changes in humans' (primarily Americans') interaction, simultaneously, with each other and with the surrounding physical environment.

Historians, in general, agree that the very idea of moving from one place (usually home) to another (a temporary destination) holds different meaning for different societies over time. Eric Leed notes how travel as necessity gave way to travel as pilgrimage, then to travel as an indication of freedom, as constructed in a modern liberal, market-driven society.<sup>3</sup> Leed's account, however, does not conclusively grapple with the critical distinction between tourism and its cognate term, travel – one of the most challenging aspects of historiography in the field. For Boorstin, tourism entails a search for pseudo-events, distinct from reality, whereas travel (and the traveler) assumes a quest for true experience. Tourist, then, describes one who arrives with preconceived notions about her experience, apparently with little regard for the day-to-day realities of life in the given destination.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Dean MacCannell argues that the tourist actually desires to find authenticity in the travel experience and that this search is a defining component in today's modern society.<sup>5</sup>

Historically, "traveler" has been associated with pre-nineteenth century excursions. Into the nineteenth century, the differentiation between the traveler and the tourist became problematic as upper class and middle class individuals accused one another of being tourists – a pejorative term, associated with superficial experience. Yet, it is important to note, as Ian McKay does through his investigation of the creation of the idealized "folk" of Nova Scotia, that searching for some presumably "true" experience, or essence, is contingent.<sup>6</sup> For, this "true" experience is relative to cultural conventions and there is no absolute assurance that a "true" experience even exists. Regardless, for the purposes of this essay, "tourist" implies all individuals traveling to the Lake Memphremagog region for specific recreational purposes.

What all these tourists have in common is what sociologist John Urry calls the "tourist gaze."<sup>7</sup> By Urry's reckoning, the tourist assumes a particular subject viewing position, which, in turn, derives from her own cultural values. The tourist gaze connects with Peter

Burke's discussion of "eyewitnessing," wherein he emphasizes the fact that all images (including the visual representations of nature central to the discussion of this essay) are created deliberately, for a specific purpose, and that such images must be placed in context with regard to society's socio-cultural and political realities.<sup>8</sup> The perceiving subject, in this case a tourist, brings historically relative ways of viewing images that are themselves conditioned by wider socio-cultural and environmental determinants. The tourist experience is thus an amalgam of contingently created images, construed according to contingent forms of seeing. Moreover, applying these ideas to tourism helps one contemplate the trend as a subset of the encompassing social phenomenon, consumption, which is often associated with tactile, material objects. Pierre Bourdieu describes consumption as:

[A] process of communication, that is, an act of deciphering, decoding, which presupposes practical or explicit mastery of a cipher or code. In a sense ... to see (*voir*) is a function of the knowledge (*savoir*) ... A work of art has meaning only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded.<sup>9</sup>

Indeed, although nature (specific manifestations of physical landscapes) in tourism is not used up in the consumption process, it is nevertheless the "product" around which the conventions of class distinction are mediated.

Several historians who focus on tourism, travel, and natural environments employ implicit references to these theoretically oriented considerations of tourism. For instance, Alan MacEachern, Roderick Nash and Richard Sellars explore how environmental factors and specific conceptual views of nature dominate tourist ideology and are at the core of the creation of several North American national parks.<sup>10</sup> Timothy Todd Bawden, Orvar Lofgren, Piers Brendon, and Patricia Jasen, also discuss the growth of tourism and of specific tourist ideologies and industries as cause and consequence of certain social and cultural realities.<sup>11</sup> Bawden, through the growth of the "back to nature" movement, emphasizes the wider social context as crucial in the development of tourism in Wisconsin during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Lofgren views tourism, institutionalized from the late eighteenth century onward, as a site of cultural production. Brendon credits Englishman, Thomas Cook, with the creation of the European conception of tourism for those not within the elite class. Jasen illustrates how

romanticism helped forge a tourist industry around Niagara Falls. Moreover, Cindy S. Aron concludes that tourism plays a role in molding American culture while raising social anxieties about the tourist experience that reflect wider social and cultural values.<sup>12</sup> Scott C. Martin views leisure in southwestern Pennsylvania as a site of cultural construction where ideas about ethnicity, class and gender developed and functioned as a “cultural palliative for and response to the pressures generated by their changing and industrializing society.”<sup>13</sup>

Finally, several scholars focus specifically on tourism in nineteenth century northeastern United States. Kenneth John Myers, exploring tourism in the Catskill Mountains, emphasizes the requirement of both objectification and commodification of the natural world for tourism to function in the area.<sup>14</sup> Thomas A. Chambers surveys tourism at mineral springs in New York and Virginia and the class issues these tourist areas create.<sup>15</sup> John F. Sears highlights the role of tourism in creating American culture, wherein technological change (reliable transportation) and cultural intermediaries help confer certain values on the surrounding landscapes.<sup>16</sup> Dona Brown, focusing on New England, stresses economic and technological alterations in American society that helped shape tourism as a commodity for sale.<sup>17</sup> These investigations support the inquiry into how tourism on Lake Memphremagog reflects and helps construct the society in which it is found. Specifically, tourism – the particular experience, the physical landscapes, and the set of entailed activities and emotions depicted in the travel literature for the Lake Memphremagog region – became a commodity in that market system which sold its image to financially and culturally designated groups.

Tourism is not a homogenous phenomenon. More often than not, North American tourism, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, is viewed as a reaction against the industrial revolution, which inspired a romantic response involving a retreat to nature among social elites. Certainly, the massive changes wrought by industrialization were of primary importance; but it cannot be assumed that all tourism amounted to a romantic reply to industrialization. Some reactions amounted to outright rejections of industrial society, while others offered subtle support for the same. Expressions, either of dissatisfaction or approval towards the industrial revolution, differed depending on their precise timing, location, and physical environment in which they emerged and found a voice. As a corollary to this, beyond reading tourism as reflective of (or a response to) deep-seated changes in society generally, the

analysis should go further and attempt to understand how, and to what extent, tourism actually constitutes modern society and drives change therein. The circumstances of Lake Memphremagog provide an example of how this was the case.

The latter half of the nineteenth century in the Lake Memphremagog region may be designated as the genesis of what geographer, Richard Butler, categorizes as the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC).<sup>18</sup> However, certain qualifications need to be included. Within the TALC, initial, sporadic travel by non-locals to see nature or cultural features of a region, who have contact with but little influence on local populations (exploration stage), gives way to regular and systematized excursions with greater local involvement (involvement stage). Following, specific advertisements for tourist travel prevail and local populations are pushed out of the market centre and larger alterations appear in the physical landscape (early development stage).<sup>19</sup> This evolution reflects development in the Lake Memphremagog region, wherein non-local individuals traveling to the area at irregular times for its natural characteristics – and the socio-cultural values imbued in those landscapes – transformed into a more steady flow, culminating in a decline of a specific form of resort tourism by the end of nineteenth century and the rise of cottage tourism, which continues into the twenty-first century, as considered by Richard M. Lagiewski.<sup>20</sup> However, despite local involvement within early tourism, there is a dominant non-local tourist management from the beginning. This may be explained by the unique combination of topography, geographic location, and settlement and social patterns found within the region.

As demonstrated by several environmental historians, including Richard White and historical geographers, like Matthew Evenden, nature does not stop at artificially constructed international borders.<sup>21</sup> Lake Memphremagog, itself, straddles the international border, one third residing in the state of Vermont and two-thirds residing in Québec. Topographically, the Lake Memphremagog region resembled northern New England as opposed to the physical environment of the St. Lawrence River valley, which the majority of early New France/Lower Canada inhabitants, from the sixteenth century onward, experienced.<sup>22</sup> As part of the Appalachian Mountain system – shared with the northeastern United States – the Lake Memphremagog region occupied an uneven surface with uplands and lowlands, valleys and mountains, one of the highest being Owl's Head on the western shore of the Lake.<sup>23</sup> The area, until agricultural techniques spawned grasslands in several locations, con-

sisted of southeastern mixed forest with isolated patches of deciduous forest. The natural waterways of the region, excluding Lake Memphremagog and the St. Francis River, provided few navigable transportation routes. Environmental features thus isolated the region from the rest of Québec.

Just as nature does not stop at the international border neither does societal formation.<sup>24</sup> Owing to geographic realities, including the limited navigable waterways and dense forests, as well as political concerns, like the fear many leaders in Québec City had regarding invasion by the United States, white settlers did not inhabit the Eastern Townships until 1791. The settlement was unique in terms of its social and spatial organization with regards to relationships within the region and between it and both Lower Canada and the United States.<sup>25</sup>

Despite the layered quality of white settlement within the Eastern Townships, first by Loyalists and Americans then by British immigrants and finally by French-Canadians, throughout the period under consideration in this paper, a dominant Anglophone – and American oriented – population remained in the Lake Memphremagog region, who, located themselves around the Lake using the associate system.<sup>26</sup> Crucially, local farmers, merchants and affluent Americans continued to depend on and perpetuate their social and economic connections in the United States. These connections tied communities on either side of the border together and created a unique situation in which smuggling, lumber trading, agriculture, as well as other cross-border activities, including tourism, became a complex mix of different perceptions of the region among British officials in Québec City, New Englanders and the local inhabitants. However, even as railways became the most important transportation vehicle for industry in the area beginning in the 1850s, carrying growing numbers of commodities – including tourists – from Montreal and Québec City, Lake Memphremagog lay primarily within the New England sphere of influence.<sup>27</sup>

Two concepts help explain Lake Memphremagog tourism during the second half of the nineteenth century as both a reflective and constitutive manifestation of social change in the northeastern United States. The first concept is borrowed from environmental historian, William Cronon. In his compelling book, *Nature's Metropolis*, Cronon asserts that city and country, traditionally viewed as distinct, are components of a single landscape.<sup>28</sup> By tracking commodity flows – commodities being products of nature transformed into capital – between Chicago and its hinterland areas, Cronon shows

how the metropolis and the countryside developed mutually reinforcing identities, each bearing marks of the other, but which are not in opposition.<sup>29</sup>

Cronon's book focuses on tactile commodities such as lumber, wheat and meat. However, his framework can be profitably used to extend ideas about tourism on the northern fringes of New England in the nineteenth century. Tourists themselves may be thought of as representing a kind of commodity flow, which defines deep connections between major urban centres, such as Boston and New York, at given stages of economic and political growth, and the reputedly unconnected northern frontier.<sup>30</sup> Lake Memphremagog tourism must be seen as an integral commodity flow in and of itself, among – not external to – others within New England's changing economy.

However, this particular commodity flow was qualitatively different from others, which one can interpret through a second organizing concept, market revolution. This term broadly incorporates the overwhelming transformation and development of the American economic structure from the early nineteenth century onward, wherein the traditional rural, self-sufficient and household oriented system reorganized into a market and commodity oriented one. Tourism began on Lake Memphremagog in the 1850s. In its early form, Memphremagog tourism is an outgrowth of the fallout from a several-decade period of market expansion and integration in the United States. This fallout culminated most acutely in the so-called panic of 1837, though its political legacy survived through the 1840s. In particular, President Andrew Jackson's ideal of popular sovereignty could not be squared with growing economic disparities or with the increasingly powerful notion of fierce and open competition within the marketplace. Paralleled with the market eruption was tremendous alteration in dominant social structures. With a new market scheme and commodity flows between city and country as well as new employment relationships within the industrial framework, social relationships shifted, ideological paradigms became confused and new financial categories emerged. A yet undefined socio-economic, commercial oriented and historically contingent category developed – the middle-class.<sup>31</sup>

With reduced faith in the government's ability to quell these societal repercussions of the market explosion, the population – especially those within the emerging middle-class – looked elsewhere for answers. Liberalism, as an assemblage of ideological principles favouring individualism and the individual's pursuit of equality, lib-



erty and property, provided one suitable answer for the market-driven economy and social life enveloping Americans.<sup>32</sup> By 1850, liberalism, and the new social structure from which it simultaneously developed and helped create, became dominant forces.<sup>33</sup>

Lake Memphremagog's surroundings, described by tourists and promoters alike as raw, unadorned and empty, offered visitors a natural metaphor for this emerging liberal ideology. For, the Lake Memphremagog region, as depicted in tourist literature, lacking, as of yet, any American social or political affiliation, became representative of liberalism and the new market reality developing in the American middle-class. In this sense, Memphremagog tourism was doubly important as a commodity flow. It functioned as a vehicle through which the middle-class perpetuated and validated the new liberal ideology, specifically through the invocation of natural metaphors and landscape imagery.<sup>34</sup> As Simon Schama relates, landscapes – as representations of the physical environment – are culture before they are nature; they are human creations.<sup>35</sup> Extending from the wilderness landscape of nineteenth century America that invoked strong emotional representations of the American way – including such key concepts in the definition of the American cultural system as individualism, independence, freedom, economic equality and democracy – the tourist landscapes of Lake Memphremagog functioned in a similar manner.<sup>36</sup> The socio-economic and cultural change in America, as embodied in the market and transportation revolutions; the infusion of freedom, individualism and raw, unadorned and seemingly endless nature into Lake Memphremagog's physical environment; and the region's natural separation from the rest of Canada and orientation towards the United States, culminated in a liberal landscape which the middle-class could embrace as a reassuring consequence of overwhelming change. Altogether, these realities forged, in the language of Benedict Anderson, a new imagined tourist community.<sup>37</sup>

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## NOTES

1. "Fire at Owl's Head: Mountain House Burned to the Ground." *The Stanstead Journal*. 12 October, 1899, 1.
2. This paper stems from the introduction of my MA research entitled "A Reflective and Constitutive Landscape of Prodigious Change: Tourism on Lake Memphremagog in the Eastern Townships of Quebec During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," completed at McGill University in 2006 and to be published in full in 2009. In the MA paper, various visual and textual examples from tourist literature – from 1850 to 1900 – are analyzed in-depth. The list of primary documents explored in the MA thesis is not included in the bibliography for this publication.
3. Eric Leed *The Mind of the Traveler: from Gilgamesh to Global Tourism* (New York: BasicBooks, 1991).
4. James Buzard *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 3.
5. Dean MacCannell *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976 New York: Schocken Books, 1999)
6. Ian McKay. *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

7. John Urry states, “[w]hat makes a particular tourist gaze depends upon what it is contrasted with; what the forms of non-tourist experience will be. The gaze therefore presupposes a system of social activities and signs which locate the particular tourist practices, not in terms of some intrinsic characteristics, but through the contrasts implied with non-tourist social practices, particularly those based within the home and paid work,” *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: SAGE Publications, 1990), 2.
8. Peter Burke. *Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence*. (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 9–19.
9. Pierre Bourdieu. *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Trans Richard Nice. (Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass, 1984), 2. Bourdieu also states, “[t]hrough the economic and social conditions which they presuppose, the different ways of relating to realities and fictions, of believing in fictions and the realities they simulate, with more or less distance and detachment, are closely linked to the different possible positions in social space and, consequently, bound up with systems of dispositions (habitus) characteristic of the different classes and class fractions,” 5–6.
10. Alan MacEachern, *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada 1935–1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001); Roderick Nash *Wilderness and the American Mind* (London: Yale University Press, 1967); Richard Sellars *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: a History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). All three deal with nature as witnessed and produced in national parks. MacEachern considers the parks in the Canadian Maritimes, whereas Nash and Sellars deal with parks in the United States. All illustrate how nature is constructed in these parks and how this connects to socio-cultural ideas in mainstream urban society.
11. Timothy Todd Bawden “Reinventing the Frontier: Tourism, Nature, and Environmental Change in North Wisconsin, 1880–1930.” Ph.D. diss. (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001); Orvar Lofgren *On Holiday: a History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Piers Brendon *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991); Patricia Jasen *Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario 1790–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1995); and Dona Brown *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).
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13. Scott. A. Martin. *Killing Time: Leisure and Culture in Southwestern Pennsylvania, 1800–1850*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), x.
14. Kenneth John Myer “Selling the Sublime: The Catskills and the Social Construction of Landscape Experience in the United States.” Ph.D diss. (Yale University, 1990).
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19. Butler’s construction of the TALC continues with stages of consolidation (visitor numbers are larger than permanent residences and there is growing dependence on tourism as an economic resource), stagnation (peak numbers of tourists is reached as witnessed in full carrying capacities of environmental and social components), and decline (the area cannot compete with new attractions), “The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution,” 7.
20. Richard M. Lagiewski. “The Application of the TALC Model: A Literature Survey.” In *The Tourist Area Life Cycle: Applications and Modifications*. Ed, Richard Butler, Vol. 1. (Toronto: Channel View Publications, 2005): 89–106.
21. Richard White. “The Nationalization of Nature.” *The Journal of American History* 83 no.3 (Dec 1999), 976–986; Matthew Evenden, *Fish Verses Power: an Environmental History of the Fraser River* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
22. This is not to suggest that the physical environment of New France, and later Lower Canada, did not constantly transform under the development of successive First Nation, Francophone and Anglophone settlement. For an example of such changes see, Allen Greer’s *Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740–1840*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1985 and Colin M. Coates. *The Metamorphoses of Landscape and Community in Early Quebec*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000). For an American example of environmental

- changes during a similar period see, William Cronon *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).
23. J.S. Clayton, in the *Soils of Canada*, states that the “northeast-southwest trend of physiographic units composed of highlands and uplands separated by valleys and broad lowlands.” Vol. 1. (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1977), 55.
  24. In her investigation of the borderlands between Alberta and Montana, Sheila McManus comments “what Canada and the United States got instead was a ‘zonal’ border, a region grounded in local relationships of social and economic exchange. The land that would become the Alberta-Montana borderlands was home to interconnected communities, economies, and ecologies that could not be divided simply by proclaiming that a linear boundary ran through them, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands*. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2005), xii.
  25. There are several conclusions to why the region remained unsettled for so long, including its inaccessibility and the desire to maintain the area as a buffer zone between the United States and the new British colony, Booth, *Les Cantons*, 22. For more information on the history of Anglophone populations in Quebec see Ronald Rudin *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English Speaking Quebecers* (Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1985). Lake Memphremagog advanced as a central transportation and settlement route for First Nations groups before and after the creation of the international border. The most prominent group was the Abenakis who resided in and traveled from Vermont through the Lake Memphremagog region towards the St. Francis River further north. Other First Nations groups to be found in the region are the Penacooks, Cowassucks, and Pigwackers. See J. Derek Booth. *Les Cantons de la Saint-François/Townships of the St. Francis*. McCord Museum: McGill University, Montreal, 1986, 21. As early as 1608, with Champlain’s voyage, the Abenakis interacted with Europeans and white North Americans. This contact increased during the French-Indian and Revolutionary wars during which the Lake continued its role as a transportation route.
  26. These settlement patterns are taken from J. Derek Booth. *Les Cantons de la Saint-François*, 25. Fernand Ouellet comments about the associated system that “under this system, all or part of a township would be acquired by a group of colonists associated under a leader, who would assume the costs of the concession. Each individual would receive 1,200 acres but would keep only 200, conveying 1,000 acres to the leader in consideration of his expenditures past and future,” *Lower Canada 1791–1840: Social*



- Change and Nationalism*. Trans Patricia Claxton. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 37. For in-depth discussion of the early associates around the lake see C.M. Day. *History of the Eastern Townships, Province of Quebec, Dominion of Canada: civil and descriptive in three parts* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1869) and Ernest M. Taylor. *History of Brome County from the date of grants of land therein to the present time with record of some of the early families* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1908).
27. Several railways congregate at the Lake Memphremagog region. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Vermont Central Railroad, the Southeast Railway and the Stanstead, Shefford and Chambly (SS&C), Connecticut and Passumpsic and Canadian Pacific lines all passed through the area. The Connecticut and Passumpsic and Central Vermont Railroads ran north to Newport, Vermont at the southern tip of the Lake. Running from Montreal, north of the Lake, was the SS&C that reached Sherbrooke and later the Magog Outlet in 1853. It was leased to Vermont Central Railroad in 1867. Meanwhile, the Connecticut and Passumpsic Railroad, along with residents of Stanstead County on the eastern shore of the Lake, started the Massiwiippi Valley Railway that connected to Newport. The residences of the western border of the Lake, desiring a connection to wider markets, created the South East Railway in 1872 that would be leased to the Canadian Pacific in the 1880s.
  28. William Cronon argues that “the nineteenth century saw the creation of an integrated economy in the United States, an economy that bound city and country into a powerful national and international market ...” *Nature’s Metropolis Chicago and the Great West*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), xvi.
  29. In Cronon’s own words, the metropolitan economy expanded “into regions that had not previously been tightly bound to [the city] markets,” *Nature’s Metropolis*, xviii.
  30. Boston and New York City, as leading urban centres at this time, have complex histories regarding, among other features, industrial, market and social structures which culminated at this time of substantial growth. For discussion of their development see Edward K. Spann. *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840–1857* (New York: Columbia Press, 1981; Frederic Cople Jahar. *Riches, Class and Power before the Civil War* (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1973); Ronald Story. *Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard and the Boston Upper-Class, 1800–1920* (Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan Press, 1980); and Kenneth A. Scherzer. *The Unbounded Community: Neighborhood Life and Social Structure in New York City* (Durham, NC.: Duke University Press, 1991).

31. The middle-class has been the focus of various, and often opposing, scholarship on socio-cultural and economic development in the United States. For information on the debates over what was the middle-class, did it even exist, and how does one approach the category see Maris A. Vinouskis. "Stalking the Elusive Middle Class in Nineteenth-Century America: a Review," *Comparative Study of Society and History* 33 no. 3 (July 1991), 582–587. Peter N. Stearns. "The Middle Class: Towards a Precise Definition," *Comparative Study of Society and History* 21 no. 3 (July 1979), 377–396 and Stuart M. Blumin. "The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth Century America: A Critique and Some Proposals," *The American Historical Review* 90 no. 2 (April 1985): 299–338.
32. Ian McKay. "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History." *The Canadian Historical Review* 81 no. 4 (Dec 2000), 619. His view of liberalism as "something more akin to a secular religion or totalizing philosophy than to an easily manipulated set of political ideas," 619, is applicable to the use of liberalism in this discussion.
33. Some scholars, most notably Louis Hartz, in *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution*. (1955 New York: Harvest/HBJ Book, 1991), conclude that America, from its very beginning, had a liberal essence.
34. As Cronon states, market commodity flow resulted in "a new recreational hinterland for the city, in which the quality linking the rural countryside to the metropolitan economy was the simple fact that it matched urban expectations of what a nonurban landscape should look like," *Nature's Metropolis*, 380–381.
35. Simon Schama. *Landscape and Memory*. (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995), 61. Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove believe, "[a] landscape is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing surroundings ... They may be represented in a variety of materials and on many surfaces – in paint on canvas, in writing on paper, in earth, stone, water, and vegetation on the ground," *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1. For an interesting discussion of Western culture's views of nature see, William Cronon. "The Trouble with Wilderness, or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature." In *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), 69–90 and Carolyn Merchant. "Nature as Female." In *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989), 1–41. All cultures shape and are shaped by physical environments. For insightful examples of this relationship see, Sharon E. Hutchinson. *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War*

*and the State*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Colin Scott. "Science for the West, Myth for the Rest The Case of the James Bay Cree" In *Naked Science: Anthropological Inquiry into Boundaries, Power and Knowledge*. ed. L. Nader. (London: Routledge), 69–86; Neil S. Forkey. *Shaping the Upper Canadian Frontier: Environment, Society and Culture in the Trent Valley*. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003); and Donald Worster. *Dust Bowl: the Southern Plains in the 1930s*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). Western culture records a unique history with the physical world. Certain natural landscapes have come to represent America and many of its mainstream ideological beliefs. In the nineteenth century, wilderness landscapes, those with features associated with romantic ideas of sublimity and emotional and spiritual states such as terror and awe, merged with Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier and its stereotyped qualities such as freedom, masculinity and individuality. In this manner, the wilderness became a summarizing symbol of American nationalism. According to Sherry Ortner, a summarizing symbol is one which sums up, expresses and represents for the participants in an emotionally powerful and relatively undifferentiated way what the system means to them, "On Key Symbols." *American Anthropologist* 75 no. 5 (October 1973), 1339. The landscape depicted in the tourist literature of Lake Memphremagog functions in a similar manner.

36. For greater exploration of these ideas see Roderick Nash. *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 108, 145. Frederick Jackson Turner. *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 4, 24, 259–260.
37. Benedict Anderson views nationalism as an imagined community. It is imagined because one can never know all the other members within the community. It is limited in that it has elastic boundaries beyond which lay other nations. It is sovereign because it emerges as a concept at a time when there is a lack of faith in a divine hierarchy. It is a community because it formulates a horizontal comradeship, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. (New York: Verso, 1991), 5–6. A vital component in the creation of the imagined community is the development and spread of print capitalism, 37–46. The movement of people as commodities in tourism, in the same manner as print capital, is an interesting addition to a consideration of the imagined community and requires further research.

