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“The Capital is the symbolic heart of the nation and its political centre. It is the site of crucial political decision-making, yet it is also a stage of the nation’s culture and history where the past is illuminated, the present displayed and the future glimpsed.”

—Plan for Canada’s Capital Summary (1999)

BILLIARDS AND BILLINGS: THE BEGINNINGS OF CRAWLEY FILMS

The story of Crawley Films and its legacy in Gatineau Park can be said to have two geneses: the first, A.A. Crawley giving his son Frank Radford, known as Budge, a camera in the hopes that it would motivate him to improve his swimming stroke, and the second, the Crawley family’s move to 540 Queen Elizabeth Driveway, Ottawa, next door to the family of R. Percy Sparks. The former spawned Budge’s passion for filmmaking and the latter led to the marriage, in 1938, of Budge to Sparks’s daughter Judy. These two romances resulted in Budge founding Crawley Films with his wife in 1939.

The new couple quickly confirmed their “cinemagraphic” prowess, becoming the first Canadians to win the Hiram Percy Maxim Award, or any such international accolade, for the World’s Best Amateur Film. The winning film, Île d’Orléans (1938), was made on their honeymoon and was the first of many Crawley projects to present and explore the Canadian landscape. Their success made them ideal candidates for the
new National Film Board of Canada’s Ottawa Film Unit, leading to Crawley Films winning a large number of government film contracts related to the war effort. During the Second World War they made a number of groundbreaking “propaganda” shorts, including *Four New Apple Dishes*, aimed at reducing the apple surplus. Directed by Judy, it was the first colour film made in Canada.3 In addition to these contracts, Crawley Films continued to make films focused on Canada’s people, culture, and landscape throughout the war. These include *Canadian Landscape* (1941), which documented the artistic process of the Group of Seven artist A.Y. Jackson; *Iceland on the Prairies* (1941), which explored the relationship between Icelandic immigrants and the Prairie landscape; and *Great Lakes* (1942), which explored the Great Lake’s role in Canadian industry.4

Despite its early success, Crawley Films operated out of a billiards-room-turned-studio at 540 Queen Elizabeth Driveway and Budge continued to work as a chartered accountant at his father’s firm. But, in 1946, with financial backing from Budge’s father, Crawley Films was incorporated as a limited company and moved out of the Crawley family home into an old church hall on 19 Fairmont Avenue, Ottawa. With government contracts dwindling after the War, Budge focused his efforts on attracting corporate sponsors. He produced *The Loon’s Necklace* (1948), based on a British Columbian First Nations legend, with funds from Imperial Oil. It was nominated Film of the Year at the first Canadian Film Awards in 1949 and is still distributed internationally through Encyclopaedia Britannica.5 Crawley films continued to celebrate Canada’s cultures and landscapes into the 1950s: *Newfoundland Scene* (1950), 1952 Film of the Year winner, celebrated Newfoundland joining Confederation and Newfoundlanders’ ocean-bound way of life; and *Top of a Continent* (1959) explored the land, people, and development of the Arctic.6

By 1950 Crawley Films had expanded from six staff members to thirty-three employees. Nevertheless, Crawley Films continued to operate as a kind of extended family. Staff worked long hours for little pay and dubbed the company “Crawley College.”7 Many prominent Canadian film professionals started at Crawley Films, including film-maker Bill Mason and well-known actors Chris Chapman, Christopher Plummer, and Geneviève Bujold.8 Two Canadian female entertainment pioneers began at Crawley Films: Kathleen Shannon, later head of the women’s studio at the National Film Board, and Betty Zimmerman, later head of CBC Radio International.9 In 1950, Judy, Budge, and their five children built a home in Chelsea, Quebec, in what is now Gatineau Park, on property previously owned by Judy’s father.10 Budge and Judy became active members of the Chelsea community; Budge, for example, served as a member of the Chelsea School Board.11 The year 1950 also marked an important departure for Crawley Films as the company moved into the realm of television productions. In 1958, in conjunction with businessman John McConnell of Montreal, the CBC, and the BBC, Budge signed a million-dollar contract to coproduce a thirty-nine-part television series. The *RCMP Series*, starring Gilles Pelletier as a charming Francophone Mountie and Don Francks as his anglo assistant, was based on the work of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.12 Graeme Fraser, a long-time employee and a friend of Budge’s since childhood, explained in a Crawley Films
newsletter that the *RCMP Series* would be “[t]he day-to-day story of Canada’s federal police force... There will be stories of city, prairie, and the bush country of Canada’s north. And through the whole series will run a sense of Canada’s pride in its Mounties.”

CBC General Manager J. Alphonse Ouimet proclaimed the series “an event of major importance for the whole Canadian television and film industry.”

Crawley Films bought the forty-acre Prud’homme farm adjacent to the Crawley estate and built an eight thousand five-hundred-square-foot studio at 119 Scott Road for the production of the series. It contained everything needed to make a hit, including complete “set” facilities, a carpentry shop, dressing rooms, a canteen, and offices. A utilitarian building, the studio had clean lines and no ornamentation, in essence consisting of two rectangular forms clad in metal. Large garage doors would have been used for moving huge equipment and unloading deliveries. Though no plans and only a few photographs remain, it can be assumed that the sound stage would have been housed in the two-storey section to the north, while other services would have been located in the section to the south, dotted with windows.

The *RCMP Series* shooting was not limited to the studio. Taking advantage of its setting, Budge turned the entire Gatineau Region into a stage set. The studio housed such sets as the detachment office and local restaurant, but all the exterior scenes were shot locally, residents being paid for the use of their property. Budge and Judy’s daughter Michal Anne Crawley recalled how “[t]he film crews, the production vehicles and the procession of actors made a mini-Hollywood in the Gatineau.” This is in sharp contrast to the Empire Avenue, Ottawa, location where the neighbourhood was largely unaware of the studio in their midst. In the end, forty episodes were produced. It was Canada’s first exported television series and by 1961 was airing in a hundred American cities as well as in the United Kingdom, Iran, Hong Kong, Nigeria, West Germany, and Australia. This series proves, said one commentator, “that Canada can take a place in the front rank of commercial producers of television entertainment.”

The Crawleys were engaging with a changing landscape. Since the first European settlers in the seventeenth century, the Gatineau Hills were used to some extent for mining and agriculture, but primarily for lumber due to poor soil conditions. The landscape reflected these various uses, being divided into small towns connected to the lumber trade, rural farm areas, and individually-owned wood lots. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, the landscape was further changed when wealthy Ottawa citizens and members of Parliament, such as R. Percy Sparks, taken with the beauty of the area, built summer cottages in the Gatineau Hills.

**GATINEAU PARK: THE NATIONAL PLAYGROUND OF CANADA**

In 1899 the Ottawa Improvement Commission (OIC) was formed with the mandate to enhance the city in such a way as to “reflect the character of the nation, and the dignity, stability, and good taste of its citizens.” The OIC hired Frederick Todd, student of landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, to develop a comprehensive planning scheme for the city. This resulted in the *Todd Report* of 1903, the first
government-produced report that recommended the formation of a park to complement the capital:

The Dominion of Canada is famous the world over for the extent and beauty of her forests, and for this reason it would seem appropriate that there should be reserved in close proximity to the Capital, good examples of the forests which once covered a great portion of the country. Due consideration being given to the fact that it is desirable that such a reserve should contain as picturesque and diversified scenery as possible.\(^{23}\)

That recommendation was echoed in the findings of the 1913 Holt Commission and its subsequent report, the 1915 Report of the Federal Plan Commission, more commonly known as the Holt Plan. The Holt Plan proclaimed that “London, Paris and Washington are all great Capitals, each of them situated on the banks of a river, but not one of them has the natural beauty of Ottawa. Nature, indeed, offers a direct invitation to make this northern capital one of the most beautiful in the world.”\(^{24}\) The Holt Plan recommended the formation of a National Capital District and expanded Todd’s vision, recommending the formation of a park on a much larger scale. It further surmised that, “[s]ince [the land] had little commercial value, it could be acquired at slight cost and a great tract of it, consisting of 75 000 or 100 000 acres, should be secured as a national park. Here, at the very door of the capital, should be preserved, for all time, a great area in the state of nature.”\(^{25}\)

However, neither report resulted in any action; both were shelved due to the onset of the First World War. After the War however, the Holt Plan’s recommendation to form a strong federal district did come to fruition with the passing of the Federal District Commission Act of 1927 under Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King. The new Federal District Commission (FDC) replaced the OIC and was given the power to acquire, hold and develop property, engage in joint projects, do urban planning, and preserve historic places.\(^{26}\) The FDC had far-reaching territorial jurisdiction, including a portion of the province of Quebec.\(^{27}\)

During the Great Depression, Gatineau Hills woodlots were sold and clear-cut for quick cash while other areas were thinned out as people scavenged for firewood. Throughout 1936, this was reported with alarm in local papers like the Ottawa Citizen.\(^{28}\) Concern arose over environmental preservation and led to the formation of The Federal Woodlands Preservation League.\(^{29}\) It counted two prime ministers among its honorary presidents: William Lyon Mackenzie King and Richard Bedford Bennett, both owning property in the Gatineau Hills, at Kingsmere and Lake Mousseau respectively.\(^{30}\) The position of vice-president was held by R. Percy Sparks, Judy Crawley’s father, who had property on Meech Lake.\(^{31}\) Throughout the 1930s, the group actively lobbied the government for the creation of a national park in the Gatineau Hills. A 1935 Department of the Interior report entitled Lower Gatineau Woodlands Survey, Interim Report, Ottawa 1935 confirmed that the environment was deteriorating.\(^{32}\) The Federal Woodlands Preservation League used that document as the basis for the Lower Gatineau Woodlands Report, which was submitted to the FDC in 1935.\(^{33}\)

Concurrently, Mackenzie King hired French planner Jacques Gréber to develop an overall plan for the capital. Mackenzie King first met Gréber at the Paris World Exhibition of 1937, hiring him between 1937 and 1939. Gréber officially received the mandate to plan the entire capital region in 1945 and the General Report on the Plan for the National Capital, also known as the Gréber Plan, was begun.\(^{34}\) The goal was to make the Capital a “reflection and symbol of the country.”\(^{35}\) Gréber had five principal recommendations: the relocation of the railway out of downtown Ottawa, the extension of the parkway network, the decentralization of government buildings, the creation of the Greenbelt, and the expansion of Gatineau Park.\(^{36}\) The Gréber Plan was completed in 1949, with the help of planners John M. Kitchen and Édouard Fiset, and was approved by the FDC in 1951.\(^{37}\) The plan became official with the adoption of the National Capital Act in 1958. The FDC became the National Capital Commission (NCC) and its jurisdiction was expanded to four thousand six hundred and sixty square kilometres.\(^{38}\)

**THE TRUE NORTH WILD AND FREE**

The reason for the founding and subsequent expansion of Gatineau Park parallels Crawley’s work in the linking of nature and Canadian identity. During the interwar years, Canada entered a period of nation building that required a uniquely Canadian identity that would ground the nation in its territory. This was done by defining Canadian identity through its unique topography and geology. The idealized Canadian wilderness took the place of a history of origin. Anthony D. Smith identifies a type of “naturalism” in Canadian nationalist myth-making in which the past “should be as organic and natural as conceivable, and our histories interpreted as if they were extensions of the natural world.”\(^{39}\) Nature was presented as an agent that lent historical authority and authenticity to Canada as a nation. Smith underlines a consequence of this “naturalization”: “with the fusion of community and
terrain through the identification of natural with historical sites... natural features become historicized; they become actors in the reconstructions of the past which nationalist intellectuals elaborate.⁴⁰ Nature in a sense becomes cultural. One example of this is the acceptance of the Group of Seven’s depictions of the Canadian Shield—a subject studied by Crawley—as inherently Canadian due to what was considered to be the group’s work as an embodiment of Canada’s identity as a primordial, un-peopled North.⁴¹ Nature was preserved in this context as the apotheosis to man and “civilization.” Alisa Catharine Apostle explains that “Nature presented a piece of history that had great legitimacy and authority for its ‘timelessness’ but nevertheless was seen as fatally at odds with mankind and progress.”⁴² Historians William Beinart and Peter Coates describe the early twentieth-century Canadian “wilderness ethos” aesthetic as “a physical environment freeze-framed at the point after the Indians have been cleared out but before the settlers arrived.”⁴³ Parks Canada still espouses that,

**FIG. 4. JACQUES GRÉBER AT MOORSIDE | LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, PA-203045.**

National Parks are a Canadian institution. Their role in Canadian society is far greater than their actual area within the Canadian landscape... National parks and other protected areas help root Canadians in geographic and biological diversity that defines the Canadian people—even if day-to-day urban lives of most Canadians seem to have little connection with nature. The Canadian psyche nurtures the belief that just beyond the country’s cities and towns exists a wild area that makes Canada a better country just because such wilderness exists.⁴⁴ While this concept was expressed in artistic works such as those of the Group of Seven or Crawley Films, it was celebrated at the largest scale through the Canadian National Park system. National parks became an increasingly valuable nation-building commodity due to rapid industrial expansion and the incorporation of “the West” into Canada.⁴⁵ The first national parks, or “forest reserves,” were established in the late-nineteenth century.⁴⁶ The Dominion Parks Branch, the world’s first national parks service, established the principle of appropriate use for National Parks, excluding all business except those necessary for the recreation of visitors.⁴⁷ James B. Harkin, the first Parks Commissioner, wrote in 1927 that “[a]larm at the changes in the face of the country due to rapid extension of our present industrial civilization, has emphasized the necessity of conserving a few untouched areas.”⁴⁸ This desire to conserve “untouched areas” is consistent with the wilderness aesthetic that was being conceived as an essential part of Canadian identity.

After the First World War, there was a degree of disenchantment with technology, modernity, and urbanization. National Parks were an opportunity for visitors to escape the modern world and re-enact encounters with the “new world.”⁴⁹ The trope of nature-tourist as explorer, discoverer, and conqueror were common in parks literature and promotional material. National Parks served as a buffer zone and precursor to the narrative of civilization. Historians Beinart and Coates claim that the establishment of the earliest National Parks in the west was a way for the urban northeast to define a relationship with the unfolding continent. Patricia Jasen argues that tourists as pretend colonists had an important role in expansionist logic, “whereby the fate of the ‘unsettled’ regions of Canada was identified with the interest of the metropolis.”⁵⁰ In this way, National Parks served to consolidate an expanding nation.
The vigour and power of our Canadian forebears was the result of their close association with nature as it still exists in the Gatineau Park area... The area included in the park forms part of the Laurentian Shield which extends from the Maritime provinces to Alberta and therefore is typical Canadian terrain. It consists of several ranges of granite hills and contains 24 lakes large enough to be shown on the enclosed map... If the park is to achieve its true purpose it must be developed in a manner which will be truly national in spirit.\textsuperscript{54} The advisory committee made a direct link to the Gatineau hills topography as inherently Canadian again in an early draft of the 1952 Master Plan for the Gatineau Park:

To be a sufficiently “Canadian” landscape, the Gatineau Park project needed a space untainted by any signs of “civilization,” consistent with other parks. Unfortunately, there were no areas close to the Capital that easily lent themselves to this “wilderness aesthetic.”\textsuperscript{56} The Gatineau Hills were not the example of primordial wilderness as imagined frontier that the nationalists desired, but a previously-settled, forested, and mined area within sight of the Capital, the stronghold of Canada’s “peace, order and good governance.”\textsuperscript{57} The solution was the re-creation of wilderness through the appropriation and re-naturalization of the Gatineau Hills. Encouraged by the Federal Woodlands Preservation League, a 1928 amendment to the Federal District Commission Act gave the FDC the right to expropriate land for its purposes and allocated three million dollars to initiate new projects.\textsuperscript{58} By the onset of the Second World War the FDC had acquired sixteen thousand acres.\textsuperscript{59} Land appropriation was put on hold for the duration of the Second World War but resumed immediately afterward. An order-in-council was passed on August 16, 1945, which expanded the National Capital to an area of approximately 2330 square kilometres, embracing all of Ottawa and Hull as well as twenty-six other municipalities, and raising the FDC’s annual grant from two to three thousand dollars to facilitate land acquisition.\textsuperscript{60} The Gréber Plan recommended that the park be expanded and by 1956 the FDC had acquired about fifty thousand acres of the planned seventy-five thousand acres. A large amount of additional land was purchased in the 1960s, including such historic properties as the Willson Estate and the Asa Meech House (reputed to be the oldest structure in Gatineau Park) in 1963 and the O’Brien Estate in 1964.\textsuperscript{61}

HERITAGE VS. NATURE: THE CONTINUATION OF NATIONALIST IDEALS

After the Second World War, there was resistance against what was viewed as the FDC’s heavy-handed approach.\textsuperscript{62} The re-naturalization process meant the destruction of countless buildings in the Gatineau Valley. R. Percy Sparks, Vice-President of the Federal Woodlands Preservation League, was not ambivalent toward the built heritage resources in the Gatineau region. One of his dreams was the creation of a pioneer village in Chelsea, with old mills, a tannery, and town hall. In the 1960s, his daughter became an advocate for the region’s built heritage. Judy Crawley thus met with the NCC in 1962 to discuss the foundation of a pioneer village, but the project was deemed unfeasible. She also inquired about the possibility of opening a tearoom at Moorside since, although William Lyon Mackenzie...
King had bequeathed his Gatineau Hills, Kingsmere Lake estate to the people of Canada, it was not open to the public. The NCC thought a tearoom was an excellent idea, but did not think it appropriate to have a government property managed by a private individual. Judy responded by founding a society to deal with historic buildings in the Gatineau region.63

The Historical Society of the Gatineau, renamed the Gatineau Valley Historical Society in 2003, was founded in 1962 to “promote matters of historical or heritage significance in the general area of the Gatineau Valley.”64 This non-profit society’s work, still carried out today, ranges from organizing events and publishing an annual journal and bi-monthly newsletters to preserving archival material of local interest.65 The Society’s first project, the tearoom at Moorside, was a huge success and continues to be open each summer, although it is now managed by the NCC. Despite the NCC’s decision to allow it to “rot gracefully,” the Society lobbied for the preservation of the Asa Meech House and managed to save it.66 A June 25, 1968, NCC memo stated: “…we should endeavour to have the house preserved using Historical Development funds… There are few enough historical buildings in the National Capital Region in Quebec to deliberately permit their destruction.”67 In 1966, the Society started acquiring land, purchasing the Chelsea Pioneer Cemetery, designated a National Historic Site of Canada in 1989.68 It also established and still manages the Historical Museum of the Gatineau in Wakefield, the successor of a smaller, earlier museum at Moorside.69

Despite these early successes, many structures have been lost in the face of the NCC’s continued re-naturalization policies. The McCloskey farm belonged to some of the first settlers in the region and their barn served for many years as a rest stop for weary skiers. Now the farm is only remembered through the trail that bears its name.70 Miles Barnes, known as the Hermit, was a mythical figure in the park. He inspired the poem “The Hermit” by confederation poet Arthur Bourinot and was acquainted with prominent figures with summer retreats in the park, including Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King.71 Sadly, the Hermit’s hovel was simply left to decay in the woods. Its location can only be identified by the remaining apple trees that supplied his livelihood.72 The historic J.R. Booth mansion, across Kingsmere Lake from Mackenzie King’s estate, was demolished after being struck by lightning. Shady Hill, a cottage that was part of Mackenzie King’s bequest to the public, was demolished despite public outcry.73 The Asa Meech House was saved through early efforts of the Historical Society of the Gatineau, but has suffered a series of vandalisms and needs repairs. The Willson Estate is undergoing an extensive restoration, but the O’Brien House has seriously deteriorated; neither is open to the public.

The continuation of the nationalist view of nature in recent policy has created a binary between nature and heritage conservation. Concurrent with the rise in awareness of the Park’s heritage assets was an increased concern over environmental degradation due to overuse. In 1967, the Park received one million eight hundred thousand visitors and a third of a million cars drove the Gatineau Parkway, built in 1953. By the 1970s, approximately two hundred kilometres of trails had been cut through the Gatineau Hills.74 Pressure on the area only increased with the Fall Rhapsody Festival, Canada Day celebrations, and bus tours in the early 1980s. A 1975 study carried out by the NCC found alarming ecological degradation in the park and recommended the formation of a Gatineau Park master plan to address the issue and guide future planning decisions.75

Since the 1980s, emphasis has been placed on the concept of “ecological integrity” in all national park policies, which can be defined as preserving the integrity of an ecosystem by ensuring that its native components remain intact.76 The first Gatineau Park Master Plan of 1980 drew upon this principle to establish three official functions for Gatineau Park: conservation, interpretation, and recreation. These functions were described in the 1980 Gatineau Park Master Plan as: conservation, an activity seeking to “preserve biological, hydrological, geological, and cultural resources of the environment in the interest of the general public”; interpretation, as “an educational activity, striving to increase the visitor’s appreciation of ecology and history and heighten his respect for the natural environment.”77

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for the environment”; and recreation, as an activity “concerned with providing the public with activities practiced in a natural milieu and compatible with its preservation.” The 1990 Gatineau Park Master Plan describes Gatineau Park as “a haven of peace and unspoiled beauty for all who live in the National Capital Region.” The 1995-1996 Annual Report states that “The NCC is proud of its role in creating what is known around the world as the ‘Green Capital.’ The preservation and enhancement of nature in the Capital Region is, and will remain, the keystone of planning.” This has remained the case, with clear connections continuing to be made between nature and Canadian identity. Over forty years after the submission of the Report of the Advisory Committee of the Gatineau Park, NCC literature still describes Gatineau Park as “situated where the Pre-Cambrian rock of the Canadian Shield meets the rich alluvial plain formed eons ago when the waters of an inland gulf known today as the Champlain Sea receded,” and “[t]he topography of the area [a]s typically Canadian in its content.”

CLOSING CREDITS: THE DOWNFALL OF CRAWLEY FILMS

Crawley Films continued to make films “typically Canadian in content” through its engagement with similar themes. It also became entrenched in the Canadian psyche, becoming the second largest producer of educational and documentary films in the world. By 1960 the company had produced 1800 motion pictures, 600 TV commercials, and 100 slide shows, winning 180 national and international awards and having multiple studios and offices across Canada. The company continued to create jobs in the Gatineau region; Crawley’s contract of 1962 to make 130 five-minute cartoons based on The Wizard of Oz for Videocraft of New York required hiring forty animators to work at 119 Scott Road. Among them were Bill Mason, Barrie Nelson, and Blake James, all of whom moved to Meech Lake and became canoeing enthusiasts.

Regardless of his success in educational and documentary films, Budge was determined to make feature-length production. Not deterred by his first attempt, the box-office flop Amanita Pestilens (1963), Budge made The Luck of Ginger Coffey (1964), starring Robert Shaw and his wife Mary Ure, and directed by Irwin Kershner, best known for Never Say Die and The Empire Strikes Back. The film was shot largely in Montreal and the Gatineau Hills, with the stars and director renting houses in Chelsea. The Luck of Ginger Coffey went on to win the Canadian Film Award for Best Theatrical Feature in 1965. The highlight of this period for Crawley Films was Budge’s 1975 Oscar win for Best Documentary Feature for The Man Who Skied Down Everest, with script by Judy Crawley, sound effects by Rod Crawley, and a musical score composed by Gatineau native Larry Crosley.

Returning to earlier tropes after his Oscar win, Budge became obsessed with making a film based on the 1959 novel The Strange One by Fred Bodsworth. Written by a Canadian journalist and amateur naturalist, the novel follows the parallel love stories of a male Canada goose and a female Barnacle goose and a Scottish ornithologist and a Cree woman. Budge’s daughter Michal Anne Crawley explained in 2009 that it was not the human story that interested him but the story of the birds and the natural environment that encompassed the Arctic, the Hebrides of Scotland, and the sea. Although Budge commissioned many screen adaptations and built a million-dollar wind tunnel for special effects, he never succeeded...
in making the film. The expenditures in trying to make the film were however a factor in Budge selling Crawley Films in 1982. In 1986, eight months after Judy’s death, Budge died from a series of strokes. Despite a tumultuous separation, they are buried together in the historic Old Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground; Budge’s ashes are placed within a 35mm film can with a sticker marked “Rush-Urgent.” The Crawley film collection now resides at Library and Archives Canada, stored in the Gatineau Preservation Centre.

The NCC acquired the Crawley Studio on July 22, 1976, and leases it to the Municipality of Chelsea. While proposals were put forward to turn it into a theatre in 1984, the property has been converted into a garage. The interior has been completely refitted, windows filled in with concrete blocks, and the exterior re-clad. These changes, combined with a lack of documentation, make it hard to understand how the studio was originally used. Having little left to say about the burgeoning of Canada’s film industry, the Crawley Compound serves as an interesting site to consider the relationships between artists and nature, and nature and Canadian identity. While artists like Crawley were capturing and interpreting the Canadian landscape as a uniquely Canadian wilderness, others were creating this idealized form by re-naturalizing areas to serve as Parks, making the “wilderness” with which Crawley interacted as constructed and symbolically laden as his art. There is no mention of the Crawley property in the Gatineau Park Cultural Heritage Strategic Plan, yet to be published, having not been included in an earlier Gatineau Park Cultural Inventory. Given Budge’s devotion to creating films that celebrated the Canadian landscape, perhaps it is fitting that the NCC eventually let his studio be reclaimed by the “wilderness” that was the true stage upon which his work was set—even if that “wilderness” is in a sense its own art, an illusion, a stage as constructed as the sets once held within.

NOTES
4. Id.: 26; and “National Film Board of Canada Film Collection,” National Film Board of Canada, [http://www.ofn-nfb.gc.ca/eng/collection/film], accessed November 12, 2011.
5. Crawley: 27.
6. Id.: 28-29.
7. Id.: 27.
8. Id.: 29.
10. Id.: 27.
15. Ibid.; and Crawley: 30.
16. Id.: 30.
17. Rose: 93.
18. Id.: 99.
21. Apostle: 3-4; and Brandenburg: 23.
22. Ibid.
23. Id.: 67.
24. Id.: 67.
26. Id.: 16.
28. Id.: 72.
32. Fletcher: 63.
34. Id.: 64.
35. Id.: 91.
36. Id.: 64; and Brandenburg: 23.
37. Fletcher: 63.
40. Ibid.
41. Id.: 14.
42. Id.: 46.
43. Id.: 14.
44. Brandenburg: 7.
46. Id.: 5.
47. Brandenburg: 8.
49. Id.: 47.
50. Id.: 32.
51. Id.: 70.
52. Ibid.
53. Id.: 92.
54. Id.: 11.
55. Id.: 99.
56. Id.: 65.
57. Department of Justice, Constitutional Documents, Government of Canada, [http://


59. Fletcher: 63 and 88.

60. Apostle: 90.

61. Fletcher: 64.

62. Apostle: 89.


65. Ibid.


67. Ibid.


70. Fletcher: 109.

71. Id.: 47.

72. Id.: 66.

73. Id.: 65.

74. Apostle: 11.

75. Brandenburg: 18.

76. Id.: 11-12.

77. Id.: 19.

78. Apostle: 114.

79. Id.: 11.

80. Crawley: 33.

81. Id.: 32.


83. Crawley: 34.