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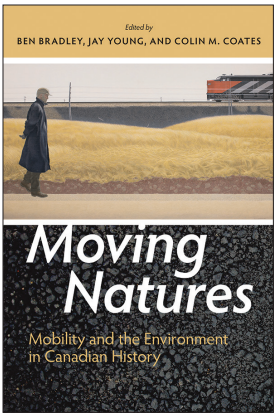

MOVING NATURES: Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History Edited by Ben Bradley, Jay Young, and Colin M. Coates

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Edited by

BEN BRADLEY, JAY YOUNG, AND COLIN M. COATES

Moving Natures

Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History

Moving Natures

Canadian History and Environment Series

Alan MacEachern, Series Editor

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Back cover: Ready for winter travel at Beaumont, Alberta, 1930s. Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta, A9204

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Acknowledgements

This book originates from our realization several years ago that the fast-growing fields of environmental history and mobility studies had much in common, yet were not in close communication. We observed that a number of scholars in Canada, at various stages of their careers and employing perspectives gained from anthropology, geography, technology studies, and other fields, were examining the relationship between mobility and the environment in this country's past. To bring these researchers together, we organized a workshop at the Glendon College campus of York University, and that workshop formed the basis for this collection.

Funding for the workshop was provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Glendon's Office of the Principal, and NiCHE, the Network in Canadian History and Environment. NiCHE also offered its website as a venue for sharing blog posts based on workshop papers. We would like to thank all of the workshop participants and attendees, including Jennifer Bonnell, Jan Hadlaw, Steve Penfold, and particularly Lisa Cooke. David Zylberberg provided invaluable organizational assistance for the event. Special thanks are due to Tom McCarthy, professor of history at the United States Naval Academy and author of *Auto Mania: Cars, Consumers, and the Environment*, for contributing his expertise on the intersections of mobility and the environment in North America and for commenting on all the papers.

Many hands are involved in putting a collection such as this together, with much of the work done behind the scenes. All of the

contributors to this collection benefitted from the diligent work of archivists and curators at repositories around the country. Samy Khalid translated Maude-Emmanuelle Lambert's chapter from French to English. Maps are very valuable for both studying and writing about the intertwining of mobility and the environment, and this book benefitted from the work of several cartographers: Steven Langlois from the University of Saskatchewan's Historical GIS Laboratory made the maps for Jay Young and Elsa Lam's chapters, in the latter case working from an earlier iteration by James Mallinson; Eric Leinberger produced the map in Jessica Dunkin's chapter. Chris Gergley provided valuable support on copy work and image quality.

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Moving Natures in Canadian History: An Introduction

Jay Young, Ben Bradley, and Colin M. Coates

At one time, looking ahead to a distant utopian future, the solution to Canada's problems lay in mobility. A curious 1883 pamphlet written by "Ralph Centennius" and titled *The Dominion in 1983* foresaw a series of technological and political successes that ensured the greatness of Canada. Not only had the country Centennius described withstood the threat of invasion from the United States, but by 1983 it harboured a population of ninety-three million, with fifteen cities of over a half-million inhabitants, including three of more than two million. Canada had also conquered the challenges of a northern climate. On the shores of Hudson Bay, the Manitoba community of Churchill had been transformed into a seaside resort, boasting conservatories that made "the long winter as pleasant to the citizens as summer."

In perhaps the most striking passages of *The Dominion in 1983*, the author writing under the pseudonym Ralph Centennius predicted the use of "light and beautiful rocket cars, which [dart] through the air at the rate of sixty miles in one minute." Constructed of polished metal, these fifty-seat rocket cars would fly through the sky at heights of up to fifteen hundred feet and land on rails when they reached their destination. Unimpeded by the vagaries of terrain and seasonality, Canadians

could journey from Toronto to Winnipeg in thirty minutes and from Winnipeg to the Pacific in forty. In this wonderful future, the grand expanse of a nation with too much geography was no longer an obstacle to national greatness:

> The advantages to a country like ours, over 3,000 miles wide, of swift transit are obvious. The differences in sentiment, politically, nationally, and morally, which arose aforetime when people under the same government lived 3,000 miles apart have disappeared to be replaced by a powerful unanimity that renders possible great social movements, utterly impossible in the railway age, when seven days were consumed in journeying from east to west.[1]

Rapid, reliable long-distance mobility would overcome the geographic challenges that Canadians had to face, annihilating space as both distance *and* difference. Or so Ralph Centennius believed in 1883.

In many ways, Centennius's enthusiasms mirrored those of people who, like railway theorist T.C. Keefer in the mid-nineteenth century, promoted the construction of new transportation links as nation-building projects. These engineers, promoters, and politicians believed that enhanced mobility and communication could forge a new nation in northern North America and overcome the clear environmental constraints posed by its topography, climate, and sheer size. The act of movement could allow Canadians to take control over their land, while at the same time, the infrastructure built to facilitate mobility would require modification of that land. People would have to shift soil, remove vegetation, and reconstruct waterways to create new roads, canals, and tunnels. These new mobilities in turn would create new perceptions of nature and nation. Echoing Centennius's imagined future, the chapters in this collection argue that choices concerning mobility—the movement of people, things, and ideas—have shaped Canadians' perceptions of and material interactions with their country.

Moving Natures examines the complex intersections of mobility, the myriad environments of Canada, and the lives of its inhabitants.

The concept of mobility evokes both the expenditure of energy and the exercise of will to move from one location to another. The amount of required force depends on friction and on the available technology, with each mode and route of travel presenting constraints and opportunities. This collection explores various forms of mobility in the Canadian context through a series of case studies that span the country's diverse regions, covering the period from the closing of the age of sail to the heyday of the private automobile. The mid-nineteenth century represents our point of departure. During that period the speed, distance, and regularity of corporeal movement began to increase on a scale unprecedented in human history, as a new energy regime took hold—with fossil fuels powering locomotives, steamships, and other modes of transportation that, in many places, supplanted older, muscle- and wind-powered modes. Along with other cultural and technological changes associated with industrialization, this transportation revolution contributed to a widespread perception that time and space were being radically altered. It seemed as though the pace of life was accelerating, the world was becoming a smaller place, and nature's traditional constraints on human needs and desires for movement were reduced.[2] Most Canadians, much as they may have embraced some features of the country's "wilderness" areas, have welcomed this compression of time and space. Few protested the building of roads and railways, while in the name of "modernity" and "progress" the promoters of projects like the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway—and the dramatic changes wrought by such projects—tended to overcome local opposition.[3] Given the changes Ralph Centennius had likely experienced by 1883, his or her prognostications for the next century probably felt quite reasonable. Completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway was still two years away, yet the idea that a week spent traversing the country would one day seem painfully slow was eminently plausible. Given that the emergence of the Canadian nation-state had coincided with this transportation revolution, it must have seemed logical to many Canadians in the late nineteenth century to link improved mobility with national progress as though they went hand in hand.[4]

Historians of Canada have long appreciated the centrality of transportation to the development of the Canadian nation-state and its

expansion across the northern half of North America. A line of both academic and popular thought has positioned the overcoming of "obstacles" posed by "harsh" or "unforgiving" natural environments as a dominant or even essential theme in Canada's past. "Always there has been the challenge of the environment," effused transportation historian George Glazebrook, "always the task before a small population of finding—whether through rapids or mountains, past ice and blizzards—a route to the Canada of the future."[5] In such works, transportation and travel take the role of handmaidens in a romantic narrative of national ambition, economic development, scientific enlightenment, and material progress. Indeed, the early canonical works of English-Canadian historical writing, including Harold Innis's studies of the fur trade and railways and Donald Creighton's *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence*, placed the extraction and transportation of natural resources at the centre of their explanatory frameworks for the particular dynamics of colonial settlement and Canada's connections to the rest of the world.[6] Innis, writing in the 1930s, asserted that water-based transportation defined the trajectory of Canadian history: "The comparative ease with which the transport unit was borrowed and adapted, or devised to meet the demands of the water routes, gave the waterways a position of dominant importance in the moulding of types of economic and political structure." In a further statement—one that may appear less self-evident today, when Canadians rarely travel long distances on water, than it was when he wrote it—Innis argued that "the arrival of the first steamboat down the Red River to Winnipeg is surely the most dramatic event in Canadian economic history."[7] According to Innis, the terrain of the Canadian Shield, the directional flow of rivers, and other natural features steered and facilitated settlement along an east-west axis, ultimately explaining the creation of Canada from sea to sea. While Innis and other historians, including Creighton and Arthur Lower, rightly emphasized the importance of the environment in Canadian history, their writings tended to depict it as static geography, an inert and timeless "stage" that inspired and challenged the plans of human actors. Distance, commodities, and markets were the catchwords for early academic historians of transportation in Canada.

Then, during the 1970s, Canadian historians of transportation—like their counterparts elsewhere in the Western world—shifted their attention to studying corporate management techniques and the state's use of transportation policy to steer economic development. To the extent that they considered the environment, they also treated it as a geographic imperative, an unchanging—rather than dynamic—entity.[8] Around the same time, Innis's staples and Creighton's Laurentian approaches began falling out of favour with many academic historians. Nonetheless, the notion of Canadian history as an epic struggle to penetrate the wilderness, capture resources, and consolidate the country through improved transportation lives on in the popular imagination.[9] Pierre Berton's tomes about a transcontinental railroad as the national dream continue to sell.[10] Illustrated histories of trains, planes, and other "things that go" are mainstays of Canadian publishers large and small. Rare is the community history that fails to dedicate an early chapter to transportation matters; indeed, doing so has long been recommended in the template for writing a local history provided by Friesens, Canada's biggest printing outfit.[11] Meanwhile, the motif of heroic transportation infrastructure still animates Canadian public history. Consider the various campaigns to preserve lighthouses on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts and the Great Lakes, or the decision to rebuild the disused Kettle Valley Railway trestles at Myra Canyon in southern British Columbia after their destruction by a forest fire in 2003. These are all symbols of movement that stand alone in rugged, isolated settings, their metaphorical importance having long outlasted their practical usefulness. Canadians continue to embrace mobility as symbolic of the desire to master time and topography.

Mobility for Work, Mobility for Play

This volume divides the intersection of environmental and mobility history into two approaches, reflecting the current state of research. The first half deals with the material practicalities of mobility, that is, the ways in which environments were modified to facilitate mobility and the workaday, often climatic, challenges and opportunities that people had to face. Jim Clifford, Thomas Peace, and Judy Burns examine the

transformation of Nova Scotian spruce forests into ocean-going vessels and the impact of the shipbuilding industry on one small town—Maitland, which enjoyed a brief economic heyday in the second half of the nineteenth century—and its surrounding woodlands. Maitlanders profited from their direct access to the ocean, the high tides of the Bay of Fundy eliminating the need to construct an expensive dry dock for the vessels. Unlike the wintery frozen waterways of central Canada, the Maritime provinces offered the possibility of ice-free harbours throughout the year. The Intercolonial Railway, a provision of the British North America Act that created the new Dominion of Canada, was completed in 1872 to provide access for central Canadian resources to the Maritime ports. However, as Ken Cruikshank shows, heavy winter snowfalls occasionally reduced wintertime accessibility, and the seasonal economics of commodity trade necessitated the encouragement of tourism to make the expensive train link viable. Operators of the rail line therefore attempted to both tame winter and sell summer. Likewise, the summertime attraction of the lakes and rivers of the Muskoka region in Ontario brought tourists from Canada and the United States to a hardscrabble area, in agricultural terms. Provisioning the many temporary residents involved specific choices concerning mobility, depending on the fuel used. Each form implied different types of sociability, Andrew Watson argues, and the early-twentieth-century transition from steamboats, which had enhanced a sense of community, to gasoline-powered motorboats, which privileged household autonomy, represented a key shift in the social relations of this summertime settlement. While open water often facilitated mobility, in many parts of the country winter conditions made transportation somewhat easier. Ice roads ensured the transportation of goods to isolated communities in northern Saskatchewan well into the twentieth century, as Merle Massie demonstrates.

Three of these case studies focus on private enterprise, while four examine endeavours driven primarily by the state. The Intercolonial Railway was very much a product of contentious national political debates. In the twentieth century, federal and provincial governments increasingly involved themselves in funding transformative infrastructure projects. Daniel Macfarlane examines the environmental

implications of the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway in the 1950s, and Jay Young analyzes the tunnelling necessary for the Toronto subway in the same period. Both scholars point out an important, but often overlooked, fact: the construction of transportation corridors such as the St. Lawrence Seaway and the Toronto subway wrought a great deal of environmental change in their own right, with the removal of tons of soil from one location to another resulting in the creation of new ecological niches and ironically hindering mobility for those who lived closest to the construction, even if only temporarily in the case of the subway. To close this section, Tor Oiamo, Don Lafreniere, and Joy Parr further make the case for the uneven impact of mobility infrastructures. They examine the case of the Windsor-Detroit borderland to illustrate how different jurisdictions approached mobility, especially transborder mobility, in divergent manners, and how the Detroit River as an international boundary exacerbated these issues. In sum, the first section of the book explores the material implications of particular choices of mobility technologies and their environmental, economic, and social consequences.

Some of the chapters in the first section also point to ways in which desires for and practices of mobility have related to cultural predilections. The Intercolonial Railway and the early freight trails of northern Saskatchewan enabled tourists to appreciate new landscapes. These paths created specific corridors for visitors to enjoy. As leisure activities became an increasingly important part of everyday life in the second half of the nineteenth century, at least for those privileged enough to partake in them, mobility became a goal in its own right—both for the physical activity involved and for the panoramas one could appreciate. The chapters in the second half of the collection build on this theme, focusing on the cultural perceptions inspired by different forms of mobility.

Increasingly, by the late nineteenth century, many urbanites desired to leave their cities in order to enjoy leisure activities elsewhere. Railways and steamships had a primary purpose of moving resources, but tourists could benefit from their services as well. The Union Steamship Company on the British Columbia coast plied the waters in order to facilitate access to resources, but as J.I. Little indicates, it also

provided the traveller with unparalleled vistas of scenic beauty. Mixed in with mountains, forests, and seascapes were examples of industrial activity, and tourist guidebooks presented the fish canneries and mines that dotted the coast as worthy of pleasure travellers' attention. Coastal cruises provided access to novel and attractive outlooks.

Other leisure activities also embraced the pleasure of moving around, whether by boat, train, or automobile, on foot, or by some other human-powered propulsion. By the late nineteenth century, a growing number of central Canadian urban dwellers embraced physical activities that were impractical in the city. Canoeists, for example, would journey long distances to attend the encampments and regattas of the American Canoe Association, which often involved crossing the border with the United States. As Jessica Dunkin suggests, the participants embraced their experience of what they perceived as wilderness at the same time that they effectively reproduced the class and gendered experience of their daily urban lives. Canoeing in the late nineteenth century had similarities to golf in the twentieth century. Elizabeth L. Jewett shows that golfing involved physical movement through manicured, designed landscapes that many practitioners justified to themselves as an engagement with "nature," at the same time that they had to utilize transportation modes to bring them to those locations: tramways or private cars to courses on the outskirts of major cities, and railways to resort links in the Rockies.

Elsa Lam explores other transportation implications of tourism in the Rockies. The Canadian Pacific Railway initially marketed access to its stunning hotels and scenic route through the Rockies to an elite audience. In the twentieth century, a wider, middle-class clientele benefitted from the expansion of transportation networks, particularly automobile roads, and was able enjoy the experience of backwoods camping. The internal combustion engine expanded the options for individual and family travel dramatically. In the final chapter in this book, Maude-Emmanuelle Lambert compares the functions of automobile tourism in Ontario and Quebec from the 1920s to the 1940s, showing how provincial government ministries and local businesses tried to enhance certain vistas from the vantage point of the roads and thus attract more travellers to undertake such trips. The two provinces

competed for automobile tourists, with Quebec emphasizing human landscapes and Ontario celebrating its vistas of northerly wilderness.

Each of these cases explores different types of mobility, all defined in part by the material mode of travel, but also intended to create culturally pleasing experiences. Here the techniques of mobility created specific landscapes, framing views from the road, the ocean, the lake, or the links. Modes of mobility allowed the viewer to see specific "natural" landscapes, even as the selected pathways permitted only certain vantage points and had the effect of obscuring what lay behind the horizon or the forest fringe. From these mobilities emerged new, culturally and economically significant knowledges of Canada and its diverse environments.

Joining Mobility Studies and Environmental History

We employ the term "mobility" in the title of this collection instead of the more familiar "transportation" or "travel" in order to reflect a new, widened field of academic analysis. Over the last fifteen years, scholars working in geography, cultural studies, sociology, and science and technology studies have proposed that shifting the focus towards the concept of mobility (or mobilities) can provide a new understanding of the forces shaping contemporary societies.[12] Here mobility indicates the movement of people, objects, images, and wastes across boundaries and over time and space, as well as the motivations behind and social implications of those movements. Thus mobility can usefully be thought of as an overarching concept that encompasses travel, transportation, tourism, and other phenomena that involve moving people and things around. Considering mobility in this very broad sense draws passengers and other users into the foreground, thereby illuminating the motivations, practices, experiences, and consequences associated with all kinds of movement. Mobility theorists argue that movement is a central but understudied feature of modernity—perhaps even *the* central feature of modern life. The connection between mobility and modernity is suggested by the dynamic, materialist definition of modernity put forward by environmental historian Colin Duncan: "a society is modern to the extent that its constituent households consume

little of what they themselves produce and produce little of what they themselves consume."[13] This definition of modernity, which privileges social practice over intellectual culture, and which can be applied to any period or place, strongly implies the movement of subjects and objects within and between societies, whether over long distances or in the form of localized bustle. Mobility has been a prerequisite to colonialism and imperialism, the emergence of national and international markets, mass production and mass consumption, urbanization and the spatial separation of home and work, changing energy regimes, changing cultures of time and space, and relatively recent Western conceptions of freedom and selfhood.

These concerns reflect the development of studies in the communications field in recent decades, much of which can be traced back to Marshall McLuhan and, through him, to Harold Innis. But unlike Innis's painstaking early work on specific commodity trades, this approach has often lacked a historical dimension. As cultural geographer Tim Cresswell has repeatedly pointed out, much of the theoretical literature on mobility has been highly ahistorical.[14] So far, scholars have embraced the approach most enthusiastically when examining contemporary topics like cellular phones, the internet, and executive airport lounges. They have paid far less attention to older, less exotic forms of mobility, such as canoes, canals, sailing vessels, steamboats, railways, and draft animals. For this reason, materially grounded, place-specific studies of the myriad historical intersections between movement and the environment can contribute significantly to the emerging field of mobility studies.

Mobility studies can offer new insights in the field of environmental history. Key areas of concern for environmental historians include the touristic enjoyment of "wilderness" areas, practices of recreation in the outdoors, natural resource development, commodity trades, and infrastructure building. All of these topics are closely intertwined with mobility. Parks and cottages are unlikely to become popular if transportation mechanisms fail to bring people to those areas, while at the same time the process of establishing such landscapes serves to exclude others from them. Many leisure activities, such as golf, canoeing, and horseback riding, bring adepts into areas that they consider to

be "natural," no matter how designed they may be. Access to primary resources depends on transportation methods, and here the story may take on some distinctive Canadian—or at least northern—hues, given the necessity of dealing with snow- or ice-covered transportation corridors. Finally, the process of enabling mobility often requires dramatic reconstructions of the physical environment, through the construction of canals, subways, roads, and bridges.

Mobility studies and environmental history both tend to ground their analyses in material conditions while recognizing that culture affects human perceptions of those conditions, and each offers avenues for exploring cultural meaning—the ways that people understand the world around them—within the practices of everyday life.[15] Perceptions of the natural world have influenced the design of the fixed infrastructure that is associated with many types of long-distance and high-speed mobility. This fixed infrastructure tends to have high economic and social costs and therefore becomes a kind of permanent geographic feature. These lines and networks transform the environment by their construction, and they also impose path dependencies. Over time, they become taken-for-granted aspects of everyday life, shaping people's interactions with and perceptions of the environment for decades, even centuries. In another sense, they can "lock" a society or community into certain patterns of movement and interaction with the environment, steering people and developments between connected places and those that are located "off the beaten path."

Many key works in environmental history have emphasized the importance of physical movement in how people shaped and in turn were shaped by their surroundings. As American historian Tom McCarthy has pointed out, "historians were doing environmental history before they called it environmental history. They were even working at the intersection of transportation history and environmental history."[16] For example, Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden* (1964), a foundational text on the culture of nature in America, used railways as a vehicle for understanding nineteenth-century conceptions of the relationship between nature and technology.[17] Taking a very different approach, Alfred Crosby placed the co-movement of humans, microbes, plants, and animals at the centre of his study of the creation of "neo-Europes."[18]

A substantial body of work has continued Crosby's line of inquiry, examining how travel, migration, and the extraction, transportation, and consumption of natural resources during the age of European imperialism affected environments around the globe.[19] Flows of people, resources, energy, and waste have also been crucially important to cities, and the workings of North American urban environments have been the topic of books such as William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis* (1991), Matthew Gandy's *Concrete and Clay* (2002), and Christopher E. Jones's *Routes of Power* (2014).[20]

Historians have also explored the environmental significance of specific modes of mobility. For example, in the last decade there have been several book-length studies about the environmental implications of the automobile in the United States. Tom McCarthy explored the product lifecycle of the passenger car, from the extraction of resources for their manufacture to the smoggy emissions associated with driving them and the junkyards that came to dot the continent. David Louter and Paul Sutter examined how cars and roads shaped popular understandings of American wilderness, driving campaigns to keep some areas roadless while simultaneously encouraging the motoring public to care deeply about parks and other roadside landscapes. Most recently, Christopher Wells surveyed the transformation of the United States into "car country" through the reordering of natural and built landscapes to serve Americans' desires—and eventually expectations—for flexible, personalized mobility.[21] A similar trend can be discerned for other modes of mobility, from flesh-and-blood horses to the "iron horse" of the railway locomotive.[22] Together, these studies show that mobility imposed its own demands on the environment at the same time that it shaped and reshaped perceptions of nature. Every mode of mobility is accompanied by complex environmental effects, including such clearly negative ones as pollution and habitat fragmentation, as well as positive ones, like the encouragement of personal health and an awareness of broad environmental issues. As historians gain a better understanding of these and other modes of mobility, analyzing how they overlapped and interlocked, they will provide a fuller picture of mobility's complex environmental significance on local, regional, national, and global scales. While few Canadian environmental historians currently work

within the framework of mobility studies, the following chapters provide some indications of how such analyses could be carried out. They illustrate the importance of multidisciplinary approaches, particularly involving the contributions of both geographers and historians to this endeavour. In these essays, the relevance of traditional historical techniques based on the close reading of archival sources is often joined to the analysis of maps and visual sources, especially depictions of landscape.

Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History

This collection brings together scholars who are studying different kinds of movement in the diverse environments of a very large country over a period of more than 150 years. The chapters in the first section deal primarily with the construction and productive use of mobility technologies and infrastructure, as well as their environmental constraints and consequences. The chapters in the second section focus on consumers' uses of those vehicles and pathways—for pleasure travel, tourism, and recreational mobility. Organizing the chapters this way draws out a number of themes that we believe hold particular promise for further study, and we hope to encourage other historians to examine the intertwined histories of mobility and the environment. Three quintessentially Canadian themes stand out in many of the chapters: seasonality, links between mobility and natural resource development, and urbanites' experiences of the environment through mobility.

T.C. Keefer opened his classic 1850 essay, "The Philosophy of Railways," with a lament about winter's effects on inland navigation: "Old winter is once more upon us, and our inland seas are 'dreary and inhospitable waters' to the merchant and to the traveller;—our rivers are sealed fountains—and an embargo which no human power can remove is laid on all our ports."[23] As Keefer saw it, the annual freeze-up of the St. Lawrence River caused important economic activity to grind to a halt. But the picture was more complicated than this. Only two years earlier, Guillaume Lévesque had pronounced before the Institut canadien de Montréal that while the great river—"the grand route of all the country"—served its purpose well in summer, it facilitated

practical movement in winter as well: "the ice offered an easy and rapid path which we prefer today and will always prefer to the roads on the shore."[24] The judgment depended here entirely on the traveller's destination and motivation. For exporters, the prime access route to external markets was closed, while for people who wished to travel shorter distances within the colony, movement remained easy. The seasonality of the Canadian climate created both difficulties and opportunities.

Historians of Canada have paid surprisingly little attention to seasonality, but many of the following chapters recognize that fluctuations in temperature, precipitation, and other climatic conditions played a key role in development and daily life across the country. Most Canadians today view summer as a period of heightened mobility and winter—a prominent element in both the national imagination and outsider stereotypes—as restricting many forms of movement. However, this was not always the case and, even today, is not true for all Canadians. Prior to the development of good roads, the low-friction surfaces provided by frozen earth and water offered the best way to travel and move goods over land in many parts of Canada, as shown in the chapter on freighting in northern Saskatchewan. The pleasures and travails of moving across snow and ice have made certain vehicles and practices seem specifically Canadian, from snowshoes, sleds, and skates to skidoos, snow blowers, and the spreading of road salt.[25] The challenges that most (i.e., southern, urban) Canadians today associate with moving during the winter months stem more from an expectation of or desire for reliable year-round, long-distance transport than from any intrinsic "harshness" of the environment. The techniques for combatting (or regularizing) winter developed by managers of the Intercolonial Railway and St. Lawrence Seaway illustrate this point.

As Canadians have long recognized, investment in new transportation technologies has largely reflected the promise of access to natural resources. The choice of modes in turn has had a variety of environmental and social implications. As Liza Piper has shown in her study of fishing and mining in the Canadian subarctic, fossil fuels facilitated movement but also deepened reliance on external markets. The local environmental impacts could be mixed; petroleum could pollute waterways, but it also obviated the demand for local wood.[26] Several chapters

in this collection examine the complex links between mobility and natural resources. For instance, during a specific historical window, entrepreneurs transformed the spruce forests around Maitland, Nova Scotia, into ocean-going vessels that sailed the globe, linking the small Bay of Fundy community to commodity trading in places as distant as Aden and Peru. Other chapters show pleasure travellers taking advantage of technologies and infrastructures that facilitated the extraction and circulation of natural resources. In effect, their visual and recreational interactions with the environment (which typically occurred during the summer months) piggybacked on systems developed for exploiting the environment. There were practical financial reasons for this. Railways, steamships, and roads built primarily to transport products could also move people, and they could move them in different seasons and in the opposite direction from the main flow of natural resources. In many cases, transportation companies and the governments that facilitated the movement of bulk commodities sought to attract pleasure travellers in order to improve their bottom line. Promoters advertised steamship lines, railways, and provincial road systems, extolling the benefits of experiencing spectacular natural landscapes—often depicted as pristine "wilderness"—in order to attract tourists. But industrial sites attracted interest as well. Many guidebooks and advertisements celebrated a "resource sublime," and therefore helped shape popular notions not only of nature but also of the country's iconic tourist routes.

In many countries, the shaping of major infrastructure depends on active state involvement; this is indeed a major theme in Canadian history, although we tend to forget how often Canadians over-invested in the wrong infrastructure. Michael Bliss quotes Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier's fervent advocacy for more and more railways: "The flood-tide is upon us that leads on to fortune; if we let it pass it may never recur again." Pointing to "the immense waste that Laurier's railway policy would generate," Bliss lambastes Laurier, describing the prime minister's words as "possibly the most irresponsible statement ever made by a Canadian politician—and that's a tough competition."[27] In the Canadian context, much government money lay behind such projects. The Canadian state was highly implicated in clearing the way for

mobility, thereby subsidizing certain types of industry and tangentially specific types of tourism.

Fixated on the construction of major infrastructure projects, Canadians have also celebrated their access to nature. In the late eighteenth century, cariole enthusiasts took to the ice bridge between Quebec City and Lévis, relishing the social opportunities of this public leisure activity.[28] From the cariole riders of the late eighteenth century to the backcountry hiker of the early twenty-first, many Canadians have experienced mobility in the practice of leisure itself. Many of the iconic images of former Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau depict him canoeing, and the classic definition of a Canadian, attributed to Pierre Berton, is someone who can "make love in a canoe without tipping it." In Canada, as elsewhere, somatic forms of mobility like kayaking and cross-country skiing provide a physical, tactile interaction with the environment. In the mid-nineteenth century only a small, privileged section of Canadian society could afford to travel for leisure and recreation, but over time a growing number of Canadians took advantage of new transportation modes and routes to access distant landscapes. Canoeists, golfers, and hikers sought physical challenges through their engagement with the environment, while other travellers viewed landscapes from the comfort of trains, ships' cabins, cottages, and automobiles. Back in the city, the construction of infrastructure such as bridges and subways could involve a dramatic reordering of familiar physical landscapes, and the pollution and by-products associated with these projects could also negatively affect the well-being of city residents—providing further impetus to seek out recuperative encounters with nature beyond the city limits.

This collection covers a wide geographical and thematic scope, but many other paths and niches remain unexplored. For example, the role of animals in moving people and driving change in both society and the natural world after the mid-nineteenth century merits closer scrutiny. The development and use of Canada's extensive capillary network of resource roads for both industrial and recreational purposes has been largely overlooked. Another topic that needs more attention is the way that air travel shaped and was shaped by the environment. Small aircraft have been put to myriad uses, from mineral exploration to

heli-skiing, while jets have played a central role in the tourist industry and in allowing Canadians to enjoy fresh tropical fruit all year round. Airports also have significant environmental footprints, needing to be kept clear of birds, trees, snow, and ice.[29] Flying can feel like the height of modernity and separation from nature, but it only takes a little turbulence or the prospect of landing in foggy conditions to remind passengers that air travel has a very real, very material relationship with the environment.

Air travel brings us back to Ralph Centennius and *The Dominion of 1983*. One hundred and thirty years after Centennius prophesized about Canada's future, travellers can traverse the country in vehicles made of polished metal that fly at much higher elevations than he had predicted, albeit at lower speeds. Should they peer out the window while flying over the southern part of the country, they are likely to see vast networks of infrastructure that facilitate mobility. Roads, railways, pipelines, and other conduits and corridors span the land, their rights-of-way visible from thousands of metres above. From this elevated perspective it can seem as though Centennius's prediction of a future where humans have subdued the forces of nature has come true, for better or worse. Crops grow amid the massive checkerboard-like grids formed by rural roads and irrigation systems. Logging roads reach deep into the Canadian Shield and the mountains of British Columbia. Canalized watercourses can be seen here and there, along with reservoirs where humans regulate the natural flow of rivers. The country's population has not reached ninety-three million, but there are large cities to be seen: sprawling, bustling conurbations with hard-surfaced carapaces of asphalt and concrete. Jet passengers who travel northward might even see the ice-free corridors that are emerging in the Arctic due to global warming. Churchill has not become the balmy seaside resort that Centennius predicted, but the extinction of polar bears and other animals that depend on the sea ice appears worrisomely possible within our lifetimes.

Despite the unquestioned importance of mobility issues in Canadian history, the overall picture that emerges from these articles does not suggest a great deal of difference between the Canadian experience and that of other, similar parts of the world, such as the northern

parts of the contiguous United States. The role of state investment in mobility infrastructure is inescapable in Canada, but this phenomenon is equally true in the United States. Over the 150 years covered in this collection, Canadians employed changes in transportation technology—many of which were developed in the country to the south—to exercise a degree of control over the topography and climate that they faced. This does not mean that every decision was logical, necessary, or effective. Sir Allan MacNab's declaration in 1853 that "railways are my politics" was echoed by all too many subsequent politicians, to the extent that the country had dramatically over-invested in railways by the early twentieth century, bringing it to the brink of financial disaster. Similarly, the St. Lawrence Seaway never delivered its promised benefits to Canadian enterprise, though it did reduce Montreal's position among the primary ports of the country. Nor did the Sheppard suburban spurline, one of the few post-1970 extensions of the Toronto subway system, make economic sense at the time or in the years since it was completed in 2002. Like any political decision, mobility involves choices between various options, and not all efforts to improve transportation linkages pay off. State investment in mobility infrastructure does not always fulfill the promoters' rhetoric.

In his inimitably pithy fashion, Innis contended that "expansion eastward and westward involved Confederation."[30] Transportation links necessarily connected the country from the east to the west and attempted to overcome the countless challenges posed by the Canadian Shield. But for many Canadians the mobility links to their southern neighbours were equally (if not more) important, for economic, social, and cultural reasons. Alone among Canadian cities, Windsor, Ontario, looks north to the United States, its gaze strongly fixed on economic ties and dependent upon various methods of getting across the Detroit River. Urbanites in southern Ontario who wished to enjoy outdoor recreational activities were as likely to join canoe trips across the border in upstate New York as to stay in Canada. Their Americans counterparts who sought to escape the summer heat could travel to Muskoka or to Banff to take in the sights, go for a hike, or play a round of golf. Proximity has often trumped national borders, especially when a boundary is fairly porous.

Travelling over the earth's surface provides a very different perspective than does air travel, with conditions "on the ground" often making it difficult to conclude that human networks and practices of mobility have subdued the environment. Blizzards, floods, fires, and other so-called natural disasters disrupt the movement of people and goods. Signs warn of the hazard posed by wild animals crossing roads. Erosion and the growth of vegetation exact a steady toll on the infrastructure of mobility: whatever is not maintained will inevitably be reclaimed by nature. On closer inspection, then, mobility and the environment appear to be in constant tension, or, as the ecologist Richard Forman has put it, as "two giants . . . intertwined in an uneasy embrace."[31] Ralph Centennius's predictions may have exaggerated the specific details of technological progress, but Centennius correctly foresaw how important mobility issues would remain for a large, northern country like Canada. As these chapters show, in the past the varying frictions of different modes of movement and the seasonality of Canada governed our ability to connect to and travel through environments, just as they continue to do so today.

Notes

1 Ralph Centennius, *The Dominion in 1983* (n.p.: Toker & Co., 1883), 10–11, 14. Alan MacEachern discusses how Canadians have thought about living in a large country and how the immense amount of territory affected Canada's development, in "A Little Essay on Big: Towards a History of Canada's Size," in *Big Country, Big Issues: Canada's Environment, Culture, and History*, ed. Nadine Klopfer and Christof Mauch (Munich: Rachel Carson Center, 2011): 6–15.

2 Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983); Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Anselm Hollo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Christophe Studeny, *L'invention de la vitesse: France, XVIIIe—XXe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995); Barney Warf, *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographies* (London: Routledge, 2008).

3 Joy Parr, *Sensing Changes: Technologies, Environments, and the Everyday, 1953–2003* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

4 Maurice Charland, "Technological Nationalism," *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory* 10, nos. 1–2 (1986): 196–220; R. Douglas Francis, *The Technological Imperative in Canada: An*

Intellectual History (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); A.A. den Otter, *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). Some historians have even posited that the goal of Confederation was to raise the international financing necessary for the construction of a "Canadian" transcontinental railway. See, for example, Karen Anderson, "The State, the Capitalist Class, and the CPR," in *The Structure of the Canadian Capitalist Class*, ed. Robert J. Brym (Toronto: Garamond, 1985), 117–28; R. Douglas Francis, *Images of the West Changing Perceptions of the Prairies, 1690–1960* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1989), 79–83.

5 G.P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada*, vol. 1, *Continental Strategy to 1867* (1938; Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1964), xii.

6 Harold A. Innis, *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923); Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930); D.G. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760–1850* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1937).

7 Harold A. Innis, "Transportation in Canadian Economic History" (1931), in *Essays in Canadian Economic History*, ed. Mary Q. Innis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), 66, 75.

8 On the rise of econometric and state-centred transportation history in Canada, see Peter Baskerville, "On the Rails: Trends in Canadian Railway Historiography," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 9, no. 1 (1979): 63–72.

9 Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), chap. 11.

10 The history section of most used bookstores in Canada will reflect the ubiquitous presence of Pierre Berton's books about the Canadian Pacific Railway. On Berton's presence at booksellers such as Chapters, see Alan MacEachern, "A Polyphony of Synthesizers: Why Every Historian of Canada Should Write a History of Canada," *ActiveHistory.ca*, January 2012, http://activehistory.ca/papers/a-polyphony-of-synthesizers-why-every-historian-of-canada-should-write-a-history-of-canada.

11 The first edition of this guide to writing local history was *Making History* (Altona, MB: D.W. Friesen and Sons, 1975).

12 Key texts in the fast-growing field of mobility studies include Peter Adey, *Mobility* (London: Routledge, 2010); Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (London: Routledge, 2006); Peter Merriman, *Mobility, Space, and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2012); Nigel Thrift, "Inhuman Geographies: Landscapes of Speed, Light, and Power" in Paul Cloke, Marcus Doel, David Matless, Martin Phillips, and Nigel Thrift, *Writing the Rural: Five Cultural Geographies* (London: Chapman, 1994): 192–248; John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge, UK: Polity,

2007); and John Urry, *Sociology beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2000).

13 Colin A.M. Duncan, *The Centrality of Agriculture: Between Humankind and the Rest of Nature* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 26.

14 Tim Cresswell, "Towards a Politics of Mobility," *Environment and Planning D: Space and Society* 28, no. 1 (2010): 17–31; Tim Cresswell, "Mobilities II: Still," *Progress in Human Geography* 36, no. 5 (2012): 645–53.

15 William Cronon argues for an environmental history that analyzes both the materiality and human constructions of nature, in "Modes of Prophesy and Production: Placing Nature in History," *Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (1990): 1122–31.

16 Tom McCarthy, "A Natural Intersection: A Survey of Historical Work on Mobility and the Environment," in *Mobility in History: The State of the Art in the History of Transport, Traffic and Mobility*, ed. Gijs Mom, Gordon Pirie, and Laurent Tissot (Neuchâtel: Éditions Alphil/Presses universitaires suisses, 2009), 65.

17 Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

18 Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1972); Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

19 See, for example, Peder Anker, *Imperial Ecology: Environmental Order in the British Empire, 1895–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); and Liza Piper and John Sandlos, "A Broken Frontier: Ecological Imperialism in the Canadian North," *Environmental History* 12, no. 4 (2007): 759–95.

20 William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991); Matthew Gandy, *Concrete and Clay: Reworking Nature in New York City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002); Christopher E. Jones, *Routes of Power: Energy and Modern America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

21 David Louter, *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington's National Parks* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Tom McCarthy, *Auto Mania: Cars, Consumers, and the Environment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Paul S. Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002); Christopher W. Wells, *Car Country: An Environmental History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).

22 Anne Norton Greene, *Horses at Work: Harnessing Power in Industrial America* (Cambridge,

MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Clay McShane and Joel Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Alfred Runte, *Allies of the Earth: Railroads and the Soul of Preservation* (Kirksville, MO: Truman University Press, 2006); John R. Stilgoe, *Train Time: Railroads and Imminent Landscape Change* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007); Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2012). In 2008, the International Association for the History of Transport, Traffic and Mobility (T2M) held its annual conference in Ottawa on the theme of "Mobility and the Environment"; many of the papers focused on the environmental significance of particular modes of mobility.

23 Thomas C. Keefer, *Philosophy of Railways and Other Essays*, ed. H.V. Nelles (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 3.

24 Quoted in Jean Provencher, *C'était l'hiver: La vie rurale traditionnelle dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent* (Montreal: Boréal, 1986), 188 (our translation).

25 Scholarly studies of winter mobility in Canada are scattered. In addition to Provencher's book dealing with traditional techniques, see Don Lumley, *Motorized Snow Vehicles in Canada: From 1920 to 2000*, Historical Assessment series (Ottawa: Canada Science and Technology Museum, 2001), on the development of skidoos and snowmobiles. The history of ice-road trucking in northern Canada has been surprisingly well covered, given the general dearth of historical studies of Canadian trucking. See Alex Debogorski, *King of the Road: True Tales from a Legendary Ice Road Trucker* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2010); Roberta L. Hursey, *Trucking North on Canada's Mackenzie Highway* (Calgary: Detselig, 2000); Edith Iglauer, *Denison's Ice Road* (Vancouver: Harbour, 1991); Svein Sigfusson, *Sigfusson's Roads* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1992).

26 Liza Piper, *The Industrial Transformation of Subarctic Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 79.

27 Michael Bliss, *Right Honourable Men: The Descent of Canadian Politics from Macdonald to Mulroney* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1994), 49.

28 Laurent Turcot, "L'émergence d'un loisir: les particularités de la promenade en carosse au Canada au XVIIIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 64, no. 1 (2010): 31–70.

29 On the development of aerial surveying techniques in Canada and their use in the mining and forest industries, see Marionne Cronin, "Northern Visions: Aerial Surveying and the Canadian Mining Industry, 1919–1928," *Technology and Culture* 48, no. 2 (2007): 303–30; and Jay Sherwood, *Furrows in the Sky: The Adventures of Gerry Andrews* (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2012).

30 Innis, "Transportation," 71.

31 Richard T.T. Forman et al., *Road Ecology: Science and Solutions* (Washington, DC: Island, 2003), xiii.

PART I:
Production, Pathways, and Supply

The chapters in this first part of the collection examine how Canadians have confronted the physical challenges of the Canadian environment, taking advantage of seasonal mobility to move people and things across the large distances that define the country. The natural world has influenced Canadians' patterns of movement, often with greater power and less predictability than they would have preferred. In many cases they learned to move "with the grain" of the environment, taking advantage of river, ocean, and wind currents, as well as smooth, level, low-friction surfaces such as frozen waterways and packed-down snow. Thomas Peace, Jim Clifford, and Judy Burns show how some Maritimers put their proximity to forest, high tides, and an ice-free sea to business advantage during the age of muscle and wind power. Andrew Watson describes how the earliest lakeside summertime supply networks in Muskoka country involved travel by rowboat—intense work to keep a dispersed population of cottagers stocked with relatively low-value foodstuffs. Merle Massie's chapter shows that the earliest roads in northern Saskatchewan, cut through the boreal forest, were impassable most of the year due to mud—the sticky, slippery nemesis of those travelling on foot in most of Canada prior to the twentieth century. For decades, the more sensible way to move freight overland in that northern region (and many other parts of Canada) was to pull it across the low-friction surfaces provided by frozen lakes and muskeg. To do so, people and draft animals worked outdoors in very low temperatures, coping with the dangers posed by thin ice and blizzards, but

this was faster and easier than extricating feet and wheels sunk deep in mud. As these chapters illustrate, important components of Canadians' mobility depended on the ability to leverage the natural pathways and conditions that already existed.

But significant parts of Canadian history also entail efforts to overcome seasonal and natural restraints. The increased availability and affordability of fossil fuels in the nineteenth century allowed Canadians to move more and more "against the grain" of the environment. The power offered by coal and petroleum products made it easier to contemplate and execute ambitious path-building projects that remade the environment and facilitated faster, easier mobility, whether by dredging channels, digging tunnels, plowing snow, cutting through hillsides, or climbing mountain passes. Several chapters in this section examine changing and overlapping energy regimes, from wind, muscle power, and cordwood to coal, electricity, and gasoline. Massie traces the gradual motorization of overland freight hauling, and Watson shows how rowboats were replaced by larger, cordwood-burning vessels, which were subsequently supplanted by smaller, gasoline-powered speedboats. But while fossil fuels certainly permitted mobile subjects to move at greater speeds and with more force, Cruikshank's chapter on the Intercolonial Railway cautions against attributing too much power or reliability to them. At the turn of the last century, railways were the ultimate symbol of industrial modernity: amalgams of coal, steel, and steam, annihilators of time and space. Conditions on the ground, however, may belie this popular image. Even with a full head of steam, express trains and snowplows could get trapped in deep drifts, and railway managers had to scramble to assemble the muscle power needed to free trains and clear tracks.

By the middle decades of the twentieth century, the availability of flexible, inexpensive gasoline-powered construction machinery made it increasingly feasible to shift enormous volumes of material in order to build new and improved mobility infrastructure. Jay Young and Daniel Macfarlane show how the application of large quantities of gasoline to the digging and hauling process allowed engineers whose goals were to create new corridors of mobility to move earth and rock for use in an array of new building projects, from dams to jetties to artificial islands.

These excavations and new landforms were clear environmental impacts of the desire to enhance mobility. The same period saw the rapid, concurrent growth of North America's arterial highway network and commercial trucking industry. The large-scale environmental consequences of using internal combustion engines—which burned diesel fuel and leaded gasoline—for hauling freight remain surprisingly little understood. Tor Oiamo, Don Lafreniere, and Joy Parr urge historians to consider not only the physical reordering of urban environments to accommodate heavy vehicle traffic, and the pollution directly associated with automobile manufacturing, but also the pollution associated with the use of trucks to transport auto components back and forth across the Detroit River via the Ambassador Bridge, which inevitably involved large amounts of idling on the off-ramps and approaches leading towards the chokepoint at the Canada-U.S. border crossing.

These chapters provide case studies of how Canadians have taken advantage of and physically rearranged the environment in order to facilitate their own comings and goings, often while carrying or hauling certain items along with them. They describe Canadians building vehicles and networks of mobility in a wide range of environmental contexts and using them to get provisions, move commodities, and travel to and from work. There are also instances of pleasure travellers who "piggybacked" along corridors of mobility that had been developed primarily for supply and commodity circulation—this theme is developed further in the second half of the book. The six chapters in part one are arranged in roughly chronological order. Together they reveal both historical changes and continuities, including the important (but uneven) effects of the increased power and flexibility offered by fossil fuels on moving through the environment; the emergence of new ways of knowing the environment through the business of mobility; and the persistent and unpredictable influence of Canadian seasonality.

1

MAITLAND'S MOMENT: Turning Nova Scotia's Forests into Ships for the Global Commodity Trade in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

Thomas Peace, Jim Clifford, and Judy Burns

> Labour is the genius that changes the forests into ships. All great results have been the results of anxious thoughts and care. Great undertakings can only be accomplished by study and work. A man need not know many books but he must know his trade and men.
>
> —W.D. Lawrence, Maitland shipbuilder, 1883[1]

The intersection of local environments and global mobility transformed Maitland, Nova Scotia, and many other small villages on the Bay of Fundy into boomtowns between the 1860s and the 1880s. Maitland's location at the mouth of a river flowing into the Bay of Fundy, along with an abundant supply of spruce and a growing global demand for

the low-cost transportation provided by large wooden sailing ships, facilitated the rising economic importance of this village and the region. Unlike other products that galvanized much of the Canadian extractive economy in the nineteenth century, Maitland's spruce trees were not shipped to Britain as raw lumber. Instead, local businessmen and labourers transformed them into inexpensive sailing ships for transporting bulk commodities around the globe. Maitland's rise as a shipbuilding centre coincided with a golden age of resource-led global economic development.[2] As the cost of mobility decreased significantly, the mass transfer of raw materials, manufactured goods, and people around the world led to dramatic social, economic, and environmental change.[3] The carrying capacity and number of sailing ships in the world reached a pinnacle during the second half of the nineteenth century.[4] While new technologies such as iron hulls and steam engines were beginning to revolutionize global mobility in the mid-nineteenth century, they remained too inefficient and expensive for use on many longer-distance routes. It was not until the last decades of the century that steamship technology reduced fuel consumption and increased the scale of iron vessels to the point where sailing cargo vessels became increasingly redundant. The global shipping industry continued to demand large wooden ships through to the 1880s.

This global context allowed Maitland's shipbuilders to amass significant fortunes by transforming local softwood forests into ships. These builders could either sell the ships to merchants in Halifax or Liverpool, or retain ownership and bid for contracts to transport commodities such as guano from Peru to Europe and coal from Cardiff to Okinawa. They relied on the improved communication networks facilitated by regular travel across the North Atlantic and a growing matrix of telegraph cables. Reliable information was arguably the most valuable commodity in the nineteenth century, and the new mobility of commercial intelligence facilitated Maitland's participation in a globalizing economic world.[5]

Although much of the historiography of rural Nova Scotia in the mid- to late nineteenth century emphasizes a culture of "persistent localism," or smaller-scale networks anchored in a North Atlantic "rural-urban space economy," we suggest that the evolving global economy

mattered in places like Maitland.[6] Looking at a relatively tiny and isolated community in the upper Bay of Fundy demonstrates how new ideas, commodities, and transportation technologies briefly reshaped the development of Atlantic Canada in the mid- to late nineteenth century. Likewise, we can see how, by this time, industrialization had come to fully encompass manufacturing centres, resource frontiers, and even small isolated rural communities like Maitland, Nova Scotia. By situating the history of a local environment and community within this much broader context, this chapter demonstrates the rich promise of the mobilities framework and calls for similar studies of local histories situated in their global historical context.[7]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, small-scale shipbuilding around the Bay of Fundy had blossomed from pre-existing agricultural and resource-based economies. In Kingsport, on the Minas Basin, the industry developed alongside a boom in potato exports from the nearby town of Canning.[8] In Bear River and Weymouth, near Digby, where semi-subsistence farming anchored people to the land, the growth in shipbuilding coincided with a rise and development in the lumber industry.[9] In Maitland, shipbuilders capitalized on a pre-existing regional economy built on mineral exports, which connected the village to larger ports such as Saint John, New Brunswick, and Boston, Massachusetts. In these and many other small communities around the Bay of Fundy, local economic development was accelerated by the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861, which brought lower insurance rates and competitive advantage for ships sailing under neutral flags. News of this economic opportunity spread quickly—likely through Saint John and Windsor, Nova Scotia—to these remote villages. The movement of information through a regional network provided the impetus for small-scale shipbuilders to take risks and build their first commercially oriented ships. With these ships, Bay of Fundy shipbuilders gained contacts with shipping agents and shipbuyers in the United Kingdom, opening a door to the global shipbuilding and commodity trade.

Though these broad trends reverberated throughout the Bay of Fundy region, some aspects to this trade made Maitland unique.[10] Maitland differed from other shipbuilding communities in rural Nova Scotia. In his study of turn-of-the-twentieth-century Bear River, for

example, Stephen Hornsby presents a picture of an "export enclave" with a culture of "persistent localism." Here a small group of businesspeople, professionals, and young people may have travelled beyond the village in a North Atlantic World, which linked the Caribbean and the U.S. Eastern Seaboard, but most of the population (i.e., artisans and farmers) remained in place.[11]

There is little doubt that these trends were broadly reflected in Maitland. And yet when we look at life in this village during the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, it is clear that the village's entrance into large-scale shipbuilding and shipping broadened the horizons of Maitlanders. During this period, the village emerged from a regional trading network anchored around the Bay of Fundy, into a global commodity network based out of cities like Liverpool, London, Antwerp, and New York. The scale of the shipbuilding industry grew substantially, both in the size of the ships and in the number of ships built. Likely because Maitland was relatively isolated from larger Nova Scotian towns, the industry drew hundreds of people to the Maitland region and transformed the local landscape; shipyards consumed forests of spruce as farmers cleared more and more land to feed the burgeoning population.[12] Once the ships left Maitland, they continued to contribute to the transformation of numerous distant landscapes, as they carried bulky raw materials from dispersed commodity frontiers to European centres. The reduced cost of global transportation allowed for the significant expansion of complex networks of commodity chains for a growing range of natural resources and agricultural products throughout the nineteenth century.[13]

Mobility and Maitland's Rising Fortunes

It had taken nearly twenty years for the Maitland region to be resettled after the expulsion of the Acadians in the 1750s. In 1771, William Putnam and his family received a land grant on the future village site. Shortly thereafter, the population increased with an influx of disbanded Loyalist soldiers who had fought in the American Revolution. Shipbuilding quickly followed settlement. The Whidden family arrived from Truro, Nova Scotia, in the first years of the nineteenth century,

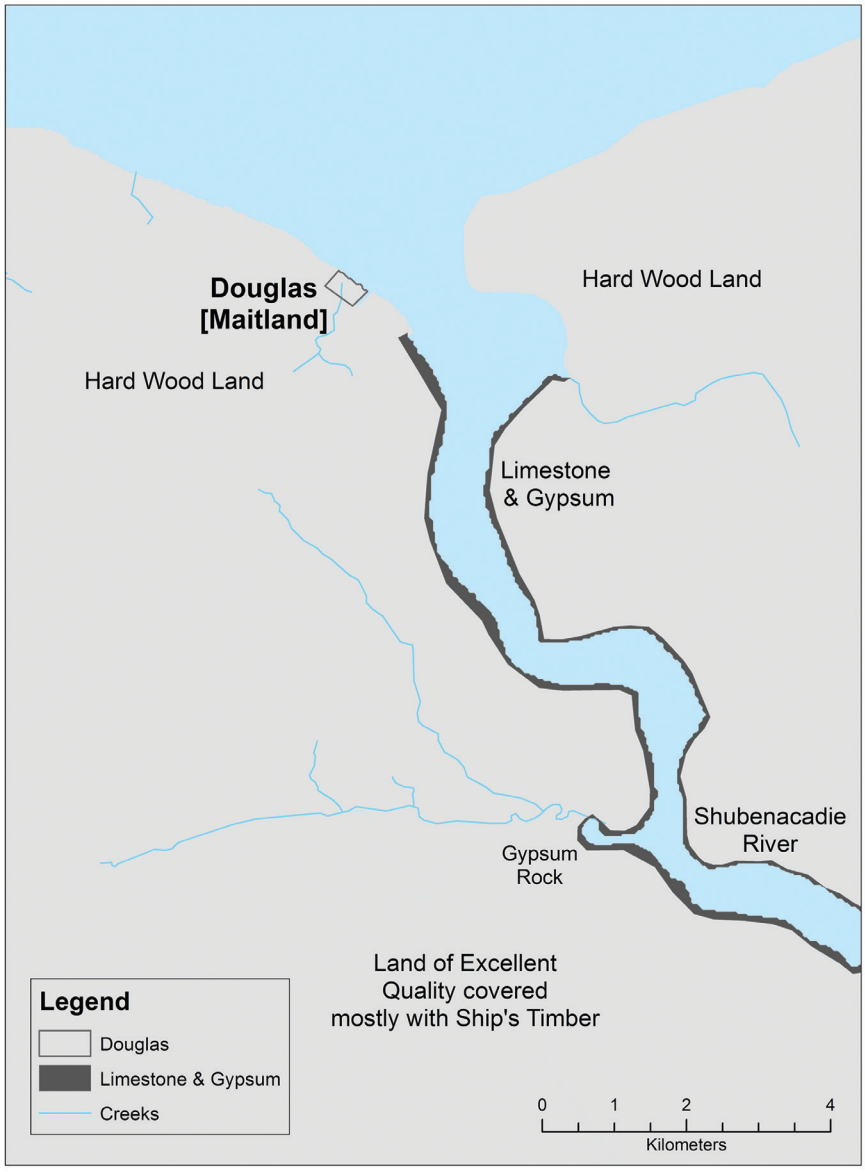

FIGURE 1.1. Key resources as identified on 1828 Shubenacadie canal survey map. Maitland was identified as "Douglas" on the original map, which was completed shortly before the village was renamed after Peregrine Maitland, governor general of Nova Scotia from 1828–1834. Map by authors.

and at least one of them appears to have engaged in shipbuilding before 1830.[14] A local history enthusiast also believed James Campbell built a large number of small coastal ships for transporting gypsum during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, though none of these ships appear in the shipping registries.[15]

While Maitland slowly developed as a farming hamlet, gypsum-mining region, and site of small-scale shipbuilding, a group of businessmen dreamed of making it a key location in Nova Scotia's first major transportation project. The ill-fated Shubenacadie Canal connected the Bay of Fundy to Halifax through a series of rivers and lakes, and Maitland was well located at the canal's mouth. A map from 1828 charts the future course of the canal, highlighting the valuable resources located along its route. The GIS map in figure 1.1 shows that the surveyors found stands of hardwoods, thousands of acres of ship's timber, and riverbanks full of gypsum and limestone.[16] Unfortunately, lengthy delays and competition from the Nova Scotia Railway led to the failure of this canal even after its eventual completion in the 1860s. Maitland never became a central hub in Nova Scotia's canal transportation network.[17]

Some early ships were built to transport gypsum, the mining of which was one of the more important export activities from the Bay of Fundy region during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Demand for the mineral as a fertilizer increased in markets along the Eastern Seaboard. A grey market for gypsum flourished around Passamaquoddy Bay, on the Maine and New Brunswick border. Local settlers used small boats to carry gypsum down the Bay of Fundy to larger American vessels waiting near the border and thereby avoided paying duties.[18] This trade was an integral part of a burgeoning transportation network around the Bay of Fundy. Small ships traded gypsum for finished American goods, which merchants then sold in the small communities scattered along the bay's shores. The gypsum trade helped link the Maitland area with Boston, Windsor, Saint John, and other ports in this regional network.

Gypsum extraction fuelled the early development of shipbuilding around Maitland, as gypsum trading reached its height during the same period in which Whidden and Campbell apparently started

building ships. In 1860, Maitland produced 23,668 tons of gypsum, making it the largest gypsum-producing community in the province other than neighbouring St. Croix and the Kempt Shore, also in Hants County.[19] In the decades that followed, the Hants County gypsum industry continued to expand almost as rapidly as the shipbuilding industry. Although a correlation existed between the two, by the 1860s many of the ships built in Maitland did not participate in this regional trade. Instead, they deployed in the global commodity trade.

The shipbuilding career of W.D. Lawrence serves as a useful illustration of the transition from small regional shipbuilding to full engagement with the global transportation market. Born on July 16, 1817, in the north of Ireland, he was the oldest son of William Dawson Lawrence and Mary Jane Lockhart. Family pressure following his father's decision to wed a woman from a less-affluent class forced his parents to leave Ireland. They took their infant child and travelled to Nova Scotia, where they eventually acquired a farm in Five Mile River, located about fifteen kilometres from Maitland.[20]

At the age of nineteen, the younger William Lawrence left the farm and began to visit shipbuilding centres on the Atlantic coast. He first travelled to Dartmouth, across the harbour from Halifax, in order to study the trade; he worked long hours, learning his craft from the keel up. Ambitious to succeed, he enrolled in classes at Dalhousie College in 1838, the school's first year of operation. During his time in Dartmouth, Lawrence learned a great deal about building ships. However, the training available in Nova Scotia had its limits. Lawrence needed to go farther afield if he wanted to learn how to design his own ships rather than just build them from someone else's plans.[21] To that end he went to Boston in order to study drafting under Donald McKay. McKay, originally from Shelburne, Nova Scotia, had made his name designing clipper ships, and he proved willing to help a fellow Nova Scotian.[22] In 1847, Lawrence returned to Dartmouth, where he designed the 568-ton *Wanderer*, which was built for the Halifax firm Fairbanks and Allison. Throughout the decade or more that Lawrence spent moving between home, Dartmouth, and Boston, he learned the shipbuilding skills, which became essential when he returned to the

Maitland region in the early 1850s and built his own ship, the 170-ton *St. Lawrence* brigantine.

Unlike a conventional commodity frontier—where outside capital flows into commodity-rich landscapes and both the environment and local populations are exploited to accumulate metropolitan profits—the Maitland industry developed locally, first becoming integrated within regional shipping industries and later within global trade.[23] Small-scale entrepreneurs, led by Lawrence, capitalized on the low cost of timber to enter the shipbuilding and shipping market while retaining local control of the means of production. For example, Lawrence owned the *St. Lawrence* in partnership with two of his brothers and another local shipbuilder, Alexander McDougall. Clearly, as was common at the time, they needed to pool their small amounts of capital to start building increasingly larger ships in this region.[24] The fact that Lawrence kept building and owning boats, and that over time he was able to retain larger and larger shares of the ships' ownership, suggests his early vessels were profitable.

Although shipbuilding remained a secondary industry in the Maitland area through the 1840s and 1850s, Lawrence's decision to move his operation to the shore of the Shubenacadie River acknowledged the prospects for the industry in this well-forested landscape. One list of ships built in the region indicates that only six vessels were built and registered in the 1840s and eight in the 1850s.[25] Significantly, though, builders increased the size of vessels. Specifically, the average tonnage in the 1840s was 71; in the 1850s it doubled to 141. In 1854, Lawrence and his partners purchased 4.85 hectares (twelve acres) of land on the edge of the village of Maitland, where they operated their new shipyard. Lawrence later bought out McDougall to become sole owner of the shipyard. He built two more ships during the 1850s: the *Architect* in 1856 and the *Persia* in 1859. By building and operating these ships, Lawrence demonstrated the competitive advantages and profitability of shipbuilding on this remote shore of the Bay of Fundy.[26]

In the decades that followed, Lawrence joined a broader regional trend of building large ships using widely available and inexpensive red spruce from around the Bay of Fundy.[27] While wooden ships were traditionally built using hardwood, such as oak and teak, the large

spruce softwood trees that grew in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia provided a functional, local, and significantly cheaper alternative that did not draw on the commercially valuable lumber used by the timber industry.[28] Spruce also gave vessels greater buoyancy, allowing them to carry greater loads.[29] In 1864, W.M. Smith, the controller of customs and registrar of shipping in New Brunswick, extolled the virtues of spruce from the Bay of Fundy for vessel construction: "The experience of some of our [New Brunswick's] wealthiest shipowners appears to be in favor of a well built, bay spruce salted ship, as a profitable investment, as such vessels have been known to be running from and to all parts of the world for twenty or thirty years in good condition."[30] While technological innovations transformed some sections of the shipbuilding industry, Smith explained that two spruce ships could be built and outfitted for the same cost as an iron sailing ship of the same size. The Maritime colonies were particularly well positioned to take advantage of the growing market for transatlantic shipping because of their proximity to the Eastern Seaboard, lower labour costs, and abundance of spruce forests.[31]

Local environmental advantages, along with the American Civil War, enabled the shipbuilding boom in Maitland. The major rivers feeding the Bay of Fundy served as ideal locations for building large wooden ships for the deep-sea trade. Most of the major shipbuilding centres on the Minas Basin were located on either the Avon or Shubenacadie rivers, in Kings and Hants counties. There were four advantages to these locations. Most importantly, the Bay of Fundy's funnel shape creates the highest tides in the world, making it easy to launch large ships built along these estuaries. Thus the capital investment required for shipbuilding was kept very low, obviating the need for any kind of dry dock. Maitland shipbuilders simply built the boats on the beach near the high tide line and relied on one of the particularly high monthly spring tides in the early spring or late fall to carry their ships out to sea. These rivers also offered a sheltered harbour, protecting shipyards from unfavourable Atlantic storms. Furthermore, the waterways served as reliable routes by which to transport wood from the forest to the shipyard. The predominantly spruce forests along these riverbanks provided abundant raw material. Maitland's mid-century

economy had not developed as much as that of Windsor and Hantsport on the Avon, so shipbuilders along the Shubenacadie's shores had access to more abundant forest resources.

The 1860s witnessed a considerable change in the fortunes of this small community. At least thirty-four vessels were built over the decade. New vessels continued to include increased carrying capacity, reflecting the growing interest in transoceanic trade. Lawrence led the expansion of Maitland's industry through his engagement in the deep-sea shipping market. He managed a small shipping business with the *Architect* and the *Persia* in the late 1850s.[32] In 1861, he sold these ships and prepared to build a significantly larger ocean-going vessel. A year later, he built the 762-ton *William G. Putnam* and, the following year, the 642-ton *Mary*. Lawrence became a local leader, as he continued to build larger vessels and set a profitable example by retaining ownership of his ships. It is likely that during the early 1860s he connected with an agent in Liverpool, tapping into a network that brought his vessels to ports all over the globe.

As Lawrence developed his ties with this global network, the scale of Maitland's shipbuilding industry expanded significantly. While some shipbuilders continued to build smaller regional trading vessels with low tonnage, a few individuals aspired to build large deep-sea vessels. On the regional level, these shipbuilders followed those in the larger shipbuilding centres at Windsor and Hantsport, where ships over one thousand tons were already being built by the early 1860s. On a more local level, Maitland shipbuilders T.S. Harding, Robert Boak, A. McCallum, and T.S. Trefrey followed Lawrence, building vessels larger than five hundred tons in the years after 1862. A few years later, in 1867, Lawrence built Maitland's first vessel over one thousand tons, the 1,020-ton *Pegasus*. Charles Cox built two more vessels over a thousand tons in the following years. By the beginning of the 1870s, as the tables below indicate, Maitland had emerged as a regional leader in large deep-sea vessels.[33]

Maitland's shipbuilding began during the American Civil War, boomed in the 1870s, and continued through to the early 1880s. Table 1.1 demonstrates the sheer dominance of large deep-sea ships built in Maitland during the 1870s and 1880s. Although the overall number of

Table 1.1. Number and tonnage of vessels built in Maitland, 1840–1890

Decade	Number of Vessels	Average Tonnage	Total Tonnage	Over 1000 Tons
1840s	7	67.02	469.2	0
1850s	11	177.55	1953	0
1860s	51	372.15	18979.69	3
1870s	77	874.57	67341.62	27
1880s	39	772.36	30122.12	21
Total	185	642.51	118865.45	51

(Data from Windsor, Nova Scotia, Registrar of Shipping, RG 42-E-1, LAC; Maitland, Nova Scotia, Registrar of Shipping, RG 42-E-1, LAC; Burgess, "List of Vessels.")

ships declined during the 1880s, the average tonnage decreased only slightly. Comprising just 6 percent of the ships built at Maitland in the 1860s, the ratio of vessels larger than one thousand tons grew to just over 50 percent in the 1880s. Table 1.2 shows that when compared with other shipbuilding centres along the Bay of Fundy's shores, Maitland was one of the leading shipbuilding centres in the region. The village's volume of production dwarfed that of many other locations.[34]

The boom in shipbuilding brought about an increase in Maitland's population. Between 1860 and 1870, the village population increased by 25 percent, from 1,967 to 2,463 people.[35] Housing stock jumped even more significantly in this period, from 295 inhabited houses to 410, an increase of 38 percent. Most of this migration came from other parts of Nova Scotia.[36] Local memory also suggests a certain degree of seasonal migration, as workers moved to Maitland during the summer months to help build the vessels.[37] Unfortunately, the 1861 census lacks information about land holding, so it is difficult to assess the impact of this movement on the local landscape. The overall acreage in 1870, however,

suggests that residents had cleared about half the land on the southwest side of the river, shown in figure 1.3. They no doubt used the trees for vessels, home construction, and fuel.[38]

The building of the *Pegasus* in 1867 provides a glimpse into the nature of this industry. This is one of the few years for which Lawrence's correspondence has survived.[39] His letters demonstrate the importance of the shipyard to Maitland's economy, the significance of ship owning for Lawrence's career, and the network of relationships that Lawrence needed in order to actively participate in the global shipping industry. The building of the *Pegasus* required Lawrence's full-time attention. In his letters, he regularly mentioned that he could not leave Maitland, because he had fifty men building his new ship. While the spruce used on this and other Maitland ships was harvested locally, he ordered oakum, spikes, and other supplies from Black Bros. in Halifax. The iron knees and the masthead came from Saint John, and a steamer towed the ship to this larger port to complete the final outfitting after it launched.[40] With the vessel seaworthy, Lawrence put his shipbuilding activities on hold and focused on the engagement of the *Pegasus* in the deep-sea shipping trade. At the same time, Lawrence—a leading opponent of Confederation—continued his heavy involvement in provincial politics. His ability to leave his shipyard fallow for a number of years as he accumulated capital with his new ship and continued his fight against Confederation demonstrates the low levels of fixed investment and the pluralistic nature of work in these Maitland shipyards.[41]

Lawrence's letters show that his involvement in global trade networks hinged on shipping agents and capital from Liverpool. Lawrence relied on his agent, J.C. Jones, to help finance construction of the *Pegasus* and to secure a series of shipping contracts. Between 1867 and 1874, these contracts took the *Pegasus* on very profitable trips around the world, to cities including St. George, New Brunswick; Boston; Liverpool; Antwerp; Yokohama; Callao, Peru; and Montevideo, Uruguay.[42] Lawrence remained in close communication with Jones and with Jones's successor, A. Gibson, over the course of the vessel's construction and subsequent voyages. The limited sample of Lawrence's letters preserved in the archives include twenty-two letters to Jones,

Table 1.2. Number and average tonnage of vessels built in each village in Windsor Shipping Registry

Port	1860s		1870s		1880s		Total
	Number of Vessels	Average Tonnage	Number of Vessels	Average Tonnage	Number of Vessels	Average Tonnage	Number of Vessels
Newport	28	470.87	23	892.59	19	1030.7	70
Windsor	19	559.83	15	802.84	4	538.65	38
Hantsport	16	596.13	12	714.72	13	549.7	41
Horton	8	321.24	19	576.53	12	851.05	39
Cornwallis	58	220.08	53	424.58	33	594.73	144
Parrsboro	16	169.09	14	542.21	1	10.17	31
Kempt	16	188.48	18	396.34	8	398.09	42
Elsewhere in NS	30	235.78	24	466.37	20	269.71	74
Beyond NS	0	0	0	0	11	668.35	11
						Total Ships	406

(Note: This table does not include Maitland. Thirty vessels built in Maitland appear in the Windsor shipping registry; these vessels are included in table 1.1.)

Figure 1.2. The *William D. Lawrence* under construction in 1874. Reproduced with permission of the Nova Scotia Archives.

written between June 1867 and May 1868, and a further twenty-four letters to Gibson, written between September 1868 and May 1871.[43]

For over a decade Lawrence's shipbuilding activities paralleled his political involvement. In 1863, he was elected to the Nova Scotia Legislature as a Liberal Conservative member for Douglas (now known as Hants North), joining his close ally Joseph Howe, who also represented the dual-member riding. They later split over the issue of Confederation. Marvin Moore argues that Lawrence's opposition to Confederation stemmed from his concern that political union would hurt the Maritime shipping industry. Confederation threatened to reorient the flow of goods and capital in the region, favouring inland interests over the coastal trades. Lawrence worried that Canadian politicians and businessmen would redirect maritime wealth to finance the canals and railroads needed for continental development.[44] Although Lawrence's pessimism eventually proved true, Confederation was not

the most significant cause of Maitland's decline; indeed, Maitland's shipbuilding industry peaked in the years after 1867. In the 1870s and 1880s, its shipyards produced more than twenty vessels larger than one thousand tons in each decade.

Lawrence built his final vessel during this pinnacle of Maitland's shipbuilding history. His correspondence from the late 1860s and early 1870s suggest he had made a small fortune by using the *Pegasus* in the deep-sea trade. He did not need to invest this money in a new and larger vessel.[45] However, after losing the 1871 provincial election over the issue of Confederation, Lawrence returned to the shipyard with renewed vigour. He set out to build "the largest vessel ever placed upon the stocks in the Dominion or in British North America."[46] The ship that Lawrence built was 262 feet long, 55 feet from keel to rail, and 48 feet wide. Its main mast was 200 feet and 8 inches. It carried 11,500 yards of sail. Its draft (how deep it lay in the water) was 11 feet when empty and 26 feet when fully loaded. It took seventy-five men a year and a half to build the 2,459-ton vessel. The masthead on the aptly named *William D. Lawrence* was of an old man in a flowing cloak, holding a scroll inscribed with the words "God defends the Right." Clearly, Lawrence wanted to make a statement with the construction of this massive vessel (fig. 1.2).[47]

Having decided to build the ship, Lawrence began to draw on his local and global connections to acquire the many resources necessary to build such a large vessel. He built a three-dimensional model of the ship, and crews began to cut and haul the wood needed.[48] The main material, of course, was Maitland spruce. When the ice had gone out of the river, migrant shipbuilders arrived to commence the ship's construction. With few other local resources available, everything from oakum to iron needed to be shipped to Maitland from Halifax, Saint John, or Boston by sea and rail. Lawrence had James Ellis, the captain of the *Pegasus* and his son-in-law, acquire more specialized materials such as chains, anchors, and pumps while that ship was in port at Liverpool.[49] When all was complete, the materials and labour had cost $107,452, leaving Lawrence over $27,000 in debt.[50] At the time, many regarded the building of this vessel as Lawrence's folly. More than four thousand people descended on the village to see what some were expecting to

be a disaster. Yet the ship considered too large to float slid smoothly down the ways in September 1874. The *William D. Lawrence* safely entered the global deep-sea trade, marking the climax of the village's shipbuilding days.

Global Context

Demand for vessels like the *Pegasus* and *William D. Lawrence* grew as trade in bulky natural resources increased around the world, leading to a golden age in the global commodity trade.[51] The growth of the United States as a major economic power and the decline of its merchant fleet following the outbreak of the Civil War were the biggest factors in creating demand for ships from the Maritimes.[52] Moreover, industrialists seeking to fulfill their ever-growing hunger for natural resources from around the world sought to globalize supply chains, while population growth and urbanization led the British to rely on large amounts of grain and other foodstuffs from around the world. The commoditization of grain, cotton, oil, hides, tallow, guano, copper, and many other raw materials increased demand for transcontinental shipping, both in the heavily trafficked North Atlantic and in developing resource frontiers.

Steam technology failed to meet the rising demand of the global commodity trade through the mid-nineteenth century. On many routes it remained cheaper to move goods by sail until the 1880s and 1890s, when steamships became significantly more fuel-efficient. At mid-century, charts predicted global wind patterns more accurately than ever, which increased the speed of sailing ships over long distances, while at the same time steam technology made easier the sailing and docking of large vessels.[53] The growing size of Bay of Fundy spruce ships reduced overall operation costs and allowed these vessels to cultivate a niche in the global shipping market through the 1870s and 1880s even as steamships gained prominence.[54]

Maitland sat at the heart of the boom during the 1870s, as Hants County had become one of the new province's principal shipbuilding centres.[55] Although the county produced fewer vessels than other Nova Scotia ports, the average size of its vessels was over one hundred tons

larger than elsewhere in the province. This characteristic reflected the region's focus on large ship construction and the deep-sea shipping industry.[56] Hants County also led the province in the number and combined value of its shipyards, with eight more yards and $100,000 of greater worth than Digby, the next largest shipbuilding centre according to the 1870–1871 census.[57]

For a moment in the 1870s and early 1880s, Maitland and other Bay of Fundy communities engaged with the rest of the world. The Maitland ship registry for the mid-1870s, the 1880s, and the 1890s demonstrates the dominance of British shipping interests, as Maritime merchants sold vessels—both immediately after construction and after years of service—at Glasgow, London, and Liverpool. Perhaps the location where vessels met their demise is more revealing in determining the scope of the trade. Maitland-built vessels sank while en route to or from such places as San Francisco, South Africa, the Bahamas, the Bering Sea, and Peru. During these years, many Maitland families had members who visited these far-off places as sailors, sea captains, and passengers.[58] In his correspondence and an unpublished travel memoir, Lawrence wrote of travelling to cities such as Liverpool, Antwerp, Aden, Bombay, Callao, and Le Havre.[59] Village residents visited places that just a few decades earlier would have been known only through written accounts.

Like the *Pegasus* before it, the *William D. Lawrence* circumnavigated the world in service of the risky global commodity trade. Even before Lawrence launched the ship, he had obtained charters to carry two cargoes of guano from the Chinchas in Peru to France. To increase the profitability of this long voyage, Lawrence carried lumber from Saint John to Liverpool and coal from Cardiff to Aden, before crossing the Indian and Pacific oceans to Peru. Before the ship arrived in Peru, the guano market had crashed because new chemical fertilizers—cheaper and easier to obtain than Peruvian bird droppings—had come onto the market.[60] The French Dreyfus Brothers firm attempted to cancel the charter, but they could not do so without Lawrence's agreement. Stubbornly, Lawrence waited eleven months to load the cargo. When the ship arrived in France, the Dreyfus Brothers refused to accept the guano. Lawrence ordered the cargo off-loaded at his own expense and

turned the matter over to a French law firm that sued on his behalf for the cost of the cargo and demurrage for the long wait in Peru. Lawrence eventually won the case and received the whole cost of the cargo and demurrage. He retained ownership of his last ship until 1884 and claimed that he made a large profit during these nine years of operation.[61]

The success of shipbuilding transformed Maitland by increasing its population and drawing on institutions that could better connect shipbuilders and owners with the global network of their trade. The village's population peaked in 1880, when the census recorded three hundred more people than it had in 1870.[62] By this time, there were up to twenty shipyards around Maitland. Within the village itself there were seven. With this expansion, a shipping register opened for Maitland in 1874. It provides details on when vessels were built, by whom, and often when these ships ceased their registration after sale or destruction. The register lists fifty-one vessels built during the 1870s, averaging 888 tons. Twenty vessels had a carrying capacity over one thousand tons.[63] In addition, the insurance firm Lloyds hired Lawrence as its local representative.[64] Beyond these shipping-specific institutions, Western Union and the Merchant's Bank of Halifax opened agencies in Maitland in 1872 and 1873, respectively.[65] The introduction of these institutions reflected Maitland's growing economic importance, built on its involvement in the global shipping industry. Yet the 1870s were to be the high point in the economic vibrancy of the Bay of Fundy. In the decades that followed, Maitland declined almost as quickly as it had boomed.

By 1880 the shipbuilding industry began to stabilize and then fall. Only forty vessels were launched in this decade. Over half of these vessels had carrying capacities of over one thousand tons, with an average carrying capacity of 772 tons. Significantly, though, only five vessels were built after 1885.[66] Even grimmer were the 1890s, when builders constructed only sixteen vessels. The fact that eight of these ships were over one thousand tons demonstrates the continued importance of the deep-sea trade to the village's economy.[67] The population also began to decline. By 1890, 20 percent fewer people lived in Maitland, and villagers occupied 12 percent less acreage than they had a decade earlier.[68]

The region's shipbuilding potential had linked its natural resources to global commodity flows. This nexus was caused by, and continued to

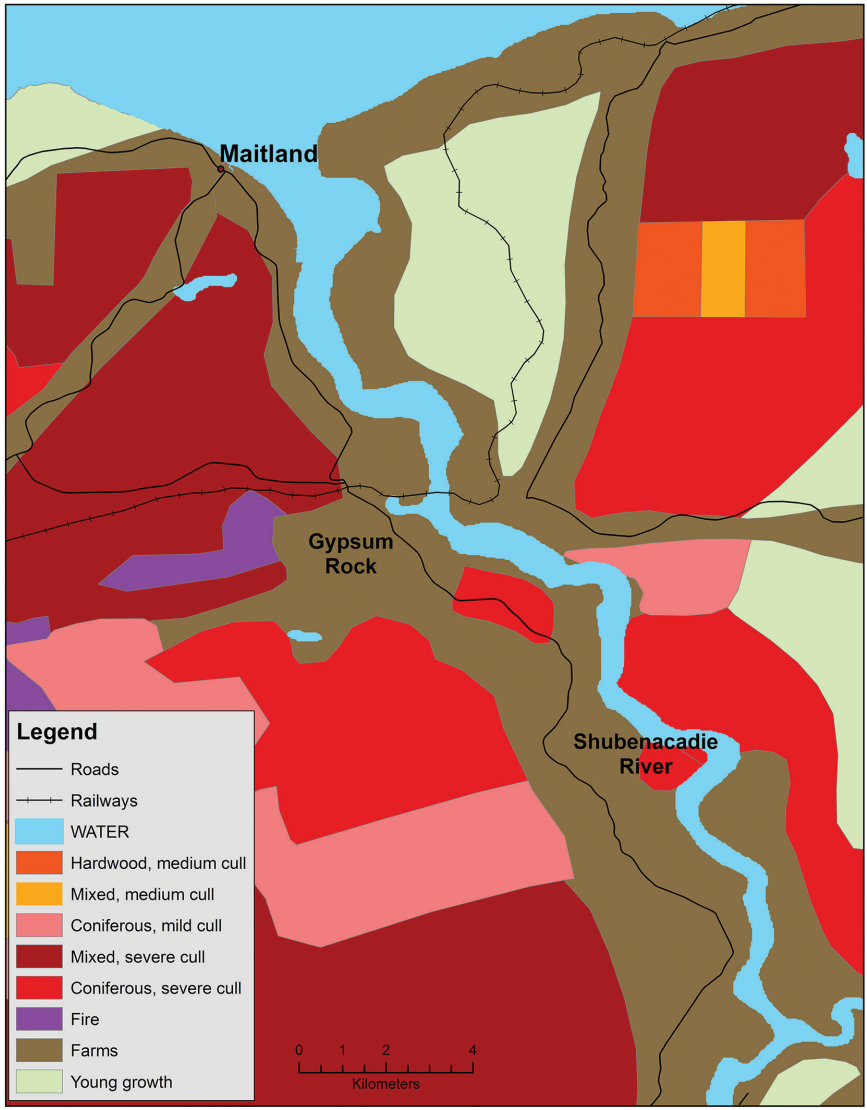

FIGURE 1.3. Forest cover in the district around Maitland, as described in B.E. Fernow, *Forest Conditions of Nova Scotia* (1912). Map by authors.

fuel, the expansion of the population and local agriculture, the clearing of local forests, and the extraction of local mineral resources. Trade and shipbuilding also dramatically transformed the local environment. By the early twentieth century, considerably fewer trees remained around Maitland than had stood before this boom in shipping had begun. This was not a unique situation, as little "first-growth" forest was left by this time anywhere in peninsular Nova Scotia. The exact role of shipbuilding in the deforestation is hard to ascertain. At least one mill existed in South Maitland by the 1860s, and the general trend across the province suggests that the forests of Maitland and the Shubenacadie Valley would have fallen with or without the shipbuilding industry. Nonetheless, as early as the late 1860s, Lawrence found it difficult to secure timber for large ships because forest resources had been depleted—a common phenomenon in shipbuilding centres.[69] Wood for shipbuilding became increasingly scarce on Prince Edward Island between the 1840s and the 1860s, as the industry took the best species.[70] A similar pattern likely occurred in Maitland. The fact that Maitland built dozens of very large ships in the 1870s and 1880s suggests they had begun to use forests located farther from the village, moving trees longer distances during the late winter and spring.[71]

A forest survey from 1912 indicates the extent of deforestation caused by forestry, shipbuilding, and agriculture during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Comparing figure 1.3 with figure 1.1 from the 1828 canal survey shows that the Maitland region witnessed the clearing of large sections of forests during the mid- to late nineteenth century, similar to many other areas in Nova Scotia. Shipbuilding along the Minas Basin was only one cause of deforestation. The 1912 survey pointed to a growing forestry industry during the early twentieth century and warned that the whole province faced shortages unless it adopted conservation practices.[72] The map allows us to speculate that Maitland would have been nearing the end of its shipbuilding era even if the global demand for wooden sailing ships had never declined. With much of the landscape categorized as "severe cull" and only a limited section replanted with second-growth forests, the natural advantages of easily available, large spruce trees no longer existed at the start of the twentieth century.

Conclusion

Maitland's brief foray into the global shipping trade made a significant impact on the community. Its geographic location, access to cheap spruce, and abundant gypsum created a foundation on which Maitlanders could profit by selling their ships and labour. The probate records left behind by some of the village's key shipbuilders demonstrate the wealth that Maitlanders acquired from this trade.[73] However, the amount that these men could make in the trade varied considerably. For example, despite building vessels over one thousand tons, Joseph Monteith and Alexander Roy had amassed only $5,114 and $20,324.50, respectively, by the end of their lives. In contrast, Lawrence and Archibald McCallum had built up small fortunes: $164,423 and $182,817, respectively.[74] Although it is difficult to be certain, it is likely that Lawrence's and McCallum's higher degrees of vessel ownership and external investment explain part of this difference[75] Despite these substantial differences in wealth, all four men had an above-average amount of wealth for the end of the nineteenth century in Nova Scotia.[76] As the industry declined, Maitland remained a relatively well-off small town, living off the foundation created by its foray into global shipping.

Maitland's moment of connection to the global shipping trade created two legacies. First, a small number of shipbuilding families amassed considerable fortunes from this craft, drawing this tiny town into international trading networks. Second, the shipbuilding industry played an essential role in transforming a dense forest into a patchwork of new farms amid a severely culled landscape. Local forests, transformed into large vessels, circumnavigated the globe and rarely returned to the Minas Basin. They contributed to the dramatic decrease in the cost of global mobility during the second half of the nineteenth century. Maitlanders exported local resources and in doing so they facilitated the mass transfer of other raw materials between Europe, Asia, and the Americas. The deforestation that reshaped the local environment affected all of the village's residents—regardless of class, ethnicity, or religion—and challenges the idea that small and relatively isolated communities like Maitland cultivated a culture of "persistent localism" that focused mostly on developing regional relationships.

From a foundation of high tides, easily accessible mineral deposits, and abundant spruce, Maitlanders became mobile, drawing information and profits from regional—and then global—trading networks in order to briefly transform their village into a prominent shipbuilding centre at the end of the nineteenth century. By capitalizing on nearby natural resources, Maitlanders were able to draw transoceanic financial, communication, and transportation networks into their village at the top of the Bay of Fundy. Through these linkages and by building ships out of the abundant supply of local trees, Maitland avoided becoming an exploited peripheral site of resource extraction and instead participated in and profited from the global trade in bulk commodities.

Notes

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5 Mimi Sheller and John Urry, "The New Mobilities Paradigm," *Environment and Planning A* 38, no. 2 (2006): 207; John Urry, "Mobile Sociology 1," *British Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 1 (2000): 185–203; Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller, and John Urry, "Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings," *Mobilities* 1, no. 1 (2006): 1–22; John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 113–14.

6 Alan A. Brookes, "The Golden Age and the Exodus: The Case of Canning, Kings County," *Acadiensis* 11, no. 1 (1981): 62; Stephen J. Hornsby, *Time and Tide: The Transformation of Bear River, Nova Scotia*, Northeast Folklore 31 (Orono: Maine Folklife Center, 1996), 20, 28–29; Larry McCann, "Seasons of Labor: Family, Work, and Land in a Nineteenth-Century Nova Scotia Shipbuilding Community," *The History of the Family* 4, no. 4 (2000): 489, 492.

7 Gregory Cushman's recent book is an exceptional example of a global history that weaves together individual biographies, local histories and the global history of a commodity: *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World: A Global Ecological History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

8 Brookes, "Golden Age," 62.

9 Hornsby, *Time and Tide*, 21–25; McCann, "Seasons of Labor," 508–17.

10 This statement must be qualified by the recognition that relatively few local studies of similar communities have asked similar questions. Larry McCann, however, suggests in "Seasons of Labor" that important affinities may exist between Maitland and Weymouth, Nova Scotia. Based on most studies to date, which emphasize local and regional connections, Maitland's pattern appears unique.

11 Hornsby, *Time and Tide*, 20–33.

12 As a point of comparison with Maitland, whose closest neighbour was Truro (which is not a port), other shipbuilding centres were much closer to growing colonial towns with diversified economies. Hantsport was less than ten kilometres from the regional centre of Windsor. Kingsport was five kilometres from the agricultural community of Canning, less than ten kilometres from the college town of Wolfville, and less than thirty kilometres from Windsor and Parrsboro, another important shipbuilding village. Bear River was only ten kilometres from Digby. The key point here is that Maitland was not as well located in relation to major population centres as these other shipbuilding communities.

13 William Beinart and Lotte Hughes, *Environment and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1–22; John Tully, "A Victorian Ecological Disaster: Imperialism, the Telegraph, and Gutta-Percha," *Journal of World History* 20, no. 4 (2009): 559–79; Graham, "Ascendancy of the Sailing Ship"; Sandip Hazareesingh, "Editorial: Commodities, Empires, and Global History," *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 1 (2009): 1–5; J.W. Moore, "The Modern World-System as Environmental History? Ecology and the Rise of Capitalism," *Theory and Society* 32, no. 3 (2003): 307–77; Edmund Burke and Kenneth Pomeranz, eds., *The Environment and World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 3–32.

14 Thomas Miller, *Historical and Genealogical Record of the First Settlers of Colchester County: Down to the Present Time* (Halifax: A. & W. Mackinlay, 1873), 342.

15 Judy Burns interviewed a local history enthusiast, the late Roy Rhyno, in early 2011, before he passed away. No archival records appear to exist that might support or deny this contention.

16 Limestone was interspersed with the gypsum on this map, and the coal deposits were primarily located across the bay on the Chignecto Peninsula. These are not shown on the map.

17 Donna Barnett, *River of Dreams: The Saga of the Shubenacadie Canal* (Halifax: Nimbus, 2002).

18 Gerald S. Graham, "The Gypsum Trade of the Maritime Provinces: Its Relation to American Diplomacy and Agriculture in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Agricultural History* 12, no. 3 (1938): 209–23.

19 *Census of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: E.M. McDonald, 1862), 231.

20 Charles A. Armour, "Lawrence, William Dawson," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (hereafter *DCB*), accessed 15 August 2015, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/lawrence_william_dawson_11E.html; supplemented with information from unpublished, handwritten notes collected by and for staff at the Lawrence House Museum since it opened in Maitland in 1971.

21 Ibid.

22 Clara Ingram Judson, *Donald McKay: Designer of Clipper Ships* (New York: Scribner, 1943); Richard Cornelius McKay, *Some Famous Sailing Ships and Their Builder, Donald McKay* (Riverside, CT: 7 C's Press, 1969); David R. MacGregor, *Merchant Sailing Ships 1850–1875: Heyday of Sail* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1985).

23 J.W. Moore, "'Amsterdam Is Standing on Norway' Part II: The Global North Atlantic in the Ecological Revolution of the Long Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 10, no. 2 (2010): 188–227; Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*.

24 McCann, "Seasons of Labor," 489–90.

25 W.L. Burgess, "List of Vessels Built along the Shubenacadie River and Its Confluence with Cobequid Bay," 1950, MG29 A23, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (hereafter LAC). We used two types of sources in order to understand shipbuilding in Maitland. Specifically, we used this list—compiled in 1950 of ships built in the region—in tandem with the ship registers for Maitland and Windsor in order to compile an inventory of the ships built during the second half of the nineteenth century and their tonnage. Our list is incomplete. It is likely that analysis of the registers at larger ports (e.g., Saint John, Boston) would yield more vessels, but this research would be time consuming and likely yield only a handful of additional vessels. We are confident that the sources examined for this paper demonstrate the broad trends of Maitland shipbuilding.

26 Armour, "Lawrence."

27 See McCann, "Seasons of Labor," 490–91, esp. fig. 1.

28 On the interconnection between the timber trade and shipbuilding, see Eric Sager and Gerald Panting, *Maritime Capital: The Shipping Industry in Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 36–40.

29 Sager and Panting, *Maritime Capital*, 60.

30 *Annual Returns of Trade and Navigation for the Province of New Brunswic*k in *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Province of New Brunswick*, (Fredericton: G.E. Fenety, 1864), 4.

31 Eric W. Sager and Gerry Panting, "Staple Economies and the Rise and Decline of the Shipping Industry in Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914," in *Change and Adaptation in Maritime History: The North Atlantic Fleets in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Lewis R. Fischer and Gerald Panting (St. John's: Maritime History Group, 1985), 22.

32 Armour, "Lawrence."

33 See McCann, "Seasons of Labor," 491, for a useful map illustrating the dominance of Hants and Kings counties in the Maritime shipbuilding industry.

34 This conclusion needs to be qualified. The sparse nature of the documentation means it is nearly impossible to compare these villages directly. It is clear that both the Maitland and Windsor shipping registers are incomplete. Key vessels, such as Lawrence's *Pegasus*, do not appear in these registers despite having been built in Maitland. Table 1.1 represents all of the ships we have been able to determine were actually built in Maitland, whereas table 1.2 represents the ships listed in the Windsor Shipping Registers. There may have been ships built in these ports that were not listed.

35 *Census of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: E.M. McDonald, 1862), 52; *Census of Canada, 1870–1871*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1873), 73.

36 People born in Nova Scotia consistently comprised about 95 percent of the province's population throughout the entire period under study. See *Census of Nova Scotia* (1862); *Census of Canada, 1870–1871*, vol. 1; and *Census of Canada, 1880–1881*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: McLean, Roger & Co., 1882).

37 Stanley T. Spicer, *Masters of Sail: The Era of Square-Rigged Vessels in the Maritime Provinces* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1968), 13, 57. For an excellent account of occupational pluralism within Nova Scotia's shipbuilding industry, using Weymouth as a case study, see McCann, "Seasons of Labor."

38 The total amount of improved land in 1870 was 10,479 acres. See *Census of Canada, 1870–1871*, vol. 3 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1875), 91.

39 McCann's work draws on a similar source—the business records of Colin Campbell Jr., a leading shipbuilder in Weymouth.

40 W.D. Lawrence Papers, MS4-8, Dalhousie University Archives, Halifax (hereafter Lawrence Papers). Specific references to these practices are found in the following correspondence, all from 1867: Lawrence to Black Brothers, 15 June, 15 July, 1 August, 2 August, 13 August, 27 August, 4 September, 20 September; Lawrence to Joseph Howe, 14 June; Lawrence to J.C. Jones, 16 July, 31 July, 27 August, 5 October, 9 November; Lawrence to George B. Vaughan, 16 July; Lawrence to J. Shaw, 31 July; J.W.M. Irish, 2 August, 9 September, 23 September; Lawrence to James Caffrey, 20 August. The final outfitting at Saint John may explain why the *Pegasus* was not registered in Maitland. Interestingly, Stephen Hornsby suggests that shipbuilders in Bear River usually ordered wood for masts from the Pacific coast. Oregon pine or British Columbia Douglas fir would often be shipped to—and then outfitted onto the ship—in Saint John. See Hornsby, *Time and Tide*, 25.

41 The parallel between Colin Campbell, developed by McCann, and W.D. Lawrence, developed here, seems quite apt and points to some similarity between Weymouth and Maitland. See McCann, "Seasons of Labor," 492; and Charles A. Armour, "Campbell, Colin (1822–81)," in *DCB*, accessed 14 January 2015,

http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/campbell_colin_1822_81_11E.html.

42 Lawrence Papers. Information on these contracts can be found in many letters written by Lawrence between 1868 and 1874, including letters to Black Brothers, A. Gibson, W.R. Grace, J.C. Jones, John Pirie, and W. Russell.

43 Lawrence Papers.

44 Marvin Moore, "William D. Lawrence: Another Perspective," *The Occasional* 9, no. 3 (1985): 198.

45 Lawrence Papers.

46 *Acadian Recorder*, 21 February 1873, cited in Moore, "William D. Lawrence," 198.

47 Information from unpublished, handwritten notes collected by and for Lawrence House Museum guide staff.

48 This model is preserved in the Lawrence House Museum.

49 Lawrence to James Ellis, 20 February 1874, Lawrence Papers.

50 Armour, "Lawrence."

51 Barbier, *Scarcity and Frontiers*, 2–3, 368–428.

52 Eric W. Sager and Lewis R. Fisher, *Shipping and Shipbuilding in Atlantic Canada*, vol. 42, Historical Booklets (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1986), 8.

53 Steam winches made sailing the ships easier with smaller crews, and steam tugboats meant large sailing ships could be maneuvered around docks. Graham, "Ascendancy of the Sailing Ship."

54 Ibid.

55 Frederick William Wallace, *Wooden Ships and Iron Men* (Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1924), 192; McCann, "Seasons of Labor," 491. The census data for shipbuilding is focused on the county; unfortunately, no more specific information for this period exists. Windsor and Hantsport were also major shipbuilding centres.

56 In 1870, Hants County had 100 seagoing vessels, with a total tonnage of 45,414 and average tonnage of 454; Digby had 116 seagoing sailing vessels, with a total tonnage of 17,200 and average size of 148; and Yarmouth had 246 vessels, with a total tonnage of 81,878 and average size of 332. Digby had one small steam vessel and Yarmouth had two average-size vessels. Shelburne had 130 vessels, but they were fairly small (average 80 tons), and Lunenburg had 162, with average size of 54 tons. The smaller vessels on the Atlantic coast reflect the important place of fishing in the region. See *Census of Canada, 1870–1871*, vol. 3, 16–17.

57 McCann presents a slightly different perspective, in "Seasons of Labor," fig. 1 ("The Economic Geography of Shipbuilding in the Maritimes and the Bay of Fundy Region, 1871"). Consulting the manuscript version of the 1871 census to examine the average value produced by shipyards in the Maritimes, McCann demonstrates that yards in Kings, Shelburne, and Cape Breton (as well as Saint John) produced greater value than those in Hants County, but that shipbuilding was of greater importance to the overall economy

in Hants County than in these other parts of the region. See McCann, "Seasons of Labor," 491; and *Census of Canada, 1870–1871*, vol. 3, 396–97. McCann's analysis is built specifically on the "Manuscript Industrial Census Schedules for Counties in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1871" rather than the published versions we consulted; the 1871 manuscript census is now available in digital form on the LAC website, accessed 19 December 2014, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1871/Pages/about-census.aspx. Information for Hants County can be found on digitized reels C-10395 and C-10540.

58 Both Lawrence and his daughter, the wife of James Ellis, travelled occasionally on these ships.

59 Lawrence Papers; W.D. Lawrence, untitled travel memoir, n.d., 1–23, Nova Scotia Archives and Resource Management, Halifax (hereafter NSARM).

60 Superphosphates, created by mixing animal bones with sulphuric acid, started to dominate the fertilizer market in the early 1870s. Frederic Vallve, "Guano," in *Encyclopedia of World Environmental History*, ed. Shepard Krech (London: Routledge, 2004), 628; W.A. Parks, "The Development of the Heavy Chemical Industry of West Ham and District," (MA thesis, University of London, 1949); Lawrence, untitled travel memoir, 20–23.

61 W.D. Lawrence, unpublished manuscript, 22–23, G420 L42, NSARM; Archibald MacMechan, "The Great Ship" (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1967), 7–8. The MacMechan article was originally published in *Dalhousie Review* 8, no. 2 (1928).

62 Census data for this period varies in reliability. Population numbers depend on the time of year of enumeration, quality of enumeration, and boundaries used to define the Maitland area.

63 Maitland, Nova Scotia Registrar of Shipping.

64 Lawrence Papers.

65 Spicer, *Masters of Sail*, 57.

66 Maitland, Nova Scotia Registrar of Shipping. One additional vessel is listed here that does not appear in table 1.1. The overall tonnage for Charles Cox's *Julia and Spartan* is not listed in the shipping registers and therefore was not included in the table listing tonnage.

67 Wallace, *Wooden Ships and Iron Men*, 276.

68 See *Census of Canada, 1870–1871*, vols. 1–2 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1873); *Census of Canada, 1880–1881*, vols. 1–2 (Ottawa: McLean, Roger & Co., 1882); *Census of Canada, 1890–1891*, vols. 1–2 (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1893).

69 Lawrence Papers.

70 J. Loo and N. Ives, "The Acadian Forest: Historical Condition and Human Impacts," *Forestry Chronicle* 79, no. 3 (2003): 466.

71 Lawrence Papers.

72 B.E. Fernow, *Forest Conditions of Nova Scotia* (Ottawa: Department of Crown Lands, 1912), 42.

73 Probate records can be found in the Probate Office at the Kentville Justice Centre, Kentville, NS.

74 In addition to a number of smaller vessels, Joseph Monteith built the *Senator*, *Gloaming*, and *Grandes*; Alexander Roy built the *William Douglas*, *Eastern Roy*, and *W.J. Stairs*; William Lawrence built the *William D. Lawrence*; and Archibald McCallum built the *Joseph*, all of which were over one thousand tons.

75 McCallum's probate record shows that he held stocks, savings, and a number of local mortgages.

76 Fazley Siddiq, "The Size Distribution of Probate Wealth Holdings in Nova Scotia in the Late 19th Century," *Acadiensis* 18, no. 1 (1988): 141.

2

Forest, Stream and . . . Snowstorms? Seasonality, Nature, and Mobility on the Intercolonial Railway, 1876–1914

Ken Cruikshank

In 1905, a novelty postcard began circulating in Nova Scotia. Titled "Maritime Express Fast in the Snow on Folleigh Mountain, February, 1905," it depicted a dozen men standing atop a wall of snow banked against the side of a train. It is almost impossible to see where the wall of snow stops and the train begins, but one thing is certain: the Intercolonial Railway's express train from Halifax to Montreal is not going anywhere soon. The postcard's caption writer chose his words cleverly, with the railway that promoted itself as "The Fast Line" stuck fast in the snow (fig. 2.1).

For the managers of the Intercolonial Railway, this kind of incident was no joking matter. A major reason that the government of Canada built and operated the railway was to ensure continuous communication to and from the Atlantic Ocean during the winter months, when ice on the St. Lawrence River prevented ocean-going vessels from

Figure 2.1. Postcard of the "fast line" frozen in place, February 1905. Author's collection.

travelling upriver to Quebec City and Montreal. The government hoped that the railway would establish Halifax as Canada's winter port, capturing a share of the traffic that otherwise moved between its growing commercial, industrial, and agricultural centres and Atlantic ports in the United States. The storm of February 1905 that paralyzed the railway's central lines through Nova Scotia would prove enormously costly to the Intercolonial, not only in the expense of removing snow drifts up to five metres deep, and the revenues that were lost as the railway dealt with a backlog of freight orders, but also in terms of the political capital that a public railway needed to fend off critics.

The Intercolonial Railway was, in many ways, built to be a seasonal railway, providing critical overland transportation services in winter. Seasonal mobility therefore posed particular challenges for the managers of "The People's Railway." One set of challenges related to winter. During the period of the year when the railway was most valued and faced the least competition from ocean freighters, its managers

struggled to ensure reliable operations in the face of unpredictable weather, including heavy snow, ice, and freezing temperatures. Then, once the ice moved out of the St. Lawrence River and navigation resumed, railway officials faced a quite different challenge: finding sources of revenue that would help defray the high fixed costs associated with operating during this slack period. Like officials on other railways, they hoped that increased passenger traffic—and tourist traffic in particular—might fill the gap, but the route of the Intercolonial lacked the sublime, iconic wilderness of Niagara Falls or the Rocky Mountains. Railway officials therefore worked with the local wilderness that they had and supported efforts to ensure that nature so framed would live up to tourist expectations.[1]

The Intercolonial's status as a publicly constructed and operated railway made it distinctive in North America, yet the struggles of its managers to cope with seasonal conditions and work with particular natural environments were not. Railway managers all around the continent turned to engineers to survey local topography and respond to the challenges posed by winter storms, spring flooding, and summer heat. These engineers constructed new physical landscapes of bridges, tunnels, ballasted roadbeds, and snowsheds in order to facilitate relatively predictable seasonal railway operations. Railway managers also turned to artists and publicists to survey local environments and highlight features that might help attract tourists to their line. In doing so, they constructed landscapes of the mind in order to create uniform and relatively predictable seasonal railway earnings.

Historians rightly point to the importance of railways in "annihilating" time and space, and to the ingenuity of railway managers in controlling and counteracting natural processes—even, as William Cronon points out in *Nature's Metropolis*, learning how to "capture winter" in refrigerator cars.[2] Yet natural processes still mattered. Railway operations took place in particular local environments—environments that were not static but that changed with the season, whose features railway managers tried to understand and master, but which ultimately set limits on their operations. The winter hazards faced by North America's transcontinental railways have attracted considerable attention from historians, as have the railways' efforts to promote

tourism, but managers of regional railways faced their own particular environmental challenges.[3] The experience of those who operated the Intercolonial Railway points to some of the challenges that seasonality posed to mobility in North America. The publicists for the Intercolonial could not construct sublime natural attractions out of the landscapes along their line, nor could its engineers fully predict or overcome the fury of a Maritime blizzard.

"The People's Railway"

The Intercolonial's origins shaped its environmental and operational context and gave rise to its nickname "The People's Railway." In the 1840s and 1850s, railway promoters in England and the independent colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Upper and Lower Canada envisioned a line connecting Halifax to the St. Lawrence River as a prelude to the union of Britain's northern North American colonies. The railway's early name—the Intercolonial—stuck, even though the project was not started until after the colonies ceased to be separate in 1867. The new Dominion of Canada—spurred on and assisted by a generous British loan guarantee—completed construction of the railway in less than a decade. On July 3, 1876, the first passenger train left Halifax on a seven-hundred-mile, twenty-seven-hour journey to Quebec City. It travelled up through the Cobequid Hills of northwestern Nova Scotia, across the north shore of New Brunswick, through a northern branch of the Appalachians referred to as the Notre Dame Mountains, and then along the south shore of the St. Lawrence. This was not the shortest available route between Halifax and Quebec City, but it was considered safe by the British government, who wanted to be able to transport troops from the naval port of Halifax to Quebec and Ontario in case a war should break out with the United States when navigation was closed on the St. Lawrence. Just as importantly for the Dominion government, the route would serve the lumbering and fishing towns of coastal New Brunswick; also, of all the potential routes, it did not disadvantage either Halifax or its seaport rival, Saint John. The railway was gradually extended westward up the St. Lawrence valley, reaching

Montreal in 1898, and also eastward through the coal, iron, and steel districts of eastern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island.[4]

The government of Canada constructed the line, but many hoped the Grand Trunk Railway would operate it. Changes in Grand Trunk management dashed those hopes, and the Intercolonial became "The People's Railway," owned and directly operated by a department of the Dominion government. The railway both contributed to and benefitted from the economic growth of eastern Canada. Although intended as a transportation link between the Atlantic and central Canada, much of the Intercolonial's freight business reflected the local economies in which it operated and involved moving coal, lumber, and products of the iron and steel industry within the region. As a government-owned and operated railway, the Intercolonial was not expected by its political masters to pay a return on investment; indeed, it would have been criticized if it had made large operating surpluses. However, because the railway's managers tried to avoid large surpluses, the Intercolonial's financial performance was highly vulnerable to unexpected increases in expenditures. Between 1880 and 1914, the railway broke even or earned a small surplus (generally just above 1 percent of earnings) only sixteen times. It had an operating deficit eighteen times, with deficits averaging about 10 percent of earnings. Critics of the Intercolonial focused on these operating losses and were quick to blame them on inefficient government ownership.[5] The public railway's managers sought to make their financial returns as predictable and uncontroversial as possible, and that meant coping with the challenges posed by the seasons to freight and passenger flows. They hoped to tame winter and sell summer.

Taming Winter

From the outset, Intercolonial officials sought to prevent winter snow blockades, given that the blockades produced both unexpected costs and substantial losses in freight and passenger revenue. Winter snowfall and cold on parts of the line, and the costs associated with them, were to be expected. The best run of turn-of-the-century weather data for the region shows, perhaps unsurprisingly, severe cold and heavy

snowfall in the St. Lawrence valley and northern New Brunswick, where the moderating effects of the ocean were felt least. For officials, the trick was to anticipate and render predictable the impact of winter weather conditions.[6]

The government's chief engineer at the time of construction is credited with having the foresight to guard the line against winter storms; he insisted that the roadbed be well raised with ballast and had snowsheds constructed at obviously vulnerable points along the line. As a result of several particularly snowy and cold winters in the years immediately following the opening of the railway, the Intercolonial's managers learned where the line was most affected by drifting snow and were able to justify further investments in snow protection. In 1877 and 1878, they extended several existing snowsheds and built new ones so that sixty-five separate sheds covered 12.5 miles, or 1.75 percent of the mainline. Snow fences protected another 6 to 8 percent of the line. The railway's managers had to spend more money on fences than they had initially expected. They had to purchase more property to widen their rights-of-way at points along the St. Lawrence River after discovering that fences erected too close to the rail bed failed to prevent snowdrifts covering the tracks. Apart from these investments, the railway also had to purchase snow-clearing equipment; by 1879, the Intercolonial had twenty-seven snowplows, nine wing plows, and four flangers available to keep the line clear.[7]

The railway's managers took pride in their successful handling of a few severe winters in the first half of the 1880s, which produced only a few delays. Snowsheds, fences, and plows could be costly to maintain, but even with the occasional seasonal damage—be it from flooding, fire, or freezing—they represented a relatively predictable expense. Winter's effect on operating expenses appeared to be contained; managers carefully tracked the various monthly costs associated with running locomotives, including fuel consumption. They also used locomotive, passenger car, and freight car mileage statistics to measure how well they kept traffic running. For example, they could see that coal consumed as fuel increased in the winter months, but also that the increase did not vary significantly from year to year. Similarly, by the mid-1880s, they had come to expect a 6 to 8 percent decline in passenger car mileage

Figure 2.2. Snowsheds on the Intercolonial Railway at Matapédia, Quebec, and Campbellton, New Brunswick. From sketches by Reverend T. Fenwick, in *Canadian Illustrated News* (1876).

and a 9 to 10 percent decline in freight car mileage during January and February.[8]

The winter of 1886–1887 proved particularly challenging. Heavy snowfalls and cold weather in northern New Brunswick disrupted and at times paralyzed traffic on the railway for several weeks in February and March. The decline in freight car mileage per one hundred locomotive miles was double the normal amount for January and February

(17 to 18 percent below) and continued on into March. Thousands of men were recruited to help keep traffic moving by clearing the line by hand, and snowplows—which had never run more than fifty thousand miles in any winter—ran nearly one hundred thousand miles. Coal consumption by locomotives was higher than in any previous year. The cost of clearing ice and snow, which cost $40 to $60 per mile in previous winters, rose to almost $95 per mile. In a year in which the railway lost nearly $262,000, the extra cost of this winter, without even considering lost revenues, was estimated at more than $100,000.[9]

The Intercolonial's managers, who had scrambled and spent large sums of money to keep traffic moving, admitted these costs but defended their operations. They pointed out that the Intercolonial was better equipped with sheds and fences than any other railway east of the Rockies, implying that the winter's impact might have been much worse. They also assured their political masters that they were arranging for new snowsheds and fences to be built in locations where the storms had shown the railway to be vulnerable. By October of 1887, the chief engineer could report that an additional five miles of snow fence and two and a half miles of sheds were protecting the line, and that over ten miles of sheds had been repaired or completely rebuilt. Railway officials would be better prepared next time—yet they did not need to be. Except in a few isolated pockets, the snowfall and cold of the next fifteen years did not match the winters of the 1880s, and especially not the winter of 1886–1887.[10]

Then came the winters of 1903–1904 and 1904–1905. The Intercolonial struggled through some severe storms in the winter of 1903–1904, but kept the trains running. Their operation came at a cost: the cost of clearing snow and ice in the 1890s had been about $40 per mile; the cost in 1903–1904 was $75 per mile. The railway's annual operating deficit was the largest ever—over $900,000—but worse was to come. In January and early February 1905, the Intercolonial struggled against a series of heavy snowstorms that waylaid some smaller railways in Nova Scotia. Then, on February 15, 16, and 17, there were reports from Halifax of "raging, howling blizzards [that] sent blinding drifts sweeping in every direction."[11] Snowdrifts as deep as five metres in places paralyzed traffic in Halifax and through much of eastern

Nova Scotia. It took several weeks for the Intercolonial to return to normal operations. This time, it cost not $40 or $75 but $195 per mile to clear the line of ice and snow. The typical February decline in freight train movement was twice as bad as usual, yet the railway's locomotives actually consumed 5 percent more coal than normal. Railway officials estimated that the winter cost the railway more than $500,000 in extra expenditures, without even considering lost revenues. Overall, the railway lost $1.7 million in 1904–1905, its worst operating year ever.[12]

What had happened? Most of that winter's storms did not test the snowsheds and fences that the railway had so carefully constructed to guard against delay and disaster. The winter was not even particularly harsh in northern New Brunswick or along the St. Lawrence. Instead, blizzards pounded southern New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, particularly in the vicinity of Halifax, where the railway was least equipped to deal with harsh winter conditions. Nature had been what no railway manager wanted: unpredictable.[13]

Given that few such storms occurred over the next decade, the winter of 1904–1905 can be viewed as an exceptional event for which railway officials could not have been expected to prepare. However, this unpredictable storm proved very significant in the history of the Intercolonial. The People's Railway had become particularly controversial after 1898, when it extended its mainline west to Montreal, the economic heart of Canada. Critics of the public railway focused not on the exceptional circumstance of February 1905, but on the $1.7 million loss. From 1905 onward, successive governments experimented with new ways of managing the Intercolonial and came under pressure to increase freight rates on the line in order to enhance revenues. When the government nationalized several other railways during World War I, the Intercolonial was also incorporated into Canadian National, a new government corporation that would have significant independence from politicians.[14]

Intercolonial officials had followed the advice of engineers and made significant investments in infrastructure that was expected to control, or at least make more predictable, the impact of winter weather conditions on their railway's operations. Their accomplishments were significant, yet they could never fully tame winter. The very difficult

and costly winter of 1903–1904 was followed by the exceptional winter of 1904–1905, and the losses incurred during these two seasons played into the hands of those who saw government ownership as inherently inefficient, thus helping to shape the subsequent fate of the People's Railway.

Selling Summer

Managers of the Intercolonial recognized that to counter their critics they needed to avoid operating deficits. The challenge they faced was that, as difficult as winter might be, it was the one season that the railway was expected to perform well—and the one season that the railway faced the least competition from steamships, particularly in the carriage of important bulk commodities like coal, lumber, and grain. To reduce the railway's exposure to the vagaries of winter weather, its managers needed to find sources of revenue in the other seasons of the year. At an early stage in Intercolonial's history, the railway's managers turned to tourist passenger traffic as one of those sources, especially during the summer and early fall. Tourist service was attractive for more than just business reasons. Many railway executives and managers took a personal interest in tourist travel because it was one of the few socially prestigious activities in which they could engage—a sharp contrast to the often mundane world of managing the flow of coal, hay, and cattle. Nor could the two sides of the business be so easily separated. It was hoped that providing visiting business leaders with high-calibre passenger service would help attract investment to the region.

The Intercolonial made significant investments in its passenger service. As early as 1885, the railway's managers decided to stop having the prestigious Pullman Company operate and profit from its specialized sleeping and parlour car services, and took charge of this side of the business. The Intercolonial's first-class sleeping, passenger, and dining cars offered the "procured luxury" that American travellers expected from a major railway. The cars featured polished mahogany inlaid with lighter woods, Wilton rugs, ornate ceilings of green and gold in the Empire style, plate glass mirrors, Pintsch gas lighting, solid silver

settings at the dining tables, and plenty of space in which the traveller could move around.[15]

For all of these important investments, railway officials had to find reasons for passengers—particularly the much-valued American tourist—to want to travel on their first-class cars. Here again they faced the challenge of working with the specific environments that their mainline passed through; how they met that challenge can be seen in the tourist guidebooks produced by the railway. In these guidebooks, the Intercolonial's publicists tried to focus what John Urry has called the "tourist gaze." The tourist gaze, Urry argues, "is directed to those features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience."[16] Places that offer the promise of "out of the ordinary pleasures"—often with "a much greater sensitivity to visual elements . . . than [is] normally found in everyday life"—become the object of the tourist gaze.[17] Through the descriptions, illustrations, and photographs in guidebooks and other promotional materials, railway companies' publicists sought both to highlight and define the sights worth seeing and to explain how they should be seen. They sought to create a desire to travel and see the "real" places. However, the Intercolonial's publicists could not rely on the kind of iconic tourist attractions available to other major Canadian railways. The region east of Montreal did not boast a Niagara Falls, and the Appalachian Mountains were little match for the Rockies.

By the turn of the century, *Forest, Stream and Seashore* had emerged as the Intercolonial's leading guidebook, providing the foundation for most of the smaller, more specialized pamphlets that the railway also circulated. A Saint John writer, W. Kirby Reynolds, appears to have been responsible for formulating the initial editions of the guidebook, as well as earlier promotional literature. Reynolds was paid as a contractor before being hired on as an official press and advertising agent in 1899. However, he did not last long in the railway's service; he was dismissed in 1901 for doing something socially acceptable for a writer but unacceptable for a railway officer: namely, drinking.[18] After Reynolds's dismissal, *Forest, Stream and Seashore* was reworked every few years with updated images and information. By 1908 the guidebook was over two hundred pages long, featuring several colour illustrations and over

seventy-five black-and-white photographs. *Forest, Stream and Seashore* communicated the Intercolonial's particular image of eastern Canada to its passengers as well as to potential tourists in the rest of North America and abroad.

That image was, of course, constructed with the material interests of the Intercolonial in mind. The St. Lawrence route east of Quebec City received considerable attention because the railway saw a valuable market in the Montrealers who regularly travelled to the popular seaside resorts of the lower St. Lawrence, including Murray Bay, Cacouna, and Little Metis. Further east, the Gaspé and Baie de Chaleur region, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton preoccupied the Intercolonial publicists. Some material covering areas such as the Saint John River valley was added grudgingly, in response to complaints from local boards of trade. General manager David Pottinger saw little point in publicizing such areas, since travellers were unlikely to use the Intercolonial to reach them.[19] The resorts of the lower St. Lawrence, Baie de Chaleur, Gaspé, and Cape Breton districts were perfect tourist areas from the perspective of the Intercolonial because they maximized the railway's proportion of the passenger's journey and therefore its potential earnings.

The railway's managers also clearly believed that the Intercolonial's interests were best served by appealing to as broad an audience as possible. *Forest, Stream and Seashore* emphasized the variety of tourist opportunities available, allowing "all classes" to "adapt their excursions to their circumstances." While the wealthy could find plenty of ways to enjoy the luxury of modern hotels, travellers of moderate means were assured that "in no country of the world may so much enjoyment be had for so small an outlay of money." The railway, readers were promised, could offer features that would appeal to the "sportsman," the "artist," the student of history, the "lover of the quaint and curious," and "all who seek rest, recreation and health."[20]

What could the tourist expect in the region? Here, the reader was told, "is a land where civilization has made its way, and yet not marred the beauty of nature."[21] Perhaps no theme stands out more clearly in the guidebook than this sense of the balance between civilization and wilderness. *Forest, Stream and Seashore* emphasized the modernity of

cities such as Halifax and Saint John, with their fine hotels and up-to-date electric streetcar service. It described in detail the Dominion Iron and Steel Company's steel works and, in the 1908 edition, the pioneering attempt to harness electrical energy at the Chignecto coal mines near Amherst.[22] Passengers were encouraged to view the "rich farming country" in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the product of energetic, thrifty, and "progressive farmers who have learned to regard agriculture as a science." Tourists, then, were not to feel they were entering a backward or undeveloped part of North America.

At the same time, unspoiled nature was near at hand. Like other turn-of-the-century Canadian tourism promoters, Intercolonial managers hoped to profit from the increasing interest in wilderness holidays. Various North American opinion leaders expressed increasing concern over the physical and mental conditions of the city, particularly for those who found themselves sitting in offices shuffling paper all day. In response, they argued that middle-class urban residents needed either vigorous or contemplative encounters with nature. A wilderness holiday offered city dwellers a chance for physical revitalization and spiritual renewal.[23] Intercolonial publicists eagerly appealed to this "back to nature" movement, particularly since it matched the kinds of destinations and accommodations that they could most easily provide.

One of the chief features of a Maritime holiday, according to the railway's tourism promoters, was the opportunity for controlled and potentially brief encounters with forests and streams. By travelling only a short distance, the tourist

> is as much in the wilderness as if thousands of miles away. Yet all this time he knows that, if necessary, a few hours will bring him to the railway, the mail and the telegraph—to communicate with the busy world. He may leave the railway on the shores of the St. Lawrence and make a canoe voyage to the Baie de Chaleur or Bay of Fundy. When he arrives at his destination he will find his luggage and his letters awaiting him.[24]

Throughout *Forest, Stream and Seashore,* the convenience of the Maritime wilderness experience is emphasized. From Saint John, with its fine hotels, the interested traveller could travel just a few hours to reach "one of the best moose hunting grounds in the province." Better yet, much of the journey was by rail, so the hunter was saved the "usual fatigue entailed by a long and tiresome journey over rough roads."[25] The guidebook repeatedly assured travellers that moose, caribou, and abundant fishing were available close to the rail line. Here was a region, then, where the busy middle classes with limited vacation time could have the same enjoyment as those with unlimited leisure time.

Northern New Brunswick in particular offered the tourist an easy escape from busy cities to "a dense wilderness as yet undesecrated by man" and "forests in which solitude and silence reign." The wilderness that tourists would encounter, the guidebook frequently assured its readers, was not so wild as to make their experience unpleasant. For example, the "occasional rapids" on the Restigouche River were "not dangerous," allowing for canoe trips "even with ladies in the party." Guides were available to assist the hunter in tracking down moose and caribou, in finding the best fishing locations, and with "woodcraft."[26]

Intercolonial publicists clearly sought to capitalize on the popularity of wilderness holidays at the turn of the century. The key attraction of the "undesecrated" wilderness was not so much the "solitude and silence," however, but rather the abundance of fish and game. Although *Forest, Stream and Seashore* did not contain the detailed regulations and information on guides that were available in the numerous specialized brochures offered by the Intercolonial, it did dwell on the hunting and fishing opportunities throughout the region. Readers were offered practical advice on which lures worked best in which streams, the best time for fishing, and the accessibility of fishing. A basketful of 150 to 200 brook trout was not an unusual day's catch in the Charlo River, the guidebook promised. Even in Shediac, Pointe-du-Chêne, and Pugwash, where the "seashore" was the main focus, the guidebook pointed to nearby opportunities for fishing and hunting. Mira, near Louisbourg on Cape Breton, received almost as much attention as the ruins of the fortress because of the presence of tuna in the surrounding waters,

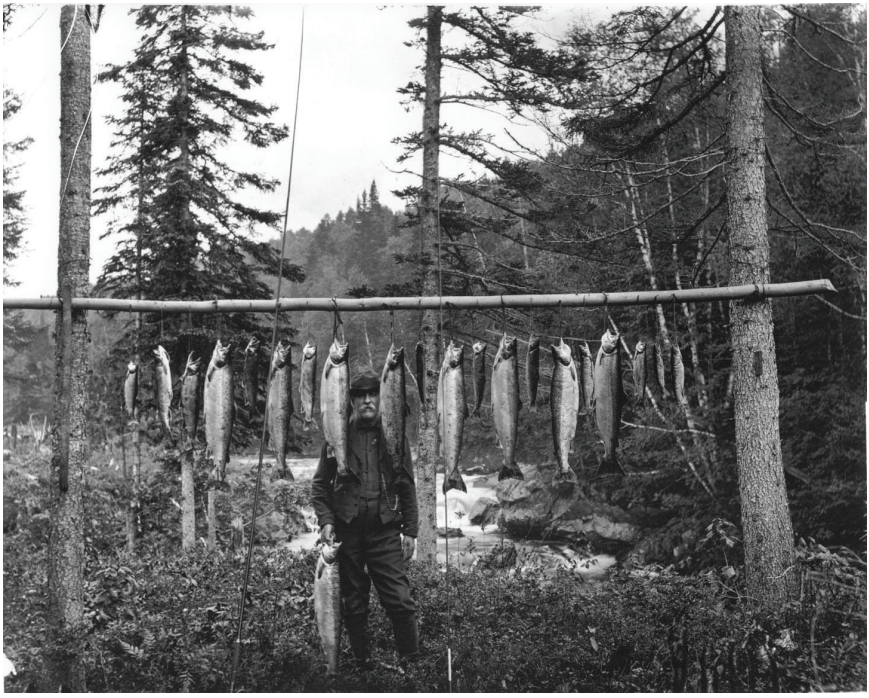

Figure 2.3. Luring sportsmen to the Intercolonial line. *Forest, Stream and Seashore* (1908).

which, according to *Forest, Stream and Seashore*, promised to make the village the rival of California's Catalina Island.[27]

Visual images underlined the importance of hunting and fishing as tourist attractions in the region. The guidebook's first colour illustrations, appearing in 1908, focused on hunting. The colour frontispiece—titled "Calling the Moose"—portrayed a hunter and a guide riding in a canoe, the hunter armed with a rifle and the guide blowing into a horn. The second colour illustration, located in the section of the guidebook covering the Bathurst region, showed, as the caption indicated, a "Moose Answering the Call." In addition to these colour illustrations, the guidebook included two photographs of a moose and another of a hunter and guide with a downed moose. The 1908 edition of the guidebook also featured more photographs of people fishing

than had previous versions (fig. 2.2).[28] Again, in spite of text that suggested opportunities everywhere, most of these photographs associated hunting and fishing with northern New Brunswick.

In his fine book on twentieth-century travel in North America, the historical geographer John Jakle excludes from his analysis the "trips of sportsmen." However, the emphasis on sportsmen in *Forest, Stream and Seashore* and other Intercolonial guidebooks, plus the fact that the Canadian Pacific Railway's most successful promotional brochure dealt with hunting and fishing, suggests that excluding them is a serious mistake.[29] Sportsmen clearly were an important component of early railway tourism, and their "gaze" was directed towards almost any location that promised abundant fish and game. They may not have left the kinds of travellers' accounts that Jakle and other scholars value, but they left their imprint on the regions they visited. For a railway like the Intercolonial, which lacked iconic landscapes, hunting and fishing trips seemed the most likely form of tourist traffic.

The Maritime provinces enacted fish and game laws that supported the Intercolonial's efforts to shape the wilderness that tourists might encounter. They aimed to preserve wildlife in the name of promoting tourism.[30] Indeed, governments went beyond the mere protection of species through licensing and restricting seasons. From the 1870s onward, fish hatcheries operated in New Brunswick, collecting salmon eggs from the Miramichi and Restigouche rivers and distributing the hatchlings back into the rivers at various points. As well, efforts were made to plant salmon-trout and whitefish from the large Ontario fish hatcheries into smaller rivers and lakes in both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In Nova Scotia, deer were introduced to provide sport hunters with additional prey. The "natural" wilderness attractions of the Atlantic region, as elsewhere in Canada, were not left to nature, but carefully managed and manipulated, with varying degrees of success.[31]

While Intercolonial publicists expended considerable energy attracting the wilderness sportsman to the forests and streams of the Atlantic provinces, they also appealed to the "worn and weary pilgrim" from North American cities who sought a "quiet, healthful, and restful" retreat by the seashore.[32] Hoping to draw Americans who traditionally travelled northward to escape the summer heat, promoters sought

to identify sites where they could promise cool temperatures and the restorative powers of salt water. They faced two challenges in promoting the seashore. With the exception of the lower St. Lawrence, much of the area served by the Intercolonial in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia lacked the kinds of summer seaside resort accommodations that wealthy travellers were familiar with. Publicists—understanding that holiday-goers were looking for a safe, comfortable encounter with nature—also sought to address a number of concerns about the seashore that tourists may have.

Descriptions of the attractions of both Halifax and Saint John were accompanied by photographs of children "surf bathing," suggesting that the ocean was accessible to travellers visiting these cities, in which they could find fine hotels. The presence of children on the beaches helped to underline the possibility of family outings and also encouraged readers to think of these beaches as safe. In describing other beaches in the region, the publicists directly addressed concerns about the safety of ocean bathing. On the beaches near Shediac, readers were assured, bathers could enjoy salt water with "no under-tows to play tricks upon the weak and unwary."[33] The Baie de Chaleur region offered "cool but not cold" temperatures and "freedom from raw winds, and fog, that terror of so many tourists." Dalhousie, the publicists promised, was not only "a spot where the strong and healthy may enjoy themselves, but it is one where the weak may become strong, and the invalid take a new lease of life."[34]

If Dalhousie continued to show promise, the Bras d'Or Lake region was clearly developing as a summer resort area. Bras d'Or provided a relatively sublime and romantic visual experience, and the Intercolonial's publicists unleashed some of their most florid prose in describing the area, with the kind of descriptions reserved for major holiday attractions such as Quebec City and Percé Rock. As with those other sights, the reader was warned that the scene surpassed "the power of pen to describe." Again, as with the others, this did not prevent the publicists from wielding their pens:

> Who can describe the beauties of this strange ocean lake, this imprisoned sea which divides an island in twain?

> . . . At every turn new features claim wonder and admiration. Here a cluster of fairy isles, here some meandering stream, and here some narrow strait leading into a broad and peaceful bay. High above tower the mountains with their ancient forests, while at times bold cliffs crowned with verdure rise majestically toward the clouds. Nothing is common, nothing is tame; all is fitted to fill the mind with emotions of keenest pleasure.[35]

Intercolonial publicists were quick to reassure the reader that, although "nothing is tame," the sublime nature of the views did not require a dangerous encounter with wilderness. The Bras d'Or Lake region of Cape Breton shared many of the same positive attributes as the Baie de Chaleur region. The lake offered swimming in salt water "that is delightfully warm," safe boating in an area where there "never has been a drowning accident," and, of course, an abundance of fishing. Moreover, the summer climate all around the lake was "well nigh perfect" and provided all the benefits of saltwater breezes, with little fog. From the perspective of the railway and the traveller, the region surpassed the Baie de Chaleur region not only because hotel accommodations at Baddeck and elsewhere were far better, but also because several wealthy and famous Americans had already made the area a summer home. At Bras d'Or, then, the traveller could see the sublime wonders of mountains and lakes in the company of other well-to-do visitors. Easily accessible by the Intercolonial, the area was attracting increasing numbers of tourists yet still had a "freshness about it."[36] Here was a comfortable and civilized encounter with untamed wilderness.

The descriptions of the Baie de Chaleur and Bras d'Or Lake show that Intercolonial publicists were anxious to overcome negative perceptions of the Atlantic region. They promised the absence of those features they feared some travellers associated with the north Atlantic seashore: poor lodgings and services, cold temperatures in and out of the water, dangerous tides and jagged rocks, and thick, unhealthy fog. *Forest, Stream and Seashore* sought to reshape this image of the region's seashore, to emphasize a rather more tame and comfortable,

if still romantic and dramatic, encounter with nature. Intercolonial publicists therefore worked with the local environments—and perceptions of those environments—in which they operated. Eastern Canada was defined by the publicists as a progressive region of thriving farms, towns, and cities that predominantly offered tourists opportunities to fish and hunt, to enjoy the therapy of cool summer temperatures and saltwater air, or to do both. The wilderness and seashores that tourists could encounter were relatively untouched by humans but not forbidding, and they offered a comfortable, temporary escape from the pressures of civilization. One could find places off the beaten track, but still within close range of modern towns and cities—and hopefully, not too far beyond the tracks of the People's Railway.

It is difficult to measure Intercolonial's success in defining the regions it passed through, or to determine its effectiveness in attracting tourist passenger traffic. In the years between 1900 and 1914, which some railway historians have called the "golden age" of passenger traffic, the number of travellers on the Intercolonial Railway increased 250 percent. Passenger earnings tripled, as did the revenues associated with sleeping, parlour, and dining cars—the special services most often associated with tourist traffic. However, unlike American railways (but like other Canadian railways), overall increases in the passenger business did not outpace the growth of freight operations.

Nevertheless, summer passengers were an important part of the Intercolonial's business. In the years when monthly passenger traffic statistics were published—specifically, in 1906, 1907, 1909, and 1911—the summer months of July, August, and September show substantially higher passenger activity and somewhat lower freight activity than in other months of the year. On average, 31 percent more passengers travelled on the railway in these summer months. Passengers boarding from a connecting railway or steamship—presumably the kind of long-distance tourists that the publicists sought—represented only 1 to 2 percent of passengers in the summer months, but there were far more of them—on average 41 percent more—than at any other time of the year. As well, "local" passenger mileage was, on average, 44 percent higher in the summer months, suggesting that those who took the train between points on the Intercolonial were taking longer trips. All

of this activity made some difference. Although monthly expenses are not available, we do know that passenger revenues at least offset losses in freight earnings during the summer. These losses were, on average, 39 percent higher in the summer, whereas freight earnings averaged 11 percent lower in summer than at other times. Overall, the railway's monthly earnings were slightly higher in the summer months—8 percent higher on average—than in the rest of the year. It is difficult to say whether summer passenger activity was profitable for the Intercolonial without some way of attributing expenses to the service, but it clearly brought significant revenues to the railway during the season when freight traffic was down.[37]

Conclusion

This analysis of the Intercolonial Railway is intended to highlight a few themes of importance to those seeking to understand mobility and the environment in Canada's past. It shows that those who sought to promote mobility had to overcome both material environments—like ice and snow that blocked the way—and imagined environments—for example, perceptions of wilderness hazards that could discourage pleasure travel. The Intercolonial's engineers and publicists had to work with the local environments through which they sought to move people and freight and to seize the opportunities and overcome the obstacles that those environments created. Those environments of mobility were seasonal, and in northern North America that meant warm, sunny summers and cold, snowy winters. Many of the Intercolonial's objectives were seasonal: its engineers sought to ensure that the railway lived up to its public promise to provide continuous operations between the Atlantic Ocean and central Canada during the winter, while its publicists sought to enhance passenger revenues during the summer, when freight operations faced serious competition from other forms of transportation. The challenges were also seasonal. The railway's engineers identified vulnerable sections of the line and buttressed them against winter hazards through the construction of snowsheds and fences and the deployment of snowplows. Publicists looked for features of the summer landscape that could draw the tourist gaze away

from more iconic tourist destinations and settled on forests, streams, and seashores, presenting them as comforting and comfortable wilderness areas, at once both close to and apart from civilization. Both the engineers and publicists sought to create seasonal landscapes where nature was both safe and predictable.

The Intercolonial's publicists could take heart from the higher passenger numbers and earnings they helped generate in summer. Its engineers could take heart from the railway's ability to maintain operations during all but the most difficult winter conditions, thereby sustaining its winter earnings and living up to its public mandate. The publicists' success may have been limited, however; after the disruption created by World War I, regional tourism promoters turned to other themes—namely heritage and "the folk"—to overcome the reluctance of tourists to visit the region.[38] At times, the success of the engineers proved fleeting as well: the storms of February 1905 struck the railway where least expected, paralyzing its operations for weeks. What one observer noted at the time is of some significance to those who would understand mobility and the environment in Canada's railway age: "A winter such as 1904–05 demonstrates the extent to which the whole economic system of the country now hinges on the railways, and how with all our progress, we are still merely playthings of the elements."[39]

Notes

1 E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude, 1983); Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1970–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 105–32. Alan MacEachern emphasizes the lack of iconic landscapes in Atlantic Canada, in *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935–1970* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

2 William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 55–93, 230–47.

3 Patrick Allitt, "How the Railroads Defeated Winter," *American Heritage of Invention and Technology* 13, no. 3 (1998): 55–67; John G. Woods, *Snow War: An Illustrated History of Rogers Pass, Glacier National Park, BC* (Toronto: National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada, 1983); J.D. McDonald, *Rails and Killer Snows: The Saga of Rogers Pass* (Trail, BC: Rossland Historical Museum Association, 1997).

4 For a brief popular history, see Ken Cruikshank, "The Intercolonial Railway," in *The Golden Age of Canadian Railways*, ed. Bruce Clement Cooper (London: Worth, 2010), 49–59.

5 Ken Cruikshank, "The People's Railway: The Intercolonial Railway and the Canadian Public Enterprise Experience," *Acadiensis* 16, no. 1 (1986): 78–100; Ken Cruikshank, "The Intercolonial Railway, Freight Rates and the Maritime Economy," *Acadiensis* 22, no. 2 (1992): 87–110. E.R. Forbes challenges Cruikshank's conclusions about freight traffic; see E.R. Forbes, "The Intercolonial Railway and the Decline of the Maritime Provinces Revisited," and Ken Cruikshank, "With Apologies to James: A Response to E.R. Forbes," both in *Acadiensis* 24, no. 1 (1994): 3–34.

6 To get some sense of the winters, I have used daily and monthly weather data, particularly measurements of snowfall and temperature, from Environment Canada, *National Climate Data and Information Archive*, accessed February–April 2011, http://climate.weather.gc.ca/index_e.html. Unfortunately, data for snow on the ground does not exist for these years, nor is it possible to get a sense of the drifting associated with particular storms. As well, the best runs of data are for urban centres. I used data for Montreal, Quebec City, Chatham, and Halifax between 1878 and 1914, but also looked at data for Saint John, Dalhousie, Truro, and Moncton within that time frame.

7 Shirley S. Woods, *Cinders and Saltwater: The Story of Atlantic Canada's Railways* (Halifax: Nimbus, 1992), 78–80; Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers* (hereafter *SP*), *1878*, Paper no. 7, "Annual Report of the Department of Railways and Canals (ARDRC) 1876–1877," 169–70; Canada, Parliament, *SP, 1879*, Paper no. 8, "ARDRC 1877–1878," 132; Canada, Parliament, *SP, 1880*, Paper no. 6, "ARDRC 1878–1879," 81, 94–96.

8 All data is derived from various reports contained in volumes from 1879 to 1916 of Canada, Parliament, *SP*, "ARDRC 1878–1879" to "ARDRC 1914–1915."

9 Canada, Parliament, *SP, 1888*, Paper no. 8, "ARDRC 1886–1887," 36, 40, 56; "A Big Snow Blockade," *New York Times*, 4 March 1887, 1; "Snow Blockaded Trains," *New York Times*, 31 March 1887, 1.

10 Canada, *SP, 1888*, "ARDRC 1886–1887," 21.

11 F.W.W. Doane, "Meteorological Notes," *Proceedings of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science* 11, part 3 (1908): 363.

12 Canada, Parliament, *SP, 1906*, Paper no. 20, "ARDRC 1904–1905," xvii–xviii, 70, 81; Doane, "Meteorological Notes," 362–70.

13 Doane, "Meteorological Notes," 365.

14 Cruikshank, "People's Railway."

15 Quotation and description of passenger cars from Intercolonial Railway, *Where to Go for a Vacation: The Fast Line Intercolonial Railway of Canada* (n.p.: Passenger Department, Intercolonial Railway, 1901). For a brief history of the relationship with Pullman, see David Pottinger to W. Morcom, GM Compania del

Ferrocarril Mexicano (Mexico), 22 Jan. 1909, vol. 12121, pp. 383–84, Records of the Canadian National Railways System, RG 30, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (hereafter CNR Records).

16 John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2002), 3.

17 Ibid.

18 David Pottinger to W.F. Hatheway, Saint John, 3 Aug. 1894, vol. 12003, pp. 679–80, CNR Records; Pottinger to Hon. A.G. Blair, 23 March 1899, vol. 12135, pp. 86–88, CNR Records; Pottinger to T. Evans, ICR, Moncton, 7 April 1899, vol. 12026, p. 241, CNR Records; Pottinger to J.M. Lyons, general passenger agent, 23 Nov. 1899, vol. 12031, p. 191, CNR Records; Pottinger to Geo. Moffatt, New York, NY, [8 Dec. 1899], vol. 12031, p. 845, CNR Records; Pottinger to Lyons, 9 Feb. 1900, vol. 12032, p. 1572, CNR Records; Pottinger to E. Tiffin, traffic manager, Moncton, 15 May 1901, vol. 12042, p. 457, CNR Records.

19 Pottinger to Hatheway; Pottinger to Hon. A.G. Blair, 2 April 1907, vol. 12134, pp. 668–69, CNR Records.

20 Intercolonial Railway (ICR), *Forest, Stream and Seashore* (n.p.: 1905), 3. I examined and compared the 1901, 1905, and 1908 versions of the brochure; unless otherwise stated, page numbers refer to the 1905 edition.

21 ICR, *Forest*, 4.

22 Ibid., 92, 95, 117–19, 156–57; ICR, *Forest, Stream and Seashore* (n.p.: 1908), 115–16.

23 Jasen, *Wild Things*, 105–32; George Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893–1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 11, no. 3 (1973): 21–36; John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 53–83; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

24 ICR, *Forest*, 34–5.

25 Ibid., 96 cf. 72–3, 78.

26 Ibid., 50–51, 113.

27 Ibid., 69–70, 98–99, 106, 129, 140, 158.

28 ICR, *Forest* (1908), opposite 3, opposite 80, 89, 90; new fishing and hunting photographs are included on pp. 49, 83, 85, 86; new photographs of fishing in PEI are included on pp. 183 and 187.

29 Jakle, *The Tourist*, xiii; Hart, *Selling of Canada*, 27.

30 Clare Brown, "Management of the New Brunswick Sports Fishery during the Nineteenth Century," and Claire Guyer, "Game Protection in New Brunswick, 1889–1971," both in *Proceedings: 5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education* (Toronto: University of Toronto School of Physical and Health Education, 1982), 58–64, 65–75; Kevin Walmsley, "Good Clean Sport and a Deer Apiece: Game Legislation and State Formation in 19th Century Canada," *Canadian Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 2 (1994): 1–20.

31 Canada, Parliament, *SP, 1901*, Paper no. 22, "Fish Culture,"

annual report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries; Canada, Parliament, *SP, 1911*, Paper no. 22, "Fish Breeding," annual report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries; Janice E. Jellicoe, "Perspectives on the Evolution of Deer Hunting in Nova Scotia," in *Proceedings: 5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education* (Toronto: University of Toronto School of Physical and Health Education, 1982), 76–86.

32 ICR, *Forest*, 98.

33 Ibid., 96, 98, 122.

34 Ibid., 48, 51–52.

35 Ibid., 143.

36 Ibid., 142–50.

37 Volumes from 1907 to 1916 of Canada, Parliament, *SP*, "ARDRC 1905–1906" to "ARDRC 1914–1915."

38 At least, this was the case in Nova Scotia. Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); Ian McKay and Robin Bates, *In the Province of History: The Making of the Public Past in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

39 Doane, "Meteorological Notes," 365.

3

Supply Networks in the Age of Steamboat Navigation: Lakeside Mobility in Muskoka, Ontario, 1880–1930

Andrew Watson

Around 1880, Francis Forge had a novel idea. Witness to a growing number of visitors from the city eager to spend part of their summer embracing nature in Ontario's northern wilderness, Forge recognized the perfect opportunity to market local farm products. Loading his rowboat with fresh foods bought and bartered from neighbouring farmers, along with whatever his own household had to sell, Forge rowed along the shore of Lake Rosseau selling what he could to tourists and cottagers. According to Seymour Penson, the son of another Lake Rosseau settler, Forge was "a kind of distributing agent. He bought from the settlers, for he could not raise nearly all that he could sell. And he sold to the islanders at almost any price that he liked to ask."[1] Instead of more rigorous farming, Forge preferred tending a few market gardens, raising chickens and sheep, and bartering with his neighbours for produce and dairy to sell. By all accounts, Forge was the first person in Ontario's

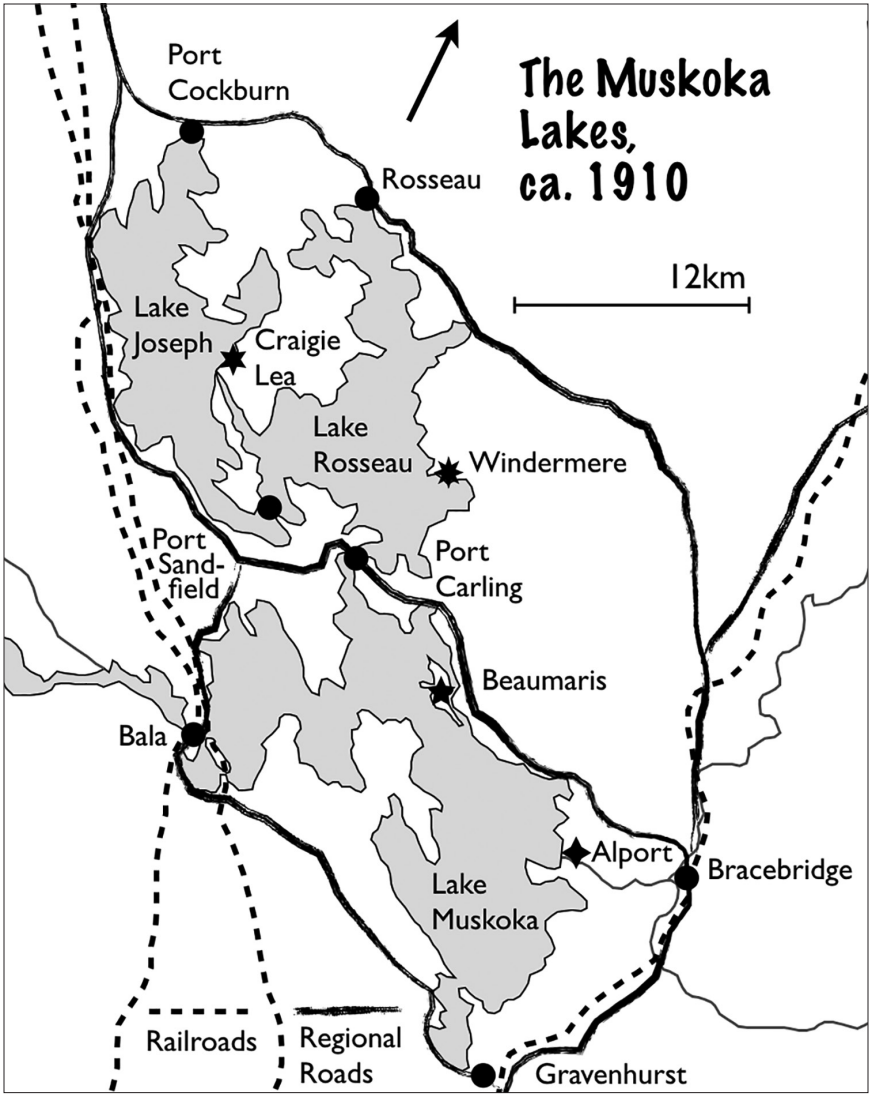

Figure 3.1. Ontario's Muskoka region, c. 1910. Map by author.

Muskoka region to realize the potential of linking the needs of tourists on isolated islands with the surplus of farmers along the shoreline. Over the next thirty years, other settlers and village merchants introduced

supply boats—including large, steam-powered vessels outfitted to carry a wide variety of provisions, supplies, and groceries, which functioned as extensions of their farms or general stores—and these quickly became fixtures of Muskoka's cultural landscape and local economy.

Supply boats in Muskoka offer a new perspective on the study of mobility. Historians often understand mobility as movement between and past places in a fixed landscape. This approach is perhaps most pronounced in the historiography of the North American railroad, where people and commodities are objects of mobility.[2] These studies treat places in the landscape as changing and dynamic, but also fixed, relative to people and things that are mobile. Likewise, the Canadian historiography linked to the staples thesis applies mobility to people and things, not *places*, in the landscape.[3] In the case of Muskoka's local economy, however, mobility unfolded differently during the summer months in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a number of Canadian rural historians—including Douglas McCalla, Béatrice Craig, and Elizabeth Mancke—have shown, rural general stores were important sites for local market activity.[4] Muskoka's supply boats acted as extensions of these specific places and attained a degree of mobility relative to their local environments, while individual household members remained fixed. Although supply boats made these farmers and merchants somewhat distinct, their role in the local economy and society was much the same as it had been throughout nineteenth-century Canada. In the Muskoka setting, however, a major segment of the local economy depended on sites of exchange travelling to consumers rather than consumers travelling to sites of exchange.[5] Understanding why this unusual pattern of exchange developed in Muskoka is, as Tom McCarthy argues, what makes the study of mobility so useful and important.[6] Supply boats were specialized vehicles that provided locally based, seasonal solutions to problems of economic exchange. On the one hand, farmers and merchants gained access to a steady, high-value, cash market for their products and goods. On the other hand, cottagers and some year-round residents easily acquired fresh foods and supplies that otherwise would have involved long, arduous trips by rowboat or road. By effectively replacing all the personal summertime energies required to mobilize customers on a regular basis,

supply boats represented a much more ordered system of exchange and distribution. These features of the supply boat network remained stable until the 1910s, when the internal combustion engine began to replace individual somatic energy and released household consumption from the limitations inherent in collective forms of lakeside exchange.

Muskoka supply boats also provide an interesting opportunity to explore sustainability in the past. As a concept, "sustainability" encompasses environmental, economic, and social categories of analysis.[7] Yet it is an axiom without precision as an historical tool. Generally, the word sustainability implies stasis, or an unchanging condition. It is, therefore, more useful to define sustainability as the *potential* for stability while acknowledging that conditions are ever-changing. Thus, in applying a concept like sustainability to the study of the past, it is crucial not to lose sight of the fact that nothing is *completely* sustainable, only *more* or *less* sustainable. In other words, the sustainability of relationships and arrangements between humans and their environment can only be assessed over time and in relation to one another.[8] Supply boats were not completely sustainable, but the relationships and arrangements they made possible were more sustainable than what eventually replaced them, as well as many of the alternatives available at the time. From an environmental standpoint, supply boats utilized cordwood as a renewable and local source of fuel and encouraged consumption of local farm products. From an economic standpoint, they facilitated local exchange and seasonal markets for year-round residents. And from a social standpoint, they more fairly distributed fresh foods around the lakes and provided a space where various community members congregated. Without supply boats, Muskoka's local environment could not have been made to support as many people, local exchange would have been less extensive, and fewer households would have interacted socially. As supply boats became increasingly redundant in the 1920s, greater quantities of nonrenewable fuels were used to move supplies on the lake, shoreline environments experienced increased ecological pressures from disaggregated personal mobilities, and neighbouring households became socially atomized. Using the concept of sustainability in this way helps to identify mobility features of past societies that better harmonized environment, economy, and society.

Supply boats were entirely seasonal. The navigation season generally lasted from the start of May, when the ice went out, to the start of December, when the lakes began to freeze over. But supply boats relied on the concentration of shoreline residents, both tourists and cottagers. And since the tourism/cottage season generally lasted from mid-June until the start of September, supply boats did most of their business during the warmest ten to twelve weeks of the year. Supply boats also provided mobility solutions during the spring and fall, but no collective form of supply network existed during the winter months. During the winter, sites of exchange once again became fixed and demanded that consumers provide their own mobility solutions to access supplies.[9] The collective supply network represented by the supply boat broke down into individualized mobility solutions, including trips on foot and by horse and sleigh. Overland routes became much more important during the winter, and frozen water provided time-saving routes across the lakes comparable to the function served by open water for boats during the summer. But in contrast to the wintertime when the consumers themselves made the trips, during the summer the sites of exchange moved across the lakes.

The Rise of Supply Boats

The Muskoka region is centred on the watershed of the Muskoka River, which ties together the upper lakes near Huntsville, the lower lakes west of Bracebridge, and several smaller tributary lakes and streams. Located at the southern edge of the Canadian Shield, approximately 150 kilometres north of Toronto, Muskoka was colonized by Eurocanadians after 1850 when several Anishinaabeg First Nations signed the Robinson-Huron Treaty with the British Crown. Although colonization roads were built during the 1850s, and expanded and improved thereafter, Muskoka's waterways provided the primary corridors of human mobility during this period. Aboriginal peoples travelled seasonally by water between hunting and trapping territories in Muskoka and coastal fishing areas on Lake Simcoe, Lake Couchiching, and Georgian Bay.[10] During and after non-Native resettlement, lakes and rivers continued to serve as transportation corridors. Human

mobility on the water depended on muscle power until the region's first steamboat was launched on Lake Muskoka in 1866. Less than ten years later, public works projects made the three lower lakes (Muskoka, Rosseau, and Joseph) internavigable, and dams maintained constant water levels. Steamboats connected several ports of call, making it easier to move people, material, and communications across the region. Pockets of arable soil made the east side of Lake Muskoka and Lake Rosseau capable of supporting mixed farming, but rocky outcroppings of granite, swampy lowlands, and mainly thin, acidic, poorly drained soils characterized much of Muskoka. Most general stores were also located on the east side of the lakes, where towns were closest to the Muskoka Road and, later, the railway from Toronto. For households situated around the lower lakes, mobility on water was the most reliable way to access places along the eastern shore.

Muskoka's first tourists arrived very soon after the region was opened for resettlement. As Patricia Jasen has shown, tourists in Ontario during the late nineteenth century sought escape from dirty, overcrowded cities in the summer.[11] In the hopes of rejuvenating their bodies and spirits, one of the many destinations tourists chose was the "wilderness" of Muskoka. In July 1860, James Bain and John Campbell of Toronto became Muskoka's first tourists. They returned two years later, bringing friends and enough provisions to last them several weeks.[12] Members of the Muskoka Club—as they called themselves—continued to return and grew in numbers. Although they consumed fish from the lake and huckleberries from onshore, for several years they brought most of their supplies with them. In 1871, Muskoka's first tourists also became Muskoka's first cottagers, when Campbell bought a remote island on Lake Joseph. Most cottage sites were unsuitable for farming, presented serious challenges to year-round living, and impeded mobility, so few were surveyed or settled by pioneers. Thus, visitors from the city easily purchased islands from the Crown, usually for just one dollar per acre.[13] The same features that made such islands unsuitable for year-round residents made them perfect for cottagers seeking the privacy of undisturbed, rugged shorelines.

Throughout the 1870s and much of the 1880s, most visitors lived fairly minimalist lifestyles in Muskoka; they brought most of what they

consumed with them and only occasionally travelled into town for supplies or had any delivered. Tourism in Muskoka was largely male-dominated during this period. By the end of the 1880s, however, as Muskoka historian Richard Tatley observes, "visitors who had formerly wanted to leave their upper-class lifestyle behind when they came out to the wilderness now brought it with them."[14] Vacations and cottaging, in particular, became more family-focused. This turn towards a more domestic, albeit affluent, mode of living at the lake led to a new pattern of consumption and therefore new supply challenges.[15] Entire families meant more mouths to feed and also the sensitive dietary needs of children, whose parents expected fresh vegetables, fruit, eggs, dairy, and meat in addition to staples such as flour and sugar. Since refrigeration and capriciousness posed challenges in transporting fresh items from the city, these new consumer patterns required an innovative way of transferring marketable farm products and general store goods from a few specific places to a great many locations on the lower lakes.

Getting fresh food was not a problem for all visitors to Muskoka. In fact, while many cottagers chose remote locations, an equal number rented or bought property from lakeside settlers and built cottages in close proximity to roads, wharves, and a steady source of supplies. Land near hotels emerged as a logical place for seasonal residents to build their cottages. In response to the growing demand for accommodations in the area, in 1872 Edward Prowse built a three-story resort hotel on his Lake Muskoka property, which he supplied with fresh vegetables, eggs, and dairy from his farm. By 1887, Prowse's Beaumaris Hotel could take up to 150 guests and he had opened a small general store in connection.[16] Beaumaris became very popular with tourists from northeastern American cities, particularly Pittsburgh. At the turn of the century, Beaumaris was the nucleus of a settler-tourist colony based on the direct interconnections between Prowse's hotel, store, and farm and the neighbouring cottages. This arrangement remained relatively sustainable throughout this time because consumption occurred in close proximity to the site of exchange, which avoided the limitations imposed by individual human-powered mobility. Elsewhere on the lakes, however, the challenge of mobility posed obstacles to summer cottage living.

Fanny Potts had her finger on the pulse of life in Muskoka. She and her husband, Edwin, rented out cottages near Port Sandfield around the turn of the century. To those new to Muskoka, Potts advised that "there are no stores near, but the stores come to you instead of you going to the stores; they float up to your very doors, bringing you 'everything under the sun,' or, as that may be going too far, we will say, 'everything we mortals can possibly need in Muskoka.'"[17] In preparation for summer holidays at the cottage, women commonly ordered a supply of dry and canned food from Toronto. Yet supply needs were ongoing, and fresh fruit, vegetables, dairy, and meat were expensive and challenging to have delivered from the city unspoiled and as needed during these years. The closest proper general store for visitors who stayed with the Pottses was in Port Carling, over an hour away by foot or rowboat. Cottagers seldom travelled by steamer to buy groceries or supplies, for the cost was disproportionately expensive compared to the price of the rest of the holiday, and steamers ran on schedules that required an entire day to complete a simple grocery run. Entrepreneurs like Francis Forge alleviated the potential burden to each separate household by aggregating individual trips into a single trip made by the supplier. Furthermore, by mobilizing the site of exchange, Forge actually reduced the total energy output required to supply lakeside households. Embarking initially by rowboat to cottagers around the east shore of Lake Rosseau, Forge later purchased a small steamer, in 1888, which he used for three years to extend his services as far as Lake Joseph.[18]

Forge's foray into steamboat supply services was no doubt inspired by a merchant from Port Carling who had introduced his own supply boat the previous year. In 1887, William Hanna decided to extend his store's business by hiring a steamer called the *Lady of the Lake*. Others soon followed. In 1894, John James Beaumont enhanced his farm's business on Lake Muskoka with the *Nymoca*.[19] By the turn of the century, the Beaumonts employed several butchers, bakers, and farm hands.[20] Already well known for the quality of the lamb he raised, Beaumont used his supply boat to strengthen interconnections between the farm and seasonal households on Lake Muskoka by artificially reducing the distance between his farm and his customers. In 1890, a merchant

named George Henry Homer opened a general store in the village of Rosseau and relied on the Muskoka and Georgian Bay Navigation Company to deliver mail-order items until 1896, when he bought the steamer *Edith May*. With his own supply boat, Homer was able to reduce costs and attract more customers. After switching to a larger supply boat, the *Constance*, in 1902, Homer ran an advertisement in the Muskoka Lakes Association (MLA) yearbook that clearly characterized his boat as a link between isolated tourists and his store in Rosseau:

> Tourists' Supplies
>
> Homer & Co.
>
> Dealers in DRY GOODS, GROCERIES, FRUITS, CONFECTIONERY, CROCKERY, GLASSWARE, FLOUR AND FEED—BOOTS AND SHOES, HARDWARE, STOVES, TINWARE, Etc.
>
> Our Supply Boat "Constance" calls at all Points, Cottages, Camps and Hotels on Lakes Rosseau and Joseph, and is stocked with a complete assortment of Fine Groceries, Fruits, Confectionery, etc.
>
> Save freight and all unnecessary trouble by purchasing your Supplies from our Supply Boat, or direct from our stores at GRAVENHURST AND ROSSEAU
>
> Letter Orders have Prompt Attention.[21]

By the turn of the century, a variety of farmers and merchants were running supply boats on the lower lakes. They catered to the needs of both cottagers and the tourist industry by providing fresh produce from local farmers as well as goods from outside Muskoka.

Supply boat services in Muskoka developed in lockstep with the 1890s explosion in cottage culture. Between 1895 and 1915, more than three hundred new summer homes were built in Muskoka.[22] Membership growth in the MLA—an affiliation of mainly seasonal

FIGURE 3.2. The *Constance*, the supply boat for the Homer & Co. general store at the north end of Lake Rosseau, c. 1900. Built at Gravenhurst in 1898, it delivered provisions on lakes Rosseau and Joseph until 1921. Courtesy of Muskoka Steamship and Historical Society.

residents and more prominent year-round residents—reflected a significant rise in the seasonal population. In 1902, the MLA yearbook listed 182 separate members. By 1913, membership had climbed more than 30 percent to 238 members, and by 1918 it had risen to 290.[23] Unfortunately, few records survive to document the exchange between supply boats and cottage households. According to one general store ledger, of the seventy-six households that kept supply boat accounts with Homer & Co. between 1896 and 1902, only four were cottagers.[24] Of these, only Mrs. W.E. Sandford, the widow of Canada's "Wool King," William Eli Sandford, kept an account that amounted to more than twenty dollars in a season. However, local histories attest to the popularity of the supply boats with cottagers, and cash payments likely explain their absence in Homer's ledger.[25] Since only account information was transferred from the supply boat ledger (which no longer exists) to the general accounts ledger of the store, cash payments were

not recorded. Nevertheless, accounts hint at the prominence of supply boats to households in more isolated parts of the lakes. Of the remaining seventy-two supply boat accounts, thirteen cannot be identified geographically and thirteen were hotel proprietors. Another eighteen accounts were with settlers living on the east side of the lake where the majority of Muskoka's arable soil existed. The remaining twenty-eight were with settlers who lived in areas with poor soil, either on the west side of Lake Rosseau or at various locations on Lake Joseph. In the absence of records of cash transactions, these numbers provide only a vague sense of the importance of the supply boats. Nevertheless, the ledger reveals that isolated households—those located far from good agricultural land or villages where fresh articles were easily acquired—held 47 percent of identifiable supply boat accounts with Homer & Co. The mobility solutions provided by supply boats like the *Edith May* were much more critical for Muskoka's isolated households than they were for households in close proximity to a farm or general store.

As households throughout the lakes increasingly relied on supply boats, operators rushed to keep pace with the demand. In 1902, Fanny Potts observed that the supply boats' trade "has gradually grown to meet demand, which is increasing every year, and in consequence they seem nearly always able to supply just what is needed."[26] Accomplishing this, however, required merchants and farmers to invest huge sums of money and enormous amounts of labour in order to offer mobile extensions of their store or farm. At Beaumont's farm, butchers were up at 2:00 a.m. to butcher and dress lambs in order to have them in the iceboxes aboard the *Nymoca* by cast off.[27] For William Hanna's employees, stocking and preparing the steamer for the day began at 4:30 every morning. Hanna's men brought aboard a full complement of fresh and dry foods and a constantly changing list of hardware and mail-order items. The boat also needed a load of cordwood before the captain, engineers, butcher, and grocer all pushed off at 7:00 a.m. During the busy summer months, Hanna's second supply boat, the *Mink*, averaged about sixty calls per day; often it did not return to Port Carling until after 10:00 p.m. Once back at their private wharf next to Hanna's store in Port Carling, the crews unloaded all unsold foodstuffs until the next morning, when they repeated the process all over again.[28] Despite

FIGURE 3.3. Looking astern from near the bow of the *Constance*'s lower deck, c. 1900. The butcher's counter was located at the bow, the grocery in midsection, and the dry goods at the stern. Courtesy of Muskoka Steamship and Historical Society.

these hardships, supply boats represented the most convenient and sustainable way to reduce the distance between consumers and site of exchange.

By utilizing renewable energy from Muskoka's forests and the muscles of various local settlers, steamboats were part of what E.A. Wrigley has termed an "organic economy." As Richard White notes, "there was nature in a steam engine's bowels, but it was far less obvious than the stunning nature . . . that could be seen out the windows of steamboats."[29] Year-round residents cut cordwood in the winter and then sold it in the spring to merchants and farmers to fuel Muskoka's supply boats. Since the boats had limited deck space, operators stored cordwood at various locations around the lake where it could be accessed as needed.[30] According to the company ledger, Homer's supply boat consumed

roughly 160 cords of wood each year between 1896 and 1900.[31] During these years, operators made over fifty different purchases on lakes Rosseau and Joseph where settlers were in the process of clearing land. Cordwood sales to Homer for use aboard his supply boat averaged 15 cords, for which settlers were paid approximately twenty-eight dollars. These settlers felled, chopped, hauled, and stacked wood during the winter, when they had few other ways of generating income. In providing cordwood for supply boats, year-round residents sold energy from the sun locked up in muscles and wood biomass, which was then released through labour and combustion during the summer months. The winter work performed by these woodcutters, combined with the summer work of supply boat hands and steam engines, freed hundreds of households from individual trips for supplies during the navigation season.

By bringing the store and farm to customers, Muskoka's supply boats were more than mere distributors of groceries and provisions. As steamboat historian Harley E. Scott suggests, and as J.I. Little shows elsewhere in this collection, the supply boat was very much "a social institution."[32] Supply boats replicated the kinds of social interaction that existed at many general stores elsewhere in nineteenth-century Canada. As a supply boat moved up and down the lake, its three-toned whistle gave notice of its approach. If settlers or cottagers wanted the boat to stop, they raised a white flag that signalled the captain to pull into the closest wharf. Visits by the supply boat were significant events; while the boat was docked at one wharf or another, neighbours would gather together to buy groceries and pick up orders, sell produce, visit with day-trippers aboard the boat, and socialize.[33] Although dances, picnic excursions, regattas, and other social events took place throughout the summer, visits by the supply boat remained important occasions. Mabel Croucher Ames, whose family lived in the relatively isolated area of Craigie Lea on Lake Joseph around the turn of the century, remembered, "it was always a big thrill for us children when the boat came in."[34] The presence of a supply boat could also indicate social standing. "When a prosperous cottage built a suitable dock then all his neighbours rowed over to shop on the supply boat," notes one historian of steamboats in Muskoka. "The steamer had to wait 20 minutes for

everyone in the neighbourhood to arrive. The large docks became a status symbol, which everyone just had to have."[35]

Fanny Potts called the supply boat "Eaton's in miniature."[36] That Potts chose to compare a supply boat with a mail-order department store in Toronto suggests that shoreline residents in Muskoka felt supply boats had made shopping convenient. Unlike Eaton's, however, supply boats sold fresh farm products and often had finite supplies of the most popular items. As a result, supply boat grocers and butchers had to make deliberate efforts to distribute their fare somewhat evenly around the lake. Since households along the eastern shores of the lower lakes sat much closer to more fertile farmland, it was theoretically possible that these households would have first choice each week, thereby denying households on the other side of the lake the most popular fruits, vegetables, and cuts of meat. Yet an exchange between a customer and the butcher aboard the *Constance* reveals this was not necessarily the case:

> "No," [the butcher] says to one lady, "I can't give you a hind-quarter of lamb to-day, you'll have to take the fore-quarter. You had the hind-quarter last week. Everybody has to take their turn, for we can't grow lambs with four hind-quarters even in Muskoka."[37]

In this way, items that would not normally have been available to some households were more evenly distributed around the lakes. The supply boats, therefore, compensated for some aspects of Muskoka's uneven agricultural potential.

During the 1880s and 1890s, supply boats played a vital role in overcoming mobility limitations in Muskoka. After the turn of the century, changing patterns of consumption encouraged Toronto-based merchants, such as Eaton's and Michie's, to compete with supply boats for access to the lucrative cottage and tourist market in Muskoka. An advertisement featured in the MLA's 1902 yearbook foreshadowed the influence that Eaton's soon would have in Muskoka. On the inside back

cover, Eaton's clearly presented an alternative to supply boats that also addressed cottagers' mobility constraints:

> The pleasure and comforts of your summer outing in Muskoka will be greatly increased if you have easy access to the things you want or would like to have. Shopping by mail is the secret. It's so simple, too. . . . Write to us for . . . things to eat, things to wear, things for the house and things for pleasure or sport. Our catalogue will help you.[38]

The implications of this new avenue of consumption were not lost on supply boat owners. In 1905, Beaumont attempted to reposition his business in response to the added competition posed by mail-order deliveries from the city. In a four-page circular to lakeside residents, Beaumont made it clear he intended to compete with exogenous sites of exchange. Listing a wide variety of staples, nonperishable goods, hardware, soaps, and luxury items, Beaumont promised to keep "a more up-to-date stock than in previous years in every department."[39] But Beaumont's greatest advantage lay in the items that Eaton's could not provide reliably to households in Muskoka. In addition to fruits from his expanding orchard and gardens, Beaumont offered "meat of the best quality and variety. Butter, Milk, Cream, Fresh Eggs, Poultry . . . and vegetables of all kinds, fresh from our own farm." It is clear, however, that Beaumont worried about urban-based competition. Recognizing a growing preference in Muskoka for quality baked goods from the city, Beaumont hired a "first-class City baker" to prepare bread and confectionaries. He also appealed to his customers: "before ordering supplies from outside, give us a trial as we feel sure that we can in every department, supply as good quality, and at as reasonable price as they can purchase elsewhere." Beaumont did not specify where or whom he meant by "outside" and "elsewhere," but the timing of the circular suggests a response to increased competition from sources based outside the Muskoka region, such as Eaton's.

An Alternative to the Supply Boat

Despite new competition from outside Muskoka, supply boats continued to provide collective mobility solutions for cottagers and isolated households around the lakes until the end of the 1930s. Shortly after the turn of the century, however, the spread of convenient, affordable motorboat technology removed many of the constraints on personal mobility during the summer. That supply boats existed alongside motorboats in Muskoka for several decades obscures the fact that their role—to bring sites of exchange to lakeside consumers with limited mobility—became increasingly redundant as motorboats became popular. The adoption of the internal combustion engine offered a less sustainable alternative to the supply boats and led to a wide range of environmental, economic, and social changes.

Mechanical forms of private transportation on the water existed for only a few years in Muskoka prior to the introduction of the internal combustion engine. Steam engines were inconvenient to operate and extremely expensive to own, but combustion engines overcame these disadvantages. The much smaller, lighter, and simpler gasoline motors reduced the cost of production and operation and were more convenient to use because they required neither an engineer for operation nor preparation time to build up pressure. Internal combustion engines also consumed gasoline, which created on-demand power, was easier to handle, and provided a much greater fuel-to-weight ratio than cordwood. Steam launches, which never provided personal mobility solutions for more than a handful of the most affluent lakeside residents, were eclipsed quickly by motorboats. In 1902, the MLA yearbook listed twenty-seven noncommercial steam launches on the lower lakes, most of which belonged to prominent Canadians such as Timothy Eaton and Mrs. W.E. Sandford.[40] Just thirteen years later, Captain John Rogers compiled a "Directory of Motor Boats and Owners." It listed fifty-one steam yachts and launches (those owned by private residents as well as hotels) and 404 gasoline motorboats. Slightly more than 56 percent of the people listed in the 1915 directory owned motorboats, compared to just over 3 percent who owned steam-powered craft.[41] Early-model marine engines were somewhat unreliable, but as the technology

improved, Muskoka's famous local boatbuilders expanded production to meet the demand. Individual households overcame the limitations of their water-based mobility by the 1920s.

Fast and convenient personal mobility meant customers could more easily travel to fixed sites of exchange. Although the pattern of mobility changed quickly, the established exchange arrangements between merchants, farmers, and their lakeside customers persisted. Merchants still sold fresh local foodstuffs from area farms, and their establishments still provided important social spaces where neighbours could interact. During the first quarter of the twentieth century, Leena Riley and her siblings ran a boarding house called Scarcliffe on Lake Muskoka. Riley kept a journal of daily life between 1909 and 1914, which includes passing but increasingly frequent references to motorboat use. Her brother's experiment with motorboat ownership was short-lived, but Leena described many neighbours and cottagers using their own boats for varied purposes, such as meeting the train at Bala, picking up the mail, and making trips into Port Carling to shop or socialize.[42] In Port Carling, William Hanna's store continued to thrive in part because of his supply boat business, but other merchants opened new stores that relied on customers coming to them. For example, John M. Whiting, a drugstore owner from Toronto, bought a shop next to the locks in 1911. In addition to offering ice cream and fresh fruit, Whiting's became a popular dance spot in the evenings.[43] Several years later, in 1927, the former hardware manager at Hanna's, Arnold Stephen, opened his own general store close to the locks. Aware of the new tendency of customers to arrive by water, Stephen built his store on the hillside next to the water so that he could provide two entrances—one above, next to the road, and another below, facing the dock.[44] As the motorboat provided new opportunities for personal mobility, fixed sites of exchange accommodated their customers' demands while still maintaining access to locally produced fresh foods, markets for neighbouring farmers, and social spaces for the community.

Despite such continuities, many owners did not integrate their motorboat use into the pre-existing system of local exchange. Supply boats had compensated for the lack of private modes of transportation capable of providing fast, flexible personal mobility. By aggregating

mobility in Muskoka, supply boats represented a more sustainable system of exchange. Making a few sites of exchange mobile replaced the need for several hundred households to be mobile. Supply boats continued to ply Muskoka's waters through the 1930s, but the rise of the motorboat added an entirely new, disaggregated transportation system to the region. Many families continued to purchase provisions from one of the supply boats still in operation while using their motorboats to travel into town for mail, groceries, and entertainment. Such a shift significantly expanded the overall budget of energy devoted to transportation. This disaggregation of mobility had ecological, economic, and social consequences that were less sustainable than the system of exchange represented by supply boats alone.

Although most of the motorboats in Muskoka between 1910 and 1940 were significantly lighter than their steam launch predecessors, many boatbuilders designed large, heavy crafts.[45] In addition to their weight, early motorboats had large engines capable of producing speeds well in excess of the average steam launch. As a result, motorboats created large wakes, which in turn caused social and ecological disruption around the lakes and rivers in Muskoka. In August 1915, William Rumsey of Huntsville wrote the federal Department of Marine and Fisheries to enquire about regulating boat traffic on the North Branch of the Muskoka River. He reported that "several accidents have happened, in this vicinity, from the wash of both Steamboats and Gasoline Launches running at what is considered by some to be excessive Speed."[46] Other concerns over large boat wakes joined worries over personal safety. In August 1917, T.M. Cullon, municipal clerk for the Town of Huntsville, wrote to the fisheries department regarding erosion caused by wakes along the North Muskoka River. "Owing to the speed at which the Steam and Motor Boats travel at certain points the River bank is being washed away very quickly," he reported. "And if it is not put a stop to it will not be long before it will encroach on a Street which runs along the River bank."[47]

Motorboats also had indirect impacts on the Muskoka environment. Gasoline had many advantages over cordwood and coal, but its volatile-liquid state posed distribution challenges with ecological consequences. In 1919, Imperial Oil introduced the *Motor Queen*, a

2,300-gallon tanker that plied the lakes delivering gasoline directly to consumers.[48] Prior to this, operators had pumped gasoline from holding tanks at Muskoka Wharf and Lake Joseph Station into barrels and scowed them around the lakes to fill orders.[49] Regardless of the distribution method, spillage occurred. These consequences, when extrapolated for all of Muskoka, suggest the potential scale of the ecological degradation from motorboats.[50]

The decline of the supply boat was gradual and began not long after motorboats became a regular feature on the lakes. Beaumont discontinued his supply boat business after about 1915, in part because of wartime conditions.[51] In Lake Rosseau, the *Constance* continued to operate until 1921, when the Muskoka Lakes Navigation and Hotel Company purchased the steamer.[52] Hanna's store ran two supply boats, the *Mink* and *Newminko*, until 1925, when the Navigation Company bought the *Mink*. The *Newminko* was the last supply boat in Muskoka and remained in service until 1940.[53] The steady decline of the supply boats had economic and social effects around the lakes. Households that relied on selling cordwood as part of their annual income were forced to look elsewhere as supply boats were repurposed and eventually abandoned. Lakeside neighbours who had once socialized aboard the supply boat and been tied together by its visit became increasingly atomized from one another, as resupplying the household became reliant on personal rather than collective mobility. While similar types of social spaces appeared elsewhere, close to fixed sites of exchange, seasonal households came to resemble the islands on which they were situated.

Conclusion

The supply boats of Muskoka offer a new perspective on mobility and environment in Canadian history. During the winter months, individuals journeyed across frozen land and water to acquire supplies. But during the navigable part of the year, people living along the shoreline of Muskoka's lakes often remained fixed in place, while the sites of exchange that provided them with essential foodstuffs became mobile. Supply boats consumed renewable local fuel in the form of cordwood

and effectively conserved energy by replacing disaggregated individual outputs with an ordered system of distribution. By World War I, however, greater individual mobility made possible by the internal combustion engine enabled a growing number of households to bypass the system of exchange represented by supply boats. This did not erode all of the most sustainable local interconnections, but over time it generated detrimental environmental, economic, and social effects that led to less sustainable arrangements. Confronted with limited mobility and uneven access to suitable land for farming, lakeshore dwellers in Muskoka developed their own strategies for addressing the area's economic shortcomings. Aided in large part by the summer influx of wealthy tourists and cottagers with money to spend, and recognizing the limited mobility of many households around the lakes, enterprising settlers and merchants took their farms and stores to the customer during the warm months of the year. By utilizing a mass mode of transportation in place of myriad personal ones, supply boats solved a critical challenge to life in Muskoka and provided a more sustainable method of linking isolated households with farms and stores that were beyond easy access by rowboat. The story of supply boats in Muskoka reveals that the past has important lessons to teach us about sustainability and mobility. While perhaps less convenient than personal modes of transportation, for people living in close proximity to large navigable bodies of water, steam-powered supply boats provided more sustainable mobility solutions for local communities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Muskoka, the prosaic work of supply boats played a key role in facilitating the emergence of one of Canada's most iconic recreational and tourist landscapes.

Notes

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12 D.H.C. Mason, *Muskoka: The First Islanders and After* (Bracebridge, ON: Herald-Gazette, 1974), 12.

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16 Barbaranne Boyer, *Muskoka's Grand Hotels*, ed. Richard Tatley (Erin, ON: Boston Mills, 1987), 36; "The Muskoka Country: Where Nature's Attributes Combine to Please the Artist's Eye and Captivate Every Artistic Sense," *Toronto World*, 14 July 1887, reproduced in John Denison, *Micklethwaite's Muskoka* (Erin, ON: Boston Mills, 1993), 13.

17 Ann Hathaway, *Muskoka Memories: Sketches from Real Life* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1904), 218. Ann Hathaway was the pen name of Fanny Potts.

18 Richard Tatley, *The Steamboat Era in the Muskokas*, vol. 1, *To the Golden Years: A History of the Steam Navigation in the Districts of Muskoka and Parry Sound, 1866–1905* (Erin, ON: Boston Mills, 1983), 245; Tatley, *Port Carling*, 36; Mason, *First Islanders*, 27–28. Ultimately, Forge was forced to return to his rowboat, because stiff competition from other supply boat businesses made it unprofitable to operate by steamboat.

19 As their businesses grew, Hanna and Beaumont went through a succession of boats; Hanna also ran the *Mink* and the *Newminko*, while Beaumont later operated the *Alporto*.

20 Tatley, *Steamboat Era*, vol. 1, 245.

21 J.D. McMurrich, ed., *Muskoka Lakes Association 1902 Yearbook* (Toronto: Oxford, 1902), 64.

22 Graham Smith, "A Room with a View: Cottage Architects and Builders," in *Summertimes: In Celebration of 100 Years of the Muskoka Lakes Association* (Erin, ON: Boston Mills, 1994), 137.

23 McMurrich, *1902 Yearbook*; Hugh Neilson, ed., *Muskoka Lakes Association 1913 Yearbook* (Toronto: Parker Bros., 1913); Hugh Neilson, ed., *Muskoka Lakes Association 1918 Yearbook* (Toronto: Parker Bros., 1918).

24 George Henry Homer, general store ledger, 1896–1901, box 35, Gravenhurst Archives.

25 Hathaway, *Muskoka Memories*; Tatley, *Steamboat Era*, vol. 1; Harley E. Scott, *Steam Tugs and Supply Boats of Muskoka* (Lancaster, NY: Cayuga Creek Historical Press, 1987); Mason, *First Islanders*.

26 Hathaway, *Muskoka Memories*, 226.

27 Ibid., 245.

28 Richard Tatley, *The Steamboat Era in the Muskokas*, vol. 2, *The Golden Years to Present: A History of the Steam Navigation in the Districts of Muskoka and Parry Sound, 1906–Present* (Erin, ON: Boston Mills, 1984), 38.

29 E.A. Wrigley, *Continuity, Chance and Change: The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1995), 37.

30 James Dickson, *Camping in the Muskoka Region: A Story of Algonquin Park* (1886; Toronto: Ryerson, 1960), 23.

31 Homer ledger, 88–90, 250, 326, 335.

32 Scott, *Steam Tugs and Supply Boats*, 10.

33 "Memoirs of Mabel Croucher Ames, 1884–1977," transcribed by Vera Gross Ames, 10 June 2006, p. 24, Muskoka Lakes Museum Archives, Port Carling, ON. Supply boats often carried passengers—usually day-trippers, who used the boats' circuits as an opportunity to see parts of the lakes they rarely saw otherwise.

34 Ibid., 8.

35 Scott, *Steam Tugs and Supply Boats*, 10.

36 Hathaway, *Muskoka Memories*, 218.

37 Ibid., 221.

38 McMurrich, *1902 Yearbook*, back cover.

39 J.J. Beaumont and Sons, claimants, "Summer Supply Season, 1905: Supply Boat 'Nymoca' Calling Tri-weekly at All Points on the Muskoka Lake," 1905, James Bay Railway Company—General Claims, RG 30, file 1046-78-1, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (hereafter LAC).

40 McMurrich, *1902 Yearbook*, 62.

41 John Rogers, *Muskoka Lakes Bluebook, Directory and Chart, 1915* (Port Sandfield, ON: printed by author, 1915), 63.

42 Julia Riley, "Diary of Julia 'Leena' Riley—Diary of Pioneers at Milford

Bay, October 19, 1909–May 31, 1914," June/November 1911, drawer FC 1c, Muskoka Boat and Heritage Centre, Gravenhurst, ON.

43 Tatley, *Port Carling*, 54.

44 Ibid., 76.

45 A.H. Duke and W.M. Gray, *The Boatbuilders of Muskoka* (Toronto: W.M. Gray, 1985). In several cases, old steam launches were actually refitted with gasoline power plants. After 1916, with the creation of the disappearing propellor boat in Port Carling, much smaller and lighter motorboats—slightly larger than a rowboat—became available. Paul Dodington, Joe Fossey, and Paul Gockel, *The Greatest Little Motor Boat Afloat: The Legendary Disappearing Propellor Boat* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1994).

46 William Rumsey to the Department of Marine and Fisheries (DMF), 2 August 1915, RG 42, file 161-1-10, LAC.

47 T.M. Cullon to the DMF, 8 August 1917, RG 42, file 161-1-10, LAC.

48 Bob Petry, *Bala: An Early Settlement in Muskoka: A Pictorial History of Bala from the Late 1880's* (Bala, ON: printed by author, 1998), 95.

49 Duke and Gray, *Boatbuilders of Muskoka*, 27.

50 By 1918, there were at least 464 motorboats on the three lower lakes alone. John Rogers, *Muskoka Lakes Bluebook, Directory and Chart, 1918* (Port Sandfield, ON: printed by author, 1918), 60–65.

51 Tatley, *Steamboat Era*, vol. 2, 41.

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53 Ibid., 35, 38.

4

Seasonality and Mobility in Northern Saskatchewan, 1890–1950

Merle Massie

"The most interesting, the most unusual, and most beautiful holiday I ever had," declared Christina Bateman, summing up her adventure travelling in the summer of 1919.[1] A young, unmarried clerk at the University of Saskatchewan registrar's office in Saskatoon, Bateman (then Henry) and her friend Nan McKay, a librarian at the university, decided to take a tourist excursion. Others might have boarded a train to go east to Ontario, west to Banff, or south to the United States, but the women chose to go in an unusual direction: north. Mobility played a major role in their trip. They hopped a train from Saskatoon to Prince Albert (the "gateway to the north"). Billy Bear, a Cree man from the Little Red River First Nation reserve, picked them up in Prince Albert. The three then bounced along the freight trail on a three-day trip in a horse-drawn wagon, through the boreal forest to the south end of Montreal Lake. The women transferred into canoes, now accompanied by experienced Cree guides Adolphus Ross and William Bird,

to traverse the Montreal River. A further four days brought them to Lac La Ronge and Stanley Mission, communities on the old fur trade highway of the Churchill River, in the Canadian Shield. McKay, whose father was the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) factor at La Ronge, had suggested the pair's northern direction. For Christina Henry, the trip was a new and eye-opening experience.[2]

Henry enthusiastically recorded the excursion in a travel diary and took numerous photographs; her archive offers modern historians a vivid snapshot of an intriguing transitional point in Canadian mobility history. The typical Canadian transportation story—river to railroads—ignores regions and spaces where neither transportation option was available or viable. The following chapter offers a case study of the north Prince Albert region of Saskatchewan, at the edge of the boreal forest. Henry and McKay's northern trip sits at the pivot point of a significant regional change in economic development that changed overland mobility in the area. Through a reading of contemporary maps, oral and local history, newspaper accounts, and advertisements, I trace the impact of seasonality and purpose on overland mobility, both before and after 1919.[3] Large tracts of Canada's boreal forest had neither railroads nor rivers suited to large transport. Thus, overland transportation networks that facilitated commodity movement for the purpose of economic development were highly dependent on Canadian seasonality—specifically, winter—to move large loads of heavy goods. By 1919, tourism (and other noncommodity) use of the overland transportation network was starting to appear. Following that transition, roads were modified to reflect the seasonal shift from winter to summer, as well as growing mechanization and vehicle requirements. In the post–Great War period, the rise of summer auto tourism in the boreal forest necessitated physical changes in the transportation network.[4] This chapter will broadly examine that transition as an example of the critical impact of seasonality and purpose on Canada's growing and changing mobility requirements in the twentieth century.

Indian Affairs as Road Builders? Treaties and Freight Trails

On a cold day in February 1889, at the north end of Montreal Lake in what is now central Saskatchewan, Wood Cree families from Lac La Ronge and Montreal Lake met with representatives of the Crown to sign an adhesion to Treaty 6 after years of requests.[5] The purpose of the adhesion, from the government's perspective, was to rectify a serious legal error—officials were issuing timber permits throughout the commercial timber basket north of Prince Albert on land that had not yet been ceded through treaty.[6] Once the treaty was negotiated and signed, officials faced a practical difficulty: the first treaty payment following the adhesion contained heavy agricultural implements, plows, large quantities of food and seed, twine, ammunition, clothing, and other goods.[7] The only practical transport option was to ship the goods via canoe through Cumberland House and Stanley Mission—a costly proposition given the quantity of goods.

Anglican Archdeacon J.A. Mackay of Prince Albert offered a radical idea: "It would be an immense advantage if the cart road were opened to Montreal Lake. . . . The road has been commenced and I believe about $200 judiciously spent would complete it."[8] To suggest that the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) add roadbuilding to its duties was, indeed, radical. Local retailer Hillyard Mitchell, who operated a trading post at Waskesiu, agreed with McKay's assessment. "Until this road is cut," Mitchell declared, "there is no practicable road [from Waskesiu] to Montreal Lake during summer . . . except via Cumberland and Stanley. This is a long distance round and it would pay your Dept. to at once open the road mentioned."[9] The DIA realized that the cost to finish the road was far less than water transport costs. A road would also facilitate future treaty payments, freight, communication, survey parties, and forestry, creating a direct overland mobility route to circumvent the inconvenience of the natural—but lengthy, expensive, and inadequate—traditional water transport.[10] With the department's financial backing, the road was commissioned and cut, and most of the supplies arrived by wagon to the south end of Montreal Lake in time for the treaty payment in mid-September of 1889.

The HBC immediately grasped the implications of the completed cart trail as a cheaper transportation route to Lac La Ronge and Stanley Mission. The company shipped a small portion of its northern supplies to Prince Albert by rail, then overland using this route as soon as the road was completed. By 1890, the HBC had established a large depot on the southwest shore of Montreal Lake and was shipping all of its northern cache overland via this route.[11] Within one year of its establishment, the cart road from Prince Albert to the south end of Montreal Lake became a major north–south artery, used by the HBC, the DIA, local traders, First Nations, and lumbermen.[12]

Winter: Overland Freighting and Seasonality

Overland freighting never became a successful summer activity, despite completion of the cart trail. Boreal forest trails were generally incapable of supporting heavy wagon loads of goods. Indeed, HBC employee Sydney Keighley recalled a particularly brutal stretch of trail near Montreal Lake, where a "wagon entering it immediately sank to the axles. The stretch was corduroyed but the logs were constantly sinking out of sight."[13] Christina Henry concurred: Billie Bear had warned them that the last wagon stage to Montreal Lake "was a hard day's travel, and it was—21 muskegs, rocks, and tree roots. Never had such a bumping in my life."[14] Shoring up the often-wet and impassable road forced wagon drivers to improvise. "Axes and hatchets were standard traveling equipment in that area, as there was no possibility of getting a load of any weight at all through the muskeg without building impromptu corduroy roads," Keighley explained.[15] Corduroy roads, created by chopping trees and laying trunks crosswise to form a rude roadbed, were common across boreal Canada. Muskegs—seemingly endless sinkholes of water, sedges, and black, tarry ooze—claimed wagon axles and snapped wheels. Horses, hopelessly stuck in bogs, had to be pulled out by the neck. Black flies and mosquitoes added to the misery of both horse and man.

Not surprisingly, then, freighting on northern boreal trails found its niche as a winter activity. Canadian winters froze water and muskeg to ice, offering a more efficient roadbed. The cart trail became a passable,

FIGURE 4.1. Freight swing with snowplow in northern Saskatchewan, c. 1930. Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan.

even good, winter freight trail and freighters took advantage of natural low-lying—and treeless—features of the landscape.[16] Winter trails designed for horses deliberately crossed flat natural landscapes, easing the passage over muskeg and creeks and providing wide-open highways on the frozen lakes. However, even lakes had their drawbacks. Drifts had to be plowed. Freighters usually travelled in "swings" of several sleighs and horse teams, which gave tremendous force to the plow in front of the lead team, shearing through snowbanks and pressure ridges to create a road. Cracks in the ice and slush holes also presented hazards, particularly after a storm when fresh snow would cover open water. Experienced horses stopped at the first sign of water; others plowed ahead and sank. If a team did go through the ice, it was a struggle to

retrieve both the horses and the load.[17] Even if the horses were successfully pulled out alive, severe frostbite and death would claim them if the freighter was unable to get and keep the animals warm and dry. Through the years, hundreds of horses were lost on the freight trails.[18]

Freighters funnelled supplies and commodities for the HBC, its rival Revillon Frères, smaller merchants, the massive lumber camps strung through the north Prince Albert region, and burgeoning commercial fisheries.[19] As with the lumber industry, which relied on winter's seasonality to provide a firm transportation foundation, commercial fishing was a winter occupation. Before mechanized cold storage, fish were caught and then transported frozen. Commercial fishing ebbed and flowed according to profit and environmental constraints—as early as 1909 there were complaints of over-exploitation. Cleaning and packing procedures, the demand created by the Great War, and improvements in cold storage and mechanized transportation led to higher prices and a general expansion of the industry, which remained connected to overland freighting into the 1950s.[20]

Loads would vary, and the types of supplies hauled by the freighters changed through the years. Before World War I, freight loads tended to favour supplies typical to an HBC post: flour, sugar, tobacco, dry goods, frozen foods, blankets and linens, kerosene and lamps, kitchenware, harness and repair items, and occasionally, canoes or stoves. Items were sacked and crated in large amounts: bags of flour or sugar weighed one hundred pounds each; a drum of gasoline, three hundred pounds. The freighter and his team carried their own supplies as well, from hay and oats to a grub box, bed roll, basic toolbox, and a change of dry clothing. Freighters gauged their loads carefully, depending on the size of the team, the route, and the strength of the sleigh. Large, bulky, and heavy equipment had to be broken up for transport. As gasoline engines became more common, outboard motors and drums of gasoline and oil connected winter freighting with summer requirements. On return trips, freighters loaded up with furs, or boxes of fish, bringing a paying load in both directions. Winter freight roads saw heavy use from firm freeze-up in early December to spring thaw, which ranged between mid-March and mid-April.

As an example of the scale of the freighting industry, in January 1919, sixteen teams—fully loaded with outbound supplies—left Prince Albert *in one day.*[21] Other large swings left during the following weeks. Throughout each winter, the Prince Albert *Daily Herald* reported on the departure and arrival of freight swings, conditions along the trails and across the lakes, and news from the northern communities. No one took a northern freight trip for granted; blizzards, trouble on the trail, bad road conditions (slush, open water, ice heaves), broken equipment, and the potential for disaster weighed heavily. Although seasonality usually provided an efficient winter roadbed, harsh weather could more than counterbalance those advantages.

Rise of Tourism: Seasonality and the Shift to Summer

The functional infrastructure of trails leading north led to a seasonal shift in their use. Christina Henry and Nan McKay made their trip north in 1919 by following the winter freight trails. Luckily, their trip was possible in part because 1919 was a very dry year; the road was passable—just—if bumpy and full of muskegs and crossed by the devastation of that spring's legendary forest fires.[22] Nonetheless, Henry and McKay's trip marks a divisional point in mobility: they used freighting knowledge and equipment provided by Billy Bear, who operated a winter freighting outfit, but they funnelled that assistance towards a new, tourist gaze that shifted the use of the trails from winter to summer. Both aspects—seasonality and use—are significant.

The Dominion land surveyor M.C. McCloskey, who surveyed the north Prince Albert region for postwar soldier settlement, remarked on the state of the roads.[23] He defined a road by its ability—at least in dry weather—to permit "motor traffic," or automobiles, as opposed to horse-drawn conveyances. McCloskey's observations recognized the growing transportation shift to personal automobiles across Canada. Moving north of the city, motor traffic roads deteriorated to "wagon trails," or merely "trails."[24] J. Woods of City Auto Livery in Prince Albert tested the condition of those trails in 1920. Woods drove past the agricultural settlements up the freight trail as far north as he could go "and succeeded in reaching a point within 20 miles of Montreal Lake.

This is considered to be the most northerly point in the province yet reached by an automobile." The trail, according to Woods, was "pretty bad," particularly the last fifteen miles (24 kilometres). In total, he travelled ninety-three miles (149 kilometres) over the seven-hour return trip. The *Daily Herald* went on to proclaim, "The trip is another evidence of the invasion of the northern territories by the advancement of progressive civilization, which is gradually bringing settlements, at one time considered remote, in easy contact with the city."[25] Woods would have used the same trail taken by Henry and McKay in 1919. Whereas the women's trip blended traditional transportation (horse and wagon, then canoe) with tourism, Woods's trip—partly as an advertisement of his business, which rented cars to motorists for short-term jaunts—introduced modern motor tourism to the north Prince Albert landscape: "going for a drive" as a recreational outing. Both parties, however, brought tourism firmly through a seasonal shift to summer use of the winter freight trails. They also connected the transportation network to leisure and recreation, as opposed to extractive resource development or the simple freighting of goods.

While McCloskey assessed the roads, he also appraised the local lakes for their location, water depth, fishing potential, and scenic beauty. He singled out Emma Lake—located off the freight trail and thus not seen by either Henry or Woods—as "beautifully situated among rolling hills," with "all the features desirable for a summer resort."[26] Although the freight trail passed it by, the land around the southern portions of Emma and its sister lake, Christopher, were starting to be settled by homesteaders or leased by trappers.[27] Accessible only by locally known paths, both lakes began to attract interest as recreation destinations in the post–World War I period. In September 1920, a correspondent to Prince Albert's *Daily Herald* reported a local couple and their baby spending a weekend at "Lake Emma."[28] By the mid-1920s, the lakes had become popular with local residents.[29]

Increased mobility due to automobiles led visitors from Prince Albert and farther afield to Emma and Christopher lakes. G.A. Crowley of Northside urged the Department of the Interior in 1925 to make a surveyed road to Christopher Lake for tourists. The lake, Crowley wrote, "has the prospect of being one of the Greatest Summer Resorts

in Saskatchewan. I've counted as many as 38 cars to this Lake on one Sunday and road not fit for a team on account of hummock and temporary corduroy for about four miles south of lake. . . . Cars run on low gear and are pulled or pushed through low places."[30] If the road was "not fit for a team" of horses, then it is no wonder that cars were having difficulty. The conceptual redevelopment of the north Prince Albert region as a tourism destination required a spirit of adventure, as demonstrated by those who put their cars through kilometres of mud to reach their destination. Their predicament showed the drawbacks of the shift to summer use of boreal trails. Residents and visitors demanded the roads be improved to accommodate motor cars. As tourism began to boom—despite the state of the trails—the trappers and homesteaders who owned lakeshore property soon built camping, boating, and bathing facilities, improved access, and provided services.[31]

Developing Tourism—"Like Any Other Industry"

During the 1920s, tourist recreation rocketed to public consciousness across North America in conjunction with the spread of motor vehicles and improved roads.[32] This surge of interest reflected a change in social expectations, leisure time, and modest affluence. It was no longer necessary to be a member of the upper class to enjoy a holiday. The advent of motorcars, tents, and other camping supplies left over from the war effort, and a growing road network, encouraged the rise of auto tourism among those with a modest budget. As the 1922 annual report from Canadian National Parks Commissioner J.B. Harkin noted with pleasure and expectation, "the prosperity that has followed the building of motor highways has convinced everyone that tourist travel pays, and that it can be developed like any other industry."[33]

Harkin had expressed an appropriate assessment: tourism was an industry. As pointed out by historian Aaron Shapiro, tourism—despite being rooted in landscape—was not a natural product. Rather, it was "developed, managed, and packaged by people and organizations," particularly on a large scale.[34] One of the most convenient ways to package and sell landscape was to promote it to those for whom it provided an experience in sharp contrast to everyday life. In most cases, landscape

tourism appealed most strongly to urbanites. By 1921, Canada found half of its population residing in relatively urbanized centres (from small to large), working waged or salaried positions with set hours and specified leisure time. Excursions to nearby lakes or resorts—for day trips, weekends, or a few weeks—became affordable mini-holidays that could be taken with little preparation and modest investment.[35] Brochures, maps, films, and information promoting tourist destinations in national and provincial parks, forestry reserves, and other "natural" areas were distributed in cities to receptive audiences.[36]

Saskatchewan, however, bucked the urbanization trend, with 70 percent of the province's population living in rural areas in 1921.[37] "Urban jungle" rhetoric gained little traction in Saskatchewan. Recreating the north Prince Albert landscape as a tourism destination depended largely on exploiting Saskatchewan's north-south ecological divide by imagining the north as the "playground of the prairies." As Prince Albert MLA T.C. Davis commented in the Saskatchewan legislature in 1925, few people—from Saskatchewan or from other parts of Canada—had ever been north of the prairie to experience Saskatchewan's own "beauty spot" of the northern boreal forest.[38] Prince Albert merchants used the inherent contrasts of this mental image to brand the north as a new vacationland, targeting prairie dwellers to discover and explore the forested, green, and watered northern boreal landscape on their own doorstep. For Prince Albert businessmen, supplying the new tourist trade—providing food, camping equipment, boat rentals, fishing tackle, gasoline, bathing suits, and rental cottages—would offset the losses experienced by the end of the lumber industry, which had collapsed after the fires of 1919. Prince Albert businessmen refocused their energy to capitalize on the northern landscape in *two* seasons: through resource extraction and freighting of fish, furs, and goods to and from the prairie market during the winter and the promotion of tourism to prairie residents during the summer.

Politics and Parkmaking: Prince Albert National Park

Despite the growing popularity of Emma and Christopher lakes, the main tourist destination in the north Prince Albert landscape was the Sturgeon River Forest Reserve, which began west of Emma Lake and covered several townships to the north, to surround Waskesiu Lake.[39] The Department of the Interior, through its forestry branch, promoted the increasing public connection between forest reserves and recreation across the Dominion following World War I. Interest focused on the domestic, everyday experiences of camping—hiking, photography, tenting, canoeing, cooking, eating ice cream, swimming, boating, and fishing—rather than visits to grand vistas or waterfalls. To facilitate the growing demand, the Forest Service began to provide camping and picnic facilities.[40] It also spent more energy on road maintenance by installing culverts and bridges, hauling gravel to build up roadbeds, clearing trees and creating ditches for drainage, and posting directional signage to encourage this new motor traffic.[41] After all, it would reflect badly on the tourist experience if a group of expectant visitors spent their entire day pushing and pulling their car from bog to bog instead of relaxing at the lake.

As local reports indicated, despite municipal demands and efforts, the roads heading north were often quagmires of mud throughout the summer—the main tourist season.[42] As interest grew in developing the forest reserve for tourism, its roads became the centre of attention. In 1925, local resident O.M. Lundlie led a party that toured up to Waskesiu. He reported that the roads "for the first 50 miles were good average trails on which 20 miles an hour could be travelled comfortably; but the remainder of the journey was heavy going." Clearly, there had been little change since Woods's 1920 journey, except that the destination was Waskesiu, not Montreal Lake. Forestry officials were hard at work on road improvements, "making a 'dandy' job," Lundlie declared.[43]

Lundlie's visit to the forest reserve put a voice to a particular movement: namely, Prince Albert's business elite wanted to change the forest reserve into a national park. Lundlie enthusiastically exclaimed that "in Red Deer Lake [Waskesiu], Prince Albert has an Asset which will More Than Repay Development." The article declared that the lake would

be an "Ideal Site for a Saskatchewan Banff."[44] A "Saskatchewan Banff" carried connotations that had nothing to do with mountains and everything to do with recreation and tourism, particularly the mercenary desire to capitalize on the summer tourist trade. Saskatchewan farmers, in the summer lull between spring seeding and harvest, could find refreshment and relaxation fishing and camping at the northern lakes, while urban residents with weekends and holiday time could flee the hot concrete jungle for the cool green north. The "playground of the prairies" concept took hold.

Prince Albert politicians and businessmen knew that a national park required greater federal involvement than did a forest reserve. It would elicit the financial resources to build infrastructure (roads, bridges, campsites) and create an advertising campaign. Local merchants would be able to ride the tourism wave, but with less effort on their own part. Thus, they pursued the national park idea with vigour, and it was then given a particular boost by political circumstance. In the fall of 1925, Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King lost his Ontario seat in the general election. The Prince Albert candidate, Charles McDonald, had won his seat handily. McDonald agreed to step aside to enable Mackenzie King to run. As was common in such cases, the local Liberals presented Mackenzie King with a "shopping list" of demands in return for a successful by-election, one of which was the creation of a new national park. Once elected, Mackenzie King formally requested at a cabinet meeting in May 1926 that a park be created in Saskatchewan.[45]

The placement of the park presented the only stumbling block. National park officials were unconvinced that the Sturgeon River Forest Reserve was sufficiently beautiful to merit a park. An internal memorandum suggested instead that the Lac La Ronge region—the area visited by Henry and McKay in 1919—would be more suitable. "Before a successful national park can be created, you must have a natural park. The territory lying north of and within easy reach of Prince Albert is not naturally a park country, so it requires a critical selection to choose any area which might form a satisfactory national park." In contrast, "the territory in the Lac La Ronge district and north is much more attractive."[46] Prince Albert advocates were appalled. Such a park would be beyond the city's reach. In fact, it would be beyond anyone's

reach, as no roads existed farther north than the south end of Montreal Lake—and that trail, as proved by Henry, Woods, and Lundlie, had become progressively worse. Indeed, it was unfit for the needs of summer tourist motor traffic. The only tourists able to access a park at La Ronge would be occasional canoe adventurers such as Henry with ample time to make the trip, or those able to pay for a floatplane flight, not the far more lucrative weekend car excursionists or cottage leaseholders. This fact gave the Prince Albert group leverage in their fight to create a park closer to Prince Albert. Not only did a national park need to have "scenic wonders and beauties in sufficient abundance," but promoters argued that it also must be "sufficiently accessible." By 1926, accessibility was measured by the ability of the public to get there using motor roads.[47] And, if the forest reserve area was not sufficiently beautiful in itself, it was *when compared to* the open plains of the south. Its beauty relied on contrast. During the opening of Prince Albert National Park in 1928, one visitor wrote, "To many people the word 'Saskatchewan' calls up a mind picture of great stretches of open prairie, unrelieved by lake or forest. To them a description of the beauties of the new Prince Albert National Park will come as a surprise."[48] Enough "surprise," it was hoped, to entice a visit.

Roadbuilding: Breaking the Seasonal Hold

After the Great War, although tourism was surging, Prince Albert also saw its fishing, freighting, and mining industries explode as part of the northern "boom" of the 1920s and 1930s. Historian Liza Piper has documented this expansive period in northern Canada. In contrast to the dust and devastation in southern agricultural and manufacturing regions, the north experienced "a period of economic growth and expansion" during these decades. This story, Piper argues, "inverts classic accounts of the impact of the Great Depression in the Canadian west"; the north followed its own "economic trajectory."[49] Increased commercial fishing and extensive mining development—including the creation of Flin Flon in Manitoba in the 1920s and Goldfields at Lake Athabasca in Saskatchewan's far north during the 1930s—brought a measure of prosperity through extractive industrial development. Communities at

the forest fringe, tied to northern resource development through employment, freighting opportunities, and provision of foodstuffs, experienced significant economic growth.

The boom was not just economic; it was also visual and aural. At railway points such as Big River and Prince Albert, the noise was deafening. Freighter John Brooks recalled a typical scene: "It was the third week in November, 1928 and the town [Big River] was a hive of activity." With each train, people and goods flowed into the town, a popular northern depot. Commercial fishermen, freighters, and "tie hackers" who cut railway ties "were everywhere getting lined up for a job, getting their winter gear or just waiting for enough ice to travel. Blacksmiths were a busy lot, their anvils' ringing could be heard at all the major Companies' barns where horses were being shod all round in readiness for the freight road."[50] Brooks's vivid description underscored both the economic consequences of the northern boom and its reliance on seasonality; "waiting for enough ice to travel" indicates the impact of cold weather on human mobility within a wet boreal landscape. Industrial development and associated freight transport were, in the north Prince Albert region, winter occupations.

The state of the winter freight roads, though, left much to be desired for the new summer tourist traffic. To make the new national park viable, the road had to be drivable in sunshine and in rain all the way to and through the park. National and provincial governments worked in concert—the province from Prince Albert to the park gate, the federal government from the park gate to the main commercial development at Waskesiu. The seasonal shift to summer tourism needs dictated not just some upgrades, but a completely new tourism highway. The original Montreal Lake freight trail ran directly through Little Red River reserve before entering the Sturgeon River Forest Reserve—it did not pass either Christopher Lake or Emma Lake. Tourism-based businesses around those two lakes petitioned the provincial government to move the road. They wanted the new route to run straight north from Prince Albert along the settlement highway and then turn abruptly west along the fourteenth baseline. This proposed road would effectively serve two purposes: first, it would move the road closer to the burgeoning resorts; second, it would follow the road allowance rights-of-way as defined by

sectional surveys as opposed to the original cart and freight trails that snaked through the bush. The provincial government acquiesced.[51]

Within the new park, the road also changed. The winter freight trail deliberately connected low-lying areas that were easy to freight across in winter, such as streams, muskegs, and small lakes. In contrast, the engineer routed the new tourism road over high hills and dry ground and designed it "with as many curves as possible" to give the illusion of scenic wonder.[52] A map of the forest reserve made sometime between 1925 and 1928 shows both the original freight trail and, hand-drawn in ink, the new road. This map visually records the physical modification of existing transportation trails to accommodate the new, tourism-based summer vehicle requirements. The new road, which crossed and recrossed the old freight trail, had a different agenda. It wove along the edge of Sandy Lake, offering tourists their first view of a major lake within the new national park. Where the freight trail closely followed the watercourse of the Spruce River, the new tourist road took to the high ground. It also had a new destination. Where the old trail broke off several miles south of the burgeoning Waskesiu resort to head off to Montreal Lake, the new road was built directly to its terminus: the cottage development at the lake.

Throughout the 1930s, both trails—the summer tourist highway over high ground, with its scenic hills and vistas, and the old freighting road over low ground, marsh, and along the Spruce River—continued to see extensive use depending on the season. Visitor registrations skyrocketed at Prince Albert National Park: over 5,000 people visited the park in 1928; in 1929, that number doubled. In 1930, registrations almost doubled again, but those records were shattered in 1931, when a staggering 29,537 tourists visited the park.[53] Freight swings of horses or, by the end of the 1920s, caterpillar tractors continued to haul heavy goods primarily in winter.[54] Those who advocated both the park and the improved road system had envisioned this dual purpose of tourism and commercial development: "completion of this road system may well prove the initial, yet most significant, step in the development of the whole northern area of the province . . . [with] mining, timber, fish, fur and power resources likely to be as inspiring and expansive as that which marked agricultural development of Saskatchewan's fertile

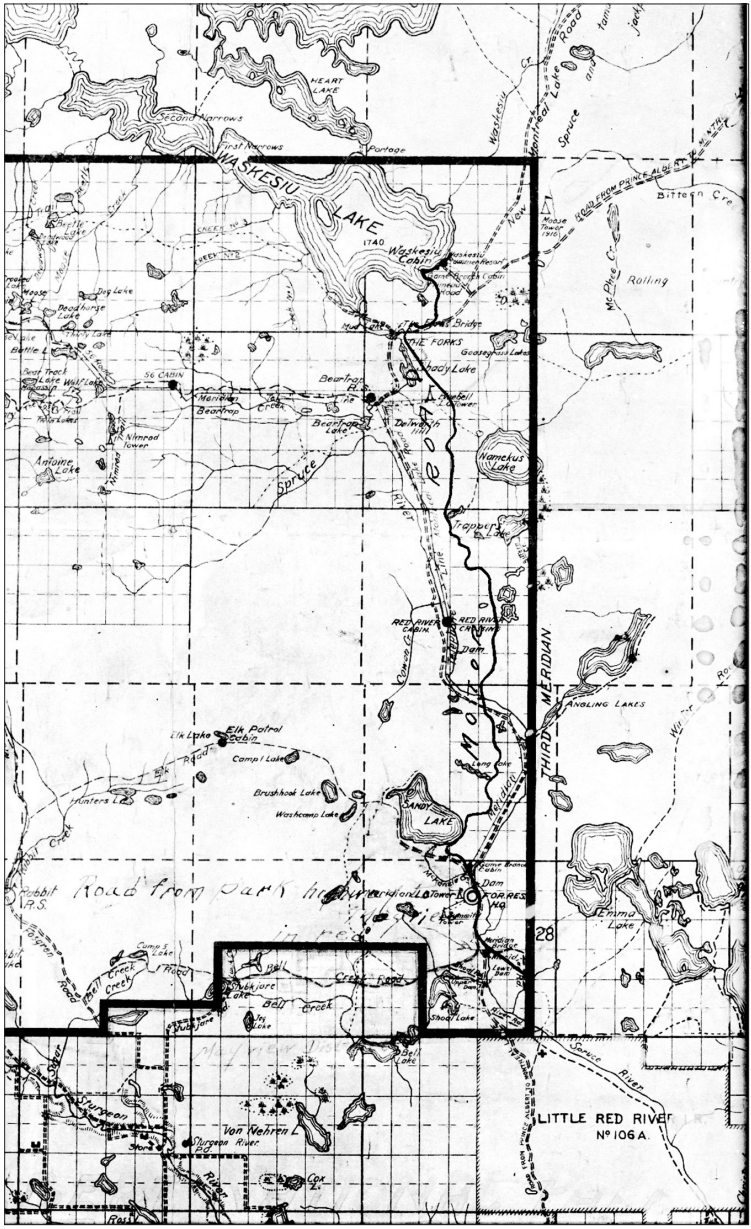

Figure 4.2. Sturgeon River Forest Reserve map, c. 1925. The dotted line shows original freight trail(s), while hand-drawn additions (c. 1928) show the new, curving motor road. The new provincial road is not shown, but it hooked directly onto the park road at the Third Meridian, passing just south of Emma Lake. Courtesy of Friends of Prince Albert National Park.

prairie belt."[55] Water transportation using the natural river systems was abandoned. Waterways were re-envisioned—as sites of power generation, or of canoe recreation "with the charm of unspoiled country with the romance of the early days of the fur trade," enticing tourists on adventures.[56]

During the winter, horse freighters usually avoided the tourist highway, with its scenic but useless curves and hauls up and down hills, except when nature intervened. The winter of 1934 brought exceptionally bad winter conditions. That fall, heavy snows fell before muskegs or lakes had a chance to freeze. A harrowing report from Prince Albert described the freighters as "struggling in waist-deep snow. . . . Muskegs covered with heavy snow are still unfrozen and provide no footing of ice to hold the heavy loads. Progress is limited to only a few hundred yards a day." Delay to the heavy-laden supply sleighs meant hardship at La Ronge, as "living costs have skyrocketed . . . , air freight rates being much higher than those charged by the overland freighters" and waterways useless in the depths of winter. Poor environmental conditions meant that caterpillar tractors could not be used, as they would sink. "Swings are made up entirely of teams of horses, floundering and stumbling through the deep slush of water and snow. Foot by foot they have crept on to their destination with gunny sacks bound about the legs of the animals to protect them from the serrated crusts of snow and ice."[57] That winter, freighters used the summer tourist highway because it had a firmer roadbed despite its curves and steep grades. At the highway's end, the swings were in trouble. Creeping along in deep snow, hacking down trees and trying to find good footing away from muskegs and lakes slowed the freighters' progress almost to a standstill.

The situation placed excessive pressure on northern communities, where shortages were soon severe. A letter from the Indian Residential School Commission—an organization within the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada—to the DIA outlined the grave nature of the problem. The commission requested that the DIA put pressure on the Minister of the Interior for help in constructing an "all-weather road" from Waskesiu to Montreal Lake and initiate a corduroy road overland from that community to La Ronge.[58] No longer was it acceptable to rely on seasonality and winter to provide a frozen

roadbed; nature could not be trusted. Jurisdictional issues between the federal and provincial governments, as well as the overwhelming needs of the prairie south during the Depression, stalled northern roadbuilding. Freighters continued to the ply the primitive winter trails past Waskesiu with horses or caterpillar tractors.

Caterpillar—or cat—tractors revolutionized northern transport. Cat tractors were efficient; unlike horses, they could run day and night and did not require rest. They could also pull far more freight provided the road was sufficiently strong to accommodate the weight. A small cat tractor could pull thirty tons of frozen fish or other goods while pushing a plow to open a road; another cat immediately behind on the clear road could haul even more. One caterpillar could pull two or three sleighs, depending on their size, weight, and the terrain. A strong horse team with a single sleigh could only pull between two to four tons, depending on road and weather conditions. Grades were no longer an issue; cat tractors could pull up and down hills with more ease than horses. Through the national park, the cat tractors could use the tourist road, compacting and improving it. Cats had another advantage: they were also used in summer to improve and expand northern road networks. The outbreak of World War II initiated a renewed interest in northern road development.[59] Mennonite conscientious objectors, brought to work camps at Prince Albert National Park, built a road first to Montreal Lake and then in 1948 to La Ronge, the first serious modern road efforts past Waskesiu.[60] The freight trail, originally built for horses, was gradually abandoned.

As roads improved and mechanization replaced horse swings, transportation began to break its seasonal restrictions. All-weather roads, graded in summer and cleared of snow in winter, went hand in hand with a modern transportation revolution. Postwar mechanization and industrialization transformed northern mobility, and in many cases reliance on seasonality to provide a frozen winter roadbed receded to the most remote and inaccessible parts of the boreal forest and tundra. Between 1920 and 1950, the original freight trails in the north Prince Albert area—built for resource extraction and the transportation of large quantities of bulk goods—were replaced by extensive road construction ventures that sought to create transportation networks

unbounded by seasonal restrictions. Winter and summer, modern trucks and semi-trailers plied the roads, alongside cars full of tourists eager for a northern adventure among the lakes and trees.

Today, the abandoned freight trails have come full circle. Within Prince Albert National Park, the old "freight trail" is used as a hiking and biking trail in summer and as a cross-country ski trail in winter. Freight trails outside the park boundaries continue to be used by forestry and firefighting units, hunters and berrypickers, fishermen, and (during the winter) snowmobilers who took over the old freight trails to develop extensive groomed routes. In the late 1960s, Saskatchewan extended Highway 2 from Prince Albert to La Ronge through an all-new route that avoided the park. The 1928 "tourism" highway was reclassified as the winding "scenic route" (Highway 263) from the Christopher Lake corner to Waskesiu. As a result, three levels of mobility corridors now exist in the north Prince Albert landscape: the original commercial freight trails, now largely used by hikers, skiers, and snowmobilers for recreational purposes; the tourism highway through the park to Waskesiu, avoided by large trucks and relegated to secondary status as a "scenic route" for tourists with time to spare for driving the curving, rolling road; and the new, modern all-weather highway, built for heavy purposes such as logging and pulp trucks, large-scale mining, and transport. This layered mobility landscape reinforces the importance of purpose as a key indicator of use.

Conclusion

Changes in overland transportation across the boreal forest region north of Prince Albert provide a representative case study of the broader, complex changes in mobility in Canada. While originally created and used as seasonally dependent winter transport corridors for resource extraction and movement of goods, freight trails were recategorized as tourist roads in the post–Great War era. Christina Henry and Nan McKay's adventurous seven-day tourist trip from Prince Albert to La Ronge exemplified the opening of the boreal forest to the summer tourist gaze. In the interwar era, tourism grew alongside northern resource extraction and freighting, bringing a dual seasonality of winter

and summer to questions of mobility. Technical advances in both automotives and road construction meant that infrastructure investment was closely tied to economic use and perception. In time, mobility broke the reliance on seasonality and created a "layered" landscape intimately tied to human use of the landscape.

Notes

1 Christina Bateman, "Northern Saskatchewan Holiday," Christina Bateman fonds, A-281, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon (hereafter SAB). Bateman's typewritten document and its accompanying photographs can be found online, at the government website *Our Legacy*, database ID 27383, http://scaa.usask.ca/ourlegacy/permalink/27383. See also Duff Spafford et al., "The Amazing Adventures of Christina and Nan," *Saskatchewan History* 63, no. 2 (2011): 14–33.

2 Bateman, "Northern Saskatchewan Holiday." After a stay in La Ronge, Henry and McKay travelled by canoe along the Churchill River system to The Pas and then returned to Saskatoon by train.

3 On northern transportation, see C.S. Mackinnon, "Some Logistics of Portage La Loche (Methy)," reprinted in Greg Marchildon, ed., *The Early Northwest* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2008); Frank Tough, *"As Their Natural Resources Fail": Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996); Jim Mochoruk, *Formidable Heritage: Manitoba's North and the Cost of Development, 1870–1930* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2004); and David Quiring, *CCF Colonialism in Northern Saskatchewan: Battling Parish Priests, Bootleggers, and Fur Sharks* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004). The best analysis of transportation throughout the subarctic fringe is Liza Piper, *The Industrial Transformation of Subarctic Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009). See also Svein Sigfusson, *Sigfusson's Roads* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1992).

4 Three interdependent ideas about mobility as identified by sociologist John Urry are particularly useful for this essay: first, the movement of objects (goods); second, the corporeal movement of people (particularly for leisure and escape); and third, the concept of imaginative travel, where the north Prince Albert boreal landscape was either a remote, difficult, and sometimes malevolent entity thwarting the efforts of freighters or a "wilderness sublime" destination for prairie travellers. John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2007).

5 On Treaty 6 adhesion, see Arthur J. Ray, Jim Miller, and Frank Tough, *Bounty and Benevolence: A Documentary History of Saskatchewan Treaties* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); Peter

Goode, Joan Champ, and Leslie Amundson, *The Montreal Lake Region: Its History and Geography* (Prince Albert: Prince Albert Model Forest Association/Sentar Consultants, 1996). See also J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

6 Edgar Dewdney to Indian commissioner Hayter Reed, 6 December 1888, file 1754, vol. 3601, RG 10, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (hereafter LAC).

7 Ibid.

8 J.A. Mackay to Hayter Reed, 20 May 1889, file 1754, vol. 3601, RG 10, LAC.

9 Hillyard Mitchell to Hayter Reed, 24 June 1889, file 1754, vol. 3601, RG 10, LAC.

10 Hayter Reed to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, July 1889, file 1754, vol. 3601, RG 10, LAC.

11 Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan's Playground: A History of Prince Albert National Park* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1989), 7. See also historical materials on the HBC post at Red Deer Lake cited in Waiser, *Saskatchewan's Playground*, 136–37. The HBC also moved its post to Montreal Lake and began operations at this new location, effectively making the post at Waskesiu redundant. By 1893, it had been closed. See James Shortt, *A Survey of the Human History of Prince Albert National Park, 1887–1945*, Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 239 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977), 7–8.

12 The trail soon became the leading north–south highway, facilitating exploitation and colonization of the north by southern economic, cultural, and political forces. See Quiring, *CCF Colonialism*; and Kenneth Coates and William Morrison, *The Forgotten North: A History of Canada's Provincial Norths* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1992).

13 Sydney Augustus Keighley, *Trader, Tripper, Trapper: The Life of a Bay Man* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1989), 64.

14 Bateman, "Northern Saskatchewan Holiday."

15 Keighley, *Trader, Tripper, Trapper*, 64.

16 Ed Theriau and Patricia Armstrong, "Horses," in *Lost Land of the Caribou* ([n.p.]: 1978), accessed 14 January 2015, http://www.jkcc.com/horses.html; Big River History Book Committee, "Freight Swing Era," in *Timber Trails: History of Big River and District* (Big River, SK: Big River Historical Society, 1979), accessed 14 January 2015, http://www.jkcc.com/brfreight.html.

17 Anne-Marie DiLilla, "Freighting," in *A Look at the Past: A History of Dore Lake, Saskatchewan* (Dore Lake, SK: Dore Lake Historical Society, 1983), accessed 14 January 2015, http://www.jkcc.com/dlfreight.html.

18 Ibid. See also the family entry "Hale—Stanley and Millie," in Paddockwood Historical Society, *Cordwood and Courage: 1911–1982* (Paddockwood, SK: Paddockwood and District Historical Society, 1983), 242.

19 Piper, *Industrial Transformation*, 48–50.

20 Gary Seymour, "A Geographical Study of the Commercial Fishing Industry in Northern Saskatchewan: An Example of Resource Development" (MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1971), 15–19.

21 Local and General (column), *Prince Albert Daily Herald* (hereafter *Daily Herald*), 15 January 1919.

22 Local and General, *Daily Herald*, 28 April 1919; 4 June 1919; and 12 June 1919. See also Bateman, "Northern Saskatchewan Holiday."

23 M.D. McCloskey to E.E. Deville, 30 March 1921, R-183 I.290, Department of the Interior fonds, SAB.

24 "Report of Township 51, Range 25, West of the 2nd Mer.," n.d., and "Report of Township 53, Range 25 West of 2nd Mer.," n.d., both at R-183 I.290, SAB.

25 "To Montreal Lake," *Daily Herald*, 12 October 1920.

26 "Report of Township 51"; "Report of Township 53."

27 See Cummins Map Company, 1922 and 1930, map no. Sask. 258, SAB.

28 "Northside," *Daily Herald*, 11 September 1920.

29 "Paddockwood," *Daily Herald*, 8 August 1925. See also J. Hardouin General Report, 15 April 1921, R-183 I.222, SAB.

30 G.A. Crowley to Department of the Interior, 20 April 1925, file 27107-4, part 1, vol. 7766, RG 10, LAC.

31 *Daily Herald*, 7 August 1931.

32 On the rise of motor tourism in North America, see Amy Larin, "A Rough Ride: Automobiles in Banff National Park, 1905–1918," *Alberta History* 56, no. 1 (2008): 2–9; Michael Dawson, "Taking the 'D' out of Depression: The Promise of Tourism in British Columbia, 1935–1939," *BC Studies*, no. 132 (2001): 31–59; Alisa Apostle, "Canada, Vacations Unlimited" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, 2003); and David Louter, *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads and Nature in Washington's National Parks* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).

33 "Report of the Commissioner J.B. Harkin, Canadian National Parks," in Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report* (Ottawa, 1922).

34 Aaron Shapiro, "Up North on Vacation: Tourism and Resorts in Wisconsin's North Woods," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 29, no. 4 (2006), 8. See also John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 1990); and Mimi Sheller and John Urry, eds., *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play* (London: Routledge, 2004).

35 "Forestry Division," in Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report* (Ottawa, 1924).

36 The Department of the Interior was largely responsible for tourism literature on a national level. The National Resources Intelligence Service compiled and created tourist information for both the National Parks and Forestry Branch. See Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report* (Ottawa, 1926), 23–25.

37 See Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2005), 498, table ("Urban and Rural Population of Saskatchewan").

38 See "Speech delivered by Mr. T.C. Davis, MLA Prince Albert in the Debate on the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne in the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, 7 December 1925," in Saskatchewan, Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers*, 1925.

39 The Dominion government established the Sturgeon River Forest Reserve in 1914, on lands east of the Sturgeon River to the Third Meridian, south including much of Township 53, and north to Township 57.

40 The forestry department laid out resort areas at Clear Lake in Manitoba and at points in British Columbia in the early 1920s; similar work was carried out in Saskatchewan between 1922 and 1925.

41 "Report by C. MacFadyen, District Forest Inspector, Dominion Forests in Saskatchewan," in Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report* (Ottawa, 1926), 75–78.

42 "Roads Wanted," *Daily Herald,* 4 March 1916; Local and General, *Daily Herald*, 28 August 1919; "Bittern Creek," *Daily Herald*, 5 July 1923.

43 "Ideal Site for a Saskatchewan Banff," *Daily Herald*, 4 July 1925.

44 Ibid.

45 The overview is drawn from Waiser, *Saskatchewan's Playground*, 25–35.

46 F.H. Peters to J.B. Harkin, 27 October 1926, memorandum to file, vol. 1726, Parks Canada fonds, LAC.

47 J.B. Harkin, 26 April 1926, quoted in John Webb, "Forward: Legal Surveys of Prince Albert National Park, Waskesiu, Saskatchewan" (unpublished document, n.d.), S2000-51, S-Q80, SAB.

48 "Message from W.J. Patterson," *Daily Herald*, 2 August 1928. For a discussion of mental maps, see Peter Gould and Rodney White, *Mental Maps* (New York: Penguin, 1974).

49 Piper, *Industrial Transformation*, 81.

50 John A. Brooks, *Strange Hunters: Life and Adventures in Northern Saskatchewan during the 1920s and 30s* (Port Alberni, BC: Coast Printers, 1982), 9.

51 Saskatchewan, Department of the Environment, *A Study of Land and Water Use at Emma and Christopher Lakes* (Regina, 1976), 45.

52 Waiser, *Saskatchewan's Playground*, 42.

53 National Parks Branch reports, in Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report* (Ottawa, 1928–1935).

54 Air travel was also increasing post-1920. See advertisement for Brooks Airways, *Daily Herald*, 9 July 1929.

55 J. Uhrich quoted in *Daily Herald*, 2 August 1928.

56 Canada, Department of the Interior, *Vacations in Canada: A Handbook of Information for Tourists and Sportsmen*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa, 1929).

57 Special Dispatch from Prince Albert, *Winnipeg Free Press*, 16 January 1934; "Road from PA National Park to La Ronge," n.d., file 23107-12, vol. 7732, RG 10, LAC.

58 Indian Residential School Commission of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada to Department of Indian Affairs, 27 January 1934, file 23107-12, vol. 7732, RG 10, LAC.

59 See *The Alaska Highway: A Yukon Perspective* (website), accessed 14 January 2015, http://www.alaskahighwayarchives.ca.

60 Bill Waiser, *Park Prisoners: The Untold Story of Western Canada's National Parks, 1915–1946* (Calgary: Fifth House, 1995), 129–74.

5

Creating the St. Lawrence Seaway: Mobility and a Modern Megaproject

Daniel Macfarlane

An engineering marvel and the largest combined navigation and power project of its kind in the world, the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project was a definitive Canadian transportation megaproject. Built cooperatively by Canada and the United States between 1954 and 1959, the seaway runs almost three hundred kilometres from Montreal to Lake Erie. It features a deep canal system, fifteen locks, hydroelectric development facilities, and four dams. In conformity with a high modernist vision of technology, progress, and transportation, the St. Lawrence River had to be remade to fit modern conceptions of mobility. As anthropologist James C. Scott has explained, high modernism is the hubristic belief in the ability of scientific and technological progress to allow modern states to harness, control, and order nature—and society—to make it legible, maximizing utility and efficiency. Engineers sought to rectify the "errors" in the river, to allow inland deep-channel navigation for vessels from across the world and harness its waters to produce hydroelectricity. Experts believed nature was something to be

conquered, corrected, and improved. Wider spatial changes associated with the project would create a more ordered, centralized society. Not even entire towns should be allowed to stand in the way of progress.

This chapter draws from the Canadian experience of the seaway in order to underline the environmental implications and unintended consequences of a high modernist mobility regime. The massive reshaping of the St. Lawrence riverine basin and connected water- and land-based transportation networks could be achieved only on a high modernist scale. The St. Lawrence project both enabled and remade numerous conceptions and forms of mobilities, some intersecting, others contradictory.

Rapid Changes: Altering the St. Lawrence's Waterscapes and Landscapes

The St. Lawrence River drains a vast basin of more than 1.3 million square kilometres, including the Great Lakes, the largest combined body of fresh water in the world. Before running to the Atlantic Ocean via Quebec, the St. Lawrence forms the border between Canada and the United States—or, between Ontario and New York, to be more precise. The third-longest river in North America, the St. Lawrence has long served as a major transportation artery. First Nations peoples have lived along the river for centuries and initial waves of European settlement in Canada used its basin as a focal point for travel, trade, and defence. Since the early nineteenth century, shallow canals improved navigation by bypassing rapids and other natural obstacles along the St. Lawrence. Discussions of a binational deep waterway had begun during the late nineteenth century, and plans for hydroelectric development had soon followed. In the early twentieth century, the value of a seaway and power project for defence and industrial growth led to transborder agreements that ultimately failed to receive the assent of the U.S. Senate. But after the end of World War II, the economic and defence benefits—particularly the ability to move newly discovered Ungava iron ore deposits from northern Quebec to Great Lakes steel mills—sparked further interest. After the United States forestalled

Ottawa's attempt at an all-Canadian seaway, Canada reluctantly acquiesced to a joint seaway and power project in 1954.

The St. Lawrence undertaking was a complex and highly integrated navigation, power, and water-control project on a scale much larger than previous transportation improvements along the river. The project created approximately 110 kilometres of channels and locks, rerouted others, and required many more kilometres of cofferdams and dikes. Construction cost more than US$1 billion: $470.3 million split between Canada ($336.5 million) and the United States ($133.8 million) for navigation aspects, and $300 million each on hydro works. In excess of 210 million cubic yards of earth and rock—more than twice that of the Suez Canal—were moved through extensive digging, cutting, blasting, and drilling, using a litany of specialized equipment and enormous machines.

The bilateral, transborder nature of the undertaking meant that multiple levels of government bureaucracy and joint boards were responsible for the project. Both federal governments had jurisdiction over the seaway part of the dual navigation/hydro project. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Canada's St. Lawrence Seaway Authority (SLSA), under the supervision of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, handled construction of navigation works. The Province of Ontario and the State of New York were responsible for hydro installations through their respective utility commissions, the Hydro-Electric Power Authority of Ontario (HEPCO, or Ontario Hydro) and the Power Authority of the State of New York (PASNY). Governments on both sides of the border contracted out actual construction to private companies (which tended to form conglomerates in order to bid on the huge contracts) and the bilateral Joint Board of Engineers oversaw such work.

Given the project's magnitude, its completion on schedule was an amazing feat. The St. Lawrence project required three new dams in addition to the pre-existing Beauharnois power dam just west of Montreal. The Moses-Saunders powerhouse, a gravity power dam with thirty-two generator units, was a Canadian-American bilateral project. The Iroquois control dam regulated water levels on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River and, along with the Long Sault dam upstream

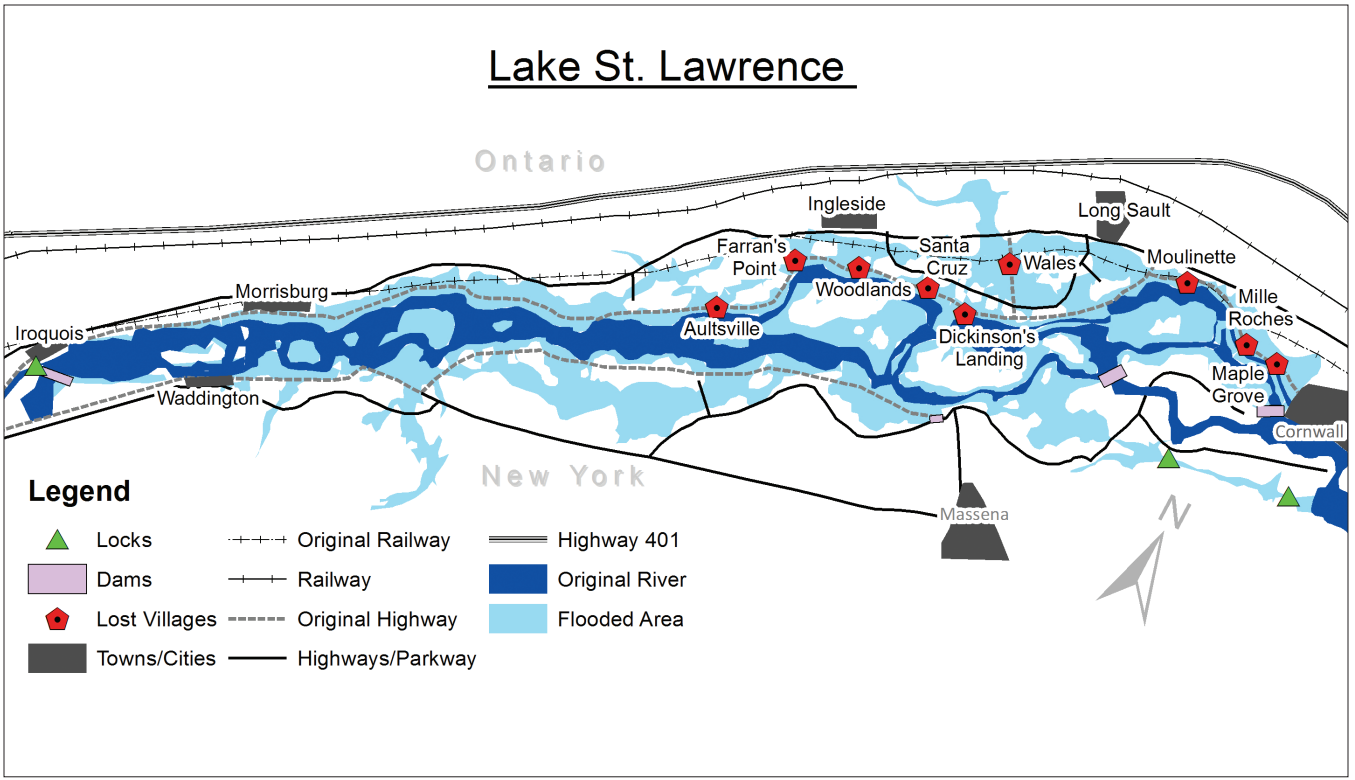

FIGURE 5.1. Lake St. Lawrence and the Lost Villages. Map by author.

from the Moses-Saunders dam, helped raise and control water levels in order to create Lake St. Lawrence. This constructed body of water, more than six kilometres across at its widest, inundated some twenty thousand acres of land on the Canadian side, between the towns of Cornwall and Iroquois, as well as eighteen thousand acres on the American shore.

The creation of Lake St. Lawrence, which served as the reservoir for the Moses-Saunders hydroelectric dam while also deepening the water for navigation, required the largest rehabilitation project in Canadian history. Towns, infrastructure, and people were moved, replaced by water and memories of these "Lost Villages." From west of Cornwall to Iroquois, on the Canadian side of the International Rapids Section (IRS), the scale of relocation was massive: more than two hundred farms, nine villages and three hamlets, eighteen cemeteries, around one thousand cottages, and more than one hundred kilometres of the main east–west highway and railway. In order to avoid navigation and other difficulties on the new lake, HEPCO had to move, raze, or flatten *everything*, including trees.[1] HEPCO compensated those it relocated and performed an enormous public relations effort. Numerous people along "the Front," as locals referred to the area, chose to transport their houses via special vehicles to new communities—Ingleside and Long Sault—that had been created west of Cornwall and farther north of the St. Lawrence to house the displaced residents. Two communities, Iroquois and Morrisburg, were just shifted north.

The perceived ability to master nature and order society extended to the planning of the towns that replaced the Lost Villages. HEPCO designed the new model "modern" towns based on the latest planning principles: homes with basements; street systems of curvilinear roads instead of a grid pattern; and modern sewer, water, and hydro facilities.[2] By reorganizing spatial and physical environments and providing more efficient access to services, planners sought to improve the lives of residents. The people of the upper St. Lawrence Valley were repeatedly told by government and industrial officials that their region would become "the greatest industrial area in the Dominion of Canada."[3] To these decision makers, spatial change and increased efficiency promised to

Figure 5.2. Moses-Saunders dam under construction, c. 1956. Courtesy of Ontario Power Generation.

simplify political and economic structures while also enhancing their control of the community and region.

As with other high modernist projects, resettlement was a key part of the seaway undertaking. Resettlement allowed politicians and planners to reorganize scattered riverfront communities in a more rational manner by consolidating a string of small villages and hamlets, which had evolved since the early nineteenth century, into central towns. These hubristic efforts sought to make the landscape "legible" through simplification, abstraction, and standardization by privileging scientific and bureaucratic expertise over local knowledge and tradition. Decision makers used technological expertise to control nature and employ it to extend government power through the reordering of society. As a state-building exercise controlled by centralized bureaucracies

aiming to reorder the natural environment for the sake of progress, and in turn attempting to organize and regulate Canadian society, the St. Lawrence scheme certainly reflects key elements of high modernism.[4]

High modernist planning was more flexible and responsive in North America during the early Cold War era than in authoritarian states. Moreover, particular forms of Canadian nationalism and conceptions of water, environment, and society infused the project.[5] Tina Loo and Meg Stanley have convincingly shown there was actually an intimate engagement with place in Canadian postwar dam-building efforts, a high modernist local knowledge defined by detailed and intimate awareness of specific environmental locales.[6] In short, we see what I call *negotiated* high modernism: lacking the centralized and autocratic authority to simply impose schemes without some measure of consent from civil society and other parts of the state, the Canadian and American governments—at both federal and state/provincial levels—repeatedly had to negotiate and legitimize themselves and their high modernist vision of the St. Lawrence in relation to the specificity of particular natural environments and the societies they aimed to control.

Manipulating Mobility: Waterways and Highways

The rehabilitation of communities surrounding the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project presented an opportunity to change the patterns and scales of mobility so that residents could better participate in centralized societal, industrial, and governmental economic systems. In other words, government planners redesigned the towns with increased mobility—albeit of a certain kind—in mind. The original plans that HEPCO created for the displaced communities (designed by University of Toronto professor Kent Barker) underwent significant revision in response to local desires, but the final result still reflected a high modernist ethos underpinned by governmental and expert aims. Centrality and efficiency of movement were key concepts guiding the new settlements. A long and narrow system of towns spread along the waterfront made way for new towns with curved streets, crescents, and walkways—all designed to slow traffic and reduce the number of streets

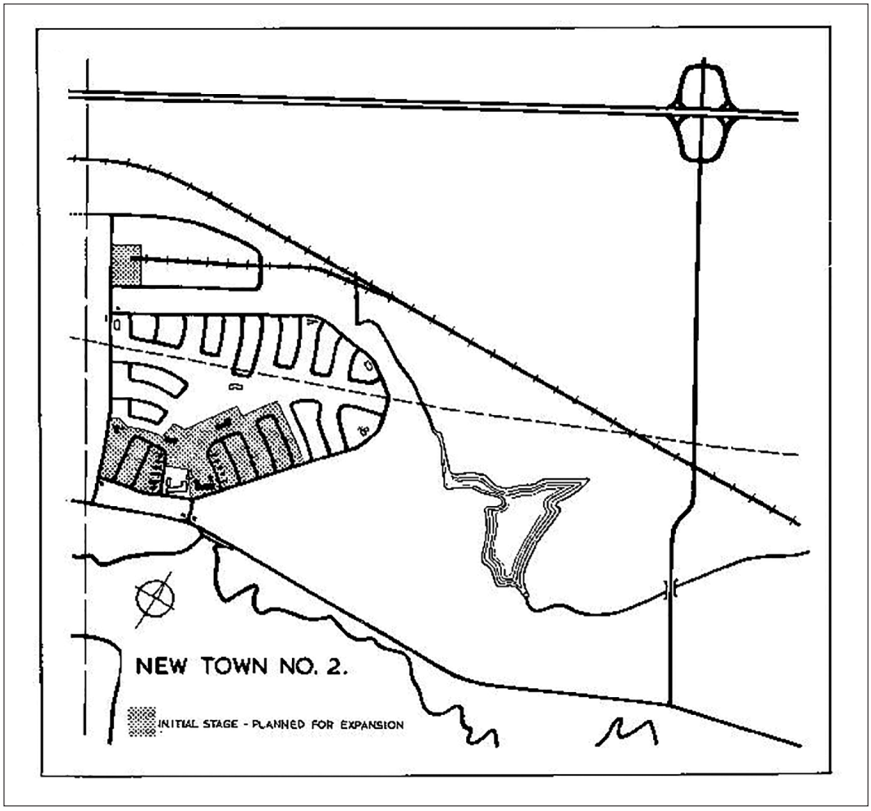

Figure 5.3. Plans for New Town No. 2 (Long Sault). Courtesy of Ontario Power Generation.

and intersections pedestrians had to cross. As Joy Parr has shown in her unique study of New Iroquois, changing pedestrian mobility altered sensory experience.[7] Planners grouped together major services and amenities, such as grocery and retail stores, in centralized plazas and strip malls (new developments during the postwar era) and located schools, churches, and parks to maximize access for all residents.[8] Decision makers believed that the improvement of street design and the relocation of highways and railroads on the edge of town would increase safety, compared with the former highways that ran directly through the downtowns.

The Ontario government sought to democratize riverfront access and, at least in theory, residents did have greater access to the water after construction was completed. Almost the entire waterfront on the Ontario side of the IRS became parkland (though much of this was unsightly mud flats) or was owned by Ontario Hydro, which prohibited building along the water's edge because of a concern for rising water levels. Yet, in other ways, aquatic access diminished. The new towns of Iroquois and Long Sault were built much farther back from the shore than their predecessors. Aside from two islands and a few other isolated pockets, private residences on the waterfront were forbidden.[9] In many cases, including lands along the Long Sault Parkway, displaced residents as well as the general public had to pay fees to use the parkway.[10]

Despite the lofty intentions of democratizing riverside access, the St. Lawrence project was an imperialist and colonizing project that followed the logic of industrial capitalism. Reconfiguring the environment implicitly carried with it ideas about reshaping social and economic structures, as agricultural land would be converted to what the Canadian and American governments considered to be more modern purposes: creating the head of water sufficient to produce hydro power and allow deep-draft navigation.

Imperialist ambitions became even more apparent in the treatment of the First Nations groups in the way of the seaway. The Kahnawake Mohawk community, located on the south shore of the St. Lawrence across from Montreal, had historically developed their transportation, economic, and social networks around access to the river. With the seaway, the community suddenly found itself severed from the river, both physically and metaphorically, as the new navigation channel cut through the shoreline. The transnational Akwesasne Mohawks, situated astride the Ontario-Quebec-U.S. border, lost less land than did their downstream counterparts, but parts of the reserve were similarly taken for bridges and canals and the surrounding landscape was reshaped by dredging and spoil disposal. Members of the two reserves were treated as second-class citizens in comparison to the Lost Villagers. Reserve land ownership tenure also made it easier for the government to take property. At the same time, the Akwesasne and Kahnawake showed less deference to authority than did the Lost Villagers and did not

Figure 5.4. St. Lawrence Seaway channel at Kahnawake with Montreal in the background, c. 1960. Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada.

passively accept the state's demands. The seaway experience marked a major turning point in the history of the Mohawk relationship to the Canadian state.[11]

The paramount motivation behind the seaway lay more with the mobility of goods than people. In fact, the project exacerbated a shift in personal mobility from water-based modes to other transportation alternatives that could move goods at and across much larger scales. The Canadian state prioritized the movement of bulk cargo across the continent and globe over small-scale, recreational trips on the river. Residents of flooded communities lost their beloved fourteen-foot canals and their ease of access to the river.[12] The loss of these canals hurt local industry and small-scale and personal economic enterprises, as well as social and recreation opportunities. After the project's

completion, boaters could navigate with ease the former rapids sites in the IRS, as a placid Lake St. Lawrence had subsumed the cataracts. However, the need to transit the locks (at Iroquois, boats under twenty feet can generally go through the control dam rather than the lock) and the channels set off for seaway ships impeded the ability of recreational users to move significant distances on the river. Along with the significant cost and the lower priority assigned to pleasure boat use of the locks, commercial shipping trumped the mobility demands of recreational users.

The international border thickened for local travellers following completion of the project. People found it much more difficult to cross the riverine international boundary without a motor vehicle or a private watercraft. To encourage automobile travel, the ferries that had previously plied the river crossing were replaced by bridges, and one of the bridges eventually removed pedestrian access. Even car users faced significant driving distances to one of the new high-level spans if they were not lucky enough to be located near the two bridges that now traversed the IRS. Travellers faced bridge tolls and eventually required official transborder documentation such as passports. Changes to personal mobility related to the seaway, then, allowed the state better control and surveillance of the movements of its citizens, as border crossings were now rigorously enforced compared to previous decades. This thickening of the border has become even more pronounced in the post-9/11 era.

Although the project altered the capabilities of water-based transportation, it also reordered rails, roads, and other infrastructure. With completion of the project, Ontario designed a new route for King's Highway 2, a road that had connected the communities of the north shore along the St. Lawrence for centuries and was the major highway between Toronto and Montreal. The province also used the opportunity provided by the seaway construction and dislocation of Highway 2 to begin extending Highway 401, a major limited-access autoroute between Windsor and the Ontario-Quebec border. People now channelled onto the modern freeway instead of journeying to urban centres along perilously narrow yet rustic thoroughfares such as old Highway 2. Government planners, following North American

FIGURE 5.5. Old road into Aultsville near the former intersection with Highway 2. Photo by author.

postwar transportation trends, explicitly aimed to orient daily mobility in the region towards private automobiles. This process transformed the rhythms of life along the St. Lawrence. The new towns increasingly served as bedroom communities to larger centres such as Cornwall, with attendant changes to the character and structure of the smaller communities. A growth in auto traffic may have led to an increased potential for tourists, but the freeway also meant that the new communities along the river could be more easily bypassed and ignored.

Economically and socially, the Lost Villagers were reoriented away from the river towards metropolitan centres whereas Great Lakes–St. Lawrence port cities were conceptualized as directly connected to each other and foreign ports. This shift favoured large-scale transport via deep-draft vessels for resources such as iron ore from Ungava, steel produced in Hamilton and other Great Lakes factory cities, and wheat and other agricultural crops from western North America. As Timothy Heinmiller has argued, the St. Lawrence was reconceived, changing from a "river" to a "seaway"—or, more evocatively, a "marine superhighway."[13] The seaway, mirroring Highway 401 to its north, enabled traffic to move at consistently higher speeds, by restricting access and crossings as well as by isolating passengers and freight from the surrounding environment. Through law and the creation of modified channels and currents, planners facilitated the speeding up of east–west travel along the river at the expense of localized movements and travel across the border.

By changing the nature and scale of transportation routes, the seaway project and its related infrastructure modifications altered life in the region. Rhetoric and ambitious prognostications predicted that all inhabitants along the St. Lawrence would gain from its transformation. The seaway may have benefitted some groups, namely big industry and the state, but it also negatively affected many of those who lived along the St. Lawrence. While some settlements that remained along the St. Lawrence made economic gains during the construction phase and afterwards, much of the anticipated long-term prosperity in the area failed to materialize. Predictions made during the 1950s that the seaway would be of insufficient depth and proportions to handle future traffic were proven correct.[14] Locks had been designed too small

to accommodate the larger vessels used for cross-oceanic container shipping, a burgeoning global phenomenon at the time. It had taken a half century for a successful bilateral agreement on the seaway, and the enormous cost of building new locks and deeper channels was politically prohibitive, if not impossible. From its inception, then, the seaway was somewhat obsolete, facilitating movement mostly within the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence system, compared to the grand visions of transoceanic shipping that its boosters had proclaimed over the decades.

Seaway Change: Environmental Consequences of Manipulating Mobility

The engineering prowess and brute force used to radically reconfigure a riparian landscape may have made the seaway seem like a human-made artifact, but in reality its transformation forged a new hybrid envirotechnical system: the seaway, like all infrastructures of mobility, was both artificial and natural, a technology and an environment.[15] As such, this transportation network has had enormous environmental repercussions since the 1950s. Water flowing downriver became more polluted after the creation of the seaway. Along with pollution caused directly by construction, large amounts of decomposing plant life released mercury into the water, and water released methane into the air. Submerged infrastructure also leeched various types of toxins, such as oil and fertilizer, and other contaminants. Building the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project reconfigured the local ecosystem and disrupted its aquaculture by restricting the mobility of certain species. Biologist Richard Carignan even contends that the project created three separate channels or ecosystems along the river around Montreal, in contrast to the unified habitat that had existed before construction began.[16] Dams blocked the movement of eels, which could no longer traverse the length of the river until authorities added eel ladders to the Moses-Saunders dam in 1974 and Beauharnois dam in 1994. Planners did give brief consideration to fishways at the beginning of project construction in the mid-1950s. In fact, the *Dominion Fisheries Act* required all dams to provide a fishway, subject to the responsible minister's interpretation. Nonetheless, the federal Department of Lands and Forests

FIGURE 5.6. St. Lawrence Seaway at Montreal. Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada.

decided to forego a fishway because of the greater cost of modifying dams along the St. Lawrence and the "general inefficiency" for the "presumed purpose."[17]

Changes to the river led to other negative consequences for fish. Extensive dredging affected spawning and feeding grounds. Modified water flow and currents also transformed fish habitats, and the intimate relationship between the river and experienced fishermen and boatmen along the Front. Here, the St. Lawrence flowed no longer as a river, but as a lake. Although the greater surface area of the new Lake St. Lawrence led to a significant increase in the number of species living in the nearshore aquatic habitat, water levels were shallow and subject to frequent fluctuations of up to three metres caused by seasonal factors and dam operation.[18]

The long-term impact on wildlife is difficult to determine and largely based on anecdotal evidence. A relative lack of baselines and empirical evidence on pre-seaway conditions complicates our understanding of the situation, but some exceptions exist. In the two years before construction began, botanists from the Canadian Department of Agriculture studied plant life on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence Valley. Reflecting the standardizing and synoptic aspects of the state's high modernist logic, as well as the belief that progress justified environmental sacrifices, they predicted that the St. Lawrence project was unlikely to eliminate any unique species, particularly as the IRS "contained no species of specific floristic interest."[19] In the decades since the seaway opened for traffic, many elements of its local ecosystem have recovered and new species have thrived, testifying to the resiliency of nature.[20] For example, while some species of birds suffered, duck populations seem to have increased because of more conducive shoreline environment.

The disposal of spoil from construction and dredging also had an impact on various species' access to the river. Although it is a challenge to track all dumping locations given the magnitude of the project and the various agencies involved, the bulk of the spoil seems to have become part of dikes and shorelines or been dumped on the river bottom. Construction firms used spoil to build the Cornwall dike on the river's north shore and the Laprairie dike on the south shore.

Engineering blueprints show that other spoil sites included raised areas beside the Snell and Iroquois locks, the south shore opposite the Iroquois dam, and various underwater disposal sites such as the area between Sparrowhawk Point and Toussaint Island.[21] But in some cases, firms also discarded material without much thought. In places such as Kahnawake and Iroqouis, marine clay spoil proved a nuisance because it was more expensive and problematic to build upon. At Iroquois, contractors dumped spoil from nearby excavations on the former townsite, thereby saving the abandoned area from inundation by putting it above the new waterline. However, since this fill was marine clay, the former townsite along the riverfront was turned into parkland and an airport, giving the appearance that the town had not had to move at all.

Another prominent concern is that the ballast water from ocean-going vessels travelling through the seaway introduced invasive marine species, which have taken advantage of increased global mobility.[22] These introduced organisms can wreak environmental and economic damage. Zebra mussels are among the most prominent examples because of their mass population explosion throughout the Great Lakes basin and their propensity to gather en masse on, and clog, water and power plant intakes. Other foreign species started ecological domino effects. Concerned governments or agencies apparently overlooked the possibility that the seaway could enable the infiltration of invasive species, despite the fact that exotic organisms had been known to move throughout the Great Lakes following construction of the Welland Canal. Of the more than 180 invasive species that have infiltrated the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence basin since the early nineteenth century, experts estimate that about one-third have arrived since the seaway's opening in 1959.[23] However, recent research has complicated our understanding of invasive species and their links to ecological change. Some of the species that scientists have labelled as "invasive," such as sea lamprey, may either predate the seaway or be native to the Great Lakes.[24] Moreover, invasive species were not an inevitable result of the seaway. For example, invasive species enter the seaway mainly via ships' ballast water; if action had been taken earlier to regulate foreign vessels, many of these invasions might have been prevented. At any rate,

the seaway tended to circumscribe the mobility of native species while increasing the fluidity of foreign species.

In spite of high modernism's drive for domination, natural forces had a significant influence on the construction and operation of the seaway. Since canals require water for operation, location is based on local geography (many canal systems do lead away from their water supply, but in doing so require greater time, effort, and expenditure). In this regard, canals are more dependent on the environments in which they exist than are other transportation modes such as railways and highways. Seasonality was a key consideration, which is not surprising for a water-based route flowing through a northern country. As Ken Cruikshank underlines in his chapter on the Intercolonial Railway, the St. Lawrence ices over during colder months. From the earliest contemplations of a St. Lawrence project, winter ice formation—particularly frazil ice—had concerned engineers.[25] During the 1950s, ice seemed to be the one natural force that experts feared was beyond their ability to control. They worried that ice jams would form at the dams or in the river, causing floods, damage, and reduced power production. Ice also restricted the movement of ships. But these icy challenges only inspired these engineers to work harder to subdue such natural forces.[26] Engineers experimented with dam designs, altered river flows and temperatures, brought in icebreaking ships, and created booms in order to alter ice formation patterns. Since the seaway's opening, technological advances such as bubblers have lengthened the shipping season to the point that the seaway is now closed for only about three months, starting at the end of December. Yet environmentalists are concerned about the environmental damage, claiming that practices to extend the navigability season lead to shoreline scarring and other negative consequences for the ecosystem.[27]

Conclusion: A Mixed Mobility Legacy

The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project has a mixed legacy. As demonstrated in 2009 by the subdued fiftieth anniversary of the seaway's opening, the St. Lawrence project is uncelebrated in the Canadian imagination, particularly when compared to other national

transportation megaprojects. This likely stems from the abandonment of the all-Canadian plan for a joint bilateral seaway, the failure of the deep waterway to live up to expectations of bulk cargo traffic, and its social and environmental consequences. Advocates of seaway expansion contend that the lower emissions and fossil fuel consumption of bulk water transportation make it environmentally friendlier than alternatives such as road and rail.[28] Perhaps significant fossil fuel and transportation paradigm shifts in the future will make the seaway more attractive than alternative modes. Even though seaway traffic did not meet the lofty prognostications, it is important to acknowledge that it did function largely as the experts had planned, and much of the environmental damage was considered a necessary side effect of reaping the megaproject's benefits. The hydroelectric-generation side of the project generally fulfilled expectations and aided Ontario's industrial expansion.

A canal was an old technology by the mid-twentieth century, an apparently odd fit with the futuristic and progressive outlook associated with high modernist megaprojects. Though canals may have seemed in some ways anachronistic by this time, the seaway's deepwater route could simultaneously combine romantic Canadian nationalist ideas about the St. Lawrence with progressive ideas about technology, transportation, sovereignty, and the conquering of nature. Moreover, larger canals built during the past century were often associated with technological advancement because they enabled the passage of massive modern vessels; contributed to the movement of iron ore, steel, and other goods fundamental to industrial capitalism; and fuelled hydro dams that produced the electricity necessary for the high modernist vision.

A hubristic reordering of nature and infrastructure dominated visions of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. Key to this vision was a transformation of the nature and scale of water-based and land-based mobility. This chapter has attempted to show the environmental implications and high modernist ironies of manipulating mobility along the seaway. The inherent contradiction of a high modernist canal's attempt to dominate the very nature on which it depends makes the seaway a fascinating case study of mobility and environment in Canadian history. By creating new transportation networks attuned to Cold War

and industrial capitalist imperatives, the seaway improved water mobility for certain interests and sectors while impairing movement for many who had lived on and traditionally used the St. Lawrence River. One of the greatest ironies was that, for all the claims of progress and innovation, the seaway canal system became an anachronistic technological artifact soon after it was completed. In many ways, those that the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project promised to help—those who lived along the river—were the ones who paid the cost.

Notes

1 While this razing was undoubtedly a pragmatic consideration, Tina Loo argues that a key aspect of modernity was a rejection of the past, symbolized by the removal of buildings and infrastructure in areas to be flooded as part of hydroelectric projects. The relocation of buildings and resettlement and consolidation of communities was also part of the Arrow Lakes project in British Columbia during the postwar years. Tina Loo, "People in the Way: Modernity, Environment, and Society on the Arrow Lakes," *BC Studies*, nos. 142–143 (2004): 177–80.

2 "International Rapids Section—St. Lawrence River, General Plan Showing Proposed Communities," 1954, Office of the Secretary, Box 1-3 (00272-00335), Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario Records, Toronto (hereafter HEPCO).

3 "St. Lawrence Rehabilitation: Meeting at Osnabruck, 23 November 1954," SPP series, HEPCO.

4 Graeme Wynn characterizes the St. Lawrence project as the epitome of a Canadian high modernist project. Graeme Wynn, *Canada and Arctic North America: An Environmental History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 284.

5 James Murton, "Creating Order: The Liberals, the Landowners, and the Draining of Sumas Lake, British Columbia," *Environmental History* 13, no. 1 (2008): 96, 104; Matthew Farish and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35, no. 3 (2009): 517–44; Tina Loo, "High Modernism and the Nature of Canada" (presentation, York University, Toronto, 5 March 2012); Loo, "People in the Way"; Tina Loo and Meg Stanley, "An Environmental History of Progress: Damming the Peace and Columbia Rivers," *Canadian Historical Review* 92, no. 3 (2011): 399–427; James L. Kenny and Andrew G. Secord, "Engineering Modernity: Hydroelectric Development in New Brunswick, 1945–1970," *Acadiensis* 34, no. 1 (2010): 3–26; Philip Van Huizen, "Building a Green Dam: Environmental Modernism and the Canadian-American Libby Dam

Project," *Pacific Historical Review* 79, no. 3 (2010): 418–53.

6 Loo and Stanley, "Environmental History of Progress," 406. Murton suggests that studies of state attempts to organize society and the environment need to take into account the "state-ideas," which are the "historically specific discursive and ideological formations" that develop in conjunction with the state structure. Farish and Lackenbauer argue in their study of Canadian Arctic planning that the high modernist concept needs to be more precisely attuned to the complexities of history and geography. Murton, "Creating Order," 96, 104; Farish and Lackenbauer, "High Modernism," 519.

7 Joy Parr, *Sensing Changes: Technologies, Environments, and the Everyday, 1953–2003* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

8 "Memorandum to Holden: Land Acquisition—St. Lawrence Project, 3 March 1959," 91.123, HEPCO; "International Rapids Section—St. Lawrence River, General Plan Showing Proposed Communities, 1954," Office of the Secretary, box 1-3 (00272-00335), HEPCO; "New Town No. 1—Initial Stage—Planned for Expansion," n.d., Office of the Secretary, box 1-3 (00272-00335), HEPCO.

9 Bonnie Clarke, interview by author, 15 June 2011.

10 Jim Brownell, interview by author, Lost Villages Historical Society, 16 May 2011; David Hill, interview by author, Lost Villages Historical Society, 22 June 2011.

11 "Assessment of Shoreline Erosion and Marshland Recession Downstream of the St. Lawrence Power Project," joint report by HEPCO and PASNY, March 1983, St. Lawrence Power Application, Correspondence C. McGrath, 68-3-1:2, International Joint Commission (Canadian Section) Archives, Ottawa (hereafter IJC Archives); Stephanie K. Phillips, "The Kahnawake Mohawks and the St. Lawrence Seaway" (MA thesis, McGill University, 2000); Omar Z. Ghobashy, *The Caughnawaga Indians and the St. Lawrence Seaway* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1961).

12 Canada, Department of Transport, General Engineering Branch, "The Great Lakes–St. Lawrence Deep Waterway," by Guy A. Lindsay (Ottawa: Government Printer, June 1949).

13 Timothy Heinmiller, "The St. Lawrence: From River to Marine Superhighway," in *Canadian Water Politics: Conflicts and Institutions*, ed. Mark Sproule-Jones, Carolyn Johns, and Timothy Heinmiller (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 244.

14 In 1998 the federal government turned over operational management of its portion of the seaway to a not-for-profit corporation, the St. Lawrence Seaway Management Corporation (SLSMC), while retaining ownership of infrastructure and regulatory powers. The SLSMC oversees seaway operations in tandem with the American Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation.

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16 Richard Carignan, "Dynamiques écologiques/Ecosystem Dynamics, Panel: Rivières & Fleuves/ Rivers" (paper presented at Positionner le Québec dans l'histoire environnementale mondiale/Positioning Quebec in Global Environmental History conference, Montreal, 3 September 2005); Gregory G. Beck and Bruce Littlejohn, *Voices for the Watershed: Environmental Issues in the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence Drainage Basin* (Montreal/ Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

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22 See Jeff Alexander, *Pandora's Locks: The Opening of the Great Lakes–*

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6

Soils and Subways: Excavating Environments during the Building of Rapid Transit in Toronto, 1944–1968

Jay Young

Originating deep in the earth, it had travelled under the pressure of a massive glacier that ground it to a granular state. There, it rested beside millions of others. The city grew above it, sewer pipes were laid near it. But then it was dug out with a steam shovel and dumped into the back of a truck that journeyed through city streets before reaching the waterfront. There, workers dumped the soil particle on top of other material that had pushed Toronto further into Lake Ontario. In its previous location now sat a concrete tunnel, through which subway cars passed.

Building subways to move people around Toronto first required moving vast amounts of earth. Between 1949 and 1968, construction contractors excavated more than 4.3 million cubic metres of clay, sand, rock, and other materials—almost double the volume of the Great Pyramid of Giza—in order to build thirty-four kilometres of rapid transit across the city. Building subways, like other large infrastructure

projects built to enable mobility, involved a series of related decisions and possibilities. Although this excavation work is largely forgotten today, it stirred up interest among Torontonians during the postwar years. For engineers and scientists, subway excavation provided valuable opportunities to learn about the city's geology. Other Torontonians perceived subway excavation and its associated spoil materials as a problem—including residents who protested the fallen debris from haulage trucks using neighbourhood streets en route to disposal sites. To them, subway spoil imposed an unwanted nuisance and conformed to the definition of dirt as "matter out of place."[1] The need to deposit excavated material also generated new landscapes across the city. Soil and rock from subway construction made useful material for landmaking projects, which often served other transportation modes. Construction contractors arranged with civic authorities to dump excavated material along Toronto's waterfront and further inland, thereby continuing a long process of landscape change that converted outputs of city building and urban life into inputs for landmaking.

Cities have long had complex associations with waste materials such as dirt. A key project of the modern "sanitary city" sought to rid the urban environment of all traces of dirt. Fear of disease and concern for cleanliness motivated late-nineteenth-century cities to build sewers for liquid waste removal and to establish garbage collection systems to remove solid waste.[2] Yet there is another, less dramatic, aspect of dirt's place within the urban environment: the essential role of soils and related materials in the building of transportation infrastructure. The field of mobility studies argues that movement is a social practice embedded with meaning and best understood by considering the ways in which its many forms interact.[3] While work on the intersection of environment and mobility has stressed the ways in which completed transportation infrastructure shaped popular landscape perceptions, environmental experience during construction has received less attention.[4] This paper connects urban environmental history and mobility studies by showing that subway building in Toronto required the movement of dirt within the city, a process that revealed hidden layers, provoked angry responses, and created new landscapes. Improving mobility necessitated short-term discomfort for some people. At the

same time, the movement of millions of cubic metres of earth created opportunities to further transform the urban environment with lasting effects on the shape of the city.

Knowing Subway Dirt

In the early 1940s, the city's transit authority, the Toronto Transportation Commission (TTC), began planning the construction of rapid transit. A north–south Yonge Street line marked the first stage of the scheme. The street was home to Toronto's busiest streetcar route, which connected growing residential areas in the north to the industrial, retail, and office jobs downtown. It was plagued by congestion. The city's topography and pattern of development presented the "underlying cause" of Yonge Street's bottlenecks, as ravines, a midtown escarpment, a cemetery, a rail line, and a general east–west street pattern prevented the construction of new north–south roads.[5] The TTC revised its rapid transit plan with the advice of Toronto consultant Norman D. Wilson and the U.S. engineering firm DeLeuw, Cather & Company. The commission hoped to prepare detailed plans and contract specifications so construction could begin after the end of World War II, when labour and supplies became available. Rapid transit was part of larger plans during wartime to re-engineer Toronto in the postwar era—a time when municipal decision makers predicted the need for new and expanded networks of transportation infrastructure and other projects to service a growing metropolis that had suffered years of neglect during the Depression and wartime. Toronto was one of the few cities in North America that built a new rapid transit system in the first two decades after 1945, in part because of the political strength and financial independence of the TTC as well as the common perception held by many civic leaders that new roads designed for automobiles would be unable to solve all traffic congestion problems.[6]

As part of preliminary preparations for the subway, the TTC engaged Dr. Robert F. Legget to serve as consultant for subsurface investigations. Legget, an associate professor of civil engineering at the University of Toronto, had spent years working in the construction industry. His work, along with the formation of a soil studies section

within the TTC's Rapid Transit Department, illustrate the high value that the commission placed on scientific information about soil and bedrock conditions—crucial to subway design and construction.[7] Attention to geology, for example, would allow contract tender documents to anticipate the specific volume of rock excavation, which influenced the price of contractor bids.[8] Legget began his consultancy work by studying previous boring tests and oral descriptions from construction superintendents related to the Yonge Street corridor. In March 1944, he recommended that the TTC carry out its own boring tests along the route. The commission conducted tests in thirty-seven locations and sent collected materials to the University of Toronto's civil engineering laboratories for analysis.[9]

The results of the test boring allowed Legget to map the earth strata anticipated along the route. The southernmost section sat on shale and limestone bedrock, while the remainder of excavation proceeded through glacial till, clay, silt, sand, and gravel. Geological information allowed Legget to predict possible construction concerns; he warned, for example, that contractors might encounter undetected glacial boulders.[10] The environmental knowledge gained from these studies revealed the geological processes that had laid deep layers of soil above bedrock. Along with the operational benefits of a shallow subway, this knowledge influenced the TTC's decision to build underground portions close to the surface using a cut-and-cover method rather than tunnel boring (fig. 6.1).[11] Soil studies, then, reduced the contingencies of subway building.[12] Legget also asserted that construction offered an additional opportunity: "Excavation for the proposed subway will reveal information of inestimable value. . . . Fossils may be found, and new light may be shed upon the correlation of the Toronto interglacial beds." Geology is a discipline rooted in place that often relies on excavations as research sites. It is also a form of environmental knowledge grounded not only in practical concerns, but also in advancing the understanding of the earth's development over past millennia. Removing soil layers in downtown Toronto provided an opportunity to contribute to geological knowledge in an urban setting.[13]

Legget knew that excavations conducted for transportation infrastructure had a long history of advancing the study of geology. The

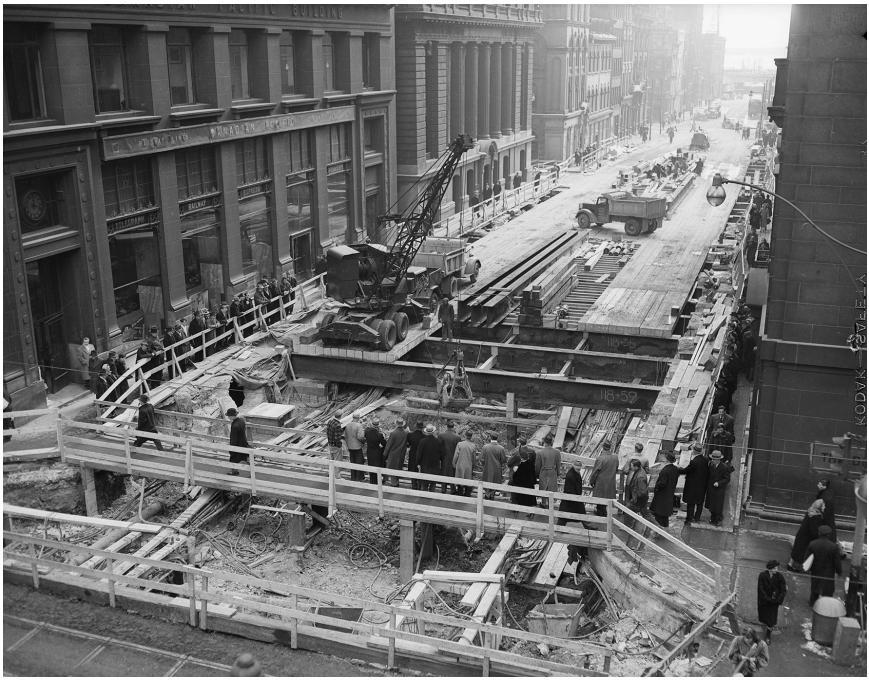

FIGURE 6.1. Cut-and-cover subway construction along Yonge Street, c. 1949. Courtesy of City of Toronto Archives.

construction of canals and railways in nineteenth-century Britain had given the young disciplines of geology and paleontology a growing number of field sites at which to study the earth's layers and prehistoric life.[14] Promotion of the reciprocal relationships between engineering and geology—particularly in urban environments home to complex building projects—remained a central ambition of Legget throughout his career and was a fundamental argument in his book, *Cities and Geology* (1973).[15] Legget also knew that the Toronto area had long been a prominent location for geological research. In the 1890s, A.P. Coleman began to study the fossils and earth revealed by excavations at Toronto's Don Valley Brickworks to promote the theory of interglaciation, which posits that phases of warm climate interrupted glacial periods during the Pleistocene epoch.[16] Except for natural exposures, present in river valleys and lakeside cliffs, excavation sites like brickworks, road cuts,

wells, and building foundations offered geologists the best opportunities to view Toronto's stratigraphy. The significance of Toronto's interglacial beds to the understanding of the Pleistocene epoch added to the exciting potential that subway construction offered for geological research.

After the end of the war, the TTC had to wait for an opportune time to start work on the city's first subway, because of the shortage of labour and construction materials in the immediate postwar period. Meanwhile, Legget left the University of Toronto to head the National Research Council's (NRC) Division of Building Research, established in 1947 to assist the growing Canadian construction industry.[17] From Ottawa, Legget continued to correspond with TTC officials about using its subway construction sites as scientific laboratories. He offered the commission an NRC research engineer to observe construction, a relationship that Legget hoped would lead to the publication of papers in engineering periodicals. This arrangement, Legget wrote, was the method by which the young NRC building division hoped "to co-operate on major construction operations in Canada."[18]

The TTC accepted Legget's offer. The NRC's research engineer, W.R. Schriever, made soil records and submitted weekly reports.[19] Research papers studied issues such as strains on the temporary decking that covered excavation and noise levels after the Yonge line entered operation.[20] Legget and Schriever reflected that the experience had illustrated that "invaluable information in several different fields . . . could be obtained in no other way than on a major construction job." The "most satisfying aspect" of research, however, had been the "unexciting fact" that soil conditions conformed to Legget's earlier outline.[21] The commission stipulated that construction contractors permit "scientific observers" to visit their excavation sites, provided that such access did not inhibit construction work.[22] To coordinate such visits, Legget suggested the formation of a geological advisory committee, chaired by the University of Toronto's head of geological sciences and including Legget along with members of the Royal Ontario Museum, the Ontario Department of Mines, the Ontario Research Foundation, and the TTC. An advisory committee continued to sit during the construction of subsequent subway lines.[23]

The geological research done at Toronto's subway excavations produced no major breakthroughs, but the fleeting opportunity to inspect previously hidden strata refined earlier postulations and provided local research sites for geology students. For example, master's student H.A. Gorrell examined the shale bedrock and fossils exposed during the building of the Yonge subway's southern section.[24] Archie Watt of the Ontario Department of Mines used his excavation inspections to challenge an earlier understanding about the geological stage of interglacial deposits found in the Don brickworks.[25] In the 1960s, Emory Latjai surveyed test boreholes and viewed excavations along the Bloor-Danforth subway as evidence for his Ph.D. thesis. Latjai correlated most deposits with geological analyses of other nearby areas, but he paid particular attention to peaty sediment not found in previous exposures. The discovery influenced him to hypothesize that "sediments of glacial readvance" separated the Don and Scarborough formation beds.[26]

The TTC's contractors did not move earth for the purpose of producing geological knowledge, and so the use of a construction site for scientific research presented some challenges. Most obvious, researchers could observe only those layers required for construction. Except for the southerly sections of the Yonge and University subways, excavation took place within soil, not bedrock. Construction conditions also influenced the accuracy of researchers' observations. For instance, Gorrell noted that fossils were collected "under adverse lighting conditions, and continual construction work made systematic collecting impossible." Therefore, he confessed, the fossil listing used for analysis was "adequate" but not "exhaustive."[27] Watt also remarked on the challenges of research. When contractors covered sections before he had made observations, opportunities to examine exposures were lost and attempts to correlate the geological formations with other locations were weakened. Watt also admitted to ambiguity in the number of glacial till layers found in one site. "This apparent uncertainty," he disclosed, "is attributed to the fact that most of the examination of the section was done by flashlight below a street covering."[28]

The Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) preserved NRC soil samples at the suggestion of the advisory committee.[29] In 1955, a year after the Yonge subway had begun service, the museum mounted a small

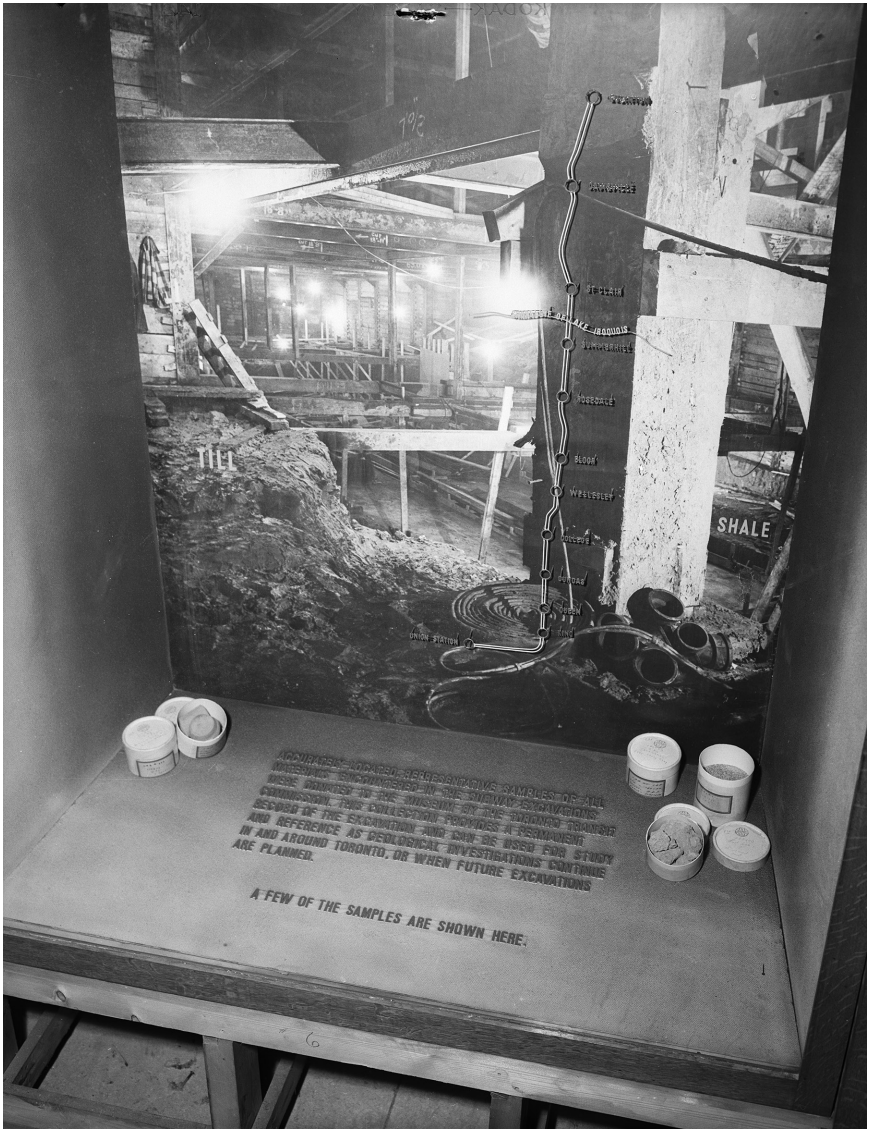

Figure 6.2. One of three panels from the Royal Ontario Museum's display about Yonge Street subway geology, c. 1955. Courtesy of City of Toronto Archives.

exhibit about the geology along the route (fig. 6.2). TTC general manager W.E.P. Duncan recommended that the commission contribute more than eight hundred dollars towards display costs in the belief that it should "prove most valuable for future guidance to our engineers and others as it provides a permanent record of soil conditions along the route of the subway."[30] The display included geological cross-section representations of downtown, with skyscrapers above the underground subway structure and layers of soil and bedrock. It became a prominent attraction for the museum's revamped geological section, which, according to the ROM's 1955 annual report, used "modern methods of display . . . to depict geological processes and the change from cases full of . . . regimented species is very marked. Visitors, both scientists and laymen, have been quick to voice their appreciation."[31] Long after construction of the Yonge subway had ceased, its excavated material continued to educate people about Toronto's geology. At a time when postwar growth had led to transformations within the city's built environment aboveground, digging into the earth to build subways facilitated greater knowledge of what lay underneath.

Moving Subway Dirt

While subway excavation stirred the interest of geologists and engineers, others had negative impressions of construction and its spoil material. The building of highways and other transportation routes has caused pollution, imposed spatial division, and had other environmental impacts on urban neighbourhoods, and opposition to such negative consequences increased during the 1960s across Canada and the United States.[32] These kinds of urban infrastructure projects involved moving large quantities of construction and waste materials, often with negative outcomes for local populations. In Toronto, the convoys of dump trucks that hauled earth away from subway construction locations through local streets to reach disposal sites stirred complaints and even protests from residents. The most prominent campaign emerged in Rosedale, an affluent neighbourhood and home to residents who took offence to subway spoil being hauled along their streets and dumped in Chorley Park, a local amenity (see figure 6.3 for known subway spoil disposal

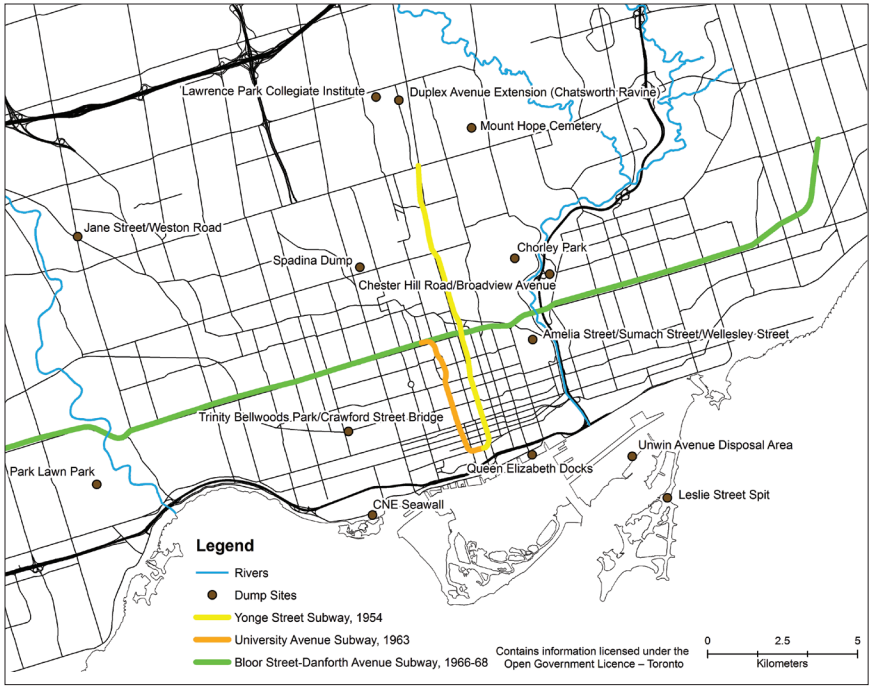

FIGURE 6.3. Subway spoil disposal locations, 1949–1968. Map by Steven Langlois and University of Saskatchewan HGIS Laboratory.

locations). Rayner Construction, a subway contractor, had begun to dump excavation material in the park in 1950 and hoped to deposit more fill there. Rayner had been searching for disposal sites following the decision of East York, a suburban municipality on the northeast fringe of the city, and the Don Valley Conservation Authority, established in 1948, to ban subway spoil dumping on the east side of the Don Valley. A construction company had purchased the valley site with the intention of eventually using the new land for development, but the conservation authority claimed that the dumping of clay and rubble threatened animal and plant life.[33] Toronto's mayor, H.E. McCallum—at Rayner's request—convinced the federal government to continue to permit filling operations at the park. "While providing the contractor

with a location to dump," the mayor wrote, "the arrangement at the same time greatly improves the value of Chorley Park."[34]

Disposing of spoil at Chorley Park relieved the contractor and "improve[d]" the property, but it also aggravated local residents. Complaints about dumping in Chorley Park started in January 1951, when a Rosedale resident protested that "no effort" had been made to relieve the "disgraceful state and condition" of the sidewalks on a street used to transport "hundreds of truck loads of clay brought from the subway work." In the course of hauling material from the excavation site to Chorley Park and back, dirt inevitably fell from the trucks' open-box beds and mud-caked wheels. During the past week, the resident observed, a winter mild spell had mixed melting snow with the soil, turning the sidewalk into "a sea of soft mucky clay." More dramatically, the homes "in this otherwise clean section are becoming a never-ending track of mud." In just one day, he claimed, mud had splashed hundreds of pedestrians, their clothing dirtied and shoes damaged. The city's street-cleaning commissioner instructed his department to contact the contractor, but complaints continued. The commissioner reported that his department had devoted special attention to subway construction sites and haulage routes, but admitted the existence of an "abnormal situation" at Chorley Park.[35]

Grievances about the movement of soil through the neighbourhood soon made newspaper headlines. The *Toronto Star* published photographs of residents who were "vigorously protesting [the] mud and dust nuisance" that plagued the neighbourhood. In the article's dramatic description, the "ceaseless parade of trucks match[ed] the din of a factory area," as if the haulage path had temporarily converted the residential area into an industrial environment. Locals claimed that the dirt had prompted a decline in property values, and they demanded lower taxes as compensation. Those living along Douglas Drive, the road with the worst conditions, even "threatened to barricade the street and guard it against truck traffic until something is done to remedy conditions." The article also framed the situation as an environmental health issue by linking the dirt to reports that eight homes on one street were stricken with the flu. "No wonder," one woman concluded; "this street's so dusty it's a breeding place for disease."[36] She was not the only individual

to connect fallen dirt from haulage—an unintended consequence of subway construction—to health concerns. A resident living north of Rosedale believed "the dirt and muck caused by the trucks carrying away the dirt from the new Subway diggings must be causing a lot of disease . . . [because] these streets are absolutely filthy."[37] According to the rhetoric of some residents, then, the movement of subway dirt caused not only unsightly streets, but also physical illness.

The city's Board of Control decided that dumping at Chorley Park could continue for another six weeks and promised residents that civic departments and Rayner would work to improve the situation.[38] Press coverage continued a month later with reports on the rescue of a teenage boy who had become trapped in the site's sinking soils, which had originated as subway spoil.[39] Complaints about excavated dirt were also made during construction of the Bloor-Danforth line in the early 1960s, including one alderman's criticism of "debris" found north of Danforth Avenue between Broadview and Pape avenues.[40] Residents living near the future Greenwood subway yards protested the stink as contractors excavated more than 57,300 cubic metres of refuse from the site, a former garbage dump.[41] Yet the limited evidence of such objections suggests that these protests never reached the intensity of those by Rosedale residents in the early 1950s. Possibly contractors for the Bloor-University-Danforth subways did a better job of ensuring a minimal impact by subway spoil on residential areas, but a more convincing explanation is that most subway construction and spoil movement in the first half of the 1960s occurred near less well-heeled neighbourhoods, whose residents had less access to the resources required for directed opposition. Subway building led to long-term benefits for many Torontonians, but some residents felt the consequences of its materiality more than most.

Disposing of Subway Dirt

Excavated soil from subway construction altered the physical shape of Toronto. Subway contractors saw spoil as a waste, something to dispose of as cheaply as possible. Pitts, Johnson, Drake, and Perini, the Canadian-American consortium that built two downtown sections of

the Yonge subway, broke down its successful tender bid by noting the estimated cost per cubic yard of excavation, including its subcontracted haulage costs.[42] Contract specifications for the Yonge subway stipulated the contractor's duty to dispose of spoil, but the TTC reserved the right to designate dumping sites and would compensate the contractor if disposal cost more in other locations than in previously agreed sites.[43] From a different perspective, municipal authorities conceived of excavated soil as a potentially useful building material. The TTC had thought about subway excavation material as early as 1944, realizing a window of opportunity for municipal projects that required fill. "The disposal of this material is a considerable item of expense," wrote consultant Wilson. "If other civic works can be furthered by the use of this waste material, such uses should be favoured."[44] The TTC identified twenty-six possible dumping locations, ranging from ravines to the waterfront to an east-end brickyard.[45]

In February 1949, as construction loomed closer, the TTC inquired whether government departments and commissions desired any of the estimated 765,000 cubic metres of Yonge subway spoil. Determining suitable disposal sites before contract tendering, the commission felt, would assist the TTC, the city, and contractors.[46] By May, the TTC's chief engineer had planned for material from the Yonge subway's southerly contracts to be disposed of at Toronto Harbour Commission (THC) sites, and he hoped to arrange agreements between contractors and city authorities regarding the northerly sections.[47] Similar practice preceded construction of the Bloor-Danforth subway, when the TTC informed the city, Metro Toronto (the higher-level metropolitan municipality), the THC, and the Ontario Department of Highways that approximately 1.1 million cubic metres of "sand, clay, silt and other types of soil" would be made available by excavation between Keele Street and Woodbine Avenue. Once again, contractors were responsible for the disposal of excavation material, but if other government bodies expressed interest, the TTC would make arrangements, but bear none of the cost. The TTC became, in effect, a supplier of landmaking materials, mediating between its contractors and other government bodies.[48]

A dispute between the THC and the contractor for the Yonge subway's southerly section illustrates the TTC's role in balancing

government demand for subway spoil and contractor concern about haulage costs. Since its creation in the early 1910s, the THC had infilled portions of the city's harbour to make land and generate revenue.[49] THC landmaking projects were often tied to transportation infrastructure. Starting in the 1910s, it used spoil from construction of the Union Station railway terminal, along with municipal waste and dredged silt, to convert the marshes of Ashbridges Bay into industrial lands.[50] The THC's first harbour priority after World War II was the completion of docks in order to increase shipping capacity, in anticipation of higher demand for docking space from the St. Lawrence Seaway Project.[51] In April 1949, the THC's general manager informed the TTC of two locations where it had use for subway spoil: the docks being constructed between Jarvis and Parliament streets required 230,000 cubic metres of fill, while a site at Unwin Avenue needed around 765,000 cubic metres.[52] The THC had recently sold land to the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission and Consumer's Gas.[53] These land deals required fill to move Unwin Avenue south towards the lake, so it soon became the THC's preferred location for subway spoil.[54]

In late 1949, only months after subway construction had begun, the THC refused to accept excavated material at its Jarvis-Parliament docks. It now wanted the material to be deposited at its Unwin Avenue location. However, the TTC's construction contractor estimated that using the Unwin site added six kilometres to each dump truck trip—and thus more than ninety thousand dollars to contract costs. A TTC official warned the THC that the contractor "might conceivably purchase a ravine lot and fill it up" to ensure lower haulage costs, resulting in less material for harbour projects.[55] Following months of discussion, all sides reached an agreement. The contractor promised to deliver 115,000 cubic metres of subway spoil to the Jarvis-Parliament docks and an equal amount to Unwin Avenue, with no charge to the THC for additional haulage costs.[56]

Subway spoil continued to serve THC ends as rapid transit expanded throughout the metropolitan area. Today, one of Toronto's most distinctive landscape features is the Leslie Street Spit, which was built as the Outer Harbour East Headwater and intended in the 1960s as the breakwater for a new harbour that was planned for the area east of the

city's downtown. Rather than build a traditional concrete breakwater, THC engineers began to experiment with fill.[57] In October 1961, the TTC informed the THC's chief engineer about spoil anticipated from the Bloor-Danforth subway. The engineer subsequently recommended a study to determine whether a new headland could be built from "very large quantities of fill [that] will be available next year from such sources as Subway construction."[58] Subway spoil along with dredged silt and rubble from downtown construction projects was used to build the spit.[59] Subway construction continued to provide fill into the 1970s, as the THC gladly received spoil from the building of subsequent subway lines.[60] Since that time, the spit has become a dramatic addition to the urban landscape, particularly as a prized location for birdwatching.[61]

Ironically, municipal authorities also used subway spoil to facilitate automobility. In 1948, City Council authorized construction of a bridge to extend Duplex Avenue north across the Chatsworth Ravine. Two years later, the City of Toronto's works commissioner observed that construction of northerly sections of the Yonge subway promised to make "a larger quantity of free fill available. This could be placed on the Duplex Avenue Extension and also on the bottom of the ravine . . . which would greatly improve its use for park purposes." His words illustrate not only popular thinking that saw ravine infilling as a means to create improved park spaces, but also the ways in which spoil saved capital expenditures for the municipal corporation. The commissioner estimated that the use of excavation material eliminated the need for a bridge, saving the city almost two hundred thousand dollars, or half of the extension project costs.[62]

Infilling the Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) seawall with subway spoil from the University line also saved municipal funds. Metro Toronto Council agreed in June 1958 to develop a park area of approximately fifteen to twenty hectares by filling the area between the lakeshore and its breakwater. The city subtracted the new land against the three hectares of CNE parklands that Metro Toronto had taken in order to build the Gardiner Expressway north of the exhibition grounds. The decision fell in line with the city's policy requiring that new parklands be created to replace those taken for infrastructure projects. Establishing new parkland from existing land, according to Metro

Toronto chair Fred Gardiner, could cost over twenty million dollars. Using fill from subway construction and other anticipated projects was a cheaper proposition.[63] Subway spoil provided much of the fill for the project. Although recreational boating clubs—which objected to the loss of the protected channel between the shore and the breakwater—succeeded in reducing the size of the project, filling operations had created eight hectares of new land by early 1962. That summer, the land served as a parking lot for CNE attendees.[64]

Another site transformed by subway fill was Trinity-Bellwoods Park, located in a working-class neighbourhood on the city's west side. The park featured a neoclassical bridge built in 1915 that spanned Crawford Street across remnants of the Garrison Creek ravine. In 1963, the city parks commissioner decided to fill the ditch and bury the bridge. Official memory, in the form of a Heritage Toronto plaque that commemorates the Crawford Street Bridge, notes that "portions of the ravine were then filled in, here with earth from subway excavation in the 1960s."[65] Although no documentation connects the filling operation to subway spoil, Bloor-Danforth subway excavation was likely the source; it took place about a kilometre from the park site.[66] More recently, some Torontonians have viewed the filling operation with regret. Burying the Crawford Street Bridge, they feel, was an architectural and environmental loss in an immigrant neighbourhood lacking the resources to be heard at city hall. They believe that the city needed somewhere to dispose of the dirt, and the park valley was an easy option.[67] Indeed, structural considerations fail to explain why the bridge was buried. The works commissioner observed at the time that "there is no immediate necessity to abandon the existing Crawford Street Bridge as there is considerable life remaining in this structure."[68] However, as seen at the Chatsworth Ravine and the CNE, Toronto's officials saw infilling as a way to create or improve parkland in both affluent and modest neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood residents may have even perceived the filling operation as a positive measure. With the disposal of excavated soil, the subway's impact on the urban fabric extended far beyond its tracks and tunnels.

Conclusion

Toronto's subways illustrate how the construction of mobility pathways prompted people to come face to face with the earth below the surface of a city. Environmental historians emphasize the need to consider the materiality of nature's past; they seek to answer this question: "Where is the dirt?"[69] Although dirt here is a metaphor for wider biological and ecological processes, this chapter has shown that the understanding of dirt, its movement and role in reshaping urban landscapes, and the human responses it provoked tie together the desire for mobility within the physical realities of the urban environment. Whether geologists viewing excavated chasms in search of previously hidden soil strata, or Rosedale residents protesting against the mud that temporarily threatened their prestigious neighbourhood, people came in contact with some of the material flows necessitated by the creation of mobility corridors. Likewise, contractors and municipal authorities also thought about dirt when they considered what to do with the millions of cubic metres of spoil generated by excavation. Paying attention to dirt broadens our understandings not only of the effects of mobility infrastructure on everyday landscapes, but also of the essential influence of the earth's materiality on mobility.

Subway construction in Toronto carried on after 1968, with the TTC continuing to extend rapid transit into suburban areas. System expansion meant that contractors continued to excavate, move, and dispose of millions more cubic metres of material in the name of urban mobility. In some cases, environmental conditions posed distinct challenges for subsequent subway construction, particularly the difficulty contractors faced in 1970 when they encountered highly permeable soils during tunnelling operations to extend the Yonge subway north into suburban North York. The environmental movement of the late 1960s and 1970s also influenced subway building, as city dwellers protested the impact of the Spadina line's cut-and-cover construction on the Cedarvale-Nordheimer ravine system. Although the residents' campaign drew from the increasingly popular language of ecology, it also echoed earlier complaints, by East York politicians and members

of the Don Valley Conservation Authority, about spoil dumping in ravines in the early 1950s.

Enhancing mobility in the twentieth-century city was dirty work. New networks of movement could only be developed by moving massive amounts of dirt, scraped from the bowels of the earth. The challenge for engineers and politicians was to find a purpose and a place for this material—it had to go somewhere. Today, such excavated material is integrated within the landscape and largely forgotten, but there is an underground history of environment and mobility within urban networks. Construction of a subway system in Toronto changed the shape of the city, and not only below the surface.

Notes

1 Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger: *An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge/Kegan Paul, 1966), 35.

2 Martin V. Melosi, *The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructure in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

3 Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (London: Routledge, 2006); Georgine Clarsen, "Gender and Mobility: Historicizing the Terms," in *Mobility in History: The State of the Art in the History of Transport, Traffic and Mobility*, eds. Gijs Mom, Gordon Pirie, and Laurent Tissot (Neuchâtel: Éditions Alphil/Presses universitaires suisses, 2009), 235.

4 Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the 19th Century*, trans. Anselm Hollo (New York: Urizen, 1979); David Louter, *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads and Nature in Washington's National Parks* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).

5 Norman D. Wilson, "Reasons Underlying Decision to Construct Initial Subways in Toronto on Yonge and Queen Streets," 25 February 1945, p. 1, fonds 16, series 836, subseries 2, file 50, City of Toronto Archives (hereafter CTA).

6 Jay Young, "Searching for a Better Way: Subway Life and Metropolitan Growth in Toronto, 1942–1978" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 2012).

7 Toronto Transportation Commission (TTC), Rapid Transit Department, "Organization as of June 14th, 1944," p. 2, Norman Douglas Wilson fonds, vol. 36, file 16, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (hereafter LAC).

8 Tender in folder "Yonge Street Subway, C.A. Pitts General Contractor Limited et al and Toronto Transportation

Commission," n.d., fonds 16, series 274, file 21, CTA.

9 "Soil Studies for Toronto Subway," *Roads and Bridges* 83, no. 2 (1945): 49, 52, 136.

10 Ibid., 142.

11 R.F. Legget and W.R. Schriever, "Site Investigations for Canada's First Underground Railway" (National Research Council of Canada, Division of Building Research, Research Paper No. 93, 1960), 2. This report was originally published in *Civil Engineering* 55, no. 642 (1960): 73–79. Escalator costs, a desire to keep the subway structure close to the surface in order to integrate rapid transit with surface transit routes, and other operational factors also influenced the use of cut-and-cover.

12 Dale H. Porter discusses the concept of contingency in engineering projects, in *The Thames Embankment: Environment, Technology, and Society in Victorian London* (Akron, OH: University of Akron Press, 1998), 191–92, 213–17.

13 "Soil Studies," 51–52.

14 Michael Freeman, *Victorians and the Prehistoric: Tracks to a Lost World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 9–51. Suzanne Zeller examines the growth of geological study in nineteenth-century Canada and its impact on conceptions of a transcontinental Canadian nation-state, in *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

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35 Toronto resident to H.D. Bradley, 19 January 1951, [H.D. Bradley] to Toronto resident, 25 January 1951, and [H.D. Bradley] to H.E. McCallum and the Board of Control, 1 March 1951, p. 2, all at fonds 200, series 1234, file 457, CTA; City of Toronto Board of Control Minutes, Minute 686, 27 February 1951, fonds 200, series 779, file 103, CTA. Names of private individuals in restricted files are listed as "Toronto resident." The city's traffic engineer informed the Board of Control that trucks were prohibited ("not supposed to") from using the residential streets in question, but asked, "But what else can they do?" "Order Bradley Explain Why Rosedale Mud Not Cleaned," *Toronto Star*, 8 March 1951.

36 "3 to 4 Inches of Mud on Roads, Block Sewer Cause Illness, Is Claim," *Toronto Star*, 8 March 1951.

37 Toronto resident to Mayor Allan A. Lamport, 8 April 1952, fonds 200, series 361, subseries 1, file 246, CTA.

38 "Can Dump Subway Mud in Chorley Park," *Toronto Star*, 9 March 1951.

39 "Floating Landslide of Clay From Subway Traps Boy, 13," *Toronto Star*, 2 April 1951.

40 City of Toronto Committee on Public Works Minutes (hereafter CTCPWM), Minute 165, 20 February 1963, fonds 200, series 579, file 88, CTA.

41 Paul Hunt, "It's Metro's Ditch in Time," *Toronto Telegram*, 28 August 1965.

42 Tender in folder "Yonge Street Subway, C.A. Pitts."

43 TTC, "General Conditions and General Specifications For Subway Construction," February 1949, p. 50, fonds 16, series 274, file 1, CTA. In one instance, the TTC—having requested a contractor to dispose of fill in the basements of excavated buildings off Yonge Street, on Summerhill and Woodlawn Avenue—agreed to reimburse the contractor because the haulage rate was higher than the agreed base rate. E.R. Tryhorn to A.W. Salmon, "James Walker Invoices," 5 October 1950, fonds 16, series 274, file 21, CTA.

44 N.D.W[ilson]., "Disposal of Excess Excavation," n.d. [in folder dated 1944], pp. 4–5, Norman Douglas Wilson fonds, vol. 36, file 19, LAC. Toronto was not alone in realizing the usefulness of dirt from subway construction; Montreal expanded Île Sainte-Hélène and created Île Notre-Dame for Expo 67 using excavated materials from the construction of its metro (along with over six million tons of dredging from the St. Lawrence). Jeffrey Stanton, "Building Expo 67," 9 March 1997, accessed 6 November 2010, http://www.

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47 C.P. VanNorman, "Meeting at City Hall—Rapid Transit Subway," 6 May 1949, p. 3, fonds 16, series 1533, file 82, CTA.

48 TTC Minutes, Report No. S10, Meeting No. 465, 11 October 1961, fonds 16, series 203, file 36, CTA.,.

49 Roy Merrens, "Port Authorities as Urban Land Developers: The Case of the Toronto Harbour Commissioners and Their Outer Harbour Project, 1912–68," *Urban History Review* 17, no. 2 (1988): 92–93.

50 James O'Mara, "Shaping Urban Waterfronts: The Role of Toronto's Harbour Commissioners, 1911–1960" (Discussion Paper No. 13, York University, Department of Geography, March 1976), 51.

51 Merrens, "Port Authorities," 98.

52 F.R. Scandrett to [W.E.P.] Duncan, "Yonge Street Subway—Disposal of Excavated Soil," 6 April 1949, pp. 1–2, fonds 16, series 1533, file 22, CTA.

53 Merrens, "Port Authorities," 98; O'Mara, "Shaping Urban Waterfronts,"50.

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55 W.E.P. Duncan, "Yonge Street Subway—Disposal of Excavated Soil," 19 December 1949, p. 3, fonds 16, series 1533, file 22, CTA.

56 Untitled Draft Agreement, 31 January 1950, p. 1, RG 3/3, box 260, file 16, TPAA; THC, Minute Book, Minute 16210, 21 February 1950, p. 196, RG 1/1, TPAA.

57 Merrens, "Port Authorities," 101.

58 J. Jones to E.B. Griffith, "Outer Harbour Studies—McNamara Engineering Limited," 26 October 1961, RG 3/3, box 238, file 20, TPAA; TTC Minutes, Report No. S10, 1961. The THC wanted any quantities of clean fill from the Bloor-Danforth subway (except spoil) excavated to create the Greenwood subway yard, which had previously served as a waste disposal site.

59 In 1962, subway excavation generated 153,000 cubic metres of fill for the spit, growing the following year to 291,000 cubic metres, or 55 percent of the total clean fill received by the THC in 1963. In 1964, subway fill made up 306,000 cubic metres of received fill—part of the record 994,000 cubic metres that reclaimed sixteen hectares for the outer harbour that year. On the days of June 11 and 12, 1964, 42 percent of fill came from subway construction, but on November 18, the largest single source of fill that day was the Toronto-Dominion Centre, which had broken ground on November 12, 1964. See THC, *Annual Report for the Port of Toronto*, 1962, p. 9, RG 1/2, TPAA; W. Colvin, "Disposal Area No. 2 Materials Received 1964," 12 January 1965, RG 3/3, box 238, file 20, TPAA;

THC, *Annual Report for the Port of Toronto*, 1963, RG 1/2, TPAA; THC, *Annual Report for the Port of Toronto*, 1964, p. 8, RG 1/2, TPAA; THC, "Source of Fill Material Survey Leslie St. Disposal Area June 11th & 12th 1964" (map), 18 June 1964, RG 3/3, box 238, file 20, TPAA; THC, "Source and Type of Fill Material Leslie St. Disposal Area Survey Taken Nov. 18. 64" (map), 2 March 1965, RG 3/3, box 238, file 20, TPAA.

60 J.H. Jones, "Memo to Be Brought Forward May 10, 1967," 27 February 1967, RG 3/3, box 238, file 22, TPAA.

61 Jennifer Foster and Gail Fraser, "Predators, Prey and the Dynamics of Change at the Leslie Street Spit," in *Urban Explorations: Environmental Histories of the Toronto Region*, eds. L. Anders Sandberg, Stephen Bocking, Colin Coates, and Ken Cruikshank (Hamilton, ON: L.R. Wilson Institute for Canadian History, 2013), 211–24.

62 CTCPWM, Minute 341, 22 March 1950, fonds 200, series 579, file 75, CTA. The city also considered in 1950 the use of subway spoil to fill Rosedale Valley, in order to avoid rebuilding Sherbourne Street and Glen Road bridges over the ravine. This suggestion quickly led to protests from Rosedale residents, who believed that infilling would eradicate a place of beauty and recreation. Mayor McCallum insisted the ravine infilling idea was not his idea, but rather a suggestion he had forwarded to the Board of Control. "Mayor Hastens to Stress Ravine-Fill Idea Not His," *Toronto Star,* 25 August 1950.

63 City of Toronto Council Minutes, 1958, Committee on Parks and Exhibitions Report No. 13, Appendix A, 12 June 1958, adopted as amended 23 June 1958; "Lakefront Park Seen Etobicoke to Islands," *Toronto Star,* 9 May 1955.

64 TTC Minutes, Report No. 21, Meeting No. 334, 15 October 1959, fonds 16, series 203, file 15, CTA; "What's Going On along the Waterfront," *Toronto Star* 22 January 1962; City of Toronto Council Minutes, 1959, Committee on Parks and Exhibitions Report No. 15, Appendix A, 1 October 1959, adopted as amended 13 October 1959, p. 2188; George Bryan, "Introducing Your New Subway," *Toronto Star*, 13 October 1962.

65 Heritage Toronto, "Crawford Street Bridge," commemorative plaque in Trinity-Bellwoods Park, 2008.

66 One local resident remarked that a conversation at a meeting with an elderly man—who stated that fill had come from the Bloor subway—was the only "evidence" he had found that the fill came from subway construction. Bernd Baldus, email communication to author, 19 July 2010.

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7

The Windsor-Detroit Borderland: The Making of a Key North American Environment of Mobility

Tor H. Oiamo, Don Lafreniere, and Joy Parr

The Windsor-Detroit borderland is a quintessential twentieth-century environment of mobility, where contemporary technologies, transboundary politics, and globally forged liminal spaces converge. Here, grounded in particular landscape forms and made within local, regional, and international relations, incompatible choices collide. On the Canadian side of the Detroit River, the effects of the collision are most grave for the cultural landscapes in two historic neighbourhoods, Sandwich and Brighton Beach. Until relatively recently, these were places of mixed industrial, residential, and recreational use. Now they are being transformed by a new highway approach for a forthcoming bridge connecting Windsor and Detroit: the Gordie Howe International Bridge. Sandwich, founded in 1797, was the original urban settlement in the area, which later became part of the City of Windsor. Once the regional capital, this now-historic neighbourhood sits immediately to

the north and east of a reclaimed industrial district known as Brighton Beach—the point at which the new bridge will be anchored. Together, the new bridge and the Rt. Hon. Herb Gray Parkway will be the most costly road development project in Canadian history. How this area came to be the site of a significant yet exclusionary environment of mobility in early-twenty-first century North America is the focus of this chapter.

Over the past two centuries, these neighbourhoods experienced the effects of globalization on a local environment as well as changing personal and commercial mobilities. Transportation engineering works imposed transient effects on these spaces and reordered them as a conduit for international trade. Manufacturing, processing, and power-generation enterprises cleaved to the borderlands along the river in order to minimize the transportation costs for their production inputs and finished products—activities with worrisome environmental legacies. Within this landscape the Ambassador Bridge persists not only as an emblem of international cooperation but also as a representation of how mobility and its infrastructure can both link and divide a space. The world's longest suspension bridge when it opened in 1929, its technological legacy still epitomizes the acquisitiveness of private capital. Today, it is a roadblock for contemporary mobility needs. This chapter examines how Brighton Beach and Sandwich became the products of diverse and contending colonial, technological, and entrepreneurial forces.

From Frontier to Borderland: Settling the Banks of the Detroit River

Ever since the first settlement of French merchants and military in 1701, mobility technology and culture have shaped the Detroit frontier. The Detroit River crossing has been a busy conduit, useful in avoiding the longer land route around the Great Lakes, under Erie, or over Superior. Antoine Laumet de La Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, a French commandant and merchant, recognized this situational advantage when he and his flotilla of twenty-five canoes first arrived at the future site of Detroit.[1] Shortly after the establishment of the fort on the river, French families

from the St. Lawrence Valley began to arrive in the region, establishing farms on the south side, opposite the fort.[2] The clearing of the black oak savannah—a light forest cover rising on the rich soils of tall-grass prairie—yielded rich nourishment for bison, elk, and white-tailed deer. In the early eighteenth century, it became a welcome habitat for this new cohort of Europeans. The initial settlement of French farms in the familiar "long lot" system gave each farm access to the waterfront for irrigation, navigation, and trade. A reserve of the Huron Nation was located among the farms, at the point where the river turns south towards Lake Erie. In the eyes of Europeans, Aboriginal land was "unsettled," fit to be appropriated for the townsite of Sandwich.[3] Sandwich soon became the capital of the Western District of Upper Canada, inaugurating a long history as an entrepôt of important cross-border trade and traffic.[4]

Until the founding of Sandwich, communication between the two shores of the river was relatively infrequent. With the movement of British Loyalists from Detroit to Sandwich, ties of kinship and business increased traffic across the river. The earliest ferry service, established in 1798, was nothing more than a large flat-bottom canoe that operated between the foot of Mill Street in Sandwich and the town of Detroit. Timber, market crops, and furs were among the items traded across the river, between the two border towns and onward. Throughout the nineteenth century, industrial innovation and rapid urbanization spread across the continent, and these changes transformed the border communities of Sandwich and Windsor. International relations between the United States and British North America matured. In January 1854, the rail head of the Great Western Railroad reached Windsor—then a small hamlet directly opposite Detroit—revolutionizing how the region communicated with the rest of the continent. Windsor subsequently became the principal settlement of the region. No longer the seat of government, the nucleus of development, or the economic engine of the region, Sandwich lost its prominent merchants and lawyers to Windsor and became a distant suburb, a part of the periphery.[5]

Later the same year, the Reciprocity Treaty reduced regulatory barriers to commerce between the United States and British North America. This important ancestor to the 1988 Canada-U.S Free Trade

Agreement removed the 21 percent American tariff on natural resource imports.[6] The treaty consolidated Windsor's newly acquired position as an entrepôt for the transnational railroad network for wheat, market crops and timber, which were now shipped easily across the border to the American Midwest. This critical relationship to the continental market created a boom in Windsor. Sandwich was pushed further to the margins.

Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, prosperity in Sandwich rose and fell in response to the differentially conferred advantages of a succession of transportation technologies. In the summer of 1886, North America's first electric streetcar began to serve the border communities of Windsor and Sandwich, marking the start of a long regional history of innovation in transportation provision and manufacturing.[7] The arrival of the electric streetcar also helped to develop the burgeoning tourist industry centred on the town's famous sulphur springs. New sources of power provided the electricity needed to expand the grid and helped illuminate and develop recently established local salt mines. With reliable electricity, other manufacturers opened shops around the region, including two pharmaceutical companies (Sterns and Parke Davis) and two transport start-ups (the Evans and Dodge Bicycle factory and the Milner-Walker wagon works). A few years later the Dodge family would become famous in the emerging automobile industry.[8]

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the shoreline of the Detroit River became a place of transnational economic prosperity. Ferries shuttled thousands of passenger and freight railway cars across the river in the late nineteenth century, but the logistical and technological frictions of this ferry operation began to impede growth. In 1871, Windsor and Detroit authorities approved plans to bore a railway tunnel under the river. Construction began the following year but was soon abandoned. A ventilation failure caused a deadly accident; existing tunnelling technologies were not up to the engineering challenge. With sixteen hundred feet remaining untunnelled, the aborted tunnel became part of a history fraught by technological shortcomings and defeat.[9]

Diverse interests defended the technologies and infrastructure of mobility that competed for space along the river. Ships carrying grains

and minerals from Lake Superior needed assurance of clearance under bridges and safe passage past piers.[10] Expansion of marine shipping terminals was thwarted by the pre-existing railway, because trains—carrying people as well as a variety of agricultural and, increasingly, manufactured products—also needed access to the riverbanks. As proponents of contending transportation technologies vied for space, civic and business leaders in Windsor and Detroit competed for shares of population and labour-force growth. Both urban centres focused on building ever-greater infrastructure to accommodate increased transboundary and local traffic.

The Detroit River railroad tunnel, also called the Michigan Central Railway Tunnel, opened for passenger and freight operation in 1910. Completion of the rail tunnel enhanced the region's position as a principal place of cross-border trade. The Lake Carriers Association, which represented the interests of hundreds of seafaring vessels with economic stakes in the Detroit River, had successfully lobbied for a tunnel rather than a bridge.[11] The tunnel was positioned in an undeveloped space between the urban fringes of Sandwich and Windsor, across from an equally advantageous position on the Detroit side, where a rail route could easily reach the river's edge. Still in use as a freight tunnel today, it was a technological feat serving the transportation needs of the region. It also reduced Sandwich and Brighton Beach into marginal border spaces in the broader global trading network. Windsor, with its spatial and economic advantages, augmented by its proximity to the railroad ferries and tunnel, had secured local commercial primacy.

With the railway overland link to Detroit complete, the topography and geology of Windsor and its hinterland continued to encourage complementary manufacturing, agricultural, and transportation pursuits. In the early days of roofless vehicles, the flat topography and mild climate as well as the ready supplies of gravel for the road system enticed residents to take up motoring. Well suited to many contending uses for space, these boundary lands were historically, and remain today, good places for growing food. A Jesuit travelling with the explorer René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, wrote in 1679 of the abundant fruit along the Detroit River, and in the twentieth century the region still produced prodigious supplies of vegetables, fruit, and grain for

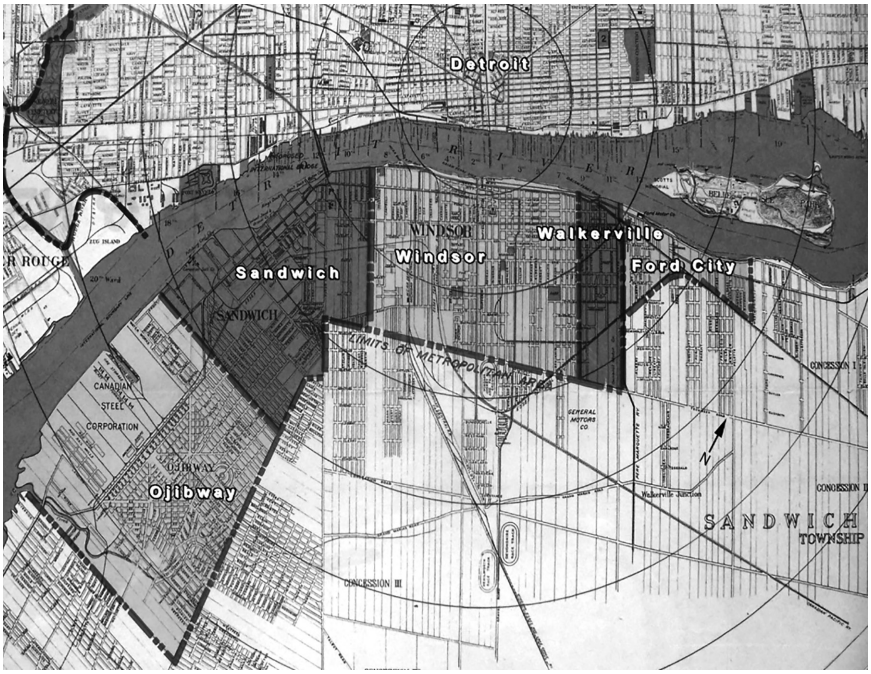


FIGURE 7.1. Map showing the border cities, including the proposed development of Ojibway. *Federal Map of Detroit and Environs* (c. 1920).

market.[12] The County of Essex encompassed the border towns, and its elected officials were still promoting farming and gardening as land uses in "the Sun Parlour of Canada" in 1912. Market gardening and soft-fruit production were sufficiently remunerative in the climate and soils of Essex to support such contemporary Canadian countryside rarities as municipal telephones and free rural mail-delivery service. The townships of Sandwich East, West, and South—where "peaches grow to perfection," "among garden lands, which grow radishes, potatoes, sweet corn, tomatoes, and all kinds of vegetables"—surrounded the towns of Sandwich, Windsor, and Walkerville. The central part of Sandwich West, stretching from the town of Sandwich southward, was "noted for the quantities of melons marketed every year, and the balance of the township for its fine corn land and other field grains."[13] In what

was elsewhere considered a conduit for some people, these pursuits of cultivation provided an anchor in place for generations of others.

A New Geopolitical Era Takes Form

While the ease of shipping and proximity to markets had made agriculture a significant force of economic development in Essex County throughout the nineteenth century, new and profitable industries were also beginning to recognize the area's locational advantage. Among these industries were automobile manufacturing and steel production. Building on connections to nearby Detroit and the desire to circumvent restrictive Canadian trade tariffs, automobile production soon became a leading industry in the border municipalities of Sandwich, Windsor, Walkerville, Ojibway, and Ford City (fig. 7.1). Recognizing an emerging binational market, the United States Steel Corporation, or US Steel, planned a large-scale foundry on 6.6 square kilometres of land along the fertile banks of Detroit River in Brighton Beach, immediately south of Sandwich. US Steel expected this operation to grow prodigiously, for this location—with the river for shipping and production—could access a huge distribution area.[14] Both Gary, Indiana, at the southern tip of Lake Michigan, and Hamilton, Ontario, at the western reaches of Lake Ontario, had exploited similar advantages. The Town of Ojibway, a creature of US Steel, was incorporated in 1913 by a special act of Parliament (fig. 7.2). Advertisements in local newspapers called on "the man with a little money" to buy lots in "the Gary of Canada."[15] The lots, on fertile soils and priced from two hundred to five hundred dollars, were to house the steel giant's 16,000 workers and their families. The town had grown to only 160 residents before the worldwide Depression of the 1930s slowed trade and stalled the domestic automobile and steel industries. The town never actually materialized, its only remnant being an old blast furnace and a couple of lengths of sewer piping that lay beneath an underdeveloped roadbed. A fortuitous but unintended consequence was that the area's significant oak savannah remained in its natural state, exempted from the influence of the rising contemporary global network that privileged environmentally noxious heavy industry.

FIGURE 7.2. US Steel advertisement for the proposed town of Ojibway. *Windsor Evening Record* (1913).

Twentieth-century industrialization and urban development in the Canadian border cities resulted from political forces as much as locational advantages. The Conservatives defeated Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberals in 1911 on a platform of resistance to a new Canada-U.S. Reciprocity Agreement, already ratified in the United States.[16] The protectionist sentiments of the new Conservative government, led by Sir Robert Borden, echoed the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in its resistance to free trade in favour of local branch-plant industry.[17] The push and pull of advancing technologies and the burgeoning global marketplace drew labour and capital east and north of Sandwich and Brighton Beach to the growing city of Windsor.

The southern reach of Windsor was further marginalized when the Ford Motor Company of Canada, established in 1904, set up its operation to the east of the city's central business district, in what came to be known as Ford City. By 1922, Ford employed 40 percent of the population of the Windsor area.[18] Rates of population growth in Windsor during the 1910s and 1920s surpassed those of Detroit and (even more so) nearby London, Ontario.[19] This growth depended on a permeable border for labour. In 1912, Canadian commuters constituted 16 percent of the Detroit labour force. In 1913, cross-border pay rates in the auto sector were harmonized. Soon, 25 percent of the workforce at Ford's Detroit plant was Canadian-born, and by the late 1920s, fifteen thousand Windsor-area residents crossed the border daily to work.[20] The Ford Motor Company of Canada employed eight thousand workers in 1928, and other carmakers—including General Motors of Canada, the Chrysler Corporation of Canada, and the Studebaker Corporation of Canada—had operations in Windsor.[21] By the late 1920s, Windsor-Detroit was the busiest border crossing in North America, serviced primarily by a fleet of steam-powered ferries. Workers and freight operators experienced significant delays, often of many hours, as they attempted to make their daily commutes, threatening the economic prosperity of the region.[22] Both public officials and private interests responded to the need for a more efficient crossing, and a bridge became the central plan.

Through the early twentieth century the growing automotive industry was the key driver of Windsor's economy, and the need for a new

crossing preoccupied civic leaders on both sides of the river. Pressures from the owners of the growing fleet of personal and commercial automobiles, automobile manufacturers, and a new mode of freighting—transport trucks—initiated plans for a second permanent river crossing. When the original suspension bridge design was developed in 1920, it called for two decks: one for automobiles and trams, the other for railcars and utilities. The railway companies' unwillingness to endorse the project, combined with a tainted fundraising campaign, caused its eventual failure.[23] It took another five years of political and financial manoeuvring to secure the future of the Ambassador Bridge. By this time, the design was based solely on use by automobiles and trucks. Although mayors on both sides of the Detroit River opposed private ownership, the premier of Ontario, G. Howard Ferguson, announced in early 1927 that the British North America Act prevented the province from guaranteeing bonds for the bridge.[24] Efforts to secure funding from the federal level of government were thwarted by a 1926 election and general opposition to funding a privately owned bridge. Seeking support for his adamant opposition to private ownership, Mayor John W. Smith of Detroit agreed to hold a referendum to let his constituents vote on the issue. They overwhelmingly supported the existing private arrangement because further delays to promised jobs were intolerable, and the need for the crossing had become unquestionable. Prominent public figures, such as Henry Ford, also strongly supported the bridge. Thus, the Ambassador Bridge was privately financed and owned—a precedent with formidable implications for both future residents and commercial users seeking a less congested crossing.

The placement of the Ambassador Bridge and its regulatory foundation, built upon the transnational policy mechanisms of the 1920s, had profound effects on the natural, urban, and cultural landscapes of the Windsor area. The first site planned for the new bridge promised to consolidate the position of Windsor as the vital centre of the growing conurbation on the Canadian side. However, when the approach in Detroit proved too costly and cumbersome to construct, the plan shifted to a more southerly location, nearer the narrowest point on the river, from 19th Street in Detroit to Huron Church Road in Sandwich, where fewer high-value uses of land contended for the space. Although

these sites were some distance away from the centres of Detroit and Windsor, they offered lower construction costs and proximity to the planned industrial areas in Ojibway, Brighton Beach, and Sandwich.

Within Sandwich, support for this location of the bridge was decisive. A January 1926 referendum resulted in 1,556 votes in favour of the location along Huron Church Line to a mere 104 opposed.[25] What many Sandwich residents did not realize was that the bridge, although good for the growing automobile industry and a sign of progress and friendship between the two nations, would divide their town. Running down Huron Church Road and alongside the Assumption Church, the bridge separated Sandwich both physically and psychologically from the church and the City of Windsor.[26] It also solidified the marginality of Sandwich in this new environment of mobility.

The economic boom prior to the Depression led to urban and suburban development throughout the border cities and their hinterlands. Sandwich had become a place of modest housing for industrial labourers. Urban transit and rising municipal taxes had pushed development to the periphery of the border cities, while settlement along the highways outside the urban centres intensified. With the exception of a few new streets, however, residential settlement in Sandwich remained unchanged during the 1930s and 1940s. Some of the urban workers who had lost their jobs during the Depression had resorted to small-scale farming. This eclectic mix—modest residential neighbourhoods surrounding the old Sandwich town centre, commercial and industrial land uses, failed developments, and not-quite-rural landscapes—survives today and testifies to the area's subservient role. In the presence of mobility as the dominant land use, people make do.

The Great Depression and political forces beyond Canadian borders had detrimental impacts on the region. The U.S. Congress passed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act in 1930, a result of U.S. protectionism. Facing a gloomy economic future, the United States also put restrictions on the employment of Canadians and other non-Americans within its borders. Nearly thirteen thousand people left the Canadian border cities between 1930 and 1933.[27] Over the following two decades, Windsor's population grew by only 20 percent. Advocates for the Ambassador Bridge and the Detroit-Windsor Tunnel had argued that

Windsor would become a residential suburb of Detroit. They did not foresee the vulnerabilities of border towns to domestic political concerns. At the start of World War II, many square miles of undeveloped subdivided suburban property and vacant lots within the city limits of Windsor remained.[28]

Following the decline in international trade during the Depression, motor vehicle exports had diminished, but as local manufacturing diversified into vehicle production for the armed forces, economic prosperity returned. When World War II began, the Ford plant at Windsor employed eleven thousand workers; this had increased to seventeen thousand by the end of the conflict. Windsor became the largest source of military transport vehicles for the British Army and its Commonwealth Allies. In the boom that followed, the roads to the Ambassador Bridge became busier and land development intensified. Windsor was fourth among Canadian cities in 1953 in the gross value of manufactured products.

Urban Effects of a Changing Borderland

All the settlements adjacent to Windsor along the Detroit River have been disrupted and disordered by the relative advantage their location afforded international trade. H.W. Gardner speculated in 1913 that Windsor and its hinterlands would grow and prosper because of their "unsurpassed transportation facilities by rail and by water and unique advantages with respect to the exchange of products between Canada and the United States."[29] Indeed, in succeeding years, corporations such as the Dominion Steel and Coal Company—which had purchased US Steel property—had begun smelting, and the Canadian Salt Company forever turned the once-fertile agricultural lands of the black oak savannah into sites for salt mining. Brighton Beach, southwest of Sandwich, was a neighbourhood of modest wood-frame bungalows interspersed with gardens, but by the 1950s its residents looked at (and smelled) Zug Island across the Detroit River, commonly described as a nightmare of steel mills and foundries (fig. 7.3). Brighton Beach, being "so far down it's almost out of town," also became a dumping ground for toxic refuse from all over Windsor—"insult piled on

FIGURE 7.3. View of Zug Island from vantage point at old ferry terminal in Sandwich. Photo by authors.

injury," a contemporary observer has written.[30] A place out of sight and out of mind, many well-established citizens of Windsor characterized Brighton Beach as a "dog-patch," a marginal and abused place.[31] The predicament of Sandwich paled beside the accumulating neglect of this location. In different ways, both communities were caught in a process of developing underdevelopment, lingering on the periphery of the rising City of Windsor to the east, where many were eager for more fabulous routes to the river, the border, and the international markets beyond.

Wartime industrial growth in the border communities was accompanied not by urban development within the city limits of Windsor, but by the sprawl characteristic of contemporary North America. The population of the City of Windsor barely rose between 1941 and 1956, while its suburban population increased threefold on 2,700 acres of newly

developed land.[32] Windsor put significant efforts into curtailing this trend of sporadic, extensive, unplanned development and looked for ways to renew many of its urban neighbourhoods. Consultants authoring an urban renewal report concluded that the city of 5,700 acres had 1,800 acres of declining industrial, commercial, and residential lands, and an additional 300 acres that were blighted.[33] Sandwich (annexed by Windsor in 1935) was declining, and parts of Windsor and Walkerville (also annexed in 1935) were not prospering, but according to the consultants, Windsor's downtown core was most in need of attention.[34] As the city government prioritized other areas of Windsor for redevelopment, the designation of the Malden Road Landfill in Sandwich in 1956 forcefully reaffirmed this part of Windsor as a municipal reserve of indiscriminate use. The landfill covered 180 acres of land, wedged between well-kept residential neighbourhoods in southern Sandwich and the town of Ojibway. The provincial environment ministry's Division of Industrial Wastes surveyed the landfill in 1968 and reported that 365,000 gallons of liquid wastes were dumped every month into open pits in the porous marsh.[35] The auto industry was undoubtedly a major contributor of this pollution. Near-equal parts paint wastes, spent oils, septic tank waste, and detergent and alkaline cleaners from domestic and industrial sources, these pools were simply covered up with dirt and rubble, the leachates directed via peripheral ditches into McKee Drain, through Sandwich and Brighton Beach, and ultimately into the Detroit River. The landfill stopped accepting industrial wastes five years after the survey, when it had become clear that it lacked the facilities required to properly dispose of these toxic materials. The health impacts of this site have not been documented, but evidence from studies of other hazardous waste landfills suggests that its presence burdened the residents of Sandwich long after the facility closed.[36]

The communities of Sandwich and Brighton Beach embodied the negative externalities of producing mobility. The people of Windsor and their surroundings became disposable assets in a borderland where the community, the municipality, the province, and the nation were invested more in industrial growth than in local well-being. A number of actors with different stakes in the game shaped the local environment. In the late 1930s, the City of Windsor and the Canadian Salt Company

began acquiring property in Ojibway from the Dominion Steel and Coal Company. Rising private automobile ownership increased the demand for road salt, so much so that the Canadian Salt Company grew considerably following World War II, coming to occupy the majority of land along the Detroit River in Brighton Beach. In exchange for granting the right to mine under the Malden Landfill to the Canadian Salt Company, the city took ownership of the lands south of Brighton Beach and preserved them in perpetuity as an urban nature preserve named Ojibway Park. What remained of the town of Ojibway was sold to the City of Windsor in 1951. The neglect of this land has had the benign consequence that Ojibway Park, the Ojibway Prairie Complex, and Ojibway Prairie Provincial Nature Reserve exist today for recreational and research uses, immediately south of the planned superhighway and border crossing.

Sandwich and Brighton Beach, which predated the growth of automobile dependence, were not serviced by extensive road networks. When the age of automobility and suburbia arrived, redefining how North American cities were planned, the greater Windsor area was ill prepared for the change—particularly the attendant increase in traffic. Most pressing was the lack of an east–west thoroughfare linking the eastern facilities of Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler with industry and regional transportation networks to the west. The solution was a two-lane highway along the Third Concession and E.C. Row Avenue—named after Edgar Charles Row, president of Chrysler Canada from 1951 to 1956—linking provincial highways 39 in the east end and 18 in the west end of the Windsor area. In 1963, the Windsor Area Transportation Study (WATS) proposed that this highway be expanded to create the four-lane E.C. Row Expressway.[37] However, the expressway's western leg between Huron Line and Ojibway was not completed until 1983, by which time traffic and land-use demands in Windsor had changed significantly.[38]

The engineering and traffic staff from the City of Windsor and a representative of the Ontario Department of Highways worked together on WATS, with the result of an unfortunate precedent for downloading provincial highways onto local jurisdictions. The study's authors noted that "a casual glance at the area map will quickly indicate that Windsor

is served by an abundance of Provincial highways."[39] Although some highways were downloaded or consolidated immediately, provincial control over other local highways ended when Windsor subsequently annexed more land. Problematically, highways met municipally managed streets. Overlooking the complications associated with increased cross-border traffic, the city focused on border-crossing plazas and the tunnel, rather than on the bridge, to ease congestion in downtown Windsor.

Antipathies between the province and the municipality jeopardized the accommodation of cross-border traffic passing through the city. Most significantly impaired were the connections between Highway 401 and the border crossings. The 401 "superhighway," completed through Essex County in 1957, terminated well outside the urban area of the border cities. The province wanted the highway to transect the Sandwich South and Sandwich West townships and terminate at provincial Highway 18 near Ojibway.[40] This would have brought Highway 401 near the shores of the Detroit River, southwest of the Ambassador Bridge. The City of Windsor preferred a highway terminus that would funnel traffic from Highway 401 through its downtown and into the Detroit-Windsor Tunnel. The Sandwich townships strongly opposed both these plans, which would take car drivers around—rather than through—their municipalities.[41] Thus did the superhighway terminate at Highway 3, which led to Huron Church Road and the Ambassador Bridge; a small branch of Highway 401 was added to link with Highway 3B and the tunnel. These provincial highways terminated at the Windsor city limits of the day, only two kilometres from the bridge plaza and three kilometres from the tunnel plaza. However, by the late 1990s, only segments of Highway 3 remained, as a provincial Connecting Link. Combined with Highway 401, this left only two of seven provincial highways in the regional road network connecting one of the world's busiest highways to North America's busiest border crossing.

As the postwar boom was coming to an end in the late 1950s, urban renewal consultants advised city planners that Windsor had "no special attraction to particular industry types that would make it competitive against the industrial region of south central Ontario."[42] City officials

worked hard against long odds. Industrial centres exist at the mercy of their markets. Windsor's locational advantages were disappearing, as the dynamic and flexible logistics of the trucking and air transport industries surpassed the efficiency of water and rail transportation systems. In a maturing, globalizing economy, distant business and political spheres determined demands on the highway system differently. Windsor and its residents were forced to cope with the environmental footprints of policies at the federal levels of government in the United States and Canada, particularly those aimed at mobilizing resources and capital.

The rise of the postwar automobile industry reduced Canadian dependence on natural resource extraction, but protectionism in the United States threatened to destabilize this new industrial base. The "Big Three" automakers—Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler—were crucial to the new economy yet hampered by old tariff agreements incompatible with the new global economies of scale. Consumers preferred that all makes and models have different options for powertrains and frills, fragmenting demand. This meant that the Big Three needed to centralize their operations to serve the entire North American market and increase world-export capacity. Separate auto production systems in Canada and the United States were unsustainable, and during the recession of the late 1950s, six thousand employees in the Canadian automobile and parts industry lost their jobs as Canada fell into a debilitating trade deficit. The Canada-U.S. Automotive Products Agreement, or Auto Pact, signed into effect in January 1965, guaranteed that future ratios of automobile production to sales in Canada would never drop below a baseline from 1963–1964 and allowed for tight control of the North American auto industry in favour of the Big Three. The agreement enabled corporate globalization, allowing transnational companies to act autonomously and direct international trade policies.[43]

The creation of a borderless auto industry brought prosperity but also challenges. As the border became more permeable, Windsor's role in facilitating mobility and the advantages of a border location receded. Although Ford and Chrysler expanded their operations in Windsor, Ford Canada had already moved its head offices to Oakville, and the Big

Three opened new plants and facilities in St. Thomas, St. Catharines, Oakville, Oshawa, and Montreal. Car production in Canada doubled between 1965 and 1970, leading the industry to radically reorganize. The Ford engine plant in Windsor, which had previously produced nine different engines in eighty-six different versions for cars sold in Canada, now produced only one engine in fifteen versions for shipment to plants in both Canada and the United States. Independent parts makers followed suit, and shipments across the border increased.[44] Highway 401 became the primary trading corridor between the Big Three headquartered in Detroit and their Canadian branch plants. Total volumes of cross-border traffic through Windsor rose steadily throughout the 1970s, overloading the border approach built in 1957. However, the only large change in infrastructure was the widening of Huron Church Road—the primary corridor through Windsor for trucks travelling to and from the United States via Highway 401—from two to six lanes from the city limits to the Ambassador Bridge in the early 1980s.[45] This configuration remained unchanged until 2011.

In the decades following the Auto Pact, the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (1988) and the superseding North American Free Trade Agreement (1994) increased levels of trade in all goods and services and, in turn, increased pressure on cross-border traffic infrastructure. However, a 2001 World Trade Organization ruling that deemed the Auto Pact an illegal restriction on international competition placed even greater demands on Windsor as an acquiescent participant in a globalizing economy. This decision released the automakers from the obligation to meet production-to-sales ratios in Canada. The Big Three almost immediately announced plant closures in Canada, several of which were in Windsor.

Since 2000, contending plans for an improved Detroit River crossing have revealed starkly the different political economies, public cultures, and policy preferences of these neighbouring nations. Projects to facilitate mobility, when they arise at international borders, as they often do, illuminate national differences; the creation of these environments of mobility draw heavily on national treasuries. Such is now the case at the Windsor-Detroit crossing. Improved connections between Canada and the United States in this most important North American

trade corridor are sorely needed. The Ambassador Bridge of 1929 is now a costly bottleneck to commerce, industry, and labour. This key border crossing is so clogged as to impede trade, which since 9/11 has been further constricted by heightened security concerns in the United States. Moreover, lines of idling heavy vehicles have created an environment of twenty-four-hour immobility, toxic to the health and well-being of the tens of thousands who live nearby. More fluid connections are required to accommodate the increased flows of goods and people, while the contemporary international crises of rising unemployment and diminished production make the trading relationship even more welcome and urgent. These issues are felt acutely in the automobile sector, the material lifeblood of the Windsor-Detroit region.

Canadian and American authorities have considered several alternatives that might improve the Windsor-Detroit crossing. The Canadian government's plan for a new bridge defeated the idea of twinning the privately held Ambassador Bridge. This illuminates foundational differences between the two neighbours. Whether the Liberal, Conservative, or New Democratic party is in power, federally or provincially, Canadian administrations turn readily to Keynesian instruments for infrastructure improvements and stimulus to employment. In the United States, such policies are more problematic historically, particularly when Republicans govern. The owner of the Ambassador Bridge, who has moved aggressively to protect his private interests, is a financial backer of agreeable legislators on both sides of the aisle in Michigan. On the Canadian side of the Detroit River, the bridge owner has assembled property in Sandwich and adjacent to the existing bridge for a future twin span without the necessary permits from the Canadian government.[46] Ground to create a new access ramp for truck traffic on the Canadian side of the Ambassador Bridge has already been broken, and ramps on the American side for a twinned bridge are waiting for a span that will almost certainly never come. Millions of dollars were spent on media campaigns in Michigan against a new, publicly owned bridge. Lawsuits have been filed against different levels of governments on both sides of the border.[47]

Hazarding the possibility that their Gordie Howe International Bridge through Brighton Beach might be a "bridge to nowhere,"

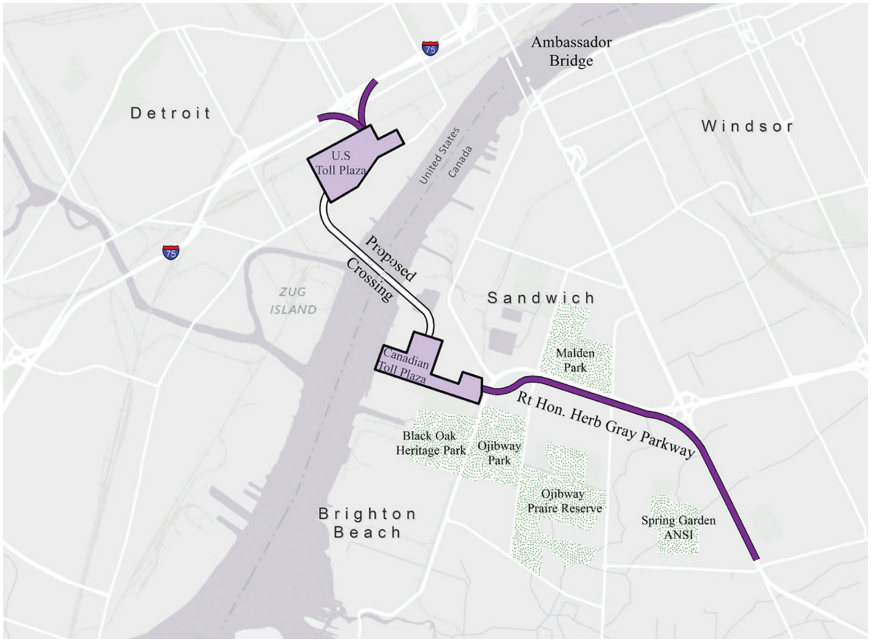


FIGURE 7.4. Map showing proposed location of new crossing and parkway through Windsor. Map by authors.

Canadian governments have pursued their preferred alternative to a privately owned bridge, using the rights of the Crown to expropriate lands required for their preferred access route to the crossing (fig. 7.4). While the City of Windsor, along with community groups and private-interest groups such as the automakers, has been an important player in debates over a new crossing, it is difficult to tell if contemporary strides of globalization are leaving Windsor behind. Windsor's exclusion from the Detroit River International Crossing (DRIC) Project partnership—which included Transport Canada, Ontario's Ministry of Transportation, the U.S. Federal Highway Administration, and Michigan's Department of Transportation—certainly suggests the city's reduced prominence as a stakeholder in this crucial node of the North American trade and transportation network. The City of Windsor's "GreenLink" proposal of an outrageously expensive and

infeasible alternative to the DRIC Project partnership plans casts suspicion on the balance of power and the ability of the city to guide the form of its own local environment.

Conclusion

This front line of trade, once a national frontier, has persistently felt both the pain and the gain of being an environment of mobility. First, prospering from their situational advantage as primary trading posts for the emerging markets of the British North American colonies and the needs of their growing American neighbour, the communities of Sandwich and Brighton Beach are now at the mercy of transboundary politics. While Brighton Beach will almost certainly be all but paved over for the new bridge plaza, Sandwich will find itself cleaved, once again, by the need to facilitate exchanges between society and nature. In so far as Windsor grew and thrived because it was on an international border, this formerly advantageous geopolitical locale has become a destructive burden—a borderland where a borderless economy takes precedence over the land. While the city was trying to adjust to and cope with the local effects of changing transnational tariffs and political agendas, the world started moving through, rather than in and out of, Windsor. The border-crossing megaproject may further intensify this marginal position as well as reshape the boundaries of Sandwich—an already socially, politically, and economically fragile community. Undoubtedly, Windsor will continue to be defined as a borderland, but as international boundaries take on different meanings, so will the future of this Canadian environment of mobility.

Notes

1 For authoritative studies of French settlement on the Detroit frontier, see Ernest Lajeunesse, ed., *The Windsor Border Region, Canada's Southernmost Frontier: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960); Guillaume Teasdale, "The French of Orchard Country: Territory, Landscape, and Ethnicity in the Detroit River Region, 1680s–1810s" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 2010).

2 An infrequently recognized geographic curiosity is that the present-day city of Windsor, this chapter's area of interest, is in fact south of Detroit.

3 Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997).

4 From 1797 to 1850, Sandwich was the capital of the Western District of Upper Canada, a region that spanned from the Detroit River to the outskirts of present-day Hamilton.

5 The importance of the event was encapsulated on January 18, 1854, by the *Detroit Daily Free Press*: "To-day the ice fetters will be broken, for the last link [Niagara to Windsor] in the great chain of communication between the east and the west is finished."

6 Economic historians debate the direct economic impact of the treaty versus the structural shifts that occurred in the economy due to expansion of the railroad network. See Robert E. Ankli, "The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854," *Canadian Journal of Economics* 4, no. 1 (1971): 1–20; and Lawrence Officer and Lawrence Smith, "The Canadian-American Reciprocity Treaty of 1855 to 1866," *Journal of Economic History* 28, no. 4 (1968): 598–623.

7 For more on the arrival of electric rails in the border cities, see Jack E. Schramm, *When Eastern Michigan Rode the Rails*, vols. 1 and 3 (Glendale, CA: Interurban, 1984).

8 The Milner-Walker Wagon Works, founded in 1897 in part by the famous distiller Hiram Walker, was located in Windsor's eastern suburb of Walkerville. This company, led by its industrious manager, Gordon McGregor, and its owner, Henry Ford, became the Ford Motor Company of Canada. See David Roberts, *In the Shadow of Detroit: Gordon M. McGregor, Ford of Canada, and Motoropolis* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2006).

9 Philip Mason, *The Ambassador Bridge: A Monument to Progress* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 32–33.

10 Neil Morrison, *A Canadian Commercial Geography* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1930), 342.

11 Mason, *Ambassador Bridge*, 47.

12 Ibid., 23; Neil Morrison, *Garden Gateway to Canada: One Hundred Years of Windsor and Essex County 1854–1954* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1954), 317–25.

13 Publicity Committee of the Essex County Council, *Essex County, the Sun Parlor of Canada: Opportunities for Farming and*

Gardening (Sandwich: Essex County Council, June 1912).

14 "Canada's Steel City: Ojibway" (advertisement), *Windsor Evening Record* (hereafter *Evening Record*), 30 May 1913, 12.

15 "Ojibway: Buy Lots Now" (advertisement), *Evening Record*, 18 April 1913, 11.

16 Eugene Beaulieu and J.C. Herbert Emery, "Pork Packers, Reciprocity, and Laurier's Defeat in the 1911 Canadian General Election," *Journal of Economic History* 61, no. 4 (2001): 1083–101.

17 *Evening Record*, 12 July 1913, 4.

18 Roberts, *In the Shadow of Detroit*, 6.

19 Windsor saw a growth rate of 140 percent and 75 percent in the 1910s and 1920s, respectively. Detroit grew 112 and 58 percent during the same periods, while London had a relatively modest 31 and 18 percent growth. Morrison, *Garden Gateway*, 264.

20 Ibid., 60, 76, 226, 270.

21 Ibid., 268.

22 See, for example, "Opinions Vary as to Tunnel" and "Claim Tunnel Plans Vague," *Border Cities Star*, 24 September 1925, 3, 5.

23 Mason, *Ambassador Bridge*, 55.

24 Ibid., 69.

25 "Popular Majority for Bridge in County," *Border Cities Star*, 6 January 1926, 5.

26 For a comprehensive review of the impact of the Ambassador Bridge and other transportation technologies on the town of Sandwich, see Donald Lafreniere and Douglas Rivet, "Rescaling the Past through Mosaic Historical Cartography," *Journal of Maps* 6, no. 1 (2010): 417–22.

27 Morrison, *Canadian Commercial Geography*, 297.

28 J. Lewis Robinson, "Windsor, Ontario: A Study in Urban Geography" (MA thesis, Syracuse University, 1942), 167.

29 H.G. Gardner, *Windsor, Ontario, Canada, including Walkerville, Ford, Sandwich, and Ojibway: An Authentic Compilation Embracing in Word and Pictorial Representation the Growth and Expansion of These Municipalities* (Windsor: Record Printing Company, 1913), 1.

30 Paul Vasey, *The Age of the Cities* (Windsor: Art Galley of Windsor, 1997), 1–2.

31 Ibid.

32 E.G. Faludi and Associates Town Planning Consultants Limited, Toronto, *A Fifteen Year Programme for the Urban Renewal of the City of Windsor and Its Metropolitan Area* (Windsor, 1959), 1.

33 Ibid, 22. The condition of residential buildings within the metropolitan area of Windsor was surveyed and, according to external conditions, categorized as very good or good (free from blight), fair (vulnerable to blight), poor (partly blighted) or very poor (blighted).

34 Ibid., 8.

35 Ontario Water Resource Commission, Division of Industrial Wastes, *A Report on an Industrial Wastes Survey of Malden Road Landfill, Windsor, Ontario*

(Toronto: Ontario Ministry of the Environment, 1968).

36 Environmental health studies of other solid and toxic waste landfills in Canada include the Sydney Tar Ponds and the Miron Quarry landfill in Montreal. See Timothy W. Lambert and Stephanie Lane, "Lead, Arsenic and Polycyclic Aromatic Hydrocarbons in Soil and House Dust in the Communities surrounding the Sydney, Nova Scotia, Tar Ponds," *Environmental Health Perspectives* 112, no. 1 (2004): 35–41; Mark S. Goldberg, Jack Siemiatyck, Ron DeWar, Marie Desy, and Helene Riberdy, "Risks of Developing Cancer Relative to Living Near a Municipal Solid Waste Landfill Site in Montreal, Quebec, Canada," *Archives of Environmental Health: An International Journal* 5, no. 4 (1999): 291–96.

37 John D. Tofflemire, *The Windsor-Detroit Border: Significant Developments in the Last Half Century of the Windsor Gateway* (Background Paper No. 1, Cross-Border Transportation Centre, University of Windsor, 2009).

38 The Windsor Urban Transportation Study, completed in 1980 by the City of Windsor and the Ontario Ministry of Transportation and Communications, reviewed the function of the E.C. Row facility and confirmed the need for a controlled-access freeway. Among the factors considered were rapid residential development in the town of Lasalle and the opening of the Ford Essex Aluminum plant in the early 1980s.

39 Tofflemire, *Windsor-Detroit Border*, 2.

40 Parts of Sandwich South and Sandwich West were annexed by the City of Windsor in 1966; following a major restructuring of Essex County in 1999 the townships were amalgamated with Tecumseh and Lasalle.

41 "Super Highway Limited Access Draws Criticism," *Windsor Daily Star*, 23 October 1953, 5.

42 Faludi, *Fifteen Year Programme*, 2.

43 In 1964, Canadians assembled one in twenty North American automobiles; this figure had increased to one in five by 1999. See Dimitry Anastakis, *Auto Pact: Creating a Borderless North American Auto Industry, 1960–1971* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

44 Ibid., 130.

45 The Windsor Urban Transportation Study (1980), which also addressed transportation requirements for the Detroit River crossings, recommended widening Huron Church Road between the Ambassador Bridge and city limits. This was implemented and formed the configuration until partial completion of the Rt. Hon. Herb Gray Parkway in 2014.

46 Jeff Bennett, "New Round in Fight over Detroit Bridge," *Wall Street Journal*, 11 January 2011.

47 Dave Battagello, "Moroun Launches Sweeping Lawsuit to Halt DRIC Bridge; Claims Exclusive Rights," *Windsor Star*, 10 April 2013.

PART II:
Consumption, Landscape, and Leisure

The chapters in this section shift the focus from mobility aimed at production to mobility for the purpose of pleasure. They provide further case studies on how mobility and the environment have shaped and in turn been shaped by sightseeing, outdoor recreation, and tourism. These leisure activities saw enormous growth from the late nineteenth century onwards, gradually spreading to large sections of Canadian society, from the wealthy to the middle classes and eventually much of the working class. These activities furnished many people with memorable encounters with Canada's natural environments, and their popularity also allowed some to make a living and a few to make substantial profits.

Certain types of travel have long been combined with culturally conditioned perceptions of landscape to stir up powerful emotional responses. Glimpsing a glacial lake surrounded by majestic peaks from a winding mountain track, for example, or a mist-shrouded coastline from an ocean liner, can be a thrilling experience—for better or worse, depending on the precise direction and speed of travel. Many historians of tourism, parks, leisure, and Canada's "culture of nature" have commented on how complex systems of transportation technology and infrastructure made these leisure activities accessible to large numbers of people, who could now travel greater distances for pleasure than would have once been unimaginable. Typically, these scholars have done so when establishing the background context for studies that focus more

closely on the economic or cultural significance of pleasure travel. The chapters that follow place in the foreground the intertwined relationship between mobility, the environment, and leisure.

Three chapters examine how patterns of mobility associated with modern transportation systems helped to make certain environments into regionally or nationally iconic landscapes. Areas that were traversed by or readily accessible from major traffic corridors caught the attention—and sometimes captured the affection—of thousands of travellers. Over time, these areas became part of shared landscape experiences and popular culture. Elsa Lam's chapter shows how the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) branded the narrow band of mountains around its mainline in western Canada as the "Canadian Pacific Rockies." The CPR played a crucial role in introducing Canadians and visitors from afar to western "wilderness" areas through its trains, tracks, hotels, and promotional campaigns. However, as J.I. Little's chapter shows, the iconic status of landscapes made accessible by transportation companies did not necessarily endure. The West Coast's seaside landscapes—made familiar to large numbers of Vancouverites during the first half of the twentieth century by the Union Steamship Company—were quickly forgotten following the company's decision to cancel passenger steamship service, shortly after World War II. Little's chapter highlights the shifting fortunes of Canada's tourist and recreational attractions. The expansion of the country's road network allowed business interests to play a crucial role in the rise of automobile tourism, as suggested in Maude-Emmanuelle Lambert's chapter. This form of mobility generated a new geography of competition for pleasure travellers' attention and dollars, with businesses, communities, and entire regions employing distinctive environmental features as a means of differentiating themselves from other possible touring destinations.

Three of the chapters in this section examine recreational activities that involved pre-modern (or at least nonmotorized) forms of mobility, such as canoeing, hiking, and horseback riding. These slow-paced, contemplative leisure activities provided intimate encounters with nature to participants, thereby seeming to recuperate some of the time and space that modern transportation systems had supposedly annihilated. Yet it

was the same transportation systems that often made these Arcadian leisure activities feasible: very few Canadian railways, steamships, or automobile roads were built primarily for the purpose of moving pleasure travellers. Instead, pleasure travellers founds ways—or were actively encouraged by boosters and businesses—to piggyback along lines of mobility that had been established to move natural resources, manufactured products, and business travellers between important sites of production and consumption. These metropolitan corridors that facilitated Canadians' mobility between cities, the countryside, resource hinterlands, and a small number of "wilderness" areas were adapted to cater to pleasure travellers and tourists who wanted to view scenic landscapes or participate in outdoor recreational activities far from home. Sociability, health, and status-seeking were important motives for participating in these mobile engagements with nature. At the same time, supplying pleasure travellers' wants and needs became a way for transportation companies to wring extra returns from expensive vehicles and fixed infrastructure.

Differences in pace provide another theme that connects many of these chapters. Jessica Dunkin, Elizabeth L. Jewett, and Lam show that considerable preparation and logistical work were often involved in what could be termed "mobility play," with some Canadians willing to travel very long distances at high speed in order to reach appealing environments where they could then radically slow their pace and move in close contact with valourized forms of nature. These chapters suggest that the allure of speed has been overrated by many theorists of mobility. Even the automobile, which we tend today to associate with separation from the natural world, is shown in the chapters by Jewett, Lam, and Lambert to have been adopted as a highly flexible device with which to get in touch with the great outdoors. The early appeal of auto touring was that motorists could travel at their own pace, slowing down, stopping, and doubling back in order to take in features of the landscape that caught their attention—to the delight of boosters and roadside business owners.

As with mobility aimed at productive activities, in most parts of Canada the business of selling goods and services to pleasure travellers was (and remains) highly seasonal. Summer dominates in the period

examined here, in large part because city people who are not concerned with the growing season can choose to take time off work for pleasure travel when it is warm and dry. The resorts, camps, motels, and playing grounds that the following chapters examine tended to shut down during the winter months—the CPR's famous Banff Springs Hotel, for example, started staying open during the winter only in the mid-1970s. The seasonality of leisure, tourism, and outdoor recreation is a topic that merits further attention from historians of mobility and the environment.

Canoeing, golf, hiking, automobile touring, and sightseeing from ocean-going vessels are not leisure activities that are in any way exclusive to Canadians. However, the stark climatic variations in seasons in most parts of northern North America and the changing availability of daylight circumscribed Canadian leisure patterns in specific ways. During much of the period covered by the chapters in this collection, mobility in pursuit of leisure remained primarily a summertime activity. Canadians revelled in grandiose vistas and close connections with manicured landscapes, and they ascribed certain features of national identity to this concept of "nature." Through mobility corridors constructed for productive goals, Canadians were able to access these non-urban spaces of pleasurable and therapeutic leisure.

8

Views from the Deck: Union Steamship Cruises on Canada's Pacific Coast, 1889–1958

J.I. Little

As the main lifeline of the British Columbia coast from the late nineteenth century until the late 1950s, Vancouver's Union Steamship Company (USC) fleet carried not only freight and workers to and from the lumber camps, salmon canneries, and larger industrial sites of the north Pacific coast, but also tourists attracted largely by the views from the deck as described by the company's promotional brochures. According to Wolfgang Schivelbusch's much-repeated observation, the new modes of travel associated with the steam era altered passengers' perception by superimposing modern metropolitan concepts of time and space over traditional local ones.[1] But this was much more the case for railway trains, with their high speeds on fixed tracks, than for steamships, which travelled at relatively slow and varying speeds through the same spaces as vessels that depended on wind or muscle power. In the case of the USC, its relatively small ships followed routes that took them up long, narrow coastal inlets, where they waited for high tides to penetrate the smaller harbours.[2] Prior to the introduction

of radar to the coastal vessels in 1946, the connection to natural landscapes remained strong as the navigators—sometimes referred to as fog wizards—"read" the surrounding fog-enshrouded terrain by listening to the varying resonances of the echo from the ship's whistle.[3] Neither the views nor the passengers' experiences changed a great deal during the years of the USC's operation, but what readers of the promotional brochures were directed to see and experience did evolve—the primary focus shifted from the picturesque to the industrial and, finally, to the therapeutic—with the chief constant being that coastal inhabitants and workers continued to be largely ignored. Although certain views went in and out of fashion, the brief and condescending descriptions of the First Nations people and their villages reveal how the colonization of space by capital was more than simply a physical process as far as Canada's West Coast province was concerned.[4]

Prior to the late nineteenth century, sea voyages were associated with boredom, discomfort, and danger, but historian Frances Steel notes that "with advances in ship-building, new forms of ship ownership in the large-scale, bureaucratic operational structures of shipping companies, the emergence and popularisation of the package tour, growing economic prosperity and middle-class access to leisure time, cruising developed on a commercial scale."[5] Spurred by enthusiastic descriptions by travellers such as the naturalist John Muir, American tourists were already flocking to Alaska by the time the transcontinental rail connection led to the founding of the port city of Vancouver in 1885.[6] California's Pacific Coast Steamship Company had initiated tourist-specific voyages a year earlier, and in 1890 alone more than five thousand passengers boarded ships that navigated through the islands and fjords of the Inside Passage to Alaska.[7] Not surprisingly, the founding prospectus of the Vancouver-based USC, published in 1889, recognized the value of this traffic, noting that "the tourist travel which is now very considerable, must rapidly increase. The want of a steamer adapted for this purpose, and excursions amongst the grand scenery of the North, is felt during the summer months."[8]

The following year, in 1890, the British-owned company joined the tourist trade on a more local scale by acquiring the *Cutch*, a luxury yacht originally built for an Indian maharaja. The *Cutch*'s main role

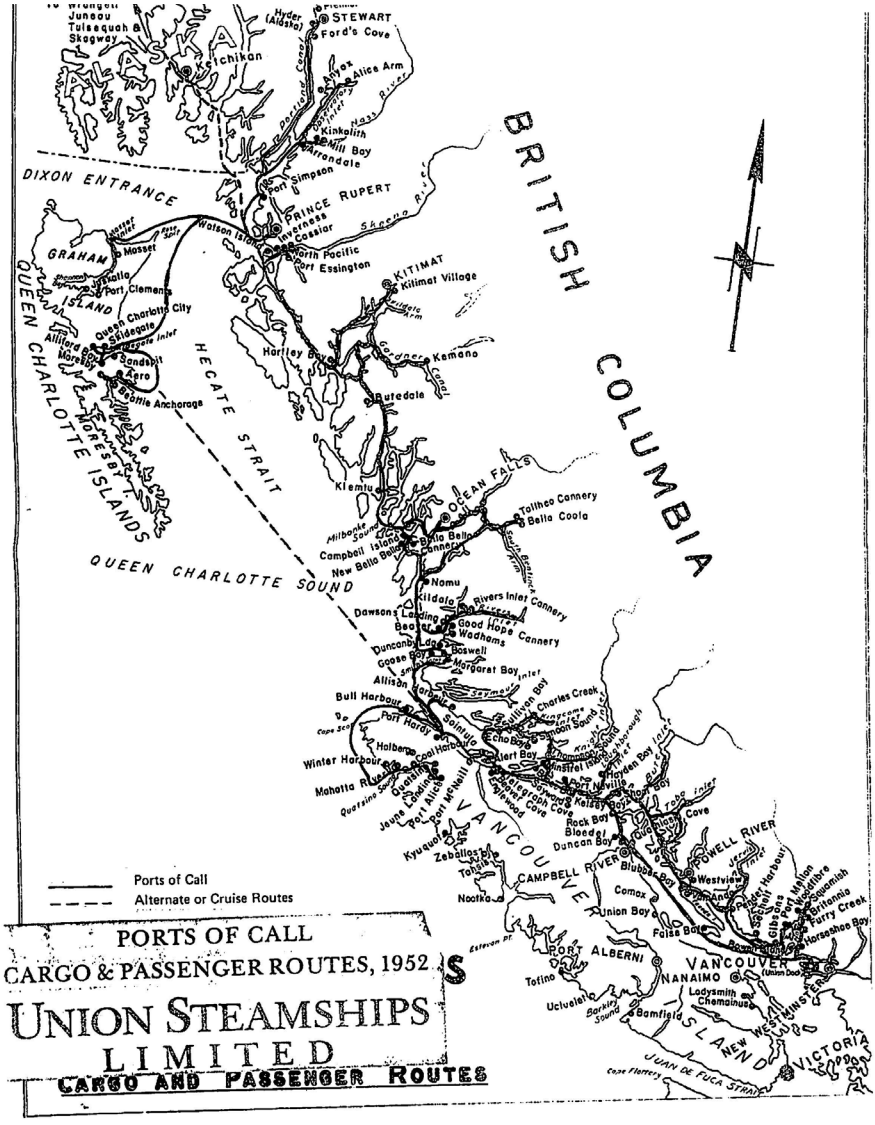


FIGURE 8.1. Map of Union Steamship Company routes in the long and narrow inlets along the BC coast from Vancouver to Stewart, as well as Alaska and what were then known as the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1952. Courtesy of Vancouver Maritime Museum.

was to serve the run from Vancouver to Nanaimo on Vancouver Island, but on summer Saturdays it carried hundreds of city residents to nearby sandy beaches that had float landings, and in July 1891 it made its first excursion north to Pender Harbour on the nearby Sunshine Coast. The notice for the cruise of 250 passengers read as follows: "*Cutch* to Pender Harbour off Jervis Inlet—that little bay is noted for its scenery. While on the way the vessel will pass Bowen Island, Howe Sound, Sechelt Indian Village, Trail Bay, Welcome Pass, Texada Island and other places of interest."[9] The following month, under the auspices of the Vancouver Women's Hospital Society, the *Cutch* made the first USC excursion to the Squamish Valley, at the head of Howe Sound (fig. 8.1).[10]

The USC soon left the southern Vancouver Island routes to its rivals—the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company of Victoria and the Vancouver fleet of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company—to focus instead on the small settlements along the indented coastline from Vancouver to Prince Rupert and beyond.[11] The USC made its first appeal to tourists in 1894, when it printed the account of "W.G.F.," a British travel writer who claimed to have found his fellow passengers on the northern run to be "not only civil, but in some cases interesting." The USC was known for its linen tablecloths, silver cutlery, and appetizing meals served by stewards in starched uniforms, but it did not yet have ships dedicated exclusively to the tourist trade; thus, its fleet was—during the summer, at least—a somewhat unusual hybrid of cruise ship and commercial vessel.[12] Needless to say, neither W.G.F. nor any other promotional writer made reference to the pigs, chickens, and other livestock transported to coastal settlements, or to the loggers who were generally drunk and rowdy as they left the skid-row hotels of Vancouver.[13] Indigenous and Chinese deck passengers would also be ignored, but W.G.F. did describe the First Nations settlements as a colourful and exotic part of the coastal landscape. He wrote, for example, that the Catholic bishop dropped off at Sechelt was welcomed by "the strains of music furnished by the native band, whose members are shining like the Stars, in gold lace in a firmament of blue cloth." Later in the journey, at Green Point, the vessel arrived during a potlatch, inspiring W.G.F. to write, "we are amused at the ingenuity of the squaws, who to be rid of their maternal cares, have planted their dusky sucklings

in a long trough where, clad in parti-coloured dresses, the youngsters look in the distance like a row of human flowers."[14] Dehumanizing as this language is, it is certainly more positive than that of the censorious descriptions by earlier travellers who had recorded their impressions of British Columbia.[15]

Otherwise, W.G.F. adhered closely to the picturesque convention favoured by the British officials, gunboat officers, and gold seekers who had arrived in the West Coast colony during the mid-nineteenth century. More appropriate to the pastoral English countryside than to the mountainous terrain of the Pacific Northwest, the appeal of the picturesque perspective, as Simon Ryan has observed of Australian exploration narratives, was that it tamed the colonial landscape's "threatening vastness and unfamiliarity."[16] A key characteristic of the picturesque scene is its paintability, and one of the most distinguishing features of the early promotional literature produced for the USC was colour, as seen in W.G.F.'s descriptions of the Aboriginals at Sechelt and Green Point, noted above, as well as in his images of the coastal landscape.

Thus, after departing from Sechelt, having passed beyond the Hole-in-the-Wall, W.G.F. reported that "no scenic painter could conceive the beautiful effects furnished by such an archipelago of inlets, clad in moss and stately trees, flushed by the dawn." Less picturesque in the conventional sense was the coastline, where the massive Coast Range rose up directly from the shore. W.G.F. emphasized the massive scale of this landscape, but rather than describing it as overwhelming or terrifying, in conformity with conventions of the sublime, he wrote, "We sail on, past huge fir-covered mountains where snowy heads rest against the deep blue sky above, through virgin seas and deserted spaces where the steamer's whistle, reverberating through the hills, puts up flocks of wild duck." W.G.F. viewed even the rough lumber camps that scarred the hillsides as picturesque, noting how "teams comprising sixteen or more huge patient oxen haul down the forest giants, whilst big hirsute men with spiked boots and long poles dance over the floating logs as they arrange them into booms."[17] Jonas Larsen refers to such landscape descriptions as the "cinematic vision"—one characterized by "totalities and fluid rhythms" as opposed to foregrounds, details, and orderliness—but they also reflect the nineteenth-century evolution

FIGURE 8.2. Aboriginal cannery workers face crowded conditions on the deck of the *Camosun*, the Union Steamship Company's first large ship to serve Prince Rupert and other northern ports, c. 1923. Courtesy of Vancouver Maritime Museum.

of the English picturesque to favour the wild over the pastoral, and woodsmen over peasants.[18] By dividing the passing terrain into a series of scenes viewed from the relative safety of a steam-powered ship, however, W.G.F.'s descriptions reassured his readers that human forces could bring the wilderness under orderly control.

Between 1897 and 1900, the USC focused its attention on the Klondike gold rush, and in the first two decades of the twentieth century, it expanded its fleet to serve the growing cannery and logging market. According to one admiring account, "the Union company did for the coast what the CPR did for the country."[19] But the company did not neglect the tourist trade; in 1916, it published Aitken Tweedale's *North by West in the Sunlight*, in which the author described his six-day voyage from Vancouver to Alice Arm (near the Alaska Panhandle) in the same picturesque terms as had W.G.F. Clearly from a similarly privileged British background as his predecessor, Tweedale had sailed on the *Venture*, a fifty-five-metre ship with a cargo capacity of 495 metric tons, which was licensed for 186 passengers. In addition to the

sixty-two first-class berths, Tweedale noted, the ship contained extra loggers' berths and deck space for the canning crews—though he failed to note that these crews were Chinese and Aboriginal or to mention them further (fig. 8.2).[20]

Having slept through the night on departure from Vancouver Island, Tweedale described waking up off Savary Island, "a beautiful spot, very popular with residents of the Coast cities as a summer camp." In the distance one could see the smoke of the Powell River pulp and paper mill "whose products are shipped around the world," but rather than describing its appearance, Tweedale wrote, "The combination suggested a simile: – Savary Island expressing ease, rest, and pleasure—Powell River, the fretful energy of commerce which makes possible the enjoyment of existence." Quickly dropping the subject of the mill, Tweedale continued: "The sun by now was coming to his power, glorying the mysteries of hill and mountain along the Coast range, tinting and lighting up some peak rising above the mists of morning, and exposing Mount Alfred (8,540 ft.), as a Goliath among Davids." As for the port side and the view of Vancouver Island, "shadows brooded between the mountains, but the sparkling waters leapt laughingly, up to her sides, and in their lightness emphasized the grandeur and vastness of scale on which Nature has fashioned this Pearl of the Pacific."[21] There is clearly a hint of the sublime in this passage, but one that has been tamed by "lightness" and harmony.[22]

The verbal images in *North by West in the Sunlight* become particularly colourful at the point of the ship's entry to Queen Charlotte Sound. From the "wonderful vista of gem-like islets, round which the waters play in a million white-frothed wavelets," Tweedale's gaze swept to "larger islands, covered with the foliage of that green whose marvellous tint is too elusive for description; then beyond, sloping mainland, with the foot-hills bathed in a gentle mist, leading up to the majestic mountains in the background, crowned by the eternal snows."[23] Focusing on Cormorant Island's Alert Bay, Tweedale remarked that growing on the "exceedingly rich" soil were maples and other trees with "shades of palest yellow, tawny golds, and brilliant greens, while the crimsons of last year yet remained in occasional vivid glimpses."[24] Tweedale also adhered to his painterly perspective in describing the

local Kwakwaka'wakw village. Midway between the fishing boats on the shore and the "would-be civilized houses, in divers shapes and many angled," was "a riot of red, blue, green and yellow, as displayed in the clothing and blankets of the tribe." At a time when Emily Carr was producing painstakingly accurate images of what she considered to be artifacts of a dying culture, Tweedale added simply that "intermingling with this colouring, and towering over all, stood the famous Totem poles, carved in the usual fantastic designs and very gaudily coloured. . . . From an artistic point of view, the tone effect was superb."[25]

Tweedale had less opportunity for such picturesque descriptions once the ship reached open water, but after it entered the Inside Passage he turned briefly to the therapeutic theme when he wrote that Bella Bella "is a spot full of charm in its situation, set in a harbour rich in natural beauties, ideal for the lotus-eater, or he who needs rest for a tired brain." After describing an Aboriginal cemetery at China Hat (Klemtu) as "strangely unreal amid the brightness of life expressed by the gleam of the sunlight, the verdance of trees, and the clear light of water," Tweedale returned to the comfortingly familiar as the *Venture* entered "a channel broad as the Thames at Oxford; on either bank gently sloping foliage to the edge, cut, just at the water line, by a basin-like rim of rock, sombre green in tint." In fact, Nature had proved herself "the greatest landscape gardener" by creating a series of circular islands, "so regular as to be almost uncanny" and "nearly in the dead-centre of the channel."[26]

Tweedale slipped briefly into the sublime at Butedale on Princess Royal Island, where he described how the mist from a light shower "gave sufficient haze to convey to the eye of the beholder an impression of might and majesty even beyond reality." The moment was fleeting, however, for it was followed by "a transformation of scene unequalled on the stage of a theatre," namely, the appearance of Butedale Falls "unveiled to us in all their glory, slowly opening through the haze, modest as a bride in her bridal attire." To complete the sexualized image, Tweedale then referred to a "scintillating light" that "pierced the mist as clearly as an arrow shaft, and lit directly on the Falls."[27]

Despite his primary emphasis on distant, apparently unsettled landscapes, Tweedale did express some interest in the Skeena River

salmon canneries. His readers learned little about them, however, aside from the fact that the fishermen who brought "the sparkling cargoes to the wharf" were mostly Japanese or Aboriginal, and the canneries supplied "the markets of the world."[28] As for Prince Rupert, it was obviously assumed to be of little interest; readers were simply informed that they could "easily obtain every possible information relative thereto from official sources." Tweedale implied that travellers would be more attracted to the neighbouring Aboriginal village of Metlakatla, which offered the contrast of the "dying past."[29]

Reassuringly, if paradoxically, as the *Venture* headed further north, Tweedale depicted the landscape as being of a type increasingly familiar to the British tourist. Resorting to landscape associationism,[30] he described how the ship "passed bays beautiful as the famed Scottish Lochs, – islets as sunny as in the Grecian Seas." In Port Simpson, "the quaint, snug situation and white houses . . . reminded of some village in Devon or Cornwall, but for the towering mountains in the background." Paradoxically, again, the most industrialized landscape of the route was near its distant terminus. After stating that he would "forbear" providing a detailed description of the Granby copper works, Tweedale described its "great smelter at Anyox with its tireless daily and nightly industry, emitting aloft a continuous smoke spreading in light green-black filament against the white crowns of the mountains, snow-topped the year round." Here, Tweedale is resorting to what Leo Marx refers to as the rhetoric of the technological sublime, in which "the awe and reverence . . . bestowed upon the visible landscape is directed . . . toward the technological conquest of matter."[31] In fact, Tweedale's colourful description might almost be labelled the technological picturesque. Not only did he convert into a painterly scene a heavily polluting industry that had killed nearly forty million cubic feet of hemlock timber, he also sentimentalized that scene with his description of "the railway with its toy-like engines, puffing and snorting from wharf to smelter, from smelter to mine, in never-ceasing journeying."[32]

Tweedale's imaginative creation of a picturesque landscape at Anyox is an example of how, in the words of historian Catherine Cocks, scenic tourism rested on "the understanding of nature as the privileged locus of a solitary and refining act of communion" that

"stood opposed to the market-driven exploitation of natural resources typical of American expansion and industrialization."[33] But the more modernist sensibility of the post–World War I era tended to eschew sentimentality, and in 1923, only seven years after the publication of Tweedale's *North by West*, Stuart Rushton's unimaginatively titled *Our Coastal Trips* made considerably less effort to depict the industrial as picturesque.[34] Rushton—the son of the titled mayor of Liverpool—had a class background similar to that of the USC's earlier advertisers, yet, as a long-term USC employee, he was aware that Tweedale's "extravagantly colourful" prose (to use Rushton's own words) had lost much of its charm.[35] Rushton did sprinkle some of Tweedale's phrases throughout his own considerably longer publication, but the following statement is more characteristic: "Famous salmon canneries of the Skeena and Naas rivers cannot fail to provide unbounded interest, and such growing centres of industry as Ocean Falls, Swanson Bay, Surf Inlet, Prince Rupert, Anyox, and Stewart, apart from the commercial aspect, will be a revelation to the tourist."[36] In contrast to Tweedale's evocation of a benign romantic Nature, then, Rushton celebrated its mastery by technology and human skill. And, with the booklet's photographs of paper mills, canneries, and logging operations, as well as of the city of Prince Rupert, *Our Coastal Trips* also supported the primary goal of provincial tourism promoters: attracting economic investment.[37]

In a distinctly prosaic fashion, *Our Coastal Trips* made exaggerated claims—for example, that "canned salmon is very nutritious and contains a greater amount of food element than any other similar product." Rushton also assured prospective travellers that they would have "a fine opportunity of viewing the actual canning operations . . . and will doubtless be surprised at the scientific methods now employed in the process" (fig. 8.3).[38] As for the lumber industry, British Columbia was said to be "endowed with the richest timber belts and forests to be found in any part of the world." This resource was "almost, one might say, unlimited," as well as being "located at easily accessible points to tidewater." As a result, "both tourist and traveller on this coast has [*sic*] the great facility of viewing at first hand, and with scarcely any additional travel or expense, the operations of this vast industry on the Pacific North-west." Passengers could observe the logger at work "in

FIGURE 8.3. The *S.S. Cardena*, seen here at the Butedale salmon cannery (c. 1935), had a 350-ton cargo capacity, had refrigeration for thirty tons of boxed fish, and could carry eleven thousand cases of canned salmon. It was also licensed to carry 250 passengers. Courtesy of City of Vancouver Archives.

the developments which take place in rapid succession from the moment when the tree is felled till the log is eventually towed down in the well-known booms and log-rafts to the marketing entrepots where the big mills are located." Rushton clearly did not have in mind the primitive operations of the hand loggers who were scattered along the coast, for readers were assured that the "scientific progress in the method of logging during recent years" would be an "eye-opener."[39]

Rushton devoted a little more space than had Tweedale to the Indigenous population, writing of Alert Bay that "in addition to the permanent inhabitants, it becomes a rendezvous in the summer months for large numbers of Indians from neighbouring reserves, who earn much of their livelihood during the fish-canning season." But Aboriginals were largely excluded from the progressive image that

Figure 8.4. Crowded conditions for tourists aboard one of the corvettes purchased by the United Steamship Company after World War II. Note the gun turret on the bow—and the cruises' popularity with young women. Courtesy of City of Vancouver Archives.

tourism promoters were fashioning for the province during this era, and Rushton's publication is no exception.[40] While it alludes to Alert Bay's hospital and "Indian school," it quickly shifts to the traditional view of the tourism industry, adding that passengers who took advantage of the short time available to go ashore "will see the lodges and picturesque colored garb of the Indians. Of particular interest will be some fine totem poles, specimens of which have been pronounced amongst the finest extant on the American continent."[41]

As for other stops on the first of two six-day itineraries up the coast, Rushton described Prince Rupert in considerable detail, noting that it was the northern terminus of the Canadian National Railway, that it had "an extensive shipbuilding plant" as well as a dry dock, and that its busy commercial harbour was fourteen miles in length.[42] The second of the two available six-day trips travelled into Rivers Inlet and up the Burke Channel to Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and Ocean Falls. Aside from its somewhat greater emphasis on the scenery and the hunting and fishing possibilities, this route had only one novel feature: the "fruitful nature" of the valley, with its mixed farms, orchards, and ranches extending over 160 kilometres inland. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the odour that pulp and paper mills emit, Ocean Falls was passed over more quickly than some of the smaller industrial centres.[43] Whether or not Rushton's focus on the coast's industrial sites sparked the interest of many tourists, the northern cruises were certainly popular, according to his history of the USC: "The response was so great that it soon became necessary to limit the number of tourists on each sailing to leave space for the regular travellers and settlers" (fig. 8.4).[44]

In addition to the northern routes, more southerly semi-weekly cruises served resource and industrial communities closer to Vancouver. Although Rushton's 1923 tourist brochure stated that passengers on the weekend cruise to Toba Inlet, Cortez Island, and Lewis Channel would pass through "one of Nature's fairylands," he added that they would also be able to observe mining and logging operations as well as canneries.[45] Furthermore, the round trip to Loughborough Inlet and Toba Inlet included several harbours "with seemingly impossible entrances," such as Granite Bay, where "the skilful pilot guides the vessel between rocky shores scarcely the steamer's length apart." The main tourist

FIGURE 8.5. Excursionists aboard the *Lady Alexandra*. As shown, they are not paying much attention to the Britannia Mine, which was advertised as a feature attraction on the tour of Howe Sound. Courtesy of City of Vancouver Archives.

attraction, then, was the pilot's technical skills rather the environment itself, and Rushton drove the point home, noting that logging operations, "especially at Grassey Bay, which has a fine railed wharf, will remind one yet again of man's gradual assertion over nature."[46]

Finally, the third category of excursions offered by the USC was the day cruise aimed almost exclusively at the recreation and tourist market. The main focus of these cruises was the company's resorts in Howe Sound and on the Sunshine Coast, but Rushton did not neglect the local industrial landscape.[47] Advertising the excursion to the head of Howe Sound, which was the southern terminus of the Pacific Great Eastern Railway (the future BC Rail), his 1923 brochure noted that ports of call included Porteau, which was "the location of Deek's Gravel Co."; Woodfibre, which was "the site of an extensive modern plant of

the Whalen Pulp and Paper Company, Limited"; Britannia, which was "the headquarters of one of the largest copper deposits in the world"; and finally Squamish, where "local activities, besides railroad work, comprise logging, lumbering and mining" (fig. 8.5).[48]

The USC's entry into the resort business in the 1920s did not deter it from carrying tourists on its northern runs, however, if only because centralized production was causing the company to lose its advantage over its larger competitors in the industrial market.[49] Further, as the coast was increasingly depopulated, the ability of the USC's small ships to navigate the narrow inlets meant less and less to the commercial market, making the tourist trade all the more important.[50] In *Cruising the Coast of Romance*, printed in 1928, the new company manager, Harold Brown, asserted that "each week splendidly appointed steamers leave the Union Dock on delightful cruises through the coastal fjords and thrilling inland waterways, bound for the 'mysterious Northland.'" Rather than drawing attention to the stops at the remaining logging camps and industrial sites, Brown appealed to a concern prevalent among business and professional classes since the late nineteenth century: that the pressures of urban life were leading to nervous prostration, identified as neurasthenia.[51] Brown informed his readers that "the real value of a holiday lies in the complete detachment from the cares and stress of modern business life. In these inspirational cruises through the still waters and silver distances of the Coast Sea-Trails is to be found the most satisfying repose for body and mind."[52] Romance had clearly returned as a central theme of the coastal experience, but in a more hedonistic guise than the earlier aesthetic focus on the picturesque view. And the Great Depression did little to change this tone. In 1936, for example, Brown's *10 Magic Trips by Union Ships* promised that "everyday cares" would be quickly forgotten as "the city fades into a mere speck in the presence of this vast untrammelled adventure-land tingling with romance." To enhance the escapist theme, Brown added that "many of the routes follow little known channels and inlets. You have the feeling of steering the same bold course as Captain Vancouver through uncharted seas."[53]

After Brown retired as USC manager in 1939, the company relied largely on Vancouver newspapers for its publicity. The war years

brought a revival of the coastal shipping trade as the forest sector boomed, but all tourist traffic on overnight sailings was suspended for safety reasons.[54] Gasoline restrictions for automobiles nevertheless made short excursions to Bowen Island and Howe Sound more popular than ever, particularly for shift workers in the shipbuilding and other defence industries, as well as off-duty servicemen and their families who were allowed to take brief vacations only.[55] In 1940, when Vancouver's population was approximately 275,000, Union Pier saw 210,651 passengers embark on company vessels. To place this number in further perspective, only 298,076 American tourists crossed the border south of Vancouver that year, and rubber and fuel rationing would cause that number to decline during the following three years. For the twelve months ending on January 31, 1943, the USC reported a record high of 472,066 passengers—some of them on the increasingly infamous Saturday night "booze cruises" to the company's dance pavilion on Bowen Island.[56]

After the war ended, the purchase of three speedy corvettes to serve the northern routes rejuvenated the aging fleet, bringing "New Standards of Luxury to BC Coast Travel."[57] These ships were popular with tourists, though one American later recalled that the six-and-a-half-day trip to Stewart was "one of continual rush and push" (fig. 8.6).[58] More relaxing was the ten-day Alaska cruise dedicated solely to the tourist trade. Judging from the tourist guidebook printed in 1957, its main attraction was the spectacular scenery, especially the glaciers, though brief stops for sightseeing were made at industrial sites such as Kitimat and Ketchikan, the "Salmon Canning Capital of the World" as well as the site of a "huge pulp industry."[59] Rushton claimed that this was the most successful cruise venture ever developed by the company, but he also stated that the purchase of the three ships was a costly mistake because of high conversion costs and fuel consumption, as well as limited cargo space.[60] The writing was on the wall in any case, for the tourist season lasted only five months and the company's freight and passenger service could not compete with improvements in roads or airline and barge services.[61] In addition, the Howe Sound resorts fell victim to the automobile; families sought more private holidays after gas rationing ended, and the W.A.C. Bennett government began to

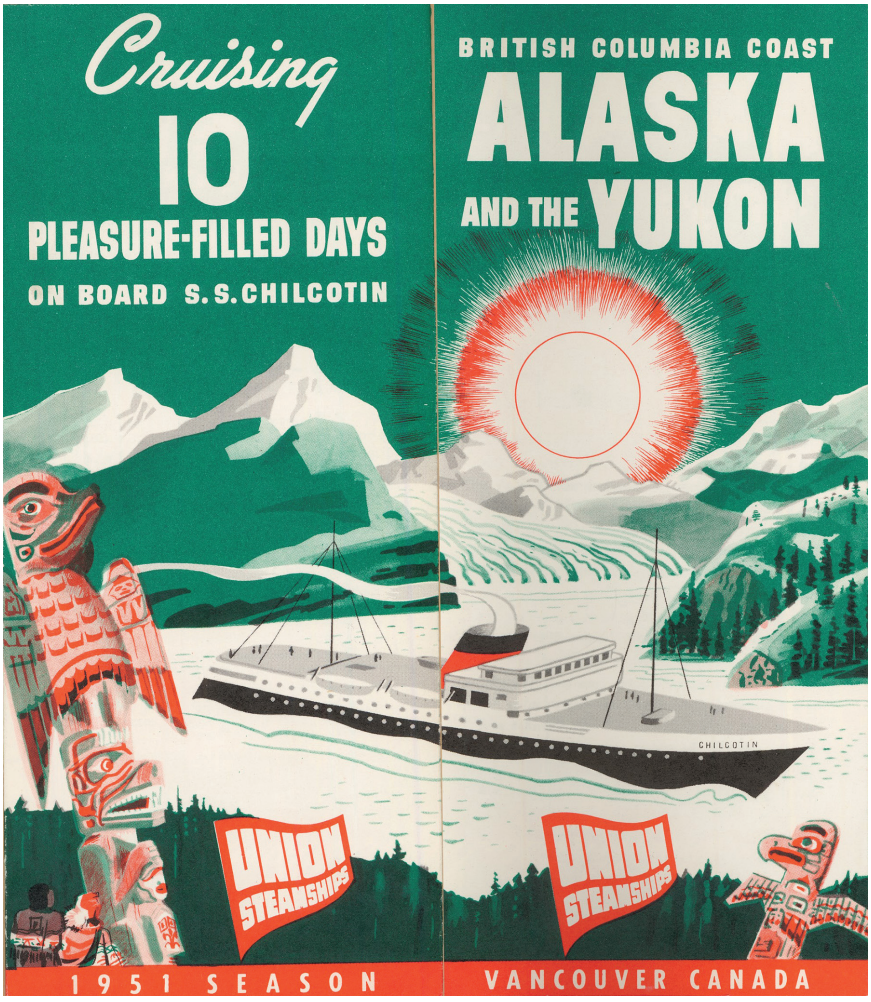


FIGURE 8.6. The *S.S. Chilcotin*, a Castle-class corvette built for service in the war, was converted in 1947 for summer cruises to Alaska, with 106 first-class berths and a license for two hundred passengers. Note the totem poles, which had come to symbolize BC tourism by this time. Courtesy of Vancouver Maritime Museum.

improve the province's road network.[62] Another crippling blow was a two-month strike against the USC during the 1955 peak tourist season, which cost the company an estimated seven hundred thousand dollars.[63] The USC finally terminated all subsidized passenger service

early in 1958, after the federal government refused to increase its annual grant. A year later its new owner, Northland Navigation Company, mothballed the entire fleet.[64]

A sea voyage is generally viewed as a linking of spaces across a void, but the many stops made by USC vessels along the indented coastline provided passengers with the opportunity to experience localities in what Schivelbusch refers to as their "spatial individuality."[65] As described by one former coastal resident, the process of landing at a dock had a fascination of its own; she recalled that Captain Andy Johnstone's ship was like a dancing partner as he docked her: "slide, pivot, swing; glide, reverse, and stop. The stop was always on her toes, dramatic, and to generous applause."[66] Similarly, in his semi-fictional *Woodsmen of the West*, published in 1908, Martin Allerdale Grainger describes the following scenes from the deck of a USC steamship:

> Every now and again we would see the distant roof of a logging-camp shining yellow through the trees, and hear the whistle of a donkey-engine from where the white puffs of steam would show against the forest green. Then the Cassiar would toot and slow down, and the camp rowboat would put out to intercept us. A whole fleet of hand-loggers' boats would come out too, and tie up at the steamer's side for a few hurried minutes while meat and supplies and mail were being thrown into them. We passengers would all lean over the deck-rail above and laugh at little breakages that would occur to freight, and recognise acquaintances in the boats alongside and shout the latest news from Vancouver to them.[67]

An undated interview of former logger Jim Mackay echoes this social aspect of coastal travel, for Mackay fondly recalled how, at a place such as Lasqueti Island,

> You'd all go out and hang over the rail, everybody on the island'd be there on the dock, there'd always be someone

> you'd know. Charlie Klein'd be tryin' to talk you into gettin' off to help him for a couple of weeks, women'd be screamin' scandal back and forth, some gyppo maybe would be there catchin' freight and guys up on the boat would be after him about work . . . people'd be stumbling along still yappin' as the boat eased back, shouting and waving—and this would go on all the way up the line. . . . The coast in them days was like a buncha people along a street seeing each other all the time on the way by.[68]

In short, as historical geographer Cole Harris has observed, one feature of British Columbia's challenging landscape was that the "lines of industrial transportation became those of social interaction."[69]

Today, much of the BC coast is devoid of habitation, especially non-Indigenous habitation. The exploitation of its natural resources no longer requires local residents due to the newer technology of powerful tugboats, float planes, and radio communications.[70] But, given the foregoing descriptions by Allerdale and Mackay, one is struck by how little attention the USC tourism brochures paid to the people who then lived along the coast. Passengers on the "Vagabond Cruises" in 1957 were promised that they would "get an intimate glimpse of the coast-life and people, and reach some of the quaintest places imaginable"—but the word "glimpse" is telling.[71] Whereas in Alaska, according to historian Douglas Cole, "Indians and their curios rivalled scenery as the major attraction of the tour," USC publications made only brief references to coastal Aboriginal villages and none at all to any market in Indigenous handicrafts.[72] The impression created was that contact with coastal life would be fleeting, relying largely on sight rather than the evocative sounds of social interaction or the smells of livestock as described by passengers such as Grainger and Mackay.[73]

Even though USC cruises failed until the 1950s to promote what was clearly the principal attraction for its American competitors—namely, views of Alaska's glaciers—the company's guidebooks strongly suggest that British Columbia's coastal landscape was the main attraction offered on its tours, whether it be the picturesque landscape of W.G.F.

and Tweedale, the industrial landscape of Rushton, or the therapeutic landscape of Brown. These are what historians Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough refer to as "landscapes of consumption,"[74] though a consumption presented as self-improvement rather than pleasure for its own sake. Narrow and exclusive as that focus may have been, reading beyond the USC's guidebooks to the passengers' own descriptions reveals that the tourists who booked passage on its meandering coastal vessels had a richer, more authentic experience than do those aboard today's Alaska-bound cruises gazing passively at the rapidly passing coastline from the comfort and distance of their air-conditioned cabins.[75]

Notes

1 Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 4. Kevin Flynn states that Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) passengers sometimes complained that the train's speed denied them a stable, easily captured view of the landscape. Kevin Flynn, "Destination Nation: Nineteenth-Century Travels aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway," *Essays on Canadian Writing*, no. 67 (1999): 207.

2 The majority of the USC's fifty vessels listed had a maximum speed of nine to twelve knots per hour. The conversion to diesel engines after World War II made little difference to the vessels' speed. Gerald A. Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet: The Union Steamship Story* (North Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1974), 132–40.

3 Tom Henry, *The Good Company: An Affectionate History of the Union Steamships* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour, 1994), 24–25, 38–39; K. Mack Campbell, *Cannery Village, Company Town* (Victoria: Trafford, 2004), 145, 150.

4 On this theme, see Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), chap. 6; Bruce Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture and Power on Canada's West Coast* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 182–83; and Robert Campbell, *In Darkest Alaska: Travel and Empire along the Inside Passage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

5 Frances Steel, "An Ocean of Leisure: Early Cruise Tours of the Pacific in an Age of Empire," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 14, no. 2 (2012).

6 Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, 58, 71–72, 74–75, 187–88, 218–27, 232–37.

7 Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 140; Braun, *Intemperate Rainforest*, 184–86; Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, 49.

8 Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 11.

9 Quoted in Ibid., 17.

10 Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 18.

11 See Robert D. Turner, *The Pacific Princesses: An Illustrated History of Canadian Pacific Railway's Princess Fleet on the Northwest Coast* (Victoria: Sono Nis, 1977); Norman R. Hacking and W. Kaye Lamb, *The Princess Story: A Century and a Half of West Coast Shipping* (Vancouver: Mitchell, 1974). The CPR acquired control of the CPN in 1901.

12 Frances Steel ("Ocean of Leisure") refers to only two choices in the South Pacific: independent adventuring on trade vessels or sailing on cruise ships. However, Robert Campbell (*Darkest Alaska*, 114, 184) states that the Alaska cruise ships were also trading ventures, stopping briefly at a number of canneries and mining supply points.

13 See Dorothy Faulkner, Elaine Park, and Cathy Jenks, *Women of Pender Harbour: Their Voices, Their History* (Madeira Park, BC: Pender Harbour Living Heritage Society, 2010), 106; Peter Chapman, "Navigating the Coast: A History of the Union Steamship Company," *Sound Heritage* 6, no. 2 (1977): 25–28, 30, 67; and Kelsey McLeod, "The Union Company's Entertaining Ships," *Westcoast Mariner* 3, no.1 (1990): 25–28.

14 Quoted in Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 30–31.

15 See J.I. Little, "West Coast Picturesque: Class, Gender, and Race in a British Colonial Landscape, 1858–71," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 41, no. 2 (2007): 25–31. By the late nineteenth century, anthropologists such as Franz Boas had begun recording what they believed to be a dying culture. Braun, *Intemperate Rainforest,* 189–90.

16 Simon Ryan, "Exploring Aesthetics: The Picturesque Appropriation of Land in Journals of Australian Exploration," *Australian Literary Studies* 15, no. 4 (1992): 282. On the picturesque, see also Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetic and Tourism in Britain, 1760–1800* (Aldershot, UK: Scholar, 1989), 56–58; Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 156–57; and William H.A. Williams, *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character: British Travel Writers in Pre-Famine Ireland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 21–31.

17 Quoted in Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 30–31. For an earlier, equally picturesque description of the mountains at Bute Inlet, see Molyneux St. John, *The Sea of Mountains: An Account of Lord Dufferin's Tour through British Columbia in 1876*, vol. 1 (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1877), 265–68.

18 Jonas Larsen, "Tourism Mobilities and the Travel Glance: Experiences of Being On the Move," *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 1, no. 2

(2001): 92; Andrews, *Search for the Picturesque*, 59.

19 Henry, *Good Company,* 8. While the ships carried cargoes of canned salmon to Vancouver, most logs were transported in rafts by tugboats until those were replaced by self-dumping barges in the 1950s. Most lumber appears to have been transported by the Grand Trunk Pacific's ships and trains from centralized locations such as Prince Rupert, Terrace, and Ocean Falls. Richard A. Rajala, *Up-Coast: Forests and Industry on British Columbia's North Coast, 1870–2005* (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2006), 7, 9, 19, 48, 51–53, 55–56, 109, 151.

20 Aitken Tweedale, *North by West in the Sunlight, Being Descriptions of Enjoyable Coasting Tours along the Shores of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Union Steamship Company, 1916); Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet,* 59; Arthur M. Twigg, *Union Steamships Remembered, 1920–1958* (Campbell River, BC: printed by author, 1997), 32. On labour in the canneries, see Dianne Newell, ed., *The Development of the Pacific Salmon-Canning Industry: A Grown Man's Game* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 16–19; and Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia, 1858–1930* (Vancouver: New Star, 1996), 190–200.

21 Tweedale, *North by West*, 4–6.

22 On the sublime in relation to the Alaska cruises of the late nineteenth century, see Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, 100–2, 223–24.

23 Tweedale, *North by West*, 10.

24 Ibid., 11.

25 Ibid., 11–12. Braun (*Intemperate Rainforest*, chap. 5) argues that, sympathetic as Carr may have been towards the Aboriginal communities she painted, her view was fundamentally a colonialist one.

26 Tweedale, *North by West*, 15–16.

27 Ibid., 17–18.

28 Ibid., 19–20.

29 Ibid., 20–21.

30 See Greg Gillespie, *Hunting for Empire: Narratives of Sport in Rupert's Land, 1840–70* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 83–84.

31 Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press,1964), 195–97. See also David E. Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), chap. 5.

32 Tweedale, *North by West*, 22–23; Rajala, *Up-Coast*, 64. For a photograph of Anyox in 1928, see Patricia E. Roy and John Herd Thompson, *British Columbia: Land of Promises* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2005), 109. On Juneau's industrial sublime, see Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, chap. 6.

33 Catherine Cocks, *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850–1915* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 124.

34 *Our Coastal Trips* (Vancouver: Union Steamship Co., n.d.), 3. No author or date are listed but Rushton states in *Whistle up the Inlet* (p. 87) that he wrote it in 1923. Tweedale also published a travel account directed at sports fishermen and hunters. Aitken Tweedale, *Fin,*

Feather and Fur on the British Columbia Coast (Vancouver, n.d. [1918 or 1919]). On post-1914 travel writing, see Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), 56–61.

35 Jessie M. Van der Burg, "A History of the Union Steamship Company of British Columbia, 1889–1943" (unpublished typescript, n.d. [1943]), pp. 83, 99, Library Collection, Vancouver Maritime Museum (hereafter VMM); Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 82.

36 [Rushton], *Our Coastal Trips*, 3.

37 Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890–1970* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), chap. 1.

38 [Rushton], *Our Coastal Trips*, 7–8. Most of the technical advances in salmon canning had been made in the nineteenth century. Newell, *Pacific Salmon-Canning Industry*, 15–16.

39 [Rushton], *Our Coastal Trips*, 11–12.

40 Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 72.

41 [Rushton], *Our Coastal Trips*, 5–6.

42 Ibid., 8–9.

43 Ibid., 10–11. The mill's newsprint was shipped to distant ports by freighters. For a description of Ocean Falls, see Rajala, *Up-Coast*, 72–77.

44 Rushton states that most came from the west coast of the United States, chiefly California, but perhaps a third were from Vancouver, Victoria, and the Prairies. The fare was fifty to sixty dollars. Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 107–8.

45 [Rushton], *Our Coastal Trips*, 3.

46 Ibid., 14.

47 Ibid., 18–24, 30–31. For a detailed study, see J.I. Little, "Vancouver's Playground: Leisure and Sociability on Bowen Island, 1902–57," *BC Studies*, no. 171 (2011): 37–67.

48 [Rushton], *Our Coastal Trips*, 25. In 1925 the USC joined forces with the Pacific Great Eastern Railway to promote a Sunday "Sea and Rail" excursion, with open railcars, to Brandywine Falls and Alta Lake. See *The Magic Day Sea-Trip through Howe Sound Vancouver's Glorious Inland Sea*, box 1, file 1, Union Steamship Collection, VMM (hereafter USC Collection); Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 102; and "A Day in a Thousand: The Glorious Sea and Rail Excursion" (USC advertisement), *Vancouver Sun*, 31 July 1926, 22.

49 On the USC's competitors, see Campbell, *Cannery Village*, 145–52.

50 Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 118, 123, 133. For first-hand accounts of the navigational challenges that the inlets presented, see Chapman, "Navigating the Coast."

51 Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 107–11. According to James Overton, the "therapeutic ethos" became particularly popular in Newfoundland tourism promotion during the 1920s and 1930s. James Overton, *Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development in Newfoundland* (Toronto:

University of Toronto Press, 1971), 16–17, 19.

52 [Harold Brown], *Cruising the Coast of Romance*, 1928, p. 48, USCBC fonds, Add MSS 75-510-B-6, City of Vancouver Archives.

53 [Harold Brown], *10 Magic Trips by Union Ships,* 1936, USCBC fonds, City of Vancouver Archives.

54 Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 135, 137; Rajala, *Up-Country*, 106–13.

55 Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 140.

56 Ibid., 125, 135, 140; Irene Howard, *Bowen Island, 1872–1972* (Bowen Island: Bowen Island Historians, 1973), 107; Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 117, 126; "Union Steamships Reveals Record Passenger Year," *Vancouver Sun*, 25 June 1943, 20.

57 "Special Announcement: Maiden Voyage of the New *S.S. Coquitlam*" (USC advertisement), *Vancouver Sun*, 6 November 1946, 25.

58 Clinton H. Betz, "Reminiscences of a Trip to Northern British Columbia aboard *S.S. Camosun*, Union Steamship Company of British Columbia," in *The Sea Chest*, n.d. [c. 1995], p. 30, box 3, file 3, USC Collection. See also *Freight Book Cruises along the British Columbia Coast Featuring S.S. Cardena*, 1957, in 1949–1958 scrapbook, p. 31, USC Collection.

59 For a description, see *Ten Day Cruise Tour to Alaska and the Yukon*, 1957, in 1949–1958 scrapbook, p. 30, USC Collection.

60 Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 130, 133, 150.

61 Ibid., 147–51, 157; Henry, *Good Company*, 128–33; Twigg, *Union Steamships Remembered*, 114–17; Howard White and Jim Spilsbury, *Spilsbury's Coast: Pioneer Years in the Wet West* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour, [1987]), chap. 20.

62 Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 159–60; Roy and Thompson, *British Columbia*, 151–52. Other factors were the improved standard of living and paid vacations that made it more affordable for members of the working class to travel. Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 4, 130–31; Cindy Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 238. On the rise in tourist traffic to the province's interior, see Ben Bradley, "Behind the Scenery: Manning Park and the Aesthetics of Automobile Accessibility in 1950s British Columbia," *BC Studies*, no. 170 (2011): 41–65.

63 Kelsey McLeod, "The Union Steamship Company of BC: The West Coast Lifeline," *British Columbia Historical News* 26, no. 3 (1993): 11; "Upcoast Villages Face Food Shortage," *Vancouver Sun*, 4 July 1955, 1–2.

64 Rushton, *Whistle up the Inlet*, 127, 161, 178, 180–81, 187, 190, 195; "Union Ships Up for Sale," *Daily Province*, 21 December 1957.

65 John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 96; Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 197.

66 Helen Meilleur, *A Pour of Rain: Reminiscences from a West Coast Fort* (Victoria: Sono Nis, 1980), 134.

67 M. Allerdale Grainger, *Woodsmen of the West* (1908; Toronto:

McClelland & Stewart, 2010), 12–13.

68 Quoted in Henry, *Good Company*, 31–32.

69 Harris, *Resettlement of British Columbia*, 192.

70 White and Spilsbury, *Spilsbury's Coast*, 190. On the centralization of the fish-packing industry, see Newell, *Pacific Salmon-Canning Industry*, 19–20.

71 *Freight Boat Cruises along the British Columbia Coast*, 1957, in 1949–1958 scrapbook, p. 31, USC Collection.

72 Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985), 96–97. See also Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*, 139, 141, 152–53; and Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, chap. 5. According to Patricia Jasen, Aboriginal villages were also an important part of the tourist itinerary in Northern Ontario, but Dawson notes that Aboriginal culture was not appropriated by British Columbia's tourism promoters on a regular basis until the 1930s. Jasen, *Wild Things*, 16–20, 84–92; Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 163–64.

73 Contrast, as well, Irene Todd's romantic sound image of "the whine of block and tackle, the clanking of chains, the splash of water against the wharves, and the chug-chug of the gasoline engines of the halibut fishing boats, and the Indian Salmon fishing boats, that lay out in the path of the moon," as heard from the deck of a Grand Trunk Pacific steamer docked in Prince Rupert harbour in 1921. Quoted in Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 14–15.

74 Shelly Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, introduction to *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, ed. Shelly Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 8.

75 For impressions of today's coast by two solitary travellers, see Jonathan Raban, *Passage to Juneau: A Sea and Its Meaning* (New York: Picador, 1999); and Michael Poole, *Ragged Islands: A Journey by Canoe through the Inside Passage* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991).

9

Producing and Consuming Spaces of Sport and Leisure: The Encampments and Regattas of the American Canoe Association, 1880–1903

Jessica Dunkin

At a time when technological change was rendering travel easier than ever for most North Americans, the canoe—a craft that depended on brute human strength—enjoyed a renaissance across the continent. Members of the urban middle class, in particular, could be found embarking on wilderness canoe camping trips, joining the newly formed canoe clubs that dotted urban waterways or paddling for pleasure at summer camps, resorts, and cottages.[1] Another manifestation of the newfound popularity of the canoe was the creation of the American Canoe Association (ACA), an amateur organization whose aim was to "unite all amateur canoeists for the purpose of pleasure, health, or exploration."[2] Central to the ACA's mission were encampments and regattas, yearly events that drew canoeing enthusiasts from both sides of the Canada-U.S. border.[3] The men and women who attended these

annual meetings travelled many hours—in some cases, days—by train, steamer, and canoe, crossing political and ecological boundaries to reach locations in Ontario, New York, and New England. There, for two weeks, they participated in sailing and paddling contests and explored the surrounding area, gathering for meals and nightly campfires with friends new and old.

As peripatetic tourist events, the annual meetings of the ACA inspired multiple forms of movement, including rail travel, paddling, walking, and sailing. These movements, in turn, engaged a diverse range of old and new motive technologies from streetcars and steamers to trains and canoes. Collectively, these practices and the technologies that afforded them exposed the canoeists to new landscapes and environments or, in some cases, returned them to familiar ones.[4] They also mediated the canoeists' experiences of their surroundings. Yet, even as these encampments were simultaneously mobile spaces and spaces of mobility, they were spaces of dwelling. Canvas tents were outfitted with domestic accoutrements, meals taken in the mess tent were served on china, and a Divine Service among the trees anchored the week's schedule. One of the animating questions of the larger research project of which this chapter is a part centres on the tensions inherent in the canoeing encampments between urban and wild, home and away, mobility and dwelling.

In this chapter, I explore themes of movement, dwelling, and experience at the annual meetings of the ACA between 1880, when the organization was founded, and 1903, the year it established a permanent encampment.[5] Mobilities, environments, and the intersections between them are deeply social and historical—a point that is marginal in contemporary theories of mobility. As geographer Tim Cresswell has noted, such theories centre on the figure of the nomad—Walter Benjamin's *flâneur*, Michel de Certeau's *Wandersmänner*, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's *nomad*—a "remarkably unsocial being . . . unmarked by the traces of class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and geography."[6] Furthermore, they pay little attention to the "historical conditions that produce specific forms of movement."[7] This case study suggests that a more complex understanding of the ways in which people moved to, moved through, and occupied leisure space is not only useful, but

necessary. For example, visitors to the ACA encampments encountered and inhabited these spaces not as isolated individuals, but as members of family units, canoe club groups, and the imagined community of canoeists.[8] Moreover, their experiences and thus their movements were "caught up in [the] power geometries of everyday life."[9] As white men and women of the middle and upper middle class, the canoeists had access to the ACA as well as the time and resources to travel to and participate in its annual meetings, even as gender and finer gradations of class shaped both their journeys to the encampments and the ways in which they navigated and inhabited the campsites. Finally, the annual meetings, as expressions of and responses to modernity, were rooted in the late-nineteenth-century world, embodying some of the central tensions of modern life, between movement and stasis, innovation and tradition, productivity and leisure.[10] These tensions flowed from the myriad economic, political, and social changes that were produced by the entangled processes of industrial capitalism, urbanization, and mass immigration.[11]

The Roots of the ACA and the Annual Encampment

The ACA was formed on Lake George in the Adirondacks in August 1880.[12] Although membership was ostensibly open to all "persons of respectable character, of any age, who possess a true love of Nature," those who joined were largely of the middle and upper middle class.[13] Predominantly, they were men. The ACA did not extend official membership to women until 1944; that said, the organization began to welcome small numbers of women as honorary or associate members in 1882, and women were an important component of camp life in different ways from 1881 onwards.[14] Finally, most of the members were of Euro-American descent.[15] The notable exception was famed Canadian "Indian poetess" Pauline Johnson, who became an honorary member in 1893.[16]

Initially, the leadership and members alike assumed that the annual meeting would remain at the Lake George site in perpetuity; in the fall of 1880, two members purchased three islands in the lake's centre for a permanent encampment. By 1882, however, the ACA had deemed

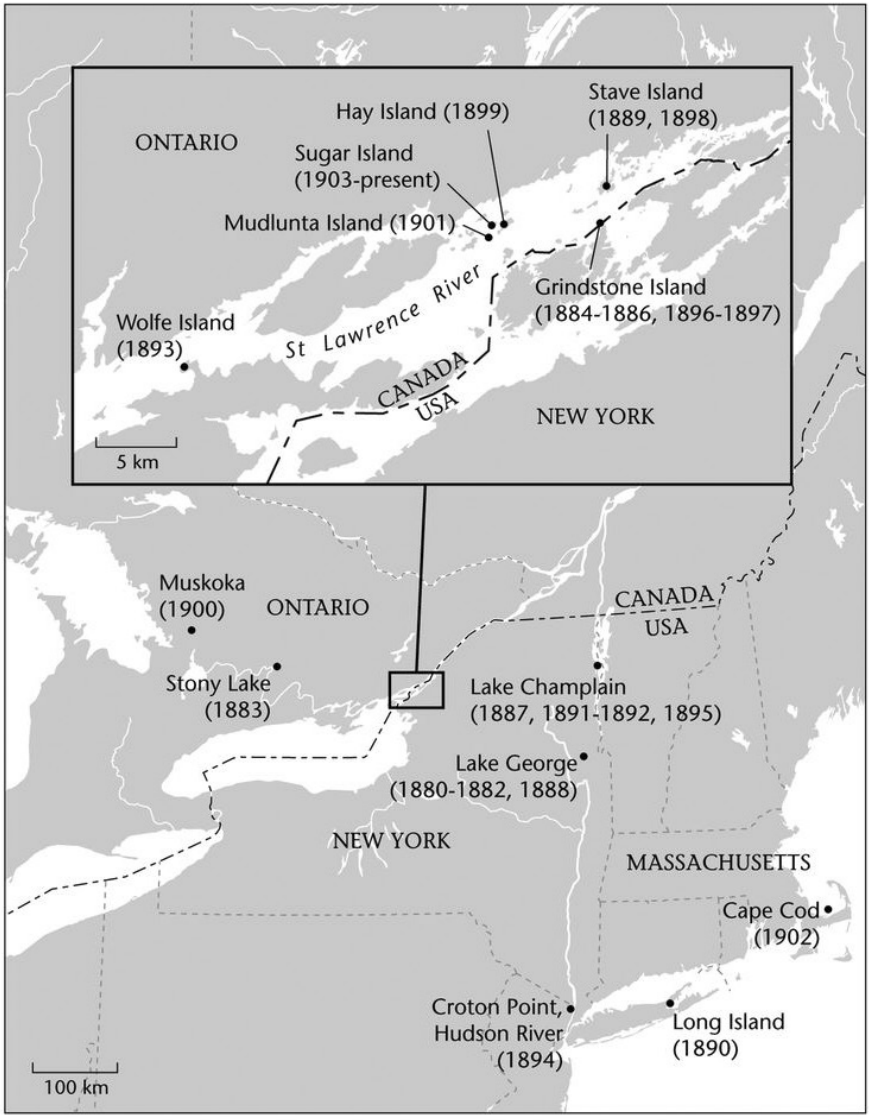


Figure 9.1. American Canoe Association encampments, 1880–1903. Map by Eric Leinberger.

the so-called Canoe Islands too small, the racecourses too distant from the islands, and the journey to Lake George unnecessarily arduous.[17] Thus, beginning in 1883, the association took its annual meeting on the road, so to speak, visiting locations in Ontario, New York, and New England (fig. 9.1).[18]

There were no official criteria for choosing a campsite. However, the organizing committee typically pursued accessible and well-serviced locations that were "far enough away from hotels and summer travel destinations to preserve the privacy and independence of the camp."[19] Beyond having ample transportation routes at hand, accessibility implied proximity to the Canada-U.S. border. Within a few years of the organization's beginnings, rising Canadian membership and involvement in the ACA meant that the ideal camp was held close to the Dominion.[20] Organizers also looked for a site to accommodate both paddling and sailing races—a challenge given that the former required calm and the latter wind. The aesthetics of the selected locations varied widely, from the craggy mountains of the Adirondacks to the rocky shorelines of the Canadian Shield to the seaside vistas of New England. Most organizers, however, aspired to find locations that resonated with romantic ideals of the day, marrying the sublime, which "entailed a new appreciation of natural phenomena" previously "regarded as unpleasantly frightening, unattractive, or even demonic," and the picturesque, which referred to a "less spectacular quality of landscape, one that was visually pleasing but lacked the emotional impact of the sublime."[21] In almost every case, the canoeists raised their tents on land that was occupied by Indigenous people, either at that time or in recent memory.[22]

A mobile encampment provided members with variety and attracted new adherents. However, it was expensive and time consuming to find and establish a new camp every year. After having debated the suitability of a permanent encampment for more than a decade, the ACA finally acquired land on the St. Lawrence River in 1900 from the Dominion Department of Indian Affairs.[23] The first annual meeting on Sugar Island took place in 1903. The association continues to gather there today.

Two important changes introduced in 1883 altered the spatial and temporal bounds of the encampment. First, the ACA extended the

event from four days, with three days devoted to racing, to two weeks with three or four days for racing. Commodore E.B. Edwards claimed that a longer encampment would be more relaxing.[24] However, we might also interpret the new format, which increased the time available for socializing and recreating, as part of the organization's ongoing offensive against professionalism. As Bruce Kidd has argued, white, middle-class, male sporting cultures around the turn of the century revelled in the "amateur ideal," which decried athleticism as a commodity.[25] In Edwards' own words, circulated to members in advance of the 1883 meet, "The regatta is intended to afford the means of testing in a friendly way the relative merits of various styles of canoes, rig, etc., and furnish a bit of pleasant sport at the end of the camp, rather than to promote the fastest racing in the world, and thus give rise to personal jealousies."[26] The longer encampment also afforded more time to explore the site and surrounding areas and, thus, to know the local environments.

Second, with the introduction of a women's camp—nicknamed "Squaw Point"—the encampment was no longer an exclusively homosocial masculine space, which in turn transformed how male and female canoeists navigated and occupied the spaces of the encampment.[27] In addition to reflecting women's growing interest in the sport of canoeing, the decision to include a women's camp appears to have been a response to anxieties about the perceived respectability of the event. A contingent of canoeists including O.K. Chobee felt that "visiting canoeists [would] not be tempted to forget their civilization" with a "refining feminine influence" present.[28] However, the decision to cloister women in their own camp, and the debate that raged in the pages of the *American Canoeist* over the suitability of having a women's camp at all, suggest that concerns over respectability and mixed-sex sociability coexisted.[29]

Imagining and Travelling

The experience of the annual encampment began long before the canoeists set foot on the campsite. Advance circulars and newspaper articles served as "manuals" for the event.[30] In their descriptions of the

natural and cultural history of the area, the topography of the site and its environs, and the various "improvements" made by the organizers, these documents articulated "imaginative geographies" for their readers.[31] With their lists of rules regarding members, the regatta, and the campsite, they also sought to discipline the kinds of practices that would unfold in that space.[32] Finally, in their provision of information about travel, accommodation, and activities, these texts served practical ends.

Travel to the meets was a function of the location of the event and the attending members. While a small contingent usually resided close to the campsite, most ACA members had farther to go. Particularly in the early years, it was not uncommon for the trip from home to camp to take two days or more. Organizers facilitated travel by circulating transportation schedules, arranging for fare concessions, and providing certificates of membership, which eased border crossing and eliminated customs duties.[33] Getting there typically involved multiple transportation technologies that passed through equally diverse landscapes. The more adventurous of the campers completed part, if not all, of the journey by canoe. Most of these intrepid travellers were men. However, some women also made such journeys, including the three female canoeists who cruised with the Jabberwock Canoe Club to the 1887 meet on Lake Champlain.[34] The majority of campers, however, availed themselves of the growing network of train and steamer lines that crisscrossed the Northeast to complete the bulk of their journey, while travel over shorter distances depended on streetcars, stages, wagons, and barges. There is a certain irony to the fact that these myriad forms of modern transportation enabled gatherings in honour of the canoe, an ostensibly antimodern technology.

The canoeists' accounts reveal that these varied modes of transportation permitted different engagements between travellers and their surroundings. They describe, for example, the ways in which overnight trains abolished space, while rail trips by day offered a "succession of pictures" glimpsed through plate glass windows.[35] Here, they echo the observations of Wolfgang Schivelbusch and Michael Freeman, who argue that rail travel offered up "new vistas," expanding the number of spaces for the leisured classes to consume, and "annihilated and

differentiated space," allowing passengers to compare a variety of landscapes and better appreciate environmental difference.[36] The two scholars also argue that the railcars functioned like cocoons, distancing the passengers from the smells and sounds of the passing landscape and curtailing visual perception. While the journey by train may have separated passengers from the landscape and from particular corporeal experiences (Schivelbusch argues that the railway put an end to the physical intensity of stagecoach-era travel), it is more useful to think of rail travel as a differently embodied rather than a disembodied experience. Even as travel by rail was a more passive form of movement, particularly in the summer months, it remained hot, dusty, and tiresome.[37]

The canoeists' rail experiences are not necessarily representative of those of other travellers in the same period. First, the travel discounts arranged by the ACA were always for first-class travel. By the 1880s, the original American railcar—an open compartment with seats lining a centre aisle that brought together people of different classes, races, and genders—existed alongside specialty and extra-fare cars that provided comfortable seating and sleeping berths to those with means, thereby enabling well-heeled travellers to distance themselves from "others."[38] Second, as time passed, it became increasingly common for canoe clubs and divisions to hire private cars to take members and their canoes to the meet.[39] In addition to the comfort afforded by such transportation (most were Pullmans), these shared cars likely offered a decidedly different travel experience from the typical first-class railway journey, which some have argued was characterized more by isolation and anonymity than social engagement.[40] This is particularly true for women, who did not travel on the same terms as men. By the late nineteenth century, trains had become a public space in which women could maintain their respectability, but doing so required vigilance. Among other things, travel etiquette advised women to be inconspicuous in both dress and decorum, covertly aware of the other companions in their car, and discerning in choosing topics of conversation.[41] Thus, the shared car may have made the journey more comfortable and relaxing for women, and more social for the canoeists generally.

The experience of train travel contrasted sharply with the experience of canoe travel. Unlike railcars, canoes were open, offering no

escape from a hot sun or driving rain. They were small and sat close to the water, making them susceptible to high winds and waves. Finally, they moved relatively slowly, allowing their captains time to engage with local environments and people in more intimate ways.[42] The means of propulsion further mediated the environmental experiences of ACA members travelling by canoe.[43] In different ways, sails and paddles "sensuously extended" the canoeists' capacities "into and across the physical world," producing particular configurations of body, technology, and environment.[44] It was through the shifting tension in ropes held by calloused hands and the resistance of the water felt through paddles that canoeists came to know the paths they travelled on their way to the annual meet. Travelling by canoe caused more immediate and sustained physical exertion and, ideally, accommodation as the body adjusted to the strain. This sense of accommodation is evident in Florence Snedeker's account of travelling to the 1891 meet: "Paddling on, we thought of weariness; then forgot it, and, an hour after, found ourselves fresh again. That is the advantage of paddling. There is no strain. The muscles soon play themselves to the rhythm. Each day there is less effort in the lazy motion, until one fancies one might fall asleep, and still keep paddling on."[45] Canoe travel thus produced different embodied, social, and environmental experiences than did journeys by train.

Regardless of the mode of transportation and the physical location of the camp, either the Canadian members or the American ones had to cross an international boundary. Even as the organizing committee alerted customs officials to the canoeists and arranged for duty-free passage, they could not eliminate wait times and searches. Nevertheless, only accounts of the 1889 meet on Stave Island (in Canadian waters) suggest widespread difficulties with crossing the border. In this case, American visitors were delayed in Clayton, New York, for a half-day or more while their applications were processed.[46] This instance aside, the ease with which the canoeists moved back and forth across the border raises questions about the meaningfulness of that boundary for middle-class recreationalists in the late nineteenth century.[47]

Given that most of the encampments were sited on islands or points of land not accessible by road, participants undertook the last stage of

the journey to the campsite by boat, usually a steamer. Unlike railroad journeys, steam travel remains understudied.[48] J.I. Little argues that historians have tended to conflate the passenger experiences of steamboats and trains. His work on the tourist industry on Lake Memphremagog suggests that, in contrast with railcars, steamers provided "ample opportunity for passengers who were so inclined to develop a spiritual affinity with their scenic surroundings" and boasted a "convivial atmosphere."[49] The canoeists' accounts do suggest a certain romance to steamer travel. Not only did these boats move more slowly than railcars, they also included spaces (decks) open to the outside world. From the prow of the steamer, one could watch with anticipation as the encampment—with its tiny white tents tucked in among the greenery, the many flagpoles, and the shoreline littered with boats—came into focus.[50] Those steamers that travelled to the meets also frequently served as clearing houses for travellers coming from various points, bringing ACA members new and old into contact before arriving to the campsite wharf and the onset of the annual meeting.[51]

Inhabiting

The ACA encampments inspired multiple forms of movement. While the longest journey was from home to campsite, myriad micro-journeys comprised daily life at the annual meetings.[52] The campers undertook most of these journeys on foot and in canoes, although bicycles, horses, and wagons could also be found on site. The first such micro-journey took attendees from the wharf to "headquarters."[53] Here, the secretary-treasurer registered the canoeists and gave each a coloured ribbon denoting their status: member, honorary/associate member, or visitor. This ribbon, worn for the duration of the encampment, signalled the individual's next movements; officials directed male members towards the men's, or main, camp, while the women members were shown the way to Squaw Point. Depending on the time of day and the nature of their invitation, visitors were either able to accompany their host to the campsite or had to remain in the public areas of the encampment.[54]

The distance travelled by men and women to and from their respective camps reinforced their differential status within the organization.

The men's camp was at the heart of the site, close to the public spaces of the wharf and the headquarters. Women, by contrast, were housed at the margins of the encampment, typically a quarter mile or more from headquarters, in "quiet coves" or "a secluded grove."[55] The emplacement and description of the camps echoed the separate spheres ideology so popular in the nineteenth century that associated men with public life and women with domestic affairs.[56] One of the enduring rules of camp life, reflecting the anxieties surrounding mixed-sex sociability, governed movement between the two camps. From the mid-1880s onwards, camp regulations allowed for women to be in the main camp during the day and, provided they had special permission and supervision, in the evenings as well. By contrast, for men, access to Squaw Point always required an invitation.[57] The camp police and the Squaw Point chaperone(s)—usually an older woman or couple—monitored such movements. An exception to the rule was made for married men attending the encampments with their families; they could move freely within and between the men's and women's camps. In other words, gender and marital status shaped the ways canoeists occupied and experienced the spaces of the encampment.

As much as the encampments were mobile spaces and spaces of mobility, they were also spaces of dwelling. Camp life, while comfortable, remained somewhat "rustic" throughout this period. Attendees procured water from a nearby well; candles and lanterns provided necessary light.[58] Nonetheless, by 1890 the majority of the tents had "raised board floors and canvas cots."[59] Campers of both sexes spent a not insignificant amount of time outfitting their tents (fig. 9.2). "Flags, banners and ensigns of every size, shape and color" adorned the exteriors, while hastily built shelves and trunks covered with shawls added a modicum of comfort inside, as did rugs, camp chairs, and ice chests.[60] Photographs and accounts of the annual meetings frequently depicted tents with their flaps pulled back, "open to admit the sun and air," their "contents unblushingly revealed to the passer-by."[61] We might interpret this transformation of private domestic space into a public spectacle as part of individual self-fashioning made available for public consumption. As Paige Raibmon has shown, Victorians understood domestic spaces and domestic goods as "material markers of civilization," and

FIGURE 9.2. Home away from home at the 1891 ACA meet on Lake Champlain in New York State. Courtesy of New York State Historical Association.

as windows onto "the individual's soul and the family's moral state."[62] The concern for decoration and display also shows the emerging consumerist ethos of the age.[63] That consumer culture appeared far from the shopping districts of major urban centres demonstrates the reach of consumerism and modernity into these remote locations.

We can also see this desire for and exhibition of domestic space as embodying the complex relationship between movement and dwelling that is at the heart of modern "mundane" tourist practices.[64] While the canoeists recognized the ACA encampments as temporary, they also went out of their way to domesticate such spaces, to configure the landscape and the schedule in ways that recalled the very places they had left behind. There are parallels here with Michael Haldrup's work on second-home holidays (i.e., cottaging) in contemporary Denmark.

Haldrup contends that such mundane holidays are characterized first and foremost by a desire to inhabit, and secondarily by a desire to see, gaze, and experience. Most interestingly, he sees inhabiting not as an immobile process but as a dynamic one that relies on "laid-back mobilities": "long walks, jogging and biking in the woods or along the beach . . . that enable the visitor to get familiar with and domesticate the scene of vacationing."[65] Such laid-back mobilities were also integral to camp life. Campers in search of a new vista, a meal, or a friendly face employed their feet, canoes, bicycles, carts, and horses to navigate the campsite.[66] These movements were part of both sensing and producing particular spaces. In other words, as canoeists moved around the site, more often than not with others, they not only came to know the landscape, but they transformed the raw material of water and land into lived spaced. A stretch of shoreline became New York Bay, a footpath through the camp became Yonge Street. Thus, while the organizers may have identified the location of key sites such as the wharf and Squaw Point, the site was made meaningful through the multiple spatial practices of the canoeists.

Campers also moved farther afield and, in doing so, engaged the encampments' surroundings. Most spent the "free time" during the first week exploring the local landscapes. Some did so via formal excursions, organized by the local committee, to "natural" and "cultural" sites of interests such as Bala Falls at the 1900 meet in Muskoka or the Lake Champlain Yacht Club regatta in 1891.[67] Typically, these excursions made use of steamers, although occasionally, a flotilla of canoes would set forth. While they employed the same technologies that had enabled the campers to arrive at the encampment in the first place—the steamer and canoe—the purpose of such excursions, to know the meetings' surrounding environments, provided a different context for the canoeists' engagement with the landscape. It was a journey for the journey's sake. Campers also organized more informal excursions—picnics, leisurely paddles, and fishing trips. As the canoeists visited local sites of interest, went fishing, or enjoyed picnics, they were rarely alone. That is, the environments of the meets were not just natural landscapes, they were social ones as well, produced (and consumed) through one's proximity to others. The canoeists' movements, both on- and off-site,

Figure 9.3. Competitors and spectators at the 1890 ACA meet at Long Island, New York. Courtesy of Adirondack Museum.

were not benign, but rather part of constructing these landscapes of leisure as white and bourgeois. Consciously or not, the canoeists, as they perambulated the campsite and its environs, sought to erase the memory of Indigenous presence on the land as well as any claim that local Aboriginal groups might have had to the territory. There were participants, in other words, in the entwined colonial projects of displacement and assimilation well underway at the turn of the twentieth century.[68]

The regattas afforded yet another mobile means to "know" the encampment space (fig. 9.3).[69] Competitors and spectators occupied the spaces of the regatta in different ways, although it was not uncommon for a canoeist to perform both roles. Whereas spectators included men and women in varying proportions from year to year, most of the competitors in this period were men.[70] Those who took part in the regatta

experienced the space through physical competition, although there were differences based on the contest. The yearly program featured between fifteen and thirty events, which varied in duration, distance, shape of course (e.g., triangle, straight line), and canoe type. The canoeist's relationship with a given course extended beyond a particular race to include time spent practicing during the first week—or even potentially to earlier encampments on the same site. Their success depended on their environmental awareness and ability to respond appropriately to the course conditions (e.g., wind, waves, current). Spectators were not necessarily immobile; while those on the shoreline followed the races through opera glasses, a large contingent of spectators in boats always chased the canoes as they moved around the course, or at least positioned themselves closer to the action.[71]

Attendees celebrated the end of the regatta with a banquet and awards ceremony. At this point, the annual encampment had for all intents and purposes come to an end. Although a few individuals stayed on the site for another week or two, most left sooner, and in much the same way they had arrived: by steamer, train, and canoe. Some would return the following year; many would not. But they would be replaced by others, drawn to the experience by the many periodical accounts that appeared in the weeks and months after the meet or by the stories and photograph albums of those who attended.

Conclusion

The annual meetings of the ACA were environments of sport and leisure produced and consumed through practices afforded and shaped by epochal and mundane technologies.[72] As such, they shed light on the intersections of place, practice, and technology that are at the heart of environments and mobilities in the modern age. In varying ways, technologies such as trains, steamers, and canoes/paddles/sails "sensuously extend[ed] 'human' capacities into and across the physical world," allowing certain movement practices and precluding others.[73] Through such practices, which David Crouch defines as embodied ways of "experiencing, making sense, [and] knowing" the world, canoeists came to know these environments.[74] They also transformed the farmers' fields,

woodlots, and waterways that housed the encampments into lived spaces, or places, "locations imbued with meaning and power."[75] Yet it was more than transportation technology that shaped the canoeists' movements to and through the encampment. "Mental and imaginative evidence"—such as the descriptions and maps circulated in advance of the meets, and the rules posted on site—also informed their mobilities.[76] Finally, social relations informed the canoeists' movements. While class and race largely determined access to the encampments, gender, class, and marital status further differentiated experiences of the meet and, by extension, the ways in which the canoeists produced and consumed their environments. In particular, anxieties about respectability and mixed-sex sociability and contemporary ideas about the body and athleticism constrained women's movements and experiences.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau introduces the archetype of the walker, a solitary masculine figure who moves through the spaces of the city with relative ease, the scripts of his movements intersecting with—but more often than not, diverging from—the scripts of the planners and engineers responsible for the built urban environment.[77] No comparable canoeist archetype can be identified at the annual meetings of the ACA, in part because attendees usually experienced the spaces of the encampment with others, but also because these spaces were experienced by bodies marked by class, gender, and race. In short, the annual meetings of the association reveal how movements are embodied and made meaningful in specific times and places and under particular social conditions. They also show some of the paradoxes of mobility in the late nineteenth century. Fleeing the city for a canoe encampment depended on new technologies and revealed a desire to recreate many features of the life left behind in the city, even as the paddlers propelled themselves around ostensibly wild lakes and rivers.

Notes

1 This chapter benefitted immensely from the comments of the editors and participants in the Environments of Mobility workshop. A special thanks is owed to John C. Walsh, David Banoub, David Tough, and Jim Clifford. This research was supported by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and Carleton University.

Historians of canoeing have tended to focus their attention on recreational and commercial canoe travel through "wilderness." However, as Jamie Benidickson has noted, "to ignore the extensive history of canoeing as an urban pastime, as an intensely social activity, and as a competitive sport would be to overlook much of the story of this versatile watercraft." Jamie Benidickson, *Idleness, Water, and a Canoe: Reflections on Paddling for Pleasure* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 110.

2 *American Canoe Association Yearbook*, 1883, 83-014, Trent University Archives, Peterborough, ON (hereafter TUA).

3 Prior to the 1870s, canoeing as sport, particularly within the context of performative spaces such as regattas, was largely restricted to Aboriginal people. The ACA represented a "whitening" of the canoe and the emergence of canoeing as a respectable middle-class recreational activity. See Jessica Dunkin, "Canoes and Canvas: The Social and Spatial Politics of Sport/Leisure in Late Nineteenth-Century North America" (Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 2012), 32–33.

4 In using terms such as "afford" and "affordances," I am borrowing from John Urry's writing on the ways in which different technologies allow for different forms and experiences of movement. See, for example, Phil Macnaghten and John Urry, "Bodies of Nature: Introduction," *Body and Society* 6, nos. 3–4 (2000): 1–11.

5 The analytic framework of this chapter is inspired by Michael Haldrup, "Laid-Back Mobilities: Second-Home Holidays in Time and Space," *Tourism Geographies* 6, no. 4 (2004): 434–55; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); and Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

6 Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (London: Routledge, 2006), 53.

7 Ibid., 54.

8 I extend Anderson's idea of the nation as an "imagined community" to a community—characterized by common practices and a shared grammar—that spanned the boundaries of the nation-state. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

9 Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller, and John Urry, "Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities, and Moorings," *Mobilities* 1, no. 1 (2006): 3.

10 Cresswell contends that "mobility is both centre and margin—the lifeblood of modernity and the virus that threatens to hasten its downfall." Cresswell, *On the Move*, 21.

11 Keith Walden offers a cogent introduction to the unfolding of modernity in North America, in *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

12 For more on the origins of the ACA, see Ronald Hoffman, "The History of the American Canoe Association, 1880–1960" (Ph.D. diss., Springfield College, 1967). The ACA was of a piece with other middle-class organizations in the period. See Darren Ferry, *Uniting in Measures of Common Good: The Construction of Collective Liberal Identities in Central Canada, 1830–1900* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008); and Gerald Gamm and Robert D. Putnam, "The Growth of Voluntary Organizations in America, 1840–1940," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no. 4 (1999): 511–57.

13 *American Canoe Association Constitution and By-Laws*, 1 November 1880, 291/10/11, Mystic Seaport Collections Research Center, Mystic, CT (hereafter MSCRC). Sources list the attendance of doctors, clergy, lawyers, publishers, businessmen, and clerks. In addition to their occupations, the middle- or upper-middle-class status of the members is evident in the time and resources they could devote to the sport of canoeing and attendance at meets, although here there were certainly variations. Whereas some members stayed onsite beyond the two weeks of the meets and brought multiple well-rigged canoes, others complained about the time and money required to attend an encampment for even a short while.

14 Eight "lady members" were elected in 1882. By 1896, there were 115 honorary/associate members. *American Canoe Association Yearbook*, 1883; Thomas H. Stryker, ed., *American Canoe Association Yearbook* (Rome, NY: Rome Sentinel Company, 1896). Aside from the yearly Ladies' Day, women appear to have been entirely absent from the campsite prior to 1883. They were, however, welcome spectators at the races.

15 Beyond the membership lists, the photographic record of the encampments is the best indicator of the "racial" makeup of the organization. The only people of colour visible in the extensive photograph collection at the New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, NY (hereafter NYSHA), are workers: cooks, servants, musicians, and a "chore boy."

16 *Executive Committee Minutes*, 4 November 1893, vol. 3, MSCRC.

17 C. Bowyer Vaux, "History of American Canoeing, Part III," *Outing* 10, no. 5 (1887): 396; "The American Canoe Association," *Forest and Stream*, 16 August 1888.

18 The divisions of the ACA, which were formed in 1886, were to take turns hosting the annual meeting. In practice, things were more fluid and locations were as likely to be chosen based on expediency.

19 "The 1884 Meet of the ACA," *Outing* 3, no. 6 (1884): 464–65.

20 In Canadian waters and on inland Canadian lakes meant two different things. Although ACA members certainly enjoyed the Stony Lake (1883) and Muskoka (1900) camps, they considered them too far from the cluster of clubs on the eastern seaboard that furnished the association with the bulk of its membership. This sentiment was played out in the dismal numbers at the 1900 meet: only 175 of the ACA's almost 4,000 members came to Muskoka. Hoffman, "American Canoe Association," 63.

21 Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 8–9.

22 Acts of (dis)placement in relation to the ACA and its encampments are explored in more detail in Dunkin, "Canoes and Canvas," chap. 3.

23 *Brief Synopsis of the History of St. Lawrence Island*, 1933, 291/23/5, MSCRC.

24 "The Meet," *American Canoeist* 2, no. 6 (1883): 82.

25 Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

26 "The Meet," 82. Concerns about professionalism did not disappear with the new format. See *Meeting of the Executive Committee*, 23 November 1889, vol. 3, MSCRC; "Discussed in Canoe Camp," *New York Times*, 15 August 1892; and "Meet of the Canoeists," *New York Times*, 15 August 1897.

27 The naming of the women's camp highlights the racialization of the space of the encampment. On the one hand, "Squaw Point" further exoticized the space of the women's camp, marking it as other to the larger institution of the ACA encampment. "Squaw" was also a "derogatory term based on the opposite image of the noble Indian Princess." Susan L. Joudrey, "The Expectations of a Queen: Identity and Race Politics in the Calgary Stampede," in *The West and Beyond: New Perspectives on an Imagined Region*, ed. Alvin Finkel, Sarah Carter, and Peter Fortna (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2010), 142.

28 O.K. Chobee, "Echoes from Stony Lake," *The American Canoeist* 2, no. 8 (1883): 114. Colin Howell has described a similar situation in baseball in the Maritimes in the late nineteenth century. Promoters, believing that women's presence in the stands "would have a civilizing effect," encouraged their attendance at games. Colin Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 76.

29 The organization's secretary, for example, issued a sweeping condemnation of the ladies' camp for being "detrimental to the best interests of the Association," in the January 1884 issue of the *American Canoeist*.

30 Articles appeared in the organization's official organ (*American Canoeist*), national dailies such as the *New York Times*, and local newspapers. John C. Walsh has demonstrated how newspapers and programs for Old Home weeks in the Ottawa Valley performed a similar function, in

"Performing Public Memory and Re-Placing Home in the Ottawa Valley, 1900–1958," in *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*, ed. James Opp and John Walsh (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 27, 29.

31 Edward Said developed the term "imaginative geographies" to describe the ways in which colonizers represented (re-packaged) places and people in order to justify their subjugation. Edward Said, "Invention, Memory and Place," *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 2 (2000): 175–92. There are connections here also to John Urry's writing on "imaginative travel." John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2007), 157–82.

32 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1977).

33 *Forest and Stream*, 31 July 1890.

34 *Photographs of ACA Meet, Lake Champlain*, 1887, 1.1/28, NYSHA. Florence Watters Snedeker documented her canoe journey to the 1891 meet, in *A Family Canoe Trip* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892).

35 C. Bowyer Vaux, "The American Canoe Association, and Its Birthplace," *Outing* 12, no. 5 (1888): 414–15; C. Bowyer Vaux, "Canoe Meet at the Thousand Islands," *Outing* 14, no. 5 (1889): 345; "Canoeists' Annual Meet," *New York Times*, 26 August 1900.

36 Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1986), 36, 53–55; Michael Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 7, 23, 80.

37 See, for example, "Resting at Lake George," *New York Times*, 13 July 1883.

38 Amy Richter, *Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad, and the Rise of Public Domesticity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 66.

39 "Canoeing," *Daily Mail and Empire*, 3 August 1900; "Camp Circular," 1908, 1.6/11, NYSHA.

40 Richter, *Home on the Rails*, 55.

41 See Ibid., 32–58.

42 Florence Snedeker's account, for instance, offers detailed accounts of their encounters with the local landscapes and inhabitants. Snedeker, *Family Canoe Trip*.

43 That most switched back and forth between the two depending on the conditions means these were not isolated experiences.

44 Macnaghten and Urry, "Bodies of Nature," 8; Mike Michael, "These Boots Are Made for Walking . . . : Mundane Technology, the Body, and Human-Environment Relations," *Body and Society* 6, nos. 3–4 (2000): 107–8.

45 Snedeker, *Family Canoe Trip*, 23.

46 "American Canoe Association Meet," *Forest and Stream*, 12 September 1889.

47 See also Colin Howell, "Borderlands, Baselines, and Big Game: Conceptualizing the Northeast as a Sporting

Region," in *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons*, ed. Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 264–79.

48 James Armstrong and David M. Williams, "The Steamboat and Popular Tourism," *Journal of Transport History* 26, no. 1 (2005): 61–76.

49 J.I. Little, "Scenic Tourism on the Northeastern Borderland: Lake Memphremagog's Steamboat Excursions and Resort Hotels, 1850–1900," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35, no. 4 (2009): 717, 739.

50 "ACA Camp," *Forest and Stream*, 14 August 1884; Columbine, "A Visit to the American Canoe Association," *The Young Friend's Review*, November 1886, 67; "Canoeists in Camp," *New York Times*, 9 August 1890.

51 D.J. Howell, "The International Canoe Meet," *The Canadian Magazine* 15, no. 6 (1900): 515; "American Canoe Association [Boarding] the Muskoka Navigation Company's Steamers from the Great [Grand] Trunk Railway Bars at Muskoka Wharf, Ont., 1900" (photograph), R2936-1-2-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (hereafter LAC). Perhaps because of the conviviality of the steamers, some travellers suggest that the encampments began not with docking at the wharf, but on board. Snedeker, *Family Canoe Trip*, 84; Howell, "International Canoe Meet," 515.

52 I am indebted to Bryan Grimwood for coining the term "micro-journey."

53 Most people who attended the annual meetings held memberships in the ACA. However, there were others who contributed to camp life from the margins, such as the farm girls who served meals in the 1887 mess tent and the African-American musicians who entertained the campers on Long Island. I examine their place at the encampments in more detail in Dunkin, "Canoes and Canvas," chap. 10. For the purpose of this chapter, they will, unfortunately, remain at the margins.

54 Unless there was a special event, visitors were allowed onsite only between 10:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. Restrictions reflected the organization's contention that visitors posed a threat to the order of the encampment.

55 "Canoeists at Lake George," *New York Times*, 16 August 1887.

56 Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (1988): 9–39.

57 "Camp Circulars," 1888, 1892, 1907, 291/23/2, MSCRC. Some campers tried to evade—or at least bend—the rules. At the 1883 meet on Stony Lake, an American canoeist was "court martialled for visiting the ladies' camp without a permit." "ACA Annual Meeting," *Peterborough Daily Review,* 14 August 1883.

58 "Pleasures of the Canoe Camp," *New York Times*, 22 July 1894.

59 "Canoeists' Enjoyable Time," *Daily Mail and Empire*, 9 August 1900.

60 Columbine, "Visit," 67; "The Canoe Men in Camp," *New York Times*, 17 August 1890; "The Lake Champlain Canoe Meet," *Outing* 11, no. 3 (1887): 262–64.

61 Columbine, "Visit," 68.

62 Paige Raibmon, "Living on Display: Colonial Visions of Aboriginal Domestic Space," *BC Studies*, no. 140 (2003): 71.

63 Stefan Muthesius, *The Poetic Home: Designing the 19th-Century Domestic Interior* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009).

64 Michael Haldrup argues that scholars of tourism have focused their attention on "out-of-the-ordinary" experiences to the exclusion of "more mundane and trivial sorts of tourist practices," such as family-based tourism. Haldrup, "Laid-Back Mobilities," 436.

65 Ibid., 445.

66 "A Meeting of the Central Division at the Bow Arrow Camp," 1887, 1.1/24, NYSHA; "Bluff Point Camp," 1895, 1.5/4, NYSHA; "The 1884 Meet," *American Canoeist* 3, no. 11 (1884): 168.

67 Howell, "International Canoe Meet," 518; "Fun for the Canoeists," *New York Times*, 21 August 1891.

68 On colonial projects targeting Aboriginal people in Canada and the United States, see John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002); Gray S. Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee: U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

69 Despite efforts to draw attention away from the regatta, the races remained a highlight of the encampment for members.

70 The ACA added races for women to the program in 1890, although there were never more than three such races and they were always classified as "Other" or "Novelty" races. Colin Howell identifies a similar contrast between men's and women's baseball teams in the Maritimes. Howell, *Northern Sandlots*, 86.

71 "Canoes on Kill Von Kull," *New York Times*, 25 June 1882.

72 Epochal technologies of mobility include trains and steamships, while mundane technologies could include anything from shoes to paddles. Macnaghten and Urry, "Bodies of Nature," 1–11.

73 Macnaghten and Urry, "Bodies of Nature," 8.

74 David Crouch, "Places around Us: Embodied Lay Geographies in Leisure and Tourism," *Leisure Studies* 19, no. 2 (2000): 68, 65.

75 Cresswell, *On the Move*, 3; Lefebvre, *Production of Space*.

76 Crouch, "Places around Us," 68.

77 De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 100.

10

What Was Driving Golf? Mobility, Nature, and the Making of Canadian Leisure Landscapes, 1870–1930

Elizabeth L. Jewett

According to golf lore, when David Mulligan arrived at the Country Club of Montreal in St. Lambert, Quebec, agitated after a difficult trip over badly kept roads and a windswept rail bridge, he made a poor drive off the first tee. His golfing buddies offered him a do-over swing, giving birth to the term "mulligan."[1] Mulligan's game had been affected by his unsettling journey, from an urban centre to a rural setting, in an open-top automobile—still a relatively exclusive form of transportation in the early 1920s. His experience shows how mobility was a problematic but essential component of this particular elite leisure activity. For golfers, strolling though and consuming a natural, albeit highly manicured and even manufactured landscape was at the core of the playing experience. Golfers walked extensive distances on the course, and as their pastime became increasingly popular they also travelled farther and farther from home to participate in it.

This chapter investigates what the lenses of mobility and environmental history reveal about golf course development in the period between 1873 and 1930. Divided into three sections, it takes a nationwide perspective but focuses on examples from Toronto and the national parks in the Canadian Rockies. The first section examines how golf courses were designed with players' views of nature in mind. It highlights the key aesthetic and playing principles circulating among golf course designers during the game's "golden era"—from 1910 to 1945[2]—and illustrates how golf course designs steered players along certain pathways, generating shared landscape experiences infused with implicit meanings about nature, leisure, and cultural identity.

The second section examines the relationship between golf courses and modern transportation systems in the borderlands that separated Canadian cities from the surrounding countryside during a period of rapid urbanization and outward sprawl. It focuses on the tension between two desires expressed by golfers while playing a course: easy access to their playing fields (by trolley, train, and automobile) and a sense of removal or distance from the bustle and pollution of city life (including those same transportation systems). The story of the Toronto Golf Club's multiple relocations between 1873 and 1912 illustrates how the relationship between golf course landscapes and different modes of transportation played out in these borderland environments.

The third section deals with the incorporation of long-distance pleasure travel and golf into the pantheon of tourist activities available at major Canadian resorts. Transcontinental railways allowed (and encouraged) tourists to travel to new destinations in search of new experiences, and visiting the national parks in the Canadian Rockies was one of the most popular activities for well-heeled tourists around the turn of the last century. The rapid growth of tourism and increased competition led resort owners and park managers to develop an array of new amenities, including golf courses. Resorts across the country, and especially at Banff and Jasper, promoted golf as offering special playing experiences, in which traditional golf course characteristics complemented spectacular "natural" scenery.

The Nature of Canada's Earliest Golf Courses

For almost five centuries before golf arrived in North America, the game's core social, cultural, and environmental attributes were developing in the United Kingdom, where the majority of golf was played, and especially in Scotland. The traditional coastal links courses situated on sandy, treeless, undulating grazing lands remained dominant in golf culture for generations, but during the second half of the nineteenth century, golf's growing popularity led to a number of courses being developed at inland and suburban locations. Railways and improved roads made these golf courses readily accessible to wealthy, status-seeking city dwellers with the financial freedom needed to pursue such refined outdoor leisure activities.[3] It was during this period of transformation in the United Kingdom that golf crossed the Atlantic.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw golf courses developed across North America. Established in 1873, the Royal Montreal Golf Club was the first organized golf club on the continent.[4] In Canada it was followed by courses in Quebec City (1874), Toronto (1876), Niagara-on-the-Lake (1881), Brantford (1881), Kingston (1886), Victoria (1889), Ottawa (1891), Halifax (1895), St. Andrews, NB (1895), Vancouver (1892), Winnipeg (1894), Regina (1896), Edmonton (1896), Saint John (1897), and Fredericton (1897). The earliest American courses were established during the same period, including those in Foxbury, PA (1887), St. Andrew's, NY (1888), Shinnecock Hills, NY (1891), Brookline, MA (1893), Newport, RI (1893), and Chicago (1894). By the turn of the century, golf courses could be found from coast to coast.[5]

The game was initially carried from the United Kingdom in the luggage of wealthy Scottish merchants either visiting or settling in Canada; most of the earliest golf clubs had Scotsmen as founders, financiers, professionals, and members. During the nineteenth century, golf in Canada was exclusively an activity for upper- and upper-middle-class men of Scottish or Anglo-Saxon descent. Women from similar backgrounds made modest inroads starting in the late 1890s, when many golf clubs established separate ladies' leagues and membership. However, it was not until the interwar years that participation in golf

began to include significant numbers of individuals from different ethnic backgrounds. Thus, during the period from 1870 to 1930, the game of golf was part of a shared experience that reinforced behaviours recognizable and important to an affluent and privileged segment of Canadian society—precisely the kind of people who could pour substantial time and money into leisure, recreation, and pleasure travel.

Golf periodicals and the writings of important golf course architects show that two crucial principles influenced the design and playing experience of Canada's private and resort golf courses between 1900 and 1940. The first was that the course had to look natural and be aesthetically pleasing to players as they moved through the landscape, advancing from hole to hole. The second was that the course had to provide a game that was challenging to superior golfers while not overly discouraging to those with less skill or practice time.

What exactly counted as "natural" on these golf courses? For golden-era golf course architects, an aesthetically pleasing course incorporated existing environmental features into the design or crafted artificial features to look as though they were part of the existing landscape. Early on, the features that made a course seem natural and beautiful were those traditionally found on Scottish seaside links—like the famous Old Course at St. Andrews—or in the countryside of England's heathlands. However, the parameters of what constituted a natural, beautiful golf course broadened gradually as designers and architects encountered North America's varied physical environments. The emphasis on natural-looking settings also reflected upper-middle-class sentiments about the detriments of urban living and the rewards of reconnecting with pastoral quietude and picturesque nature; playing one's way through a golf course was akin to strolling through a manicured garden, estate, or park. Thus, an ideal visit to one of North America's early golf courses would have provided a stimulating game, a respite from the noise, bustle, and pollution of the modern city, and perhaps even a reminder of "home" in the British Isles.

The second principle—that the course should be a challenging but welcoming playing field—required what has been termed a strategic design. Most golden-age golf course architects who worked in the United Kingdom and North America pursued strategic designs instead

of the traditional penal structures for course layouts. Penal design had involved mostly predictable, straightforward, tee-to-fairway-to-green movement, with the construction of steep horizontal bunkers across the fairways in front of tees and greens meant to hinder all but the best shots. Strategic design, on the other hand, provided multiple options for the player by permitting different routes from tee to green. Better golfers could attempt the harder and more direct shots, which often involved hitting the ball over hazards like ponds, sand traps, and patches of rough, while less-skilled players could follow less-direct routes to the hole, thereby avoiding the hazards. Strategic course design maintained specific guidelines for length, routing, and the location of tees, fairways, greens, and hazards. Heroic design, which began to appear at the end of the period in question, combined aspects of the penal and strategic.[6]

The need for both a strategic playing field and a naturalistic landscape aesthetic affected the movement of players through the golf course as well as the sensuous experiences of the environment that movement produced. Golfers were expected to see nature "on the go," with natural landscape features serving as both scenery and part of the playing field—a situation that distinguished golf from most other sporting activities, with the obvious exception of skiing. The desire to balance these principles and the importance of considering the golfer's views while moving through the course can be discerned in the works of famous international designers such as the Englishmen Harry Colt and Hugh Alison, who designed the Toronto Golf Club's new course in 1911, and the Canadian Stanley Thompson, who designed courses for Banff and Jasper during the mid-1920s.[7]

Colt and Alison sought to emphasize the natural features of each site selected for a golf course. In 1912, shortly before work began on the Toronto Golf Club's course, Colt stated that "the only means whereby an attractive piece of ground can be turned into a satisfying golf course [was] to work with the natural features of the site in question."[8] Significantly, this emphasis on naturalness did not prevent Colt and Alison from making multiple changes to the environment on any hole where nature was found wanting; for example, they moved earth, cut and planted trees, and created hazards. The key concern was for these

"improvements" to blend in and look as natural as possible. While designing the new Toronto course, Alison observed that "the banks of some of the bunkers can easily be modified and if torn out of the hills and natural undulations made, will look more natural."[9] Colt and Alison's strategic design for the Toronto golf course involved a range of hole lengths, assorted fairway shapes, and variations in hole orientation. It also relied on shifting wind conditions to add an element of unpredictability to playing the course. Sporting principles often influenced aesthetic modifications to the playing field, but sometimes designers compromised these codes in order to incorporate natural features that they deemed especially appealing. For example, Alison, who believed that "three-shot holes are as a rule dull," nevertheless felt compelled to include one on Toronto's thirteenth tee because "the natural features give a splendid opportunity for introducing a hole of this kind."[10]

Stanley Thompson had similar beliefs about naturalistic aesthetics, and about what players should experience of the landscape while moving through the golf course. Thompson's golf career began at the Toronto Golf Club, where he caddied for well-known professional and greenkeeper George Cumming, who had overseen the implementation of Colt and Alison's designs during construction of the new course in 1912. By the early 1920s, Thompson had established himself as a golf course architect and started writing booklets on the topic. In *About Golf Courses: Their Construction and Up-Keep* (1923), Thompson emphasized the importance of suitable terrain in golf course construction, even recommending analysis of the soil chemistry. However, a natural aesthetic remained crucial. He wrote,

> Lately there has been a reaction—and rightly so—against the artificiality and grotesqueness of certain architecture. Nature must always be the architect's model. . . . The development of the natural features and planning the artificial work to conform to them requires a great deal of care and forethought. . . . Oftentimes the natural beauty of many a golf course, which the average player assumes was always present, has been created by the skill of the engineer.[11]

Thompson came to be highly regarded for the sculpted characteristics of the courses he designed and for the balance he struck between gaming and aesthetic principles. The courses he designed for Jasper and Banff—which are discussed below—were among his most famous works. Indeed, a 1926 brochure for Jasper National Park described Thompson as a kind of diviner, capable of envisioning a fine golf course "where others saw only forest, rough brule land, swamp, a wild lake shore line and a plain with rocky outcroppings."[12] Designers like Colt, Allison, and Thompson carefully considered the landscape experiences players would have as they moved through the course; the need for a challenging and natural-looking course was a constant concern, whether it was located in a wilderness park, a pastoral country setting, or—as was the case for most golf courses developed during this period—on the periphery of a bustling, fast-growing city.

Golf, Nature, and Mobility in Canada's Urban Borderlands

Two seemingly contradictory elements were key to the location of Canada's earliest golf course landscapes. Many club members lived in the city and wanted easy access to a course. However, separation from an urban setting was necessary, to ensure both affordable land for the playing field and the pastoral quietude and naturalistic aesthetic that were crucial parts of the traditional golfing experience. Thus, North America's first golf course landscapes were developed on the edges of urban centres, in borderland areas that had not been incorporated into the city, but were not fully part of the countryside either. These borderlands underwent massive changes in the decades around the turn of the century, with industrial and residential developments appearing along new and improved transportation corridors. Golf courses came under great pressure from this development, and, as shown below, several original clubs relocated their courses farther from fast-growing cities even before the nineteenth century drew to a close.[13]

Most of the early golf clubs rented farmland for their courses or made arrangements with city councils to use park areas on the edge of town. For example, the Toronto Golf Club's original nine-hole course, laid out in 1876, was located beyond the city's eastern limits on rented

pasture and woodland owned (and used) by a local farmer. He insisted that no trees be cut down and that there should be no "demonstrations which might alarm the grazing animals."[14] The property bordered Coxwell Avenue to the west, the Grand Trunk Railway corridor to the north, Woodbine Avenue to the east, and Queen and Kingston roads to the south. It was also conveniently close to the home of club founder and transplanted Scotsman Lamond Smith.[15]

Other early Canadian golf courses were similarly located in the borderland between city and countryside. Members of the Royal Montreal Golf Club first played golf on Fletcher's Field, a city-owned park to the east of Mount Royal, near the present-day intersection of Avenue du Parc and Avenue des Pins. The Royal Quebec Golf Club began play at Cove's Field on the Plains of Abraham. The British military had controlled this undeveloped and partially overgrown space on the edge of the city until 1871, when it turned it over to the Canadian government, which decided to use it as a park.[16] Winnipeg's first golf course was developed in connection with the Manitoba Penitentiary (today's Stony Mountain), but it was a short-lived affair and was replaced by the Norwood Golf Club, also located well outside the city.[17] On Vancouver Island, the Victoria Golf Club rented seaside pasturelands in Oak Bay, six kilometres east of the city centre, on which to play the game.[18] In Prince Edward Island, the Belvedere Golf Club found its home on farmland north of Charlottetown.[19]

Intra- and interurban transportation systems in Canada were changing rapidly in the late nineteenth century. While most country roads remained earth surfaced or wood planked, many city streets were being improved and hard surfaced, thanks in part to growing concerns over health and sanitation.[20] Horse-drawn streetcars began to appear in large centres like Toronto and Montreal during the 1870s but had limited success due to high fares, the vagaries of animal power, and the proximity of workers' homes to their places of employment.[21] During the 1880s, the development of electricity as a reliable energy source allowed tramways in these same urban areas to grow and became a vital means of transportation. The same period saw railways become a crucially important mode of transportation. Between the 1870s and 1890s, new railroad corridors connected Canadian cities and the

neighbourhoods within them. The Intercolonial Railway had linked Quebec and Halifax by 1873; British Columbia entered Confederation with the promise of a transcontinental railway; and companies like the Grand Trunk were laying tracks across central Canada and into the United States. Cities expanded outwards during this period of improved transportation and rapid population growth, with residential and industrial development pushing into surrounding farm and woodlands. For example, new tramlines that radiated outwards from the city centre led to the development of "streetcar suburbs."[22] Like the urban borderlands in which they were located, Canada's early golf course landscapes did not remain static. The trams, trolleys, railways, macadamized roads, and other new technologies and infrastructure of mobility that made it possible for Canadian cities to expand outwards made it easier for golfers to reach their playing fields. However, they also raised land prices and threatened the aesthetic principles that governed golf course landscapes.

Many clubs, including the Toronto Golf Club, felt the need to relocate because of development pressures in these urban borderlands. Between 1876 and 1912, the Toronto Golf Club occupied three different sites in the farmlands that ringed the city. Each move involved factors related to transportation and urban development, as can be seen when the club first moved south towards the Woodbine Race Course. Access to this new location was much easier due to the macadamized road and tram service along Queen Street. The club's papers note that "in other directions no other 'country' was so readily accessible as the neighbourhood of the Woodbine racecourse, and there [the members] sought for suitable unoccupied land on which to lay out their projected golf course."[23]

The Toronto Golf Club expanded its playing field northwards at this second location in 1894, with the course spanning Gerrard Street so as to incorporate farmland rented from the Molson Bank and from club member and then-captain Walter G.P. Cassels. Early golf course landscape ideals were not at odds with this rural setting; the members had little concern with modifying the rented pasturelands because their sandy soils and undulating surfaces already resembled Scottish linkslands, which many considered ideal playing fields. Club members

Figure 10.1. The Toronto Golf Club at its second location, near the Woodbine Race Course, c. 1905. The clubhouse can be seen in the background and hazards in the foreground. Author's collection.

were especially pleased that the new property comprised only pasture and not crops.

Members of the Toronto Golf Club continued to feel development pressures at this location. The city kept growing, its boundaries creeping steadily eastward beyond the Don River. Transportation to the city's eastern borderlands improved: the horse-drawn trolleys that ran along King Street were soon stopping within a mile of the course. A train ride from Union Station to Lindenhurst Street Station, located north of the course, provided another option for reaching the playing field. The private automobile became a preferred mode of transportation for the club's wealthiest members after 1904, when Cassel started driving his Toronto-built Russell electric runabout to the course.[24] Membership grew from 150 in 1894 to 220 in 1908, but the increased noise and smoke from the nearby railway tracks and switching yards disturbed many club members. The club attempted to purchase adjacent farmland in order to expand the course again and control development around its

playing field, but property prices had risen too high. Relocation again seemed the best option.[25]

In the summer of 1910, the Toronto Golf Club's membership selected a property that straddled the Etobicoke River in Peel County—twenty-five kilometres west of its existing course, and nineteen kilometres west of the city centre—as a suitable location for its third golf course. Yet, managing the tension between city members' desire for easy access to the course and the aesthetic values of a secluded pastoral locale remained a concern. The club's 1910 annual report emphasized the transportation benefits of the proposed location. Specifically, four transportation routes were available to club members: the lines of the Lake Shore Electric Cars and Grand Trunk Railway to the south and the Canadian Northern and Canadian Pacific railways to the north.[26] Club members appreciated these multiple options for reaching the new course, but modern transportation corridors also presented drawbacks. For example, while club president G.A. Sweny reported that the site chosen for the clubhouse had a beautiful setting, would provide stimulating views of the course, and was sufficiently distant from public roads, he worried about its proximity to the Grand Trunk Railway line. The rail corridor was only half a mile away, and although it was hidden from view by forest, the smoke and noise produced by passing trains threatened to disrupt the genteel atmosphere desired for the clubhouse.[27]

Many of Canada's early golf clubs had experiences similar to the Toronto Golf Club, relocating their courses at least once during the period between 1873 and 1914 as a result of the game's increasing popularity, urban development pressures, and the imperative to maintain a naturalistic aesthetic for players moving through the course. In all cases, access was an important factor in course location. For instance, in 1891 the Royal Montreal Golf Club decided to relocate in response to encroaching residential development and increased public use of the parklands on the eastern side of Mount Royal. After considering an impractical scheme that would have moved the course farther up the slopes of Mount Royal, the club relocated to farmland that it purchased fifteen kilometres west of the city centre, in an area of Dixie (now Dorval) that was accessible by railway. For the Royal Quebec, concerns about the future of golf on Cove's Field arose in 1908 when the National

Battlefields Commission decided to develop the Plains of Abraham as a commemorative park. After several years of searching, the club relocated in 1915 to a parcel of land near Montmorency Falls, twelve kilometres east of the city centre, which it rented from the Quebec Railway, Light, Heat, and Power Company.[28]

Transportation and accessibility were issues even for Canadian golf clubs that did not relocate during this period. For example, the Victoria Golf Club arranged for a special tramline to be built from the city centre to the course to help bring members to play. In Prince Edward Island, the Belvedere Golf Club's location outside Charlottetown remained relatively stable, but local golf enthusiasts complained that it "was just too far from town . . . and that those without horses were at a disadvantage." Driving to the course was not an option between 1908 and 1918, when the province banned automobiles from its public roads. Consequently, in 1912 a special summer carriage service linked the city and the course, running on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons at a cost of fifteen cents per passenger.[29] While these and other golf courses maintained their original location, and many others moved around in the borderland between city and country, a small number of golf courses were built very, very far from any major population centres. Resort golf exaggerated both the practice of travelling to the course and the golfers' experiences of nature while traversing the course.

Railways and Resort Golf in the Rockies

By the time the Toronto Golf Club began constructing its Etobicoke course, in 1912, new golf course landscapes were emerging in Canada. Resort golf, one of the most important new golf experiences, developed in conjunction with an increase in tourism facilitated by Canada's largest railway companies. Resort golf merged long-distance pleasure travel, nature viewing, and genteel outdoor leisure activities. The relationship between mobility and the environment was much different in these golf courses than in the fast-changing urban borderlands, where the vast majority of golf was played in North America. Exponentially greater travel distances (and costs) were involved, and the golf courses were also at a much greater remove from the bustle and pollution of the

modern city. Furthermore, at resort golf courses, the pastoral garden or estate park aesthetic common to most North American golden-era golf courses complemented the surrounding natural scenery. In some cases, as with the resort courses in the Canadian Rockies owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and the Canadian National Railway (CNR), sublime natural scenery came close to dominating the carefully manicured playing field.

The origins of resort golf in Canada can be traced to 1905, when the CPR purchased the Algonquin Hotel and its associated golf course in the New Brunswick town of St. Andrews "by-the-sea." In the years that followed, golf became an increasingly important component of the company's tourist operations, with most CPR resorts developing a golf course as part of their recreational complexes. For example, travellers staying at the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec City could golf at the Seigniory Club or the Chateau Montebello.[30] From the CPR's Royal York Hotel in downtown Toronto, guests could be driven west to play golf on a course beside the meandering Humber River. On the West Coast, guests of the Hotel Vancouver and the Empress Hotel enjoyed special golfing privileges at the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club and the Victoria Golf Club, respectively.[31]

Here the focus is on the CPR's operations at Banff and on the CNR's rival operations at Jasper. Two of the most widely advertised Canadian golfing venues, they quickly became famous both nationally and internationally. It is ironic that these courses should become icons of Canadian golf, for they were both developed in wilderness parks that were far from the nearest major population centre at a time when Canada (and Canadian golf) was experiencing rapid urbanization. Being located at very high altitudes, they also offered some of the country's shortest playing seasons. However, these courses enjoyed special attributes, related to modern transportation systems and scenic environments, that differentiated them from the typical course located on an urban periphery.

The CPR opened its Banff Springs Hotel in 1888, and tourism to Banff grew steadily into the twentieth century. As Elsa Lam discusses elsewhere in this collection, the CPR developed new amenities, activities, and attractions for tourists, and in 1911, the CPR president (and

golf enthusiast) Thomas Shaughnessy decided to add a golf course to the company's facilities at Banff. He hired Scotsman and golf professional William E. Thomson, then working on a golf course in Winnipeg, to design and oversee construction of the first course in Banff.[32] Thomson selected a site near the foot of the Banff Springs Hotel, beside the Bow River in the narrow valley directly below the cliffs of Tunnel Mountain. The opening of the nine-hole course on July 15, 1911, coincided with the official opening of the park to automobile traffic.[33] The course was popular with guests but expensive to maintain. A wartime drop in tourism to Banff led the CPR to relinquish control of the course to the federal Department of the Interior, which planned to expand the course to eighteen holes.

Resort golf in the Canadian Rockies became a competitive affair in 1922, when the federal government amalgamated several financially troubled railway companies to form the government-owned CNR. Its transcontinental mainline traversed the Rockies in Jasper National Park, and company president Henry Thornton—an avid golfer—wanted to duplicate the CPR's success at Banff by turning the Jasper townsite into a major tourist resort. Jasper's first golf course was a rudimentary nine-hole course that park staff developed beside the bungalow camp at Lac Beauvert as an amenity for visiting tourists. However, Thornton had ambitious plans for that scenic lakeside property. In 1924 the CNR leased the bungalow camp, the original nine-hole course, and a three-hundred-acre parcel on which a new, larger course could be laid out and immediately began development of the resort known today as Jasper Park Lodge. The railway hired Stanley Thompson, the rising star of Canadian golf course design, to lay out a high-quality course that would help draw golf enthusiasts to its new resort. Two hundred men and fifty teams of horses laboured to clear and grade the course to Thompson's specifications; heavy blasting was required in places, and forty freight car loads of topsoil provided the course with suitably natural-looking undulations and a surface more amenable to turf grass. Thompson routed the course so that many of the holes aligned with distant mountain peaks, thereby giving golfers a sublime natural backdrop as well as a prominent landmark towards which to aim. The first nine holes of the new course were opened in 1925, and the full course

began operation the following year. Thompson's work at Jasper Park Lodge helped cement his reputation as one of North America's most visionary golf course designers.[34]

To defend the Banff Springs Hotel's status as the premier resort in the Canadian Rockies, the CPR renovated the hotel and added new amenities in the mid-1920s. In 1927 the railway reacquired control of the Banff golf course from the Department of the Interior and hired Thompson to redraft a design for an eighteen-hole course that Scottish architect Donald Ross had drawn up for the site in 1919. Thompson reworked a few of Ross's holes with his own signature style but designed the remainder from scratch. Implementing Thompson's vision for the site required that the CPR acquire more land on the narrow valley floor—specifically, from the adjacent auto camp, a very popular (and nominally egalitarian) tourist amenity that park managers had prioritized over the more exclusive golf course during the early 1920s.[35] The park quickly relocated the auto camp; resort golf now took precedence on the section of valley floor beneath the skirts of the Banff Springs Hotel. The golf course had started off as an amenity that catered to a limited number of the CPR's guests, but by the mid-1920s, golf had become much more popular among North America's touring classes—from the very wealthy to status-seeking members of the middle class. This led resort managers to treat distinctive, high-quality golf courses as attractions in and of themselves, capable of luring pleasure travellers to the Canadian Rockies from faraway population centres. Not only did the railway companies make their resort golf courses prominent within the Banff and Jasper townsites, but they also assigned them a special place in their tourism promotion campaigns.

In promoting Rocky Mountain resort golf, the CPR and CNR tended to address older, wealthier, more genteel tourists not inclined to participate in auto camping and other "roughing it" types of park activity—refined customers who had both the financial and cultural capital to pursue golf at a distant, expensive resort.[36] The advertisers expected resort golfers to have the health and wealth required to travel long distances for pleasure, as well as sufficient knowledge of golf's traditional landscape aesthetic to appreciate the special meanings implied in the process of playing their way through the course. The resort courses in

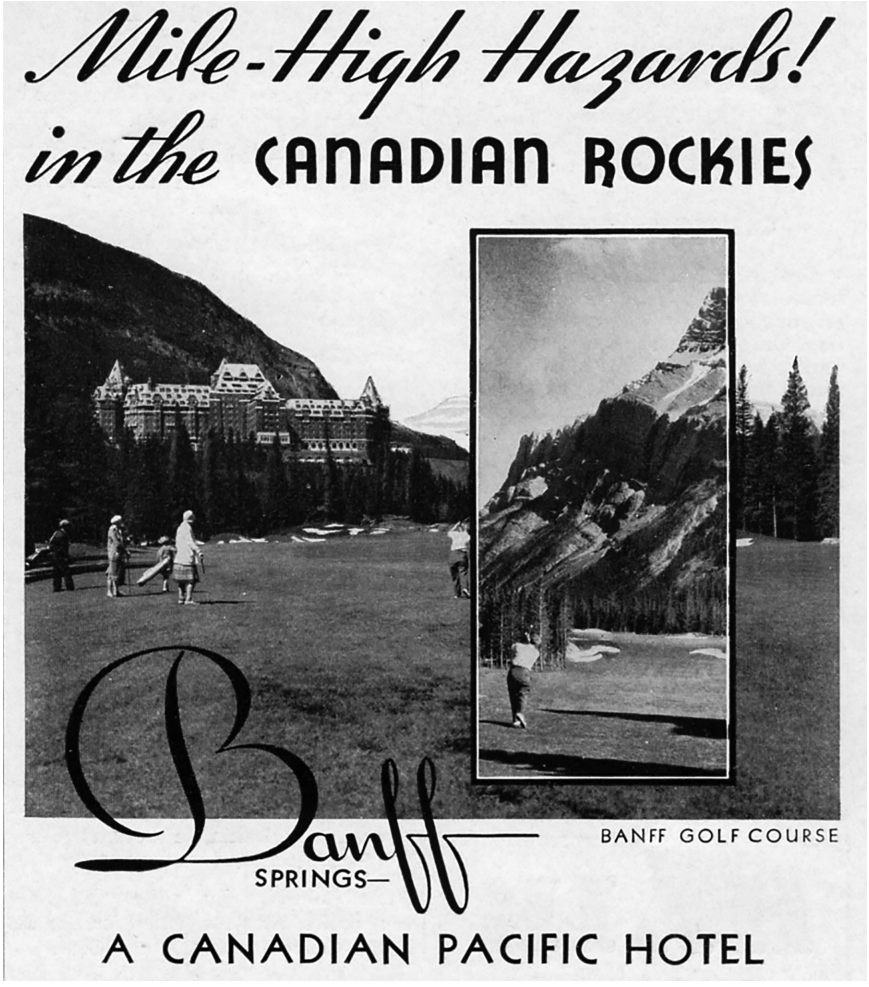


FIGURE 10.2. The expanded Banff golf course, seen in relation to the Banff Springs Hotel, in the early 1930s. *American Golfer* (1933).

Banff and Jasper offered touring golfers something unique. The pastoral or garden-like naturalistic aesthetic of a typical North American golf course was juxtaposed against a backdrop of wilderness scenery: serrated mountain peaks, snowfields, dense timber, and glacier-fed watercourses. In resort golf tourism, then, the pathways that players followed

through the environment—that is, the most commonly travelled routes from tee to green on each hole of the playing field—embodied the usual aesthetic and strategic principles of golden-age golf course design, as well as an exclusive experience of what by the 1910s had become iconic Canadian environments. The railways presented their trains, tracks, and hotels as the devices that made this special, doubly exclusive experience of nature accessible to touring golfers.

Advertisements for the Banff Springs and Jasper Park Lodge golf courses emphasized that wild, rugged mountain environments formed a crucial part of visiting golfers' landscape experiences. A notice for the CPR's Banff Springs course that appeared in *Canadian Golfer* magazine in 1915 highlighted the "rugged grandeur" of the surrounding peaks and the rarefied mountain air "that adds years to your life."[37] Promoters regularly described the Bow River and the surrounding mountains as if they were part of the course: one ad boasted that the course had a "romping river for hazards and mile-high peaks for out of bounds." Players could elevate their game on one of the "finest, most perfectly balanced and most scenically beautiful courses in the world."[38] Similar descriptions flavoured many promotions for golf in Jasper. One booklet described the Jasper course as a "little bit of Heaven" and asked, "What golfer would not want to subscribe to this when he hears that here is a golf course surrounded with snow-capped peaks?" Advertisements for Jasper placed in *Canadian Golfer* magazine by the CNR in 1927 called the course a "mountain paradise" and boasted of its "tonic air."[39]

Even advertisements that emphasized the strategic features of the resort playing field mentioned the aesthetic qualities of the surrounding environment. For example, a 1929 brochure for Banff suggested that "one feature to suit all types of golfers . . . is the use of three tees for every hole providing three courses [in one]," and then went on to describe the course as "superbly located on the banks of the Bow River, and guarded by huge bastions of rock, turreted and pinnacled like the fortified castles of old."[40] Brochures for the Jasper golf course treated the natural beauty and strategic design of each hole as if they were inseparable. For example, hole number nine, which was known as "Cleopatra," was represented as "a straight decline . . . down to a green of unique configuration, with Pyramid Mountain in grandeur

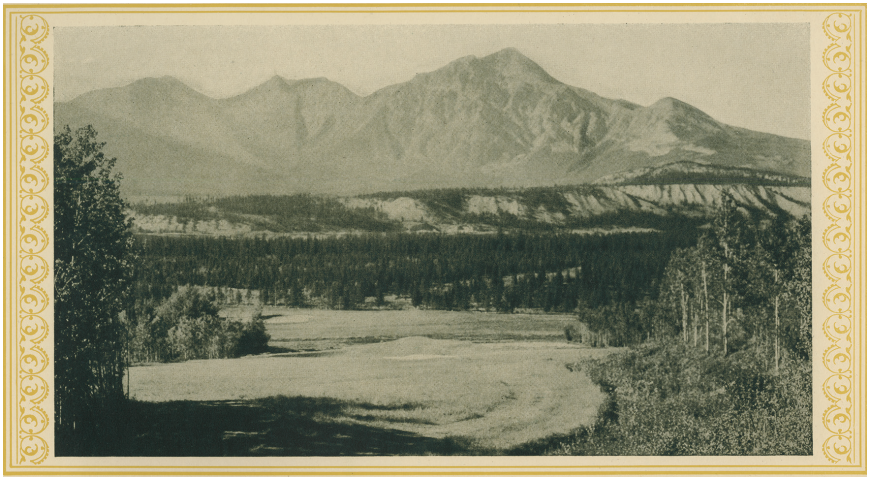


Figure 10.3. The tee shot at "Cleopatra," the ninth hole on the Jasper Lodge golf course, with Pyramid Mountain in the background. *Golf at Jasper in the Canadian Rockies* booklet (1928). Author's collection.

beyond."[41] The brochure *Golf at Jasper in the Canadian Rockies* reported that "in planning the Jasper Park Course very careful attention was given to the hole arrangement. . . . The course will be somewhat more difficult than the usual run of courses—but alternative routes make it enjoyable for all classes of players."[42] Here, a player's ability to adapt to atypical environmental conditions counted for as much as their technical skill, as these conditions shaped the way golfers moved through the course and the emotions invoked by that movement.

Other Canadian railway resorts used promotional materials to play up their golf courses' distinctive settings and natural scenery, though none deployed this theme as strongly or consistently as the resorts in the Rocky Mountain parks did. The CPR, which had more extensive resort and hotel holdings than the CNR, was especially keen to emphasize the variety of its resort playing fields. As early as 1922, a CPR booklet titled *Golf in Canada* presented golf tourism as a refined way of encountering Canada's diverse environments:

> From the Atlantic to the Pacific a traveling devotee of the "game of games" on the World's Greatest Highway can have his golf . . . on two hundred and more seaside and inland courses . . . whilst as regards scenic environments, mountain lake, river and woodland—there is nothing in the world that compares to them.[43]

Instead of distracting from a traditional golfing experience, Canada's varied environments offered attractions for the touring golf enthusiast, adding natural variety and a degree of exoticism to golf courses that otherwise offered relatively undifferentiated landscape experiences. Alluding to the Old Course in St. Andrews, Scotland, which was world famous as the archetypical and premier links course, the CPR assured golfers that its seaside course in St. Andrews, NB, was "not unworthy to bear the hallowed name."[44] Of the Seigniory Club in Quebec City, the company's publicists boasted that Stanley Thompson's course design made excellent use of the "wonderful opportunities provided by Mother Nature . . . [as] tees and greens are being shaped to conform to the terrain, and many a tumbling brook and pocket of bolder is being utilized for a natural, sporty hazard."[45] Playing golf beside the Humber River at Toronto's Royal York course was described as "delightful" due to the "many groves of pine, elm, maple, oak, and birch, and the land is naturally rolling."[46] In Victoria, publicity warned visiting golf enthusiasts that the beauty of the landscape surrounding the CPR's course could provide pleasurable challenges: "the emerald fairways of the course fringe the coast-line, with the dancing waves waiting to penalize the unwary golfer who slices or hooks at some of the rocky tees . . . with a superb panorama of cobalt sea and snow-clad Olympics to tempt the eye from the ball."[47] The railways advertised their resorts and passenger lines to dedicated golf enthusiasts as a means to a golfing end, and the language used in their promotional materials suggested that the familiar experience of moving through a natural-looking playing field could uniquely complement Canada's distinctive local environments from coast to coast.

Conclusion

Modern transportation systems allowed for the development of golf course landscapes outside Canadian cities and helped to popularize the game. They prompted many borderland or suburban golf clubs to relocate, due to the incongruities between these technologies and ideas about what constituted a proper golf course landscape. New and improved networks of mobility also helped create new forms of recreation, such as resort golf, which introduced golf course landscapes to new physical environments. The ability to travel to resorts and play golf created a specific class-based experience of "nature" epitomized in the dual architectural goals of creating both aesthetic landscapes and strategic playing fields. Although the origins of the golf term "mulligan"—in David Mulligan's terrible drive back in the 1920s—will be unfamiliar to all but the most ardent of present-day golf enthusiasts, his story illustrates how the changing relationships between leisure, mobility, and the environment during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century played a profoundly important role in shaping not only Canadian golf courses, but also golf culture more generally.

Notes

1 "The Origins of the Mulligan," Country Club Montréal website, accessed 14 January 2016, http://www.countryclubmontreal.com/the-club/the-origin-of-the-mulligan.

2 These dates extend the golden age of golf course design commonly accepted by golf architects to incorporate the earliest incarnations as well as the World War II years.

3 Geoffrey Cousins, *Golf in Britain: A Social History from the Beginning to the Present* (London: Routledge/Kegan Paul, 1975).

4 Golf spread throughout the British Empire during this period. The Royal Adelaide Golf Club in Australia was formed in 1870, the Christchurch Golf Club in New Zealand in 1873, and the Cape Golf Club in South Africa in 1888. The Royal Montreal Golf Club received its royal prefix in 1884.

5 For more information, see George B. Kirsch, *Golf in America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009); and Richard J. Moss, *Golf and the American Country Club* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

6 Paul Daley, ed., *Golf Architecture: A Worldwide Perspective* (Victoria, NSW: Full Swing Golf, 2003).

7 Classic texts on golden-era golf course design include Alister Mackenzie, *The Spirit of St. Andrews* (New York: Broadway, 1995); Donald Ross, *Golf Has Never Failed Me: The Lost Commentaries of Legendary Golf Architect Donald J. Ross* (Chelsea, MI: Sleeping Bear, 1996); and Charles Blair Macdonald, *Scotland's Gift: How America Discovered Golf* (London: Tatra, 2003).

8 Harry Colt, "Golf Architecture," in *The Book of the Links*, ed. Martin H.F. Sutton (London: W.H. Smith & Son, 1912), 195.

9 Harry Colt, "Suggestions in the Toronto Golf Club's Course," 12 May 1913, Colt and Alison Letters 1913–1920, Toronto Golf Club Archives (hereafter TGCA).

10 C.H. Alison, "Report on 18 Hole Course," 3 October 1920, Colt and Alison Letters 1913–1920, TGCA.

11 Stanley Thompson, *About Golf Courses: Their Construction and Up-Keep* (Toronto: Stanley Thompson & Company, 1923), 10. For more information on Thompson's career, see James Barclay, *The Toronto Terror* (Toronto: Sleeping Bear, 2000).

12 Henry W. Thornton, *Golf at Jasper* (Ottawa: Canadian National Railways, 1926), 8–9; "3 Booklets about Jasper Park Lodge Golf Course," file 2, MS-2020015, Stanley Thompson Society Archives, Guelph, ON.

13 On America's urban borderlands around the turn of the last century, see John R. Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820–1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); and Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), chaps. 2, 5–6. On Canada's urban peripheries, see Jennifer Bonnell, *Reclaiming the Don: An Environmental History of Toronto's Don River Valley* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014); and Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

14 "The Toronto Golf Club, 1894–1944," 4, Historical Correspondences and Sundry Items, vol. 1, TGCA.

15 Lamond's brother Farquharson was an early member and first captain of the Royal Quebec Golf Club, and he likely fostered Lamond's fondness of the game, especially when they would play on Lamond's property outside the eastern limits of Toronto, near where the first Toronto course would be laid out.

16 J. Michel Doyon, *The Royal Quebec Golf Club* (Quebec City: Royal Quebec Golf Club, 2005).

17 See J. Alan Hackett, *Manitoba Links: A Kaleidoscopic History of Golf* (Winnipeg: Gold Quill, 1998).

18 See Peter Corley-Smith, *Victoria Golf Club, 1893–1993: 100 Treasured Years of Golf* (Victoria: Morriss, 1992).

19 "Land Conveyances, 1903–1908," series 5, ACC 4054, Belvedere Golf and Winter Club fonds, Prince Edward Island Provincial Archives, Charlottetown (hereafter PEIPA).

20 Larry McNally, "Roads, Streets, and Highways" in *Building Canada: A History of Public Works*,

ed. Norman R. Ball (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 35–36.

21 Paul-André Linteau, "Urban Mass Transit" in *Building Canada: A History of Public Works*, ed. Norman R. Ball (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 62.

22 Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 56–70.

23 "Toronto Golf Club, 1894–1944," 2.

24 Jack Batten, *The Toronto Golf Club, 1876–1976* (Toronto: Bryant, 1976), 35.

25 "Toronto Golf Club, 1894–1944," 7–8.

26 Toronto Golf Club, Annual Report of the Directors, 1910, 2, TGCA. See also "Toronto Golf Club, 1894–1944," 9–11.

27 G.A. Sweny, "To the Members of the Toronto Golf Club, December 19th, 1910," 1–2, TGCA.

28 Doyon, *Royal Quebec Golf Club*, 24–27.

29 Letters of the Executive, 27 April 1912 and 3 June 1912, Correspondences and Reports 1911–1918, series 4, ACC 4054, Belvedere Golf and Winter Club fonds, PEIPA.

30 "Seigniory Club and Chateau Montebello: Lucerne-in-Quebec" (brochure), 1940, box 6, no. 49, Pamphlet Collection, Canadian Pacific Archives, Montreal (hereafter CPA).

31 "The Royal York" (brochure), n.d., box 8, no. 28c; "The Hotel Vancouver" (brochure), n.d., box 6, no. 69; "The Empress Hotel" (brochure), 1929, box 4, no. 42, all in Pamphlet Collection, CPA.

32 E.J. Hart, *Banff Springs Golf: A Heritage of the Royal and Ancient Game in the Canadian Rockies* (Altona, MB: EJH Literary Enterprises, 1999), 8.

33 Ibid., 18.

34 Meghan Power, *The History of Jasper* (Banff: Summerthought, 2012), 94–95, 110–13; C.J. Taylor, *Jasper: A History of the Place and Its People* (Markham, ON: Fifth House, 2009), 82–85.

35 Hart, *Banff Springs Golf*, 18.

36 Tourists partaking in resort golf shared what sociologist John Urry has called the "tourist gaze," wherein the tourist experience is an amalgam of contingently created images, construed according to specific forms of seeing. John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990). Golf tourism was thus a form of consumption; although the "product" (the golfscape defined as a natural landscape and playing field) was not used up in the consumption process, it was nevertheless the "product" around which conventions (e.g., class distinction) were mediated. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 2.

37 *Canadian Golfer* 3, no. 3 (1917): 169.

38 "Banff: Banff Springs Hotel in the Canadian Rockies" (brochure), 1929; "What to Do at Banff in the Canadian Rockies: Banff Springs Hotel, a Canadian Pacific Hotel"

(brochure), 1928, box 9, both in Pamphlet Collection, CPA.

39 "Golf at Jasper in the Canadian Rockies" (brochure), 1926, Jasper Yellowhead Museum and Archives, Jasper, AB; *Canadian Golfer* 13, no. 3 (1927): 209.

40 "Banff: Banff Springs Hotel," 8.

41 "Golf at Jasper Park in the Canadian Rockies," 14.

42 Ibid., 11.

43 "Golf in Canada" (brochure), June 1922, RG31 X1033, Pamphlet Collection, CPA.

44 "Algonquin Hotel, St. Andrews by the Sea, New Brunswick Canada" (brochure), 1935, Pamphlet Collection, CPA.

45 "Seigniory Club/Chateau Montebello: Lucerne-in-Quebec" (brochure), 1930, box 6, no. 42, Pamphlet Collection, CPA.

46 "The Royal York" (brochure), n.d., box 6, no. 26, Pamphlet Collection, CPA.

47 "The Empress Hotel."

11

Rails, Trails, Roads, and Lodgings: Networks of Mobility and the Touristic Development of the "Canadian Pacific Rockies," 1885–1930

Elsa Lam

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), in tandem with the Dominion Department of the Interior, developed Canada's Rocky Mountain region as a nationally iconic area for nature tourism. Often remembered for its role in consolidating the Canadian nation-state via its transcontinental rail line, the CPR derived its principal revenue from government cash and land subsidies as well as charges for the movement of natural resources, finished goods, and settlers across the country. Yet it quickly realized that tourist travel—particularly to the Rocky Mountains—could provide supplemental income while showcasing railway-owned land in western Canada to potential investors and immigrants. To encourage tourism, the CPR played a key role in creating the landscape image of the "Canadian Pacific Rockies": a wild yet subdued mountainous

playground that embodied both the challenges and the opportunities facing the young Canadian nation-state. One of the most powerful private entities in Canada in the years following Confederation, the CPR actively shaped not only perceptions of the region, but also the physical reality of the mountains by constructing the railway and, later, other mobility networks (e.g., hiking trails and highways) as well as accompanying hospitality structures. These rails, roads, trails, and lodgings remain integral parts of the tourist industry and tourist experience in the Canadian Rockies.

This chapter examines two periods in which the CPR made the Rockies a tourist draw. At the end of the nineteenth century, the company promoted a form of luxury rail tourism that featured train cars designed for landscape viewing and amenities such as the mountainside Banff Springs Hotel. In line with European conceptions of sublime landscapes as aesthetically thrilling but physically nonthreatening, these features encouraged tourists to view the dramatic terrain while swaddled in the creature comforts of first-class railcars and resorts. Then, in the 1920s, the CPR undertook a contrasting set of developments in both form and function: a highway constructed in part with CPR funds, and a network of hiking and horse-riding trails that led to rustic lakeside bungalow camps. This initiative coincided with the growing popularity of automobile travel and recreational engagement with nature. Tourists experienced the Canadian Rockies in a new way, with romantic conceptions of rusticity coming to the fore. This paralleled the popular conception of western American landscapes as remnants of the frontier West in the same period, which William Cronon has characterized as offering an antidote to the ills of an overly civilized world. Yet continuity also marked both periods of touristic development, as both luxury rail and automobile bungalow camps relied upon relatively new technological forms to cater to wealthy travellers who sought an exclusive experience of nature.[1]

By emphasizing the integral relationships between networks of mobility, accommodations, and tourist experiences of western Canada as a wilderness setting, this chapter contributes a new perspective to the extensive literature concerning the CPR and its many enterprises.[2] It also shows the value of understanding mobility as more than simply

transportation technology and infrastructure. Indeed, vehicle interior design, lodging architecture, and other forms of accommodations and amenities have been integral to perceptions and experiences of both travel and natural environments. In this sense, the chapter situates itself alongside historical work that interprets hotels and motels as crucial components of mobility networks.[3] When it came to moving through the Canadian Rockies, elite tourists saw the natural landscape through a combination of mobility experiences: pleasurable long-distance travel, an array of slower and sometimes adventurous localized treks, and moments of staying put.

Rails, Luxury Hotels, and Canada's First National Park

In the late nineteenth century, the CPR depicted the Rockies as an untouched natural region by celebrating the mountains as a newly discovered raw landscape that possessed the edifying properties of remote and unfamiliar environments. The company simultaneously promoted travel to the Rockies—which it dubbed the "Canadian Alps"—to prospective American, European, and Canadian travellers with promises of comfortable access and luxurious accommodation (fig. 11.1). The CPR modelled this seeming contradiction—between pristine landscape and civilized amenities—on the precedent of elite tourism to Switzerland, where rail construction had since the 1850s led to the development of the Alps as a tourist destination.[4] Emulating the Swiss, the Canadian company offered rail tours with prolonged stays at high-class hotels in mountain settings. Guests even had the chance to participate in mountaineering excursions led by professional Swiss guides. Making the comparison explicit, the guides paraded on railway platforms in traditional costume. Several of these paid professionals were even housed in chalets in the CPR-built "Edelweiss" village, which was visible from passing trains.[5]

The CPR's promotional material depicted its railway as a force that both accessed and civilized the brutal Rocky Mountains by forging a path through the seemingly impenetrable terrain. The juxtaposition of civilized technology with a breathtaking natural background pervaded one of the CPR's longest-standing tourism publications: *The New*

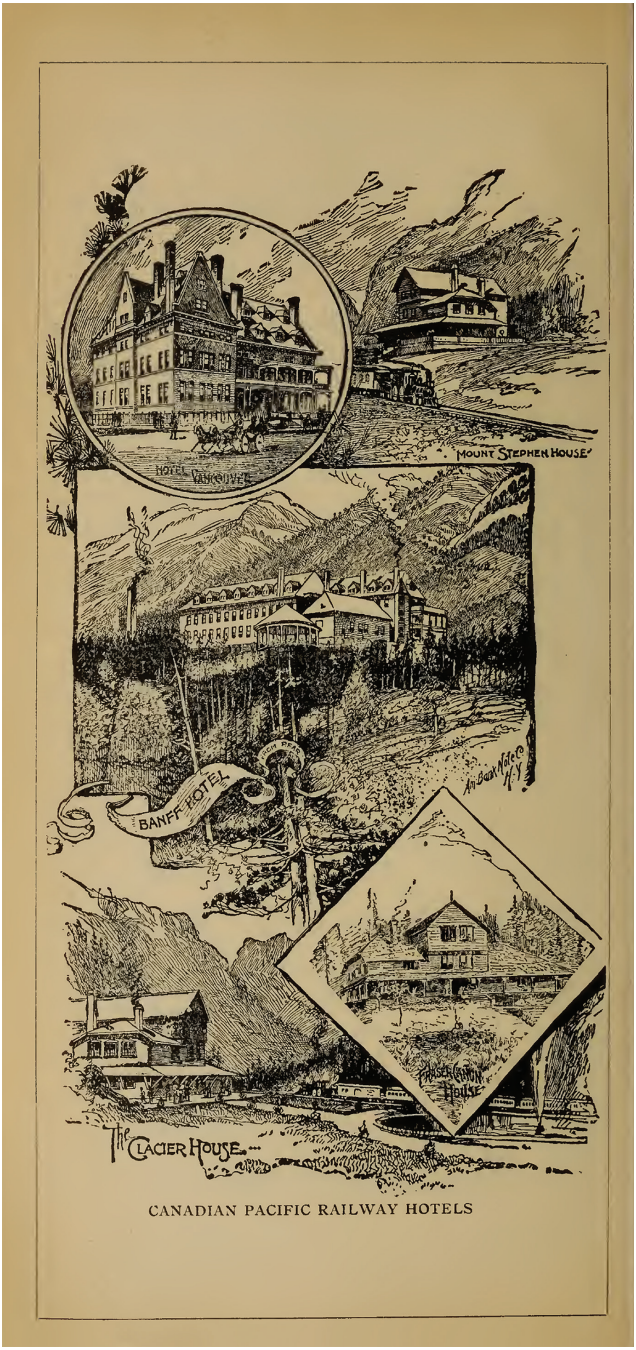


FIGURE 11.1. Montage of CPR hotels as icons of civilization set against a natural backdrop of forests and mountains. This image was the frontispiece of several CPR tourist brochures in the 1890s, including *Summer Tours by the Canadian Pacific Railway* (1894). Courtesy of Toronto Reference Library.

Highway to the East, first issued in 1887, appeared in revised versions up to 1912.[6] The cover image of the 1893 edition featured a low viewpoint that gave the railroad and trestle bridge a prominent position in the top half of the composition, emphasizing the dominant power of the train and bridge over the rugged terrain of mountains, cliffs, and streams (fig. 11.2). Access to the most dramatic views of this raw landscape was a marker of prestige and thus highly desired by train passengers, who experienced the voyage as a scenic journey. By the 1870s, the panoramic perception of sidelong views through passenger coach windows was a taken-for-granted aspect of long-distance overland travel, but the first trains to run the line allowed select travellers to ride on the front engine in order to attain a piercing, unimpeded forward view; these passengers sat on the train exterior in an iron seat, their feet dangling over the cowcatcher bar. The view imbued an exhilarating and exclusive sense of power. The most eminent front engine passenger, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's wife Agnes, rode the "catcher" nearly one thousand kilometres from Lake Louise to Vancouver, despite her husband's dismissal of the feat as "rather ridiculous."[7] Lady Macdonald described the mountain landscape not as a static image, but a succession of views experienced as prospects from the moving train. A small, open-air platform at the end of the train provided less exclusive yet remarkable opportunities for open-air, 180-degree views for wealthy passengers.[8] Edward Roper, an Englishman who travelled through the Rockies in 1890, described how "out on the platform of the hindmost car," passengers "assembled and spent hours, scarcely speaking to one another [because] all of our attention was bestowed upon the awe-inspiring scene."[9] Whether riding at the front or the back of the train, passengers sought the best view possible.

In an attempt to generate more dramatic views to attract first-class passengers, the CPR experimented with different carriage designs. By 1890, the company had added three new observation cars specifically designed as viewing pavilions to the mountain portion of the cross-country journey. These cars consisted of ordinary day coaches with an open area between the belt rail and roof as well as an open-air balcony at the back. Traveller Douglas Sladen described these cars as "open like a verandah," but he also noted that the soot and dirt of the

Figure 11.2. A passenger train in full steam travels over the Stoney Creek chasm, speeding confidently through a dangerous natural landscape. From the cover of an 1893 Canadian Pacific Railway brochure. Courtesy of Toronto Reference Library.

journey made a passenger "feel as if you were being hosed with dust." Yet, as Sladen complained, views were limited to looking backward, not the preferred and more intuitive mode of looking forward at the upcoming scenery.[10] In 1902, the CPR integrated forward-looking perspectives in four enclosed mountain observation cars, which resembled large cabooses with a raised glass cupola at each end and an enclosed glass section at the centre of each car. Seven years later, the company featured lounge and compartment-style observation cars with large windows to facilitate landscape viewing. By the 1910s, the CPR coupled roofless observation cars to the rear of compartment observation cars during summer months in order to permit open-air views of the passing scenery.[11] Nonetheless, passengers seem to have preferred sheltered observation areas. The CPR reintroduced mountain observation cars with roofs and glassed-in central portions in the late 1920s, so that passengers had a place of refuge from smoke and fumes, which were especially prominent when the trains passed through tunnels.

The interiors of observation cars as well as first-class sleeping and dining cars featured an array of amenities and services, creating a luxurious atmosphere that contrasted with the rugged mountain environments outside. The two sleeping cars on the inaugural run of the CPR's transcontinental passenger service reportedly cost a staggering twelve thousand dollars each to outfit. One of these twenty-two-metre-long cars, the *Honolulu*—an exotic name that alluded to the CPR's rapidly growing worldwide travel network—featured a private stateroom with a bath, even though there was no running hot water to fill it. Eventually, the company added fourteen such sleeping cars to fulfill the demand for its first-class transcontinental passenger service. The dining cars were equally lavish: the *Holyrood* included a silver service valued at three thousand dollars, while the Buckingham featured tooled leather benches, plush carpeting, bronze and brass ceiling lamps, white linens, and fresh flowers.[12] These lush interiors generated a remarkable contrast between the trains and the alpine landscapes through which they passed. "Inside [the railcar] all is luxury; outside is Nature in her most rugged mode," observed one British tourist in 1888.[13] Seen through the frame of large train windows, the viewer perceived a wilderness environment that was safely outside the train, while enjoying an array

of amenities inside their compartment. The reassuring luxuries of civilization that furnished the interior of first-class railcars encouraged the pleasurable experience of viewing the rugged landscapes outside, which was transformed into nonthreatening scenery.

The CPR played an instrumental role in establishing the earliest national parks in Canada and developed a related network of accommodations that facilitated tourism in the Rockies. Like the trains, these developments actualized the landscape as a wilderness that had been civilized by technology on a regional scale. The CPR completed a series of simple dining stations with limited accommodation in 1887, but more ambitious plans were underway even before that. The CPR's American-born general manager, William Van Horne, envisaged a resort on the scale of the luxurious lodgings associated with railway developments in the United States. He discerned an appropriate location in March 1885, when the general superintendent for the Rocky Mountain region reported that railway workers had discovered hot springs "in the vicinity of Banff within a short distance of where the station is located."[14] Van Horne contacted Dominion government surveyor William Pearce, who sympathized with the general manager's development objectives. In November 1885, Pearce authored the order-in-council that established a land reserve around the hot springs, trumping any claims by the First Nations who were long familiar with the site and by the two railway workers who had "discovered" it in 1884.[15] Under the Rocky Mountains Park Act, enacted in June 1887, the Banff reserve grew to 674 square kilometres under the direct administration of the Department of the Interior. The decision to designate Canada's first national park in the Rocky Mountains resulted in part from the CPR's lobbying to protect its own commercial interests in the region. The Dominion government, which had taken economic and political risks in sponsoring the CPR's transcontinental railroad, had a vested interest in the company's success.

The CPR constructed its original Banff Springs Hotel during the late 1880s as a protected platform from which tourists could admire their surroundings (fig. 11.3). The hotel, located in the new national park, occupied a promontory overlooking the fork of the Bow and Spray rivers. This scenic setting was deemed so crucial that the railway

FIGURE 11.3. The Banff Springs Hotel was both an object to be viewed and a place from which guests could enjoy panoramic vistas of the surrounding mountains and river valley. This image shows a later version of the hotel, as rebuilt after a fire, designed by W.S. Painter and Montreal firm Barott and Blackader. Cover of a 1926 Canadian Pacific Railway brochure. Courtesy of Toronto Reference Library.

was willing to locate the hotel several kilometres from its station, in contrast to most railway hotels in North America, which were built close to their corresponding lines. The CPR's decision to commission the prestigious American architect Bruce Price was a sign of Van

Horne's early intention to have the hotel rank alongside other internationally renowned resorts. By the time the hotel was completed in 1888, it had cost roughly a quarter-million dollars—an undertaking that a contemporary journalist deemed a "mammouth affair."[16] The wood-frame building contained over one hundred bedrooms, steam heat, electric lighting, a ballroom, and several parlours and dining rooms.[17] The establishment achieved its desired status when Karl Baedeker's 1894 guidebook ranked it among the Dominion's top five hotels, noting its "hot sulphur baths, open-air swimming baths, tennis court, and bowling alley; good cuisine and attendance."[18] The layout of the Banff Springs Hotel optimized views of its river and mountain backdrop. To achieve this, its original design featured a series of guestroom balconies cascading towards the river junction. Although a construction error had led to a misorientation of the original plans, which resulted in these rooms facing the steep forested slopes behind the hotel, a rotunda pavilion was subsequently built to restore the coveted riverside view for guests.[19]

The Banff Springs Hotel featured prominently in railway posters, brochures, and guidebooks. These publicity materials usually depicted the hotel from Sulphur Mountain, located to the northwest of the structure. The townsite and railway are out of view from this elevated vantage point, making the hotel appear as an object in a remote, natural setting, surrounded by a ring of alpine peaks. This position captured both the hotel as an architectural object and the view the hotel offered of the Bow River and mountains beyond. Thus, the reader glimpsed what tourists could see in person from the mineral swimming pool, dining hall, or perhaps even their hotel room window. The Banff Springs Hotel, mirroring the CPR's wider mission, appeared as a bastion of civilization: at once a symbol of luxury arising from within the wilderness and a luxurious vantage point from which to survey an expansive mountain vista. For elite tourists, features of the hotel—similar to the views and other amenities available inside the train—provided an exclusive way to consume the natural landscapes that surrounded them.

Roads, Trails, and the Bungalow Camp Circuit

A CPR hospitality program linked to different—yet equally exclusive—forms of mobility flourished in the 1920s. If a desire to provide views from luxurious vantage points had dominated the company's tourist operations in prewar western Canada, many of its projects during the interwar years aimed to give well-heeled tourists a more adventurous experience of "roughing it" in nature—while still providing considerable comfort. Foremost among these efforts was a series of CPR lodge and cabin compounds in the Rockies. Several of these "bungalow camps" were built along the Banff-Windermere Highway, the first road designed specifically for automobiles through the Canadian Rockies, which opened in 1923. The development of bungalow camps—along with the road—aimed to attract a high-end (and largely American) clientele who could afford touring cars and the hobby of long-distance recreational driving. Although automobile ownership and auto touring would both grow rapidly in North America during the interwar years, they remained relatively exclusive in the early 1920s.

Bungalow camps, automobile roads, and related amenities facilitated a different way of engaging with natural environments than the CPR's observation cars and resort hotels did. Railcars and resort hotels catered to tourists seeking health benefits—taking "the cure" in hot springs that had been channelled into swimming pools, or simply exposure to mountain air—and they directed the gaze of passengers and guests towards sweeping mountain vistas. Often it was a highly mediated experience: nature as seen through the windows of a passing train car, or from the verandah or pool of a hotel. In contrast, bungalow camp networks drew from the North American wilderness movement that had flourished at the end of the nineteenth century and emphasized the benefits of more active, direct encounters with the natural world.[20] On the heels of the sportsmen's movement, a broader public enthusiasm for "wild nature" took hold in both the United States and Canada. As Patricia Jasen explains, enthusiasts sought to create a balance between civilization and nature by "cultivating enough exposure to wild nature, or the illusion of wild nature, to offset the debilitating effects of civilized life."[21] By the turn of the century, upper-class and, increasingly,

middle-class urbanites embraced a return to nature through hunting, fishing, and cottaging. At their root, these leisure activities were considered a means of coping with the strenuous pressures of living in North America's growing and increasingly complex cities. The CPR built its bungalow camps in fairly remote, wooded regions, usually with primary access via motorcar, horseback, or boat. This contrasted with resort hotels, which were generally located alongside railway lines on valley floors or, in the case of the Banff Springs Hotel, accessible by direct stagecoach from the railway station. Bungalow camps coexisted with the luxury tourism exemplified by the Banff Springs Hotel. Although they attracted affluent guests during the 1920s, the camps, in tandem with their accompanying networks of mobility, laid the infrastructural groundwork for widespread access to Canada's mountain parks and created a model for tourist developments that would cater to broader audiences in later decades.

The CPR's earliest experiment with the bungalow camp form came in 1902 with the Emerald Lake Chalet, an eleven-bedroom log structure located in Yoho National Park. The chalet catered to elite vacationers who sought a more secluded destination with opportunities for forested day-hikes in the backwoods. It had a rustic appearance, including square-hewn timber construction and details such as stepped corbels that recalled Swiss carved roof brackets. This rusticity was echoed in its landscape treatment, as the chalet was set on a plain, unpaved courtyard ringed with coniferous trees. Guests reached the chalet by hiking or riding on horseback eleven kilometres from the railway station at Field, BC.[22] In response to Emerald Lake's early popularity, the railway added cabins along the lakefront and in the surrounding forest between 1906 and 1912. During the 1912 season, more than one thousand guests stayed at the chalet and cabins, and a year later, the number nearly doubled.[23] Although originally designed as a hotel, the addition of log cabins—a distinguishing feature of the bungalow camps that would follow a decade later—gave the location the appeal of individual living units that recalled pioneer cabins or the huts used by elite sportsmen on hunting and fishing trips.

The CPR used the model developed at Emerald Lake to build a series of camps that supported guided overnight hiking and horseback

FIGURE 11.4. Several of the Canadian Pacific Railway's nine bungalow camps in the Rocky Mountains are seen in the insets on this CPR brochure from the late 1920s. Author's collection.

trips. Although these excursions had been staged for CPR guests since before World War I, they had been considered as side trips rather than a main focus of vacations to the Canadian Rockies, in contrast to what this style of travel would later become with the bungalow camps.[24] In 1919, the CPR's superintendent of construction for its western Canadian hotels, Basil Gardom, arranged to have a small log lodge and

canvas-roofed sleeping cabins built at Lake O'Hara, a location where CPR excursionists had previously camped in tents. In 1921, five log cabins replaced the canvas-roofed structures. The result was the CPR's first development named and promoted as a "bungalow camp."[25] During the following years, the CPR built a succession of bungalow camps in Banff, Yoho, and Kootenay national parks (fig. 11.4).

As the network grew, the CPR identified each camp as a distinct destination with a unique identity and specific recreational opportunities. The company named each lodging after the lake on which it was situated or other geographic features in its vicinity, sometimes employing Aboriginal names.[26] For example, Wapta Camp sat on the edge of the continental divide, on a trout fishing lake of the same name and near many trailheads. With no road access, Lake O'Hara Camp was promoted as offering "isolation with comfortable accommodation."[27] Visitors to Yoho Camp could experience a nearby waterfall and hike to an eponymous glacier, named from a Cree word expressing awe. Circling west, Emerald Lake was the "camp de luxe," with private baths in some cabins, an in-house orchestra for the communal lodge, and tennis courts.[28] Moraine Lake Camp, high in the mountains just south of Lake Louise, was situated at a junction of alpine trails. Motorists travelling on the Banff-Windermere Highway through Kootenay National Park had access to four more bungalow camps: Castle Mountain, on a rise facing an alpine vista; Vermilion River, "at the middlemost middle of the big game country"; Radium Hot Springs, near a narrow canyon with mineral springs; and Lake Windermere—named after the most famous natural landmark in England's picturesque Lakes District—a "peaceful" spot to relax "after all the emotional climaxes of the mountains."[29] By 1925, the CPR had nine bungalow camps in operation or under construction in the Rockies.

Promotional materials noted that specialized forms of mobility associated with the bungalow camps enabled recreational opportunities and close encounters with nature. Active recreation was a primary goal of a bungalow camp vacation and appealed to visitors' sense of adventure and authentic identity. "Authenticity" here was an idealized, antimodern state of living in nature rooted in a nostalgic sense of strenuous physical activity. CPR publicity depicted day trips as well

as hiking, riding, and driving between camps as integral parts of the Rocky Mountain bungalow camp experience; indeed, such activities elicited longer descriptions in brochures than accounts of the actual lodges and cabins. The idea of a multi-day circuit recalled a long-established tradition of Swiss Alpine tourism, in which visitors hiked from village to village, overnighting at local inns along the way. For example, a 1921 bungalow camp brochure was structured around an itinerary that led tourists to the "five camps—each different" that were completed at that time.[30] Trekking between camps also served as the main topic of a profusely illustrated 1923 bungalow camp brochure by Betty Thornley, who wrote several brochures about CPR tourist destinations and, later, as Betty Thornley Stuart, became fashion editor of *Collier's* magazine. Her second-person narrative addressed a female adventurer undertaking a four-week tour by horseback, hiking, and chauffeured car through the entire network of CPR bungalow camps in and around the Rockies. The subject is constantly on the move: she hikes, rides, or drives almost every day on her journey, with the bungalow camps offering places of respite and reflection after long days spent outdoors. The vacation is structured around a peripatetic journey between nodes, rather than a single luxury hotel, as would have been the norm with larger resort establishments.

Thornley's account describes the ways in which various forms of mobility provided tourists in the "Canadian Pacific Rockies" with different experiences of local environments. She portrays trail riding as a relatively easy endeavour that yielded opportunities to contemplate the scenery. Thornley asks her reader to imagine sitting at ease on the "philosophic back" of a white horse, feeling her mind "float out between the trees, across the blue-grey distances till it comes to rest on those eternal hills that hump their amazing backs into the sky. . . . It's all so immense."[31] In contrast to the ease of trail riding, hiking is presented as a more strenuous activity, albeit one with rewards. After "you hoist yourself up another brown aerial staircase" and undertake a "last and stiffest climb," the hiker reaches a sublime panorama: "an immense and secret valley to the right, a valley that clouds could sail in, and hundred-year forests." Around the corner lay a "last great tableland where there's . . . nothing but infinite silence, and white heather,

and great tongues of snow in the hollows."[32] The evocation of a solitary, immense view echoed the accounts by American John Muir and other alpinists of mountain peaks as sites of religious or spiritual transformation.[33] In the bungalow camp brochure, an amateur hiker attains a similarly revelatory landscape view with no need for extensive equipment or expertise.

Like trail riders or hikers, motorists participated in what they understood as a fully engaged encounter with raw nature. At the turn of the century, motoring had been celebrated for its strenuous nature: drivers (almost exclusively male) took up the opportunity to cultivate new skills, explore new territories, and exercise a sense of self-determination.[34] This flavour of adventure lingered even as automobile ownership became more widespread, extending to a broad swath of upper- and upper-middle-class drivers. Experientially, riding in an automobile gave drivers the headlong view that eluded most passengers of train travel, as well as a relatively high-speed, autonomous mode of travel. Within the CPR's bungalow camp circuit, this sense of daring was most pronounced at Sinclair Canyon, where the Banff-Windermere Highway snaked between towering cliffs. A 1923 Department of the Interior brochure described the experience: "passing through those towering walls of rock, another world at once unfolds to view." Travelling eastward from the Columbia River Valley, with its wide and pastoral views, a journey through Sinclair Canyon dramatically revealed a creek that "tears its way down the contracted valley, rushing and tossing and rending its way through a series of rocky canyons." Beyond, the road passed through a second portal known as the Iron Gates, "formed by splendid towers of red rock on either side of the valley," before climbing up to the summit of Sinclair Pass.[35] Emphasizing the ancient nature of the landscape, Thornley effused that "the new world into which the road has bored its way is a world older than Time, yet, in some vivid and tremendous fashion, still unfinished."[36] Views on this section of road were particularly conducive to a dynamic driving experience, which allowed drivers to imagine they were reliving the pioneer discovery of new landscapes.

Automobile roads were central to the expansion and development of western Canada's park system in the early twentieth century, just

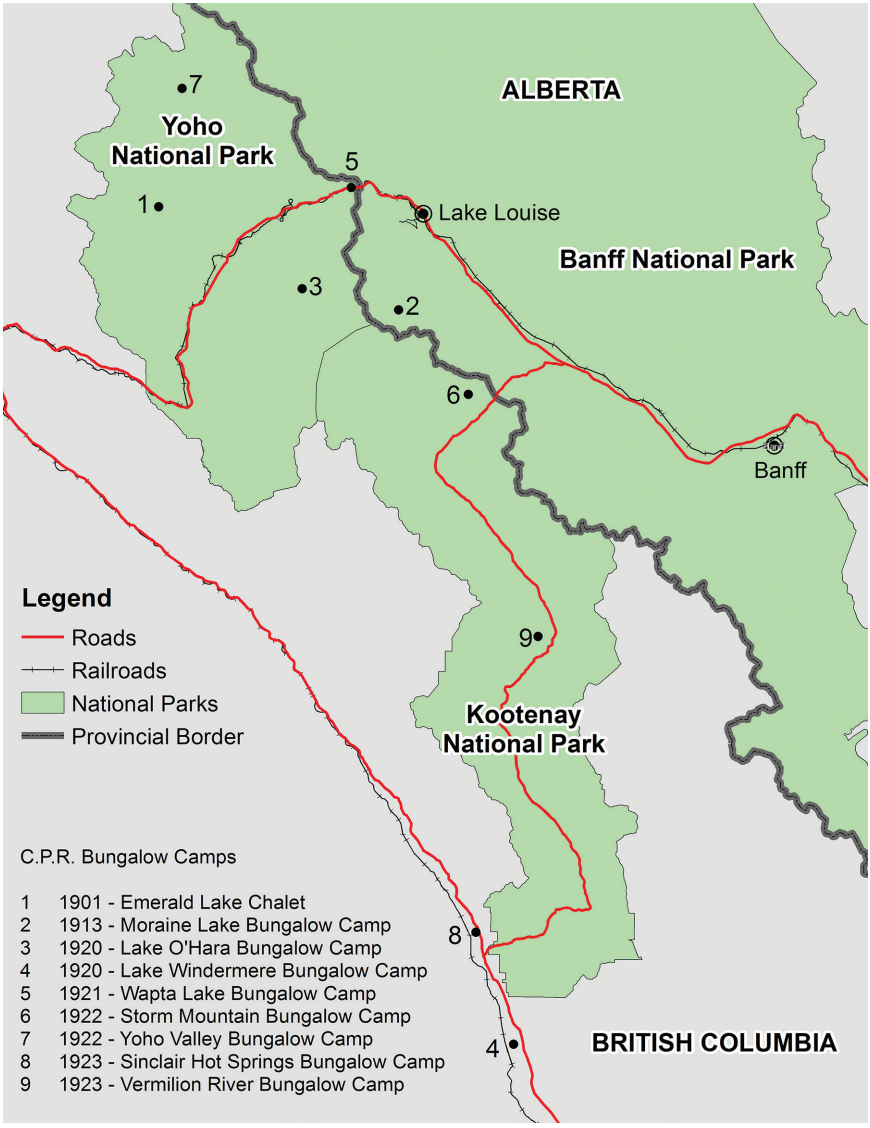


Figure 11.5. Canadian Pacific Railway bungalow camps and the Banff-Windermere Highway, 1929. Map by Steven Langlois and University of Saskatchewan HGIS Laboratory, after original by James Mallinson.

as railway infrastructure had inspired the establishment of the earliest parks in the late nineteenth century. This relationship is particularly evident in the history of the Banff-Windermere Highway, a high-elevation road between Banff and Lake Windermere that local promoters hoped would attract American automobile tourists.[37] It became a national park corridor when it opened in 1923, the same year that four CPR bungalow camps began operation along its length (fig. 11.5). The CPR had helped build the road in order to create a new territory for tourism and to help sell its land holdings in BC's fertile Columbia River Valley. A 1911 agreement divided the construction cost of the main portion of the highway between the CPR and the British Columbia government, while the newly created National Parks Branch (NPB) of the Department of the Interior financed the road's construction within the boundaries of Banff National Park. In 1919, the NPB agreed to finish the road in British Columbia in exchange for a strip of land five miles (eight kilometres) wide on each side of the highway. This area—1,520 square kilometres in total—became Kootenay National Park.[38]

The new 128-kilometre-long Banff-Windermere Highway connected several roads through the region, allowing drivers to journey between stopping points on a circular route. It completed what a 1922 CPR brochure dubbed the "Premier Tour" of North America: a loop through the western Canadian parks that traversed Lethbridge, Calgary, Banff, Windermere, Cranbrook, and Fernie.[39] As a Parks Branch annual report noted, this was a highly scenic drive, comprising "500 miles during which the autoist will at all times be either in the Rockies or in full sight of them."[40] This circular tour also connected south at two points to join the U.S. Park-to-Park Highway, an eight-thousand-kilometre loop through twelve parks promoted by U.S. National Park Service director Stephen Mather. The Banff-Windermere Highway formed the missing link in an expanded loop that included four Canadian parks: Banff, Yoho, Kootenay, and Waterton Lakes. Finally, by providing a route through the Rocky Mountains, the road served as an important segment of a planned motor road from Calgary to Vancouver.

The designation of a ten-mile-wide (sixteen-kilometre-wide) corridor along the Banff-Windermere Highway as a national park encouraged drivers to perceive the landscape around them as wilderness. A

contemporary road development during the early twentieth century, the Blue Ridge Parkway in Virginia and North Carolina, included minimum right-of-way widths of sixty metres and was an average of three hundred metres wide. Observers considered Blue Ridge an exceptionally wide area compared to average highways and previous parkways.[41] Along the Banff-Windermere Highway, however, the creation of a park that was fifty times wider would not only protect the scenery immediately visible from the road, but also shelter the wildlife in the vicinity and help qualify it as bona fide wilderness. Going beyond the scenic views available from trains, resort hotels, and even other parkways, the highway immersed the bodies of motorists in a natural environment that was sufficiently intact to hold the possibility of unorchestrated, face-to-face meetings with nature's denizens. Government and CPR brochures led tourists to expect an experience comparable to today's safaris, which transport sightseers via rugged jeeps to view wildlife within what appear to be open savannahs but in reality are protected areas. "Much of the country traversed is noted for its big game—moose and black-tailed deer, brown and black bear, big horn and mountain goat," noted a CPR bulletin issued to passenger department agents in 1916, before Kootenay National Park was founded and hunting within it prohibited.[42]

As the elite sport of big-game hunting was gradually sublimated into the thrill of big-game viewing, tourism publicity urged automobile drivers to enjoy unrivaled opportunities for wildlife sightings along the Banff-Windermere Highway corridor. A 1923 government guidebook included images of bears and Rocky Mountain sheep on the roadside.[43] A CPR bulletin from 1927 included an article titled "Wild Animals Friendly on Banff-Windermere Highway," which described frequent sightings of "animals in their natural haunts." These included mountain sheep, "so tame that often motors have to slow down as they will persist, almost to the point of danger, in standing in the middle of the highway"; a semi-tamed black bear named Bozo, who "comes out on the highway as if he had sole right to it"; and deer who appeared "in increasing number annually."[44] People actively encouraged some wildlife to frequent the highway. For instance, motorists clearly enticed Bozo by feeding him, and park wardens installed salt licks along the road so

that other game would be drawn in full view of the motoring public.[45] These techniques were meant to enable visitors to see wildlife in situ, in contrast to the zoos and paddocks that had housed game in Banff since the late nineteenth century. Like the strenuous experiences encouraged via the trails and bungalow camps of the same era, these sightings were valued by motorists as part of a supposedly authentic, wild nature in the Rockies, a region home to superabundant wilderness.

Conclusion

Beyond providing a simple means of transport, the CPR helped create a rich physical and cultural landscape that they dubbed the "Canadian Pacific Rockies." Targeting elite audiences who had the time and money for pleasure travel, the company linked exclusive modes of mobility to distinct ways of perceiving and experiencing natural environments. Starting in the late nineteenth century, the CPR provided civilized rail and hotel vantage points from which travellers could view dramatic landscapes. In the early twentieth century, the company also began catering to tourists' growing desire to experience more active forms of recreation within forest and lake areas. Although both forms of tourist travel in the Rockies coexisted during the twentieth century, a comparison of the networks, accommodations, and amenities of both eras illustrates a shift in the touring public's expectations of travel within natural environments.

In the Canadian Pacific Rockies, access to the most highly desired experiences of the natural environment were closely linked to wealth and class. But while elite tourist dollars were a strong impetus for the CPR to advance its luxury tourist programs, middle-class tourists who began to acquire automobiles in the interwar years also benefitted from road infrastructure constructed in the early twentieth century. By 1928, 74 percent of the more than ten thousand cars that entered Kootenay National Park from the south end of the Banff-Windermere Highway were owned by Canadians, a figure that suggests use of the road had become more egalitarian. Although these largely middle-class tourists may have avoided CPR establishments because of their high cost, they enjoyed the scenery and wildlife sightings that contributed

to the wilderness experience of the drive. In 1931, the Parks Branch started permitting the establishment of small, privately owned bungalow camps at specified locations within the western Canadian parks, overturning the CPR's monopoly on this type of tourist accommodation.[46] Visitors could opt to stay at any of a dozen motor camps on the Banff-Windermere Highway; several of these establishments still exist and carry on the tradition of the bungalow camp. More broadly, representations of the region as both a luxurious North American version of Switzerland and an idyllic backwoods have persisted in publicity materials produced by both the CPR-owned hotels (now operated under the banner of Fairmont) and competing establishments to this day. The Canadian Pacific Railway created not only a legacy of physical infrastructure, but also a set of cultural ideas about the nature of the Canadian Pacific Rockies that has been an integral part of their popular image for more than a century.

Notes

1 William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: Norton, 1995), 78–79.

2 On the CPR's role in developing both the economy and the image of western Canada, see Marc H. Choko and David L. Jones, *Posters of the Canadian Pacific* (Richmond Hill, ON: Firefly, 2004); John A. Eagle, *The Canadian Pacific Railway and the Development of Western Canada, 1896–1914* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude, 1983); and E.J. Hart, *Trains, Peaks, and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel* (Banff: Summerthought, 2010).

3 See, for instance, Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910–1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); Molly Berger, *Hotel Dreams: Luxury, Technology, and Urban Ambition in America, 1829–1929* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); John A. Jakle and Keith Sculle, *America's Main Street Hotels: Transiency and Community in the Early Auto Age* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2009); A.K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

4 See John Marsh, "The Rocky and Selkirk Mountains and the Swiss Connection, 1885–1914," *Annals of*

Tourism Research, vol. 12 (1985): 417–33.

5 Calgary-based firm Wilson & Rees designed the dwellings. Blueprints are available at the Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

6 After its initial appearance as *The New Highway to the East*, the booklet was retitled *The New Highway to the Orient* and issued in almost-yearly editions from 1889 to 1912. The CPR updated the text and images to include features such as new hotels, but the core text remained the same from edition to edition.

7 Bart Robinson, *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel* (Banff: Summerthought, 1973), 24.

8 Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists*, 70.

9 Edward Roper, *By Track and Trail: A Journey through Canada* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1891), 139.

10 Douglas Sladen, *On the Cars and Off: Being the Journal of a Pilgrimage along the Queen's Highway to the East, from Halifax in Nova Scotia to Victoria in Vancouver's Island* (London: Ward, Locke & Bowden, 1895), 225–26.

11 Oil-burning engines, in use by the 1910s, produced no cinders, which would have endangered earlier open-air platforms. See Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Bulletin*, no. 102 (July 1917).

12 David L. Jones, *Famous Name Trains: Travelling in Style with the CPR* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2006), 11, 16.

13 Clive Phillipps-Wolley, *A Sportsman's Eden* (London: Bentley, 1888), 32–33, cited in Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 102.

14 General Superintendent to Van Horne, 19 March 1885, 61.A.8966, Canadian Pacific Archives, Montreal (hereafter CPA).

15 Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1987), 11–13; Anthony Roger Byrne, "Man and Landscape Change in the Banff National Park Area before 1911" (MA thesis, University of Calgary, 1964), 112.

16 "The Great Hotel: A Few Facts about the Mammouth Building Being Erected at Banff," *Winnipeg Sun*, 1887, cited in Robinson, *Banff Springs*, 17–18.

17 Hart, *Selling of Canada*, 18–19.

18 Cited in Robinson, *Banff Springs*, 37. See also Karl Baedeker, *The Dominion of Canada with Newfoundland and an Excursion to Alaska*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1900), 218. The other top-ranking hotels were eastern Canadian destinations: the CPR's Chateau Frontenac in Quebec, the CPR's Windsor Station in Montreal, and the Russell House and Grand Union in Ottawa.

19 Walter Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), 151. Archival blueprints for a later rebuilding of the hotel clearly indicate the orientation, in phrases like "This way faces Bow River Valley and Mount Rundle," "This way faces the Bow River and the Fairholm Range," and "This way faces Sulphur Mountain"—perhaps to

avoid repeating the earlier error. Canadian Pacific Railway-Hotel Department fonds, M5788-22, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

20 Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

21 Jasen, *Wild Things*, 105.

22 The CPR had provided simple log-built shelters for trekkers as early as 1891. That year, the company constructed a bare-bones log chalet on the shore of Lake Louise for those adventurous enough to trek the five kilometres uphill from Laggan station. However, after the original chalet burned down, early in 1893, the CPR erected a frame structure more in line with its other hotels. As Lake Louise grew in popularity, the structure was expanded with other additions in European architectural styles. While log cabins would serve for preliminary or strictly utilitarian buildings in this early period, the railway's showpiece hotels in the late nineteenth century relied on more cosmopolitan Swiss, French, Scottish, and Italianate styles.

23 In 1912, Americans were the primary audience: 66 percent of visitors were from the United States, 25 percent from Canada, 6 percent from England, and 3 percent from other countries. Christine Barnes, *Great Lodges of the Canadian Rockies* (Bend, OR: W.W. West, 1999), 79.

24 Edward Mills, "The Bungalow Trail: Rustic Railway Bungalow Camps in Canada's National Parks," *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin* 18, nos. 3–4 (1993): 63.

25 Ibid., 64.

26 During the same period, children's summer camps across North America often adopted real—or inauthentic but Indian-sounding—names. See Abigail Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890–1960* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

27 See Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Detail Information for Ticket Agents regarding Travel in the Rockies*, n.d., p. 20, CPA.

28 Betty Thornley, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1923), 17.

29 Ibid., 20–23.

30 Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (Montreal, 1921), 2. A brochure with the same title published in early 1923 recommended a similar itinerary.

31 Thornley, *Bungalow Camps*, 5–6.

32 Ibid., 9.

33 John Muir, "A Near View of the High Sierra," in *The Mountains of California* (New York: Century, 1894).

34 Belasco, *Americans*, 19–39; Tom McCarthy, *Auto Mania: Cars, Consumers, and the Environment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 1–15.

35 Canada, Department of the Interior, *The Banff Windermere Highway* (Ottawa, 1923).

36 Thornley, *Bungalow Camps*, 18.

37 John Sandlos, "Nature's Playgrounds: The Parks Branch and Tourism Promotion in the National Parks, 1911–1929," in *A Century of Parks Canada, 1911–2011*, ed. Claire Elizabeth Campbell (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2011), 61.

38 Bella, *Parks for Profit*; E.J. Hart, *The Brewster Story* (Banff: Brewster Transport Co., 1981); W.F. Lothian, *A History of Canada's National Parks* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1976).

39 Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Bulletin*, no. 162 (July 1922): 18.

40 Canada, Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1913), 8.

41 Anne Mitchell Whisnant, "The Scenic is Political: Creating Natural and Cultural Landscapes along America's Blue Ridge Parkway," in *The World Beyond the Windshield: Roads and Landscapes in the United States and Europe*, ed. Christof Mauch and Thomas Zeller (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008), 68.

42 Canadian Pacific Railway, *Bulletin*, no. 86 (March 1916): 9.

43 Canada, *Banff Windermere Highway*.

44 Canadian Pacific Railway, *Bulletin*, no. 223, S1 (August 1927).

45 Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 28.

46 Edward Mills, *Rustic Building Programs in Canada's National Parks, 1887–1950* (Ottawa: Parks Canada National Historic Sites Directorate, 1994), 151.

12

Automobile Tourism in Quebec and Ontario: Development, Promotion, and Representations, 1920–1945

Maude-Emmanuelle Lambert

The interwar years saw an unprecedented number of tourists take to the road in Quebec and Ontario. This chapter explores some of the developments that resulted from this new form of recreational mobility, which had become prevalent by 1945. Automobile tourism fostered a new understanding of the landscape through representations of these provinces' tourism regions in promotional materials as well as the first-hand knowledge that tourists were able to acquire. This understanding was particularly apparent in the design and promotion of roads and in the development of automobile touring itineraries, as well as in the ways that individual tourists embraced this form of mobility.

This study stands at the intersection of various historiographies, in particular those of transportation, mobility, and the environment. Long treated as a narrative of technological advancement, the history of transportation has in recent years responded to criticisms put

forward by cultural theorists by shifting towards the study of mobility. With growing interest in the practices of stakeholders and in the controversies and conflicts around the use of public space, the history of mobility has moved away from transportation history's focus on corporations and regulations.[1] Research by Christophe Studeny on the evolution of our relationship to speed and by Wolfgang Schivelbusch on the transformation of visual and temporal perceptions resulting from train travel reflects a "sensuous" approach to the relationship between culture and technology.[2] Automobile tourism forms part of this trend, since it involves uses of mobility—recreational mobility—that go far beyond a simple history of the automobile.

Environmental history encourages a more concentrated focus on the material dimensions of mobility. Historians in this subfield have demonstrated not only how objects and technologies transform natural environments but also how they mediate the relationship between the human and the nonhuman.[3] Similarly, the automobile and mobility appear to mediate our relationship to nature and landscape. For instance, in his study of national parks in Washington State, David Louter shows how park development was shaped by the concept of wilderness observable from an automobile in movement, which he dubs "windshield wilderness."[4] An analogous process underlay efforts to develop roads and automobile touring circuits in Quebec and Ontario.

But first of all, what distinguishes automobile tourism from other forms of recreational mobility that preceded it? According to Marc Desportes, "automobile tourists . . . leave behind the overexposed places served by railroads . . . and seek to conquer new and as yet infrequently visited sites."[5] The pleasure of driving combines with the desire to explore new horizons as well as the sensation of having infinite space before oneself. This type of tourism differs from destination- and resort-based tourism in the sense that travelling from point A to point B becomes less important than discovering what lies between these two points. Stops at X and Y are possible without advance planning.

Between 1920 and 1945, the new needs of automobile travel reshaped tourist practices and the tourist industry in Quebec and Ontario. Various groups helped transform and adapt landscapes to automobile tourism, including automobile clubs, regional tourism associations,

and municipal and provincial governments. The year 1945 was a turning point in this regard, after which automobile use soared and became widely accessible. From 1920 to 1945, automotive culture came to epitomize a new, modern tourism in Quebec and Ontario.

The sources used for this chapter include government and nongovernment publications such as tourist guides, road maps, and newsletters. Periodicals specifically targeting motorists, elected officials, and local businesses were also examined.[6] I also analyzed approximately twenty automobile travelogues on Quebec and Ontario, written by American and Canadian men and women. Most of these authors, such as Kathrine Sanger Brinley, were journalists or professional travel writers who published a number of books or articles on their travels.[7] Others, such as the American writer Dorothy Childs Hogner, published only one travelogue over the course of their careers.[8]

The choice of Quebec and Ontario reflects the fact that, during the first half of the twentieth century, these provinces were by far the most urbanized and had adopted the automobile most quickly. Most tourist traffic from the United States entered Canada through these provinces. However, Ontario and Quebec developed contrasting promotional approaches towards the motoring public, with each province emphasizing rather different environments. This chapter examines how these jurisdictions developed tourism through promoting roads to motorists, how road maps and guides were used to depict automobile tourism regions, and how specific circuits became a focus of recreational mobility and what elements characterized these routes. Northern Ontario and the Gaspé Peninsula in eastern Quebec serve as the primary examples, since these regions underwent extensive development during the period under study. In both cases, road construction in the late 1920s aimed to link resource regions and isolated communities to the rest of their respective provinces; provincial authorities and local boosters quickly identified and promoted the tourism potential of these destinations. These promotions largely targeted an English-speaking—and mostly American—motoring public. While Ontario's advertising did not reach out to French-Canadian tourists, Quebec designed a targeted approach and differentiated vision of its landscape to attract its own citizens onto its roads.

"Good and Beautiful Roads" for Recreational Driving

At the dawn of the twentieth century, as the first automobiles appeared in Canada, roads were the poor relation of the nation's transportation system. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the federal and provincial governments had invested in rail and maritime transportation and left responsibility for roads in the hands of municipalities. In fact, most municipalities lacked the human and financial resources required to develop the road system. Various interest groups—cyclists, motorists, rail companies, farmers—banded together to lobby governments for better roads. The Ontario Good Roads Association (founded in 1894) and the Association des bons chemins de la Province de Québec (1895) demonstrated the need for improvement of the road system and attempted to rally the public to their cause.[9]

In response, the provinces began providing municipalities with financial assistance. Ontario employed this strategy first: starting in 1901, the province advanced one million dollars to help its counties improve their roads.[10] Quebec adopted its Good Road Policy in 1911 and passed legislation the following year making ten million dollars available to municipalities for road work. As the cost of building and maintaining roads increased, it became clear that the provinces had to play a more active role. In 1914, the Government of Quebec created its Roads Department, and in 1916, Ontario established its Department of Public Highways. These departments undertook the development of extensive provincial road networks.

Between 1912 and 1918, over 564 kilometres of provincial roads were built in Quebec, and by the end of 1934, $150 million had been spent on improving and expanding the road network.[11] Starting in 1935, Ontario assumed all road-related costs.[12] In 1930, Quebec, with 53,100 kilometres of roads, trailed Ontario with its 106,400 kilometres. Ontario's advance over the other provinces was remarkable. Over half of Ontario's roads were improved—that is, surfaced with gravel, asphalt, or concrete—versus a third of Quebec's.[13] As of 1946, Ontario continued to hold a significant lead, containing 44 percent of Canada's paved roads. However, its lead over Quebec was narrowing; 57 percent of Quebec's roads were paved versus 78 percent in Ontario.[14]

Governments invoked various rationales to justify these expenditures, such as the need to expand commerce, strengthen rural economies, and promote tourism. The flow of American tourists, the argument went, funded the cost of good roads, and the resulting revenues accrued to provinces, businesses, and communities. Some 112,000 American motorists visited Quebec in 1923, and over 625,000 did so in 1929. Ontario was the Canadian province visited most by American tourists. During the 1929 season, tourists spent $131 million in the province, which represented 61 percent of Canada's total tourism revenues. That same year, American tourists spent $51 million in Quebec, the second most visited province.[15]

Municipalities, automobile clubs, and senior levels of government agreed that "good roads have led to the birth of our tourism industry . . . and maintaining good roads will allow us to retain these new customers."[16] Promoting roads to motorists played a central role in the objectives of the Ontario highways department and Quebec's Road Department. The comfort of a modern road system was just as important as the quality of a hotel. Newsletters for motorists as well as tourism guides and brochures directly addressed the quality of the roads. They detailed the improvements made (e.g., widening, surfacing, straightening of curves) and unabashedly promoted their road networks as the basis of their province's reputation. They claimed that the roads earned effusive praise from tourists, although this was not always the case in reality.[17]

Conversely, an abundance of honesty risked frightening away tourists. Quebec realized this after publishing the first edition of its Gaspé Peninsula guidebook in 1930. The original text, which discussed the various difficulties that motorists encountered on the road, was revised for the next edition. While the 1930 version mentioned that it was sometimes impossible to see motorists approaching from the other direction, and stressed the importance of honking one's horn when approaching tight curves, the 1933 version reassured the reader that "the road poses no danger, provided that one takes elementary precautions."[18]

For the motorists of that period, the quality of roads was important if not crucial in choosing a destination. In the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, the magazines *Canadian Motorist* (published by the Ontario

Motor League) and *Service* (by the Quebec Automobile Club) produced numerous travelogues, some of which were sponsored by government roads departments. These reports aimed to direct the flow of tourists to new routes, highlight tourist attractions, and praise the quality and comfort of the roads. In 1938, the Quebec Roads Department even published a brochure entitled *Les routes modernes dans la province de Québec* that made generous use of photographs to showcase the province's broad, paved roads. The goal was to demonstrate that despite Quebec's reputation for preserving its ancestral traditions, it had modernized its road system.[19]

The cultural and material experience of overland mobility improved considerably during the interwar years.[20] By the early 1940s few adventurers wrote of perils on the road, as Canadian author Percy Gomery had earlier. In his account of crossing Northern Ontario in the early 1920s—in a chapter appropriately titled "Motoring without Roads"—Gomery revealed the difficulties encountered by the first motoring tourists. His trip faced a series of literal obstacles: downed trees on the road, wobbly bridges that prompted motorists to perform repairs themselves, and last but not least, muddy roads capable of entrapping cars.[21] Travelogues from the early 1940s mentioned such obstacles to tourists' mobility less frequently, signalling that roads were in fact being improved. More positive testimonials about the road system, such as Ontarian Margaret Pennell's, also appeared. Pennell had only praise for the quality, aesthetics, and cleanliness of Quebec's roads.[22]

The beautification of roads was intimately related to tourism. In Quebec as well as Ontario, extensive projects beautified the roadsides, the primary landscape focus for these new travellers. For practical as well as aesthetic reasons, government authorities planted thousands of trees along roadsides beginning in 1920, a long-lasting fight against billboards began, and tourism promoters encouraged the public to improve the general appearance of the countryside, homes, and farms in the travellers' sight lines. Governments and municipalities realized the futility of inviting travellers to discover the countless natural attractions of Quebec and Ontario if dirty and neglected roadsides negated their charm. Guides detailed the work of embellishing roadside landscapes and enhancing the tourist experience:

> When entering the Province of Québec, the tourist is impressed by the neat and attractive appearance of the highways. . . . The pavement and road are constantly kept in good shape and in a perfect state of cleanliness. Whitewashed posts and painted signs are ornamental. Tree planting along the highways has been conducted actively for some years past.[23]

Concerns about speed, safety, and the beauty of landscapes influenced the development of roadsides, although reconciliation of these was sometimes difficult. For example, in order to widen or straighten a road, trees often had to be removed. Given the premium placed on order, trees were not planted randomly, but rather on both sides of a road based on an alignment and precise distance largely inspired by French practices dating back to the eighteenth century. Such tree alignments, as shown in many photographs of the period, represented the goal for the early promoters of road beautification across much of North America.[24] Antimodern sentiments tinged this desire to create beauty through order, as developers strove to recreate landscapes predating the automobile in order to enhance the tourist experience and, above all, give visitors a thorough change of scene.

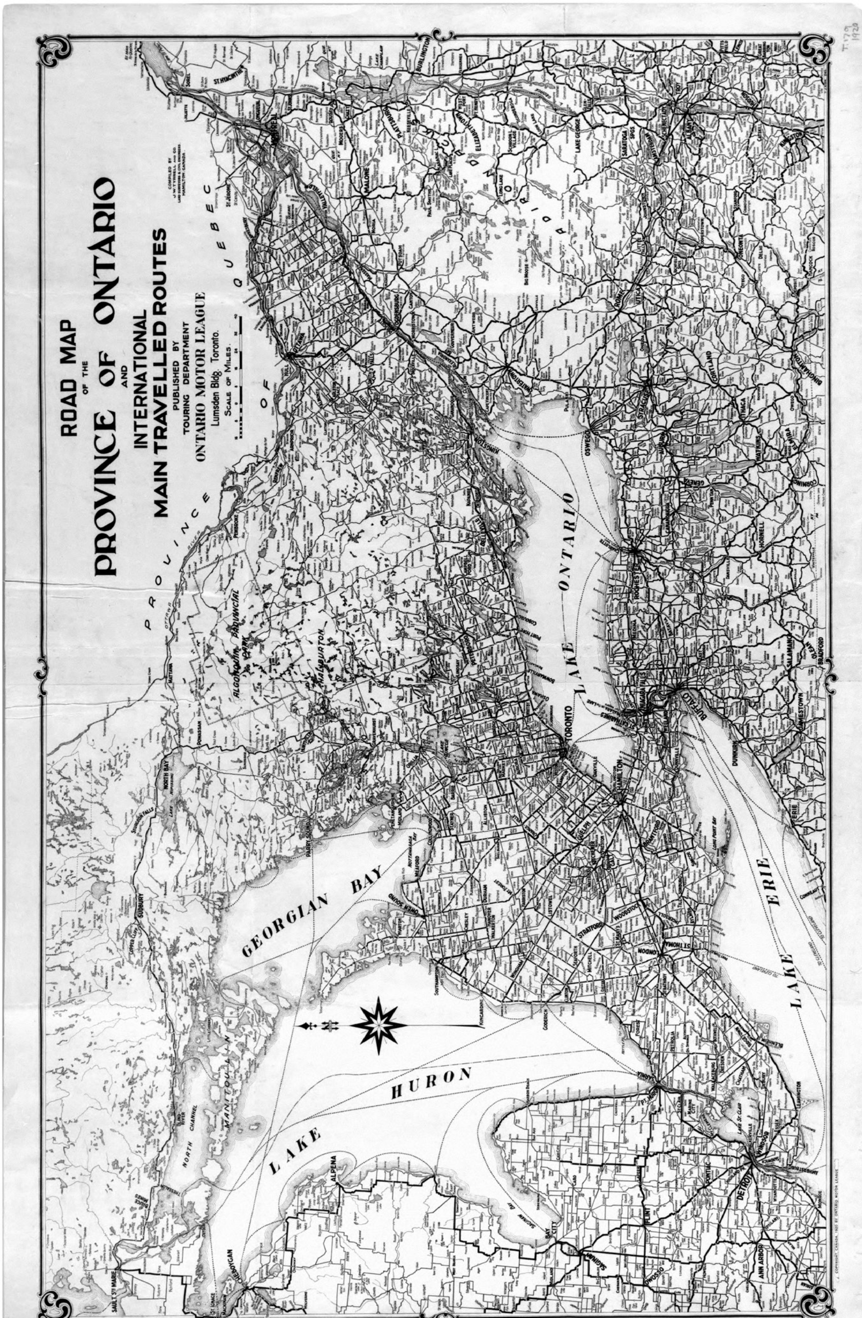
Essentially, government promotional efforts projected the image of regions that were easily accessible by road and conducive to mobility. Whatever the type of landscape (e.g., forests, mountains) that motorists wished to visit, they were assured that a road existed that would allow them to do so. Starting in 1926, the covers of Quebec guides almost always showed motorists driving along the roads of Charlevoix or the Gaspé Peninsula (fig. 12.1). The Ontario guides, in contrast, emphasized images of automobiles exploring extreme or distant regions in a spirit of adventurism. In both cases, tourism advertising highlighted automobiles in motion. Although the assurance of high-quality and attractive roads underpinned these promotional efforts, other goals also came into play. Ontario and Quebec quickly realized that they had to distinguish themselves from other North American tourist destinations, and offering novel routes to motorists was the way to do so.

FIGURE 12.1. Cover of a Quebec guidebook featuring a landscape scene from Charlevoix. The guide, *Welcome to the Province of Québec*, was published between 1926 and 1933. Author's collection.

FIGURE 12.2. (RIGHT) While this 1920 road map provided great detail about roads in Ontario and neighbouring American states, it depicted Quebec as an automotive terra incognita. T.J. Kirk, *Road Map of the Province of Ontario and International Main Travelled Routes* (1920).

Road Maps and Guides: Representations of Tourism Regions and Automobility

Starting in the 1920s, provincial governments, assisted by automobile clubs, designed tourist itineraries especially for motorists. Maps and guidebooks created new tourism regions based on the automobile. Ontario and Quebec published their first road maps in 1923 and 1926, respectively, a few years after automobile clubs had begun doing so. These maps initially targeted American tourists. They showed the various roads leading to the borders of Ontario and Quebec as well as roads within the provinces. Curiously, a number of these maps failed to show the road network of neighbouring provinces (for example, see figure


ROAD MAP
OF THE
PROVINCE OF ONTARIO
AND
INTERNATIONAL
MAIN TRAVELLED ROUTES
PUBLISHED BY
TOURING DEPARTMENT
ONTARIO MOTOR LEAGUE
Lumsden Bldg. Toronto.
SCALE OF MILES.
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
LAKE ONTARIO
GEORGIAN BAY
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
ALGONQUIN PROVINCIAL PARK
TORONTO

12.2). Perhaps this reflected a certain level of competition between Ontario and Quebec, expressed through cartography, in their efforts to capture tourist traffic.

The earliest examples of these maps were so succinct as to omit the provinces' tourist attractions. Subsequent editions corrected this oversight. In some cases, maps predated access to the regions or even supplied the impetus to seek such access. Indeed, governments sometimes published maps before completing the new road infrastructure shown on them. By linking local roads, provincial authorities sought to create the impression that reliable, drivable roads already existed. Maps not only promoted the use of these roads but also made the construction of other roads necessary.[25] For instance, even though no road yet crossed northwestern Ontario directly, the Department of Northern Development (DND) published a roadmap of this region in 1935–1936 indicating its points of interest and panoramic viewpoints.[26] Maps anticipating future roads were another means of building tourism regions through mobility.

Automobile clubs were the first organizations to publish road guides for American and Canadian tourists, the first being the *Official Automobile Road Guide of Canada* (1906), which included maps and over a dozen automobile excursions devised by Ontario Motor League members.[27] The proposed itineraries concentrated in the areas immediately surrounding major cities such as Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec City and involved one-day round trips of approximately eighty kilometres. With these itineraries came detailed descriptions of the various legs of the trips as well as the corresponding mileages. A number of proponents of tourism criticized these guides, which were clearly designed to emphasize the infrastructure at the motorists' disposal, for being bland and almost entirely silent on the tourist attractions in these areas.

> When looking at most of our tourist guides . . . we see that the names of our villages are reference points and not points of interest. Is there nothing else to say about our parishes than how to negotiate the local streets in order to reach the national highway?[28]

These complaints led to changes, and from the early 1930s, guidebooks began inserting notes into road descriptions to highlight the natural and cultural attractions of the places accessible by automobile. The Ontario and Quebec governments began publishing brochures containing tourism profiles of various regions rather than mere road descriptions. The provinces' traditional destinations—including Muskoka, Georgian Bay, the Thousand Islands, Quebec City, Charlevoix, and the Laurentians—were the main focus of promotion. While Ontario stressed its recreational potential by proclaiming itself the capital of lake-based outdoor recreation in Canada, and even North America, Quebec emphasized its picturesque character and its retention of French traditions.[29]

The quest for, and promotion of, improved overland mobility found another expression through the creation of tours, an innovation introduced during this period. In Quebec, the tours divided up the countryside and incorporated high-profile attractions, the best-known of which included French-Canadian peasant life on the Île d'Orléans (1927), Percé Rock in the Gaspé Peninsula (1929), and the home of Louis Hémon (author of the bestselling novel *Maria Chapdelaine*) in the Lac Saint-Jean region (1932).[30] In Ontario, the construction of roads linking the north to the rest of the province gave this region a higher profile and the opportunity to reach a new tourist clientele. Official roadmaps inviting motorists to visit Northern Ontario first appeared in 1926, and the DND also published separate brochures for the northwestern region.[31] Finally, although Northern Ontario continued to be presented as a mecca for sportsmen, government promotion started placing greater emphasis on touring families, especially beginning in the mid-1930s. It pointed out that the main summer playgrounds for families—the Rideau Lakes, Kawartha Lakes, Muskoka, and Lake Simcoe—were only a few kilometres by car from forests and rivers ideal for hunting.[32] Although this reference to families may appear to suggest that the clientele for automobile tourism was broadening, the trend truly became widespread only after 1945.

The Roads of Gaspé and Northern Ontario: Objects of Recreational Mobility

The Gaspé Peninsula tour well illustrates the various tours developed by the Quebec and Ontario governments to promote the discovery of tourism regions through mobility. In the summer of 1929, the Government of Quebec officially opened Perron Boulevard (named after the minister of highways of the time), which allowed a tour circling the Gaspé Peninsula from Sainte-Flavie to Matapédia. Thousands of tourists started exploring this route in 1927 and 1928, even before construction had been completed. Through the end of World War II, this tour attracted between twenty and fifty thousand summer visitors annually.[33]

The Gaspé was the first region that Quebec systematically promoted. The provincial government piloted a series of promotional tools for the region that later served as models for other regions. It distributed half a million postcards in 1928 and published a colour brochure entitled *Romantic Québec: Gaspé Peninsula* in 1929. In 1930, it published *The Gaspé Peninsula*, a lengthy tourist guide targeting motorists, with a print run of fifty thousand copies in French and one hundred thousand copies in English. In 1933 alone, two thousand articles appeared in American newspapers, including Franco-American ones, and the following year saw the peninsula widely publicized during the events marking the four hundredth anniversary of Jacques Cartier's arrival in Gaspé. In 1935, the prestigious magazine *National Geographic* devoted an article to the Gaspé Peninsula.[34]

In Ontario, regional associations and the government developed and promoted numerous tourist routes, such as the Bluewater Highway along Lake Huron. In the late 1920s, a new road into Northern Ontario attracted many tourists. Built and administered by the DND, the Ferguson Highway officially opened with great fanfare in the summer of 1927. This road, linking North Bay to Cochrane, honoured current premier G.H. Ferguson, one of the most important promoters of northern development. Various stakeholders, including automobile clubs, had lobbied for this road—a major step forward for communities formerly served only by train. By the early 1930s, the Ferguson Highway

had been extended to Hearst.[35] During World War II, when the Hearst-to-Geraldton section was completed, this road became, for all intents and purposes, the first trans-Canada highway, crossing Ontario from Quebec to the Manitoba border. The more southerly road, along Lake Superior via Wawa, was only completed in 1960.[36]

In 1932, Ontario guides presented the Ferguson Highway as the road leading to the so-called Northern Country, with postcards providing additional publicity. At North Bay, a viewpoint allowed motorists to contemplate "One of Ontario's finest Panoramic Views of Land and Lake-Scape."[37] In a profile published in the *Canadian Motorist* in 1929, engineer Roscoe D. Miller described this road as a "motorial scenic way." In addition to crossing the Temagami Forest Reserve, it also passed numerous lakes, which enhanced its tourism potential.[38] Sections of the route circling Lake Superior—the future Highway 17—were promoted in a similar manner, as was the road between Nipigon and Schreiber, which most tourist guides of the 1930s promoted as a panoramic route.[39] The Lake Superior International Highway project, developed in collaboration with the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, took shape around the same time. This initiative clearly illustrated the government's priority of making Northern Ontario more accessible to automobile traffic coming from the United States. With a population of forty million living within a day's drive of its magnificent forests, mountains, and lakes, the Lake Superior region was the stuff of dreams for Ontario tourism promoters.[40]

The Perron Boulevard, the Ferguson Highway, and the road circling Lake Superior were all promoted as engineering marvels. In some cases, the geography required bypassing or overcoming topographical obstacles such as rocky highlands, cliffs, and unstable soils, and this made for roads dotted with natural features of interest to motorists. On the Gaspé Peninsula, the challenge was to link via ground transportation villages that had previously been accessible only by sea. The resulting road, although torturous and varying greatly in elevation, was an immediate success with tourists; the Perron Boulevard gave travellers an almost uninterrupted view of the ocean and of maritime landscapes. A spectacular image of a road snaking between the mountains and sea to Cap Gros-Morne was undoubtedly one of the most popular postcards

Figure 12.3. Cap Gros-Morne postcard from the 1940s. Author's collection.

of the time (fig. 12.3). As for Northern Ontario's roads, they reached some impressive elevations; for instance, the section of the Ferguson Highway between Swastika and Cochrane, "creditable to engineering science, in its gradient and its graded width," exceeds an elevation of three hundred meters above sea level.[41] The climb to Cavers Hill on the section between Schreiber and Nipigon, photos of which often appeared in tourist guides and Department of Highways reports, also posed a number of challenges to engineers of the time.

Tourism promoters emphasized the visual experience these roads offered. They publicized roadside landscapes, but they also focused on the views from automobiles in motion instead of those requiring that tourists stop to take a look. To preserve the beauty of the landscapes that the Lake Superior region could offer travellers, automobile clubs stressed the importance of cooperation between engineers and landscape architects. During the planning phase, road infrastructure had to not only be integrated into the landscape but also accentuate its visual composition: the route and design of a road were considered crucial for

the success of tourism, in that they would serve to showcase roadside landscapes.[42] According to engineer Eugène Pelletier, a road's design was not only a matter of utility or of mathematics but also of aesthetics. With economic and aesthetic considerations coordinated, the resulting roads were rendered pleasant for tourists and safe for the general public, without monotonous scenery or tiring tangents.[43] Tourism promotion of the Gaspé Peninsula, with its emphasis on the variety of natural settings to be seen from the coastal road, showed how these factors could merge.

> No other part of Canada, and possibly no other country in the world, offers the same variety of scenery, and splendid, though at times awe-inspiring, landscapes. Mountain, forest and sea can all be seen in the same vista. . . . The entire coast line, all along the road which skirts both the river and the bay, forming a magnificent belt-line round the peninsula, is most colorful in its rugged strength and beauty.[44]

In some key respects, promotion of the Gaspé Peninsula tour and of Northern Ontario's various roads differed. Northern Ontario was depicted as a romantic and distant place that was nevertheless accessible by automobile. Advertising capitalized on a vision of wilderness that echoed the works of Tom Thomson and the other members of the Group of Seven. The north was not presented as a place inhabited for, or related to, productive work, but rather as "a place of recreation—of scenic value and spiritual renewal."[45] The local population—both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal—as well as the mining and forest industries (despite these industries' key role in the regional economy) were also absent from tourist guides.

That said, the environment presented in the advertisements for these roads did not entirely ignore the human presence.[46] In fact, tourists were omnipresent: they were depicted in natural spaces partaking in various recreational activities—hunting, swimming, fishing, canoeing, or simply exploring in their cars (fig. 12.4). Such representations encouraged tourists to appropriate these "empty" landscapes through

Figure 12.4. Cover of the guide *Beautiful Ontario, Canada's Premier Province: The Lakeland Playground of America* (1932). Its resemblance to *The Jack Pine* (1916–1917), one of Tom Thomson's most celebrated works, is obvious. Author's collection.

leisure. Solitude remained a key value upon which the advertising insisted. In some images, the space occupied by tourists was miniscule in relation to the natural decor surrounding them, which highlighted the grandeur of this natural environment and gave the impression that a tourist could be alone. Many guides included photos of an automobile driving along a deserted road across a rugged landscape, with similar evocations: solitude, not to mention tourists' sense of adventure and attraction to the unknown. All of these images promoted tourist experiences in which the environment was inextricably related to mobility.

In contrast to their depictions of Northern Ontario, which emphasized the beauty of wilderness, tourist guides accentuated the rustic character of the Gaspé. They showcased the simplicity of local people's traditional way of life, for instance, with occasional mentions of their

Figure 12.5: Saint-Paul-des-Capucins, near Cap-Chat on the Gaspé Peninsula. Drawing by Daniel Putnam Brinley, from Gordon Brinley, *Away to the Gaspé* (1935).

Catholic faith. However, tourism advertising varied its focus depending on the target audience. The English-language version of a 1930 guide compared the physical and human aspects of the Gaspé to those of Ireland through an implicit reference to Celtic culture: "There is in the Peninsula the same scenic beauty, enshrined in the same rough setting that Ireland offers to the gaze of poet and artist."[47] Percé Rock—a "strange example of nature's handiwork which marks the tip of the Gaspé Peninsula, where mountains touch the sea"—symbolized the power of nature.[48] The peninsula's rustic character was evidence of the minimal human alteration that it had supposedly undergone.

In English as in French, promotional documents emphasized the antimodernity that characterized the region and, more particularly, the lifestyle of its people.[49] Guides claimed that the residents of the Gaspé

Peninsula continued to live as their European ancestors had done, and that they had preserved a simpler way of life, closer to nature and little influenced by modern technology:

> Happy and contented in their simple faith, free of mind and rustic in their desires and wishes, they tend to their daily tasks, love their land, venerate their pastors, and live the lives their forefathers, the hardy sailors and fishers from St. Malo and Dieppe and the Channel Islands, and the exiled farmers of Acadia, lived in centuries gone by.[50]

This antimodernity of the people of the Gaspé Peninsula ostensibly provided Francophone tourists a way of reconnecting with their own roots. They were invited to discover the soul of the people of the Gaspé and to understand these people's attachment to landscapes that had brought them more hardship than joy. Acting as amateur ethnologists, motorists could engage in dialogue with the local residents and appreciate all the diversity of their language and material culture.

> You must take the time to get out of your car and climb a steep path, grasping nearby bushes for support, in order to visit a small group of determined fishers who love their solitary existence and bravely accept their poverty, without shrinking from the dangers of their rustic calling or the uncertainty of tomorrow. You must linger in the countryside, chat with a Gaspé peasant, and listen to him pronounce the old expressions of the region before they disappear entirely.[51]

The many automobile travelogues published in the 1930s reflected this fascination with the antimodernity of the Gaspé Peninsula and the Quebec countryside in general.[52] American, Ontarian, and even French-Canadian tourists searched constantly for signs of this historic way of

life that contrasted so sharply with their urban existence. Examples included horse- or dog-drawn carts, women weaving clothing or rugs, and even fishers making their own nets. The Gaspé tour also featured various vernacular elements that were landscape markers of French-Canadian civilization and its Catholic culture. Most covers of tourist guides from the 1930s showed churches, Quebec-style houses, roadside crosses, outdoor bread ovens, and windmills.[53] Americans Dorothy and Nils Hogner, as well as Kathrine Sanger Brinley and her husband, Daniel Putnam Brinley, enjoyed stopping on the side of the road to capture—with their pencils and brushes—this rich cultural, architectural, and religious heritage (fig. 12.5). In fact, from its inception, the Gaspé Peninsula tour attracted numerous artists in search of inspiration, including the American painter Georgia O'Keeffe, who travelled the road in 1932.[54]

Conclusion

In the early 1920s, automobile travel as both a new form of recreational mobility and a new way of interacting with the environment pressed the public to rethink Quebec and Ontario landscapes. Widespread and intensive tourism development was one of the key results of this new way of looking at landscape. Governments' construction of high-quality, attractive roads and promotion of touring and specific itineraries played a large role in developing popular automobile tourism regions. These projects reflected primarily a drive by provincial governments to engage with this new and expanding form of mobility: automobile-borne tourists. Rather than emphasizing encounters with places that tourists would experience by getting out of their cars, tourism promotion stressed experiences accessible to automobiles in constant motion. With its focus on the needs and aspirations of motorists, this new kind of tourism promotion would shape popular visions of parts of Quebec and Ontario for years to come.

Although construction and improvement of provincial road networks was initially aimed at linking communities and encouraging rural-urban commerce, the roads' recreational appeal quickly emerged. Motorists demonstrated enthusiasm for these road networks. From the

early 1920s, Ontario and Quebec attracted hundreds of thousands of automobile tourists from other Canadian provinces and the United States. To encourage this traffic, the provincial governments publicized the quality and beauty of their roads through brochures, maps, and advertisements. They promoted regions that were easily accessible, while also giving the impression of access to new areas that opened up as they built more roads. As a result, certain regions of the two provinces came to be seen as vast playgrounds for motorists.

All the promotional tools developed by government departments targeted mobile tourists. This was the case with the first roadmaps, which set the boundaries of the automobile tourism regions and even predicted future developments. Automobile clubs and provincial governments also set about creating touring itineraries. During the 1910s, the idea of driving within the Toronto and Montreal regions sufficed, but a need for added value for tourists quickly became apparent. Tourism brochures then started highlighting the attractions of the various regions and guiding tourists towards certain routes. In Quebec, these publications were thematic and focused on the cultural heritage of various regions. In Ontario, tours promoted both the discovery of river and forest environments and the outdoor recreation opportunities they afforded. Many tours showcased regions that had been remote and largely inaccessible before the construction of roads, especially in Northern Ontario and the Gaspé Peninsula in eastern Quebec.

The tourism-related roads shared some points in common. They were advertised as triumphs of human technical know-how over nature. They offered travellers a unique visual experience and showcased the natural features that were to be encountered. The sparsely populated regions crossed by these roads were presented as either wilderness or rustic antimodern countryside. Ontario guidebooks encouraged tourists to experience roads in a solitary way; they invited visitors to appropriate these wild and depopulated regions through leisure. In contrast, Quebec guidebooks, in portrayals of motorists passing through villages and observing people going about their daily chores, emphasized folkloric activities. The objective was the same in both cases: namely, to encourage motorists to explore and appropriate certain regions.

In the period from 1920 to 1945, governments launched tourism development initiatives for the first time. These measures, supported by automobile clubs, municipal governments, and tourism associations, were intended and designed to attract a mobile, motorized clientele who had the time and money to travel long distances for pleasure. Thus, road development and tourism promotion encouraged automobile use not only as a means of travelling within Ontario and Quebec but also as a means of experiencing these provinces. The provinces' analyses were accurate. By World War II, automobiles had accelerated swiftly past both trains and steamships to become the primary means by which tourists visited Canada.

Notes

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later renamed *Service*; *La Revue municipale du Canada* (Union des Municipalités du Québec); and the *Municipal Review of Canada* (Union of Canadian Municipalities).

7 Brinley published four automobile travelogues, commissioned by a publisher, related to Canada in the space of four years.

8 However, Hogner wrote more than thirty publications on topics such as nature, ecology, and horticulture.

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37 Roscoe R. Miller, "Towards the Height of Land and Beyond by Motor," *Canadian Motorist* 16, no. 4 (1929): 139.

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53 A roadside cross appears in the foreground on the covers of most tourist guides in the 1930s. Like beacons, these crosses were found everywhere on the motorist's journey: on quiet backroads, at rural intersections, and at the entry to villages. More than three thousand roadside crosses are still located along Quebec roads. Diane Joly, "Wayside Crosses," *Encyclopedia of French Cultural Heritage in North America*, accessed 28 March 2015, http://www.ameriquefrancaise.org/en/article-296/Wayside_Crosses.html.

54 O'Keeffe painted a series of landscapes depicting roadside crosses, barns, and the seaside.

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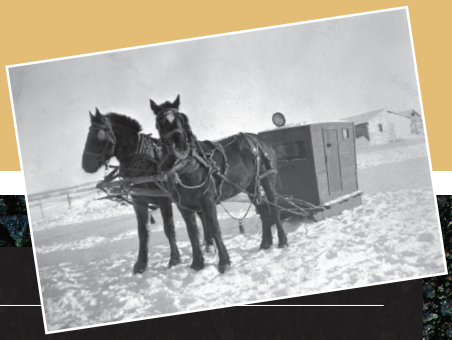

"*Moving Natures* is a well-written, highly informative, engaging and interesting contribution to a number of fields, including mobility, environment, transportation, and the social and cultural history of Canada since the mid-19th Century. The collection does what good history should – it builds bridges across disciplines, areas of study, and important developments in a host of subfields."

– Dr. Dimitry Anastakis, Trent University

Mobility – the movements of people, things, and ideas – has shaped Canadians' perceptions of and interactions with their country. Spanning Canada's diverse regions, from the closing of the age of sail to the contemporary era of just-on-time delivery, *Moving Natures* examines the impact of seasonal changes on transportation, the environmental consequences of building mobility corridors, and the effects of changing mobility on tourism and recreational activities.

This thought-provoking collection arrives at the intersection of environmental and mobility history from two different approaches. The chapters in the first section consider the construction and productive use of mobility technologies and infrastructure, as well as their environmental constraints and consequences. The chapters in the second section focus on consumers' uses of those vehicles and pathways: on pleasure travel, tourism, and recreational mobility. In this way, *Moving Natures* reveals the distinctive ways in which Canadians have come to terms with their country's climate and landscape.

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