

HOW FORESTS AND FOREST MANAGEMENT MESSAGING WAS DISSEMINATED IN  
GOVERNMENTAL PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL IN ONTARIO, 1800–1959

by

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## Abstract

This dissertation studies governmental forestry promotional publications issued in Ontario, to examine how messaging of forests and forest management was disseminated in promotional publications released by government departments. The study adds to the literature that examines the shifting purpose of forested lands in Ontario. It complements recent studies on representations of sustainable forestry by drawing attention to various mediums that have been utilized in bolstering government sustainable mandates, which has been overlooked by many scholars. Based on an examination of numerous films, trade publications, children's literature, and archival records on promotional publications, this dissertation argues both streams of government depicted a carefully constructed narrative that lacked transparency as to the actual state of forestry in the province. This portrayal of forests reflected the Dominion Forestry Branch's and the Department of Lands and Forests' own ideas regarding the purpose and use of the areas. This narrative, created for the public, was transformed over time. Illustrated is the contentious relationship that the public shared with forests due largely to the propaganda issued by governmental and industrial agencies, further demonstrating how government agencies continually re-envisioned forests to respond to its own evolving views of forests and society's aspirations for the land. The changing perception of forests altered the government's stance and guiding themes in forestry promotion shifted between utilization and conservation.

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## Chronological Listing of Canadian Forest Legislation from 1867 to 1960

### Federal and Territorial Legislation

1849 **Crown Timber Act**, S. Prov. C. 1849, c. 30

### Regulation for Revenue Era

1872 **Dominion Lands Act**, S.C. 1872, c. 23  
1876 **The Indian Act**, S.C. 1876, c. 18  
1883 **The Dominion Lands Act, 1883**, S.C. 1883, c. 17  
1901 Order-in-Council provided that one person or company could not hold more than five berths of five miles each. Required licensee to operate sawmill for at least six months of the year.

### Conservation Era

1906 Federal government sponsored first National Forestry Congress in Ottawa  
**The Dominion Forest Reserves Act**, S.C. 1906, c. 14  
1911 **The Dominion Forest Reserves and Park Act**, S.C. 1911, c. 10  
1920 Pulpwood berths authorized  
1927 **Dominion Lands Act**, R.S.C. 1927, c. 118  
1930 Natural Resource Transfer Agreement (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta)  
1949 **The Canada Forestry Act**, S.C. 1949 (2d Sess.), c. 8  
1950 **Territorial Lands Act**, S.C. 1950, c. 22  
1951 **The Indian Act**, S.C. 1951 (1<sup>st</sup> Sess.), c. 29  
1960 **Department of Forestry Act**, S.C. 1960, c. 41

## Chronological Listing of Ontario Forest Legislation from 1867 to 1960

### Regulation for Revenue Era

- 1868      **The Free Grant and Homestead Act of 1868**, S.O. 1868, c. 8
- 1883      Report on the Necessity of Preserving and Planting Trees. Led to the establishment of Arbour Days.  
**Ontario Tree Planting Act, 1883**, S.O. 1883, c. 26
- 1892      Royal Commission appointed to look at creation of system of forest reserves and parks. Report urged more careful management to protect resource base and avoid waste.  
Province began to issue permits for pulpwood.
- 1896      **An Act relating to Crown Timber**, S.O. 1896, c. 12
- 1897      Royal Commission on Forest Protection established under F.W. Rathbun. Argued in favour of a timber reserve system for Southern Ontario.

### Conservation Era

- 1898      **The Forest Reserve Act**, S.O. 1898, c. 10  
**An Act respecting the Manufacturing of Pine cut on the Crown Domain**, S.O. 1898, c. 9
- 1903      All pulpwood agreements cancelled, had not been fulfilled because of punitive American tariffs.
- 1904-10    Province hired first professional foresters and established the Faculty of Forestry at the University of Toronto.
- 1911      **The Counties Reforestation Act**, S.O. 1911, c. 74
- 1924      **The Mills Licensing Act**, S.O. 1924, c. 17
- 1929      **The Pulpwood Conservation Act**, S.O. 1929, c. 13
- 1936      **Forest Resources Regulation Act**, S.O. 1936, c. 22
- 1940      Royal Commission appointed to look into the bankrupt Abitibi Power and Paper Company.
- 1941      Selection Committee into the forest industry and regulations.
- 1946      Royal Commission on Forestry lead by Major-General Howard Kennedy

### Forest Management Era

- 1947      **The Forest Management Act, 1947**, S.O. 1947, c. 38
- 1952      **The Crown Timber Act, 1952**, S.O. 1952 (1<sup>st</sup> Sess.), c. 15
- 1954      White paper on sustained yield forestry.

## **Chronology of Federal Jurisdiction of Forestry in Canada 1873-1960**

1873-1936	Department of the Interior
1936-1950	Department of Mines and Resources (Canada)
1950-1953	Department of Resources and Development
1953-1962	Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources

## Chronology of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests 1867-1960

<b>Term</b>	<b>Minister (Commissioners prior to 1905)</b>	<b>Political Party (Ministry)</b>
<b>Commissioner of Crown Lands</b>		
1867-1871	Stephen Richards	Liberal Conservative (MacDonald)
1871-1871	Matthew Crooks Cameron	Liberal Conservative (MacDonald)
1871-1873	Richard William Scott	Liberal (Blake & Mowat)
1873-1889	Timothy Blair Pardee	Liberal (Mowat)
1889-1896	Arthur Sturgis Hardy	Liberal (Mowat)
1896-1899	John Morison Gibson	Liberal (Hardy)
1899-1906	Elihu Davis	Liberal (Ross)
1904-1905	Alexander Grant MacKay	Liberal (Ross)
1905-1905	James Joseph Foy	Conservative (Whitney)
<b>Minister of Lands and Mines</b>		
1905-	Francis Cochrane	Conservative (Whitney)
<b>Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines</b>		
-1911	Francis Cochrane	
1911-1914	William Howard Hearst	
1914-1919	Howard Ferguson	
<b>Minister of Lands and Forests</b>		
1919-1923	Beniah Bowman	United Farmers (Drury)
1923-1926	James W. Lyons	Conservative (Ferguson)
1926-1926	Howard Ferguson	Conservative (Ferguson)
1926-1934	William Finlayson	Conservative (Ferguson & Henry)
1934-1941	Peter Heenan	Liberal (Hepburn)
1941-1943	Norman Otto Hipel	Liberal (Hepburn, Conant, Nixon)
1943-1946	Wesley Gardiner Thompson (Liberal Party)	Conservative (Drew)
1946-1952	Harold Robinson Scott	Conservative (Drew, Kennedy & Frost)
1952-1954	Welland Gemmell	Conservative (Frost)
1954-1958	Clare Mapledoram	Conservative (Frost)
1958-1962	Wilf Spooner	Conservative (Frost & Robarts)

## **Introduction**

### **Our Roots: The Path to Promoting Sustainable Forest Management in Ontario**

Ontario's path to forest sustainability has been constrained by key elements in its historical development. The endorsement of practices geared towards industrial development and colonialism reflected the view that natural resources were solely commodities. Historical trends indicate Ontario's actions were consistent with the dynamic property referred to as stability.<sup>1</sup> Underlying this conceptual history is a superficial consensus, a notion that Michael Redclift argues has "given way to a series of parallel but distinct discourses around sustainability."<sup>2</sup> Discourses on the sustainability of Ontario's forests have shifted from a "focus on *rights*, rather than *needs*, as the principle line of enquiry."<sup>3</sup> As such, in analyzing Ontario's pathway to sustainability in the twentieth century, four main conclusions can be reached:

- Land was multi-use in scope and purpose;
- Policies were initially focused on industry rather than on environmental preservation;
- The interaction between northern and southern regions were colonial in both policy and practice; and
- The outcomes of policies were uneven in terms of management success and strategies.

Colonial expansion plays an important role in the development of the political economy of Northern Ontario. Colonization of the region profoundly transformed the landscape and societies within it. Like other northern hinterlands that were colonized, Northern Ontario experienced: the establishment of Canadian state power; dispossession of First Nations; railway

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Stirling, "Framing Complexity and Resilience: Towards more Reflective Socio-Ecologies of Sustainability." Paper presented at Conference of the European Society for Ecological Economics on Integrating Natural and Social Sciences for Sustainability (Leipzig, 8 June 2007); M. Leach, I. Scoones, and A. Stirling, "Governing Epidemics in an Age of Complexity: Narratives, Politics and Pathways to Sustainability," *Global Environmental Change* 20 (2010), 369–77.

<sup>2</sup> M. Redclift, "Sustainable Development (1987–2005): An Oxymoron Comes of Age," *Sustainable Development* 13, no. 4 (2005): 212.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; original emphasis.

development; natural resource exploitation; Euro-Canadian settlement; and expansion of the internal markets. Unlike other colonies in Canada, however, Ontario continued to feel state power over its political and economic development; this was most evident in the natural resource sectors. Canada's purchase of Rupert's Land in 1869-1870, would allow for industrialization and development in Northern Ontario.<sup>4</sup> By the turn of the century, the government had actively been developing a transportation infrastructure that would help stimulate new developments in mining, forest-based activities and agricultural settlements. Despite these developments, the region struggled to find a balance to self-sustain industrialization, apart from Sault Ste Marie and the Lakehead. Other cities in the North did not or could not diversify beyond their single industry. One explanation for this disparity is that the resource extraction industries were not owned and operated by local concerns. Under this all-too-typical paradigm of capitalist development, resource extraction was also capital extraction from these communities, with little to no economic stability for locals. What becomes clear is that the philosophies that governed development in the north were based on rapid production and settlement, to generate revenue for the South, which resulted in homogeneous resource markets that lacked diversification, leading to ghost towns when resources were exhausted. In contrast, the near-north and southern Ontario's development of natural resources reveals a more methodical approach with regulations, placing restrictions on land use, ownership and harvesting. These divergent approaches to development of the resources sectors would lead to tensions between Northern and Southern

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<sup>4</sup> Developing the northward expansion of the province remain a priority for the province who tried to encourage immigration to the region. While earlier efforts promoted to first generation youths, these efforts eventually expanded to newcomers from Great Britain, France, Germany, and Scandinavia. Attempts to recruit were dismal as exemplified by *The Undeveloped Lands of Northern and Western Ontario or North-Western Ontario; Its Boundaries, Resources and Communications*. Kirkwood and Murphy, and the anonymously authored *North-Western Ontario: Its boundaries, resources and communications* (Toronto: Hunter Rose and Co., 1879).

Ontario. Northern Ontario argued for more control of over how their resources were being govern and keep profits from these sectors in the local economy.

Early attempts at forestry management suffered from a lack of long-term planning and ineffective legislative tools for enforcing regulation. These policies also relied on incomplete knowledge and a belief system that reflected a naive understanding of Hardin's tragedy of the Commons.<sup>5</sup> According to Garrett Hardin, the tragedy of the commons is one way to account for overexploitation. He theorized that in a shared-resource system, where users operate independently of each other in their own self-interest, their actions result in the depletion or spoiling of the shared resources. Moreover, corruption and the influence of industry interests often undermined policy implementation. Ontario, during its ecological (scientific) phase, begun reevaluating its priorities regarding the forestry industry and began to establish a balance between exploiting and preserving nature.<sup>6</sup> As before the 1940s, forestry policy largely dealt with licensing timber harvest and preventing damage to the resource base. However, after that, policy focused on sustained-yield management and managing the forest to provide a constant sustainable yield of fibre per year.<sup>7</sup> In the 1960s, once again forestry policy begins to account for multiple uses of the forestland base, including timber and non-timber values. However, sustainable yield is still the primary focus of forest policy in Canada.<sup>8</sup>

Ontario has adopted sustainable management practices through incorporating both

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<sup>5</sup> See G. Hardin, "Tragedy of the Commons," *Science* 162, no. 3859 (1968), 1243–8.

<sup>6</sup> The ecological phase mentioned by Kimmins took place midway through the twentieth century when knowledge about forest diversity and practices and the relationship between forests and wildlife were being developed and better understood. Rights and responsibilities in the forestry sector have been adopted in forest management plans. See J. Kimmins, "Sustainable Development in Canadian Forestry in the Face of Changing Paradigms," *Forest Chronicle* 73, no. 1 (1992): 33–40; D.L. Eurler and Ernie A. Epp, "A New Foundation for Ontario Forestry Policy in the 21st Century," in *Ecology of a Managed Terrestrial Landscape: Patterns and Processes of Forest Landscapes in Ontario*, edited by A.H. Perera, D.L. Euler and I.D. Thompson (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), 237–75.

<sup>7</sup> M.M. Ross, *Forest Management in Canada* (Calgary, AB: Canadian Institute of Resources Law, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

holistic and scientific knowledge into the decision-making process, shifting away from a production-governance model to a multiple-use model that incorporates aspects of conservation. Broadly speaking, as Ontario matured, its shaping of the forestry industry went from politicians directly crafting policy through legislation to a hands-off approach where civil servants established policy through various land use departments. Consequently, an analysis of the trends in promotional materials, industry publications and contemporary accounts provides insight into the Ontario government's evolving approach to forest management and the public's relationship with the province's forests.

### **Research Topic**

In this dissertation, I use an interdisciplinary research approach, touching on the cultural, geographical and political elements of the history of promoting forests and their management within the province. Unlike traditional compilations written on Ontario's forest history, which tend to be framed primarily in one or a combination of the fields of history, economics and politics, this dissertation offers a unique perspective by applying the fields of environmental studies and ethnology to create a more holistic understanding of Ontario's path to promoting sustainable forest management. I argue that bureaucrats involved in crafting and implementing forestry policy were influenced by British and European management practices and related political policy and ecological imperialism and were fuelled by a desire for timber resources and preserving aspects of Anglo-Saxon cultural hegemony.

The questions that shape this research are related to how messaging of forests and forest management were disseminated in promotional publications released by both provincial and federal government departments. The dissertation is structured to show the reader the gradual

changes that contributed to shaping not only the government's understanding of managing resources but the importance of advertising and marketing its targeted messages.

This dissertation argues that the marketing of forests by the Province of Ontario evolved to incorporate both non-utilitarian (emphasis on the aesthetic, emotional, spiritual and ethical values of nature) and utilitarian (emphasis on species and ecosystems as resources or service supplies for human) approaches. The challenge in balancing the interest of each of these approaches is the divide that inherently exists between the two—the separation between humans and nature. The image of forests within the province is impacted by this dichotomy, for forests have been, and continue to be, managed under the dual mandate of mixed use, where leisure and industrial pursuits battle for access to forests and priority in policy. I explore this contention between varying interests through an historical examination of Canada's early relationship with nature and the environment that contributed to shaping nationhood in Canada. Government agencies were constantly adjusting their approaches to forestry regulation in response to society's changing interests in forests and aspirations for land use in the province. The changing perceptions of forests altered and guided the themes used in forestry promotion, shifting from industrial to recreational then to mixed use.

While there have been different approaches to writing about the history of forest management, many of them have discussed the adoption of conservation and sustainable principles using different benchmarks. One of the most commonly referenced works is J.P. Kimmins's 1995 article "Sustainable Development in Canadian Forestry in the Face of Changing Paradigms," in which he argues that there are four phases in the historical use of natural resources: explorative, administrative, ecological and social.<sup>9</sup> Lambert and Pross suggest similar

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<sup>9</sup> Kimmins, "Sustainable Development."

benchmarks, breaking their work into four parts: the age of waste, 1763–1841; consolidation and conservation, 1842–1900; wider responsibilities, 1901–1940; and managing natural resources, 1941–1966. Comparing the periodization used by Kimmins to Lambert and Pross suggests that each scholar used different vectors and criteria to establish what they deemed to be distinctive phases of resource management. In examining the relationship between resource management and promotional products created for public dissemination, this dissertation suggests an alternative phase breakdown, Under New Management (mid-1800–1898), Interpreting Early Perspectives (1860–1910s), Back to Nature (1900s–1930s), Rise of Forestry (1920s–1950s), and Youth Stewardship (1950s). While the precise periods are slightly different, they address the same socio-economic and political changes.<sup>10</sup>

The ways in which the image of forestry contributes to conservation and sustainability has not been researched to this degree before by other scholars. In a cursory examination, I found few publications or literature on forestry promotion in Ontario. However, there has been some research published on national parks. The 150 years covered in this dissertation allow for a thorough examination of the image of forestry and its management practices during the different periods mentioned earlier. Although I focus on Ontario's forests prior to the twenty-first century, examining promotional materials as well as political and economic influences through legislation, there needs to be further research on images and the identity of forestry and its management. The greater the government's ability to feed into the positive association between forest and consumer, the greater the interest and investment in the resource, highlighting the importance of identifying the target audience and marketing to them.

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<sup>10</sup> R.S. Lambert with P. Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth: A Centennial History of the Public Management of Lands, Forests and Wildlife in Ontario*. (Toronto: ON: Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, 1967).

## Writings about Ontario's Forests

I chronicle the path Ontario took towards establishing more sustainable, conservation approaches to forest management and the resulting messages the province produced for public consumption in the period from the 1800s to the 1950s. Within this period, there were six distinct but overlapping influences that shaped not only Ontario's management of forest industries but how the government chose to promote the resource to the public in the province. These influences can be summarized as colonization, commercialization, consumption, management, conservation and stewardship. Historians who have written on Ontario's forests, resource management and resource industry developments have addressed these influences in a variety of ways. While comparatively more has been written on the American experience with regards to the history of forest conservation, there are several Canadian studies that form a corpus of standard references.

The Canadian corpus that the dissertation engages with is the shifting purposes of forested land in Ontario by building primarily on the staple thesis of Harold Innis, which provides a versatile framework for examining the interactions of different stakeholders throughout the settlement of the province. Innis argues that the Canadian economy was shaped by the successive concentrations of staple exports: cod, fur, lumber (and pulp and paper), agricultural products (primarily wheat) and minerals, which fuelled the metropolitan economies of Europe and eventually the United States:

The economic history of Canada has been dominated by the discrepancy between the centre and the margin of western civilization. Energy has been directed towards the exploitation of staple products and the tendency has been cumulative. The raw materials supplied to the mother country stimulated manufacturers of the finished product and also of the products which were in demand in the colony. Large-scale production of raw materials was encouraged by improvements of techniques of production, of marketing, and of transport as well as by improvement in manufacture of the finished product. . . . Agriculture, industry, transportation, trade, finance, and governmental activities tend to become

subordinate to the production of the staple for a highly specialized manufacturing community.<sup>11</sup>

Innis's analysis is most applicable to the early stages of development in Ontario, and its relevance diminishes as the province shifts from agricultural land use to industrialization and commodification.

Then there is Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower's 1938 *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forests*. Lower's work delves into various sources of information to produce an accurate and comprehensive history of the economic importance of the lumber trade and associated forest products for Canada and the United States. Lower, like many early historical economists, bases his approach on Harold Innis and W.A. Mackintosh, arguing that the Canadian political economy was shaped by the export of successive staples, from initial colonization to the modern era.<sup>12</sup>

Alternatively, H.V. Nelles, in *Politics of Developments*, provides a more robust picture of the various resource markets and their intersection with each other. Nelles's rendition of the staple thesis provides a more concrete interpretation of resource histories and public policy. A 'new generation of staples' contributes to Nelles's reinterpretation, as he accounts for expansion into the prairies based on agricultural development, as well as the development of the pulp and paper industry, mining extraction, and the founding of the hydroelectric industry.<sup>13</sup> The rapid development of staple production across the country during the period of industrialized

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<sup>11</sup> Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1956), 385.

<sup>12</sup> Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forests* (Toronto, ON: Ryerson Press, 1938); Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*; Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954); W.A. Mackintosh, "Economic Factors in Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 4, no. 3 (1923): 12-25; and "Some Aspectics of a Pioneer Economy," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 2, no. 11 (1939): 457-63

<sup>13</sup> H. V. Nelles, *Politics of Development: Forests, Mines and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1848-1941* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), xxv.

capitalism meant a new, more active role for the state. This period resulted in the rise of institutional and structural outcomes and developments that continue to influence natural resource sectors till the present day.

Lambert and Pross, in *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, have written a lengthy history on the public management of lands, forests and wildlife in Ontario. Like other scholars, they have contributed to the creation of a framework of phases of resource management in the province. While a great resource, it is not an unbiased critique of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, as they were in part sponsored by the department to celebrate its centennial history. While their work showcases the department in a favourable light, they do address many of the department's shortcomings and failures. One of the arguments that Lambert and Pross make is that after the 1940s, Ontario was in a period of change, and the forestry sector was entering an age of forestry. They discuss the shifting attitudes during this transitional period, which were sympathetic to the adoption of progressive forestry education and forestry as a science.<sup>14</sup>

Comparatively, *Lost Initiatives* by R. Peter Gillis and Thomas R. Roach looks at the industrial side of forestry development and paints a gloomier picture. They see Canada's forest industry as a failure, concluding that "there has been little political leadership in this country which has endeavored to create an imaginative way a policy framework taking into account the needs of forests industries, but going beyond these to insuring regeneration of Canadian woodlands on a rational basis for future generations."<sup>15</sup> They argue that the responsibility for this failure lies with the Canadian public, who, they claim, remained ignorant of the fragility of the resource and obtuse to its wide-scale exploitation.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.

<sup>16</sup> R.P. Gillis and T.R. Roach, *Lost Initiatives: Canada's Forest Industries, Forest Policy, and Forest Conservation* (New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1986).

Robert Wightman and Nancy Wightman's book *The Land Between* is one of the few resources that focuses on Northwestern Ontario's resource development, emphasizing the north-south tensions that contributed to failures in resource management in the North. They argue that the Ontario government during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries engaged in a policy of short-term revenue maximization to meet growing expenditures needs, shifting the burden for public expenditure to the natural resources of Northern Ontario. This, they argue, was not unlike the mindset of the nineteenth-century northern lumber baron, who they describe as retaining a "grasping colonial mind-set that never let tomorrow's need stand in the way of today's profits."<sup>17</sup>

The works of other scholars, like Lillian Gates and David Wood, are not focused on forestry but contribute to the contextual understanding of the pre-Confederation period and the impact that colonization, settlement, agriculture and external influences played in shaping the economic and political decisions made in the province. Inter-provincial competition for immigrants galvanized Ontario to re-conceptualize its use of land. Consequently, development of new lands created competing interests among lumbermen and settlers, resulting in mixed-use lands being favoured for commercial use. Gates examines the perspectives of the different policymakers and stakeholders and how their interactions influenced land use in Canada at this time. She argues that land policy issues of the mid-nineteenth century began with grievances rooted in dated land policy systems, such as seigniorial tenure and clergy reserves, as well as issues of preferential treatment (patronage and favouritism), stagnation and resources.<sup>18</sup> Wood argues for the importance of the railway in developing Ontario, as it not only connected the

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<sup>17</sup> W.R. Wightman and N.M. Wightman, *The Land Between: Northwestern Ontario Resource Development, 1800 to the 1990s* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 125.

<sup>18</sup> Lillian Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1968)

country but facilitated the growth of Northern Ontario, helping to establish transportation infrastructure that led to social welfare programs and services in communities established along the rail lines. This contributed to the growth of resource industries where single-industry towns were established to supply labour. Wood reinforces the theme of exploitation by early settlers for personal gain.

### **Writings on Sustainability**

One of the most contested concepts in the literature is “sustainable development.”<sup>19</sup> For many scholars it is difficult to pinpoint when the concept sustainability/sustainable development first appeared.<sup>20</sup> Nagel argues that early ideas of sustainability can be traced back to Aristotle in 400 BCE, with his concept of “household.”<sup>21</sup> According to Aristotle, the Greek understanding of the household was “characterized by the ability to produce and reproduce what was needed for a living.”<sup>22</sup> This characterization of the word “household” differs slightly from today’s understanding of what a household is, in that it had to be self-sustaining to an extent and not driven by consumption (overindulgence).<sup>23</sup> The concept has since evolved. European literature from the twelfth and sixteenth centuries developed the idea of sustainability in the forestry sector, reflecting the idea that harvesting practices should be regulated according to and adapted to the natural regeneration cycle of the forest.<sup>24</sup> As Ehnert has argued, sustainability was applied to the forest industry out of necessity in order to protect the longevity of the resource and its

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<sup>19</sup> B. Giddings, B. Hopwood, and G. O’Brien, “Environment, Economy and Society: Fitting Them Together into Sustainable Development,” *Sustainable Development* 10 (2002): 187–96.

<sup>20</sup> W.L. Filho, “Dealing with Misconceptions on the Concept of Sustainability,” *International Journal of Sustainability in Higher Education* 1, no. 1 (2000): 9–19; I. Ehnert, *Sustainable Human Resource Management: A Conceptual and Exploratory Analysis from a Paradox Perspective* (Heidelberg: Physica-Verlag, 2009).

<sup>21</sup> B. Nagel, *The Household as the Foundation of Aristotle’s Polis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>22</sup> Ehnert, *Sustainable Human Resource Management*, 35.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> For examples see Filho, “Dealing with Misconceptions.”

economic potential for future generations.<sup>25</sup> This notion of sustainability spread in subsequent centuries (eighteenth and nineteenth) and was adopted by other industries and by other emerging regimes in the United States and Canada.<sup>26</sup>

For years, conservation had a negative connotation, as supporters of it were seen as anti-everything.<sup>27</sup> Although there were proponents of sustainable development, they were in an uphill battle against industry and governments whose interests were motivated by financial gains. It was not until the second half of the twentieth century that the term “sustainable development” was accepted as a standard in the development and exploitation of resources. The term “sustainable” gained momentum in the 1970s when it was used to refer to an economy “in equilibrium with basic ecological support systems.”<sup>28</sup> Commissioned by the Club of Rome in 1972, *Limits to Growth* by Meadows, Goldsmith and Meadows<sup>29</sup> propelled the environmental movement forward. These scholars argued, based on their computer models, that the world could not sustain overindulgent behaviours and needed to adopt sustainable approaches to development.<sup>30</sup> The 1972 UN Stockholm Convention on the Human Environment tackled these concerns by asserting that development and the environment were inherently linked and that they needed to be considered simultaneously, that is, as one issue.<sup>31</sup>

The principles that drive sustainable development as developed by the International Union for the Conservation of Natural Resources (IUCN) and published by the World Conservation Strategy (WCS) are threefold: (1) preserving the ecological process, (2) protecting

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<sup>25</sup> Ehnert, *Sustainable Human Resource Management*.

<sup>26</sup> K. Drushka, *Canada's Forests: A History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

<sup>27</sup> J. Nelson, “Experience with National Conservation Strategies: Lessons for Canada,” *Alternatives* 15, no. 1 (1987): 42–9.

<sup>28</sup> R. Stivers, *The Sustainable Society: Ethics and Economic Growth* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1976).

<sup>29</sup> D.H. Meadows, E. I. Goldsmith, and P. Meadow. *The Limits to Growth* (London: Earth Island Limited, 1972).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Redclift, *Sustainable Development*.

biological diversity and (3) sustaining productivity. These were further developed in the Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future*, put out by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED).<sup>32</sup>

*Our Common Future* draws connections between environmental issues and political discourses, presenting them as inherently intertwined. One of the sections of the report discusses the notion of moving towards sustainable development. The report defines sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”<sup>33</sup> This definition is representative of two key concepts: (1) needs—meeting the needs of the world’s poor and giving them precedence and priority and (2) limitations—the environment’s current capacity to satisfy the need to provide for the present and future, given today’s limitations on technology and collective action.<sup>34</sup> Sustainable development is meeting the basic needs of everyone while allowing everyone the opportunity to fulfill their desires for a better life.

Although such a definition is ambiguous, the WCED’s intention was to create widespread acceptance of sustainable development.<sup>35</sup> This is supported by a statement made at a WCED public hearing in Ottawa in 1986, where a representative from a U.S. based Development, Environment, Population NGOs in their speech entitled “Making Common Cause” stated:

A communications gap has kept environmental, population, and development assistance groups apart for too long, preventing us from being aware of our common interest and realizing our combined power. Fortunately, the gap is closing. We now know that what unites us is vastly more important than what divides us. We recognize that poverty, environmental degradation and population growth are inextricably related and that none of these fundamental

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<sup>32</sup> See WCED, *Our Common Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> W. Rees and M. Wackernagel, “Urban Ecological Footprints: Why Cities Cannot Be Sustainable—And Why They Are a Key to Sustainability,” *Environmental Impact Assessment Review* 16, no. 4 (1996): 223–48; Giddings et al., “Environment, Economy and Society.”

problems can be successfully addressed in isolation. We will succeed or fail together. Arriving at a commonly accepted definition of “sustainable development” remains a challenge for all the actors in the development process.

There are those, like the Workshop on Urban Sustainability, that have argued that such a vague and open-ended definition renders the term “sustainable development” meaningless as it “lacking in any clear rigor of analysis or theoretical framework,” whereas others defend the inherent flexibility that allows everyone to make their own interpretation.<sup>36</sup> The Brundtland Commission prevailing definition has also been criticized for prioritizing human needs over those of the environment. As a result, there have been proposals to replace “sustainable development” with “sustainability” or “sustainable livelihoods,” either of which would be more reflective of what the *Brundtland Report* claimed its aims were.<sup>37</sup> As this concept is currently defined, there are conflicting priorities regarding economic growth, social equity and the environment.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the approach of Leach, Scoones and Stirling regarding pathways to sustainability is adopted. It can be understood as

alternative possible framework trajectories for knowledge, interventions and change which prioritize different goals, values and functions. These pathways in turn envisage different strategies to deal with dynamics—to control or respond to shocks or stresses. And they envisage different ways of dealing with incomplete knowledge, highlighting and responding to the different aspects of risk, uncertainty, ambiguity and ignorance in radically different ways.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Quoted in, Giddings et al., “Environment, Economy and Society,” 188; also see, Workshop on Urban Sustainability, *Towards a Comprehensive Geographical Perspective on Urban Sustainability* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), xx; D. Pearce, A. Markandya, and E. Barbier, *Blueprint for a Green Economy* (London: Earth Scan, 1989).

<sup>37</sup> See J. O’Connor, “Is Sustainable Capitalism Possible?” in *Is Capitalism Sustainable*, ed. M. O’Connor (New York: Guilford, 1994), 152–75; Workshop on Urban Sustainability, *Towards a Comprehensive Geographic Perspective*.

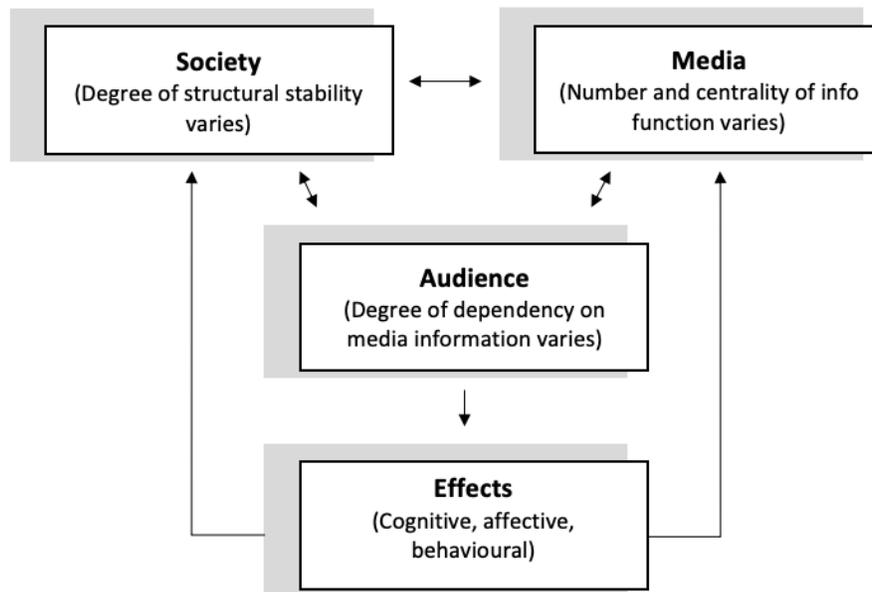
<sup>38</sup> M. Leach, I. Scoones, and A. Stirling, *Dynamic Sustainabilities: Technology, Environment and Social Justice* (London: Earth Scan, 2010), 5.

## Methodology

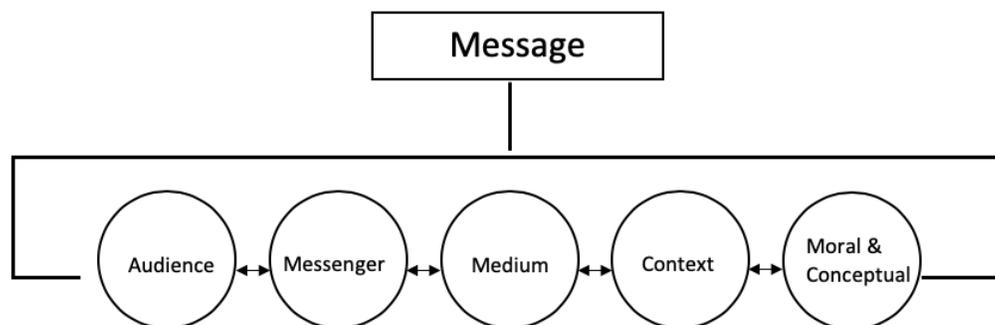
The approach taken in this dissertation includes aspects of both a thematic and frame analysis with elements of grounded theory. My research initially began by searching for promotional materials released by the provincial and federal governments that dealt with forests in Ontario. Once identified, the next step was deciphering the connections between the messages and the actions/inactions of governments within the resource sector using Erving Goffman's frame analysis that describes how conceptual frames structure an individual's perception of society. The frame, according to Goffman, "presents structure and is used to hold together an individual's context of what they are experiencing in their life, represented by a picture."<sup>39</sup> Framing is essential to the way a communication source defines and constructs any piece of communicated information. Goffman's theory stimulates the decision-making process by highlighting some aspects and eliminating others. The dissemination and processing of information through these different frames can be understood through the following figures. Figure 0.1 illustrates what Goffman refers to as a frame. The added layers, or framing, represent the communication aspects that result in people's preference by accepting one meaning over another. Figure 0.2 breaks down this process even further by show the relationship and influence of how a message is consumed and eventually perceived.

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<sup>39</sup> E. Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974).



**Figure 0.1 Goffman's frame**



**Figure 0.2 Breakdown of framing: The relationship between the message and how it is received and perceived by the consumer**

A thematic analysis approach was also applied, where salient themes in the secondary text and primary documents were identified.<sup>40</sup> Similar to grounded theory, thematic analysis is a method that is employed to identify, analyse and distinguish patterns (themes) within a given data set.<sup>41</sup> Data is then categorized and organized in great detail to create linkages to the research

<sup>40</sup> J. Stirling-Attride, "Thematic Networks: An Analytic Tool for Qualitative Research," *Qualitative Research* 1, no. 3 (2001): 385–405.

<sup>41</sup> V. Braun and V. Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (2006): 77–101.

topics being explored.<sup>42</sup> This method is widely employed in qualitative research, and there is great debate over how to conduct this method and what it actually entails.<sup>43</sup> Braun and Clarke have argued that because this method is open to interpretation it can be a “very poorly branded method” as it does not achieve the same recognition that other methods have achieved (e.g., narrative analysis, grounded theory). But even so, this method is able to offer the same level of analysis as any other theory used in this field.<sup>44</sup> The following subsection describe the process of thematic analysis using Braun and Clarke’s six-phase process while applying a template approach as described by Crabtree and Miller.<sup>45</sup>

Braun and Clarke have generated a “guide” to the six phases of conducting thematic analysis as a means of creating more uniformity within the theory. Table 0.1 exemplifies each of the six phases with a description of the process.

**Table 0.1 Phases of thematic analysis**

<b>Phase</b>	<b>Description of the process</b>
<b>1. Familiarizing oneself with the data</b>	“Carefully reading and re-reading of the data” to uncover themes and initial ideas within the data collected. This process may include transcribing data. <sup>46</sup>
<b>2. Generating initial codes</b>	This process allows for common themes to emerge through a form of pattern recognition, after which they are categorized using coding for analysis. <sup>47</sup>
<b>3. Searching for themes</b>	The codes created in the previous phase are analyzed to see whether they can be combined to create an overarching theme.

<sup>42</sup> R. Boyatzis, *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 1998).

<sup>43</sup> See Stirling-Attride, “Thematic Networks”; Boyatzis, *Transforming Qualitative Information*; A. Tuckett, “Applying Thematic Analysis Theory to Practice: A Researcher’s Experience. *Contemporary Nursing* 19 (2005), 75–87.

<sup>44</sup> Braun and Clarke, “Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology.”

<sup>45</sup> B. Crabtree and W. Miller, “A Template Approach to Text Analysis: Developing and Using Codebooks,” in *Doing Qualitative Research*, edited by B. Crabtree and W. Miller, 163-177 (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications Ltd., 1999).

<sup>46</sup> P. Rice and D. Ezzy, *Qualitative Research Methods: A Health Focus* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1999), 258.

<sup>47</sup> J. Fereday and E. Muir-Cochrane, “Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 5, no. 1 (2006).

- 4. Reviewing themes**      The creation of overarching themes (or candidate themes) while subjecting the entire data set to two phases of review and refining. Level one involves checking each of the themes to see if they form a coherent pattern in relation to the codes given to them. Level two is a similar process but with the entire data set.
- 5. Defining and naming themes**      “Define and redefine” each theme, so that an overall story can be analyzed. This process should generate clear definitions and names for each theme.
- 6. Producing the report**      The final opportunity for analysis. At this point, one should be able to draw upon examples, be able to relate back to research questions and literature, as well as produce a scholarly report that “convinces the audience of the merit and validity of your analysis.”<sup>48</sup>

Adapted from Braun and Clarke, “Using Thematic Analysis.”

In using this approach, several recurring themes emerged: a common language related to the scope of the research questions around forest management, land policy, sustainability and promotion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In reviewing the literature on land policy, forest management and sustainability, as well as the archival documents surrounding policy reports and bureaucrat correspondence, I developed an outline for the structure of this dissertation. The materials presented are organized to reflect the terms, phrases and ideas related to settler colonialism, environmental issues, expansionism, resource development, nature and stewardship. In structuring the dissertation in this fashion, my objective was to create a theory around image, power and the environment. While a frame and thematic analysis helped in identifying and teasing out themes and the framing of these messages, I relied on grounded theory to help link these findings with my research. I concurrently analyzed the literature and archival material in such a way that the processes could interact and influence the overall direction of research. By examining Ontario’s forest during different periods serves two

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<sup>48</sup> Braun and Clarke, “Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology.”

purposes: (1) to identify influences and their impact during various periods and (2) to develop broader conceptual ideas that explain the dynamics between settlers, agriculturalists, foresters, industrialists, government (both federal and provincial) and the land. The melding of these different theories and approaches allowed me to explore research questions pertaining to environmental imperialism, land policy and sustainability, create novel interpretations of resource history and expand on political theory.

Both epistemological approaches helped address the potential influence of media bias on public consciousness. What is media bias and why does it matter? Walter Lippmann, in *Public Opinion* argued that biases in the information-gathering process matter because they influence “the pictures” people form “in their heads.” Lippman argued that the world

is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintances. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations. And altogether we have to act in that environment, we have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can manage it.<sup>49</sup>

The significance of the presence of bias speaks to the credibility and reliability of the information that the public is operating under and whether they are able to form coherent, meaningful opinions. It also addresses the existence of misinformation and how it circulates to become popular opinion in some instances. What is uncovered in the dissertation chapters is government efforts to influence *how* the public related to and understood forests and their management. While priming does not guarantee public attitudes or opinions, it does provide the government with an advantage in helping persuade its citizens.

The ability of government-generated narratives about forestry in the province present in the mass media and educational institutions to “manufacture” public consent is less certain. It is difficult, especially given the lack of data on public reception, to make any inferences on the

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<sup>49</sup> W. Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1998), 16.

impact and influence they had on public understanding and perception of forests and forestry in Ontario. Recently, some scholars have claimed that the media can be influential only in what issues people think about or how they think about issues.<sup>50</sup> In helping to inductively identify the potential for successful persuasion of public attitudes, I created two sets of conditions. Figures 1.3 and 1.4 illustrate, on a basic level, conditions that would realistically either be influential or not in persuading the public of the credibility of the government's efforts. These conditions serve as indicators of whether or not the government's efforts helped to inductively decipher the potential impact of its efforts in promoting forest/forestry conservation in the province.



**Figure 0.3 Conditions for potential successful persuasion**



**Figure 0.4 Conditions for potential failed persuasion**

I reviewed primary and secondary sources to establish the context of the pre-Confederation period that created the initial necessity for forestry legislation. These primary

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<sup>50</sup> This is often referred to as “agenda setting.” For more details, see K. Lang and G.E. Lang, “The Mass Media and Voting.” *Reader in Public Opinion and Communications* 2 (1966): 455–72; M.E. McCombs and D.L. Shaw, “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1972): 176–87. Closely related to the agenda-setting theory is the spiral of silence theory, which focuses on how the media influences public beliefs. See E. Noelle-Neumann, *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion, Our Social Skin* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

source materials were mostly found in Library and Archives Canada as well as Archives of Ontario. Files from the Department of the Interior, Crown Lands Department, *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, and political correspondence among ministers are the primary source materials referenced. Some of the more notable documents consulted include Lord Durham's *Report on the Affairs of British North America*, the *Crown Timber Act of 1849*, the *Reciprocity Treaty* (1897), *Royal Commission on Forest Protection in Ontario*, the *Forest Reserve Act*, *Public Lands and Emigration*, and the Clerk of Forestry's *Annual Report*, *Forest Management Act* (1899). The reports include discussions on the value of forests, the relation between agricultural settlement and forests, trees as a commodity, forest fires, lumbering methods, and climate and environmental conditions. They also reveal the British and European influences on resource management, eventually contributing to Ontario's and Canada's adoption of more conservation conscience approaches to managing resources, in order to preserve forests for economic and environmental stability. While many of these reports have been collectively referenced and briefly discussed, as in the works of Lambert with Pross, Nelles, and Lower, to name a few, I link them together under the framework of understanding how the relationship between various stakeholders (nature-human, settler-farmer-forester, north-south, forester-industry-government-public) influenced the changing image of forests being promoted to the public and the path that lead Ontario towards sustainability in forestry.

Lakehead University Library and Archives also proved useful in accessing primary materials, including travel diaries (Anna Jamieson, 1838; Susan Moodie, 1871; Paul Kane, 1859), magazines (*Rod and Gun*, *The Canadian Magazine*, *Canadian Lumberman*, and *Pulp and Paper Magazine*) and newspapers. This material provided useful first-hand accounts of settlement, agriculture, forestry, nature, and the current socio-political climate, which help in

establish how the public interacted with and felt about their environment and the management of natural resources (chapters one and two). In the later chapters, I used primary sources as supporting documents to exhibit many of the visual mediums generated to bolster the government agenda of that time.

Print material offers insight into the how the government at both the federal and provincial levels portrayed and advocated for sustainable use of forest reserves. The focus was not only on industry but the public, as well as multi-use areas that were used for both business and pleasure. *Canadian Lumberman* and *Pulp and Paper Magazine* were the primary trade journals I consulted. It is important to note that characterizing public perception pre-Confederation is not a task that can be done with any confidence or accuracy given the available materials. What I did, however, was assess how promotional campaigns changed in response to cultural and industrial trends. I applied a thematic approach to the promotional materials distributed in parks, industrial areas, and in popular leisure and trade magazines. These materials helped to establish government messaging and popular public opinion was as extrapolated through newspapers as discussed in chapters three, four and five. The archival research was primarily conducted at the Library and Archives Canada (LAC) and the Archives of Ontario (AO) between 2014 and 2018. These locations contained most of the primary sources on the bureaucratic history of Ontario's forests. The documents reviewed included files from the provincial Department of Lands and Forestry and the Dominion Forest Services, which included documents on logging in the province, administrative reports and correspondence on forest management and jurisdiction, and educational initiatives and partnerships undertaken by resource branches. LAC also held some documentation on early land policy in Canada, and AO held resources from the twentieth century, many from the Ministry of Natural Resources. These

collections contained files on the development of forestry schools and ministry partners, in addition to promotional and education materials released for public consumption. The importance of accessing these materials cannot be overstated, as they were essential to develop an understanding of the juxtaposition between resource politics and the messaging the government was releasing to the public.

Though the ultimate focus of this dissertation is on the image of forests as promoted to the public by the Ontario government, the first two chapters are devoted primarily to the broader context of land policy and the early development of the forestry sector. Chapter one focuses on early colonization and settlement of Upper Canada and the relationship between settler, farmer and forester. Rising tensions among these different stakeholders necessitated changing land policies that sought to balance the needs of the lumber industry, agriculture and settlement.

The second chapter centers on the expansionist movement and its impact on Ontario. Here the importance of land policy reform is emphasized because Ontario was trying to mitigate the loss of immigrants, both current and future, and find viable land, which resulted in the province opening its northern territories. While agriculture was still important, other resource industries were beginning to be recognized more for their economic potential—forestry being one such industry. Two important aspects that are emphasized in the chapter are the importance of marketing, and understanding that resource exploitation is not sustainable and the necessity of adopting new approaches to preserve future use. I also pay attention to the West at the time of Confederation, when there was a drive to colonize and settle the prairies and territories. To this end I explore the Dominion government’s advertising strategies, media and imagery. The “Last Best West” (LBW) was a popular slogan used by the immigration branch of the federal Interior Department. This campaign was designed, not only to encourage immigration, but to dispel

negative preconceived notions of the region's climate and culture. This campaign helped identify the significance of advertising and the adoption of mixed use mediums to broker messages. These tactics, while not novel, became the marketing standard for the provincial and federal governments. During the turn of the century, film became a popular medium for entertainment and education and was used effectively to promote settlement and agriculture within the Dominion. As films became more accessible, their inclusion in marketing strategies became more prevalent. The impact of the LBW campaign on Ontario can be understood through a discussion on the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). Discussed in the influence that the CPR had in shaping land policy and development of the forest sector in the province.

Chapter three focuses on the back to nature movement (c. 1900–1920s), which was influenced by popular culture and the rise of the leisurist. The economic policy of Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. MacDonald, encouraged development of Canada's natural resources. At the time when Canada was seen as a place that one could get "back to nature," it became "the natural playground of the world."<sup>51</sup> It was Canada's landscape that attracted many Americans to come and bask in the bounties that the Canadian countryside had to offer, capitalizing on the resources available. This period saw the establishment of forest reserves, marking the real adoption of mixed-use spaces. The impact of both capitalism and imperialism in driving the changing population distribution from rural to urban life and in helping influence a rising leisure class is discussed. As argued in this chapter, the understanding of and relationship with nature is linked to its economic value, but the character of that value changed over the decades after Confederation. This is highlighted by a discussion on the provincial and federal governments' realization that the continuous exploitation of forests and related resources was having a

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<sup>51</sup> G. Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893–1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 11, no. 4 (1976): 21–36.

deleterious impact on profits and social activities. I argue that the conservation movement gained influence and romance overtook fear as the dominant emotion associated with forests. This is exemplified most prominently in film, landscape paintings and leisure magazines.

Ontario was not only the first province to develop a comprehensive conservation strategy in the postwar era but remained alone in this distinction for several years. Chapter four, therefore, explores the genesis of this conservation movement and the attendant policies. In particular, forest fire protection and prevention propaganda became popular in various mediums. An examination of these materials reveals the increasing importance of sustainable forest management and conservation of resources not only as protection from industrial exploitation but also from abuse by the general public.

In the final chapter, I examine the role of youth stewardship, which was a concerted effort to develop specific strategies for inculcating youth with conservation mindsets while educating them about forest and forestry-related issues. The focus is on the establishment of various experiential programs that communicated these ideas, as well as the print publications that engaged youth of all ages to familiarize themselves with their natural environment. The mixed use of mediums in promoting the various messages speaks to the investment Ontario was making in resource education and the image it chose to exhibit. This watershed in the consumption of mass media presents a natural end point in my analysis of the promotion of Ontario's pathway to forest sustainability.

## Chapter 1

### Under New Management: Ontario Forest Management in the Nineteenth Century

The landscape of today was not drastically shaped by the hunting and gathering practices of yesteryear, as some have come to believe. The subsistence practices used by the first peoples in foraging for food facilitated a symbiotic relationship with the land. This is in stark contrast to industrialized settler agriculture, which wrought rapid changes and often with little regard for complex ecological systems and their physical surroundings that were in equilibrium with one another. Settler agricultural practices contributed to the manufacturing of landscapes, which imposed an idealized systematic layout while providing convenience and efficiency for harvesting.

In Ontario, between 1780 and the 1850s, agriculture altered the landscape from an integrated woodland ecology to a homogeneous ecology populated with non-native species.<sup>52</sup> Settlers' ability to manufacture their environments to suit their needs is a testament to the rhetoric of struggle they faced vis-à-vis their landscape. In many ways, the struggles faced by these settlers facilitated the advancement of technological developments in agricultural practices. What emerged from this struggle was a technologically aggressive, exploitative settler colonial attitude toward nature wherein progress was defined in terms of resource development and extraction. Settlers placed themselves at the top of the social hierarchy based on their ingenuity and persistence in architecting a desired landscape, despite the numerous challenges the environment imposed.

Scholars have offered multiple interpretations of these settlers and their attitudes. Historian Robert Leslie Jones and others have referred to these settlers as “land butchers,”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> J.D. Wood, *Making Ontario: Agricultural Colonization and Landscape Re-Creation before the Railway* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 8.

<sup>53</sup> See Wood, *Making Ontario*, xvii; N.S. Forkey, *Canadians and the Natural Environment to the Twenty-First*

while some contemporary scholars have described these early farmers as “ecological revolutionaries,” as they reshaped the land by manipulating the topography and introducing new species of crops.<sup>54</sup> Both interpretations of these early settlers have a place in this dissertation, as they acknowledge both the destruction and alternation of the land while signifying that it also led to advancements in technology and increased understanding of the environment.

In addition to agricultural practices, demands from US markets partially shaped Ontario’s landscape. Between 1850 and 1900, the once major lumbering hubs were cut over and abandoned, forcing lumbermen further into the Canadian Shield to open new, unharvested areas.<sup>55</sup> This exploitation fostered the construction of railways, allowing access to these previously inaccessible resources and the development of new settlements.<sup>56</sup> To perceive this expansion as decades of steady progress would be a mistake, for the industry often ran afoul of natural barriers that hindered development. With the forest industry now a cornerstone of the provincial economy, the industry’s hardships jeopardized the financial stability of the country, triggering depressions in the 1870s and 1890s.<sup>57</sup> During these times, Canada would rely on foreign capital investments, mostly from US markets. The prevalence of foreign capital in the

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*Century* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 9.

<sup>55</sup> Moving from the Ottawa Region into Parry Sound and Muskoka Regions. This would then extend to the north shore of Lake Huron followed by the Thunder Bay–Rainy River Region.

<sup>56</sup> Under the Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie (1873-1878), little progress was made on transcontinental railway. Production on the railway would once again commence with the re-election of John A. Macdonald in 1878.

<sup>57</sup> By mid-1873 Canada was in the midst of a political scandal that result in the resignation of John A. MacDonald as Prime Minister. His role in the Pacific Scandal - conservative party leaders accepting bribes from private interests to influence the bidding for a national rail contract – not only resulting in him stepping down, lead to the railway project being scraped. Eventually an entirely new operation would build the Canadian Pacific Railway. The incumbent Alexander Mackenzie dealing with the follow out of the scandal was also left to deal with the aftermath of the Panic of 1873 which had last effects through the 1870s. The Panic of 1873 was a financial crisis that triggered an economic depression and Europe and North America. This period of stagnation was known as the Long Depression in Britain and the Great Depression in North American, until the collapse of the US stock market in the early 1930s that set a new standard.

Canadian market raised concern with lumbermen, who argued American operators controlled the majority of timber operations in Canada, which threatened the development of the industry.<sup>58</sup>

This period marked the beginning of a foundation of “general regulations equally applicable to all,” even when faced with resistance from lumbermen who could manipulate politicians or bribe officials to develop policy favourable to their interests.<sup>59</sup> As will be highlighted in this section, forestry was characterized by exploitation and revenue generation rather than conservation. Helping to illustrate the public’s sentiments about forests, first-hand accounts are drawn from travelers’ and farmers’ journals, letters and articles to historically anchor how the general public felt about the landscape, their new environment and the people around them. It is only near the end of the century that a shift in government attitude began to be manifest. It is at this point that the government began to see itself as a trustee of a vast public resource.

The reactions associated with exploitation of natural resources gained notoriety with the publication of Darwin’s 1859 *On the Origin of Species*, which exacerbated looming anxieties about the repercussions of altering nature. In Ontario, Alexander Kirkwood’s poem, “A Treeless Country,” delivered to the Montreal Board of Trade on June 10, 1890, echoed the impending consequences of resource exploitation in Canada.<sup>60</sup> It emphasized the possible reality of Ontario as a barren, treeless, dried up wasteland if swift action was not taken to protect its natural resources.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> For example, an American operator controlled 1,75 billion feet of standing timber on Georgian Bay as of 1886. The height of this concern was in the 1880s and 1890s with the tariff wars. See Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower, “The Trade in Square Timber.” *Contributions to Canadian Economics* 6 (1933): 40–61.

<sup>59</sup> Canada Department of Crown Lands, *Report of the Commissioner* (1856), 76.

<sup>60</sup> A version of the entire poem can be found in Royal Commission on Forestry Reservation and National Parks, *Report* (Toronto 1893), Introduction to Part II.

<sup>61</sup> This is reflected in the following passage:

Great cities that had thriven marv’lously  
Before their source of thrift was swept away

These changing perceptions set the stage for a new era of heightened concern for conservation. Nevertheless, the principles of conservation were in their infancy, as it meant putting an end to wasteful and destructive practices and preserving what was left of the natural environment.<sup>62</sup> Ontario responded by educating the public on the state of its forest, putting to rest the idea that forests were inexhaustible while highlighting provincial and international developments in the realms of farming and forestry. Through public forums, lectures, addresses and official government documents, the Department of Crown Lands swayed public opinion and instilled an appreciation for nature among the general public by lessening the degree of “wanton and malicious injury” inflicted upon nature.<sup>63</sup>

I argue that Upper Canada worked for diversification and pushed for corresponding institutional change.<sup>64</sup> Although staples were important, they were not the sole factor in determining the economic, social, and political behaviour in Upper Canada.<sup>65</sup> The period between 1849 and 1898 was an active time for forest management in Canada in which the foundation for sustainable forestry in the province was laid. Regulations from 1849 to 1869 helped create the essential elements of a licensing system. These early regulations provided the

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Faded and perished, as a plant will die  
 With water banished from its roots and leaves;  
 And men sate starving in their tressless waste  
 Beside their treeless farms and empty marts,  
 And wondered at the ways of Providence!

Quoted in W. Little, *Letter to the President and Council of the Montreal Board of Trade Objecting to get Rid of the Timber* (Montreal, PQ: John Lovell & Son, 1890), 27.

<sup>62</sup> Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 11.

<sup>63</sup> Canada. “Forestry Report, 1896,” *Sessional Papers*, 40 (1896), 25.

<sup>64</sup> Upper Canada was the precursor to modern-day Ontario, which divided the former Province of Quebec into two parts, Upper and Lower Canada. In 1841, Britain united the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada into the Province of Canada. The Durham Report (1839) created new colonies under the Act of the Union, where the Province of Canada was made up of Canada West (formally Upper Canada) and Canada East (formally Lower Canada). After Confederation 1867, Western Canada became Ontario and Eastern Canada, Quebec.

<sup>65</sup> D. McCalla, “The Loyalist Economy of Upper Canada, 1784–1806,” *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 16 (1983): 279–304; D. McCalla, “Rural Credit and Rural Development in Upper Canada, 1790–1850,” in *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, edited by R. Hall, William Westfall and Laurel S. MacDowell, 37–54 (Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press, 1988). For an insightful overview of the economy, see K. Norrie and D. Owrarn, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press, 1991).

basic structure for control and were aided in turn by the introduction of the ground rent system and later by the auction. These measures helped create stricter controls within the timber industry, although economic uncertainty hindered their enforceability. After Confederation (1867), Ontario assumed the right to administer the woods and forests of the province. Although this helped relieve some of the internal political uncertainty, it also created tension between the various levels of government over their respective rights. The main debate being the question of provincial right of ownership versus the federal right to regulate trade and commerce, a right contained in Section 91(2) of the Constitution Act of 1867. The source of the tension between the province and federal government was based on the volume of natural resources destined for interprovincial or international markets. The exclusive federal powers in the areas of trade and commerce superseded provincial property-based jurisdiction as soon as resources crossed provincial boundaries.

To understand the complexity of the relationship shared between the federal and provincial governments with regard to natural resource jurisdiction in a post-confederation period, one must first understand early management practices and society involvement with the land. I begin by examining early colonization and settlement trends and then move into early forestry management policy. Agricultural and forestry were two industries that were inherently linked to one another as they often had competing interests over land rights. To understand this evolving relationship, I provide a brief overview of agricultural colonization in Upper Canada. Social mobility played an important role in settlement demographics and farming practices. Vocational training of settlers reveals the extent of their ability to protect the environmental integrity of the land and sustain a viable farming operation. Natural histories of farmer's experiences reveal that the ability of farmers to adapt to the landscape was proportional to the

method they employed to clear the land. In other words, the level of vocational knowledge of the land influenced one's view of their environment. In understanding this settler–land relationship, it becomes evident that land use directly impacted this relationship. Here we begin to see the problems that arose between settlers, squatters and lumbermen as a result of their competing interests over the land.

Following this discussion, the chapter transitions into looking at the legislation and perception of forestry management in the province. I briefly examine how changes to resource use were justified and the parties who contributed to early notions of preservation and sustainable practices within the forestry sector.

### **Agricultural Colonization in Upper Canada**

Settlers migrating to Upper Canada after 1815 to farm were heterogeneous in origin. French Canadians had congregated in the Essex peninsula since the peak of the fur trade. They were joined by expatriated Americans and black loyalists. In addition to these settlers, there were existing First Nations. However, the fastest growing cultural groups were those from England, Scotland and Ireland. Most immigrated through government-assisted programs or sponsorship by private colonizers.<sup>66</sup> A common trend among immigrants was to locate near their own cultural groups, settling near family or neighbours from their home countries. This led to distinctive townships with a homogeneous cultural group. The largest influx of these newcomers to Canada was in the late 1840s during the potato famine in Ireland.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> See V.C. Fowke, "Introduction to Canadian Agricultural History," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 8 (1942): 64–7.

<sup>67</sup> As Helen Cowan has documented, there were over 100,000 emigrants from the United Kingdom who took up residence in British North America in the year 1847. See Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 288.

Just as the population was diverse, so too were the farming practices and social customs that each group exhibited. French Canadian immigrants focused their efforts on supplying American markets with timber and less on agricultural development.<sup>68</sup> Depending on the region of the province, different Indigenous communities had varying interest in agriculture, although for them there was very little incentive to compete in the commercial agriculture market.<sup>69</sup> Comparatively, the Pennsylvania Dutch, or Germans, were reputed to be the ideal farmer. Situated in the regions of Waterloo, Markham and parts of Niagara and Hamilton, these farmers had knowledge and skill in agricultural and business practices that set them apart from all other farmers.<sup>70</sup> However, these groups were small in number compared to Americans and established Upper Canadian settlers who dominated the agricultural landscape in the province. Collectively, these groups were the aforementioned land butchers. In his essay on Bruce County (1855), John Lynch of Brampton, remarked on the common practices of this group:

[T]he native Canadians, especially those who are descended from the U.E. Loyalists and other Americans, are generally the most at home in clearing new farms—but as a class, they are the most miserable farmers in Upper Canada; in tilling a cleared farm, generally inferior to the most common laborers from Great Britain and Ireland.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> J. Bouchette, *British Dominions in North America: A Topographical Dictionary of the Province of Lower Canada*, vol. I (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), 106–7; H. Murray, *Historical and Descriptive Account of British America*, vol. I (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1839), 336; P. Shirreff, *A Tour through North America: Together with a Comprehensive View of the Canadas and United States, as Adapted for Agricultural Emigration* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1835), 210–11.

<sup>69</sup> For instance, there were those like the Nipissings and Algonkians of the Oka who had very little interest in being agriculturist, compared to the Mohawks of the Six Nations and Bay of Quinte reserves who were considered nominal farmers. See M. Smith, *Geographical View of the Province of Upper Canada and Promiscuous Remarks on the Government*. (Philadelphia, PA: J. Bioren, 1813), 40; Canada, *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Canada* (1844–5), App. EEE.

<sup>70</sup> See J. Picking, *Inquiries of an Emigrant: Being the Narrative of an English Farmer from the Year 1824 to 1830* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1832), 127; Edward A. Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas: Including a Tour through Part of the United States, in the Year 1823*, vol. I (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), 167; A Canadian Settler, *The Emigrant's Information: Or a Guide to Upper Canada* (London, 1834), 157–8; D. Gibson, "Conditions in York County a Century Ago," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* 24 (1927): 360.

<sup>71</sup> Canada. *Journal and Transactions of the Board of Agriculture of Upper Canada* (1855–6), 615.

His remarks were not unfounded nor were they uncommon; others made similar observations. John Howison, an Englishman traveling through southern Ontario in the early to mid-1800s remarked,

The Canadians, in addition to their indolence, ignorance, and want of ambition, are very bad farmers. They have no idea of the saving of labour that results from forcing the lands, by means of high cultivation, to yield the largest possible quantity of produce.<sup>72</sup>

Catherine Parr Trail likewise criticizes this flagrant abuse of the land: “[m]an appears to contend with the trees of the forest as though they were his most obnoxious enemies . . . he wages war against the forest with fire and steel.”<sup>73</sup>

These distinctive characterizations situate the misappropriation of land management in Ontario as a consequence not only of ignorance but also of the priority given to short-term, immediate cash profits over long-term productivity of the land. Lynch and others have noted in natural histories that these people were not focused on nor equipped for long-term settlement. Once the land was cleared, many lacked the vocational understanding of how to operate and maintain a farm and thus longed for a new settlement. It is in these instances that farmers pillaged the land of all viable timber and moved on to the next tract of unharvested land. Further motivating the desires of these temporary settlements, was access to cheap land where location

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<sup>72</sup> Howison goes on to say:

Their objective is to have a great deal of land under *improvement*, as they call it; and consequently, they go on cutting down the woods on their lots . . . [they] sow different parts of their land promiscuously, without any attention to nicety of tillage, or any regard to rotation of crops. There is hardly a clean or well ploughed field in the western part of the Province nor has a single acre there, I believe, ever yielded nearly as much produce as it might be made to under proper management.

Quoted in G.M. Craig, *Early Travellers in the Canadas, 1791–1867* (Toronto, ON: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1955), 64.

<sup>73</sup> Catherine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America* (London: Charles Knight & Company, 1846), 162.

was secondary to that of cost. As land in Upper Canada became more expensive, settlers moved either south of the border or west.<sup>74</sup>

Enticing new settlers to Upper Canada was the idea of Canada as “the poor man’s country,” allowing an individual to change their social status.<sup>75</sup> To a working man struggling in his mother country, the idea that he could be a proprietor and landowner was a big incentive to move to the colony, as land there was not limited to the elite or the wealthy there. The promise of land meant everyone, regardless of class status, could provide a better and secure future for themselves and their family. This popular view of Upper Canada is best reflected in the 1836 excerpt taken from the semi-weekly newspaper *Patriot*:

Can you place before the farmer who is a lease-holder in England a more powerful motive to emigration than that one year’s rent of a farm going to his landlord would purchase him a freehold of the same extent in Canada? Every motive is placed before him to improve his estate, and, further the interest of the province—The cultivator is at once the cultivator and the owner of the soil, every improvement which he makes is exclusively his own.<sup>76</sup>

While the promise of an easy and successful life as a pioneer farmer lured many to immigrate to the colony, for many who did so it turned into pipe dream of sorts. The myth of a better life was built on false promises, which led many farmers to live a life of subsistence for years.

There are those like historian John Clarke who have argued that the depiction of Canada as an Eden for the working poor was a fallacy: “So strong is the myth, largely justified, that this was and is the ‘best poor-man’s country’ that it has generated an amnesia about the past, a

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<sup>74</sup>Many of early pioneers fell victim to the “prairie fever,” a federal effort to colonize the Canadian West with access to cheap agricultural land being the main draw of the campaign. See chapter 2 for a discussion on the “Last Best West.”

<sup>75</sup> See R. Wolfe, “Myth of the Poor Man’s Country: Upper Canadian Attitudes to Immigration, 1830–37” (Master’s thesis, Carleton University, 1974).

<sup>76</sup> Anonymous. *Patriot* (Kingston, ON, 29 November 1836). Similar sentiments were express in the *Canadian Emigrant*: “The price of land, too, is still so Low, and may yet be had on terms so easy that the poorest individual can here procure for himself and family a valuable tract; which, with a littler labour, he can soon convert into a comfortable home, such as he could probably never attain in any other country—*all his own!*” Taken from Anonymous. *Canadian Emigrant* (July 13, 1833).

forgetfulness that Canada was also the scene where man's acquisitiveness was manifest and where some sought more than necessary to sustain life."<sup>77</sup> Clarke's research of the Western District of Upper Canada reveals the elite's monopoly of land ownership. He argues that through their activities and social networks, the elite were able to consolidate their land holdings, further garnering power and influence in the region. While true, the aim of acquiring land and wealth was not exclusive to the elite; the desire for land was evident in all classes of society. Accessing it, however, was different in each region. In areas in which the democratic process existed, the working class benefited.<sup>78</sup>

The public, as David Gagan has argued in *Hopeful Travellers*, was aware of the economic opportunities and problems associated with securing land. In his examination of Peel County families and the economic opportunities and problems associated with land acquisition, he reveals distinctive land-holding patterns. The holding patterns of these families indicate the desire to grow, protect and secure the wealth of the family farm in mid-nineteenth-century Upper Canada, resisting the idea of subdivision of farms.<sup>79</sup> Gagan and Herbert Hays both make the argument that the family farm in Ontario became a cultural icon and a means to support a family through efficient agricultural production, allowing a family to establish financial independence and security as soon as possible.<sup>80</sup> The success of a farm rested on the family's ability to provide the necessary workforce needed for it to function and grow.<sup>81</sup> By this token, earlier settlers, in

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<sup>77</sup> John Clarke, "The Role of Political Position and Family Economic Linkage in Land and Speculation in the Western District of Upper Canada, 1788–1815," *Canadian Geographer* 19, no. 1 (1975): 20.

<sup>78</sup> C.A. Wilson, *Tenants in Time: Family Strategies, Land, and Liberalism in Upper Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 27

<sup>79</sup> D. Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel Country, Canada West* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 18.

<sup>80</sup> H.J. Hays, "'A Place to Stand': Families, Land and Permanence in Toronto Gore Township, 1820–1890," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1980): 185–211; Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers*, 18.

<sup>81</sup> See, for example, C. Haight, *Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago: Personal Recollections and Reminiscences of a Sexagenarian* (Toronto, ON: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1885), 38–44; R.L. Jones, *History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1613–1880* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1946), 55–6, 304; G.E. Reaman, *A History of Agriculture in*

order to sustain their workforce, needed to have large families, which contributed to the family's multigenerational financial security.<sup>82</sup>

Working against most settlers in nineteenth-century Ontario was their lack of capital on entering the colony. With little funds, the best course of action was taking up some form of agriculture as it was immediately profitable. Many early settlers understood, or at least came to understand, that Ontario's soil was susceptible to rapid exhaustion and to sustain the land for future use they would have to employ scientific crop rotation and effective cultivating practices and fertilize their crop continuously. While mixed farming was ideal, it was not widely practiced because of settlers' initial financial constraints and knowledge of farming practices. These prospective farmers needed a return on their investment quickly. Strategically they had to make sure the costs of labour and operations were minimized per cleared acre, thereby giving them the ability to continue to clear land while still generating a profit.<sup>83</sup> This course of action proved to be almost impossible owing to Ontario's forest cover. According to *The Present State of the Canadas: Containing Practical and Statistical Information*, a brochure that was issued for new English settlers in the mid-1800s, "an able bodied man can cut down the trees on an acre of land in the course of a week, and without overworking himself, may clear, fence, and put under crop, ten acres of land in twelve months."<sup>84</sup> This was an optimistic and arguably exaggerated estimation of what the average settler could achieve in Ontario. Not only were many settlers

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*Ontario* (Toronto, ON: Saunders Book Company, 1970), 117–8; Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower, *Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada* (Toronto ON: Longmans, 1958), 336–7; G.P. de T. Glazebrook, *Life in Ontario: A Social History* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 161–7.

<sup>82</sup> Glazebrook, *Life in Ontario*. See also L. Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, 307. A summary of settler's ambitions to establish financial independence and security is found in D.P. Gagan, "'The Prose of Life': Literary Reflections of the Family, Individual Experience and Social Structure in Nineteenth-Century Canada," *Journal of Social History*, 8 (1976): 368–9.

<sup>83</sup> K. Kelly, "Wheat Farming in Simcoe County in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Geographer* 15, no. 2 (1971): 95–112.

<sup>84</sup> Anonymous, *The Present State of the Canadas: Containing Practical and Statistical Information* (London, 1833), 56.

inexperienced in clearing land, the rate at which a farmer could realistically clear land was closer to five acres a year than the ten acres cleared and fenced in a single winter promised in the brochure.<sup>85</sup> Many farmers assigned most of their labour force to clearing tracts of land. This consumed most, if not all their profits, leaving little time, effort, and funds for actual farming. The difficulty in clearing land was one of the contributing factors that led to the abusive agricultural practices that occurred in the province.

Forest clearance directly correlated to a farmer's prosperity,<sup>86</sup> but it would soon become clear to the early settlers that clearing land was a large financial and labour-intensive investment that would take several decades to complete. Historians acknowledge the relationship between clearing rates and the social ambitions of these settlers, whether immigrants or established settlers.<sup>87</sup> Beyond the initial priority of setting up shelter for one's family, the next step was providing for them. For those with capital, clearing their land was undertaken with whatever means necessary. But other settlers had to work for others to earn a living, most commonly

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<sup>85</sup> Kelly, "Wheat Farming in Simcoe County"; Anonymous, *The Present State of the Canadas*, 56. Note that while some historians have indicated that it would have been probable for a settler to clear an average of four to seven acres a year, other natural histories paint a different picture. Anna Jamieson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (Toronto, ON: New Canadian Library, 2008, originally published 1838), claims it was closer to an acre a year). For historians who suggest the rate was four to seven acres per year, see E.C. Guillet, *The Pioneer Farmer and Backwoodsman* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 312; Jones, *History of Agriculture in Ontario*, 71–3; Kelly, "Wheat Farming," 103; K. Kelly, *Agricultural Geography of Simcoe County, Ontario, 1820–1880* (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1968), 34–6. J. Wagner, *Gentry Perceptions of Land Utilization in the Peterborough–Kawartha Lakes Region, 1815–1851* (Master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1968), 55–6. Alternatively, J.J. Talman argues that a family could clear two acres of land a year, in T.W. Magrath, *Authentic Letters from Upper Canada* (Toronto, ON: Macmillan, 1953), xiv. For first-hand accounts of forest clearing, see Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas*, 2, 198; *Colonial Advocate* (Queenston, later York, 2 September 1824); P. Shirreff, *A Tour through North America*, 14.

<sup>86</sup> This target was based on the potential rate of forest clearance under optimum conditions. Impacting this would of course be health, weather and environmental disasters.

<sup>87</sup> Talbot, *Five Years' Residence*, 155–6; J. Howison, *Sketches of Upper Canada* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale-Court; and Geo. B. Whittaker, 1825), 208–9; J. M'Gregor, *British America* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1833), 517–8; John Gemmel to Andrew Gemmel, 17 December 1926, SNA, SPRO, Gemmel Papers; see also John Gemmel to Andrew Gemmel, 21 May 1823 and 26 August 1830, SNA, SPRO, Gemmel Papers.

clearing trees.<sup>88</sup> It was, therefore, almost inevitable that new settlers would be employed full-time in clearing forest.

The most common method for clearing tracts of land was slash-and-burn. The process was described in *The Present State of the Canadas* brochure. Beginning in the fall, settlers would cut away small saplings and underwood, piling these discards to dry throughout the winter and then burning them the following spring. Once the underbrush was cleared, the process of felling began. The settlers would first cut the tops and principal branches off the trees and place them in the discard pile. The remainder was cut into lengths of ten to fourteen feet<sup>89</sup> to be piled, dried and burned in the early spring. Inevitably, a second fall burning would occur as not all log heaps would be consumed in the spring fire. The stumps typically were left for several years after the felling to rot and eventually removed, dried, and burned.<sup>90</sup> While a necessity, it was not given a high priority.<sup>91</sup>

A settler might have won the battle, but they did not win the war against the forest. Each year the forest was recolonized by new vegetation which once again slowed the clearing

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<sup>88</sup> See Jones, *History of Agriculture in Ontario*, 60–1; J. MacTaggart, *Three Years in Canada: An Account of the Actual State of the Country in 1826–7–8, comprehending its resources, productions, improvements, and capabilities, and including sketches of the state of society, advice to emigrants* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), 24; M. Mackey, “Nineteenth Century Tree Emigrant Communities in Ontario,” *Oral History* 9, no. 2 (1981): 51.

<sup>89</sup> Samuel Thompson, *Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer for the Last Fifty Years: An Autobiography* (Toronto, ON: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1884), 55; F.A. Evans, *The Emigrant’s Directory and Guide to Obtain Lands and Effect a Settlement in the Canadas* (London: W. Curry, Jr. and Company, 1833), 93.

<sup>90</sup> Evans, *The Emigrant’s Directory*, 88; W. Evans, *A Supplementary Volume to A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Agriculture: Adapted to the Cultivation and Economy of the Animal and Vegetable Productions of Agriculture in Canada* (Montreal: L. Perrault, 1836), 133.

<sup>91</sup> To further describe the clearing methods employed in Upper Canada in the early to mid-nineteenth century, we can categorize them into two methods, southern and New England methods. The southern method is commonly described as “deadening.” The process involves girdling the trees and clearing away the underbrush. If the trees die, they are left standing but burning the fallen branches continues. Eventually they are cut down. The girdled trees usually begin to rot after two years and would be felled and burned more easily than green trees. In the interim period, farmers lacking capital and labour would plow between stumps. This was a dangerous method, as the decaying limbs threatened the safety of the farmers and livestock that utilized these areas. It was also seen as inconvenient as the trees had to be felled eventually. The New England method is the process where trees are cut down and burnt on the spot. See Jamieson, *Winter Studies*.

process.<sup>92</sup> There were three ways to combat recolonization. The first option was to cut the unwanted plants as they overtopped their crops. This was a labour-intensive, stop-gap measure designed to reduce competition for the crop, but it did not stop recolonization. Another option was seeding grass. This was a short-term, cost-effective option, although within a couple of years the land still had viable tree and shrub seeds beneath the grass. This was not a practical or profitable option initially, as it was an ineffective use of viable farming land. It would not be until the market for hay and livestock developed that this option became a practical expedient. The final and most effective option was a biennial fallow—crop rotation. This was the most labour intensive of the three options, although it solved the recolonization problem and, in the process, generated income.

It is during this pre-Confederation period that the destruction of southern Ontario's rich primeval hardwood forest by private property owners occurred. The timber by-products generated from private property timber exploitation were in turn sold and reinvested in the maintenance and preservation of the homestead. The capital generated from these activities allowed settlers to develop more diversified economic portfolios, helping to solidify a more stable future in the colony. Thus, private property owners who sought to secure a family-based agricultural business came to view land clearing as an essential economic survival strategy.<sup>93</sup> Although timber exploitation was a subsidiary industry to agriculture, many communities founded productive wood manufacturing industries, allowing for the diversification of localized and provincial economies.

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<sup>92</sup> Though plant recolonization was a common problem, little was documented in Ontario farm literature. Accounts can be found in Samuel Thompson's *Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer* (a settler who took up residence on the northwest of Simcoe Country) and Catherine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, 174.

<sup>93</sup> P.A. Russell, "Forest into Farmland: Upper Canadian Clearing Rates, 1822–1893," in *Agricultural History* 57, no. 3 (1983): 326–39; G.M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years* (Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991), 146.

For many early pioneers, making potash from wood ash was one of the first frontier enterprises, making it one of the most important staples in Western Canada during the early settlement years.<sup>94</sup> Potash is an alkali by-product of clearing land. Demand for the product was sustained by European markets that used the potassium salts in their soaps, fertilizers and other goods. The industry provided a chance for unskilled settlers to make a living, while providing farmers with their first cash staple. Historians Harold Innis and A.R.M. Lower both argue that had farmers not produced potash, the development of the province would not have occurred as quickly as it did.<sup>95</sup>

Eventually with improved agrotechnology, settlers were able to clear and farm with greater ease. While specialization and diversification of crops would eventually be widely employed in the 1880s, wheat was by and large the only cash crop Ontario farmers raised in the first half of the nineteenth century. The demand and return on investment that wheat provided was not only immediate but lucrative, as it had the highest income per cleared acre, while being fairly easy to produce. For these new Western Canadian farmers, it was difficult to enter the market, as they faced stiff competition from American produces, high freight costs in moving product, and difficulty in navigating market procedures.<sup>96</sup>

### **Land Policy: Settlers, Squatters and Lumbermen**

Cursory treatments of the settlement of Ontario present the distribution of land as a smooth, linear process when in fact a closer reading of the literature demonstrates a more complex

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<sup>94</sup> The potash industry declined after 1850 with the development of the railway where supplying produce was more profitable. The advent of cooking stoves and box stoves also cut down on the consumption of wood to a point where the ash that was generated satisfied domestic markets. H. Miller, "Potash from Wood Ashes: Frontier Technology in Canada and the United States," *Technology and Culture* 21, no. 2 (1980): 187–208.

<sup>95</sup> H.A. Innis and A.R.M. Lower (eds). *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History: 1783–1885* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1933), 33, 280–2.

<sup>96</sup> See Kelly, "Wheat Farming," 106–7.

situation involving settlers, squatters and lumbermen. While this dissertation does not focus on this relationship in detail, it does complicate the often-simplified story of settlement, adding yet another layer of complexity to the Canadian context. The acknowledgement of squatters in other frontiers, such as the American or other neo-European frontiers, is more readily documented and provides insight into the Canadian context.<sup>97</sup> Comparatively, however, Canadian literature has focused on nation building, which has meant that certain aspects of land distribution and settlement have been eclipsed by the national narrative. In reframing the discourse around forestry policy, I am suggesting that squatters acted as a wedge between settlers and lumbermen, which placed pressure on the Crown to develop and improve its land policy.

Historians and geographers have contributed substantially to our understanding of land and land distribution. In particular, they have charted settlement development and the impact this had on the landscape as well as political and culture change.<sup>98</sup> The focus of these studies has been on settlement rates and patterns, speculators' and absentee landowners' effect on the distribution of land, a particular immigrant group and/or the changing landscape. These studies, for the most part, have concluded that accessibility to mills and markets was a priority over environmental factors (vegetation soil, drainage and other contributing factors that contributed to suitable agricultural land) although the latter remained important.<sup>99</sup> Where the focus has been on

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<sup>97</sup> For examples of squatters on the American frontier see S. Aron, "Pioneers and Profiteers: Land Speculation and the Homestead Ethic in Frontier Kentucky," *Western Historical Quarterly* 23 (1992): 176–98; P.W. Gates, *Landlords and Tenants on the Prairie Frontier* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973), especially Chapter 1; A. Taylor, "'To Man Their Rights': The Frontier Revolution," in *The Transformation Hand of Revolution: Reconsidering the American Revolution on a Social Movement*, ed., VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1995), 231–57; E. West, "American Frontier," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, ed. C.A. Milner, C. O'Connor, and M. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 115–49. For examples in the British colonies of New Zealand and South Africa, see J.C. Weaver, "Frontiers into Assets: The Social Construction of Property in New Zealand, 1840–65," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 27, no. 3 (1999): 17–54; L. Guelke, "The White Settlers, 1652–1789," in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1820*, ed. R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 41–74.

<sup>98</sup> R.C. Harris, "Historical Geography in Canada," *Canadian Geographer* 11 (1967): 236–7.

<sup>99</sup> For examples, see A.C. Brunger, "Analysis of Site Factors in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Settlement," *International Geography* 1 (1972): 400–2; J. Clarke, "Aspects of Land Acquisition in Essex County, Ontario, 1790–

particular immigrant groups and their motivation for settlement and the restrictions placed on them, the Crown tended to play an important role.<sup>100</sup> This has been explored in the work of Wendy Cameron and Mary MacDougall Maude, who examine the Petworth Emigration Scheme. They suggest that an important contributing factor in deciding where a settler would locate was the assistance they received. Immigrants from southern England were able to find employment in urban centers as day labourers, others in public works, and for some, farming was an option for a period of time. While the initial intent was to settle these immigrants all within the same section of Crown land, the government's involvement in these settlement schemes faded, setting off chain migration, which began to play a significant role in a settler's location.<sup>101</sup>

The most common method for acquiring land, according to most studies, was through ownership. However, tenancy and leasing, according to Catherine Wilson, were also a popular means of settlement. According to a 1848 census, forty-five percent of landholders rented land.<sup>102</sup> While tenancy helped create land-holding patterns that benefited the aristocracy in Britain, Wilson argues it was also a feasible way for settlers to collect capital and secure their future in the colony without indebting themselves upon their arrival. Wilson also introduces the concept of tenant rights, which provided the leaseholder with an incentive: they were given the

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1900," *Historie Sociale/Social History* 11, no. 21 (1978): 98–119; R.L. Gentilcore, "Changes in Settlement in Ontario (Canada), 1800–50: A Correlation Analysis of Historical Source Materials," *International Geography* 1 (1972): 418–9; K. Kelly, "The Evaluation of Land for Wheat Cultivation in Early Nineteenth-Century Ontario," *Ontario History* 62, no. 1 (1970): 57–64; P.A. Russell, "Upper Canada: A Poor Man's Country? Some Statistical Evidence," *Canadian Papers in Rural History* 3 (1982): 129–47.

<sup>100</sup> While settlers had the ability to exchange their tickets with each other in order to be near their family and friends, they had little choice in the matter. See A. Brunger, "Early Settlement in Contrasting Areas of Peterborough Country, Ontario" in *Perspectives on Landscapes and Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, ed. J.D. Wood (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1975), 117–40; A. Brunger, "Geographical Proximity among Pre-Famine Catholic Irish Settlers in Upper Canada," *Journal of Historical Geography* 8, no. 3 (1982): 265–82.

<sup>101</sup> W. Cameron and M. McDougall Maude, *Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: The Petworth Project, 1832–1837* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 134–5, 172.

<sup>102</sup> Canada, *Censuses of Canada, 1665–1871: Statistics of Canada 4* (Ottawa, ON: I.B. Taylor, 1876), Table 5, cited in C.A. Wilson, *A New Lease on Life: Landlords, Tenants, and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 206.

opportunity to sell their lot or continue renting: “Tenants were able to capture much of this unearned profit by selling their tenant right and using the money to rent or buy better farms elsewhere. As such they became the owners of land, as most people understand it.”<sup>103</sup>

Then there were the enterprising pioneers who were too impoverished to purchase or lease land, much less afford the associated provisions necessary to clear and work the land. These settlers took up residence on unsettled or wild lands as squatters. While official land policies were becoming more tolerant of squatters, there was still contention over their accepted benefit and whether they needed to pay for the land they were occupying. While squatting is acknowledged in Canadian literature, it has not been given much attention. However, frontier scholarship about other colonies sheds light on the Canadian experience.<sup>104</sup> Turner, for example, theorized that American homesteading was an important factor in shaping national development. In doing so, it produced people who valued individualism, hard work and equality while also questioning social hierarchy and authority.<sup>105</sup> The practice of squatting—the disregard of property laws—fits within the parameters of this model of national development, as these individuals were individualistic and distained authority and law.

The public’s perception of squatters was dependent on their actions. For some, squatters were viewed as individuals who contributed to the developing of the colony, clearing land and making it agriculturally viable. Whereas others viewed squatters as land abusers who had little regard for legitimate settlers, refusing to move off their granted or purchased lands. These types

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 205.

<sup>104</sup> For examples of literature on squatting in United States, see S. Aron, “Pioneers and Profiteers,” 179–198; P.W. Gates, *Landlords and Tenants*, chapter 1; A. Taylor, “To Man Their Rights,” 231–57; E. West, “American Frontier,” 115–49.

<sup>105</sup> The frontier thesis was popularized in Canada by historians such as A.R.M. Lower and Frank Underhill and sociologist S.D. Clark during the interwar years. Fredrick Jackson Turner first presented his theory in a 1893 paper entitled “The Frontier in American History.” See F.J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, 1920).

of squatters had no intention of long-term settlement; they stripped the land of all its resources, primarily its timber, then abandoned it, moving on to the next tract of land. According to Lillian Gates, public opinion towards squatters was comparatively unfavourable as time went on.<sup>106</sup> This can be explained not only through the exhaustive practices of squatters, but the competing interests of timber and agriculture creating a shortage of viable land for settlements. Settlers, lumberman and the Crown Land Department all had similar experiences with squatters. Having amassed testimonies from these stakeholders, A.J. Russell, the Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, made a statement to the Legislative Committee of the Assembly in 1854. It read:

Squatting is injurious to the future character of the settlement. The land is taken up by a poorer and inferior class of settlers. The best lands are picked out by them before the survey takes place, to the exclusion of settlers with more means who cannot be expected to join in the squatting or settle on the inferior lots afterwards; and they do not with us supersede the squatters, by buying them out as in the United States, but on the contrary avoid such settlements as unsuitable to live in, squatter settlements are thereby deprived in a very considerable degree of the advantages of having settlers of means and education, and of the benefits of the expenditure of their money, and of their example in improved cultivation, as well as other services and assistance in municipal affairs and in educational and other social matters of the greatest importance to their future prosperity.<sup>107</sup>

Western Canada has less of a problem with squatters than did Eastern Canada based on legal system. Squatters in Western Canada sought long-term residency thereby improving the land, once they had done so the original landholders would identify themselves and claim the right to the land. Squatters in Western Canada faced more prejudice than those in Eastern Canada who were able to garner sympathy from Eastern Canada's legislature. In 1853 Eastern Canada's legislature passed an act providing legal rights to squatters and compensation for their work, the amount to be determined on a case-by-case basis.<sup>108</sup> Landowners were also given the

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<sup>106</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*.

<sup>107</sup> Canada, *JLAC*, 1854–5, XIII, App. M.M.

<sup>108</sup> Province of Canada, *Statue* 16 Vic., c. 205.

right to collect for usage of the land and damages incurred. While attempts were made to pass a similar act in Western Canada, they were met with opposition, and no such act was passed in Western Canada.<sup>109</sup>

By 1854 discussions began on how to improve the management of Crown lands. A selection committee headed by A.T. Galt and members of Crown Lands Department enquired into whether land along the western Great Lakes peninsula would be placed up for cash sale or whether the credit system—land sold in limited quantities with restrictions on settlement requirements—had to be maintained.<sup>110</sup> There were those like A.N. Morin, the commissioner of Crown lands, who defended the credit system based on social well-being of the province.<sup>111</sup> He saw the value of squatters and favoured their right of pre-emption and compensation for their land improvements. Then there were those like A.T. Galt and Fred Widder, with holdings in the British American Land Company and the Canada Company, respectively. They vehemently opposed the credit system, advocating for unrestricted cash sale at the going price. Galt, however, advocated for some squatters' rights, suggesting the right of pre-emption on unsurveyed land and a fixed rate of compensation for surveyed lands placed up for sale. Then there was William Spragge, the chief clerk of the executive council of the Surveyor General, who supported compact settlement. Under this model, squatters would be penalized, settlers would be required to occupy the land immediately and fulfill their settlement requirements, and a

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<sup>109</sup> John Beverly Robinson who, in correspondence with legislative councillor John Macaulay (a proponent for squatters' rights), highlighted the Upper Canada membership mindset towards squatters:

I have no sympathy with the genus squatter. . . . If I were like Louis Napoleon legislating for a country I would [allow] no preemption right to be [given those?] who have gone upon land to which they well knew they had no . . . claim . . . but would give them plainly to understand that so far from the impudent act of trespass giving them a claim they might be satisfied that whatever other persons might get a grant of land—they certainly never should—on any terms.

J.B. Robinson to J. Macaulay, 20 July 1852, Ontario Archives (OA), Macaulay Papers.

<sup>110</sup> Canada, *JLAC*, 1854–5, XIII, App. M.M., 138.

<sup>111</sup> A.N. Morin to Selection Committee, 5 April 1855, "Selection Committee on the Present System of Management of Public Lands – Report", *JLAC*, 1854–5, XIII, App. M.M.,

portion of the down payment generated from these settlements would be use for infrastructure.<sup>112</sup> Hence, there was a difference of opinion on how to improvement the land management of Crown lands. Yet most of the committee was opposed to cash sales, although they acknowledged the need for safeguards within the credit system. In the end, the consensus among members favoured the selling of scaled lots to actual settlers and restricting the access of speculators.<sup>113</sup> While the 1854 meeting showed that a credit system was still the preferred form of land sale, it also uncovered the need to address other land policy issues.

By the mid-1800s commercially sawn lumber had begun to dominate the market, eventually replacing squared timber, although it remained in demand into the 1900s. As demands for lumber increased so too did the conflict between settlers and lumbermen. Lower and Innis in their work *Settlement and the Forest and Mining Frontier* comment on the rising tensions:

For a generation or more lumberer and settler upon the Ottawa had been on the best of terms, then quite suddenly a discordant note began to make itself heard. . . . [B]y mid-century the lumberman was finding that the settler in the course of his clearing was burning up pine that could very well have been used, the settler that the lumberman was anxious to keep him out of certain areas of the woods.<sup>114</sup>

Lumbermen commonly did not purchase land but acquired rights to cut timber on a timber berth, in turn paying the Crown ground rent and timber dues on the timber harvested. This practice would eventually face criticism on multiple fronts. Not only did it limit the availability of land for settlement, but it also contributed to squatting. The Crown addressed land shortages by allowing settlements on these timber-licensed lands, but in doing so, they began attracting transient individuals who stripped the land of timber only to abandon it. These viable timber

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<sup>112</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, 296.

<sup>113</sup> T. Walrond, *Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin* (London: John Murry, 1873), 150–1.

<sup>114</sup> A.R.M. Lower and H.R. Innis, *Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada*, vol. 9 (Toronto, ON: Macmillan, 1936), 48; M.S. Cross, “The Lumber Community of Upper Canada,” *Ontario History*, 52 no. 4 (1960): 213–33.

tracts, occupied either by squatters or leased on credit to settlers, frustrated the lumbermen, as these occupiers were not obligated to pay for the timber at the same rate that they were. This only elevated the controversy between settlers, squatters and lumbermen.

In years past, lumbermen had not opposed settlements close to their operations, for this allowed them to access and purchase supplies at reduced costs. Their attitude shifted when changes to land policy allowed settlers and squatters to strip land of valuable pine on areas where lumbermen had previously purchased ground rents. To them the encroaching settlers appropriated timber resources, diminishing Crown revenues in the process, and added risk to the security of lumbermen's operations—both financial and physical; fires, which settlers used to clear land, became a very real threat. In voicing their opposition, lumbermen were perceived as hampering progress of both colonization and agriculture.

### **Commodifying Lumber: Early Forestry Management**

Cognizant of the value of timber resources at its disposal, the Crown capitalized on public revenues through the selling of licenses for timber harvest rights in Upper Canada. As before the 1830s, a loose monopoly was held on the colonial timber trade by British naval contractors. This marked the beginning of a shift in the timber industry, which became less military- and more civilian driven as forests were now being regarded as a provincial rather than an imperial resource.<sup>115</sup> With the appointment of Peter Robinson as the commissioner of Crown lands and surveyor general of woods and forests in 1827, a shift in policy allowed for anyone to harvest timber on un-granted Crown lands for a fixed rate to be paid to the government. The success of

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<sup>115</sup> T. Southworth and A. White, *A History of Crown Timber Regulations from the Date of the French Occupation to the Year 1899* (Toronto: Department of Lands and Forests, 1907), 190–5; J.E. Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas, 1841–1867* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1956), 130, 141–2.

this new system—in its inception year it garnered \$360—led to the Crown expanding its licenses by auctioning timberlands it deemed to be unfit for state use. The purpose of this effort was to recoup the lost revenue that should have been earned through the purchasing of land grants. The problem with the license system was that there was no systematic or effective way of enforcing regulations about cutting or receiving payment. Under this policy, licensees had nine months from the date of issue to cut their allotted 2,000 cubic feet, and fifteen months to pay the state for the timber cut.<sup>116</sup>

In 1837 a new *Lands Act* was adopted, ending the free land grants, apart from military and United Empire Loyalists grants.<sup>117</sup> All remaining Crown lands were now sold at public auctions at a reserve price set by the governor. The transaction was to be carried out by the commissioner of Crown lands, with resident agents in each district acting as proxies in fulfilling these obligations. Throughout its seven-year tenure, the act fostered gross misconduct from the executive council. The level of nepotism exercised created staggering levels of misappropriated land; land allocated for settlers lay vacant rather than reclaimed and cultivated.

Like previous policies, this act too faced issues with administration and enforcement. Administrative pitfalls can be traced back to the Surveys Department, which was notorious for employing incompetent and unqualified persons as surveyors (or scalers).<sup>118</sup> The amount of

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<sup>116</sup> Shifts in the 1826 regulations did not bring changes to the forest tenure system, as the Crown continued to own the land covered by the cutting license. The terms of the timber licenses issued were clear in that the land allocated was not a deed to the land, but an authorization to harvest trees on it. The fees associated with cutting the timber on the prescribed land was payment for that right. These licenses were justified by colonial officials as they were viewed as productive sources of revenue separate from the legislative assembly. For a further discussion on the timber trade and its structure, see Lower, “The Trade in Square Timber,” 35–46; Lower, *The North American Assault*, 38–46; Lower, *Great Britain’s Woodyard*.

<sup>117</sup> See G.C. Paterson, “Land Settlement in Upper Canada, 1783–1840” (1920), AO; Upper Canada. House of Assembly. *Upper Canada—(Public Lands.): An Act to Provide the Disposal of the Public Lands in Upper Canada, and for other purposes therein mentioned*. Presented, by command of her Majesty, 1 December 1837. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 5 May 1840.

<sup>118</sup> See Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature’s Wealth*, 54–5.

clerical neglect shown in the department was apparent, as countless complaints were filed, and the efficiency of the office steadily declined.<sup>119</sup> The negligence was only exacerbated by John Radenhurst, chief clerk, who neglected his official duties only to profit from the deficiencies of the Crown Lands Department, developing his private land agency instead.<sup>120</sup> Radenhurst would withhold order-in-council lands and privately sell them to favoured individuals. In subsequent years, this rampant abuse attracted attention and culminated in a feud between departmental civil servants. What was evident was that both the offices of the surveyor general and Crown lands required more supervision and a single commissioner.

The continuous dereliction and ensuing conflicts arising between lumber and agriculture spurred the Rebellions of 1837, led by William Lyon Mackenzie, culminating in Lord Durham's *Report on the Affairs of British North America* in 1839.<sup>121</sup> The report was instrumental in

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<sup>119</sup> See C.P. Lucas (ed.), *Lord Durham's Report*, vol. 3. Appendix B; Charles Buller, "Report on Public Lands and Emigration. Report to his Excellency the Governor-General," *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of Northern America*, edited by Sir Charles P. Lucas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912 [1839]), 60..

<sup>120</sup> His duties included examining and reporting on patents and land claims, issuing certificates, instructing surveyors and answering correspondence.

<sup>121</sup> Before the 1837 Rebellions, British North American colonies were governed under a form of Family Compact rule. This system was initiated by John Graves Simcoe, the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, who created a local aristocracy, appointing friends to key political and judiciary positions. Ontario had been governed under this system since the early 19th century. However, there was a growing dissension in the 1820s as a result of this governance structure. The 1837 Rebellion, although unsuccessful, did address the growing discord towards the Family Compact. Lord Durham's report addressed these concerns and put forth recommendations to reform the current political structure. *Act of Union* of 1841 was the result of one such recommendation. It signified the beginning of a new political era that united Upper and Lower Canada. For a further discussion on the 1837 Rebellion, see C. Reed, *Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); F.M Greenwood and B. Wright, *Canadian State Trails: Rebellion and Invasion in the Canadas, 1837–1839*, vol. 2. (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2002). A discussion of Family Compact rule can be found in C. Wilton, *Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada, 1800–1850* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 146–7. In contrast, the rebellion in Lower Canada was led by Louis-Joseph Papineau and his Patriotes, along with moderate French Canadian nationalists. Since the 1820s they peacefully opposed the authority of the Catholic Church, challenged the powers of the British governed and his unelected advisers and demanded control over the spending of the colony's revenues. By the 1830s French Canadian farmers were suffering through an economic depression which only exacerbated the rising tensions between the anglophone minority. This culminated in protest rallies across the colony and calls for an uprising of the Patriotes. The result was two violent outbursts, one in November 1837 and the other in November 1838. The first attack was against the British regulars and anglophone volunteers. The Papineau and allies were unsuccessful. The disorganized attack led to the looting and burning of French-Canadian settlements, resulting in them fleeing to the United States. The second attack, even with the support of American volunteers, resulted in the same unsuccessful outcome for the French Canadians. See the following works for further reference on the Lower Canada Rebellion, J.M.S. Careless,

changing the political course of the country, shaping the colonial government into an accountable regime. Durham was meticulous in his description of the culpabilities that the current system of free land grants presented, as the report stated:

The Province of Upper Canada appears to have been considered by the Government as a land fund to reward meritorious servants. . . . The Government, by the profuse grants it has made or sanctioned, has closed against its own subjects by far the largest portion of this valuable colony.<sup>122</sup>

It also addressed the lack of culpability within the department in regard to functions and administration.<sup>123</sup> It was evident that the conflicts arising from policies directed at deriving revenue and inducing settlement could have been alleviated had the policy suggested by the British in the 1700s of severing timberlands from settlement lands been enacted.

Based on Lord Durham's recommendations, *The Act of Union* was adopted in 1841. The act ratified the report's primary endorsement, to amalgamate Upper and Lower Canada into one province, thereby allowing for a responsible government to be instituted into the municipal, parliamentary system. The Crown under this system now held litigating jurisdiction over all resources and could therefore enforce stricter regulations on license holders as a way of effectively policing the forestry industry as well as promoting healthy competition within the industry.<sup>124</sup>

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*The Union of the Canadas The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967); R.W. Langstone, *Responsible Government in Canada* (London; Toronto: Dent, 1931); and E.K. Senior, *Redcoats and Patriots: The Rebellions in Lower Canada 1837-38* (Ottawa: Canada's Wings, in collaboration with the Canadian War Museum, 1985).

<sup>122</sup> Lucas, *Lord Durham's Report*, Appendix B.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>124</sup> Issues over Crown ownership of the forests were never actively contested by the lumbermen primarily because their interest lay in timber rather than land and because they could use the current system to their advantage. The licensing system allowed them to defer payments for timber until it was sold, thus expanding their lines of credit. Stricter regulations would help in minimizing further misappropriation of land, as the government now held the power to suspend licenses if the holder did not fulfill their contractual obligations. Imposing penalties for non-conformity was a common practice, a deterrent still used today. See, Gills and Roach, *Lost Initiatives*.

The union of the two Canadas fostered the opportunity to regulate the production and export of Canada's greatest asset—her forest wealth—to achieve maximum revenue for the state and maximum profit for the lumbermen. It was in the state's interest, therefore, to keep a firm grasp on legal title to the forest and manage the lumber industry for its revenue purpose. Under the old regime, the balance of regulatory power rested with the executive, under the authority of the British Crown. However, timber regulations after 1842 provided legislative committees with the power to conduct inquiries and otherwise discuss, investigate, and acknowledge grievances.<sup>125</sup> This change occurred for two reasons: firstly, to help establish a responsible; secondly, the timber trade was a key revenue stream for this new government, essential to the operation of the colony.

By 1846 the effects of a civilian-driven sector resulted in a compromised timber trade and a financially struggling Canadian government. The oversaturated square timber market was the result of overproduction from an ever-increasing number of operators, while demand for Canadian timber was on the decline.<sup>126</sup> The collapse of the colony's largest *industry* was inevitable and required a re-examination of government policies.

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<sup>125</sup> The legislative committees could hold full-scale inquiries. See Canada. Legislative Assembly. Selective Committee on the Lumber Trade. "First and Second Reports," *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada* (1849), Appendix PPPP.

<sup>126</sup> The economic impact of the square timber trade was primarily felt in Lower Canada. Workers hailed primarily from Lower Canada, and those who did not still contributed to Lower Canada's economy, spending much of their earnings in the colony. Employment throughout this early period steadily grew, with about 1500 men in the 1830s, peaking to 8000 men by the 1840s. See D. McCalla, *Planting the Province* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1993). Growth within the industry meant parallel growth of trade in planks or "deals," resulting in the construction of larger sawmills. For instance, the Hamilton's 1815 mill at Hawkesbury could only produce 300,000 deals annually by the mid-1830s. By 1847 its output had doubled, while also competing with the other eleven mills in the Ottawa Valley. For a further discussion, see McCalla, *Planting the Province*; R.L. Gentilcore, D. Measner, and R.H. Walder, *Historical Atlas of Canada II: The Land Transformed 1800–1891* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1993). The 1845 development of the English railway system also contributed to overproduction. This construction boom placed a great deal of pressure on the Canadian lumber suppliers to meet a growing demand for timber, which caused a tremendous overproduction in British North America the following year. This was only intensified by government regulations that required license holders to produce a minimum of 1000 cubic feet of timber per square mile of license they held, under penalty of forfeiture of their limit. This stipulation in licensing affected the removal of the best timber. See *Canada Gazette*, 1846, Crown Lands Department: Notice to Applicants for Timber Licenses, 24 June 1846, clause 5.

Three policies had led to the severe overproduction and consequent economic depression. The first culprit was the requirement to produce a minimum specified amount of timber per square mile of license.<sup>127</sup> The second was the threat of subdivided licenses, which forced lumbermen who held licenses to larger limits to maximize their harvest. The final contributing policy was the government's hands-off approach to addressing license boundary disputes. License holders would resolve these conflicts by hiring more hands to harvest these lands, which contributed to overharvesting.<sup>128</sup> This re-examination of policies by the legislative committee resulted in the first statutory framework for the forestry industry in the colony.

What transpired was the establishment of the *Crown Timber Act of 1849*, which “enshrined the Canadian combination of Crown ownership of land and commercial removal of timber growing on that land.”<sup>129</sup> This act was the beginning of the evolution of the forestry policy, ending the era of unregulated exploitation, as the province now had the power to regulate competition and secure maximum government revenues. This new legislation helped to remediate some of the problems that had led to the overproduction of timber in the colony. However, continuity of tenure still remained a topic of debate within forest management. The act

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<sup>127</sup> Initially a ten-by-ten lot size was the maximum license that was issued in the early 1840s. It was estimated that there would be about 5000 feet of harvestable timber for every mile of license. This was eventually reduced in 1846 to a five-by-five-mile lot and a limit of 1000 feet of harvestable timber to be produced. This requirement of production was a contributing factor for the overproduction and the subsequent depression of the timber industry in 1847.

<sup>128</sup> Southworth and White, *A History of Crown Timber Regulation*.

<sup>129</sup> The *Crown Timber Act* in 1849 was developed under the title of “An Act for the Sale and Betterment of Timber upon the Public Lands.” Under this act, licenses were allocated for a twelve-month period, in which the holder had the rights to all timber grown on their limits yet was required to produce a minimum volume of timber as proof of occupancy. Timber on the land would be consider property of the Crown until duties were paid on the harvested wood. Renewal of licenses were granted upon compliance of the terms laid out in the act, otherwise the land would be put up for public auction. For reference to the legislation, see Canada. *Statues of Upper Canada*. 1849. “Crown Timber Act” 12 Victoria, c. 30.; Southworth and White, *A History of Crown Timber Regulations*, 195–209; Canada. Legislative Assembly. Selective Committee on the Lumber Trade. “Second Reports,” Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, 1849, Appendix PPPP; E. Epp, “Ontario Forests and Forest Policy before the Era of Sustainable Forestry,” in *Ecology of a Managed Terrestrial Landscape: Patterns and Processes of Forest Landscapes in Ontario*, ed. A.H. Perera, L.E. David, and I.D. Thompson (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 242.

also did not reflect the concerns of lumbermen draftsmen, whose aim was to help modify the regulations to meet the needs of the trade. The state permitted the industry to have relatively unencumbered access to timber while asserting that the security and permanence of its lumber rights would be upheld. However, it made the statutory provision that land would be cleared swiftly and turned into farms. Lumbermen were required to relinquish their exhausted limits so that no delays in settlement would persist. This statutory caveat illustrated the extent to which forest operations and agricultural settlements were inherently linked, a reality that remained true for much of the nineteenth century. Only minor adjustments would be made to the *Crown Timber Act* for the remainder of the nineteenth century.<sup>130</sup>

### **Implementation of the *Crown Forestry Act***

The passing of the 1849 *Crown Forestry Act* confirmed the fundamental principles of Crown ownership that emanated from imperial and executive regulations, which would have a profound impact on subsequent Ontario forest law. The act itself, with only two minor adjustments, was a seminal piece of legislation for the industry for the duration of the nineteenth century. Notably, Crown ownership would mitigate competing interest groups in fashioning the types of monopolies possible had lumbermen owned their own land.

Although the act did not rectify the shortcomings of the previous system, it did help to stabilize the industry.<sup>131</sup> With the passing of the act, lumbermen were no longer obliged to hold

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<sup>130</sup> During the 1849 committee hearings, it was suggested that the initial cash deposit (or personal loan) be replaced with a system of rent charges. The rationale behind such a change was that it would free capital to develop cutting operations and provide ample security against monopoly and speculation. Mounting pressures from both industry and the public service resulted in an amendment to the *Crown Timber Act* in 1851 whereby two shillings and sixpence per square mile of licenses would be paid in addition to other timber duties. Failure to meet these stipulations of the license would result in doubling of the ground rent fees for each year of non-occupancy. For details, see Southworth and White, *A History of Crown Timber Regulations*, 209.

<sup>131</sup> The difficulties that the industry confronted in the 1840s were addressed with more stringent regulations against trespassing, assuring operators that their license could be renewed and an effort being made to minimize violence in the woods. See Southworth and White, *A History of Crown Timber Regulations*, 208–9 for their assessment of the

licenses. They were, however, still required to deposit one quarter of the duty on the quantity of timber to be made and post bonds for the remainder. Additionally, the act reduced the amount of the minimum cut of timber to 500 feet of timber per mile, and even that restriction could be bypassed under the right circumstances.<sup>132</sup> This was a point of strife for many lumbermen, for this proviso prevented a monopoly on the part of large operators. As a result, lumbermen advocated for further change and improvements within the industry, most notably the elimination of the minimum cut. Discussion and debates regarding lumbering interests over the next several years resulted in a petition for the implementation of a ground rent system.<sup>133</sup> The commissioner endorsed this measure “as an effectual means of preventing the evils which arise from monopoly on the one hand, and from overproduction on the other.”<sup>134</sup> The system was put in place under the Regulations of August 8, 1851.<sup>135</sup> The implementation of the new system meant that deposits on duties were no longer compulsory, though security was still required. This change meant that lumbermen were less financially stressed, having more liquidity in the operation season.

The ground rent system of 1851 had harsh penalties for the non-occupation of land. As outlined in the regulation, penalties would grow exponentially for each season of non-occupation, doubling the penalty each month. This was apparent to the commissioner, who pointed out that this consistent growth in rents “at last comes to a point when the increase is so great and sudden that those who held any timber berths in reserve, had wither to occupy or relinquish them.”<sup>136</sup> Increasing pressure as a result of penalties would lead to significant changes

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act.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 208.

<sup>133</sup> See *Woods and Forests Branch: Orders in Council, 1847–1867*, Order of May 15, 1851, 5. See, also, Ottawa Crown timber agent A.J. Russell’s report, which made a compelling case for adopting a ground rent system. Crown Timber Office (CTO), Ottawa, *Letters to Commissioner*, vol. v, p. 11. Letter of April 23, 1851.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Order-in-Council, 8 August, 1851. See Southworth and White, *A History of Crown Timber Regulations*, 209–213; Crown Land Papers, *Regulations and Memoranda*, 1889.

<sup>136</sup> Quoted in Canada. *Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of Canada for the Year 1859* (Quebec:

in 1855. The most notable change to the ground rent system was the maximum penalty for non-occupation of berth, limiting it to the expected accrued dues from routine operations. From the vantage point of the industry and public revenue, the system of ground rent, which only underwent minor changes until 1866, worked well. From the lumbermen's perspective, they were no longer restricted by having to produce a minimum cut nor financially strained by having to place a deposit to cover dues on the timber. This system pleased the government too, as it saw financial gains and the regulations acted as a mitigating barrier, restricting the power a monopoly could have in major timber-producing areas.<sup>137</sup>

Next came an improved system for collecting dues. Corruption within the Department of Crown Lands was evident, and it was agreed that to alleviate some of the discrepancy with payments, dues to the department should be made through banks as opposed to the agents directly.<sup>138</sup> Secondly, the Crown addressed the misallocation of Crown timber as private-land timber. They combated this abuse by creating regulations that required local Crown land agents to issue licence certificates to cut timber on Public Lands within their region.<sup>139</sup> The success of this measure was greater than anticipated. However, changes continued to be implemented. Notably, to address and control timber exploitation, all timber regulating functions of the department were consolidated under one branch, the Woods and Forest Branch.<sup>140</sup>

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Thompson & Co.,1859), 70.

<sup>137</sup> Canada. *Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of Canada for the Year 1856* (Quebec: Thompson & Co.,1857), 70–4.

<sup>138</sup> See Woods and Forest Branch, Report Book I: 1851–1876, 385; Woods and Forests Branch: Orders in Council, 1847–1867, 93, Order of February 13, 1851. An informative letter on the accounting procedure used in the Ottawa agency is to be found in the Letters to Commission, vol. 5, p. 42, September 15, 1852. It should be noted that the most important of changes was the introduction of agents to the department.

<sup>139</sup> This measure was effectively implemented on June 4, 1852 through an order in council.

<sup>140</sup>Canada. *Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of Canada for the Year 1859* (Quebec: Thompson & Co.,1859), 59.

Trent was becoming a hub of timber traffic and in January 1854 underwent a timber audit to see if a field organization should be developed in the region.<sup>141</sup> It was recommended that the Province of Canada be divided into ten timber regions, of which five, the Ottawa,

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada West, and Huron, were in what is present-day Ontario. The commissioner also separated public revenue from the timber trade, and two separate agencies were created, one for timber and the other for land. By the end of the century, six agencies in these regions were operational in the province.<sup>142</sup>

It was becoming clear with the move into the western regions of the province that agents were under a great deal of pressure to effectively regulate licensing and timber exploitation in their respective regions. The vastness of these regions and unruly gangs of lumbermen made it difficult for Crown land agents to carry out their job.<sup>143</sup> With development along the shores of the Great Lakes, illegal shipping of timber across the border began. To alleviate this, it was suggested that the Department of Crown Lands work jointly with the Department of Finance. This allowed for collectors of customs to withhold clearance from any vessel carrying lumber not certified by local Crown timber agents. Although this resolved one problem, there were still many more to be dealt with.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Woods and Forests Branch: Report Book I, 1851–1876, p. 116, Report of January 31, 1854. It was apparent at the time of Woods and Forest Branch approval that this region would be a great undertaking, as it was recommended by council that a good accountant “capable of undergoing the active drudgery of travelling through the woods and counting the timber and logs personally” be employed (quoted in Woods and Forest: Order in Council, 1847–1867, pp. 57–8, Order of April 7, 1854).

<sup>142</sup> These were Ottawa (1854), Pembroke (1897), Sault Ste. Marie (1883), Webbwood (1895), Thunder Bay (1882) and Rat Portage (1889).

<sup>143</sup> A letter from the Ottawa agent gives the most succinct description of the forms trespassing was most likely to take, though it is by no means a complete list (*Letters to Commissioner*, vol. vi, pp. 327–30, Letter of December 27, 1860). The country’s geography made it extremely difficult for Crown timber agents to be “personally cognizant of all the lumbering operations going on,” so that “the defects in the Timber Act and in the timber regulations were more obviously seen and felt in this section of the province than in any other.” Quoted in Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature’s Wealth*, 138.

<sup>144</sup> For a discussion of other serious abuses, see Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature’s Wealth*, 138–49.

## From Mercantilism to Free Trade

The period following the inception of the *Crown Timber Act* shifted market preferences for Canadian timber. It was the end of the colonial and mercantile system, and the beginning of a revolutionary time in the history and economics of the colony. After 1849, the United States was the primary importer of Canadian forest products, which simultaneously changed the market output from squared timber to sawn lumber.<sup>145</sup> Demand for Canadian lumber in US markets was in response to urban growth and the subsequent demands of a growing population. This demand helped alleviate the stress placed on forestry sector from the recession of the previous two years, as a trade circular stated at the time:

The real cause of firmness in our market arises from the eager and extensive transactions of the Americas from the New York markets, the quantity already consigned to that city through the Chambly Canal being above two million feet while the whole of last year it was only one and one-half million.<sup>146</sup>

It was evident that the period in which Canadian lumber was allowed to flow into US markets was prosperous for lumbermen as “splendid profits were realized in the timber and corn trade” in 1853; the lumber trade income from the previous year had almost doubled.<sup>147</sup> With the economy in a state of prosperity once again, overproduction was a looming consequence, and in the winter of 1854 efforts were made to take advantage of the high market prices.

The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 with the United States was the beginning of the American assault on Canadian lumber, as Americans infiltrated the colonies with their capital and operations, influencing the development of Canadian lumber in the years to come. Under this agreement, each country was afforded free entry to the other for exporting and importing

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<sup>145</sup> For a discussion on the repeal of the Navigation Law, see S. Palmer, *Politics, Shipping and the Repeal of the Navigation Laws* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

<sup>146</sup> Quoted in *Montreal Transcript*, August 5, 1851.

<sup>147</sup> T. Tooke, *History of Prices*, vol. v, (1857), 306; £8,584,993 in 1852 compared to £13,498,416 in 1853.

natural products and raw materials, dressed lumber excluded. This treaty, which served to increase lumbering in Upper Canada, did not promote internal industrial development. The Honourable A.T. Galt, chairman of the selection committee, voiced his dislike of the Reciprocity Treaty, as he believed that exporting square timber was a waste of the province's greatest sources of wealth. During the legislative assembly of 1854–5, Galt stated,

I believe it is at this day entirely unnecessary to enter into any argument to prove that the value of our Forests to the Country is precisely in proportion to the amount of labour expended in preparing the timber for market, and that therefore the more crude and raw state in which it is exported the less value the trade is to the Province.<sup>148</sup>

He recommended that, going forward, the province should only enter agreements and create policy that would generate capital, skill and labour within the forestry trade. Accomplishing this could only be done if incentives were given to convert timber into sawn lumber as opposed to square timber, which would reduce the amount of valuable timber wasted while minimizing the amount of fixed capital and labour needed to prepare the timber exports.<sup>149</sup> Galt's recommendations were only implemented decades later.

By the time of Confederation, all parties involved show considerable interest in forest policy. The two most prominent concerns were ensuring fair and profitable timber licensing and the conflict between settlement and lumbering. It would seem that the government, through its progressive adoption of forest legislation, was driving a period of important policy change in the

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<sup>148</sup> Canada. *Legislature. Legislative Assembly*. Vol. 13. Issue 10 (1854).

<sup>149</sup> Reference to the use of neglectful practices was also addressed at the legislative assembly with regards to fire. This was the first government reference that was made regarding the dangers of using fire for land clearing. Attention was also given to the wasteful practices of the square timber trade, which heightened risk of fires. The lumbermen, however, were quick to blame settlers for the wildfires, citing government policy permitting settlement on timbered lands. Yet again, the reluctance of the government to sever agricultural and timbered lands continued to be a point of contention. The problem that the industry faced was the development of settlements, which housed workers employed by the lumbering contractors, around the pine forests. These cohorts increased the frequency of fire on valuable timberlands, resulting in a loss of revenue to the government. Although this factor was known, no fire protection policy was instituted. See Province of Ontario. Legislative Assembly. "Annual Report of the Clerk of Forestry," *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada*, 1896, 86.

forestry industry. However, the pressures Confederation was placing on government priorities would redirect its primary interest elsewhere.<sup>150</sup> (The subsequent chapter addresses these issues.)

The implementation of the 1854 Reciprocity Treaty helped accelerate development of the US sawn lumber trade.<sup>151</sup> The treaty allowed for the free-flowing exchange of goods—agricultural and raw wood material products—between British North America and the United States, building on Britain’s overall movement from mercantilism to free trade in the nineteenth century. Both Canadians and Americans involved in the forestry industry endorsed this economic measure. The generally accepted view of reciprocity was that “an extraordinary impulse of advancement [had been] given to the provinces, particular Ontario, by the operation of this treaty,” since “it opened the booming market of the United States [to] the natural exports of lumber, fish, coal and agricultural products [allowing them to find] wider markets and higher prices.”<sup>152</sup>

The treaty ended in 1866, but nonetheless it acted as a fulcrum for the forest industry in Canada. Reciprocity during these years fostered a swift and expansive development of the industry, which made some lumbermen wary of the potential dangers associated with this rapid growth.<sup>153</sup> These concerns were also being voiced by others, who were alarmed at the devastation of the forest that followed the over-cutting stimulated by the Reciprocity Treaty. One

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<sup>150</sup> Sir Alexander Campbell, the commissioner of Crown lands for Upper and Lower Canada, addressed these concerns of pressures in 1865 when he stated that “[n]othing but the expected Confederation of all the British North America Provinces has hindered me from submitting to Your Excellency a scheme . . . to provide for the more efficient discharge of the duties hitherto fulfilled by the Commissioner (of Crown Lands) personally.” See Province of Canada. *Report of the Commission of Crown Lands of Canada*. (1865), xx.

<sup>151</sup> See E.H. Derby, *A Preliminary Report on the Treaty of Reciprocity with Great Britain: To Regulate the Trade between the United States and the Provinces of British North America* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Treasury, 1866).

<sup>152</sup> J.N. Larned, “Report on the State of Trade between United States and British North American Provinces,” *House Executive Document No. 94*, U.S. 41st Cong. 3rd. sess. (1871), 6; and W.A. Mackintosh, *Economic Background to Dominion-Provincial Relations: A Study for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1969 [1939]), 13.

<sup>153</sup> Lower makes this argument, citing James Little, a lumberman and his stance of the impact of reciprocity. Refer to Little, *Letter to the President*, 32. See, also, Lower, *The North American Assault*, 146–7.

such individual was John Langton, who would go on to become the first auditor general of Canada. Langton witnessed such destruction in his area of the Trent Watershed in Ontario, which had been heavily lumbered following reciprocity. He voiced his concerns in a paper read at the Literary Society of Quebec in May 1862, which recommended the implementation of a forest reservation policy that would address the industry's wasteful square timber trade practices and research tree growth as a means of sustaining and protecting the resource.<sup>154</sup> His apprehensions were, to some extent, overshadowed by the financial successes, as this was a most important consideration for the industry.<sup>155</sup>

### **Confederation and the British North American Act**

The passing of the *British North America (BNA) Act* led to Canadian provinces being united under Confederation on July 1, 1867. The *BNA Act* also amended control over jurisdiction, making “the management and sale of the public lands belonging to the Province and of the timber and wood thereon” a provincial domain.<sup>156</sup> After Confederation, it became increasingly apparent that accessible forests in Canada were receding at an alarming rate. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald in 1871 commented on this crisis, stating, “[w]e are recklessly destroying the

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<sup>154</sup> J. Langton. “On the Age of Timber Trees and the Prospects of a Continuous Supply of Timber in Canada,” *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec* (1862): 61–79.

<sup>155</sup> It is difficult to delineate the sole impacts of the Reciprocity Treaty on Canadian trade from the effects of the other economic and political events during the same period. These events include the railway building program of 1854–1855, the Crimean War, the crisis of 1857–1858 and the American Civil War. This argument is made by Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity* (New York: Baker & Taylor, 1903), 6: “[The treaty] seems to have had, owing to the unwonted character of the events by which its existence was characterized, very little chance to show what it could do.” For instance, the onset of the Crimean War stimulated Canadian markets for supplies; the Quebec timber trade rose to new heights and farmers of Upper Canada found a market for their wheat. It is evident that, as a collective, the provinces’ prosperity increased, but it is difficult to say to what degree trade with the United States influenced these outcomes. Also worth noting, the American market became so lucrative for Canadian lumbermen that the production of squared lumber and deals halted, shifting the industry to cater to a single market. Unlike supplying the British market with prime square timber, the American markets were less restrictive, accepting almost any grade of Canadian lumber.

<sup>156</sup> *British North American Act*, sect. 92, subsec. 52, (1864).

timber of Canada and there is scarcely a possibility of replacing it.”<sup>157</sup> Macdonald’s decision to address the forestry situation was influenced by his colleague Alexander Campbell, who under the Union constitution served as the last Commissioner of Crown Lands. Campbell can be credited with being the first to express conservationist attitudes in Canadian public policy. Campbell was instrumental in reducing the sale of timber, advocated for acceptable ways to prevent mills from clogging the river sand streams with their waste and tried to implement initiatives to investigate ways of preventing forest fires. His efforts, however, were stunted by the debates and negotiations leading to Confederation. It would not be until 1880, with the onset of the forest conservation movement, that serious changes to forest management and preservation began to occur.

By 1864, a selection committee was established to “enquire into the causes of rapid destruction of our forests and the means to be adopted to prevent it.”<sup>158</sup> Years of extensive timber exploitation in the province spurred a shift in government attitudes. It was becoming increasingly evident that wastelands created by early settlers clearing the land for its timber and then subsequently abandoning the cultivated acreage needed to be addressed.<sup>159</sup> It would be noted

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<sup>157</sup> Macdonald to John Sandfield Macdonald, 23 June 1871. LAC. Sir John A. Macdonald Papers. MG26A, vol. 518, pt. 4, L.B. 15, p. 963.

<sup>158</sup> Canada. *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada*, vol. XXIII (1864), 114.

<sup>159</sup> A symbiotic relationship between lumbermen and farmers was evident during the establishment of early settlements along the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers. The lumbermen and farmers worked as allies; the lumbermen cleared tracks of land and, in turn, the farmers sold their first crop back to the lumber camps. Cracks in the relationship began to appear mid-century as lumbermen and farmers moved further into the Laurentian plateau. As their interests began to diverge so too did their relationship. Lumbermen began to resent the onslaught of homesteaders who unfailingly spread fire. This was in direct relation to the value of their timber limits and the amount of capital tied up in them. In 1869, Ontario’s *Free Grants and Homestead Act* was established, requiring payment of dues for lumber cut by settlers. The revenue generated from these fees was used to finance road construction for new settlements. The land offered was unsuitable for agriculture and restricted access to agricultural markets of the south. Settlers, in turn, sold their lumber to sawmills to offset the cost farming crops. The resulting large-scale clearing in southern Ontario produced areas of wastelands. The clearings of “inferior lands for agriculture” lead the clerk of forestry R.W. Phipps, in his 1883 report to lament, “pressure of poverty was sometimes severe, and men sometimes driven almost to the starving point had little scruple in destroying 100 dollars worth of timber to procure five dollars worth of wheat, when they could get the five dollars, could not get the hundred then and were by no means sure they ever would” (R.W. Phipps, *Report on the Necessity of Preserving and Replanting Forests Complied at the Instance of the Government of Canada* (Toronto, ON: Blackett Robinson, 1883). See, also,

years later that “great embarrassment was caused by the squatters and timber miners in the late 1850s and 1860s.”<sup>160</sup> Timber miners posed as settlers, made a down payment, cleared the land, and then sold it. Although the selection committee’s report was never published it is evident that early notions of land use designation and forestland reserves as a source of revenue in the form of exportable timber were being discussed.<sup>161</sup> It would not be until 1947 that the Ontario Royal Commission on Forestry would go on to write that “the history . . . has been that of ‘cut out and get out.’”<sup>162</sup> Appeals from early conservationists also added pressure to adopt alternative measures in timber harvesting.<sup>163</sup> Lumbermen had been deploying similar rhetoric for years, stressing the need for a classification system that allocated land as either agricultural or permanent forest.<sup>164</sup> With mounting pressure from agriculturalists, lumbermen and elected officials advocating for the need to protect the resource, it was clear these concerns were not isolated and needed to be addressed.

The transformation of Ontario’s infrastructure in the late nineteenth century was undoubtedly a by-product of Confederation.<sup>165</sup> The period of change was fostered by the steady

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Mossom Boyd to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, undated, LAC, Mossom Boyd Papers, box 131; Russell, “Forest into Farmland,” 131–2; Craig, *Upper Canada*, 146.

<sup>160</sup> Ontario. Department of Lands and Forests. *Ontario Royal Commission on Forestry Report, 1947*. (Toronto: B. Johnson, Printer to the King, 1947), 5.

<sup>161</sup> The report was never published because of the political upheaval that occurred at the time, associated with the proposed Canadian Confederation. K.A. Armson, *Ontario Forests: A Historical Perspective* (Toronto, ON: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 2001), 118.

<sup>162</sup> Ontario. *Ontario Royal Commission on Forestry Report, 1947* (Ottawa: B. Johnson, Printer to the King, 1947), 5; Wood, *Making Ontario*, 14

<sup>163</sup> For instance, Benjamin Gott of Arkona, advocating on behalf of the forests, made his case in the winter of 1880 to the United Fruit Growers of Ontario, stating:

[w]hat sad and merciless havoc made upon them (our forests) for the base and meager considerations of the present hour. How far from our serious thoughts of the future are the considerations of preservation, economical use, culture and propagation applied to our forests! . . . If something is not speedily and effectually done . . . we shall, before many years have swept their onward course, find ourselves compelled to forever inhabit a dismal treeless waste and an unfruitful region.

(Ontario Fruit Growers’ Association, “Report,” in Commissioner of Agriculture and Arts, *Report* [1880], 146.)

<sup>164</sup> Southworth and White, *A History of Crown Timber Regulations*, 224, 231, 240–2.

<sup>165</sup> R.D. Francis, R. Jones, and D.B. Smith, *Origins: Canadian History to Confederation* (Toronto, ON: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1988), 272.

expansion, restructuring and organization of provincial bureaucracy. The development of new government departments with “autonomous administrative agencies,” and subsequent departmental satellite attachments, addressed public and government concerns that arose during this period of adjustment and transformation.<sup>166</sup> These branches would become “progenitors of the modern congeries of agencies, boards and commissions,” or the foundation for the government infrastructure in contemporary Ontario.<sup>167</sup>

Confederation helped facilitate further growth, prosperity and development while providing the necessary oversight and transformation within the forestry sector that the province needed. Improving the management of forest products industries within the province helped grow the prosperity of the sector. Progress was directly proportional to the completion of both the Great Western and the Canadian Southern Railways as well as the development of portable steam-powered mills.<sup>168</sup> These innovations opened more remote, hitherto unexploited lands, resulting in the expansion of the agricultural frontier and access to fresh timber resources for manufacturing pursuits. These factors stimulated the development of the region’s economy at this critical time. Improved infrastructure and management shifted the primary manufacturing industry from square timber to sawn lumber.<sup>169</sup>

It was evident to the province that going forward it would have to create policies that would increase public revenue. It was clear to the Department of Crown Lands (DLC) that the forest was an integral part of this plan, as the forests were a revenue-producing commodity.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> J.E. Hodgetts, *From Arm’s Length to Hands-On: The Formative Years of Ontario’s Public Service, 1867–1940* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1995), x.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> J. Gilmour, *Spatial Evolution of Manufacturing: Southern Ontario, 1851–1891* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 31.

<sup>170</sup> The department has its origins in 1827. Now its main responsibility and function was twofold: the sale and settling of the land and the sale of timber rights. The department operated in a sensitive and politically oriented environment, which affected both policy and staffing procedures of the department. For a detailed administrative

Hence, the forest industry and provincial government developed a close bond based on the financial gains each stood to make through a mutually beneficial partnership. Ontario increased its revenues with the passing of the *New Crown Timber Regulations of 1869*, which increased dues by fifty percent and created a uniform ground rent. The province also generated revenue through the selling of large timber licenses, which some criticized as a deterrent to settlement (see Appendix A for a table of timber limit sales).<sup>171</sup> The financial gains garnered through forest regulation would have made it easy for politicians to side with lumbermen, as they stood to gain millions, as opposed to granting free land to homestead farmers. In trying to address critics, the commissioner of Crown lands, the Honourable R.W. Scott, in 1872 laid out the economic benefits of licensing as “a prolific source of revenue, permanent as the existence of the material from which it is derived.”<sup>172</sup> This only fuelled the popular endorsement of the lumber industry

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history of the Crown Lands Department, see Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service*, 118–175. The province’s source of income after Confederation was reduced to licenses, fees, direct taxes and the Crown lands, making forests of utmost importance.

<sup>171</sup> One of the most prevalent and consistent pressures for such sales, succinctly stated by E. H. Bronson’s, a lumberman, minister without portfolio in the Mowat cabinet, was simply: “WE WANTED THE MONEY.” Their justification, to pay for social infrastructure development. (Notes for a speech defending the 1892 auction.) Sandfield Macdonald’s government sold off 635 square miles of timber; Edward Blake’s ministry parted with 5,031 square miles in a single year, and over the next twenty years, the worst offender, Oliver Mowat, disposed of 4,234 square miles. Nelles, *Politics of Development*, 18.

<sup>172</sup> The full quotation:

“The policy of placing under license the area disposed of at the late sale has been questioned on the grounds that it was virtually looking up the country from settlement, and handing over absolutely to licentiates the timber which should have been retained as a permanent source of revenue to the Provinces; the fallacy of such objections must be apparent in the face of the following facts viz., that the lands will be as open for sale after being covered by license as they were before the existence of such license, and that the timber which has hitherto yielded no appreciable contribution to the Provincial Treasury will now as the result of the territory being placed under license, be a prolific source of revenue permanent as the existence of the material from which it is derived.”

Quote taken from: Ontario. Legislative Assembly. “Annual Report of the Clerk of Forestry for the Province of Ontario,” *Sessional Papers* vol. 31 part 10 (1896), 113.

over settlement.<sup>173</sup> Each of these measures helped to create financial stability within the province, yet little investment was made in the management of forests.<sup>174</sup>

Issues that were raised prior to 1867 about the deforestation of private property once again began became a legitimate concern, as timber resources were quickly being depleted. This was a systemic problem that had implications for agriculture, the climate and the environment. In particular, the government wanted to ensure a perpetual supply of timber resources and revenues essential for the economic development of the province.<sup>175</sup> It was thus the job of the Department of Forestry to address this crisis by providing legitimate solutions that advocated for smart, private forest management, conservation and reforestation initiatives.<sup>176</sup> This would be no easy task. Under the current government, most public lands had passed into private ownership, restricting the provincial government's jurisdictional authority. The DCL understood that under private ownership, it would be impossible to introduce "broad general measures for reforestation without infringing upon vested interests."<sup>177</sup> Optional reforestation initiatives and informal educational policies and programs were the province's only realistic strategies as it sought to restore the region's rich primeval hardwoods forests and regenerate lost monetary revenues.

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<sup>173</sup> A major hurdle that had to be overcome was the misconception that forests were not areas of timber production but rather potential agricultural land. This was a challenge because there was no classification system in place that distinguished between the various types of land. These concerns were addressed after Confederation with stricter definitions between settler's and lumber's rights. Following Confederation, the policy stipulated that settlers had the right to all land under their ownership. However, if land was also under a license, the limit holder maintained the right to all timber grown there.

<sup>174</sup> Ontario's exorbitant revenue generation after Confederation can be traced back to income generated from forest regulations. See *Report of Commission on Finance* (Toronto, 1900), 6, 24.

<sup>175</sup> Several references citing the importance of timber in perpetuating the general economic development can be found in the following: "Forestry Report, 1888." *Sessional Papers* 5 (1889), 52, 71; "Forestry Report, 1889-90." *Sessional Papers* (1892), 15, 63; "Forestry Report, 1896." *Sessional Papers*, 40 (1896), 8-10, 25, 27.

<sup>176</sup> Agriculturalists by 1860s believed that they were in the midst of a crisis and government action needed to be taken to mitigate further damage. See "The Breeder and Grazier," *Canada Farmer* (January 15, 1864), 4; Jones, *History of Agriculture in Ontario*, 246.

<sup>177</sup> *Annual Report of the Director of Forestry, 1900-1*. *Sessional Papers* (1902), 22.

## Pre-Confederation Forest Protection Policy

Since the mid-nineteenth century the province had been experiencing problems with forest fires, which was directly proportional to the increased number of settlements near thriving logging operation (see Appendix B for a list of forest fires).<sup>178</sup> The 1854–5 selection committee of the Legislative Assembly of Canada had provided a platform for lumbermen to voice their opinions on the “the protection of the forests from unnecessary destruction.”<sup>179</sup> The first reference to fire protection in the legislature can be traced back to this committee. The consensus among lumbermen was that fires were caused in part by settlers and squatters. Forest fires were not confined settlements as they had the potential to spread further into the forests where lumbering operations were occurring. Lumbermen were therefore advocating government intervention in mitigating the risk of fire within settlements. A.J. Russell of the Crown lands Ottawa agency, advocated for enforcement of a law against burning brushwood during the fire season.<sup>180</sup> Protection bills had been introduced twice, in 1859 and 1867, but neither were passed into law (the latter bill was dropped amid the more pressing issues of Confederation).<sup>181</sup> Over the next decade, advocates for the enforcement of strict regulation and the management of forests on a sustained yield basis attempted to sway public opinion and thereby get the province to act.<sup>182</sup> In

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<sup>178</sup> Blame was also shared with the square timber trade for its wasteful cutting methods. As Alexander Galt claimed in 1855, the export of square timber is “a profligate waste of one of the greatest sources of provincial wealth.” (Letter of A.T. Galt, March 7, 1855. Selection Committee on the System of Management of the Public Lands. *Evidence*. Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, 1854–1855, Appendix MM. See, also, Southworth and White, *A History of Crown Timber Regulations*, 219. Similar sentiments were shared by William Spragge, the chief clerk of the DCL in 1855: “the enormous amount of valuable wood which . . . in process of time uselessly rots upon the ground.” (statement by Mr. Spragge. Canada. Legislature. *Legislative Assembly Journals of the Province of Canada*. 18 VICTORIÆ REGINÆ, vol. 13, 10 (1855), Appendix MM).

<sup>179</sup> Canada. Legislature. *Legislative Assembly Journals of the Province of Canada*. 18 VICTORIÆ REGINÆ, vol. 8, issue 10 (1849), Appendix PPP.

<sup>180</sup> Evidence of James Henry Burke, Esquire, of Bytown, Canada. Legislature. *Legislative Assembly Journals of the Province of Canada*. 18 VICTORIÆ REGINÆ, vol. 13, issue 10 (1855), Appendix M.M. Evidence of A.J. Russell, Canada. Legislature. *Legislative Assembly Journals of the Province of Canada*. 18 VICTORIÆ REGINÆ, vol. 13, issue 10 (1855), Appendix MM.

<sup>181</sup> See W.T. Foster and K.B. Turner, *Forest Protection in Ontario* (Toronto ON: DLF, 1960), 7.

<sup>182</sup> Two pamphlets were published, one in 1872 and the other in 1876. Each expressed concern about timber

response, the Ontario government produced pamphlets explaining the negative effects of forest fires on timber resources. These received mixed reviews from the public, as many people still believed that Canada's forests were infinite. It was not until 1878 that Ontario finally created the *Fire Act*—“an Act to Preserve the Forests from the destruction of fire”—which provided the province with the power to exercise control over such matters.<sup>183</sup>

The implementation of this act advanced efforts in forest protection yet failed to reduce the frequency of wildfires. The chief clerk of the Woods and Forests Branch of the DLC, Aubrey White, in 1885, drew up a system of fire ranging to aid in meeting the protection policy in which trained forest rangers would be stationed in areas of settlement, railway construction and lumbering, where there was a heightened risk of a forest fire.<sup>184</sup> They would be tasked with coordinating fire-fighting efforts and educating the public on the risks of being careless with fire while in the forests.<sup>185</sup> The cost of implementing this program was shared between the government and timber licensees (7000 dollars each).<sup>186</sup> The first year was successful: significantly fewer fires occurred on limits stationed by rangers than those that were unattended. The commissioner of Crown lands acknowledged the rangers' achievements in his 1885 report, stating, “[t]he effect of their presence has been excellent. Fires were suppressed which otherwise might have become vast conflagrations, causing incalculable losses.”<sup>187</sup> He also addressed the

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resources in Canada and the United States being destroyed by fire and over-cutting.

<sup>183</sup> The lieutenant governor under this act was granted the power to proclaim fire districts in any large settlement area, restricting the use of fire from April 1 to November 1 in those areas, allocating the use of fire only for clearing land, cooking, heating or other specified necessary purposes. See Department of Crown Lands. *Statutes of Ontario*. 41 VICTORIÆ REGINÆ, chapter 23 (1878).

<sup>184</sup> Reference to White's suggestion can be found in Ontario. *Annual Report of the Clerk of Forestry* (1899), 131.

<sup>185</sup> Fire rangers traveled to their assigned districts along with their assistants, chronicling all their activities, distributing and posting copies of the *Fires Act* in areas they deemed as conspicuous and extinguishing any fires they came across. At the end of each session, reports were to be turned in to their district headquarters. See Southworth and White, *A History of Crown Timber Regulations*, 273–6.

<sup>186</sup> Timber licensees participated on a volunteer basis. Those that participated were satisfied with the first year's efforts. See, Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 206.

<sup>187</sup> Ontario. Legislative Assembly. *Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands*. 49 VICTORIÆ REGINÆ, sessional papers no. 33 (1886). Appendix A, vii.

rangers' ability to enforce the *Fire Act*, namely, bringing guilty parties to justice by imposing fines. The rangers, according to the commissioner, were also able to instil a strong public interest in preventing the start and spread of bush fires.

After a few seasons, rangers confirmed that settlers, river drivers and careless hunters and tourists were the primary parties responsible for forest fires. In response to this, timber licensees requested that fire ranging should be required on all limits to ensure impartiality. The full implementation of this request would take thirteen years. By 1896, 160 experienced men were employed as rangers.<sup>188</sup> This would ultimately lead to the appointment of a royal commission that looked into "ways of bringing about better preservation of the forests from destruction by fire." The investigation resulted in amendments to the *Forest Act* in 1900, making ranging compulsory and expanding its remit to unlicensed land as well.<sup>189</sup> The success of this policy was contingent on publicity. Educating the public helped deter the profligate behaviours that led to the destruction of forests, as people could be persuaded to protect the resource when they understood the potential danger of fires.

Ontario's history illustrates the complex relationship of resource development and settlement. Stakeholders played a pivotal part not only in fashioning the province's relationship with the land but how it was managed, ultimately shaping the province's progress and development.

I began this chapter by discussing the social mobility of early settlers and their land clearing practices. While the literature tends to reflect an image of progress and development that was orderly and well controlled, this chapter provided an alternative perspective that highlighted

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<sup>188</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Lands and Forests*. (1896), viii.

<sup>189</sup> Canada. Legislature. *Legislative Assembly Journals of the Province of Canada*. VICTORIÆ REGINÆ, c. 45 (1900).

overlooked aspects of land distribution and settlement. The preferential treatment Ontario received from the federal government up to the mid-nineteenth century allowed it not only to grow its settlement population but also to grow both its agriculture and forest industries so that they were self-sustaining. Rising tensions between settlers, squatters and lumbermen helped facilitate changing land policies that were enacted to balance lumber, agricultural and settlement needs. As settlements grew, so too did the needs of the lumber industry, a proportional growth that helped to build the forestry sector of the province. The importance of this will be explored in the subsequent chapter, which looks at the federal government's interest in developing its western provinces with the Last Best West (LBW) campaign. Ontario's ability to recruit settlers to the province was eclipsed by Crown efforts to settle the West. The establishing of the West as a primarily agricultural region, one of the main promotions of the LBW campaign, created conditions for Ontario to further shift towards a forestry economy. The development of foundational legislation described in this chapter placed Ontario on a pathway to adopting early sustainable and conservation measures in protecting its forest resources.

## Chapter 2

### Early Perspectives: Establishing a Relationship with Nature, 1860–1900

Land policy and the Last Best West settlement campaign played an influential role in the bifurcation of the image of Northern Ontario and the development of the forest industry in the province. This chapter looks at the implications of poor land policies that over time contributed to the exodus of emigrants and the development of a stronger forestry industry. I use primary sources to situate these developments in their socio-political climate. A brief examination of Lord Durham's report establishes reasons why Ontario struggled to develop its northern region and the resulting push towards western colonization and settlement. I then discuss the LBW campaign and its promotional tactics, highlighting the images and messages that shaped the identities both of Canada as a whole and Ontario specifically. The chapter concludes with an examination of how the changing image of New Ontario and the march toward industrialization contributed to the commercialization of the forest industry and the need to create a more sustainable means of resource exploitation and management.

#### **The Start: A Shift from Agriculture to Forestry**

“Land policy lay near the root of the whole fight for responsible government in Canada and provincial control of the public lands was the first fruit of that achievement,” stated Chester Martin, in his examination of Province of Canada's land policy.<sup>190</sup> In his critique of Lord Durham's report, in which he highlights the excessive free land grants in both Upper and Lower Canada, Martin, champions the position that the flagrant miscarriage of land management resulted in “land poverty in a wilderness of underdeveloped acreage in both the Canadas.”<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> C. Martin, “Lord Durham's Report and Its Consequences,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 20, no. 2 (1939): 183.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

Martin points out that Durham's report revealed that, while seventeen million acres had been surveyed in Upper Canada, only 700,000 acres of land of inferior quality remained available for grants. The report credits the Province of Canada with segregating public lands from being utilized.<sup>192</sup> What remained disheartening was that of these available lands for grant, "perhaps less than a tenth" was "occupied by settlers, much less reclaimed and cultivated."<sup>193</sup>

The misappropriation of land allocation in Upper Canada could not go unnoticed, reform was needed. The publication of Durham's report, vehemently defended the idea that colony resources should be regarded as imperial capital: "The country which has founded and maintained these Colonies at the vast expense of blood and treasure, may justly expect its compensation in turning their unappropriated resources to the account of its own redundant population."<sup>194</sup> Durham encouraged further investigation into Upper Canada's land policy, tasking Charles Buller to focus on how the system promoted settlement of the country, especially from Britain.<sup>195</sup> Buller's office produced the report *Public Lands and Emigration*, which was primarily written by Edward Gibbon Wakefield.<sup>196</sup> It revealed the disproportion of land

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> J.G. Lambton, Earl of Durham, *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America* (The House of Commons, 1839), 223.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., App. B., 3.

<sup>196</sup> Wakefield's scheme of systematic colonization was similar to Adam Smith's theory of economic progress within a colony. However, he disagreed as to the direction of subsequent economic thought. Smith argued that "higher wages resulting from the great productivity of the cheap and plentiful land encourages population, and since the division of labour is limited by the extent of the market, productivity rises indefinitely as the population and market expand." (Quoted in Edward R. Kittrell, "Wakefield's Scheme of Systematic Colonization and Classical Economics," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 32, no. 1 (1973): 88-89. For a discussion of Adam Smith's theory on economic progress within a colony, see A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth Nations*, ed. E. Cannan (New York: The Modern Library, 1937), 533. Wakefield argued that political economists had overlooked the economic circumstances in the new countries, which were different than that of Europe, and that one must understand "the paramount and universal influence of the progress and prosperity of a colony, of the mode in which the government may dispose of waste land." With that in mind, Wakefield's colonization scheme suggested that governments relinquish their colonial lands to private companies that would in turn invest in social infrastructure and promote immigration. As Kittrell, "Wakefield's Scheme," Bruce Curtis and other Wakefieldian scholars have argued, his schemes were remarkably influential. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. I: *Capitalist Production* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1970 [1887]), 675, even referring to Wakefield as "the most notable political economist" of the 1930s. B. Curtis, "Class Culture and Administration:

grievances in the colony and the problems surrounding this that had been amassing. Lillian Gates captures this struggle to remedy land policies in Upper Canada, addressing the laundry list of grievances in her book *Land Policies of Upper Canada*.<sup>197</sup> She describes the range of these grievances, from dated land policy systems such as seigniorial tenure and clergy reserves, to issues of preferential treatment (patronage and favouritism) to stagnation and resource abuse. Gates is sympathetic to the reformers—those who wished to turn the unoccupied lands of Upper Canada into a public dominion for promoting the welfare of the entire provincial population—but suggests that the United States produced and implemented a superior land policy, although both governments had elements that favoured speculation.

The early land policies in the colony were in a state of flux. The lack of resolve to address the many grievances continued to persist and revealed new and more challenging problems. With the population of Upper and Lower Canada each nearing a million by mid-century, land was yet again a topic for discussion. By 1861 Upper Canada accounted for approximately forty-four percent of Canada's total population.<sup>198</sup> Many of the new immigrants arriving in Upper Canada were tentative about settling in rural areas in the interior of the province beyond the southern core. The problem was that the once abundant lands of Old Ontario were now stripped and had become comparative scare by mid-century. This created a problem not only for new immigrants but for the second generation of settlers who wanted to establish their independence with land of their own, and who found it progressively more

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Educational Inspection in Canada West,” in *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada*, edited by A. Greer, and I. Radforth, 103-31 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

<sup>197</sup> Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*.

<sup>198</sup> Statistics Canada, “Estimated Population of Canada, 1605 to Present,” accessed May 5, 2019, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/98-187-x/4151287-eng.htm#40>

difficult to access viable land, as the cost of real estate in southern Ontario was out of reach for these individuals.

Upper Canada understood that to continue to encourage settlement and meet the growing demand for agricultural lands, it was paramount that it open up lands in the northern reaches of the province. However, this was met with opposition from lumbermen, who wanted to restrict settlements on timberlands. The years of free land grants and sale by public auction were restricted with the *Land Act* of 1841, which declared that “no free grants shall be made of any Public Lands of this Province to any person or person whomsoever.”<sup>199</sup> The caveat to this was that the governor-in-council was still authorized to issue free fifty-acre land grants to British settlers along public roads in areas of new settlement. This provision ensured that cheap land was available in the province. Robert Jones argues that the colonization road settlement program provided access to lands for some settlers, but it did not garner the level of attraction that was anticipated by the government and colonization supporters. The extensive government advertising campaign to encourage settlement along Upper Canada’s roads was viewed as a failure, for less desirable immigrants with no capital took advantage of these grants.<sup>200</sup> The other group who primarily benefited from this program were farmers in Upper Canada who were either looking to upgrade from their current tract or sons of farmers hoping to establish farms of their own.<sup>201</sup>

By the end of 1860 the appeal of free land grants in Upper Canada was comparatively minimal. Free grants were not taken up by new settlers; many of the granted areas were stripped

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<sup>199</sup> Canada. “Appendix to Journal House of Assembly, 1839-40,” *Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada* (1840),167

<sup>200</sup> SPC 1858, App. 41; SPC 1859, no. 19. On the immigration campaign, see L. Gates, “Official Encouragement to Immigration,” *Canadian Historical Review* 15 (1934).

<sup>201</sup> SPC 1858, App. 45.

and left abandoned.<sup>202</sup> Additionally, fraudulent settlers cleared and then abandoned the land, abusing the free grant system, angering lumbermen and genuine settlers. While the 1868 *Free Grants and Homestead Act* required payment of dues for lumber cut by settlers, it still resulted in large-scale clearing in southern Ontario, producing areas of wastelands.

In 1872, the Dominion of Canada, realizing the necessity of promoting settlement, held the first federal–provincial immigration conference in Ottawa, 19–22 September. Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald reviewed a course of action to be taken with international recruitment efforts. One of Macdonald’s key concerns was to prevent any preferential treatment of certain provinces over others by the Dominion and to avoid any intergovernmental jealousies and jurisdictional disputes among different levels of government.<sup>203</sup> The conference resulted in a series of resolutions that portrayed a unified front.<sup>204</sup> These resolutions contained a series of policies and intentions, along with the determination to develop a cohesive approach to immigration, which paved the foundation for recruitment campaigns within the Dominion over the next fifty years. In particular, the government turned its eye towards westward expansion, and Ontario mirrored this goal by expanding further into what is now Northwestern Ontario.

The expansionist campaign to settle the West was gaining traction in the minds of Canadians by the 1870s, who felt that the future of the country’s existence hinged on the government’s ability to develop the West.<sup>205</sup> It was believed that this new transcontinental

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<sup>202</sup> *SPC* 1860, no. 12; *SPC* 1861, no. 23; *SPC* 1863, no. 5.

<sup>203</sup> By 1869, several provinces had already established agreements with Ottawa, allowing them to station agents in Britain to actively recruit immigrants to their province. On numerous occasions agents were reported for disseminating inaccurate information or undercutting recruitment efforts by other provinces. These tactics not only hindered the national effort but confused prospective emigrants. See D.E. Smith. “Provincial Representation Abroad: The Office of Agent General in London,” *Dalhousie Review* 55 (Summer 1975): 316–7.

<sup>204</sup> For a list of these resolutions, see Canada. *SPC* no. 2A (1872), 12–13.

<sup>205</sup> See, D. Ooram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and Idea of the West, 1856–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); C. Harris. *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space, and Environment in Canada before Confederation* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2009).

Canada would help achieve national and imperial stature, and the key to this empire would be the newly annexed West. The expansionist campaign thus bolstered the belief that rapid development of the West and Ontario provincial north must be viewed as a top priority of national development.<sup>206</sup> To achieve this, the federal government began a methodical campaign between 1886 and the late 1920s to encourage immigration of farmers and agricultural labourers from the United States and Europe (primarily Britain). Key to this program was encouraging settlement in the West, what would later become the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, attracting prosperous, white farming families.<sup>207</sup>

The expansionist movement and the associated rhetoric propagated notions of national manifest destiny and providential design among Canadians. Expansion was believed to be part of human fate, an inevitability that people had little control over. “The impulse of emigration to the westward,” according to Allan Macdonell, “cannot be arrested.” It would be in people’s best interest to accept such a fate and reap the rewards: “Circumstances may indeed retard its course, but it cannot prevent it from ultimately fulfilling the destiny which is reserved for us. No power on earth can close upon the immigrant that fertile wilderness which offers resources to all industries—an oasis and refuge from all want.”<sup>208</sup> While settling the Northwest would be no easy feat, the expansionist campaign learned lessons from the American experience and mitigated

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<sup>206</sup> An August 24, 1869 article published in *Nor’Western*, helps illustrate the tactful imagery created to help illustrate the importance of national development with Canadians, as development of Canada was compared to that of nurturing the grow of a tree. “These North Western Territories constitute the body of the Dominion and the outlying provinces are but the acorns or branches . . . as long as the body is undeveloped we cannot reasonably expect that the branches will thrive.” Quoted from Owrarn, *Promise of Eden*, 101.

<sup>207</sup> From 1867 to 1871, the Department of Agriculture, which was responsible for immigration and colonization, focused its attention and funds on immigration services. This comprised developing quarantine stations and reception centers, and managing the distributions and settlement of immigrants already in Canada. It would not be until 1872 that a proper recruitment campaign would be organized and funded. For a discussion on the conference that outlined overseas recruiting, see *SPC* no. 2A (1872), 12–13.

<sup>208</sup> Undated manuscript on the subject of Confederation. LAC. Macdonell Papers vol. 40.

many of these challenges, which they believe would help expedite its own efforts in colonizing the Canadian north-west.

This manifest destiny and the unwavering optimism of expansionists meant that in 1869 when the Dominion acquired the Northwest Territories from the Hudson Bay Company, the immediate and automatic development of that region seemed a foregone conclusion. The Dominion was aggressive and competitive in its approach to attracting settlers, often adopting policies similar to the Americans', who were expediting rapid development of their West.<sup>209</sup> While the government had always encouraged immigration, it was not until 1870 that it undertook a more focused effort to increase settlement from Europe. Mounting pressure from expansionists to settle the Northwest galvanized the government into actively promoting this region as an immigration destination.<sup>210</sup>

### **Electrical Wonders: CPR, Immigration and the Opening of Canada's West**

The initial focus of the campaign drew on Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald's attempt to encourage settlement of British and American immigrants in the West. The Dominion had newly

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<sup>209</sup> One such example was William J. Patterson, who suggested to Canadian policy-makers that they should emulate the American homestead law, and without pause Canada conceived of its own set of homestead laws that were comparable in nature. W.J. Patterson, *Some Plain Statements about Immigration and Its Results in Canada. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade* (Ottawa, ON: The Gazette Printing House, 1871), 79; C. Martin, *Dominion Lands' Policy* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), xxi, 15–6.

<sup>210</sup> Early colonial immigration campaigns were carried out by agents from various charitable emigration societies, transportation and exporting companies and those who disseminated promotional materials generated by the colonies to interested individuals in Europe. While emphasis was not initially put on officially sponsored advertising campaigns, it quickly became apparent that Canada could no longer rely on independent agents alone. Americans were waging an aggressive settlement campaign throughout the United Kingdom. With a rise in the popularity of the United States in British markets, Canada's hand was forced, and in 1854 it began developing its own recruitment campaign. Agents, along with various printed promotional materials, were sent to Britain. This initial effort was abysmal, but all was not lost, as Paul Gates, argued: "the experiences and errors of the earlier campaigns were of much assistance in the latter movement [to attract British immigrants]." After Confederation, a new campaign would be envisioned based on learning from the failures of earlier efforts. See P.W. Gates, "Official Encouragement of Immigration by the Province of Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 15, no. 1 (March 1934): 38. It would not be until 1872 that the Department of Agriculture, whose responsibility it was to encourage immigration and colonization, launched a properly organized and well-funded recruiting campaign.

acquired the Northwest Territories from the Hudson Bay Company in 1869 and it was believed that in order to establish Canadian sovereignty, settlement of the North and West was imperative.<sup>211</sup> To achieve this objective, Macdonald used his National Policy platform, which outlined three pillars –immigration, development of a transcontinental railway and protection of Canadian industries—that would contribute to the development of Canada.<sup>212</sup> The groundwork for enticing immigrants had already been laid by the 1870s as print ads were produced by both Dominion and provincial governments and the private sector.<sup>213</sup> Years of campaigning and financing finally resulted in breaking ground on the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), which was completed in 1885. The newly established railway now needed people to use its services. In the coming decades, the CPR would play an significant role in promoting settlement and colonization of the West.

Sir John A. Macdonald believed that the development of the CPR was a necessity for the success of any large-scale immigration that was to occur in Canada; unfortunately, this would not be a reality that he would live to see. During the decade prior to his death, 1880–1891, Canada had experienced a massive exodus of over a million Canadians, which accounted for a fifth of Canada’s total population, who, for better or worse, felt that they had greater opportunities south of the border. The population of the prairies at the time of Macdonald’s death

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<sup>211</sup> For a discussion on Canadian’s railway development, see R. Pomfret, *The Economic Development of Canada* (London: Routledge, 2006), 94–110; P. Berton, *The Great Railway, 1871–1881* (Toronto, ON: Anchor Canada, 2011); N. Thompson and J.H. Edgar, *Canadian Railway Development from the Earliest Times* (Toronto, ON: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1933).

<sup>212</sup> See, R.C. Brown, *Canada’s National Policy, 1883–1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015).

<sup>213</sup> Allan Line of Steamers had actively promoted immigration to Canada through various poster campaigns. However, their success in recruitment was low. Not having established a viable domestic route made it difficult to attract settlers to Canada when the United States had an operational national railway network in place by 1869. For sample images of Allan Line of Steamers settlement advertisements see the following, LAC RG17-A-I-9, vol. 1674, file no. M-N, 1885–1894.

in 1891 was 250,000.<sup>214</sup> The success of the expansionist campaign in colonizing the Canadian north-west would not be realized until the world economy began to recover in the late 1890s.

There were several factors that contributed to the slow growth of the northern and western regions of Canada, some of which were adverse economic conditions that were felt worldwide from 1873–96. The wheat market, a staple in the Canadian economy, experienced low market value prices from 1874 to the mid-1890s. Lower than average rainfall on the prairies reduced the growing season.<sup>215</sup> For many, the turn in the wheat market reflected an opportunity to move to the American West, where there were better farming conditions and a more extensive transportation system. This was slowly beginning to change in the 1890s, with the economy recovering and demands for agricultural goods increasing in both domestic and foreign markets. At the same time, Europe was experiencing population booms, which contributed to a number of conditions (rising taxes, high debt, land clearances and ethnic tensions), all of which made Canada an attractive opportunity for a new start.

Eventually with the implementation of improved agricultural technology and the introduction of a more resilient strain of wheat, in combination with diminishing access to good, free land in the United States, Canada became the preferred destination of immigrants after 1890. Fuelling this position of preference was Liberal Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier, who predicted in 1904: “The nineteenth century was the century of the United States, so I think the twentieth century shall be filled by Canada.”<sup>216</sup> The biggest campaigner of Laurier’s aggressive expansion vision was Clifford Sifton, appointed as minister of the interior in 1896. Like others before him, Sifton believed that massive agricultural immigration was paramount for general Canadian

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<sup>214</sup> V. Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2015* (Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press, 2015).

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>216</sup> H.V. Nelles, *A Little History of Canada* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2004), 150.

prosperity, maintaining that by developing resources first, industry and commerce would soon follow. His view for immigration is best described in a memorandum he wrote to Laurier in 1901:

Our desire is to promote the immigration of farmers and farm labourers. We have not been disposed to exclude foreigners of any nationality who seemed likely to become successful agriculturalists. . . . It is admitted that additions to the population of our cities and towns by immigration [are] undesirable from every standpoint and such additions do not in any way whatsoever contribute to the object which is constantly kept in view by the Government of Canada in encouraging immigration for the development of natural resources and the increase of production of wealth from these resources.<sup>217</sup>

Unlike his predecessors who preferred British-born settlers, Sifton believed that preference should be determined by people's potential to contribute to the Dominion's agricultural markets, regardless of ethnicity or nation of origin. In a speech he gave during the federal election of 1896, Sifton outlined his position in the context of Manitoba immigration:

Since 1882 the progress of Manitoba has been disappointing; it has not developed as it should have done if a proper policy had been developed in Ottawa. The land policy of the Government alone was enough to kill any new country. . . . It was useless to spend thousands of dollars in bringing immigrants here when there was no proper means of locating them. What was needed was a study of the agricultural needs of the country, the problem of education, and the settling of the vast quantity of vacant land.<sup>218</sup>

Howards H. Palmer discusses the role of this new image of Canadian society that blended settled communities with new immigrant groups, forming a new culture that was to be a new Canadian type.<sup>219</sup> The cultural pluralism that was created reflects Anglo-Canadian attitudes towards ethnic minorities—a mosaic—in contrast to the American melting pot approach. This is

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<sup>217</sup> J.W.S.G. Walker, *"Race," Rights and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada: Historical Case Study* (Kitchener/Waterloo, ON: The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History and Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), 251.

<sup>218</sup> R.C. Brown and R. Cook, *Canada 1896–1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 2016).

<sup>219</sup> H.H. Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in *Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education: Issues and Innovations*, ed. J. Mallea and J.C. Young (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University Press, 1990), 21–40.

not to say that ethnic minorities were always embraced, as there is a long history of racism and discrimination against such populations in English-speaking Canada, along with instances of acculturation and assimilation. Palmer addresses the rising tensions in the Dominion with accepting various immigrants that led to lengthy political and economic discussions and the resulting immigration laws and Canadianization campaigns that favoured a predominately British cultural identity. The central contradiction of Anglo-Canadian attitudes towards ethnic minorities was the fact that, while they did not want cultural diversity, they also understood the importance of having non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants settle the West. While Sifton advocated for cultural multiplicity, he was still overcome by internal hurdles that prescribed to an ethnic hierarchy within Canada's immigration policy.<sup>220</sup>

In addressing the problem of immigration, Sifton also highlighted the issues of land policy and how it contributed to the slow development of the West. Sifton, during his appointment as minister of the interior, made this his primary focus. The federal government in the 1880s had defrayed the cost of opening the West by providing millions of acres of alternative sections of land to the railways. This served two purposes: it created collateral for railway bonds and provided land to sell to help meet railway construction expenses. But how the railways sold their tracts of land became problematic. They sold only a fraction of their large land grants to individuals and companies, leaving the bulk of the land closed to free homesteading, restricting colonization and settlement of the West. Sifton addressed this by ending the free grant system and pressuring the railways—primarily the CPR—to identify land designated for railway construction, thereby freeing all remaining lands for general settlement.

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

Sifton more than most understood that even the right policy foundation for immigration and infrastructure development could be derailed and ineffective if not promoted correctly and consistently. As he observed in 1899, “In my judgment, and in the judgement of my officers, the immigration work has to be carried on in the same manner as the sale of any commodity; just as soon as you stop advertising and missionary work the movement is going to stop.”<sup>221</sup> In justifying his position, he pointed out the downfall of the Macdonald government’s immigration campaign, stating that while they had the right idea on how to settle the West, they neglected promotion, which contributed to their lack of success in recruiting immigrants. Contrasting earlier efforts, Sifton launched an aggressive advertising campaign that included a number of print pamphlets and displays that would encourage potential homesteaders to settle in Canada, targeting both European and American markets.

Canada employed a range of media and publicity techniques to attract potential immigrants.<sup>222</sup> Primarily focusing its solicitation efforts on British emigrants, Canada set up immigration offices overseas, where promotional materials (immigration brochures, Canadian periodicals, and other relevant publications) were distributed. Not only were agents required to know all relevant information about specific areas of Canada, they also needed to be familiar with the process of relocating: costs, land regulations, customs duties, medical requirements, as well as maritime and immigration laws.

The federal Department of Agriculture provided most of the print materials issued by these agents. These publications were primarily compiled and written by the clerks within the department, using data from domestic agents stationed throughout Canada.<sup>223</sup> While independent

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<sup>221</sup> D.J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton*, vol. 2 (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1981), I, 258.

<sup>222</sup> Contemporary reports of these advertising efforts can be found in J.C. Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review*, 1914 (Toronto, ON: Annual Review Ltd, 1918).

<sup>223</sup> See, for example, General correspondence from John Jessop, Immigration Agent, Victoria, B.C. (1–10 December

Canadian writers such as Thomas Spence, Acton Burrowers and countless others contributed dozens of publications targeting potential European immigrants, all of which were circulated overseas by the Dominion, the most widely used print ad was a government-produced pamphlet, *Information for Intending Emigrants*. By 1873 the pamphlet had gone through various forms and editions and over a million copies were in circulation.<sup>224</sup>

Promotional advertising and financial inducements (such as free land and travel assistance) were two techniques used to attract new settlement. These early recruitment efforts were not effective, but they helped develop and refine the use of publicity and media as elements of spectacle.<sup>225</sup> The methodically orchestrated million-dollar advertising campaign hinged on the effective use of records (letters between government officials and agents overseas, department reports, settler questionnaires and letters, agent day books, expense accounts and publishing contracts) as a way of creating an intricate communication network whose purpose was to project an alluring image of Canada to the outside world. As Ralph Stock, traveler, journalist and sometime homesteader, wrote in his memoir *Confessions of a Tenderfoot* (1913), Edwardian London at the turn of the century was

plastered from end to end with flaring posters, representing fields of yellow grain and herds of fat stock tended by cowboys picturesquely attired in costumes that have never been heard of outside the covers of a penny dreadful. . . . Unctuous gentlemen met you in the streets with six page pamphlets, imploring you to come to such and such an address and hear of the fortunes in store for the man of initiative who would take the plunge and emigrate to Canada. What chance was there, then, of the average city youth, cooped in an office from nine o'clock until six, resisting such an appeal to the spirit of adventure?<sup>226</sup>

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1886),LAC, RG 17 vol. 5151. The information provided by Jessop and his colleagues from around the country was consolidated and made available in the annual editions of the *Official Handbook for Immigrants*.

<sup>224</sup> Canada. Journals of the House of Commons. *Second Report of the Selection Committee on Immigration and Colonization*, app. 7 (1874), 1.

<sup>225</sup> N. Kelley and M. Trebilock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 63.

<sup>226</sup> R. Stock, *The Confessions of a Tenderfoot: Being a True and Unvarnished Account of His World-Wanderings*. (London: Grant Richards Ltd., 1913).

Canada's shift towards a federally coordinated immigration policy at the turn of the century, which emphasized intensive advertising, coupled with nation-building and infrastructure projects, follows a path taken by many settler colonies. Romanticized images of a national landscape and the targeted campaigns reveal how the nation tried to construct its identity through immigration. As Elsbeth Heaman has argued, "Canada more than most countries, existed in advertisements . . . [and] advertising was the first step towards securing settlers for Canada."<sup>227</sup> The key to Canada's success was being able to sell itself through both spectacle and commodity. As will be discussed in the following pages, the tandem development of early promotional efforts and the ascent of Canada as a nation-state manifested as a result of the rise of commercialism, as "commercial advertising was becoming a powerful social force."<sup>228</sup> The adoption of modernist markers of spectacle—advertising, public relationships, visual media (photography, film), as well as popular entertainment—contributed to the development of nationhood.

### **Selling the Dream**

The Department of the Interior's Canadian Immigration Branch produced *Canada West*, a promotional magazine that followed a similar narrative of portraying the West as an ideal society developed by family farms and populated by prosperous white families. Unlike other promotional materials used by the department, the magazine encompassed the entire prairie region. The publication used an urbane aesthetic that set itself apart from other materials produced at the time, containing black and white pictures of life in the heartland and coloured maps of Canada and its various regions. Parallels to a travelling "medicine show" can be drawn from the magazine's aesthetic, which was a departure from previous promotional materials. The

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<sup>227</sup> E. Heaman, *The Inglorious Art of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 196.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

illustrations and content elevated the publication, as it portrayed a scene of elegance and grandeur. The magazine was progressive, constantly adapting to the changing stylistic trends and implementing contemporary advertising techniques.

Images on the cover of the magazine depicted manicured farm lots, fruitful harvests, the ideal white nuclear family, all the while exuding a sense of nirvana. Highlighted in these later ads was the idea of community. The importance of this can be seen in Roland Marchand's argument in *Advertising the American Dream*, where he states that advertisements do more than influence society; they also reflect certain aspects of it. He goes on to say that "advertising leaders recognized the necessity of associating their selling messages with the values and attitudes already held by their audience."<sup>229</sup> Canada, in trying to create a national identity of refuge, opportunity, and resource-based prosperity, targeted those who valued the idea of a holistic community that was inclusive and family-friendly. The magazine's endless celebration of opportunity also acted as a way of deflecting the reality of sparse settlements and isolation that many settlers endured in the West. It therefore creates the appearance of stability, hospitality and a second chance—a way to reinvent one's self in a new land. As historian Cecilia Danysk maintains, "the agricultural community of the prairie West had been designed and was defined, both economically and socially as family-oriented, based on small-scale units of production-family farms."<sup>230</sup> These images reflect the values and aspirations of many immigrants, and this message would be used time and time again by the federal and provincial governments to promote settlement and colonization.

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<sup>229</sup> R. Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), xix.

<sup>230</sup> C. Danysk, "'A Bachelor's Paradise': Homesteaders, Hired Hands, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1880–1930," in *Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement*, ed. C. Cavanaugh and J. Mouat (Toronto, ON: Garamond Press, 1996), 156.

The Department of Agriculture and later the Department of the Interior were both instrumental in the adoption of modern advertising techniques and technology to promote immigration policy, producing extravagant immigration publicity. As Dunae states, the Dominion and CPR both employed spectacle mediums in creative and imaginative ways, using both traditional and non-traditional avenues of recruitment.<sup>231</sup> The success of these ventures hinged on their ability to target specific groups and demographics identified through market research.<sup>232</sup> In 1884, Alexandre Begg, an employee of CPR, was instrumental in developing a mass marketing research campaign. The employment of questionnaires and other analytic information-gathering measures not only helped categorize targeted groups but also revealed what to promote to them, which aided CPR, as well as the federal and provincial governments, in their recruitment endeavours. The success of Begg's first questionnaire was followed by a targeted campaign the subsequent year focusing on women. Questions directed at women focused not only on lifestyle, experience, environment and home life but also asked for their input for prospective women at various points in their life who might consider emigrating to the Canadian West. The result was the widely popular pamphlet *What Women Say of the Canadian North-West*.<sup>233</sup> This publication not only helped change people's opinion of the West but also identified the need to specifically target women.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> P. Duane, "The Popularisation of the Canadian West among British Youth, 1890–1914," unpublished paper delivered to the Canadian Historical Association, Edmonton, AB (June 1975).

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> S. Jackel, *A Flannel Shirt and Liberty: British Emigrant Gentlewomen in the Canadian West, 1880–1914* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1982), 31; M. Hupfer, "Anything in Skirts Stands a Chance: Marketing the Canadian North-West to British Women, 1880–1914," *Journal of Macromarketing* 18, no. 1 (1998): 41–9.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

## CPR and its Role in Promoting Settlement in Canada

CPR was a key sponsor in promoting immigration in Canada. Its adoption of contemporary and creative marketing campaigns set it apart from other advertisers, making it one of the most influential companies in Canada. CPR was instrumental in projecting a vision of a new nation that became part of its identity.<sup>235</sup> One such campaign was the sponsorship of Canada's first freelance independent filmmaker, James S. Freer. A former printer and newspaper publisher from Bristol, he immigrated to Canada in 1888, settling in Brandon, Manitoba as a farmer.<sup>236</sup> In the fall of 1897, Freer began filming his life in Manitoba, which included harvesting and the creation of the CPR trains. The following year Freer was on tour in Britain with his show "Ten Years in Manitoba," which included not only films but lectures on the importance and value of agriculture.<sup>237</sup> Although the impact of Freer's tour to recruit British immigrants to Canada is not known, a second tour was sponsored by Clifford Sifton, the minister of the interior.<sup>238</sup>

While Freer's work remains a seminal piece of Canadian film, it is important to also give credit to Richard A. Hardie, a lesser known film producer and distributor, who toured Manitoba in 1892 using a kinetoscope.<sup>239</sup> While motion pictures did not appear until 1896, making their

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<sup>235</sup> M.H. Choko, *Canadian Pacific: Creating a Brand, Building a Nation* (Berlin: Callisto Publishers, 2015).

<sup>236</sup> *Dominion Illustrated*, 24 (15 December 1888): 372, 374.

<sup>237</sup> Freer's films included *Arrival of CPR Express at Winnipeg*, *Pacific and Atlantic Mail Trains*, *Harnessing the Virgin Prairie*, *Canadian Continental Jubilee*, *Premier Greenway Stooking Grain*, *Six Binders at Work in Hundred Acre Wheatfield*, *Typical Stooking Scene*, *Harvesting Scene, with Trains Passing By*, *Cyclone Thresher at Work*, *Coming thru' the Rye* [Children playing in the hay], *Winnipeg Fire Boys on the Warpath* and *Canadian Militia Charging Fortified Wall*. See, P. Morris, *Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 29–33.

<sup>238</sup> The second tour received a lackluster response from audiences. Unlike the first tour that exhibited entirely new material, the second tour recycled content from the first and only contained a new few pieces. This, in combination with frequenting many of the same venues as three years prior, left audiences disappointed. The lack of success received from his second tour led Freer to focus his attention on running film shows and not on film production. While Freer's name tends to be synonymous with Canada's first freelance filmmaker, a mention should also be made of Felix Mesguich for Lumiere, W.K.L. Dickson for the American Mutoscope and Biography Company and G.W. "Billy" Bitzer, all of whom were early cameramen to shoot Canadian scenes. These early films, as Morris discusses, were "interest" films that drew attention to much of Canada's natural beauty, such as Niagara Falls and the Rockies, as well as visits from royalty. Morris, *Embattled Shadow*.

<sup>239</sup> The forerunner to the motion-picture film projector was the kinetoscope designed by Thomas A. Edison in 1891. The French countered with the cinematograph in 1892 invented by Ausguste and Louis Lumiere. This was followed

first appearance in Montreal, early versions of moving images had been produced, although they did not receive the same notoriety or attention as films, as they were shown in small towns rather than large urban centres.<sup>240</sup> Hardie's pioneering work in creating and exhibiting films helped change both the domestic and national narrative that Canada was settled by people other than First Nations. As Paul Moore observes, it was Hardie who approached the government and railway executives to incorporate moving pictures as part of their campaign to settle the West.<sup>241</sup> In 1897, Hardie, along with the Cosgrove Company, began a tour across the prairies, using the CPR line as a means of transportation and showcasing their content at stops along the line. However, the tour, which ran from Brandon, Manitoba to Banff, Alberta, received minimal reception and promotion in local newspapers.

Despite film still being in its infancy, its effectiveness as a medium of disseminating specific, idealized portrayals of the landscape and opportunities available to settlers was already apparent during this period, and the CPR and the government both understood its potential and capitalized on the power of motion pictures early on.<sup>242</sup> Freer's film *Ten Years in Manitoba*, which was part of the Last Best West campaign, was the most influential film production in Canada until 1910.<sup>243</sup> The move by CPR and the government to embrace moving pictures correlated with three million new immigrants to Canada during the first fourteen years of the

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by the vitascope, an American design of an early film projector first showcased in 1895 by Charles Francis Jenkins and Thomas Armat. Shortly after, the British R.W. Paul released *Animatographe* in 1896. See, Morris, *Embattled Shadow*, 8.

<sup>240</sup> See P.S. Moore, "Mapping the Mass Circulation of Early Cinema: Film Debuts Coast-to-Coast in Canada in 1896 and 1897," *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* 21, no. 1 (Spring, 2012): 58–80.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>242</sup> The potential of motion pictures for promotional efforts and advertising fuelled interest in other industries as well, most notably soap companies. In Ontario, Massey-Harris Company of Toronto began developing films that reflected their agricultural machinery at work on Ontario farms. See *Optical Magic Lantern Journal and Photographic Enlarger*, xi (February 1899): 18; M. Denison, *Harvest Triumphant: The Story of Massey-Harris* (Toronto, 1949), 15.

<sup>243</sup> Morris, *Embattled Shadows*.

twentieth century. Although the government and CPR parted ways with Freer, film remained an important component of the settlement campaign.

The advancements within the motion picture industry at the turn of the century helped forge Canada's national identity. While Freer's tour opened the door, Urban's 1903 film series "Living Canada" reinforced the effectiveness and impact that cinema played in formulating a unique identity for Canada.<sup>244</sup> "Living Canada" premiered at the Palace Theater in London in January 1903 and is a seminal example of how film was used to envision and contribute to the concept of a nation prior to WWI. What is revealing about this series is how closely intertwined the concept of nation was with the idea of economic potential. Urban portrayed Canada as a land of infinite natural resources. The picturesque landscapes of forest and mountains, valleys and rivers, provided the viewer with visual confirmation that Canada was a land of opportunity and wealth. The images depicted were so compelling that Canada became synonymous with this portrayal, an image retained and used in promoting settlement and tourism to remote areas. Per the instruction of CPR, no winter scenes were to be taken in order to dismantle the European belief that Canada was a land of ice and snow. Providing supplemental lectures further supporting the visual evidence proved to be an effective strategy in recruiting settlers, according to CPR reports.<sup>245</sup>

The images portrayed in promotional films reflected what *The British Journal of Photography* referred to as "Canadian life" as the series depicted the exploitation of the country's natural resources as a means of income and livelihood. The narrative portrayed

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<sup>244</sup> For a catalogue of C. Urban's Living Canada cinema series, see The Charles Urban Trading Company, *We Met the World before you by Means of the Bioscope and Urban Films* (London: Charles Urban Trading Company, 1903).

<sup>245</sup> C. Denham, "Recollections of the Canadian Bioscope Company," in *Film Weekly, Year Book of the Canadian Motion Picture Industry* (1951), cited in R. W. Gutteridge, *Magic Moments: First Twenty Years of Moving Pictures in Toronto, 1894-1914* (Whitby, ON: Gutteridge-Pratley Publications, 2000), 224.

throughout the series “Living Canada” associated Canada with “nature; nature as the source of beauty, bounty and productive labour; Canada/nature as a wellspring of employment opportunities that will enhance the quality of life.”<sup>246</sup>

While the films were effective in their own right, the accompanying lectures were designed to remove any doubt, encourage dialogue and discussion, all the while enticing the audience to relocate to Canada. A popular lecturer with the series was Frank Yeigh, who toured in the Dominion and in the United Kingdom. Yeigh’s success lay in his ability to evoke in his audiences a sense of national pride in Canada, or when abroad, draw parallels between the desirability of Canada’s natural resources and its reputation as an immigrant magnet. “Living Canada’s” ability to use both mediums concurrently to promote this national narrative reveals how pervasive and appealing this campaign was. Cinema was an ideal medium for constructing national identity and selling the idea of nationhood. As James H. Gray reflects, “[n]owhere were more people enticed, cajoled, persuaded, induced, gulled, or just plain bamboozled into tearing themselves up by their roots to journey . . . to a land where not a single constructive step had been taken by anybody to prepare for their arrival.”<sup>247</sup>

### **Northwestern Colonization: The Bifurcation of Ontario’s Northern Image**

While the Dominion focused on developing its western provinces, Ontario attempted to attract settlers to its northern region through three basic measures: free land grants, access roads and promotional publicity. Initially, colonial lands in the province were sold at public auction and the lots that remained unsold could be sold privately. However, decline in immigration, increase in out-migration and lack of employment opportunity within the colony lead to the adoption of the

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<sup>246</sup> R. Abel, G. Bertellini, and R. King, *Early Cinema and the “National”* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), 64.

<sup>247</sup> J.G. Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies* (Toronto, ON: Signet Books, 1973), 15.

1868 *Free Grant and Homestead Act*. This act allowed for the government of Ontario to appropriate lands not valuable for timber or minerals in order to make free land grants to attract young settlers to the Precambrian frontier. By 1890 the twenty-four northwestern townships designated under this act held less than one-fifth of the province's population. Most of the free grant townships were located on the Georgian Bay/Ottawa upland.<sup>248</sup>

The dream of a westward thrust across the shield to open settlement on the prairies helped stimulate northern resource development in Ontario. This nation-building objective would eclipse immigration in Northwestern Ontario, which had been the primary goal of the province during the early decades of the nineteenth century. While there were several factors working against the province, such as access to land, as previously discussed, the official image conflicted with the popular image. Politically, the province promoted itself as a land of opportunity for second-generation farmers and immigrants. Ontario, unlike the prairies, had a rich timber landscape and did not have harsh winters or short summers. It also provided access to eastern markets. This was in stark contrast to the popular image, which viewed the Northwest in a negative light popularized by the press. The portrayal of the region was often described as a landscape of barren rocky ridges, vast stretches of muskeg, miles of burn or scorched timber, and the harsh of the environment and struggles of life in the region.<sup>249</sup> While this stark image was infrequently expressed in public, it highlighted the importance of northwestern settlement as a way of preserving formalized ties and provincial loyalties. To those who propagated this image, it was believed that those settling in the North were impoverished and could not afford to travel

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<sup>248</sup> Wightman and Wightman, *The Land Between*, 38.

<sup>249</sup> A series of articles published in the *Globe* throughout September 1880, provide the best example of this depiction Northern Ontario.

to the more desirable settlements of the prairies. This negative view of Ontario's Northwest was a difficult image to overcome and remained an obstacle to settlement.<sup>250</sup>

Unlike the Dominion government, which was undertaking an extensive advertising campaign to promote the western provinces, Ontario's budget was much more constricted. Beginning in 1875 and continuing into the 1880s, Ontario began undertaking rural and urban initiatives to encourage settlement of empty agricultural lands.<sup>251</sup> While these efforts remained concentrated within the province, mounting pressure from northwestern districts on Toronto and Ottawa resulted in the print publication of booklets illustrating these districts with their corresponding regional information, in 1898. These booklets were disseminated across Europe and North America along with an extensive network of agents, guides and directors to assist incoming settlers looking for land.<sup>252</sup> Displays at the Exhibition in Toronto, as well as rail tours for prospective settlers of southern Ontario towns and villages that had displays of northern rural settlement, further encouraged agricultural settlement.<sup>253</sup>

### **Adopting Progressive Attitudes towards Forests**

Ontario was beginning to embrace its image of nordicity and the holistic value of its natural resources. This was evident in how the province began promoting the region which highlighted both natural resource development potential and the pristine untouched environment. Progressive attitudes urging for the adoption of conservation practices and ideologies contributed to the province's idealized image of its northern regions. The popularity of books like Darwin's 1859 *On the Origins of Species* helped popularize early notions of conservation and preservation,

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> Wood, *Making Ontario*.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

which shifted public perceptions of nature. This evolving relationship with nature began in metropolitan areas, where the urban elite had long been disconnected with nature. These urban elite began flooding the forests, as they now viewed it as a popular vacation spot.<sup>254</sup> This perception was aided by artists' depictions of the majestic nature of northern landscapes. Although the Group of Seven is often equated with distinctively Canadian wilderness landscapes, credit must also be given to the members of the Toronto Art League (1886–1904), who initially inspired the movement of returning to nature.<sup>255</sup>

Post-confederation opinions of Canada's forests can be summarized in two ways: one perspective viewed the forest as a hostile environment suitable for leisure activities and the other as a source of one's livelihood. Those that lived in urban centers had acclimatized to an industrial society and did not view the backwoods as an integral part of their everyday life. This fed into the exploitative relationship between urban centres and interior hinterlands. The hinterlands operated at the pleasure of the metropolises, which acted as "demand centers calling on supply areas."<sup>256</sup> Metropolises were exploitative and subjugating, "sucking the hinterlands dry."<sup>257</sup>

Canada's transition from an agricultural to an industrial nation, a period which many economic historians refer to as the Great Transformation, influenced ideas about nationhood as well as people's relationship with nature.<sup>258</sup> While Canada's national identity was being carved

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<sup>254</sup> A. Smith, "Farms, Forests and Cities: The Image of the Land and the Rise of the Metropolis in Ontario, 1860–1914," in *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless*, ed. D. Keane and C. Read (Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press, 1990), 80.

<sup>255</sup> T. MacDonald, *The Group of Seven* (Toronto, ON: Ryerson Press, 1962 [1945]), 1.

<sup>256</sup> See Lower, *Great Britain's Woodyard*, which provides this assessment of the relations between urban centres and the hinterland. See, also, J.M.S. Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities, and Identities in Canada before 1914* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 54.

<sup>257</sup> Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis*, 54.

<sup>258</sup> D. Kerr and D. W. Holdsworth, "Historical Atlas of Canada. Volume III, Addressing the Twentieth Century, 1891–1961," *Historical Atlas of Canada. Volume III, Addressing the Twentieth Century, 1891–1961* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 3, 13–5, 29–30.

out, regionally Ontario began to do the same with its own identity. The catalyst for this was the acquisition, in 1889 and again in 1912, of large tracts of northern territory that had previously been federal land. This land, which extended well into the Precambrian Shield, held dense tracts of prized timber and the promise of mineral wealth. It was to become New Ontario. Politicians and the financial community aggressively promoted this new region, and they were aided by the Laurier boom, which saw a rapid expansion of agricultural production and exports within the Dominion in the years preceding WWI. With the implementation of tariffs to protect Canadian industry, Ontario was situated in an ideal position for growth and development.<sup>259</sup> New Ontario was providing massive quantities of iron ore, copper, nickel, gold and silver from Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury, Cobalt, Timmins and elsewhere.<sup>260</sup> Advancements in hydroelectricity, a new source of energy, paved the pathway for the development of forestry in the North and opened up the region for tourism, which became a thriving northern enterprise, especially during these early post-Confederation years. The development in transportation and advancement in natural resource extraction in the province in the mid-nineteenth century which stimulated the imagination of Ontarians, who for decades would cling to the optimism that the North promised unbounded prosperity and growth for the province.

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<sup>259</sup> Anonymous, "Future Is One of Bright Promise," *Half Century Anniversary Number of the Daily Mail and Empire, 1872–1922: The Story of Fifty Years of a Great Newspaper with a Review of Canadian History and Progress* (Toronto, ON: Daily Mail and Empire, March 30, 1922), 97–8.

<sup>260</sup> For discussions on mining activity during this period known as The Great Transformation, see D. Newell, *Technology on the Frontier: Mining in Old Ontario* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia, 1986); M. Bray and A. Thomson, *At the End of the Shift: Mines and Single-Industry Towns in Northern Ontario* (Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press Limited, 1992); Ontario, Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, *Harvest from the Rock: A History of Mining in Ontario* (Toronto, ON: Macmillan, 1986); Nelles, *Politics of Development*. For a discussion on hydroelectricity in Ontario, see M. Denison, *The People's Power: The History of Ontario Hydro* (Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart, 1960); Nelles, *Politics of Development*; R. Dupre and M. Patry, "Hydroelectricity and the State in Quebec and Ontario: Two Different Historical Paths," in *Deregulation of Electric Utilities*, ed. G. Zaccour (1998), 119–147; D. Macfarlane and A. Watson, "Hydro Democracy: Water Power and Political Power in Ontario," *Canadian Journal of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine* 40, no. 1 (2018): 1–18. For a discussion on tourism, see G. Wall and J.S. Marsh, *Recreation Land Use: Perspectives on Its Evolution in Canada* (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University Press, 1982).

By the 1860s it was apparent that agriculture was the backbone of the provincial economy, and timber exploitation was a principal subsidiary.<sup>261</sup> To quote the 1899 clerk of forestry's annual report,

until quite recently, Ontario was regarded as a purely agricultural country, adapted only to agriculture, in which timber was not considered a profitable crop. The aim of our legislators was to clear the ground for general farming purposes, and in doing so to first dispose of the most valuable timber to the best advantage.<sup>262</sup>

The exploitation of timber in southern Ontario was the direct result of agricultural activities, and subsequently, the two operations were viewed as closely interrelated.<sup>263</sup> The rapid liquidation of timber from the primeval forest required new regulations to provide lumbermen with access to timber, beyond their current consumption under the broad-arrow policies.

The new landscape being carved out by settlers made it clear that the primary instrument of transformation in the province was not the locomotive but the axe.<sup>264</sup> It was clear that the DCL<sup>265</sup> viewed land as a commodity to be used as a source of revenue. Years of extensive timber exploitation in the southern part of the province resulted in a necessary shift in government attitudes. Driven by the need to ensure a perpetual supply of timber resources<sup>266</sup> and revenues essential for the economic growth of the province, the clerk of forestry adopted public and private reforestation initiatives. In 1864, a selection committee was established to

enquire into the causes of rapid destruction of our forests and the means to be adopted to prevent it. To consider the expediency of reserving as forests, the

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<sup>261</sup> Craig, *Upper Canada*, 147.

<sup>262</sup> Clerk of Forestry, *Report* (1899), 6.

<sup>263</sup> See Wood, *Making Ontario*. Attention should be paid to the first chapter which discusses early progress in Ontario. Wood highlights the clash between farmers and politicians who had conflicting interests in the development of the provincial frontier. He argues that the governing oligarchy had little concern for farmers during this period.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> The department was established in 1827. Now its main responsibility and function was twofold: the sale and settling of land and the sale of timber rights. The department operated in a sensitive and politically oriented environment, which affected both the policy and staffing procedures of the department. For a detailed administrative history of the Crown Lands Department, see Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service*, 118–175.

<sup>266</sup> Timber is referenced numerous times as an essential resource in generating economic development in the province. For specific references, see “Forestry Report, 1888,” SPC 5 (1889), 52, 71; “Forestry Report, 1889–90,” SPC (1892), 15, 63; “Forestry Report, 1896” SPC 40 (1896), 8–10, 25, 27.

extensive tracts of land which abound with exportable timber but are unsuitable for cultivation; of enacting a forest law, and to suggest that system which in its opinion is best adapted to the requirements and conditions of the country.<sup>267</sup>

Although the report was never published,<sup>268</sup> it is evident that early notions of land use and forestland reserves as a source of revenue in the form of exportable timber were being discussed.<sup>269</sup> In 1868, Ontario's *Free Grants and Homestead Act* was passed, requiring payment of dues for lumber cut by settlers. The revenue generated from these fees was used to finance road construction for new settlements. The land that was offered was unsuitable for agriculture and restricted access to agricultural markets of the south. Settlers in turn sold their lumber to sawmills to offset the cost they could potentially receive from farming crops. The resulting large-scale clearing in southern Ontario produced areas of wastelands.

Appeals from early conservationists were also adding pressure to adopt alternative measures in timber harvesting. Take Benjamin Gott of Arkona, who made his case in the winter of 1880 to the United Fruit Growers of Ontario, advocating on behalf of the forests,

sad and merciless havoc made upon them (our forests) for the base and meager considerations of the present hour. How far from our serious thoughts of the future are the considerations of preservation, economical use, culture and propagation applied to our forests! . . . If something is not speedily and effectually done . . . we shall, before many years have swept their onward course, find ourselves compelled to forever inhabit a dismal treeless waste and an unfruitful region.<sup>270</sup>

These sentiments were not an isolated thought, for many across Ontario felt the same.

Lumbermen had been saying the same thing for years, as they stressed the need for a classification system that allocated land as either for agriculture or permanent forest use.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada*, vol. XXIII (1864): 114.

<sup>268</sup> The report was never published because of the political upheaval at the time associated with the proposed Canadian Confederation.

<sup>269</sup> Armson, *Ontario Forests*, 118.

<sup>270</sup> Ontario Fruit Growers' Association report in "Commissioner of Agriculture and Arts," Report (1880), 146.

<sup>271</sup> Southworth and White, *A History of Crown Timber*, 224, 231, 240–2.

Although little came to fruition, in 1879 Timothy Blair Pardee, commissioner of the Department of Crown Land (1873–1889), took a remedial step when he passed the first legislation to protect the forests against fire. Subsequently, forest rangers (1885) were introduced and forest reserves (1898) set aside, all of which further developed forest management practices in the province.

Growing concern for the forest was finally addressed in 1882 when the American Forestry Congress (AFC) met in Cincinnati and Montreal. The AFC conference was the first “parliament” of forestry in North America, and a platform for both Canadians and Americans to have their voices heard about the future of their forests. The two main themes that dominated the conference were the ecological integrity of nature and the supply of merchantable timber in North America. Although a clear distinction was made between the two themes at the time, over the years they have evolved into a modern concept of multiple land use.

R.W. Phipps acted as a mouthpiece, publicizing the views of the AFC in his Report on the Necessity of Preserving and Planting Trees in 1883. The AFC responded by educating the public on the state of forests, putting to rest the idea that forests were inexhaustible, while highlighting provincial and international developments in the realm of farming and forestry. The report was a success; 8000 copies were distributed in 1885 alone.<sup>272</sup> With the death of Phipps in 1895, the focus turned to public policy with his successor Thomas Southworth.

With the appointment of Southworth, the department was transferred to the Crown Lands Department (CLD). The principal objective of the department was to improve the understanding of the relationship between ongoing deforestation and variations in climate.<sup>273</sup> In doing so, it was hoped that the department would identify the benefits associated with private property timber

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<sup>272</sup> See Ontario Clerk of Forestry, *Report* (1885), 7.

<sup>273</sup> D. Diamantakos, “Private Property Deforestation and Regeneration and the Clerk of Forestry in Nineteenth-Century Ontario,” *Canadian Journal of History of Science, Technology and Medicine* 21, no. 50 (1997): 36.

regeneration. Southworth, throughout his career, advocated for forest reserves and the importance of forest protection.<sup>274</sup> Deconstructing public perception of nature and forests was accomplished through educational programs that eradicated “the idea that a tree is an enemy to be destroyed whenever found.”<sup>275</sup> Southworth achieved this through two main initiatives, Arbour Day and *the Ontario Tree Planting Act*.

Public forums, lectures, addresses and official documents aided the department in swaying public opinion and instilling an appreciation for nature by lessening the degree of “wanton and malicious injury”<sup>276</sup> inflicted upon it. The first Arbour Day, in 1885, was geared towards giving children the opportunity to interact with nature. Allowing children to plant trees and learn about the benefits associated with forest regeneration was a tool used to “influence public opinion”<sup>277</sup> and dispel antiquated ideas associated with trees. The second initiative, which focused on reforestation in the south of the province, was the 1883 *Ontario Tree Planting Act*, designed to reward citizens for every tree planted along public highways and/or private property boundaries. Although these initiatives experienced limited success, in part because of the misappropriation of public funds, lack of cooperation, and public interest,<sup>278</sup> they were the start of the government taking responsibility for the future of the forests.

In the years to follow, Southworth focused his attention on a forest reserve policy, as the pulp and paper industry began once again to grow. Part of this initiative was to undertake surveys of regeneration efforts, to see whether the policy would act as an adequate protection effort. This outcome helped in the creation of the 1897 Royal Commission on Forest Protection

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<sup>274</sup> Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 184.

<sup>275</sup> “Forestry Report 1896,” *SPC* 40 (1896), 25.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>278</sup> See Diamantakos, “Private Property Deforestation,” 29–48.

in Ontario, headed by E.W. Rathburn and included T. Southworth and A. Kirkwood. This commission contributed to legislation regarding forest fire protection and reserve areas. The implementation of these early policies reveals a great appreciation and understanding of the finite and exhaustible nature of natural resources, not to mention the government's role in generating a resilient forest infrastructure.

A shift to sustainable development of forests first appeared in popular journals as negative attitudes grew in the face of unregulated harvesting practices.<sup>279</sup> This led to the creation of the Canadian Forestry Association (CFA) in 1900 whose mandate was “to advocate and encourage judicious methods in dealing with our forests and woods and to awaken public interest to the sad results attending the whole sale destruction of the Forest.”<sup>280</sup> The Laurier government reflected the changing attitude among Canadians and understood that Canada's natural resources, once viewed as plentiful and endless, needed protection as they were being exhausted at an alarming rate.<sup>281</sup>

The provocation of resource conservation narratives federally were also experienced at the provincial level. Fostering this shift was the changing political climate at the turn of the century in Ontario, marking a new era for the Conservative Party. James Whitney was elected premier of Ontario in 1905, the first time that a Conservative government had held power in the province since 1872. This “new order,” according to William Meredith, retired leader of the party, reflected a change in Ontario's social and economic dynamics. The previous Liberal government's support was in rural communities, but a migration into urban areas had led to the end of the Liberal reign, ushering in a new wave of Conservative power. As Baskerville<sup>282</sup> and

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<sup>279</sup> E. Toker, “Our Forests in Danger,” *Canadian Magazine*, I (1896): 336.

<sup>280</sup> “Constitution of Canadian Forestry Association,” *Rod and Gun* I (1900): 24–9.

<sup>281</sup> Altmeyer, “Three Ideas of Nature in Canada,” 21–36.

<sup>282</sup> P. Baskerville, *Sites of Power: A Concise History of Ontario* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Southcott<sup>283</sup> have both argued, this shift in power resulted in a divide between rural and urban populations, and a movement towards efficiency, innovation and progress reflected the changing times. Concerns for rural life fell on deaf ears until the United Farmers of Ontario (UFO) overturned the governments of Sir James Whitney (1905–1914) and Sir William Hearst (1914–1919). The UFO government was, however, the last elected government to serve the rural electorate.<sup>284</sup>

New technologies and ideologies improved both the forestry and agricultural industries in Ontario,<sup>285</sup> while new emerging industries, such as mining, were taking on more prevalent roles in resource development. Northern Ontario, particularly the northeast region of the province, began addressing the manufacturing demands from other large settlements, such as Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. This contributed to the stabilization of the workforce and the adoption of labour-saving machinery.<sup>286</sup> In the twenty years following Reciprocity, natural resource industrialists were eager to establish what they called the trade liberalization movement to open mining and lumber markets in northern Ontario. Premier James Whitney opposed such a plan as it would “jeopardize the continuance of the present satisfactory condition”.<sup>287</sup> This contrasted with the federal government, who pushed for a bilateral free trade agreement to be made with the United States. Whitney argued that Laurier’s program of trade liberalization would, “...reverse the policy which has brought Canada to her present enviable position, would

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<sup>283</sup> C. Southcott, “Migration in the Canadian Arctic: An Introduction,” *Migration in the Circumpolar North: Issues and Context*, ed. L. Huskey and C. Southcott (Edmonton, AB: CCI Press, 2010), 42–58.

<sup>284</sup> R. White, *Ontario, 1610–1985: A Political and Economic History* (Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press, 1985).

<sup>285</sup> See, J.D. Wood, *Places of Last Resort: The Expansion of the Farm Frontier into the Boreal Forest in Canada c. 1910–1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006); Drushka, *Canada’s Forests*; Nelles, *The Politics of Development*.

<sup>286</sup> See Bakerville, *Sites of Power*, 2005; M. Beaulieu and C. Southcott, *North of Superior: An Illustrated History of Northwestern Ontario* (Toronto, ON: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2010); M. Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914–1967* (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 2016).

<sup>287</sup> *Sir James Whitney on American Reciprocity: The parting of the Ways* (Toronto, 1911).

cause widespread and revolutionary disturbance in her business, would curtail and hamper her freedom in developing her own resources in her own way...”.<sup>288</sup> In the end, no agreement would be reached under Laurier’s leadership.

Under MacDonald’s National Policy, Ontario had altered its view of its vast geography and resources and began to see Northern Ontario as rich in opportunity. Northern Ontario was no longer viewed as destitute but rather a cornucopia of natural resource wealth. It was rebranding the north as New Ontario, providing the province an opportunity for further development and revenue generation. The province began identifying itself as an Empire. “Empire Ontario” was a phrase used to describe the natural resource wealth and entrepreneurial energy that now existed within the province upon the discovery of northern resource wealth.<sup>289</sup> This new outlook on provincial resources was not only based on the discovery of the wealth of resources but also the technological advances that transformed how resources were being harvested and manufactured. The next stage in shaping this new identity was developing resources industries; a push felt from both businessmen and the provincial government. Ontario then begins the stage of “new industrialism” – forest products, minerals, and hydroelectricity. Trying to capitalize on its resource wealth, the province came up with the idea of “home manufacture,” as a way to encourage the development a domestic supply chain. This became the “manufacturing condition,” which places restraints on exports of unprocessed lumber and mineral and forested public ownership of hydroelectricity. Based on Nelles’ sectoral study of Ontario that examines the various factors that contributed to the facilitation and constraints of the provincial state’s

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<sup>288</sup> Ibid.

<sup>289</sup> The phrase is taken from Harold Innis, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ontario from Outpost to Empire* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, originally published 1934, reprinted 1967). It was also commonly used, see Archives of Ontario, Whitney Papers, J.J. Cassidy, editor of the *Canadian Manufacturer*, to J.P. Whitney, Jan. 16, 1899.

resource-base industrial strategy, he argues that the manufacturing condition was a “qualified failure”.<sup>290</sup> The only industry that was able to apply the manufacturing condition with some success was the pulpwood industry. This period (1871–1911), as argued by Di Matteo,<sup>291</sup> reveals that “Northern Ontario contributed disproportionately to Ontario government revenues,” where revenue from northern resources was used to cover the south’s expenditures. Although funds were eventually directed to northern development because of its growing population, funds were primarily spent on developing and improving transportation routes, further establishing the interdependent bond between the north and south.<sup>292</sup>

With growing awareness of resource exploitation impacts and a changing political climate, the realization that natural resources were not infinite began to shape the conservation movement in the province and nation. Aldo Leopold discusses the transformation that needed to occur in order for man and nature coexist sustainably. He argued, the conservation movement in Canada was in

a state of harmony between men and land. By land is meant all of the things, on, over, or in the earth. Harmony with land is like harmony with a friend; you cannot cherish his right hand and chop off his left. That is to say, you cannot love game and hate predators; you cannot conserve the waters and waste the ranges; you cannot build the forest and mine the farm. The land is one organism. Its parts, like our own parts, compete with each other and co-operate with each other. The competitions are as much a part of the inner workings as the co-operations. You can regulate them—cautiously—but not abolish them.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> H.V. Nelles, *Politics of Development*, 309.

<sup>291</sup> L. DiMatteo, *The Government of Ontario and its North, 1871–1911* (Thunder Bay, ON: Lakehead University Research Centre for Northern Studies, 1990), 8. Ontario had set up the manufacturing condition for pulpwood which the intension to not stop the flow of spruce heading across international boundaries. Rather the intension with the provincial policy was to create the crucial foundation on which it could revitalize its struggling northern community programs, chiefly by creating the best possible markets for the trees cut by northern settlers.

<sup>292</sup> M. Beaulieu, “A Historic Overview of Policies Affecting Non-Aboriginal Resource Development in Northwestern Ontario, 1900–1990,” *Governance in Northern Ontario: Economic Development and Policy Making*, ed. C. Conteh and R. Segsworth (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 94–114.

<sup>293</sup> Quoted in Drushka, *Canada’s Forests*, 47–8.

As this holistic relationship develops, previous ideas that Canadian forests were an “inexhaustible resource that could be exploited intensively with no effect on their renewal capacities” were dismissed and replaced with the idea of sustainable development.<sup>294</sup> The realization that a balance was needed led to the adoption of MacMillian’s view that forest use and forest conservation should not be two separate entities but viewed holistically. Not having a healthy forestry industry meant that forests in Canada would not survive.<sup>295</sup> The establishment of the federal Commission on Conservation (1909–1920) reflected this view. Although short-lived, it carried out surveys of natural resources, including forests and forest regeneration. The need for scientifically trained professionals during this period led to the creation of forestry schools at the University of Toronto (1907), University of New Brunswick (1908) and Laval University (1912). This redefined industry–government partnership helped to “ensure that forests were utilized in a manner that would provide for their future well-being.”<sup>296</sup>

Land policy, settlement and agriculture remained the primary focus for both the federal and provincial governments during the period examined. While the Dominion focused on the LBW campaign in an effort to settle and colonize the West, Ontario began to invest in its forestry industries to create a staple market in which the western provinces would not compete. Ontario was able to meet its demand, providing its markets with lumber to help establish its transportation infrastructure and settlement development. What began to change in this period was the vertical integration and consolidation of staple industries. Family-owned forestry businesses were now being replaced by commercial enterprises (with their timber kings and

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<sup>294</sup> J. Dufour, “Towards Sustainable Development of Canada’s Forests,” *Resource and Environmental Management in Canada: Addressing Conflict and Uncertainty*, 3rd ed., ed. B. Mitchell (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2004), 271.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid, 48.

lumber barons), such as the forestry industry along the Ottawa-Huron track. The years of exploitation by settlers and foresters finally reached a point where it became imperative to mitigate the damage. One initiative was public and private reforestation. The importance of this cannot be overstated, as it suggests a shift in priorities in both societal and government priorities. While resources were still viewed as a commodity, there were internal and external forces contributing to the development of a kinship with the forest, shaping public participation and interest in forests. As the public's relationship and understanding of the forest and land changed, Ontario adopted a pathway that reflected more sustainable and conservation-focused policies, management practices and ideals.

**Chapter 3**  
**Back to Nature: The Creation of Artificial Boundaries and the Architects behind Them, 1890s–1920s**

The distribution and allocation of land once again played an essential role in understanding forestry in the province in the early twentieth century. As discussed previously, the modern state's management of forested areas was influenced by European practices. James C. Scott, in his *Seeing Like a State*, examines this influence by discussing the need for an administrative ordering of nature and society.<sup>297</sup> Scott uses the tradition of “fiscal forestry” as his starting point: “the Crown’s interest in the forest was resolved through its fiscal lens into a single number: the revenue yield of timber that might be extracted annually.”<sup>298</sup> This utilitarian view of forests resulted in a narrow view of how to manage them. Rather than seeing the diversity in a forest, this approach only acknowledges forests for their revenue-generating products. This fiscal lens was the foundation for scientific forestry management as developed in late-eighteenth-century Prussia and Saxony. The failures of the planned forest would eventually lead to the adoption of programs of rational observation, experimentation and management, which allowed for an “effort to reduce the fiscal management of a kingdom to the scientific principle that would allow for systematic planning.”<sup>299</sup> It is within this discussion that Scott addresses the necessity of the state creating “a narrowing of vision” that allows for it to bring “into sharp focus certain limited aspects of an otherwise far more complex and unwieldy reality.”<sup>300</sup>

The relationship between knowledge, power and techniques of government in the production of natural resource space, as argued by Scott, assists in understanding the socio-

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<sup>297</sup> Scott’s analysis of the administration of order is influenced by the work of Michel Foucault, who shared a similar interest “in the order of things.” See M. Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock, 1970).

<sup>298</sup> J.C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 12.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, 11–14.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

political pressures that contributed to land policy in Ontario. The landscape of North America was manufactured through environmental imperialism, the creation of artificial boundaries and human interactions with the environment.<sup>301</sup> The literature on territoriality, which looks at how political powers manipulated and shaped wilderness spaces to control them, substantiates Scott's arguments about nature and space. The manufacturing of these landscapes in such a rigid way helped states maintain order and control.

The historical production of territoriality in the context of North American resource landscapes can be seen in the works of Bruce Braun and David Demeritt.<sup>302</sup> Both scholars echo Scott's identification of regimes of visibility and the order of things when addressing the relationship between a state's knowledge and shifting ideas regarding the use of territory for the development of national space. In order to understand the actions taken by bureaucrats to construct and manipulate the land must be understood within the context of the social construction of nature. Demeritt approach the social construction of nature by challenging the idea that nature and the physical environment exist independently from social practices.<sup>303</sup> Whereas Braun questions the underlying assumptions about forest and forestry (primarily in BC), and what is assumed about the forest as an ontological entity. While both scholar tackle the social construction of nature, Demeritt views it as power, whereas Braun see it as changing the understanding of what the land means, arguing that "nature is an effect of power."<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> D. Delaney, *Territory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005); H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell, 1991); E. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso Press, 1999); Y. Whelan, "Territory and Place," in *Key Concepts in Historical Geography*, ed. J. Morrissey, D. Nally, U. Strohmayer, and Y. Whelan (London: Sage Publications, 2014).

<sup>302</sup> See B. Braun, "Producing Vertical Territory: Geology and Governmentality in Late-Victorian Canada," *Ecumene* 7, no. 1 (2000): 7–46; D. Demeritt, "Scientific Forest Conservation and the Statistical Picturing of Nature's Limits in Progressive-Era United States," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 19, no. 4 (2001): 431–59.

<sup>303</sup> Demeritt, "Scientific Forest Conservation and Statistical Picturing," 24.

<sup>304</sup> Bruce Braun and Joel Wainwright, "Nature, poststructuralism, politics: Theory, Practice, Politics," in *Social Nature: Theory, Practice, Politics*, edited by N. Castree and B. Braun, 41–63 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2001), 41.

Braun's research on geology and governmentality in late Victorian Canada addresses how science was more than an instrument of political rationality; science acted to shape and influence understanding. He discusses the complex relationship between the social construction of nature and forms of political rationality in British Columbia. What Braun endeavours to show is that by the end of the nineteenth century, there was an acceleration of nature's commodification that reflected the changes in scientific and government rationality that was occurring.

Concluding that economic, discursive and political realms were not autonomous but rather, intertwined with one another, Demeritt approaches the topic of nature and space with an examination of statistical picturing of the United States' finite forest resource during the Progressive era. He argues that lay people placed trust in the conclusions of scientific experts, which reinforced antiquated classist regimes and gender differences. These experts were considered legitimate because they operated within a standardized process that they created, that is, the standardized practice of quantification of forest stands provided a means to easily quantify resources while also reflecting "new forms of precise disciplinary control and governmental power."<sup>305</sup>

By understanding the discourses around territoriality, one can begin to understand the government's desire to create internal enclosures within these spaces. The creation of parks in Canada was driven by the desire to acquire and develop the resources of the frontier for commercial, transportation, industrial and financial functions.<sup>306</sup> Parks were a product of the political, social and market pressures that helped form the environmental-political hegemony of

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<sup>305</sup> Ibid., 455.

<sup>306</sup> J. Wadland, "Great Rivers, Small Boats: Landscape and Canadian Historical Culture," in *Changing Parks: The History, Future and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes*, ed. B.W. Hodgins and J.S. Marsh (Toronto, ON: Natural Heritage, 1998), 1–33.

the nineteenth century. Parks are a prime example of internal territorialization—when regional boundaries are established by the state and a set of acceptable practices supported by legislation is adopted to maintain control over resources and people.<sup>307</sup> The practice of internal territorialization played a significant role in the formation of Ontario’s landscape.

The use of an enclosure-reserve was an important policy tool that allowed for the colonial administration to enclose land for financial gain and colonial expansion. This practice is part of what Ian McKay calls the “liberal order framework,” which propagated the division of power, allowing for the wealthy to maintain control while dispossessing the lower class, in this case, Indigenous groups, and alienating settlers.<sup>308</sup> The use of this tactic became a form of administrative settler colonialism by providing the government and business interests exclusive access to non-arable land and resources through a park bureaucracy. While parks are promoted for their holistic benefits and aesthetic appeal, they are a liberal settler–colonial construct that fashioned these neutral spaces into “productive” ones. McKay’s discourse on the liberal order is

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<sup>307</sup> See C. Corson, “Territorialization, Enclosure and Neoliberalism: Non-State Influence in Struggles over Madagascar’s Forests,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38, no. 4 (2011): 703–26; P. Vandergeest and N.L. Peluso, “Territorialization and State Power in Thailand,” *Theory and Society* 24, no. 3 (1995): 385–426.

<sup>308</sup> I. McKay, “The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History,” *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (2000): 617–51. While this paper does not explore environmental dispossession with any degree of detail, it was an influencing factor in the creation of these reserves and is worth addressing. There is a growing body of literature that examines conservation enclosures as territorial instruments of the state for resource privatization and the displacement of people from natural spaces. See the following political ecologists: Corson, “Territorialization, Enclosure and Neoliberalism,” 703–26; L. Grandia, *Enclosed: Conservation, Cattle, and Commerce among the Q’eqchi’ Maya Lowerlanders* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2012); P. Heynen and P. Robbins, “The Neoliberalization of Nature: Governance, Privatization, Enclosure, and Valuation,” *Capitalism, Nature Socialism* 16, no. 1 (2005): 5–8; A. Malhi, “Making Spaces, Making Subjects: Land, Enclosure and Islam in Colonial Malaya,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38, no. 4 (2011): 727–46; J. McCarthy, “States of Nature and Environmental Enclosures in the American West,” in *Violent Environments*, ed. N.L. Peluso and M. Watts (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); R. Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); R. Neumann, “Moral and Discursive Geographies in the War for Biodiversity in Africa,” *Political Geography* 23, no. 7 (2004): 813–37; N.L. Peluso and C. Lund, “New Frontiers of Land Control: Introduction,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38, no. 4 (2011): 667–81; P. Robbins and A. Luginbuhl, “The Last Enclosure: Resisting Privatization of Wildlife in the Western United States,” *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 16, no. 1 (2005): 45–61.

used to explain the changing power dynamics that have impacted land and favoured specific stakeholders over others.

This chapter hinges once again on the idea of the state's desire for control and order. Land policy and resource management are inherently linked as a result of government officials and business viewing forests through a fiscal lens. The exploitation of forest resources led to the creation of parks that served as resource enclosures protecting forest resources. As demand for timber rose, the protection of forest resources became more crucial. While there were various reasons contributing to the preservation of flora and fauna, the driving force behind the creation of parks was based on economics and the exploitation and management of resources. This chapter begins with an examination of the melding of public desire and the necessity to preserve trees, which led to the creation of parks. Concurrently, changing attitudes fostered a favourable disposition towards forests among the general public. The chapter then examines the role that art and literature played in influencing the utilization and protection of parks. Finally, it is the development of a transportation infrastructure that allowed for a physical relationship to be cultivated where the public actively engaged with nature. While I recognize that the perception of forests in Northwestern Ontario were different from Southern/Northeastern Ontario, the discussion presented is based on more settled areas of the province. The combination of these factors at this point in Ontario's history resulted in a new, favourable image of forests as areas for public consumption rather than purely for resource extraction.

### **Department of Crown Lands, Influencers and the Adoption of a National Park**

Urbanites who had acclimated to an industrial society did not view the backwoods as an integral part of their everyday life, although they depended on those who worked in forest sectors. This fed into the exploitative relationship between urban centres and Ontario's interior rural areas.

The rural populations operated at the pleasure of the metropolises, which were “demand centers calling on supply areas.”<sup>309</sup> Metropolises were exploitative and subjugating.<sup>310</sup> Arthur R.M. Lower described this interplay between the metropolis and the frontier as the two being reliant on one another.<sup>311</sup> By the late nineteenth century, consumption shortages created the impetus that shifted Ontarians’ attitudes towards one of restoration and perseverance.<sup>312</sup> As Kelly writes, citizens began to appreciate the value of trees when they began to experience the consequences of wood shortages.<sup>313</sup> This new relationship with nature began in metropolitan areas, where the urban elite had long been disconnected with nature. Their presence now began to flood the forests, which they viewed as a popular vacation spot.<sup>314</sup> Artists’ depictions of the majestic nature of northern landscapes further promoted this view.<sup>315</sup>

With the effects of resource exploitation becoming more apparent and a growing holistic connect with nature developing, Ontario began to see an increased interest in public participation in the state of forest affairs. Although not all shared the opinion that there were shortages of timber resources, those that did emphasized the importance of educating the public as a means of raising awareness and actively involving them in the forest management movement. George P. Marsh, who foreshadowed forest depletion in his 1864 book *Man and Nature*, spearheaded this movement. He predicted that “[w]ith the disappearance of the forest, all is changed; . . . the

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<sup>309</sup> See Lower, *Great Britain’s Woodward*, which provides this assessment of the relations between urban centres and the hinterland. See, also, Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis*, 54.

<sup>310</sup> Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis*, 54.

<sup>311</sup> Innis, *The Fur Trade*. D. Creighton, also describe this relationship in a similar light although not outrightly adopting it. They cite the constant interplay between “power cores and resource peripheries,” or the centre controlling the periphery. Creighton, *Dominion of the North: A History of Canada* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944).

<sup>312</sup> K. Kelly, “The Changing Attitude of farmers to forest in nineteenth century Ontario,” *Ontario Geography* 8 (1974), 76.

<sup>313</sup> Kelly, *The Evaluation of Land*, 70–6 ; Gentilore et al., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, Plate 14.

<sup>314</sup> Smith, “Farms, Forests and Cities,” 13.

<sup>315</sup> The Group of Seven is often equated with these distinctively Canadian wilderness landscapes. However, credit must also be given to the members of the Toronto Art League (1886–1904), who initially inspired the movement of returning to nature. See MacDonald, *The Group of Seven*, 1.

climate becomes excessive, the soil is altered. . . . The face of the earth is no longer a sponge, but a dust heap.”<sup>316</sup> Marsh’s work marked the onset of an accelerated campaign for the husbanding of forests both in Canada and the United States. He supported his conclusions by referencing European shortages, inferring that North America would suffer a similar fate if action was not taken to mitigate this potential crisis.<sup>317</sup> He warned that “[t]he vast forests of the United States and Canada cannot long resist the improvident habits of the backwoodsmen and the increased demand for lumber.”<sup>318</sup> Marsh’s stance continued to be echoed in subsequent years, as other influential conservationists made similar pronouncements about the state of forests in Ontario.<sup>319</sup>

### **Early Stages of Forest Protection Policy: Addressing Forest Fires**

Growing criticisms and concerns for the forest were finally addressed in 1882, with the first American Forestry Congress (AFC). AFC held meetings in both Cincinnati and Montreal, where representatives from Canada and the United States reviewed methods of forest protection and reported back to their respective governments on possible measures to be adopted.<sup>320</sup> The AFC conference was the first “parliament” of forestry in North America, and a platform for both Canadians and Americans to voice their concerns about the future of forests. The two main

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<sup>316</sup> For a full quotation, see G.P. Marsh, *Man and Nature, Or Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*, ed. David Lowenthal (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1965), 186–7.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, 300.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>319</sup> See N.W. Beckwith, *Canadian Monthly* (June 1872): 527. The following year a recession began, and by 1877, timber exports had dropped by forty percent. It was clear that forest conservation was becoming an economic concern in the province as well as in the country. The recession led Ontario in 1898 to require that all timber cut on public lands be processed within the province. See C.E. Campbell, *Shaped by the West Wind: Nature and History in Georgian Bay* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 81.

<sup>320</sup> The first AFC meeting was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, in April 1882, followed by the Forestry Congress (FC) in Montreal in August 1882. Two hundred and fifty representatives representing industry, government and academia were in attendance. For a preliminary list of the topics discussed at Congress, see American Forestry Congress, *Proceedings*, 1 (1882), (Washington, DC, 1883), 8–12; “Report of Delegation appointed to attend the American Forestry Congress” in Fruit Growers’ Association of Ontario, “Report,” 1882 in Commissioner of Agriculture and Arts, Report (1882), 38. The United Fruit Growers of Ontario, as well as other progressive organizations, played an important role in promoting the need for improved forest management techniques, which encouraged active participation by Ontario at both the AFC and FC.

themes that dominated Congress were discussions surrounding the ecological integrity of nature and the supply of merchantable timber in North America. Over time, these once distinct issues evolved into the contemporary concept of multiple land use.

The consensus among the attendees was that human exploitation of forest resources was destroying nature's beauty, as highlighted by the restricted supply of merchantable timber on both sides of the border. Fire was partially responsible for these shortages; however, profligate harvesting methods and inefficient lumbermen were the primarily contributing factors. In addressing concerns over shortages and the adoption of workable fire protection programs, the congress recommended that timbered lands must be reserved as permanent forests. These recommendations would be the foundation for the creation of long-range forest management planning and policy. Furthermore, the congress insisted that investment in forest research, the creation of permanent forest experiment stations and a greater emphasis placed on forestry in university and agricultural schools' curriculums were necessary. Implementing these recommendations would hinge on governments investing in the research sector.

The first enactment after the congress in Ontario was the creation of the new office of the Clerk of Forestry under the Department of Agriculture. This would eventually lead to the formation of a Forestry Branch in the Lands and Forests Department. Appointed to this position was R.W. Phipps in 1883, who was directed to inform the public on forestry matters.<sup>321</sup> Phipps acted as a mouthpiece, publicizing the views of the AFC in his *Report on the Necessity of Preserving and Planting Trees*. Phipps' background as a writer helped him produce reports that were "missionary-like in tone and popular rather than technical in style."<sup>322</sup> His annual reports

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<sup>321</sup> R.W. Phipps, prior to his appointment as clerk, was a staff writer for the Toronto *Globe*. See Gillis and Roach, *Lost Initiatives*, 42.

<sup>322</sup> His arguments in these reports were often emotionally charged and condemning in nature. For instance, Phipps criticized the United States for its flagrant abuse of using public funds to subsidize war efforts. Although he

dealt with a variety of topics, such as farm forestry developments, government programs, timber-cutting methods, urban beautification techniques and the forest protection system, to mention a few.<sup>323</sup> Phipps was an active public servant, having reached a rather sizable audience throughout his career through his publications in the provincial press and by giving various public talks.<sup>324</sup>

Phipps' efforts in deconstructing the public's perceptions related to nature and forests was accomplished through educational programs and published materials that eradicated "the idea that a tree is an enemy to be destroyed whenever found."<sup>325</sup> His publicity program was developed around the notion of educating the public on forests, stipulating that they were not inexhaustible, but had to be preserved to meet future demands. Helping increase public awareness was the adoption of the *Ontario Tree Planting Act* (1883) and Arbor Day.<sup>326</sup> The first Arbor Day, established in 1885 by the department, was geared towards giving children the opportunity to interact with nature, allowing them to plant trees and learn about the benefits

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acknowledged that war was to some degree a necessity for the preservation of national life, so, too, was the preservation of timber. As he maintained, "[e]very well-informed student of history is aware, that in the past as the forest of a country were destroyed beyond a proper proposition, national life weakened, and by the time when, as examples show us, the land had become but a treeless desert, the nation was dead" ("Forestry Report, 1889–90," *Sessional Papers Ontario*, 40 [1892], 10.). Phipps's stance, per his publications, was that reforestation was part of everyone's national and "patriotic" duty. Those who chose not to participate in such activities were oppressors of the state. See "Forestry Report, 1884," *Sessional Papers Ontario*, 4 (1885), 6 His approach was intended to encourage private property owners to contemplate the allocation of public tax funds.

<sup>323</sup> Eight thousand copies were issued in 1885, which speaks to his efforts in reaching the masses. See Ontario Clerk of Forestry, *Report* (1885), 7.

<sup>324</sup> In 1885 seven hundred letters and articles written by Phipps were published by the provincial press. Seeking firsthand information for his publications, talks and studies for the Department, Phipps traveled extensively throughout Ontario, United States and Europe. See Ontario Clerk of Forestry, *Report* (1891), 67–72.

<sup>325</sup> "Forestry Report 1896." *Sessional Papers Ontario* (1896), 25.

<sup>326</sup> The first recorded arbor plantation festival took place in 1594 in the Spanish village of Mondoneda with the planting of lime and horse-chestnut trees. The first modern Arbor Day can be traced back to the Spanish village of Villanueva de la Sierra in 1805. J. Sterling Morton held the first American Arbor Day in Nebraska City, Nebraska on April 10, 1872. The popularity and success of Morton's event inspired Birdsey Northrop in 1883 to advocate for the adoption of the idea in Canada, which led to his appointment as chairman of the committee to campaign for Arbor Day nationally that same year. He shared his enthusiasm internationally, encouraging other countries to adopt arbor events. Northrop would inspire Canada to adopt their own Arbor Day in 1885. For further discussion of the origins and history of Arbor Day in the United States, see N.H. Egleston, *Arbor Day: Its History and Observance* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1896).

associated with forest regeneration.<sup>327</sup> These educational efforts were used as a tool to “influence public opinion,” thereby improving the image of forestry and dispelling antiquated ideas associated with trees.<sup>328</sup> Phipps’ efforts were targeted towards encouraging the public to participate in private property timber regeneration, while advocating for a need to distinguish between lands for settlement versus forests, later including parks in 1885.

### **Royal Commission on Forest Protection in Ontario and the Rise of the Forest Reserve Idea**

Before 1885, the idea of setting aside land for use other than timber had not entered public consciousness. A clerk in the Crown Lands Department, Alexander Kirkwood, introduced the idea that forests in Ontario could be used for both recreation and profit. Kirkwood questioned current activities in the Pre-Cambrian Shield, arguing that lands now exhausted of timber should be put to more effective use. He petitioned the province to adopt a similar approach to that of the United States government, which designated land to form a national park.<sup>329</sup> In 1885 he submitted a memorandum to Crown Lands Commissioner Timothy Blair Pardee, detailing his vision for a forest reservation and park space as a way of maintaining an area for future

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<sup>327</sup> Based on the feedback from clerks of 305 townships and 122 municipalities, the implementation of the first Arbor Day was not as successful as anticipated, as more work was needed in executing its delivery. Within the province, 211 schools actively participated in planting trees and flowers and cleaning up the grounds, while 129 carried out some type of activity. The remaining 86 did not participate in any activities. This lack of involvement was primarily witnessed in newer or more sparsely settled areas of the province where there was less of a need to plant trees. The main critique of the event was lack of effort put forth in securing a permanent and healthy growth of trees. For the most part, many of the trees planted on Arbor Day did not survive because they were not planted properly and the lack of proper care and attention. This can be attributed to a lack of understanding of the proper care. Regardless of these drawbacks, the day was a success as it raised public awareness of forest regeneration, as “there is no doubt that at least it has accomplished something in encouraging the planting of trees and developing among the pupils of our public schools the love of natural beauty.” It was evident that the shortcoming of the first Arbor Day would be easily remedied for future events. Ontario, *Annual Report of the Clerk of Forestry* (1896), 52.

<sup>328</sup> “Forestry Report, 1896”, 17, 51; H.J. Morgan, *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898).

<sup>329</sup> 3600 square miles in the Rocky Mountains was set aside in 1872 by the United States government to form a national park. This area would become known as Yellowstone National Park. Canada would follow suit in 1885, setting aside ten square miles, which would be the heart of Banff National Park.

generations.<sup>330</sup> In his letter, he indicated that nine townships, roughly 400,000 acres, would need to be set aside to employ this plan. This area would be called Algonkin (Algonquin) Park and would be designed as a national forest and park.<sup>331</sup> He maintained that this allocation would help prevent the threat of extermination of wildlife, restrict timber exploitation for private profit, while providing local economies in the area business from tourism.

In 1892 the Ontario government set up a Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and a National Park, with Kirkwood as its commissioner. The ensuing report stressed the current “slaughter of forests” and how “the waste of one generation must be atoned for by the enforced economy of the next.”<sup>332</sup> The remit of the proposed park would be to

- 1) maintain the water supply,
- 2) preserve the primeval forest,
- 3) protect wildlife,
- 4) undertake forestry experiments,
- 5) make provisions for health and recreation,
- 6) retain a water supply (through maintenance of the forest) for surrounding regions.

The report was presented to the Ontario legislature, and in 1892 Algonquin Park was created.

The area was designated as “a public park and forest reservation, fish and game preserve, health resort and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of the Province.”<sup>333</sup> The Crown Lands Department immediately took responsibility in the administration of the park.

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<sup>330</sup> Kirkwood wrote, “[i]t is proposed, to set aside a forest reserve principally for the preservation and maintenance of the national forests, protecting the head waters and tributaries of the Muskoka, Petawawa, Bonnechere, and Madawaska Rivers, wherein it shall be unlawful for any persons to enter and cut timber for any private use, or destroy the fur-bearing animals.” See, A. Kirkwood, *Algonkin Forest and Park, Ontario Letter to the Hon. T.B. Pardee, M.P.P. Commissioner of Crown Lands for Ontario* (Toronto, ON: Warwick & Sons., 1886).

<sup>331</sup> Its name was a way of signifying “one of the greatest Indian nations that has inhabited the North American continent.” See, A. Kirkwood, *Algonkin Forest and Park*.

<sup>332</sup> Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Parks, *Reports*, 1893 (Toronto, ON, 1893, Reprinted, Toronto, ON: DLF, 1950 and 1956), 9–10.

<sup>333</sup> *The Algonquin National Park Act*, 56 VICTORIÆ REGINÆ, c. 8 (1893).

With the Park established, the Department began to focus its attention towards conservation, forest reservation and forest protection. As previously mentioned, Southworth's work pushed Ontario's conservation program in the direction of establishing timber reserves, the third and last legislative response to the challenges presented by the Montreal congress. Working out of his renamed office, the Bureau of Forestry, Southworth was instrumental in promoting Ontario's forest resources as finite. His efforts in protecting Ontario's pine trees were rewarded in June 1897 with the striking of a provincial royal commission. The commission was first task with examining the 'destruction and preservation timber, mainly white pine, on provincial lands, that was not be suitable for agricultural purpose or settlement.'<sup>334</sup> The outcome of this commission was Ontario's *Forestry Reserve Act* of January 1898, and that same year two forest reserves were created, the Eastern Forest Reserve in eastern Ontario and the Sibley Forest Reserve on the north shore of Lake Superior. The act authorized the lieutenant governor in council "to set apart from time to time such portions of the public domain as may be deemed advisable for the purpose of future timber supplies."<sup>335</sup> What this meant was that the provincial government had the power to set aside, in perpetuity, public lands it deemed suitable for timber production. These sanctioned lands in turn could not be sold, leased or used for settlement, as they were "to be kept in a state of nature as nearly as possible."<sup>336</sup> These areas were intended to be utilized for recreation and initially mining and lumbering activities were to be excluded.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> B.E. Fernow. "Forest Resources and Forestry," in *Canada and its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions*, ed. Adam Shortt and A.G. Doughty, vol. 18, *The Province of Ontario* (Toronto, ON: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1914–1917), 595.

<sup>335</sup> *Toronto Globe* (December 29, 1897), 8.

<sup>336</sup> M.M. Ross, "A History of Forest Legislation in Canada, 1867–1996," *Canadian Institute of Resource Law*. (March 1997), 5.

<sup>337</sup> Concerns with extensive lumbering operations in reserves were first raised at the Temagami Reserve, which resulted in the government deciding that mining and lumbering could not be excluded. See *Woods and Forests, Report Book II, 1877–1901*, 317–321, Memorandum on Forest Reserves, March 32, 1899; "Forest Reserves Act," 61 VICTORIÆ REGINÆ, c. 10 (1898); *Report Book II*, 441–450, Forest Reserve at Lake Temagami, January 7, 1901; "Forest Reserves Amendment Act," 63 VICTORIÆ REGINÆ, c. 12 (1900).

The act for many was “the inauguration of a scientific forestry system in Ontario” and “the initial step in preparing for a rational system of forestry intended to ensure proper harvesting of existing stands of timber and to provide a perpetual source of income to the province.”<sup>338</sup> Southworth cautioned the commissioner against allowing extensive lumbering operations in reserves, stating that timber policy as stipulated in the *Crown Timber Act* conflicted with the forest reserves policy. He maintained that harvesting in reserves must be conducted under close supervision to maintain their productive capacity. Park creation became an effective way to enclose land and place it in the hands of administrators, which forced lumber companies into licensing agreements, ensured timber for industrialization, and constituted a form of primitive accumulation.<sup>339</sup>

Improving forest management in Ontario was a difficult undertaking, for many hurdles had to be overcome. In the words of Lambert, “[t]here were not many . . . who could devote their full time and energies to implementing the grand forestry design. . . . Yet, little by little, pragmatically, men began to put some of the specific measures into operation.”<sup>340</sup> The implementation of these early policies reveals a great appreciation and understanding of the finite and exhaustible nature of natural resources, not to mention the government’s role in generating a resilient forest infrastructure. Progressive men like Southworth would have a lasting impact on policy in Ontario, as they paved the way for forestry reform at the turn of the

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<sup>338</sup> Ontario, Clerk of Forestry, *Annual Report* (1896), 22–3. This was also expressed by Aubrey White: “the latest legislation providing for the establishment of forest reserves in a further step . . . designed not only to secure for the people the largest possible present return from the timbered area of the Crown domain, but to secure that revenue in perpetuity.” See Ontario, Legislative Assembly, *Annual Report of the Clerk of Forestry* (1899), 29.

<sup>339</sup> Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service*; B.W. Hodgins, J. Benidickson, and P. Gillis, “The Ontario and Quebec Experiments in Forest Reserves 1883–1930,” *Journal of Forest History* 26, no. 1 (1982): 20–33; Innis, *The Fur Trade*, Kelly, “The Changing Attitude”; Killian, *Protected Places*.

<sup>340</sup> Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature’s Wealth*, 181.

century.<sup>341</sup> During these formative years, the government recognized the general economic benefits that could be gained from the maintenance of a portion of one's property in timbered form. While the specific time period when public opinion shifted to viewing trees as something other than a cash crop is a matter of debate, the end of the nineteenth century marked a growth in public appreciation of nature and trees. The public began to acknowledge the environmental and aesthetic roles of the forest even as legislative and regulatory policies were taking shape.<sup>342</sup>

### **Federal Influences on Provincial Conservation Policies**

Prime Minister Laurier convened a Canadian Forestry Convention (CFC) in January 1906. The Liberals used this convention to situate themselves within the popular conservation movement in preparation for the upcoming federal election. News of the convention was received with enthusiasm, and those in attendance represented various stakeholders: industry, the public sector, academia and the political elite.<sup>343</sup> One of the keynote speakers was Gifford Pinchot, a man who had successfully managed the 1905 American Forestry Congress (AFC). The resolutions proposed at the AFC assisted in the passage of a bill that led the US Congress to transfer the administration of public lands from the General Lands Office of the Department of the Interior to Pinchot's bureau in the Department of Agriculture. Pinchot shared Stewart's ambition for Canada, recommending that Canada adopt an organized national forestry policy. In doing so, Pinchot argued that the Department of Agriculture would be able to evaluate land before it was

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<sup>341</sup> Fernow would go on to reference Southworth as the founder of Ontario forestry policy. See Fernow, B.E. "Forest Resources and Forestry," in *Canada and its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions*, edited by A. Shortt and A.G. Doughty (Toronto, ON: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1914–1917), 597.

<sup>342</sup> Allan Smith in his article "Farm, Forests, and Cities," addresses the *return back to nature mentality* that began to form in cities throughout the province in the last decade of the century.

<sup>343</sup> It was evident to those in attendance that tension was in the air. Members representing the federal government were calculated in their speech deliveries, trying to remain impartial on issues concerning forest regeneration and forest fires, so as not to place the onus on lumbermen. Gillis and Roach, *Lost Initiatives*, 60.

settled and all non-agricultural forest areas reserved, in order to promote the management of reserves by trained government employees, to improve federal fire-fighting efforts, including legislation to secure the cooperation of railway companies in controlling fires during construction and operation, and to encourage tree planting on the prairies.<sup>344</sup> An appeal was made by those in attendance for increased Dominion action in forest conservation and the consolidation of forest services under one agency. Frank Oliver, Sifton's predecessor as minister of the interior, introduced the *Dominion Forest Reserves Act* (DFRA) in March 1906.<sup>345</sup> The bill transferred the responsibility for all Crown forest reserves from the Timber and Grazing Branch to the superintendent of forestry.<sup>346</sup> Although the act did not directly implement the ideas discussed at the CFC, Laurier supported its adoption.<sup>347</sup> Debates over obtaining total control over

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<sup>344</sup> Canadian Forestry Association, *Report* (1906). These five points were echoed throughout the convention by various speakers. It was clear that the theme of establishing a national forestry policy was on everyone's mind.

<sup>345</sup> *The Dominion Forest Reserves Act* established twenty-one permanent forest reserves throughout the Dominion to protect the resource for the purpose of maintaining a continuous supply of timber, to benefit the water supply and to protect the wildlife within the reserves. See *Dominion Forest Reserves Act*, S.C. 1906, c. 14. See also Canada, House of Commons. Debates (1906), vol. I, 559. The second reading of the act was put before the house in early May and also seemed to resemble the resolutions passed at the CFC, but amendments had been made. Clauses that were implemented in the second version of the act exempted timber leaseholders from Forestry Branch control and omitted other clauses recommended by Stewart that would have allowed orders in council to be issued in creating and managing the regulation of forest reserves. In the federal experience, the term "forest reserves" was often equated with negative sentiments because many were under the belief that reserves meant locked-up resources. This misconception lacked validity, for the policies of the Forest Service favoured maximum use. In the pre-war era, many conservationists in North America did not believe in preservation—the desire to protect nature for current and future use. Many operated under the progressive liberal tradition that resources were there to be developed and that scientific management would result in more efficiency and eliminate proliferating practices, thereby leading to greater financial returns in both the short and long term. It was under this understanding that conservation was sold to the public. On this notion, see P.J. Smith, "The Principle of Utility and the Origins of Planning Legislation in Alberta, 1912–1975," in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. A.F.J. Artibise and G.A. Stelter (Toronto, ON: Macmillan, 1979), 198–202; S.P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959); R.C. Brown, "The Doctrine of Usefulness: Natural Resources and National Park Policy in Canada, 1887–1914," *The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow*, vol. 1 (1968), 94–110.

<sup>346</sup> Canada, House of Commons. Debates (1906), vol. II, 2832, 3318, 3412; vol. III, 5416, 5537, 5556. See Correspondence in RG39, vol. 259, file 3805–1.

<sup>347</sup> Laurier argued that the DFRA continued to provide the government with control over all Dominion forest land. This was, however, a fallacy because according to the leaseholder's agreement they effectively held their land indefinitely with no restrictions, as stipulated in the act. In the end, the rights of the timber leaseholder's stood and the act reminded as such.

all federal forestland would be revisited when the act was revised in 1911 to become the *Forest Reserves and National Parks Act*.<sup>348</sup>

The establishment of the Canadian Forestry Association in 1900, the convening of the Canadian Forest Convention and the passage of the 1906 *Dominion Forest Reserves Act* are representative of Canada's early actions towards sustainability. The policy actions taken by the Dominion helped establish the underlying forest management principles necessary for protecting forest resources and watersheds, maintaining soil productivity and regenerating forests. The implementation of sustainable forest management practices on public lands shows Canada's progression towards achieving a more holistic ecological approach.

The forestry sector, riding on the public's momentum, called for change. A 1909 policy paper by Conservative MP William Finlayson entitled "Forestry, a National Problem" addressed the federal government's role in forestry. Finlayson emphasized Robert Borden's view of "the necessity for consistent steps to take stock of the timber situation in this country . . . [and] the absolute necessity of thoroughly investigating the forest resources of the Dominion with a view to the development and application of rational methods of management."<sup>349</sup> The Crown could not escape the continuous debates over forestry and forest conservation within the Dominion because forestry was still seen as a problem.<sup>350</sup> This led to the creation of the Conservation Commission

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<sup>348</sup> The passing of the act from a policy perspective revealed the Liberals' commitment to compromise. See House of Commons. Debates (1911), vol. v, 8085, 8606–8023, 8650–8659.

<sup>349</sup> PAC RG39, vol. 411, file 40765, Policy Paper "Forestry a National Problem."

<sup>350</sup> The political power of Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot helped by providing guidance in Canada's conservation progress. In 1908 Roosevelt proposed hosting a North American Conservation Conference for Canada, the United States and Mexico as a way of discussing conservation issues common to all three countries. The 1909 Washington Conference, a co-operative meeting, provided "a common and joint endeavor to safeguard the interests of posterity and guard from further reckless waste and wanton destruction and to protect that great inheritance of natural resources with which providence has so bounteously endowed us." *Ottawa Citizen* (December 30, 1908). Sifton's efforts for actively promoting conservation measures in federal jurisdictions and his position as minister of the interior resulted in his invitation to be one of three Canadian delegates to the conference. See D.J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton*, 236–241.

of Canada in May 1909 as an advisory body to Prime Minister Laurier.<sup>351</sup> The creation of the commission was a departure for the Liberal government and marked a new chapter in conservation for the Dominion. Until this point, the Liberals had not shown any interest in developing, much less implementing, a conservation platform. The creation of the commission was chiefly through Sifton's efforts. The mandate of the commission was to oversee the conservation and judicious use of natural resources in Canada.<sup>352</sup> As a show of good faith, each provincial government was asked to establish a permanent Conservation Commission before a national natural resource management body could be created.<sup>353</sup> The result was an act establishing the Commission of Conservation on 19 May 1909.<sup>354</sup>

### **Changes in Attitude towards Forests: Creating a Landscape of Nostalgia**

The realization that natural resources were not infinite began to shape the conservation movement in Ontario and Canada. This change in attitude, Dufour argues, reflected the understanding that Canadian forests were no longer an "inexhaustible resource that could be exploited intensively with no effect on their renewal capacities." Instead, the idea of sustainable development took hold.<sup>355</sup> It was the realization that there needed to be balance that led to the

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<sup>351</sup> Primary data on the Canadian Forestry Service can be found in PAC RG39; Commission of Conservation, *Forest Protection in Canada, 1913–1914* (Toronto, ON: The Commission, 1915), 67–75. The commission had no legislative authority and reported directly to the prime minister.

<sup>352</sup> Eight categories of natural resources were identified, and each assigned its own committee: fisheries, game and fur-bearing animals, forests, lands, minerals, waters and water-powers, public health, and the press and co-operating organizations. See, Conservation Commission of Canada. *First Annual Report* (Ottawa, 1910) (hereafter cited as CCAR), vii, xv. Files from the commission contain images although not equally present from each of the committees. The surviving photographs can be found at LAC, Accession 1966–091. The largest collection of photographs comprises compilations from various studies of forests of Canada, depicting avoiding fires. Many of the images portray preferred practices of forestry, which include proper tidying of a site and disposal of slash after cutting.

<sup>353</sup> This system was based on the American model. See, G. Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (Washington, DC: Harcourt, Brace, 1947), 365.

<sup>354</sup> CCAR, vii–viii, ix–x. On April 8, 1910, the act was revised as an *Act Respecting the Commission for the Conservation of Natural Resources*. The commission's directive was based on the doctrine of efficient utilization of natural resources. See CCAR, viii.

<sup>355</sup> J. Dufour, "Towards Sustainable Development of Canada's Forests," 271.

adoption of MacMillan's view that forest use and forest conservation should not be two separate entities but viewed holistically; without a healthy forestry industry, forests in Canada would not survive.<sup>356</sup>

Alternatively, attitudes towards forests have also been constructed through anthropomorphic interpretations which helps evoke empathy and provide that thing or objective worthy of moral consideration. Seeing forests and landscapes through an anthropocentric lens helps situate how we feel in relation to them and what we need from them. It is apparent that Ontario was significantly influenced by the practice of enclosures-reserves as a means of land exploitation and environmental dispossession; establishing control over the land and restricting access to resources and wealth allowed for a select few to profit. The manufacturing of park spaces was a deliberate act that allowed for wilderness to be reimaged and refashioned, so that it could be deemed palatable and productive in the eyes of the state.<sup>357</sup> The need for order and control is also reminiscent of agricultural development in the early eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century, when spaces were created for similar reasons.

Beyond the symbiotic relationship naturally constructed between humans and nature, there external influences that directly shape our attitude and relationship with the environment. One of the most influential pressures being state actors. At the onset of the conservation movement the prominent narrative being bolster both federally and provincially was parks as a landscape of nostalgia. Tina Loo and Patricia Jasen both discuss the rising popularity of outdoor tourism in the province at the turn of the century, where interest in recreational travel, cottaging, hunting, camping and the like were on the rise.<sup>358</sup> Both scholars discuss the promotion of parks

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<sup>356</sup> Ibid.

<sup>357</sup> L. Porter, *Unlearning the Colonial Cultures of Planning* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010).

<sup>358</sup> T. Loo, "CHR forum—Making a Modern Wilderness: Conserving Wildlife in Twentieth-Century Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (Mar 2001): 92–121; P. Jasen, "Native People and the Tourist Industry in

as anti-modern, pristine, untouched wilderness. The rising popularity of the outdoors was endorsed by leisure magazines, juvenile literature, sporting goods and arms manufacturers as well as the railways.

As Loo points out, industrialization and urbanization balanced well with the Canadian landscape of lush forests and abundant wildlife. Promoting this outdoor lifestyle was aided by the development of intricate transportation networks. By the 1890s, Ontario was a premier destination for outdoor enthusiasts, and tourism was beginning to be recognized for its valuable economic assets.<sup>359</sup> To ensure the continued success of the outdoor tourism boom, the province had to provide consumers with the experience they sought, while maintaining a balance between preservation and entertainment. This meant centralized management strategies that served to protect and manage game resources. Ontario was the first province to re-evaluate its hunting game laws, creating a game warden office in 1892 to enforce revised and consolidated game laws.<sup>360</sup>

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Nineteenth-Century Ontario,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28, no. 4 (1993/1994): 5–27.

<sup>359</sup> The magazine *Rod and Gun* routinely addressed Ontario’s economic and environmental wealth. An example of such ramblings can be seen in the following 1909 excerpt, where Thomas Ritchie discusses conservation measures taken to protect the economic value of game and fish in the province:

The conservation of our game fish and other game is prospectively of more importance and of greater value to the people of the Province than all its gold and silver mines put together. . . . We know that the greater part of the wealth in the mines goes out of the country to individuals and companies outside the Province; what remains of it consists chiefly of wages for labour and for machinery in extracting the ore; the other brought by tourists is wealth consisting of money, all of which is left in the country (T. Ritchie, “Conservation of our Natural Resources: Economic Value of Game Fish and other Game,” *Rod and Gun* 11, no. 2 (July 1909): 126–7).

<sup>360</sup> The public management of Ontario’s wildlife resources did not occur until the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, when the province began to consolidate its “game laws and created a new bureaucracy . . . that centralized policy making and enforcement under one roof” (T. Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada’s Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 18.) This was a recommendation that came out of a 1890s Royal Commission Report on Ontario’s game and fish and the need to improve its current management practices. It would not be until 1907 that the Department of Game and Fisheries was created. This department eventually amalgamated into the Department of Lands and Forests in 1946. See also *Ontario Game and Fish Commission: Commissioners’ Report* (Toronto, ON: Warwick & Sons, 1892); J. Fisher, *Game Wardens: Men and Women in Conservation* (Toronto, ON: Queen’s Printer for Ontario, 1992), 15.

Part of this idealized outdoor experience involved catering to stereotypical ideas about Indigenous peoples. Moving further into the frontier of wilderness to access recreation areas meant interacting with Indigenous peoples. The interaction between traveller/tourist and Indigenous peoples is explored by Jasen in her paper “Native People and the Tourist Industry in Nineteenth-Century Ontario.” She discusses the cultural baggage tourists brought with them, hindering the intercultural dialogue and acting as another colonizing force. Travellers’ writing during this period reflect the fascination with a perceived primitive subsistence lifestyle. The image of Indigenous peoples was in a sense a depiction of a mythological man, often referred to as “wild man,” or “noble savage.”<sup>361</sup> Jasen examines these early texts and acknowledges the ambivalence that many Ontarians and new settlers felt not only about their environment but other cultures as well. These prefabricated images allowed tourists to choose how they wanted to view these peoples—whether in a flattering or degrading light. The proliferation of Indigenous stereotypes through images both written and visual reflected the larger assimilation agenda at play. Jasen argues that this ideological agenda mirrored the expansionist ideology. Therefore, it is important when studying these images to understand them within the context in which they were created. Jasen refers to W.J.T. Mitchell, who contends that tourists’ use of images should not be seen as “providing a transparent window on the world,” but “as a sort of sign that presents a deceptive appearance of naturalness and transparence [sic], concealing an opaque, distorting, arbitrary mechanism of representation.”<sup>362</sup> Travellers in Ontario understood the people and

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<sup>361</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s discourse on the origins of inequality speaks to the image of the wild man. For this discussion, see G. Symcox, “The Wild Man’s Return: The Enclosed Vision of Rousseau’s Discourses,” in *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. E. Dudley and M.E. Novak (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 223–47.

<sup>362</sup> W.T.J. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 8.

environment around them by drawing upon preconceived images and feelings, whether that was accepting, rejecting or romanticize what they experienced.<sup>363</sup>

As the province established more parks in response to rising interest in forested areas for recreation, the government and commercial entities both recognized the potential for economic expansion and diversification through increased tourism. While parks were an asset of the state, private enterprises provided a means to promote them. Parks were promoted through images and narratives that associated recreation in parks as part of the Canadian identity. No longer something to be feared, tamed or avoided, nature was now a desirable commodity to be experienced—leisurely—as part of the entire Canadian experience.

### **A Kodak Snapshot**

The motif of nature as a playground was not a new concept. Canada as a tourist haven had been discussed at the time of Confederation. By the turn of the century, Canada's green spaces were starting to be viewed more often as potential resorts and retreats. Leisure magazines emerged during this period, with a refreshed, pro-nature zeitgeist that helped raise the profile of outdoor activities.<sup>364</sup> *Canada Magazine*, in 1900, started promoting Canada's wondrous bounties with a series of articles highlighting the specific beauties found in each region of Canada. These articles were a means of attracting outdoor adventurers to Canada and its natural playground. This can be

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<sup>363</sup> Jasen, "Native People and the Tourist Industry," 10.

<sup>364</sup> The popularity of leisure magazines at the turn of the century increased substantially. Notably, many of them reflected a general interest in nature by publishing on various activities, sports and venues that urban dwellers could take part in. These publications included, but were not limited to, *Canadian Athletic* (Toronto, 1892), *Pastoral* (Toronto, 1901), *Rod and Gun* (Montreal, 1899), *Athletic Life* (Toronto, 1985), *Canadian Outdoor Life* (Toronto, 1907), *Outdoor Canada* (Toronto, 1905), *Western Canadian Sportsman* (Winnipeg, 1904), *Sports* (Halifax, 1908), *Canadian Sport* (Montreal, 1911) and *Canadian Alpine Journal* (Banff, 1907). The most popular magazine from the sample was *Rod and Gun*, which had the largest circulation, reaching over 18,000 in 1913. Outdoor activities discussed in these publications ranged from low impact activities, such as walking, biking, photography and bird watching, to more strenuous ones like canoeing, hiking and alpine climbing. Also worth noting are the children's stories of Ernest Thompson Seton, Charles G.D. Roberts and W.A. Fraser, whose first books dealt with the theme of nature, appearing in 1898, 1900 and 1902 respectively. These ranked among the best read Canadian books.

seen in J.A. Cooper's excerpt, which draws the reader's attention to the carefully preserved wilderness whose bountiful forests and rich wildlife provide an opportunity for anyone to escape the urban jungle and enjoy a natural oasis:

It is certain that Canada shall become more and more the resort of the summer traveler, especially from the United States. Her thousands of lakes and rivers afford plenty of sport after pleasant excitement, her vast forest preserves are still well stocked with the finest game in the world, and the natural beauty of the many regions, which the prosaic hand of civilization has not touched, affords rest to the tired man or women of the world.<sup>365</sup>

Similarly, the image of Canada's landscape as a natural playground was also used in publications like *Rod and Gun* (1899–1973), a counterpart to the American magazine *Field and Stream*, and CPR brochures. During the interwar years, *Rod and Gun* was the most popular sports and leisure magazine in Canada.<sup>366</sup> Initially designated as the primary publication of the Canadian Forestry Association (CFA), it also targeted the sports and leisure crowd by publishing articles on hunting and fishing, shooting competitions, local wildlife and natural histories of flora and fauna.<sup>367</sup> In particular, it highlighted the connection between forestry, conservation and game sports.<sup>368</sup>

While articles provided the hard facts and firsthand accounts of life in the outdoors, images, both

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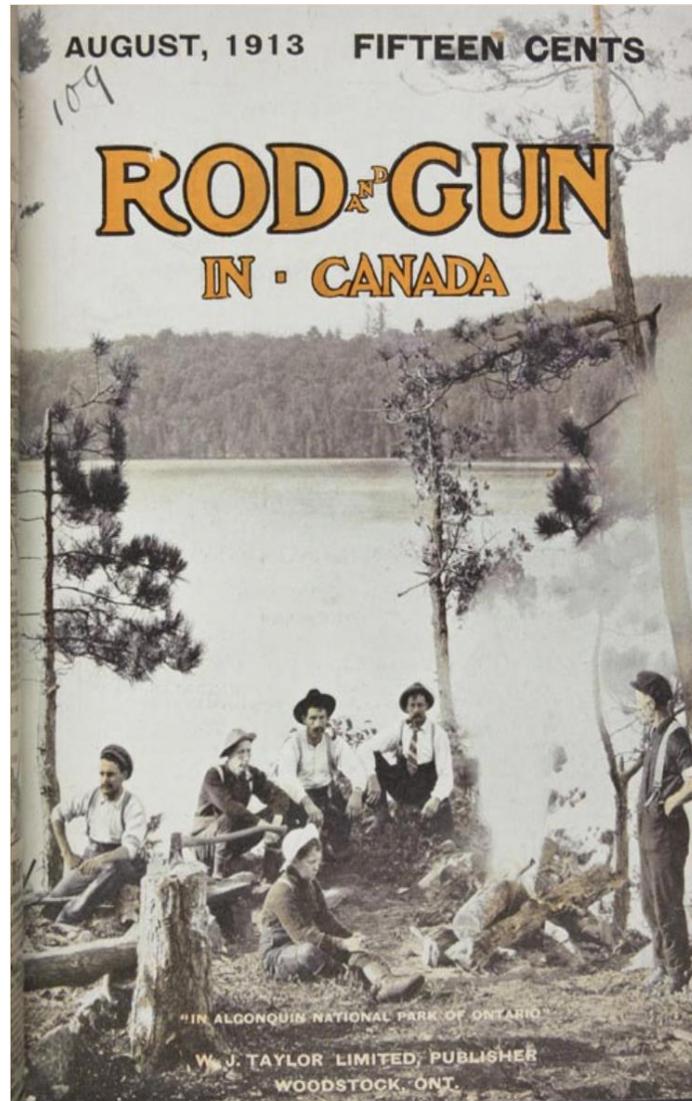
<sup>365</sup> J.A. Cooper, "Canada and the Tourist," *The Canadian Magazine* 15 (1900): 4. The theme of Canada as the natural playground of the world was also adopted by other leisure publications and CPR advertisements. See Wheeler, *Canada's Mountain Heritage: Address Delivered before the Toronto Canadian Club* (20 Dec. 1909), 63; J.W.A. Hickson, "Climbs in the Canadian Rockies," *The University Magazine* IX (Oct. 1910): 438; T.A. Langstaff, *The Canadian Mountain Regions as a National Asset*. Address delivered before the Toronto Canadian Club (13 Oct. 1910), 43; A.K. Evan, "Fish and Game Protection in Ontario," *Rod and Gun* (Aug. 1905), 310.

<sup>366</sup> Loo, *States of Nature*.

<sup>367</sup> Reports published in *Rod and Gun* on behalf of the CFA promoted the position that in a commercial age it was advantageous to adopt scientific methods to harvest the nation's lumber wealth, rather than exhausting resources. The reports highlighted that although Canada's forests were not in immediate danger of depletion, Canadians should not follow in the footsteps of their fellow Americans. This narrative of "good business practices" dominated the CFA first national convention in 1906. See *Rod and Gun*, II (March, 1900), 1.

<sup>368</sup> CFA launched its own publication in 1905, *The Canadian Forestry Journal*, which established itself as a nationally acclaimed publication brokering technical reports on the state of forests and articles promoting conservation of forest resources. CFA pushed for increased fire protection, more forest reserves, control of pulpwood harvesting, land classification and the adoption of forest management plans. The CFA eventually narrowed its focus to fire prevention, as competition from specialized organizations emerged after WWII. By 1959 the newsletter was absorbed by *Rod and Gun*. This acquisition reflected the importance and connection between forestry, conservation and game sports.

illustrated and photographic, visually sold the narrative of a “sportsman’s paradise.”<sup>369</sup> Figure 3.1 provides a sample of the cover art of *Rod and Gun* used to attract and promote outdoor leisure.



**Figure 3.1** *Rod and Gun in Canada* (August, 1913). “In Algonquin National Park of Ontario.”

The display of the outdoors and Canadians as northern people helped support the national identity narrative being championed at the time. Bolstering this national brand was an appreciation for the nation’s landscape as promoted by “the unlimited wealth Canada possesses

<sup>369</sup> P. Jasen. *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

in its magnificent waters stretches and boundless woodlands.”<sup>370</sup> The magazine promoted the holistic value of nature by including testimonials of the benefits of being outdoors:

There is no better way of putting in a vacation than passing it in the woods. Health and strength go hand in hand beneath the trees. What could be jollier than to lie at night before a roaring fire of hardwoods, the pure breath of heaven fanning one’s cheek, and the stars twinkling in the dark vault overhead. . . . An open air life will build up constitution, and a few weeks under canvas in summer is an admirable sequel to a winter’s grind at one’s profession or business.<sup>371</sup>

And as the “Wanderer” wrote, this allowed him to find his place in it:

It was as though Old Dame nature, that great placid, untroubled Mother of us all, had taken us quietly to her bosom, and as a mother soothes and “gentles” a tired and fretful child, had quietly cleared away the mists and cobwebs from the mind, soothed the tired spirits, and induced in both mind and body a comprehensive and deep-reaching peace and an unconcern for the things of the two busy world.<sup>372</sup>

The sentiments conveyed by this traveler touch on the changing landscape of urbanization and industrialization at the turn of the century. The desire to participate in an anti-modern society became a key marketing strategy used by sporting goods companies, popular fiction writers and railways.<sup>373</sup> The thriving market economy during the interwar years and the development of a middle class opened up a new market for leisure industry stakeholders. Figure 3.2 is a CPR brochure from 1916 and an example of how railway companies used the popularity of outdoor living to promote tourism and holiday travel.

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<sup>370</sup> *Rod and Gun* (1899): 7.

<sup>371</sup> C.A.B. “Camping Out,” *Rod and Gun* (August, 1901): 19

<sup>372</sup> Wanderer, *Rod and Gun* (1910): 623.

<sup>373</sup> The rise of consumer culture at the turn of the century shifted the Canadian Pacific marketing strategy, moving it away from colonization and settlement advertisements to travel/holiday advertisements that promoted the outdoors.

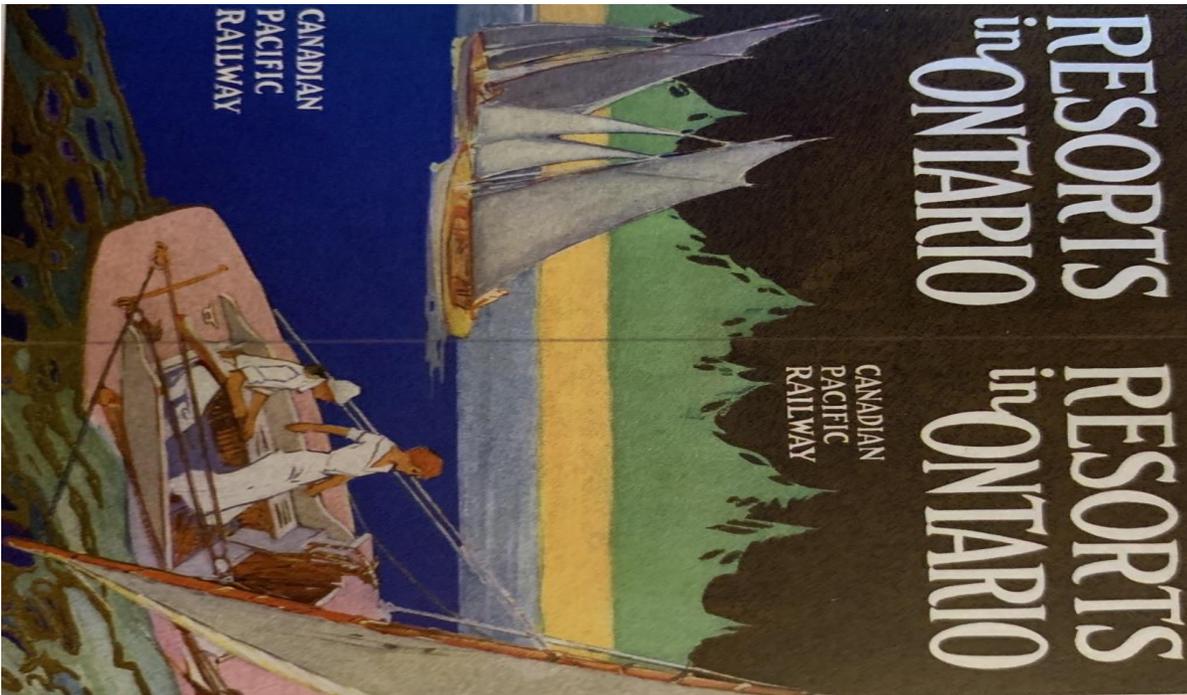


Figure 3.2 CPR Brochure, 1916



Figure 3.3 T.F. Poster for Canada Pacific. c. 1926

The importance of railways in marketing outdoor leisure is important especially before the advent of automotive travel as they were the primary means of travel next to steamships. Close ties were developed between railways and resort communities and hotels, with these two services often situated in close proximity to one other. Print ads, brochures and booklets were created by railways not only to advertise accommodations but the activities that were available to people visiting these remote areas (see Figure 3.3).<sup>374</sup> As the three figures suggest, there was an array of activities people could participate in regardless of their outdoor prowess or wealth.

As interest in and popularity of outdoor activities increased, so too did the need for ethical investing to protect and preserve these spaces. Participation and interaction with nature became a way of calculating one's self-worth. Hence, the position of the individual with regards to participation in nature became central to developing national identity and principles of sustainability and conservation. In finding our place within nature, we consequently become more curious about the dynamics of nature. In an article for *Maclean's*, Charles Emmett Barnes explored how the outdoors entices people to become invested in nature,

Each outing develops the power of observation to a wonderful degree. He is constantly on the lookout for something that he never saw before. Nature is full of surprises. He finds a new flower, a vine, a shrub, a tree. . . . He soon learns that the study of nature is inexhaustible, without end. Each flower or bird identified gives zest to the tramp, and the next Sunday's outing is looked forward to eagerly in anticipation of new discoveries.<sup>375</sup>

The drawback to investing in leisure is the illusion of control that it fostered within this emerging leisure class.<sup>376</sup> The commodification and objectification of nature transformed it from

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<sup>374</sup> Leonard Richmond illustrated such publications for the Canadian Pacific, including the brochure "Tours in Canada" (c. 1930), and designed many of the posters included in the booklet *The Enchantment of Canada* (c. 1930), which highlighted various services the railway provided its customers. See, M. Foran, N. Houlton and R. Gissing, *Roland Gissing: The People's Painter* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1988), 14-15.

<sup>375</sup> C.E. Barnes, "A Busy Man's Vacation," *Maclean's* (July 1907), 48-50.

<sup>376</sup> For a discussion on ego, as discussed through the illusion of control, see T. Brennan, *History after Lacan* (London: Routledge, 2002).

a resource to exploit into a space, access to which conferred class membership. Those able to participate in this lifestyle derived a sense of achievement from it and thus viewed themselves as the ones who determined the priorities for these spaces. Nevertheless, as Gerald Killan discusses, public support for the first provincial parks came from naturalists, hunting and fishing groups, along with industrial capitalists, bureaucrats, professionals and intellectuals. While these groups did not necessarily agree on why provincial parks were necessary, they all supported the cause. The significance of these outdoor groups is the political and economic clout they held, holding powerful social and economic positions within the province and Dominion.<sup>377</sup> Hence, it was not the leisure class that exerted the most control over natural spaces in Ontario but rather various special interest groups, each with their own agenda.

### **Developing Canada through Art**

Promotional material acted as the main vehicle for endorsing this back-to-nature movement to the public. Forests were promoted on two fronts: first, as leisure oases and, second, as resource hinterlands ready to be exploited. The National Parks Branch presented parks as natural playgrounds, where people could escape to an anti-modern world to enjoy nature in its pristine state. This “return to nature” propaganda linked parks with wellbeing, democracy and national pride. Images of tranquil lakes, rolling landscapes, dense forests and wildlife litter the pages of park brochures throughout the nation. Notably, the visuals in these publications seldom portrayed people, for the focus was geared toward creating the illusion of an untouched wonderland through the careful use of symbols that implied a specific experience awaited the target audience, namely, the emergent leisure class. As previously discussed, this narrative was in response to “the growth of crowded industrial cities and the simultaneous development of an easy means to

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<sup>377</sup> Killian, *Protected Places*.

escape them.”<sup>378</sup> Additionally, in targeting this demographic, park staff and conservationists hoped their influence and status would shift public attitudes about forests again, this time from nature as a recreational commodity to nature as a holistic social good. Nowhere is this next paradigm shift as evident than in the art from this period.

During the interwar years the state-sponsored drive for a singular national visual identity revealed themes similar to those promoted by the Last Best West campaign. This settlement campaign displayed the western peripheries as resource hinterlands that were ideal for hardworking immigrant farmers. Curated images of farmlands, resource wealth, prosperity, technological and transportation advancements, as well as nuclear families, were prominent fixtures in these advertisements. In contrast, national art from the interwar period showcased images of Canada’s resource peripheries reflecting a wilderness landscape without reference to civilizing elements. Many of the landscapes produced as part of this national campaign showcased Canada’s forestry wealth and untouched land—empty wilderness.<sup>379</sup> While this more

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<sup>378</sup> D. Cole, “Artists, Patrons and the Public: An Enquiry into the Success of the Group of Seven,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13 (Summer 1978): 69–78. See also Wall and Marsh, *Recreational Land Use*.

<sup>379</sup> An important distinction should be highlighted between the work displayed in London, England versus that of Paris, France. Some of the Group’s works were put on display in 1924 and 1925 at the Wembley exhibitions in London. The exhibitions were deemed a success for the National Gallery of Canada and the Group as they were able to demonstrate a modern national vision of Canada. This was also an opportunity for Canada to display its developing unique school of art. However, many critics argued that the art was retardatarie of British topographical art, thereby lacking any innovative style. In any regard, the two exhibitions were consolidated and shown in Paris at the Musée du Jeu de Paume, under the exhibition billed Exposition d’art canadien in April 1927. Like the previous exhibitions, many works displayed pieces from the Group’s works that reflected life in Canada. Unlike the installations in London, two retrospectives from deceased artists James Wilson Morrice and Tom Thomson and a sampling of art of the Indigenous peoples of Canada’s Northwestern coast were included in this Paris exhibition. Given the success of the London showings, it was believed that the 1927 exhibit would help provide the final catalyst in validating the Dominion’s claim to a unified and modern visual identity as embodied in the works of the Group and Tom Thomson’s landscapes of “empty wilderness.” This, however, was not the case. While the Paris exhibition was arguably the best representation of Canada, it received negative reviews from many critics who wrote that the Group’s work failed to exemplify nationalism, modernism and mastery. The Paris reviews were collected and suppressed from public consumption, while the Wembley reviews were disseminated and widely discussed and analyzed by historians. Charles Hill’s catalogue of the Group of Seven has been one of the first to acknowledge the significance of the exhibition in Paris, although it diminishes its importance. See C. Hill, *The Group of Seven for a Nation* (Ottawa, ON: National Gallery of Canada, 1995), 215–7. L.A. Dawn, “How Canada Stole the Idea of Native Art: The Group of Seven and Images of the Indian in the 1920’s” PhD diss. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2001), 58–93, attempts to identify what some of the possible failures of the Paris exhibition were. Dawn

primitive setting seems counterintuitive and regressive compared to the earlier settlement campaign, the goal was no longer settlement but rather appreciation and affirmation of a specific identity. Both the LBW and parks promotion campaigns promoted Canada's environmental imperialism, natural resource wealth and its unique northern environment. Hence, while the images and tactics used in each of the campaigns were different, they both achieved the same goal of selling Canada's unique landscape and wealth in ways appropriate to Canada's priorities at the time.

As Leslie Allan Dawn argues, the Group of Seven's work was necessary in formulating Canada's new national identity, not because it reaffirmed or represented Canadianness but rather because it filled an imposing gap in the narrative of the nation. As Bhabha writes,

[n]ations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind's eye. Such an image of the nation—or narration—might seem impossibly romantic and excessively metaphorical, but it is from those traditions of political thought and literary language that the nation emerges as a powerful historical idea in the west. An idea whose cultural compulsion lies in the impossible unity of the nation as a symbolic force. This is not to deny the attempt by nationalist discourses persistently to produce the idea of the nation as a continuous primeval present of the Volk.<sup>380</sup>

In 1920s Canada, it was understood by those who wished to develop a national culture and identity that the country had neither a rich history nor a Volk, or other qualities necessary for achieving nationhood. In addressing this lack of an established past, necessity and urgency facilitated the partnerships between institutions and the Group of Seven. In order to establish and

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also discusses the absence of Indigenous representation in the 1924 and 1925 Wembley exhibitions and its inclusion in the Paris exhibition. This addition of Indigenous material to the exhibition led to a dramatic shift in the critical responses. Dawn provides an examination of why the English reception was deemed a success while the Paris experience was viewed as an embarrassing failure that was concealed and written out of Canadian art history. See, Dawn, "How Canada Stole the Idea of Native Art," 94–115.

<sup>380</sup> .K. Bhabha, "DissemiNation: time narrative, and the margins of the modern nation," in *Nation and Narrative* edited by H.K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), 1.

promote this new identity, it was paramount to construct an autochthonic nation myth that would compensate for this lack of history and *volk*.<sup>381</sup>

As a collective, the Group and its associates established through their art that wilderness and capitalist modernity in Canada went hand in hand. The Group's depiction of the Canadian environment was influenced by contemporary ideas surrounding the environment and nationalism. As George Altmeyer argues, it is during the interwar years that the understanding of the environment changed, as people replaced the myths of nature as the enemy with a more positive image.<sup>382</sup> Fuelled by exponential urbanization, ultimately, people began perceiving themselves as part of nature rather than separate from it. Building on Altmeyer's thesis, William Cronon argues that the renewed appreciation of nature fostered the development of two key concepts: the sublime and the frontier.<sup>383</sup> Under the ethos of the sublime, wilderness held a place where one could be closer to God, while the frontier thesis, which could be applied to the Canadian experience as well, posited that the unique character of Americans was the result of living on the frontier.<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>381</sup> As Anderson argues, "[i]f nation-states are widely conceded to be 'new' and 'historical,' the nations to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past." B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 11.

<sup>382</sup> Altmeyer. "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada," 21–36. Based on A.J.M. Smith's *Book of Canadian Poetry*, Northrop Frye concluded that "Nature is consistently sinister and menacing in Canadian poetry," that, in fact, "the outstanding achievement of Canadian poetry is in the evocation of stark terror" in regard to Nature. N. Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press Inc., 1971), 142. Frye argues that this belief stems from the isolation that earlier settlers felt and their disconnect with England in this foreign land. Others continue to develop theses arguing that the insecurity that manifested itself in settlers as documented in literature displays Canada's image of nature as consumed with the "threat of disorder, irrational passion and violence, the crude, the mortal, and the absurd." Quoted taken from, C. Gaffield and P. Gaffield, *Consuming Canada: Readings in Environmental History* (Copp Clark: Toronto, 1995), 97. Also see the following works for a discussion on Canada's early depictions of nature in literature: N. Frye, "Canada and its Poetry," *Canadian Forum* XXIII (December 1943), 207–210; M.B. Kline, *Beyond the Land Itself: Views of Nature in Canada and the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 49; M. Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), 49; D.C. Jones, *Butterfly on Rock: A Study of Themes and Images in Canadian Literature* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 90.

<sup>383</sup> Also refer to W. Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (January 1996), 10, 13.

<sup>384</sup> The frontier thesis, also known as the Turner thesis, originated from Frederick Jackson Turner. He articulated this idea in his 1893 lecture "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Turner argued that life on the

What allowed these narratives and culture to thrive was the support of a national bourgeoisie, an entrepreneurial class of businessmen. As Barry Lord discusses, landscape art is a bourgeois art form, and the success of Canada developing its landscape art was contingent on garnering the support of this group.<sup>385</sup> Ontario, with its established urban centers and the natural resource wealth in the northeastern parts of the province provided the ideal conditions for the emergence of a capitalist class—Toronto would become the hub of the national bourgeoisie. It is no surprise then that Ontario was the focus of many of the works produced by the Group and its associates. Their art reflected the interests of the patron class, who provided the financial backing to create such works.<sup>386</sup> While the funding for the paintings was closely tied to the industrial growth produced by mining and lumber interests, the images produced gave the perception of the North as an uninhabited, pristine territory.<sup>387</sup>

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frontier meant a return “to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line,” where “the meeting point between savagery and civilization” were challenged. For Turner, the frontier developed the social recapitulation of the American character. As he claims, “the frontier is the line of most rapid Americanization.” It is this conquering of the frontier that reveals the presence and predominance of numerous cultural traits—“that coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and acquisitiveness; that practical inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things . . . that restless, nervous energy that dominates individuals,” all of which can be credited to the influence of the frontier. Later in the nineteenth century, expressions of these features began to emerge as “manifest destiny,” and western expansion facilitated the use of violence, often directed at Indigenous populations. Turner argued that this was a necessary path that needed to occur for the development of American society. Quotations from Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 37. See also Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness,” 10, 13.

<sup>385</sup> B. Lord. “The Group of Seven: A National Landscape Art,” in *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*, ed. J. O’Brian and P. White (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), 116. W.L. Morton encapsulates the significance of this hegemonic ideology about nature in his discussion on the implications of the Laurentian thesis. He warns against “a political imperialism of the metropolitan area” that will enforce the “uniformity of the metropolitan culture throughout the hinterlands.” The Laurentian thesis is based upon the belief that Canada was founded to advance the political and commercial interests of the old Upper and Lower Canadas through the gradual exploitation of key staple products by colonial merchants in the major metropolitan centers of the St. Lawrence River system. For a further discussion on the Laurentian Thesis, see D.G. Creighton and D. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence: A Study in Commerce and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2002). Quotation from W.L. Morton, “Clio in Canada: The Interpretations of Canadian History,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (April 1946): 231.

<sup>386</sup> Lord, “The Group of Seven,” 116–7.

<sup>387</sup> While many believed that they were viewing an unfiltered image of an unspoiled wilderness, paintings like Tom Thomson’s “View of a Height, Algonquin Park,” were painted in the midst of a logging camp. Thomson, as Robert Stacey and Dennis Reid argue, showcased the remnants of the logging industry’s activity within the park. See D. Reid, *Tom Thomson: Life and Work* (Toronto, ON: Art Canada Institute, 2015); R. Stacey, “Tom Thomson as Applied Artist,” in *Tom Thomson*, ed. D. Reid and C. C. Hill (Toronto/Ottawa, ON: Art Gallery of Ontario/National

### **Selling Nature to the Masses: The Advent of Automobiles**

Rapid urbanization and the departure from rural life did not sit well with many.<sup>388</sup> Unlike rural life, urban life was characterized by restrictive and confined spaces, noise pollution and a fast-paced lifestyle that valued competition and status markers.<sup>389</sup> This repressive environment fed into a value system in which economic progress and development were the most important. The robotic nature of urban living resulted in complacency and monotony.<sup>390</sup> Art, among other vices, provided an outlet from urban life, as landscape paintings reflected nature and spirituality and spurred many to reconnect with nature.<sup>391</sup> This immersion in the great outdoors, through summer camps, hunting trips and visits to national parks, created the shared illusion that people could still live and survive like their fore parents in the Canadian wilderness.<sup>392</sup>

While the development of intra- and interurban transportation systems in Canada began in urban cities, it was the development of the transcontinental railway and the construction of

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Gallery of Canada, 2002).

<sup>388</sup> P. Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880–1920," *Canadian Historical Association Papers* 6, no. 1 (1971): 203.

<sup>389</sup> Several articles published in *Rod and Gun* describe city life as artificial. See C.A.B, "Camping Out," *Rod and Gun* III (Aug 1901): 19; F.W. Wallace, "The Lure of the Open," *Rod and Gun* V (Oct. 1911): 518; F.W. Wallace, "The Lure of the Wild," *Rod and Gun* XII (Jul. 1910): 178.

<sup>390</sup> C.W. Nash, "The Bass of Ontario," *Canadian Magazine* XVII (Aug. 1901): 333.

<sup>391</sup> J.W. Dafoe's reflection on this departure back to nature captures the nuance of people's attitudes: "In these days the country has been discovered anew. No fact of contemporary life is more significant or more hopeful than this return to nature, for breathing space, for those whose daily walk is the tumultuous city streets." J.W. Dafoe, "A Day in the Laurentians," *Rod and Gun* I (Aug. 1899): 51.

<sup>392</sup> Altmeyer, "Three Ideas"; C. Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1970); R. Shields, *Place on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1991); D. Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp, 1997); D. Worster, "Wild, Tame and Free: Comparing Canadian and U.S. Views of Nature," in *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies*, ed. J.M. Findlay and K.S. Coates (Seattle: University of Washington Press in association with the Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest; Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 246–73; P.J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); T.J.J. Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transportation of American Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981); R. Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); Loo, *States of Nature*; S. Wall, *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920–55* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2009).

branch lines that made possible the exploitation of mineral and timber resources and the establishment of resource towns. The development of rural areas would not have been possible without investment in transportation infrastructure by the federal government. Developing roadways, bridges and ports led to the creation of corridors connecting Canadian cities to each other and the neighbourhoods within them. It also provided access to remote resource communities that supplied domestic and international markets, creating financial wealth within the province. Urban cities like Toronto were experiencing urban sprawl as a result of an improved transportation system and a rapid population growth.<sup>393</sup>

The automobile arguably was one of the most disruptive new technologies of the early twentieth century, and its role in the back-to-nature movement was no exception. According to Department of Lands and Forests (DLF) records, the influx of automobiles dramatically impacted cottaging in the province.<sup>394</sup> The significance of the automobile in Ontario has been documented by many scholars who have discussed the major shifts in both law and social patterns of work, crime, leisure and residence.<sup>395</sup> In 1903, Ontario contained an estimated 250 motor vehicles, which were primarily owned by the urban upper class.<sup>396</sup> By the 1920s, cars had become a popular form of transportation rather than an elite status symbol. This is clear by the rapid growth in ownership of vehicles in the province, from 535 in 1904 to 155,861 in 1920.<sup>397</sup>

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<sup>393</sup> R. Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada became Suburban, 1900–1960* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 56–70.

<sup>394</sup> Ontario, Department of Lands, Forests and Mines, *Information re Sale and Location of Public Lands* (Toronto, ON: King's Printer, 1908), 14; Ontario, Department of Lands, Forests and Mines, *Information re Sale and Location of Public Lands* (Toronto, ON: King's Printer, 1912), 12–3; Ontario, Department of Lands and Forests, *Summer Homes for Tourist, Campers and Sportsmen* (Toronto, ON: Department of Lands and Forests, 1930), 42, 51–5, 62; Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 295–6, 312, 366, 425–28.

<sup>395</sup> See B.Z. Khan, "Innovations in Law and Technology, 1790–1920," in *Cambridge History of Law in America*, ed. M. Grossberg and C. Tomlins (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); S. Davies, "Ontario and the Automobile, 1900–1930: Aspects of Technological Integration." Ph.D. Diss. (Hamilton: McMaster University, 1987); G.T. Bloomfield, "No Parking Here to Corner: London Reshaped by the Automobile, 1911–61," *Urban History Review* 2, no. 18 (1989): 140.

<sup>396</sup> *Toronto Globe* (1 September 1903), 11.

<sup>397</sup> S. Davies, "Reckless Walking Must be Discouraged: The Automobile Revolution and the Shaping of Modern

Their growing popularity was the result of lower manufacturing and ownership costs, making it a viable form of transportation for many people.<sup>398</sup> Still, the majority of automobile ownership was in the upper urban middle class, with rural residents only accounting for eighteen percent of the total number of vehicles owned in the province in 1914.<sup>399</sup>

Unlike other forms of recreation transportation, the automobile itself apart based on its ability to combine the pleasure of driving with the ability to endlessly explore new landscapes. The distinctive mobility of automobile travel is captured very succinctly by Marc Desportes, who stated the “automobile tourists...leave behind the overexposed places served by railroads...and seeks to conquer new and as yet infrequently visited sites.”<sup>400</sup> Unlike destination and resort-based tourism where the travellers venture from point A to B, auto tourism allows for the opportunity of discovery, flexibility and unplanned adventure where an unlimited number of stops can be made.

The availability of motor vehicles helped bolster the tourism industry in the province by increasing access to remote venues.<sup>401</sup> The liberty that the automobile afforded individuals caused rural populations to become concerned about the growing number of urban commuters abusing the network of rural roads and causing accidents. These concerns would eventually be shifted towards foreign drivers, primarily Americans, who were seen as the main source of the automotive problem in Ontario.<sup>402</sup> According to the 1914 report of the Public Roads and

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Urban Canada to 1930,” *Urban History Review* 2, no. 18 (1989): 123.

<sup>398</sup> A. Levine, *The Devil in Babylon: Fear of Progress and the Birth of Modern Life* (Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart, 2005), 233.

<sup>399</sup> D. Davis, “Dependent Motorization: Canada and the Automobile to the 1930s,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 21 (1986), 123.

<sup>400</sup> M. Desportes, *Paysages en mouvement: transports et perception de l’espace, XVIIIe-CCe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 234.

<sup>401</sup> Geoffrey Wall and John Marsh discuss the role farmers played in helping develop remote access routes that would go on to serve tourists in Ontario. See Wall and March, *Recreational Land Use*, 134–5.

<sup>402</sup> An example of such abuse was found in the 13 May 1903 correspondence between Alexander Bartlet, a Windsor Police magistrate, and J.W. Gibson, the previous attorney general in Ontario, who complained that “persons from

Highways Commission of Ontario, a quarter of the registered vehicles on the road in the province had an American license plate.<sup>403</sup> Improvements to the highway infrastructure came at the behest of tourists, primarily from the United States, who made up the largest portion of vehicle ownership in the world and were exercising their mobile freedom by traveling extensively.<sup>404</sup> As a means of luring American tourists to Ontario, improvements to provincial roadways were undertaken, and priorities were given to the construction of highways.<sup>405</sup> The road construction in the 1920s was aimed at linking resource regions and isolated communities to the rest of the province; which provincial authorities and local boosters quickly identified and promoted the tourism potential in these areas. Maintaining good quality roads would be key to growing tourism and travel within the province, as all stakeholders involved agreed that “good roads have led to the birth of our tourism industry...and maintaining good roads will allow for us to retain these new customers.”<sup>406</sup> Maintaining the quality of roads was not the priority, as they

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the City of Detroit coming over with those machines driving at a furious rate, more especially if the driver is under the influence of liquor.” Bartlet to JW Gibson, 13 May 1903, OA, RG 4-32, MS 7592. With the rise in popularity of motor vehicles, came the public outcry to develop regulatory frameworks for automobiles. The *Motor Vehicles Act* was enacted in 1903 under Liberal Premier George William Ross. Over the next twenty years, the Act would undergo several amendments, only to be revamped in 1923. For a discussion on motor vehicle regulation in Ontario during the early twentieth century, see C. Los, “A Danger and a Nuisance: Regulating the Automobile in Ontario, 1903–1912,” *Ontario History* 106, no. 2 (2014): 143–164.

<sup>403</sup> This figure was calculated from the report Public Roads and Highways Commission. Report of the Public Roads and Highways Commission of Ontario, 1913 (Toronto, ON: King’s Printer, 1914), 100–5. The rise in American tourists in Ontario can also be traced to the high rate of foreign ownership. See R.I. Wolfe, “Summer Cottagers in Ontario,” *Economic Geography* 27 (1951): 10–32.

<sup>404</sup> For evidence of American motor tourists in Canada, see J.J. Flink, *The Automobile Age* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 129; J.A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985). 202–5.

<sup>405</sup> In 1917 a highway was constructed between Toronto and Hamilton, connecting the two cities. This was followed in the 1920s with the Ferguson highway that ran north into the Canadian Shield and a highway between Huntsville and Whitney in the 1930s that provided motorists with access to Algonquin Provincial Park. Each of these improvements to the transportation infrastructure in the province helped lure tourists from United States to the province. For further discussion, see Ontario. Ministry of Transportation and Communications, *Footpaths to Freeways: The Story of Ontario’s Roads* (Downsview, ON: Ministry of Transportation and Communications, 1984), 68–9, 77; R. Stamp, *QEW: Canada’s First Superhighway* (Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1987); E.C. Guillet, *Story of Canadian Roads* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 156, 161–2; Davis, “Dependent Motorization,” 64–6.

<sup>406</sup> Peto, “À propos de Voirie,” *La Revue Municipale* 4, no. 8 (1926), 271.

also had to feel welcoming. The beautification of roads was seen as directly related to tourism and a number of projects were undertaken by the province to improve the image of roadsides by investing in landscaping.<sup>407</sup>

Ontario sought to promote automobile travel on its highways by highlighting the quality of the roads, the manicured landscape that surrounded them, and the picturesque beauty of the province in general. This emphasis on a maintained yet natural landscape fuelled antimodern sentiments which championed the creation of beauty through order. Unlike Quebec, which showed driving through areas like Charlevoix or the Gaspé Peninsula, Ontario focused its attention on adventurism highlighting more distantly remote areas to sparking a sense of excitement in exploring an “untouched” environment.<sup>408</sup>

Canadians themselves were not immune to automobile travel; they too were drawn in by the advertisements that promoted this lifestyle trend. Automobile manufacturers, starting in the 1920s, placed ads in various leisure magazines that displayed upper-middle-class families traveling through remote, picturesque rural landscapes. Unlike ads that provided detailed descriptions of a car’s features, these ads targeted the family man and served two primary purposes: they proposed that rural roads were ideal for showcasing and testing the car’s performance capabilities and also suggested cars facilitated a healthy lifestyle by providing transportation to rural areas where one could bask in the benefits of nature. The wholesome

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<sup>407</sup> The Ontario Association of Horticultural Societies discussed conservation and tree planting at their annual conference in 1937, and planned to plant roadside trees between Pembroke and Ottawa. Automobile clubs in Ontario took on independent projects to plant trees along provincial highways and rural roads to beautify travel routes. It was even suggested that planting be part of the Coronation Project for Canadians to commemorate their allegiance to the new King, George VI. *Farmer’s Advocate* (hereafter *FA*), 14 January 1937, 22; *FA*, 11 March 1937, 142-3; *Chatham Daily News*, 16 March 1935, front page. Most of these projects were volunteer driven and based attracting special interest groups.

<sup>408</sup> Maude-Emmanuelle Lambert. “Automobile Tourism in Quebec and Ontario: Development, Promotion and Representations, 1920-1945,” in *Moving Natures: Mobility and Environment in Canadian History*, ed. B. Bradley, J. Young and C.M. Coates (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2016), 299-322.

domestic lifestyle that the car symbolized was eminently compatible with the national narrative that was being promoted. The advent of the motor vehicle not only helped tourism but also promoted nature and the health benefits of disconnecting from industrial city life. With the rise of consumer culture in North America, the tourism trade began to thrive, fuelling the creation of camps, campgrounds and other leisure-based businesses.<sup>409</sup>

Although advertising usually targeted the presumed male owners of cars, advertisers did not neglect the female demographic. “Every woman who loves Nature—and what woman does not!—should enjoy all the ‘rare days’ of this perfect month in the open air,” read a 1925 Ford advert taken out in *The Canadian Magazine* (see Figure 3.4). Covering about sixty percent of the page is an illustration of two upper-middle-class women in the midst of taking a ride in a new two-door Ford car. Set in a suburban neighbourhood, a man, presumably hired help as indicated by an apron, approaches the car with a box full of supplies, possibly indicating a lengthier trip for the ladies. The adjoining text describes the desire to take advantage of the summer weather, suggesting a journey into the great outdoors. The dependability and efficient design of the vehicle, according to the ad, makes it easy for anyone to operate.<sup>410</sup>

Likewise, advertisement for the 1930 Ford (Figure 3.5) offers a similar message, but this time the protagonists are a young couple taking in the natural landscape along a rural road. From the comfort and safety of a vehicle pulled over on the side of a gravel road, a woman watches

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<sup>409</sup> W.J. Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel: 1910–1945* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979); R.I. Wolfe, “The Changing Patterns of Tourism in Ontario,” in *Profiles of a Province: Studies in the History of Ontario*, ed. E.G. Firth (Toronto, ON: Ontario Historical Society, 1967), 173–7; Davies, “Ontario and the Automobile”; Davies, “Reckless Walking”; S. Pryke, *Huntsville: With Spirit and Resolve* (Huntsville, ON: Fox Meadow Creations, 2000), 86, 158–61.

<sup>410</sup> Not discussed is how automotive advertisements used gender, class and race. Other studies have. The role of women in advertising in the 1920s and 1930s in the United States has been studied. See Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*. Similar trends can be found in the examination of female representation in railway ads during the interwar years. See R. Harrington. “Beyond the Bathing Belle: Images of Women in Inter-War Railway Publicity,” *The Journal of Transport History* 25, no. 1 (2004): 22–66.

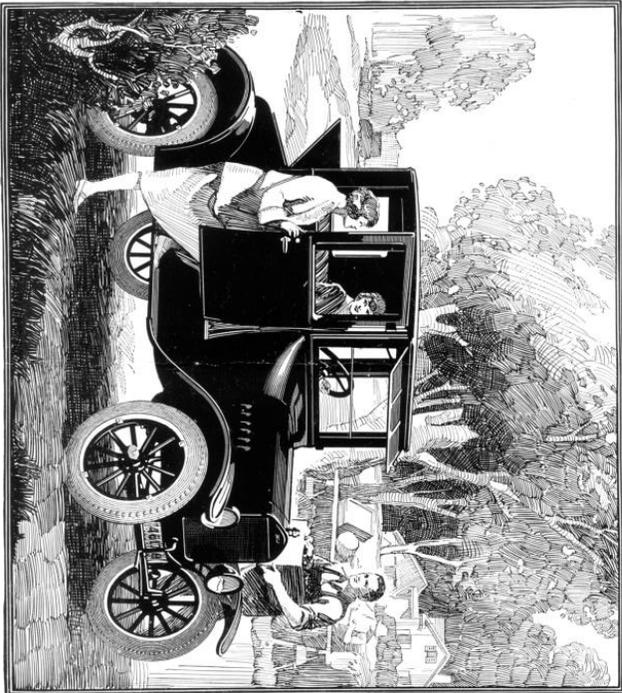
while a young, well-dressed man calmly approaches a lone bear cub. Though the focus of the ad is on the black sedan, the background displays an untouched wilderness, symbolizing both adventure and health.<sup>411</sup> The unspoken implication is that this encounter is possible only within a setting of natural beauty removed from the city. While both ads target a different audience, their promotion of nature tourism is similar.

The liberation and freedom that automobiles provided people with in the 1920s opened a new chapter for tourism in the province. While the province was still developing its network of provincial highways, rural roads provided access to areas like Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching, which offered car owners access to natural recreational lands. Many took advantage of these areas, providing the impetus for the resort boom in the 1920s. This shift in transportation preference also changed how the DLF allocated lots for cottages, given that accessing areas that were in the wilderness and away from ports and railways was now possible. The Department of Lands and Forest 1939 annual report states, a remarkable increase in the number of inquires for cottage sites was the result of opening new roads into the watered areas of the North.<sup>412</sup>

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411 The description of untouched wilderness was a common descriptor used by promoters to describe Ontario's backwards in the early twentieth century. Muskoka was one such example. It was promoted as an untouched wilderness paradise, despite the area being settled and used for logging. See P. Jasen, *Wild Things*. The same can be said for the characterization of cottage country, where "wild wonderland" and "unspoiled, unroaded, and largely untrodden" were commonly used. See G. Donaldson, "Severn Falls—Gateway to a Wild Wonderland," *Toronto Telegram* (7 June 1958): 27.

<sup>412</sup> Ontario, *Department of Lands and Forests Annual Report* (1939), 11. For discussions on lot allocation, transportation improvements, and increased tourism, see Ontario. Department of Lands and Forests, *Annual Report* (1925), 9; Killian, *Protected Places*, 53.



Every woman who loves Nature — and what woman does not! — should enjoy all the “rare days” of this perfect month in the open air.

With a Ford car at her disposal she can revel in June air and scene to her heart’s content. Distance is covered and her time and strength conserved.

For not only is a Ford car presently dependable and easy for any woman to handle, but its economy prevents all worry as to expense — either of original cost or upkeep.

Your nearest Ford dealer will gladly demonstrate any model at your convenience and without charge.

  
 CLOSED CARS

Figure

3.4 Ford Advertisement. *The Canadian Magazine*, May 1925

THE LITERARY DIGEST FOR AUGUST 23, 1930



**THE NEW FORD SPORT COUPE**

The beauty of the new Ford, as appears in line and color, extends also to the upholstery and appointments. You note it as you open the doors and see the attractive interior. You find it also in those important little details of trim and finish which a woman's practiced eye is quick to catch. There is about the car a distinctive style or tone which reflects the substantial quality that has been built into it. In external design, as in mechanical construction, the new Ford has been made to endure.

### After the First Twenty-Five Thousand Miles

THE value of sound design, good materials, and careful construction is especially apparent in the new Ford after the first twenty-five thousand miles. \* \* \* \* \*

Long, continuous service emphasizes the mechanical reliability of the car and its economy of operation and up-keep. The passing months and years bring a growing pride in its appearance and an increasing respect for the substantial worth that has been built into it. From every standpoint you know you have made a far-seeing, satisfactory purchase. \* \* \* \* \*

Throughout the Ford you will find many reasons for its alert, capable performance and many instances of value far above the price you pay. \* \* \* \* \*

Prominent among these are the four Houdaille double-acting hydraulic shock absorbers, Triplex shatter-proof glass windshield, fully enclosed four-wheel brakes, five steel-spoke wheels, aluminum pistons, chrome silicon alloy valves, chrome alloy transmission gears and shafts, torque-tube drive, three-quarter floating rear axle, more than twenty ball and roller bearings, and bright, enduring Rustless Steel for many exterior parts. Unusual accuracy in manufacturing is another feature of the Ford car. \* \* \*



**FORD**

FORD MOTOR COMPANY

**THE NEW FORD TUDOR SEDAN**  
Long trips are pleasant in the new Ford because of its surprising comfort. The restful, well-upholstered seats invite you to sit back and relax and enjoy the pleasure of the passing miles. Smoothly, surely, you travel along because of the specially designed transverse springs and four Houdaille double-acting hydraulic shock absorbers. They cushion the car against hard pits and bumps, eliminate unpleasant bumps, and smooth your path along every highway.

Figure 3.5 Ford Advertisement. *The Literary Digest*, 23 August 1930

Automobiles began replacing mass transportation as the preferred travel method, which changed the social construct of cottage life. The changing socio-economic climate in the province now afforded a working class the opportunity to bask in inexpensive waterfront properties. The resort communities and lavish summer homes that once populated the provincial parks were now being exchanged for smaller properties that exuded a less formal atmosphere. This new class of cottagers who traveled by automobiles was no longer forced to mingle with strangers. Instead, this more intimate form of travel allowed them to reach their destination privately and on their own accord. Accessing areas further into the parks allowed cottages more privacy and intimacy, creating a closer-knit sense of community predicated on a family connection as opposed to a social one.<sup>413</sup>

Car culture was a microcosm of the consumer culture of the time. Understanding this is essential for understanding the emerging spirit of nationalism and how an increased appreciation of landscape helped sell Ontario as an attraction domestically and internationally. This largely applied to the American experience as well.<sup>414</sup> Tourism made it possible for the province to define itself while showcasing its pride and appreciation of its unique landscape. Automobiles into the postwar period continued to remain a trending commodity, which helped democratize cottage life further, which in turn played a significant role in shaping park design.<sup>415</sup> As John Sandlos reflects, the Dominion Parks Branch utilized the growing automobile trend to its advantage to expand and develop a highway network catering to the outdoor tourist culture.<sup>416</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> Wolfe, "The Changing Patterns of Tourism."

<sup>414</sup> See the works of John Sear and F.R. Dulles for a discussion on tourist attraction scholarship. J. Sear, *Scared Places: American Tourist Attraction of the Nineteenth Century* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989); F.R. Dulles, *A History of Recreation: America Learns to Play* (New York, NY: Appleton-Century, 1965).

<sup>415</sup> Wolfe, "The Changing Patterns of Tourism."

<sup>416</sup> J. Sandlos. "Nature's Playgrounds: The Parks Branch and Tourism Promotion in the National Parks, 1911–1929," *A Century of Parks in Canada, 1911–2011*, ed. Claire Elizabeth Campbell (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2011), 53–78.

What becomes evident through this examination of car culture in Ontario during the 1920s to 1940s is that while it plays a significant role in tourism, it gives forests a new importance within this back to nature movement. The narratives and promotional campaigns in Ontario were based upon the outdoors and therefore the need to preserve these natural spaces was becoming pertinent. The construction of the highway in the 1930s, multiple land use policies being adopted, along with a rising upper middle class in urban centres, primarily in southern Ontario, led to governments being more aware of the potential of forests. Investment in forests for leisure was now possible based several factors – the economic boom from 1945 – 1970s, population growth, urbanization, higher standards of living, increased level of leisure time, more personal mobility, American tourism, a desire for the outdoors, and a younger and more education population. Ontarians had the time, money, resources and desire to be outdoors, which lead to provincial investment in creating new park spaces. In 1954, Ontario passed a new *Provincial Parks Act* and created a Division of Parks within the Department of Lands and Forests. Following this move was the expansion of provincial parks, which grew rapidly from 8 to 94 in 1967.<sup>417</sup>

In the early twentieth century, Ontario began taking a more progressive stance in its resource legislation. This position allowed for much needed forest conservation reforms to be introduced. Historically, this period can be seen as a pivotal point in Ontario's path towards sustainable forestry. It laid the foundation for forest policy to adopt scientific methods and rationale in managing forests. The *Forest Reserves Act* was a critical benchmark for this because it provided the rationale for forests being a public resource.

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<sup>417</sup> Killian, *Protected Places*, 74.

Although this period saw the rise of conservationism as a significant influence on government policy, this should not be confused with governments embracing conservation for conservation's sake. As H.R. MacMillan suggests, conservation was never the dominant policy perspective at either level of government:

The central governments of Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia set aside large areas of forest reserves and parks. Retaining title to forest land and creating specific reserves, with sketchy attention to forest fires were a long time the only important Canadian forest policies. The intention was partly to ensure the orderly settlement of the country, partly to prevent the indiscriminate conservation of essentially forest land for agriculture, and partly to ensure a return to the government of the value of the virgin timber cut.<sup>418</sup>

In this way, conservation was a means to a broader end of maintaining state control over the forest resource, which had more value than merely its extractive potential. The goal was sometimes preservation but more often an improved *use* of the forest in a way that maintained the resource's integrity in perpetuity. This shift of focus from profiting off commercial timber to achieving a balance in the perspectives of various stakeholders required increased public consultation as well as the implementation of sound forestry practices.

There is a strong correlation between land policy and the image of forests. As Nelles argues, forests, even into the twentieth century, still served to facilitate agriculture, human settlement, western development and a transportation infrastructure. Conservation of this resource was but a secondary priority.<sup>419</sup> How the government chose to promote forests was directly influenced by its objectives for the land. While it was necessary to protect forests and their inhabitants, the creation of parks was primarily financially motivated. From an external

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<sup>418</sup> H.R. MacMillan, *The Profession and Practice of Forestry in Canada, 1907–1957* (Toronto, ON: Faculty of Forestry, University of Toronto, 1957).

<sup>419</sup> “Even as late as 1901, a deputy minister of Crown lands in Ontario confessed that the settlement of “industrious thrifty people who intend to farm was still the first principle of forest administration, to which was subordinate the conservation of the revenue derived from lands and timber.” Quoted in Nelles, *Politics of Development*, 184.

perspective, the image of forests in certain parks could be interpreted as a protectionist measure to ensure the forest's welfare. While there is some truth to this, a deeper analysis reveals the added layers of rationale for maintaining such spaces rooted in revenue, power and control.

Forestry policy and promotion became more complex and dynamic in response to shifting public interests from settler, squatter and lumberman to more diverse demographics of urban/rural and leisure/working class.

## Chapter 4 The Golden Era of the Staple State, 1910s-1950s

The conservation movement in Ontario began with the understanding of two prevailing discourses. According to Gerald Killian, one either subscribed to the *gospel of efficiency* or the *doctrine of unselfishness*.<sup>420</sup> The gospel of efficient, or wise use, emphasized utility, scientific management and profit from the extraction of natural resources. In contrast, the proponents of the doctrine of unselfishness focused their attention on protecting the aesthetic and wildlife as they believed that it was their moral responsibility to preserve resources for future generations. Killian contends that these views were not mutually exclusive, but rather existed on a spectrum. Depending on when in Ontario's history, these two schools of thought variously overlapped or diverged.

The industrial revolution at the turn of the twentieth century assisted in developing a "new generation of staples": agriculture in the western provinces, pulp and paper industry in Ontario, oil and gas extraction and what was to become the hydro-electric industry. Nelles refers to this period as "new industrialism," which saw the rapid rise of staple production in all provinces. Part of the economic success and population growth of this period can be credited to the immigration policy of the federal government (see chapter two). It is during this period that conservation of the burgeoning Canadian forest sector became a prominent political issue.

In the period following the 1898 *Forest Reserves Act*, governments adopted a favourable disposition towards forests and the acceptance of forestry as a science. The development of forestry policies that followed was the result of conservation-minded individuals who understood the importance of balancing human's and forest's needs. While this period resulted in the rise of

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<sup>420</sup> G. Killian, *Protected Places: A History of Ontario's Provincial Park System* (Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press and Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1993), 1.

the professional forester and concerns for forest sustainability, Nelles suggests that after the *Forest Reserves Act*, changes in Ontario's attitude were in contrast to the policies that followed:

Officially at least this extractive mentality governed Ontario forest policy long after the symbiotic relationship between the lumbermen and the settler had ceased to be a reality (after the *Forest Reserves Act*). . . . However, within a few years, the notion of the forest as a permanent, renewable resource became the new orthodoxy. A tightly knit, ably directed, and well developed conservation movement . . . was almost totally responsible for this reversal of old priorities.<sup>421</sup>

The conservation movement was largely driven by the emerging professional forester. These foresters approached the movement with ambitious goals, but which lacked focus and direction. An examination of Ontario's early conservation movement reveals that an improved use of forests with provisions for ensuring future use in perpetuity was promoted over preservation of forests in their natural state. For this movement to gain traction and be successful, it was imperative to enlist public input into the development of sound forestry practices and policy, for the public ultimately stood to benefit from their implementation. The movement attracted supporters from all backgrounds, including unwelcome enthusiasts in the form of lumbermen. The early reformist attitude of professional foresters and civil servants was, unfortunately, overshadowed by lumbermen who reshaped the conservation movement to suit their objectives. Nelles describes their contribution to the movement:

[Lumbermen] professed a deep concern for sound conservation principles; each felt that he was a fast friend of the forest and, to be fair, some were in fact genuine, well-informed proponents of forestry. Nevertheless, it is also perfectly clear that both the lumbermen and the pulpmen tried to use the conservation movement either in self-defence or in pursuit of tactical objectives.<sup>422</sup>

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<sup>421</sup> Nelles, *The Politics of Development*, 184.

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

Thomas Southworth and Judson F. Clark were provincial government allies of the reform movement, and during their terms in office pressed for responsible action.<sup>423</sup> Unfortunately, the provincial government failed to implement many of the progressive suggestions that these men brought forward. In contrast, the Liberals under Wilfrid Laurier publicly supported the movement, convening the 1906 Canadian Forest Convention in Montreal. However, as Peter Gillis and Thomas Roach argue, this was merely a ploy to “identify themselves with the conservation issue popularly championed by President Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot in the United States.”<sup>424</sup> The convention highlighted the need for improving the bureaucratic decision-making process within the forestry sector and led to the creation of forestry schools and provinces establishing their own forest services.

Programs of reforestation, the development of a forestry school and education materials were introduced in the province as well as changes to licensing. While conservation efforts were being discussed and adopted, Ontario still had expansion of its industrial activities on its mind. The opportunity to address these goals for expansion northward would be realized in the forest. Forests provided the opportunity for three major industries to develop: logging, sawmilling and manufacturing pulp and paper. This was made possible by the opening up of new districts and the recently completed railways allowed for the expansion of the pulp and paper industry throughout the twenties.<sup>425</sup> At the same time, many large sawmill operations were shutting down, and the sawn lumber stands were redirected to the growing pulpwood sector. Pulp and paper mills along the north shore of Lake Superior following the railways were established. Forests from Ontario to Newfoundland were pillaged for their pulpwood. Trees were cut, de-barked and

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<sup>423</sup> Judson F. Clark was Ontario’s first Provincial Forester (1904-1906).

<sup>424</sup> T.L. Burton, *Natural Resource Policy in Canada* (Toronto, 1972); Gillis and Roach, *Lost Initiatives*.

<sup>425</sup> Mining operations also benefited from the development of railway infrastructure and the growth experienced within the forestry sector.

shipped by water to mills. The northwest expansion of the Dominion was facilitated by policies that controlled forest and hydro power resources. The pro-business stance of the 1920s reflected the Dominion's desire for revenue generation through resource exploitation. Ontario, like the rest of the Dominion, was granting large concessions to resource developers, who were operating with minimal government oversight and stripping these areas for their desired forest products. These are examples of how government-industry relations were shaped by lenient policies, which resulted in the cessation of forestry reforms.

Movement, stagnation and reform describe the beginnings of the conservation movement in Ontario. The movement was born out of necessity, initially influenced by professional foresters and sympathetic civil servants. However, it was taken over by industrialists who reframed the movement to suit their purposes. The relationship between industry and government played a significant role throughout the early twentieth century as their partnership, while symbiotic, was not always beneficent towards the environment. This chapter focuses on Ontario's desire for power and control during the early stages of the conservation movement, highlighting the hurdles and missteps that eventually lead the province back to its path to sustainability. This chapter discusses the influential power that forest industrialist remain to have over government decision on forestry based upon the regressive policy adopts that favour industry needs over conservation. Unlike the previous chapter the focus is now on Northern Ontario as appose to Ontario or Canada as a whole. While developments within the forestry sector are discussed, the focus remains on the growing public interest in land use for leisure, which led to reform in policy to placate industry. Growing tensions among the forest industry and provincial government stakeholders led to forest fire protection legislation and campaigning that tried to mitigate the destruction of forest. Aiding this effort, as will be discussed in this

chapter, were three significant conflagrations that resulted in death and millions of dollars in lost revenue due to the burning of hundreds of thousands of acres of viable timber. The impact of these fires on the province and the public push to adopt more stringent fire prevention measures and regulations were beginning to be addressed. The chapter concludes with an exploration of promotional materials on forest fire prevention produced for public and industry dissemination. The interplay of genres and forms assisted the government in manufacturing its narrative of public responsibility of forests.

### **Rise of Forestry**

The creation of forest reserves was a major step towards conservation, although it was not followed by any substantive forest management policy addressing cutting methods. Reserve policies reflected a traditional path for the government, which supported the expansion of the forest industry. When reserves were first developed, the intent was to maintain their primeval state. However, this conflicted with the province's revenue-based timber policy and consequently reserves were opened to licensing. Conservationists urged for the implementation of harvesting regulations, but to no avail; reform measures were never adopted and reserve management lapsed. The newly elected Conservative government in 1906 continued to uphold the Liberal reserve policy; the state of the reserves could be described as "little more than private preserves for the lumber industry which could be raided and plundered by anyone with political influence."<sup>426</sup>

As the forestry industry's power and influence grew in the province, conservationists emerged as a countervailing voice. Conservationists promoted greater forestry education, both

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<sup>426</sup> Nelles, *Politics of Development*, 211–2. Settlements were excluded from reserves. This was done intentionally as a way of diverting the lumbering–settlement conflicts that persisted.

for professionals in the industry as well as for the public at large. In addition to enhanced educational programming, conservationists advocated for concrete government reforestation policies. Conservationists did not seek to curtail industry, but they vocally opposed mismanagement and unsustainable, unchecked growth that lax government policies thus far had allowed.<sup>427</sup>

In the early 1900s, support for creating Canada's own forestry school was growing as there was currently little understanding of what silviculture (growing and cultivating trees) involved. Within various government forestry branches and departments there was a growing desire to increase the efficiency with which woodlands were being harvested, although regenerative aspects of forestry tended to be overlooked when developing these programs. This lack of foresight in developing aspects of restorative forestry measures within curriculums would ultimately hinder the social legitimacy of foresters and their occupation for years.

Investment in silviculture was unpopular with most politicians, owing to the return on the investment often occurring only decades later. Nelles, in his book *The Politics of Development*, describes the mitigating factors that contributed to this disinterest of forests in Ontario prior to the 1950s. He concludes that the "forest was something from which revenue was derived, not something upon which money was to be spent."<sup>428</sup>

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<sup>427</sup> The growth experienced by the industry after the 1900s was the result of increased demands for newsprint in the United States, a demand that was not able to be met by US supplies alone. Three aspects that also contributed to this rapid development were proximity to the largest US markets, Canada's natural geography, vast network of water systems and access to resources, and the removal of US tariffs on imported newsprint between 1909 and 1913, which made Canada an attractive place for American industry development. For discussion on water systems and hydroelectric power contributing to the pulp and paper boom, see J.W. Shipley, *Pulp and Paper Making in Canada* (Harlow, UK: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929). For a discussion on the removal of US tariffs on imported newsprint, see H. Toivanen, "Learning and Corporate Strategy: The Dynamic Evolution of the North American Pulp and Paper Industry, 1860–1960," Ph.D. Diss. (Atlanta: Georgia Institute of Technology, 2004).

<sup>428</sup> Nelles, *Politics of Development*, 212.

The changes to immigration and further expansion of the railways during the Laurier era (1896–1911) provided the right climate for the development of forestry education in the province.<sup>429</sup> Based on the province’s colonial heritage and the *BNA Act*, the jurisdiction of natural resources was the province’s domain. This afforded its politicians the ability to control who cut the timber, the cost of doing so, and what the regulations were put in place. They also controlled the development of a forestry school and the content that was to be taught, as under the *BNA Act* provinces were given control over education.

Three existing institutions competed to establish the first school—Queen’s University, Ontario Agricultural College (forerunner to University of Guelph) and University of Toronto (U of T). The selection process was not driven by logic or reasoning but rather political advantage. Ontario had been under Liberal rule since Confederation. However, by the early 1900s the Liberals were losing popularity. U of T represented the weakest option of the three,<sup>430</sup> yet James Loudon, U of T’s president, relentlessly campaigned and exhausted his religious (Methodist) and

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<sup>429</sup> As previously discussed, this period saw an increase in immigration from Europe and the creation of two transcontinental railways that lead to an unprecedented economic boom in Canada. Ontario, situated amongst vast tracts of untapped resource hinterlands, was well positioned to reap the period’s growth and optimism. Prosperity, however, was not propositional to all social classes, as the working class lived in less than ideal conditions. This was only exacerbated by the sharp division along racial and religious lines. During a period where one’s faith mattered, this partitioning warranted conflict among and within religious denominations. For a discussion on Canadian railway development, see Pomfret, *The Economic Development of Canada*, 94–110; Berton, *The Great Railway*; Thompson and Edgar, *Canadian Railway Development*. For a discussion on immigration, race and religion, see A.R.M. Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (Don Mills, ON: Longmans, 1964), 163ff, 184ff.

<sup>430</sup> In the early 1900s, Queen’s and OAC were logically the stronger contestants in the race to establishing a forestry school. Queen’s location was in the heart of Ontario’s first timber production and was home to many of Canada’s notable lumberman. It had already begun offering forestry courses, which would ultimately be used in the implementation of the program. OAC, located in Guelph, was surrounded by agricultural lands and was currently offering forestry courses and developing silviculture courses. Representatives petitioning for their respective institutions exuded tremendous interest and enthusiasm for hosting a forestry program. Unlike its counterparts, U of T only offered supplementary courses in forestry, and its interest in the program was driven by depriving the other institutions the privilege, primarily Queen’s. See the following for further discussion: Queen’s University Archives (QUA), W.L. Goodwin Fonds, 15 Jan. 1903, *Forestry—School of Mining and Agriculture, Kingston, Ontario*, William Harty; *Statues of Ontario*, 1901 Ch. 44, Edw. VII AO. RG2-42, 1902/296 (Guelph and Forestry 1902), 15 Oct. 1901, R. Harcourt to B.E. Fernow, and 21 Oct. 1902, Fernow to Harcourt; E. Sisan. *Forestry Education at Toronto* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1965); Kuhlberg, *One Hundred Rings and Counting*, 2009.

political (Liberal) allies to garner the necessary support that would ultimately win him the program.<sup>431</sup>

The Faculty of Forestry at U of T opened its doors in 1907. Prior to its inaugural class, Southworth spoke to the challenges the school would face in a paper titled *Do We Need a Forestry College?* which he presented to the Canadian Institute. Southworth argued “we do!”<sup>432</sup> He spoke to the fact that since Ontario was responsible for managing its natural resource, it should also be tasked with hiring trained foresters and providing a platform—institutions—for education.<sup>433</sup> The problem he foresaw was that if Ontario lumberman could not be convinced to hire the graduates from the forestry school how could they expect the government to do so.<sup>434</sup> In the current political climate, the added value of a forestry college was not recognized by the forestry sector.

The lack of interest in forestry education extended beyond the lumbermen and provincial government. The pulp and paper industry, which was experiencing only marginal growth, did not see the need to hire trained foresters who would help foster sustainable forest management practices teaching other un-training foresters these approaches. The apprehension to hire such individuals were founded on the belief that fibre resources were in no short supply and the need to conserve resources was not an concerning issue presently. On the federal front, the Dominion

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<sup>431</sup> Fernow accepted the position as U of T’s Dean of Forestry. In the following years, forestry schools were established at the University of New Brunswick (1908) and Laval University (1912). University of British Columbia developed its forestry school to address the unique forestry sector in the province in 1920. See P.J. Murphy and R.E. Stevenson, “A Fortuitous International Meeting of Two Yale Foresters in 1908: H.R. MacMillan and W.N. Millar,” *The Forestry Chronicle* 90, no. 3 (2014): 321–3; “Resignation of Mr. E. Stewart, Dominion Superintendent of Forestry,” *Canadian Forestry Journal* 3 (March 1907): 10–11; “A Knechtel, Inspector of Forest Reserves,” *Canada Lumberman* 28 (1 February 1908): 15; “Forestry on Dominion Lands,” *Canadian Forestry Journal* 4 (4 October 1908): 113; Garratt, *Trends in Forestry Education in Canada*, 17; J.H.G. Smith, *UBC Forestry: An Informal History* (Vancouver, BC: Faculty of Forestry, University of British Columbia, 1990), 6; A.D. Rogers, *Bernard Edward Fernow: A Story of American Forestry* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 431.

<sup>432</sup> UTA. *Faculty of Forestry Calendar*. A1972-0025/187, 13 Apr. 1907. “Do We Need a Forestry College?”

<sup>433</sup> UTA. *Faculty of Forestry Calendar*. A1972-0025/190 (Letter book), responses to Southworth’s letters to Ontario Lumberman.

<sup>434</sup> *Ibid.*

Forest Service (DFS) was still in its infancy and employed a handful of educated foresters. Most shocking was the lack of interest exhibited by U of T towards its newest faculty. Throughout Fernow's appointment as dean of the forestry school, he received only minimal administrative support from the university, as they were disinterested in the success or longevity of the program. Beyond the lack of support from the university, students faced other hurdles after graduation. Society did not see the value of their specialized field, nor was there a promise of employment when they had completed their studies.

Fernow understood that only "a realization that forest conservation [wa]s a present necessity and that existing methods [we]re destructive of the future, would bring forward the needed reform."<sup>435</sup> He continued to advocate that the establishment of the school acted as a beacon of optimism, as graduates would act as promoters of the importance and necessity of employing trained foresters, laying the foundation for future students to build on.<sup>436</sup> Fernow worked tirelessly in the university to produce foresters of the highest calibre. However, the success of the program ultimately lay in the hands of two external forces: the university itself and the provincial government. Although publicly both supported and attested to the value and critical need for forestry education and reforms in the province, neither of these parties were proponents of Fernow's efforts, so little substantive action was taken.<sup>437</sup>

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<sup>435</sup> UTA. *Faculty of Forestry Calendar*. A1972-0025/190, 1908 List of Forest Engineers in Canada; UTA. *Faculty of Forestry Calendar*. A1972-0025/210, Forest Resources and Problems of Canada, B.E. Fernow, Delivered to the Society of American Foresters, 28 Dec. 1911; UTA. *Faculty of Forestry Calendar*. A1972-0025/187, Report of Senate Committee on *Faculty of Forestry Calendar*, 1906–1907.

<sup>436</sup> Fernow set eminent standards for his students as well as faculty members. He demanded that they strive for and achieve excellence as a means of protecting the collective reputation of foresters and forestry. Kuhlberg, *One Hundred Rings and Counting*; UTA. *Faculty of Forestry Calendar*. A1972-0025/193, ca. Jul. 1909, Fernow to W.E. Wilson. For examples of Fernow's high standards among faculty, see UTA. *Faculty of Forestry Calendar*. A2004-0017/007 (J.R. Chamberlin), 27 Dec. 1910 and 21 Nov. 1911, Fernow to Chamberlin; UTA. *Faculty of Forestry Calendar*. A2004-0017/038 (G.S. Smith), 30 Nov. 1910 and 16 Aug. 1911, Fernow to Smith. For standards among students, see University of Toronto, *Torontonensis* 15 (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Students' Administrative Council, 1913): 235.

<sup>437</sup> It was clear to Fernow, as well as his successor Clifford Durant Howe, that neither Ontario nor the university were interested in nourishing the development of forestry education in the province. See UTA Office of the

### **A Total Lack of Government Control: Old Tory Timber Ring**

Throughout the Department of Lands and Forests (DLF), negligence and exploitative practices prompted grievances from lumbermen.<sup>438</sup> It was evident that tight personal ties between exporters and many of Ontario's elected officials existed, regardless of party affiliation. Hence, even with governments changing from Conservatives to Liberals to the United Farmers, the success of the pulpwood industry during the years 1894 to 1932 was steadily increasing. It was clear that the "Timber Ring," a tightly knit group of politicians and businessmen, dominated the decades leading up to the Great Depression.<sup>439</sup>

Years of government inaction was addressed in 1919 with the election of the United Farmers of Ontario Party. Under the leadership of Ernest C. Drury, the administration sought to achieve accountability after years of corruption and abuse of power. Part of their campaigning efforts promised reform among the timber barons and an investigation of the Conservative

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President/Executive Assistant to the President (hereafter OTP). A1967-0007/052 (Fernow), 8 and 12 May 1919, Fernow to Falconer. UTA Board of Governors (hereafter BOG), A1970-0024/017, 8 and 29 May 1919, Minutes of BOG Meetings.

<sup>438</sup> These claims were made by the James Hourigan & Company's president E.T. McEachern and the company's solicitor A.J. McComber to the minister of lands and forests. They spoke of their witnessing vast areas of merchantable timber being reserved under the notion that minerals had been found. These "bogus miners" harvested the pulpwood while never extracting any minerals. A similar ruse was applied using "bogus settlers" and claiming the land for settlement purposes. Similar claims were made by legitimate, honest timbermen who wrote letters to both the minister and Donald M. Hogarth, M.P.P voicing their concerns over the "forest buccaneers," or "timber pirates," getting timber free of Crown dues, while other law-abiding men had to pay stumpage dues on sawlogs, piling timber and pulpwood. When Hon. Frank Cochrane became aware of the abuse, he immediately amended the *Mining Act* on 26 March 1918, reserving all timber on mining property for the Crown. See *Statutes of Ontario, 1892*, 55 Vic, ch. 9; Ontario Legislature. *Hansard* (25 February and 6 March 1897); J.P Bertrand, *Timber Wolves: Greed and Corruption in Northwestern Ontario's Timber Industry, 1875-1960* (Thunder Bay, ON: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1997), 52-4; Nelles, *Politics of Development*, 376-7; M. Kuhlberg. *In the Power of the Government: The Rise and Fall of Newsprint in Ontario, 1894-1932* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 34-5; P. Bakersville, *Sites of Power*, 173-7.

<sup>439</sup> See, Bakersville. *Sites of Power*, 173-7; Bertrand, *Timber Wolves*, 48; AO. RG 18-79, *Timber Commission Hearings*, 1500 ff. Part of this group comprised Colonel J.A. Little, General Don Hogarth, W.H. Russel and J.J. Carrick. Each of these men came under review in 1920 at the Latchford-Riddell Enquiry, which looked at the granting of timber rights for extracting minerals. "The enquiry uncovered many shady and irregular deals but did not succeed in bringing home the responsible for them." Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 195.

government's allocations of timber.<sup>440</sup> A commission was created in 1920 to inquire into the administration of the Department of Lands and Forests and a means of introducing new legislation that would end the swindling of provincial stumpage revenues. Drury appointed two magistrates from the court of appeal, Judge William R. Riddell and Justice Frank R. Latchford, to investigate these matters, especially those affiliated with the Timber Ring at the lakehead. The creation of the Timber Commission revealed a "total lack of government control" and a lack of "adequate knowledge of the extent and character of timber resources of province and Crown land generally."<sup>441</sup> The inquiry revealed "many shady and irregular deals but did not succeed in bringing home the responsibility for them."<sup>442</sup> The inquiry into Ferguson business dealings, he maintained his innocence, stating that he operated in accordance with legislation, and as such he was able to retain his position as leader of the Conservative Party.<sup>443</sup> At the commencement of the inquest the commissioners concluded that,

[n]o officer, Minister or otherwise, should have the power to grant rights over large areas of the public domain at will without regard to Regulations; that power was never contemplated by the statutes; it does not at present exist, and should not be given to any individual. Such an arbitrary power, subject to no control, is obviously open to abuse.<sup>444</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> Zavitz, under Drury's direction, was tasked with conducting various reforestation project and to inquire into the rumblings of corruption with the pulp industries in Northern Ontario. As such, Zavitz advised Drury of the speculative actions of Ferguson and the conservative government, having entered into questionable pulp contracts, primarily in the northern reaches of the province concentrated in the Lakehead region. For a discussion on the Drury and Zavitz partnership, see J. Bacher, *Two Billion Trees and Counting: The Legacy of Edmund Zavitz* (Toronto, ON: Dundurn, 2011), 121–44.

<sup>441</sup> Armson, *Ontario Forests*, 136.

<sup>442</sup> Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 195.

<sup>443</sup> As a way of cultivating provincial industrial development through easy allocation, the Department of Lands, Forest and Mines under Ferguson's direction allocated huge timer licenses. Unlike traditional licenses, these did not follow the prescribed course of action, holding a public auction and terms of conditions provided, but were arbitrarily allocated. This ignited the UFO to petition for an inquest into timber administration in the province. The UFO wanted "to get material that would put him [Ferguson] out of business permanently." In doing so they uncovered evidence of their party's own wrongdoings with timber dealings, while failing to find incriminating evidence on Ferguson. In the end, the efforts put forth by the UFO ended up solidifying Ferguson's position as head of the Conservative party and subsequently his premiership in 1923. Ontario. Timber Commission, *Report, 1920* (Toronto, ON: King's Printer, 1922); Nelles, *Politics of Development*, 376–81; Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 263–76.

<sup>444</sup> Timber Commission, *Report* (26 June 1922), 36; Zavitz, *Report of the Forestry Branch*, 169.

The commissioners' concern was addressed shortly after by mining being made a separate department. With the fall of the UFO in 1923 to the Conservatives, the development of the pulp and paper industry once again was left unsupervised and forestry reform was curtailed. What did occur was the emergence of the Forestry Branch, which grew into a province-wide organization that exercised a considerable amount of autonomy. The appointment of several individuals to key positions also helped the DLF achieve its goal to launch new and more ambitious programs and implement new equipment and techniques in forest protection.<sup>445</sup>

### **The Coming of Age of Forestry in Ontario: Forest Protection**

Forest fire protection remained a primary concern for the provincial government. By 1896, forest fires were still at an all-time high even with a growing number of firefighters employed in high-risk areas.<sup>446</sup> Restructuring of the current protection measures took place in 1900 with the amendment of the *Fire Act*. Under a shared cost measure between the DLF and the licensee, fire rangers would be stationed on Crown land not under timber license and on licensed areas, whether required by the licensees or not. Further amendments were made in 1906 that imposed stricter regulations on railway companies and expanded the range of fire protection efforts.<sup>447</sup>

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<sup>445</sup> Ferguson appointment Zavitz as the first deputy minister of forestry in the department and continued to develop the county forests program, which was first introduced under the *Countries Reforestation Act of 1911*. To improve the administration of the department, Ferguson also created the position of Inspector of Crown Timber Agents and Supervisor of Operations, assigning Major J.I Hartt to the position. See, P.N. Oliver, *G. Howard Ferguson: Ontario Tory* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 209.

<sup>446</sup> Canada, *Statutes* 63 Vic, cap. 45 (1900).

<sup>447</sup> By 1910, railways were cited as “the most frequent cause of fire” in forest regions. C. Leavitt, “Railway Fire Protection in Canada,” *The Forestry Chronicle* 4, no. 4 (1928): 10–19. Railway fires were caused by chimney sparks from wood- and coal-burning locomotives, or by live coals dumped hot onto the railroads. Also, contributing to a significant source of fires was railway construction, as crews used fire to clear land for laying the rights-of-way and exhibited no “effort to preserve the forest from destruction.” The problem with mitigating forest fires on railways was jurisdictional boundaries; while forest fires management was a provincial issue railway were under federal control, making provincial authorities unable to enforce forest protection. See the respective works: Ontario Department of Lands, Forests and Mines (DLFM), *Report of the Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines of the Province of Ontario* (Toronto, ON: King’s Printer, 1907); DLFM, *Report of the Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines of the Province of Ontario* (1909); C. Leavitt, *Forest Protection in Canada: 1912–1914* (Toronto, ON: William Briggs, 1915).

Fire rangers were now seen as the first line of defense against forest fires, and as such a presence was compulsory in high-risk areas. Amendments to the act were once again made in 1910.

Timber licensees were now required to pay for the full cost (excluding publicity) of fire protection on their limits, while areas that were not under license were left neglected for a period.<sup>448</sup>

Ontario would soon be faced with the ramifications of its marginal investment in provincial forest protection when a series of destructive fires caused the loss of hundreds of lives and the liquidation of hundreds of thousands of acres of mercantile lumber. The frequency of large fires was becoming significant, and they could no longer be credited as acts of God or the consequence of settlements. They were occurring against a backdrop of conservation enthusiasm, which attracted a growing public push for change. Fires were no longer restricted to the back country of the province where settlement had not yet occurred. Fire was happening in established communities. The rampant destruction wrought by these fires crippled communities, and in some cases incinerated them to ash, leaving in their wake a trail of death and devastation.<sup>449</sup> Forest fire reform was crucial.

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<sup>448</sup> See C.D. Howe and J.H. White, *Trent Watershed Survey*, Canada, Commission of Conservation (Toronto, ON, 1913), 34. The same year marked the first legislative reference to forest protection through pest control, which also stipulated the specific responsibilities of both federal and provincial governments. Under federal legislation of 1910, the *Destructive Insects and Pest Act*, jurisdictional responsibility was designated: the Crown was responsible for the protection of foreign pest invasion through quarantine services, whereas the provincial government, through its forest management practice, assumed responsibility of local pest control. That same year, the *Countries Reforestation Act* was implemented, which bestowed the power to pass by-laws to acquire land for reforestation and management purposes. Funding for these projects were done through a provincial application process. See A.H. Richardson, *Forestry in Ontario* (Toronto, ON: Ontario Department of Forestry, 1928).

<sup>449</sup> For a discussion on the history of fire in Canada see S.J. Pyne. *Awful Splendour: A Fire History of Canada* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2007). Reference the following pages in Pyne's *A Fire History of Canada* for: Porcupine fire (1911) 117, 254, 420–4, 425; Matheson fire (1916), 254, 423–4, 458; Cochrane fire (1911), 253; and Haileybury fire (1922), 177, 254, 425–7, 433, 458.

There were three notable fires in Ontario prior to WWII that contributed to calls for greater forest fire prevention in the province: the Porcupine fire (11 July 1911), the Matheson fire (29 July 1916) and the Temiskaming fire (4 October 1922).

**Table 4.1 Large fires in Ontario pre-WWII**

Year	Location	Size
1901	Large fires extending from Kabinagami to Little Abitibi Lake, to Lake Kesagami and Grand Lake Victoria	
1910	Beaudette–Rainy River	42 lives lost
1911	Porcupine and Cobalt	73 lives lost; 552,000 acres (864 mi <sup>2</sup> ); \$3 million worth of property damage
1916	Matheson	224 lives lost; 640,000 acres (1000 mi <sup>2</sup> ); \$2 million worth of property damage
1922	Haileybury/Temiskaming	43 lives lost; 1,280,000 acres (2000 mi <sup>2</sup> ); \$6 million worth of property damage

Source: Ontario Department of Lands and Forests. “100 Year History” (Forest Protection Branch. Unpublished manuscript, n.d.); A.P.N.D. Leslie. “Large Fires in Ontario” (Forest Protection Branch. Unpublished manuscript, n.d.)

Michael Barnes explores the significance of each of these fires in his book *Killer in the Bush: The Great Fires of Northeastern Ontario*.<sup>450</sup> The following section briefly outlines the cause of each of the fires and the damage they inflicted, contributing to our understanding of why forest fire protection became such a prevalent issue in the political landscape.

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<sup>450</sup> M. Barnes, *Killer in the Bush: The Great Fires of Northeastern Ontario* (Cobalt, ON: Highway Book Shop, 2004).

## **Porcupine 1911**

In 1911 the Timmins-Porcupine area was in the midst the booming gold rush. The area was experiencing all the advantages of a prosperous developing township. Fire stripped away all signs of progress: within five hours the town was wiped out. The source of the fire was traced to the development of the township, where in an effort to develop new properties and obtain return on investment, corners were cut and conservation measures were overlooked. Tracts of forests were cut to meet the growing demand of timber, and discarded stumps and brush were interspersed through the log cabins and piles of wood in the settlement. Free fuel was abundant to sustain the growing population. Timmins' development and infrastructure were a recipe for disaster.

The winter of 1911 had had only a small amount of snow, resulting in abnormally low ground saturation. The dry soil proved to be problematic as summer approached, with scorching temperatures reaching record highs. The combination of a dry winter and a hot summer elevated the risk of forest fires. This, however, did not deter many settlers from using fire to clear land. Fires in the north would burn out of control for days, and the haze of smoke was a daily presence. For most fires the destruction was primarily contained to the forests, but on July 11 a fire broke out at Dome Mine in Timmins, ON. While staff went to fight the fire, their efforts would soon be thwarted by the weather pushing the fire towards the Porcupine township and on to Cochrane. In the end, 3000 people were made homeless and 73 people were lost to the fire.

Porcupine, Pottsville, and Cochrane were all able to rebuild after the incident. While the fire was devastating for people, development and revenue, it highlighted the need for further forest fire prevention measures. Both the mines and forestry branches of the government, using this fire as a primary example, advocated for change to the current laws, culminating in the Act

of 1913 that sought to increase protection of natural resources.<sup>451</sup> Under this act improvements to mines were required: mandatory ventilation, the safe storage of explosives and more fireproof buildings. Those who failed to comply with the new regulations faced stiff penalties. To enforce these measures, Crown officers were provided the authority to appoint justices of the peace.

The fire also affected railways (T& N.O., CPR, Grand Trunk, Algoma Central and Canadian Northern), who hired their own rangers to patrol for railway fires. Between the railways, who were paying the wages of 171 forest rangers, and the Crown's 91 rangers at a cost of \$191,700 per year, which the province felt as expensive but justified based on the results. In addition to these rangers, licensed forest operations also contributed to this effort at no cost to the province, employing 431 rangers.<sup>452</sup>

### **Matheson 1916**

Less than five years later, another devastating fire plagued Northern Ontario. A common practice for clearing the land was the slash-and-burn method. Like the summer of 1911, the summer of 1916 was hot and dry and was the perfect environment for forest fires to burn out of control. In the days leading up the July 29, several small fires were purposely set. These fires quickly got out of control with the change in weather and ended up merging into a single large firestorm. In a few short hours, a large portion of Northeastern Ontario was desolated, taking with it about twenty townships, destroying approximately 2, 548 square kilometers and killing hundreds.<sup>453</sup>

The Matheson fire of July 1916 remains the most infamous of Canadian fires in terms of fatalities, resulting in the death of 243 people. While the fire was devastating, it would take more

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<sup>451</sup> Ontario. Statutes of Ontario, 3-5 Geo. V, c. 564 (1913).

<sup>452</sup> Barnes, *Killer in the Bush*, 11-27.

<sup>453</sup> Bacher, *Two Billion Trees and Counting*, 111.

than this fire to push the Hurst government into reforming the fire suppression legislation. As John Bacher argues, many factors needed to be overcome before changes could be made. One was the suspicious death of Tom Thompson in July 1917. Some media outlets reported that his death was a result of his efforts to uphold fire protection laws.<sup>454</sup>

Edmund J. Zavitz, Ontario's provincial forester in 1912, was disappointed in the current forest fire legislation and continued to advocate for reform. He wrote a series of newspaper articles for the *Globe* in which he addressed the weakness of forest fire prevention regulation within the province. He also raised his concerns about northern settlers' reckless behaviour, believing they were the source of the destruction with their careless use of fire. The public uproar over the issue of forest fires forced Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines Howard Ferguson to respond to the crisis. While he expressed sympathy for the loss of life, his response did not satisfy public concern. In trying to navigate this political crisis, Ferguson differed from Zavitz, whom he enlisted to reorganize the Forest Fire Protection Service. Zavitz's recollections of this period highlight how dire the situation was in the service:

There was no permanent fire protection service. The problem was taken care of by two clerks of the Woods and Forest Branch. The details in the north were taken care of by the Crown Timber Agents whose staff went over the timber work in the autumn under the Woods and Forest Branch. The licensee or limit holders placed their rangers or agents as fire rangers, the Department having Inspectors who carried out supervision.<sup>455</sup>

Zavitz was quick to address the province's lack of permanent fire protection.<sup>456</sup> The public was also aware of this, and they demanded it be addressed. Zavitz's critique of current forest

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<sup>454</sup> Zavitz, "Report on the Forestry Branch, 1930," 190.

<sup>455</sup> Zavitz, *Recollections*, 12.

<sup>456</sup> "[U]p to 1916 there was no permanent fire protection service. The Problem was taken care of by two clerks in the Woods and Forests Branch. The details in the north were taken care of by the Crown Timber agents, whose staffs charged over to timber work in the autumn under the Woods and Forests Branch. The licensees, or limit holders, placed their rangers or agents as fire rangers, the Department having inspectors who carried out supervision." The strain on the service was evident. Fire protection was becoming harder to implement, even with a growing number of fire rangers employed, further amelioration of the program was required. See Zavitz, *Recollections*, 12.

protection measures was realized with the Matheson conflagration in 1916.<sup>457</sup> The fire, which has been described as “the most terrible and deplorable fire in the history of the Province,” was the catalyst for change.<sup>458</sup> The result was the passing of the *Forest Fire Prevention Act* in 1917, which laid the foundation for Ontario’s current fire control system.<sup>459</sup>

Under this legislation, the authority to administer forest protection and put reforestation initiatives and legislation into place would be carried out by a chief forester.<sup>460</sup> G.H. Ferguson called upon Zavitz to fill this position, mandating him to restructure the service to provide more effective fire prevention and suppression measures in addition to reforestation efforts and research into tree diseases.<sup>461</sup> Assisting in these efforts was U of T forestry professor J.H. White as Zavitz’s assistant.<sup>462</sup> Zavitz and White seized the opportunity to create the Forestry Branch that worked to protect forests.<sup>463</sup> This ambitious undertaking began with identifying priorities and assessing the need for specific programming in the post-war years.<sup>464</sup>

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<sup>457</sup> Description of the fire can be found in A.P. Leslie, *Large Forest Fires in Ontario* (Toronto, ON: DLF, mss., 1954), 9–10.

<sup>458</sup> Ontario. DLF, *Report to the Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines, 1916* (1917), xiv. Ruby Platiel commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the Matheson fire by collecting survivor’s tales of the event and published a variety piece in the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, July 27, 1966.

<sup>459</sup> The passing of this act was the first time the province had implemented a legislation with substance. Part of the recognition that this act received stemmed from the employment of professional foresters within the department and corresponding programs and initiatives.

<sup>460</sup> Addressing concerns of an over exhausted department, it was clear that the Woods and Forest Branch needed to become its own branch.

<sup>461</sup> By 1917, under the supervision of J.H. White and a staff of chief rangers, almost a thousand rangers were employed to patrol the province’s districts. Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature’s Wealth*, 209–13; R. Black, “Canada’s Deadliest Forest Fires,” *AF* 22 (September 1916), 521–4; “Ontario Forestry Providing Efficient,” *Conservation* 6 (September 1917), 34.

<sup>462</sup> Statutes of Ontario, *Forest Fires Prevention Act*. 7 Geo. V, c. 54 (1917).

<sup>463</sup> This ambitious goal was feasible in the post-war economic and political climate which supported the development of new forest programs. Further aiding their efforts was the expansion in the pulp and paper industry as well as economic expansion in general that occurred after the war.

<sup>464</sup> The thirty-month study identified three basic lines of policy:

1. Reforestation,
2. Expansion of the forest protection services from revenue-producing areas to province-wide control,
3. Information collecting in the form of inventories (identifying locations and supplies of timber) as a way of planning for fire protection and wood disposal.

1 and 2 were a continuation of previously adopted forestry programs. 3 was believed to be a more accurate way of identifying Ontario’s forest resource problems while serving as a base for the development of future programs. See Richardson, *Forestry in Ontario*.

## Haileybury/Temiskaming 1922

1919 was a record year for area burned and timber lost. To address this, a co-operative program in aerial reconnaissance was established in 1920 in partnership with the Dominion Air Board (DAB), while a timber commission launched inquiries into the *Crown Timber Act*. The DAB and the timber commission released a report that strongly recommended tougher fire protection measures, including more stringent methods to reduce slash-and-burn practices. Steel lookout towers were installed to this end and a ranger school was proposed.

Ontario was in a period of change, as the province was in what Lambert referred to as the “coming of age of forestry.” The public was now in a sympathetic position that would help adopt progressive forestry education and the hiring of technically trained individuals in pertinent resource positions. Zavitz’s passion was evident in his engagement with his employees, instilling in them the same drive and desire for reforestation and fire protection as he had.<sup>465</sup> During the Drury administration, Zavitz struggled to strengthen Ontario’s forest-fire prevention regulations and petitioned for this in his annual reports.<sup>466</sup> In his 1920–1 annual report, Zavitz warned that

[t]he outstanding feature of forest administration in the Province, as in all Eastern Canada, is an inability to control the losses from forest fires. The undertaking is so large and its bearing so important that the other phases of administrative work are comparatively minor matters.<sup>467</sup>

Regardless of the lessons learnt from both the Porcupine and Matheson fires, some northern Ontario residents still maintained a cavalier attitude towards fire safety. They justified

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<sup>465</sup> Zavitz was known for holding fire-side chats with his employees where they would discuss reforestation efforts and strategize how they could prevent further deterioration to areas that were exhibiting sign of a “desert” because of soil erosion. Bacher, *Two Billion Trees*, 145–70.

<sup>466</sup> As explained earlier, Drury focused his attention on the Timber Commission and the corresponding Latchford-Riddell Enquiry.

<sup>467</sup> Zavitz, *Report of the Forestry Branch* (1920), 139.

their actions by arguing that many of the laws made in the south did not account for life in the north.

1922 was another dry and hot summer. Sudbury and Cochrane districts had already experienced significant damage due to fires earlier in the season. On October 4, there were hundreds of small fires burning in the region but nothing out of the ordinary. The direction of the wind suggested that many of the fires would be stalled by creeks and rivers in their paths. This changed quickly by midday when the wind changed direction and picked up speed. Like the Matheson fire, these small fires united to form a giant fire.

Over the course of two days, the fire consumed 1,680 square kilometers, affecting eighteen townships in Ontario and taking the lives of forty-three people. The townships of North Cobalt, Charlton, Thornloe, Heaslip, in addition to other smaller settlements, were completely destroyed. Hailiebury was hit the hardest. The devastation of the fire is best captured in an article in Toronto's *Mail and Empire*, which compared the wreckage to the European towns after WWI battles: "Scenes at Hailiebury were beyond description, so suddenly and almost without warning did the holocaust descend. Men who went unmoved through the worst battles in France broke into sobs."<sup>468</sup>

The fire marshal's report stated that Hailiebury suffered \$3,232,330 in property damage of which forty-one percent (\$1,334,444) was not insured. An inquest followed shortly after and resulted in the *Report of the Ontario Fire Marshal Following Investigation into the Northern Ontario Conflagration*. The report revealed that while there were several hundred fires burning that day (almost one on every lot), there was also a great deal of debris in the bush, which also contributed to the blaze. In contrast to this neglect, the township of Englehart was noted as

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<sup>468</sup> Barnes, *Killer in the Bush*, 93.

having fire-retardant roofing. The rail center and New Liskeard were praised for their efforts in fighting the fire on the outskirts of town, while Earlton and Kearns were applauded for their efforts in clearing around their community.

It would not be until the Conservatives were elected in 1923 that important practical reforms in forest protection were implemented. The increase in the number of devastating fires in the province revealed that manpower alone did not suffice to fight the fires and the assistance of machinery was necessary. The final report of the Timber Commission in 1922 emphasized this and recommended the expansion of the tower system. The purchase of aircraft and the employment of year-round timber scalers as fire rangers were also adopted.<sup>469</sup> Within two years steel lookout towers were set up and aircraft purchased for fire prevention and suppression.<sup>470</sup> Fire prevention was further aided by the advocacy of Ontario Lands and Forests Minister James W. Lyons. He was instrumental in establishing the Ontario Provincial Air Service (OPAS) in 1924, which addressed concerns with forest protection and surveying.<sup>471</sup>

The year prior, 1923, over two million acres had burned, of which twenty-eight percent was viable timber. That amounted to 500,074 acres of timber lost to fire.<sup>472</sup> The continuous loss of timber revenues to fire further supported the need to implement an air service for patrolling forest fires in the province. At the same time, the *Forest Act* was amended in 1924 to better regulate slash-and-burning and additional machinery purchased to assist firefighting measures. The introduction of the portable hand pump and the airplane was a “factor in reaching a solution of

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<sup>469</sup> This also included more cost effective measures, such as the repair of 2000 miles of trail and the purchase of firefighting equipment, such as portable fire-pumps and light pick-up trucks.

<sup>470</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Lands and Forests 1922–23* (1923), 14.

<sup>471</sup> Richardson, *Forestry in Ontario*. See also Memorandum from Edmund Zavitz to Beniah Bowman. AO. Forestry Branch, Correspondence Files, Revision Forest Fire Prevention Act, RG-1–256.

<sup>472</sup> T.E. Mackay, *One Hundred Years of History—The Air Service* (Toronto, ON: Department of Lands and Forests, 1965), 6.

forest protection.”<sup>473</sup> In 1927, the Red Lake OPAS department was the first to introduce wireless telegraphy as a way of conveying forest fire information; this was the beginning of the provincial-wide radio communication network that would be developed years later. By the end of the 1929 season, two-way radios were being introduced to communicate between air and ground personnel. Assisting these efforts was the formation of the Dominion Meteorological Service, which began providing daily weather forecasts throughout the fire season. Within two years of service, aerial patrols were considered imperative in assisting in fire patrols. By 1929 the OPAS was operating twenty-two floatplanes whose efforts were devoted almost entirely to forest operations and, in particular, fire prevention.<sup>474</sup> The acquisition of new equipment and trained personnel equipped with the newest techniques for fighting fires and resources (meteorological studies) not only helped increase firefighting success rates but also gave the OPAS a boost in morale.

Zavitz continue to push for more investment in fire protection services, especially the use of aircraft as a way of fighting fires more effectively. The progressive adoption of new firefighting measures led to the creation of more jobs for the unskilled or semi-skilled seasonal worker, while underscoring how important it was to employ professionally trained firefighters. Recruiting to forestry schools for positions for the various department services was actively adopted.<sup>475</sup>

In helping to construct the public’s understanding of the province’s efforts at forest fire

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<sup>473</sup> “Forest Fire Conference, 1924,” (P.Z. Caverhill) 326; R.A. Rajala, *Feds, Forest, and Fire: A Century of Canadian Forestry innovation* (Ottawa, ON: Canada Science and Technology Muse), 58–9.

<sup>474</sup> Headquarters for the Provincial Air Service was in Sault Ste. Marie, with district bases operating out of Sudbury, Orient Bay (on Lake Nipigon), Sioux Lookout as well as nine other sub-bases across Northern Ontario. See Richardson, *Forestry in Ontario*.

<sup>475</sup> By 1920 the DLF employed several dozen students from the University of Toronto’s Forestry School and was steadily increasing those number with each passing year. University of Toronto Archives (hereafter, UTA). A2004-0025/014 *Faculty of Forestry Calendar, 1921–1922*.

prevention, the DLF made two films that showcased new forest fire prevention and suppression techniques introduced by Zavitz. *When Firemen Grow Wings: Fire Fighting with Aeroplanes* (1922–3) was developed by the Ontario Forestry Department and the Ontario Motion Picture Bureau (OMPB) (the direct antecedent of the National Film Board), and showed the use of aircraft in fighting forest fires. The film walks the viewer through various flight techniques that prepare pilots to locate fires, navigate safe passage through difficult weather conditions and collect water to suppress fires. The film then shows these techniques in action. As smoke starts billowing in the distance, the pilots are called to action. The frame then illustrates a roaring forest fire, where trees and bushes are engulfed in flames. Efforts from the ground follow. Two cars carrying firefighters arrive at the scene. They use gasoline-powered water pumps and hoses. The audience feels the men's struggle to suppress the fire as the film provides a close-up of the trees and brush burning, and the film encourages the audience to identify with the brave men who are working in these conditions to mitigate the devastating spread of the fire. The film provides several explicit messages—the importance of adopting new methods in fire suppression techniques and equipment, training personnel to fight fires and having adequate manpower to fight fires.

A few years later OMPB partnered with the DFB to produce the 1927/8 *Forest Fire Fighters of the Skies*. The film contained many of the same features as the 1922–3 film, although it was focused on the new developments in fire suppression within the Forest Services, paying particular attention to meteorological conditions, radio communication as well as the new equipment and techniques that were being used to fight fires. To display these features, the film was structured using a “day in the life” sequence of events. It begins by showing float planes being maintained and the coordinating efforts of the Air Force and Forest Services. This is

followed by rangers calibrating equipment and taking the daily weather report. The mood shifts when a ranger attends to a distress call about a possible forest fire in the area. Rangers proceed to locate the supposed fire on map and inform the pilot. As a plane takes off, the film breaks down the coordination of efforts between air and ground personnel in suppressing fires. In restricting the movement of the fire, various equipment and techniques are shown. The film ends with the fire being put out.

Films, unlike print mediums, provided the necessary visual proof about the progress being made in forest fire suppression without viewers having to experience it firsthand. While both films were silent, black and white films, the images and accompanying text provided clear messaging about the importance of fire suppression. The films helped justify the costs associated with fighting fires, as they showed how public funds were being spent on equipment and personnel. Unlike a printed document outlining the same message, these films provided an opportunity to experience what it was like to fight fires first hand, through the camera lens. The release of *When Firemen Grow Wings* was shortly after the 1922 Haileybury/Temiskaming conflagration. The timely release served to reassure the public that measures were in place to assist in firefighting but further effort and support was still needed. The release of *Forest Fire Fighters in the Skies* in 1927/8 was shortly after the OPAS was created. Both films promoted the province's efforts at conservation by highlighting the measures that were being taking to protect natural resources in the province.

The progress of the twenties would be short lived even with revisions to the 1930 *Forest Fire Protection Act* that incorporated changes to fire protection and mitigation.<sup>476</sup> There were four key changes:

1. The fire season was extended from September 30 to October 15.

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<sup>476</sup> Ontario. Statue of Ontario. 20 *Geo. V, c. 60* (1930).

2. Townships would become responsible for extinguishing any fires within their boundaries.
3. Anyone operating in the bush (other than for land clearing purposes) whose actions increased the risk of fires within the designated fire hazard zones would be required to apply for a work permit. (In 1931, 27,000 permits to burn were issued, covering an area of about 82,000 acres.)
4. The minister of DLF was given authority to restrict travel into the fire hazard zone during periods when the risk of fires was high.<sup>477</sup>

While these amendments provided a means of reducing the occurrence of manmade anthropogenic fires, other unforeseeable factors contributed to the rise of fires during the early 1930s. Forest policies, like all “natural resources policies in the 1930’s must be seen essentially as a response to the crisis occasioned by the collapse of the Wall Street Stock Market and ensuing slump in world trade.”<sup>478</sup> Both Ontario and the Dominion reacted to the market depression by halting all conservation efforts within their respective forest policy-making processes and opting for revenue-generating ones that exploiting resources, thereby alleviating many of the economic pressures of the depression. Ontario Premier Mitchel Hepburn stated in 1934 that “we [the Ontario Government] will make our natural resources available to enterprise. . . We will revive our forestry industry and restore Provincial Revenues.”<sup>479</sup> It is evident that in this period conservation and long-term planning were traded in for short-term economic gain.

Cuts to natural resource departments were felt throughout the Great Depression. By 1935, unemployment levels were at an all-time high, and to help create employment, the province allowed a greater proportion of pulpwood to be exported to the United States. While this created jobs, it violated the sustainable development considerations in the provincial forestry industry.

The market also dramatically affected the pulp and paper industry, which faced a collapse if

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<sup>477</sup> DLF, Annual Report of the Department of Lands and Forests (1931), 119.

<sup>478</sup> Burton, *Natural Resource Policy*, 35.

<sup>479</sup> *To the Electors—A Statement by Mitchell F. Hepburn* (Toronto, 1934); *The Increased Debt and Extravagant Expenditures of the Henry Government* (Toronto, ON, 1934); S.J.N. McKenty, “Mitchell F. Hepburn and the Ontario Election of 1934,” *Canadian Historical Review* 45 no. 4 (1964): 293.

government intervention did not occur. The province understood that the impact of such a collapse would be irreversible, creating both social and economic problems in northern industry towns. To avoid this situation, the province in 1935 created a program called Proration, which allowed mills to produce at levels that would sustain their operations as mandated by provincial requirements. This was followed by the 1936 *Forest Resource Regulation Act*, which was to

assist in the effecting of policy of proportion, and to enable the Crown to deal with timber limits which were held by companies in receivership, or subject to disability under which they had no power to come to an agreement with the Crown in respect of areas which were not required for their corporate purpose.<sup>480</sup>

This gave the minister of the DLF more power. Under this new act he was able to remove land from any existing licenses, such as unused portions of limits or areas where license-holders had folded, and reallocate the land to alternative businesses who would be able to develop and provide employment opportunities and contribute to industrial development during the recession. This affected a number of companies who overnight had their lands reduced. While this conflicted the original license-holders contracts, little could be done as forest management was not a high priority of government during this period.

George Drew, appointed Conservative Premier in 1939, made it a priority to address the functioning of the DLF. In Drew's eyes, the department needed to establish a "very clear necessity for some defined policy,<sup>481</sup>" as up until this point it had operated in a chaotic and unsystematic fashion. From the time of the DLF's inception until the late 1930s, the department's policies were ill-defined according to observers. Critics at the time viewed the department as mismanaged and charged that responsibilities were carried out haphazardly. However, Lambert with Pross<sup>482</sup> argue that this evaluation of the department is misleading; they

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<sup>480</sup> *Forest Resource Regulation Act*, S.O. 1936.

<sup>481</sup> Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 347.

<sup>482</sup> *Ibid.*, 343–53.

suggest that its structure was suitable for its role in the 1890s. However, it could not have been predicted that the department would be given more responsibilities over the years. Although Drew had an unfavourable opinion of the department, he believed that a long-range program for protecting resources could to be devised and carried out by the department.

The public's perception of the department was no more favourable, as years of suspicious management left the public questioning its management and organization. Drew petitioned for an inquiry into the cause of the stagnation of the forestry industry, through the North-Western Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce. The outcome of this was the creation of the Selective Committee of the Legislature that would "inquire into and report on all matters about the administration, licensing, sale, supervision, and conservation of natural resources by the DLF."<sup>483</sup>

The impetus this inquiry was first, the lack of public awareness that kept the public from understanding forestry policy implementation. The public believed that policy generators were designing and/or enforcing in their interest, this, however, was not the case. The second factor was the internal organizational structure of the department. The shift from enforcement of regulations carried out by the province to industry-regulated management enacted through the *Forest Resources Regulation Act* placed accountability in the hands of industry.<sup>484</sup> In doing so, industry was not required to report its utilization of timber accurately. In an era of corruption, this was not an effective instrument for enforcement.

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<sup>483</sup> Ontario, *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario 1939* (April 14, 1939), 107.

<sup>484</sup> It is interesting to note that per Mark Kuhlberg's research, although there was clear abuse of power on the government's part, some industry leaders took initiatives to protect the industry as was the case with the Abitibi Power & Paper Company who was 'doing far more to manage the people's forests than those who have been entrusted with this responsibility.' See Kuhlberg, "We Have 'Sold' Forestry to the Management of the Company": Abitibi Power and Paper Company's Forestry Initiatives in Ontario, 1919-1929," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 187-209.

The selection committee' cited the lack of adequate knowledge of timber resources and Crown lands as one of the significant obstacles in the department administration, a problem that was identified in the 1920s by the timber commissioner. Additionally, the committee put forth many general recommendations on timber policy that suggested that "sustainable yield" was an acceptable practice for forest exploitation. The committee believed their recommendations would help in harmonizing the work of government and industry in the field.<sup>485</sup> In the end, the report failed to reassure the public, and little came of it.

Periodicals acknowledged that the committee had approached the report in a systematically and professionally.<sup>486</sup> The *Globe and Mail* commented that the committee operated "strictly non-political[ly]." Whereas, coverage in trade journals like *The Pulp and Paper Magazine* and the *Forestry Chronicle*, that frequently and thoroughly covered developments affecting the industry, did not deem the Selective Committee proceedings and its report pertinent to its readers. The *Canadian Lumberman*, another popular trade journal, however, reported on the formation of the committee, publishing a summary of the majority and minority reports and featuring an editorial favouring the adoption of a commission. The *Canadian Lumberman* also suggested that "[i]t looks as if the pivotal point of discussion . . . will be whether it is desirable and whether it is necessary . . . to place the administration of the lands and forests in the hands of a commission similar to the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission,"<sup>487</sup> although the paper then made the backhanded comment, "[w]e suggest these majority and minority reports should be carefully studied if an intelligent judgment is to be formed."<sup>488</sup> This attitude was the result of the paper's predisposition to the department's previous

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<sup>485</sup> Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 348.

<sup>486</sup> See *Globe and Mail* (April 10, 1941); *Fort William Daily* (April 14, 1941); *Evening Telegram* (April 11, 1941).

<sup>487</sup> *Canadian Lumberman* (May 1, 1941), 22.

<sup>488</sup> *Ibid.*

administration. It was reluctant to admit that the new administration would be transparent with the public and create sound and proficient management policies that balanced the needs of foresters and nature.

To help alleviate some of the public hesitancy around the DLF, seasoned forester Frank A. MacDougall was appointed in 1941 as Deputy Minister of department. It was believed that he could reform the administration and its policies with his skill and knowledge of the industry and resource. He knew it was paramount to regain the public's trust. Under his leadership, the department began to equip itself with professional foresters who had adequate knowledge of land and forests and could manage the resources in a sound and competent manner. In doing so, MacDougall believed that "once the Department shows its ability and willingness to administer the public domain honestly, this fear [of corruption] will disappear."<sup>489</sup>

The restructuring of the department by Minister of the DLF (1941–3) Norman O. Hipel and MacDougall drew on the structure of the US Forest Service and Robert H. Connery's *Governmental Problems in Wild Life Conservation*.<sup>490</sup> The reformed department made conservation a priority, and they achieved this in two stages: first, by reorganizing the internal structure of the department, and second by modifying current and future policies to allow for controlled management of resources.<sup>491</sup>

Upon Hipel inheriting the department, it had ten divisions, all operating on.<sup>492</sup> Reorganizing was the responsibility of the new division of Operations and Personnel headed by

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<sup>489</sup> R. Connery, *Government Problems in Wild Life Conservation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 174.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*, 1935.

<sup>491</sup> Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 363.

<sup>492</sup> The ten divisions of the DLF were as follows: Accounts Division, Operating and Personnel, Law Division, Forest Protection Division, Division of Timber Management, Division of Land and Recreational Areas, Air Service Division, Research Division, and Division of Surveys. For a detailed description of these functions refer to Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 363–7.

P.O. Rhynas. He worked alongside J.B. Thompson, supervisor of the Personnel and Office Management section. Together they faced the task of “adjusting, coordinating, planning and standardizing, according to the outlines of the ideas of the new Minister and his Deputy.”<sup>493</sup>

MacDougall understood the importance of integrating timber, wildlife and other uses into forestry management practices. He made his thoughts on this known in his 1939 *Forestry Chronicle* article “Multiple Land Use.”<sup>494</sup> Although the article was about Algonquin Park, it could be applied to the whole department. MacDougall concern for planning and land-use were discussed in the department’s 1946 annual report, which stated: “some study has been given to the best method of development of lands for recreational, agricultural and other purposes.”<sup>495</sup>

To better integrate his vision of multiple land use into the department, MacDougall first had to establish effective communication between the head office and the rest of the department. This was accomplished through technical circulars that disseminated information about departmental forestry work. They also served as a means of acknowledging the relationship between resources such as land and water and the protection and use of forest resources. His second act was the creation of the *Forestry Resource Inventory* (FRI). The FRI served as the department’s forestry management tool and a means of developing MacDougall’s multiple land-use policy.

Since the turn of the century, Ontario had been prone to devastating forest fires. In the Government Administration District (known generally as Northern Ontario), approximately twenty percent of fires were caused by lightning and the remaining eighty percent by humans, most of which could have been prevented had precautions been taken.<sup>496</sup> To address the

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<sup>493</sup> J.B. Thompson, *Operations Branch History, 1940–1949* (Toronto, ON: DLF, 1953), 9.

<sup>494</sup> F. MacDougall, “Multiple Land Use,” *The Forestry Chronicle* 15 (December 1939): 207–11.

<sup>495</sup> DLF, *Annual Report* (1947), 57.

<sup>496</sup> W.S. MacDonnell, “Public Education in Forest Fire Prevention,” *The Forestry Chronicle* 25, no. 4 (1949): 276.

mounting concern about human involvement in fires, the DLF in 1943 employed year-round fire control staff. A permanent forest ranger school near Dorset, in Ontario's Haliburton County, was established in 1943 to provide training for these staff.<sup>497</sup> This was followed by the establishment of another training facility in 1948, the Lakehead Technical Institute in Port Arthur, Ontario.<sup>498</sup>

The federal government for years tried to address concerns about forest fires, as outlined by the CFA in its 1943 letter to the Canadian public: “[i]t is generally agreed that the federal authorities have a larger part to play in promoting the welfare of Canada’s forest assets” where, “[p]rotection from fire still remains one of the prime duties of the authorities administering our great forest areas. Every Canadian must have the conviction that forest protection is vital.”<sup>499</sup>

### **Federal Promotional Efforts in Mitigating Forest Fires**

Awareness of the state of forests in Ontario increased as a result of forest fires destruction and information circulated in schools and the media contributed to the public appraisal of the resource sector. Establishing this connection with the resource would help facilitate the acceptance of promoting access and use of these resource spaces on a sustainable basis. Leverage the need for forest protection early park promotion crafted parks as places of pristine nature to be enjoyed by tourists. This changed in the mid-1930s and into the 1940s to parks being useful. The Federal Parks Branch in its war-time publicity tried not to operate in a way that would “create the impression that the national parks have gone out of business.”<sup>500</sup> In doing so, it had to sell national parks not as a luxury, but as a necessity to alleviate the stress from the Depression and

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<sup>497</sup> Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, 221.

<sup>498</sup> H.W. Blenis, “The Role of Forest Ranger Schools in Canada and the United States,” *The Forestry Chronicle* 29, no. 2 (1953): 159.

<sup>499</sup> Canadian Forest Association, *Plan of Action to Fully Utilize and Perpetuate Canada's Forests: An Open Letter to All Canadians* (1943), 5.

<sup>500</sup> LAC. R.J. Stead memo to Mr. Smart, 17 January 1945. RG84m vol. 178, file U113–106, pt. 1.

war years. While tourism was meagre during the 1930s to the mid-1940s, the hard work of publicizing parks for their holistic value paid off in the postwar era. Alexander Wilson acknowledged this by noting that “[o]utdoor recreation had become a mass phenomenon. For holidays, people often went on automobile trips along new roads that reached far into the natural areas of the continent.”<sup>501</sup> As the transportation infrastructure improved, so did the growth of automobile tourism as travel was made easier and offered people the flexibility and freedom to enjoy the outdoor at their own pace and comfort level.<sup>502</sup>

The rise of the leisure class meant an increased risk for forest fires. The federal government through the Dominion Forestry Branch (DFB) undertook a forest fire prevention campaign geared to educating the public about safe use of parks and the prevention of spreading fires. Efforts began slowly and progressed with the increased use of parks. Two of the most successful adult forms of promotion were posters and films. The following section examines a sample of posters that appeared in parks across the country and the creation of two films geared to forest fire prevention. Figures 4.1–4.8 illustrate a selection of the posters that were found in federal and provincial parks between the mid-1920s to early 1940s (see Appendix C for a list of posters).

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<sup>501</sup> A. Wilson, *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (Toronto, ON: Between the Lines, 1991), 27.

<sup>502</sup> *Ibid.*, 26–43.

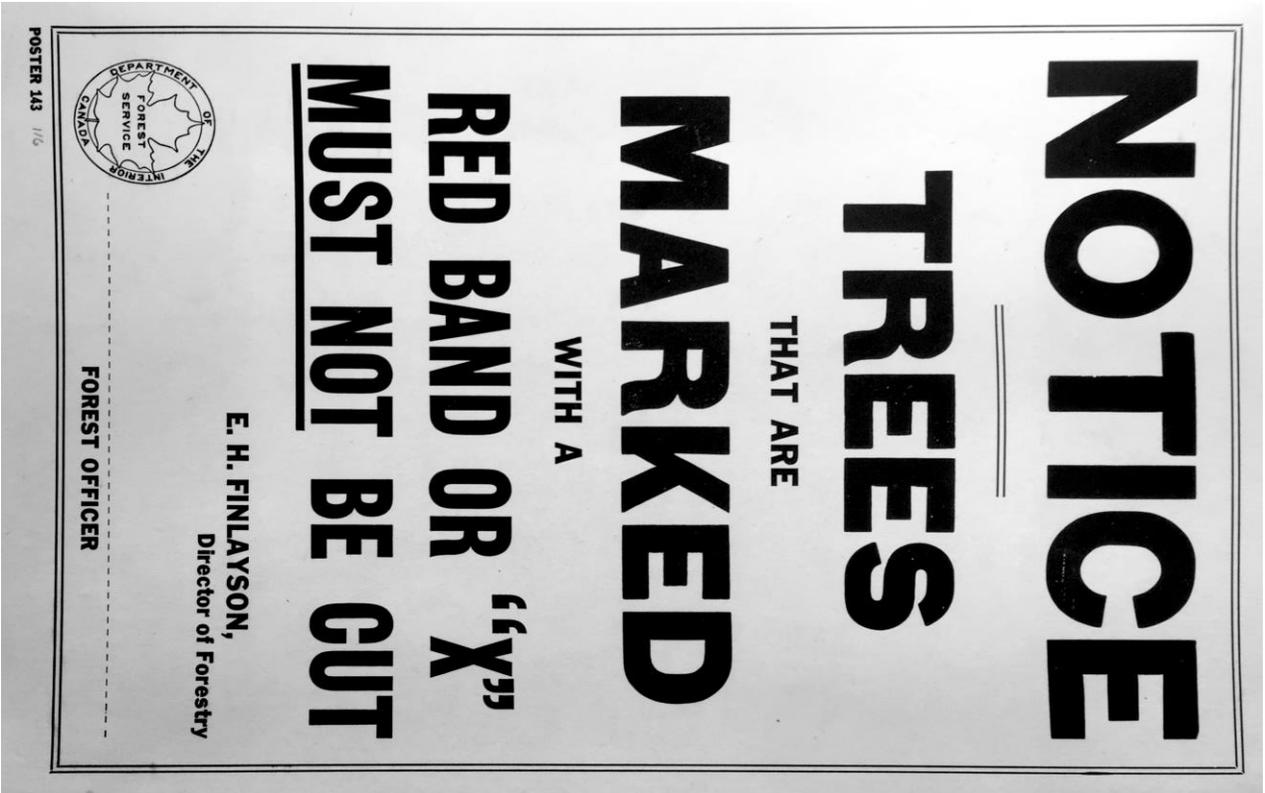


Figure 4.1 Dominion Forest Service poster  
Source: LAC, RG 39, vol. 600



Figure 4.2 Dominion Forest Service poster  
Source: LAC, RG 39, vol. 600

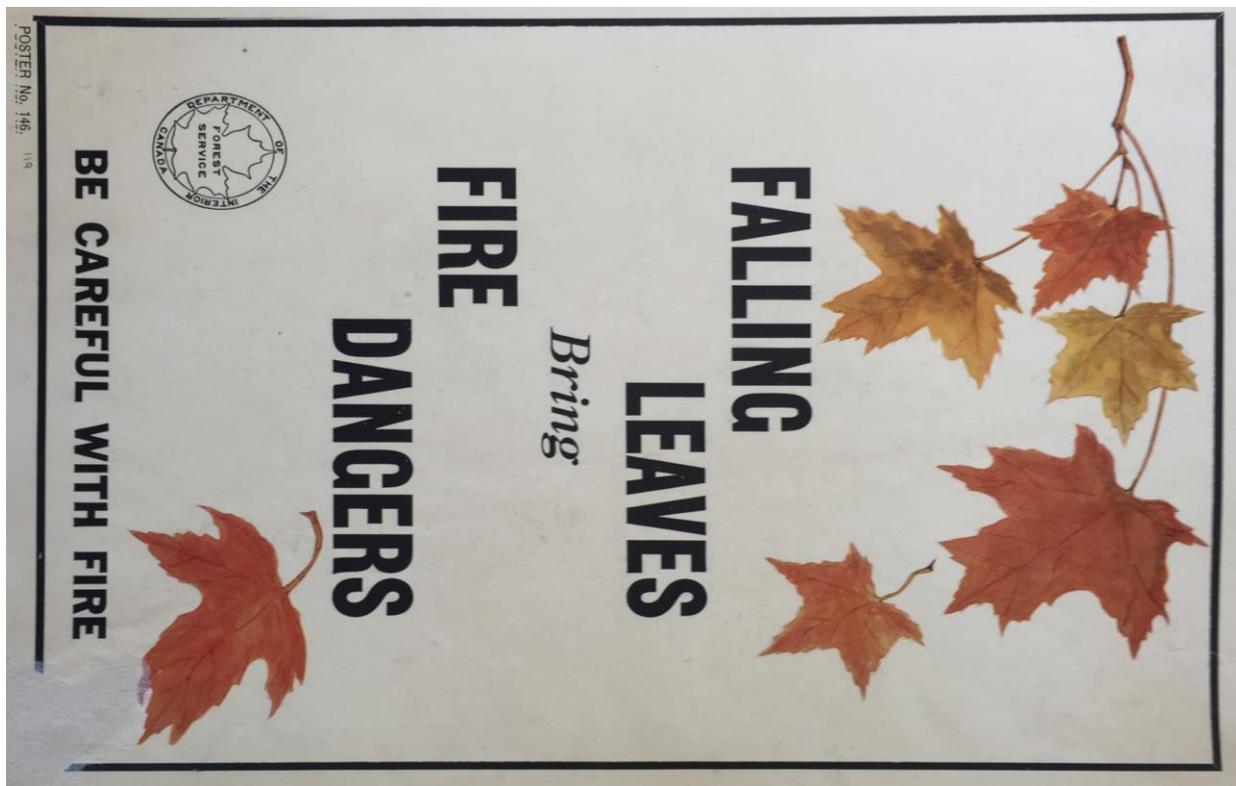


Figure 4.3 Dominion Forest Service poster  
Source: LAC, RG 39, vol. 600

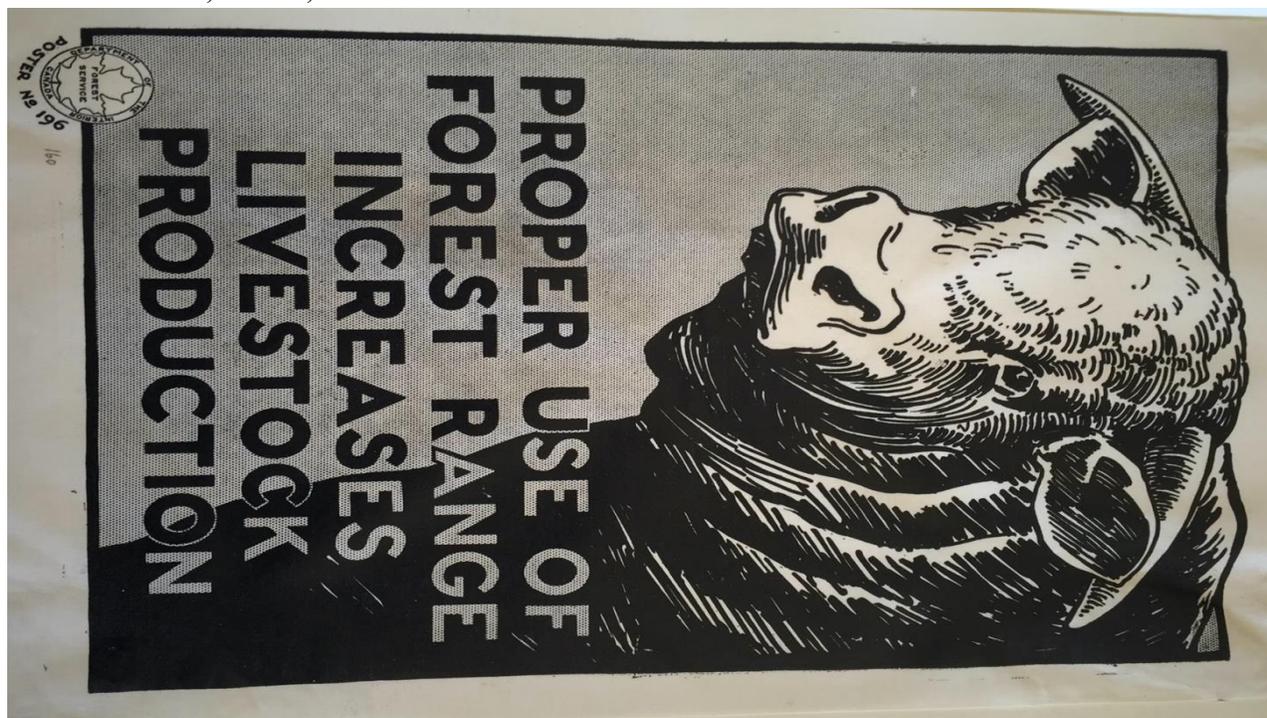


Figure 4.4 Dominion Forest Service poster  
Source: LAC, RG 39, vol. 600

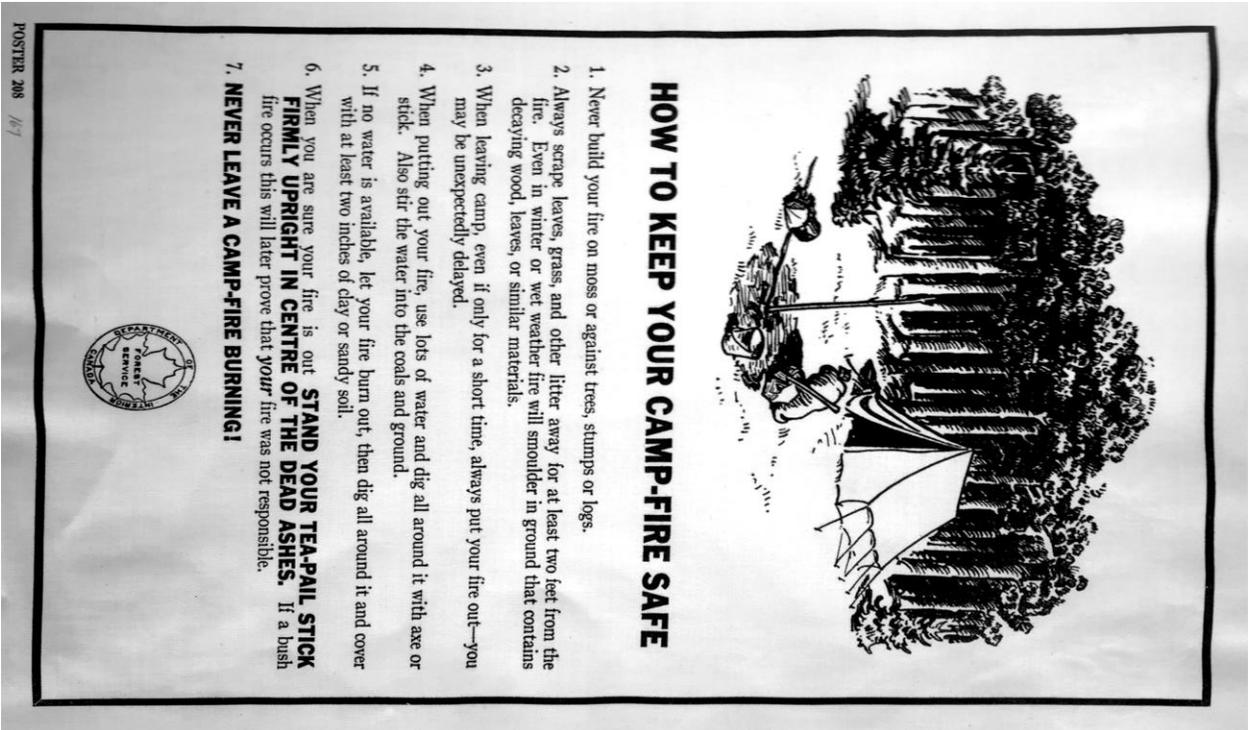


Figure 4.5 Dominion Forest Service poster  
Source: LAC, RG 39, vol. 600

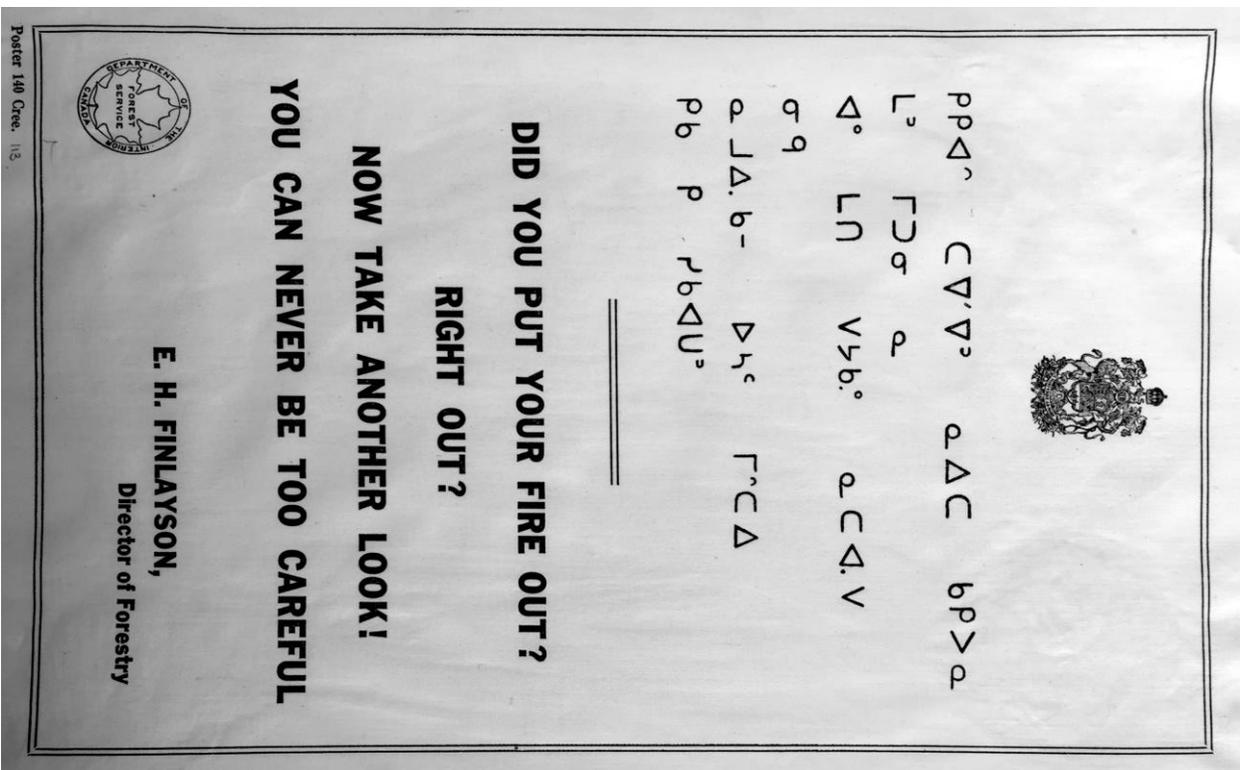


Figure 4.6 Dominion Forest Service poster  
Source: LAC, RG 39, vol. 600

302-991

# FORESTS, OR WASTE LANDS, WHICH?

**ALLOW** your imagination to conceive the benefits of even a small area of forest to this part of Western Canada where the country is otherwise almost destitute of tree growth.

**IMAGINE** covering this reserve, a young forest which would in a few years provide a supply of fence-posts to the farms of this district! It is, of course, difficult for you to conceive of the area supplying lumber in **YOUR** time, although it can do even this for future generations. However, it **CAN** provide the smaller and very necessary wood products in **YOUR** time.

**IMAGINE** the effect on the district if drifting sands were stabilized!

**IMAGINE** being able to bring your family and friends to a place of cool and shade and quiet!

It is upon these things that the Forest Service seeks to realize in the next twenty or twenty-five years. **YOU** hope to live **THAT** long, don't you?

**IMAGINE** being able to say you "saw it grow!"

**IMAGINE** being able to say you "helped to do it!"

**WORTH WHILE, ISN'T IT?**

SO get in behind the Forest Service. Help to pre-serve the resources of the reserve

**and KEEP FIRES OUT!**



POSTER 105 84.

Figure 4.7 Dominion Forest Service poster  
Source: LAC, RG 39, vol. 600

# CAMP ETIQUETTE

**BE** a good fellow; don't grouch!

**DO** your share of the chores!

**DON'T** criticize the cook!

**DON'T** use tent or teepee poles for firewood; get your own!

**LEAVE** a little more firewood in camp than you found, when you came!

**LEAVE** the camp clean; **AND MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL**

## PUT YOUR FIRE OUT!

You might be forgiven for unintentional breach of some of the above, but if you neglect the fire you'll never forgive yourself.

**Water is plentiful,**

**Use lots of it on the fire**

If this camp is good enough for you, leave it good enough for the next fellow.

**Isn't that fair and square?**



POSTER 103 84.

Figure 4.8 Dominion Forest Service poster  
Source: LAC, RG 39, vol. 600

By the 1940s a growing disconnect between urban dwellers and nature formed, and people's longing to reconnect presented a discrepancy with their knowledge and skills of how to safely interact with the environment. In Figures 4.5 and 4.8 attention is drawn to the proper etiquette and safety measures that should be taken in wooded areas. In the poster *How to Keep your Camp-Fire Safe* (Figure 4.5), a logical persuasion is used to effectively convey the safest way to set up a campsite. Bold, capital lettering of "never leave a camp-fire burning!" further drives the point home and leaves a lasting impression on the viewer. The illustration that accompanies the text helps to represent the instructions. The *Camp Etiquette* poster (Figure 4.8) uses logical and emotional appeals. Like the previous poster Figure 4.5, the formatting and font helps to draw the audiences' attention towards key words and phrases, in hopes of highlight its importance. The logical appeal of the large bolded font is used in tandem with an emotional persuasion appeal to further convince the audience of the importance of the message, as in in the statement, "If this camp is good enough for you, leave it good enough for the next fellow." This suggestive statement places the onus to be respectful of the environment on the camper.

These posters use emotional and logical grounds of appeals to persuade viewers to act appropriately. It is evident that the DFS used logic to rationalize caution when in the park, displaying the impending dangers. Figures 4.2 and 4.3 both illustrate how forest fires can begin, one by human agency and the other from natural occurrences. Although fires started naturally are not always preventable, the posters stress that in some cases they can be avoided, just like fires caused by human carelessness are preventable with vigilance and caution. The message on both is similar, which is to act with caution and be mindful of your surroundings and actions.

The DFS also used past environmental disasters as a tactic to promote care in its poster campaigns, as witnessed in Figure 4.7. Throughout the 1930s, dust storms ravaged the prairies

and also often “darken[ed] the skies of Ontario.”<sup>503</sup> This poster was a stark reminder of the environmental degradation and ecological catastrophe of this period. To remedy the destruction of past years, it was essential to invest in a resource reserve and not repeat past mistakes. An emotional appeal was made based upon rectifying mistakes of the past, while logical reasoning justified the benefits that creating and investing in a reserve would mean for the area: a health supply of timber as well as diminished dust storms.

The most common tactic used during this period was an emotional appeal, as in the case of how human carelessness could jeopardize other industries that relied on the forestry industry for their success, such as in Figure 4.4. The poster draws a connection between the forest and agriculture, where agriculture is dependent on the successful preservation of the forest. This ad tactic was used extensively during war times, as demand for timber was high and the loss of this resource had a direct impact on the war effort. WWII ads appealed emotionally to the reader to be “even more” cautious, as to not jeopardize the safety of troops, referring to those that did cause forest fires can be perceived to be a terrorist.

Similarly, posters acted as a way of informing park users of new regulations, boundary limits and safety warnings. Figure 4.1 is an example of such a poster. The “red band or X” indicates the boundary between recreation and industry. Posters that fall into this category were usually text heavy, outlining the dangers of fire and listing unlawful behaviours, such as trespassing or not acquiring the proper permits, that resulted in prosecution and/or penalties.

It is also necessary to draw attention to DFS efforts to disseminate warnings to all patrons of parks, regardless of their cultural origins. For many years, the DFS published posters in several languages, catering to the cultural diversity in each region. Figure 4.6 is one such

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<sup>503</sup> O.M. McConkey, *Conservation in Canada* (Toronto, ON: J.M. Dent and Sons 1952), 60.

example, containing both English and Cree text. Other languages that appeared on DFS posters were French, Chipewyan, Slavey, Hindi, Russian and Japanese.<sup>504</sup> The publication of posters in unofficial Canadian languages is an acknowledgment of present of large cultural groups in certain regions would frequent these spaces, and the government assuming a level of responsibility for educating these groups by providing language based materials. What is interesting to note however, is the distribution and translation of posters were not consistent through the country.<sup>505</sup>

The DFS poster campaigns offered park patrons valuable advice about looming dangers that could be avoided if proper etiquette and caution were exercised. In doing so, visitors would be able to enjoy a safe and enjoyable excursion in the park. The department's promotional efforts reflected the determination needed to educate park users on safety measures and practices while highlighting the importance of forests to the nation's economic and natural prosperity. What can be concluded from analyzing the DFS's poster campaigns during the 1920s and 1930s is the use of area-specific content, mixed use of text and images and formatting and the DFS's ability to target various audiences using an assortment of different tactics. More attention was given to fire prevention than proper utilization of the area, based on the sample of posters I assessed. This finding is not surprising seeing as forest fires were becoming a mounting concern for the DFS as well as provincial resource ministers who were forced to invest in suppression efforts. There was

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<sup>504</sup> For reference to posters printed in these languages refer to LAC RG 39 vol. 599 and 600.

<sup>505</sup> In going through the archives at the LAC looking through the DFS records, I did not come across materials published in all common Indigenous languages. The posters that were published in Slavey and Chipewyan were circulated in the NWT, BC and parts of northern Alberta. Other common languages such as Cree and Ojibway were not found. This is not to say they do not exist, it just indicates that they were not catalogued with the DFS or other records I examined at the LAC.

little need to promote leisure usage of forested areas as Parks Canada was heading this campaign effort.<sup>506</sup>

### **Creating Cooperative Partnerships to Promote Prevention**

The other popular medium that was used to broker messages of prevention was film. Films provided a way of visually representing the damage that a single match could inflict on an entire forest. They also served as a partnership opportunity with other agencies both domestic and international. The sharing of resources, funds and ideas created higher quality products. The following section looks at two films whose focus was prevention from a consumer perspective. The films were tailored to an urban viewer whose interaction with the outdoors was limited.

The 1943 film *Vigilance for Victory* was a joint production between the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Canadian Forestry Association. The film served two purposes: to establish the value and importance of the forestry industry in aid of the war effort and to stress the importance of conservation and prevention. Following a rudimentary storyline, the film creates an association between the audience and the content, allowing the audience to become invested in the story and resulting messages. *Vigilance for Victory* establishes this connection in two ways, first by explaining that wealth is attached to the vitality of the forest, and secondly by directly linking timber supply to the success of the war effort. This film is effective because of the black and white images and the authoritative voice of the narrator, who conveys the importance of forest fire prevention. With no background sound to help cue the audience's emotional response, the narrator is responsible for guiding the viewer's responses. Long pauses and right-branching sentences make the narration as accessible as possible. Once the connection between the audience and the forest is established, the film begins outlining what can be done on

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<sup>506</sup> P.J. Saari, "Marketing Nature: The Canadian National Parks Branch and Constructing the Portrayal of National Parks in Promotional Brochures, 1936–1970," *Environment and History* 21 (2015): 401–46.

the viewer's part to prevent timber loss, charging human carelessness as the leading cause of forest fires. As with some of the DFS posters previously analyzed, the language in the film was strategically chosen to tap into the patriotic mindset of the time, referring to those who started fires as "saboteurs." The short ends by reinforcing the importance of remaining vigilant in preventing forest fires from occurring, as the narrator closes his monologue with "save the forest to win the war."

Only a year later, this narrative of a prosperous forestry industry was again displayed on the big screen with the release of the 1944 film *Tomorrow's Timber*, which simultaneously promoted the industry's economic benefits while warning of the dangers posed by forest fires. The film begins and ends with images associated with fire. The purpose of this framing is to captivate the audience's attention with images of fire while focusing on its destructive nature. At the same time, the film makes the content relatable to the average viewer by showing blue-collar workers losing their jobs, which was widely experienced by the viewers in this era. By offering content that the audience could identify with, the film created a sense of purpose for the individual viewer.

The film's central message of "help prevent forest fires" is amplified in the final sequence, leaving a lasting impression on the viewer. This take-home message is accomplished by showing fire's impact on a thriving community, highlighting the importance of that industry and resource, and concluding by suggesting that it is "our" responsibility to protect nature's wealth. The causal relationship between human carelessness and the existential threat to a thriving community is starkly portrayed—if caution is not exercised in wooded areas, great destruction can occur, affecting everyone. The film fulfilled the government's goal of promoting

a vibrant, fruitful forestry industry with images of timber harvesting and processing that demonstrated the industry's contribution to the economy.

The public still had little understanding of how the government practiced forestry on public lands. Even those who were aware of forestry policy were still apprehensive because of the previous cut-and-run developments of the industry that resulted in an unbalanced pattern of timber harvesting, inadequate provisions for future forest crops and the creation of ghost towns. These actions spoke to the government's neglect in providing the public with access to information concerning research, governing and management approaches. This would not change much throughout the 1940s. The DLF was focused on restructuring the department and relied on DFS efforts in promoting forest fire prevention to the general public while they promoted to foresters in trade magazine. They took out ads in trade magazines primarily *Canada Lumberman* and *Pulp and Paper Magazine of Canada*.

Upon initial examination of these ads, it is evident that they were simplistic and required a low level of education to understand, as the visual and verbal imagery reveal a straightforward relationship between supplier and consumer. The messages focused on preventing forest fires caused by human agency. Headlines carried titles such as "It's Your Money" (Figure 4.9) and "Prevention is better than Cure!" (Figure 4.10). The text accompanying these ads reflected the need to take responsibility to prevent forest fires when working in the bush. However, none of the ads in either trade publication (Canada Lumber or Pulp and Paper Magazine of Canada) reflected the DFL's initiatives in establishing transparency between government activities and legislation/policies or in multiple-use planning, a direction it was heading.

116 PULP AND PAPER MAGAZINE OF CANADA October, 1946

# IT'S YOUR MONEY

*but you can't LOCK IT UP . . .*  
*Your Forest Dollars*

Won't squeeze into a BANK or FIREPROOF VAULT.  
 The Flaming Terror is ever alert to snatch and grab.  
 It's up to you. **BE ALWAYS ON YOUR GUARD!**

No Dollars Here!  
 Aftermath—removing snags.

## FOREST FIRES Can steal away your forest dollars just like any thief

To protect Ontario's Timber Dollars — your raw material — these definite rules **MUST** be followed by all men engaged in Woods Operations during the fire hazard season:—

1. No Smoking while walking or working in the woods.
2. No matches — use only approved safety lighters.
3. No lunch fires — carry tea and coffee in vacuum bottles.

Only with your co-operation — Your insistence on strict adherence to these rules — can Ontario remain a major contributor to the pulpwood and timber industries throughout the world. Remember — forest fires do not just happen — 800 out of every 1,000 are caused by careless people. **THIS MUST STOP!**

**PREVENT FOREST FIRES**

**DEPARTMENT OF LANDS AND FORESTS**  
 Hon. W. G. Thompson, Minister  
 F. A. McDougall, Deputy-Minister

Figure 4.9 Ontario Department of Lands and Forests advertisement  
 Source: DLF. 1946 October, Pulp and Paper Canada, 116.

HON. H. R. SCOTT, MINISTER  
 Canada Lumberman—September, 1949

**PREVENTION is better than CURE!**

ONTARIO'S FOREST WEALTH is continually being destroyed by fires resulting from CARELESSNESS

Fire suppression is often a long, costly and dangerous job.

THE BEST WAY TO FIGHT FOREST FIRES IS TO PREVENT THEM FROM STARTING.

THIS IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY

—HELP PROTECT OUR FORESTS—

ONTARIO  
 DEPARTMENT OF LANDS AND FORESTS

F. A. MCDUGALL, DEPUTY MINISTER

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Figure 4.10 Ontario Department of Lands and Forests Advertisement  
 Source: DLF. September 1949. Canada Lumberman 69, no. 9, 116.

The DLF went through several changes during the first half of the twentieth century. At the beginning of the century, it led the conservation effort with progressive reforms in forest policy, but then soon fell behind. A combination of leadership and market struggles shifted its focus back to revenue-generating measures, which were felt not only within the department but affected forests as well. This period of transition in the 1940s witnessed a shift in federal responsibility, as the federal government stepped in to assist. The reason for this change included:

the general increase in public awareness of environmental issues and the direct political pressures of environmental groups; the buoyant economic state which (rightly or wrongly) enabled governments to feel that they could afford policies that would be low priority items in times of economic recession; the philosophy of the federal government (and the mood of the country generally) that made it possible for Ottawa to dabble in many policy areas that were constitutionally within the provincial bailiwick.<sup>507</sup>

The involvement of the federal government in provincial affairs contributed to the larger theme of order and control. The years of abuse and corruption in the DLF resulted in the public's loss of confidence in the department. It is this need for structure through order and control that eased public concerns. When the province could not ensure them, they sought federal help.

Throughout this chapter, the conservation movement has been discussed and then related to the increased efforts to educate the public about forest management and safety. The action or inaction of the government in developing and promoting education helped shape public opinion about the utility of the province's resources. While the public's experiences and interactions played a role in shaping their identity with the forest, the government significantly shaped those experiences promoting the mixed use of forests for preservation, entertainment and business.

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<sup>507</sup> M. Whittington, "Department of the Environment," *Spending Tax Dollars: Federal Expenditures, 1980-81*, ed. G.B. Doern (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University, School of Public Administration, 1980), 101.

The 1930s and 40s were a period of development that was reminiscent of old imperial policy that used the forest sector as a base for economic development, once again adopting the doctrine of usefulness. This regression in policy was a product of a time when economic stimulation was needed. Conservation and social aspects of forest policy in Ontario were sacrificed in favour of short-term economic considerations. It would not be until the 1960s that conservation would be embraced once again and the forests would be seen as more than an economic asset.

Central to this chapter is the evolution of forestry as a science. The promotion of forests by the government focused primarily on forest fire prevention. While the province's efforts were meagre, the federal government used new mediums to educate the public on advances in forest fire suppression and prevention. Through its efforts in promoting forest fire prevention, the federal government are able to control the narrative and use conservation and preservation as a platform to garner public support.

Public programing and conferences focusing on public education reflected a step in the right direction in bridging the knowledge gap. It also shifted responsibility onto regional foresters to create meaningful partnerships and open lines of communication between the public, industry and government in addressing the direction taken in forestry practices and management in their respective regions; as public outreach was the first line of communication in establishing a positive rapport between the forestry sector and the local communities directly affected by the forest industries.<sup>508</sup> This placed pressure on foresters to become trained in communication skills.<sup>509</sup> Although there was a disagreement within the profession as to the shortfalls in public

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<sup>508</sup> P.R. Bliss, "With the CIF in Toronto," in *Canada Lumberman* 77, no. 12 (1957).

<sup>509</sup> It was evident that there was a lack of unity within the profession. Many have commented that foresters in general lacked a sense of responsibility in participating in politics and public affairs. This only added to the fact that many lacked the social graces necessary to allow for all voices to be heard within the sector. This growing conflict

knowledge of the forestry sector in the past, they all shared the belief that going forward more community outreach was needed.<sup>510</sup> Efforts to create youth programming began to slowly emerge at the turn of the century and in time evolved into an important strategy for cultivating long-term stewardship. The next chapter discusses the slow adoption of efforts to educate youth about conservation and prevention in forests.

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and confusion within the profession was starting to be acknowledge and mitigated.

<sup>510</sup> Some foresters argued that education was a specialized field in the industry and as such should be the responsibility of groups and organizations (such as the CFA and CIF).

## Chapter 5

### Creating Resource Stewards by Investing in Youth Programming and Education, 1950s

Conservation is not something imposed on a community by any legal body. It is a philosophy of life and an attitude of mind. Unless the people, one by one, have realized the meaning and significance of conservation in their daily lives all these plans are so much wasted effort. To produce this attitude is one of the greatest responsibilities of conservation authorities.

—Charley Dill<sup>511</sup>

Ontario, like the rest of the country, was in a period of change in the 1950s. The Depression and WWII had shifted forestry policy emphasis back to revenue-generating measures to stimulate the economy and employment. These exploitative policies stunted the progress made at the beginning of the 1900s. The Ontario DLF by the late 1940s had been reorganized and began to shift direction once again towards conservation.

Throughout the 1950s, the province had a vast repertoire of conservation materials that were used to educate the public:<sup>512</sup> films, lectures, radio broadcasts and comic books, were all media the DLF used to reach audiences. (See Appendix D for a list of some of the films, lecture series and brochures that were used by the department.) Beginning in 1950, the Public Relation Assistant program, which assisted with conservation education and related work, was discontinued. After this it became the responsibility of regions to carry on these efforts.<sup>513</sup> The rationale behind this change was to encourage and tailor educational programming specifically for each region by regional staff through their own particular branch of the DLF's work (forest protection, timber management, fish and wildlife, etc.).<sup>514</sup> This devolution of responsibility onto

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<sup>511</sup> C. Dill, "C.F.A. Aids Forest Fire Prevention Programme in Ontario: Conservation Railway Car Starts Tour of Province," *Sylva* 10, no. 5 (1954): 22.

<sup>512</sup> Ontario, Department of Lands and Forests, *Report of the Minister of Lands and Forests of the Province of Ontario, 1955–56* (Toronto, ON: King's Printer 1956), 29–38.

<sup>513</sup> Ontario, Department of Lands and Forests, *Report of the Minister of Lands and Forests of the Province of Ontario, 1950* (Ontario, 1950), 110.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*

the shoulders of district-level staff resulted in a corresponding variation in the levels of public engagement in each region. That being said, the department still continued to contribute to the effort by sponsoring visual media creation, hosting travelling lectures and advertising in different publications.<sup>515</sup>

The focus of this chapter is on government, resource agencies and industry efforts to foster stewardship in the next generation of youth through innovative and engaging modes of communication, particularly experiential learning. Such efforts stretch as far back to the turn of the century and the nascent back-to-nature movement, when experts realized that children's programming must be fundamentally different from adult outreach. Establishing positive connections with forests provided the impetus for individuals to remain interested and invested in forest welfare throughout their entire lives. These efforts came into their own after WWII when a variety of available media, particularly radio and comic books, made broader and more consistent outreach to youth possible and practical. Through an examination of promotional programs and publications, along with more hands-on educational initiatives, this chapter assembles a cohesive picture of government and industry attempts to ensure children would be the stewards of tomorrow. This chapter begins by looking at the economic and political climate that led the province to adopt conservation policies once again. Here a brief consideration is given to the forest industries' contribution to promoting their efforts towards conservation and the maintenance of a sustainable yield. This is followed by an exploration of some of the media that helped foster the stewards of tomorrows.

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<sup>515</sup> Ontario, *Report of the Minister*, 1956.

### The Start of a New Era

The state of forest policy in Ontario was addressed by the DLF at the British Commonwealth Forestry Conference (BCFC) in 1952, where they described the early stages of a progressive forest policy in the province, reminiscent of an earlier conservation ideal:

Heavy wartime drains on the timber resource of the province built up a back-log of work which led to an unprecedented increase in staff in the post-war period. Added to this, sustained yield management, which probably would have started fifteen years earlier had favourable economic conditions prevailed, was initiated after the conclusion of hostilities. The period under view—1946 to 1950—has therefore been one . . . [of] transfer from a policy of liquidation of reserves of virgin timber to one of sustained yield forest management.<sup>516</sup>

While the department was trying to resituate conservation measures within its policies, its statement to the BCFC was premature. While it had established a general forest management procedure, it was still far from achieving a sustained yield.

With the return of soldiers after WWII, the provincial job sector petitioned the province to combine forest management policy with its job-creation policy. In doing so, forest industries in the province saw an influx of veterans to the forestry sector who brought with them technological advancements that helped modernize many aspects of forest production and management. Their first initiative in this program was to produce a dependable forestry inventory as a baseline for future management planning. It was clear to the Division of Timber Management that the industry's "greatest handicap" was the "lack of a proper inventory of the forest resources."<sup>517</sup> The government decreed that the DLF should continue to make an inventory

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<sup>516</sup> Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, *Forestry in Ontario*, A statement prepared by the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests for the British Commonwealth Forestry Conference (Ontario, 1952). Managing the country's woodlands on a sustained yield bases was first proposed in 1945 at a conference on resource conservation. The federal government agreed to endorse this concept and proceeded to help fund provincial programs directed at compiling inventories of their forestry resources. See, M. Kuhlberg, *One Hundred Rings and Counting*, 145–6.

<sup>517</sup> Armson, *Ontario Forests*, 153.

at regular intervals, so as to maintain an accurate resource estimation. This was a costly undertaking, with both ground and aerial surveys employing hundreds of veterans. To assist the program, the *Canadian Forestry Act* was passed on April 1, 1949, with the cost of inventory policy being shared equally by the provincial and federal governments. The inventory helped contribute to the larger body of knowledge about forested areas in the province and made it possible for Ontario to request detailed management plans from industry for approval.

In the postwar years, forest policy focused on stabilizing both the industry and the management of provincial forests. The reorganization of the DLF and Howard Kennedy's potential policy outline fuelled this endeavour.<sup>518</sup> In solidarity with this new management plan, ads were placed by both Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company and the Abitibi Power and Paper Company Limited, to illustrate to the public their effort in meeting their management requirements. Spruce Falls P&P took an ad out in the *Canadian Pulp and Paper Industry* magazine to enhance its efforts in regeneration of their timber resources. As seen in Figure 5.1,

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<sup>518</sup> The changes that Kennedy proposed in his report reflected his desire to create a comprehensive forestry policy that would address present and future concerns within the industry and management of the resource. Kennedy attributed the troubling situation to a lack of public interest and pressure which was needed to elicit development of rational forestry programs. His more instrumental and pivotal recommendations were:

- 1) Forest management must adhere to principles of sustainable yield.
- 2) A set of regulations and adequate legislation should be tabled to ensure equal treatment of all forest users.
- 3) There should be improved utilization standards to more adequately use existing valuable species and to provide uses for presently unmarketable species.
- 4) Over-mature timber must be designated for harvest first.
- 5) All cutovers should be regenerated to a point equal to or better than original conditions.
- 6) A simplification of the methods of levying government charges should be done, using only forest rent and stumpage.
- 7) The export of unmanufactured wood should be prevented.
- 8) There must be expansion of provincial road systems to more evenly distribute the cut.

The report itself was deemed controversial. Although it illustrated major problems within the sector, many felt that the suggestions put forth were too general and not suited for local situations. Eventually the report managed to evoke publicity for the resource sector and future development of management policy. With the release of the Kennedy Report, many newspapers spoke of the importance of its implementation. The *Ottawa Journal* stated, "This is probably the most important document yet issued on the great wood industries of the province and their destinies in the years to come. 'Timber mining' must stop." The Napanee Beaver was quick to add, "If [this report] does anything to prevent the riotous waste of our forest resources, we are all for it." Quotations taken from the *Financial Post*, August 23, 1947 and August 30, 1947.

the company illustrated its regeneration effort (preparing seedbeds, sowing seeds and transplanting seedlings) at its Kapuskasing location. What the ad failed to address was the quantity and quality of seedlings being produced for regeneration. The ad embellished the company's efforts while communicating the message that the company has taken action in sustaining a future timber supply. Abitibi, on the other hand, was tactful in its ad design so as not to provide the audience with more detail of its management operations than necessary. The company did, however, mention that it was taking proper precautions and was ahead of the curve regarding "sound forest management." Unlike in the Spruce Falls P&P ad, Abitibi's audience was forced to speculate what measures had been taken as the ad did not illustrate nor discuss the company's forest regeneration practices (see Figure 5.2).<sup>519</sup>

The forest industry and the DLF seemed to be in good standing with the public by the 1950s. As far as the public was concerned, forests were being managed well and government and industry had a cohesive relationship. There was some criticism that the government prioritized industry needs over environmental needs, as in the case of the Kalamazoo Vegetable and Parchment Company (KVP).<sup>520</sup> Nevertheless, these incidents were often overshadowed by other initiatives coming from both the provincial and federal levels.

Propaganda released at this time was primarily in trade magazines promoting forest fire prevention. Newspapers covered the major changes happening within the sector but primarily printed news related to forest fires. Although reforestation and sustainable yield were being

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<sup>519</sup> Both companies went public with their regeneration efforts. Abitibi Pulp and Paper Company at Raith paved the way for experimental research on regeneration, having conducted exploratory appraisals on harvesting patterns to regenerate spruce and jack pine. Spruce Falls P&P used a more tactical approach and began hand planting seedlings to transplant into a silvicultural clearcutting system. See, A.P. Leslie, "Some Historical Aspects of Forestry in Ontario," *The Forestry Chronicle* 26, no. 3 (1950): 243–50.

<sup>520</sup> For court case see, Supreme Court of Canada. *K.V.P. Co. Ltd. v. McKie et al.*, 1948, SCR 698 (1949). Also see, J. Benidickson, "KVP: Riparian Resurrection in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Ontario," in *Property on Trial: Canadian Cases in Context*, edited by E. Tucker, J. Muir and B. Ziff, 71-92 (Toronto: Osgoode Society, 2012).

promoted as the newly adopted management strategy, little was done in explaining what this entailed for the population at large. The growing gap in knowledge was becoming apparent with industry personnel and the public promulgated information with discrepancies and inconsistencies.

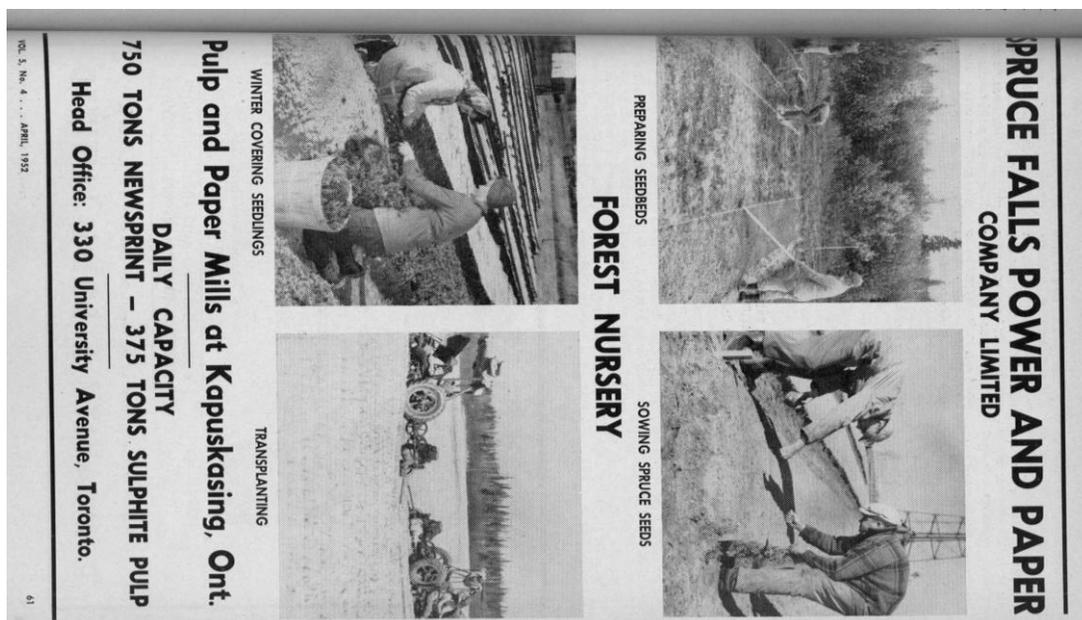


Figure 5.1 Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company Ltd. April 1952. Canadian Pulp and Paper Industry 5, no. 4 (April 1952): 61.

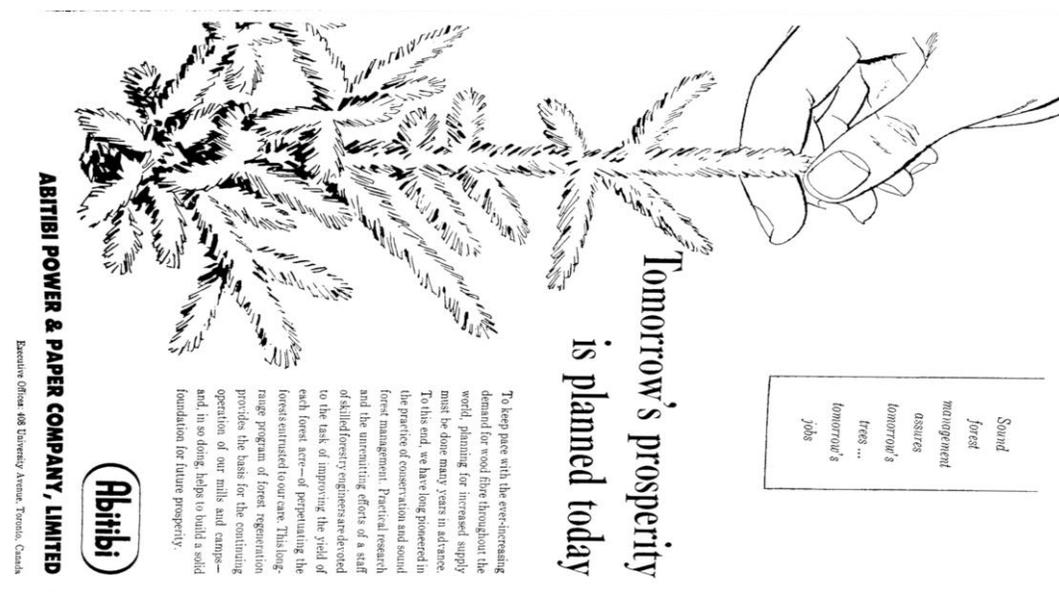


Figure 5.2 Abitibi Power and Paper Company Ltd. Source: Canada Pulp and Paper Industry 8, no. 4 (April 1955): 27.

Following the passing of the new *Crown Timber Act*, Honourable W.S. Gemmill presented *Suggestions for a Programme of Renewable Resources Development*, also known as

the *White Paper* to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario a year later.<sup>521</sup> This proposal used the Forestry Resource Inventory (FRI) as a basis to integrate “the many and varying uses of land for forests and recreation with their use for wild-life; the use of streams and lakes for hydro developments with their use for log driving and fishery management. In short it makes it possible to reconcile the complex relationships between often-conflicting land and water uses.”<sup>522</sup> In theory the province would adopt sustainable yield measures, making it their mandate that “the province’s forests shall be maintained to yield periodic timber crops in perpetuity.”<sup>523</sup> In reality, although the province created a management plan, it failed to implement a sustained yield policy: road systems were not developed, the cut was not evenly distributed and suggested cutting methods to promote natural regeneration were ignored. Lambert with Pross credit the vastness of the province and the mass quantity of mature and over mature timber as the basic problem with attaining sustained yield.<sup>524</sup>

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<sup>521</sup> Legislature debates: 1954 (March 29, 1954), 905 forestry; Ontario. Department of Lands and Forest, *Suggestions for Program of Renewable Resources Development White Paper* (Toronto: 1954).

<sup>522</sup> To achieve these goals, the following steps would need to be taken:

- 1) By April 1, 1959, the provisions of the CTA regarding management plans would be fully enforced.
- 2) Within a ten-year period, a distribution in cut would be accomplished in the province’s forests so no district or management unit would be overcut for any commercially valuable species.
- 3) A proper age class distribution would be developed through reduction, by harvest, of mature and overmature timber.
- 4) Operations would apply appropriate silvicultural techniques to medium and better site cutovers to ensure full stocking.
- 5) In the future, stands to be cut would provide for their own replacement.

To accomplish each, step the following would need to be done:

- 1) Hire more field staff
- 2) Development of road systems
- 3) Tree planting to aid/supplement natural regeneration
- 4) Modification of harvesting techniques as to promote natural regeneration.

See White Paper, “Suggestions,” 2.

<sup>523</sup> A statement made by the DLF to the British Commonwealth Forestry Conference in 1957. See also C.W. Scott, “The Seventh British Commonwealth Forestry Conference: Summaries and Reviews of Some Papers Submitted,” in *Empire Forestry Review* 37, no. 91 (1958): 96–102.

<sup>524</sup> For further discussion, see Lambert with Pross, *Renewing Nature’s Wealth*, 414–23.

A radical change in forestry policy was needed. This was based on the fact that, as the public's awareness increased, so too did its understanding that the current supply of timber would not be able to meet the escalating future requirements under the present management system. H.R. MacMillan spoke of this future concern in a paper he presented to U of T:

The forest is still believed to be inexhaustible and self-perpetuating; it is expected to continue automatically to perform its role as inevitably, cheaply, and dependably as the tides. Canadians do not yet fully recognize that the forest, as a crop, is continuously most productive only if there is investment in silvicultural management suited to species and site.<sup>525</sup>

MacMillan warned that notions of forestry were based on a fallacy that supported exploitation and the over-mechanization of the industry with no concern for future supply. Warnings such as MacMillan's were commonplace through the early half of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, the mounting concerns surrounding public awareness were finally being discussed openly. As Dean George S. Allen of University of British Columbia (UBC) Faculty of Forestry stated at a 1957 Canadian Institute of Forestry (CIF) annual meeting, "in spite of this concerned effort, very few Canadians seem to have even an elementary knowledge of forests, forestry and foresters."<sup>526</sup> J.L. Van Camp, general manager of the CFA also shared his frustration at the lack of public knowledge about forestry in Atlantic Canada. Similar experiences was felt throughout the country.<sup>527</sup>

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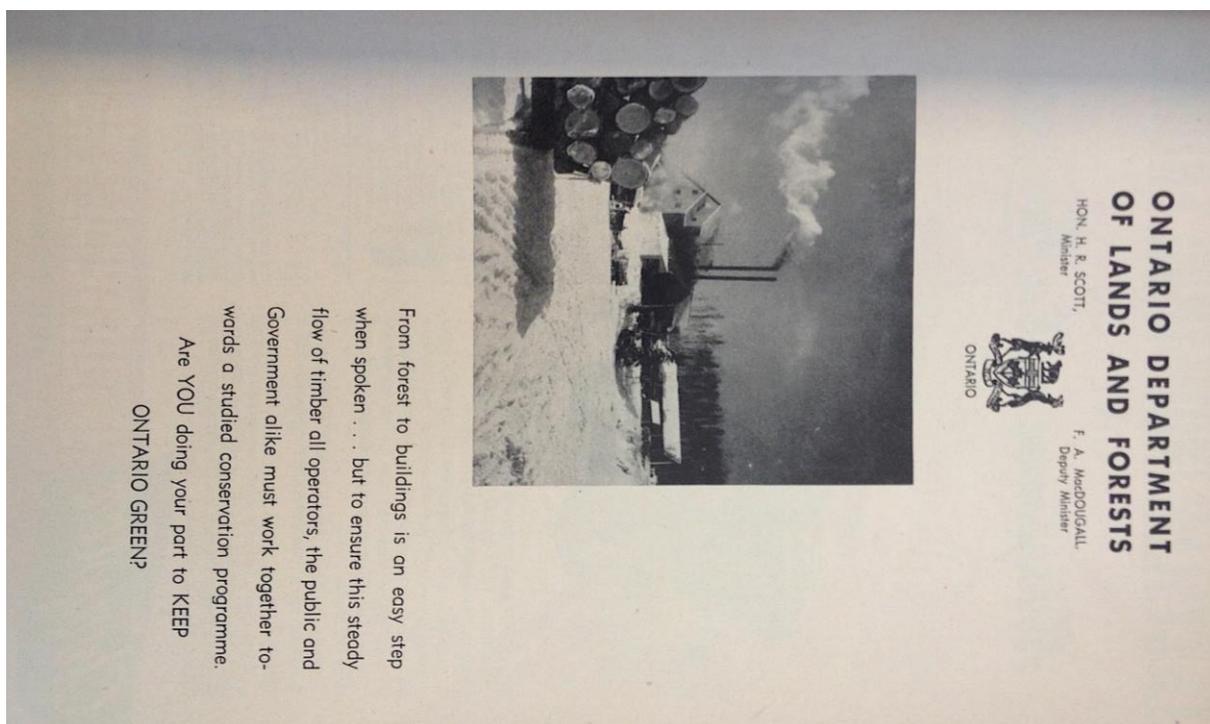
<sup>525</sup> MacMillan, *The Profession and Practice of Forestry in Canada*.

<sup>526</sup> LAC MG 28 1888 vol. 17—file CIF Forestry, 1957. Summary. Public Education Session. CIF Annual Meeting Toronto October 24, 1957 (Notes by JL Van Camp).

<sup>527</sup> "I have found it a matter of serious concern to many forest industry executives that the attitude of the Canadian public is not more favourable to forest industry. There is, in fact, especially in areas far removed from the mills and the forest, a feeling of suspicion if not actual antagonism. This, I believe, arises chiefly from a lack of factual information for the public. For this unfortunate condition, the CFA shares part of the responsibility, along with the forest industry. The latter have, in many cases, depended upon second or third-hand information about their business reaching the private citizen, who is the really important factor in public relations. It is perhaps sufficient to say that more and more people are living in cities, and are therefore increasingly out-of-touch with the forests as time goes on. This lack of communication, or of first-hand knowledge, permits misunderstandings to develop in many quarters. The old rule that we suspect the unknown applies here as elsewhere." Public relations in forestry industry, An address to the CIF, Atlantic Section (Halifax, NS, November 21, 1957) by J.L. Van Camp, General Manager of the CFA. See LAC MG 28 188 vol. 17 – file CIF Forestry, 1957.

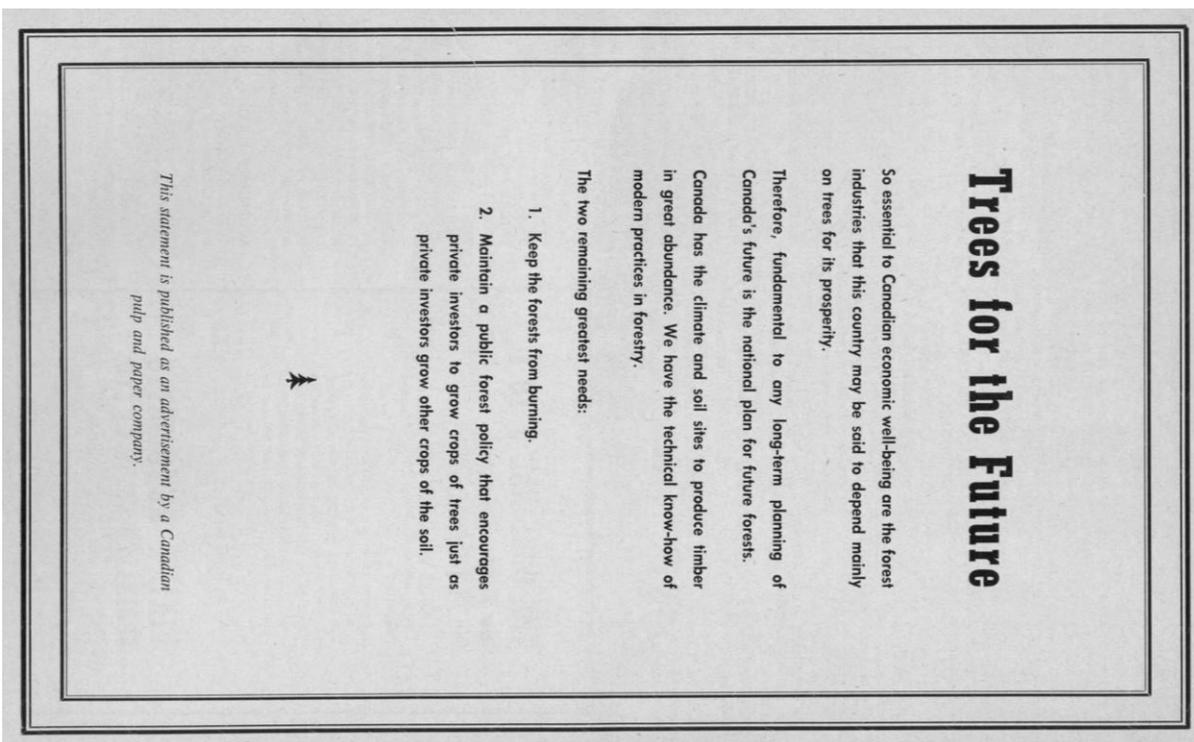
Although the public was becoming more aware of the importance of preserving forests, there was still work to be done on educating the public and forest workers with correct information. By having an informed society and workforce they would be able to see the value in conservation management, research and long-term planning. The DLF used this education push as momentum to urge the forester to consider a more organized approach to conservation, as seen in in the February 1951 ad in the *Canada Lumberman* (see Figure 5.3).

Forest product industries also tried to capitalized on this narrative of long-term conservation planning to protect forest resources by taking out their own ads that supported this message. One such company was the Canadian Cellulose Company, who released a 1952 advertisement in the *Canada Lumberman* discussing the importance of long-term planning for future forest (see Figure 5.4). Although CCC's message spoke genuinely of the mounting concerns within the industry about sustainability, it was perhaps too auspicious of how management trends would play out.



**Figure 5.3 Department of Lands and Forests**

Source: *Canada Lumberman* 71, no. 2 (February 1951): 57.



**Figure 5.4 Canadian Cellulose Company**

Source: *Canadian Pulp and Paper Industry* 5, no. 4 (April 1952): 171.

It is important to note that the forest industry wielded a great deal of influence during this period, and this should not be overlooked when analyzing the tenor of promotional materials. Issues regarding sustainability and management were still rampant because of the government's unwillingness to challenge companies.<sup>528</sup> There were times in the Frost administration where they would manipulate laws and required judges to consider the economic consequences of their environmental rulings against forest companies. An example is the case of KVP where various lawsuits brought against the company only resulted in a modest clean-up of the river.<sup>529</sup> It did, however, raise awareness of the environmental concerns surrounding the pulp and paper industry.<sup>530</sup>

### **Training Men for a Trade in Forestry**

Further supporting the efforts of promoting long-term conservation management was educating the next generation of foresters on management practices that adhered to the province's conservation objectives. This was achieved by providing the province's unemployed male youths with the opportunity to learn hands-on forestry best practices. Some of the first forays into

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<sup>528</sup> J. Swift, *Cut and Run: The Assault on Canada's Forests* (Toronto, ON: Between the Lines Press, 1983).

<sup>529</sup> Until 1930, Abitibi Pulp and Paper had operated on the Espanola River. It was later revived in 1946 by Michigan-based Kalamazoo Vegetable and Parchment Co. (KVP). KVP polluted the river with toxic chemicals that all but destroyed a once thriving commercial fishing waterway. For further discussion, see J. Benidickson, "KVP: Riparian Resurrection in 20th Century Ontario," in *Property on Trial: Canadian Cases in Context*, ed. E. Tucker, J. Muir and B. Ziff (Toronto, ON: Osgoode Society, 2012), 71–92.

<sup>530</sup> The government–industry partnership prevented environmental restrictions being imposed on KVP. The meager reparations faced by KVP can be explained by the mutually beneficial relationship between the government and the forestry industry, where the economic benefits to the province were deemed too great to lose. The significant financial contributor KVP made to the community was evident. It employed 1,500 people in Espanola and represented a capital investment of over \$13 million, with a monthly payroll of \$430,000. See *Globe and Mail* (January 12, 1950), 10). KVP's role in the community gave it precedence to continue its activities, despite acknowledgements of the threat to both the health of the environment and the population, as outlined in a conversation between Dr. G. Downe and the KVP plant manager:

I . . . told him I understood the plant was going to re-open. I asked him if he was going to dispose of the waste in the river. I told him it would ruin some of the best fishing in North America. He said what are a few fish to what we are doing for the country. I suggested to him they could pipe the waste on over the sand flats. He said it was a matter of economics. They are spending money on the plant. I said are you going to put the effluent in the water. He said yes. (See OA. JC McRuer Papers, Benchbooks, No. 10 at 73.)

experiential education began as a response to the unemployment levels of the Depression. British Columbia (BC) was one of the first provinces to establish this type of education with the Young Men's Forestry Training Plan (YMFTP) in 1935, modeled after Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1933 Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).<sup>531</sup> Other provinces soon implemented training programs in a variety of fields (1937–1939).<sup>532</sup> The success of the provincial youth training program in BC led to its adoption on a national scale, and in 1939 the National Forestry Program (NFP) was created.<sup>533</sup> This merged relief camps created by the Department of National Defense (DND) in the early 1930s<sup>534</sup> with Forest Development Projects (FDP) and the YMFTP.<sup>535</sup> NFP's objective was to “combine training and employment of young unemployed men with protection and development of Canadian forests and wildlife conservation.”<sup>536</sup>

The NFP was geared towards young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, and men who had never been employed or were considered undernourished were given priority. Work for these men consisted of fire protection improvement, silvicultural operations, recreational development and conservation of fish and game. Through their five-month employment, it was hoped that the men would be rehabilitated to an optimal physical and mental

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<sup>531</sup> CCC was a work relief program that ran from 1933 to 1942 in the United States for men who were unemployed, unmarried between the ages of 18 and 23. This program was part of the New Deal, which focused on relief, recovery and reform in the US, during the Depression. For further discussion, see N.M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>532</sup> Rajala, *Feds, Forests, and Fire*, 101.

<sup>533</sup> For reference to National Forestry Program, see LAC, RG 39, Vol. 36.

<sup>534</sup> The DND camps were first opened in the summer of 1933 in every province with the exception of Prince Edward Island. That year they provided work, along with room and board, to over 7000 single, homeless males. Like other federal relief programs of the time, it was short-lived, active for just a little over three years. Men were paid twenty-five cents a day for work in establishing aircraft landing fields, building roads, restoring sites, improving military facilities as well as a whole slew of other undertakings. For further discussion, see J.H. Thompson and A. Seager, *Canada, 1922–1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), 268.

<sup>535</sup> FDP differed from the YMFTP in two ways: they provided no training, education or entertainment for the participants (it was strictly a labour camp) and they recruited former inhabitants from DND camps. See R.A. Rajala, “From ‘On-to-Ottawa’ to ‘Bloody Sunday,’” in *Framing Canadian Federalism: Historical Essays in Honour of John T. Saywell*, ed. D. Anastakis and P.E. Bryden (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 118–50.

<sup>536</sup> N.A. McLarty, “Forward,” in *Forest and Outdoors* 36 (Jan. 1940): 3.

state. Having restored their wellbeing and equipping them with tactical skills, they were expected to be able to find gainful employment.

The 1939 NFP was a joint provincial and federal effort between the Department of Labour and the Department of Mines and Resources. The DFS was responsible for approving plans of work and inspections carried out in both provincial and federal forests/parks.<sup>537</sup> Forest experiment stations, as well as provincial and national parks, were used as sites for these schools. In Ontario, forty-two small camps were established, primarily in the northern reaches of the province, employing forty trainees to assist rangers in park areas.

The NFP was deemed to be a successful endeavour according to a 1940 newspaper article that suggested that the camps were “the most commendable creations of the government last year.”<sup>538</sup> However, the program was abandoned that same year, primarily because of the outbreak of war.<sup>539</sup> The one-year program enlisted 5000 youth; had it continued it was speculated that it would “undoubtedly have produced valuable results not only for the forest, but society itself.”<sup>540</sup> With the introduction of conscription in 1942, the Alternative Service Works (ASW) placed conscientious objectors in national parks and forest experiment stations on fire suppression, beetle control and tree-planting projects.<sup>541</sup> These projects would provide useful templates and points of comparison for efforts after the war.

The success of experiential education programs such as the NFP would help support further development of forestry incentives that would provide materials and programming to

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<sup>537</sup> See D.R. Cameron, “National Forestry Program,” *Forestry Chronicle* 16 (January 1940): 54; R.F. Thompson, “The National Forestry Program,” *Forest and Outdoors* 36 (January 1940): 7.

<sup>538</sup> LAC, RG 39, vol. 36, “Forest Program Little Known” (1940).

<sup>539</sup> See Canada, *Report of the Department of Mines and Resources for the Year Ended March 31, 1940* (Ottawa, ON: King’s Printer, 1941), 114; Cameron, “Natural Forestry Program,” 56; R.F. Thompson, “The National Forestry Program,” *Forest and Outdoors* 36 (January 1940): 9.

<sup>540</sup> D.A. MacDonald, “Post-War Rehabilitation,” *The Forestry Chronicle* 18, no. 1 (1942): 19.

<sup>541</sup> *Ibid.*

young adults, educating them on forestry in Canada. The progressive urbanization of Canada in the early twentieth century resulted in a disconnect between people and their environment. The lack of proper etiquette while in nature increased the risk of environmental disturbances (particularly fires). Forestry education was becoming an issue of grave importance, so much so that many resource societies and groups in the late 1940s began to speak of its necessity. For example, the Canadian Society of Forest Engineers' (CSFE) 1949 annual meeting had forestry education as its theme. Many of the guest speakers went on to publish their talking points in the 1949 issue of the *Forestry Chronicle*. Articles in the publication addressed various concerns and advancements in forestry education. "Public Education in Forest Fire Prevention," written by W.S. MacDonnell, an attendee of the CSFE meeting, captured the essence of the direction that both government and industry was heading. In his article, he addressed the importance of educating the public, so they had the "right attitude." He wrote:

As has been demonstrated in Europe, indirect control will ultimately succeed, but only by persistent effort. It can create a public attitude which will guarantee that few fires will start expect those from malicious intent, unavoidable accidents or natural causes. Only when this result is achieved can the urgent task of public education be considered as successfully undertaken.<sup>542</sup>

The federal government worked on a national scale, partnering with provincial education departments to produce and distribute publications geared toward educating youth about their surrounding environment. They also made it part of their mandate to provide a "sustain[able] flow of education material to keep a co-operative public well informed."<sup>543</sup>

In trying to re-establish this connection with nature, consultation among government departments resulted in age-specific literature geared towards children being produced that forged an appreciation for natural resources and established proper decorum in nature. The

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<sup>542</sup> MacDonnell, "Public Education in Forest Fire Prevention," 275.

<sup>543</sup> CFA, *Plan of Action to Fully Utilize and Perpetuate Canada's Forests*, 5.

prevailing opinion among foresters at both the federal and provincial levels was that the public would take responsibility for its heritage if it was educated “at its most impressible point, namely the youth of the country.”<sup>544</sup> In doing so, government foresters would encourage individuals to strive throughout their lives to sustainably maintain nature’s integrity for future generations to appreciate and enjoy.

### **Froebelian Doctrine of Progressive Education**

Transparency, in terms of how to establish sustainable forestry practices, was one priority for the federal government. A particular concern was dispelling myths about unlimited resources and instilling the importance of sustainability and conservation over profitable, albeit wasteful, practices. Schools became an optimal outlet for forest education. The government tailored publications specifically for each level of cognitive and social development of children.

Growing fears that urban living would have lasting negative effects on the nation’s youth led to the adoption of progressive educational programs. Applying the principles of the Froebelian doctrine of progressive education, public school students across the country were familiarized with nature by engaging in outdoor learning.<sup>545</sup> Experiential education was promoted through the efforts of the Natural History and Field Naturalist Society, farm organizations and the staff of the Central Experimental Farm. These organizations helped implement nature study classes in public schools across Canada in the early twentieth century.<sup>546</sup>

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<sup>544</sup> R.M. Watt, “Publications in Schools,” *The Forestry Chronicle* 25, no. 5 (1949): 281–4.

<sup>545</sup> For a discussion on the Froebelian doctrine, see C.E. Phillips. “The Development of Education in Canada,” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 7, no. 2 (1959): 167–170. Application of the doctrine can be found in F.T. Shutt, “Nature Study and the Camera,” *The Ottawa Naturalist* XVIII (November 1904): 161–4.

<sup>546</sup> Nature education was introduced in public schools in British Columbia (1900), Alberta (1908), Manitoba (1903), Ontario (1904), and Nova Scotia (1901). W. Lockhead, “Agencies for the Promotion of Nature-Study in Canada,” *The Ottawa Naturalist* XX (December 1906): 193–6; Phillips, *The Development of Education*, 425; J.B. Wallis, “Nature Study in Winnipeg Schools,” *Ottawa Naturalist* XVIII (May 1904), 61–4; J.F. Power, “The Importance of Nature Study, with Some Suggestions as to Methods,” *Ottawa Naturalist* XXII (November 1908): 145–53; A.H. MacKay, “Nature Study in the Schools of Nova Scotia,” *Ottawa Naturalist* XVIII (February 1905): 209–12. Nature-

The intended purpose of establishing nature-based education hinged on the understanding that “[t]he foundation of all education is the training of the senses, but in this artificial and introspective age we are losing sight of this objective influence of nature, ignoring the plan by which the human race has been nourished and developed for untold generations.”<sup>547</sup> It was believed that life in the metropolis stunted one’s growth and creativity. To rectify this, it was best to expose children to nature, reigniting their senses and connections. This sentiment was best expressed by C.J. Atkinson in his article in the *Ottawa Naturalist*, where he wrote: “...the unnatural surrounding and conventionalities of city life dwarf the boy physically and mentally, and [so] that to have the boy at his best [we] must counteract the influence of man-made environment by getting him back to Nature.”<sup>548</sup>

Before adopting experiential programming in public schools in the province, provisional measures were taken by members of the public to engage youth in experiencing the outdoors. For example, J.E. Atkinson, publisher of the *Toronto Star*, established The Star Fresh Air Fund to give low-income children the opportunity to spend a few weeks in the summer out of the city and in nature.<sup>549</sup> Those with disposable income similarly sent their children (boys) to summer camp. There they were exposed to various outdoor activities and sports that were not typically available in the city.<sup>550</sup> Eventually more affordable programming improved access to outdoor experiences

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based programming was also intended to influence rural children to stay on farms. See W.T. Macoun, “The Practical Aspect of Nature Study,” *Ottawa Naturalist* XVII (January 1904): 181–4; J.W. Hotson, “Nature Study and Rural Education,” *The Ottawa Naturalist* XVII (March 1904): 221–4.

<sup>547</sup> D.A. Campbell, “The Need of Nature Study,” *Ottawa Naturalist* XVII (June 1903): 61.

<sup>548</sup> C.J. Atkinson, “Mother Nature and Her Boys,” *Ottawa Naturalist* XIX (February 1906): 215.

<sup>549</sup> R. Harkness, *J.E. Atkinson of the Star* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 70–1. A similar fund was set up by the *Montreal Star* shortly after.

<sup>550</sup> Reference to Camp Temagami, affectionately known as Cochrane’s Camp, can be found in “A Boys’ Camp in Temagami,” *Rod and Gun* X (June 1908): 49–51; R.I. Wolfe, “The Summer Resorts of Ontario in the Nineteenth Century,” *Ontario History* LIV (September 1962): 159; C.B. Powter, “A Boys’ Camp in the Laurentians,” *Rod and Gun* IX (July 1907): 168–72; H.G. Salton, “A School Boy’s Search for an Ideal Vacation,” *Rod and Gun* X (July 1908): 154–8.

for middle- and lower-class families. Finally, Lieutenant-General Robert Baden-Powell established Boy Scouts packs across Canada beginning in 1914. His intention was to educate boys in scouting, preparing them “physically and mentally to defend their empire in the time of peril.”<sup>551</sup> Scouts would provide generations of boys with outdoor education and experiences and provide a model for similar programs.

Since the 1920s both the federal and provincial governments, through their various forest service departments, began developing in limited quantities forest literature for schools and libraries that instilled the importance of fire prevention and forest conservation and targeted all ages. This section provides an overview of the variety of resources used for each age group.

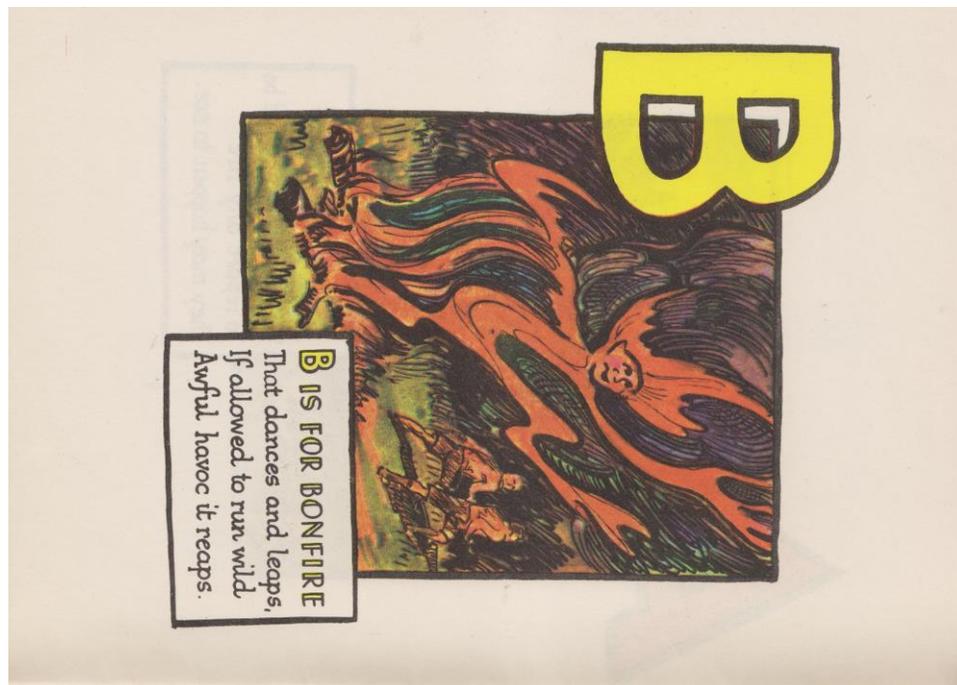
### **Primary School Children: Starting Young—Word Association**

In trying to cultivate potential young stewards, the federal government developed age-appropriate materials for children of all ages. For children in their formative years (0-8 years old) word associations and metonymies were the most common types of materials created. *ABC's of Forest Fire Prevention* was a resource designed specifically to fill the gap in literature available at the primary level.<sup>552</sup> This picture book was created by the Forest Branch of the Department of Resources and Development and distributed in co-operation with departments of education across the country. Each letter of the alphabet corresponded to a word associated with forest fire prevention followed by a short description (see Figures 5.5 and 5.6). Collectively the twenty-six images revealed the harsh reality that fire is destructive, while driving home the importance of fire prevention.

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<sup>551</sup> Sir Robert Baden-Powell, *The Canadian Boy Scout: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (Toronto, ON: Morang, 1911), microfiche, Canadian Institute for Historic Microreproduction (CIHM) 71367.

<sup>552</sup> R.M. Watt, “Publications and Schools,” *Forestry Chronicle* 25, no. 4 (1949): 283.



**Figure 5.5** Watt, R.M. 1950. Letter B from *ABC's of Forest Fire Prevention*

Source: R.M. Watt, R.M. ABC's of Forest Prevention. Toronto, ON: Department of Resources and Development, 1950.



**Figure 5.6** Watt, R.M. 1950. Letter F from *ABC's of Forest Fire Prevention*

Source: R.M. Watt. ABC's of Forest Prevention. Toronto, ON: Department of Resources and Development, 1950.

Publications geared to primary school children used an “artistic arrangement, beauty of the design and profusion of colour” to maintain the child’s focus.<sup>553</sup> While certain colours were not exclusively used to represent an image, that is, only using red where images of fire were present, colour still acted as a way to focus the child’s attention on a particular aspect. Each letter was aligned to the top left corner of the page and outlined in black against a white backdrop to narrow the child’s visual focus. The rhythmic text accompanying each of the images was restricted to no more than four lines and was displayed on the bottom right hand of the page. This standard template was used for each letter of the alphabet. The repetitive layout provided the reader with consistency, so they knew what to expect for each letter. The semiotic importance behind the image and text are the signs they created for the child. Both shared similar signs (outcome/meaning gained), which were “havoc,” “destruction” etc., used to describe the aftermath of a fire. Signified inserter concepts associated with the signifier, for example, “uncontrollable,” “heat,” “fire.” Both, however, had different signifiers: in Figure 5.5 the signifier is “Bonfire” whereas Figure 5.6 uses “Fire.” While these examples are similar, as they both deal with fire, an understanding of the image-word association tactic used is apparent.

Primary school children were one of the last groups targeted by forestry departments. Initial thinking held that this group lacked the ability to comprehend the significance of such messages. This attitude changed with the understanding that in order to encourage the adoption of sustainable practices, education must begin as early as possible. Cultivating children at this crucial point in their development when they were impressionable and open-minded would allow them to retain and nurture an appreciation and understanding of the world around them.<sup>554</sup>

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<sup>553</sup> Ibid., 283.

<sup>554</sup> The fundamental criticism of advertising to children is their inability, based on their developmental level, to evaluate the persuasive intent in advertising. This vulnerability exposes children to the threat of being manipulated owing to their gullibility to believe exaggerated claims and creates confusion over product and commercial

Additionally, departments recognized that young children could influence their parents' behaviour and decisions.

This shift parallels a similar shift in commercial marketing, whereby children were being re-envisioned as individualized, autonomous consumers.<sup>555</sup> As Daniel Thomas Cook argues, starting in the 1930s marketing of goods and services for children shifted from their mothers to the children themselves based on the understanding that children were malleable and impressionable. Marketers understood that children, who were not yet able to control their impulses and desires, used nagging to voice their frustrations. This power of pestering, or what marketers call "the nag factor," became an optimal strategy to entice children into consuming products and services.<sup>556</sup> The DFS also relied on this tactic, using children to educate their parents about forest fire prevention. When taught about the dangers of forest fires, children became advocates for safety, pointing out careless behaviour. J. Morgan Smith provided an

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distinctions. Modern studies have shifted away from age-stage theory of cognitive development (see Piaget, *The Origins of Intelligence*) and identified other variables that play a part in enhancing young children's consumer competencies. Mind theory (the ability to think about the thoughts and feelings of others) and executive functioning (the form of cognitive development that explains impulse control, planned behaviour, and categorization skills) are more favourable markers in linking children's ability to process brand messages. See the following respectively for a discussion on each indicator: M.A. Lapierre, "Development and Persuasion Understanding: Predicting Knowledge of Persuasion/Selling Intent from Children's Theory of Mind," *Journal of Communication* 65, no. 3 (2015): 423–42; A.R. McAlister and T.B. Cornwell, "Preschool Children's Persuasion Knowledge: The Contribution of Theory of Mind," *Journal of Public Policy Marketing* 28 no. 2 (2009): 175–85. For a discussion on criticisms on advertising to children, see D.R. John, "Consumer Socialization of Children: A Retrospective Look at Twenty-Five Years of Research," *Journal of Consumer Research* 26, no. 3 (1999): 183–213; D. Kunkel, *Children's Television Commercialization: Policies and Practices*. Report to the FCC on behalf of the American Psychological Association (1988); D. Kunkel, "The Evolution of Children's Television Regulatory Policy," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 31 (Fall 1988): 367–89; T. Englehardt. "Children's Television: The Shortcake Strategy," in *Watching Television*, ed. T. Gitlin (New York: Pantheon, 1987), 68–110.

<sup>555</sup> See, D.T. Cook, "The Other 'Child Study': Figuring Children as Consumers in Market Research, 1910s–1990s," *The Sociological Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (2000): 487–507.

<sup>556</sup> For a discussion on marketing to children and children as consumers, see D. Marshall, *Understanding Children as Consumers* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2010); Cook, "The Other 'Child Study'"; E.E. Grumbine, *Reaching Juvenile Markets: How to Advertise, Sell and Merchandise through Boys and Girls* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938); E. Gilbert, *Advertising and Marketing to Young People* (Pleasantville, NY: Printer's Ink Books, 1957); J.U. McNeal, *Children as Consumers* (Austin, TX: Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas, 1964); J.U. McNeal, "The Child as the Consumer," *Journal of Retailing* 45 (1968): 15–22; J.U. McNeal, *Children as Consumers: Insights and Implications* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1987); J.U. McNeal, *Kids as Customers* (New York: Lexington Books, 1992).

example in his paper presented at the 1955 Meeting of the Canadian Institute of Forestry, stating that a little girl informed Smokey: “I am helping you prevent forest fires by watching my daddy when we are out riding in my car. If my daddy throws a cigarette out the window, I fine him 10¢, but if we are near a woods, I fine him 25¢. My daddy is using his ashtray quite a bit now.”<sup>557</sup>

While an American example, the same behaviours were seen in Canada.

### **Elementary School Children: Making Learning Fun through Storytelling**

The publication of *The Talking Trees* and *Canadian Forest Trees* in 1920 marked the advent of forestry literature tailored towards school-aged children (6-11 years old).<sup>558</sup> *Talking Trees* is a short story created by James Lawler from the Department of the Interior, Forestry Branch geared towards elementary school children. Set in a rural prairie classroom after school hours, the story features inanimate objects as the characters: stove, door, floor, wainscot, book and desks (with the exception of the stove, all are made out of white pine, Douglas fir or white spruce). The stove, located in the middle of the classroom, begins by asking the wood products in the room to describe their origins. The door, who is referred to as White Pine, is the protagonist of the story. It chronicles the origins and use of its namesake species while mentioning the constant threat of the “Red Demon.”<sup>559</sup> While the reader speculates that this is a reference to fire, the actual word fire is not mentioned until halfway through the story.<sup>560</sup>

Several learning opportunities are embedded in this short story: lifecycle of trees, diversity/plant characteristics, economic botany, ethnobotany and conservation/protection.

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<sup>557</sup> J.M. Smith, “The Story of Smokey Bear.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Institute of Forestry (Saskatoon, SK, 1955).

<sup>558</sup> Department of the Interior, Dominion Forestry Branch. *The Talking Trees and Canadian Forest Trees* (Ottawa, ON: F.A. Acland. Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1921).

<sup>559</sup> In analyzing the text, it is clear that Lawler used the term “Red Demon” as a signifier to fire, the signified, to establish the sign, which is the fear and destruction that fire can cause.

<sup>560</sup> Department of the Interior, Dominion Forestry Branch. *The Talking Trees and Canadian Forest Trees* (Ottawa, ON: F.A. Acland. Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1921), 8.

Readers learn how to gauge the age of a tree by counting the number of rings. Next, they learn that different species of trees are found in various parts of the country based on the climate and biome of the land. Although these first two learning opportunities do not provide much substance, they lay the foundation for understanding that trees can live decades, even centuries, and that there are several different types of trees. The subsequent learning opportunities of economic botany and ethobotany are discussed in regard to the human–nature relationship. The audience is easily able to identify their interaction with the resource and its role in their everyday life. First, they learn about harvesting and manufacturing practices and then about other human interactions, both recreational and industrial. Both these learning opportunities are discussed at length. The final learning opportunity is conservation/protection. This theme runs throughout the story. Readers are made aware that fires can occur naturally (lightning) but that those are far and few between; the most troubling ones are caused by human carelessness: “the Red Demon was let loose by a merry camping party.”<sup>561</sup> There is a short monologue about the devastation that is created when a campfire is let loose and ravages the forest and neighbouring community. The concluding message of the short story is forest fire protection: “Protect us from fire till we are full grown and then harvest us. . . . Don’t let us be turned to ashes, and don’t let us die of old age to fall and rot. . . . Protect us from the Fire.”<sup>562</sup>

*Canadian Forest Trees* was a supplementary booklet to familiarize students with Canadian tree species. Similar to *Native Trees of Canada* (see below), this text provided the reader with an age-appropriate material, as it was targeted at elementary school children. The intent was to engage children in learning about the diversity of the forest and create a sense of confidence that would encourage them to explore and interact with nature and the outdoors

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<sup>561</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>562</sup> Ibid., 16.

physically and cognitively. Overall, materials at this level introduced children to important concepts and introduced them to their responsibility in protecting the forest.

### **High School Students: Cumulative Development—Building on Youth Scholarship**

One of the first forestry books for older students available in schools was *Native Trees of Canada*, which, as its title states, provided readers with a catalogue of native trees species found across Canada.<sup>563</sup> Reprinted and revised several times over the subsequent decades, by 1949 the book included images (instead of illustrations), range maps, and an updated layout for easy reading and searching. The 1949 version of the book resembled a modern version of a scientific reference book.

Targeting adolescent children (12-15) demographic, *Forestry Lessons* (1928) was designed to help educators teach students about forests. The fifth edition (1939) was a sixty-six-page manual divided into four parts: “The Tree,” “The Forest,” “Forestry” and “Selected Readings.” “Supplementary Activities” was appended. Written for a higher-level learner, the concepts introduced were based on scientific rationale and in-field examples. After each section, a series of questions was posed to test the student’s ability to retain and process the information they had learned.

During the interwar years, a growing repertoire of forest conservation material became widely available across the country. Science-based literature helped to develop an understanding of the importance of the forestry sector in Canada. The materials taught basic concepts of harvesting and forest manufacturing techniques as well as sustainability while fostering an interest in and creating positive attitudes towards the forest industry and the natural

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<sup>563</sup> *Native Trees of Canada* was first issued in 1917 and reprinted in 1921 by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

environment.<sup>564</sup> This developmentally appropriate literature not only helped to develop science-processing skills but also encouraged curiosity and inquiry.<sup>565</sup>

Students were introduced to the idea of protection and conservation on a macro level early in their cognitive development. As the child progressed through their education, concepts were refined, allowing students to apply what they had learned to real-life situations.

### Teacher Resources

Teachers were also given instructions on how to teach the material. An educational aid for high school teachers was a *Teacher's Guide to Forest Conservation* (1961) which helped educators teach their students how to “understand . . . the natural environment of man so that he will appreciate its complexity, its order and the need for conserving natural resources.”<sup>566</sup> This resource was the DLF's contribution to forestry conservation education. Each chapter chronicled a different phase of forestry, providing the learner with a thorough grounding in the subject matter. Students were taught to draw parallels between the forest and Canada's economic, industrial, agriculture, aesthetic and cultural life. Like *Forestry Lessons*, this book included tests at the end of each chapter.

To help encourage teachers to explore outdoor education with their students, the DLF developed *Trees for Schools* (1943), a teacher's guide for planting trees on school property. Unlike the previous resources, which were designed as tactile lessons for their students, this

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<sup>564</sup> For a discussion on the use of children's literature as an instructional tool to teach science-based education, see L. Monhardt and R. Monhardt, “Creating a Context for Learning of Science Process Skills through Picture Books,” *Early Childhood Education Journal* 34 no. 1 (2006): 67–71; L.M. Morrow, M. Pressly, J.K. Smith and M. Smith, “The Effect of a Literature-Based Program Integrated into Literacy and Science Instruction with Children from Diverse Backgrounds,” *Reading Research Quarterly* 32 (1997): 54–76; E.W. Saul and D. Dieckman, “Choosing and Using Information Trade Books,” *Reading Research Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (2005): 502–13.

<sup>565</sup> M. Sackes, K.C. Trundle and L.M. Flevares, “Using Children's Literature to Teach Standard-Based Science Concepts in Early Years,” *Early Childhood Education Journal* 36 (2009): 415–22.

<sup>566</sup> Taken from the forward in P.J. Hare, *Teacher's Guide to Forest Conservation* (Toronto: Department of Lands and Forests, 1961), 1.

resource was designed to educate educators on acquiring trees, the best practices for planting them on school property and exposing children to nature. The DLF understood that forestry educational resources available to schools were limited. Unless teachers were exposed to conservation material during their training or through their personal experience, the adoption of forestry lessons in their curriculum would not occur or would be delivered inconsistently.

## Radio

Literature was not the only pedagogical device used to increase public awareness of forestry issues during this period. Radio emerged as a trendy medium of dissemination in classrooms in the 1930s, reaching its peak by the 1940s. By this time, the average citizen had access to a radio, making it the most desired form of entertainment and information dissemination. During this golden age, proponents like Benjamin Darrow advocated for the use of radios in the classrooms,<sup>567</sup> crediting them with the potential to expand a child's universe.<sup>568</sup> In Darrow's 1932 book *Radio: The Assistant Teacher*, he proclaimed that:

The central and dominant aim of education by radio is to bring the world to the classroom, to make universally available the services of the finest teachers, the inspiration of the greatest leaders . . . and [the] unfolding [of] world events which through the radio may come as a vibrant and challenging textbook of the air.<sup>569</sup>

Per the annual report from the Ontario Department of Education in 1946, it released seventy-five educational broadcasts geared to elementary and secondary school children in the province.<sup>570</sup> According to a survey administered by the department, forty percent of schools were

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<sup>567</sup> Founder and first director of the Ohio School of the Air and promoter of radio in classrooms.

<sup>568</sup> L. Cuban, *Teachers and Machines: Classroom Use of Technology since 1920* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

<sup>569</sup> B. Barrow, *Radio: The Assistant Teacher* (Columbus, OH: R.G. Adams, 1932), 79.

<sup>570</sup> Ontario Department of Education, *Report of the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario for the Year 1946* (Toronto, ON: Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty, 1946).

using the broadcast, and other schools were in the process of incorporating these broadcasts in their lesson plans.<sup>571</sup> However, the success of radios as a teaching aid in the classroom stagnated across North America. Although widely popular for residential use, many teachers failed to adopt radios as a teaching tool.<sup>572</sup>

Although radio use in classrooms throughout the country and province varied, radio programming was still successful for residential use. A 1941 successful radio essay contest was put on by the Dominion Foresters, in which young people were asked to write an essay on the topic “what can I do to protect our forests?” Youth from across the country submitted essays to their local radio stations, and winners from each radio station received a radio set and had their essay read aloud during a special forestry broadcast. Local winners went on to compete in the Dominion finals.

The purpose of this writing contest was to raise awareness of forest fire protection. As J.A. Brodie, a provincial forester, said in his May 9, 1941, forestry broadcast about the youth essay contest,

The Dominion of Canada is interested in forest fire prevention because our forests and their attractions contribute so much to the war effort of Canada at one of the most vital points—the securing of exchange to purchase war materials in the United States.<sup>573</sup>

The contest broadcast invoked pathos by telling listeners how the forestry industry directly contributed to the war effort. Brodie made a patriotic appeal to safeguard the vital resource of forests, noting that “three-quarters of all forest fires are caused by carelessness of people travelling in the forest.”<sup>574</sup> His announcement went on to say, “Last year [1940] Canada exported

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<sup>571</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>572</sup> Ibid.

<sup>573</sup> Transcript of radio broadcast. LAC, RG 39, vol. 188.

<sup>574</sup> Ibid.

(chiefly to the United States) a net amount of 300 million dollars' worth of forest products, including wood and pulp and paper and their products."<sup>575</sup> This statement made it clear to the listener that the forestry industry was a vital part of the Canadian economy, employing thousands of people, and that forest fires jeopardized the profitability of the industry. The contest thus positioned forest management as a public and individual duty, a matter of safeguarding one's heritage as well as the country's ability to remain economically and militarily vital.

As a way of reaching adolescent audiences in the late 1930s, Dominion forester R.W. Watt created a series of ten radio plays broadcast nationally. His intention was to cultivate young people's interest in conservation. He purposely made the plays dateless so that they could be used at any time and in various scenarios. Indeed, Dauphin High School in Manitoba later adapted his radio transcripts for stage use.<sup>576</sup>

Radio had several advantages over print literature for both formal and informal education. The medium was inclusive, accessible to anyone within earshot of a radio regardless of literacy level, income or background. The portability and accessibility of radios allowed traditional educational spaces to be redefined—learning could take place anywhere and include anyone. Distribution of material across the country was as easy as broadcasting it wirelessly. There was no need to ship heavy paper hundreds of kilometres. The development of plays continued to build upon the idea of deconstructing traditional educational frameworks, as it allowed learning to be entertaining and engaging. Although the plays written contained fictional content, the lessons learned were no less critical. The plays created by Watt helped to fill the gap of insufficient conservation material available to youth. Consequently, radio allowed the government to reach large and remote audiences by developing content that was engaging,

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<sup>575</sup> Ibid.

<sup>576</sup> Watt, "Publications and Schools," 284.

entertaining and informative and directly helped in raising awareness of conservation, prevention, and utilization of forest in Canada.

### **Visual Mediums as Educational Tools**

Even though film was no longer a novel medium for dissemination by the 1950s, it was infrequently used by teachers. In the 1959 bulletin of the Canadian Audio Visual Association, E.F. Holliday reflected on how some educators felt that films were a practical and interesting medium for sharing knowledge, yet it was time consuming to set up the equipment and/or move students to another location to view the film.<sup>577</sup> Holliday acknowledged these challenges, but urged educators to see the appeal of film from a child's perspective, where a mixed medium approach to teaching increased students' retention and understanding of information. This approach had long been utilized in the classroom, where auditory lectures had been "...supplemented by the use of chalkboards, still pictures, models, experiments, task and peg boards, even flannelgraph on occasion."<sup>578</sup> The use of traditional aids, Holliday argued, would be comparable to using a film or filmstrips. Holliday acknowledged that it was not always possible to show children certain things (people, places, industries, regions, etc.) first hand in the classroom, but films provided students the opportunity to experience and interact with the outside world from the comfort of their seats. As he stated, "a motion picture can provide an imaginative experience by bringing this geographical experience into the classroom. Nothing can compare with the impact of the visual scene."<sup>579</sup>

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<sup>577</sup> LAC, MG28, 188, vol. 17, file CIF Conservation Education pt. 1, E.F. Holliday, "Thoughts on Utilization," *Canadian Audio Visual Association* 2 (February 1959): 3. The purpose of the Canadian Audio Visual Association was to bring together teachers, educators and the like, to develop and promote the most effective teaching methods. Through their bulletin they sought "to exchange information, practical ideas, and fundamental philosophies."

<sup>578</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

R.S. Lambert, in the same publication addressed the hesitation about the use of visual mediums (in particular, television) in classrooms: “[educational TV] is not a medium of teaching. It is a medium for helping and energizing teaching procedures.”<sup>580</sup> As a standalone, visual products were ineffective as they lacked context and context, but when used as a supplement, they were highly effective. While television and radio shared the communication limitation of being one-way, this could be overcome with additional instruction by the teacher, which would encourage active student participation.

School telecasts could, therefore, be an alternative to educational films in the classroom, for they were more cost-effective in terms of production, distribution, and access, and had Canadian content (only a limited amount of Canadian-produced educational films were available). Comparatively, telecasts were able to reach a larger audience and had a “greater immediacy and topicality than the film. It is [e]specially suited to the teaching of current events, and of subject related to local course of studies, e.g. local or regional history and geography.”<sup>581</sup> In light of the potential of telecasts, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) produced “School of the Air” programming.<sup>582</sup> One of the more popular contributors to the School of the Air presented by CBC and the Ontario Department of Education was Max Braithwaite who was responsible for creating many of the radio and television transcripts used in the “Conservation Series” and the “Nanna-Bijou”.<sup>583</sup> To supplement these series on conservation and forest management, the Abitibi Power and Paper Co provide free illustrated booklets, offered through

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<sup>580</sup> LAC, MG28, 188, vol. 17, file CIF Public Relations, R.S. Lambert, “Three Objectives to School TV Answered,” Canadian Audio Visual Association 2 (February 1959): 6.

<sup>581</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>582</sup> CBC by 1941 had established an effective network coverage of most of Canada and created televised school programming. Lambert was named the national supervisor of the school broadcasts departments.

<sup>583</sup> *Voices of the Wild* was an example of a science series focused on conservation and targeted at grades 4 to 6. Other parts of the conservation series included Conservation #1, Back to the farm; Conservation #4, Conservation at Work. University of Calgary Archives, accession No: 397/87.9, box 3, file 1–6.

“Young Canada Listens,” for teachers.<sup>584</sup> The popularity of these programs would lead to Ontario creating its own service, TV Ontario (TVO) in 1970. Its mandate would be to provide uninterrupted programming and access to interactive media resources that seeks to educate, inform and enrich all Ontarians.<sup>585</sup>

### **Remember only YOU can prevent forest fires!**

The government at both the federal and provincial level along with resource industry partners and organizations tried to generate environmental education and conservation content that would be entertaining and informative for young viewers (approximate around the ages of 5-15). One of the most iconic images associated with forest fire prevention was Smokey Bear, the 1945 creation of the Wartime Advertising Council and Foote, Cone and Belding.<sup>586</sup> Smokey, (see Figure 5.7) would go on to become the US Department of Agriculture, Forest Services (USFS) branch’s mascot for forest fires prevention. The US like Canada was struggling to mitigate forest fires that were caused by human carelessness which prior to WWII, they experienced an average of 210,000 human-instigated fires per year; this changed after the introduction of Smokey, where the average dropped to 124,728.<sup>587</sup>

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<sup>584</sup> R.S. Lambert, *School of Broadcasting in Canada* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1963).

<sup>585</sup> R. Armstrong, *Broadcasting Policy in Canada* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 121.

<sup>586</sup> R. Earle, *The Art of Cause Marketing: How to Use Advertising to Change Personal Behaviour and Public Policy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000). According to a 1968 study conducted by Haug Associates, the marketing affiliate of Roper Research Associates in Los Angeles, Smokey the Bear was listed as the best-known American.

<sup>587</sup> J. Smith, “The Story of Smokey Bear.” Saskatoon, SK: Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Institute of Forestry, Saskatoon, SK, 1955.



**Figure 5.7 USFS, *Fire Prevention, “You Can Stop This Shameful Waste! Remember—Only you can prevent forest fires!”*, 1950.**

Source: Pennsylvania State Archives, MG 200 Poster Collection, 1854-present

In 1956 the CFA was given permission to market Smokey Bear programing and distribution of material in Canada. According to a press release issued by the CFA in 1964, Smokey Bear was an effective means to reach audiences, having distributed over 500,000 Smokey items across the country while receiving massive coverage on radio and TV. Smokey even appeared in Mexico, where he was known as Simone; he truly had international appeal. The characteristics Smokey exhibited made him a highly viable option for spreading the message of forest fire prevention. CFA and provincial forestry associations have used Smokey to reach audiences of all ages, as he has become a symbol of their conservation programs.<sup>588</sup>

<sup>588</sup> LAC, MG 28, 188, vol. 22.

Smokey's presence in the history of forest fire prevention is semiotically significant. Over time Smokey effectively became the dominant metonym for forest fire prevention, creating an embedded association in people's minds.<sup>589</sup> In assessing the character of Smokey, two distinctive aspects stand out—the fact that he is a bear and his role as a forest ranger. While other avatars were experimented with in early campaigns, the image of the bear as an imposing and authoritative animal made him the ideal choice over other predatory animals found in North American forests. Bears, being apex predators, placed them at the top of the forest hierarchy next to humans. Further emphasized his importance within the movement is his forest ranger adornments—hat and badge. His role at the top of the food chain and his depiction as a figure of authority further entrenched his importance in conservation.

### **Educating through Entertainment**

In addition to more traditional outlets, the government also used comic books and magazines to advance its agenda. The DLF advertised activities and promoted forest fire prevention in industry and leisure magazines.<sup>590</sup> For a period (1945–1961) the DLF created a youth natural resource publication entitled *Sylva: Your Lands and Forests Review*. The seventeen-volume series covered several topics related to natural resources in Ontario (ecology, botany, zoology as well as geography, outdoor activities, areas of general interest), providing readers with an overall understanding of their natural environment. While comics produced by the DLF did not have the same lustre that mainstream comics did, they served as an alternative means of reaching younger generations. The focus of this section is on the novel application of comics to transmit the forestry narrative to youths.

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<sup>589</sup> Smith, "Smokey Bear."

<sup>590</sup> Examples of such magazines include *Canada Lumberman* and *Pulp and Paper Magazines of Canada*.

## Comic Books

Commonly referred to as the Canadian whites, magazines started to become a popular means in the 1940s for Canadian industries to promote their products, services and messages.<sup>591</sup> The rise in popularity of Canadian magazines was the result of the 1940 *War Exchange Conservation Act* (WECA), which imposed restrictions on the importation of non-essential goods, effectively ending US distribution of comics in Canada until after WWII.<sup>592</sup> This open market on comic books provided an opportunity for Canadians to fill the demand with Canadian-specific content, although, according to Ivan Kocmarek, much of the content produced was a rebranding of established American content (e.g., Anglo-American Publications' Captain Marvel).<sup>593</sup> While comics were a popular outlet for young children to escape reality or learn about the world around them, governments were late in adopting this alternative medium. The DLF did not begin to use

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<sup>591</sup> The current form of comics did not emerge under the 1930s with their first appearances in small magazines in the “funnies” section and adventure strips in newspapers. Popularity of the medium reached notoriety with *Superman in the Action Comics* (no. 1) in June 1938. Children devoured this inexpensive source of entertainment. The name whites was adopted to describe the lack of colour used in publications, many of which printed their stories in black and white which contrasted the use of colour used by the Americans. What made these comics distinctively Canadian beyond their lack of colour was that the content generated had a Canadian sociocultural core to it, which was a departure from American and British influences. See M.J. McLaughlin, “Rise of the Eco-Comics: The State, Environmental Education and Canadian Comic Books, 1971–1975,” *Material Culture Review* 77/78 (Spring/Fall 2013): 9–20.

<sup>592</sup> Restrictions on goods were softened beginning in 1947 and ending in 1951. On December 6, 1940, Mackenzie King's parliament passed the *WECA* which was intended to stop the import of non-essential manufactured goods from the United States as a way of strengthening the Canadian dollar during wartime.

<sup>593</sup> Four publishing companies emerged in 1940 taking advantage of this now open market. They were Maple Leaf Publishing located in Vancouver, Anglo-American Publishing, Hillborough Studios, and Commercial Signs of Canada, all based in Toronto. By 1947 Superior Publishers, F.E. Howard Publications and Export Publications emerged on the scene. Superior was the only Canadian comics company to survive the end of the import restrictions, finally closing its doors in 1956. This marked what Bell referred to as “the death of the Canadian comic-book industry that had been born in 1941.” J. Bell, *Invaders from the North: How Canada Conquered the Comic Book Universe* (Toronto, ON: Dundurn, 2006), 96. See I. Kocmarek, “WECA Comics: Canada's Golden First Age of Comics,” in *The Overstreet Comic Book Price Guide*, ed. R.M. Overstreet., 44th ed. (Timonium, MD: Gemstone Publishing, 2014), 1160–77.

comics as a promotional tool until the mid-1950s. This delay is attributable to an anti-comic book movement in the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>594</sup>

Because these comic books were funded by taxpayer dollars, the sponsoring agency (such as the DLF) exerted significant creative control. With that said, comics produced by North American governments, according to Mark J. McLaughlin, contained a significant portion of environmental content.<sup>595</sup> This was in response to government-sponsored education programs that were designed starting in the 1950s, as argued by McLaughlin, for individual action rather than society-wide solutions. The importance of comic books as an educational tool to shape public opinion is discussed by Richard L. Graham in his book *Government Issue: Comics for the People, 1940–2000s*. While his focus is on American comics as a dissemination tool, it can be applied to the Canadian experience as well, as the same trends are apparent in both countries. Richard Graham argues that the state “had certain ideals in mind with regard to what American culture was and ought to be, and it recognized the mass appeal of comics and their potential for getting those cultural messages across.”<sup>596</sup> Similarly in Canada, government produced materials prescribing to popular forms of dissemination while producing content that prescribed to their values and ideals for Canadian society and culture.

The comic books produced by the DLF and distributed through schools were inexpensively manufactured on newsprint and short. In contrast to some of the other resources

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<sup>594</sup> After WWII superhero narratives lost their appeal, so the few remaining comic book publishers had to adopt new genres (mystery, crime and horror) to maintain their spectatorship. This change was also in response to social groups, parents, teachers and church organizations, who criticized comics for the rise in juvenile illiteracy and sexual deviancy because of ostensibly unwholesome content. This case was made after a 1948 incident in B.C. where two adolescents shot and killed a man. Their actions were blamed on the influence of comics the individuals read. This helped fuel lobbyist groups in 1949 to seek legislation that would restrict what they deemed to be immoral content. For reference to this case, see Bell, *Invaders from the North*, 94.

<sup>595</sup> McLaughlin, “Rise of the Eco-Comics.”

<sup>596</sup> R.L. Graham, *Government Issue: Comics for the People, 1940s—2000s* (New York: Abrams Comicarts, 2011), 13.

I've discussed, comics were not the ideal medium to promote conservation and forest fire prevention. Graham highlights this disparity:

Despite the meticulous and vetted stories these government comics tell, their intended messages can still be misinterpreted, read ironically, rejected altogether, or just left on the table in the community center to be thrown away. Once these comics are released to the public, the government loses control of whatever messages it hopes to deliver.<sup>597</sup>

While this may be true, turning to comic books reflected the DLF's desire to meet youth where they were at. In the next section I discuss two examples of comic books put out by the DLF, *A City Boy in the Woods* and *Our Forest Land*.

### ***A City Boy in the Woods***

*A City Boy in the Woods* is a reflection of the mental state of many urban dwellers when confronted with the outdoors. The comic chronicles the adventures of Tom Carmichael, an eleven-year-old city dweller who for the first-time ventures into a northern forest, for a month. Barry, his cousin of a similar age, and his uncle Bob play tour guide to Tom, taking him on a camping trip to Bear Lake (Killarney Provincial Park, near Sudbury), where they take in the sights and sounds of the outdoors. While fishing, the boys witness smoke in the distance. They rush over to find a man dressed in a suit and smoking a pipe (obviously urban) trying to stomp out an out-of-control fire. Uncle Bob takes charge of the situation and tells the city slicker to inform the DLF of the fire. Eventually a ranger from the department arrives and puts out the fire. Meanwhile, the culprit has fled the scene. The story ends with an enthralled Tom vowing to tell his friends back in the city all that he has experienced in the woods.

The comic was an innovative way of educating youth on proper park procedures and the importance of fire prevention knowledge. The target audience of the comic was urban youth who

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<sup>597</sup> Ibid.

lacked an understanding of safe outdoor practices that would mitigate the risks of injury and fires. Tom was a character who was easy to identify with. Uncles, who have the connotation of being adventurous and knowledgeable father-like figures, were an ideal choice for the hero in the comic. Bob, in his capacity as the guardian, used his position as the leader of the group to teach his nephew about the power structures and procedures in place within provincial parks. The interaction between Bob and Tom is constructive. Bob allowed Tom to provide input, giving him constructive feedback to his uninformed choices:

Bob: Tom, where would you set up a fire?

Tom: Right beside the tent.

Bob: It might be convenient but there are too many disadvantages.

This friendly dialogue establishes a confidence in the reader while establishing a positive connection with Bob. Tom is not scolded for not having the right answers, something the readers might find appealing. By patiently and experientially (visually) teaching the reader why Tom's suggestions were unsuitable, the comic sits comfortably for readers who lack experience in the outdoors. The fear of being wrong is not reprimanded but becomes a teachable moment.

One of the tactics used in this comic is to begin and end with something positive—Tom having fun—while being a cautionary tale. It is this juxtaposition between fun and safety that helps sell the message that while the outdoors can be fun you need to be aware of the dangers that are present.

The climax of the comic is the suppression of the fire started by the city slicker who is unaware of the dangers of discarding a lit match. As seen in Figure 5.8, the vibrant colours of the fire and the chaotic efforts of the DLF staff and Bob to put out the fire catches the reader's attention. In the foreground, the forest ranger dictates orders to men in civilian clothes. The presence of the ranger helps underscore the level of importance and significance of this fire. In

the background, the comic subtly illustrates the techniques and equipment used in suppressing fires. Once the fire is extinguished, the exchange between the ranger and Bob gets heated, as the ranger inquires why the fire was not reported sooner. Once Bob explains the situation, the ranger relays his disapproval back to the ranger station, “He [the man from the city] reported it but didn’t stay around, can you imagine that—he carelessly starts a fire and then leaves it for someone else to handle.”<sup>598</sup>

While Bob showed patience and encouragement with Tom, he had nothing but contempt for the man from the city. His tone and exchanges with the ranger, and then with Tom, illustrate to the reader that while Bob is a level-headed man, he has no tolerance for carelessness. This emphasizes to the reader the importance of prevention, as this is the only time Bob loses his cool.



**Figure 5.8 Expert *From A City Boy in the Woods*. Comic book published by Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, 1955**

Source: DLF. 9. AO PAMPH 1955 #55. “Our Forest Lands: And What We get from Them!” 1955.

<sup>598</sup> *A City Boy in the Woods* (Toronto, ON: DLF, 1955), 10.

*Our Forest Lands: And What We Get from Them!* (1963) was another DLF comic book intended to be circulated in schools for middle, or junior high, students. On the inside cover of the publication, A. Kelso Roberts, the minister of lands and forests in Ontario (1962–1966) addresses the reader:

the people of Ontario . . . own eighty-nine per cent of the Province, including nine out of every ten square miles of productive forest lands, because that amount is vested in the Crown in the right of Ontario. . . . [W]e must . . . share the responsibility of using it wisely. For our benefit and for the good of those who come after use, we must learn and practice the conservation of our soil, water, forests, fish and wildlife.<sup>599</sup>

This opening address to the readers helped to establish the importance of the topic and reminded readers that there were authorities in place to protect forests in the province. Highlighted on the bottom of the pages in small font are slogans that reiterate the importance of prevention: “Forest fire is a tragic waste,” “The forest works for you—don’t fire it,” and “Forest fire kills game, jobs, men.”<sup>600</sup> While the phrases are easily overlooked, they are a passive embodiment of one of the central objectives of the comic.

Delving further into the comic, there are key attributes that help establish its importance and effectiveness in educating its readership. The comic begins by introducing its narrator, a forest ranger, the significance of which should not go unnoticed. The use of a man in uniform establishes an element of authority, protection and trustworthiness (see Figure 5.9). As the ranger begins to discuss the evolution of humanity’s interaction with forests, he emphasizes the balancing act between preservation and progress that is now imperative, concluding, “Today society is taking progressive steps to conserve and utilize forest lands in the best way possible, so that all of us will continue enjoying what we get from them.”<sup>601</sup> The comic praises the forestry

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<sup>599</sup> *Our Forest Lands: And What WE Get from Them!* (Toronto, ON: DLF, 1963), 1.

<sup>600</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 10 and 12 respectively.

<sup>601</sup> *Ibid.*, 2–3.

industry's progressive adoption of conservation practices and enumerates the diversity and importance of water, wildlife, fish, and parks in the province.



**Figure 5.9 Department of Lands and Forests. *Our Forest Lands*, 1963**

Source: Ontario. Department of Lands and Forests. *Our Forest lands: And What We Get from Them!* (Toronto: Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, 1963), 2.

Comics emerged when a progressive conservation movement was gaining traction with the public. The movement advocated for wise use of national resources while minimizing the human footprint to preserve resources for future generations. While the comics discussed here were produced prior to the advent of the modern environmental movement in the 1960s and 1970s, it is evident that the provincial government had been accounting for the intrinsic value of nature in its promotional efforts, which becomes more evident in the later years. Looking back to the 1920s back-to-nature movement, art and literature were already adopting this more holistic approach to selling the image of nature by displaying these environmental values. Forests were more than a revenue-generating resource; it was also a source of health and escape from the ills

of urban life. Comics, like other media used in eco-educational promotion, reveal the DLF's interest in promoting the balance between leisure and economic uses of the resource.

### **All Aboard the Conservation Car**

“We must repeat the conservation message,” remarked Hon. Clare E. Mapledoram, the Ontario Minister of Lands and Forests, “to the point where human carelessness will no longer figure as a major cause of our terrible annual forest-fire toll.”<sup>602</sup> These were part of the opening remarks by Mapledoram at the inauguration of the Conservation Railway Car at Toronto's Union Station on July 13, 1954 (see Figure 5.10). The railway car, donated by Canada National Railway, was modified to accommodate large crowds. It offered comfortable theatre-style seating and was equipped with a projector and screen. The mobile classroom was designed to provide remote communities along the rail line the opportunity to hear lectures and watch movies on conservation and fire prevention.<sup>603</sup> The operation and educational programming designed for this endeavour was administered and carried out by the CFA.<sup>604</sup> One representative after another spoke to the importance of this venture in Ontario. In the absence of Joshua G. Beard the Mayor

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<sup>602</sup> Dill, “C.F.A.,” 20.

<sup>603</sup> A version of this program had been introduced earlier in the western provinces with the Forest Exhibit Car and the Tree Planting Car. The Forest Exhibit Car was a railway coach equipped with numerous models and designed to educate the public on the facts of forestry. Officers provided age-specific lectures to adults and youth during various times of day in local halls or via radio channels. The Tree Planting Car, which doubled up as the Conservation Car, was another medium utilized by the CFA and the railways as a way of promoting forestry content. Visiting small communities across the prairies, the railway coach was fashioned as an auditorium that facilitated public lectures and showcased motion pictures. See D. Beaven, *A Prairie Odyssey—Alan Beaven and the Tree Planting Car* (Winnipeg, MB: Dianne Beaven, 2011). Films that were shown specifically in Ontario: *Making the Most of Your Woodlot*, *Practical Woodlot Management*, *Trees of Canada—East of B.C.*, *Native Trees of Canada—B.C.*, *Plants Grow*, *Trees Grow*, *Winter Comes to the Country*, *Summer Comes to the Country*, *Smaller Land Mammals* (a. Moles, Shrews, Bats, Rabbits and the Opossum; b. The Pocket Gopher; c. The Beaver; d. Rodents; e. Flesh Eaters; and f. Raccoon), *Animal Tracks*, *Larger Land Mammals of Canada*, *The Black Bear*, *Common Birds of Canada*, *The Common Loon*, *King-Fisher*; *Toads and Frogs of Eastern Canada*, *Snakes of Canada*, *Turtles and Lizards* and *Lobsters are a Crop*. See LAC, MG 28, 188, vol. 21.

<sup>604</sup> A full-time lecturer hired by the CFA was provided rations and quarters on the car. Experts in forest sciences (which included arboriculture, entomology, horticulture, botany and wildlife) were hired to broker these talks with the public, tailoring their lectures to communities they stopped at.

of Toronto, comptroller Ford Brand took his place. Ford in his speech encapsulated the spirit of the event stating, "...since, many in cases, city dwellers start forest fires while motoring or on vacation, even greater urban education is needed on the subject of forest-fire prevention and conservation. If there were no forests in Ontario, there would be no cities and no jobs."<sup>605</sup>



**Figure 5.10 Canadian National Railway Forest Conservation Car. Wooden-Sided Coach Converted to Classroom/Theatre used by CFA to Promote Forest Conservation**

Source: Royal BC Museum (online archives), accession no. 198411-001, alpha-numeric designations CN-0456, filename i-31281.jpg.

The car promoted the wise use of all renewable resources, with an emphasis on the importance of forests and trees. The traveling schoolhouse served as an optimal outlet to educate the public in an engaging format by providing them with information about useful forestry techniques applicable to new settlement needs. The popularity of the car allowed for multiple viewings and lectures during a visit, offering earlier lectures to families, especially those who brought children. (See Appendix E for a table of Conservation Car visitors.) The CFA advertised the car's arrival to schools and churches as a means of encouraging attendance.<sup>606</sup> Additional

<sup>605</sup> Dill, "C.F.A.," 20.

<sup>606</sup> Promotion of the car's arrival was already being advertised in newspapers, radio and TV stations. The department was always looking for additional ways to inform the public of events they were putting on.

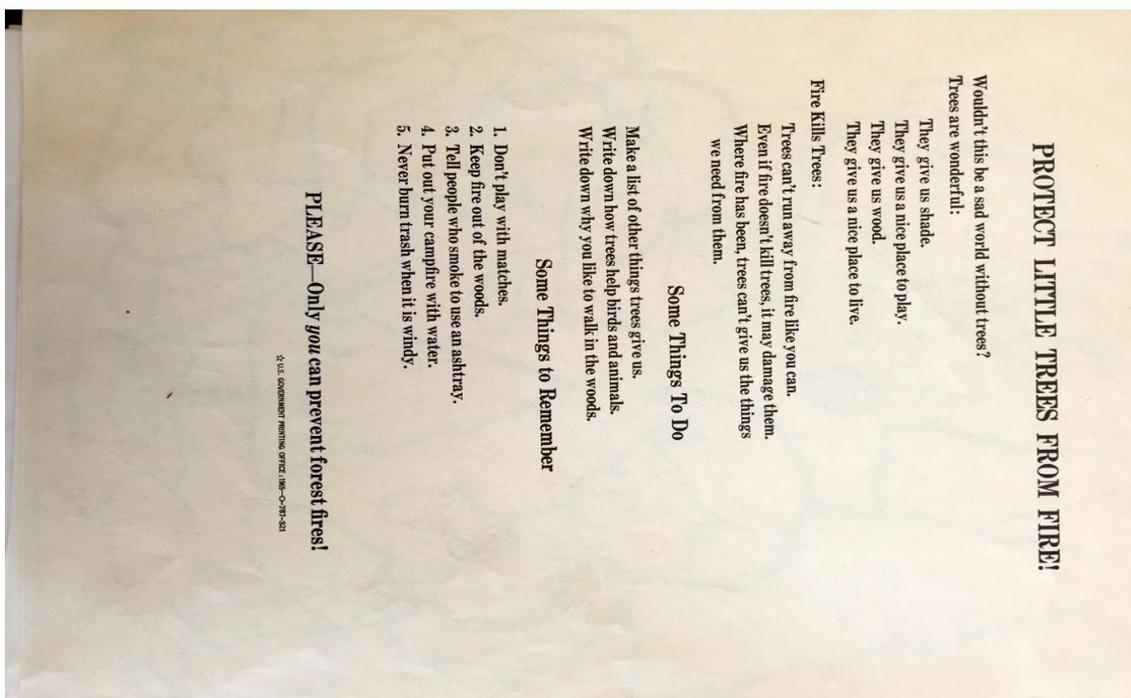
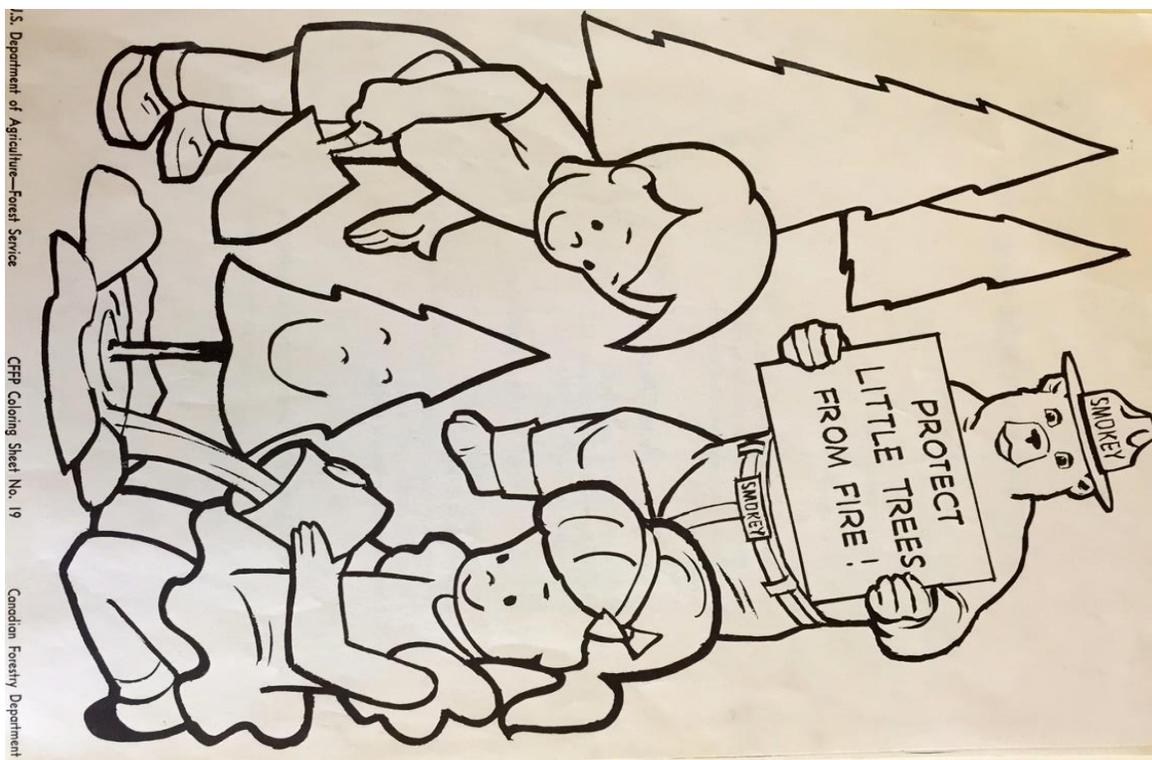
lectures were given in community auditoriums and schools, which helped to inspire interest in forestry in a younger generation. Teachers supplemented these conservation classes with films.<sup>607</sup> Catering to young visitors, Smokey made the occasional appearance and talked to students, advocating for safe practices in the forests.<sup>608</sup> Figure 5.11 is an example of the promotional materials issued by the CFA to encourage forest fire prevention in young children. On the back of the image (the second image in Figure 5.11), there is accompanying text to educate children about fire and safety measures in nature. In creating age-appropriate content, the CFA, teachers, school authorities and the government were building a cooperative partnership while fostering “a conservation conscious generation of young Canadians.”<sup>609</sup>

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<sup>607</sup> The CFA would hold special campaigns designed to engage youth in creating change, attached to some of these events. For example, students would submit fire prevention poster designs to a contest, where the winning design would be used in a province-wide campaign.

<sup>608</sup> Example of a Smokey appearance can be found in LAC, MG 28, 188, vol. 17 file, Conservation Education, pt. 1, Reprinted from *Forest & Outdoors* (Sept 1958). Ownership of Smokey Bear belong to the United States Forest Services (USFS).

<sup>609</sup> CFA, *Prairie Provinces Division, Canadian Forestry Association in Action Annual Report of 1958* (1958), 4. LAC, MG 28, file 188, vol. 21.



**Figure 5.11 US. Cooperative Forest Fire Prevention (CFPP) Coloring Sheet, front and back. Department of Agriculture. 1956**

Source: Department of Agriculture. No. 19, U.S. Department of Agriculture – Forest Services. Distributed in Canada by the Canadian Forestry Department. LAC, MG 28, 188, vol. 67, file Smokey Bear—Radio and TV 1965–67.

While public programming continued to target critical areas, such as forest fire prevention, more could still be done to increase awareness of the resource sectors. The need to reassess education to combat this gap in public knowledge was addressed by Gordon O'Brien in his article for *The Forestry Chronicle*.<sup>610</sup> O'Brien argued that both industry and the public needed to be educated, industrialists on management methods and practices that applied conservation principles and the public on the importance of proper management. People had the power to act as agents of change in encouraging governments to implement more effective legislation and management strategies to protect these natural resources. O'Brien concluded with a call to invest in youth education, referencing the work of Dr. H.H. Bennet, who advocated for children's education.<sup>611</sup>

This understanding, that conservation must take place in classrooms and in industry, spurred the growth of educational programming in the 1950s. One of the more innovative and consistent programs developed to educate the public on conservation was the Tree Planting Car in Western Canada.<sup>612</sup> A partnership between CFA and the Canadian Pacific, the program reached 1.5 million visitors over its fifty-year run in its journey across the prairies. Its educational programming helped create many grassroots changes to community development, from roadside tree planting programs, to beautification efforts around homes (planting of gardens and fruit trees), to planting shelterbelts and field shelters.<sup>613</sup> Visitors to the car could listen to

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<sup>610</sup> C.G. O'Brien, "Education for Conservation," *The Forestry Chronicle* 26, no. 2 (1950): 127–37.

<sup>611</sup> "We cannot be assured of the permanency of our soil conservation work until the concept of its absolute necessity sinks deeply and fixed into our physiological make-up. The one best way to get this into our national habits is to start early in our schools, in order to plant the ideas deeply and firmly in the minds of our children. We must get it into our very bloodstream, so that soil conservation—so vital to national and world prosperity, happiness, and health—becomes a part of our national culture as a fixed national objective." O'Brien, "Education for Conservation, 128.

<sup>612</sup> See "Brief History of the Canadian Forestry Association Organization and Finances" (1958), LAC, MG 28 188, vol. 21.

<sup>613</sup> See chapter "Forming the Foundation for Early Sustainable Forestry Management in Ontario." For a further discussion, see Beaven, *A Prairie Odyssey*.

lectures and live demonstrations on progressive methods in sustainable farming. Additional outreach media included films, some comedic and others showcasing the seriousness of preventing forest fires and the impact of unsustainable farming practices (see Appendix B). This style of knowledge dissemination grew in popularity in Ontario in the 1950s when the CFA launched a similar version targeting forest issues specific to the province, called the Conservation Car and was in partnership with Canadian National. Table 5.2 illustrates the popularity of this endeavour compared to other provinces who held similar programming.

**Table 5.1 The CNR Conservation Car no. 15021 (1958 Tour)**

<b>Province</b>	<b># of showings</b>	<b>% of youth attendance</b>	<b>% of adult attendance</b>	<b>Avg. attendance per show</b>	<b># of persons per miles travelled</b>	<b># of miles per place visited</b>
<b>Ontario</b>	3.4	86	14	55	7.0	27
<b>Provincial Average*</b>	3.8	88	12	85	6.0	54

\*Average from the provinces BC, NS, QU, AB and ON.

Source: LAC, MG 28 188, vol. 21, file Miscellaneous, 1954–9.

These early efforts were considered by both the DLF and the CFA to be an effective means of arousing interest in conservation. However, sustaining these efforts long term was not possible because of the rising costs of personnel and other demands on the department's budget. In the late 1950s district staff took responsibility for public education in their area of operation. This move allowed staff to provide their district with information tailored to the specific needs of their community, encouraging the public to become familiar with the staff assigned to their region.

The CFA (after 1958, Ontario Forestry Association [OFA]) assisted with regional programming. An example of its involvement is its participation in conservation schools. Dryden High School Conservation Camp first ran in 1957 and was put on by the Dryden Paper Company

Limited (Dryden Paper) in cooperation with forestry and agricultural organizations. The OFA in 1958 was asked to participate in this camp. The camp ran for three days during the month of June for thirty-six grade 10 students. The selected students boarded at Contact Bay Camp, which belonged to Dryden Paper. During their time at the company, students learned about soil, water, wildlife and forests first hand. The experiential lessons were supplemented with films to further provide students with additional context about resources and show the nuances of species, regions and practices within the forestry sector. Assisting with the lectures, firsthand experiences and films was an eighty-page booklet.<sup>614</sup> Similar conservation camp programs followed in the coming years.<sup>615</sup>

## Conclusion

The government, industry and associations wanted to promote forests as a multi-use resource available for human use, a source of both natural and economic wealth and an investment in safeguarding them for future generations. Across all promotional media, the theme of individual responsibility for good forest etiquette, particularly the prevention of forest fires, was paramount. While the messages were the same for adults and youth, children's materials required more creativity and innovation to be accepted by the viewer. For instance, in promoting forest fire prevention to children, the use of Smokey as a metonymic tool was very effective. Even today, his image is internationally synonymous with the prevention of forest fires. Likewise, radio programming, poster contests, and experiential learning were significant vectors for youth

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<sup>614</sup> LAC, MG 28, 188 vol. 17, file Conservation Education, J.L. Van Camp, "Dryden High School Conservation Camp, 1958," *Forest & Outdoors* (September, 1958).

<sup>615</sup> In 1960 a conservation camp was set up in Espanola for grade 8 boys. This would later be expanded to include girls. Each day the students participated in two or three sessions during the 3-day camp. Marathon Conservation School (1964) was another conservation camp. While these programs did not continue to perpetuity, they offered students the experience to witness forestry operations and the importance of conservation, while showcasing Ontario Forestry Association activities.

education about forests. Tailoring content to each level of cognitive development helped foster stewardship early in a child's development, promoting a positive rapport with forests and nature. The mixed-use approach to educating youth about conservation and fire prevention helped instil confidence in youth and their environment.

The success of these educational campaigns is difficult to measure. However, regional reports sent to the DLF indicate a decline in the number of fires in their areas. This is perhaps best illustrated in a report from the Fort Frances District in May 1952, which read:

The recent long spell of dry weather created a hazard which is seldom experienced in this part of the Province. It is also remarkable that so few forest fires occurred and so little timber damaged resulted. Now that we have had time to assess the results secured, it would appear that we are at long last getting much greater cooperation from the public. This, we believe, can be attributed to publicity given to forest fire prevention, personal contacts by ranger staff, frequent patrols by aircraft and Provincial Police investigations.<sup>616</sup>

The development of these eco-educational modes of dissemination helped convey an image of forests as a place of tranquility, natural wealth and stability. The constructed narrative sought to instil a sense of stewardship in a young audience—a desire to protect and invest in their natural inheritance. Fire played a significant role in creating this desired identity as images and text portrayed both a sense of vulnerability and resilience. By showing the devastation and harm that human carelessness could cause—a phrase repeated consistently in both adult and youth materials—the materials helped awaken in audiences the importance of exercising proper forest etiquette. This was supported through provincial foresters' and the DLF efforts to establish a park structure that helped manage and protect natural resources. One way they managed to achieve this understanding was using images of men in uniform to help signify a sense of authority and trust in the park structure. Parks and rangers represented a managed forest

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<sup>616</sup> LAC, RG 85, vol. 295, file 1006-3-1-[2].

experience, one in which knowledgeable men watched over young people while they confidently explored and experienced the outdoors. Similarly, exposure to forests through Arbour Day, traveling lectures, outdoor camps, tours of forest industries as well as other activities helped to demystify forests and encourage safe use of these natural spaces and an understanding of what forests provided society.

Education was seen as the only way to bridge the gap between the government's objectives in regards to forest sustainability and the overwhelming lack of public awareness that exacerbated problems like forest fires. The government gradually honed its ability to educate through entertainment: "Facts—offered to you as ends in themselves—become deal ends! Facts—given as an avenue of approach to the high purpose of living—become the coloured meaningful blocks out of which the child may build that life."<sup>617</sup> This tactic was particularly important when targeting children and youth over the course of their education. To protect the welfare and longevity of these resources, the government exposed children to the natural world and practices of sustainability and conservation throughout their development.<sup>618</sup>

While efforts in educating the public, in particular youth, continued to expand, further work was still needed. The Canadian Institute of Forestry 1957 annual meeting focused on public education, emphasizing the need to continue educating the public to change their attitudes to conservation. George S. Allen, dean of the Faculty of Forestry at University of British Columbia, summarized the sentiments of many in attendance:

A number of organizations, such as the Canadian Forestry Association, the Quebec Forestry Association, the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association and

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<sup>617</sup> A.R. Fenwick, *Public Education*. Paper presented at the 41st annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Forest Engineers (Toronto, ON, 1949), 25.

<sup>618</sup> Paul Aird discusses the significance of this early relationship and how it can have a lasting imprint on people. Images we form from our surroundings create "mental impression, formed by integrating the sensations derived from sight, sound, smell, taste and touch, often modified by outside influences, including friends, relative and colleagues, and conditioned by time." See, P.L. Aird, "Images of Conservation Education: Reconciling vision with Reality," *The Forestry Chronicle* 68, no. 5 (1991): 598–600.

others are doing fine work in carrying the forestry story to the general public. In spite of this concerned effort, very few Canadians seem to have even an elementary knowledge of the forests, forestry and foresters. If the public continues to be uninformed, it is unlikely that Canada will attain the ultimate goal of maximum sustained yield which is the declared policy of most provinces and organizations.<sup>619</sup>

The testimony and observations presented in members' papers at the CIF meeting suggests that the public continued to know relatively little about foresters and their work. Foresters were often associated with woods labourers or considered people who only plant trees and fight fires. They were not seen as professionals. With the expansion of roads into the forests increasing the number of users in these spaces, the need to clearly identify the role of the forester became more important. As,

[i]ncreased public use of forests creates increased public interest, not in forestry, but in the forest as a place for recreation. There is clearly a need therefore, because of this, and other developments, for foresters to work with other resource users and managers, for the best possible overall land use and management.<sup>620</sup>

Van Camp concluded by addressing the disconnect between the public and foresters and the necessity to change this. For this to occur, both the forestry profession and forest industry would need to develop better public relations, a fact that was, for the most part, agreed upon. To achieve this, the forestry sector would need to develop public programming focused on facts about forestry, forest industries and foresters. The benefit of these actions would “first, in creating additional concerns about the protection and management of forests; secondly, adding to the ability of departments and forest industry to obtain useful legislation, and thirdly, increasing public comprehension of the work and importance of foresters in the Canadian economy.”<sup>621</sup> In the end, it was clear that stronger lines of communications needed to be established with the

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<sup>619</sup> LAC, MG 28 188, vol. 17, file Canadian Institute of Forestry, 1957, J.L. Van Camp, “Summary. Public Education Session,” Canadian Institute of Forestry annual meeting Toronto (October 24 1957), 1.

<sup>620</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>621</sup> Ibid., 2.

press, which should be given access to report first hand the problems and accomplishments of forestry and forest industries.

The media proved to be an important tool for educating the public about conservation. Establishing a rapport with media outlets helped expose the public to the importance of the conservation movement. The radio lectures of Dominion forester R.W. Watt, which were popular among young people, are an example of the effectiveness of education. Establishing this relationship also worked to dispel any misinformation circulating, while promoting the efforts of government agencies, industry, professional foresters and resource associations in achieving conservation.

The materials and programs examined in this chapter demonstrate the evolution of government, public and private and industry efforts to reach the public at a young age and consequently foster a new generation of stewards. In this way, Canada and Ontario finally seized control of the narrative of humans' relationship with the forest, casting the individual as the protagonist in maintaining a harmony of which humans were a part, rather than apart.

## Conclusion

Foresters would much rather talk to trees than to people, trees don't talk back.  
 –Peter M. Morley<sup>622</sup>

I have endeavoured to show in this dissertation the progression of forestry policy through administrations. While the failures and successes of previous forest policies would be learnt from there would always be new challenges and triumphs to overcome. I have illustrated how policy-makers resorted to older policies in times of economic uncertainty compensate for changes in the market, opting for revenue generating policy as appose to conservation. For instance, the period between confederation to the turn of the twentieth century reflected the view that forests were a potential source of revenue and both the federal and provincial governments developed policies that optimized their profits within the forestry sector. The realization that forest resources are not infinite begins to emerge 1900s and policy reflects this new understanding. Conservation efforts begin to change the trajectory of policy away from exploitation towards more sustainable management. These efforts were, however, derailed by the Depression, when revenue-minded policies were once again favoured. What becomes clear is that forest policies alternated between the two poles; a cyclical policy development best represents the forest policy decision making process over any other type of stage-by-stage progressive development. While not systemically used, frame analysis inspired the research and findings of this study, which contributed to the understanding how the public would have understood the images and narratives being promoted by government resource campaigns.

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<sup>622</sup> Foresters' ability to broker information to the public was not one of their strong suits, suggests Peter M. Morley in his article, "Stand Up and Be Counted!" Foresters and the forest industry have continually voiced their disapproval of the media coverage of the sector ,which has fixated on the negative aspects of the forest establishment and harvesting, arguing that any strides towards improving management strategies are overlooked and undocumented. See P.M. Morley, "Stand Up and Be Counted!," *The Forestry Chronicle* 63, no. 3 (June 1987): 199–202.

Ontario and the Dominion tried to maintain a level of control over resource development. Conservation and sustainability are reoccurring themes, and indeed, loom large in today's zeitgeist. The understanding of these terms has evolved over the decades depending on the goals of those in power. Yet the primary application of conservation ethics has always remained forest protection, whether in the interests of industry or of environmentalism, not just from exploitation by settlers (the clearing of forested land) but also from natural and human-imitated threats: fire, insects and disease. By the end of WWI, Canadian society's understanding of conservation had finally brought the two poles together: the forest was seen as having both social and economic value. This was reflected in public opinion and legislation. The shift culminated in a new paradigm for the public's relationship with forests—the importance of wise use. Faith in efforts to sustain the health of this iconic natural resource was established, as echoed at the first forestry congress. Gifford Pinchot highlighted this encouraging approach to resource management and use:

We must put every bit of land to its best use, no matter what that may be—put it to the use that will make it contribute most to the general welfare. . . . Forestry with us is a business proposition. We do not love the trees any the less because we do not talk about our love for them . . . . use is the end of forest preservation, and the highest use.<sup>623</sup>

While these early ideas of conservationists such as Pinchot, Fernow and their successors were a step in the right direction, their principles and approaches were still anthropocentric. They still viewed humans as separate from nature and forests as opposed to part of this sphere. Their philosophy provided the intellectual and ethical rationalization for the exploitation of forests. This mindset helped construct the image of a properly managed forest, where forest rangers were viewed as scientifically trained protectors. This constructed image of foresters as crusaders for

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<sup>623</sup> *Report of the Canadian Forestry Convention*. Ottawa, ON, January 10–12, 1906, 25.

the forests, helped sell the importance of their role and inspired young men to pursue forestry. Government propaganda that emphasized rangers' importance and authority in protecting forests reinforced the idea that forests were another component—albeit the crown jewel—of the industrial machine that was Canada's resource extraction sector. Forestry practiced scientific management in service of industry rather than independently of it.

The industrial structure of forestry drove the conservation movement into the early twentieth century. Investment in education and research were a priority in sustaining the health of natural resources and their associated industries. Professional forestry schools taught principles of preservation and conservation while facilitating the development and creation of technologies that aided their efforts. These technologies led to dramatic changes in forestry practices as mechanization and automation made manpower obsolete. Yet while this had the benefit of optimizing productivity, it created new problems for sustainability and oversight, as forests were now at risk of rapid deforestation. The London *Daily Telegraph* demonstrates that deforestation was on people's minds by 1937:

It is generally known among the well-informed that the forest is being over cut at a devastating rate in every forest province in Canada; that Canada, an essentially forest country, lags far behind India, the United States, Norway, Sweden, Finland and France in forest policy; and that forest schools and forest departments in Canada are half-starved and failing to lead or influence a Canadian people, who are still bent on exploitation rather than conservation of their greater natural resources.<sup>624</sup>

The problem with sustainable forest management and limited use principles being implemented was in part the lack of public understanding about how governments governed resources. The prevailing belief that “the practice of forestry by the government on public lands is never going to interfere with the profit or comfort of the person who is thinking about it” needed to change.<sup>625</sup>

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<sup>624</sup> K. Drushka, *HR: A Biography of H.R. MacMillan* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1995), 184.

<sup>625</sup> Drushka, *Canada's Forests*, 54.

As I discussed in the later chapters, this belief changed and government began to promote new ideas of conservation and sustainability. It adapted time-tested techniques in advertising and propaganda while also innovating with new media of film, radio, and the introduction of experiential learning for youth. These efforts, in turn, influenced successive generations about their relationship with Canada's forests, which has seen constant change since Europeans settled in Canada.

### **The Changing Relationship with Forests**

Settlers arriving in British North America were often unaware of and unprepared for its variable climates and rugged topography. Indeed, while British North America was marketed as the land of opportunity and new beginnings, its novelty was short-lived. As a result, these early settlers saw their environment as a roadblock in achieving their goal of establishing roots and developing a sense of purpose. Nature was the enemy. It had to be conquered, destroyed and colonized. Although both the American colonies and British North America experienced similar challenges, their different relationships with Britain influenced the relationship they developed with their natural resources. The co-dependency of Britain and British North America in the form of exploitation of raw goods in exchange for processed materials and more immigrants, stalled the development of any distinct Canadian national identity, which in turn hindered the public's relationship with nature that went beyond the superficial or supercilious.

Colonization and settlement of what is now western Canada marked a pivotal shift in Canada's relationship with nature. Now a dominion in its own right, Canada began developing its own identity, which was then promoted to potential emigrants in Europe and the United States. Canada's nordicity and natural resource wealth figured prominently in this construction of national identity. The acceptance of its environment facilitated the change in mindset needed

to nurture a more positive connection with nature. The environment was no longer something to be feared; it was goods to be exploited. The forest was a commodity in need of harvesting and sale, and migration to Canada was the solution.

In the early twentieth century, the resource-rich north was seen as the economic cornucopia that would underwrite Canada as a modern nation-state. At the same time, images of northern lakes, forests and rocks inspired romantic, sometimes even patriotic, feelings; such were the convolutions and outright contradictions of Canadian industrial modernism. Walton put the matter bluntly in his article for the *Owen Sound Sun*: “Technology gave value to the landscape.”<sup>626</sup> The picturesque and wild landscapes of the North came into focus largely because industrialization was radically modifying the land just outside the frame of the picture. As Mel Watkins notes, some of the most famous paintings of the north represent views from the porches of cottages built on recently cleared land. Corresponding propaganda used the attractiveness of Canada’s natural resources to sell its image internationally as a resource haven.<sup>627</sup> Images of manicured farms and forests were plastered across settlement campaign advertisements selling the idea of prosperity and opportunity. These early efforts in promoting Canada’s affinity with nature were done through print and visual modes of dissemination. While descriptions helped create vivid imagery, the utilization of images both moving and still were the most effective in selling this idea.

Industrialization and urbanization overtook settlement as principal influences on the country’s relationship with nature at the turn of the century. While these factors shared with

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<sup>626</sup> Nelles, *The Politics of Development*, 51.

<sup>627</sup> M. Watkins. “Reflections on Being Born in a Group of Seven Canvas that Is Magically Transformed into a Sensuous Elenore Bond Painting,” in *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*, ed. J. O’Brian and P. White (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), 161–5.

settlement a dependence on exploiting forests, paradoxically, they spawned a desire to reconnect with nature too. This corresponded with a growing awareness that government and industry had mismanaged forests, and some of the most valuable timber tracts had reached a point of near depletion. The exhaustibility of forests was no longer a topic limited to specialists but became part of the broader public conservation. Preservationists began advocating for areas of forests to be protected from industry. They would soon be joined by a new leisure class who saw the holistic value of forests. This shift from viewing forests purely as a commodity to a more holistic view that acknowledged their non-utilitarian value spurred new provincial and federal efforts to reflect this back-to-nature movement in their promotional materials. Parks became popular destinations frequented by the growing upper- and middle-classes, much of whom now had access to cars that made such excursions more practical. The appeal of the outdoors spawned the advent of leisure magazines, nature-based literature and motion pictures. These images and articles not only encouraged recreational use of forests but also often promoted the need to protect the welfare of natural resources.

The boom in tourism as an ancillary forestry industry brought material downsides, however. With a thriving resource sector and a growing leisure class, forest fires became a serious concern. The primary threat to timber tracts was no longer corruption but carelessness. Resource agencies thus began to promote fire prevention, using print and visual mediums to reach wide audiences, educating them on the importance of being vigilant and maintaining proper forest etiquette. These ads displayed a sophisticated understanding of the psychology of consumerism for the times, using various tactics of manipulation to appeal to the audience's emotions and sense of reason. Eventually, the government shifted from a reactive approach to a proactive one, considering what image of forests and forest management it wanted to instil in the

public, particularly in young people. Targeted promotional/educational materials for youth demonstrate the thought that went into creating lifelong stewards.

While the public is still influenced by resource propaganda, they have, to an extent, taken back some of the control in forming their relationship with nature, a relationship they can define. And while that relationship has echoes of the romantic understanding of forests from the late 1700s, it is mediated by a pragmatic understanding of the limits of exploitation. The result is that humans are seen as essential and active participants in maintaining the balance in nature, as opposed to passive recipients of the forest's largesse.

### **The Medium Is the Message**

As demonstrated, Canada's relationship with forests and forestry has evolved from fear to appreciation and an increasingly nuanced understanding of forests. While Canadians were once frightened by the unruly, dense, vegetative forests, they slowly began to see these spaces as romantic vistas. I argue that this progression was influenced by their experiences and exposure to nature and societal narratives. Art and literature at the turn of the century played a significant role in shaping this early appreciation for forests. The images of forests painted by the Group of Seven helped audiences see the beauty and value of an untouched landscape. However, Canada's understanding of forests was still in its infancy stage. It was not until the post-war period that educational programming was made a part of the curriculum, signalling the government's new priority of actively shaping the image of forests and forest management.

The maturity of man's the relationship with nature, is evident in their policies practices which have shifted away from rampant exploitation to management and preservation. Young people growing up during this period were given the resources and opportunities to explore the natural world. In experimenting with different media in the dissemination of information and

propaganda, the government stimulated a new generation to view forests as multi-use spaces and to understand conservation and sustainability through this multifactorial lens. The media used by the government often shaped these messages: experiential learning programs were usually successful and seminal for the youth involved, whereas forays into comic books proved more challenging for the government because the semiology of that medium was far more malleable on the reader's part. The influence of these media on Ontario's efforts to create a specific narrative about forests and forestry mirrors the influence forests themselves have had on this changing relationship. People are not separate from nature but rather a part of it. It is with this understanding that Canadians were able to shift their approach from exploitation to conservation and balance.

The term "new media" has old roots, its origins dating back to the 1800s. It is often associated with the idea of digital technology, but its inception was the introduction of the telegraph line in 1844. As Czitrom suggests, modern technology introduced the world to modern media, communication and transportation; soon these were viewed as inseparable entities, as information could only be received as fast as transportation allowed it.<sup>628</sup> New media has evolved over the years. In the 1920s, radio was the newest form of accessing information; television in the 1950s was the next progression of this emerging new media. Each was an improvement on the previous version, reflecting the evolving and new technological advances of the day.<sup>629</sup> With what now feels like a constant march of innovation and technologies evolving, existing media rapidly became old media.<sup>630</sup>

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<sup>628</sup> D.J. Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

<sup>629</sup> M.R. Stafford and R.J. Faber, *Advertising, Promotion, and New Media* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005).

<sup>630</sup> *Ibid.*

New media in advertising and promotion has had a significant impact on how messages are disseminated to the public. In addition to creating dialogue, films were able to reach wider audiences and sustain their attention. This mode of knowledge brokering has been a primary source for acquiring information about events and people of the past.<sup>631</sup> Many people do not have access to reading material or time to read and often rely on visual media as it is readily available and accessible. Marshall McLuhan further defends this point by explaining that new forms of communication or information transferring capability will alter what he called the “sense ratio” of a society.<sup>632</sup> He proposed that society will dictate how it exploits the given communications media accessible to it.<sup>633</sup> As societies become more reliant on technology and social media, their sources for information change as they accommodate the emergence of new communications outlets and information accessibility.<sup>634</sup>

Film, in addition to other forms of visual media, has been known to increase the retention of information being presented and illustrated. Edgar Dale in 1946 created the “cone of experience,” a classification system of the various types of learning environments.<sup>635</sup> Increased forms visual dissemination (moving being higher than still images) has an increased retention rate compared to information gather in static inform, such as reading. The more active the participation is in the learning environment the higher the level of retention. Similar conclusions are supported by Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield, who looked at audience participation and receptiveness of content.<sup>636</sup> They concluded that students are able to retain more information

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<sup>631</sup> R. Rosenstone, *History on Film/Film on History* (London, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2006).

<sup>632</sup> J.E. O’Connor, *Image as Artifacts: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television* (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1990).

<sup>633</sup> Ibid.

<sup>634</sup> M.W. Bauer and G. Gaskell (eds.). *Qualitative Researching with Text, Images and Sounds: A Practical Handbook for Social Research* (London: Sage Publishing, 2000).

<sup>635</sup> E. Dale, *Audio-Visual Methods in Teaching* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946).

<sup>636</sup> C.I. Hovland, A.A. Lumsdaine, and F.D. Sheffield, *Experiments in Mass Communication* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949).

when they are shown visual media such as film. A study by D.N. Michael showed the varying degrees of participation after a film (*Pattern for Survival*) was shown and concluded that active participation increased the retention of material in the participants.<sup>637</sup> What these studies revealed was that combining different learning strategies (oral, visual, auditory, etc.) helps create a stronger environment for information retention. It can then be concluded that film has many benefits that aid in learning, educating and producing change.

Images played a key role in educating the public about their natural environment, and the resulting effects of exploitation of resource which can be accredited to government and market driven decisions. The types of images were strategically curated by the government (both federal and provincial) to suit their objectives in influencing and controlling resource development as the market dictated. These decisions created undesirable situations for communities in the north, for many had become dependent on resource production, while others faced social issues because of their migrant workforce. Indigenous communities have been subjected to environmental dispossession and a disconnection from the land. Hence, Canada's relationship with nature and resource extraction has always been problematic. It is therefore important to take into account the biases and agendas of the people and entities who created these images, as they have shaped how people have come to identify with natural resources. This will hopefully inform future attempts and perhaps allow for a narrative that is more balanced.

I end my analysis prior to the rise of television as a dominant medium in the 1950s and the subsequent introduction of color broadcasting in the mid-1960s. This was an intentional decision made for reasons both practical and thematic. The application of television to

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<sup>637</sup> D.N. Michael, *Some Factors Influencing the Effects of Audience Participation on Learning from a Factual Film*. HRRL Memo Report No. 13A, Revised report., U.S. Air Force, Human Resources Research Laboratories, Headquarters Command, Bolling Air Force Base, Washington, D.C. (Washington, D.C., 1951).

disseminate resource agencies' messages of prevention and conservation is complex because the commercial and non-commercial use of this mode had a significant influence on consumer retention. Krugman, in his article "The Impact of Television Advertising: Learning without Involvement," discusses the impact of TV campaigns, concluding that TV as a vector of knowledge transmission is effective, as audiences are able to retain the messages transmitted.<sup>638</sup> Television—like radio to some extent—changed how the public consumed information. It was a consistent source of advertising and entertainment, which is a topic in itself, and it changed how goods and services were marketed to the public. Therefore, television and the subsequent rise of social media outlets falls outside of the scope of this dissertation. They are, however, worth future study and analysis.

I have provided evidence to show how the Ontario government shaped Ontarians' understanding and image of forests and forestry from colonial settlement to the post-war period. The government's innovative adoption of traditional and modern modes of communication in shaping its narrative about Ontario's forest speaks to the efforts and goals of government campaigns, reflecting the mindset of how resources were viewed by the state and how public interest in the welfare of Ontario's forests impacted these efforts. This research helps fill in the gap of how Ontario has come to view its natural resources, based on epochal transitions in promotional mediums that reflect the tension between preservation and use.

In hopes of inspiring continued resource stewardship, I conclude with an excerpt from Archibald Lampman's "On the Companionship with Nature."

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<sup>638</sup> H.E. Krugman, "The Impact of Television Advertising: Learning without Involvement," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (1965): 349–56; J. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication* (New York: Free Press, 1960). Similar conclusions have been drawn in more recent studies: D.W. Stewart, P. Pavlou, and S. Ward, "Media Influences on Marketing Communications," in *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, ed. J. Bryant and D. Zillmann, 354–396 (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2002); P. Verlegh, H. Voorveld, and M. Eisend (eds.). *Advances in Advertising Research (Vol. VI): The Digital, the Classic, the Subtle, and the Alternative* (Berlin: Springer, 2015).

Let us be much with Nature; not as they  
That labour without seeing, that employ  
Her unloved forces, blindly without joy;  
Nor those whose hands and crude delights obey  
The old brute passion to hunt down and slay;  
But rather as children of one common birth,  
Discerning in each natural fruit of earth  
Kinship and bond with this diviner clay.<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>639</sup> A. Lampman, "On the Companionship with Nature," in *The Poems of Archibald Lampman*, ed. D.C. Scott (Toronto, ON: G.N. Morang, 1901), 258–9.

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## Appendix A

### Timber Limit Sales, 1867–1892

<b>Dates (MM.DD.YYYY)</b>	<b>Area</b>	<b>Bonus</b>	<b>Dues</b>	<b>Ground Rent</b>	<b>Avg. Price (per mile)</b>
12.23.1868	38	14,446.50	.75	2.00	380.17
07.06.1869	98	25,564.50	.75	2.00	260.86
02.15.1870	12	7,680.00	.75	2.00	640.00
11.23.1871	487	117,672.00	.75	2.00	241.62
10.15.1872	5031	592,601.50	.75	2.00	117.79
06.06.1877	375	75,739.00	.75	2.00	201.97
12.06.1881	1379	733,675.00	.75	2.00	201.97
10.22.1885	1012	318,645.00	.75	2.00	532.00
12.15.1887	459	1,315,312.50	1.00	3.00	2,859.00
10.01.1890	376	346,256.25	1.00	3.00	919.00
10.13.1892	633	2,315,000.00	1.25	3.00	3,657.18

Source: LAC, E.H. Bronson Papers, Memoranda on Timber Sales, 1892, vol. 704.

## Appendix B

### Large Fires in Ontario

Year	Location	Size
1845	West of Lake Superior to Rainy Lake	Vast fires extending over 640,000 acres (1000 mi <sup>2</sup> )
1851	Bonnechere/Big pine country	
1855	Temagami to Lake Temiskaming to Montreal River to Micipicoten	1,280,000 acres (2000 mi <sup>2</sup> )
1860	Burnt River, Glamorgan, Snowdown Twps to upper branches of the Trent Waters	
1864	Thessalon River to Collins Inlet then north to where it met a fire at Wahnapiatae River that started on the west arm of Lake Nipissing	
1868	Bissetts Creek area; from the Ottawa River to Lake Traverse on the Petawawa River	
1871	Main fire from French River to Lake Nipissing to Mississagi River; other very large fires along the shore of Lake Superior	1,280,000 acres (2000 mi <sup>2</sup> ); 6 lives lost along CPR survey line
1877	Parry Sound area	Extensive areas
1891	CPR rail line from Pogamasing station to near Women River	60 miles along the railway
1894	Northern Minnesota into Rainy River	6 lives lost; several townships near Rainy River
1896	South shores of Biscotasing and Ramsay Lakes; headwaters of the Spanish and Mississagi Rivers north to the height of land	70 miles each way

Source: compilation of the following works: Ontario Department of Lands and Forests. *100 Year History*. (Forest Protection Branch. Unpublished manuscript, N.D.) and; A.P.N.D. Leslie. *Large Fires in Ontario*. (Forest Protection Branch. Unpublished manuscript, N.D.)

## Appendix C

### Ontario Forest Protection Division and Department of Lands and Forests, Samples of Forest Fire Prevention Posters (1958)

Agency	Poster	Description
Forest Service, Department of the Interior (now Forestry Branch, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources)	D-1 Words of Wisdom	Size: 9x12 Material: poster linen Colour: B/W
	D-2 Our friend Canada Jay says	Size: 9x6 Material: medium card stock, waxed Colours: background: red; letter, black; others: cream insert in centre, black and cream bird, cream faces.  This poster was designed for display in railway cars.
Forest Service, Jean Lesage, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources	D-3 Canada Jay says	Size: 11x17 Material: medium card stock, waxed Colours: background: white and yellow; letter: yellow & black; other: red flames in background, yellow flames from white match, white bird
	D-4 La foret est entre vos mains	Size: 8x13 Material: light card stock, coated Colours: background: black; lettering: yellow and green; others: cream bands, green foliage, red and yellow flames, grey smoke.  Issued with French and English Captions

	D-5 National Parks of Canada	<p>Size: 10.5x14.5  Material: heavy card stock, coated  Colours: background: white; lettering: brown and green; other, brown fawn, green ground cover.</p>
	D-6 Be Watchful	<p>Size: 11x17  Material: heavy card stock, waxed  Colours: background: red; lettering: black and yellow; others: black binoculars, yellow sky, green living trees, black charred trees, grey mountains and shoreline, white water.</p>
	D-7 You can Help	<p>Size: 8x13  Material: Light card stock  Colours: background: white; lettering: black on red area and black on white; other: green living tree, black charred tree.</p>
	D-8 Help prevent this black plague	<p>Size: 8x13  Material: Light card stock  Colours: background: grey; lettering: black on green area, black on grey; Other: black tree trunks, white smoke.</p>
Department of Lands and Forests, Ontario	Ont. 1 Forest Fire Safety Rules	<p>Size: 11x20  Material: medium card stock, waxed  Colours: background: yellow, white; lettering: black and red; others: black drawing on white inserts</p>
	Ont. 2 Portage	<p>Size: 11x19  Material: medium card stock, waxed  Colours: background: yellow, white; lettering: black, yellow</p>

Ont. 3 Prevent Forest Fires, Green Forests	Size: 11x19 Material: medium card stock, waxed Colour: background: yellow and green; lettering: red, green, black; other: white
Ont. 4 Your camp fire when you build it	Size: 11x19 Material: medium card stock, waxed Colour: background: yellow; lettering: red and black; other: black figures
Ont. 5 Look before you leave	Size: 11x19 Material: medium card stock, waxed Colour: background: yellow; lettering: black

Source: LAC, RG 39, vol. 715 file 15-2-1 [2]

## Appendix D

### Films Shown on the Conservation Car and at Public Lectures

#### 400 foot or 1 reel Films

Film Title	B/W or C	Remarks
Golden Secret	C	A soil picture for you people told as a fairy tale
Leaves	BW	How a tree grows, a good science film, showing function of leaves, roots etc.
Birth of the Soil	C	Showing how soil was made from the elements, the building of topsoil, and the need for its protection
Three Bears on a Spree	BW	Comedy adventure, 3 bear series, very amusing
The Music Album	BW	Musical cartoon comedy, southern setting
Lion Hunt	BW	Cartoon comedy, Mr. Mouse in Africa
Then It Happened	C	Marine, USA Fire, very dramatic
Andy Panda, Crazy House	BW	Cartoon comedy with Andy Panda the bear
Andy's Animal Alphabet	C	A visit to the Zoo, excellent junior film. The letters of the alphabet are used in naming the various animals
Three Fox Fables	BW	The fables of the sour grapes etc., acted by animals
Three Bears in Woods	BW	Another of the 3 bear series, showing fox, groundhog, owl and other animals
Three Bears Make Mischief	BW	Three bears visit a farm and the result of their adventures is very amusing
Ride E'm Cowboy	BW	Rodeo, how it originated and the various activities
Play Ball	BW	Cartoon comedy, Willie Whooper
Your Soil - Your Future	C	Relationship of soil to people, with a south American setting
Adventures of Bunny Rabbit	BW	Junior animal, showing rabbit home & family

Top soil	BW	Conservation series, stressing the protection of topsoil
Water	BW	Conservation series, uses of water
One Match Can Do It	BW	Forest Fires cause floods. Including causes of fire and fighting forest fires
Fire in the Wilderness	BW	Dramatic film on human carelessness with fire
Know your Land	C	Outlining the 7 types of soil and their use
Seeds of Destruction	C	Tree & soil, from the Living Earth Series, showing the interrelationship of trees and soil
The Land of Cyprus	BW	Reforestation on the Island, showing the past results of soil erosion
Point Pelee	C	Showing the nature sanctuary that has been established, many species of birds
Fisherman's Path	BW	An interesting short film, with a story in verse and some good fishing scenes
Erosion	BW	Conservation series, showing wind & water erosion
Soil & Water Conservation	BW	Another of the conservation series, stressing soil & water conservation
Manitoba	C	A visit to the Riding Mountain National Park, Showing the recreational opportunities in Manitoba
Fire Call	C	This film edited & shortened. Shows the importance of forest, fire prevention, fighting forest fires, public education and cooperation
Pantry Panic	BW	Woody Woodpecker comedy
Loon's Necklace	C	Indian Legend on how the Loon secured the lace-like neck band around its throat. This film courtesy Imperial Oil
Hook, Line & Safety	C	The rules of safety when enjoying fishing other recreational outdoors
Eye Witness	BW	Showing the cutting of west coast hemlock, lumber camps etc.

Sport Fishing in Sask.	C.	A very good fishing picture, showing angling for various varieties and pointing out the excellent opportunities for this sport to be found in Saskatchewan.
Eye Witness No. 14	BW	Young people take a hand in reclaiming through reforestation of some of Ontario's wasteland
Dizzy Acrobats	BW	Woody Woodpecker comedy
Wacky Weed	BW	Comedy with a garden setting and a persistent weed
Reckless Driver	BW	Woody Woodpecker comedy

### 800 Foot, or approximately 20 minute subjects

Film Title	BW or C	Remarks
Tomorrow's Timber	C	A story of the lumber industry – its contribution in work and wages and what happens to a Community when the surrounding forest, on which it depends, is burned
Scout in the Forest	C	Boy Scouts learn something about forestry the contribution trees make to everyone and the need for always being careful with fire if we are going to continue to enjoy their benefits
Frying Pan and Fire	C	Two girls on a camping trip – shows beautiful scenic shots and photographs of wildlife life. Through carelessness they start a forest fire, but manage to put it out with considerable difficulty and learn a lesson on carefulness the hard way
Skip the Maloo	BW	Slapstick comedy
Simple Fruit Pruning	BW	Methods of pruning fruit trees as done in England. Some good lessons in keeping fruit trees in good shape with a view to successful bearing
Realm of the Wild	C	Lovely story of wild animals and wild flowers based on the relationship of our feathered and four footed creatures of nature to their food

		supply. This film shows most of North America's game animals and many of its game birds. This reel has been slightly shorten with some hunting scenes deleted.
Skyline Trails	C	Trail riders of the Alberta Rockies Very lovely scenery
Forest Commando's	C	A story of the Ontario Forest Service, its aerial patrol guarding the forest resources, and scenes showing fighting of forest fire
Timagani Ranger	C	The story of Ontario's forests, the Forest Service and its daily task of protecting the forests from fire. This film also shows fighting of forest fires
Our Forest Heritage	C	A comprehensive story of the contribution made by Canada's forests in forest products, as a home for wildlife, watersheds and recreational values – a very good picture
Prairie Homes	C	Visits to well planted homes on the prairies, vividly illustrating the beauty and protection that can become a reality anywhere on the open plains by planting trees
Trees for Tomorrow	BW	Working towards a sustained yield
Lumbering in Saskatchewan	C	Outlining Saskatchewan's forest industry
Who Was Guilty?	C	The story of careless campers followed by the destruction of the forest, played by puppets
Green Gold	BW	Produced by United Nations, centered around the contribution made to a Swedish community by the forest. Includes a quick trip visiting forests around the world
Dead Out	C	The experiences of an old timer in how settlement fires start
Pulp Paper from Canada	BW	A story of Canada's pulp and paper industry
Gift of the Glaciers	C	The Columbia ice fields and forested watersheds on the Eastern slope of Alberta

Heritage We Guard	BW	A story of the settlement of North America and the Agricultural penetration to the great plains. Many excellent wildlife shots
Water for the Prairies	C	The story of the Eastern Rockies Forest Service undertaking in maintaining the Eastern slope watershed
Common Errors in Fire Fighting (1200 feet, 30 mins)	BW	A training film, showing the methods of fire fighting
The Tennessee Valley (1200 feet, 30 mins)	BW	Commonly known as TVA showing the dam, hydro electric and irrigation development
Forests for the Future (1200 feet, 30 mins)	C	AN excellent film of forest operations, tree farms, and conservation
The Story of Canadian Pine (1200 feet, 30 mins)	BW	The story of eastern Canada's white pine lumbering, showing the log drive in the spring
Portage (800 feet, 20 minutes)	BW	Showing the Indian and his canoe. This film also shows how the Indians make their canoes.

Source: LAC, MG 28 188, vol. 21, file Miscellaneous 1954-9

## Appendix E

## CNR Conservation Car Summary of Activities (1958)

February to November 20th  
Lecturer: Paul Pageau

Province	Mileage		Hours Travelled			Attendance			
	Dur ing Tour	Before or After Tour	Dur ing Tour	Before or After Tour	No. of Places	No. of Showing s	You th	Adult s	Tota l
British Columbia Feb 25–Apr 26	1793. 9	5499.5	99	159	15	154	19093	1662	2075 5
Nova Scotia May 10–Jun 24	896.2	776.0	61	23	40	87	7781	540	8321
Quebec Jun 29–Aug 16	1674. 3	542.7	84	19	27	101	2776	1098	3874
Alberta Sept 10–Oct 12	1850. 3	1601.8	73	48	16	43	2516	809	3325
Ontario Aug 23–Sept 7 & Oct 15–Nov 20	918.1	1987.2	51	57	34	115	5481	902	6383
Grand Total	7132. 8	10407.2	368	306	132	500	37647	5011	4265 8

Source: LAC, MG 28 188, vol. 21.