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Article abstract

En 1901, la région du Témagami devient la première réserve forestière de l'Ontario. Ce système de réserves, institué en 1898, désignait certaines régions comme devant servir uniquement à la coupe du bois et visait ainsi à assurer à la province la perpétuité de cette importante ressource.

Le programme n'eut toutefois pas les résultats escomptés. Dès le début, les Indiens habitant la contrée - en l'occurence, ici, celle du Témagami - opposèrent une résistance formelle au projet, et, cette attitude fut longuement maintenue; de plus, les politiques toujours à court terme des gouvernements au pouvoir allaient souvent à rencontre des buts proposés en 1898; enfin, si lointaines que semblaient ces régions au moment de l'élaboration du système des réserves, les progrès assez impressionnants du début du siècle, qu'il s'agisse de ceux des chemins de fer, de la prospection, de la colonisation, ou encore, du tourisme, eurent tôt fait de rapprocher ces régions des grands centres, et, par le fait même, de compromettre les chances de succès de l'entreprise. De fait, de par la coïncidence de ces divers facteurs, la région du Témagami n'avait pas encore subit de dommages sérieux à l'approche de la première grande guerre.

Resource Management Conflict in the Temagami Forest, 1898 to 1914

BRUCE W. HODGINS and JAMIE BENIDICKSON*

In 1901 the Temagami region of northwestern Ontario was set aside as the first major component of the province's recently instituted Forest Reserve system. The new Temagami Forest contained between three and five billion board feet of valuable pine timber. The perpetual harvesting of this pine was officially regarded as the exclusive or at least the paramount purpose of the region. If this purpose were severely challenged or obstructed, then the future of the developing Forest Reserve system would be cloudy indeed.

In the last half of the nineteenth century, debate over land management in Ontario had centred on the historic conflict between traditional agrarian interests and the forest industry which was supported after 1883 by newly appointed provincial forestry officials. Lumbermen, especially from the Ottawa Valley, welcomed the findings of royal commissions in the 1890's and the 1898 Forest Reserves Act which appeared to offer a clear resolution of the land classification conflict. Henceforth, farmers and settlers would be excluded from designated pinelands, where new principles of forest management, carefully applied under the direction of government officials, would ensure the revitalization of the industry and permit "perpetual use" of valuable provincial resources. The land classification concept was at last in place. The Forest Reserves experiment in Ontario was thus an important aspect of the province's response to the economic, intellectual and social forces affecting resource management and use in the early twentieth century. This experiment, with Temagami as its keystone, was a vital aspect of the application of contemporary conservationist ideals during the so-called progressive era.[1]

While Canada's national energies were directed toward both the epic transformation of the West and accelerating urbanization in the East, powerful

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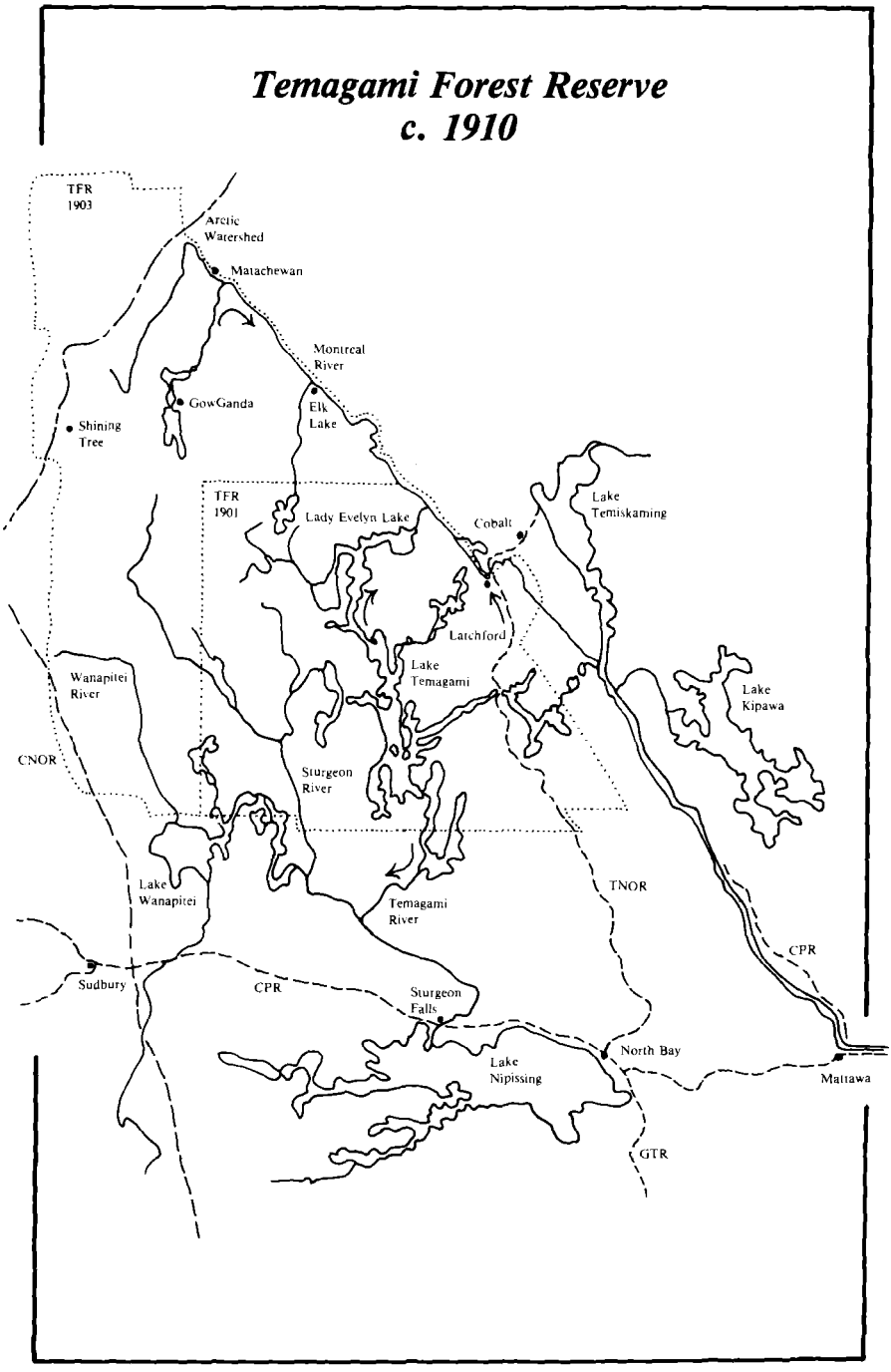
1. Note R. Peter Gillis, "The Ottawa lumber barons and the conservation movement, 1880-1914", *Journal of Canadian Studies,* IX (Feb. 1974), pp. 14-30; H.V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941* (Toronto, 1974); and Richard S. Lambert with Paul Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth* (Toronto, 1967).


Temagami Forest Reserve
c. 1910
TFR
1903
Arctic
Watershed
Matachewan
Montreal
River
GowGanda
Elk
Lake
Shining
Tree
TFR
1901
Lady Evelyn Lake
Cobalt
Lake
Temiskaming
Latchford
Lake
Temagami
Lake
Kipawa
Wanapitei
River
CNOR
Sturgeon
River
Lake
Wanapitei
Temagami
River
TNOR
CPR
Sudbury
CPR
Sturgeon
Falls
North Bay
Lake
Nipissing
Mattawa
GTR

Ontario forces were at work to shape the character of the province's North. Railway building and promotion, surveying, mining, colonization, tourism and the forest industries reached a peak of intensity in the years before World War I. These forces directly threatened the established order in the previously remote pinelands of northeastern Ontario and presented an ironic challenge to the Forest Reserves programme as applied in Temagami. As the largest Forest Reserve and certainly the most valuable pine region, the experience of Temagami played a direct role in determining the way the system would evolve in practice.

In 1900 the Temagami country had only begun to experience the cumulative impact of external influences. By 1914, however, the region had undergone a major recreational explosion involving sportsmen, hotels, youth camps and cottaging. Prospectors and mining men overflowed from the Cobalt boom to surge through the district. Two new rail lines, the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario (TNOR) and the Canadian Northern Ontario (CNOR), penetrated the pine forests. Over one hundred provincial forest rangers were at work trying to safeguard Ontario's forest wealth from the carelessness of prospectors and tourists, and incidentally to regulate much of the behaviour of frustrated resident Indians.

Despite the hopeful but short-lived expectations of forestry officials and spokesmen for the lumber trade that pine harvesting would henceforth be Temagami's dominant purpose, the Forest rapidly evolved into an active multiple-use area. A new series of conflicting, but non-agricultural interests repeatedly forced a retreat from forestry's overriding predominance and weakened the vague conservationist inspiration of the original Forest Reserves plan. This particular northern transformation occurred without significant influence from large scale and often foreign-owned resource developers. The Temagami transformation resulted from the cumulative impact of the many alternative non-agricultural resource users representing new twentieth-century challenges to the dominance of the pine-cutting industry.

I

The Temagami country is rough and rugged Pre-Cambrian Shield and headwaters country. It straddles the height of land from which waters flow three ways: south to Georgian Bay, primarily through Lake Nipissing; east to the Ottawa at Lake Temiskaming; and north through the myriad tributaries of the Moose to James Bay in the Arctic watershed. Lake Temagami itself, a complex, multi-armed and island-studded body of water about thirty miles long and located near the south-east corner of what became in 1901 the Temagami Forest Reserve, emptied south through the Temagami and Sturgeon Rivers to Nipissing and north into Lady Evelyn Lake and the Montreal River and then east to Temiskaming; from the tip of the North-east Arm, a quarter mile historic portage[2] put the

2. Across what is now both the northern route of the Trans-Canada Highway and the main line of the Ontario Northland Railway. For a general description of the area, note Larry E. Hodgins, "Economic Geography of the Lake Timagami District", (Bachelor's thesis, University of Toronto 1958).

traveller in the waters of the Matabitchewan River flowing more directly to Temiskaming, only sixteen miles due east. The distinct group of native people who lived around Lake Temagami in the nineteenth century were, as befitting the location of their life-sustaining waterways and forests, border folk. Algonkian-speaking certainly, they had an Ojibwa background which was very strongly affected by closely related Algonquin additions from the east and Cree from over the divide to the north. From early on, they had traded their furs with the North West Company east to Fort Temiskaming and south to Nipissing and with the Hudson's Bay Company west to the Mattagami or north to Frederick House.[3] Indeed, the country which became the Temagami Forest was a principal eastern battleground in the struggle between the Bay and the St. Lawrence.[4] Long after the merger in 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company tried to keep the area isolated from "Canada".[5]

In 1850, when the Robinson-Huron Treaty was signed at Sault Ste. Marie with the Ojibwa north of Lake Huron, the Temagami Indians were overlooked and not invited. Until 1883 they received neither treaty money nor a reserve. Beginning that year and as a result of articulate agitation from their chiefs, Tonené and John Paul, they received an annuity, even though they had not surrendered their land. A one hundred square mile, surveyed, Indian Reserve around the south end of Lake Temagami was promised them in 1885.[6] Farming was seen as their eventual future. Since Confederation, however, Ontario controlled the land, and Ontario declined to transfer the title. From 1876, after intermittently maintaining a small outpost on Temagami Island, the Hudson's Bay Company permanently operated a post on Bear Island in the centre of the Lake. Gradually many of the Indians began to cluster, especially in the summer, around the Bear Island Post, but they continued to press, with backing from the Indian

3. Essential to a study of the history of the Temagami Indians is the extensive file on their attempt from 1879 to 1943 to secure an Indian Reserve of their choice. PAC, Indian Affairs Branch, RG10, vol. 7757, file 27043-9, henceforth styled "Temagami file". They now call themselves the "Tema-Agama Anishnabay", or the "Teme-Augama Anishnabai", the "Deep Water People". Reference should also be made to "History of the Teme-Agama Anishnabay and Land Use", being the heavily researched volume III of the Appellants Factum in the case before the District Court of Nipissing between Her Majesty the Queen, Respondent, and [Chief] Gary Potts *et al.*, Appellants [1977]. Note also J.V. Wright, *Ontario Prehistory* (Ottawa, 1972).
4. Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade* (Toronto, 1977), especially pp. 16-93.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
6. See "Temagami file". Note especially Charles Skene (Indian Agent, Parry Sound) to L. Vankoughnet (Dep. Sup't. Gen. of Indian Affairs), 1 March 1880, containing with it the specially written copies of Skene to J.C. Phipps, 4 Dec. 1879; Skene to Chief Tonené (copy), 1 March 1880 and Tonené to Skene, 10 Feb. 1880. Also note Tonené to Skene, 10 June 1881; Vankoughnet to Sup't Gen. (Sir John A. Macdonald), memorandum, 4 May 1883; Vankoughnet to Skene, 16 May, 2 June and 13 July 1883; Thomas Walton (new Indian Agent, Parry Sound) to Sup't Gen., 5 Sept. 1884; and G.B. Abrey (Provincial Land Surveyor) to Sup't Gen., 12 Feb. 1885, with blueprint map.

Affairs Department in Ottawa, for their south-end Reserve. Meanwhile, beginning in 1890, the Paul family and some others moved to a site in Austin Bay, at the centre of the proposed Reserve; with federal assistance they cleared and cultivated some land and erected buildings. In 1897 even Clifford Sifton, Laurier's Minister of the Interior, personally intervened with an appeal to J.M. Gibson, Ontario's Liberal Commissioner of Crown Lands, but Ontario refused to move.[7]

When Ontario established the Temagami Forest, it was not only fully acquainted with the "Temagami Ojibwa", but was also well aware of the area's mineral resources. Detailed reports were enthusiastic; prospectors had already located promising deposits. For copper, gold, silver and iron, the future appeared bright. Between 1887 and 1894 Robert Bell and A.E. Barlow of the Geological Survey of Canada conducted extensive examinations of the region. In 1875, Bell had passed through what became the central and western part of the Forest. In 1887 and 1888, that is, after the Sudbury discoveries, Bell and Barlow, along with A.M. Campbell, carefully explored the Sturgeon and Montreal Rivers and Lady Evelyn and Temagami Lakes.[8] Barlow returned each of three summers from 1892 to 1894 and later presented the accumulated results of these efforts in a massive *Report*. In its discussion of "Economic Geology", the *Report* analysed the possibilities for gold, silver, copper, iron, nickel and other minerals. It described quite accurately those areas within what became the Temagami Forest that later proved so important in mineral activity, especially those around the Net Lake-White Bear Lake-Matabitchewan River waterway and on Lake Temagami itself.[9]

The mineral potential of the Temagami country was also emphasized in evidence before the province's own Royal Commission on Mineral Resources which reported back in 1890. Edward Haycock, a civil engineer and mine owner, stated that the country was "full of minerals". He had found commercial quantities of

7. See "Temagami file". Note especially Tonené to W.C.O. O'Brien, M.P., 6 July 1885; Tonené to Walton, 13 Jan. 1886 and 11 Feb. 1890; Minutes of the Privy Council, 18 March 1890; (Chief) John Paul to Walton, 20 June 1893; (Acting 2nd Chief) Francis WhiteBear to Walton, 2 April 1894; "Statement of Case of the Dominion on behalf of the Temagamingue Band of Ojibbewa Indians", 10 March 1896; D.C. Scott to Aubrey White, 15 May 1896; and Clifford Sifton to J.M. Gibson, 26 March 1897.
8. GSC, *Report of Progress, 1876-78* (Ottawa, 1878), VIII, "Report on the Exploration in 1865 [*sic*, 1875] between James Bay and Lakes Superior and Huron", by Robert Bell; and GSC, *Annual Report* (New Series), vol. III, part I, 1887-88 (Montreal, 1889), "Summary Reports", Exploration and Surveys [1887], pp. 22-4, and Exploration and Surveys [1888], pp. 77-80; Robert Bell, *Report on the Sudbury Mining District, 1888-90* (Ottawa, 1891); published as Report F of GSC, *Annual Report* (New Series), vol. V, *1890-91* (Ottawa, 1893); and PAC, GSC, RG45, vol. 129, folder item 1732, "Field Notes of A. Campbell", 1888.
9. GSC, *Report of the Geology and Natural Resources of the Area included by the Nipissing and Temiscaming Map-sheets comprising positions of the District of Nipissing, Ontario, and of the County of Pontiac, Quebec* (Ottawa, 1899), published as Report I, in GSC, *Annual Report* (New Series), vol. X, *1897*, (Ottawa 1899), henceforth styled Barlow, *Report, 1897*. He later returned to undertake a detailed ground study of the iron ranges by Temagami's North-east Arm. GSC, *Summary Report, 1903*, AA, pp. 120-33, "The Temagami District", by A.E. Barlow (Ottawa, 1904).

copper on Lady Evelyn Lake, seen many widespread traces of gold and silver and knew of the copper and iron deposits. Lake Temagami's islands, he assured the Commission, were also rich in minerals. J.C. Bailey, engineer and chief surveyor for the proposed Nipissing and James Bay Railway, while extolling the white pine, also described the copper and iron.[10] Further evidence reinforcing these earlier optimistic expectations was provided by Party No. 3 of the very detailed provincial exploratory survey in 1900 of Northern Ontario.[11]

A few private prospectors were already hard at work. In 1887 Peter Allan Ferguson of Mattawa had acquired clear title to three major sites on Lake Temagami. These were rich in iron and copper pyrites, and Ferguson had hopes for commercial quantities of gold.[12] He believed only transportation improvements were needed to stimulate investment. Beginning in 1898, Dan O'Connor seemed to be prospecting everywhere, around the iron ranges north of the Northeast Arm and among the mispickle and copper concentration near Net and White-Bear Lakes. In 1903 Barlow declared that, concerning the iron ranges, O'Connor's "earnest and persistent advocacy of their economic importance has been one of the most powerful factors in directing public attention to them."[13] O'Connor persuaded the Ontario Bureau of Mines both to have Professor A.P. Coleman visit the sites in 1899 and to have Professor Willet G. Miller study the ore bodies in 1901.[14] In addition, gold was discovered by the shores of Emerald Lake, northeast of Sturgeon Falls and southwest of Lake Temagami. Gold was actually being mined on Lake Wanapitei just south of the future Temagami Forest and on a very small scale away up the Wanapitei River at Meteor Lake on what became the western boundary of the Forest.[15]

Well before 1901, many hardy recreational canoeists and sportsmen were enjoying Temagami's beautiful and fish-laden waterways. Father Charles Paradis, the famous Oblate colonizer, claimed to be in the first party of tourists to camp on Temagami when, in 1880, he vacationed with three clerical brothers who taught at Ottawa College. The party came from Mattawa *via* Temiskaming and the Matabitchewan to Rabbit Nose Island in the North Arm of Temagami. The enigmatic Paradis later settled on the Lake at Sandy Inlet, where he established one of its few farms.[16]

10. Ontario, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Mineral Resources of Ontario* (Toronto, 1890), pp. 56-8.
11. Ontario, *Report of the Survey and Exploration of Northern Ontario* (Toronto, 1901) pp. 83-113.
12. Barlow, *Report, 1897,* p. 143; and "Temagami file", Walton to Sup't. Gen., 7 May 1887, containing recent clipping reprinted from the *Nipissing Times.*
13. Barlow, "The Temagami District", pp. 124-5.
14. A.P. Coleman, "Copper and Iron Regions of Ontario", *Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines, 1900* (Toronto, 1901), henceforth styled *OBM*, pp. 172-4; W. Miller, "Iron ores of the Nipissing District", *Ibid., 1901*, pp. 160-80.
15. P.E. Hopkins, "Ontario Gold Deposits", *OBM, 1921*, pp. 20-1; *Report of the Survey and Exploration of Northern Ontario*, pp. 88, 91 and 122; Miller, "Iron ores of the Nipissing District", *OBM, 1895,* p. 262; and *OBM, 1896,* p. 268.
16. Bruce W. Hodgins, *Paradis of Temagami: the story of Charles Paradis, 1848-1926, Northern Priest, Colonizer and Rebel* (Cobalt, 1976).

Although rare in the eighties, recreational canoeists in Temagami increased in number as the nineties progressed. Many of these adventurous devotees of this new wilderness pastime, which seems to have come about hand in hand with the growth of middle class urbanism in Toronto, Ottawa and nearby American cities, recorded their summer experiences in popular periodicals. In 1894 the American outdoor magazine, *Forest and Stream,* featured a story on the delights of canoe travel in the Temagami district.[17] *Canadian Magazine* later published a two-part article on hunting and fishing in the Ontario northland,[18] while W.R. Bradshaw in the *Anglo-American Magazine* idealized the Temagami experience "where civilization ends"; resting by the "silence of Lady Evelyn Lake", he said, was "a panacea for the nervous strain of city life, and its lifegiving ozone an antidote for the suffocating odors of city streets."[19] In 1896 Archibald Lampman tripped to Temagami from Temiskaming and celebrated the experience in his poem "Temagami": "Wild with the trampling of the great moose, And the weird magic of old Indian Tales."[20] The daily log book of H.G. Woods, Hudson's Bay Company manager at Bear Island, reveals a growing number of visiting canoeists from 1899 to 1901, including a party of "10 Toronto Varsity boys" which in July, 1900, went up the Lady Evelyn, returned, and departed *via* the Sturgeon.[21]

The enormous recreational potential of the Temagami area was evident to government agents and private travellers alike. The Ontario surveyors of 1900 extolled the glory of the trout streams on the Lady Evelyn River; George Gray, director of Party No. 3, wrote that the entire region would "prove a paradise for the followers of the rod and gun and a resort for all lovers of the picturesque in natural scenery."[22] In 1899, one year after Paradis guided a party of prominent outdoorsmen, including the Canadian Pacific Railway's chief colonization agent, L.O. Armstrong, on a trip from Haileybury through Lake Temagami to Sturgeon Falls,[23] the Railway issued its first promotional pamphlet on the area. An increasingly active publicity campaign by the CPR, later joined by the Grand Trunk Railway (GTR), soon helped to make Temagami one of the best known vacationlands on the continent.[24]

17. "Away Up North", 28 April 1894, p. 369.
18. W.R. Wadsworth, "With Rifle and Rod in the Moose Lands of Northern Ontario", *Canadian Magazine,* XIII (1899), pp. 149-57 and 254-62.
19. W.R. Bradshaw, "The Trip to Temagami", *Anglo-American Magazine,* (July 1901), pp. 70-8.
20. PAC, Lampman Papers, Lampman to E.W. Thomson, 20 July 1896, plus manuscript version of the poem.
21. PAC, MG19, D21, HBC, "Temagami Post Journal", entries for 12, 19 and 20 July 1900. Note also James Edmund Jones, *Camping and Canoeing* (Toronto, 1903), pp. 121-33 and 141-3.
22. *Report of the Survey and Exploration of Northern Ontario,* pp. 86 and 90.
23. "Timagami, Mississagua, French River and that Sort of Thing", *Rod and Gun in Canada,* VI (April 1905), pp. 585-98, and (May 1905), pp. 681-5.
24. *Timagaming, a Glimpse of the Algonquin Paradise,* issued by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 5th edition, (Montreal, April 1904); "Haunts of Fish and Game", Grand Trunk Railway System advertisement, *Canadian Magazine-Advertiser,* XXVI (1905-06), p. 61.

In 1893 officials of the proposed Nipissing and James Bay Railway despatched timber assessors to the Temagami area to estimate the available volume of pine, whose great importance had been recognized by the Company from the outset when formed in 1884 to build a line from North Bay to James Bay that obviously would run through the Temagami country. After reviewing the vast extent of pine in the few surveyed township's immediately north of North Bay through which the line would necessarily pass, the assessors discussed in glowing terms the vast pineries in the vicinity of Temagami and Rabbit Lakes. The commercial attractiveness of the region was enhanced by the availability of numerous waterpower sites and the open water which would permit tug-boat traffic.[25]

Favourable commentary on Temagami's pine prospects also appeared in government publications, including the well-respected Barlow *Report*, where the concentration, extent and quality of the white and red pine were discussed. Indeed, lands between the Temagami Forest and Lake Temiskaming had been under licence from the 1860's to Gillies Brothers, Alex Lumsden, J.R. Booth, Roderick Ryan and the Bank of British North America.[26] From the south, the Sturgeon Falls Pulp Company had acquired pulpwood concessions along the Sturgeon and Temagami River valleys before the turn of the century.[27] Nevertheless, the pine forests were already regarded by some as less than necessarily paramount. A.P. Coleman, in his commentary on the Temagami iron ranges in 1900, had only referred to them as "an additional reason for opening up the country."[28]

II

The administrative arrangements intended to provide a forest management programme for the Temagami district were largely formulated under the Forest Reserves Act of 1898, whose evolving background during the previous few years is itself a central episode in the Ontario forestry story. As Ontario was moving toward the establishment of a major Forest Reserve system, it still saw, in late nineteenth-century fashion, the major threat to the future of the forest industry and therefore to the provincial treasury, coming from questionable agrarian expansion onto marginal land. At the same time the conservationist techniques of scientific pine forest management, the ideas of economic development through perpetual use and permanent harvesting, were growing. These concepts received the backing of the larger operators of the Ottawa Valley and of the Canadian Forestry Association formed in 1900.

Stressing usefulness through adaptation and development rather than environmental preservation, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald had in 1887

25. *Nipissing and James Bay Railway* (Toronto, 1884), pp. 8-9; PAC, Edmund Wragge Papers, D.W. St. Eloi to Wragge, 17 Oct. 1893 and John C. Kennedy to the President and Directors of the Nipissing and James Bay Railway, 17 Oct. 1893.
26. Ontario, Ministry of Natural Resources, Survey Records Office, Map S16-10, by W. Bell, OLS, 28 Feb. 1881; and Map R25-27 by J.F. Whitson, OLS, 1 Dec. 1903.
27. "Sturgeon Falls Pulp Company Agreement; 6 Oct. 1898", *Ontario Sessional Papers 1898-99*, No. 74.
28. Coleman, "Copper and Iron Regions of Ontario", *OBM, 1900*, p. 174.

secured the establishment of the first National Park at Banff Springs in the Rocky Mountains. Emphasizing commercial and private recreation for the well-to-do under government supervision, the Park also had a forest reservation aspect; supervised lumbering would take place.[29] In Eastern Canada, lands and forests were provincial matters and, in contrast to American practice, lumbering took place primarily under licence on crown land, not private land. As far as forestry was concerned, provincial parks and forest reserves would thus have a differing function from those in the United States. In 1883 Ontario had established the office of Clerk of Forestry within the Department of Agriculture, but with primarily educational functions. Two years later, the province instituted a Fire Ranger system, under the direction of Aubrey White, to operate on easily accessible licenced and unlicenced crown lands. Following the *Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and a National Park,* Ontario established in 1893 the 1,733 square mile Algonquin Park as a "public park and forest reservation, fish and game reserve, health resort and pleasure ground." Algonquin's primary purpose was watershed protection, to preserve year around water flow for downstream lumbering and power developments. Much of the Park was under pine licence and much had already been cut over. Lumbering of mature pine trees under government supervision would continue. Agriculture would be banned. From the beginning it was seen as a multiple use area, not simply a pine forest reserve.[30]

Although it was not uncommon for popular writers to associate Algonquin Park with the later Forest Reserve system and even to view Algonquin as the first reserve, experienced observers generally distinguished between the two concepts: the parks emphasized watershed management, game preservation and recreation, while Forest Reserves were expected to ensure the perpetual use by the forest industry of successive crops of white pine timber.[31] In 1895 Thomas Southworth, a vigorous advocate of Forest Reserves, became Clerk of Forestry. In northern Ontario, Southworth saw "a section of heavily wooded country, differing in many respects from the fertile region of southern Ontario." Large parts of this area were unsuitable for agriculture, but "excellently suited for the production of successive growths of timber", a process which could be facilitated if the principles of natural regeneration were properly understood and applied. "Where pine has been removed, and no fire has taken place, it is invariably succeeded by its own kind, and not until the land has been twice burned over is so exterminated as to give place to the second growth of inferior species." To provide for long-

29. Robert Craig Brown, "The Doctrine of Usefulness: Natural Resources and National Park Policy in Canada, 1887-1914", *Canadian Parks in Perspective,* J.G. Nelson, ed., (Montreal, 1970), pp. 46-62.

30. Ontario, 56 Victoria (1893), cap. 8. See Lambert and Pross, pp. 10, 78, 167-73, and 277-81; and Audrey Saunders, *Algonquin Story* (Toronto, reprinted 1963).

31. James Dickson, "A Glimpse at Ontario's Forest Reservations", *Rod and Gun,* VII (June 1905), pp. 33-40; Department of Lands and Forests, *Woods and Forests Report Book IV,* p. 102, "Memorandum for the Honourable the Commissioner of Crown Lands", 7 Jan. 1901; and James E. Defebaugh, *History of the Lumber Industry of America* (Chicago, 1896), pp. 75, 190.

term future forestry operations in Ontario, the Clerk of Forestry recommended that "certain sections not adapted for cultivation should be reserved from settlement."[32]

Southworth's campaign for a Forest Reserve system found allies in the ranks of Ottawa Valley lumbermen who had come to regard pine reservation as one valuable goal in their struggle "to bring about economic certainty and predictability which would ensure what they considered a sane, progressive and impressive expansion of industrial facilities."[33] This combination of advocates contributed to the formation of a Royal Commission on Forestry Protection in Ontario and the passing of the Forest Reserves Act, even before the Commission's final report appeared.

"For the purposes of future timber supplies", crown lands could now be set aside and put under regulated management. Simultaneously, the province thought it had ensured a perpetual source of public income and lumbermen were pleased.[34] The Bureau of Forestry hailed the Act as "the initial step in preparing for a rational system of forestry", "the inauguration of a scientific forestry system in Ontario."[35]

In April, 1899, and February, 1900, the Eastern Forest Reserve, comprising eighty thousand acres in Frontenac and Addington and the forty-five thousand acre Sibley Reserve north of Lake Superior were established. Both districts had been lumbered and subsequently burnt over before the emergence of a new growth of young pine.[36] Because so much of Ontario's pineland was already under licence to lumbermen, provincial officials were anxious to incorporate Temagami into the Forest Reserve system before vested interests became established in the area. Though lumber and pulp limits bordered the Temagami country, it was still possible to identify "many million feet of white and red pine among which the axe of the lumberman has not yet been heard." The creation of a Forest Reserve would also forestall the uncontrolled movement of an anticipated influx of casual summer visitors whose presence, if unregulated, would naturally lead to pressure on the land for "truck farming, for summer residences and for speculation."[37]

On the recommendation of the Director of Forestry, 1,400,000 acres of unlicenced pine land surrounding Lake Temagami, "the largest body of pine timber in Ontario still in the hands of the Crown", was set aside in 1901 as Ontario's first major Forest Reserve. Forestry spokesmen expressed satisfaction that the region had been saved from a common pattern of squatting, settlement and destruction by fire.[38] "This is one of the finest timber districts of the Province", said the

32. Clerk of Forestry, *Annual Report, 1896,* pp. 22-33.
33. Gillis, "The Ottawa Lumber Barons", pp. 17, 20.
34. Nelles, *Politics of Development*, p. 205.
35. Forestry, *Annual Report, 1899,* pp. 6-9.
36. Forestry, *Annual Report, 1900-1901,* p. 6.
37. *Woods and Forests Report Book IV,* p. 102, "Re Forest Reserves", 27 Nov. 1900.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 102, "Memorandum for the Honourable Commissioner of Crown Lands", 7 Jan. 1901; Forestry, *Annual Report, 1900-1901,* p. 6.

Globe, "having an abundance of white and red pine in virgin forest. The regard thus shown for the future supply of timber in Ontario shows a broad view of public duty."[39] Two years later, in response to new pressures from prospecting and the ever increasing popularity of fishing, hunting and canoeing in northern Ontario, a major boundary extension was considered necessary to protect more timber. The prospectors' behaviour presumably could be satisfactorily regulated through the existing licencing system, while canoeists travelling up the Montreal River to the territory west of the original boundary would be under the supervision of rangers. "Whether they go because of the excellent fishing and small game and shooting, or to get beyond the territory patrolled by the rangers in order to indulge in the shooting of big game out of season, is a question,"[40] The Forest was thus extended northwestward to the Mattagami River and northward across the James Bay Arctic watershed. The 3,700 square mile addition raised Temagami's total area to 5,900 square miles,[41] three times the size of Algonquin Park.

Although free from pine licences, the Forest was not without encumbrances of which senior officials were well aware. By an earlier agreement, the Sturgeon Falls Pulp and Paper Company had the right to cut spruce, poplar, tamarack, jackpine and hardwoods over six inches in diameter. Debris left from the pulpwood operation was expected to increase the fire hazard in the Forest. A total of 1,850 square miles of the 3,700 square mile extension was covered by pulp concessions held by the Sturgeon Falls operation together with the Spanish River Pulp Company and the Montreal River Pulp Company.[42] In addition to the pulpwood concessions, Indian claims, mining prospects and tourism, three railways—the Nipissing and James Bay Railway, the James Bay Railway, and the Temagami Railway—had charter rights through the Forest, and the James Bay line was eligible for a land grant of 5,000 acres per mile.[43] Thus, a combination of external forces and established residents of the Temagami Forest presented a serious practical challenge to concepts of forest management.

Forest protection, especially fire prevention, was crucial to the success of the Reserves programme, and a small ranging staff served in Temagami during the summer of 1901. Regulations introduced in 1902 represented a more comprehensive attempt to control activity within the Forest Reserves and to safeguard the timber resources. Access and travel within Reserves became subject to the supervision and control of rangers, while strict guidelines regarding the use of fire were laid out. Prospectors were brought under a new fee permit system, and mining operations were subject to approval by the Commissioner of Crown Lands. The roasting of sulphurous ores and other processes potentially harmful to young pine were prohibited; regulations governing railway smokestack and

39. *The Globe* (Toronto), 20 Feb. 1901.
40. PAO, Prime Ministers' Papers, Orders-in-Council, RG3, O.C.49/4, 16 Dec. 1903.
41. Forestry, *Annual Report, 1904,* p. 12.
42. PAO, RG3, O.C. 49/4, 16 Dec. 1903.
43. *Woods and Forests Report Book No. IV*, p. 102, "Memorandum for the Honourable the Commissioner of Crown Lands", 7 Jan. 1901.

furnace screens were also brought into effect.[44] As the ranger system within the Forest Reserves was steadily expanded, Temagami received a disproportionate increase in staff. Widespread supervision was designed to offset the serious fire threat resulting from TNOR construction and the later prospecting boom in the Montreal River district. In 1908, seventy of 111 rangers in the Forest Reserves were at work in Temagami; by 1913, 137 men under a chief ranger and three assistants protected the Temagami pine. The large Nipigon Reserve, better known for its pulpwood holdings, was supervised by a staff of only twenty.[45]

More serious management questions remained unresolved; in particular, what cutting procedures would be applied in the pine reserve? This obviously central issue was not officially discussed in the original Forest Reserve Act of 1898 or in the 1902 Regulations. The Act referred to the importance of "future timber supplies", and officials anticipated "perpetual use". How was this to be achieved? Aubrey White, Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, noted that some Temagami pine was already mature, and suggested cutting practices which would amount to "some new departure":

> If we could go further and provide for a close supervision of the cutting, a system of disposal by which we shall be able to prevent the cutting of trees below a certain diameter and some provision for the disposal of the debris left after the cutting of the timber which will lessen the danger from fire, we may make this region perhaps the most valuable asset of the Province and a permanent perennial source of revenue.[46]

The matter of "disposition" had still not been settled when the extension of 1903 brought in additional pine, some of which had "attained its full growth".[47] For the Ottawa lumbermen, no real grounds for confusion existed: the principal object of the Forest Reserve system was to provide a secure renewable timber supply for the use of the major private lumber operators. One senior lumberman made this perfectly clear to Premier Ross when he suggested that Temagami's boundaries might be modified to include adjoining licenced land for additional protection. "I cannot see that there could be any possible objection to the inclusion of this licenced territory, inasmuch as it is utterly valueless for settlement, and should be kept as a forest reserve."[48]

But the situation was not so clear cut to other observers. *Rod and Gun* hailed the Temagami Reserve which was free of licences as providing the government with "an opportunity of dealing with the timber as may seem to it wise without being hampered by any vested or other interests", although acceptable alternative management programmes were not easily identified: "The timber cannot be

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44. PAO, RG3, O.C. 46/160, 15 Dec. 1902.
45. Lands, Forests and Mines, *Annual Report 1908,* Appendix 46 "The Forest Resources of Ontario", by Aubrey White, p. 134; *Annual Report, 1913,* p. xiii.
46. *Woods and Forests Report Book No. IV,* p. 102, "Memorandum for the Honourable the Commissioner of Crown Lands", 7 Jan. 1901.
47. PAO, RG3, O.C. 49/4, 16 Dec. 1903.
48. PAC, Bronson Papers, Letterbook 1903-1909, pp. 149-51, Bronson to G.W. Ross, 14 Dec. 1903.

allowed to remain useless and be left to die of old age. Such a policy of masterly inactivity would be more utterly unprogressive than any system of license could be." The editorial proposed a careful forest survey followed by government-supervised cutting and urged the Canadian Forestry Association and the general public to accept this proposal whose success "would have an important bearing on the whole future of forest administration in Canada."[49]

But still no progress was made. E.J. Davis, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, later reported that the cutting policy being formulated in 1904 would be based on decisions made by experienced government men, who would designate trees for cutting so as to reduce the threat of fire and permit the continued growth of underdeveloped wood.[50] Yet two years later, speculation continued about the possible nature of Ontario's Forest Reserve cutting regulations. Perhaps the German model would be adopted in which only one-twentieth of a company's timber limit could be cut each year and an equal proportion replanted. With perpetual leases, the timber licensees might agree to such a policy on condition that the settlers would be excluded.[51] In 1908, when legislation authorizing the public sale of mature and fire damaged timber within the Reserves finally emerged from the Whitney government, it remained subject to still unclarified regulations.[52]

III

With the exception of the classic Kirkwood and Murphy commentary[53] on the underdeveloped lands of northern Ontario, little interest had been shown in the region beyond Lake Nipissing before 1883 when the construction of the CPR revealed the extensive mineral deposits of the Sudbury Basin. Railway proposals soon appeared for new lines to tap the northland, even to the James Bay shore. One of these, the Nipissing and James Bay Railway, was chartered in 1884 to run initially from North Bay to Lake Temiskaming *via* Temagami's North-east Arm. For financial reasons and because of internal disunity, the line was never built, although control of the Company passed from the Grand Trunk Railway to Mackenzie and Mann, whose own James Bay Railway further west (soon the CNOR) rivalled the Nipissing plan.[54] These lines and other ambitious northern transportation schemes served, along with government reports and the agitation of a handful of northern residents, to draw public attention to the potential of the new region. In the face of the repeated failure of private capital to undertake the

49. "Lake Temagami Reserve", *Rod and Gun,* II (Feb. 1901), p. 454. The "Forestry" section of *Rod and Gun* was regarded, at this time and until December 1904, as "the official organ of the Canadian Forestry Association."
50. *Globe,* 19 Feb. 1904.
51. J.B. Miller, "Forestry from the Lumberman's Standpoint", *The Canadian Lumberman,* Feb. 1906.
52. 8 Edward VII (1908) cap. 20, "An Act to Amend the Forest Reserves Act".
53. A. Kirkwood and J.J. Murphy, *The Undeveloped Lands of Northern and Western Ontario* (Toronto, 1878).
54. PAO, Irving Papers, "Temiskaming Claims File".

construction of a rail line to Temiskaming, the Ross government eventually decided to proceed with the project as a provincial enterprise. Frank Latchford, Commissioner of Public Works, explicitly presented the likelihood of mineral discoveries as a reason for pursuing the building programme and, on the basis of widely available information, there can be little doubt that northeastern Ontario's promising resources were familiar to the cabinet.

The Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway fulfilled the expectations of its advocates, especially with the Cobalt silver revelations of late 1903 and the ensuing mineral boom. Temagami had not been overlooked in the Railway's planning; its tourist prospects and "very promising" mineral indications were well known to the engineering staff.[55] The line had a profound impact on the Temagami district. Its passage by the tip of Lake Temagami's North-east Arm and the commencement of regular service in early 1905 led to the establishment of a little village at that spot. The Railway also facilitated the incursion of a new wave of tourists and prospectors. It also represented a major triumph of Toronto interests over the aspirations of Ottawa business leaders. Furthermore, within ten years, Mackenzie and Mann's Canadian Northern Ontario Railway advanced to the northwest from Capreol, the temporary terminus of their line from Toronto, to cut through the southwest corner of the Forest. These two bands of steel thus enclosed the Temagami pine lands.

Of the new forces introduced to the northland with the completion of the TNOR, the one with the most immediate visible impact on Lake Temagami itself was unquestionably tourism or recreation. Temagami's scenic attractiveness guaranteed its emotional appeal to certain elements of the urban population seeking contact with nature,[56] while the region's new accessibility stimulated vigorous commercial promotion of Temagami holidays. *Timagaming: A Glimpse of the Algonquin Paradise,* issued annually by the CPR after 1899, projected a popular image of Temagami as a region of clear cool air with enchanting scenery and superb fishing and hunting which could be reached with only "moderate" expenditure.[57] Grand Trunk information offices in Chicago, New York, Boston and Pittsburgh offered details on Temagami holidays which were said to be in easy reach of major American cities.[58] Travel times to Temagami in 1906 were reported as follows: from Boston, thirty hours; from New York or Chicago, twenty-four hours; from Buffalo or Detroit, fifteen hours; and from Toronto, ten hours.[59] In the same year, the TNOR arranged direct connections with Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific trains arriving and departing North Bay, at least partly in response to the heavy volume of Temagami tourist traffic during the

55. PAC, Latchford Papers, W.B. Russell (Engineer) to A.W. Campbell (Deputy Commissioner of Public Works), 26 Feb. 1902.
56. Some features of the turn-of-the-century appeal of nature are discussed in George Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893-1914", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, XI (Aug. 1976), pp. 21-36.
57. *Timagaming,* p. 3.
58. Advertisement, *Rod and Gun*, VIII (June 1906).
59. *Smiley's Canadian Summer Resort Guide, 1906,* p. 59.

previous season.[60] The TNOR recognized the tourist appeal of Temagami with an expanded modernized station and restaurant services. North and southbound trains stopped for twenty minutes at the village.[61]

An increasingly diversified array of services developed to meet the needs of summer visitors whose recreational interests varied considerably, even though some observers suggested a compromise position between wilderness and domesticity. "Temagami combines the comfort of home with the freedom of the absolute wilderness."[62] Dan O'Connor had already hauled Temagami's first steamer, the *Marie*, overland from Temiskaming and was operating a small outfitting service when, in 1904, he launched the Temagami Steamboat and Hotel Company.

With O'Connor as manager and financial backing from W.G. Gooderham[63] and Alex and David Faskin, the Company established in the village, the Ronnoco, Temagami's first resort hotel. Almost immediately the company added the Temagami Inn and the Lady Evelyn Hotel. The extraordinary, pine-log Temagami Inn and the large, cedar-fronted Lady Evelyn provided deluxe accommodation and were among the most prestigious North American resorts of their day. Both hotels were on secluded pine islands, the Temagami Inn near the centre of the lake and the Lady Evelyn Hotel far up the North Arm, thirty miles from the station. They were reached by steamer, which after 1908 normally meant a cruise on the locally constructed, large and stately *Belle*.[64] *The Canadian Summer Resort Guide* for 1906 remarked of the Temagami hotels in general that they "are not the result of a slow gradual growth, but prepared for the best class of guests, with every regard for their comfort and convenience."[65] The three hotels could accommodate over five hundred guests at daily rates of $2.50-$3.50 per person, amongst the highest in the province at that time.[66]

Less elaborate accommodation was also available. A New York clergyman vacationing at Indian-owned Friday's Lodge reported: "Our luggage was speedily transferred, and we were soon in possession of our quarters, a spacious tent, its floor strewn with pungent branches of balsam, and fragrant with its aromatic odour—a charming invitation to a dreamless sleep."[67] John Turner and his wife operated the modest Wisini Wigwam or Lakeview House on Bear Island, and

60. TNOR, *AR, 1906,* p. 41; "Tourists in Ontario", *Rod and Gun,* VII (Sept. 1905), p. 414.
61. TNOR, *AR, 1905,* p. 13; *AR, 1906,* pp. 31-2.
62. Matthew Parkinson, "Lake Temagami; a Northern Ontario Playground", *Canadian Magazine,* June 1914, p. 169.
63. William George Gooderham, b. 1853, was the grandson of the founder of Gooderham and Worts and eventually served as the firm's president. H.J. Morgan, *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time,* 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1912), p. 453.
64. Cap. E.T. Guppy, "Many Boat Lines have served Temagami Lake", in J.C. Elliott, ed., *Temagami Centennial Booklet* (Temagami, 1967).
65. *Smiley's Canadian Summer Resort Guide, 1906,* p. 63.
66. *Ibid.,* p. 135.
67. "Peerless Temagami: An Ideal Holiday in the New North", *Globe,* 8 April 1905.

before World War I Wabikon opened on Temagami Island to cater primarily to young, middle-income vacationers.[68]

With an estimated two thousand visitors in the immediate area of Lake Temagami during the peak of the 1905 season, accommodation was at a premium; travellers were urged to make reservations to avoid disappointment.[69] In addition to families and sportsmen, Temagami resorts were regularly visited by organized groups and tours.[70] To the Cobalt *Daily Nugget*, Temagami's unique potential became an important regional asset, a resource of great economic significance to northeastern Ontario. "Every resident of this north country", the paper urged, "should be an unofficial advertising agent for Temagami. They should spare no pains to make new friends for this resort. . . . Temagami could take care of sufficient tourists to bring the receipts up into the millions and this would be a tremendous good to the country." The *Nugget* also supported the Cobalt Board of Trade in its efforts to hold onto the valuable Temagami market as a convenient outlet for dairy products and greenstuffs from the local Clay Belt.[71]

Temagami scenery, in addition to its commercial attractions, satisfied the aspirations of the growing number of people wanting cottages.[72] Temagami islands were seen to "outrival those of the far-famed St. Lawrence in their number and variety."[73] Their availability for cottage sites became the subject of public commentary[74] and of acrimonious legislative debate between Dr. Beatty Nesbitt and Commissioner Davis. Nesbitt pressed the Minister for assurance that the coveted island properties would be leased rather than sold, in order to avoid possible speculation. Davis, then awaiting the results of a survey which was conducted early in 1904, was reluctant to have the Department's hands tied by a premature commitment.[75] A Temagami islands leasing policy did not finally appear

68. *Temagami Experience*, I, 2 (2 Aug. 1976), article by Isabel LeDuc and reprint from *Temiskaming Speaker*, 24 March 1976.
69. "Tourists in Ontario", *Rod and Gun*, VII (Sept. 1905), p. 414; L.O. Armstrong, "Visiting the Temagami Region", *Rod and Gun*, VII (Sept. 1905), p. 420; and "Canadian Summer Resorts", *Rod and Gun*, VIII (June 1906), p. 23.
70. See, for example, Richard H. Little, "Chicago Authors in Temagami", *Rod and Gun*, IX (Dec. 1907), pp. 634-41; PAO, Pamphlet Collection, 1907, No. 34, *Ontario Meeting of the American Institute of Mining Engineers and their trip to Cobalt, Sudbury and Moose Mountain*; "Associated Ontario Boards of Trade Visit to Temagami", *The Daily Nugget* (Cobalt), 19 Aug. 1912; Gowganda Mining Museum, photo collection, "Ridley College tour to Temagami, Aug. 10, 1913"; and A.A. Gard, *North Bay; the Gateway to Silverland* (Toronto, 1909), p. 72.
71. *Daily Nugget*, 2, 20 and 31 May 1912.
72. Aspects of Ontario cottage development are discussed in Roy I. Wolfe "The Summer Resorts of Ontario in the Nineteenth Century", *Ontario History*, LIV (1962), pp. 149-60; and Geoffrey Wall "Recreational Land Use in Muskoka", *Ontario Geographer*, XI (1977), pp. 11-28.
73. Wadsworth, "With Rifle and Rod", p. 151.
74. *Canadian Summer Resort Guide, 1904*, p. 64; "The Ontario Government and the Lake Temagami Islands", *Rod and Gun*, VII (June 1905), p. 406.
75. *Globe*, 19 Feb. 1904 and 19 March 1904.

until 1905 when it was introduced by Frank Cochrane, Davis' Conservative successor in the new Whitney government.

Twenty-one year leases, at a base rate of twenty dollars for the first half acre or less and three dollars for each additional acre or part acre, became available on a one-per-person basis. The Minister could call for tenders for a lump sum cash bonus for any island over and above the yearly rental, and the island would be awarded for the largest bonus offered. The same general regulations governing the Temagami Forest Reserve were applied to the islands, although cutting restrictions and a debris disposal clause were added. Islands over five acres in size were retained by the Crown because of their timber potential and their suitability for public camp grounds.[76] To protect the Temagami landscape, the government in 1912 withdrew the islands from further prospecting.[77] Elsewhere, in contrast, the government generously disposed of islands suitable for cottages at only ten dollars per acre.[78] Thirty-four Temagami leases were authorized in 1906, twenty-one of them held by Americans.[79]

Urban residents of the great American and Canadian cities were drawn to Temagami as a refuge from occupational pressures or a deteriorating environment. "Here the brain fagged, nerve-racked denizens of our great cities may find rest, real rest, from the clash and clang, the hurry and worry of the ten months' grind in the treadmill of business life."[80] The Temagami region's wilderness travellers—canoeists, fishermen and hunters—were attracted by the undisturbed character of the landscape, the absence of civilization and industry. For some of these people, the Muskoka and Kawartha districts were already overcrowded.[81]

One of the first summer residents of Lake Temagami was A.L. Cochrane, since 1893 physical training instructor of Upper Canada College. In 1903, after three summers of canoe tripping in Muskoka with boys from the College, Cochrane travelled *via* the Matabitchewan to Lake Temagami where in the South Arm he found two islands to his particular liking. There, over the next few years and under the patronage of George R. Parkin, he established Camp Temagami, Canada's first residential private youth camp. Cochrane's Camp was dedicated to character building through vigorous outdoor living and wilderness appreciation.[82] But American campers were on the lake first. Gregg Clarke, a Harvard graduate

76. PAO, RG3, O.C. 53/156, 12 Aug. 1905.
77. *Rod and Gun,* VIII (Feb. 1912), p. 1112.
78. Ontario, Department of Lands, Forests and Mines, *Information re Sale and Location of Public Lands* (Toronto, 1907), pp. 13-4. Further information on the evolution of resort land policy in Ontario is found in PAO, RG3, O.C. 120/63, 29 May 1922.
79. PAO, Provincial Secretary's Papers, Temagami Island Lease Books.
80. Matthew Parkinson, "Lake Temagami", p. 167.
81. Frank Yeigh, "Touring in Temagami Land", *Rod and Gun*, VIII (Oct. 1906), pp. 324-7; O.E. Fisher, "Canoe Cruises in Canadian Reserves", *Forest and Stream*, 24 Sept. 1910, p. 506; "The 'Bobs' on Temagami", *Rod and Gun,* VII (Sept. 1905), p. 425.
82. Garrett Williamson, "At 80 Originator of Boys Camps Still Does 'Monte Cristo' Dive", *Saturday Night*, 5 July 1949; and Trent University Archives, Ontario Camping Association Papers, *Camp Temagami, 1905* (brochure).

who taught at the Gunnery School, established in 1893 what soon became Keewaydin, a boy's canoe-tripping camp based in northern Maine. In 1902, worried about lumbering activities in Maine, Clarke and his two canoeing companions were so impressed by their first view of Temagami that they decided to relocate. The next year, on Devil's Island in the North Arm, they established Keewaydin, which by 1904 had sixty-six campers and staff. It was dedicated to quality wilderness canoe tripping.[83]

Temagami guides—primarily Indians who worked around the lodges and youth camps—were brought under licensing regulations in 1902. Their behaviour subsequently became a matter of concern to the government officials. In 1906 a fixed salary level was proposed in order that the guides would have no incentive "to desert the party they first engaged with and leave him helpless to get about" if someone else should offer a higher rate of pay.[84]

Extensive recreational use of the Temagami district had been predicted from the 1890's onward. Nonetheless, many of the tensions between recreation and other uses of the Forest had not been fully anticipated. Recreational canoeists encountered pulpwood cutting along the Sturgeon valley and remarked upon its impact.[85] Conversely, forestry officials regarded the influx of campers as a serious threat to the valuable pine. Several fires were attributed to careless tourists and the ranger staff strove diligently to impress upon groups of hunters, fishermen and campers the nature of the fire hazard.[86]

Summer visitors, including camping parties and fishermen, placed their own claims upon the landscape. They expected that it would remain unaltered by man and productive of wildlife, especially members of the "finny tribe". Not surprisingly, criticism developed immediately when G.E. Silvester, the Sudbury surveyor, saw no serious objections to the Sturgeon Falls Pulp Company's damming of Temagami's two outlets, when he reported on the situation to the Ontario Commissioner of Crown Lands in 1900.[87] Shoreline flooding, fish damage, and an increased insect population could be anticipated, one opponent of the dams asserted. Archibald Campbell argued that, just across the border in Quebec, Lac Kipawa had already been disfigured by lumbermen's dam building. The sensitive bass, he continued, "within a few years . . . will have wholly disappeared . . . as they will be either unwilling or unable to find new spawning grounds after the old ones have been rendered unavailable by reason of their unnatural flooding."[88] Somewhat provocatively, *Rod and Gun* set out a similar

83. Abbott T. Fenn, *The Story of Keewaydin: 50 Years at Dunmore, 1910-1959* (n.p., 1959), pp. 1-8; and Keewaydin Records, Temagami, Log of 1902 Canoe Trip.
84. PAO, RG3, O.C. 46/160, 15 Dec. 1902; *Woods and Forests Report Book III*, p. 248.
85. G.W. Creelman, "From Temagami to Wanapitei—A Useful Log", *Rod and Gun* VI (March 1905), p. 548.
86. Ontario, Department of Lands, Forests and Mines, *Annual Report, 1909*, p. x.
87. PAC, Robert Bell Papers, G.E. Silvester, "Report re Lake Temagaming and Cross Lake", 24 Feb. 1900.
88. *Ibid.*, Archibald M. Campbell to Ontario Commissioner of Crown Lands, 26 March 1900.

challenge: "Any raising of the level of those lakes which would destroy the trees along their edges and thus render them not only unsightly but exceedingly repellant to any person who had to effect a landing on their shores, should be strongly opposed."[89] Ten years later, a new shoreline flooding controversy arising on Lady Evelyn Lake provoked a comparable dispute.[90] By 1914, to recognize the new uses of the Forest, the Associated Boards of Trade of Ontario recommended in a meeting with Acting Premier J.J. Foy that a game reserve and provincial park should be established in the Temagami district.[91]

The sudden and dramatic impact of major mining activity within the confines of the Forest also severely challenged the paramountcy of pine. This activity was basically an offshot from the spectacular Cobalt silver boom. Once that camp got down to mining stable ore bodies on established claims, a great wave of eager prospectors was unleashed on the countryside to the west. Mining also developed from the earlier local finds and diggings, now made so much more valuable by the proximity of the TNOR and by the psychology of optimism following the Cobalt discoveries that made capital more readily available.

The unusual township block known as Gillies Limit experienced intense interest immediately following the Cobalt rush. Not yet within the Forest and long under timber licence, Gillies Limit lay by the lower Montreal River, straddling the rail line some fifteen miles north of Temagami Station, though its northern tip almost reached the outskirts of Cobalt itself. In August, 1905, James Whitney, the new Premier, closed the lands to prospecting for a year in order to allow the remaining pine to be cleared. The next spring, in the midst of enthusiasm for public hydro, Whitney made ambiguous statements implying plans for a publicly-owned mining operation in Gillies Limit that were received with great popular enthusiasm, even by Thomas Southworth. The province thus backed awkwardly into the mining business. Prospectors under contract were successful in finding some silver that summer and, by 1908, $12,500 worth of ore was sold. But the mine failed to expand and Whitney lost his nerve for this form of public enterprise. The mine was sold in 1909 at a great profit and parts of the lands auctioned off for sale at enormous prices. When other portions were opened for prospecting in 1912, there was a great new rush, but little silver was found.[92]

Within the Forest itself, the first major silver find occurred in August, 1906, near Maple Mountain, northwest of Lady Evelyn Lake. Several properties were developed and one operated by the White Reserve Mines went into production in 1908. Small steamers, portage roads and winter access roads were all constructed. Experiencing financial difficulties, the mine shut down in 1910, but it produced again with some success between 1920 and 1940.[93]

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89. "Lake Temagami Reserve", *Rod and Gun*, II (Feb. 1901), p. 454.
90. *Rod and Gun*, XIII (Nov. 1911), p, 736; XIII (Jan. 1912), p. 1000.
91. *Canadian Annual Review*, 1914, p. 355.
92. *OBM, 1907*, I, pp. 8-10; *1908*, I, p. 19; *1910*, I, pp. 40-5; Nelles, *Politics of Development*, pp. 160-6.
93. J.D. Ramsay, "The Maple Mountain Mining District of Ontario", *Canadian Mining*

The major silver rush into the Forest took place up the Montreal River and then west at GowGanda and Shining Tree. Restless perpetual prospectors like Tom Seville found Cobalt staked out and stagnant. In the fall of 1906, Seville found silver by a widening of the Montreal called Elk Lake, fifty miles upstream from the TNOR crossing at Latchford. But in 1907, a late spring and unusually wet summer hindered development, as staking spread west twenty-five miles over th craggy ridges, swamps and lakes toward Lake GowGanda on the Montreal's East Branch.[94] In the summer of 1907, Elk Lake had thirty-five huts on the Forest side and eighteen opposite on the left bank; 130 prospectors and miners attended a four-day Bureau of Mines School held there. By the next year Elk Lake was a proper village of two hundred inhabitants, really two villages, with hotels, stores, recorder's office and post office. That summer major silver finds were made north-west near Miller Lake and the rush intensified, with an overflow reaching GowGanda Lake where the Mann Brothers, Crawford and Dobie discoveries sent another rush to the west side of that lake. After rich GowGanda claims were recorded in September, 1908, at the Elk Lake office, the excitement became extreme.[95] Within two weeks canoeing prospectors had staked most of the land around GowGanda; that winter W.H. Collins for the Geological Survey reported, "Thousands of prospectors, regardless of deep snow and severe cold, are entering the country."[96] By the late spring of 1909, thousands of claims had been staked by hundreds of prospectors. Claims changed hands at exorbitant figures without any work first being done.[97] The *Report of the Bureau of Mines* expressed severe concern at the wild speculation but, before 1909 ended, seven thousand claims around GowGanda and two thousand more in the outlying area had been staked in less than two years.[98] In 1908 the Montreal Mining Division (in 1906 separated from the Temagami Division) recorded 626 new miners licences and 251 renewals. In 1909, with GowGanda made into a separate Division, the two offices recorded a combined total of 2,535 licences, 422 renewals, 5,637 claims, 1,442 certificates of record, and 461 certificates of work. In townships around GowGanda, seven-eighths of Milner, three-quarters of Van Hise, Hamilton, Nicol and Leith, and

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Journal, 1 Sept. 1909, p. 526; W.H. Collins, "Geology of Gowganda Mining Division", GSC, *Memoir 33* (1913), pp. 58 and 187; *OBM, 1909,* pp. 95, 128; *1910,* pp. 21, 49, 116; and Ontario Division of Mines, A.O. Sergiades, "Silver Cobalt Calcite Vein Deposits of Ontario", Mineral Resources Circular No. 10, 1968, p. 364.

94. H.P. Davis, *The Davis Handbook of the Porcupine Gold District* (New York, 1911), p. 123; W.H. Collins, "Gowganda Mining Division", GSC, *Memoir No. 33,* 1913, p. 7; A.G. Burrows, "The Gowganda & Miller Lakes Silver Area", *OBM, 1909,* II, p. 1. The Montreal upstream from Elk Lake proceeds northwest, forks before the Great Turn on the West Branch, and then ascends both southward and to the southwest.
95. W.H. Collins, *Preliminary Report on the Gowganda Mining Division,* GSC, No. 1075, 1909, p. 10; and *OBM, 1908*, I, p. 56.
96. Collins, "Gowganda Mining Division", p. 7.
97. N.R. Green, "Gowganda Ho!", "Temiskaming Speaker", 30 May 1957.
98. *OBM, 1909,* I, p. 95; and G.M. Colvocoresses, "Gowganda During 1911", *The Canadian Mining Journal*, 15 April 1912, p. 259.

high percentages of many more had been staked.[99] Clearly, throughout the upper Montreal, the pinery was not paramount; it was hardly even a high priority. Fires set by miners caused great damage. Yet by the summer of 1910 the silver rush was all over.

Although the expectations for GowGanda were equal to those of Cobalt, the camp was destined to be a poor second. The spectacular early discoveries led to hopes for a high grade camp. Instead, most of the silver was low grade, though frequently of considerable extent. Over-optimism lured the small scale operators and facilitated bankruptcies; the low grade realities favoured a few big operators.[100] Moreover, transportation into GowGanda was a severe problem. Elk Lake could readily be reached in summer, using steamers from Latchford between the three short river obstructions, and winter travel due west across basically Little Clay Belt country was quite easy. Indeed, a spur line of the TNOR was opened to Elk Lake from Charlton in 1913. But the twenty-five miles from Elk Lake to GowGanda presented horrendous problems for the transport of equipment and ore. Many individuals chose to come in from the west by canoe in summer and snowshoe in winter, all the way from various temporary rail heads of the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway. Although a winter road soon existed from Elk Lake to GowGanda, a very rough all-weather route was not opened until 1910 when the rush was over.[101]

Between 1908 and 1914 six mines in the Elk Lake area, including Mother Lode and Otisse, were actually producing silver. Around GowGanda there were fourteen more, of which Miller Lake-O'Brien and Reeves-Dobie were the most important.[102] In fact, while in 1910 Miller Lake-O'Brien produced slightly less than 20 per cent of the almost half-a-million ounces of silver in the GowGanda Division, by 1913 it was producing 94 per cent of the slightly more than half a million.[103]

The gold discoveries at West Shining Tree in the summer of 1911 almost emptied the GowGanda townships. The same summer a TNOR spur line reached South Porcupine, near a point where gold had been discovered in 1909 and was already being worked. The rich Porcupine-Timmins gold fields were just north of the far north-west wedge of the Forest, though in 1912, to make certain, the two northern-most townships were taken out of the Reserve.[104] The Porcupine was also north of the shield country and of the pinery. West Shining Tree, however, was well within the Forest, some thirty miles west of GowGanda. In 1896, E.M. Burwash, a geologist with Alex Niven's district boundary crew, had reported gold

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99. *OBM, 1909,* I, p. 16, and *1910,* I, p. 52.
100. G.M. Colvocoresses, "Present Developments at Gowganda", *Canadian Mining Journal,* 1 Oct. 1910, pp. 584-9.
101. TNOR, *Annual Report, 1913* (Toronto, 1914), p. 21.
102. A.O. Sergiades, "Silver Cobalt Calcite Vein Deposits of Ontario", Ontario Department of Mines & Mineral Resources Circular, No. 10, 1968, pp. 343-411.
103. *Ibid.,* p. 403; and A.G. Burrows, "Gowganda Silver Area", *OBM, 1920,* p. 77.
104. 2 George V (1912), cap. 6.

and iron in the area.[105] In 1909 Tom Seville made the first significant silver discovery in the new area, by Shining Tree Lake itself. Other claims followed. Work was undertaken, but over the next few years no significant amounts of silver were extracted.[106] Then, in August 1911, free gold was found on the Gosselin property by West Shining Tree Lake, a dozen or so miles west of Seville's silver claims. L. Jefferson made a similar discovery on Wasapika Lake, a few miles to the north-east. The area immediately became a gold camp with rampant claim staking and prospecting. By the autumn of 1912, five more discoveries, including one by Seville, had been made and considerable work accomplished. Yet when war forced a temporary closing of most marginal gold and silver operations, little ore had been extracted. Shining Tree had obtained a bad reputation for having a few rich surface deposits and inflated prices, but no revealed extensive ore bodies. Transportation difficulties at least rivalled those of GowGanda. The early prospectors arrived at West Shining Tree through the bush from GowGanda. Later arrivals generally travelled by diverse means and routes, all difficult, from the CNOR. In 1911 a summer pointer service operated part of the way, on the Opikinimika, and in 1912 a winter road was built from the railhead to West Shining Tree that eventually became, at least partway, a poor wagon road.[107]

Mining activities around the end of the North-east Arm of Lake Temagami itself and on Net Lake continued after 1901. Around 1903 Dan O'Connor sold some of his holdings to two of his backers, Laurier's Postmaster General, Sir William Mulock, and T.B. Caldwell of the Lanark milling and sawmill family, a cousin of W.C. Caldwell, Liberal MPP. They continued drilling work. Other O'Connor holdings were transferred to H.W. and W.J. Fleury.[108] Help and advice about the iron ranges were obtained from American and German interests. Work stopped with war in 1914.[109] The basic problem was that the ore required beneficiation and concentration and thus had to await the much later develop-

105. E.M. Burwash, "Geology of the Nipissing-Algoma Line", *OBM, 1896,* pp. 167-83.

106. Collins, "Gowganda Mining Division", p. 7, his "Montreal River District", GSC, *Summary Report for 1910* (Ottawa, 1911), pp. 197-201, and his "Geology of Onaping Sheet", *Summary Report for 1911* (Ottawa, 1912), p. 251; R.B. Stewart, "West Shining Tree Silver Area", *OBM, 1913,* pp. 190-93; and George B. Langford, "Shining Tree Silver Area", *OBM, 1927,* II, p. 95.

107. Collins, "Onaping Map Area", pp. 109, 14 and 246; R.B. Stewart, "Shining Tree Silver Area", *OBM, 1913;* "West Shining Tree Gold District", *OBM, 1912,* pp. 272 and 277, and his "West Shining Tree Gold Area", *OBM, 1913,* p. 235-6; W.R. Hodge, "West Shining Tree Gold District", *Engineering and Mining Journal,* 94 (24 Aug. 1912), pp. 343-5; W.H. Weed, "West Shining Tree Gold Prospects", *Engineering and Mining Journal Press,* 116 (14 July 1923), p. 69; and R.E. Hore, "Gold Deposits in MacMurchy and Churchill Townships", *Canadian Mining Journal,* 39 (15 Aug. 1918), p. 276.

108. *OBM, 1903,* p. 20; *1905,* pp. 26, 27, 87; "Iron Waited Many Years for Development to Come", *Nugget* (North Bay), 5 Sept. 1968; E.L. Jamieson, *Caldwells of Lanark* (1973), p. 9; and PAO, Caldwell Diaries, "Trip to Timagami", 31 July-19 Aug. 1903.

109. B.H. Bayum and R.C. Hartvikson, "General Geology and Ore-Grade Control at the Sherman Mine, Temagami, Ontario", *CIM Transactions,* 73 (1970), p. 1061.

ment of a pellatization process. O'Connor sold his Big Dan gold mispickle and iron pyrites property south of Net Lake to the Temagami Mining and Milling Company, which built a concentration mill by 1905 and had a spur line to its plant by 1907; it produced some ore but shut down in 1908.[110] The Little Dan, to the west of the main rail line, by Arsenic Lake, went to R.G. Leckie of Sudbury and was subsequently re-sold; by 1910 it had produced considerable mispickle ore for arsenic and some gold. The most consistent actual producer in the area was what became Leckie's iron pyrite mine, five miles north of the Big Dan at James Lake; the ore was processed in the south to obtain sulphuric acid, not iron.[111]

After Ontario set up the Temagami Forest dedicated to the production of pine, it had to face not only the growing demands of recreation and mining, but the long-ignored issue of the hundred or so Temagami Indians, their unsurrendered land rights and their lack of a Reserve. The Ontario government could not plead ignorance. The correspondence from Indian Affairs was voluminous and the chiefs articulate. In fact, in June, 1899, in preparation for establishing the Forest, a high-powered Ontario delegation had personally visited Lake Temagami by canoe, staying overnight at the Bear Island settlement and passing the next day by the encampment on WhiteBear Lake. The group included Commissioner of Crown Lands Gibson, Aubrey White and Thomas Southworth.[112] Yet now the Indians suddenly came to be regarded as squatters on their own lands, severely restricted and controlled in their life style by a provincial regime which they hardly recognized and which barely tolerated their presence except as convenient short-term government employees or guides for the many tourists. By 1911 Aubrey White was asking the Department of Indian Affairs "by what authority" did the Indians "claim the right to fish and shoot" in the Forest, especially when his officials had been treating them "in a very generous way?"[113] Between 1896 and 1905, White did not even reply to Indian Affairs on the subject of the Temagami Indians.

In 1905 the Band, the local Member of Parliament and others who saw the value of Temagami timber, all pressed the Assistant Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Frank Pedley, for action. Pedley facetiously wrote White, demanding action, "with further reference to my letter to you of 15th May 1896 regarding the Indian Reserve surveyed". Pedley, with hollow authority, declared that until the matter was settled, no timber could be cut in the large area proposed for the Indian Reserve or on Bear Island. White replied by enclosing a copy of Ontario's new regulation for leasing islands on the Lake.[114] Meanwhile, in 1905, a commission representing Canada and Ontario signed Treaty Nine with Indians

110. *OBM, 1907,* I, p. 74; and P.E. Hopkins, "Ontario Gold Deposits", *OBM, 1921,* II, p. 20.
111. *Ibid.; OBM, 1905,* pp. 73-4; *1906,* p. 88; and *1909,* I, p. 132-3.
112. *Temagami Post Journal,* 6 and 7 June 1899.
113. "Temagami File", White to J.P. McLean, 28 June 1911.
114. "Temagami File", Pedley to R.J. Watson, 25 Feb. 1905; J.T. Hanes to Pedley, 2 March 1905; Pedley to Hanes, 9 March 1905; Pedley to White, 9 March 1905; and "Regulations" (received 8 Aug. 1905).

north of the height-of-land. The Treaty contained Reserve provisions which made the Temagami situation even more anomalous. But, for the Temagami Indians, the TNOR ran south as well as north and, in 1906, a delegation from the Band travelled to Ottawa personally to press their claims for a south end Reserve and a treaty. Reluctantly they would settle for twenty-five square miles of land, down from the one hundred square mile area offered in 1885—and Indian Affairs officials thought that even less would ultimately be agreeable if it included Bear Island in the centre of the lake as well as Austin Bay.

But in Toronto, White remained absolutely intransigent. Led by Chiefs Tonené, Frank WhiteBear, William Pishabo and Aleck Paul, the Band formally petitioned Indian Affairs for action in 1907. Three years later another delegation journeyed to Ottawa. Despite renewed efforts by Ottawa, Ontario's resistance stiffened.[115] For the first time White now questioned the legitimacy of the Band, claiming that after setting up the Forest Ontario had merely "found some Indians and half-breeds residing" there and had allowed them to stay and even be employed. The essential aim was and had to remain the "preservation of the timber". An Indian Reserve of any size was absolutely impossible. Then the federal suggestion of a Reserve south of the Forest was also rejected as being on land with too much "valuable timber". Canada, White claimed, was listening to the wrong Indians—the chiefs; most Indians were content to be left unsettled, as they were, and "permitted" by Ontario "to roam about" the Forest. Citing concrete evidence, Canada totally rejected the notion of contentment.[116]

On the scene, beginning in 1905, Forestry officials restricted Indian trapping of beaver and otter, but also allowed non-Indians to trap under regulation. Ontario officials also controlled hunting and fishing. They then began restricting Indian building on Bear Island, despite the need for children to attend school there, demanding that Indians seek permission even to cut firewood, severely curtailing the cutting of timber for buildings and allowing Chief WhiteBear's settlement to be partly flooded by a large control and power dam on Rabbit Lake. When in 1912 White hinted that a small settlement in Austin Bay might be acceptable,[117] Indian Affairs and the Band thought it was a sign of movement. It was not. No Reserve could be permitted, only an informal settlement and then only if the Indians left Bear Island and stopped being "scattered" about the

115. "Temagami File", McLean to White, 18 Jan. 1906; "Plan of Islands in Lake Temagami", 1905, with "Reserve" outlined by hand; White to McLean, 25 Jan. 1906; Pedley to White, 6 Feb. 1906; George Cockburn to McLean, 12 March 1906 containing "Petition"; and McLean to Cockburn, 18 March 1907.

116. 'Temagami File", see, for example, White to S. Stewart, 20 Jan. 1910; McLean to White, 7 Feb., 30 May and 20 June 1910; White to McLean, 14 and 22 June 1910; McLean to Chief WhiteBear, 17 June 1910; Cockburn to McLean, 24 July 1911; and McLean to White, 26 July 1911.

117. "Temagami File", see above, plus WhiteBear to Dept., 21 May 1910; J. Bell (of British Canadian Power Co., Cobalt) to Dept., [summer] 1912; Chief John Paul to Pedley (autumn) 1912; McLean to White, 4 Oct. 1912; Memorandum of Pedley, 6 Nov. 1912; S. Bray to Pedley, 11 Nov. 1912; WhiteBear to Cockburn, 28 Jan. 1913; McLean to White, 7 Feb. 1913.

Forest. Chiefs WhiteBear and Aleck Paul and the Band were extremely frustrated, but they would not give in.[118]

Clearly neither the Band nor Canada's Indian Affairs were strong enough to force Ontario to yield from its formal and anachronistic commitment to the economic dominance of pine harvesting. But the Indians did not go away or assimilate. Like both wilderness and domesticated recreation and like mining and the pine forests, the native "Deep Water People" were a permanent part of the diverse Temagami experience. They would, in fact, achieve some fame. In 1906 they had welcomed, then mistrusted, and then accepted by marriage to a member of their Band, a strange young Englishman called Archie Belaney who lived and occasionally worked in their midst for most of six years.[119] Later, as Grey Owl, he would make famous his interpretation of their Ojibwa life and his interpretation of conservation. In 1913, the year after the restless Belaney left both his wife and child, a more reputable visitor came to Bear Island. He was Frank G. Speck, the American ethnographer. Speck spent some time on the Island, interviewing many members of the Band and coming to rely heavily for his academic argument on the testimony of second Chief Aleck Paul. A prolific writer, Speck articulated the long legitimacy of the Temagami people and their ways, described their family and clan groups, and asserted that the traditional family hunting territories of the Algonkian forest people had had great longevity and distinct boundaries, and had conferred on the family clans recognizable rights. Only the recent regulations of the provincial Forest and the infusion of outside trappers were challenging these rights.[120]

Ironically, in the short term, the pine lumbermen in whose interests the Temagami Reserve had ostensibly been established were most effectively excluded by the general forest management programme and the government's evident reluctance to determine cutting regulations. Perhaps Frank Cochrane was hesitant to open Temagami to a group of lumbermen amongst whom Liberal sympathies were strongly evident. Nonetheless, some pine lumbering took place from time to time in special circumstances. In 1905, a comprehensive wood (including pine) clearing programme, ultimately costing $120,000, was instituted along the line of the TNOR where it passed through the Forest; this was to reduce the likelihood of

118. "Temagami File", White to McLean, 22 Feb., 3 and 13 March 1913; D.C. Scott to Cockburn, 7 April 1914; WhiteBear to Cockburn, 19 July 1913 and 19 Jan. 1914; Cockburn to Scott, 26 June 1914; and Scott "Memorandum", 23 March 1915 regarding White's letter of 20 Dec. 1913.

119. Lovat Dickson, *Wilderness Man: the strange story of Grey Owl* (Toronto, 1973), pp. 50-84.

120. Frank G. Speck, *Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley* (Geological Survey *Memoir 70,* Ottawa, 1915); his *Myths and Folklore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timagami Ojibwa* (Geol. Survey *Memoir 71,* Ottawa, 1915); and his "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization", *American Anthropologist* NS 17 (1915), pp. 289-305. Many scholars argue that the "property" elements of the family hunting territories arose only with the fur trade.

fire, started by the railway, consuming extensive tracts of the valuable pinery.[121] The GowGanda silver rush forced the official opening of two blocks of timber to justify the erection of a saw mill needed to produce building supplies. The sale merely imposed a veneer of order on the behaviour of the irrepressible mining community where the first installation of the saw mill had preceded the authorization of cutting.[122]

The formal withdrawal of townships was an even more obvious indication of the retreat of forestry in the face of competitive mining interests. Ogden and Deloro, immediately south of Timmins, were taken out of the Forest in 1912, Mining lease holders there could apply for patents and credit any previous rental payments toward the purchase price of mining lands.[123]

In 1903, with the collapse of the Sault Ste. Marie Pulp and Paper Company, the small operation in Sturgeon Falls, which utilized Temagami pulpwood extensively, temporarily became Ontario's only active pulp mill.[124] The terms of the 1898 Sturgeon Falls Pulp Company Agreement had been modified and the company was now under the control of the London-financed Imperial Paper Mills of Canada.[125] Under optimistic new management, the pulp operation announced a programme of expansion designed to fulfill its agreement with the government and open up new prospects. Company officials predicted in 1904 that an enlarged mill producing 120 tons per day would require sixty thousand cords of pulpwood per annum rather than current consumption of eleven to twelve thousand cords. Interest was revived in the Temagami Railway Company's projected line from Sturgeon Falls to the southern shore of Lake Temagami to stimulate colonization, lumbering, tourism and mineral development in the district.[126] Later, as the Ontario Northern and Temagami Railway, this proposal was extended to include a southern link with Georgian Bay at the mouth of the French River.[127] No progress was ever made with the railway proposal and Imperial Paper Mills itself experienced financial strain. In addition, Imperial's operation was threatened in the winter of 1910-11 when the Cobalt Hydraulic Power Company obtained permission to divert Lake Temagami water northward, *via* the Lady Evelyn Lake and the Montreal River, in order to regularize power supplies for Cobalt mines. This was the same water which the Sturgeon Falls mills proposed to utilize in their pulp production. Imperial officials and the Board of

121. PAO, RG3, O.C. 53/243, 14 Aug. 1905; and PAO, PG8, 1-7-B-2, *OSP, 1908,* #65 (N.P.)
122. *Woods and Forests Report Book IV,* "Memorandum Re reduction in price to be paid for timber in Block B in the Temagami Forest Reserve", 23 March 1914, pp. 413-5; Collins, *Preliminary Report,* p. 11.
123. 2 Geo. V, (1912), cap. 6. "An Act to Amend the Forest Reserves Act".
124. Lambert and Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth*, p. 252.
125. "Sturgeon Falls Pulp Company Agreement, 6 Oct. 1898", *OSP 1898-99,* No. 74; "Sturgeon Falls Pulp Company Agreement, 15 Dec. 1901", *OSP 1902,* No. 67; "Re Sturgeon Falls Pulp Company Limited", *OSP 1903,* Nos. 78, 79.
126. PAO, RG3, Prime Ministers' Papers [Ross], Box 3, "Railways: Timagami Railway".
127. PAC, RG12, Transportation, vol. 1968, file 3506-37, "Ontario Northern and Temagami Railway".

Trade were alarmed. By spring, conditions had deteriorated. "I have now insufficient water at the mill to run the electric lights . . . a most unfortunate matter to occur just at the moment when we are about to place the mills on the market", the Imperial Paper Mills liquidator informed Frank Cochrane. This alarm moved the Deputy Minister, Temagami's Chief Ranger and the legal representative of the power company to restore the normal southward flow of Lake Temagami waters.[128]

IV

Ontario's forestry officials and the Ottawa Valley lumbermen were conservationists of their time. They wanted somehow to see the efficient, permanent, economic use of pine timber. They were certainly not wilderness preservationists nor environmentalists more typical of a later generation. They did not want the pine spared from the axe. They thought that they believed in a broad, differentiated and progressive land management scheme. They feared the inappropriate spread of agriculture. They believed that, in great northern pine lands, pine harvesting should be the sole or at least the paramount activity. They failed in Temagami, the keystone of the Forest Reserve system, though basically the pine, both mature and immature, still stood for future use. Agriculture was not and never had been a threat. It would seem, however, that the provincial government's commitment to scientific forestry, to permanent use and perpetual harvesting, was either non-existent or mere cant. No long range policy of any kind was formulated. With some important exceptions, arising mainly from pressure by the preservationists among the recreationists, the pine would eventually be cut with only a little more care than it was being cut in comparable licenced crown lands outside the Reserves.

In 1907, after moving to Ontario from the United States, Bernard Fernow became the head of the new Faculty of Forestry at the University of Toronto. He had reported that the establishment of the Temagami Forest and those of Mississauga, Nipigon, Quetico and others foretold of a clear commitment to a perpetual-use pinery across the province's middle or near-North, between the agricultural and cutover lands to the south and the spruce-strewn, agriculturally-rich Clay Belt to the north. But Fernow believed that, at least after the Conservatives had come to power in 1905, "forest management of the reserves failed to gain headway" and short term "fiscal interests alone" had been considered. For pine "the end of supply" was "clearly in sight"—twenty-five years at current rates of unscientific cutting.[129] Thus, for the Forest system led by Temagami, the future by 1914 was clearly in doubt.

Meanwhile, the Temagami country had not yet been severely ravaged. Multiple use with some concern for preservation had triumphed. The successful

128. The introduction of water power production facilities in Cobalt is discussed in the annual reports of the TNOR Commission. See *AR, 1909,* pp. 114-27; *AR, 1910,* p. 99; *AR, 1911,* pp. 185-6; PAO, RG8, I-7-B-2, 1913, no. 107, "Return of Correspondence Re Water Diversion . . . etc.".

129. Bernhard Fernow, "Forest Resources and Forestry", in *Canada and its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914), Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty, eds., XVIII, pp. 596-9.

opponents of the pine-cutting paramountcy had during their first years of the century been basically local, rather small, competing and counteracting interests. They ranged from the resident Indians and the GowGanda prospectors and miners to the youth camps and the tourist hotel operators. In 1914 all these interests remained intact, although the silver rush had clearly passed. The youth camps and tourist hotels would expand in the post-war years. For their part the Temagami Indians had not and would not give up their claims—not even in 1943 when federal authorities finally secured most of Bear Island from Ontario. Without a treaty, the "Tema-Augama Anishnabai" would remain at the centre of a strange little issue in Canadian federalism and in Canadian race relations.[130]

By 1914 and viewed from the Temagami hinterland and not the metropolis, the diverse influence of Toronto, politically and economically, had grown significantly. The influence of Ottawa, both as the seat of national government and the home of the great pine conservation lobby, had continued to decline. More importantly, the many competing local forces, including the summer recreationists, had triumphed over the pine exclusivists.

130. In 1973 the Temagami Indians initiated land claim proceedings which are still before the courts. They secured the placing of a Caution on all the crown land in 110 townships, and extent of territory somewhat similar to that of the 1903 Forest Reserve. See footnote number 3 above.

Résumé

En 1901, la région du Témagami devient la première réserve forestière de l'Ontario. Ce système de réserves, institué en 1898, désignait certaines régions comme devant servir uniquement à la coupe du bois et visait ainsi à assurer à la province la perpétuité de cette importante ressource.

Le programme n'eut toutefois pas les résultats escomptés. Dès le début, les Indiens habitant la contrée — en l'occurence, ici, celle du Témagami — opposèrent une résistance formelle au projet, et, cette attitude fut longuement maintenue; de plus, les politiques toujours à court terme des gouvernements au pouvoir allaient souvent à l'encontre des buts proposés en 1898; enfin, si lointaines que semblaient ces régions au moment de l'élaboration du système des réserves, les progrès assez impressionnants du début du siècle, qu'il s'agisse de ceux des chemins de fer, de la prospection, de la colonisation, ou encore, du tourisme, eurent tôt fait de rapprocher ces régions des grands centres, et, par le fait même, de compromettre les chances de succès de l'entreprise. De fait, de par la coïncidence de ces divers facteurs, la région du Témagami n'avait pas encore subit de dommages sérieux à l'approche de la première grande guerre.