The Impact of the Forest Products and Tourism Industries on the Development of the Bruce Peninsula, 1850-2019

Paul White, The University of Western Ontario

Supervisor: Fleming, Keith, The University of Western Ontario
: Krats, Peter V, The University of Western Ontario
: Dove, Michael, The University of Western Ontario

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in History
© Paul White 2020

Follow this and additional works at: https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd

Part of the Canadian History Commons

Recommended Citation
https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/7340

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholarship@Western. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository by an authorized administrator of Scholarship@Western. For more information, please contact wlswadmin@uwo.ca.
Abstract

This thesis demonstrates the role of the forest products and the tourism industries as drivers of the Bruce Peninsula’s economy. This was the last wilderness region of substantial size to be opened for settlement in southern Ontario. The relatively late arrival of settlers to the peninsula and its commercial development is paralleled in the limited attention historians have given to the region. Consequently, this thesis also attempts to fill the historiographical void in academic research of the Bruce Peninsula.

The forest products industry and settlers both arrived on the peninsula in the late 1850s. This relationship was marred by conflict as they both competed to establish their place in the region. In the end, neither won, the limited quality of arable land sent many settlers westward in search of a better future and ultimately the forest products industry ceased to be more than a cottage industry supplying firewood to campers and local residents.

This thesis explores how and why tourism on the Bruce Peninsula experienced a hesitant beginning, but in the end became a thriving economic driver for the region. Its remote location, limited travel access, and lack of capital necessary to establish a flourishing industry were all factors in this slow process. Finally, governmental assistance, a renewed interest in conservation, a demand for more recreation spaces, and the region’s unique natural and human history all came together to create a viable tourism industry that today sustains the Bruce Peninsula.
Lay Summary

This thesis demonstrates the role of the forest products and the tourism industries as drivers of the Bruce Peninsula’s economy. This was the last wilderness region of substantial size to be opened for settlement in southern Ontario. The relatively late arrival of settlers to the peninsula and its commercial development is paralleled in the limited attention historians have given to the region. Consequently, this thesis also attempts to fill the historiographical void in academic research of the Bruce Peninsula.

The forest products industry and settlers both arrived on the peninsula in the late 1850s. This relationship was marred by conflict as they both competed to establish their place in the region. In the end, neither won, the limited quality of arable land sent many settlers westward in search of a better future and ultimately the forest products industry ceased to be more than a cottage industry supplying firewood to campers and local residents.

This thesis explores how and why tourism on the Bruce Peninsula experienced a hesitant beginning, but in the end became a thriving economic driver for the region. Its remote location, limited travel access, and lack of capital necessary to establish a flourishing industry were all factors in this slow process. Finally, governmental assistance, a renewed interest in conservation, a demand for more recreation spaces, and the region’s unique natural and human history all came together to create a viable tourism industry that today sustains the Bruce Peninsula.
# Table of Contents

- Abstract ii
- Lay Summary iii
- Table of Contents iv
- Acknowledgements v
- Introduction 1
- Chapter One: Historiography 7
- Chapter Two: Settlement of the Bruce Peninsula 17
- Chapter Three: Lumbering on the Bruce Peninsula 27
- Chapter Four: Bruce Peninsula Tourism 59
- Conclusion 92
- Appendices 102
- Bibliography 131
- Curriculum Vitae 138
Acknowledgements

The process of researching and writing this thesis has not been a solo project. There are many people to thank for their assistance along this interesting research journey. First, and foremost, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Keith Fleming, whose patience, suggestions, and gentle prodding are responsible in large part to my becoming a better historian and making this thesis a much better academic product. I would also like to thank my other academic team members, Dr. Peter Krats, Dr. Michael Dove and Dr. Zack Taylor, who have all made valuable contributions to this effort. Thanks also to Laura Sagermann, Fathom Five National Marine Park, who provided access to valuable information concerning Parks Canada’s impact on the Bruce Peninsula; Mark Sprang, Archivist, Historical Collection of the Great Lakes, Bowling Green State University; the Ministry of Natural Resources Library and Archives staff, Peterborough; and the archivists at the Weldon Library Archives, University of Western Ontario. I have been graced with the friendship and encouragement of many people, but two friends have stood out, Sara Khorshid and Kara Brown, who encouraged me throughout the process. And finally, and certainly not the least, my wife, Judy Coates, who suggested that I return to school to complete a Master’s degree, and has supported me throughout the process with reading, editing, and most of all, encouragement. Thank you!

Postscript: I must also thank my grandmother Nellie Rowe, who infused a love of the Bruce Peninsula’s history through stories of her family who were the first settlers on the peninsula, arriving before the 1854 treaty was signed. Her enthusiasm for the region’s history without a doubt has impacted on my love of the Bruce Peninsula and its history.
Introduction

The Bruce Peninsula was the last wilderness region of substantial size to be opened for settlement in southern Ontario. The relatively late arrival of settlers to the peninsula and its commercial development is paralleled in the limited attention historians have given to the region. At almost the same time as settlers arrived in the 1860s, hoping to create an agricultural economy, commercial lumbering interests turned their attention to the forests of the peninsula. Despite efforts to facilitate settlement alongside lumbering, disputes between the competing interests often arose. Regardless of the antagonism between the two groups, there were also benefits for both. Lumbering attracted ancillary job-creating commercial enterprises such as sawmills, new or improved port facilities, shipping companies, and businesses supplying diverse commodities to forestry workers. Settlements to service these varied commercial and industrial requirements were usually established in conjunction with the erection of mills on the peninsula. These communities were often located adjacent to rivers and streams that could power the mills, or along the shoreline where natural harbours provided safe mooring for vessels transporting forest products.

This thesis, by tracing the influence of the forest products and tourism industries on the Bruce Peninsula from the mid-nineteenth century until 2019, fills a longstanding historiographic void. Beginning with the impact of the forest products industry, it examines various historical and geographical factors that impacted, both positively and negatively, development on the Bruce Peninsula. When the forest industry declined and largely ceased to influence the peninsula’s development, it was supplanted, albeit only gradually, by a focus on tourism that remains central to the Bruce Peninsula’s present-day economic wellbeing. Somewhat ironically,
tourism on the peninsula emerged in response to humans being drawn to a natural environment which the forest industry had done much to diminish.

Tourism’s rise in influence was slower and more fitful than smooth and successful. For at least half a century following the forest industry’s diminution to little more than a cottage industry serving a primarily local market on the Bruce Peninsula, the tourism industry struggled to flourish. Not until the 1950s and 1960s did sufficient influences align to enable tourism to establish a secure foundation in the region. And then it was the creation of two national parks, Fathom Five National Marine Park and Bruce Peninsula National Park, that solidified tourism as the driver of the region’s economy.

The history of the Bruce Peninsula is a unique southern Ontario story, as many of the influences on its development were more representative of the experiences of districts in northern Ontario. As will be shown, it was the growth of tourism based on such popular and increasingly accessible activities as shipwreck diving, camping, hiking, and exploring that the Bruce Peninsula’s unique natural setting offers that would restore and enhance the region’s economic prospects. For instance, in 1987, the federal government created Fathom Five National Marine Park and Bruce Peninsula National Park. As Appendix “L” illustrates, records from fiscal years 1990-91 show combined visitation of 212,694¹ for the two national parks. The records for fiscal years 2018-19 show that combined attendance for the two parks had grown to 744,035.² These significant attendance numbers suggest that the economy of the region has grown due to increasing numbers of visitors³ to the region. The impact of the increase in visitation is reflected

---

¹ Although the two parks had been in operation since 1987, Fathom Five National Marine Park did not have tabulated results until fiscal year, 1990-91.
² Parks Canada Attendance (Fiscal Years – April 1 -March 31), 1988-89 – 2018-19. See Appendix “L”
³ “Visitors are defined by Parks Canada as: “any individual who visits the park/site for the purpose of heritage appreciation during operating hours constitutes one-person visit. Persons re-entering on the same day, and/or
in the Stats Canada revenue statement for Fiscal Year 2017-2018\(^4\) which shows amount of money spent by Parks Canada on the two parks, $7,875,000, and by visitors to the parks, $121,486,000, for a total of $129,361,000 by 848,199 visitors. (See Appendix for breakdown of spending sources).\(^5\)

The Bruce Peninsula\(^6\) stretches south from Tobermory to the Lake Huron shoreline town of Southampton, now part of the town of Saugeen Shores, and the eastern boundary follows the Georgian Bay coast to the city of Owen Sound. Highway #21 connects the two southern points. The physical geography of the peninsula provided obstacles not only for settlers hoping to farm the region, but also for the implementation of lumbering activities. The Bruce Peninsula is an extension of the Niagara cuesta, which is part of the dolomite saucer that underlies the Michigan basin. The rock strata dips toward the west. The rise in the east “roughly coincides with the Niagara Escarpment which enters the district near Stoney Creek in Saltfleet Township, and runs northward toward Collingwood, later forming the east coast of the Bruce Peninsula.”\(^7\) The differences in the physical geography between the eastern and western sections of the peninsula produced diverse species of trees between the two distinct areas. Coniferous trees dominated the Lake Huron or western shore. These woodlands included spruce, cedar, and tamarack in the wetlands, while pines populated the sandy areas. On the eastern or Georgian Bay shoreline,

\(^4\) Stats Canada report for Fiscal Year 2018-2019 is not available.


\(^6\) See Appendix “K” for a map of the Bruce Peninsula

forests consisted mostly of deciduous trees, including maple, elm, oak, ash, and butternut. These hardwood trees were the raw resources that supported the creation of many furniture manufacturing industries in the southern reaches of the peninsula. Most of the “Bruce Peninsula consists of shallow soils over limestone bedrock, suitable for grazing and forestry,” but for the settlers bent on creating an agricultural income proved to be marginal at best for growing crops in commercially sustainable amounts.

Writing in 1952, former University of Western Ontario professor and president W. Sherwood Fox provided another perspective on the geography of the Bruce Peninsula. He suggested that one need not visit the peninsula to notice its impact on the Great Lakes region. Merely looking at a map would reveal:

it is a sword that has cleaved a body clean in twain: instead of one lake there are two. From another point of view, it is a spear piercing the very heart of the Great Lakes; yes, the heart, for the point of the blade lies almost halfway between the east end of Lake Ontario and the west end of Superior, very close indeed to the centre of the lake system’s channels of traffic and travel.

But, Fox continued, “in the eyes of sailors the same land mass may be just a formidable obstacle dropped most inconveniently across routes which would otherwise be short and easy.”

The thesis begins with the historiography of the region. An examination of the works of historians best-known for their research on the impact of natural resources exploitation on Canada’s pre- and post-Confederation economic development reveals a striking absence of references to the Bruce Peninsula’s forestry history. Similarly, a review of the historiography of

---

11 Fox, Bruce Beckons, xv.
12 These historians include, Harold Adams Innis, Donald Creighton, Arthur Lower, J.M.S. Careless, and H.V. Nelles
the tourism industry reveals not only a dearth of information about the Bruce Peninsula, but also
highlights how tourism in general did not attract much scholarly focus until the 1980s when
environmental issues rose to the fore in popularity. This chapter also includes references to
writings by local historians who have studied specific areas of the peninsula. In short, the
historiography reveals the relative lack of attention the Bruce Peninsula has received from
scholars, a shortcoming this thesis endeavors to correct in part.

The second chapter illustrates the attempts to settle the peninsula, taking particular note
of geographical constraints on settlement and ongoing conflicts with the lumbering interests. The
third chapter explores the Bruce Peninsula’s forest products industry, its issues, successes, and
eventual demise as a key driver of the region’s development. The fourth chapter examines the
subsequent efforts at establishing tourism as forestry’s successor in sustaining the peninsula’s
economic growth, and in particular the role of governmental decision-making in achieving that
end.

Finally, a note about some of the research challenges and opportunities that arose in the
course of completing this project. Aside from the temptation to travel down various other
research paths, the quest to find information, especially relating to the early years of the Bruce
Peninsula’s development, often proved difficult. Fortunately, I was able to rely upon the
information gleaned almost three-quarters of a century earlier by another researcher with ties to
the University of Western Ontario, W. Sherwood Fox, who tracked down a considerable amount
of the primary research relating to the forest products industry used in this project. The Ontario
and national archives also proved valuable, although their sources were heavily tilted towards
lumbering elsewhere in the province. Perhaps that is one reason why the Bruce Peninsula has
been ignored for so long by historians. Discovering information about the tourism industry
became a journey that was a little more productive. Newspapers, especially *The Globe and Mail* and *Wiarton Echo*, were especially helpful. I was surprised to discover that visitation information from the pre-1980 years concerning provincial parks could not be found despite numerous requests placed with government departments and allied agencies. However, Parks Canada was extremely helpful in providing information about Fathom Five National Marine Park and Bruce Peninsula National Park as illustrated in the Appendices. I also reached out to other local organizations, but perhaps due to constraints imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic, no responses were provided to my queries.
Chapter One: Historiography of the Bruce Peninsula

There has been a lack of scholarly research devoted to the history and development of the Bruce Peninsula. Aside from a few local histories by amateur historians, there has been relatively little written about many aspects of the Bruce Peninsula, including the impact of the forest products and tourism industries. Before addressing the historiography of the Bruce Peninsula generally, and of its forestry and tourism industries specifically, mention needs to be made of several traditional interpretations of how Canada’s forest ‘staple’ was developed. Harold Adams Innis, Donald Creighton, Arthur Lower, J.M.S. Careless, and more recently, H.V. Nelles, each contributed to the historiography of the forest products industry, but none of them included the Bruce Peninsula in their accounts.

Writing from the 1920s to the 1940s, Harold Adams Innis considered the impact of natural resources on the growth and development of the British North American colonies to be so important that he developed an economic model, the Staples Thesis, to explain their influence. He suggested that the quest for staple products such as fish, furs, and timber was largely responsible for the colonization of British North America. The importance of Innis’s ideas is illustrated by the economic historians, Mel Watkins and W.T. Easterbrook, who wrote “Innis made of staple production the central theme around which to write the total history of Canada’s economic, political and social institutions.”

Donald Creighton, writing from 1937 to the 1970s, elaborated upon Innis’s Staples Thesis to illustrate how the quest for furs had created economic wealth and power in the St. Lawrence River valley. The impact of the fur trade, and later the timber trade, established the St.

---

Lawrence region, and particularly Montreal and Quebec City as the commercial centres for trade in the hinterland of the colony and for the transshipment of natural resources to the British marketplace. Creighton suggested that “the St. Lawrence river inspired and supported a trading system which was both transatlantic and transcontinental in extent, and political as well as economic in significance.”² His Laurentian Thesis detailed at great length the attempts of St. Lawrence commercial interests to establish that region as the entrepot between European markets and the resource-rich North American hinterland.³ But in the end, they were eclipsed by New York as the markets of the rapidly expanding United States demanded ever more Canadian forest products.

Arthur Lower’s scholarship, written between 1933 and 1978, essentially defined the history of the Canadian forest industry in his books *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest*, and *Great Britain’s Woodyard: British North America and the Timber Trade, 1763-1867*. Lower examined the impact of the Napoleonic blockade of the Baltic region;⁴ the conflict between the colonial timber interests and the free traders; the competition between the various regions of North America for trade; and the impact of free trade between Canada and the United States. Like Innis and Creighton, the work of Arthur Lower illustrated the underlying theme of the relationship between metropolitan centres and their hinterland. Lower would also become a proponent of the Metropolitan theory posited by J.M.S. Careless.

To meet the requirements necessary to service, first the fur trade, and later the forest products industry, the St. Lawrence River acted as a corridor into the interior of the North American continent. The ports of Montreal and Quebec City initially became important to both

---

² Donald Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), v.
³ Creighton, *Empire of the St. Lawrence*, v.
these staple commodities. Consequently, both centres grew in size and importance. Goods and people came from Europe to these ports and then dispersed along the trading networks into the continent’s interior. The staple products harvested from the hinterland were in turn sent to Montreal or Quebec City for transshipment to European markets.⁵

The Laurentian Thesis provided an intermediary stage in Canadian historiography between the Staples Thesis and Metropolitanism. As the fur trade grew, competition among port centres for a growing share of it increased in intensity. The port which attracted the most trade could anticipate becoming the most prosperous, having the largest population, and ultimately exerting the most political and economic influence. This competition continued with the development of the colonial timber. The timber staple was the original driving force behind the development of the Bruce Peninsula.⁶

The natural evolution of the quest for staples resources was the creation of a metropolitan centre of influence over a supporting hinterland. Professor J.M.S. Careless developed what came to be known as the Metropolitan Thesis. Simply stated, the Metropolitan Thesis says that a series of regional centres are created to function as points of transfer of goods, for example, squared timber. In turn, these regional centres ship the products on to a larger metropole, until the products reached their final market destination.⁷ In Canada, the timber trade followed the traditional economic pattern established by the fur trade. Timber cut in the interior regions during the winter months was transported down river to Montreal or Quebec City, then loaded onto ships bound for England. Both communities had developed previously as transshipment

---

⁵ Creighton, Empire of the St. Lawrence, 14-15.
points for the fur trade. As the timber trade grew, both ports expanded to facilitate this growing colonial staple trade. They became, according to Careless, metropolitan centres. The competition between them intensified as each tried to surpass the other as the pre-eminent influencer of the colony’s hinterland. The reason for the competition was not only the business of shipping timber products to Europe, there was also the economic benefit supplying goods and services to the hinterland to be exploited. The economic power that accrued gave its community political influence to help maintain its favourable position.

As the sources of marketable timber depleted along the St. Lawrence watershed, the lumbermen, like the fur traders before them, moved further into the interior of the continent. They followed the traditional fur trade route up the Ottawa River valley and along the Nipissing Gap. An example of the Metropolitan Thesis as it pertained to Georgian Bay, can be seen in the arrival of the railway terminus at Collingwood in 1855. Careless called this line of steel a portage railway, suggesting that the railway terminus gave Toronto “a much greater northern hinterland, reaching into the Upper Lakes.”

The impact of the forest products industry on the Bruce Peninsula can be seen to some degree in *The Bruce Beckons* by W. Sherwood Fox. The local histories of the region detail the history of various Bruce Peninsula communities, but not specifically the growth of the lumber industry. There is evidence of several peninsula communities, especially the town of Wiarton, endeavouring to expand their influence over wider hinterland regions. Initially, sawmills

---

8 The Nipissing Gap consisted of the route along the Mattawa River, through Lake Nipissing, to the French River, which ultimately entered Georgian Bay.


10 One historian who has written a detailed study of the impact of the lumbering industry on a region is Graeme Wynn whose book, *Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Nineteenth Century New Brunswick*, is the history of the forest products industry and its impact on the province of New Brunswick.
situated on or near the peninsula coastlines serviced their immediate localities, but it was not long before some of these mills and the small communities that emerged around them began seeking markets further afield, in places such as Toronto and American mid-western centres such as Chicago.\textsuperscript{11} Nascent communities on the Bruce Peninsula that were successful in establishing business connections with those larger centres farther afield also began to expand their own immediate hinterlands. There is an irony about these sawmill-based communities. The Crown Lands Department, which continued to promote agricultural settlement in conjunction with the development of the forest products industry, regarded the mills as “a nucleus of a village and settlement and helped to open up the country.”\textsuperscript{12} Therefore, it was not agrarian activity that promoted the creation and growth of peninsula communities, it was the forest products industry.

Innis, Lower, and Creighton all demonstrated the impact of staples commodities on Canada’s earliest development. Thereafter further historical research into the forest staple lay largely dormant until Rex Lambert and Paul Pross were commissioned by the Ontario government in the 1960s to write the history of the Department of Lands and Forest, published as \textit{Centennial History of the Public Management of Lands, Forests and Wildlife in Ontario, 1763-1967}. However, the book makes scant reference to the Bruce Peninsula.\textsuperscript{13} A team of graduate history students had been hired to assist on the project, including H.V. Nelles, who went on to publish the \textit{Politics of Development: Forests, Mines & Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Two entries in the Index of \textit{Renewing Nature’s Wealth}, refer to the Bruce Peninsula. In one brief sentence, the situation of the black bear on the peninsula is referenced and in another sentence resource management on the Bruce is the topic.
\end{enumerate}
1941 which detailed Ontario’s resource history. But neither does Nelles mention the Bruce Peninsula in his coverage of the forest products industry.

Nelles claimed that the nineteenth century was a period of profound political and economic change, but not in the province of Ontario. He states that in Ontario “the provincial government emerged from an era of political and economic liberalism with a great deal of its authority intact.”14 The 1880s and 1890s marked a time of maneuvering in terms of forest products trade and tariff conditions with the United States. By the turn of the century, free trade with the United States was deemed less important than developing a viable manufacturing community in Ontario that government could control while also protecting the province’s natural resources.15

This new Canadian attitude was partially in response to actions by the Americans. Ontario’s lumbermen were the first to demand the end of free trade with the United States. As the quality and quantity of the timber products of the Ottawa valley declined, the industry had moved into the Georgian Bay region and there was a “sudden rise in exports of unprocessed logs in the 1890s” to the United States.16 American companies were able to cut the trees in Ontario and float them across Lake Huron to Michigan for processing. “In 1886, Michigan men were said to hold in the Georgian Bay area 1,750,000,000 feet of standing timber, practically all of which would in due course be exported as unmanufactured saw-logs.”17

In 1897, the American government enacted the Dingley Tariff which restricted the flow of processed lumber into the United States. While Canadian saw log exporters were not hurt by

15 Nelles, Politics, 63.
16 Nelles, Politics, 63.
17 Nelles, Politics, 63.
the American tariff, lumbermen with milling establishments were forced either to reduce their operations or other markets. The Georgian Bay lumbermen’s response to the Dingley Tariff was much different from their Ottawa valley counterparts who raised the money necessary to hire a lobbyist to plead their case in Washington. The Georgian Bay interests, perhaps because they did not have the financial strength of their Ottawa associates, took a more strident attitude and demanded that the Liberal government of Wilfrid Laurier take retaliatory protectionist action against the United States. Laurier “adopted a sympathetic posture, but shrank from acting decisively.”18 Thoroughly dissatisfied with the federal government’s response to their plight, the Georgian Bay lumbermen concluded that since the Dingley Tariff only affected federal export duties and not provincial controls, a better plan was to convince Ontario’s legislators to implement a “manufacturing condition” that would encourage the creation of a strong manufacturing sector within the province. They successfully promoted the idea that the province should legislate against the export of all sawlogs, and thereby “American industries dependent upon Ontario sources of supply would be compelled to relocate within the province.”19

Norman Robertson’s History of the County of Bruce20 details the history of the entire county up until about 1906. However, the coverage of the Bruce Peninsula is quite brief. The Bruce Beckons,21 pays attention only to the Bruce Peninsula, and provides a detailed analysis of how that region developed. Local historians have focused on specific Bruce Peninsula townships, including Cathy Wyonch, Hewers of the Forests; Fishers of the Lakes; The History of St.

---

18 Nelles, Politics, 68.
20 Norman Robertson, History of the County of Bruce, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1906)
21 W. Sherwood Fox, Bruce Beckons.
Edmunds Township,\textsuperscript{22} and Glenn Hepburn, \textit{Benchmarks: A History of Eastnor Township and Lion’s Head}.	extsuperscript{23} These books, including \textit{The Bruce Beckons}, also have little to say about the impact of the timber trade on the growth and development of the region.

Patrick Folkes has written many articles about the Bruce Peninsula, most often for the Ministry of Natural Resources in the 1970s, however none have addressed the impact of the forest products staple on its development. James Barry’s \textit{Georgian Bay: the Sixth Great Lake},\textsuperscript{24} is a more general history of the entire Georgian Bay region. Peter Gillis and Tom Roach mention the Bruce Peninsula in \textit{Lost Initiatives}\textsuperscript{25} but not in any detail, as the book’s focus is the conservation movement within the forest industry on a broader national scale. In the early 1930s W.M. Newman penned an article, “Wiarton’s Eight Busy Mills Were Centre of Industry in Bruce Peninsula”\textsuperscript{26} for \textit{Canada Lumberman} magazine. The editors of the \textit{Western Ontario Historical Notes} reprinted Newman’s research in 1946. Altogether the limited attention given the vital impact of the timber trade on the economic development of the Bruce Peninsula has left a significant gap in the area’s historiography.

Similarly, the history of tourism on the Bruce Peninsula has been largely ignored by scholarly researchers. The first efforts to study tourism in the region did not actually begin until the 1980s\textsuperscript{27} when the rise of interest in environmentalism and parks generated research on related

\begin{itemize}
\item Cathy Wyonch, ed, \textit{Hewers of the Forests; Fishers of the Lake; The History of St. Edmunds Township}, (Tobermory: Corporation of the Township of St. Edmunds, 1985)
\item Glen Hepburn, \textit{A History of Eastnor Township and Lion’s Head}, (The Eastnor and Lion’s Head Historical Society, 1987)
\item James Barry, \textit{Georgian Bay: The Sixth Great Lake}, (Toronto: Clarke Irwin & Company, Ltd., 1968)
\item Prior to the 1980s most of the attention paid to tourism topics appeared in either local newspaper articles or advertising brochures.
\end{itemize}
topics. Gerald Killan was among the first to connect tourism and parks to the conservation movement that was the impetus for the Canadian government’s actions to create Fathom Five National Marine Park and Bruce Peninsula National Park. In 1993, Professor Killan published *Protected Places: A History of Ontario’s Provincial Park System* which details the history of parks in the province and devotes considerable attention to the Bruce Peninsula.

Also in 1993, Patricia Jasen published research connecting culture and nature with parks and tourism: “From Nature to Culture: The St. Lawrence River Panorama in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Tourism”, appeared in *Ontario History*. Two years later, she published *Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914*, in which she described how and why tourism became popularized, suggesting that “tourism as a consumer industry was built upon selling images and arousing romantic fantasies, and that romanticism in fact established the cultural foundations of the tourist industry and supplied its strategies for success.” In several instances she illustrated how aspects of her subject matter pertained to the Bruce Peninsula. In 1998, environmental historian Bruce Hodgins and environmental geographer John Marsh collaborated to edit *Changing Parks: The History, Future and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes*, a collection of essays about parks, their history and their future. Several

---

of the articles in this book were either specifically about the Bruce Peninsula experience or included information about the peninsula.\textsuperscript{33}

In 2005, University of Western Ontario graduate Dr. Clare Campbell published \textit{Shaped by the West Wind: Nature and History in Georgian Bay}.\textsuperscript{34} As the title suggests, the topic of nature and culture in the Georgian Bay region provides information about the Bruce Peninsula and its parks. Professor Campbell recently published \textit{Nature Place and Story: Rethinking Historic Sites in Canada}.\textsuperscript{35} Although it does not address the Bruce Peninsula specifically, the book provides information and ideas applicable to the story of parks in that area. Other authors whose works have touched upon, even if tangentially, the history of tourism on the Bruce Peninsula include: Sherwood Fox, \textit{The Bruce Beckons}; (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), Glenn C. Hepburn, ed., \textit{ Benchmarks: A History of Eastnor Township and Lion’s Head} (Eastnor and Lion’s Head Historical Society, 1987); and Cathy Wyonch, ed., \textit{ Hewers of the Forests, Fishers of the Lakes} (Tobermory: Corporation of the Township of St. Edmonds, 1985).

Clearly, the history of the Bruce Peninsula has often been overlooked by scholars. This thesis intends to fill part of the void by examining first, the competition between settlers and lumbering interests for land and lumber during the early years of the peninsula’s development, second, the rise and decline of its forest products industry, and third, the eventual rise of tourism as the latest economic driver on the Bruce Peninsula.

\textsuperscript{34} Clare Campbell, \textit{Shaped by the West Wind: Nature and History in Georgian Bay}, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005)
Chapter Two: Settlement

At the same time as the first settlers were arriving, the forest products industry was gaining a foothold on the Bruce Peninsula. Although many settlers benefitted from the lumbering industry as a source of employment, the two factions were often at loggerheads. The primary dispute was over cutting timber for purely commercial purposes, versus settlers clearing the forests in order to create farms and introduce agriculture to the peninsula.

The peninsula was not legally able to receive settlers, or loggers, until after the signing of the 1854 Treaty between the local Ojibwa nations and the Crown. The first recorded European visitations to the area occurred more than two centuries earlier, in the early 1600s, when the French explorer Samuel de Champlain travelled across Georgian Bay from the mouth of the French River and traversed the peninsula near its southern-most point. To make this crossing, Champlain followed the centuries-old Indigenous portage route. Setting out from the head of Colpoys Bay, the trail led to higher ground offering travellers two options. The first possibility involved crossing Boat Lake to the Rankin and Sauble Rivers and on to Lake Huron with a short portage around Sauble Falls. The alternate route traversed Boat Lake, Spry Lake, and overland to the Lake Huron shoreline near the “Fishing Islands”. Settlers named this route the Rankin Portage in honour of Charles Rankin, who surveyed much of the region from the 1830s to the 1860s.

While explorers and fur traders may have passed by the peninsula, stopping perhaps only to re-supply, missionaries Fathers Charles Garnier and Isaac Jogues established the missions of St. Simon and St. Jude at villages of the Petun people. From the map created by Francois De
Creux in 1660, it seems that these missions were in the vicinity of the present-day village of Dyer’s Bay.¹ (see Appendix “K” for the location on a Bruce Peninsula map)

After the defeat of the French in North America in 1763, the Bruce Peninsula came under British jurisdiction. Although there were armed British naval vessels on Georgian Bay after that date, little attention seems to have been paid to the peninsula. Some French explorers had previously attempted to map the peninsula, but the first cartographic expedition by the British occurred in 1788 when Gother Mann of the Royal Engineers circumnavigated Lake Huron. Mann wrote on his drawing of the peninsula:

The whole coast of this great projecting Point being a steep rock Cliff without any Camp Ground or Landing Place, is exceedingly dangerous for Boats or Canoes to go round and is therefore rarely attempted. Of those who have ventured several have perished.² This inscription, Sherwood Fox suggests in The Bruce Beckons, might explain why the peninsula remained unexplored and essentially unapproached by Europeans for so long.

Indigenous peoples, by contrast, had been visiting and inhabiting the peninsula for centuries. The first recorded name for the peninsula was included on a 1775 map by the French cartographer and explorer Jean Baptiste d’Anville. He named the peninsula the “Wendiagui,” or “Ouendiagui,” which is thought to be an adaptation of the name given the peninsula by the Wendat people. The French re-named the Wendat “Huron,” who are believed to have used the peninsula as their hunting ground. Translated, the Huron word means “island, or peninsula cut off.”³ Also a hunting ground of the Ojibwa, the peninsula became known as “Saugink” or “Sauking,” referring to the tribal name of Indigenous people who hunted and lived there

³ Fox, Beckons, 3.
permanently. Eventually this name became the Saugeen Peninsula, or the Indian Peninsula.\(^4\) Today it is known as the Bruce Peninsula.\(^5\)

The exact date of first European settlement on the Bruce Peninsula is unknown. The entire area was considered Indigenous land until 9 August 1836 when a treaty was signed on Manitoulin Island between Indigenous representatives and the colonial government.\(^6\) This treaty opened the area immediately south of the peninsula to non-Indigenous settlement.\(^7\) The treaty requested that the Indigenous people remove themselves to that part of your territory which lies on the north of Owen Sound, upon which proper houses shall be built for you, and proper assistance given to enable you to become civilized and to cultivate land, which your Great Father engages for ever to protect for you from the encroachment of the whites.\(^8\)

A decade later, on 29 June 1847, a “Royal Deed of Declaration” was signed providing for the perpetual possession of the peninsula by the Indigenous people, or as an alternative, “the proceeds of the sale thereof.”\(^9\) On 13 October 1854, another treaty was agreed upon between the colonial government and the local Indigenous peoples,\(^10\) although some local historians

\(^4\) Historians James Barry and Peter Schmalz and author W. Sherwood Fox provide excellent research about the Indigenous people’s habitation of the peninsula.

\(^5\) Bruce County is named after James Bruce, the eighth Earl of Elgin. It can be assumed that the peninsula is also named after James Bruce, but it is unknown when the peninsula assumed the name Bruce Peninsula. I have researched the origin of the name of the peninsula including contacting David McLaren a lawyer living at Cape Croker, the Bruce County Museum and Archives, as well as staff at Bruce County and various peninsula township offices but when the peninsula assumed the name “Bruce” remains a mystery.

\(^6\) Prior to the 1836 Treaty all the lands from the northern-most point of the peninsula south to an area approximately the boundary between the present-day counties of Grey and Wellington on one side and Bruce and Huron Counties to the west was considered Indigenous territory. A treaty in 1818 had designated one and one-half million acres of land immediately west of Lake Simcoe. The 1836 Treaty illustrates that there was a need for more settlement land in southern regions of Upper Canada.

\(^7\) The southern edge of the peninsula is approximately a line drawn from the present location of the city of Owen Sound westward to the mouth of the Saugeen River at the town of Southampton.

\(^8\) “Treaty Number 45 1/2, 9 August 1836,” *Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders, 1680-1890*, Volume 1, (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1891), 113.

\(^9\) Robertson, *Bruce*, 5.

\(^10\) It would be several years after the signing of the treaty that settlement was facilitated by the colonial government.
speculate\textsuperscript{11} that white settlement had already been occurring on Indigenous territory. This assumption gains credibility when one considers that stories in the *Owen Sound Comet, and Farmers’ and Mechanics Protector*, reported that fishermen were arriving in Owen Sound from “Tupper Murray”\textsuperscript{12} with their season catch of fish for trade or sale.\textsuperscript{13} The *Owen Sound Comet* reported on 17 September 1852 that the Penetanguishene vessel, “The Lilly,” had sunk at the entrance to the harbour at Tupper Murray. Whether there was a settlement at the harbour is unknown for certain, but it seems possible as the news report called it “the entrance of Tupper Murray harbour.”\textsuperscript{14}

Precisely when the first settlers arrived at Tobermory, and how many there were, is difficult to ascertain because travel to the area was largely limited to the sailing season. Land routes on the peninsula were little more than crude paths through the forest. A reason for the slow pace in establishing better land transportation once the first settlers arrived is indicated by public lands surveyor Charles Rankin, who mapped much of the unsettled area that became Grey and Bruce counties. Writing in 1869, he noted that his work in the Tobermory region was “one of the most troublesome explorations and pieces of line running … which I ever met with.”\textsuperscript{15}

The results of the 2 September 1856 public land auction of Amabel and Keppel townships was reported to the Department of Indian Affairs by the agent for the land sale, W.R. Bartlett. In part, the agent’s report read:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} Patrick Folkes, “The History of the Bruce Peninsula,” 11.
\item \textsuperscript{12} “Tupper Murray” also known as Tobermory was originally called Collins Inlet – Tobermory means “blood of Mary” from Vincent Elliott, “Fifty Years of Change on the Bruce Peninsula,” 1988 Bruce County Historical Society Yearbook
\item \textsuperscript{13} *Owen Sound Comet* was the first newspaper to serve the western shoreline of Georgian Bay.
\item \textsuperscript{14} “The Wreck of the Lilly”, *Owen Sound Comet*, 17 September 1852
\item \textsuperscript{15} Charles Rankin Fonds #1018, Public Archives of Ontario
\end{itemize}
The two southern townships, Keppel and Amabel, containing about 144,000 (acres) were the ones sold. Every lot was put up by the auctioneer, and of the whole number of acres offered, 35,364 were not bid for.”¹⁶

Bartlett’s letter continued, stating that the land sales totalled, £135,730.¹⁷ Not all the land was sold for agricultural purposes. The agent reported that the “Au Sable Mill Site [Sauble Falls], comprising 1,100 acres of land offered at £2,000, sold for, £2,390. The Mill Site near Owen Sound containing 45 acres, put up for £500, sold for £760.”¹⁸

The successful bidders were required to meet conditions similar to those imposed on land purchasers elsewhere in the province, leading to a point of contention between prospective settlers and lumbermen. A down payment of 20% of the selling price was required at the time of purchase. The settler was also required to occupy the property within six months of the purchase date. The condition leading to animosity between settlers and lumbermen was the clause stipulating that “until the patent was issued, it was necessary to obtain from the Land Agent a license to sell wood or timber, but such license did not permit the selling of pine.”¹⁹ Harvesting and selling the pine on their properties would of course augment settlers’ income during their early days getting established on the land. Requirements for clearing the land could be subject to various interpretations. If a settler’s land contained several stands of pine, his ability to clear it and start growing crops could be greatly hindered should a lumber company holding the timber licence for that area demand the trees be left for it to cut. The longer the pine forests remained standing, the more difficult it was for settlers to clear their land and thereby meet their ownership obligations.

¹⁶ Norman Robertson, Bruce, 195.
¹⁷ Robertson, Bruce, 195.
¹⁸ Robertson, Bruce, 196.
¹⁹ Robertson, Bruce, 198 (footnote).
After the 1856 land auction, further offerings were planned for succeeding years. According to a story in the 22 July 1858 edition of the *Owen Sound Comet*, the sale of available lands planned for that year was cancelled due to “the present financial depression of the country and the low state of the Real Estate Market.” Other peninsula townships started to open for settlement soon after Amabel and Keppel lands had been put on the auction block. Progress was slow at first in the northern townships. In 1871, Albemarle and Eastnor townships had a combined population of 678, and Lindsay and St. Edmunds only 20 residents. A decade later, the 1881 census revealed a total population for the northern peninsula of 1,364. By 1901, this had grown to 5,266 inhabitants. Many town sites were surveyed and offered for auction, but most of these communities, other than Wiarton, did not flourish as had been hoped. A plot of 2,025 acres for the proposed community of Adair, near Hope Bay, was surveyed by George Gould for Charles Rankin in 1855. These town plots were offered for auction, but by 1879 none had been purchased. With so little interest shown, in 1887 the town lots were re-surveyed as farm lots. Even then, sales were limited.

The opening of the peninsula townships for settlement meant timber cutting operations could get underway. Pine timbers were driven via various waterways, and sometimes overland, to Oliphant, in Amabel Township, where they were tied into large rafts and floated to Tobermory. From there the timbers were loaded onto three-masted schooners and shipped to Toronto for market.

---

21 Robertson, *Bruce*, Census returns for 1871, 1881 and 1901, 537.
23 “A History of Lake Huron Forest District, 16.
There were several reasons why agricultural endeavours frequently failed on the peninsula. The requirement that settlers had to wait for lumbering interests to cut the marketable timber from their land was an important factor leading to settlement failures. Fires, whether started by humans or natural causes, also impeded attempts to farm the land. An 1864 letter by James Paterson, an Amabel settler, described what happened after a major fire swept across his property, revealing yet another reason – thin and rocky soil – why agriculture was such a challenge on the Bruce Peninsula:

the fire ran over my lot about the middle of August and left nothing but flat rock and Stone where I thought I had good land. I have now come to (a) dead stand. I have cleared eight acres and there are only five acres that can be cultivated and I have only four or five acres more that can be cultivated so you see I have between eighty and ninety acres of rock and stone….24

The fact that much of the land on the peninsula could not sustain agriculture should not have surprised government officials. Had they heeded the early findings of Charles Rankin and other surveyors, and perhaps earlier cartographers, they would not have encouraged extensive agricultural settlement on the Bruce Peninsula. One such report was prepared by Captain William Owen in 1815 while he explored the northern reaches of the peninsula. Entitled “A Plan of the Straits from Lake Huron into the Manitoolin (sic) Lake from the Open Gat to Cabots Head,” Owen noted that “All the land here represented is covered with Stunted Timber, but has no Soil whatever, being loose Rock and Moss only.”25 In 1869, A.G. Robinson, the chief engineer for Lake Huron lighthouse operations, visited the Tobermory area and presented an equally dismal picture of the prospects for extensive settlement in the region. He described it as “totally

24 Wiarton Land Office Correspondence, 1864 – 1906, Volume 920, No. 5 (RG 10, P.A.C.)
25 “A Plan of the Straits from Lake Huron into the Manitoolin (sic) Lake from the Open Gat to Cabots Head,” A Survey made 26th, 27th, and 28th September 1815, V30/40, Map No. 29B, National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada
unfit for agricultural purposes. I suppose it will never attain any further importance than what it is now, viz a Harbour of Refuge.”

William Bull, of the Indian Department, was dispatched in 1873 to ascertain the amount of good agricultural land and the quality and quantity of the timber resources in the area. Bull spent 27 July 1873 in Tobermory and reported that the town site and some of the surrounding area was “nearly burnt off, leaving the white rocky ridges quite bare.” However, he noted that a plot of nearly 4,000 acres adjacent to the community was among the most promising agricultural land in the region.

Despite warnings about the lack of viable farmland, the provincial government throughout the 1870s and 1880s continued selling Bruce Peninsula lands to prospective settlers under the guise of promoting agriculture. The results were chaotic. Some pioneers arrived and persevered in the struggle to create farms. Others abandoned their lands after battling the elements and the environment for only a short time. Some of the plots were taken over by others, while many remained undeveloped. The hardier pioneers remained. Many who continued to cultivate the soil turned to other ventures to supplement incomes needed to sustain their families.

In the 1880s, conflict over settlement issues on the peninsula was initiated by new complainants, namely the townships of Bruce County. At issue was lost taxation revenue caused by the Department of Indian Affairs cancelling land sales when prospective settlers failed to

28 Robertson, Bruce, 201
fulfill the terms of their land purchase contracts. This action by Indian Affairs caused lands to revert to the Crown, thus reducing municipal tax assessments. In 1887, Bruce County Council petitioned the federal government to refrain from these wholesale land reclamations in order to limit the negative impact they were having on the affected municipalities’ revenues. This petition included the actual financial losses the peninsula townships had incurred for 1884, 1885, and 1886: Albemarle – over $700.00; Eastnor - $850.00; and the united Townships of Lindsay and St. Edmunds – over $3,000.00. \(^\text{29}\) Despite hardships such significant revenue losses caused the townships, the Superintendent-General of the Department of Indian Affairs refused to change the practice, explaining that the Indigenous people on the peninsula objected to any amount of money being handed over to the municipalities as according to the 1854 Treaty they were to receive payment for the sale of land. As Norman Robertson described in *History of the County of Bruce*, the Indigenous communities were not the only ones to benefit from the cancelled land transactions. He suggested that some less scrupulous settlers, “whose sense of rectitude and honour was defective,” had devised a means to game the system:

The process was simple: Means were used to get the Department to cancel their purchase; this freed the land from all claims for taxes; and immediate re-purchase was then made, with the result of a loss of one, two- or three years’ taxes to the municipality in which their lots lay. \(^\text{30}\)

Early settlement on the Bruce Peninsula took two forms: farmsteads and small communities typically clustered around a mill erected to support the local forest industry. Most settlers arrived with a dream of carving out for their families a farmstead that provided not only for their own needs but could also generate a supplementary cash crop income. Unfortunately, as

\(^{29}\) Robertson, *Bruce*, 201-202.

many would discover, poor soil conditions throughout much of the peninsula limited agricultural output to subsistence levels at best. The lumbermen’s actions slowed and sometimes stopped altogether the settler’s attempts to create a farm to sustain their families. But the forest products industry did provide the settlers who did not leave the region with income opportunities working in the forests, mills, and other service-related businesses. However, when the forest products industry ceased to be an economic driver on the peninsula, these remaining settlers were left with few options to sustain their families or leave.
Chapter Three: The Forest Products Industry on the Bruce Peninsula

On the Bruce Peninsula it was the forest products industry that drove growth and development from the late 1850s to the early 1900s. Timber cutting in the province moved westward along the French River corridor, and by the 1850s the lumbermen’s axes and saws could be heard in the Georgian Bay north shore forests.¹ It would not be long before cutting would commence on the Bruce Peninsula, placing the lumbermen on a collision course with settlers hopeful of carving their own futures and fortunes out of southern Ontario’s last wilderness.

The 1850s were a period of transition for the British North American colonies. The elimination of the “Colonial Preferences” and the cancellation of the Navigation Acts had signalled the end of an era as Canadian forest products no longer experienced preferred access to the British market. Instead of faltering, Canadians used their vast and largely untapped wealth in natural resources to try and consolidate their new-found economic independence. It was a decade of internal development, during which the Province of Canada received unprecedented imports of foreign capital for funding railway expansion and other infrastructure investment essential for developing and strengthening permanent and economically diversified urban communities without relying as much on temporary resource-based settlements. Marked by sharp upswings in population growth, agricultural production, and commercial diversification, the 1850s, the financial downturn of 1857 notwithstanding, would rank among Canada’s most prosperous decades prior to Confederation in 1867.²

² Lower; Woodyard, 119.
The 1854 reciprocity treaty with the United States created more markets for colonial forest products. This treaty was symbolic as it proved to be the “first and the greatest of the economic steps in (the colonial forest product industry’s) escape from the old one-outlet system.”³ The 1850s mark the beginning of a Canadian forest industry, which having lost its colonial bondage and no longer accountable to its British overseers, was about to set out establishing itself as a major economic factor in the soon to be established Canadian nation. Although the forest products industry had yet to make its way onto the Bruce Peninsula, events of the 1850s soon would impact the region.

The Department of Lands and Forests historical report indicates that soon after the Crown claimed control of the Bruce Peninsula by signing the 1854 Treaty with the Indigenous peoples, it began granting timber licences.⁴ However, the only official record of the beginning of the commercial timber industry on the peninsula puts the start date in the early 1860s. Sherwood Fox recorded that “according to an item in an Indian Affairs timber ledger of 1864 … Messrs. Cook Brothers of Barrie⁵ began cutting in Keppel Township in 1863,”⁶ the year that both Amabel and Keppel Townships were opened to logging.

Although cutting was not legally sanctioned before that time, Fox and others reported that mills had opened on Colpoys Bay’s north shore prior to 1860, and at Sauble Falls in 1862. As timbering operations moved northward up the peninsula, so too did the erection of mills.⁷ With the arrival of a mill it was not long before a community began to develop in its vicinity. In 1872,

---
³ Lower, Woodyard, 113.
⁴ "A History of Lake Huron Forest District," 16.
⁵ According to Gwenda Hallsworth the Cook Brothers were also involved in timbering activities on the north shore of Georgian Bay near Sudbury at the same time.
⁶ Fox, Beckons, 230.
⁷ Fox; Beckons, 175.
a saw and shingle mill began operations a few miles south of Tobermory on the Crane River; in 1874, a mill was established at Barrow Bay, just south of Lion’s Head; and in 1892, another milling operation began at Stokes Bay. As many as 30 mills related to the lumbering industry were built at various times and locations on the peninsula.

As the timber trade became entrenched around Georgian Bay, political and economic changes were on the immediate horizon for the Province of Ontario. The Liberal government of Oliver Mowat passed legislation to facilitate development of the abundant natural resources in the province’s northern districts. The idea that the resource-rich north could serve the manufacturing needs of the industrial south was popular with the Toronto-based business community. This sentiment had been the focus of an 1856 editorial by George Brown in his newspaper, the Toronto Globe. Brown wrote, “Let the merchants of Toronto consider, that if their city is ever to rise above the rank of a fifth rate American town – it must be by the development of the great British territory lying to the north and west.” Brown’s assertion about the northern and western reaches of the province serving as a valuable hinterland to promote the growth of Toronto’s economic and political power illustrates the connection between the metropolitan centre and its hinterland. As the lumbering industry grew on the peninsula, communities emerged around the mills to service the timber industry. As these smaller centres grew, so too did their influence over neighbouring areas. Ultimately, these centres tried to

---

8 Fox, Beckons, 175-176.
9 There are several sources suggesting varying numbers of mills located on the Bruce Peninsula at one time or another. Some of these are: Fox, The Bruce Beckons; Newman, W.M.; “Wiarton’s Eight Busy Mills; and Robertson, History of the County of Bruce.
expand into neighbouring communities’ environs and thereby increase their economic sway over a larger area.

The conflict between settlers and lumbermen had several sources. One of the major causes of irritation was a political issue based simply on which party held jurisdictional control over peninsula lands. Despite the 1854 Treaty, Bruce Peninsula lands were under the control of the Department of Indian Affairs, unlike elsewhere in Upper Canada where land sales and timber leases fell under the jurisdiction of the Department of Crown Lands. The process began when the Crown called an auction to sell the rights to cut mature timber such as pine, by issuing timber licences for specific tracts of land. These licences were renewable. The successful bidder was required to pay a bonus to the Department of Indian Affairs at the time of sale, as well as an annual ground rental fee, and a stumpage fee for trees that were cut. The local timber agent was central to the process. At first, the agent was stationed in Toronto, then Owen Sound, and finally Wiarton. Perhaps the relatively remote location of the peninsula in relation to Ottawa explains why the timber agent was seldom required to report to his superiors in Ottawa. Consequently, the process of renewing licenses was usually little more than a “rubber stamp” process.12

According to research conducted by the Department of Lands and Forests in 1963, “the story of the Bruce Peninsula is one of ruinous exploitation.”13 Before the assault on the peninsula’s forests began, there had been a wide variety of tree species such as “red, white and jack pines; white and black spruce; cedar; tamarac; maple; beech; elm; red oak; basswood; black

---

12 Fox, Bruce Beckons, 172-173.
13 “Lake Huron Forest District,” 16.
and white ash.” The Department of Lands and Forest document suggested that despite the
impact of rapacious lumbering,

the tremendous potential of the Peninsula was not exhausted until 1914 when the end came
with dreadful finality. Clear cutting of every merchantable stem, followed by numerous,
disastrous fires, left a legacy of impoverished soil vainly trying to cover the limestone
bedrock. The report provides some examples of the extent of the peninsula’s lumbering operations:

…300,000 ties were shipped from Wiarton for the Grand Trunk Railway in one season;
one company shipped 4,000 cords of tan bark annually; rafting was a common form of
transportation and one company rafted 6 million feet of squared hemlock to Sault Ste.
Marie in six years; (and) probably the largest raft was towed by three tugs from Georgian
Bay to a port in Michigan in 1892. It contained 91,700 logs, scaling 10 million board feet.

One lumbering enterprise on the peninsula that was the source of many complaints from
settlers was Cook Brothers. This company held timber licences covering a substantial area of the
peninsula. Animosity between settlers and Cook Brothers led to attempts at remediation by
various levels of government. Among the differences separating the two parties, the main issue
was the settlers’ claim that the Cooks only cut the best timber, which usually meant pine trees.
This made the settlers’ difficult task of clearing their lands even more arduous.

Tracking activities of forest companies on the Bruce Peninsula is difficult, as few
archival sources detail their land and timber records. For instance, a limited number of records
from Cook Brothers, which was the largest, and perhaps the most antagonistic, among the
forestry companies that operated on the peninsula, have survived. Copies of the only existing
examples of their timber licenses are found at Appendix “F”. Sherwood Fox attempted
unsuccessfully to find more documentation through various sources, including the Department of

14 “Lake Huron Forest District,” 16.
15 “Lake Huron Forest District,” 17.
16 “Lake Huron Forest District,” 18.
17 See Appendix “F” to view the only remaining Cook Brothers’ licences.
Lands and Forests. A.P. Leslie, of that department, informed Fox in 1950 that he had contacted Arnold Cook, a direct descendent of the Cook Brothers, who believed, “all family records had been lost.”\(^{18}\) Whether or not this is true, the hunt for further documentation about the Cook Brothers lumbering interests has failed to turn up any more information.

Hiram Fox, the eldest of the brothers, lived on Front Street in downtown Toronto, and served as the Liberal member of parliament for North Simcoe from 1872 to 1878, and East Simcoe from 1882 to 1891.\(^{19}\) A long-time Liberal, Hiram along with his brothers in the family firm periodically clashed with the Conservative government of the day.\(^{20}\) This political bitterness, as will be seen, eventually reached the office of Conservative prime minister Sir John A. Macdonald, whose actions contributed to the demise of the Cook Brothers’ enterprises on the peninsula.\(^{21}\)

In 1870, the townships of Lindsay and St. Edmunds were opened to settlement and logging operations. With each group trying to carve a place for itself out of the wilderness, conflict was inevitable.\(^{22}\) This area of the peninsula had numerous stands of large pine trees suitable for the squared timber trade. Cook Brothers applied for a timber licence to cut 97 square miles within the two townships. Joseph Howe, President for the Privy Council and Secretary of

\(^{18}\) Letter to W. Sherwood Fox from A. P. Leslie, Department of Lands and Forests, October 25, 1950, W. Sherwood Fox papers, Weldon Library Archives, University of Western Ontario, London Ontario

\(^{19}\) Records of the Members of Canadian Parliament from 1867 to date; Library of the Parliament of Canada. The information gathered from this source shows his name as Herman Henry Cook, but the records of his lumber company shows his name as Hiram. There is a Henry Cook, who is the third brother involved in the lumber company.

\(^{20}\) For copies of the various exchanges between Cook Brothers and the Canadian government please see Appendix “J” from the W. Sherwood Fox Fonds at the Weldon Library Archives, University of Western Ontario.

\(^{21}\) Macdonald would act in 1882 against the Cook Brothers, when he instructed Interior Minister; Macpherson to investigate complaints against the Cook Brothers. This action would lead the Cooks to sell their timber licences to the British-Canadian Timber and Lumbering Company, See Appendix “J” for information pertaining to interactions between Cook Brothers, British-Canadian Timber and Lumbering Company and the government.

\(^{22}\) Fox papers, Weldon Archives and Fox, The Bruce Beckons, 230.
State for the Provinces in the Macdonald government, thought this claim excessive and limited the Cook’s licence to 50 square miles. The company initially accepted the government’s decision. However in May 1871, one of the Cook brothers, Simon, re-applied for a timber licence to the remaining 47 square miles. This time the request was granted, although the new licence restricted cutting activities to pine saw logs. Undeterred by the restriction, Simon Cook asked for and received an extension on the licence that included squared pine timbers.\(^}\text{23}\) Once the Liberals under Alexander Mackenzie assumed the mantle of government in Ottawa in 1874, Cook Brothers were immediate beneficiaries as their timber licences were renewed that year and in 1875. (For details of the various governmental interactions with Cook Brothers see Appendix “J”)

The attitude of Cook Brothers towards their cutting obligations is best illustrated by the fact their licences permitted them “to cut on the limits specified square timber and sawlogs of all descriptions of timber – that is, of all trees – and not specifically pine.” However, the Cooks “cut nothing but pine.”\(^}\text{24}\) The callous and uncaring attitude of Cook Brothers was also evident in their dealings with contractors. For instance, Alex Gilchrist, who hauled logs for Cook Brothers during winter months, lost “a heavy team of horses in the upper or west end” of Gillies Lake when the ice under foot gave way.\(^}\text{25}\) Robert Lymburner wrote in a letter to Sherwood Fox that this incident occurred around 1865, and the brothers did not compensate Gilchrist for the loss of

\(^}\text{23}\) Fox, *Beckons*, 230.

\(^}\text{24}\) Fox, *Beckons*, 232.

\(^}\text{25}\) Robert Lymburner letter to W. Sherwood Fox, 30 May 1950, Sherwood Fox papers, Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario.
his horses. Only his fellow work crew members “raised a subscription for him”\textsuperscript{26} to help cover the financial loss.

Lymburner provided Fox with another example of the heavy-handed tactics of Cook Brothers. He wrote that in 1882 the firm sent his father a bill of $145 for 29 trees that Horace Lymburner had cut down. Robert’s father refused to pay. He replied to Cooks that “he had taken up those lots from the Indian Department on the settlement plan intending to build a mill for a profit and for benefit for the community of Lindsay Township.” Robert said his family heard nothing further about the matter from Cook Brothers.\textsuperscript{27}

Settlers on the peninsula encountered problems with timber licence holders like the Cook brothers, but according to Norman Robertson in his \textit{History of the County of Bruce} the land itself may have posed bigger obstacles. Writing in 1906, Robertson said “Good farming land in the peninsula is the exception, not the rule.”\textsuperscript{28} A 1963 Ministry of Lands and Forests study substantiates this statement about the mostly substandard agricultural conditions on the peninsula. It reported that “from Southampton northward, nearly all of the Bruce Peninsula consists of shallow soils over limestone bedrock, suitable for grazing and forestry.”\textsuperscript{29} Consequently, agriculture on the peninsula was unlikely to support cash crop farming, and it was questionable if a farmer’s efforts would even produce enough food for his own family’s needs.

While there were constraints on timber licence holders, settlers also could face limitations with regards to their land grants. The settler

\textsuperscript{26} Robert Lymburner letter to W. Sherwood Fox, 9 June 1950, Sherwood Fox papers, Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario.
\textsuperscript{27} Robert Lymburner letter to W. Sherwood Fox, 9 June 1950.
\textsuperscript{28} Robertson, \textit{Bruce}, 193.
\textsuperscript{29} “A History of Lake Huron Forest District,” 2.
was not free to do with (the trees) as he wished. Before completing the purchase of his land, he could not lawfully fell any of his trees for gainful purposes unless he had paid for a licence to do so, and then, on top of that, had remitted heavy dues to the Indian Department for the timber he had removed.\textsuperscript{30}

After 1870, this regulation became even more stringent. Settlers were now required to wait for the timber licence holder to remove the trees on their property, usually pine, before proceeding with clearing the land.

In 1869, Alex Sproat, the member of parliament for North Bruce and a former land surveyor working out of Southampton,\textsuperscript{31} complained in a speech in the House of Commons about conditions facing settlers on the Bruce Peninsula. He said that although the price for land was high, not all purchasers were treated equally. Sproat cited the example of an individual who purchased three lots and another buyer who acquired a single lot. Each were required to pay one-third of the total cost of each lot as the mandatory down payment. However, at some time in the process, the buyer of the three lots could apply his one-third down payment on each of the three lots, to one of the three lots enabling its ownership to be free and clear. The remaining two lots would then return to the Crown for future sale. Sproat inferred that the purchaser in this instance was probably a lumbering interest who had cleared the two lots of their timber and therefore had no further use for them. The Member of Parliament claimed the buyer of the single lot was a prospective settler and requested that settlers also be allowed to forego payment on two-thirds of the purchase price of their lots.\textsuperscript{32} The government argued that the Indigenous peoples, who according to the 1854 Treaty were represented by the Department of Indian Affairs, refused to allow settlers this option as they claimed it would reduce the Indigenous people’s income from

\textsuperscript{30} Fox, \textit{Beckons}, 233.
\textsuperscript{31} “Sproat Family History, 1821-2014,” File A2014.033.001, Bruce County Archives
\textsuperscript{32} Hansard, 31 May 1869, 548-549.
the sale of the lots. Appendix “D”\textsuperscript{33} illustrates not only the full extent of Mr. Sproat’s speech, but also how little time was spent debating his presentation to Parliament. The complaints did not end there. On 19 March 1872, a group of settlers assembled in Wiarton to draw up a petition and a delegation chosen to deliver it to Ottawa. The petition called for a more accountable representative in the region who would monitor land sales and asked for the entire peninsula to be purchased from the Indigenous people and all lands to be placed for sale to bonafide settlers because the existing rules favoured the lumbering interests and not the settlers on the handling of land claims.\textsuperscript{34} But the government failed to take meaningful action relying only on increased cutting fee structures to placate the settlers.\textsuperscript{35} The Crown Timber Agent, Joseph F. Way’s letter, dated 4 April 1873, notified settlers and lumbermen of the increased cutting fees. That fee structure and its impact on timber cutters is illustrated in Appendix “B”.

The letter said,

The Department of Crown Lands, having under consideration the expediency of increasing the Crown dues on square timber, and cedar, to be cut or manufactured after the 1\textsuperscript{st} May next, the Commissioner has directed me to notify you that all licenses renewed, and new licenses granted, must be considered as accepted by licentiates on the distinct understanding that such licenses are to be subject to such increases with respect to the timber mentioned as may be made by Order in Council.\textsuperscript{36}

The Cook Brothers presumably had ambitious plans to expand their operations on the peninsula. For instance, according to a Ministry of Natural Resources report, after receiving a timber licence for a large section of Lindsay and St. Edmunds Townships, another member of the Cook family, George, on 25 July 1871 purchased a shore lot at Wingfield Basin on the east coast

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{33} For a complete view of the presentation made by Mr. Sproat and the response of the Government, See Appendix “D.”
\textsuperscript{34} See Appendix “A” and Robertson, Bruce, 199.
\textsuperscript{35} Fox, Beckons, 234.
\textsuperscript{36} Letter sent to W. Sherwood Fox, 30 July 1951 by Norman Fee, Assistant Dominion Archivist, Public Archives of Canada, held in the W. Sherwood Fox papers, Weldon Library Archives, University of Western Ontario
\end{footnotesize}
of the peninsula. As this parcel of land at Lot 48, Concession 16, was situated one concession east of the Cook timber licence plots, it is speculated by historian Patrick Folkes that this purchase was intended to provide the company with an outlet on Georgian Bay from which to ship timber products. This plan seems not to have come to fruition as the company continued shipping from locations on the Lake Huron shoreline such as Dorcas Bay and Pine Tree Harbour. The Cooks nevertheless made good use of the Wingfield Basin. In a Ministry of Natural Resources Report, historian Patrick Folkes records that on 27 June 1872 Cook Brothers paid duties for 2,746 feet of white pine they had harvested from it.

The idea of using Wingfield Basin as a port for shipping lumber loses credibility when one reads William Bull’s 1873 inspection report of the eastern parts of Lindsay and St. Edmunds townships. Bull observed that although the basin is large, its entrance had only five feet of water. Writing twenty years later in 1893, James Hamilton illustrated further the inadequacies of Wingfield Basin as a port of call, describing the entrance as “not protected and is shoally.”

The arrival of a new Liberal government in Ottawa in 1874 included a new Minister of the Interior, David Laird, who spent much of the summer of 1875 on the Bruce Peninsula investigating complaints by settlers about lumbermen delaying cutting on their property and lumbermen taking advantage of the land payment package as outlined earlier by MP Sproat’s

---

37 Land Returns, Saugeen Peninsula, 1855-74, Volume 772, Return 306, July 1871, Sale #2550
38 Patrick Folkes, “Cabot Head and Bruce Recreation Area: Historical Background,” Ministry of Natural Resources Report, December 1973, 4.
39 Patrick Folkes, “Cabot Head and Bruce Recreation Area,” 5.
speech to Parliament.\textsuperscript{42} He promised action,\textsuperscript{43} and upon returning to Ottawa announced that he had been authorized to grant relief that would be equitable to both the settler land purchasers and Indigenous land holders represented by the Ministry of Indian Affairs. Laird stated that “each settler’s case would be dealt with on its own merits, and . . . all interest would be remitted up to the end of that year, 1875.”\textsuperscript{44} As well, perhaps to placate the lumbering interests, timber dues were reduced slightly. In 1875, the Mackenzie government took steps to ease the burden on settlers by selling four-dollar timber cutting licenses that allowed them to cut up to fifteen acres of timber on their property for sale without paying additional duties. This concession not only enabled settlers to proceed with land clearance. It also provided them with an additional and much needed source of income.\textsuperscript{45}

The Cook Brothers’ timber business was one of the primary sources of antagonism and harassment of the settlers. The notoriety of the brothers, Hiram, Henry and Simon eventually attracted the attention of Prime Minister Macdonald.\textsuperscript{46} On 24 May 1882 Macdonald ordered his Interior Minister, D. L. Macpherson to investigate the complaints that the Cooks were cutting not only pine, but other trees which the settlers were entitled to cut. Macpherson then instructed the Deputy Superintendent-General Lawrence Vankoughnet, that after his investigation Cook Brothers were restricted to cutting pine.\textsuperscript{47} The Cooks refused to comply with the government order to only cut pine and continued cutting any type of trees they wished. As a result of their

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{42} See Appendix “J”
\textsuperscript{43} Fox, \textit{Beckons}, 234.
\textsuperscript{44} Robertson, \textit{Bruce}, 200.
\textsuperscript{45} Wyonch, \textit{Hewers of the Forests}, 11.
\textsuperscript{46} Fox, \textit{Beckons}, 229-230.
\textsuperscript{47} See Appendix “J” for a detailed list of governmental actions taken in response to complaints against the Cook Brothers from 1870 to 1883
\end{flushleft}
actions the government refused to renew their licence. Incensed, the Cooks ignored this action and continued to cut pine and other types of trees without a licence.

Perhaps to avoid drawing further attention to their activities, Cook Brothers took a unique approach. They sold their remaining timber licences on the Bruce Peninsula to the British-Canadian Timber and Lumbering Company, which had been formed in 1880 by a group of Scottish investors. But if those opposed to the Cook brothers thought that they had seen the last of them on the peninsula, they were to be disappointed. The British-Canadian Timber and Lumbering Company hired Hiram Cook to manage its operations there.48 Possibly due to ongoing conflicts with settlers, and in turn with government officials, between April 1883 and June 1884 the British-Canadian Timber and Lumbering Company either had their licences cancelled or simply gave them up.49

When the British-Canadian Timber and Lumbering Company ceased operations in 1883-1884, its timber licences were purchased by several smaller independent operators,50 including Horace Lymburner, who first arrived on the Bruce Peninsula in 1862 after purchasing a farm near Big Bay in Keppel Township.51 It is unknown when he entered the lumbering industry, but records indicate that in 1873 he paid dues on 13,000 feet of lumber that he cut on Lot 37, Concession 25, in Keppel Township.52 Lymburner built and operated a sawmill at Big Bay until 1887. His son, Robert, recalled that his father realized that chopping pine with an axe was

---

48 Fox, *Beckons*, 236.
49 There seems to be some differences of opinion as to what happened to the company’s timber licences. Some suggest they voluntarily let them lapse, but Patrick Folkes, writing in a 1973 MNR report, suggests that the government cancelled the licences.
50 These independent operators included the Quinlan, Watt, McAllister, Pond, Lymburner, Moshier, McMillan, Kilbourn, Webster, Ames, and Bearman families. As well as to the following companies, Bearman & McVicar, Moore & VanDusen, Burton Brothers, and Henry Rixon and Company
51 “Land Returns, Saugeen Peninsula, 1855-74,” Volume 772, Return 196, September 1862, Sale #1567
52 *Journal of Land Sales*, Toronto Office, 1869-1878, 304, Volume 686, RG 10 Public Archives of Canada
wasteful, so he initiated the idea of only felling pine with a saw. This process reduced waste, not only in terms of wood chips lost to the axe-felling process, but using a saw also created a flush stump rather than one that had to “shaved” to create a flat surface. From 1881 onward, the Lymburner company only used saws to fell timber.\textsuperscript{53} In 1881, the Lymburner family turned its interest northward up the peninsula. On 23 February 1881, Robert Lymburner, Horace’s seven-year-old son, was named the purchaser of Lots 39 and 40, Concession 13, EBR,\textsuperscript{54} of Lindsay Township.\textsuperscript{55} This was only the first of many purchases made under the names of various family members as Horace spread his lumbering operations across the peninsula. For a more complete listing of the Lymburner family’s land purchases in Lindsay Township, see Appendix “C”

Lymburner built a sawmill between Gillies Lake and Georgian Bay which the \textit{Wiarton Echo} called “the best mill on the Peninsula,” and “a source of profit to the owner and the settler alike.”\textsuperscript{56} In 1886, he opened a lumber yard in Owen Sound from where he could ship his product to market. The Gillies Lake mill continued operating until it was sold in 1905. In 1897, it was reported that the mill was processing one million logs annually. The Gillies Lake mill not only benefited its owners, it contributed to the local economy by providing employment for fourteen men who earned on average eighteen dollars a month. Besides cutting logs into lumber, the mill also produced shingles and railroad ties.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{53} Robert Lymburner letter to W. Sherwood Fox, 1950, W. Sherwood Fox Fonds, Weldon Library and Archives, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario
\textsuperscript{54} EBR means East of the Bury Road
\textsuperscript{55} Day Book of Land and Timber Transactions, 1878-1881, Sales 4813 and 4814, Volume 1030, RG 10, Public Archives of Canada
\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Wiarton Echo}, 3 August 1883
\textsuperscript{57} Patrick Folkes, “Cabot Head and Bruce Recreational Area, (citation from Department of Crown Lands, Bureau of Forestry, Toronto, 15 January 1897), 20.
Whatever the reason for the British-Canadian Timber and Lumbering Company leaving the timber business, many on the Bruce Peninsula felt that the boom years of the trade there were winding down. According to a Wiarton Echo article on 16 April 1880, “It is estimated by some that the bulk of the timber fit for market will be removed within the next seven or ten years, after which we expect there will be left sufficient timber for home manufacture and all local demands.”

The Wiarton Echo’s prophesies proved inaccurate. Records illustrate that the 1890s and early 1900s were boom years for saw millers and others associated with the industry. Another area newspaper, the Port Elgin Times, reported in November 1889 that the train station in Hepworth shipped 25 carloads every day of the year carrying in total “11 million feet of sawn lumber, 9,000 telegraph poles, 7,000 cords of tanbark, 10,000 cords of cordwood, and 2,000 cords of cedar block paving.”

Much of this activity can presumably be attributed to the fact this was a period of railway construction within the Bruce Peninsula and beyond. To meet the needs of this boom, massive amounts of wood for railway ties and other railway construction materials was required. Another boon for the peninsula lumber industry was its proximity to the Canadian Sault Ste. Marie canals, then under construction, which also contracted with peninsula mills for wood products. To assist in improving the production of timber products new milling procedures were implemented.

---

58 Wiarton Echo, 16 April 1880
The lumbering industry, through improved transportation, harbour development, and industrial growth, impacted settlement patterns. All parties recognized the need for much improved land transportation routes. The open waters of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron offered convenient, economic and efficient routes for getting products to markets, especially those located within easy transport distance of the peninsula’s shoreline. The main limitations to lake travel were the draught of the canals connecting certain of the Great Lakes, and the timing of the annual winter freeze-up which isolated the Bruce Peninsula for several months each year. Consequently, improving land transportation was essential for advancing the peninsula’s economic development.

Road construction into the peninsula began in the 1860s and continued until the end of the century. Finding funding for road construction was sometimes challenging. The primary source was government grants. Typically, the federal government, followed by the provincial government, were the first to be approached for support. But usually it fell to the local government, Bruce County council, to finance the new roads.

The Bruce Peninsula’s location and lack of an efficient road network to southern markets meant that water travel long remained the most cost-effective way to transport timber products to market. This necessitated creating or adapting sailing vessels to service the forest products industry. One such distinctive innovation used in lake travel was the log boom, or timber raft. These rafts or booms were not permanent physical structures. They consisted of logs fastened together and towed by a sailing vessel, usually a steam tug or a schooner. Booms typically were 125 feet long and 25 to 35 feet wide, although dimensions varied depending upon the average length of the timber in a shipment. The raft was contained by drilling a row of holes in logs on the outer edge of the raft. From the bottom of the log a heavy iron rod was thrust upward through
the hole and fastened to the end of a timber. These timbers usually extended thirteen feet upward. Within the confines of these corral-type structures, timber was piled as high as thirteen feet.61 Once complete, the rafts were towed to their destination to be milled or sent on to market.

Schooners were the first lake vessels to be used in the timber trade. They were strongly built, and capable of carrying huge loads of timber while maintaining their stability in the face of shifting winds and high seas that frequently arose without warning on the Great Lakes. Lumber was stowed in the schooner’s hold and piled high on the deck. Schooners initially travelled under their own sailing power, but eventually were transformed into barges carrying huge loads of timber towed by steam-driven tugboats or lumber hookers. The transformation of schooners into barges began in the 1870s, and by the late 1890s most self-propelled schooners had disappeared from the lakes.62 The lumber industry on Georgian Bay spawned a whole new type of maritime ships and shipping methods.

With the growing demand for wood products in the American Midwest, efficient transportation methods for carrying large quantities to ports such as Chicago and Duluth became very important. To accommodate this burgeoning market, many logs were processed at the sawmills which sprang up along the Georgian Bay shoreline, and a maritime transportation industry developed. An examination of the early Owen Sound and Wiarton newspapers reveals that each of these peninsula ports maintained closer ties to Chicago, Detroit, Duluth and other American ports than they had with many Canadian port communities.63

---

61 Fox, Beckons, 177-178.
63 These papers include the Owen Sound Advertiser and the Wiarton Echo, who printed many stories each sailing season detailing the vessels leaving their ports, the cargoes they carried and their destinations.
Sawn pine lumber mostly one-inch thick, six inches to one foot in width, and between 12 and 18 feet in length, was also carried aboard schooners. Inside the hold that was approximately 10 feet high, sawn lumber was stowed in alternate layers at right angles, extending to the port and starboard sides of the hull. This method of packing helped prevent the load from shifting and endangering the vessel, crew, and cargo. Once the hold was full, saw logs were piled 10 feet high on the deck fore and aft. Some piles were stacked crosswise to prevent the load from shifting. In short, no detail was left unattended. For example, “the sails on the two masts were shortened, so that the booms could clear the lumber when it became necessary to tack.”

Another type of vessel created for the Georgian Bay timber trade was the lumber barge, also known as a schooner-scow. Although not as common as some other timber-carrying vessels, lumber barges provided an important alternative:

Slow and stubby, the 60-90-foot nosed barges could handle large loads with less crew but at a reduced speed in delivery. Carrying more freight than a schooner at a similar weight, they were simply constructed with straight sides and flat bottoms with centre board. Their shallow draft made them useful in reaching docks with shallow entrances.

Lumber hookers were a variation of steam tugs. This vessel took its lines from developing bulk freighters on the lakes but remained short and stubby with raised fore- and after-decks to contain on-deck cargo. They carried sawn lumber and saw logs. The hookers also towed barges and rafts. To increase the size of the load that could be carried on the deck, the lumber hooker had

the pilot house and crew quarters at each end of the deck … (these were) … sufficiently high structures to allow large deck loads above the holds. Developed in the 1870s and

---

1880s the originally wood-hulled, and later steel-hulled, vessels, came to symbolize the lumber export trade on Georgian Bay.66

Before the imposition of the manufacturing condition by the Ontario government in 1898, lumber hookers were integral to the armada of vessels used by American millers to tow huge rafts of saw logs to Michigan for processing. The imposition of the manufacturing condition reversed the role, and as a result mill output increased sharply along the Georgian Bay shores.67

Unobstructed water routes allowed for faster sailing routes to Michigan and the other mid-west states that bordered the Great Lakes. Other markets, such as southern Ontario and New York State, could be reached in less time than it took for the lumber products of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers to reach England and other European destinations. There had long been discussions about building a canal route connecting the Ottawa River to Georgian Bay:

Repeated suggestions were made for the canalization of the Ottawa in order to provide direct access to the Great Lakes for British naval vessels. As late as 1865, the admiral commanding at Halifax and the general commanding the British forces in Canada made a traverse of the entire waterway from Georgian Bay to Montreal, by canoe, in order to judge for themselves the possibility of converting it into a fully canalized route.68

There were also attempts to build canals to connect Georgian Bay to southern Ontario centres on Lake Ontario. These proposals included connecting to the Humber River via the Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal, also known as the Huron and Ontario Ship Canal. Another project was a canal connecting Whitby to Georgian Bay via Lake Scugog. The only project to be successfully completed was the Trent Canal, which due to delays did not reach Georgian Bay until 1920. By then, its small size only allowed passage by vessels the size of pleasure craft.69

68 Robert Legget, Ottawa Waterway, Gateway to a Continent, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 7.
69 Legget, 165-170
The importance of canals in the history of the timber trade cannot be overstated. Historian Arthur Lower suggests that it was in 1836, with the completion of the Oswego connection to the Erie Canal, that the British colonial timber industry experienced a dramatic change in the timber product that it was carving out of the forest. As a Lake Ontario port, Oswego’s connection to the Erie Canal meant an easier connection to American markets for Upper Canadian forest products. Because the American market demanded sawn, not squared timber, Lower stated that after 1836 “eventually the sawmill won and square-timber making disappeared.”\(^70\)

The canal building continued into the 1850s. The *Owen Sound Comet* reported on the need for a ship canal at Sault Ste. Marie to connect Lake Superior with Lake Huron, claiming “ten thousand persons passed through the Sault Ste Marie last season and it is said the want of a ship canal has cost $133,000.”\(^71\) Later that spring the 17 April 1852 edition of the *Comet* reported that the Commissioner of Public Works had ordered a survey that would lead to the building of a ship canal at Sault Ste. Marie to expedite shipping through the area.\(^72\)

According to the *Owen Sound Comet*, the completion of the Northern Railway from Toronto to Collingwood in 1855 had a beneficial impact on trade originating in the Tobermory – Manitoulin Gap. For example, the Chicago Board of Trade Annual Report for 1859 indicated that 8,580 board feet of lumber arrived there from Canadian ports, and over half of that amount, 4,521 board feet, came through Collingwood. Lesser amounts were shipped from Penetanguishene (1,243 board feet), Owen Sound (150 board feet) and the rest from other

---


\(^{71}\) *Owen Sound Comet*, 6 March 1852

\(^{72}\) *Comet*, 17 April 1852
Georgian Bay destinations. Given the amount from Owen Sound was small, and the Bruce Peninsula had at that time been open to non-Indigenous activities for only two or three years, it is unlikely that the products shipped from Owen Sound originated on the peninsula.

By the late 1870s, timber operations were well under way throughout much of the Bruce Peninsula. The mills that were erected soon spawned communities to service the industry, its workers, and settlers located nearby. Included among these communities were Barrow Bay, Dyer’s Bay, Johnston’s Harbour, Lion’s Head, Stokes Bay, Tobermory, and Wiarton. Whereas each of these centres eventually extended, albeit modestly, their economic reach beyond their own immediate locale by providing goods and services to settlers and the timber industry, Wiarton ultimately rose to the fore as the principal community serving the Bruce Peninsula.

In 1897, William McVicar’s sawmill at Johnston’s Harbour on the peninsula’s west shore, reported cutting 2,000,000 feet of pine and cedar annually. McVicar’s mill employed about twenty workers, each earning $1.15 per day. On the east shore, Lymburner’s mill at Dyer’s Bay processed on average 1,000,000 feet of timber yearly. Neither community’s economic reach spanned far into the peninsula.

Tobermory, perched at the northern tip of the Bruce Peninsula, had limited involvement in the forest products industry. One of the first mills on the peninsula was erected just south of Tobermory on the Crane River. Tobermory evidently served more as a transshipment centre and fishing depot. The Maitland and Rixon Company built a mill at Tobermory in 1881, but just two years later it was destroyed by fire. Seventeen residents of the area petitioned the Macdonald

73 Chicago Board of Trade Annual Reports, 1859, 63.
74 Wyonch, Hewers of the Forests, Hepburn, Benchmarks, Fox, Bruce Beckons, and Robertson, History of the County of Bruce.
75 Department of Crown Lands, Bureau of Forestry, Toronto, 15 January 1897
government, requesting support to rebuild the mill. (See Appendix “G”) The petitioners suggested the mill would enhance property values and attract additional settlers to the area. In 1884, the Tobermory townsite was officially opened, and with the government’s assistance the mill was rebuilt. But in 1889 Maitland and Rixon moved their operations to Owen Sound.76

In 1893, Richard Badstone built a mill at Tobermory’s “Little Tub” harbour. In 1900, E. Meir constructed a mill, and a year later another mill was erected by the Simpson and Culvert Company. The Meir mill was very busy as their 1903 production numbers illustrate. According to the Wiarton Echo the mill produced 1,500,000 feet of lumber, made one million shingles, and 20,000 fish boxes.77 That seems to have been the extent of the forest products industry’s activity in Tobermory.

The community of Barrow Bay is located a few kilometres south of Lion’s Head, approximately halfway up the peninsula’s eastern coast. Like most settlements on the peninsula, Barrow Bay owed its beginnings to the lumber industry. Its protected harbour between Cape Dundas and Gun Point provided safe mooring for vessels arriving or departing with goods associated with the forest products industry. The swift-moving waters of Judge’s Creek powered the Barrow Bay Sawmill Company and grist mill. Servicing the industry and its workers were a store, a hotel, and the sawmill company office. In 1911, the mill burned and probably due to the insufficient supply of wood, it was not replaced. Barrow Bay decreased in size and looked to its larger neighbour to the immediate north, Lion’s Head, for its goods and service needs.78

76 Wyonch, ed., Hewers of the Forests, 247.
77 Wiarton Echo, 22 October 1903 and Wyonch, Hewers, 13-14.
78 Hepburn, Benchmarks, 26.
Lion’s Head owes its existence in large part to the forest products industry. Originally called Tackaberry’s Corners, and then Point Hangcliff, Lion’s Head is located on a deep harbour on the Georgian Bay shore. The community received its first settlers in the 1860s. They fished and farmed, but many also worked in the forest products industry. By 1875, the community had a post office and the area’s only general store. Lion’s Head became an important lumbering community with four active sawmills in its immediate vicinity between the 1880s and the mid-1920s. The first sawmill was erected by Robert Watt, who also established a grist mill in 1879. The township councils of Eastnor, Lindsay, and St. Edmunds provided Watt with a $1,600 subsidy to assist in the construction of the mill. By that year Lion’s Head also had approximately 100 residents, two hotels, a pump factory, and a blacksmith’s shop.

The mills and protected harbour made Lion’s Head an important Bruce Peninsula lumber port. To assist in the protection of the harbour the community successfully petitioned the federal government for financial assistance to build a breakwater. During the height of the lumber boom on the peninsula, the harbour welcomed vessels from other parts of Ontario and the American mid-west. Barges and schooners towed huge booms into port to be sawed at the mills. Other vessels arrived to take on loads of cedar and tamarack railroad ties, as well as telegraph poles and other forest products for shipment to the American mid-west.

As shipping traffic increased, a new wharf was built at Lion’s Head in 1883. Bruce County Council assisted in this project with a grant for $100.00. Local leaders successfully

---

79 *Echo*, 15 August 1879
80 Robertson, *Bruce*, 246-247.
81 *Echo*, 14 November 1879, 1.
83 *Echo*, 13 February 1880, 1.
petitioned the federal government to dredge the harbour, thereby adding to the community’s importance as a Great Lakes port.

Stokes Bay, with the largest and deepest harbour on the Lake Huron shoreline, started with the arrival of the forest products industry. The first non-Indigenous visitors to Stokes Bay were probably fishermen who arrived in the mid-1830s from the present-day Lake Huron shoreline community of Oliphant. As commercial fishing near the peninsula increased it is believed that fishermen sailed north to Stokes Bay, with its deep and protected harbour, to harvest fish in that area. There are two entrances to this maritime safe haven from the stormy weather on Lake Huron. Fishermen set up temporary drying and curing stations along the shoreline. It was not until 1870 that the area was officially opened for settlement. In that year, settlement plots were auctioned off in Lindsay Township.84

Stokes Bay’s deep harbour also drew lumbermen looking for an easy access to load and transport their wood products to market. Another attraction for the forest products industry was the river that flowed into the harbour which provided waterpower for the mills. A road was built along the west shore of the peninsula in 1882 providing land access to the area. In 1870, a mill was built on Tamarac Island, which lies a short distance offshore from Stokes Bay. The mill and its accompanying buildings were situated on 15 acres of land at the north end of the island as part of a complex which also included a dock, boiler house, office, barns, houses, and a narrow-gauge tram line. Unfortunately, the mill did not prosper. One reason for its failure might have been that its owner preferred working with pine, a commodity that once had been in abundance in the area around Stokes Bay, but the remaining stands of pine were too limited to sustain the company.85

84 Fox, Beckons, 192
85 Fox, Beckons, 193.
The mill was sold to new owners who were equally unsuccessful, and the complex was abandoned. By the 1880s, the village of Stokes Bay had grown to include two hotels, two stores, a cooperage, and a blacksmith shop. But as a reflection of the difficulties encountered by local mill operators, this represented the maximum extent of the community’s growth.\textsuperscript{86}

Demand for hardwood by furniture manufacturers led investors to consider re-opening the complex in 1899. This date might also suggest that the new owners may have been motivated by rumours that F.H. Clergue, the flamboyant owner of Sault Ste. Marie’s Algoma Steel Corporation was promoting to government a plan to build a marine-railway line to Tobermory from Manitoulin Island. It was proposed that the railway would be connected to the CPR rail line that ran from Sault Ste. Marie to Sudbury. A spur line would be built south to Manitoulin Island from where the rail cars would be transported on a series of boats and then re-connected when they reached Tobermory to a train which would travel by a Grand Trunk Railway spur line to be built from Wiarton.\textsuperscript{87} The prospect of a line of steel opening up the peninsula for more trade and commerce was enticing to the new mill owners due to the fact that their purchase of the Stokes Bay mill had also included large parcels of timber land, which when cleared could be sold to settlers.\textsuperscript{88} Clergue’s fanciful railway plans never materialized.\textsuperscript{89} But the company cut and processed the wood in its area, shipping the lumber to Southampton and other furniture manufacturers in southern Ontario. Once the forests were depleted of marketable wood, the mill closed, and Stokes Bay’s industrial base disappeared along with the last shipment of wood to Southampton.

\textsuperscript{86} Hepburn, \textit{Benchmarks}, 33.
\textsuperscript{87} Fox, \textit{Beckons}, 195-196.
\textsuperscript{88} Fox, \textit{Beckons}, 197.
\textsuperscript{89} Fox, \textit{Bruce}, 195.
Wiarton became the major urban centre on the Bruce Peninsula prior to World War One. It boasted the deepest and best protected harbour on the peninsula’s Georgian Bay coast. Wiarton’s designation in August 1882 as the Grand Trunk Railway’s most northerly terminus on the Bruce Peninsula was another significant factor in the community’s predominance. The establishment there of the peninsula’s only newspaper also contributed to Wiarton’s regional importance. From its inaugural edition in July 1879, the *Wiarton Echo* made clear that in addition to being Wiarton’s unabashed promoter, it would serve as the voice of the peninsula. The initial editorial stated that the newspaper “would advocate the local improvements, and point out the various requirements of this section of the country,”

Wiarton was not developed as a community until 1868. This seems a rather late addition to the Colpoys Bay region given that two other communities in the immediate vicinity, the villages of Colpoys on the adjacent north shore, and Oxendon on the south shore, welcomed their first settlers in 1856. Despite Wiarton’s town site’s proximity to the Rankin Portage, and its attractive location at the head of Colpoys Bay with a deep and protected harbour, it would be another twelve years before its first town lots were put up for auction in 1868 and settlers began arriving. The town plot had been laid out in 1855 (see Appendix “E”) shortly after the Treaty of 1854 was signed with the local Indigenous peoples.

Wiarton’s potential as a port facility, from where forest products could be shipped throughout the Great Lakes region and beyond, was recognized almost immediately. A request in

---

90 Fox; *Bruce*, 26.
91 “Wiarton: The Hope of the Indian Peninsula,” *Echo*, 7 November 1879, was just one of the many articles that appeared in various editions of the newspaper
92 *Echo*, 4 July 1879, 2.
93 Wiarton Historic Plaque; This information is also available from many sources such as Robertson’s *History of the County of Bruce* and Fox, *The Bruce Beckons*. 

52
1868 to construct a viable wharf was submitted to the federal government, and Wiarton received a $300 grant from the Department of Indian Affairs to assist in the project. At first it was only the Collingwood-based steamer, Hero, that called twice weekly at the new pier. In the late 1860s, Thomas Gilpin erected the first sawmill on the town site. In two years, Wiarton’s population grew to 200 inhabitants. In six years, the population doubled to 400. A growing number of commercial establishments including a grist and planing mill, a tannery, and a second sawmill, dotted the community’s landscape. As Wiarton continued to develop as a transshipment centre, community leaders secured $30,000 in government financial assistance in 1882 to further enhance their harbour facilities.

The large stands of timber attracted entrepreneurs to the area, and local settlers augmented their income as lumberjacks and saw millers. For nearly half a century the forests of the Bruce Peninsula provided wood for the 30 mills that dotted the peninsula’s shoreline. However, most of the wood was processed by the eight mills located in the Colpoys Bay area. One of the first sawmills to be erected was at the western end of the Rankin Portage on the Sauble River. Local leaders and the Wiarton Echo understood that Wiarton’s position as a transshipment centre would be greatly enhanced if a railway terminus was established in the community. The newspaper began a campaign across the entire peninsula promoting the idea. The Echo reported in July 1879 that a bylaw was to be put to the voters of the United Townships of Eastnor, Lindsay, and St. Edmunds proposing that a grant of $8,000 in bonuses and debentures be approved in support of extending the Stratford & Huron Railway to Wiarton.

---

94 Robertson, Bruce, 222.  
95 “Local Notes,” Owen Sound Advertiser, 1 June 1882  
97 Echo, 4 July 1879
Acting as the voice of the community, the *Echo* repeatedly editorialized how a railway would enhance Wiarton’s economic growth, citing as evidence the positive impact that a railway had on Collingwood. The editor pointed out that in 1879 “there are 15 regular passenger trains arriving and departing”\(^9\) from Collingwood weekly. Wiarton’s ambitions were not limited to becoming the centre of trade and commerce for the Bruce Peninsula. Its goal was to compete with, and to eventually surpass, Owen Sound as an important Georgian Bay port.\(^9\) The community’s business and political leaders believed a railway connection was key to keeping Wiarton open to commercial trade year-round, and not just during the navigation season.

When the bylaw was defeated by the electors of the United Townships of Eastnor, Lindsay, and St. Edmunds, the *Echo’s* editor was enraged. In a 26 July 1879 editorial, he attacked the reason why the bylaw had been defeated. He suggested that it was narrow-minded thinking that only Wiarton would benefit from the railway, when in the editor’s perspective, what was best for Wiarton was also best for the entire peninsula.

Despite the disappointment of the defeated bylaw vote construction continued on the rail line. Two months later, the *Wiarton Echo* reported on the front page of the 26 September 1879 edition that contracts for constructing a rail link from Listowel to Wiarton had been awarded.\(^1\) Over the next year, the newspaper issued regular updates on how construction was progressing. Finally, it was reported on 30 April 1880 that fifty men were working about seven miles from Wiarton in the Hepworth area and “the grading is expected to be completed in about four

\(^9\) *Echo*, 4 July 1879
\(^9\) Keith Fleming, “Owen Sound and the CPR Great Lakes Fleet: The Rise of a Port, 1840-1912,” *Ontario History* Volume LXXVI, Number 1, March 1984, 3-31 provides a detailed account of the rise of Owen Sound as an important Georgian Bay port in large part due to the community’s connection both with the CPR line of steel to Owen Sound and its designation as the eastern terminus of the CPR’s Great Lakes fleet of vessels.
\(^1\) *Echo*, 26 September 1879, 1.
weeks.’ The *Echo* reported that the first scheduled “in service” Grand Trunk Railway train arrived at the Wiarton station on 1 August 1882.

There were at least three furniture manufacturers in Wiarton, namely, the Hill Chair Company, the Wiarton Table Factory, and the Wiarton Furniture Factory. The railway also connected the area’s sawmills to Chesley and Stratford and many other communities in southwestern Ontario with woodworking establishments. Another local product transported by railway was hemlock bark. On average, about 4,000 cords of hemlock bark were shipped annually to tanneries in Kitchener, Acton, Listowel, and Toronto. The abundance of cedar in the area provided another huge source of revenue to area mills. It was estimated that 300,000 cedar railway ties were produced each year and shipped out by train. Early settlers recalled seeing twenty-five carloads of ties and other forest products chugging out of Wiarton railway station almost daily during the summer months.

Most of the logs arriving in Wiarton or to other area sawmills came in massive floating booms. One of the largest contracts ever let to a Wiarton area mill was awarded to the Seaman and Newman Company. In 1891, it contracted to supply 500,000 square feet of hemlock timber, in 25 to 30-foot lengths, to be used in constructing the Sault Ste. Marie locks. The hemlock was placed into huge cribs 25 feet wide, 150 feet long, and 13 feet high towed by tugs to Sault Ste. Marie. The canal builders were so satisfied with the product and service provided that over the course of six years they purchased more than six million feet of Bruce Peninsula hemlock.

---

101 “Hepworth Notes,” *Echo*, 30 April 1880
102 Norman Robertson wrote in the *History of the County of Bruce* that The Stratford and Lake Huron Railway was originally contracted to build the line but lacked the capital to continue. In May 1880 the Grand Trunk Railway leased the road and the line was completed. 225-226.
103 *Lake Huron Forest District*, MNR Library, pg. 18 and Newman, pg. 84
During the entire operation only one timber boom was lost, an amazing feat considering the timber had to travel across the hazardous waters around Tobermory en route to the North Shore channel.\textsuperscript{105}

The arrivals and departures of vessels including a listing of their cargoes appeared in most editions of the \textit{Wiarton Echo} during sailing season. For instance, on 25 July 1879 it reported that the steamer \textit{Prince Alfred} had arrived at the Wiarton mills “with a large raft of valuable logs for Mr. George Parks, consisting chiefly of butternut, cherry and white ash.”\textsuperscript{106} The newspaper also posted advertisements in most editions for forest products such as saw logs, timber, cedar posts, and cords of hemlock bark.

In early 1880, the \textit{Wiarton Echo} reported that Hitchcock and Foster lumber merchants of Chicago seemed to have cornered the cedar tie market on the peninsula. It printed reports of several ship departures from peninsula ports bound for Chicago one week in June. The schooners \textit{Yaci Murray} from Wiarton, the \textit{Resumption} from McGregor’s Harbour, the \textit{Craftsman} from Stokes Bay, and the steamer \textit{Simcoe} from Johnston’s Harbour, all left with cedar ties bound for Hitchcock and Foster’s Chicago operation. At the same time, the barque \textit{Fellowcraft} headed for the same terminus carrying a load of tan bark harvested from local hemlock trees.\textsuperscript{107} Reflecting its interest in the surrounding peninsula communities, the \textit{Wiarton Echo} also printed stories detailing their contributions to the local forest products industry. One such account pertained to the steam mills at Colpoy’s village, where “on Friday last there was turned out 14,575 feet of lumber at Bell’s Mill.”\textsuperscript{108} Later that month, the newspaper reported that

\textsuperscript{105} Newman; “Wiarton’s Eight Busy Mills,” pg. 88
\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Echo}, 25 July 1879
\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Wiarton Echo}, 4 June 1880.
\textsuperscript{108} \textit{Local Notes}, “Colpoy’s Steam Mills,” \textit{Echo}, 9 April 1880.
Messrs. Doughty and Lewis have contracted to supply Sauble River Mills with 2,000 saw logs. They are getting them to the riverbank, and some of the logs will turn out 2,000 feet of lumber each. They also have a contract to furnish 30,000 railroad ties.\textsuperscript{109}

In March 1881, the editor of the newspaper published a summary highlighting the large scale of recent activity in the local forest products industry:

To give some idea of the amount of shipping that will be done from the peninsula this season, we append the following statistics: Messrs. Inksetter have 175,000 ties on the peninsula, 35,000 of which are at Wiarton, 200 cords of paving timber and 6,000 telegraph poles. Owing to the absence of Mr. C.A. Watson, agent for Messrs. Hitchcock & Foster, we are unable to give the exact number of their ties, but they have in the neighbourhood of 150,000 on the peninsula and about 37,000 at Wiarton, Mr. John Ashcroft has about 25,000 pieces of paving timber, 10,000 of which are at Wiarton, Messrs. Ashcroft and Irwin have for shipment 300,000 feet of hardwood timber.\textsuperscript{110}

When the Grand Trunk Railway came to Wiarton in August 1882, the number of timber booms floated across Georgian Bay increased. At one point, peninsula area sawmills were producing 300,000 cedar railway ties a year to accommodate the railway expansion that was happening across North America.

The lumbering industry defined the economic development of the Georgian Bay region, and especially the Bruce Peninsula, in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Forests were a source of energy for homes and businesses. Wood provided homes, barns and outbuildings for agricultural settlers, buildings for commercial enterprises, and jobs, both permanent and seasonal, for agricultural and other settlers. Wood was also used in the construction of ships that in turn carried other wood products to market. Furniture, carriages, wagons, and many other necessities were crafted from wood. Cordwood fuelled steam-powered vessels. Local newspapers frequently carried advertisements for those wanting to sell or buy cordwood. Travellers described the huge piles of cordwood stacked on docks at Georgian Bay ports awaiting vessels in need of fuel.

\textsuperscript{109} “Sauble River,” \textit{Echo}, 30 April 1880.
\textsuperscript{110} \textit{Echo}; 26 March 1881.
Cordwood was readily available from settlers clearing their properties. As coal became increasingly available, cordwood, which was much bulkier to store on board ships, was eventually replaced as a fuel source for sailing vessels.

By the early 1900s, the forest products industry on the Bruce Peninsula was reduced largely to serving a local market. Exports to the American mid-west, southern Ontario, and beyond had virtually disappeared. In the meantime, agricultural production on the peninsula had failed to develop into the commercial success that early politicians and government officials had encouraged. Many settlers, after toiling on thin and infertile patches of soil interspersed among the rocky outcroppings or battling a losing cause against lumber companies impeding their efforts to clear their properties as desired, vacated the peninsula in search of more promising agricultural opportunities in western Canada or the United States. With its mixed record of fleeting and now diminished success in the forestry industry, and largely dashed agrarian expectations, what opportunities, if any, lay ahead for the Bruce Peninsula?
Chapter Four: Tourism on the Bruce Peninsula

The tourist industry was an ally of many forms of economic development in the 19th century, such as the growth of railways and steamer companies, and all of these industries were intimately associated with the gospel of expansionism.¹

The absence of the forest products industry as an important impetus to the Bruce Peninsula’s economy in the early 1900s left the region in an economic vacuum. Meanwhile, elsewhere in Ontario, tourism was on the verge of becoming an important regional economic driver. In northerly areas of Ontario, such as Algonquin Park, tourists sought the beauty of natural landscapes, activities such as hunting and fishing, and spending time in the fresh air away from smoky urban centres. These are a few reasons why this interest in northern Ontario tourism was dawning in the late 1800s and early 1900s. As industries became more mechanized, workers had more free time. Work weeks and daily hours of labour were decreasing. Individuals had more disposable income. With the arrival of the automobile and extensive road improvements along with railway expansion, travel beyond urban areas became more accessible. At the same time, landscape artists such as Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven were creating idyllic pictures of Ontario’s wilderness areas for newspapers, magazines, and galleries which further enhanced travellers’ interests in exploring. Although tourism had existed for a relatively privileged few since the early 1800s, by the early 1900s tourism opportunities were becoming more widely accessible, and important economically for many northerly locales.²

The Bruce Peninsula, with its scenic beauty, was primed to be a tourism destination. However, it would have to wait, just as it had to bide its time for settlers and lumbermen to discover the region half a century earlier. The lack of good transportation connections and

¹ Patricia Jasen, Wild Things, 152.
² Patricia Jasen, Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914, provides a detailed analysis of the early days of tourism in Ontario.
investment capital were major reasons for the region’s delay in achieving its tourism potential. The good will of individuals who wanted to promote and secure the future for the rich natural wildlife and landforms in the region, the boldness of persons with entrepreneurial foresight, and government assistance, were essential components to making Bruce Peninsula tourism a reality.

Transportation constraints restricted tourism activities on the peninsula until the 1930s, when construction of the Highway #6 northern extension began in earnest and was completed by 1937. Today roads criss-cross the peninsula, and a provincial highway connects Tobermory at its northern tip with Wiarton at its base. Originally peninsula land routes were at best rough-hewn trails linking the peninsula’s interior to nearby coastal harbours. These roads were essentially for the transit of forest products to the closest port facility for shipment to markets. The need for a system of roads prior to 1930 was limited mostly to local travellers, who typically relied on horse-drawn wagons, or walking. Railway access was limited, since the Grand Trunk Railway reached only as far north as Wiarton.

The necessary combination of events, actions, and individuals to bring tourism to the forefront of the peninsula’s economy would gradually come together beginning in the 1950s and reach its reality in the 1980s with the combination of new conservation efforts to promote the attributes of the peninsula’s natural bounty and the impact of the federal government’s creation of Fathom Five National Marine Park and Bruce Peninsula National Park. Together these two forces would drive the Bruce Peninsula’s economy.

The first tourist to camp on the peninsula was someone of note in Canadian history. The artist Paul Kane toured the area in 1845, painting images of local Indigenous peoples. One such

---

3 “The King’s Highway 6,” thekingshighway.ca
4 Paul White, Owen Sound: The Port City, (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2000), 34.
painting, *Indian Encampment on Lake Huron*, now held at the Art Gallery of Ontario, is considered one of his best-known representations of the Great Lakes region. This route taken by Kane and much earlier in the 1600s by explorer Samuel de Champlain was also used by early tourists to reach the Lake Huron shoreline from Georgian Bay. The first reported Lake Huron coastal campers were from Wiarton who crossed the peninsula to Oliphant in 1867 guided by Isaac Wilmot of Oliphant. They fished and explored the “Fishing Islands” by boat. While some followed the portage route that crossed Spry Lake and on to Oliphant, others chose the alternative Rankin Portage path that followed the Sauble River to Lake Huron. Just below the Sauble Falls, fishermen became the first tourists to the Sauble Beach area. A boarding house and general store were erected later in the 1880s to serve the growing tourist traffic in the Sauble vicinity.

Lake Huron and Georgian Bay provided valuable transportation connections for shipping commercial products but also provided access to the region for tourists. These waterways were also a source of recreational entertainment for local residents. Reports and advertisements in early newspapers illustrate that sailing regattas were popular in the area. Stories about such events appeared as early as 1852 in the *Owen Sound Comet.* At the same time, the newspapers informed residents of the chartering of ships to take passengers to events such as 12th of July festivities, or, after 1867, Dominion Day celebrations.

---

6 The Sauble River was originally called "La Riviere au Sable", which meant "the river to the sand." But in 1881, a mapmaker mistakenly wrote “Sauble” on the map and that name continued henceforth.
7 Women’s Institute, “Brief History”, 23-24.
8 The *Comet* began publishing in 1851 and the *Echo* first went to press in 1879.
The advent of steam-powered boats not only changed the manner of Great Lakes commercial shipping, it also signalled the introduction of steam-driven yachts. At first many Georgian Bay residents ignored steam power for their recreational vessels in favour of refurbished Georgian Bay mackinaws discarded by commercial fishermen who switched to more efficient steam-driven tugs. Although steam-driven yachts were limited in usage, the Owen Sound Comet reported their increasing popularity and availability on Georgian Bay. Regattas were often part of various summer holiday celebrations, with competitions between communities such as Leith, Owen Sound, Wiarton, and Meaford. In 1879, the Wiarton Echo reported that every effort was being made to attract "the best amateur and professional talent available"9 to a Colpoy's Bay regatta. The same article promoted the regatta as part of the economic benefits of increased tourism. The editor opined about "the benefits derived from having our beautiful bay, with its majestic scenery, made known to pleasure seekers and others, by having this aquatic festival".10

The Alice Smith, owned by Dr. Frances Smith, was one of the earliest recorded large yachts cruising Georgian Bay and Lake Huron between 1869 and 1871. There is also evidence of tourist travel to the area via privately-owned yachts. For instance, the Cove Island lighthouse keeper located at the junction of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, kept a logbook which detailed many of the recreational boating visitors sailing through the area. During the summers of 1881 and 1884, American travellers arrived at the island aboard the Detroit-based yacht Wanda, captained by Captain C.D. Waterman. The far-reaching allure of sailing on Georgian Bay is shown by the guestbook signatures of Mr. and Mrs. George Foster from Augusta, Georgia, who

---

9 Echo, 4 July 1879
10 Echo, 4 July 1879
arrived at the island in 1881 aboard the *Wanda*. On 25 July 1896, a Bay City, Michigan yacht arrived at Cove Island and a day later the yacht *Peggy* carrying tourists from Brantford, Southampton, Owen Sound, and Washington, D.C called at the lighthouse.”

While vessels of all shapes and sizes have plied Georgian Bay’s waters, some were virtual palaces on water. Arthur Dodge of the Georgian Bay Lumbering Company sailed his steam yacht *Skylark* in the 1880s around Georgian Bay, and elsewhere on the Great Lakes. The *Skylark* was described "as perfect and as handsome a craft as sails anywhere on Canadian waters". At the turn of the century, the Canadian Iron Furnace Company of Midland’s steam yacht, the *Voyageur* toured company officials on Georgian Bay scenic trips. This majestic vessel had overnight accommodation for fifteen guests and crew members.

Not all 19th century Bruce Peninsula tourism was water bound. In 1877, Thomas E. Hay and his family of Listowel undertook a hunting expedition around Oliphant. Later, in 1890, Hay built a cottage on Hawknest Island. The Department of Indian Affairs began selling some of the Fishing Islands in the 1890s. In 1899 the federal government commissioned the Warren Survey of the Fishing Islands resulting in more islands available for sale. The popularity of Oliphant and its islands is illustrated by the 1903 Oliphant Camper’s Association membership which totalled 150. The Oliphant area continued to grow in tourism popularity. A 1915 Grand Trunk Railway brochure, “Playgrounds of Canada,” described Oliphant “as fast becoming one of the most popular summer resorts on the Great Lakes” with “numerous furnished cottages available for

---

11 Cove Island Light – Visitor’s Book 1880-1897, George Currie, Keeper, Bruce County Archives, AG1-19, Box R.11.
14 Amabel Women’s Institute, “A Brief History”, 21
15 James Warren, D.L.S., O.L.S. was a Bruce County-based surveyor, Bruce County Archives
16 *Echo*, 24 September 1903
accommodation and necessary supplies available from “conveniently located” stores. Further north in Stokes Bay, the Tamarac Island Fishing and Shooting Club was organized on June 12, 1913, taking over the old Tamarac mill as headquarters.”

There was other evidence of Bruce Peninsula tourist activity. It was reported on 24 September 1903\textsuperscript{18} that the camping community at Oliphant held their annual summer picnic. Some campers lived in tents; others built more permanent structures. It appears that cottages were becoming popular on the southern end of the peninsula, as the \textit{Echo} posted advertisements throughout July and August 1908 from T.J. Moore, an Oliphant area company, for “Campers Supplies” and three years later in 1911, similar advertisements appeared from early March to the end of August.\textsuperscript{19} To supply tourist’s camping needs, local businesses posted advertisement campaigns from 4 July to 5 September 1907, and from 11 June 1908 to the end of the summer. “Ho! For the Lake”\textsuperscript{20} detailed various grocery products for campers and cottagers from the T.C. Allan Company which advertised itself as “Wiarton’s Leading Grocery.”\textsuperscript{21} Advertisements directed towards the tourist community continued on July 5, 1911, when “Picnic and Camping Season” appeared in the Wiarton newspaper.\textsuperscript{22}

Tents large enough to accommodate families soon became a familiar sight near to the mouth of the Sauble River, and at the north end of the Sauble Beach. Soon a small cottage community dotted the sandy shoreline. Many of these early beach tourists hailed from London,

---

\textsuperscript{17} Irene Monkman and Roy Fleming, \textit{Oliphant and Its Islands, Lake Huron} (Toronto, 1912), 27, 28, 32; Glenn G. Hepburn, ed., \textit{Benchmarks}, 388; Grand Trunk Railway, \textit{The Playgrounds of Canada: A short Treatise on Tourist, Fishing and Hunting Resorts Reached by the Grand Trunk System}, (Toronto: General Passenger Department, 1915), 6.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Echo}; 24 September 1903

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Echo}, “Campers Supplies (building supplies, floors,)” 8 March 1911

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Echo}, “Ho! For the Lake,” 11 July 1908

\textsuperscript{21} Campers and cottagers seem to be interchangeable terms in the \textit{Wiarton Echo}.

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Echo}, “Picnic and Camping Season,” 5 July 1911
Ontario. After a long train ride, the Londoners arrived at Hepworth’s Royal Hotel for lunch. After the final leg of their holiday journey on a rough trail aboard a horse-drawn “democrat,” they arrived in late afternoon at Sauble Beach. As more tourists arrived, a small community, including a church and cottages spread further along the beach.23 The arrival of the automobile and better roads increased Sauble’s popularity. In time, tourists from Ontario, as well as from Michigan, Ohio, and New York transformed Sauble Beach into a resort area rivaling the Muskokas, Wasaga Beach, and Grand Bend. In the 1950s, tourist promoters dubbed Sauble Beach, the "Daytona of Canada".24

Sauble Beach was not the only part of the peninsula to come to the attention of tourists. The eastern shoreline also welcomed visitors as land transportation became more accessible. Beginning in 1910, and continuing onward, many of the Georgian Bay area communities began identifying the hometowns of their tourist visitors. These guest books illustrate that visitors were not just from Brantford, London, Hamilton, Stratford, and Toronto in southern Ontario, but also from American towns in Michigan, Ohio and New York states. By the 1920s, these visitors were building cottages and contributing to the local economies.25 There were also reports of American investors purchasing larger parcels of land. The Toronto Globe reported on 27 July 1926, that F.J. Talmadge of Detroit had purchased Hay Island at the entrance to Colpoy’s Bay. There were no plans released as to what Talmadge had in mind for the 2,400-acre land parcel, but The Globe speculated that “it was for summer resort purposes … (and)… “it is part of a plan to develop the tourist possibilities of the Bruce Peninsula district.”26

---

24 Blake, Green Meadows, 338.
The Hay Island purchase prompted *The Globe* to speculate further about the intentions of American investors. In a September 1926 edition, the Toronto newspaper reported that a forthcoming visit to the peninsula by a large group of Detroit businessmen caused interest among Owen Sound and peninsula residents.\(^{27}\) The stir among the locals was caused by speculation the newspaper reported:

This visit is the result of investigations regarding the great possibilities of the Islands in the Georgian Bay and the Bruce Peninsula for a summer playground for the thousands of tourists. …It is understood that development on a large scale is under consideration by the Detroit people and that they contemplate purchasing large acreage on the peninsula.\(^{28}\)

Two years later, the 7 February 1928 edition of *The Globe* reported a *Wiarton Echo* story that the Bruce County Council discussed the possibility of offering the entire Bruce Peninsula to the provincial government to enable the region to become a provincial park. Perhaps the councillors were afraid of further incursions by American investors taking over the peninsula, or they were simply forecasting the future tourism potential of the region. The article reported that “much of this section of the county is not suitable for agriculture … (and)… the people might be moved to a more fertile part”.\(^{29}\) The article went on to say that the peninsula was not agriculturally profitable, “but in these days of motoring and camping it has in it the possibilities of a gold mine.”\(^{30}\) The article concluded with a prophetic statement about the future of tourism on the peninsula:

In catering to the tourist, the summer cottager and the summer boarder the Bruce Peninsula offers attractions not found elsewhere in the western part of old Ontario. The only question is how to capitalize them.\(^{31}\)

\(^{27}\) “Plan Playground in Georgian Bay, American Capitalists Will Investigate Possibilities as Summer Resort,” *The Globe*, 24 September 1926

\(^{28}\) “Plan Playground in Georgian Bay…,” *The Globe* 24 September 1926

\(^{29}\) “It is Worth Developing,” *The Globe*, 7 February 1928, 4.

\(^{30}\) “It is Worth Developing,” 4.

\(^{31}\) “Worth Developing,” 4.
The federal government may have been listening to the Bruce County Council. In 1930 the National Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior purchased Flowerpot Island from the Department of Indian Affairs for $165. This purchase was made in order that Flowerpot Island could be included in Georgian Bay Islands National Park. The Parks Branch said that they wanted to protect the flowerpots.32

The increase in popularity of land-based camping and cottaging on the peninsula also benefited those who sailed the region’s waterways. Campers and cottagers tended to locate at or near the peninsula’s coastlines. There communities grew to serve not only campers’ needs, but also those of sailors. These harbour communities provided “safe havens” especially for recreational boaters, who usually avoided navigation at night. This “harbour hopping” became an important part of the routine for boaters cruising the peninsula’s dangerous shorelines. To this end, boaters tried to find harbours that offered not only dockage facilities such as fuel pumps and marinas, but also restaurants, retail outlets, and road access which were also considered assets by the boating public.

Because of the lack of land routes connecting the peninsula to the rest of the province, water travel was essential for both commercial and recreational purposes. However, water transportation posed its own tourism detriments. First, the waterway, especially through the gap between the two bodies of water at Tobermory, can be extremely hazardous. Even experienced mariners have failed the challenge to conquer the winds, waves and currents with deadly results. Their failures are evident by the numerous vessels that litter the Georgian Bay bottom around Tobermory. The sailors brave enough to challenge Georgian Bay’s often tempestuous waters

32 “Flowerpots To Be Saved on $165 Northern Isle,” The Globe, 30 December 1930, 1.
faced another limitation. The sailing season could be very short. Each year, the *Wiarton Echo* carefully noted the beginning and ending of each navigation season. But even if the season opened in late April, and closed in December, that did not mean that a recreational boater could get on the water that early or remain sailing that late. The reality was tourist sailors had only three- or four-months good sailing weather. Another form of recreational sailing on Georgian Bay and the Great Lakes came into popularity; travelling aboard passenger vessels, packet ships, and cruise ships.  

Travel by water was so important that virtually every issue of the *Wiarton Echo* contained stories or advertisements about water transportation into and out of the region. For instance, the Crawford Tug Company advertised in every issue of the *Wiarton Echo* during the 1903 navigation season promoting travel aboard the steamer *Jones*. This vessel sailed twice weekly from Wiarton stopping at various Georgian Bay communities including Tobermory, Little Current, Killarney, and Point aux Baril. The seven-dollar round-trip fare included a sleeping berth and meals. Although this vessel was probably used primarily by area residents, the advertisements also promoted tourists viewing “picturesque islands and fishing stations.”

Many Georgian Bay excursions originated from American ports. These junkets were American-based businesses advertising Georgian Bay “as a more exotic branch of the Great Lakes.” The Windsor-based Seaway Lines Ltd. brochure described the peninsula region as “fascinating places off the beaten path,” and “scenery and villages unspoiled by the rush of civilization …where the brilliant sun on azure waters combines with the sparkling northern

---

33 This information could be found in virtually every edition of the *Wiarton Echo* from 1879 to 1890 and again from 1900 to 1910 during sailing season.
34 *Wiarton Echo*, advertisement usually on the front page of every edition from the beginning to the end of sailing season.
35 *Collingwood Enterprise*, 11 January; 11 July; 25 July 1912
atmosphere to bring healthful peace and relaxation.” A 1901 Grand Trunk Railway and Northern Navigation Company brochure “Among the 30,000 Islands of Georgian Bay,” advertised scheduled runs from Collingwood

through what may be called the most enchanting water scenery of this continent and includes that vast portion of the north arm of the Georgian Bay, with its multitude of islands and its varied and magnificent scenery, which must be seen to be appreciated.

These ships also provided a means for hunters and fishermen to try their skills in more remote regions of the province, like the Bruce Peninsula and the north shore of Georgian Bay. The arrival of these visitors provided local businesses with an opportunity to tap into a market unachievable to them prior to the rise in popularity of these excursions. The 19 November 1903 edition of the Wiarton Echo listed arrivals to a local hotel. Hunters came from Pennsylvania, Michigan, Toronto, Stratford and some local communities to participate in the annual hunt for deer or moose.

The beauty and rustic allure of the region attracted nature lovers, artists, and poets. Writing in 1910, the Canadian poet Wilfrid Campbell, who grew up in Wiarton and Owen Sound, described Wiarton, Owen Sound, Meaford and Collingwood, as fine ports and popular

---

37 The arrival of the railway line connecting Toronto to the Georgian Bay region, at the port of Collingwood, in 1855, not only signalled the expansion of maritime commerce on Georgian Bay, it also facilitated the introduction of excursion holidays. These holiday trips were made not only on passenger ships, but also where possible on cargo vessels that set aside berthing areas for passengers. An example of this mixed use of vessels was reported in the 27 June 1872 edition of The Globe that the Lake Superior Royal Mail Line offered excursions aboard its vessel the Chicora, which sailed from Collingwood to Mackinac Island with stops at Killarney and Little Current. The four-day excursion’s return trip sailed along the west shore of Georgian Bay to Collingwood.
38 Northern Navigation Company Timesheet, 1901, Dossin Great Lakes Museum, Detroit, Michigan
39 Echo, “Late Arrivals,” 19 November 1903
40 During the late 19th and early 20th century Tom Thomson, the Group of Seven, and others were travelling north to explore, paint and write.
summer haunts, with the three islands -- White Cloud, Hay and Griffith -- protecting Colpoy’s Bay as “delightful resorts for the sportsman and yachtsman.”

To capitalize on tourism’s growing popularity a group of Owen Sound businessmen formed a company around 1900 to create a uniquely high-end resort just north of Owen Sound on Georgian Bay. For more than a decade, cruise ships such as the North American and the South American made King’s Royal Park a regular port-of-call on their sailing itinerary. But as the First World War engulfed the world, this Georgian Bay resort started to fail. “By the beginning of the First World War registration at the hotel was less than 10% of capacity.” Its destiny became demolition. The hotel was purchased by a Toronto demolition company for $5,000.

Why did King’s Royal Park fail? No concrete answers have come to the fore as to why it did not succeed. Was the onset of the war to blame, or was competition from Muskoka’s tourist attractions too strong? Muskoka’s popularity appears not to have been hindered by the war. Possibly the Bruce Peninsula was simply the “poor cousin” of Muskoka. The region which developed first had the advantage of direct transportation links with the Toronto area. It may well be the lack of convenient direct land transportation connections between the Toronto area and Owen Sound that sealed the luxury hotel’s fate.

As tourism became increasingly important to Ontario’s economy, a formidable obstacle blocked tourism’s growth on the Bruce Peninsula. Tourists could make their way to Owen Sound or Wiarton with relative ease. But travelling further up the peninsula had to be via wagon or on foot. Complicating travel plans, the roads were barely passable beyond points such as Oliphant.

---

42 White, *Owen Sound*, 127.
43 White, *Owen Sound*, 127.
(see Appendix “K” for Oliphant’s location on Lake Huron). Consequently this Lake Huron shoreline community became a vacation destination for campers and cottagers. Although automobiles began to make an appearance on Ontario’s roads by the first decade of the 20th century, their impact on the Bruce Peninsula would not be felt until the 1930s when construction began on the Highway #6 extension connecting Tobermory to Wiarton. At the same time a car ferry service began, joining the peninsula with Manitoulin Island and Georgian Bay’s North Shore. It was the hope of peninsula commercial interests that better roads, and a reliable ferry service, would alleviate any obstacles to accessing the region. The ferry connection between the Bruce Peninsula and Manitoulin Island initially had little to do with cars and highways but was promoted as a railway link. It was thought that a system of ferry boats could provide a railway link to the North Shore. As has been noted in Chapter Three, Francis Hector Clergue, in 1899-1900 envisioned a railway connecting the Bruce Peninsula with Manitoulin Island and the North Shore. Central to Clergue’s plan was the completion of a line of steel from Wiarton to Tobermory. However, Clergue's idea never got past the drawing board.44

In 1917, Lion’s Head businessman John Tackaberry purchased the steamer *Henry Pedwell* and started a car ferry operation up the coast of the peninsula to Manitoulin Island. Passengers were not Tackaberry’s primary target market. He owned an automobile dealership in Lion's Head and regarded the ferry system as useful for delivering new cars to North Shore customers. Tackaberry was not alone promoting ferry service to the North Shore. In 1921, a group of Owen Sound businessmen formed the Owen Sound Transportation Company. By 1931, the company had received a charter to create a regular ferry service between Tobermory and Manitoulin Island. The company put the ferry *Kegawong* into service on the new route. The

44 Fox, *Beckons*, 195.
*Kegawong* had previously been owned by Tackaberry and sailed under the name *Henry Pedwell*. The Owen Sound Transportation Company purchased the American fire tug *James R. Elliott*, which had been built in 1902, and re-named it the *Normac*. In 1931 she sailed between Owen Sound and Sault Ste. Marie, but on 19 July 1932, amid much fanfare with Provincial Secretary George Challies aboard, the *Normac* sailed the inaugural voyage providing twice-daily ferry service between Tobermory and Manitoulin Island. The *Normac* could carry 15 automobiles per trip, but to facilitate this number, all of the vehicles had the air let out of their tires and refilled when they reached their destination.

Recreational boating continued to grow in the twentieth century, as many more American sailors plied the waters of Lake Huron en route to the Bruce Peninsula. A story in the 10 July 1930 edition of the *Wiarton Echo* provides an example of this growth in tourist interest in the region. The article told how the previous weekend had been a "record week-end for tourists and visiting of many yachts" at Tobermory, with many of the yachts hailing from the Detroit Yachting Club. Some of these yachts were truly opulent, as the *Wiarton Echo*’s editor reported from Tobermory harbour:

> While I was in the village, (Tobermory) there was a yacht came into port to `coal up'. It was owned by one of the Fishers of the Fisher Body Co. of Detroit. He is what you might term a `wealthy American millionaire'. It was a very elaborate plaything, an extravagance. Andrew Belrose coaled her up with 750 gallons of gasoline. She burns up 100 gallons an hour, and very few people outside of a bank, could afford a thing like that for a toy.

---

45 By 1930 all references to Tackaberry’s ferry service disappear. It seems likely that the company gave way to the Owen Sound Transportation Company.
47 Wyonch, *Hewers of the Forest*, 29. This practice continued into the 1960s on the Tobermory to Manitoulin ferry boats. This process was made possible because the cars were side loaded on to ships.
48 *Wiarton Echo*; 10 July 1930
49 *Wiarton Echo*, 28 August 1930
As marine passenger travel became more popular, many coastal services companies combining passengers and freight transport shifted focus to take advantage of the growth in tourism either by converting cargo vessels to passenger service or adding passenger ships to their fleet. Advertising focused less on destination points and more on the scenery experienced as they travelled. For instance, by 1920 the Dominion Transportation Company of Owen Sound advertised its Owen Sound to Michipicoten coastal trip as “the summer’s most popular outing - six days on the Great Inland Seas.” A decade later, in 1930, the old “Turkey Trail” packet trip was promoted as a cruise.\(^50\)

The legendary Tobermory fisherman and explorer, Orrie Vail\(^52\), described the impact of the completion of the Highway #6 extension northward from Wiarton to Tobermory:

Passenger traffic, excursions, sportsmen’s magazines, and adventurer’s tales helped to raise the tourist profile of the Bruce Peninsula, but it was the construction of Highway 6 from Wiarton to Tobermory in 1930 and the establishment of a ferry service from Tobermory to Manitoulin Island that opened the peninsula to the wider motoring and boating world. The highway and the ferry made the peninsula less remote and more friendly to the wave of tourism that had its greatest impact after the Second World War.\(^53\)

Despite the growth in numbers of cottages and other tourist accommodations and American investment in the area, the Bruce Peninsula was still a relatively unknown Ontario tourism destination. Frederick Smiley’s *Ontario Tourist and Sportsman’s Guide* for 1933 listed at least 62 summer camps, hotels and resorts located in eastern and southern Georgian Bay, and nine tourist destinations on Manitoulin Island. However, no resorts north of Port Elgin,

---

\(^{50}\) The “Turkey Trail” was the name of the east-west water route from Georgian Bay along the North Channel, up the St. Mary’s River to Lake Superior.

\(^{51}\) United States and Dominion Transportation Company timesheet, 1930, Dossin Great Lakes Museum, Detroit

\(^{52}\) Vail earned international attention when he claimed that he had found pieces of the wreck of French explorer LaSalle’s long-missing vessel, the *Griffon*. It was never proved, or disproved, that the wreckage was that of the *Griffon*.

Southampton, and Sauble Beach on the Lake Huron shore and only three on the Georgian Bay coast were listed.\textsuperscript{54}

Although the peninsula was relatively undeveloped in the 1930s that did not stop writers from \textit{The Globe} extolling the virtues of a visit to the region. In the 2 October 1933 edition, P.T. Dowling penned a front-page story entitled “Sing a Song of Tobermory.” Dowling writes a glowing description of the natural attributes of the peninsula and especially the village of Tobermory. He even waxed poetically about the trip to the tip of the peninsula saying,

To travel there is a lesson in poetry. You get paved roads, then gravel roads, paved roads and gravel roads, but adventure does not start until you get improved roads. Then you know you are in the Bruce of strong men amid rugged surroundings, where mind is more than matter, and air is like Switzerland.\textsuperscript{55}

The 1880s marked a period of attitudinal change that would ultimately bring significant tourism opportunities to the Bruce Peninsula. This was the beginning of an awareness of the value of nature which led to the wildlife conservation movement. This action was spearheaded by the Canadian Institute, the Audubon Society, as well as anglers and hunters. In response to the conservationist’s demands, the Mowat government created on 13 November 1890 the Royal Commission on Game and Fish, led by Dr. G.A. MacCallum, to investigate whether the province’s fish and game were in danger of extinction.\textsuperscript{56} The Commission found the claims of possible fish and game extinction to be true. Almost immediately after the tabling of the Commission’s report on 1 February 1892, and “precisely one week after, a Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Parks was struck.”\textsuperscript{57} This commission established the

\textsuperscript{54} Frederick Smiley, \textit{Ontario Tourist and Sportsmen’s Guide} (Toronto: Department of Highways, 1933), 90-92.
\textsuperscript{55} P.T. Dowling, “Sing a Song of Tobermory,” \textit{The Globe}, 2 October 1933, 1.
\textsuperscript{56} Killan, \textit{Protected Places}, 7.
\textsuperscript{57} Killan, \textit{Protected Places}, 7.
groundwork leading to the creation of provincial parks. The first park, Algonquin Park was created in 1893.58

Despite the fact that one of the major influencers of the conservation movement, John Muir, lived near and travelled on the Bruce Peninsula59, the first park in the peninsula region was not part of the provincial parks plan. Rather, it was Harrison Park, a large municipal park in Owen Sound on eighty-eight acres of land that John Harrison a prominent Owen Sound lumberman and sawmill owner sold to the municipality in 1912.60 The lumbering community had been an important factor, alongside the conservation community, in the call to create parks61 and one must consider that Harrison’s actions may have been influenced by his fellow lumbermen.

Ontario created two provincial parks in two years, Algonquin (1893) in mid-northeastern Ontario, and Rondeau Provincial Park in southwestern Ontario (1894). Although the government took speedy action announcing the creation of the first two, it was two decades before the next provincial park, Quetico (1913) in the Lake Superior region was established. These parks were managed with the motives of “use and profit” as key components, meaning timber products, wildlife, fish, and recreation usage, were all considered revenue-producing streams. Not until the formation of the Quetico-Superior Council in 1928, and the creation of the Federation of Ontario Naturalists62 in 1931, was this utilitarian motive questioned and the ideals of natural protected areas for both scenic and scientific purposes moved to the forefront.63

58 For more about the formation of Algonquin Park please see H.V Nelles, The Politics of Development; Lambert Pross, Renewing Nature’s Wealth, and Gerald Killan, Protected Places.
60 White, Owen Sound, 70.
61 Gillis and Roach, Lost Initiatives, 32.
62 Ontario Federation of Naturalists became Ontario Nature in 2004
63 Killan, Protected Places, ix.
Why did the Ontario government essentially stop creating provincial parks after Algonquin, Rondeau, and Quetico? According to Gerald Killan,

the establishment of Algonquin Park and the changes to the fish and game laws, following the MacCallum commission report, defused the wildlife crisis and dissipated much of the emotion that had fuelled the conservation lobby. Forestry ideas continued to influence government policy, but in a way that obviated the need for large northern provincial parks.\(^{64}\)

The provincial park program slowed to a crawl after the formation of Quetico. By the mid-1950s, Ontario had created only eight provincial parks, none of which were located on or near the Bruce Peninsula. The region did receive a small park designation in 1929, when the Canadian government created Georgian Bay National Park, consisting of a group of Georgian Bay islands. The Bruce Peninsula’s connection to this park was a cluster of eight islands on the western shore of the Peninsula, including Flowerpot Island. Perhaps the creation of Georgian Bay National Park was at least in part a response to the purchase of Hay Island at the mouth of Colpoys Bay by a Detroit businessman. This action and interest shown by other Americans in purchasing more Bruce Peninsula islands may have generated a fear of losing potentially valuable tourism resources to non-Canadian investors.\(^{65}\)

Sailing around the Bruce Peninsula was a popular pastime for many American recreational boaters. By the 1950s, concerns about the treacherous waters and shoreline of the region caused the Great Lakes Cruising Club of Chicago to print its own *Cruising Club Port Pilot and Log Book* for the North Channel and Georgian Bay. This project was considered necessary due to the number of gaps in the Canadian Great Lakes charts and pilot publications.

---

\(^{64}\) Killan, *Protected Places*, 20.

In the early 1950s *The Globe and Mail* published several stories about the Bruce Peninsula and Tobermory in particular. These journalistic efforts included pictures and articles about the citizens of Tobermory spending the winter months making local crafts to be sold in the forthcoming tourism season.\(^{66}\) Among the other articles fishing was often featured including where to fish, what kind of fish and related stories such as “Splendid big bass water in the rocky coves all up the Lake Huron shore – Red Bay, Pike Bay, Stokes Bay, etc.”\(^{67}\) In a 1957 article, Adelaide Leetch described the natural wonders of Ontario’s swamplands pointing to those on the Bruce Peninsula as “a world-famous botanical treasure house we share with professional botanists and other swamp dwellers.”\(^{68}\)

In the post-Second World War years there was an increased public demand for more recreational facilities. The Canadian population was expanding, not only due to the “Baby Boom”, but also because of increasing immigration. Historian Gerald Killan identifies several factors contributing to a “crisis in outdoor recreation” that needed to be addressed: “population growth, urbanization, higher standards of living, increased levels of leisure time, more personal mobility, American tourism, and a younger and more educated population – combined to bring about the crisis in outdoor recreation that hit Ontario, beginning in the late 1940s.”\(^{69}\)

These factors led to the beginning of a movement to create more park space in the province. At the January 1954 District Foresters’ Annual Conference “the new pro-park

---


\(^{69}\) Killan, *Protected Places*, 76.
sentiment surfaced.”

The result was a statement challenging Premier Leslie Frost’s Ontario government to remedy the situation:

Our provincial parks are too few and too small … Lack of a recreational plan in the past is now evident. With the industrial progress of the Province and the great influx of people since the last war, a situation is created that was unforeseen. But the situation is here, and we must rise to meet it.

Two months later in March 1954, the Ontario government introduced the Provincial Parks Act. G.A.H. Challies, Minister without Portfolio presented the bill, saying that the government heard the public’s demand for recreation space and stressed the “urgency of acquiring more land for park purposes.”

This legislation initiated a Parks division within the Department of Lands and Forests, and mandated the creation of more parks. An aggressive campaign establishing new parks ensued. By 1967 the number of parks rose to 94 and in 1989 had reached 261.

An interest in conservation and the environment coincided with this period of increasing demand for outdoor recreational space. Consequently, these factors not only led to a call for more parks but also for the creation of conservation authorities. In response to this interest three applications for conservation authorities were submitted to the provincial government in 1958. The third submission was made by eleven south Bruce Peninsula municipalities to create the Sauble Valley Conservation Authority. Almost simultaneously with this request for a Sauble Valley Conservation Authority, the Bruce Peninsula was a beneficiary of the provincial parks’

---

70 Killan, Protected Places, 85.
73 Killan, Protected Places, 74.
expansionary action. Sauble Falls Provincial Park in 1960 became the peninsula’s first provincial park. This park was part of the already popular Sauble Beach tourist resort area.\textsuperscript{75} The idea of turning the entire peninsula into a park which originated in 1928, resurfaced in the 1957 federal election when Eric Winkler, the area’s Conservative MP, called for the Bruce Peninsula to be made a national park.\textsuperscript{76}

In the 1960s provincial parks were proving to be very popular. For example, in 1957, 2,114,661 visitors attended Ontario’s 86 provincial parks. Seven tourist seasons later the number of visitors quadrupled to 8,526,443.\textsuperscript{77}

The creation of the Bruce Trail in the 1960s was another example of the interest in nature, healthy recreation and the quest for preservation of unique geographical landforms, in this case the Niagara Escarpment, through public-private teamwork and the power of volunteers. The idea and initial work to create the Bruce Trail began in 1958. To economically and efficiently facilitate the project the Bruce Trail Club was formed in July 1962. This organization recruited and co-ordinated the local volunteers essential to clearing and eventually maintaining the trail.\textsuperscript{78} The 885-kilometre-long trail was completed in 1967 and by 1970 the Bruce Trail Association\textsuperscript{79} had a membership of 2,500.\textsuperscript{80} The trail was also made possible by landowners from Niagara to Tobermory who allowed free access across their properties. One of the early volunteers, Tom Adams of Tobermory, expressed the motivation behind many volunteers and

\textsuperscript{75} Killan, \textit{Protected Places}, 102.
\textsuperscript{77} Bob Turnbull, “8,526,443 Visit Parks in Ontario,” \textit{The Globe and Mail}, 14 December 1963, 32. See Appendix “M” for a listing of park visitation from 1956-1963
\textsuperscript{78} Two volunteers, who travelled to help in terms of labour and financial support creating Bruce Trail were Howard and Bruce Krug, Chesley furniture manufacturers, who bequeathed thousands of acres of forest to environmental groups for their continued protection.
\textsuperscript{79} The Bruce Trail Association was also known as the Bruce Trail Club.
property owners’ devotion to the project: “We began to realize what a unique and beautiful spot it was and that more people should enjoy it…It’s just too beautiful to have it spoiled by development.”

The Bruce Trail quickly became a popular hiking destination. The route was much more than a walk in the woods. It was a gateway to many diverse natural attractions within and around the Bruce Peninsula such as the famous Flowerpot Island, and the wide variety of orchids, some of which could only be found along the Bruce Trail. Travel writer David Dunbar wrote that “the Bruce Peninsula is the most spectacular section of the Niagara Escarpment,” citing the ancient white cedar trees and the diversity of plants, wildlife, and birds. In addition to these natural attributes he promoted activities such as the scenic drives, hiking, canoeing, fishing, and swimming that the peninsula offered.

Questions of over-usage of existing park lands, and the demise of pristine natural escapes caused politicians in the 1960s to respond. In 1967 Lands and Forests minister, Rene Brunelle, reported to Premier John Robarts, “it will never be possible to purchase sufficient lakeshore lands to meet the growing demand.” Continuing he said, “I believe that the Niagara escarpment up to and including the Bruce Peninsula offers a tremendous opportunity for public outdoor

---

82 1 October 1977, *The Globe and Mail*, a front-page article, “Success Spoiling the Bruce Trail” reported that “An estimated 170,000 people walk bits and pieces of the Bruce Trail between Wiarton and Tobermory every summer.”
84 These little-known white cedars were discovered by University of Guelph scientist Douglas Larson in the late 1980s.
85 Dunbar, “Bruce Peninsula National Park,” 197-204.
recreation use.” In March 1967, the Premier appointed Professor Leonard O. Gertler to conduct a study entitled “The Niagara Escarpment Study: Conservation and Recreation Report.”

Released in 1969, Professor Gertler’s report made four recommendations: (a) the preservation of land for recreational use; (b) the creation of a system of parks; (c) a means of controlling, and at the same time allowing the existence of extractive industries; and (d) procedures for the administration and financing of parks. These recommendations would become the template for the creation of provincial parks along the Niagara Escarpment, and most notably, the Bruce Peninsula.

Gertler suggested that a park system could “preserve, plan and develop the Escarpment as an integrated network of parks.” This program could be facilitated by the creation of major multi-purpose parks, along the Escarpment at the Niagara Parkway, Effingham Short Hills, Dundas Valley, Rattlesnake Point, Credit Forks, Blue Mountain, Beaver Valley and at Tobermory. The government, Gertler stated, could ensure that the region’s natural features were kept intact and access between the various parks could be facilitated. To that end, the Bruce Trail, which spanned from the Canada-United States border to the northern tip of the Bruce Peninsula, was lauded as an example of an effort to conserve natural landscape.

Public meetings were held at various locations along the escarpment, including Owen Sound and Lion’s Head, to increase awareness of the study and gather more information. It was reported that these meetings were held before largely enthusiastic crowds. Beyond the public

87 Killan, Protected Places, 119.
89 “Save the Escarpment,” 16.
90 “Save the Escarpment,” 16-17.
forums, Gertler welcomed interaction with the public and in the end reported that more than 3,500 people made suggestions, or comments to the study group.91

The Bruce Trail would not only increase awareness of the Niagara Escarpment and the Bruce Peninsula; it provided a template for further park expansion. In order to achieve either the ownership or access necessary for the creation of parks, the Gertler Report said that the provincial government should compensate the municipal governments for tax revenue loss resulting from park lands becoming public property.92 The government initiated a campaign of acquiring lands along the Niagara Escarpment. From January 1968 to October 1972, the province purchased 19,000 acres at a cost of approximately $6.8 million. In conjunction with the government’s actions, local conservation authorities paid $2.4 million for an additional 6,300 acres.93

Gertler’s report made strong recommendations for the establishment of a 29,630-acre park at Tobermory. The Globe and Mail’s Thomas Claridge quoted Gertler’s rationale for Tobermory hosting the largest of the study’s proposed parks saying the Tobermory area had “unique natural resources … (which) are of national significance and should be preserved within the Provincial Parks System for public enjoyment and for scientific and educational purposes.”94

In early May 1971, Rene Brunelle announced the government’s intention to establish the first Canadian underwater park at the tip of the Bruce Peninsula.95 Fathom Five Provincial Park was the result of an idea about creating a marine park put forth in 1970 by Tom Lee, who would

---

91 “Save the Escarpment,” 22-23.
92 “Save the Escarpment,” 18.
93 “Save the Escarpment,” 19.
become director of the Park Planning Branch, and Gary Seeley, an Interpretative Supervisor. These two men used the Gertler Report results to convince the Ontario Parks Integration Board that such a project should be created.

As a part of the Park’s division of the Ministry of Natural Resources, and in recognition of the public’s growing interest in history, both human and natural, a series of research projects were conducted. In 1973 the Niagara Escarpment Archaeological Survey (Southwestern Region) was created to examine existing archaeological artifacts and information. Led by Peter Hamalainen, Victor Pelshea, and Dave Spittal, it provided an archaeological overview of the Bruce Peninsula, including the Dorcas Bay Provincial Park Reserve, Cabot Head, and St. Edmund’s Township. Once completed, the survey proposed how to best further the research on these existing locations and possible new sites. The object of this cataloguing process seems to have been more than recording evidence of earlier habitation of the indigenous peoples in the area. The sense gained from their comments in the report, leads one to consider that there was perhaps an eye to not only future tourism opportunities, but also for educational possibilities and possible new sites. A previous historical report on the human and resource history of the region had been conducted in 1963, as part of the Department of Lands and Forests’ regional history series entitled, “A History of Lake Huron Forest District, 1963” which detailed the resource history of the peninsula.

---

96 Formerly the Department of Lands and Forest
The perceived value of these projects is exemplified by tourism scholar Patricia Jasen who describes a pattern of tourism that made Georgian Bay an attraction:

Then, as now, when natural places were to conform to certain cultural values, they took in new and seductive meanings, which were embodied in literary and visual imagery and then disseminated to the public. The transformation of such places into mass tourist sites depended, initially, on their ability to gratify yearnings for beauty, romance, and adventure that drew travellers in the first place, yet that phase was usually transitory.98

The 1980’s marked the beginning of a dramatic change on the Bruce Peninsula. A hint of the impending change may have occurred when The Globe and Mail reported in its 4 April 1980 edition that the federal government was purchasing 14 islands off the Bruce Peninsula coast near Tobermory.99 These islands were to be added to the Georgian Bay Islands National Park, which already included nearby Flowerpot Island. In a few years this purchase would become part of a much larger plan. On 3 October 1986 the federal and provincial governments announced that after negotiations beginning in 1981, an agreement had been reached that would create Bruce Peninsula National Park at the tip of the peninsula. The new park would encompass Cypress Lake and Fathom Five Provincial Parks. The Ontario government would contribute the land and facilities, valued at $8.5 million, and the Canadian government would finance the creation and maintenance of the park.100 This decision was made after a series of public consultations and socio-economic impact assessments that began in the early 1980s about the feasibility of creating a national park on the peninsula.101

In 1987, the Canadian government took over the administration and management of Cyprus Lake Provincial Park, Fathom Five Provincial Park and islands in the proximity of the Bruce Peninsula that were part of the Georgian Bay Islands National Park. Parks Canada then announced the creation of Fathom Five National Marine Park and the Bruce Peninsula National Park. This action would have considerable impact on the peninsula.

One of the main reasons for the federal government’s interest in owning and managing Fathom Five National Marine Park was the presence of the many shipwrecks in what was considered a Canadian historically significant waterway. Beyond this reason, there were several other factors concerning this interest in shipwrecks. One was a growth in recreational diving. Beyond the recreational aspect of shipwreck diving, the historic value of marine archeological research was also of great importance. The visitation to the many shipwrecks which lay at the bottom of Georgian Bay within the marine park boundaries was also possible for non-divers. In the mid-1970s the Blue Heron Cruise Company was established in Tobermory. This enterprise offered glass bottom boat tours which sailed over two wrecks at the bottom of “Big Tub” harbour. Through the glass window in the hull of these boats, passengers could get a clear view of the wrecks of the lumber hooker, the W.L. Wetmore and the schooner Sweepstakes.

Another reason why the Canadian government was interested in creating national parks on the peninsula was the region’s unique geology and plant life. The Federation of Ontario Naturalists (FON) owned land opposite Cyprus Lake Provincial Park in St. Edmunds Township near Dorcas Bay. In 1985, FON promoted the idea that the region’s unique geology, and plant life, which included some rare species needed protection and further research. Consequently, they were happy when the Ministry of Natural Resources took steps to protect Smokey Head, White Bluff, Duncan Crevice Caves, Lion’s Head, Bayview Escarpment, Little Cove, Cabot
Head, and Hope Bay Forest. This acknowledgement by the Federation of Ontario Naturalists and the creation of Fathom Five National Marine Park in 1987, along with the establishment of Bruce Peninsula National Park, were significant factors in the decision which caused UNESCO in the spring of 1990 to declare the Niagara Escarpment Canada’s sixth Biosphere Reserve.

Parks Canada’s takeover of Fathom Five National Marine Park and Bruce Peninsula National Park seems to have marked the beginning of an economic infusion into the peninsula. Appendix “L” illustrates the growth in attendance numbers at Bruce Peninsula National Park from 1988-89 (74,598 visitors) to 2018-19 (362,313). Fathom Five’s visitor numbers grew from 1990-91 (102,227) to 2018-19 (381,722). To maintain the parks and enhance the growth in visitation, Appendix “O” shows the full-time employment numbers for the two parks from 1988-89. The population of Tobermory, the host community of the two parks is 575, while the population of the entire Municipality of North Bruce Peninsula is 3,999. Given the fact that winter weather, and especially road conditions on the peninsula are tenuous at best for commuter travel, it is likely that most, if not all, of the full-time employees live in close proximity to the parks. The consequence of this further accentuates the possibility that salaries earned at the parks are most likely spent in the region, thus enhancing further the area’s economy.

The economic impact on this small populated area has been substantial. According to Parks Canada statistics for the 2017-18 fiscal year, spending related to the two parks totalled

---

102 Killan, 216.
103 See Appendix “L” for a complete listing of visitor numbers to Bruce Peninsula National Park (1988-89) and Fathom Five National Marine Park (1990-91) to 2018-19.
105 Parks Canada did not have statistics for the part-time and student employees working at the parks.
106 2016 Census records.
$7,875,000, which was divided into wages and salaries ($3,031,000) and operations ($4,844,000). Visitors to the two parks spent $121,486,000 (Bruce Peninsula National Park $55,734,000 and Fathom Five National Marine Park $65,752,000).

Northern Bruce Peninsula Sustainable Tourism Management Plan Phase 2 Report - Updated December 11, 2017 provided both the good and the bad of the growth in the popularity of the two parks and tourism in general, reporting that,

Over the past two years, tourism activities in the Northern Bruce Peninsula have grown much more quickly than in the last decade. The growing popularity of the Bruce Peninsula and Fathom Five Marine National Parks and private sector tourism operations have strained natural and built infrastructure throughout the region. This trend shows no signs of abating. Sustainability challenges are paramount both in terms of impact on human resources, environmental attributes, community social/cultural aspects, and tourism assets.107

This report went on to state that to maintain sustainable tourism, there must be a comprehensive and integrated plan “to mitigate negative impacts and promote positive outcomes for the local residents, sustainable tourism operators and their staff, parks and land managers, and visitors.”108

This progression in visitation from the takeover by Parks Canada in the late 1980s to 2019 is the result of a number of actions taken by both Parks Canada and area citizens and businesses. Parks Canada became involved in Interpretive Activities, either in the form of guided programs or locational interpretive displays in the Visitor Centre. As Appendix “H” illustrates in the five-year time frame visitation grew from 8,850 (2005) to 73,514 (2009).109

107 Northern Bruce Peninsula Sustainable Tourism Management Plan Phase 2 Report - Updated December 11, 2017 Regional Tourism Organization 7 (RTO7) in partnership with the Municipality of Northern Bruce Peninsula, the County of Bruce, Parks Canada, and the Bruce Peninsula Environmental Group commissioned Twenty 31 Consulting to undertake a Sustainable Tourism Management Plan for the Municipality of Northern Bruce Peninsula, 2.
108 Northern Bruce Peninsula Sustainable Tourism Management Plan ..., 2.
Throughout the 1990s and beyond, local newspapers as well as national media such as *The Globe and Mail* and to lesser degree the *Toronto Star* printed tourism-related stories pertinent to the region. Some of the topics that these stories included were about walking all, or part, of the Bruce Trail and enjoying the opportunity to see rare and exotic plants, unique cave structures, and interesting birds which included the migration route of many bird species. Shipwrecks were also popular topics in various newspapers and often they promoted more than recreational diving, but also diving in a quest to discover long-lost wrecks. Some articles described glass bottom boat tours as an alternative means of viewing shipwrecks.

Local citizens and private businesses have also been busy promoting events that attract both tourists and researchers to the region. For many years in the 1990s and early 2000’s “Heritage” weekends were held in Tobermory. These events include boat tours of Flowerpot and Cove Islands, historic displays, and other attractions. In 2008 a group of interested individuals came together to form the *Sources of Knowledge Forum*. The goal of this organization was to demonstrate how research in Bruce Peninsula National Park, Fathom Five National Marine Park, and the surrounding community contributes to knowledge of the Saugeen Peninsula’s natural and human history. Beginning in 2009 an annual weekend conference has been held in Tobermory to hear presentations, go on birding tours, and discuss the topic at hand.

The result of these factors meant that tourism has become an important economic driver of the Bruce Peninsula’s economy and Tobermory has become not only a ferry boat connection

---


111 Sourcesofknowledge.ca
to Manitoulin Island and Georgian Bay’s north shore but is emerging as an important tourism destination.

The impact of tourism on the Bruce Peninsula has evolved significantly in the last century. Tourism began to grow as an important factor in the lives of Ontarians in the decade prior to the beginning of the twentieth century. The catalyst for this new phenomenon began in the 1880s with the advent of an interest in the conservation and preservation of nature. This attention pressured the Ontario government to create an inquiry into this awareness. The result of this investigation led to immediate results. Within weeks of the report’s tabling, the government created the first two provincial parks, Algonquin, 1893, and Rondeau, 1894. The next seventy-five years saw several more parks created, but none were based on the Bruce Peninsula. During that time frame the tourism industry on the peninsula sputtered, dependent upon hesitant steps by the private sector to create attractions to bring visitors to the region but did not ignite a sufficient impact to sustain the region’s economy. Poor land transportation connections and seasonally limiting sailing access were an important impediment to growing tourism interest on the peninsula. Although there was American investment interest in the Bruce Peninsula, this too did not encourage local or provincial action. Although in the 1930s the provincial government built a highway connecting Tobermory to Wiarton and a regular ferry service between the peninsula and Georgian Bay’s north shore, tourism remained in a semi-dormant state until the mid-1950s.

In the post-Second World War era, Canada experienced an increasing demand for more recreational space due to population growth and a new awareness of nature conservation. The result of this situation led to the creation of more provincial parks and conservation areas including Sauble Falls and Cypress Lake Provincial Parks as well as the Grey-Sauble Conservation area on the Bruce Peninsula.
The 1950s and 1960s also marked the beginning of a growth in volunteerism, which combined with interest in the preservation of nature and recreation sites provided the impetus for the creation of the Bruce Trail. The success of this internationally known hiking route extending from the Canada-U.S. border to Tobermory, drew thousands of hikers eager to traverse all, or part, of the route, enjoying the unique landforms, flora and fauna, especially along the Bruce Peninsula’s trail segments. The successful combination of volunteerism and continued interest in saving the peninsula’s natural uniqueness caused the Ontario government to create the first-ever marine park, called Fathom Five Provincial Park.

The marine park drew visitors wishing to explore the shipwrecks located in Big Tub Harbour at Tobermory or simply diving in the waters off the northern tip of the peninsula. To help non-diving visitors view the scenic islands and shipwrecks, in the mid-1970s, Blue Heron Cruises was formed and continues to be an important part of Tobermory’s business community. This company sails glass-bottom boats which allow passengers to view the shipwrecks at the bottom of Big Tub harbour.112

This chapter has documented the impact that an interest in conservation, combined with demands for increased access to recreational areas has had on tourism, on the Bruce Peninsula, particularly since the 1950s. About three decades later, these factors would a large impact on the region, which would establish tourism as a driver to the region’s economy. Approximately a century after North American society first experienced an interest in conservation and preservation, and the application of these ideals to recreation, this interest renewed itself again in the 1980s. The Canadian government responded to this enthusiasm for nature, by conducting

112 I reached out to various Ontario government agencies and departments as well as Bruce Peninsula Tourism to find tourism statistics for the 1970s but perhaps due to the constraints of Covid-19 I either did not receive responses to my queries, or was told that they were not available.
research, and ultimately acting. In Ontario the federal government’s actions resulted in the acquisition of provincial parks on the Bruce Peninsula and the creation of two national parks, Fathom Five National Marine Park and Bruce Peninsula National Park in 1987.

As this chapter has illustrated, since the formation of these national parks several factors have played a part in promoting tourism on the Bruce Peninsula. Parks Canada has created educational programs for individuals and groups. It has encouraged both human and natural history in the region. Volunteer groups such as the Sources of Knowledge Forum have furthered this research and promoted interest in topics such as birding, plant and animal, indigenous peoples, and exploration. Media stories generated by both regional and national outlets have also helped to attract tourism. And the Bruce Trail, after more than half a century, continues to attract trekkers of all ages and experience to traverse all or part of its historic route.

Tourist visitation Appendix “L” (visitor attendance records) to the peninsula’s national parks has impacted the economy of the region (see Appendix “N” - Economic Impact). Parks Canada, through wages to the parks’ full and part-time employment and infrastructure investments has also contributed substantially to the economy of the Bruce Peninsula. These factors combined have created and maintained tourism as the important driver of the peninsula’s economy.
Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to fill a long-standing void in the historiography of the Bruce Peninsula. It describes the influence of the forest products industry in the nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries, and the impact of tourism, essentially from the late nineteenth century to the present, as drivers of the Bruce Peninsula’s development. It is important to note that like the rest of the Canadian colonies the Bruce Peninsula’s development owes its beginnings to what Harold Innis describes as the “Staples Theory.” Following this thought process, the forest products industry was the natural resource that served as a catalyst to opening and developing the region. I think also that tourism, in the sense of natural attractions such as unique plant life, landforms, as well as the beauty of nature itself serves as another “Staple” bringing entrepreneurs, government agencies, and most of all, visitors to the area to promote and sustain the regional economy. There is a certain irony about tourism on the Bruce Peninsula being a “Staples” commodity compared to the resource staples which came before, tourism on the peninsula depended upon nature being preserved rather than consumed. Which in the end provides an economic driver to sustain the Bruce Peninsula.

The history of the impact of the forest products industry in the colonies and later, in the the young Canadian nation after 1867 has been well-documented by scholars such as Harold Adams Innis whose landmark “Staples Theory” became the benchmark for research by scholars, such as Donald Creighton, Arthur Lower, J.M.S. Careless, and H.V. Nelles, who followed Innis. Ironically, these esteemed historians failed to even mention the Bruce Peninsula’s forest products industry. Throughout the process of writing this thesis I continually asked myself, “Why was the Bruce Peninsula ignored by these learned scholars?” I suspect the main reason was geographical in nature. The Bruce Peninsula is located in a “tucked away” corner of southern Ontario and by
the time the lumbermen’s axes rang out in the peninsula’s forests, the largest stands of trees were being harvested in the newly opened territories of the Lake Superior region and beyond.

The impact of geographical location and transportation issues may have also played a role in the peninsula being ignored by historians more interested in a larger scale of influence. Poor transportation connections to a larger metropole such as Toronto may have caused historians to bypass the region. The fur trade and then the forest products industry followed the route from the St. Lawrence River, to the Ottawa River, through the Nipissing Gap\(^1\) to Georgian Bay and on to Lake Superior. This route would later be copied by railway builders connecting the Canadian west to Montreal, with a line ultimately built from Sudbury to Toronto. The Bruce Peninsula did not fit into this route, first because the fur trade essentially bypassed the region, and second, there was really no efficient connection to this route. And, the peninsula’s forest products industry was not fully functioning until the rest of the industry had moved west along the route to Lake Superior. The peninsula’s one primary connection to the Canadian west began in 1882 when Owen Sound became the main port for the CPR’s northern Great Lakes fleet and the grain trade. But, when Owen Sound’s CPR grain elevators burned in 1911, the CPR moved its Great Lakes port function to Port McNicoll and its newly built CPR elevators.

A second reason, and one that causes speculation that goes beyond traditional historical thought, is a sense of “Northernness” in a politically defined southern Ontario location. Government officials tried to impose an agricultural settlement on a landscape that could be considered more “northern” in its topography. Essentially this meant, that there were large segments of the peninsula where the soil was more acidic which meant large stands of coniferous

\(^1\) The Nipissing Gap includes the Mattawa River, Lake Nipissing, and the French River.
forests. The peninsula possesses swampy areas, as well as areas of thin soil cover with rocky outcrops. All of which are not conducive to agriculture and more representative of areas on Canadian Shield. Despite these topographical features southern-based government officials tried to impose agricultural settlement not only on the peninsula but also in many northern locales such as the French River and Temagami regions. Those efforts to push agriculture in poorly suited areas usually were met with the same disastrous results experienced by many peninsula settlers hoping to create financial security based upon a successful agricultural opportunity.

Another reason for the lack of scholarly research pertaining to the history of the peninsula’s forest industry may simply be that the forest products industry lasted only a few decades and unlike most other regions another resource did not succeed the lumbering industry in driving the region’s economy. On the Bruce Peninsula it would be several more decades before tourism came to the fore in the region.

Another possible solution to this question may simply be the lack of primary research sources pertaining to businesses, people and events on the Bruce Peninsula. After all, Sherwood Fox had difficulty finding archival sources. What he did discover were small numbers of crown timber license records covering intermittent periods of time. And, in the case of the Cook Brothers company requests to descendants of the family for more information drew responses that there were no surviving records. Fox did glean some primary sources from descendants of other lumbering families, for example the Lymburner family, (see Appendix “C”). The response from the Lymburner family seems to have been the result of Fox writing articles about the peninsula for the Owen Sound Sun Times. These stories about the peninsula’s pioneering life seem to have stirred readers to submit information to him while he was in the process of writing The Bruce Beckons. And, the fact that Fox was writing specifically about the Bruce Peninsula
and not a topic that covered a much larger time frame and region of study, may have also benefitted him in his quest for information as he learned the names of locals involved in the development of the peninsula.

   The forest products industry commenced on the peninsula in the mid-nineteenth century, at the same time as the first agricultural settlers arrived. The story of agricultural settlement was essentially one of conflicts with lumbering operators, fires, and thin, infertile soils, leaving many settlers with difficult decisions about how to sustain their future. They could continue eking out a meagre living by farming, barely supporting their family’s needs much less producing a marketable surplus. Or they could seek work as laborers elsewhere on the peninsula, although such opportunities were limited. If the lure to farm was strong enough, many moved to the western Canadian prairies or the American west to re-start their agricultural quest.

   Certainly peninsula farmers were targeted with front-page pronouncements in local newspapers promoting homesteading in the west. The Wiarton Echo carried almost weekly advertisements from both the Grand Trunk Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway offering cheap transportation fares to prospective prairie settlers. Another promoter of western settlement was the Land Department of the Union Trust Company of Toronto, which claimed “to have the exclusive agency for large blocks of rich, especially selected lands in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Manitoba, at $8.00 per acre, and upwards.” It ran an advertisement in the Wiarton Echo’s 14 May 1908 edition titled “Cheap Excursions to the West” offering settlers transportation to Alberta for a return fare of $40.50.²

² Wiarton Echo, “Cheap Excursions to the West,” 14 May 1908.
The failure of peninsula agricultural settlement was due in part to conflicts with their settlers neighbours that the forest products industry, at least until the 1880s, conducted with seeming impunity. Meanwhile, the industry prospered from the constantly growing market for forest products. As southern Ontario urbanized and grew, and the American mid-west experienced a constantly expanding population, the Bruce Peninsula forest products industry, thanks to its proximity to Great Lake waterways, rushed to meet the seemingly insatiable demand for wood products stemming from continental railway expansion and mainly urban construction. Canals such as the Canadian Sault Ste. Marie locks were expanded to further facilitate the economic and efficient transporting of people and products. Bruce Peninsula foresters rushed to capitalize on all such needs. But by the early twentieth century the end of their reign on the peninsula loomed large. The advent of the use of metals in place of wood, the increased use of coal-fired engines on Great Lakes sailing vessels, combined with the rapid depletion of the peninsula’s marketable forests all contributed to the end of this driver of the Bruce Peninsula’s economy.

A major hindrance to the Bruce Peninsula’s development had been its remoteness from the more settled parts of Ontario. Other than seasonal water transportation this isolated situation was due to the lack of efficient land transportation connections until the 1937 completion of Highway #6. Although poor land connections to the rest of the province had not significantly limited growth of the forest products industry, the lack of roads certainly hindered the development of alternative activities capable of replacing forestry as the peninsula’s key economic driver.

These factors all appear rather similar to another location only a two-hour ferry boat ride from the northern tip of the Bruce Peninsula. Manitoulin Island’s location near the north shore of
Lake Huron make it a politically defined northern Ontario locale. However, it could be argued that it suffers the same identity issues as the peninsula. Transportation connections, or the lack there of, hindered both regions in their development. For many decades seasonal water transportation was their only connection to the rest of Ontario and beyond. But, when Highway #6 was built to connect Tobermory to the rest of southern Ontario, that combined with the ferry service which had begun a few years earlier, the Bruce Peninsula and Manitoulin Island began to receive more visitors.

The historiography of the Bruce Peninsula and Manitoulin Island are also comparable. Both regions have been ignored by Innis, Creighton, Careless, Lower, and Nelles. Both areas have had their share of local history articles. However, Manitoulin Island has had one researcher devote more than 40 years researching the island’s history. Shelley Pearen’s efforts include two books *Exploring Manitoulin* (U of T Press, 1992, 95, 2002) and *Four Voices The Great Manitoulin Island Treaty of 1862*. Pearen also has co-transcribed and co-translated 13 volumes of Jesuit letters written in the Great Lakes region in the 19th century.

Manitoulin Island’s settlement history is also similar to that of the peninsula. Both were opened for settlement later than many other parts of Ontario. And both territories were only available to settlers after treaties with the local Indigenous peoples had been signed. In June 1866, settlement lands were made available on the island. The lands were sold for fifty cents an acre, but after an initial burst of interest, sales slowed to the point that the government reduced the price per acre to twenty cents an acre in 1867. The government encouraged settlement for agricultural purposes as they had on the Bruce Peninsula.³

---

³ Shelley J. Pearen, “As Canada turns 150, a look back at the Island in the year of Confederation,” manitoulin.ca, 4 January 2017
Both regions seemed to suffer from being located in remote parts of the province which were not easily accessible on a year-round basis. However, I wonder if Manitoulin suffered from the stigma given to the Island in the 1830s by statements made by Sir Francis Bond Head, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, who described Manitoulin as an isolated location suitable for establishing the Indigenous peoples away from the civilized parts of the colony.

Although by the turn of the twentieth century tourism started to have economic importance elsewhere in the province, this was not the case on the Bruce Peninsula. Previously, summer water routes and the railway line to Wiarton provided access to the peninsula’s southern regions, but together these facilitated only limited tourism opportunities. Transportation access finally was improved in the 1930s both on land and water. The construction of the Highway #6 northern extension from Wiarton to Tobermory, combined with the commencement of regular ferry service between the peninsula and Georgian Bay’s north shore via Manitoulin Island, sparked more tourist interest in the region. But tourism opportunities did not blossom on the peninsula until the 1960s when the Ontario government, in concert with volunteer nature and recreation groups, acted to create provincial parks, conservation areas, and the Bruce Trail. In the 1980s, a century after the conservation movement generated enough interest to spur the provincial government to create Ontario’s first parks, Algonquin and Rondeau, the Canadian government, after negotiations with the Ontario government, in 1987 created Fathom Five National Marine Park and the Bruce Peninsula National Park.

Many influences were behind the federal government’s decision to create these two Bruce Peninsula parks. Not least among them was the success of the Bruce Trail, which had
been the impetus of hundreds of volunteers and nature-based organizations, in spurring interest in the natural history of the peninsula. Ironically, for many years the principal impediment to tourism in the region had been the lack of automotive access from the south, but the Bruce Trail did not accommodate mechanized travel, only foot power. And, it was that mode of transportation that provided many tourists their sole access to the natural beauties of the Bruce Peninsula.

Whereas its natural history and landscape were important attractions to the peninsula, so too was its human history. Generations of Great Lakes sailors and their ships had challenged the treacherous waters of Georgian Bay at the Bruce Peninsula’s northern extremity, and many sailors and their ships ended their days at the bottom of this notoriously stormy waterway. Adventurous tourists were eager to explore the wrecks of these vessels which led to the growth in businesses servicing the thousands of recreational scuba divers who travelled to Tobermory each year. For non-diving tourists, several companies in the Tobermory area provided “Glass Bottom” boat tours, which take passengers for a cruise around some of the islands that are part of Fathom Five National Marine Park, before sailing to Big Tub harbour to provide a view through the boat hull’s glass “windows” of the wrecks of the schooner Sweepstakes and the steamer The City of Grand Rapids lying on the harbour bottom.

The two national parks have spawned several business opportunities for entrepreneurs on the Bruce Peninsula. In addition to catering to scuba diving enthusiasts and tourists exploring the area’s marine history on the Glass Bottom boats, a plethora of small businesses have developed to capitalize on popular activities such as birdwatching, kayaking, canoeing, and camping.

---

4 For statistics about the numbers of divers who visited Tobermory each year from 2005-2009, please see Appendix “H”
5 Blue Heron Cruise company began offering glass bottom boat tours in the mid-1970s.
Restaurants, hotels, cottage rentals, private campgrounds, gift shops, art and photo galleries, and many other related commercial venues, although many of them only seasonal, have significantly boosted the economic prospects of Tobermory and elsewhere on the Bruce Peninsula. As Appendix “H” and Appendix “I” illustrate, tourism on the Bruce Peninsula seems sustainable in a manner the forest products industry was not. There are two major reasons for this conclusion. First, transportation to and from the region is now available on a year-round basis. Second, unlike the forest products industry which essentially had a depletion date, tourism does not in large part rely on a resource which has a defined limit to sustainability such as forests.

This thesis is intended to fill a historical gap that has left the Bruce Peninsula virtually ignored by historians. As illustrated in Chapter One, there has been very little scholarly research concerning the history of the Bruce Peninsula’s development. While researching the thesis I was often tempted to venture down some of the many intriguing paths that I encountered that were outside my purview but were full of research potential. Consequently, I hope that this thesis will prompt future scholarly research into some of these areas. One distinctively unique aspect of the Bruce Peninsula’s tourism development, for example, is the role that volunteerism, especially in terms of nature conservation and preservation, has played. Volunteers, both individually and in organizations, often prompted governments into action and this was certainly true on the Bruce Peninsula. Another avenue for further research is the historical background to the highly complex and controversial Indigenous land claim on the Bruce Peninsula, one of the largest ever filed in Canadian courts. There have been several shipwrecks located recently by divers who have been scouring the bottom of the peninsula waters.⁶ Many of these discoveries have been

---

⁶ Chris Kohl and Ken Merryman are amongst the modern-day explorers who have discovered long-missing shipwrecks such as the Jane Miller and the J.H. Jones.
chronicled in books and articles. Perhaps historians could incorporate these underwater findings into further research about not only the Bruce Peninsula, but the Great Lakes generally. Of course, archaeological research on the peninsula is not just an underwater project; presumably in addition to currently known land-based sites, there are many more undiscovered pieces of the peninsula’s past, both ancient and more recent, waiting to be found. My research also encountered scientific topics that have yet to be fully explored, including unique landforms and vegetation such as the presence of centuries-old trees, some of them, the oldest in Canada, or the rare orchids that are found only on the Bruce Peninsula. The area is also on the path of one of the significant bird migratory routes in eastern North America. The resulting impact on the natural life of the peninsula, and on tourism, begs investigation.

In summary, this thesis about the impact of first the forest products industry, and later the tourism industry, on the Bruce Peninsula’s development represents an effort towards filling a scholarly void in the history not only of a significant region in southern Ontario, but of the Great Lakes region overall. It adds another chapter to our knowledge of the colonial and early Canadian forest products history and contributes to the much newer and growing field of tourism history.
Appendices

Appendix “A” - Motions from the 19 March 1872 citizens meeting held in Wiarton

Appendix “B” - Scale of Timber Dues in Force in the Saugeen Peninsula, 11 February 1873

Appendix “C” - Lymburner Family Land Purchases in Lindsay Township, 1881-1882

Appendix “D” - Alex Sproat, MP, Presentation and Debate in Parliament, 31 May 1869

Appendix “E” - Wiarton Town Plot - 1855

Appendix “F” - Cook Brothers’ Timber Licenses

Appendix “G” - Settlers’ Petition for a Sawmill at Tobermory, 1883

Appendix “H” - Fathom Five Visitor Usage and Stakeholders and Partners

Appendix “I” - 2018-2019 Parks Canada Attendance Statistics

Appendix “J” - Government Actions regarding Cook Brothers

Appendix “K” - Map of Bruce Peninsula

Appendix “L” – Parks Canada Attendance Records – 1988-89 to 2018-19

Appendix “M” – Visitor Statistics for Ontario Provincial Parks – 1956-1963

Appendix “N” - Bruce Peninsula & Fathom Five National Marine Parks Economic Impact 2017-18


---

7 Robertson, Bruce, 199.
8 Day Book of Land and Timber Transactions, 1881-1883, Volume 1031, RG. 10, Public Archives of Canada
Appendix “A”

Motions from the 19 March 1872 concerned citizens meeting held in Wiarton

1/ That this meeting petitions the Governor-in-Council to appoint a local agent in some central place to transact all business in connection with Indian lands that is at present transacted at Toronto;

2/ To make a grant of money for improvement of the roads in several municipalities, as an equivalent for taxes lost on lands resumed by the Indian Department;

3/ To appoint a commissioner to re-value the unsold lands in the Peninsula with a view of promoting actual settlement of the same;

4/ To cause to be re-valued such lands as have been sold at an exorbitant price, or lands of inferior quality on which the whole purchase money has not yet been paid;

5/ To appoint a commissioner to confer with the Indian owners of these lands with a view of securing the purchase of the whole Indian Peninsula from them by the government;

6/ That all unsold lands in the Peninsula be brought into the market, to be sold to actual settlers only.

---

10 Robertson, Bruce, 199.
Appendix “B”

Scale of Timber Dues in Force in the Saugeen Peninsula, February 11, 1873

- Oak, squared timber, 1,000 cubic feet. $30.00
- Oak, saw-logs, per 1,000 feet inch measure $ 5.00
- Red pine, tamarac, elm, beech, ash, maple or hickory, per 1,000 feet cubic $16.00
- Red pine, tamarac, elm, beech, ash, maple or hickory, per 1,000 feet inch measure $ 3.00
- White pine, cedar, and spruce, per 1,000 cubic feet $15.00
- White pine, cedar and spruce sawlogs, per 1,000 feet, inch measure $ 1.60
- Pine staves, per 1,000 standard $15.00
- West India staves, per 1,000 standard $ 5.00
- Railway ties, tamarac, cedar or pine, per 1,000 $ 3.00
- Telegraph poles, per 100 $ 8.00
- Cedar pickets, per 100 $ 3.00
- Tamarac knees, lineal measurement, per 1,000 feet $16.66
- Shingle bolts, per cord 0.60
- Shingle bolts, in advantageous localities 0.70

Cordwood

- Hard, per cord .30
- Hard, per cord, in advantageous localities .40
- Soft, per cord .20
- Soft, per cord, in advantageous localities .25
- Hemlock, per 1,000 cubic feet $7.50
- Hemlock, 1,000 feet, inch measure .80
- Hemlock bark, per cord .50\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11} “Crown Timber Regulations” from the Boyd Papers, a letter sent by Norman Fee, Assistant Dominion Archivist, Public Archives of Canada, to W. Sherwood Fox, 30 July 1951, in the W. Sherwood Fox papers held in Weldon Library and Archives, University of Western Ontario; also found in “A History of Lake Huron Forest District,” Department of Lands and Forests, 1963, 17, and Robertson, History of the County of Bruce, 200.
Almost two months after the Timber Dues in force on the Bruce Peninsula was noted, Jos. F. Way, the Crown Timber Agent posted the following:

“The Department of Crown Lands, having under consideration the expediency of increasing the Crown dues on square pine timber, and cedar, to be cut or manufactured after the 1st May next, the Commissioner has directed me to notify you that all licenses renewed, and new licenses granted, must be considered as accepted by licentiates on the distinct understanding that such licenses are to be subject to such increases with respect to the timber mentioned as may be made by Order in Council.” Signed Jos. F. Way, Crown Timber Agent.12

Prior to the actions taken by the Crown Timber Office in February and April 1873

Crown Timber Regulations: Established under Ontario Order in Council of 16 April 1869:

“All Timber, Saw Logs, Wood or other Lumber, cut under any License now in force, or under any License which may be hereafter granted, shall be subject to the payment of the following Crown dues, that is to say:

- Black Walnut and Oak, per cubic foot… $3.00
- Elm, Ash, Tamarac, and Maple, per cubic foot… $2.00
- Red and White Pine, Birch, Basswood, Cedar, Buttonwood and Cotton Wood, and all Boom Timber, per cubic foot… $1.50
- All other woods… $1.00
- Red and White Pine, Basswood, Buttonwood, and Cottonwood, saw logs, per standard of 200 feet board measure… $15.00
- Walnut, Oak, and Maple saw logs, per standard of 200 feet board measure… $25.00
- Hemlock, Spruce, and other woods, per standard of 200 feet board measure… $10.00
- All unmeasured cull saw logs to be taken at the average of the lot, and to be charged for at the same rate.
- Staves, Pipe, per mille… $7.00
- Do West India, per mille… $2.25
- Cordwood (hard) per cord… .20
- Cordwood (soft) per cord… .12.5
- Hemlock Tan Back, per cord… .30
- Railway Timber, Knees, &c., to be charged 15 per cent ad valoram

---

12 Crown Timber Office Letter dated 4 April 1873 from the Boyd Papers, in a letter sent by Norman Fee, Assistant Dominion Archivist, Public Archives of Canada, to W. Sherwood Fox, 30 July 1951, in the W. Sherwood Fox papers held in Weldon Library and Archives, University of Western Ontario.
Appendix “C”

Lymburner Family Land Purchases in Lindsay Township, 1881-1882

- Horace Lymburner: Lot 39, Con. 10, 3 September 1881 – Sale #4923
- Horace Lymburner: Lot 39, Con. 11, 3 September 1881 – Sale #4924
- Horace Lymburner: Lot 45, Con. 12, 10 September 1881 – Sale #4928
- Robert Lymburner: Lot 39, Con. 13, 23 February 1881 – Sale #4813
- Robert Lymburner: Lot 40, Con. 13, 23 February 1881 – Sale #4814
- Robert Lymburner: Lot 43, Con. 9, 25 September 1882 – Sale #5266
- Robert Lymburner: Lot 44, Con. 9, 25 September 1882 – Sale #5267
- Hiram Lymburner: Lot 43, Con. 12, 7 June 1881 – Sale #4875
- Hiram Lymburner: Lot 43, Con. 23, 15 June 1881 – Sale #4877
- Arza Lymburner: Lot 34, Con. 6, 3 September 1881 – Sale #4922
- Arza Lymburner: Lot 38, Con. 11, 16 November 1881 – Sale #4966
- Rachel Lymburner: Lot 43, Con. 14, 2 May 1882 – Sale #5160
- Rachel Lymburner: Lot 49, Con. 11, 13 May 1882 – Sale #5169
- Milton Lymburner: Lots 44 and 45, Con. 13, 8 June 1882 – Sale #5191
- Marietta Lymburner: Lot 46, Con. 13, 1 December 1882 – Sale #5336

---

13 Day Book of Land and Timber Transactions, 1881-1883, Volume 1031, RG. 10, Public Archives of Canada
Appendix "D": Alex Sproat, MP, Presentation and Debate in Parliament, 31 May 1869

The members were called in at five minutes to eleven o'clock. The motion for the previous question having been put—that is, shall the main question be now put? It was decided in the negative. Yes 49. Nays 89.

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Béchard, Blake, Bodwell, Bourassa, Bowman, Cheval, Connell, Costigan, Coupal, Currier, Geoffrion, Godin, Holton, Kemp, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Glenmary), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, Masson (Soulanges), McConkey, McGreavy, McKeaney, McMonies, Mills, Morison (Victoria, G.), Oliver, Pâquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Power, Poyer, Redford, Renaud, Ross (Wellington), Ryan (Montreal West), Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stephenson, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Tremblay, Wells, White, Wright (Ottawa Co.), Wright (York, Ontario), Young—Total 49.

NAYS—Archambault, Ault, Beatty, Belle-rose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bolton, Bowell, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Caldwell, Carling, Caron, Carlier, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Chipman, Cimon, Coffin, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortin, Galt, Gaucher, Gaullet, Gendron, Grant, Gray, Grover, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Jackson, Joly, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, Little, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Sir John A.), Masson (Terrebonne), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), McCarthy, McDougall (Lanark), McDougall (Three Rivers), McLean, McMillan, Morris, Morison (Niagara), Munroe, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Rankin, Ray, Read, Robitaille, Rose, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ryan (King's), Sénécal, Simard, Simpson, Sproat, Street, Tilley, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, Willson, Wood—89.

Several Bills from the Senate were read a first time.

SAUGEEN SALE OF LAND

Mr. Sproat moved an address for statements with reference to lands sold in Saugeen Indian Peninsula, from 1856 to 1861 inclusive. He said he was aware that the preparation of the returns would involve a good deal of labour, but the subject was one of great interest to the constituency. He proceeded to explain the circumstances, under which, at the sale of lands in the Saugeen Peninsula extravagantly high prices were given, and

[Vente de terres à Saugeen]

M. Sproat demande le dépôt de documents relatifs aux terres vendues dans la péninsule indienne de Saugeen de 1856 à 1861 inclusivement. Il ne nie pas que la préparation de ces documents demandera énormément de travail, mais cette question intéresse vivement cette circonscription. Il explique les circonstances dans lesquelles les terrains dans la péninsule de Saugeen, se sont vendus à des prix exces- sivement élevés et les circonstances qui ont

107
the consequences which had followed. Speculators who had bought three lots at ruinous prices had been allowed to apply the payments made on the three lots to one of them, for which they got a patent, giving up the other two. Actual settlers who had bought only one lot had been allowed no similar privilege. He believed one-third the purchase money would, in most cases, represent more than the value of the lot, and he hoped some plan would be adopted which would relieve the settlers from two-thirds of the price.

Mr. Jackson made some remarks, corroborating the views urged by Mr. Sproat.

Hon. Mr. Langevin said the return asked for would be very voluminous, and could not be prepared in time to be submitted during this session. Perhaps the mover might reduce the labour and expense by selecting those portions of the information which he deemed most essential. As regarded the question of policy, he begged to remark that the Indian lands were entirely different from Crown lands. They were held in trust for the Indians, and had been sold for their benefit and were in the same position as if they had been sold in trust for an individual. It might be a hard case for the purchasers if they purchased the lands for more than their value, but the Crown could not in justice to the Indians reduce the price. He must say, however, that in most cases the purchasers had paid the instalments regularly, a fact which did not indicate that the prices were too high. In exceptional cases where the settlers had been unable to pay the instalments regularly time had been allowed.

Mr. Sproat said his object in making this motion was to get information on which he could frame a case distinctly, showing the hardships inflicted on these settlers. The motion was agreed to.

QUEBEC MUNICIPALITIES LOANS

Mr. Masson (Soulages) moved an address for the correspondence in relation to loans contracted by the local municipalities of the counties of Quebec in virtue of Act 26 Vic. Cap. 2. He said this had reference Act 26 Vic. The money borrowed for seed grain. He had information that, in some cases, the money had not been accounted for.

The motion was agreed to.

EMPRUNTS DES MUNICIPALITÉS DU QUÉBEC

M. Masson (Soulages) demande le dépôt de la correspondance relative à des emprunts contractés par les municipalités locales des comtés du Québec en vertu de la Loi 26 Vic., Chap. 2. Il s’agit d’argent emprunté pour acquérir des graines de céréales. On lui dit que dans certains cas cet emprunt n’était pas justifié.

La motion est adoptée.
Appendix “E” Wiarton Town Plot - 1855

14

14 Ministry of Natural Resources Library and Archives, Peterborough, Ontario
## Appendix “F”: Cook Brothers’ Timber Licenses

### Cook Brothers – 1865

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The table above contains records of timber licenses issued to Cook Brothers in 1865.*
Cook Brothers 1872-1874

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 1871</td>
<td>Rent (4.00)</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ground Rent (38.00)</td>
<td>38.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1872</td>
<td>Rent (4.00)</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ground Rent (38.00)</td>
<td>38.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1873</td>
<td>Rent (4.00)</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ground Rent (38.00)</td>
<td>38.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1874</td>
<td>Rent (4.00)</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ground Rent (38.00)</td>
<td>38.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix “G”: Settlers’ Petition for a Sawmill at Tobermory, 1883

To the Right Hon Sir John McDonald (sic)

Minister of the Interior

Sir: We the undersigned settlers of the Township of St. Edmunds Co of Bruce
Respectfully request that you will grant a saw mill site and piling grounds at Tobermory Harbour
to the firm of H. Rixon & Co. who purpose rebuilding their mill lately destroyed by fire.

We ask this favor on the following ground
That rebuilding the mill site will enhance the value of property in this neighbourhood
It will be the means of bringing in settlers and giving them steady employment
That have expended a good deal of money on roads here which is a great benefit to us

(signed)  Donald McDonald
          Jas Simpson
          Charles Earl
          Thomas Earl
          Thomas Bartman
          Charles Hopkins
          John C. Hopkins
          Ed Hopkins
          James Hopkins
          George Bartman
          Thomas Anderson
          Will Moshier
          William Hall
          Neil Currie
          Alex Marks
          Michael Belrose
          William Leslie16

16 Wyonch; Hewers of the Forests, Appendix “E,” 247.
Appendix “H” – Fathom Five Visitor Usage and Stakeholders and Partners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partner Type</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Management</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel/Tourism</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Groups</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outreach</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Year</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>Change from previous year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guided Interpretive Program Attendance</td>
<td>8850</td>
<td>4248</td>
<td>15540</td>
<td>16360</td>
<td>7155</td>
<td>-56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitor Centre Attendance</td>
<td>not open</td>
<td>30511</td>
<td>56844</td>
<td>59878</td>
<td>66359</td>
<td>+10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8850</td>
<td>34759</td>
<td>72384</td>
<td>76238</td>
<td>73514</td>
<td>-4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** “2010 State of the Park Report,” A Parks Canada Publication
### Appendix “I” 2018-2019 Parks Canada Attendance Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A/ 2018-19 National Parks</strong></td>
<td>15,898,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven Mountain Parks</td>
<td>8,935,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine Conservation Areas</td>
<td>1,616,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other National Parks</td>
<td>5,345,653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B/ National Historic Sites</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Canals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other National Historic Sites</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>25,096,236</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**C/ Footnotes**

The marine conservation areas are: Fathom Five, Saguenay-St. Lawrence

Attendance is measured in Person-visits, which is defined as:

- Each time a person enters the land or marine part of a reporting unit for recreational, educational or cultural purposes during business hours.

- Through, local and commercial traffic are excluded.

- Same day re-entries and re-entries by visitors staying overnight in the reporting unit do not constitute new person-visits.
RETURN

To an Address of the House of Commons, dated 21st March, 1883:—For a Return of all Orders in Council, Documents and Correspondence relating to the granting of Licenses to cut Timber, whether pine or any other description of Timber whatsoever, on Indian Lands, within the Province of Ontario, from January, 1875, up to the present time.

By Command,

J. A. CHAPLEAU,

Secretary of State.

Department of the Secretary of State, 21st May, 1883.

SCHEDULE of Documents accompanying the annexed Return, relating to the granting of Licenses to cut Timber on Indian Lands in Ontario, from January, 1875.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>31st Mar, 1870</td>
<td>Cook Bros.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>27th Jan, 1871</td>
<td>Cook Bros., in account with the Indian Office</td>
<td>Sup't. Bartlett</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memorandum</td>
<td>8th Mar, 1873</td>
<td>Wm. Sprague</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>28th Apr, 1877</td>
<td>R. A. Lyman</td>
<td>Sup't. Bartlett</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>18th do</td>
<td>E. B. Borces, M.P.</td>
<td>Hon. D. Mills, Min. of Int.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notice</td>
<td>25th Apr, 1877</td>
<td>R. A. Lyman</td>
<td>S.O.I.A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>16th do</td>
<td>L. Vankoughnet</td>
<td>W. H. Lochart Gordon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>23rd do</td>
<td>E. Towne, Dy. Indian</td>
<td>Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald, Messrs. Wells, Gordon &amp; Sampson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>29th do</td>
<td>E. Sinclair, Actg. Dy. Min.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>16th Feb</td>
<td>Alex. McNeill, M.P.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

March 5th, 1870.

Messrs. Cook Bros. apply for licenses to cut timber on the Saugeen Peninsula in the Townships of Lindsay and St. Edomnds, and have, through Superintendent Bartlett, furnished a list of lots they desire to be comprehended by it, and offer a bonus of $5 per square mile, and an annual ground rent of $1 per square mile.

The limits specified cover seventy-one square miles, but as the general regulations admit of fifty square miles being granted to one party, the area should be reduced to that, and as the Department is embarked in the undertaking of constructing a road through those townships, it is desirable that a range of lots on each side of that road should be withheld from timber limits. With this understanding, together 50—1.
Appendix "J" continued

with the restriction as to area, it is proposed that a license be granted, on condition that the bonus to be paid be not less than $8 per square mile.

The tariff of dues to be corresponding with the public notice of 25th August, 1869, with the addition of certain items not specified therein, namely: for shingle bolts, 50c. per cord.

WM. SPRAGGE, Dy. In. Supt.

Approved, Joseph Howe, 7th February, 1870.

Toronto, 31st March, 1870.

Dear Sir,—We are in receipt of yours of the 10th inst., informing us that we could obtain a timber limit in St. Edmonds and Lindsay, if we reduced the size of the limit we applied for on 4th February.

We have reduced the application to a fifty mile limit, and deposited it at Mr. Bartlett's office here, but he being absent, we are at a loss to know who we are to deposit the money with for our limit. An early answer will oblige.

Your obedient servants,

Hon. Joseph Howe, Secretary of State.

COOK BROS.

Messrs. Cook Bros., in Account with the Indian Office, Lindsay and St. Edmonds.

Dr.

| 1870. | 1870. |
| May | $ | Cts. | By Bonus as per Bartlett, May return |
| 6 | 00 | 00 | 400 | 00 |
| Ground rent, 60 square miles | 50 | 00 | 50 | 00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 1871. | 1871. |
| May 6 | $ | Cts. | Ground rent to 30th April, 1871 |
| 00 | 00 | 50 | 00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 1872. | 1872. |
| April 30 | $ | Cts. | Ground rent to 30th April, 1872 |
| 00 | 00 | 50 | 00 |
| Ground rent, 60 square miles | 50 | 00 | 50 | 00 |
| Do as above | 2,400 | 84 | 2,400 | 84 |
| Trespass due | 28 | 47 | 28 | 47 |
| Total | 2,983 | 31 |

Memo:—The License fee of $4 does not appear to have been paid; neither have the two renewals, at $3 each, been paid.

Translation.

Memorandum. DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, 8th March, 1873.

Inform Supt. Bartlett, in reply, that the timber licenses issued from the Indian Office are from 30th April in one year to the 30th of the same month in the following year, and that as respects any lots sold in the interim, the sale of them is subject to the timber licenses, but that the lots are, on its renewal, exempted from its operation, and the exemption should be noted carefully upon the license when the renewal takes place, and that the purchaser is entitled to the benefit of the timber from the 30th April succeeding the date of his purchase. Enquire, as respects license to the Messrs. Cook, whether they are restricting themselves to the cutting of saw logs and not making squared timber.

W. S.

Michael's Bay, 28th March, 1873.

Dear Sir,—The last time I saw you in Toronto, we were speaking about timber licenses on Indian lands. You then stated that Hon. Mr. Laird had agreed to bring a Bill before the House, to extend the time to cut and take off timber where licenses had been granted on Indian Lands. If the time was extended for five years after the purchase of the land was made by the settlers, it would enable the lumberman to keep...
ahead of the settlers, otherwise it is most ruinous to those that have taken up timber limits. We have expended $30,000 in this place in mills, &c., and now when just rightly started, our timber is taken from us and not for the land, but for the sole purpose of getting hold of the timber. There has been more timber destroyed by fire here than would pay for the whole Island, at 50 cents an acre.

The dues on timber will bring the Department more than the land, and the land, when there is any, will sell for just as much as if the timber had not been cut, as there is always plenty left for the settler's own use. I do wish you would press the matter and at all events, get a reasonable time to take off the timber after a lot has been purchased and settled on.

Yours very truly,

R. A. LYON,
For R. A. Lyon & Co.

MICHAEL'S BAY, MARCH 28th, 1877.

DEAR SIR,—When I saw you last at Hamilton, I was speaking to you about getting a Bill brought before the House, to extend the time to take timber off Indian lands, where licenses had been granted.

Our license was granted in 1866, and we now find that settlers are coming in and taking up our pine lands, and by fire and settlement will ruin our limit. If five years were allowed to take off the timber after a lot had been purchased, we could then keep ahead of the settlers, but as it is, we will be deprived of our timber, after expending $30,000 in mills and improvements, and the sources we expected to get back money from is being taken out of our hands by settlers. We think it a great hardship, and it will prove most ruinous to us and a great many others.

I have written on the same subject to H. H. Cook, M.P.

The timber dues in Manitoulin Island will amount to more than the sale of lands, and the land will bring as much after the timber is taken off as it would before it was cut.

Your kind attention to this matter will oblige your very truly,

E. B. Bonnin, Esq., M.P., Ottawa. R. A. LYON.
P.S.—Mr. H. H. Cook told me that Hon. Mr. Laird promised to bring forward this Bill some time ago.

R. A. L.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 25th April, 1877.

Sir,—Mr. Lyon, of Manitoulin Island, complains that the timber limits which he and his partners calculated obtaining pine logs to enable them to carry on their saw mill, are being rapidly bought up by settlers, and that the supply of logs failing. The greater portion of the large capital invested in their mill will be lost. I think that when lots on timber-limits are sold for agricultural purposes, it is not only fair to the lumbermen, but a duty to the Indians, that the pine timber should be secured, for at least three years, so that the proprietors of such mills may obtain that benefit, in view of which they have been induced to embark their capital on the one hand, and the Indians to obtain an amount of duties greatly in excess of the amount (50 cents per acre) for land that is sold for agricultural purposes alone.

I wish you would give Mr. Phipps, the Agent at Manitouaning, instructions before the opening of navigation, as many settlers will be taking up land, and I do not think that such reservation of pine on lands which may be a portion of any timber limits already granted, will operate to retard the influx of bona fide settlers.

I thought I had brought this matter under your notice before, but if so you have not yet come to a decision or given me any answer.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Hon. David Mills, Minister of Interior.

E. B. BONNIN.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, INDIAN BRANCH.

OTTAWA, 1st December, 1877.

Notice is hereby given that the following regulation has been made by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, under the provisions of the 45th section of the Indian Act of 1876, by Order in Council bearing date 12th November, 1877—
All pine trees being or growing upon any Indian land hereafter sold, and at the time of such sale, or previously, included in any timber license, shall be considered as reserved from such sale, and such land shall be subject to any timber license covering the same, which may be in force at the time of such sale, or may be granted within three years from the date of such sale; and all pine trees of larger growth than twelve inches in diameter at the butt may be cut and removed from such land, under a timber license lawfully in force; but the purchaser of the land, or those claiming under the purchaser, may cut and use such trees as may be necessary for the purposes of building, fencing and fuel on the land so purchased; and may also cut and dispose of (but the latter only under a settler's license, duly obtained from the local Indian Superintendent or Agent) all trees required to be removed in actually clearing the land for cultivation, but no pine trees, except for necessary building, fencing and fuel, as aforesaid, shall be cut beyond the limit of such actual clearing before the issue of the patent for such land; and any pine trees so cut and disposed of, except for said necessary building, fencing and fuel, as aforesaid, shall be subject to the payment of regular dues, and 50 per cent. added thereto for trespass fine.

All trees on the land when the patent issues, to become the property of the patentee,

DAVID MILLS,
Minister of the Interior, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs.
TORONTO, 9th June, 1882.

Re British Canadian Lumbering and Timber Company.

Dear Sir.—I have to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 27th of May, stating that you are directed by Sir John A. Macdonald, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to inform me that the British Canadian Lumbering and Timber Company will be authorized to cut pine timber only on the limits covered by the licenses held by them in the Townships of Lindsay and St. Edmunds, in the Saugeen Peninsula, and for this year only, that is to say, till the 30th of April, 1883, on payment in the usual way, of ground rent and renewal fees, to the amount of $103.50, and I beg now to make that payment by returning you herewith your two orders, Nos. 13067 and 13068, on the Bank of Montreal, Ottawa, dated 4th May, 1882, whereby you returned to us the $103.50 that we paid the Department through the Bank of Montreal last month. I am instructed, however, by the Committee of Management of the Company here, to state, that although, for the time being, the Company will accede to the request of the Department to cut only pine timber, yet, in the interest of the shareholders of the Company, both here and in Great Britain, they must respectfully protest against the interference of the Department with their right to cut all the kinds of timber, the right to cut which was originally granted to the Company, or to the Messrs. Cook, by the licenses which were transferred to the Company, and also to protest against any action of the Department which would amount to a cancellation or refusal to renew the licenses after the 30th of April, 1883.

I am further instructed to state, that by consenting to cut only pine for the ensuing year, the Company must not be deemed to have waived any rights it may have to cut the other woods referred to, or to a renewal of the licenses from year to year, in the ordinary way.

I am further instructed by the Company to return you the cheque for $75.50 that was sent you in the first instance, to pay the renewal fees on these licenses last April, and which you returned to us without being properly re-endorsed to the Company. I would ask you that you would be good enough to re-endorse this cheque, as it is made payable to your order and marked good by the bank.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

W. H. LOCKHART GORDON.


June 15th, 1882.
would consent to renew the licenses held by the British Canadian Lumbering and Timber Company, as the assignees of Messrs. Cook Bros. and Mr. Simon F. Cook, covering the timber on certain lots in the Townships of Lindsay and St. Edwards, in the Saugeen Peninsula. And in view of the statement made by you, that you are instructed by the Committee of Management of that Company to say, that although for the time being the Company would accede to the request of the Department, to cut only pine timber, yet in the interest of the shareholders of the Company, both here and in Great Britain, you must respectfully protest against the interference of the Department with their right to cut all kinds of timber, the right to cut which was originally granted to the Company, or to the Messrs. Cook, by the licenses which were transferred to the Company, and also to protest against any action of the Department which would amount to a cancellation or a refusal to renew the licenses after the 30th April, 1883, and that you are further instructed to state, that by consenting to cut only pine for the ensuing year, the Company must not be deemed to have waived any rights; it may have to cut the other woods referred to, or to a renewal of the license from year to year, in the ordinary way; and in view of my letter to you of the 27th ult., informing you of the decision of the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs in this matter, I regret that it is beyond my power to renew the license, without further instructions from the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, and pending such instructions I re-enclose to you the bank certificates of deposit for the sum of $103.50, which you offer in payment of ground rent and renewal fees in the above licenses for the year aforesaid; and I also, as requested by you, have endorsed the cheque for $17.50, sent by you in the first instance to pay the renewal fees on said licenses, but which was returned to you by me, and which you re-enclosed to me for endorsement in your letter of the 9th inst.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. H. Loughart Gordon, Barrister, Toronto.

L. VANKOUGHNET.

OTTAWA, Wednesday, 20th December, 1882.

Dear Sir John Macdonald,—At the suggestion of the Hon. Mr. Macpherson, from whom I learn that the question of the renewal of the timber leases of the British Canadian Lumbering Company in the Saugeen, is to be adjudicated upon by you tomorrow, and with reference to which I came here to represent the interests of the Company, I write this note to state, in a few words, our position and the urgent reasons that exist for an immediate disposition of the matter.

I may say that so anxious are the Company to get the matter disposed of, that they are willing to forgo their claim to all the timber, except the pine and cedar, as is stated in the letter of Mr. Menzies, of Edinburgh, which I think was handed to you by Mr. Hector Cameron a few days ago. The English and Scotch shareholders, who hold the major portion of the stock, embarked their capital, relying on the validity of the licenses, both as to renewal and as to the timber covered by them; having just taken the opinion of the Hon. J. C. Abbott and Mr. James Bethune, Q.C., on this point which was read the other day when Mr. Cameron and myself appeared before Mr. Macpherson and Sir Alexander Campbell, I need scarcely add that as the affidavit filed by us shows, there has been a very large expenditure of money by the Company, in having just completed a third mill at a cost of $5,000, and that the action of the Department has caused great consternation in the old country. This fall the Company sent two men, Mr. Shanky, an engineer, and another who is a bushranger, to make the inspection as to the charge that the locality was being denuded of timber and rendered unfit for settlement; a report of which has been transmitted to the Department, verified by affidavit. It shows (1) that the land is very poor indeed; (2) that there are not half a dozen bona fide settlers on it, and (3) that immense quantities of cedar had been cut by cedar speculators, who are not only not settlers but not even residents. The Company has not cut a stick of cedar up to the present time. It is of the greatest importance that the question should be disposed of at once—(1) because the Company have let large contracts to get out timber upon which they are liable and being threatened; (2) because of the interference with their
winter's work, (3) because there is so much uneasiness among the old country shareholders, the Scotch Board of Directors having summoned the President of the Company home, and (4) because, as our affadavits state, Mr. Lockhart Gordon, who originated the Company, is now in England floating a similar one, the capital of which is to be $2,500,000, the success of which enterprise is greatly hindered by the present position of the question now under consideration. I shall esteem it in the highest degree a personal favor, Sir John, if the matter is disposed of at once. To that end and upon Mr. Macpherson's suggestions, I shall remain in town another day, and shall also take the liberty of calling on you to-morrow morning after 11 o'clock, for five minutes, when, if you will see me and I can give you any further information, I shall gladly do so, and, if not, I shall not trespass on your time and patience.

Apologizing for the length of this letter, and with my hearty congratulations upon the improved state of your health.

Very sincerely yours,

Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B. 

ED. TATE BLACKSTOCK.

TORONTO, Ont., 23rd December, 1882.

Gentlemen,—With reference to your letter of the 4th inst., enclosing certain papers relative to the timber limits in Lindsay and St. Edmunds, claimed by the British Canadian Lumbering and Timber Company, I am directed by the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs to inform you that he has decided to allow the above Company to continue to cut pine timber and pine saw logs during this winter and until the 30th of April next, when the licences will expire.

The Department will at once send an officer, or officers, to inspect the lots included in said limits, with a view to ascertain what quantity of pine timber remains thereon, as well as the quantities of other descriptions of timber on the lots, the number of settlers on the land covered by licenses, and the condition of matters generally within the said limits.

The question of the cedars will be reserved for future consideration.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant.

Messrs. Wells, Gordon & Sampson, Barristers.

L. Vankoughnet.

26th December, 1882.

Sir,—With further reference to the subject of the cutting of timber on certain limits in the Townships of Lindsay and St. Edmunds, which were formerly licensed to them by the British Canadian Lumbering and Timber Company, without having had their licences renewed, I have to inform you that you may renew the licences to the Company on payment of usual ground rent and renewal fees, but that only pine timber and pine saw logs are to be cut.

The licences are encloscd herewith.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

B. E. Miller, Indian Lands Agent, Whitton, Ont.

Robert Sinclair.

Memorandum.

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, 23rd February, 1883.

The undersigned has the honor to submit herewith, for the consideration of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, a letter from A. McNeill, Esq., M.P. for North Bruce, setting forth the disadvantages under which settlers—more particularly those in the Saugeen Peninsula labor, by reason of the present timber regulations, under which the lots purchased for purposes of settlement may, for three years after such purchase, be cut over by any lumbermen or lumbering firm holding a license covering the same at the time of sale, or for three years thereafter. It may be added, that the views as to this matter, expressed in Mr. McNeill's letter, were as forcibly expressed to the undersigned in a conversation had a few days since with Mr. McCallum, M.P., for Monck. Mr. McNeill expressed his opinion so clearly that it is unnecessary to add to his statement, further than to narrate the manner in
which the safeguard to which he alluded, ceased to be operative so far as the settlers were concerned.

Up to the year 1877, the only conditions imposed on settlers were:

1. Continuous occupation and residence for three years, and the clearing and fencing of five acres per 100 of the quantity purchased.

2. No timber for exportation or sale to be cut until conditions of occupation and sale had been fully complied with, except under license.

In April, 1877, Mr. Borron, M.P., acting in the interests of Lyon & Co., who held a lease to cut timber on Manitoulin Island, addressed Mr. Mills, the then Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, urging the Department to amend the conditions of settlements by inserting a third clause, setting forth that the lots purchased for settlement should be subject to any timber license covering the same, in force at the date of sale or granted within three years thereafter; and this amendment was urged, both in the interests of the lumbermen, who, it was stated, had a large capital invested in saw mills and lumbering operations generally, and also as a duty owed by the Department to the Indians, who would thereby benefit, not only by the price of the land, but also from the dues paid on the timber.

Mr. Phipps, the Indian Superintendent, on Manitoulin Island, having been instructed to report on the subject of Mr. Borron's application, stated, that in view of the outlay made by Lyon & Co., they were fairly entitled to reasonable protection of the pine timber; that its reservation would not injuriously affect the sale of lands for agricultural purposes, provided no restrictions were placed on the cutting of timber for necessary farm buildings, but that it would not be desirable to reserve the pine, save on lands already covered by timber licenses, where the capital invested entitled the licensee to protection; and that the reservation of pine for three years, presumably under such licenses, would allow a reasonable time for its removal and would benefit Indian Funds, especially in localities where the dues on a heavy growth of timber would exceed the price of the land.

The Deputy Superintendent-General concurred for the most part, in the views expressed by Superintendent Phipps, and, as a consequence of the representations made, an Order in Council was passed on the 12th of November, 1877, setting forth that "all pine trees, being or growing upon any Indian land hereafter sold, and at the time of such sale, or previously included in any timber license, shall be considered as reserved from such sale; and such land shall be subject to any timber license covering the same, which may be in force at the time of such sale, or may be granted within three years from the date of such sale; and all pine trees of larger growth than twelve inches in diameter at the butt may be cut and removed from such land, under a timber license lawfully in force; but the purchaser of the land or those claiming under the purchase may cut and use such trees as may be necessary for the purposes of building, fencing and fuel on the land so purchased; and may also cut and dispose of (but the latter only under settler's license, duly obtained from the local Indian Superintendent or Agent), all trees required to be removed in actually clearing the land for cultivation; but no pine trees, except for necessary building, fencing and fuel, as aforesaid, shall be cut beyond the limit of such actual clearing before the issue of the patent for such land; and any pine trees so cut and disposed of, except for said necessary building, fencing and fuel as aforesaid, shall be subject to the payment of regular dues, and 50 per cent. added thereto for trespass fine."

"All trees on the land when the patent issues to become the property of the patentee;" whereupon the clause complained of by the settlers in the Saugeen Peninsula was inserted in the settler's receipt; which clause or regulation is of general effect in all timber limits at the present time.

The licenses now held by the British and Canadian Lumber Company cover about ninety-seven square miles in the Townships of Lindsay and St. Edmuns, and were originally granted to Cook Bros., who had fifty square miles, for which they paid $2 per mile; and Simon S. Cook, who had had forty-seven square miles, for which he paid a bonus of $15 per square mile; but under that license the assignees now claim the right to cut not only pine, but also hardwood and cedars; and it is this universal stripping of the land of which the settlers complain.
It is also stated that the lumbermen benefited by the Order in Council before referred to, obtained privileges to which they were not entitled, and for which they did not pay an equivalent, insomuch as Lyon & Co. paid a mere nominal bonus of $4 per square mile, on the understanding that all lots sold should be withdrawn from their license on its renewal on the 30th April, each year.

The same will apply to Messrs. Cook Bros., and Simon S. Cook, whose licenses were subject to the same regulation, and who only paid bonuses of $8 and $15 a mile; whereas, had the present privilege (of holding the pine for three years after the lots have been sold) been contemplated, much larger bonuses might have been obtained.

It may be added that the question as to the rights claimed by the British and Canadian Lumber Company is now under consideration by the Department; and that the lands covered by the timber licenses held by that Company are undergoing inspection by Messrs. Trent and Davies, who were appointed to perform that duty in January last.

Mr. McNail asks that the objectionable clause may be expunged from the regulations and that licenses covering lots on which settlement duties are being performed, may not be renewed after the 30th April, the date to which all timber licenses are granted and renewed; that wild lands covered by licenses may, so soon as they are entered for settlement, be withdrawn from the operation of such license at the close of its then current year.

The subject is respectfully submitted for the consideration of the Superintendent General.

ROBT. SINCLAIR, Acting Deputy Minister.

Right Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 16th February, 1883.

SIR,—I am anxious to press very strongly upon your Department the desirability of affording protection to the timber upon the lands of actual settlers in the Saugeen Peninsula. These men are generally poor, and the timber upon their lots is, in fact, the harvest upon which they must, at first, depend for sustenance. In many cases pine is reserved for building purposes, and the poor man who has, with his wife and family, resided for years in a miserable shanty, looks forward to the time when he can, at comparatively little expense, by means of his own timber, provide himself with the buildings that his necessities require. The feelings of such a man can be more easily imagined than described when he sees his premises invaded by a crowd of shantymen with horses or oxen; his underbrush, that he may have preserved for shelter or ornament, ruthlessly trampled down and his timber cut and carried off, before his very eyes. It is all very well to tell him that it is not really his timber at all, that it belongs to a lumbering company. He knows that he, it is, who has, in the face of enormous difficulties, at the expense of many a desperate risk in the falling of timber and many a fearful strain in the logging-fellow, cleared the land and assisted to make a country. He knows that the lumbering company have had many years during which they could have taken off their timber. He knows that they have wasted thousands upon thousands of feet of good pine in the Peninsula in days gone past, and he feels that these trees, upon his own property, ought to belong to him and not to any lumbering company. The man feels himself outraged in his own home, and his feeling of bitterness and resentment is very intense. But besides this sentimental grievance, which is none the less worthy of consideration because it is sentimental, there is, as I have already said, the hard fact that these men are poor and that it is, in many cases, only with the help of the sale of their timber that they can hope to make a living during the first years of their occupation of their lots.

I desire to call the attention of your Department to the fact that, as I am informed (and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of my information), Messrs. Cook Bros. paid, originally, a very small sum of money for their limits in the Saugeen Peninsula; that, at that time, they had no right whatever to cut timber upon any land after it had been taken up for settlement, but, on the contrary, such land
Appendix “J” continued

was expressly safeguarded from invasion by the lumbermen. I am also informed that it was not until the accession to power of the late Administration (that of Mr. MacKenzie) that this safeguard to the rights of the settlers was removed and permission accorded to invade the homesteads of the settlers in the manner I have described.

If it be also true, as I believe it to be, that this additional right was never paid for by the Company, it does seem to me that it would be only an act of justice and common humanity to restore to the settler that exclusive right to the enjoyment of his own property which has been so strangely taken away.

I understand that the claim of the Company to a right to strip all timber of every kind from their limits is decided by your Department against them, and that they will not, in future, be allowed to cut any more cedar upon these limits.

I sincerely hope that when it is recollected how many years have elapsed since this license was granted to Messrs. Cook Bros., and what unusual and oppressive privileges they have enjoyed, your Department may come to the determination not to renew it at all.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. ALEX. McNEILL.
Appendix “K” Map of the Bruce Peninsula

SOURCE: County of Bruce, 2011, Christina Tennyson, explorethebruce.com

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>Bruce Peninsula</td>
<td>74,599</td>
<td>81,910</td>
<td>139,497</td>
<td>196,122</td>
<td>133,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fathom Five National Marine Park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>159,292</td>
<td>163,266</td>
<td>211,030</td>
<td>207,624</td>
<td>205,288</td>
<td>226,918</td>
<td>226,040</td>
<td>212,457</td>
<td>212,457</td>
<td>208,660</td>
<td>167,391</td>
<td>188,899</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>386,341</td>
<td>427,628</td>
<td>438,598</td>
<td>404,759</td>
<td>403,856</td>
<td>456,923</td>
<td>456,850</td>
<td>435,794</td>
<td>435,794</td>
<td>435,794</td>
<td>386,791</td>
<td>360,958</td>
<td>380,090</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>183,917</td>
<td>260,593</td>
<td>168,377</td>
<td>220,694</td>
<td>224,449</td>
<td>244,179</td>
<td>251,825</td>
<td>283,631</td>
<td>283,703</td>
<td>329,287</td>
<td>412,823</td>
<td>428,888</td>
<td>362,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>427,885</td>
<td>376,723</td>
<td>233,322</td>
<td>244,850</td>
<td>238,474</td>
<td>247,348</td>
<td>244,231</td>
<td>255,644</td>
<td>242,533</td>
<td>281,231</td>
<td>342,685</td>
<td>419,211</td>
<td>381,722</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Appendix M – Visitor Statistics for Ontario Provincial Parks – 1956-1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Campers</th>
<th>Visitors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>86,641</td>
<td>Not Given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>162,705</td>
<td>2,114,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>276,128</td>
<td>3,232,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>479,069</td>
<td>5,127,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>592,103</td>
<td>5,692,978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>862,559</td>
<td>6,215,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1,058,203</td>
<td>7,822,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1,198,573</td>
<td>8,526,443</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Appendix “N” Bruce Peninsula & Fathom Five National Marine Parks Economic Impact

2017-2018

**Economic impact of these two parks…**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2017-2018 Spending</th>
<th>EUR</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Parks Canada</td>
<td>7,875,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Visitors</td>
<td>121,486,000</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total Spending**

$129,361,000

**BREAKDOWN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parks Canada expenditures to operate these parks</th>
<th>EUR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wages &amp; Salaries</td>
<td>3,031,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operations</td>
<td>4,844,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Visitor spending**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bruce Peninsula National Park</th>
<th>EUR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visitor spending</td>
<td>55,734,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathom Five National Marine Park</td>
<td>65,752,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**From national Statistics Canada economic model.**
Appendix “O” Employment (Full Time) Statistics Bruce Peninsula National Park/Fathom


| Employment Numbers - Bruce Peninsula National Park/ Fathom Five National Marine Park |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                                                 | 88\89 | 89\90 | 90\91 | 91\92 | 92\93 | 93\94 | 94\95 | 95\96 | 96\97 | 97\98 | 98\99 | 99\00 |
| TOTAL                                           | 35    | 43    | 48    | 41    | 52    | 52    | 57    | 56    | 50    | 53    | 52    | 55    |
|                                                 | 00\01 | 01\02 | 02\03 | 03\04 | 04\05 | 05\06 | 06\07 | 07\08 | 08\09 | 09\10 | 10\11 | 11\12 |
| TOTAL                                           | 46    | 47    | 45    | 46    | 45    | 43    | 54    | 53    | 56    | 57    | 52    | 56    |
|                                                 | 12\13 | 13\14 | 14\15 | 15\16 | 16\17 | 17\18 | 18\19 | 19\20 |         |         |         |       |
| TOTAL                                           | 53    | 58    | 64    | 66    | 47    | 65    | 75    | 85    |         |         |         |       |
Bibliography

Primary Sources

Newspapers


*Toronto Globe*, 27 June 1872.

*Collingwood Enterprise*, 11 January; 11 July; 25 July 1912.


*Owen Sound Comet and Farmers’ and Mechanics’ Protector. An Agricultural, Commercial and Literary Journal*, 28 June 1851 (Vol. 1 No. 1) – 6 September 1853


*Owen Sound Advertiser*, “Local Notes,”, 1 June 1882.

*Toronto Globe*, July 1926 – December 1934

*Toronto Globe and Mail*, July 1951- July 1987

*Wiarton Echo*; 4 July 1879 – August 1883, 1889-1890, and January 1903 – October 1912

Other Primary Sources:

Bull, William; Inspection Report of Lots Sold in Eastnor, Lindsay and St. Edmunds, August 1873 (Public Archives of Canada, RG 10, Volume #736)

Charles Rankin Fonds #1018, Archives of Ontario

Chicago Board of Trade Annual Reports, 1859

Cove Island Lighthouse Visitor’s Book 1880-1897, George Currie, Keeper, Bruce County Archives

Day Book of Land and Timber Transactions, 1878-1881, Sales 4813 and 4814, Volume 1030, RG 10, Library and Archives of Canada

Department of Crown Lands, Bureau of Forestry, Toronto, January 15, 1897

Department of Lands and Forests, “A History of Lake Huron Forest District, No 3 District History Series,” Ministry of Natural Resources Library, Peterborough, Ontario, 1963
Department of Lands and Forests, Field Notes, Maps, etc. of Charles Rankin, Ministry of Natural Resources Archives, Peterborough, Ontario

Department of Lands and Forests, “A History of Lake Huron Forest District,” Ministry of Natural Resources Library, Peterborough, Ontario, 1963,

Fox, Sherwood; Personal Papers of Sherwood Fox, Weldon Library and Archives, University of Western Ontario


Fox, W. Sherwood papers, Robert Lymburner letter to W. Sherwood Fox, 30 May 1950, Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario

Fox, W. Sherwood papers, Robert Lymburner letter to W. Sherwood Fox, 9 June 1950, Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario

Fox, W. Sherwood papers, Letter sent to W. Sherwood Fox, 30 July 1951 by Norman Fee, Assistant Dominion Archivist, Public Archives of Canada, Weldon Library Archives, University of Western Ontario


Journal of Land Sales, Toronto Office, 1869-1878, pg. 304, Volume 686, RG 10 Public Archives of Canada

Land Returns, Saugeen Peninsula, 1855-74, Volume 772, Return 196, September 1862, Sale #1567

Land Returns, Saugeen Peninsula, 1855-74, Volume 772, Return 306, July 1871, Sale #2550

Owen, Captain William; “A Plan of the Straits from Lake Huron into the Manitoulin (sic) Lake from the Open Gat to Cabots Head,” A Survey made 26th, 27th, and 28th September 1815, V30/40, Map No. 29B, National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada


Parliamentary Debates; Hansard May 1869, Parliamentary Library, Ottawa


“Treaty Number 45 1/2, 9 August 1836,” Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders, 1680-1890, Queen’s Printer (Ottawa, 1891), Volume 1


Wiarton Land Office Correspondence, 1864 – 1906, Volume 920, No. 5 (RG 10, P.A.C.)

Secondary Sources

Articles


Elliott, Vincent; “Fifty Years of Change on the Bruce Peninsula,” 1988 Bruce County Historical Society Yearbook.


Folkes, Patrick; “Cabot Head and Bruce Recreation Area: Historical Background,” Ministry of Natural Resources Report, December 1973

Hilborn, Robin; “Logging the Bruce,” in Forestry, Forest History Society of Ontario, Volume 10, Issue 1, Spring, 2019, 22-27.


“The King’s Highway 6,” thekingshighway.ca


McCannel, Captain James; “Shipping out of Collingwood,” Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, Volume 28, 1932


Pearen, Shelley J., “As Canada turns 150, a look back at the Island in the year of Confederation,” manitoulin.ca, 4 January 2017


Books


Creighton, Donald G. The Empire of the St. Lawrence, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.


Curriculum Vitae: Paul White

Education:

Trent University: BA (Honours) History and Canadian Studies (1979)

Publications:


Paul White, Owen Sound: The Port City, (Toronto: Natural Heritage Press, Dundurn Press, 2000)


Awards:

Heritage Ontario Award, 2000