THE ROLE AND IMAGE OF WILDERNESS AND THE ABORIGINE IN SELECTED ONTARIAN SHIELD CAMPS

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ABSTRACT

The Role and Image of Wilderness and the Aborigine
in Selected Ontarian Shield Camps

Heather Dunlop

The significance of wilderness to the Canadian mind is accepted, if somewhat ill-defined. Likewise, Ontarian youth camps on the Canadian Shield have generally viewed their wild landscapes as an essential partner in their venture, but have rarely explored this association. In conjunction with camp beliefs about and perceptions of wild lands, an image developed of a healthy and virtuous denizen of those lands - the Indian.

This thesis investigates this three-sided alliance through an historical perspective that is informed by relevant socio-political thought, related literary and artistic endeavours and the criticism associated with them, and writings on cross-cultural interplay. Eighteen camps were examined through individual site visits, interviews with current/former Directors and others whose thoughts are pertinent, and archival research.

This study explains the dynamic that brought camps, wilderness

and the Indian together, revealing how this interaction evolved, and finally seeks a sense of direction for this relationship.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of people without whom this thesis could not have taken shape nor reached conclusion. Firstly, I am most grateful to Bruce Hodgins, my thesis supervisor, who accompanied me throughout this journey. His unwavering support was a constant reminder of a shared vision and enthusiasm for this project. His knowledge and candour were of critical importance to both the process and the product. Also, I must thank him and his wife Carol for welcoming me so warmly into their midst, be it at home or in a canoe.

To my thesis committee, John Wadland and Bernadine Dodge, I extend my heartfelt thanks for their insightful comments which helped refine and redirect my thoughts, as well as for their assistance with format and their acceptance of my irregular pace.

I am greatly indebted to the selected camps who so hospitably opened their doors to me, sharing their world and their obvious pleasure within it. Camp Directors, senior staff and numerous individuals who are or have been associated with these camps graciously agreed to discuss their thoughts and experiences. They all willingly and candidly answered my many questions, taking the time and expending the energy to fully respond to any and all queries. The camps are Ahmek/Wapomeo,

Gay Venture, Glen Bernard, Kandalore, Keewaydin, Kilcoo, Langskib/Northwaters, Pine Crest, Ponacka, Quin-mo-lac, Tawingo, Wabikon, Wabun, Wanakita, Wanapitei, White Pine and Temagami (closed in 1971).

The staff of the Trent University Archives proved most helpful and accommodating in my efforts to sift through the vast array of materials available on the camps. I would also like to thank the International Camping Congress who invited me to speak about aboriginal content in camps at the Kumbayah Conference in March 1994. It was a privilege for me to do so.

Finally, words cannot express the gratitude and appreciation I feel toward my husband, Terry Quinney, and our daughter Kaley who uncomplainingly went about life around, if not without, me. Their unceasing words of support, hugs and smiles were the most effective means of keeping things in perspective over the course of this research.

PREFATORY NOTE

For the purposes of this thesis, I feel it necessary to commence with a clarification in order to prevent any confusion. I will use such terms as Indian, Native, Amerindian, Aborigine, Indigenous Peoples, North American Indian, and First Nations Peoples to designate the original inhabitants of North America. Some of these terms (such as Indian) have developed derogatory connotations in some people's eyes; others (such as Native) seem vague, implying anyone born in North America. However, I will use them as they are referred to within the camping community past and present, interspersed with my personal preferences. Furthermore, in contrast to Amerindians, I will frequently refer to the large heterogeneous grouping of other Canadians. I struggle to find an appropriate label for this group. "White Canadians" and "Euro-Canadians" deny the multiracial reality of the Canadian demographic mosaic. "Immigrant" or "Settler" Canadians belies the existence of long-established families whose Canadian roots go back over numerous generations. "Non-Native" conjures up a negative juxtaposition. I am left with the wide-sweeping, all-inclusive term: Canadian. However, this group encompasses the aforementioned Amerindians. Faced with an apparently irresolvable dilemma, and based purely on convenience, I choose to use "Canadian" (or in the same light "American") to

denote those whom I present here in contrast to the Aborigine. I underline that this does not in any way represent a view of Natives as a group outside the general Canadian populace, but merely an attempt to clearly distinguish between the two main groups I propose to discuss.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Just the thought of camp conjures up many images in the mind's eye. Although each particular individual's representation may be unique in its details, it is surprising to note the many similarities that colour camp experience for one and all. Being active in the outdoors. A sense of time standing still or of time losing some of its significance or the stress related to it. Roughing it. A closer contact with nature and its rhythms. Drifting listlessly downstream or gliding smoothly across the surface of the water in a canoe. Drawing in the midday heat from the hard granite rock or settling comfortably on the damp softness of a pine-needled forest floor. Straining up a ridge under a carefully balanced canoe. Revelling in the water's silky touch that soothes and invigorates at the end of the day. Picking up the monotonous buzzing of insects that filters in and out of the mind's awareness in spite of its continuous presence. Backpaddling, bracing or ferrying in response to a challenging set of rapids. Being startled by a windgust's rustling through the trees that seems to reverberate with force due to its unexpectedness and the ensuing silence. Paddling hard to counteract the wind's effect. Catching the sudden flash of a fish out of the corner of the eye and confirming the apparent illusion through its tell-tale trail of ripples. Being humbled before the spectacle of the night sky and awed

by its breadth and history. Breathing in the lushness of the bush through a fine mist of rain. Sniffing at the moist decaying humus by the edge of a swamp. Tasting the juicy ecstasy of blueberries after stumbling upon a patch along the portage. Cheerfully chewing through the crunchy grit that nature added to a sandwich as a reminder of its presence. Feeling attuned to that natural landscape as well as to one's inner self. Developing a sense of comfort with the bush and a sense of place within it. And wondering how those who experienced 'here' before you felt, smelled, touched, tasted, and saw those same things and how they responded to them.

These are the sensory recollections that seem to permeate just about everyone's memory of camp. Being seduced by wild nature appears to be one of the common threads running through the camp fabric. Perhaps one could even state that this seduction is a defining pattern of the camp cloth. Indeed, many camps include 'environmental awareness' or 'education' within their mission statements, and most Shield camps hail the canoe trip as the ultimate wilderness experience, the centrepiece of their programs. But what exactly does so general a mandate entail with regard to wild landscapes? More specifically, how do camps present and use wild nature? To what ends? How significant is that use perceived to be? What kinds of relationships with wild landscapes do they promote? What means do they use to promote their chosen wilderness ethic?

How has this developed over time? Why did camps initially choose a wild-like setting? And why do they attempt to maintain that wild flavour, or at least a semblance of it, even today when much of their surroundings has been developed for cottaging, travel and tourism, or forest industries?

Historically, other images have also been connected to wilderness-oriented camps. Filing toward the Council Ring as the sun settles upon the horizon. Following every move of the torchbearers as they ceremoniously light the fire. Watching, transfixed, as the Chief lifts the peace pipe to the four winds, intoning prayers in another tongue. Throwing all one's weight into the effort to roll over a leg-wrestling opponent. Cheering on campmates as they compete to boil water over a small fire. Dance-stepping around the fire to the beat of the tom-tom. Tightening the blanket around one's shoulders as the embers die down and the evening chill settles in. Listening in attentive silence to the inspiring tale of Hiawatha. Chanting the "Omaha Tribal Prayer" that signals the end of Council. Such are the moments that define both the traditional and the contemporary Council Ring. A fascination with the mysticism of stylized Indian ceremonies seems to be at the core of such programs. But, how did the Indian arrive at the Shield camp? Why and when was he/she brought there? What is his/her role at camp? What is the significance of his/her presence? What kinds of attitudes do Indian lore

programs attempt to cultivate? And how have these programs changed over the years? Finally, what, if any, link is there between wilderness programs and aboriginal content in camps?

While Shield camps may maintain an air of remoteness, they do not function in isolation; they are most certainly affected by the world around them. Currently they are set within the broader context of what some deem to be a global ecocrisis, an increasing social malaise, and a sense of the failure of the modern world to deal with this. However, a call has been sounded for new perspectives and approaches that might better address these societal and ecological impasses we presently appear to face.

The modern perception of nature as a utilitarian resource to be exploited and improved upon by humankind through technology has definitely been challenged. Critics have presented the case for alternative paradigms which question all the supposed givens of modernism. Have scientific and technological advancements really improved the human condition? Is increased material wealth the sole indicator of a society's well-being? Can humankind maintain the perception of itself as distinct and superior to the natural world as the human degradation of its own habitat takes its toll on the quality of all life, including that of humans? What can we learn from other views of the world and of humans' role within it? Can

it? Can we stop the clock and turn back time? No, nor should we. But the opportunity exists to examine closely all that is, and all that we have created, so as to reinterpret our situations and relationships in a manner that equally values the natural and the cultural, recognizing the existing interrelationships and interdependencies, and firmly re-placing humankind within, rather than apart from, nature.

Similarly, questions have arisen on a national and international level about the relationships between different cultural communities. Are all communities treated equitably? Whose values and agenda dominate? Who presents or interprets the more marginalized cultures to the preponderant ones? How accurate are their representations? When directly or indirectly impacted upon by decisions or actions, are those other communities involved, consulted and given a chance to voice their concerns, their own perspective? Are those cultures given the opportunity to present and represent themselves? If not, how can this be addressed? In our post-colonial era, have we not learned that the participation and solutions of those most implicated tend to produce the most long-term success? Have we not recognized that cultural difference does not equal cultural inferiority?

Do these existential re-evaluations have relevance for camps? Certainly! The breezes of uncertainty also ripple through

camp life, marking it on their path just as they do in broader society. This post-industrial questioning calls for a reconsideration of all our activities. It shakes the underpinnings of long-standing traditions that have evolved into unquestioned customs or attitudes. What values do they promote? Are they ethical? Are they beneficial to both the human and the natural communities? Can and should they be maintained? If so, in what (new) form?

So fundamental an inquiry is beyond the scope of this research effort. However, this study proposes subjecting several aspects of camp to such an investigation. The areas concerned are the camp rapport with wildlands and with Native cultures. It is my contention that Shield camps, wilderness imagery and Native lore are inextricably linked. A brief explanation of the logic behind this statement follows.

Initially, wild-like sites were selected for camps because they were considered ideal for socio-moral restoration. From its beginnings in the early 1900s, the camping movement propounded recurrent visits to the wilderness but certainly never promoted a complete rejection of society for a return to life in the wilds. The advance of modern society (civilization, urbanization, industrialization) was a positive and inevitable process; unfortunately, it had several negative social impacts, but these could be remedied. The spartan

living conditions and the (hierarchical but cooperative) group dynamics of wilderness living/travel modelled virtuous personal and interpersonal habits even while they encouraged a certain questioning of society's trappings, roles, and order. Camp leaders and parents alike believed that campers would re-evaluate their social system and their place within it, developing into models of upright citizens back in their home communities, but also cultivating an appreciation of the finer, simpler things in life and of wilderness itself due to its positive impact on their social development. A wilderness sojourn was a balm for the troubled, a reinvigoration for the physically soft, a remedy for the socially diseased, a respite for the harried, and a salvation for the morally corrupt.

Furthermore:

> landscape defines a people . . . . The spirit of a nature that surrounds you becomes part of your spirit . . . .[Thus,] a country's character is formed from the relationship between its land and its people.[1]

This sense of identity that evolves from close ties to the land is further grounded when those people feel they belong to the land and it, to them. Here is where Natives fit into the picture. In the Canadian context, the key to developing the ultimate connection to the land is by:

> fashioning [one's] genealogy, and it is ultimately connected to the Indian . . . . What right do we have to be here? We say either Indians gave us permission to be here or they made us Indians or, in the last stage, we say we are the Indians - the Aborigines with a title to this land. . . . Council Ring

[1] "A Passion for Canoes: The Quest of Kirk Wipper." Profiles of Nature. KEG Productions, 1991.

is a kind of induction into the wilderness.[2]

Finally, both historically and currently, the camp wilderness experience usually revolves around the canoe trip, which represents the culmination of camp experience in the eyes of both campers and camp direction alike. Obviously, the canoe itself and the use of this simple and practical watercraft have longstanding ties to the Amerindian cultures that developed it.

These thoughts and questions set the stage for this research effort and delineate its focus. Within these parameters, a number of Ontarian Shield camps were studied. I chose 18 OCA camps whose locations on the Precambrian Shield lend an air of wilderness to their natural surroundings. The camps are clustered in three areas (Muskoka, Haliburton and Temagami) with one exception (Quin-mo-lac, situated just south of Tweed). Interestingly enough, all but this same camp (found just on the edge of the Shield) offer some form of canoe tripping. Most have or have had a Native lore program which consists in Council Ring activities principally. In an effort to cover a broad spectrum of camps, I have included some that are privately owned and others that are YMCA-run, some boys'

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[2]From interview with Jonathan Bordo conducted by H. Dunlop, Oct. 1995. For a full explanation of this process, see Bordo, "Jack Pine - Wilderness Sublime or the Erasure of the Aboriginal Presence from the Landscape." Journal of Canadian Studies. 27.4 (1992-1993): 98-128.

only or girls' only as well as others that are coeducational. The majority are interdenominational camps, although two have a single-faith orientation (one catering to members of the Jewish community and another to those following the United Church doctrines). The targeted clienteles range from lower-middle class to upper-middle class standing for the most part; several camps draw from the upper class as well. Most are long-standing camps established in the infancy of the Canadian camping movement from about the turn of the century to the 1930s; several date from later decades with the most recent being 'founded' in 1970 - Langskib, which more accurately was set up when new owners took over a former camp, transforming it to reflect a new focus. The camps are listed below, alphabetically.

(Taylor Statten Camp) Ahmek	(private, boys')
Gay Venture	(private, girls')
Glen Bernard	(private, girls')
Kandalore	(private, coed)
Keewaydin	(U.S., private, boys')
Kilcoo	(private, boys')
Langskib/Northwaters	(U.S., private, coed)
Pine Crest	(YMCA, coed)
Ponacka	(private, boys')
Quin-mo-lac	(United Church, coed)
Tawingo	(private, coed)
Temagami (closed in 1971)	(private, boys')
Wabikon	(private, coed)
Wabun	(U.S., private, coed)
Wanakita	(YMCA, coed)
Wanapitei	(private, coed)
(Taylor Statten Camp) Wapomeo	(private, girls')
White Pine	(Jewish, coed)

I then formulated a questionnaire (see Appendix 1) dealing with wilderness programs and aboriginal content. These were

sent to camp Directors and interviews were conducted. The next step was a series of site visits which permitted further questioning and an opportunity for my own evaluation of the camp's treatment of wild landscapes and Native culture.

My theoretical and background readings and research centred on and inter-related my three chosen study fields: wilderness, non-Native use of aboriginal culture and camps. These correspond more or less to my chapter divisions. Thus, Chapter Two ("Roughing it in the Bush") explores the evolution of 'modern' Western wilderness ideology, Canadian literature which deals with wild landscapes, literary criticism associated with writings on wilderness themes, the impact and interpretation of the work of a number of prominent wilderness thinkers/writers/artists, followed by a general discussion and analysis of wilderness programs within Shield camps. Chapter Three ("Snapshots of the Camps") consists of historical overviews and a brief analysis of the individual camps based on interviews, site visits and readings of archival materials such as brochures, biographies, camping magazines and newsletters. Chapter Four ("Playing Indian") presents different theoretical discussions of relationships between Settlers, Natives and the land, non-Native perceptions of Amerindians over time and critical literature on this topic, the appropriation debate, several key figures involved in or representative of the camp-Indian relationship, followed by an

investigation of the origins and the nature of aboriginal content within Shield camps. Chapter Five ("Concluding Thoughts") brings together the conclusions on wilderness programs and on Native lore within the camps. It also offers possible directions that camps can pursue, a final perspective on the topics at hand, and further areas for investigation.

CHAPTER TWO: ROUGHING IT IN THE BUSH

The Call to Camp

Do you know our northern highlands?
Ah, no land could be more fair!
When the year comes round to June
My thoughts go wandering there.
Lakes there are, like shining sapphires,
Islands strewn like bits of jade,
Countless streams of crystal clearness,
Forest tapestries of shade.

Do you know life in the open
'Neath a canopy of sky,
With the sunshine and the showers
And the warm winds sweeping by?
Have you paddled up the sunset
When the west is all aglow,
And wished upon the first bright star
And watched the moon swing low?

Have you seen the mists at sunrise,
Veil the lakes and hills in grey,
Have you heard the thrush awake the dawn,
The white-throat greet the day?
Then you know the joy of living
As you breathe God's morning air,
And in your heart there comes a song,
Or a glad, unspoken prayer.

Have you gathered 'round the camp fire
In the Council Ring at night,
And watched the embers glowing
And the treetops catch the light?
Have you joined in song and story
Or drawn closer to a friend?
Then you know the day's best moment
Is discovered at the end.

Have you seen town-weary mortals
Lose their langour in a day,
As they wander back to childhood
Through the happy lanes of play?
If you have, you do not wonder
That in dreams all campers long
To follow down the trail again

To the land of sun and song.[1]

The natural, living landscape plays an integral role in Ontarian youth camps of the Precambrian Shield and as such represents an interesting venue for a study of wilderness use and perceptions. When most of the Shield camps were established, they were significantly more remote and rugged than they are today. Soon after the turn of the century when the first camps opened, they shared their surroundings with Amerindians, lumbermen, prospectors, trappers and a small number of recreationists. The wilderness was vast enough that apparently all could co-exist in relative isolation one from another, and the landscape seemed to maintain its wildness for the most part even as the various groups interacted with it. Soon enough, however, the advances of modern technology radically changed access to these areas. This in turn increased the resident and seasonal populations and affected their use of the land as well as the magnitude of their impact. Many Shield camps began to find themselves in the heart of cottage country or near prime timber reserves or other areas of development. Newer camps appeared. Also, modern technologies and philosophies significantly affected

[1]Poem by Mary S. Edgar, taken from Jocelyn Palm. Legacy to a Camper: The Story of Mary S. Edgar. (Toronto: Canadian Camping Association, 1982), 129-130. Edgar wrote voluminously and lyrically about looking on life, others and nature in a positive, appreciative way. She also wrote for and edited several OCA publications.

some camps, their programs and their relationship with the landscape. Other camps resolved to maintain a more rustic nature with traditional programs and interactions with the land. Many camps chose a middle ground, accepting some of the ideas and objects of modernity, rejecting others, or blending new and old.

The explicit mandates of a majority of camps revolve (with varying emphasis) around social, educational, recreational, and environmental objectives. Activities are generally geared to develop self-esteem, citizenship, self-reliance, cooperation, outdoor living skills, an appreciation of and respect for the natural environment, and an improved understanding of wider society. Most camps aim for a happy, healthy experience in the out-of-doors. Thus, the use of, or interaction with, a natural setting is a significant part of daily routines. In this regard, the canoe and canoe tripping in particular play a vital role for most Shield camps. The long-awaited, highly-planned trip epitomizes the culmination of camp goals and experience in the eyes of camper, staff, and administration alike. Considering all of this, and given the direction of this research, numerous questions arise. How and why was the site chosen? How is the camp physically set up within the landscape? What types of activities take place in the outdoors and what is their past and present significance for the camp program? What attitudes do owners and Directors

hold toward the landscape? What attitudes does the camp promote toward the landscape, including its other human users, and how do they achieve this? What (re)sources do they draw on for "wilderness" programs and their landscape ethic? With what degree of consciousness is their relationship with the land made?

The camps selected for this study are all situated on the Precambrian Shield, a vast and ancient land mass of hard, granitic and other igneous and metamorphic rock whose surface is dotted with coniferous and mixed forests, muskeg swamps, and a myriad of interconnecting waterways. Relatively sparsely populated, its inhabitants are Amerindians, residents of mining, forestry and rather poor farming communities, and those involved in tourism and recreation - cottagers, outfitters, resort staff, and camp personnel. Some of these are permanent residents, others are seasonal inhabitants, while still others are regular, but short-term visitors. The demographics of the Shield are generally dependent on the surrounding geography: the southern portions are continuously, although still lightly, inhabitated because of their relatively immediate access from the large urban centres of southern Ontario and Quebec, and the neighbouring States. The population thins as one moves north (except near Sudbury and other northern cities), scattered pockets eventually giving way to distant, isolated communities surrounded by ever-larger

tracts of wild lands. Camp locations generally follow this population pattern - the majority are found in south-central Ontario, others are dispersed in the Near North, and a small minority access the far northern reaches of the province and beyond into Quebec and the Northwest Territories through their canoe tripping programs.

"The north" has long been equated with wilderness. Camp brochures use this terminology, summoning up images of wild landscapes to promote the activities they offer and to emphasize the excitement campers will experience:

> the true enchantment of the **north land** can only be experienced when the skills of the voyageur are mastered . . . canoe instruction and the exciting "regattas" are preludes to that greatest adventure of all - a **north country** canoe trip.[2]

What is interesting to note is that the perception of where "the north" is or begins has changed over time. It has always been perceived in contrast to the large urban areas of Toronto, Hamilton, London, etc. At the turn of the century, it began along the southern end of the Shield; thus, many people considered the Muskoka area a wilderness at that time. Today that area is prime cottage country. In the early 1900s, CP Rail brochures similarly hailed the Temagami region as untouched; now, many people are fighting against further development in the area in attempts to preserve one of Ontario's last old growth forests. As modern technology made

[2]Trent University Archives (hereafter TUA), Camp Pine Crest Papers, 1954 brochure. (my highlighting)

these and other areas accessible, they became more susceptible to use by recreationists as well as by the resource extraction industries. Changes to the work week brought more leisure time and a burgeoning middle class eager to make the most of any time off. Getting away from it all up north was the ideal weekend or holiday retreat.[3] As the population density increased, areas which had once been considered "north" (a wilderness) became more and more developed. Thus, the perceived "north," or the wilderness, gradually moved north in people's minds in response to this higher level of use and development. Today, many would argue that "the north" of wilderness begins in areas around James Bay and Hudson Bay or that one must go as far as extreme northern Quebec, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon to experience real wilderness in Canada.[4]

So, the northern Shield landscape epitomizes the idea of wilderness in the minds of many Ontarians, Canadians, and even Americans. Gage Canadian Dictionary defines wilderness as: "a wild or desolate region with few or no people living in

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[3]See Alexander Wilson. The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez (Toronto: Between The Lines, 1991), particularly pages 19-51.

[4]Interestingly enough, most of those involved in wilderness debate and the definition of wilderness live in the large urban centres of southern Ontario.

it."[5] For most people, the word conjures up an image of an expanse of pristine lands more or less untouched by humans, evolving along nature's cycles. The amount of human interaction allowed before that image of the landscape becomes tainted, thereby losing its status as true wilderness, is a moot point often argued by purists, preservationists, conservationists and the like. This ongoing debate underlines the fact that wilderness is a cultural construct, a perception in flux according to one's beliefs and values. "Wilderness cannot be defined objectively, it is as much a state of mind as a description of nature."[6] Frequently, people refer to the Shield wilderness as "the bush," a term which generates a broader and less-controversial image of somewhat wild landscapes. Finally, the word landscape itself refers to "a view of scenery on land."[7] This again underlines the undeniable fact that the viewer reads as much into the land as from the land itself: "The landscape is shaped in our perceptions by appetite, by imperatives and our desires; and shapes how we perceive."[8] Unfortunately, as Moss laments further on in his musings on the Arctic landscape: we "can

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[5]Avis, Walter S. et al. Gage Canadian Dictionary (Toronto: Gage Publishing Ltd., 1983).

[6]Tuan, Yi-Fu. Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 111.

[7]Avis, Gage Canadian Dictionary.

[8]Moss, John. Enduring Dreams: An Exploration of Arctic Landscape (Concord: Anansi, 1994), 12.

only see in English."[9] Within this study, the term wilderness will refer to a large tract of land where nature (which includes animals and, therefore, humans) is left in an apparently wild, uncultivated and relatively unmanaged state. Within its bounds, there are comparatively few signs of humans or their constructions and activities. Therefore, for many, a previously logged-over area that is at a stage of regrowth where it appears to be a naturally forested tract of land is still considered a wilderness area. The Haliburton Highlands and the backwoods of Muskoka exemplify this. By contrast and somewhat ironically perhaps, current logging, particularly clear-cut methods, would be seen by most wilderness buffs as an unwelcome disturbance of wilderness, as witnessed by the public outcry over logging in Algonquin Park and proposals to similarly harvest Quetico's forests. Furthermore, human interventions in order to control or maintain wildlife species are equally frowned upon. Although many wildlands' advocates could tolerate some aboriginal hunting and fishing for reasons of "survival" or cultural heritage, they generally denounce such activities for non-natives, regardless of any heritage link to the pioneering way of life. Thus, the image of wilderness itself is somewhat vague, frequently intensely personal, and certainly multi-faceted - and therefore potentially contradictory.

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[9] Ibid., 92.

The reasons for choosing to establish a camp on the Shield were a reaction to the changes in lifestyle experienced by Canadians (and Americans). At the turn of the century, North American society perceived wilderness as an antidote to industrial and urban ills, or at least, as an ideal site for moral, spiritual, and physical restoration. Camp leaders made a conscious decision to withdraw youth temporarily from modern society in order to focus on the positive character development and social interactions as well as on the enhancement of leadership skills of these young campers. A wild setting represented a diametrical opposite to urban centres: campers were free from the distractions and temptations of city life, and the pace of life was slower and more conducive to introspection. Turn-of-the-century society felt the romantic and nostalgic pull of the wild that Robert Service phrased thus:

Let us probe the silent places,
Let us seek what luck betides us;
Let us journey to a lonely land I know.
There's a whisper on the night wind,
There's a star agleam to guide us,
And the wild is calling, calling . . . let us go.[10]

Camp was predicated on and capitalized on this current of thought. But, what exactly were the tenets of such a

[10]TUA, Ontario Camping Association (hereafter OCA) Papers, 1947 Camp Kandalore brochure. This quotation of a Robert Service poem appears in several other Kandalore brochures as well. Interestingly enough, although Service's poems sing the praises of the Northern wilds, his verses readily support the gold mining operations that scarred that very landscape and they also "curse the damnable cold."

perspective and how were they generated?

In order to clarify the mid-19th century burgeoning of new ideas surrounding wilderness and nature in general, it is critical to understand the previous tendencies or viewpoints to which they responded and from which they evolved. Throughout the Modern Age (16th to 19th centuries), the predominant Western vision of nature was as a mechanism to be studied, used and controlled. The purpose of humankind was to seek material success, to better one's lot in life, and to attain this end, humans would rule the world through the advancements of science and technology, sanctioned by Judeo-Christian beliefs. Nature was but "matter-in-motion," a malleable tool or resource in the hands of humankind.[11]

However, certain thinkers within the fields of science, literature, and philosophy offered resistance to the traditional Modern perception of nature and sowed the seeds of post-Cartesian thought. Darwin's theory of evolution linked humans implacably and irrevocably to nature. Rousseau, Kant, Wordsworth, and other Romantics idealized a virtuous life close to nature and predicated "an intense personal involvement with and aesthetic response to" the beauty of tame nature and to the sublimity of the wilds as an integral and

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[11]Oelschlaeger, Max. The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology (New Haven: Yale U P, 1991).

edifying life experience.[12] Spinoza argued that above scientific reason and religious belief reigned intuitive knowledge, the realization that God and nature were one, which therefore called for an enlightened and ethical relationship between humans and nature.

Thus the stage was set for the great 19th- and early 20th-centuries American wilderness thinkers Thoreau, Muir, and Leopold who laid the groundwork for the formation of an alternative wilderness paradigm, the roots of post-industrial thought. These three, along with others, developed a view of modern society and of the natural world that influenced the public in general and youth workers in particular beginning in the late 1800s. Thoreau claimed that "in wildness lies the preservation of the world" for it was the source of life, regeneration, creativity and evolution.[13] Muir considered everything alive as sacred, equal and evolving. He was "the father of the American preservation movement" and a leader in the creation of national parks.[14] Leopold invited us to "think like a mountain" and his land ethic called for the use of scientific knowledge to make ethical decisions about the human-nature relationship.[15]

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[12] Ibid., 111.

[13] Ibid., 165.

[14] Ibid., 172.

[15] Ibid., 241.

Canadians presented their own case for the wilds: Sir Charles G.D. Roberts, Ernest Thompson Seton, Grey Owl, Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven and others underlined the solace, moral uplifting and sense of identity which evolved from a close relationship with Canada's wild landscapes. They represented the importance of the wilds to the nation and to its individual citizens, linking Canadians' destiny to a sometimes harsh but always alluring wilderness, contrasting the healing simplicity and purity of the wilds with the ailing moral fibre of western urban society.

Roberts, often referred to as the Father of Canadian Poetry, was not only consumed by the development of the Canadian nation and of a sense of patriotism within its citizens, but was "fascinated by the land as a unique place with its own special spirit and beauty" which he attempted to communicate through both his poetry and his prose.[16] He spoke from his own personal experiences with the land, drawing on his happy childhood jaunts through the marshlands by the Bay of Fundy and his summer canoe trips on the rivers north of Fredericton during his university years. His writings which expressed his passion for the land eventually brought him many honours and awards, including a knighthood from King George V and the title Chief Great Scribe from the Sarcee Indians - who stated

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[16]Polk, James. Wilderness Writers (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1972), 82.

that he knew their "life and the life of the wilderness."[17]

Like Roberts, Seton too developed an affinity with wild landscapes at an early age and devoted his life to familiarizing himself with the wilds in a more scientific manner, documenting animal ways and incorporating what he observed into his drawings and stories. He and Roberts are credited with the introduction of the first animal stories based on actual animal behaviours, stories that appealed to large audiences and brought their authors national and international acclaim.[18] Seton also pursued a life-long captivation with Amerindian lifestyles, researching them in great detail and increasingly considering them a model to be emulated. His Woodcraft League aimed to instill in American youth the higher values he observed in Native Peoples' life close to nature and was also a model for the Boy Scouts. Over his lifetime, Seton became more and more disenchanted with his own society's lack of values and indifference to wilderness; his lifework is a testimony to his commitment to both wildlands and Amerindians.

Archie Belaney, as Grey Owl, more so than any other Canadian, became symbolic of the wilds. So sincere and ardent were

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[17]Ibid., 97.

[18]Wadland, John. Ernest Thompson Seton: Man in Nature and the Progressive Era, 1880-1915 (New York: Arno P, 1978), 170.

Belaney's convictions that he rejected his own society completely, remodeling first his lifestyle and then his own identity after that of the Amerindians - who represented the consummate denizens of the woods. Archie Belaney threw himself into the wilds, studying and eventually adopting the ways of trappers and Indians, revelling in their physically demanding and apparently simple life in the woods. Thus, his childhood obsession with the Amerindian way of life that was in harmony with the wilds became his own adult reality when Belaney became Wa-Sha-Quon-Asin or Grey Owl. In his own eyes, in those of the Ojibwa nation that inducted him into their midst, and finally in those of the society he had repudiated, he was an Indian. He was able to achieve such a feat only through his unflagging determination and his absolute commitment to the wilds. Soon after he and his third wife Anahareo initiated conservation efforts to bring back beaver populations, this work was recognized and expanded upon when the National Parks Service set them and their project up in Prince Albert National Park. This was only the beginning of what became an international campaign; Grey Owl wrote and spoke about his experiences and his ethic, trumpeting "the North [as] Canada's most splendid and under-rated possession."[19] The Canadian, American and British public

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[19]Mitcham, Allison. Grey Owl's Favorite Wilderness Revisited (N.p.: Penumbra P, 1991), 15. Mitcham compares Grey Owl's style, content and impact to Thoreau's in an interesting and convincing manner. See also Smith, From the Land of Shadows.

acclaimed his voice and message - his "poem[s] about the wilderness."[20] Decidedly, Grey Owl was Canada's voice of the wilds.

Tom Thomson is credited with creating a truly Canadian style of painting, inspired by his vision of the wilds. He and, later, the Group of Seven brought the Shield landscape into the Canadian identity - he was "a brilliant interpreter of the Canadian landscape, and a symbolist whose work affirmed Canadian values."[21] Thomson became intimately familiar with that landscape after his initial contact with Algonquin Park in 1912. His next (and last) five years were spent recording these wilds that came to obsess him. Both in Canada and abroad, his images have come to typify the very essence of Canadian wilderness and represent the visual beginnings of our sense of self.

Thus, as these and other voices heralded the virtues of a close relationship with wilderness, the perception that the technological advancements of the Modern Age came at a questionable social cost found resonance in society. Furthermore, as people sensed hopes for the good life receding rather than increasing and felt themselves further and further

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[20]Polk, Wilderness Writers, 136.

[21]Murray, Joan. Tom Thomson: The Last Spring (Toronto: Dundurn P, 1994), 79.

estranged from nature through urbanization and industrialization, and as wilderness became more and more scarce, there arose a concern for what was apparently being lost and for the implications of such a loss. Compared to the moral and social decline of the city (which typified modern life), the wilderness increasingly appeared a source of inspiration, regeneration, and reinvigoration. In the minds of the general public, the wilderness came to represent a revered and romanticized site, and contact with it took on echoes of a return to the simplistic harmony of the lost garden.

In Landscape and Memory, Simon Schama does not quibble with the premise that during the Modern Age Western society generally perceived and treated the world as mechanistic, which resulted in negative consequences for the natural environment. Yet he does present an important and alternate undercurrent of thought as grounds for some optimism with regards to the reversal of humankind's alienation from and degradation of nature. While Schama examines the central European context (mainly Germany, Poland, Lithuania, etc.) which, certainly to North American eyes, has long since lost any real wilderness flavour, his message is definitely noteworthy. Schama maintains that Western civilization did not completely reject or even devalue wilderness and its impact upon humankind, but that an unconscious or underground

reverence for nature continued throughout the Modern Age, influencing and underpinning as it were the very technological advances that many claim heralded the deathknell of any identification with or sensitivity toward nature. According to Schama, our salvation (and that of nature) lies in the recognition, celebration, and conscious re-valuing of these hidden relationships with and dependencies on nature. Herein lies the potential to reconcile our image of the modern reality which many perceive as totally divorced from nature with a more balanced view of our context that underlines its natural roots and sources.[22] Schama considers this a first step toward the reparation of past errors, the comprehension of present circumstances, and a realistic vision of future directions. His goal is not to present a detailed plan of action, but to underline that the Modern Age is not as far removed from nature as it is believed to be, and that understanding this can encourage humankind in its efforts to interact with and respond to the natural world in a more positive and enlightened manner.[23] Such a heartening viewpoint is pertinent to all Western societies, and to Canadians in particular. While the European landscape appears stripped for the most part of any real wilderness, leaving only pockets of what one might call natural spaces to preserve and revere,

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[22]Schama, Simon. Landscape and Memory (Toronto: Random House, 1995), 10-15.

[23]Ibid., 16-19.

there are still significant wildlands in areas of Canada (particularly in the north). There is yet time for us to take heed of the necessity to recognize the vital link between ourselves and our wilderness, and to accord wilderness the significance it merits, as the original source of human inspiration, development and culture.

In stark contrast to such a curative and benevolent vision of the wilds, Margaret Atwood argues that Canadian writers have presented an oppressive, malignant or an indifferent wilderness that victimizes its inhabitants as the recurring theme in Canadian literature - particularly of the past. Nature is a lethal but unfeeling destiny or a hostile and aggressive enemy. However, she qualifies this generalization by detailing an exception - that when people eventually win and take over nature, they soon begin to experience sympathy for the wilds, and then (perceiving it as the victim) focus on how to avert its imminent human-induced destruction. The majority, if not all, of the Shield camps in this study promote such a pro-wilderness stance. However, most limit their commitment to financial and philosophical support rather than active personal involvement. And yet, significantly enough, camps do generate numerous campers who become fully involved in the conservation or preservation movements in their adult lives. It is difficult to assess the influence of camps in these youths' decision to participate in

environmental causes. In other words, do camps mold environmental leaders or do young people with an affinity for the wilds appreciate the camp experience more than other individuals and therefore tend to return to camp year after year, working their way up through the ranks? Common sense dictates that both be recognized as contributing factors. Indeed, directors, staff and ex-campers confirmed this during the interviews carried out for this research. The amount of weight attributable to each varies from one individual to the next, dependent on both the person's level of commitment and the particular camp's approach to wilderness - which may evolve as leadership changes.

In Survival, Atwood describes the American literary wilderness themes as the frontier challenge (where the land waits to be explored, conquered, shaped, and represents adventure and a new order, a Utopia) or as the nurturing mother that can point out a better direction for humankind (following the schools of thought of the sublime and picturesque, and the Romantics).[24] One can detect signs of both these visions in camps. Often they present the canoe trip as a voyage of discovery (both of oneself and of one's surroundings):

> It is on canoe trips that campers experience the greatest thrill of out-door living. . . . They never forget . . . the wild open spaces, the sparkling lakes, the densely-wooded

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[24]Atwood, Margaret. Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature (Toronto: Anansi, 1972).

shores, ... Each day brings new adventure, ...[25]

Furthermore, certain camps treat the canoe trip as an opportunity to test oneself, to pit oneself against the wilds.[26] Alternately, camps aim to help campers feel more at home in the bush and attempt to better the understanding of humankind's interdependency with nature through woodlore and nature study programs in the early years or through environmental and campcraft activities more recently.

Atwood furthers her discusion of images of the wilds in the Canadian literary field in Strange Things. She speaks of the northern wilderness "as a frigid but sparkling fin-de-siècle femme fatale, who entices and hypnotizes male protagonists and leads them to their doom."[27] This view is exemplified by tales about the catastrophic Franklin expedition or those in a similar vein and it parallels the hostile nature outlined in Survival. Atwood further develops this theme by presenting Wendigo-type stories where the wilderness consumes characters literally (embodied by a flesh-eating monster) or figuratively

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[25]TUA, OCA Papers, Camp Kilcoo brochure, 1945.

[26]From taped interviews conducted by H. Dunlop with Andrew Cooper (Apr. 1992) and Professor Jonathan Bordo of Trent University (Oct. 1995). Both are ex-Ahmek campers and staff members. Also from numerous camp brochures (Kilcoo 1980 and circa 1940, Keewaydin circa 1970, etc.) and from a Kirk Wipper quotation in C.A.M. Edwards. Taylor Statten: A Biography (Toronto: Ryerson P, 1960), 79.

[27]Atwood, Margaret. Strange Things: The Malevolent North in Canadian Literature (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995), 3.

(when they develop cabin-fever or get "bushed").

More pertinently, Atwood uncovers an opposing and more positive view of the wilds which she calls the Grey Owl Syndrome, where the wilderness is "the repository of salvation and new life" and where non-Natives represent themselves as Natives (as Grey Owl did) or glorify an aboriginal existence in order to experience fully an affinity with nature (à la Ernest Thompson Seton).[28] This literary undercurrent corresponds with (and builds on) the view of Nature as Victim as outlined in Survival and best defines the camp-wilderness relationship. Indeed, as will be further discussed in Chapter Four, both Grey Owl and Seton play key roles in camp lore and programming. Most campers are familiar with tales of Grey Owl, who became a somewhat mythical figure, a symbolic voice of (and for) both the wilds and a traditional aboriginal way of life. His commitment to the land and to a simple existence that altered the wilds as little as possible is legendary and represents a philosophical touchstone for campers. And on canoe trips in particular, he serves as a role model for campers, an example of an individual living lightly on the land and adapting to its rhythms and makeup.

Atwood also contends that women writers treat the wilds in several different ways - early female authors contemplate it

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[28]Ibid., 35.

and deal with it, while modern writers approach it as an escape, a site of renewal or a means of self-discovery. These latter attitudes can certainly fit the camp vision of the wilds as well.

Northrop Frye's interpretations of the Canadian literary tradition match those of Atwood as described in Survival. In addition, he presents the nostalgic pastoral myth of pioneer life - a childish yearning for "a world of peace and protection, with a spontaneous response to the nature around it" - as "particularly strong in Canada."[29] What is of particular interest here is that, while rural and wild lands are distinctly different landscapes, Frye builds a symbolic bridge between the two when he states that although Indians do not apparently have a high profile in this pastoral myth, their close rapport with nature is an integral part of it, as evidenced by the "popularity of Pauline Johnson and Grey Owl." Is this perhaps a romantic view paralleling two lost ways of life?

In any regard, this is most pertinent concerning youth camps for they built their Council Ring programs around a symbolic Indian, using and further developing wider society's typecast figure who epitomized all the virtues of the quintessential

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[29]Frye, Northrop. The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), 238-239. See also Wilson, The Culture of Nature, 24.

being of the woods.

Significantly, it is this imaginary Indian (the synthesis of a romanticized forest dweller and a pot-pourri of supposedly Amerindian traits and customs) and not the pioneer or the lumberjack or the voyageur who became the solemn role model for youth in camps. Although the lore of the latter group often played (and for some camps continues to play) an important role within camp programs, camp leaders chose an idealized Aborigine over their own historic antecedent to exemplify the paragon of the wilderness to be emulated by campers and presented this mystical being in at the magical ceremonies of Indian Council Ring. Several reasons come to mind to justify such a choice. The imaginary Indian (symbolic of a dead or dying exotic wilderness culture) was a fluid being, capable of being moulded to meet the needs and goals of camp directors and was already, to a certain degree, common currency in the public eye. To glorify the settler or the woodrunner (seen as ancestral representatives of a rural or wilderness culture whose lifestyle was fast disappearing in the face of receding frontiers and advancing technologies) might be construed as encouragement for youth to abandon the city or to deny the industrial reality that was the future, their future. Camp leaders most certainly did not want youth to consider living in the wilds or on its borders, nor to contemplate a romantic return to their roots; they preferred

a disembodied and "foreign" personage whose healing and harmonious interactions with the wilds youth could learn from but never realistically consider adopting as a viable lifestyle.

In "Symbols and Myths: Images of Canoe and North," Shelagh Grant presents the Canadian myth of the North as synonymous with the wilderness myth. It is "an amorphous, obscure, yet constant theme in Canadian nationalism."[30] Grant claims the myth consists of three often contradictory perceptions: the exuberant and rather romantic view of the northern wilds held by voyageurs, a frontiersman's exploitative attitude toward the wilderness, and an Aborigine's identification with the wilds of the North as a homeland. The former two coincide with Oelschlaeger's romantic response engendered by the American wilderness thinkers (which parallels Atwood's nature as victim or as nurturing mother) and with Atwood's frontier challenge. The latter vision reflects a perception of the self as belonging to or being of the land in which one lives, and ultimately dies, as well as a fatalistic acceptance of what that land might offer or exact. In the film Black Robe, the Amerindians chide the priest who wanders off and gets lost in the woods: "What's the matter, Black Robe? Didn't you

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[30]Grant, Shelagh. "Symbols and Myths: Images of Canoe and North." James Raffan and Bert Horwood, eds. Canexus: The Canoe in Canadian Culture (Toronto: Betelgeuse Books, 1988), 8.

look at the trees?"[31] The film (adapted from a book by Brian Moore, a non-Native) contrasts the priest's feelings of alienation with a perception of the Amerindians as denizens of those wilds.[32]

In the camp mentality, the wilderness truly is the ideal place for the perfect North American woodsman - the imaginary Indian - whom campers strive to emulate. Certainly, campers are instructed in the ways of their ancestral woodsmen - the pioneer, the voyageur and the lumberman. Campers work to perfect skills passed down from their forerunners like manoeuvring a canoe (originally learned from Natives) or how to handle an axe. Yet, while there is a healthy respect for the perseverance, productivity and physical strength of these early settlers as they faced a new and wild land, it is an aboriginal intimacy with the land that is hailed as exemplary. The imaginary Indian was truly of the land, was shaped by the wilds. The common perception of settlers, on the other hand, is that they shaped the land as they adapted to their new country. Voyageurs were evidently a notable exception. However, their lifestyle mirrored an aboriginal one to a

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[31]Black Robe. Prod. Robert Lantos. Dir. Bruce Beresford. Samuel Goldwyn Co./Alliance Productions, 1991. See also Daniel Francis, The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp P, 1992).

[32]Both the film and the book underscore the priest's uneasiness with his adopted surroundings and his inability to grasp the Natives' cultures as well as their relationship with the wilds.

significant degree. Perhaps the fact that the idealized relationship between the Indian and the wilds was unattainable made it all the more alluring and romantic in the eyes of the general public - one could not truly become an Indian but merely imitate Amerindian ways.

Besides, as already mentioned, camps did not want to promote a return to any of the settler lifestyles. In Mary Edgar's The Call to Camp, presented at the beginning of this chapter, the author ends with the statement that "in dreams all campers long" to be back in the wilds. As in the Ahmek grace, it truly is the "home of [their] dreams,"[33] just as the imaginary Indian is the being of their dreams. Although both poems are highly romantic in their vision of wilderness, they present a modern realism that firmly places the yearned-for place and lifestyle in a fantasy world. Campers may long to visit the wilds and to live the harmonious existence of the forest dweller, but it is only a temporary respite before a return to their real home situation. The wilderness is a balm for the citified youth, a tonic to fortify them as they re-enter modern life.

Canadians have long found a sense of identity in the wilds. The image of our collective self is based on a rapport with

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[33]TUA, OCA Papers, found in many Taylor Statten Camps brochures. It is the first line of the "Ahmek Evening Hymn," by Dr. A.E. Haydon.

and a destiny in proximity to wilderness. From the poems of Charles G.D. Roberts and Duncan Campbell Scott or Susannah Moodie's Roughing it in the Bush and John Richardson's Wacousta to the paintings of Francis Hopkins and the Group of Seven, from the works of Robert Service and the words of Grey Owl to Stan Rogers' "The Northwest Passage" or the stories of Yves Theriault, Margaret Atwood, M.T. Kelly, Rudy Wiebe and Wayland Drew, Canadians and those who interpret our national identity draw from and are marked by wild landscapes. As such, wild spaces are an integral part of the Canadian landscape of the mind - as much a psychological or philosophical reality as a geographical context. The wildlands are up north, relatively (and reassuringly) close by.

However, the idea of wilderness as a homeland, a place where one belongs or resides, is more or less ignored by a majority of Canadians who view the wilds as separate from daily reality. Grey Owl grasped this; his childhood fancy became a reality when, by tying his life to the wildlands of his newly adopted home, he was able to "become" an Indian. "For people native to a place, landscape is an extension of being, as intimate and far-reaching as genealogy, an existential fact."[34] By contrast, the predominant Canadian vision is dichotomous: the wilderness is a challenge to be conquered or, alternately,

[34]Moss, Enduring Dreams, 29.

represents our salvation and thus should be preserved.[35] As C.E.S. Franks points out: "Both of these approaches deny close contact with the familiar."[36] The former legitimizes only those activities which put the wilderness to good use, the latter idealizes those landscapes - generating unrealistic goals and attitudes. As Schama intimates in Landscape and Memory, if we can but acknowledge the link between ourselves (including our modern technologies and mass culture that seem so alienated from nature) and the natural world from which we (and they) draw, we might more easily discard such extreme positions - overrun nature or love it to death - and adopt a healthier, closer relationship with our natural environment.

Wayland Drew maintains that we can, and must, learn restraint through our contact with wilderness, wherein lies "the symbol of orderly survival."[37] Wilderness is a metaphor for humility - it underlines the need to recognize and respond to human

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[35]In her M.A. thesis "Images of the Landscape in the Jesuit Relations from the Missions to the Hurons, 1626-1650." (Trent U, 1995), Monique Taylor draws out numerous Jesuit perceptions of the landscape, none of which mention the land seen as homeland for the Amerindians with whom they were so closely working. Taylor presents the same bi-polar vision of the wilds - a fearsome side to be conquered and an awe-inspiring side to be revered. Both "see" the landscape under the influences of preconceptions derived from an "outside" culture, rather than attempting to become "of" (or to belong to) that place, learning of and from the indigenous peoples' interactions with their place.

[36]Franks, C.E.S. "Canoeing: Towards a Landscape of the Imagination." Raffan and Horwood, Canexus, 188.

[37]Drew, Wayland. "Wilderness and Limitation." The Canadian Forum Feb. 1973: 18.

limitation within our present context of continuing and unsustainable growth. In his novel Keeper 'N Me, Richard Wagamese describes such a balanced relationship between humans and the land thus:

> You go alone out there [on the land] . . . an' you're gonna feel real humble real soon. Gonna find where the real power in this world is at . . . . Us [Natives] we see power in everythin' except ourselves . . . . So we go to the land an' see where the real power is. Get humble an' respectful . . . . It's the start of findin' your own power. Seein' you got none but knowin' where to go to connect up to it.[38]

During his brief sojourn "amidst the rough and tangle of the land," the main character Garnet:

> knew that when it was time to leave this place, it would be sacred land. Sacred land. To carry it in my heart forever was my responsibility, my destiny and my dream. The land, you see, is a feeling.[39]

Franks underlines the importance of such an intimate rapport with the land:

> [the] mythical landscape . . . the sense of place, belonging and meaning . . . creates the context and purpose for everyday existence, and provides the continuity of a meaningful physical environment within and through which humanity can live, love, work, prosper, create and die with some sense of purpose.[40]

Franks laments not only the fact that Canadians so often disregard this kind of relationship for themselves, but that they have also dissociated Aborigines from the land as well,

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[38]Wagamese, Richard. Keeper 'N Me (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1994.), 180-182.

[39]Ibid., 170.

[40]Ibid., 190-191.

creating in their literature a "highly abstracted being [who is] not located in a specific landscape," but is somehow symbolic of the land in vague general terms.[41] Thus the land was perceived to be vacant, open for other inhabitants. In the 19th-century mindset, wilderness was a figurative concept of the imagination which included Amerindians; it was only with the turn of the century (and the closing of frontiers) that the imperial need to occupy those real wild spaces was felt.

Jonathan Bordo's research on the evolving Canadian wilderness ethic interprets Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven's paintings to assert that this erasure of the Aborigine from the landscape was "necessary" (from their point of view) in order for Euro-Canadians to appropriate the landscape, to establish themselves as those belonging to the land, to begin to feel at home in this landscape.[42] Thomson first strove to capture the wilds, to present them from an intimate perspective in 1912. This newfound passion soon spread to his close peers. For Thomson and the Group of Seven the North

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[41] Ibid., 198.

[42] Bordo, "Jack Pine." Journal of Canadian Studies. This removal of the Aborigine from the landscape allows for the preservationist or deep ecologist vision of wilderness as devoid of humans, promoting wilderness areas that are large preserves or parks as touchstones to society. Human interaction with such sites must leave no trace - perhaps the perfect interaction would be no physical contact whatsoever, only an intellectual and spiritual enrichment from the outside through the acknowledgement that such a source of inspiration exists.

was a rugged unpeopled land of difficult access. Few ventured there - it was the land of a few lumbermen and prospectors, but "it seems not to have [had] anything to do with Indians."[43]

While embraced by the Group of Seven, Emily Carr's paintings of West Coast Natives appear to be a decisive exception to such an effort. Carr was quite sympathetic to and understanding of the Natives she painted; she identified with them to a certain degree - she admired their lifestyle in contrast to Victorian stuffiness and considered both them and herself as outsiders to that mainstream society. However, she admitted herself that she was collecting "some of the relics of [the West's] first primitive greatness. . . before they are forever past."[44] Much later, after numerous and extended sojourns in West Coast Native settlements, she may have

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[43]From Joan Murray. "The World of Tom Thomson." Morton Lecture. Trent U, 1991. Murray refers to writings on these points by A.H. Robson. Tom Thomson (Toronto: Ryerson P, 1937), 6 and by A.Y. Jackson. "Foreword." Blodwen Davies. Tom Thomson (Vancouver: Mitchell P, 1967), 2.

[44]Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 31. Francis cites Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Emily Carr Papers, MG30 D215, vol.10, "Lecture on Totems," April 1913, 52-53. Greta Moray ("Emily Carr." Canadian Studies/ERS 200, Wanapitei Wilderness Centre, Sept. 1996) represents Carr as someone who strived to know and came to love real rather than idealized Natives. She rejects this assertion that Carr falls into the same category as those who romanticized Indians and considered them a dying race. However, one cannot deny Carr's public legacy in the form of her paintings and her speeches about her work which firmly place her in this category even if it seems to contradict her strong **personal** commitment to and lengthy involvement with some of the West Coast Native Peoples.

repudiated this pessimism. Carr's admission presents the dichotomy in her attitude: her words and actions confirm her sincere personal interest in the welfare of Natives and yet her work portrays the traditional idealized Indian; it documents a disappearing or almost extinct culture. Furthermore, after meetings with the Group of Seven, and:

> under the encouragement of Lawren Harris, she began to feel that she had gone as far as she could as an interpreter of Native art and that it was time to concentrate on **her own vision of the forest wilderness, unmediated by Native monuments**.[45]

Thus, Carr adopted the Group of Seven's approach depicting an unpeopled wilderness in her artwork in spite of her interactions with and on-going concern for real Natives. It was this separation of the land from its denizens that allowed for the use of such an imaginary Indian as outlined in chapter Four. This disconnection of self and others from a familiar landscape "leads to a romantic idealization of the unknown (spaces), and a hostility towards any sort of development, even that which is compatible with wilderness experience."[46]

There is an interesting link between this wilderness myth, Tom Thomson and several other wilderness advocates with links to the camping community. The artist set up his base camp on

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[45]Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 36. (my highlighting shows Carr's adoption of the Group of Seven approach - an unpeopled wilderness)

[46]Franks, "Canoeing." Canexus, 199.

Canoe Lake, painting many of his famous wilderness landscapes in the immediate vicinity as well as elsewhere in Algonquin Park. Those areas were therefore among the significant sites where his vision of an uninhabited wilderness took form and evolved on his canvasses.[47] However, according to Bordo, a long-time camper and then counsellor-in-training at Ahmek during the 1950s and 1960s, Thomson was not the sole founder of the Canoe Lake wilderness myth; Taylor Statten, Ernest Thompson Seton and Algonquin's Chief Park Ranger Mark Robinson were all somehow embroiled in its genesis - and even Archie Belaney (before he forged his "Native" persona, Grey Owl) appeared on the periphery. "Scientific, political, [and] artistic movements [are] usually founded by a small conspiracy: a very few people influence it at a critical moment of development. [In this case,] there are other outside influences" - first the American perception and experience of wilderness and Natives as witnessed by Seton, and secondly the effect of the British vision of the wilds and Aborigines on both Seton and Belaney, who were English expatriates.[48] While the paths of all five personalities did not cross at one point in time, all experienced the Algonquin bush at about the same time and developed a love for the wilds. Most were acquainted with or knew of one another.

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[47]Murray, "The World of Tom Thomson."

[48]From interview with Jonathan Bordo conducted by H. Dunlop, Oct. 1995.

Taylor Statten and his family began vacationing on Canoe Lake after tripping to an island on the lake in 1913. They were so taken with the surroundings that they leased the island as a summer retreat, first setting up a teepee and then erecting a permanent cottage in 1915. Tom Thomson cleared underbrush on the island when short of cash and helped build the cabin, hauling a load of sand for the construction of the chimney at Statten's request.[49] Carved in its mantelpiece is what became the camp's maxim: "Here Let the Northwood Spirit Kindle Fires of Friendship."[50] It bears testimony to Statten's perception of wilderness as a mythic and transformational site, a vision which complemented Thomson's vision of self-knowledge through a "spiritual engagement with nature."[51] A few short years after Thomson's mysterious drowning on Canoe Lake in 1917, Statten set up his camp on the lake. He obviously held Thomson in high regard; the Ahmek dining hall displays many Thomson miniature originals. In 1930 campers carved a totem pole and erected it at the Thomson cairn which commemorates the artist. For many years, campers told tales of Thomson's ghost haunting the lake and to this day they make continued pilgrimages to the revered hilltop site of the cairn near Hayhurst Point, learning of his relationship with wilderness.

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[49]Addison, Ottelyn and Elizabeth Harwood. Tom Thomson: The Algonquin Years (Toronto: Ryerson P, 1969), 57.

[50]Lundell, Liz et al. Summer Camp: Great Camps of Algonquin Park (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Company Ltd., 1994), 28.

[51]Murray, "The World of Tom Thomson."

Also, "over many years, Taylor Statten Camps sponsored art shows and employed professional artists who nurtured . . . [an] interest in Thomson, his lonely life and mysterious death."[52]

Statten respected both Seton and Robinson, who were naturalists on staff at Ahmek for at least one of its early summers. Seton also set up and ran Ahmek's first Council Ring, providing the background knowledge and model for it.[53] Belaney was familiar with Seton's work in this regard, having been exposed to it while guiding at Keewaydin in 1910.[54] Coincidentally, Seton openly admired Dr. William Brodie, a prominent Toronto naturalist and the father of his closest friend. Thomson was related to Brodie and, in his younger years, assisted Brodie in field trips with the collection of specimens.[55] This contact probably informed and influenced the future artist in his obsession with the wilds.

Thomson and Robinson were friends, both spending time on Canoe Lake. Robinson, familiar with the locale and quite

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[52]Addison, Tom Thomson, 79.

[53]From interview with A. Ebbs conducted by H. Dunlop, Mar. 1992.

[54]Smith, Donald. From the Land of Shadows: The Making of Grey Owl (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1990), 43. Keewaydin, however, favoured a more militaristic approach over the softer and more democratic Seton style.

[55]Murray, "The World of Tom Thomson."

knowledgeable about it, answered Thomson's questions about the area's geography and directed him to potential sketching sites upon request. Thomson often came by Robinson's cabin and the two were also avid anglers. He saw Thomson's angry moods as somewhat of a catalyst for the development of his paintings.[56] Just before his death, Thomson asked his friend "if he could hang his series of sketches . . . recording the unfolding year around the walls of Robinson's cabin."[57]

Robinson also knew Belaney - although their acquaintance arose from a more mischievous circumstance. In 1908, Algonquin Park's rangers were seriously pursuing poachers who had become a pressing problem. Upon hearing this, Belaney had wagered he could cross the park without being caught. Park staff got wind of the bet and kept an eye out for him. Sure enough, a ranger came upon Belaney during his crossing. However, Belaney snuck away - only to fall through the snow and ice into a beaver pond! The ranger soon followed, found him half frozen and took him in to be charged, stopping to eat and warm up along the way at several ranger cabins. After being interviewed by the park superintendent, Belaney returned to Robinson's cabin on Canoe Lake, where Robinson nursed his frostbitten feet back to health over a three-week period and

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[56] Ibid. Murray quotes Robinson's 1930 letters to Blodwen Davies, found in the National Archives of Canada. Also in Addison, Tom Thomson.

[57] Addison, Tom Thomson, 66.

then loaned him train fare back to Temagami.[58]

Thomson and Belaney later met when Thomson worked as a fire ranger in the Temagami area.[59]

Interviewed 20 years later, Grey Owl remembered Thomson as a "ranger" who painted a little and made specially good doughnuts. Thomson had given him three sketches which he later hung on the walls of Beaver Lodge.[60]

In later years under the name of Grey Owl, Belaney was revered internationally for his wisdom and thoughts supposedly drawn from his native ancestry and his close relationship with the wilds. His self-styled Native persona also entered camp lore through his captivating tales of life in the wilds which illustrated his wilderness philosophy. Even if Grey Owl's lineage was false, his lifestyle certainly did mirror his land ethic - he led a simple existence, living off the land - and his words touched and informed many.

Thus, all five of these prominent men were involved in attempts to forge an intimate and identifying relationship

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[58]Saunders, Audrey. Algonquin Story 1963 ed. (N.p.: Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, 1963), 115-117. In 1935, Robinson realized that Grey Owl and Belaney were one and the same when a visiting Native passed on Grey Owl's greetings. When Robinson protested that they had never met but that he would like to as he admired Grey Owl's knowledge and writings, the visitor recounted this story.

[59]Ibid. Murray confirms this in "The World of Tom Thomson," dating it as the spring of 1912 by checking government pay lists.

[60]Addison, Tom Thomson, 44.

with those wild landscapes - each in a different manner, to varying degrees. All sought a close, even "aboriginal" contact with wilderness. Thomson's paintings erased the Natives who peopled the wilderness, thus leaving those spaces open for appropriation by the relative newcomers - mainly white or settler Canadians. Robinson's job necessitated the adoption of many Native ways in order to survive in and deal with the bush which he "managed" - effectively, a sign of settler Canadian ownership. Seton and Statten glorified and mimicked Native lifestyles or ceremonies, adopting in a certain manner another people's heritage which tied them to the land. Belaney was not satisfied with half measures - he fulfilled his dreams by becoming a stylized Indian, an internationally recognized guardian of the wilds. These perceptions, rituals and lore were then assimilated into other camps' programs; as presented in Chapter Four, other camps adopted the Seton-Statten Indian Council Ring and they too incorporated tales of Grey Owl into their lore.

Quite possibly these five men, so strangely interconnected in both time and space, were key to the creation of the wilderness myth - that perception of wildlands as a place critical to their, and ultimately to all Canadians', identity. In order to gain proprietorship of the wilderness, it had to become a vaguely defined land - virtually a symbolic land. Then those wildlands (found somewhere to the north, more

imagined than real perhaps) were either stripped of the people who originally inhabited them and had long characterized them so that the newcomers could replace those Natives or the newcomers became natives themselves, often through initiatory ceremonies modelled after Native rituals. Thus it became a place that one belonged to or that one could rightfully claim as one's own. Finally, belonging or ownership entitled one to use of those same lands.

Turn-of-the-century attitudes reflect this perception of the wilds as divorced from any current reality or lifestyle. Wilderness was a symbolic refuge, heralded as a tonic from the pressures of (rather than an integral part of) everyday life. In his essay mentioned earlier, C.E.S. Franks' concluding comments propose an attitude toward wilderness that draws from a more middle ground - that of personal experience of the land, "with its context of history, of other people's experiences, or dreams, hopes and failures."[61] He maintains:

> [that] canoeing can be part of, can help to create, [this authentic] landscape of the imagination . . . that those who venture into the wilderness . . . ought at least to know that they are trespassers on others' maps and dreams, and ought to recognize that they have at least the possibility of sharing, preserving, and building on a marvellous, real, familiar . . . landscape of the imagination.[62]

Unfortunately, it seems that in some camps such an approach to wilderness and to canoe tripping is either overlooked or

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[61]Franks, "Canoeing." Canexus, 200.

[62]Ibid., 201.

practised only incidentally.

In his research on self- and societal development through experiences in the wilds, Bob Henderson (an Ahmek graduate) draws similar conclusions, calling for outdoor educators to become teacher-sculptors who help chip away the layers of one's cultural baggage during wilderness travel in order to find oneself within context, to discover "enduring patterns of land and life, to bring the past into present experience."[63] Henderson develops a format to encourage participants to discover not only themselves but the land's rhythms and heritage as well. He insists that outdoor travel should be an opportunity to throw away the cultural map, to deconstruct and question cultural myths and ideas, and then to recreate oneself and society in an interdependent relationship with nature.

In answer to John Moss' question: "What does it take to belong to the land, how do you grow a native place, how do you make the visionary real?"[64] Henderson outlines a procedure which includes solo time, insightful historical and contemporary readings ("through memory caught in writing with humility, perhaps we can perceive meaning in landscape,

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[63]Henderson, Bob. "Outdoor Travel: Explorations for Change." Diss. U of Alberta, 1995.

[64]Moss, Enduring Dreams, 130.

instead of imposing it"[65]), journal writing and discussions that attempt to find deeper meaning in activities, group dynamics and decision-making, ceremonies or rituals that shake off old routines and slow the pace (nightwalks, campfires, wild berry picking, evening paddles, etc.), and the discovery of the site's human and natural heritage. This kind of approach promotes long-term personal growth, but also roots oneself and one's activities in time and place - wilderness has relevance to who (and how) one is.

James Raffan calls this **nativity** - becoming native to a place, a feeling of belonging to the land, having one's life "informed and shaped by connections to the landscape."[66] Wilderness does not represent an escape from reality, an obstacle to overcome, but a part of oneself to discover and relate to. But as Moss points out: giving oneself to the land is not the same as belonging to it.[67] However, it is certainly a first step in the creation of an informed and sensitive interrelationship with a landscape. This is a unique and highly personal rapport that takes much time interacting with that place, continuous introspection, studious dissection and constant questioning of one's

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[65] Ibid., 43.

[66] Raffan, James. Summer North of Sixty: By Paddle and Portage Across the Barren Lands (Toronto: Key Porter Books Ltd., 1990), 187.

[67] Moss, Enduring Dreams, 144.

perceptions, as well as ready openness to others' connections to that place. As Moss recognizes: "Like Canada, I am **slow** to become who I am; although finally, within a landscape of **my own particular** Arctic, I become myself."[68]

Possibly, the difficulty Canadians experience in relating to their wild landscape as a homeplace is also rooted in language. Perhaps it is the use of the term wilderness itself that is a major stumbling block. In presenting his reflections on the Quebec issue, Peter Kulchyski invites readers to consider what he believes to be a more fundamental concern: Native rights. He urges Canadians to do this by working their way beyond the mental block associated with wilderness, their image of the land as empty of people, devoid of any culture:

> the bush is calling to some of us . . . [but] when many of us are in the bush, we bring with us that which is not bush. so we travel uneasily through it . . . a bush culture is a culture that is of the bush. and bush, unlike [the term] wilderness, **allows us to think a lived relation to and in this landscape**. first nations cultures . . . are bush cultures.[69]

Kulchyski maintains that Canadians can and must address Native concerns by recognizing and valuing their "bush culture." Taking this one step further, by embracing "the bush" itself, possibly Canadians too can develop their own secure and

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[68]Ibid., 155. (my highlighting)

[69]Kulchyski, Peter. "bush culture for a bush country: an unfinished manifesto." Journal of Canadian Studies 31.3 (Autumn 1996): 192-196. (my highlighting)

distinctive "bush culture" - a sense of home in this land. As it stands, Canadians continue their struggle to define both their identity and their relationship with wild landscapes.

Considering these deliberations on visions of wildlands, it would appear that the prevalent image held by the founders of the camping movement was the romantic version with some influence from a frontier-type attitude, whether they themselves were Americans or Canadians. Regardless of nationality, a close study of camp writings, directors' biographies, camp brochures, and interviews with directors reveal the influence of turn-of-the-century attitudes toward wilderness upon outdoorspeople. Wild landscapes were a separate place from where humans dwelt and lived out their lives. However, visits to such sites, communing with nature in the wilds, were not only a challenging adventure but an integral step toward restoring physical, mental and spiritual health. This brief exploration of wilderness philosophy provides a vantage point from which to interpret and analyze the various camp programs and attitudes.

It is important to underline here the different attitudes toward wilderness that Directors and camps held (and still hold) and promulgated (and continue to do so even today). The primary significance of wilderness for camps has already been underlined - it represented the perfect venue for social and

spiritual growth. But just how exactly was and is it approached as an experience in and of itself? There are a myriad of answers possible to this question. Therefore, in an attempt to facilitate interpretation and analysis of the information collected for this research effort the schema in Appendix 2 was used. Referring to the schema, the spectrum of perceptions represents from left to right a progression from a minimally informed, superficial, and passive response to wilderness to a highly intellectual, profound, and sensitive interaction with wilderness. The camps were placed in the schema (see Appendix 3) after close scrutiny of each camp Director's ideals and philosophy as expressed during interviews as well as through the examination of brochures and other relevant writings. These were compared to the reality of each individual camp's site, history and programs. Particular interest was accorded to canoe tripping programs and style as they represent the very essence of wilderness experience and exposure at camp; often the level and significance of tripping corresponds directly to the depth of involvement with wilderness.

In placing the camps in the schema, there was obviously some overlap between categories, as one is not exclusive of another. Indeed, many camps fall into several or even all categories; however, it is possible to assign them to one main category which represents the dominant theme of their

wilderness perspective. Thus, wild landscapes might represent both a physical challenge (white water canoeing) and an opportunity to teach or build on technical skills (paddling and manoeuvring) or teamwork (cooperating and communicating). Alternatively, campers may learn to read the landscape for its heritage as they face white water and improve their technical skills. Furthermore, youth within the same camp may fall into separate categories according to different tripleaders' approaches. A change in management or program coordinators can also modify the focus from one year to the next.

Finally, it is essential to underline the fact that the goals and philosophy as expressed by Directors and camp promotional materials represent an ideal to which the camp aspires or an image which it strives to reflect. The practical reality may not necessarily correspond exactly with those pre-conceived intentions in every regard. A case in point came to light during this research effort when interviewing Professor Jonathan Bordo of Trent University about his interpretive work on the wilderness myth as portrayed in the works of Tom Thomson. Bordo presents a vision of that camp and its wilderness ethic that contradicts the wilderness mandate as described by the current Director and his predecessors or as outlined in camp brochures from different eras. It is presented here not in an effort to single out one camp for criticism but to underscore the possibility of the existence

in other camps of similar conflicts between the ideology and the day-to-day reality.

Bordo maintains that wilderness was quite peripheral to the camp's focus and that the promised experience of it contrasted sharply with the reality. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Ahmek (through its founding Director, Taylor Statten) was at least a witness to and a supporter of the creation of the wilderness myth, and quite possibly a participant in or inciter of its creation. This myth portrays wildlands as devoid of a human presence, inviting the current viewer or participant to take possession of those lands - thus it gives one title to the land by wiping out and replacing the original inhabitants. At Ahmek, there is a strong emphasis on the camp's history and traditions; secondarily, the local heritage (Canoe Lake and Algonquin Park) are also featured.[70] Visible signs of this adorn the walls of the dining hall in the form of paintings, crests, shields, etc. and in answer to the question 'what are we doing here?' they:

> fashion a genealogy [that] is ultimately connected to the Indian . . . the imagery of the camp basically connects Indians to the achievements of the camp . . . and what gives [the Ahmek campers] title to that imaginary concept of wilderness invented by the Group of Seven is that [the campers] are the Indians.[71]

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[70]From interview with Taylor Statten III conducted by H. Dunlop, July 1992.

[71]From interview with J. Bordo conducted by H. Dunlop, Oct. 1995.

The camp logo is further evidence to this; it portrays an Indian paddling a canoe. Also, the Ahmek hymn seemingly draws on Native spirituality more than on Christian ideology; it calls for an intimate and formative relationship with the land, and presents "the wildwood" as campers' dream home and inspiration.[72] This would place wilderness at the centre of the camp's philosophy and certainly appears to concord with the image presented by brochures and Directors. That envisioned landscape and the experience of it was:

> spruce and balsam lowlands, hardwood maple ridges, streams and **secluded** lakes . . . [where it is] not uncommon to see deer, bear, beaver, otter, mink and the occasional moose or to hear perhaps a wolf.[73]

Seemingly, it was an idyllic paradise which promised close contact with wildlands and wildlife, with no sign of humankind. However, Algonquin Park's reality is otherwise. Furthermore, according to Bordo, the camp only paid lip service to such an ideal during his time there. Trips were just local jaunts and extended wilderness travel was highly unusual - what was being encouraged was horseback riding and the "fashioning of a ruling class."[74] Not only was there no real commitment to wilderness, but there was also a denial or

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[72]Lyrics by Dr. A. Eustace Haydon. "Evening Hymn." (music by Sir Ernest MacMillan), circa 1930. It is quoted in its entirety on page 64 of this chapter. The hymn is presented in the 1992 Ahmek brochure, is found in brochures from other years as well, and is recited daily as a form of suppertime grace.

[73]TUA, OCA Papers, 1969 Statten Camps brochure.

[74]From interview with J. Bordo conducted by H. Dunlop, Oct. 1995.

rejection of the landscape's reality:

> The peculiarity about representation is that you could declare something to be one thing while what you experienced was another. So you talk of this as being the trackless wilderness, [but] you keep on running into clearcut logging.[75]

This dissonance underscores the relevance for all camps of continual revision of goals as well as in-depth consideration of their context in order to ensure that they are projecting an accurate philosophy, a realistic image and attainable goals. Doing so in the light of recent, related thinking or research can assist camps in better (re-)defining themselves or in deciding on new directions they might take given current realities and perceptions.

There are (and were) camp leaders who reflect in great depth on the import of camp setting, just as there are those who fleetingly consider the significance of choosing a wilderness site, perhaps only following the trend set by others before them or responding to an economic benefit of such a choice. And there is a range of perceptions in between the two. Currently, there are Shield camps which treat their wild environs as scenery, merely as a space where their activities take place, a space that has little or no significance. They may value the fact that they are in an outdoor setting without recognizing it as a wild landscape. They may consider the wilderness an aesthetically pleasing backdrop; however, they

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[75]Ibid.

more or less ignore it and its history or future. A few Shield camp Directors claim that wilderness is more or less irrelevant to the essence of their camp; that camp and its programs, goals, and philosophy would continue the same in another locale.[76]

Upon investigation, such an attitude appears to emanate from either those who are relative newcomers to the place, who have yet to develop a relationship with that landscape, or those who are oblivious to their historico-geographical context and its value or message. Often, theirs is a unifocus outdoors centre with an omnipresent, highly-specialized activity pervading all of camp programming and experience. The music

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[76]See quotation from interview with Michael Moore on page 132. John Jorgenson also stated that Tawingo "could function in less of a wilderness setting, but only if there was a true wilderness somewhere that people could relate to - Canada functions with a perception of a boundless wilderness to the north that defines part of Canada's character" (from interview, Mar. 1992). Jorgenson also claimed that Tawingo "could be anywhere, but . . . [its] site helps disorient kids . . . so focusing on goals is made easier - [thus] it is an ideal site, an oasis" (from interview, July 1992). Such apparent irregularities concerning the importance of a camp's wilderness setting/use possibly reflect the limited consideration that has been given to the matter, some confusion between the terms outdoors and wilderness or a different interpretation of the word wilderness from the meaning proposed and used in this research effort. Thus, while Adam Kronick insists that "this setting is perfect for the outdoor activities that are White Pine's focus and that a change would affect what [they] can offer," one senses that the setting is viewed and valued as an outdoors alternative to an urban setting rather than as a landscape that resembles wilderness (from interview, Mar. 1992). Kronick's grouping together of activities ranging from canoe camping and hiking to waterskiing, bush mountain biking and ropes courses as "expos[ure] to the outdoors, natural environment and wilderness" would seem to confirm this (from interview, Mar. 1992).

or sports camps (hockey, gymnastics, etc.) fall into this category. They make no evident attempt to understand the land and its features (natural and cultural), past and present, nor to foster any kind of relationship with it. Indeed, one could argue that their use of the name "camp" itself is a misnomer.[77]

Furthermore, one might suggest that these camps could easily be relocated without any adverse effect on the attainment of their goals or the delivery of their programs because of their extremely narrow and exclusive focus. However, if the wild landscapes truly were of no or minor significance, why then were such sites chosen when these camps were established? Why have these camps not relocated? Where else would they set up? They are well-removed from the major urban centres from which they draw their clientele; therefore, there are considerable costs incurred and time spent in the transportation of campers. The specialized equipment and facilities must also be transported, installed and maintained at significant cost, especially when one considers that there are existing sites (school gymnasiums and music rooms, local arenas, municipal

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[77]Kirk Wipper, former owner/Director of Kandalore, has spoken on this very topic, and maintains that such facilities should be called outdoor centres and that the name 'camp,' by its very essence, refers to a place where the central focus of activities is on the natural surroundings and on interaction with them (from interview with K. Wipper conducted by H. Dunlop, Nov. 1995). Similarly, Adele Ebbs stresses that camping and wilderness are virtually synonymous, and that another term should be used to refer to specialty camps which are more like schools or training centres (from interview conducted by H. Dunlop, Mar. 1992).

playing fields, etc.) in urban areas that could be rented out over the summer months. In spite of such drawbacks, specialty camps continue to operate in relatively remote Shield sites. Thus, the role of wilderness may very well go unrecognized or be undervalued; nonetheless, one can only conclude that the site is important for such camps, that it is relevant to the achievement of their goals and that it is related to their philosophy or approach.

This importance, relevance and relationship merit further investigation. In the light of this research effort, several plausible explanations present themselves. The founders and Directors of these specialty camps either held or were influenced by broader society's perceptions of wilderness. This perception contrasts wild and urban landscapes. As outlined in some detail earlier in this chapter, a change of site alone is disorienting for campers; a move to a somewhat remote and rugged site eliminates the distractions or the potentially inappropriate habits linked to the youths' home site. Not only is the opportunity presented to slow one's pace in order to increase concentration, to narrow one's focus onto selected activities; that opportunity is enhanced by the very nature of a so-called wilderness setting. Furthermore, the aesthetics of wildlands are both psychologically and spiritually re-invigorating. Finally, these landscapes are related to our national character and as such are not only

appealing but are also conducive to introspection and self-definition.

Such considerations are critical for unifocus camps, indeed for all Shield camps. Whether they realize it or not, they all draw on and benefit from this use of, this relationship with, as well as this vision of wilderness. One could maintain that they all owe at least a moment of reflection on these points, if only out of respect for (and curiosity about!) their or their predecessor's chosen setting. Perhaps, were Shield camps to do so, they might recognize and value the role of their landscape. They could then make explicit such a key relationship to their campers and commit to developing an informed, personal and caring relationship with wildlands even as they continue to offer a specialized program.

The majority of Shield camps do offer some sort of a wilderness-oriented component. The stage of development of such programs (the amount of time, money and effort accorded to them as well as their level of complexity or, conversely, of superficiality) varies from one camp to another. Generally speaking, most Shield camps propose some activities that appear to be centred around adapting to the wilds (roughing it in the bush) through self-reliance and teamwork. By responding to the challenges of nature, campers become more familiar not only with nature's ways, but with their own

strengths and limitations as well as with the benefits of recognized social order (even as they mimic the rugged and often individualistic lifestyles of the pioneer and voyageur or that of the Amerindian). However, it is essential to emphasize that the wilderness experience is never seen as the development of a long-term alternative lifestyle, a permanent return to the wilds or a rejection of modern society. The Ahmek hymn underlines the role of wilderness in camp:

Lift we our hearts to the home of our **dream**
Where beauty of nature and sky's glory gleam
Deep in the wildwood set like a gem
Hail to old Ahmek, **maker of men**
Here broods **spirit of life of the age**;
Here calls the future for saviour and sage,
Pledge we our hearts to thy spirit again;
Spirit of Ahmek, the maker of men.[78]

Camp offers a brief, but pivotal and transformational exposure to wild landscapes that better prepares youth for acceptable integration into urban society upon their return to it. Camp is "more than a carefree holiday in one of nature's most beautiful settings, [it's] an investment in the formation of

[78]TUA, OCA Papers, 1922 Taylor Statten Camps' brochure (but also present in other Statten Camps' brochures), "Ahmek Evening Hymn." My highlighting underlines the fact that Ahmek is the home campers dream of; it is not the reality where they actually live. Ahmek claims that it "makes men," which was of prime concern at the turn of the century when urban life "threatened" to soften boys and men. The words "spirit of life of the age" refer to the preparation for modern urban life rather than a return to any past way of life. Finally, Ahmek's elite leadership development is underscored through the mention of the future calling at this camp for "saviour and sage."

[a] son's character."[79] The temporary encounter with the backwoods and the Amerindian and early settler lifestyles better equips campers to find meaning and purpose in their modern world.

> The paramount educational asset of the summer camp, judged by the frequency of its mention in camping literature, lies in the naturalness and simplicity of life in the woods in contrast to the complexity and artificiality of civilized city life. A cluster of values seem to be rooted in this unparalleled opportunity provided by the camp for wholesome play and recreational activity . . . . [Camps have the] task of developing inner resources . . . kindling the imagination, releasing fresh impulses, expanding and refining the emotions, and stimulating aesthetic appreciations and attitudes [through] experiences which are charged with the adventurous and the novel - in forest, on water, and under star-lit sky.[80]

> At camp, boys could still face the spartan hardships that had previously been found in pioneer life: tests of virility "that require strength and independent judgement and a love of hazard" could be **reproduced** in the camp setting.[81]

The use of the word "reproduced" underscores just how pre-determined and managed the activities, and therefore to some degree as well the setting, should be. Hedley Dimock and Charles Hendry were pioneers in elucidating a methodology and

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[79]TUA, OCA Papers, 1961 Kilcoo brochure.

[80]Dimock, Hedley S. and Charles Hendry. Camping and Character: A Camp Experiment in Character Education (New York: Association P, 1929), 4-5. Dimock and Hendry's work is greatly influenced (if not inspired) by John Dewey's writings on the social and moral benefits of recreation. There are guiding quotations by Dewey at the beginning of most chapters and numerous quotations throughout the rest of the text which define the authors' approach, directing the flow of their research.

[81]Churchill, Kristopher. "Learning about Manhood: Gender Ideals and 'Manly Camping.'" Bruce W. Hodgins and Bernadine Dodge, eds. Using Wilderness: Essays on the Evolution of Youth Camping in Ontario (Peterborough: The Frost Centre for Heritage and Development Studies, 1992), 14. (my highlighting) Quotations within text refer to Dimock and Hendry, Camping and Character, 66.

an ideology for camp programs. On staff at Ahmek for a number of years in the 1920s, they studied the effects and benefits of camp on boys. Their research efforts produced structured guidelines that would guarantee the success of camps' social mandates ("motivating campers to seek the good life. . . and to develop socially desirable attitudes and habits") through organized contact with the rugged wilds.[82] The import of their work cannot be denied; their research effectively justified the existence of wilderness camps and in response to its publication, camps formalized and expanded on programs that had theretofore been somewhat haphazard and simplistic.

Initially, the camp environment itself was thought to foster character in boys; it would be a few years until the ambitious impulses of the character builders would bring standardization and professionalism to camping ventures.[80]

What then was, and is, the basic makeup of camp wilderness programs? Early wilderness-oriented activities mainly consisted of nature hikes, nature study, campcraft, scouting, fishing, Indian lore and canoeing. Hikes took place on trails, or campers blazed their own way through the bush, hatchet in hand.[81] During these hikes, trail leaders pointed out and identified the local flora and fauna to campers, encouraging them to become interested as well as proficient in

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[82]Dimock and Hendry, Camping and Character, 143.

[80]Churchill, "Learning About Manhood." Using Wilderness, 15.

[81]Palm, Legacy to a Camper, 14.

this field. Some campers had the privilege of learning from well-known naturalists. Ernest Thompson Seton, his nephew Stuart Thompson, Jack Miner, Judge James Edmund Jones, and Algonquin Park's chief ranger Mark Robinson were on Ahmek staff during its first summer.[82] Campers also frequently collected natural materials during these walks which were either used during arts and crafts sessions or added to nature study collections.

Campcraft encompassed numerous activities, all centred around surviving in the woods. Often campers acquired these skills "on trip," as they followed their proposed canoe trip routes. They included setting up a tent, starting a fire, cooking over a fire, making a shelter, etc.

The activity called scouting consisted in finding one's way (preferably the easiest and quickest route) through the bush

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[82]From interview with Adele Ebbs conducted by H. Dunlop, Mar. 1992. Dubbed "the mushroom man" by Taylor Statten's daughter Adele Ebbs, Magistrate James Edmund Jones also had links with camps Glen Bernard and Layolomi as well as with Upper Canada College. He was hailed as an expert in Ontario's flora and fauna, and also took some of the young delinquents in his charge on summer canoe-camping trips rather than send them to reform school. (See Palm, Legacy, 110). He and his Aura Lee Club led some of the first "organization" canoe trips as early as 1893 (Blue Lake and Rocky Shore: A History of Children's Camping in Ontario (Toronto: Natural Heritage/ Natural History Inc., 1984), 5.). Jones is also the author of Camping and Canoeing (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1903), a comprehensive how-to book detailing numerous canoe routes with portaging commentary, types of canoes and tips on how to repair them, portaging and cooking techniques, etc. - all drawn from his own and others' turn-of-the-century experiences.

from one given point to another. It involved discovering what was along the way, encountering and overcoming obstacles, covering more or less "uncharted territory".

Attempts to catch dinner with rod and reel were usually successful, particularly on trips in more isolated areas. According to a 1933 Camp Temagami brochure, fishing appealed to the "adventurous spirit of a boy."[83]

Indian lore referred to dances, legends, songs, and athletic challenges supposedly drawn from Amerindians, the first inhabitants of North America's wild spaces.[84] Indian Council Ring took place once a month in most camps during the early years; a few camps organized this event on a weekly basis.

Finally, most of the Shield camps heralded the canoe trip as the wilderness experience par excellence. "Of all the attractions a camp in the northland has to offer a red-blooded boy, none makes a greater appeal than canoeing."[85] Not only

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[83]TUA, OCA Papers, 1933 Camp Temagami brochure. Also in Churchill, "Learning about Manhood." Using Wilderness, 17.

[84]These programming ideas were originally conceived by Ernest Thompson Seton as outlined in Ch. Four, but there are numerous other works by camp-related personnel that present the philosophy and techniques of an Indian lore program. See National Board of YMCAs, The Father and Son Y-Indian Guides 1972 ed. (New York: Association P 1972) or Ellsworth Jaeger, Council Fires (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949) or Jack Eastaugh, Indian Council Ring (N.p.: n.p., 1938).

[85]TUA, OCA Papers, 1945 Kilcoo brochure.

was it the "highlight of the summer at camp,"[86] but it also represented an apparently spontaneous opportunity to bring together all the skills and attitudes promoted by the other activities in a more natural, even wild, setting.

The canoe trip was an expedition that allowed for exploration and discovery; it offered glorified and dreamed-of activities from a time gone by that were lost with the closing of frontiers, a "life that [was] fast disappearing from this day and age."[87] Camp brochures proclaimed that "of all the wonderful adventures awaiting a boy . . . , none holds for him the thrill of his first canoe trip."[88] The only pre-requisites for tripping were basic swimming skills and a familiarity with campcraft and the functioning of a canoe.[89] The trip itself provided ample opportunity to develop and perfect these skills in the bush as campers experienced and even recreated the life of the perfect woodsman - a way of life modeled implicitly after the romanticized Indian and explicitly after the ancestral pioneer/lumberjack/ voyageur.

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[86]TUA, OCA Papers, comment of former camper in "Camp Inawendawin: 1933-1963 Memories," a booklet prepared for a 1992 luncheon reunion held by that camp.

[87]TUA, OCA Papers, undated Keewaydin brochure, during the term of Howard Chivers as Director (1948-1975). This quotation harks to Atwood's Nature as Victim or Frye's nostalgic pastoral myth mentioned earlier in this chapter where one mourns the loss of wilderness or longs for the simple pioneer life of the past.

[88]TUA, OCA Papers, 1947 Kandalore brochure.

[89]Ibid.

How can this marriage of different peoples and lifestyles be explained or justified within the context of Shield camps? This composite role model draws on some of the human antecedents tied to the land, those who historically eked out a living from Canada's wilderness, living within or on the edge of those wild landscapes. The Indian, pioneer, lumberjack and voyageur are mythic historical figures, considered to have lived a simple life that followed or responded to the rhythms of the land. Usually functioning as small-scale, fairly independent units that were based on the extended family or on a close-knit "community" (represented by co-workers in the case of lumberjacks and voyageurs), their perceived lifestyle did not significantly compromise the integrity of the landscape. They were seen to be working with it, as having a vested interest in maintaining it relatively close to its current state rather than significantly transforming it.

Pioneers are certainly somewhat of an exception in this regard - they cleared the land (cutting down trees which are one of the main symbols of Shield wildlands!), creating pastoral landscapes which they then attempted to farm. However, they supposedly lived "off the land" and had a respectful relationship with their landscape. As with the Indian, the

voyageur and the lumberjack, the pioneers' day-to-day life centred around dealing with their surroundings - initially the wilderness environment and then the rural landscapes they carved out of it. Similarly, lumberjacks felled trees that were then rafted downstream to be processed at small mills. But they too were considered to have a healthy, hearty lifestyle in the outdoors and to be comfortable in the wilderness of the Shield landscapes. Also, their deforestation efforts appeared to have only a minimal effect on the vastness of the wildlands in which they seasonally lived and worked.[90]

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[90]Interestingly enough, the modern-day counterparts of all these groups are chastised by some (principally environmental activists) for a lack of consideration for wilderness and its inhabitants in their current efforts to make a living off the land. Some maintain that their present-day lifestyles and livelihoods are quite divorced from the land, putting wildlands and their populations at great risk. The human touch seems to have greatly diminished if not disappeared from much of farm life: agrobusiness manages farmlands (formerly wildlands) on a large scale using numerous technological advances such as mechanization, bio-genetic engineering and chemical crop and soil enhancement. The forest industry is regularly attacked for practices such as clearcutting, cutting right to shore and monoculture plantations. Hunters, fishermen and trappers (both Native and non-Native alike) are criticized for dwindling wildlife populations, inhumane killing techniques as well as the use of technology that increases the ease, frequency and size of their catch. As Native peoples (re)negotiate treaties and settle land claims, some onlookers decry their plans to develop wilderness sites through resource extraction, tourism, forestry, commercial and/or recreational hunting/fishing/trapping, etc. Whether one agrees with such criticisms or not, whether one believes the purported danger to wildlands they present or not, these concerns are regularly debated in the media. As such, they are familiar to most if not all Canadians. Rightly or wrongly, one can hardly be surprised that many camps choose to ignore these present-day versions of Indians, pioneers, lumberjacks and voyageurs who seemingly have such a controversial relationship with the land in comparison to their "ancestors."

Camps explore and glorify elements of the historical relationship of these four groups with wilderness, mimicking the different skills, habits or attitudes that helped them cope with that sometimes harsh environment. They all led lives that responded to their rugged and demanding surroundings; indeed, their livelihood and even their lives depended on their clear understanding of their intimate link to their environment. Camps highlight the similarities of their lifestyles in this regard, drawing out the complementary approaches to wild landscapes; but set aside other possibly contradictory aspects presented by such a marriage of peoples.[91] Thus, it is truly the wilderness and these groups' interaction with it along with their complete dependency on it for their very survival that are the common threads that explain this juxtaposition of "cultures."

Particularly during the formative years of private camping (1900-1939), the aforementioned activities took place in a more spontaneous rather than the organized and highly-

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[91]For example, in much of early settler literature pioneers face the wilderness with a sense of foreboding or fear; in contrast, tales of life as a voyageur or a lumberjack emphasize their carefree existence of freedom and independence in the wilds. Even more so, the traditional (or pre-Contact) Indian was perceived to be at home in the wilderness, living in harmony with it. Also, pioneers led a fairly sedentary life whereas the other three groups were much more nomadic. Finally, both pioneers and lumberjacks cleared parcels of wildlands in order to make their living while the Indian economy centred around hunting and trapping in the wilds for food and pelts. Some of these pelts were traded to the voyageurs who made their living transporting goods through the wilderness between the Native and settler communities.

regulated manner which later evolved with the rise of standardization and accreditation.[92] Campers were also active participants in the creation and maintenance of the physical campsite and in decision-making concerning programmes themselves in the infancy of the camping movement.[93] One Ahmek camper reminisces about Taylor Statten's "15-minute jobs . . . after supper . . . clearing the shoreline and removing deadheads from the lake" that usually dragged on for the better part of an hour.[94] In 1925 at Glen Bernard, girls helped build a cabin by "clear[ing] the path and trim(ming) the branches from the trees."[95] Judging by the accompanying photo, it would be more accurate to state that the girls were literally putting the cabin together, log by log. Currently as well, campers continue to be involved in these types of site development and maintenance at many camps.

A close study of popular attitudes toward wilderness from the last century through the beginnings of the 20th century, of biographies of founding camp leaders, and of camp brochures

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[92]Churchill, "Learning About Manhood." Using Wilderness, 15; Palm, Legacy to a Camper, 14-16; also Edwards, Taylor Statten, 29, 94.

[93]Stanley, Meg. "The not so Lazy Days of Summer: The Ontario Camping Association and Accreditation 1933-1980." Using Wilderness, 32, 33. Also, Edwards, Taylor Statten, 94 and Palm, Legacy, 32.

[94]Edwards, Taylor Statten, 92.

[95]Palm, Legacy to a Camper, photo 29, and 32.

priority of the wilderness-oriented activities mentioned above. From the 1890s to the 1930s, several prominent Canadians (Roberts, Seton, Grey Owl as well as Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven) sowed the seeds of a view of wilderness that yet impacts upon our mind's eye as we approach the wilds today. In parallel, the great American gurus of wilderness philosophy (Thoreau, Muir, and Leopold) pleaded a case for the land in the USA. As the Americans reached the end of their frontier and as Canadians began opening up the West to settlement and exploring the expansive northern wilds, there came the realization that wildlands were not limitless.

Population increases, technological advances and expanding economies put such lands at risk of disappearing as human development began to encroach upon and to transform them. This resulted in the valuing of wilderness in "popular culture."[96] The growing affluence of a budding middle class popularized a more widespread use of wilderness for recreational activities such as hunting, fishing, canoeing, hiking, and camping.

Leaders in the camping movement were visionaries who also realized that wilderness provided for more that just mere recreation. They linked it to their commitment to adolescent development. A.L. Cochrane set up the first private Canadian

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[96]Wilson, The Culture of Nature, 25.

camp (Camp Temagami), motivated by his own love of the bush, of camping, and of canoeing and by his desire to share the benefits of exposure to the wilds with youth.[97] Similarly, a Keewaydin brochure trumpets the wonders of the wilderness:

> Keewaydin is designed to harden a boy's body but it carefully guards against "toughening" his mind. The influences are all favourable. The immense natural beauty of the area is ennobling in its grandeur; campfire singing, the study of gentle wildlife, the good fellowship of outdoor living combine to send boys back to urban living with keener appreciation, sound moral values and deeper understanding.[98]

In that same brochure, canoe trips are clearly stated as:

> the vital part of a Keewaydin summer. Words and pictures omit the most inspiring element of a Keewaydin canoe trip - the sense of mastery and accomplishment. No other experience can touch off that same thrill . . . .[99]

A 1933 Kilcoo brochure underlines the benefits of a wilderness sojourn thus: "The whole setting is one of rugged simplicity, unspoiled by the hands of man. The air is bracing and acts like a tonic."[100]

It is evident that the appeal of the bush was prevalent enough in certain circles of society that it became a major marketing

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[97]Burry, Don. "The Early Pioneers of the Camping Movement." Using Wilderness, 72-74.

[98]TUA, OCA Papers, Keewaydin brochure from the late 1940s.

[99]Ibid.

[100]TUA, OCA Papers, 1933 Kilcoo brochure. The words "unspoiled by the hands of man" clearly promise a wilderness that is devoid of humans, which fits with the extreme preservationist stance or deep ecology tenets. Such an attitude ignores any possible heritage users (hunters, trappers, anglers, miners, etc. - be they aboriginal or not), excluding humans from the animal world.

tool, a drawing card for camps. What could almost be called a "cult" of nature is a dominant theme among many of the early brochures. The wild landscapes of the Shield embody "adventure," generate "thrills," represent "paradise," transform the lives of those whom they touch, and seem to inspire a quasi-religious awe.[101] There is a sense of fervour about wilderness apparent amongst the pioneers of camping that cannot be denied and that underlines their own commitment to and relationship with the wilds. There can really be no question that these beliefs and values surrounding wilderness were one of the cornerstones of the camping movement. Wilderness provided the ideal landscape within which camps could achieve their ultimate end goal.[102]

Over the years, camps have for the most part maintained the same activities although some have been dropped or modernized or have evolved with changing trends and numerous others have been added. Hiking gradually lost its popularity and now takes place more or less incidentally, usually with a specific goal in mind (to pick raspberries, to reach a belvedere, to

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[101]The words in quotations appear frequently in various camp brochures from the early years. Of interest is also Wilson's comment in The Culture of Nature, 34: "Nature can't really be said to be sacred in this culture, but nature appreciation comes close to being a sacred activity."

[102]"The canoe trip was the means to create an end - independent, self-reliant campers," who had a sense of community and knew how to share (about the focus of early wilderness programs, from interview with Adele Ebbs conducted by H. Dunlop, Mar. 1992).

visit an historical or traditional site, etc.).

Nature study could not maintain campers' interest in competition with some of the more active and technologically advanced programs that appeared at camps with time, such as horse-back riding, water-skiing, or mountain biking. These activities are popular and provide fast-moving adventure, but they are neither historically linked to, nor are they ecologically appropriate for, the Shield terrain. Indeed, they destroy any sense of one-ness with wilderness or any chance for moral introspection in favour of purely physical exhilaration. This departure from early camp focus on activities that were more in harmony with the landscape as the means to achieve their goals can be explained as an effort to keep up with the times (the exponential growth of high-tech recreational gadgets that came with the increased demand for high-speed thrills and for increased apparent risk!) and the competition in the battle to attract and keep campers. It would appear that to some the technologically-driven pleasures of the urban or developed landscape are more satisfying and rewarding than the enjoyment and enrichment gained through activities that evolved from or are based on wilderness and the experience of it.

Rock-climbing is a recent add-on for several camps and certainly brings youth into close and concentrated contact

with the rugged Shield topography. However, the rock face usually represents a physical challenge to be overcome individually (with some team support) rather than a metaphor for personality growth or an opportunity to commune with nature or an exploration of how that geological feature affects the surrounding environment and those who pass or have passed through the area.

Recently, with the rise of environmentalism, a new and more palatable form of nature study arose: ecological programs. They attempt to inform campers about ecosystems, interdependence, and responsibilities through hands-on involvement with nature - swamp walks, blind forest exploration, role play, etc. There are trademark programs that camps can purchase and implement, such as Sunship Earth, Earthkeepers, or Conceptual Encounters, all put out by the Institute for Earth Education.[103] Alexander Wilson offers an interesting critique of their approach, arguing that it perpetuates a perspective distinguishing humanity from nature (rather than including humanity as a part of it) and that their sensorial emphasis ignores social, historical, political, and scientific realities.[104] They are generic in

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[103]"The Earth Education Sourcebook." (Warrenville, Illinois: The Institute for Earth Education, 1990. Camp Wanakita has bought rights to these activities, and presents them as WEP, Wilderness and Environmental Pursuits (from interview with Steve Heming conducted by H. Dunlop, Mar. 1992).

[104]Wilson, The Culture of Nature, 68-69.

nature, having no link to the local context, and thus present a one-dimensional picture of the land with which they attempt to familiarize and engage children.

The activity named scouting became orienteering, with an emphasis on acquiring skills (map-reading and the use of a compass) in order to follow a pre-determined route rather than on reconnoitering the woods to discover what is there and to find or create a path.

A significant rise in cottaging, park use, and private outings brought about a corresponding decline in fish populations. As a result, campers dip in their line less and less frequently. They may still take a rod along when on a canoe trip, particularly to more isolated areas, but fishing _per se_ has more or less disappeared from the contemporary list of camp activities.

Chapter Four speaks amply to the evolution of Indian lore programs; they have been eliminated for the most part or conversely, they live on as if frozen in time, with several thought-provoking exceptions where they have been revised.

The canoe and "tripping" remain central to most but not all Shield camps. Most consider instruction in basic canoeing skills (strokes, tandem and solo paddling, rescue techniques,

Shield camps. Most consider instruction in basic canoeing skills (strokes, tandem and solo paddling, rescue techniques, etc.) a core part of their program, a daily occurrence. Other skills, such as portaging or handling the various levels of white water, are acquired on trip if and when the need arises. It is important to note here that, while the term tripping is in widespread use, the interpretation of it certainly varies within the camping community. For many camps, a more appropriate term would be canoe camping - where campers go to relatively accessible sites along fairly well-travelled routes, usually a shorter and not overly strenuous canoe outing in the bush. For the camps that stress canoe tripping, this term more accurately applies to lengthier and more demanding excursions into deeper wilderness areas. Such periods of extended exposure, dealing fundamentally with 'survival' in the wilds, tend to foster a more intimate and responsive relationship with those wilds.

Regardless of its type, most camps still see the canoe "trip" as the ultimate vehicle for personal and interpersonal development, as well as sometimes presenting it as an experience of living (in harmony) with and within (as a part of) the land - **this particular landscape.** While there are other means of entering into such an intimate rapport with wildlands, the canoe trip represents the ideal choice for Shield camps as it is an activity that evolved from close

inexpensive means of transportation allowing trippers to travel across those rugged lands with a minimum of equipment.[105] By its very nature, a canoe trip is both a communal and cooperative venture as well as a wholesome and stimulating physical activity. Thus, it fits camps' philosophical, recreational and economical structures and goals - considerations whose relevance cannot be denied.

So, it is principally on "wilderness trips" that campers have the opportunity to deal with nature on its own terms rather than on their own - away from the fast pace and gadgetry of their mainly urban and technologically-driven existence, away too from the variety of activities and from the other campers at the main camp site. They become a small group of campers interacting with the wilds. While their equipment may reflect the latest technology (ABS canoes, aluminum paddles, breathable yet water-resistant clothing, lightweight free-standing tents, gourmet dried foods), the simplicity of the trip's day-to-day activities centres on dealing with their immediate natural surroundings. Outside of an end date to the trip, time is no longer scheduled, a series of deadlines.

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[105]For camps that access the North and Far North, transportation costs to and from the starting/ending points (of trippers with their equipment and of food for the drops that a lengthy trip often requires) can be rather prohibitive. For this reason a majority of trips branch out from the different camps' home sites or, for those southern camps more serious about rugged tripping, from an outpost in the Near North that the camp has purchased as a tripping base.

Campers can, and indeed must, let their pace and thoughts respond to their natural environs: a slow relaxing paddle on a calm lake, the adrenaline pumping and the mind totally focused on the flow of the water at a turbulent set of rapids, a leisurely lunch on a sunny island, bracing for the fury of a sudden storm, adapting to the heat or the cold or the bugs or the wet, hiking to a height of land to sketch or photograph the view, reworking their itinerary when facing an ice-bound lake or a blown-over portage, reading from journals or books about those who covered the same ground but in a different time or in other circumstances, re-adjusting their trip "lifestyle" because of a lost canoe or foodstuffs, visiting isolated present-day Amerindian and mixed communities or the sites of former settlements along the way, writing down or sharing their own thoughts and feelings on the day's events or their sense for and response to that landscape, considering what is to become of that space and their role in helping shape its future. While the thrust of the trip is to develop team spirit, self-reliance or wilderness and canoe skills, camps should not ignore the opportunity - indeed, one might maintain that camps are under an obligation - to delve into the interdependencies between their campers (or humans in general) and that remote and rough landscape through which they travel (or other wilderness areas).

Furthermore, whether or not Shield camps access and explore

Furthermore, whether or not Shield camps access and explore deep wilderness through their programs, a large majority certainly consider wilderness important to their camp and its philosophy. Unfortunately, few seem to fully explore this significance in order to recognize that their very livelihood draws on wild landscapes in more ways than they may at first grasp. Their very setting, if not a true wilderness, is at least wilderness-oriented, -related or -inspired. The importance of wilderness for them is also linked to its aesthetic value as well as to its role as a venue for programs, as the basis for activities that feature dealing with it, and as an opportunity that promotes personal and social goal achievement. Thus, all Shield camps have a vested interest in safeguarding wild landscapes, a stake in what becomes of them, and therefore a need to fully comprehend their rapport with them. It would appear from this study that few camps truly fathom this or acknowledge it by developing a well-thought out, coherent and explicit approach that both encompasses and interrelates their camp, its goals, its programs and the landscape they all draw from - with its rich natural and cultural heritage as well as the questions that arise surrounding its future. In order to grasp this reality and to respond to it, camps must become well-informed about, actively involved with and sincerely committed to that wilderness and to the entirety of its context - its own natural make-up and the cultures of the people associated with

it, past, present and future.

However, Shield camps are not alone in the need to truly recognize and value their wilderness context and their role within it - similarly, all Canadians must address these issues. When Rudy Wiebe asserts that he needs:

> wisdom to understand why Canadians have so little comprehension of our **nordicity**, that we are a northern nation and that [we must] grasp imaginatively and realize imaginatively in word, song, image and consciousness that North is both the true nature of our world and also our graspable destiny . . . .[106]

we understand North to be wilderness. Thus, if we are to come to grips with our nordic identity, to truly adapt to this place and to consider it home, we must recognize that what we "have chosen to identify as Canadian culture is the wilderness" and hence must widen our focus to include this reality.[107]

While this is the challenge of all Canadians, Shield camps are particularly well-positioned and suited to successfully undertake key parts of this mission. The wilderness canoe trip represents the ideal opportunity to experience this quest for self and for home through contact with the wilds; however, it is not the sole means of doing so. A number of central

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[106]Wiebe, Rudy. Playing Dead: A Contemplation Concerning the Arctic (Edmonton: NeWest Publishers Ltd., 1989), 111.

[107]Wadland, John. "Wilderness and Culture." Bruce W. Hodgins and Margaret Hobbs, eds. Nastawgan: The Canadian North by Canoe and Snowshoe (Weston: Betelgeuse Books, 1985), 224-226.

one) can be enhanced by rooting each activity in its context and increasing campers' awareness of the past and on-going links between themselves and wild landscapes. Canoe instruction can only be enriched by sharing at opportune moments the origins of that watercraft, how it has evolved in response to both the Shield landscape and human innovation, and stories of those who have used it and for what purposes. Motivational talks at chapel, evening stories and campfire legends can easily make reference to the historic, present-day and future role of these wilds as an economic and spiritual source for their inhabitants and visitors as well as for those on their periphery. An awareness of the wildness (to whatever degree!) of the camp setting or of the varying activity sites can be developed. Staff can encourage campers to explore and articulate how they feel about such landscapes and why, helping them crystalize their thoughts, ideas and feelings about the wilds and those connected to it, and encouraging them to decide upon their own level and type of involvement with wilderness. While these and other similar kinds of activities can take place in camp or in the surrounding areas, ultimately it is through exposure to and intimate contact with wildlands that the most committed relationship is built - which in turn provides the motivation to learn more about the reality, or realities, of those spaces.

In contrast to campers' home settings and routines, camps

feature low-tech, slower-paced activities set in relatively removed and wild environs that recall if not resemble wilderness. They also explicitly promote behaviours that underline healthy interactions, personal responsibility and citizenship. It now remains for Shield camps to fully acknowledge that wilderness is and has long been a significant, but often silent and undervalued partner in their business. It is time that they brought the camp-wilderness rapport and interdependencies out into the open, exploring their importance, relevance and benefits for the camping community as well as for all Canadians in a reflective and comprehensive manner. Once aware of this necessity to develop a kinship with the wilds in order to find ourselves, to become our true selves, it becomes imperative for camps that draw from or access wild lands to rethink and remodel the wilderness-oriented elements of their programs, to become leaders in this challenge, and to take on this responsibility of forming not only the personality of campers, but forging their national identity as well.

CHAPTER THREE: SNAPSHOTS OF THE CAMPS

The founding directors of private camps have generally been recognized as charismatic visionaries; YM/YWCA camp leaders were much the same. Indeed, YM/YWCA camps were the training grounds for a majority of private camp directors who, after having acquired valuable initial experiences, struck out on their own in order to create a camp that followed more closely their own personal philosophy and interests or that targeted a specific type of camper. While the YMCA camps strived to safeguard middle class youth from urban ills, most private camps attempted to build character and leadership skills in those from the upper mid-income bracket. Furthermore, the YMCA 'wilderness ethic' was generally a vision of getting back to nature where the simple, virtuous and community-oriented lifestyle of the wilds could be readily contrasted to and hopefully overcome the vices of citified life. Private camps espoused this point of view but added a more physically-demanding element: roughing it in the bush.

All the early directors espoused either strong religious or highly spiritual beliefs and had a keen sense of civic duty. All had strong ties to the adolescent community, either working in the field of teaching or with the YM/YWCA.[1] One could equally argue that all had a certain perception of and

[1]Burry, "The Early Pioneers." Using Wilderness, 70-71.

relationship with wilderness landscapes, albeit more pronounced in some than in others. Swayed by the currents of shifting landscape visions, for some it represented a spiritual uplifting through exposure to the sublime, for others a sense of humility and limitation in the face of the vastness and power of the wilds, for yet others a site of physical re-affirmation through challenge and conquest, for others again a homeland for self or others to be understood and respected, for yet others still a resource to be used as best suited one's needs. Generally, these images of the wilds co-existed with an equally romantic and stylized image of the Indian, envisioned as the perfect inhabitant of those spaces, living bravely and admirably as well as off the land, in harmony with it. Quite naturally, the differing views of landscape held by founding directors impacted significantly on their choice of site as they first established their camps. And, as camps tend to generate their own staff (even at the senior administrative level), there is generally continuity in each particular camp's focus and approach in spite of the change in direction which occurs over time - at least until a total change-over in management and philosophy might occur.

The YMCA is generally recognized as the pioneering organization in the youth camping movement. Already by the 1880s, North American and British societies anxiously decried the loss of masculinity, morality, self-control, strenuosity,

and willpower in boys and young men that was believed to accompany industrialization and urbanization. Originating in the 1840s in London, England as a response to this malaise, YMCAs soon spread to North America. There, the associations promoted their platform of spiritual, mental, social and physical improvement of middle-class young men through the use of male adult role models as leaders of vigorous, organized activity.[2] It was not until the 1880s though that the YMCA truly welcomed and organized activities for boys under 16. Leaders recognized that boys were less tainted by the vices of society that were already ingrained habits in some young men and that they were therefore ideal candidates for conversion to the Christian lifestyle that the YMCA promoted.[3] A host of activities involving boys began at this time. In the beginning, fees ensured the exclusion of lower-class undesirables and programs targeted the development of future leaders, thus maintaining and furthering middle-class dominance. By the turn of the century, this changed as leaders in Boys' Work called for an all-inclusive membership drive in order to combat the ills of urban life which affected all classes of youth.[4] The YMCA later generated a sister

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[2]The North American model contrasted with the U.K. one in many regards. For example, the British YMCAs targeted lower-middle or working class young men.

[3]Ross, Murray G. The YMCA in Canada: The Chronicle of a Century (Toronto: Ryerson P, 1951), 90.

[4]Ibid., 164.

organization (the YWCA) that concentrated on the similar development of girls; however, activities centred around preparation for marriage and homemaking, rather than around team sports, boyish adventure, "manly virtues," and leadership abilities.

It was in the 1880s that the American YMCA incorporated camping as an extension of its character-building programs.[5] In Canada, the first documented YMCA camping excursion for boys took place in Nova Scotia in 1890. Fraser Marshall, the YMCA leader who organized the outing, had a good deal of insight into the typical boy's nature. He recognized "a boy's natural love of the woods and adventure . . . [and his desire for increased] freedom."[6] He also realized (as did others in the organization) that the apparent but closely-monitored freedom of camp coupled with "the therapeutic effects of the beauties of nature" facilitated the attainment of their main goals for behavioural and lifestyle modelling (or modification) in the field of boys' work.[7]

Programmes centred around sports activities and were filled out with Bible study and camp fires - which evolved into

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[5]Macleod, David I. Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920 (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1983).

[6]Ross, The YMCA in Canada, 93.

[7]Ibid., 256.

sessions of "stories, concerts, mock trials, and stunts, [or] moonlight hikes, boat trips, and **other exciting events**."[8] The camps "were rough but adventuresome . . . [and] boys loved them."[9] And it was shortly after the turn of the century that the tradition of dividing campers into Indian tribes began.[10] The success of this venture quickly spread among YMCA leaders and the following year YMCAs in Toronto and Montreal organized their first camps. From 20 boys at Marshall's first camp in 1890 and 84 his very next year, numbers quickly grew as the idea of camping took hold across Canada; in 1905, there were 469 boys at YMCA camps in Ontario and Quebec alone, and by 1920 there were 2,791 YMCA campers nationwide.[11] Camping rapidly became an established YMCA boys' activity and the organization devoted a significant amount of time and effort to developing, testing, modifying and recording programme ideas, discipline approaches, and camp operation routines.[12] Sharing both its leaders and its documentation, the YMCA's

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[8]Ibid., 212. My highlighting indicates the role of Indian Council Ring which was a staged production (or event) that was developed to fascinate and entertain (or excite) as well as to model targeted characteristics.

[9]Ibid., 211.

[10]Ibid., 212. In 1893, the Nova Scotian YMCA leaders initiated the practice of dividing the camp into groups. This was adopted and adapted by the Toronto camp which, around 1904, had a Big Tribe and a Little Tribe; from there, the Indian themes spread to other camps. (Seton's Two Little Savages and his first Indian theme guidebook How to Play Indian were both published in 1903.)

[11]Ross, The YMCA in Canada, 93, 211 and 360.

[12]Ibid., 211-213.

expertise in the field of camping gave a crucial boost to the fledgling private camping movement. The YMCA also initiated camperships which funded underprivileged children's time at camp, a practice which many private camps adopted as well.

Under the popular influences of Darwinism and the voices for the wilderness, wild lands "appeared a vital source of virility and toughness" in the minds of YMCA leaders.[13] Yet in the beginning, they chose a rural setting in which to practice their woodsy savagery. They "looked to semimythical models of an ideal boyhood"[14] and settled upon the:

> American **stereotyped** Indians, as violent but not lascivious . . . . strong, pure, youthful forest dwellers whose virtues stood in sharp contrast to the effete decadence of city people.[15]

Nevertheless, they did not consider camping as a step back to wild nature and furthermore:

> they insisted that outdoorsmanship was not an end in itself . . . . Outdoor life would toughen boys; yet by cloistering the youngsters in **pastoral** surroundings, camps would also keep them dependent and safe from city vices. Carefully buffered contacts with **tame wilderness** would enable campers to vent their boyish activism; yet **campfire rituals** and natural beauty would induce mild cases of adolescent romanticism.[16]

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[13]Macleod, Building Character, 45.

[14]Ibid., 52.

[15]Ibid., 55. My highlighting emphasizes Macleod's view that it was an imaginary Indian that was chosen as a role model, rather than an authentic Aborigine.

[16]Ibid., 233-234. My highlighting underscores Macleod's perception that they initially chose a well-managed over a wild landscape and underlines the reference to Council Ring activities that took place around the fire.

By the turn of the century, this nostalgia for an Arcadian setting gave way to pressures from the increasingly popular and equally romantic yearning for wilderness and its sublime landscapes.[17] Gradually, YMCAs selected wilder sites for their camps, ironically in this regard following the lead of the private camps that they had spawned.

In 1910, the Central Toronto YMCA established Camp Pine Crest near Torrance in Muskoka.[18] C. J. Atkinson brought 60 boys up to a somewhat make-shift camp that first year, and the following summer E.D. Otter supervised a similar-sized group as a more permanent camp site was developed.[19] Later directors emphasized the significance of a wilderness site with fairly rustic facilities - it removed all the distractions, routines and clutter of city life. Boys could gain "a keener sense of appreciation of life's really worthwhile experiences" at Pine Crest which was "sufficiently removed from civilization to be

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[17] Ibid., 236.

[18] According to Shirley Yard (widow of long-time Pine Crest director Ted Yard), a YMCA camp (possibly from Orillia) moved up to the more rugged Muskoka site in 1910 and changed its name (from interview with S. Yard conducted by H. Dunlop, Sept. 1996.).

[19] Atkinson was a journalist for several Prairie newspapers and also penned "A Commonwealth of Bright Boys" for Toronto's Globe Magazine, Sept. 9, 1908. He had a life-long interest in and commitment to boys' work; he was Chairman of the Boys' Dept. at the Toronto YMCA and in 1902 he established the Broadview Boys' Institute in Toronto, which he heralded as a place for play - believing that guided play was linked to education.

free of disturbing elements."[20] The camp owns 650 acres on three lakes; buildings are scattered among the rocks and pine trees of its Shield terrain. There are several large clearings for playing fields, a rink and tennis courts but otherwise Pine Crest remains a fairly secluded and rugged site even today.[21] This allows campers to go back to basics in a closed community as they focus on acquiring leadership skills, developing self-sufficiency as well as learning how to get along with others.[22] This closely reflects the YMCA philosophy outlined above, which is also clearly stated in many of Pine Crest's brochures:

> Pine Crest is not operated solely for recreational purposes . . . . [It strives to help boys] develop spiritually, mentally, socially and physically . . . [as they learn to] appreciate and respect the other fellow . . . [and] share in developing camp programme - basic training for the democratic way.[23]
>
> The YMCA pioneered camping on the North American continent 50 years ago and is today recognized as an outstanding leader in this phase of youth character training.[24]

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[20]TUA, Camp Pine Crest Papers, 1945 brochure.

[21]In comparison to the other selected camps, Pine Crest and the majority of the Temagami camps represent the few whose main site retains a strong flavour of the wilds, principally due to the relatively ungroomed landscape, the number of trees that dot the camp's rocky terrain and the simple, well-spaced buildings that those trees tend to overshadow.

[22]From interviews conducted by H. Dunlop with Keith Publicover (July 1992), Ivan Robinson (Sept. 1996) and Shirley Yard (Sept. 1996).

[23]TUA, Camp Pine Crest Papers, 1971 brochure.

[24]TUA, Camp Pine Crest Papers, 1946 brochure.

Pine Crest is the oldest Y camp still in operation in Ontario. Originally a boys' camp, it became coeducational in 1980. Until the directorship became a full-time position in the 1940s, camp leadership changed frequently - sometimes annually, especially during the early years, even if some served in another capacity at the camp before assuming the role of chief administrator.[25] Thus, it was difficult for any early director to leave his mark on the camp. However, being under the umbrella of such a long-standing agency which had been involved in camping since the 1890s and had already developed a general approach to as well as major goals for camping, Pine Crest certainly was never lacking in a sense of direction or a mission. Still, unlike the private camps which focused solely on maintaining or building up their programs, site and clientele, Pine Crest was only one of the services offered by the Toronto YMCA. Some felt that the agency disregarded or undervalued its camping service as both financial and human resources were rather restricted.[26] This might explain the frequent turnover of directors.

It was not until the advent of longer term directors who provided consistency and continuity of philosophy and

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[25]TUA, OCA Papers, "Pine Crester." 1.1 Spring 1977. The newsletter contained an incomplete list of the camp's Directors from its inception. With the exception of three directors, the average tenure was two years.

[26]From interviews with I. Robinson and S. Yard conducted by H. Dunlop, Sept. 1996.

programming that Pine Crest experienced its golden era. Everett Cameron was the longest serving director (1928-1935) until the arrival of Ted Yard Sr. (at Pine Crest from 1946 to 1962), a committed service man and Pine Crest's most prominent leader. Yard, dubbed 'Mr. Canoe', significantly increased the number and return rate of campers. Pine Crest also became financially self-sufficient during his term.[27] While most other YMCA camps merely promoted an appreciative and caring attitude toward the natural environment through their outdoor programmes, Pine Crest further developed this goal by "accentuat[ing] the adventuresome and woodcraft aspects of hiking and canoe trip camping."[28] Indeed, "outtrips were emphasized"[29] in Pine Crest's early stages and continued to be so over the years:

> canoe tripping has always been the highlight of the Pine Crest experience. It is part of our Canadian heritage; and at Pine Crest we give the city boy the opportunity to enjoy and appreciate that heritage. The work and fun of moving silently across lakes, portaging over shallows and natural obstacles and camping in the outdoors is healthy and rewarding - with today's emphasis on preserving our natural environment, the tripping experience becomes an invaluable part of a boy's learning process.[30]

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[27]From interview with S. Yard conducted by H. Dunlop, Sept. 1996. Mrs. Yard pointed out that at that time, Pine Crest was bringing in more funds than any of the other Y branches. It was also at that time that the directorship of the camp became a full-time position.

[28]TUA, Camp Pine Crest Papers, brochures from 1967, 1968, 1969.

[29]TUA, Camp Pine Crest Papers, "Pine Crester." 1.1 Spring 1977. Comment in "Memories Received" by Everett 'Camie' Cameron, Program Director 1925-1927, Director 1928-1935.

[30]TUA, Camp Pine Crest Papers, 1977 brochure.

At Pine Crest, campers focused on acquiring and then honing canoe skills and techniques, mainly on local lakes (Muskoka and Georgian Bay areas). However, in 1956 a group of Pine Crest Voyageurs organized a lengthy and heritage-oriented trip that headed into southern Ontario. They retraced parts of an historic trading route, paddling from Lake Simcoe to Toronto along the Trent-Severn waterway and Lake Ontario, covering 280 miles in 10 days and drawing much attention from the media along the way.[31] In the late 1960s, some Pine Cresters began to canoe trip in the Temagami region, and in the 1970s and 1980s the camp began to experiment with other trip destinations (Killarney, Quetico, Kipawa and even a few rare excursions to James Bay).[32]

Over the years, Pine Crest's canoeing program has been the chief means of attaining the camp's (and the YMCA's) goals for personal growth, leadership development and community spirit. All campers develop(ed) a solid grounding in canoe skills and a fair degree of comfort or even a certain rapport with the wilds - generally acquired in camp. Some then further(ed) these skills, exploring deeper wilderness sites and building a more intimate and involved relationship with wilder

[31]TUA, OCA Papers, clippings from several newspapers (articles and photos).

[32]From interviews conducted by H. Dunlop with K. Publicover (July 1992), I. Robinson (Sept. 1996) and S. Yard (Sept. 1996).

landscapes. However, such paths are (and were) not explicitly explored at Pine Crest; rather they are (or were) the result of particular campers' (or staff members') interests and affinities. Nonetheless, over the years the camp has actively sought to enlarge its property, maintaining and increasing its secluded air, and has restricted the development of its main site, keeping it well-treed. Both of these efforts indicate a certain valuing of wilderness and the experience of it.

Because of its relatively rugged and seemingly isolated site, Pine Crest certainly finds itself in an ideal position to encourage reflection on and recognition of the significance of wilderness not only to Pine Crest but to the Canadian mind and identity as well. Delving into wilderness issues and philosophy with campers, and discussing the kind of healthy and carefully considered relationship the camp could develop with wilderness would indicate an awareness of and a concern for the wildlands so apparently central to the camp and could 'ground' campers, giving them a more profound sense of identity. Given Pine Crest's location and focus, taking wilderness thought to a higher level of consciousness would only enhance its programs and facilitate the attainment of the camp's other goals.

In 1954 the Hamilton YMCA set up Camp Wanakita on a formerly private Haliburton camp site. Its first director, Keith

Smith, came from Midland's large YMCA Camp Kitchekewana on Beausoleil Island of Georgian Bay. Its current director, Steve Heming, began as a camper at Wanakita in the 1960s and took on administrative duties there in the late 1970s. Wanakita is located in the bush (the camp owns 1000 acres of it), its main buildings spread along the shoreline of a developing lake that still maintains a fairly 'woodsy' atmosphere. However, the camp facilities and its main site are quite modern, extensive and managed.

Alongside the goals of personal and interpersonal growth is the camp's commitment to "developing an attitude, care and concern for the natural environment through safe, well-supervised and planned experiences in the out-of-doors."[33] Wanakita meets the latter goal through three programs in its summer camp. It organizes short, basic-level canoe outings locally, to provincial parks (Algonquin, Bon Echo and Killarney) and to the Temagami and Kipawa areas. The camp also offers hiking excursions in Algonquin Park. However, the most developed program is called 'Wilderness and Environmental Pursuits.' It takes place in camp using activities from the copyrighted, Sunship Earth, Earthkeepers, and Sunship Three programs generated in the U.S. These are generally experiential outdoors activities, generic in nature

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[33]1992 Camp Wanakita brochure sent to H. Dunlop by the camp administration.

with very few local historical references. Through these kinds of activities, Wanakita seems to create general environmental awareness and consideration rather than a specific sense of identification with or commitment to wilderness landscapes. However, Wanakita could redress this by recognizing and using the camp's large bush property (and then canoe outing destinations) as a valuable opportunity (and venue) to explore in some depth wilderness thought, feelings and exposure.

A. L. Cochrane, founder of Camp Temagami in 1903, pioneered Canada's first private camp in 1900 on Lake Muskoka. Of British birth, he had immigrated to Canada in 1894 in order to fulfill his dreams of life in a true wilderness. Working at Upper Canada College as a Physical Education instructor, he spent his free time exploring the wilds of Muskoka. Familiarizing himself with the way of the woods by canoe camping, he gradually moved from solo trips to include Upper Canada College students. Continually seeking a more authentic wilderness experience, in 1903 he abandoned the Muskoka region (as it was, he argued, becoming too developed!) and mounted a "true wilderness journey" to explore the Temagami area in hopes of finding a new site for a camp.[34] Neither railway nor

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[34]Burry, "The Early Pioneers." Using Wilderness, 72-74. Also in Bruce W. Hodgins and Jamie Benidickson. The Temagami Experience: Recreation, Resources, and Aboriginal Rights in the Northern Ontario Wilderness (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1989); Pamela Sinclair. Temagami Lakes Association: An Historical

road had as yet reached the area; in 1905 the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway reached Temagami and in 1927 the Ferguson Highway passed through the village, both of them serving the town and the surrounding area.

Cochrane was "very interested in Natives [and their lifestyle], and in mining - [he had a sense of] adventure, [a penchant for] exploration and danger."[35] It is evident from Cochrane's lifestyle and history that wilderness was the deciding factor in the choice of a camp site; and the more rugged and untouched, the better. Established on a 30-acre island, the camp stressed rugged and challenging canoe trips, with a fairly informal atmosphere and approach - more along the lines of Seton's democratic Woodcraft League rather than the Boy Scouts' militaristic style which tended to prevail at the other early camp in the area, Keewaydin.

In the early years, Cochrane asked local Natives to draw canoe route maps or pored over existing maps with them in order to plan canoe trips. A local Native family, the Partridges, resided in a tent at the back of the island for many years; the father was the camp handyman. Many of the buildings were

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Perspective (N.p.: n.., 1991); and from interview with Carol Cochrane (granddaughter of A.L.) and Jim Hassler conducted by H. Dunlop in Aug. 1992.

[35]From interview with C. Cochrane and J. Hassler conducted by H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992.

constructed by local Native contractors (Mathias Construction).[36] Although there were no Native guides, campers learned something about the Native use of and history surrounding these routes. Cochrane also presented slide shows which often showed aspects of Native lifestyles or skills. Of course, the whole camp awaited with great anticipation the highlight of the annual Summer Regatta - the Indian canoe races, where 'the professionals' demonstrated their awesome skills.[37]

Following the philosophy of contemporary youth workers, Cochrane's program sought to "[build character] through vigorous outdoor living and wilderness appreciation."[38] It targeted a mainly Toronto-based and fairly elite clientele, generally boys from Upper Canada College or University of Toronto Schools who represented some of the country's up-and-coming business and political leaders.[39] Campers spent

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid. Grey Owl's first wife, Angele Belaney, would come to the Regatta in a buckskin outfit decorated with elaborate beadwork, with their daughter Agnes in tow. Another Native family paddled in from northern lakes (a 2-day trip), bringing their little daughter who paddled her own miniature birch bark canoe. A.L. Cochrane invited the family to the camp so the little girl could demonstrate her canoeing skills to his campers.

[38] Hodgins and Benidickson, The Temagami Experience, 114.

[39] From taped interview with C. Cochrane and J. Hassler conducted by H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992. See also Hodgins and Benidickson, The Temagami Experience; Hodgins and Seana Irvine, "Temagami Youth Camping, 1903-1973." Hodgins and Dodge, eds. Using Wilderness; and TUA, OCA Papers, Camp Temagami photos. One of the

approximately half of their time tripping, which was an exhilarating yet humbling experience that made all the boys equal, regardless of social status, and encouraged bonding through teamwork. A. L. instilled a respect for what he perceived as the intrinsic value of wilderness.[40]

The in-camp program was fairly structured with nature and Indian lore, some land sports and certain highly-evolved water activities. Water safety and life-saving techniques were stressed, reflecting Cochrane's own interests and expertise (he was the Canadian representative to the Royal Life Saving Society and the founder of the R.L.S.S. of Canada). The Depression and WWII adversely affected Camp Temagami, but the number of campers (and therefore the camp's finances) rebounded after the war. Gilbert Cochrane, son of the founder, took over the camp in 1948 but conflicts soon arose between father and son. This came to a head in 1959 when A. L., on his deathbed, sold the camp to Douglas Gardner (of Camp Douglas on Georgian Bay). Gardner successfully directed the camp through the 1960s, blending the camp's wilderness canoe trip tradition established by Cochrane with the highly

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photos shows former Prime Minister John Turner as a teenager, taking part in morning calisthenics on the dock. Renowned hockey broadcaster Foster Hewitt was also a camper as well as a staff member at Camp Temagami (from Sinclair, Temagami Lakes Association, 51).

[40]From interview with C. Cochrane and J. Hassler conducted by H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992.

technical and demanding Keewaydin-Wabun approach when he brought in Bill Russell (of Wabun and, formerly, Keewaydin) as trip coordinator.[41] In 1971, an apparent economic downturn unfortunately led to the camp's closure.

Camp Temagami under A.L. Cochrane appeared to promote a reverential attitude toward wilderness - the experience of it "gave focus [to campers and made them realize their] insignificance in comparison to the wilds."[42] It was hoped that such an attitude would incite them to act on behalf of wilderness, protecting it and restoring it.[43] At Camp Temagami, wildlands were not solely a site for inspiration and self-definition; they also offered an opportunity for exploration and thrills, and were viewed idealistically, as were the Natives who inhabited those spaces. The spiritual sense of perspective which the camp drew from wilderness and its Native inhabitants, and the romantic sensitivity with which the camp approached them could have been taken a step further toward explicit reflection on the larger context of both wildlands and Amerindians, on what the two might become and on the possible role of campers in achieving such broader

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[41]Hodgins and Benidickson, The Temagami Experience, 193-194.

[42]From interview with C. Cochrane and J. Hassler conducted by H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992.

[43]Ibid. Carol Cochrane, Gilbert's daughter, maintains that A.L. and his descendants (to the 4th generation) have been involved in local issues pertaining to the protection of local forests, and air and water quality.

goals.

Albert Sidney Gregg Clarke, founder of the American Camp Keewaydin (the northwest wind), sought a similar frontier land and set up on Lake Temagami the same year (1903) as Cochrane, having explored the terrain the previous year. He had been introduced to canoe camping in 1893 by H. Chouteau Dyer and together they had:

> developed that grand **romantic** image of being in the Woods. And by sharing this image they formed their own Brotherhood. It made them feel complete and worthy . . . . [They were] men pursuing **manly adventures** . . . .[44]

That image was of a land of self-made men far from civilization, where a man was free to do as he pleased, where survival in the bush was a challenge, where Indians lived "freely, trapping, guiding, building their own canoes. **Real Indians**!"[45] Such was and is the Brotherhood or "Gigitowin," whose mandate is to preserve the camp, its spirit, its traditions, and the environment.

Disillusioned with the ever-increasing use of the Maine

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[44]Back, Brian. The Keewaydin Way: A Portrait: 1893-1983 (Temagami: Keewaydin Camp Ltd., 1983), 30. Interestingly enough, talk of "the Brotherhood" still goes on today, weaving a mystique around the camp and those who are a part of it that is secretive and exclusive of outsiders. My highlighting brings out the type of relationship with wilderness sought by the founder of Keewaydin: both a romantic and a physical rapport.

[45]Ibid., 41. My highlighting underscores Clarke's obvious fascination for Natives whom, like the wildlands, he viewed romantically.

backwoods where his Kamp Kahkou had its beginings in 1893, Clarke was captivated by that romantic image of the wilds that CPR brochures told him existed yet in Temagami, Ontario.[46] Struggling over the first and most challenging portage en route to this new paradise, Clarke realized that this was the test of "True Men. . . . This was the land of Hiawatha. . . . and his confirmation as a Frontiersman. . . . he had arrived in God's country."[47]

Clarke disassociated himself from the Maine camp site and set up Keewaydin which followed the philosophy and style he had built up at Kahkou:

> the strenuous trips; the limited base camp **far-removed from civilization**; the acquisition of good local guides; the desire to excel; the recruitment from preparatory schools; **the unfaltering desire for solitude in the Frontier**; big river travel and whitewater. **The adventure and Trials of Manhood were the romance of life.**[48]

Even as he strove for and built a camp tradition around the

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[46]Clarke took his first group of four boys canoe tripping in 1894, the year after he himself had been initiated into the strenuous life. Numbers increased with each year and he realized the necessity and benefits of a permanent camp site by 1896. He chose a spot on Caucomgomoc Lake, and derived the camp's name by playing with the sounds in the lake's name. 20 boys attended Kamp Kahkou in its first year. It was the largest group yet and Clarke required guides (local woodsmen) to deal with them all. Such were the beginnings of Keewaydin. (Ibid.)

[47]Ibid., 42-43.

[48]Ibid, 36. My highlighting accentuates the preference for an uninhabited wilderness which was theirs to experience or to 'conquer,' and which presented difficult but thrilling challenges. Seemingly, early Keewaydin trips were rites of initiation into manhood.

ultimate wilderness experience, he allowed for some development of the Devil's Island home campsite. Some of the bush was cleared and several log buildings were constructed. Campers spent most of their time on rugged and challenging canoe trips, with short in-camp stays. The campers learned to handle challenging white water from Indian and Métis guides and from their own repeated exposure to it; such trips developed "self-reliance, resource[fulness] and independence . . . [so that the] boy [might] become a **true white Indian.**[49] From the beginning, local Amerindians guided trips or took on other camp responsibilities. This continued until 1915, after which a mix of locals from Mattawa (mainly Amerindians and Métis, but also some French Canadians and Scots) provided guiding, cooking, and building services. Clarke ran the camp with much success until 1925, when board members discovered he was a bigamist and, what was more shocking still, that he was carrying on with a young Métis! The Keewaydin inner cabinet forced him to resign for the continued good of the camp reputation, of the Brotherhood, of the Keewaydin Family.[50] He committed suicide within a year.

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[49]Hodgins and Benidickson, The Temagami Experience, 114. They cite Talbot, "Back to the Woods." 443; The Inter-Ocean [Chicago] 22 Sept. 1907.

[50]Back, The Keewaydin Way, 98-111. Reading through these pages, one cannot help but sense a zealous and potentially excessive devotion to the secretive Gigitowin fraternity and its maintenance!

By 1930, there were tennis courts, a field cleared for baseball or football, a string of sleeping cabins, and numerous docks. Keewaydin of Temagami had became only one of several Keewardin camps, lodges, etc. throughout the U.S. and Canada. However, Keewaydin experienced a lengthy period of difficulty (the Clarke scandal, a staff split, the depression, World War II) until H. Chivers became director in a new corporate structure in 1948. New cabins, a replacement dining hall, plumbing, and several flush toilets were gradually installed. By the 1960s a vanguard of ex-campers replaced the Mattawans on staff. Apparently, the Mattawans no longer represented the cream of local bushmen; rather, they had become troublesome (there were wage, alcohol and discipline problems).[51] Keewaydin operated under a strict code of discipline, imposed by the administration (as well as by oneself, supposedly). Therefore, breaches of conduct were viewed quite seriously and dealt with accordingly. This had led to a splintering of the camp in the early 1930s and the creation of a separate but derivative camp, Wabun, on a nearby island.

Chivers' lengthy reign as director ended in 1976. Fred Reimers took over and ran the camp until 1990, maintaining its rugged wilderness tripping focus. Currently the site maintains a fairly rustic flavour. Under its present

[51]Ibid., 143-147.

Director, Dan Carpenter Jr. (with his brother Bill Carpenter as Associate Director until 1995), as well as during the tenure of his predecessor, Fred Reimers, Keewaydin has stayed with its tradition of a strong focus on character-building through rugged adventure in the wilds linked with an emphasis on the history of the camp and its interactions with the land and its inhabitants. While the camp obviously cultivates a fairly intimate rapport with the wilds and a sense of identity with some aspects of traditional Native lifestyles, these are both rather idealized relationships influenced by the camp's longstanding and romantic views of them. And, as wilderness experience is what Keewaydin is all about, the camp's rapport with it merits an open and intellectual review in order to grasp the meaning and reality of as well as the future for wilderness - and the Natives associated with it.[52]

Taylor Statten began his life-long attachment to youth camping with the YMCA in 1905 when he became director of Camp Couchiching. By that time, he had already been heavily involved in the YMCA's Boys' Work programs and continued to be so for many years. He was extremely charismatic; youth attending his speeches were both spell-bound and motivated.

[52]As an example, Brian Back (former Wabikon camper and then Keewaydin staff member) has evidently deliberated on the significance of wilderness; he is the founder and former head of the Temagami Wilderness Society (and is the author of The Keewaydin Way, a history of the camp detailing its lengthy and challenging relationship with wild landscapes as well as its early fascination with Natives).

After more than 15 years of work with the YMCA, firmly established as a national leader in youth work, Statten decided to start a private camp in the wilds of Algonquin Park that would focus on the development of leadership skills in boys from mainly upper-middle class and wealthy families. Over the years, Statten's camp has welcomed many prominent campers from political circles and the business community such as Pierre Trudeau (and all three sons) and members of the Mulroney, Turner, Eaton, Weston and Molson families.[53]

Camp Ahmek was created in 1921 on the shores of Canoe Lake, near an island that the Stattens had leased for over 5 years. It was a rugged and remote site that required time and a good effort to reach. Yet, for Statten, therein lay its charm and benefit. He firmly believed in the reinvigorating aspects of the wilds and saw them as an ideal site for character development through industriousness, cooperation, and self-sufficiency. Indeed, as a youth himself, he had wandered the wilds of Erindale and was enthralled by the writings of Ernest Thompson Seton which romanticized an intimate and aboriginal rapport with nature. Seton himself spent some time in the Erindale area. Statten and Seton may very well have met at that point in time; they certainly shared many interests, talents, and a similar philosophy based on a positive

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[53]Cormier, Jim. "Summer with the Junior Elite" in Equinox 64 July/Aug. 1992, 96-109.

interaction with wilderness and the model Indian that inhabited it. They later developed a working relationship when Seton came on staff at Ahmek to establish the Indian Council Ring program.

Statten not only attracted and inspired youth but was also a wise businessman, bringing in experts to Ahmek in a wide range of areas to ensure quality programs. With professional musicians, a champion diver, seasoned naturalists and talented native craftsmen on staff, Statten quickly built up a solid and enviable reputation. However, the main thrust of the camp was character-building through woodcraft camping on canoe trips and the Indian Council Ring which was Statten's principal fascination. Statten was a true showman, who sought out and underlined the mystical and the mythical thus captivating the minds and hearts of campers with tales of the wilds, the solemn ceremony of Council Ring, and pilgrimages to the cairn in memory of artist Tom Thomson, who mysteriously drowned on the lake in 1917.[54]

In 1924, Statten's wife Ethel started up a sister camp for girls when their daughter "Couchie" (Adele) expressed an interest in going to camp. Wapomeo was first run from their cottage on an island just across the lake from Ahmek. At the time, the proximity of the two camps and therefore the two

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[54]Edwards, Taylor Statten.

sexes raised more than a few eyebrows amongst the camp board of directors, who promptly resigned. However, the Stattens' perseverance paid off - parents were pleased to visit sons and daughters at such close sites.[55] Ethel directed the camp until 1930, when "Couchie" herself (married to Dr. Harry Ebbs) took over, managing it until 1975. The Ebbs ran the camp as a separate entity from Ahmek, but with a similar focus and philosophy.

The two camps have remained in family hands for three generations; for many years, the Ebbs side of the family looked after Wapomeo but both are presently in the Statten branch of the family. Over the years, neither Statten nor his offspring have been averse to development, sacrificing certain more rugged aspects of the camps in order to improve the site and facilities, impressing campers and parents alike with the grandeur and quality of them. Extensive docks, a large boathouse, large flotillas of canoes and sailboats, an immense and cathedral-like dining hall, and a well-equipped riding stable and ring are some examples of this. However, both Ahmek and Wapomeo remain committed to their traditions: canoe tripping is obligatory, the director still presides as Chief over Council Ring, and camp as well as local historical lore is presented.

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[55]Lundell, Summer Camp, 34.

Currently at the Statten camps, there is a fairly pragmatic use of the wilds for personal and social growth through recreational activities. The wilderness is perceived to be a romantic, mystical place that forms, identifies and challenges a person:

"The wilderness . . . . I just feel that it's totally part of me. And I know that whatever my life is, . . . , I'll always be able to find the solitude I got when I was here, if only to remember it and think of it.[56]

This is the Ahmek Spirit, where "the cathedral of wilderness [is] your source of inspiration" and also "the ultimate test of self-sufficiency and team spirit" as you "pit yourself against nature and maybe become a better you."[57] This romantic vision could be broadened to incorporate the current realities of wilderness and to explore the future possibilities for it as both will certainly impact on the camp, its traditions and its relationship with the wilds.

Mary S. Edgar was born and raised in Sundridge, Ontario. In 1922, she established Canada's first private girls' camp, Glen Bernard, on the nearby lake of that name. Sundridge had just been opened up by the railway shortly before Edgar's birth and maintained a frontier flavour throughout her childhood.[58] She

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[56]Cormier, "Summer with the Junior Elite", 98, citing the words of Justin Trudeau, son of former Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

[57]Ibid., 109, 104, 96.

[58]Palm, Legacy to a Camper, 2-4.

had an adventure-filled youth in the bush - fishing, exploring the backwoods, and accompanying her father (the MP for Parry Sound) as he travelled the region to meet his constituents. Her awareness and enjoyment of those semi-wild environs permeate her stories, poems, and her own life history. "She too was fascinated by the stories of the development of the north and of the people who first inhabited the shores of Lake Bernard."[59] Indeed, after attending Pauline Johnson's dramatic poetry reading in Sundridge in 1899, Edgar responded to questions about her future aspirations with the statement that she wanted to become an Indian! Obviously, Edgar viewed the typecast Indian as the ideal role model for life in the romantic wilds. Accordingly, when Glen Bernard welcomed its first girls, "everything the campers did had overtones of being a pioneer . . . ."[60] and Indian Council Ring was a vital part of the camp's program along with other theatrical activities.

Edgar chose a site that was on her home terrain, and that was more pastoral or developed (it was the former site of a farm) than wild. Campers could ride horseback through field and forest; indeed, it was campers who planted many of the towering pines and other trees that shade Glen Bernard today. Unlike Cochrane or Clarke, Edgar was not seeking for lands

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[59]Ibid., 51.

[60]Ibid., 16.

beyond the edge of civilization, for the sublime, but rather for the familiar and yet highly romanticized outdoors which awakened sensitivities within her. Over time, Glen Bernard became a groomed and fairly controlled landscape, with buildings that gradually adopted modern conveniences as well as newer program possibilities such as trampoline, high ropes and skin diving to complement the more long-standing theatre, riding and waterfront activities. Earth education centres on "our relationships with the natural world, understanding our impact upon it, knowing how changes occur and how we may influence the future."[61] While campers may choose to go canoe camping or to participate in the annual 12-day wilderness canoe trip (for example, to Temagami, Quetico, the Spanish River or the Missinaibi River), wilderness exposure is not at the core of Glen Bernard. Rather, the camp offers skills-oriented, outdoor-based activities that build self-confidence, self-awareness and interdependence.

Edgar owned and operated the camp until 1956 when her nephew John Gilchrist and his wife Barbara succeeded her. Both had been involved with the camp for a number of years and ran it, with Edgar's blessing and following her style, until 1977. Jocelyn Palm, on staff from 1959 to 1965, purchased the camp in 1978. Under her direction, Glen Bernard continues its

[61]From Glen Bernard 1992 brochure sent to H. Dunlop. This program resembles Wanakita's 'Wilderness and Environmental Pursuits' in its nature and goals.

tradition where the landscape is a means to achieve these goals, a site for outdoor and environmental programs and a source for romantic inspiration:

> Edgar's Indian council ring program is still in place, teaching . . . a reverence for nature and the land. [Palm's motto, "Live Lightly,"] is a reminder not only to enjoy life but also to lessen the human impact on the land and preserve it for future generations.[62]

> . . . campers are still very much engaged in fantasy through the theatre program at Glen Bernard - in Mary Edgar's mind, glens were made for magic and elves and children's stories.[63]

However, since Jocelyn Palm took over Glen Bernard, she has been questioning the outtripping program:

> for economic reasons and because there isn't any wilderness within our range . . . . [Also,] the camp offers several opportunities [to campers, and they] don't want to be away, to miss out on sailing or riding or the play; . . . tripping is not the be all and end all of camping; it's not the purpose of Glen Bernard.[64]

It seems that fully exploring that pledge to "live lightly" would necessitate a move from romanticism's more or less passive and generic appreciation of wilderness (a landscape of the mind) to the recognition of the multi-faceted reality of Ontario and Canada's wildlands. Upon serious consideration of the past, present and future integrity of wild landscapes, those truly involved with those lands - those who draw inspiration from them or who pit themselves against them or who learn and grow through close contact with them - have an

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[62]Hanley, Karen. "Palm's Way: Camping and character." University of Toronto Magazine. Spring 1994, 27.

[63]Ibid., 27.

[64]From interview with Jocelyn Palm conducted by H. Dunlop, July 1992.

obligation to take an active and discerning stance for such landscapes.

The site of present-day Wanapitei Wilderness Centre was first developed by Reverend Charles Alfred Marie Paradis. He visited Sandy Inlet on the north-east shore of Lake Temagami in 1890, hoping to found a large French-Canadian colony that would be centred there. In 1891, after receiving permission from the area's bishop in Peterborough, he established the Mission du Sacre-Coeur. It did not become the centre he had planned; but Paradis did successfully promote the settlement of thousands of French Canadians to areas south of Lake Temagami in the Sturgeon Valley, in and around the towns of River Valley, Field and Sturgeon Falls. The Mission became a small farm for orphaned Franco-Ontarian boys until 1924, when a fire razed the site and dashed Paradis' remaining hopes and dreams. He abandoned his Mission and died within two years.[65]

However, during and after the Paradis era, some canoe-campers visited the site and in 1930 Ed B. Archibald inspected it as a potential replacement site for his camp. Archibald was an Olympic pole vaulter, a prospector, and a former WWI army captain who was also seconded to the Canadian wartime YMCA in

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[65]Hodgins, Bruce W. Wanapitei on Temagami: A Story of Adventures (Peterborough: Wanapitei Publishing, 1996), 12-16; see also Hodgins, Paradis of Temagami: The Story of Charles Paradis, 1848-1924; Northern Priest, Colonizer and Rebel (Cobalt: Highway Book Store, 1976).

France. His Camp Wanapitei, set up in 1925 on the lake of the same name north of Sudbury, was about to be flooded by a hydro-electric dam. Late in the summer of 1930, Archibald led a major canoe trip on one of Wanapitei's regular routes from the camp to Lake Temagami, ending at Keewaydin. From there Keewaydin staff took him on to visit the Paradis site, which met with his approval. Through determination and political contacts, Archibald traded his old camp site for a lease on this new site, which received honorary island status from the Department of Lands and Forests (all other development sites on the lake had been islands).[66]

Archibald's Wanapitei ran from 1931 to 1955.[67] It was a boys' camp, which emphasized water and land athletics - swimming, diving, track and field, sports, and wilderness canoeing. Experiencing wilderness was central to the camp's philosophy. The 1932 camp brochure highlighted the Shield landscape and its denizens - past and present, human and animal. It stated that on canoe trips, which represented roughly one-third of camp time, boys could discover the "realities of living" as they responded to the "challenge of the Northland . . . , its beauty and purity", thus building character and self-

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[66]Hodgins, Wanapitei on Temagami, 22-24.

[67]The boys' camp closed during WWII and never really re-opened; Wanapitei functioned principally as a lodge during those years, attracting anglers, hunters and vacationing families (Ibid.).

reliance.[68] Archibald also ran an adult camp, centred around fall and spring fishing or hunting. He had what became the historic Chateau built in 1934 as adult lodgings. In 1939, building on acquaintances forged during his WWI tour of duty, Archibald arranged for a 4-day visit to Wanapitei by 40 British teens as part of their W.H. Rhodes Educational Tour. The Tour returned to camp in 1951 and continued annual visits until 1967. Over the years, the camp boasted other prominent staff and campers from families such as the Eatons, Loblaws, and Neilsons, as well as Reg (Red) Horner and King Clancy of the Toronto Maple Leafs.[69]

Wanapitei generated its own trip leaders but most of the kitchen and maintenance staff as well as fishing and hunting guides were from local First Nations, principally Bear Island residents. These traditions continued after 1956 under the Hodgins administrations; however, by 1980, fishing groups had dwindled to almost nothing and deer hunting sessions ended in 1964 as fish and deer populations decreased. Also, staff and administration questioned commercial hunting.[70]

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[68]Ibid., 26-27.

[69]Ibid, 24, 27, and 28.

[70]Ibid., 59. Also from Wanapitei film (1962-1963) recently made into a video which shows 1963 as the last deer hunt. Currently, campers may fish incidentally while on trip (from 1983 interview of Bruce and Carol Hodgins, Afternoon Show with Sylvia Sutherland, videotape, CHEX, Peterborough, ON.; and from discussions between Bruce Hodgins and H. Dunlop).

Stanley and Laura Belle Hodgins bought Wanapitei in 1956. They had canoe-camped at the site in 1930, just days before Archibald came upon it, and had also returned in 1936, 1947 and 1951. Stan Hodgins, a school principal in Kitchener, was director of the Kitchener YMCA Camp Wabanaki on Beausoleil Island in Georgian Bay from 1944 to 1955. Laura Belle was a nurse. Under their tenure, Wanapitei became a coeducational camp that emphasized a sense of community and cooperation with much more informal programming than before. They developed an increasingly strong focus on wilderness tripping and, to a lesser degree, on the Indian Council. Indeed, "the centrality of the canoe and the canoe trip" distinguished the new Wanapitei both from the old one and from Wabanaki.[71] Campers continued to trip in the Temagami region and the Near North of Ontario, but soon began to explore further afield with trips to more northern rivers, to James Bay as well as into Western Quebec.

In 1971, Wanapitei, under financial difficulties, was restructured into a shared cooperative company under the leadership of Bruce Hodgins (son of Stan and Laura Belle). The extended Hodgins family (2nd and 3rd generations - Shawn Hodgins, full-time since 1985, became Managing Director in 1993 - as well as cousins) maintained, and shared with a number of colleagues, a guiding role in this new Wanapitei.

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[71]Hodgins, Wanapitei on Temagami, 42.

This group continues to be key players at the camp, figuring prominently on the Board of Directors as well as on senior staff. Since that time, Wanapitei has further established itself as a wilderness camp, extending its wilderness tripping to remote areas of Northern Quebec, NWT and the Yukon, initiating adult wilderness tripping, introducing spring white-water canoeing instructional clinics, offering mid-winter cross-country skiing sessions, and deepening its commitment to wildlands and their preservation.[72] While the thrill of white water is an integral part of wilderness canoeing, Wanapitei strives to engender in its campers an intimate relationship with wild landscapes (and those who inhabit them) based on appreciation, respect, understanding and experience. Wanapitei grapples with the difficult task of balancing its program focus on personal growth through adventurous wilderness recreation with the more academic mandate of developing consistently explicit ties to the cultural and natural context of wildlands in order to encourage a holistic vision of and critical thinking about wilderness in youth.

Charles F. Plewman established Kilcoo in 1932. The camp's mandate was to "help boys learn the fine art of living, that each boy [might] experience an adventure . . . into the realm of creative living where new skills are learned, fresh

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[72]Afternoon Show.

friendships made and vigorous purposes formed."[73] Like many other directors, Plewman believed that contact with the unspoiled wilds were a remedy to the ills of urban and industrial society. The Haliburton Highlands represented an ideal site as the countless lakes and rivers were "a veritable paradise for out-trips" and Gull Lake was "large enough to convey a sense of freedom, yet small and sufficiently protected to make for extreme safety in boating."[74] During the 1940s and early 1950s, Ed Devitt directed the camp for Plewman. (Upon his departure from Kilcoo, Devitt established Camp Comak on Lake St. Nora, south of Dorset, directing it until it closed in 1970.)

In 1956, John Latimer bought Kilcoo, leaving his giant mark on the camp and on Canadian camping in general. He ran Kilcoo until 1984, when his son David took over as Director.[75] The elder Latimer played a key role in developing a high profile for the camp, attracting prominent figures from the business establishment and national as well as international campers from the upper middle class and the elite. Kilcoo also operates on the same site a small camp for physically challenged children. Brochures from the Latimer era underline

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[73]TUA, OCA Papers, 1933 Kilcoo brochure.

[74]Ibid.

[75]There was a small lapse in John Latimer's direction between 1982 and 1984 when Hal Hannaford administered the camp.

the romantic appeal of wilderness especially experienced through the thrill of the canoe trip which is hailed as the climax of camp experience. It is considered both an historical and a mystical outing, as campers ("junior Davy Crocketts") take "the same routes the Indians once paddled" in a conveyance that is so tied to "Canada's northland."[76]

Under David Latimer, while the canoe continues to play an important role at Kilcoo, the camp's prime concern is for a healthy and enjoyable interactive experience:

> Kilcoo provides tremendous opportunity to learn feelings of sportsmanship, responsibility and, above all, the art of how to get along with people . . . . A summer at Kilcoo Camp is much more than a holiday. It is an investment in the development of your son's character.[77]

> At Kilcoo, one of our prime aspirations is to help every boy feel "at home" in a canoe . . . . All campers are given the opportunity to take part in overnight canoe trips and hikes. . . . To be able to live comfortably in the "out of doors" is the ambition of many campers.[78]

The camp site and the surrounding area have been continually developed since its foundation, making it today somewhat of a boys' country club set in cottage country. The emphasis on and mystique surrounding canoeing and canoe travel have diminished, being overshadowed by the thrill of more high-technology activities such as water skiing, Hebertism, riflery

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[76]TUA, OCA Papers, 1961 Kilcoo brochure.

[77]1991 Kilcoo Camp brochure sent to H. Dunlop.

[78]Ibid.

and tower climbing.[79] However, Kilcoo still offers fairly extensive and challenging canoe trips for those interested, including lengthy excursions to remote northern areas. Thus, some Kilcoo campers experience the physical landscape of the northern wilds, forging a relationship with and commitment to them. Unfortunately, the natural and cultural heritage associated with those lands are not explored. The camp does not get "highly involved in [wilderness issues nor] into the politics of what's right and what's wrong about Native [issues, preferring] to take a middle-of-the-road philosophy."[80] However, only by tackling these very issues can one draw the most from a wilderness experience and develop a truly profound understanding or relationship with the wilds.

The American Camp Wabun (the east wind or the dawn) was founded by a group of seven dissident staff from Keewaydin who initially voiced their complaints in 1929. As the response was unsatisfactory, in 1931 prominent staff members Dick Lewis, Bill Roberts and Bill Russell, along with several others, spearheaded a "revolt" against Keewaydin's prohibitionist stance and its policy requiring monastic-like seclusion and celibacy during camp sessions from all staff -

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[79]Hebertism involves high and low ropes courses, and group initiative activities that develop problem-solving abilities, cooperative spirit and self-confidence.

[80]From taped interview with David Latimer conducted by H. Dunlop, Mar. 1992.

even those with wife and family summering in the area. The grievance resurfaced the following summer and, as attempts failed to reconcile the dissatisfied staff with the traditionalists, the splinter group leased part of nearby Garden Island and opened Wabun in 1933, bringing about half of Keewaydin's campers with them.

For several decades, there was an intense rivalry and obvious hostilities between the two camps. However, while in disagreement with Keewaydin's ascetic policies, Wabun leaders concurred wholeheartedly with the Keewaydin approach to character building and leadership skills development through a camp experience which centred around challenging, technical and lengthy wilderness canoe trips to the almost total exclusion of any other programme activities. Therefore, while Wabun offered a more informal, less rigidly disciplined atmosphere than its parent camp, it continued to stress "deep wilderness, white-water skills, self-reliance [and] co-operative living" in order to achieve its goals for personal development.[81]

In 1959, Herbert Stokinger (an ex-Keewaydin staff member) assumed the directorship and brokered peace between the two camps. This virtually eliminated any significant differences between them other than the somewhat more relaxed approach at

[81]Hodgins and Benidickson, The Temagami Experience, 179-181.

Wabun and, since 1976, the arrival there of girl campers. Even today, Wabun remains "incredibly close stylistically to Keewaydin, and has the same kind of heritage and the same sense of commitment to that heritage as Keewaydin."[82] Furthermore, both camps cater to the same upper middle class clientele drawn mainly from private schools in the northeastern U.S. So, the Wabun red wood canvas canoes are similar to the traditional Keewaydin green ones. At Wabun (as at its parent camp):

> canoe trips provide a valuable and unique experience away from the softening influences of our push-button civilization. Lack of high pressure competition and regimentation allows time for informal growth and proper proportions of rugged exercise, adventure, fun and leisure . . . . Time at base camp . . . is limited to no more than two nights between trips . . . as we are primarily a canoe trip camp.[83]

While every camper takes part in technical white-water canoeing in wilderness areas that are as remote and 'unpeopled' as possible, Wabun does not promote "an adversarial relationship with the environment . . . [but rather a] commitment to preserve or conserve [it]. . . . Without [the wilderness], there is no reason to be here [at Wabun]."[84] However, the camp (like its ancestor Keewaydin) does not delve into the local and broader Canadian wilderness

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[82]From taped interview with Richard P. Lewis III conducted by H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992. Lewis and Walter "Nibby" Hinchman are the current camp Directors.

[83]1992 Camp Wabun brochure sent to H. Dunlop.

[84]From taped interview with R. Lewis III conducted by H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992.

issues upon which its core experience is dependent.[85] Possibly, this inconsistency is due to the fact that being American owned and operated it is removed from the site and from proponents of the wilderness causes that might affect it. More likely, it is because of Wabun's history, following Keewaydin tradition, of seeking to be a close-knit community that is removed from other users of wilderness; indeed of being a self-contained entity, experiencing a (supposedly) **undisturbed** wilderness, maybe even in the mind's eye discovering an unpeopled wilderness.[86] Regardless of the explanation for the incongruity of thought, the conclusion is the same: given Wabun's acknowledged stake in wilderness, it behooves the camp to portray an accurate picture of the wilds and to become actively involved in wilderness issues which cannot but impact upon the camp and its program.

Camp Kandalore is a long-standing Haliburton camp, first established for boys by R.K. Cleverdon in 1933 and taken over by Kirk Wipper in 1956. Wipper grew up in the wilds of northern Manitoba, where "the creatures of the wilderness were [his] brothers and sisters, [his] playmates."[87] He was

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[85]Interestingly enough, the administration claims to be philosophically aligned with those who do. (Ibid.)

[86]The bolded term appears prominently in both the Wabun and Keewaydin 1992 brochures (given to H. Dunlop by the camps), describing the promised wilderness experience.

[87]From taped interview with Kirk Wipper conducted by H. Dunlop, Nov. 1995.

familiar with pioneering ways, adept with an axe and experienced with a trapline. It was these woodsman's skills that attracted the attention of YMCA Camp Pine Crest which invited him on staff when he was studying at the University of Toronto just after WWII.

Thus began Wipper's 40-year career at U of T as well as his complementary and equally committed involvement with camping. His next camp experience was as Bark Lake's first Director, where he stayed for 5 years, building up strong woodsmanship themes. At that point, Camp Kandalore became available and Wipper seized the opportunity to "express his own vision, gathering around him over 100 staff who shared that vision."[88] Kandalore explored conservation and heritage themes around the natural landscape through its explicit mandate: to know, to care, to act. That entailed highlighting educational interactions with nature, perfecting outdoors skills and privileging wilderness experiences both past and present, aboriginal and settler.

Kandalore is located in an area that has seen a lot of cottage development over time; however, it is close to and regularly accesses the more than 30,000 acres of the Leslie M. Frost Centre. In the late 1960s, as Algonquin Park became more and more popular (and crowded), Wipper added a 'Temagami' Outpost

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[88] Ibid.

on Lady Evelyn Lake as a tripping and bushcraft base. Wipper "tried to get away from the romantic, idealist[ic]" view of wilderness and to concentrate on the best means of "living in the bush, of living in harmony . . . in the wilderness."[89] In order to attract clientele, other camps were bringing in higher-cost, popular recreational activities such as water-skiing or horseback riding but Wipper "would not equivocate on his central themes."[90] Upon his arrival at Kandalore he eliminated water-skiing; in order to build up his numbers, he became involved nationally and internationally with (and included Kandalore in) outdoor education, leadership training, and canoeing skills development.[91] Wipper realized that such a reputation was also a strong marketing tool for the camp which maintained its woodsmanship focus right up until his departure from the camp in 1979. A number of Kandalore alumni

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[89]Ibid.

[90]Ibid.

[91]Wipper was the first president of the Council of Outdoor Educators of Ontario, founded the National Canoe Instructors School and the National Woodsmanship Leader School, was on the Conservation Council of Ontario and the Niagara Escarpment Commission, is president of the Canadian Recreational Canoeing Association, and was on the American Council on Outdoor Education. Around 1960, he also began the Kanawa Canoe Museum at Kandalore which gradually developed into "a truly worldwide collection with the finest array of watercraft in existence" (from interview with Kirk Wipper conducted by H. Dunlop, June 1992). In the early 1990s, the ownership and management of the collection were taken over by a Peterborough-Trent University Board. In 1995, the collection was moved to the Canadian Canoe Museum site, centred in Peterborough, in the old OMC complex. Of interest on this topic is Shanna Balazs, "Aboriginal Involvement with Selected Museums: Developing a Model for the Canadian Canoe Museum." M.A. Thesis. Trent U, 1998.

went on to prominence in different fields, but continued their wilderness experiences armed either with a paddle or with a pen: Roderick A. Macdonald, Dean of Law at McGill University; William C. James, Professor of Religion and James Raffan, Professor of Education at Queen's University; and Craig Macdonald, Officer with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources.

Fred Loosemore and Wendy Grater took over the camp at that point and, seconded by Jack and Evelyn MacGregor, ran it until 1983.[92] Evelyn MacGregor then took over the operation completely, and from that point until 1988, she ran Kandalore with some outside assistance. The Loosemore/MacGregor administrations broadened the camp's focus - while woodcraft skills and canoe tripping remained central to Kandalore, other activities such as Hebertism, water-skiing and kayaking were featured in the camp's promotional material.[93] Under its current Director, Michael Moore, at Kandalore since 1989 and formerly from Camp Onondaga (which actually owns Kandalore), the camp further downplayed its woodcraft themes and eliminated Council Ring. Instead, it focuses on some of the more high-technology recreational experiences such as water-skiing, skin diving and rock climbing. Canoeing remains a

[92]Loosemore went on to run Trailhead's Toronto operation, and Grater to direct Blackfeather (the former organizes adult tripping and the latter is an outdoor equipment outfitter).

[93]TUA, OCA Papers, 1980 Kandalore brochure.

central activity, with a focus on attaining skills levels. Canoe camping excursions are restricted to fairly accessible yet technical sites in south-central Ontario. Moore also opened up the camp to girls in 1992.

Kandalore's relationship with wilderness has changed over time with the arrival of new owners or directors whose philosophy, interests and experiences generated divergent visions for the camp. Wipper considered elements of the cultural and natural heritage of the land as the basis for the Canadian identity and thus they represented the underpinnings of the camp's philosophy and programs. Some daily activities and special events made quite explicit reference to the lifestyles of the legendary voyageurs, fur traders, lumbermen and pioneers, promoting their interactions with wildlands as models for campers.[94] Also, on canoe trips campers:

> travelled all over the north of Canada and [Wipper] wanted them to know what was along the trail . . . to know Canada by wilderness travel . . . Canada as it was and as it is. [Activities emphasized historical and] conservation themes.[95]

Later, this intellectualized rapport with wilderness began to diminish, gradually shifting to a vision of wildlands as predominantly a recreational site and a means of stimulating

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[94]TUA, OCA Papers, 1967 Kandalore brochure mentions these theme teams, stating that the camp's "primary interest is in natural activities [and the]adaptation of skills and methods from the rich Canadian heritage for modern wilderness living and travel."

[95]From taped interview with K. Wipper conducted by H. Dunlop, Nov. 1995.

personal growth under the directorship of Moore, for whom the wilderness experience is not essential - "Kandalore could be moved [from its wilderness setting] . . . [as it is] only a part of [the camp]."[96]

John Orr first opened Wabikon (derived from the historical summer "flower" settlement of the Temagami Indians) as an adult resort in 1913. Archie Belaney (later to be known as the renowned Grey Owl) worked as a guide out of the resort for several seasons in its early years.[97] Situated on Temagami Island at the south end of Lake Temagami, it catered to middle-income Americans and a few Canadians up until 1943 when it was sold to Irwin Haladner. He converted it to a Jewish youth camp, the first coeducational camp in the region and one of the first in Ontario.

As a rule, Temagami camps stressed physically-demanding, deep-wilderness tripping. Wabikon was and continues to be an exception to this rule, offering flatwater canoeing, but keeping wilderness exposure to a minimum. The camp's program initially consisted in water sports, drama, nature lore and

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[96]From taped interview with Michael Moore conducted by H. Dunlop, July 1992.

[97]Dickson, Lovat. Wilderness Man: The Strange Story of Grey Owl (Toronto: Macmillan, 1973), 124, 128. In the summer of 1925, Belaney met Anahareo (his third wife) on the docks of Wabikon where both were working. Also from Smith, From the Land of Shadows and interview with C. Cochrane and J. Hassler conducted by H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992.

horseback riding.[98] Wabikon closed temporarily in 1970 but Gordon Wolfe purchased and re-opened it the following year. Under his tenure, which lasted until 1980, Wabikon remained a Jewish camp. Since then, it has become very eclectic with a non-denominational and international clientele that continues, however, to maintain a significant proportion of Jewish campers.[99] Currently, it is a general interest camp that offers land and water sports, ropes initiatives and advanced drama activities. Since 1983, under the ownership and directorship of Marcello and Margaret Bernado, Wabikon is developing its tripping program with input from trip coordinator David Hill (an alumnus of Camp Temagami). All campers venture out on local waterways, building a sense of "separation from the known, independence, self-reliance, an appreciation of oneself, others [and the environment, as well as] developing skills."[100] However, canoe camping opportunities are minimal and fairly cautious in nature - they are optional and not emphasized as a central program. Thus, Wabikon offers a fairly mild experience of wilderness to its campers.

Gay Venture is yet another post-war Haliburton camp, situated

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[98]Hodgins and Benidickson, The Temagami Experience, 195-196.

[99]From interview of Margaret Bernado conducted by H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992. The Bernados were senior staff at Camp Onondaga in Haliburton before taking over Wabikon.

[100]Ibid.

on what could be described as rugged grazing lands of the Shield. Founded in 1946 by the Reverend John Hoyle as a girls' camp, it has been under the direction of Janet "Beeb" Adamson since 1973, who started as a camper there in 1947 and rose up through its ranks. Since its creation, there has been a lot of cottage development in the surrounding area, creating a lakefront rather than a semi-wilderness or wilderness atmosphere in the camp.

Although healthy outdoors activities are the core of the camp's program, there is no particular emphasis placed on wilderness experiences. Girls may opt for canoe outings, which are "a very important part of the program, without being a central focus. . . [they are] just part of camp program [which consists of] fifteen or sixteen activities."[101] Personal development and group dynamics are the main goals which are attained through recreational activities such as tennis, riding, water-skiing, drama and crafts, although an appreciation of and a will to preserve natural areas are secondary goals.[102] While campers participate in canoeing, pioneer crafts and paddlemaking, there is little in-depth exploration of historical ties to wildlands. Gay Venture could therefore be called an outdoors camp that stresses a

[101]From interview with Janet Adamson conducted by H. Dunlop, July 1992.

[102]Ibid.

positive vision of nature, without having any well-defined or highly-developed rapport with wild landscapes.

Camp Ponacka ("quiet water") is a boys' camp located in the Hastings Highlands. It is situated very close to the southern tip of Algonquin Park on what continues to be a relatively undeveloped lake. Ponacka was at first a small American-owned camp established in 1932 by Lester Bergey of Pennsylvania. As transportation costs became prohibitive during WWII, it was used as a family retreat from 1940 to 1946 and was then sold the following summer to Canadian Dr. Bruno Morawetz, a Professor at Trinity College.

While the camp has grown both in size and in the number of campers since its beginnings, it has maintained a rustic flavour (senior boys sleep in tent cabins and there are no lawns or tennis courts) although it does offer horseback riding through some of the adjacent pasturelands of former farmlands that the camp has purchased. The camp's rugged and removed setting "is central to camp [and] canoe tripping is the highlight for the boys"; however, boys who seek a more extensive wilderness tripping experience tend to "move on to specialized tripping camps" as Ponacka offers a fairly simple and basic-level program, mainly limited to the local area or

Temagami.[103] With the exception of a traditional Indian Council Ring, the camp has not developed or explored any heritage themes (pioneer, voyageur, etc.) in conjunction with its use of and interaction with wildlands.

While Ponacka has developed a variety of activities for its campers such as woodworking, aerial ropes, fishing, windsurfing and water-skiing, it is essentially an outdoors camps set in the woods that accesses wildlands for recreational and social development purposes. However, that peaceful and removed setting is a key feature of the camp and its programs, underlining the importance of wilderness for Ponacka. Unfortunately, there is little or no reflection on and exploration of the land's cultural or natural heritage and future. Ponacka has drawn on other camps' areas of expertise in order to enhance its "wilderness-oriented" programs - its Council Ring closely follows Jack Eastaugh's formula, and the camp looks to Kilcoo, Kandalore (under Wipper) and Wanapitei for canoe camping ideas.[104] In order to establish a more comprehensive, complex and accurate interrelationship with wilderness landscapes, these programs should be closely scrutinized and modified to reflect current thought and reality.

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[103]From taped interview with Don Bocking (co-Director with his wife Anne Morawetz, daughter of Bruno) conducted by H. Dunlop, July 1992.

[104]Ibid.

Quin-mo-lac is a United Church camp that was established in 1950. Its name is a derivative of its location on the southern edge of the Shield: Quinte, and Moira Lake. When the camp was created, the region had already been settled and "exploited" on a small scale by the forestry, agriculture and mining industries. Currently, the area is fairly sparsely populated, with some pasture lands and cottages or tourist operations.

The camp's main mandate has always been to promote Christian growth and values in campers through outdoor activities. There is a commitment to a general environmental awareness and appreciation, rather than any sort of wilderness ethic. Quin-mo-lac is not a wilderness camp; it is situated in a somewhat rugged, but pastoral setting. Wendell White, the camp's director since 1980, initiated a short-lived canoe camping program to Algonquin Park sites but had to terminate it after several years as other priorities displaced the "successful . . . , [but] too-time-consuming" program.[105] The camp does not develop any sort of in-depth relationship with the land - it is considered a setting for activities and there is minimal exploration of its past or future. However, as outlined in Chapter Four, the camp has developed an innovative approach in its comparison of Native and Christian spiritualities - one

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[105]From taped interview with Wendell White conducted by H. Dunlop, July 1992.

that represents a total departure from the traditional Council Ring activities.

White Pine, established in 1956 as a coeducational Jewish camp, is set in the Haliburton Highlands. It is currently directed by Adam Kronick, son of the founder Joseph Kronick. The camp property covers 1600 acres and is on a private lake, both of which ensure that its surroundings remain fairly secluded and undeveloped. The camp caters to the upper middle class as well as to national and international elites. Some well-known figures in literary and media circles attended White Pine: playwright and columnist Rick Salutin, author Margaret Atwood and CBS's Mark Phillips.

White Pine offers extensive and modern facilities, concentrating on sport and leisure activities ranging from tennis, horseback riding, drama, pottery and ceramics to mountain biking, water-skiing, gymnastics and Hebertism. The camp emphasizes wide-ranging, appealing on-site activities of a high calibre; its prime objective is the "development of new . . . physical, educational, and inter-personal [skills through the use of] fresh-air adventure coupled with goal-oriented programs."[106]

In spite of its setting in what could still be called semi-

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[106] 1992 Camp White Pine brochure sent to H. Dunlop by the camp.

wilderness and the fact that all campers go on local canoe outings, it is not a wilderness-oriented camp. Campers can opt to explore somewhat more rugged sites on canoe camping excursions to Georgian Bay or Central Ontario (generally Temagami or Killarney) and, on rare occasions such as in 1991, an advanced and highly-motivated group might go as far afield as James Bay. However, the director considers logistics and economics and may "override [numerous] trips to Temagami [because] it's too expensive, too far."[107] The landscape is generally seen as a backdrop for rather than an integral part of the camp's programs. Although it is not ignored or avoided, exposure to the wilds and the fostering of any sense of kinship with them, their heritage and their future are incidental.

In 1961, after numerous years in the YMCA and a number of its camps in Ontario and P.E.I., Jack Pearse founded Camp Tawingo (sparkling or running waters, where running waters meet).[108] Pearse continues to direct the camp, providing long-term continuity of style and focus. Tawingo caters to both sexes, mainly youths from mid- to upper-middle class families. Situated in the Muskoka area near Huntsville, it can hardly be called a wilderness site. However, the camp property covers

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[107]From taped interview with J. Feldman conducted by H. Dunlop, July 1992.

[108]Pearse directed Ottawa YMCA Camp On-da-dawaks on Golden Lake from 1953 until 1960.

220 acres "with seclusion and privacy as well as a junior mountain, evergreen and hardwood forests. . . . a swamp. . . [and] open meadows" which makes it somewhat of a wildlands oasis.[109]

Although not a wilderness-oriented camp, Tawingo's boys and girls develop a positive relationship with the bush as well as a sense of self and of their country through an experience with perceived wilderness that harks back to Canada's pioneer and fur trader roots.[110] Indeed, pioneer, fur trader and Native skills or crafts are a Tawingo highlight with activities such as rope making, weaving, making dreamcatchers and woodsmanship. Although Tawingo has not had any Natives on staff, the camp has had some Native campers and also invited several band members to attend and comment on its traditional-style Indian Council that has been highly-developed and well-researched. Through it, Tawingo invites campers to consider Native Peoples, their different cultures, their history and their connection with the land in the context of how it might help campers and their communities. Unfortunately, any traditional version of Council Ring highlights the image of Native Peoples of the past and does not form a bridge to their present reality nor recognize the issues they now face.

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[109]From 1992 Camp Tawingo brochure sent to H. Dunlop by the camp.

[110]From interviews with John Jorgenson conducted by H. Dunlop, May and July 1992.

"Social and personal growth [are the central goals at Tawingo, achieved through] education and recreation programs in the outdoors."[111] Campers choose from a host of on-site activities, ranging from astronomy and axemanship, canoe tripping and ecology to weather prediction and golf. Extensive, modern and well-equipped facilities that operate on a year-round basis are the hub of Tawingo's site and activities. However, the surrounding acreage, crisscrossed with a network of trails for hiking and skiing, is significantly more rugged and ungroomed. While all campers go canoe camping, most remain on the property or in the local area; a few of the more experienced campers who express an interest in wilderness tripping may travel to the Kipawa and Quetico regions.

Several ex-campers have gone on to show significant initiative linked to nature experience: Wally Shaber, associated with Trailhead and Blackfeather outdoor equipment and adult tripping centres; Kristin Hayes, completed an M.A. and Ph. D. in outdoor studies; and Clare McGee, involved in the management of Bark Lake and an outdoor education instructor at Seneca College. Tawingo attempts to develop a strong sense of self and community "by bringing people to the edge of wilderness," where they might also gain a caring and committed

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[111] Ibid.

educational recreation and on its large number of site-based activities, there is a sense of being more at the outskirts of civilization than at the edge of wilderness. The concern for well-developed and quality programs could be expanded to include a similar approach to the wildlands, deepening campers' interactions and involvement with truly wild landscapes.

David Knudsen, from eastern Pennsylvania, established the American camp Langskib in 1971. David and his wife Karen acquired former Camp Windshift on a rugged island of Sharp Rock Inlet in the northwest corner of Lake Temagami. The camp had been a very small "survival-oriented boys' trip camp;" Knudsen "expanded [it greatly and later added] an adult program."[113] Initially, Langskib offered traditional, rugged canoe trips that took a conquest-style approach to the wilderness experience. But by the mid-1970s, Knudsen sensed that this model was unsatisfactory for both the campers and his family, and he began to explore alternatives. A meeting with North Carolina Natives led him to a new focus based on coming-of-age/self-awareness rituals that follow Native rites of passages. After workshops with the Lakota Sioux, Knudsen incorporated into the camp's program the vision quest and the sweatlodge (for the more mature and adult campers) as well as the imagery surrounding them, set within a Jungian

[113]Hodgins and Benidickson, The Temagami Experience, 260.

interpretive framework. Thus, the canoe trip, seen as "a metaphor for a psychological journey to one's core," continues to play a key role at Langskib and at its partner camp (formerly Lorien), which Knudsen purchased from Don Moore in 1987 and transformed into Camp Northwaters.[114] About 12 km south of Langskib, Northwaters is larger and much less rugged. Operated under the same philosOphy as Langskib, it features a coeducational program and canoe trips also. Since 1992, the two camps have been run jointly by David Knudsen and his second wife Cynthia.

The campers who take part in the vision quest program make a solo canoe-camping outing which involves a lone watch of up to four days on a point or a hilltop, cut off from Langskib's island site. The local wilderness landscape plays a critical role in the program - it is not just the setting for the vision quest, but is the stimulus that provokes the psycho-emotional coming-of-age. Thus, wilderness travel brings an opportunity to rediscover a lost sense of balance, order and connectedness in the healing rhythms of the wilds. It is the vehicle for self-actualization and also fosters the development of a sense of community and leadership potential, all of which are Langskib's main goals. Consultants, psychologists and (occasionally) Native advisors train staff

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[114]From interview with David Knudsen conducted by H. Dunlop, Oct. 1995.

to prepare campers for this process of self-realization and to analyze and interpret the activities.

Wilderness is critical to Langskib: not only "[is it the site of] spiritual and psychological (re)birth, [it is also] the source [of such a process]."[115] However, this represents a fairly one-sided relationship - campers draw inspiration and personal growth from exposure to the wilds, but they do not explore the character of that landscape nor what they might do to help develop or maintain it in an equally positive manner. In a certain sense, Langskib has taken the ideology behind Indian Council and integrated it into the camp's main program, using Native rituals and imagery on a daily basis rather than at a monthly special event. As with Council Ring, this poses some worrisome questions regarding the appropriation and the possible misinterpretation or misuse of another culture's icons and ceremonies. Furthermore, the program transplants spiritual and cultural elements of the midwest USA Lakota to the camp's Shield setting rather than featuring the local Anishnabai culture which is linked to and derived from that very landscape.

This brief overview of the selected camps draws out some of their philosophical and stylistic differences, but it also underlines some noteworthy similiarities in their development,

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[115] Ibid.

goals and programs. It presents a sense of each individual camp's relationship with wilderness over the course of time, which, when considered in light of the thoughts presented in Chapter Two, facilitated their placement in the schema in Appendix 2. Finally, this description and analysis of the particular camps provides information about the role and presence of Natives, which vary significantly among the camps. This is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR: PLAYING INDIAN

Land of the Silver Birch

Land of the silver birch
Home of the beaver
Where still the mighty moose
Wanders at will

Blue lake and rocky shore
I will return once more
Boom di-dee-ah-ha
Boom di-dee-ah-ha
Bo-oo-om

Swift as the silver fish
Canoe of birch bark
Where mighty river ways
Carry me forth

Blue lake and rocky shore
I will return once more
Boom di-dee-ah-ha
Boom di-dee-ah-ha
Bo-oo-om

My heart grows sick for thee
Here in the lowlands
I shall return to thee
Hills of the North

Blue lake and rocky shore
I will return once more
Boom di-dee-ah-ha
Boom di-dee-ah-ha
Bo-oo-om

High on a rocky ledge
I'll build **my wigwam**
Close to the water's edge
Silent and still

Blue lake and rocky shore
I will return once more
Boom di-dee-ah-ha
Boom di-dee-ah-ha
Bo-oo-om[1]

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[1]Traditional camp song, author unknown. (my highlighting)

Most, if not all, children who have experienced youth camps in Ontario are familiar with that song, sung while paddling a canoe or when gathered around a campfire. They all know it (or parts of it) off by heart. And yet, how many campers have paused to reflect on those words and their meaning, both explicit and implicit? It speaks of a close and on-going tie to Ontario's wild landscape on the Canadian Shield (its "blue lakes," "rocky shores," "silver birches," "mighty river ways", "hills of the North" and "rocky ledges"), of enjoyable solitude ("silent and still"), and of a longing to be there ("I will return once more" and "my heart grows sick for thee"). Many of us can easily recognize and identify with these thoughts, perceptions, and feelings. We would likely agree that we immediately associate them with the very core of what camping is all about: establishing and then enhancing a feeling of harmony with oneself, others, and one's environment.

But if we look again and listen closely, the song has other messages also. It underlines the differences between the place where we live and the one where we yearn to be. These differences appear to be both geographical and historical in nature. Our lifestyle ties us to the "lowlands" of the South, yet we dream of our visits to the "hills of the North." In the wilds of the North, there are "still" moose and beaver (and therefore, the relatively untouched habitats needed to

sustain them) even if there are none left in the South. The North then seems less touched by time and development.

The canoe, formerly the sole means of transportation on the "mighty river ways" of the Shield landscape, continues to "carry me forth." Quite significantly, it is a "birch bark canoe," the heritage watercraft of the Eastern Woodland Amerindians. The explorers and fur traders adopted it and many other aspects of aboriginal lifestyles in order to survive and flourish on the Shield. Again, it is in the North that we can experience that past. Possibly we can even see ourselves as Natives in that canoe.

The fourth verse speaks of "build[ing] my wigwam." A wigwam is a dome-shaped dwelling built with branches covered with birch bark. It is typical of the Eastern Woodland Indians, the Algonkian Nations of North America's Aborigines. So, this conjures up the image of us up there on that rocky ledge, camping out in a wigwam. Not a tent, but a wigwam - "my" wigwam. It would seem that we imagine ourselves then as having become or "gone" Indian. Interestingly enough, the expression "going Indian" has both positive and negative connotations, evoking the adoption of a nomadic existence, a life of freedom, away from civilization and all its trappings or conversely leading a rather undesirable and somewhat anti-social existence in the wilds. During the 17th and 18th

centuries in what was to become Canada, the term "coureur de bois" referred to someone who had "gone Indian," evoking the former image of carefree independence.

Finally, if we listen to the rhythm of the song, with its "boom-di-dee-ah-ha, boom-di-dee-ah-ha, bo-oo-om," we can recognize the North American Indian beat and tone, the drumming. So, it would appear that we are taking on, to some degree, an Amerindian identity - paddling their original means of transportation, dwelling in the early form of their shelter and singing to their traditional rhythms.

Without stretching the imagination too far, we can sense here a somewhat questionable underside to an apparently happy and positive camp tradition: the taking of something that belongs to Amerindians and making it ours, for our use . . . in other words, appropriating it. But is the song and what it suggests an isolated instance, a slip of the tongue, so to speak? It would seem not. Upon reflection, it fits into a fairly wide-spread pattern of use of aboriginal lore in numerous camps. The image of the Indian and Amerindian culture have been a part of "wilderness" camping since its beginnings around the turn of the 20th century, and continue to be so in some camps even today.

The most common and the most blatant camp use of Amerindians

has been during the Indian Council Ring activities, where individuals dress up as Natives, take part in so-called "Indian" ceremonies and games, and share Native stories and legends. Some camps also offer Native crafts, such as making dreamcatchers or carving and decorating paddles with Native drawings. Simulated birchbark canoes or replica canots du nord, adorned with Indian designs, are a proud part of many camps' flotillas, often reserved for special occasions. I doubt that anyone would **deny** the existence of any of this. How many though would **question** such persistent use of Native imagery, its form, and the attitudes this promotes? Does it represent a harmless and well-intentioned tribute of sorts to Native Peoples? Or, is there something disquieting and potentially injurious in such activities and the attitudes they engender?

Having researched these questions, I propose to present here a detailed survey of the current controversy surrounding the use of Native cultures by non-Natives, and to probe both its roots and its nature. Then, I will offer an historical overview of the link between camps and Natives, exploring its origins, values, and goals. Subsequently, I intend to discuss camp perceptions and uses of Amerindian culture, interpreting this content. Finally, I will suggest a possible re-orientation of this content.

First, it is necessary to re-examine briefly the beginnings of the camping movement, to discover its mandate and the early decisions that are closely related to both wilderness and Amerindian lore. The introduction of Native Peoples, their culture, and their iconography into camps goes back to the very roots of the organized camping phenomenon at the turn of the century. Many people of that period decried a social and moral decline which they blamed on urbanization and industrialization.[2] Thus, the camping movement was initiated as a remedy to the social ills of modernization. First, it removed youth from the negative influences of the city by relocating them to a relatively undeveloped site - which increasingly became the bush. Secondly, it modeled the targeted virtues of a simpler, healthier time and lifestyle. This parallels the "back-to-basics" and the "back-to-nature" mentalities.

The setting of the chosen camps is the rugged and rocky terrain of the Canadian Shield. Forests, alternating with a multitude of interconnected lakes, streams, and rivers, make up its landscape. Unsuitable for agricultural purposes, the forest and mining industries have long tapped this semi-wilderness environment which also represents the lifeblood of

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[2]Churchill, David S. "Organized Wilderness: The Algonquin Camps and the Creation of the Modern Wilderness." Using Wilderness, 106-110. See also Ross, The YMCA in Canada; and Macleod, Building Character.

the tourism and recreation industries. For many, it was these wild spaces that came to represent the ideal site for moral restoration, physical challenge, and self-definition.[3] Conscious of this, many founding directors selected wild-like settings for their camps - contrasting a wild, rather than a pastoral, landscape with its urban counterpart. Over the years since the establishment of most camps, the significance of that critical choice is still evident:

> This is an ideal environment for spiritual, social and physical development.[4]

> [Camp concentrates] on the inspiration and education emanating from the natural environment.[5]

> [Camps] offer a challenge to explore a way of life which will withstand the monotonies and pressures of modern civilization.[6]

> I sincerely believe that camp helps to develop attitudes and values in a way particular to this unique environment.[7]

Generally speaking, therefore, early residential camps were located in the hinterland of the day: Georgian Bay, Muskoka, etc. Access was usually by train and/or boat and took the better part of a day. As development encroached on these rugged lands, new camps tended to go farther afield in their

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[3]Grant, "Symbols and Myths," Canexus.

[4]TUA, OCA Papers, 1960 Camp Allsaw brochure.

[5]TUA, OCA Papers, taped interview with Kirk Wipper, Nov. 1988.

[6]TUA, OCA Papers, circa 1970 Taylor Statten Camps' brochure.

[7]1992 Glen Bernard brochure sent to H. Dunlop by the camp.

search for a wilderness site, to Haliburton, Algonquin Park, Temagami, etc. However, there were several turn-of-the-century camps that first set up in Temagami, which was a considerably more remote area at the time.

All of these early camps followed the social gospel mandate expounded by the YMCA. This approach emphasized character development, self-reliance, community service, and the instruction of societal values in a broad, liberal, spiritual environment so that campers might become successful and cooperative contributors in their communities.[8] Indeed, this continues to be the mandate of many camps today.

This then reviews the camps' choice of a natural or wilderness setting in contrast to the campers' home setting. How then was the Indian incorporated into this setting? And why?

It is pertinent at this point to explore the evolution of the image of the Indian and its use in Canadian society over the past century. It sets the stage for the camps' decision to bring that same Indian into their programming.

The chosen semi-wilderness is widely recognized as being the

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[8]This subject is treated in greater depth in Chapters Two and Three. See Ross, <u>The YMCA in Canada</u>; Macleod, <u>Building Character</u>; Dimock and Hendry, <u>Camping and Character</u>; and Edwards, <u>Taylor Statten</u>.

traditional homeland of many Native Peoples. This has been interpreted in different ways over time. In the late 1800s, the Canada First movement envisioned the land as the basis for a superior nordic nation, calling for the settlement of the west by those holding Anglo-Saxon Protestant views, and acknowledging the use of "force if necessary."[9] This virtually amounts to sweeping Native claims to the land under the rug, if not to ignoring or denying their existence completely. Charles Mair, a poet, civil servant, and a founder of Canada First, voiced the following opinion:

> In general, the Frenchman married the Indian and sank to the level of her tastes and inclinations. In general, the Englishman married the Indian and raised her to the level of his own.[10]

Such a statement presents Native Peoples (and French-Canadians as well!) in an unfavourable, and indeed an inferior, light. And yet, Mair glorified their pre-Contact ways in his epic poem "Tecumseh."

Similarly, in the early 1900s Duncan Campbell Scott, "poet laureate of Canada"[11] and superintendent of Indian Affairs, perceived Natives as a dying race, a child nation, a primitive

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[9]Gagan, David P. "The Relevance of 'Canada First.'" Journal of Canadian Studies, 5 (1970): 36-43.

[10]Denison. "Struggle for Imperial Unity." Globe 23 July 1970: 37-38.

[11]Duncan Campbell Scott: The Poet and the Indians. Written and prod. James Cullingham. Tamarack Productions/NFB/TVO, 1995.

remnant who, through assimilation only, could be modernized.[12] Scott's attitude reflected that of his times: British imperialistic attitudes and values were beneficial if not superior.[13] His lifework strove to "get rid of the Indian problem, . . . [by] absorb[ing every Indian] into the body politic."[14] Scott sought to attain this goal through various methods - on the one hand encouraging intermarriage, the adoption of Christian values, and the abandonment of hunting, fishing and trapping in order to seek 'gainful' employment, and on the other hand legislating compulsory (re-)education at distant residential schools, banning ceremonial dancing, replacing Band Councils with a system of elected representatives, and disallowing Indians from hiring lawyers to pursue claims on their behalf.[15]

In contrast to such diligent efforts to replace (or, some might say, suppress) Native culture, Scott's literary efforts were considered sympathetic to Amerindians. He treated them

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[12]Goldie, Terry. Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures (Kingston: McGill-Queen's U P, 1989), 166.

[13]Duncan Campbell Scott, Cullingham.

[14]Ibid. Also in E. Brian Titley. A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada (Vancouver: U of British Columbia P, 1986) and Stan Dragland. Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9 (Concord: Anansi, 1994).

[15]From Duncan Campbell Scott, Cullingham; Titley, A Narrow Vision; and Dragland, Floating Voice.

with compassion and understanding, portraying them as "complex yet intelligible persons. . . not [as] noble savages."[16] And, unlike many other writers, Scott actually spent some time passing through remote Native communities - observing and recording, both in print and in photographs, Native routines and habits even as he performed his role as treaty negotiator. Scott's Indians are not uni-dimensional, cardboard characters. Nevertheless, while his poetry and prose show evidence of a gentle hand when dealing with his Native subjects, this cannot be misinterpreted as an understanding of their cultures. Ironically enough, Scott's own words, "What can they grasp [of the treaty]. . . ? Nothing,"[17] have equal resonance when applied to himself with regard to his success in bridging the cultural gap. Scott's poem "Pawassan's Drum" is testimony to this; in it, the drum spreads hatred throughout the world, and other nightmarish spectres fill the poem's verses. It is a white man's cry of disquiet and misunderstanding in face of an unknown other.

Such contradictory images of Scott leave one in a quandary. How does one reconcile the attitudes toward Natives found in his creative literature with those represented by his career achievements? Stan Dragland suggests that this is indeed

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[16]Titley, A Narrow Vision, 30.

[17]Dragland, Floating Voice, 43 (lines from Scott's "The Last of the Indian Treaties").

impossible, that we must accept the many sides of Scott - admiring some and disliking others. What remains for him is an eloquent and almost pure poet who is unfortunately contaminated by his reproachable workplace actions.[18] Certainly, Scott is a product of his times and one cannot blame him alone for what is now perceived as a narrow-minded and colonial vision; however, he must bear a good portion of the blame for the cultural and social dislocation that his single-minded (if not single-handed) efforts at the Department of Indian Affairs wrought.

But Mair and Scott, as we shall soon see, are but several examples of those who viewed or treated Amerindians in a dichotomous manner. Impossible and perplexing as it may seem, a somewhat romantic vision, usually of an idealized Indian, coexisted with a contradictory and much more insidious attitude, viewed today as paternalistic if not racist, where "cultural difference [is] mistake[n] for cultural inferiority".[19] These perceptions were commonplace for the turn-of-the-century era and will be further explored at a later stage in this chapter.

More recently, with the coming of age of the Native Peoples

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[18]Dragland, Floating Voice; and also Duncan Campbell Scott, Cullingham.

[19]Dragland, Floating Voice, 43.

movement, specifically through the mass media, Canadian society at large is being exposed and sensitized to the First Nations, their current concerns, and their different perspectives. Many of the popular myths and stereotypes concerning Amerindians and their cultures are being demystified. A significant number of Canadians are beginning to question traditional views regarding indigenous peoples and to feel uncomfortable with what have frequently amounted to long-held misperceptions. Contemporary society's current re-evaluation of existing and historical perceptions of Canada's Aborigines is evidenced by the Royal Commission, the recent constitutional deliberation on self-government, the on-going discussions of land claims, re-readings of treaties, and Native cultural re-affirmation. It is of significance that these are the results of Native endeavours. Native voices are now being heard by the mainstream and it appears that broader society is beginning to listen too.

In a recent article, J. Baird Callicott proposes a rigorous and credible model for researching Native cultures. He presents four interpretations of Native interactions with the land: utilitarian conservation, animistic reverence, ecological awareness, and environmental ethics. He then establishes four methods of classifying and verifying Native land ethics: using present-day Native testimonials, current ethnographical records, ethno-historical documents from the

period of White-Native contact, and ethno-linguistic/narrative analysis of legends and myths. Callicott underlines the necessity of mixing all the techniques (particularly the last three) and of comparing results in order to form an accurate vision. He stresses the fact that each tribe/nation is a different cultural entity and that one must avoid cross-generalizations by researching each group, formally and separately. Finally, he sounds a warning: the use of Western terminology can be problematic. Certain words are value-laden, culture-specific and can lead an **outsider** to misconstrue details.[20]

Indeed, upon perusal of many historical and contemporary documents, records, and stories, one can often discover both blatant and subtle examples of such biased representations. As an outsider looking in, one must acknowledge and compensate for one's own cultural locus which can interfere with and colour interpretations.

As an example, in 1884 Macdonald's Conservatives banned the potlatch and subsequently outlawed the sun and thirst dances. Duncan Campbell Scott, deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs, encouraged prosecution of Natives performing the potlatch ceremony, which was accompanied by "prolonged

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[20]Callicott, J. Baird. "American Indian Land Wisdom? Sorting out the Issues." Journal of Forest History 33 (Jan. 1989).

idleness and waste of time, by ill-advised and wanton giving away of property and by immorality."[21] The underlying concern was that the dances might incite Natives to war, that some contained **barbaric** acts of self-mutilation and that they inhibited Native assimilation.[22] While Scott empathized with the need for "some sort of recreation," he called for the "substitut[ion of] reasonable amusements for this senseless drumming and dancing."[23]

Similarly, Lovat Dickson excuses "the unexpected white man's superior attitude" that Archie Belaney (later to be known as Grey Owl) used in a 1913 article as a budding writer's shyness to "contravene the conventions firmly established by his early romantic reading" and "certainly not a true reflection of his

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[21]Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 100. Francis quotes Douglas Cole and Ira Chaikin. An Iron Hand Upon The People (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1990), 133. Obviously, Scott did not grasp that another culture might value and occupy time differently than his own or that to them, preparing a feast for many and giving gifts was a means of solidifying relationships and establishing goodwill in bountiful times that might be remembered and reciprocated in harsher times.

[22]Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 99-100. My highlighting indicates an example of a judgment made from an **outsider** point of view with no understanding of the meaning and motivation behind another culture's behaviours.

[23]Titley, A Narrow Vision, 163. Scott's words and tone parallel that of a parent discussing a child's need for diversion! As Dragland clearly states in Floating Voice: "Well meaning people can be dangerous. Scott might have **loved** Indians and still have administered the paternalistic system in good conscience. Some parents never know when to let go, either.(63)" Furthermore, for him, the ceremonies are senseless - he has no understanding of the cultural intricacies involved and makes no attempt to overcome this fact.

feelings."[24] The article, which appeared in The Hastonian, details Belaney's dispute with a group of Natives. While Belaney admits that he and his friends were hunting on the Natives' traditional grounds, the significance of this is not stated. Hunting had long been the principal means of survival as well as a way of life for Amerindians; it was not, as in England, a somewhat elitist pastime. Such an act amounts to stealing another's food and livelihood - but the casual reader has no sense of this and can thus only view it from his/her own cultural perspective. Furthermore, Belaney's unflattering portrait of the Amerindians depicts them as mean-looking and naive drunkards; there is no explanation of the socio-cultural context which might present their words, actions and appearances in a different light.

A recognition of such prejudicial treatment has stirred a certain uneasiness in many. A sense of injustice (and frequently an ensuing guilt and blame accompany it) permeates the air. In order to understand how such images developed, seemingly unchallenged, one must consider Canada's colonial condition. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. details one of the longstanding White perceptions of Amerindians in The White Man's Indian. Although written from an American viewpoint, his interpretations are certainly valid for the Canadian

[24]Dickson, Wilderness Man, 84-86. Dickson must be referring to James Fenimore Cooper's works, which Belaney had read as a youth.

context. According to the author, Whites (considering European society superior) initially regarded Natives as one homogeneous race. While certain aspects of their lifestyle and specific Indian characteristics appeared admirable, even pure, in comparison to European ways, they were on the whole deficient and morally reprehensible - again by white standards. This negative mindset vis-à-vis Natives conceptualized them as the opposite of Whites, who were civilized, progressive, evolving; Natives could then only be primitive, ahistorical, static. Such a vision froze Natives in a time of the past; any attempt at progress or change was equated with a loss of 'Indianness' in the eyes of Whites.[25] Thus, the initial contact with Whites, and the assimilation and modification of their lifestyles that ensued (whether voluntary or enforced!), was perceived as a form of degradation or loss of the true Indian nature.

Similarly, in Fear and Temptation, Terry Goldie inextricably links the image of Amerindians with the "history of invasion and oppression."[26] Since the time of White-Native contact, the relative newcomers have taken the image of the 'conquered' peoples as their own and have continually recreated and perpetuated that image, according to their own perceptions and

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[25]Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr. The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to Present (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 23-31.

[26]Goldie, Fear and Temptation, 5.

agenda.[27] Such a discourse considers the 'dominant' society as **self** and those 'subjugated' as **other** or, alternatively, as **not-self**. Having no basis in reality, such a distinction or such hierarchies between peoples is imagined. The **other** is always described from the **self's** point of view, in such a way so as to suit the **self's** needs and purposes. Little, or more often no, attempt is made to understand the **other** or to represent, with any accuracy, the complexities of the **other's** socio-cultural reality. The image created of the **other** is fluid and changeable, and can therefore incorporate opposites. This allows for such contradictory images of the Indian as good/bad, noble/depraved, or victor/victim.

Examples of these imaginary Indians abound - textbook and literary portrayals of historical figures such as Tecumseh, Brant or Riel lack depth of character and exploration of motivation. Longfellow created the noble Hiawatha, while John Richardson (in Wacousta) and James Fenimore Cooper (in The Last of the Mohicans) juxtapose images of heroic (Richardson's Oucanasta, Cooper's Chingachgook and Uncas) and treacherous (Richardson's Pontiac and Cooper's Magua) Indians. Interestingly enough, both Richardson and Cooper include a White character who has 'gone Indian'. Richardson's Wacousta virtually 'becomes' an Indian, the wronged but revengeful

[27]Based on this same premise are Francis' The Imaginary Indian and Berkhofer's The White Man's Indian.

villain, more savage and cunning than the Indians themselves because of his mastery and understanding of both the British North American and the Native way of thinking. Cooper's Hawk-Eye, on the other hand, lives a life of independence and self-sufficiency in the wilds that mirrors in many regards an Amerindian lifestyle; however, while he seems to prefer the companionship of his noble Native comrades over White society, he does not reject his own heritage - instead he uses his cross-cultural skills and knowledge to rescue his White brethren who are lost in the wilds.

However, continuing Goldie's argument, Aborigines as **other** poses a logical conundrum when the **self's** imperative (and imperial or colonial) need to belong to the place they inhabit is recognized in the face of an **other** with greater ties to that same place. "The Indian is **other** and therefore alien. But the Indian is indigenous and therefore cannot be alien. So the Canadian must be alien. But how can the Canadian be alien within Canada?"[28] Goldie outlines two solutions: assimilate or annex the **other** or reject and ignore the **other**. There are numerous examples of both: from hockey team names to the mass marketing of moccasins for tourists, or from Canadians referring to themselves as "natives" of this place to the perception that Europeans **discovered** North America. One early camp presented it thus:

[28]Goldie, Fear and Temptation, 12.

[The goals of] Keewaydin, Camp Temagami and many other camps [were] self-reliance, resourcefulness and independence . . . so that the boy may become a **true white Indian.**[29]

Margaret Atwood presents and resolves the dilemma of_feeling foreign in one's (adopted or native) homeland differently in The Journals of Susanna Moodie. She maintains that:

the national illness . . . of Canada is paranoid schizophrenia. [Moodie exemplifies this:] she praises the Canadian landscape but accuses it of destroying her . . . she claims to be an ardent Canadian patriot while all the time she is standing back from the country and criticizing it as though she were a detached observer, a stranger. Perhaps that is the way we still live. **We are all immigrants to this place even if we were born here: the country is too big for anyone to inhabit completely, and in the parts unknown to us we move in fear, exiles and invaders. This country is something that must be chosen - it is so easy to leave - and if we do choose it we are still choosing a violent duality.**[30]

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[29]Hodgins and Benidickson, The Temagami Experience, 114 which cites Talbot, "Back to the Woods." 443; The Inter-Ocean [Chicago] 22 Sept., 1907. I highlighted the oxymoron which was not questioned in that era; today it would be edited out of the text (or would elicit much commentary)!

[30]Atwood, Margaret. The Journals of Susanna Moodie (Toronto: Oxford U P, 1970), 62. The bolded sections (my highlighting) raise certain questions. Does Atwood include Amerindians in her blanket statement about all Canadians being immigrants or has she unconsciously forgotten them, left their reality unsaid - erased them from the landscape? Does she maintain that Aborigines too are "invaders and exiles," "moving in fear" in those "parts unknown?" Are those "parts unknown" the country's wild landscapes, some of which unsettled Moodie even while they allured her? Is Atwood inferring that it is difficult for any Canadian to feel at home throughout the country because of its sheer size or because of its varied and possibly conflicting landscapes and lifestyles? Must Natives as well as 'Settlers' face this challenge? Or rather, is it impossible only for "immigrants" to become truly rooted here? Is the "violent duality" the **self/other** dichotomy - the sense of belonging one feels at being a Canadian, a sense that is accompanied by a feeling of alienation in such an expansive and unknown country that no one can "inhabit completely" - where one has yet to feel rooted (unlike Amerindians)? Or is this duality the jarring of the modern lifestyles of Canadians with the timelessness of the country's rugged landscapes and the lifestyles

It is an overriding need to belong that motivates the process of "indigenization" (becoming native to a place). According to Goldie, this entails a confrontation with the **other**, in the form of either "penetration or appropriation."[31] In the former case (fear), the **self** forcibly dominates the scene on his/her own terms, possibly excluding or denying completely the presence of the **other**. In the latter case (temptation), the **self** acquires what belongs to the **other**.

In Gardens, Covenants, Exiles, Dennis Duffy refers euphemistically to this appropriation as the "Walter Scott syndrome, whereby the conquering, modernizing culture dons the kilts of whatever group it has exterminated and goes on to celebrate the charming fossil in story and song."[32] The term "fossil" is indeed correct; Goldie also underlines the **self's** perception of Amerindians as already extinct, inevitably and uncontrollably. Similarly, Francis and Berkhofer's writings concur in this point. According to Francis, "the imminent

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they dictate? Finally, does a citizen need to inhabit his/her country completely in order to belong to it? Or, can he/she not feel at home within one of its particular landscapes as one of its peoples, recognizing the existence and interdependency of, as well as the need for, them all? Atwood correctly identifies the need for "immigrants" (both newly-arrived and those established for generations) to "choose," to actively strive, to be Canadian in order to eventually belong to this land.

[31]Goldie, Fear and Temptation, 15.

[32]Duffy, Dennis. "Mair, Tecumseh, and the Lost Garden." Gardens, Covenants, Exiles: Loyalism in the Literature of Upper Canada/Ontario (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1982), 56.

disappearance of the Indian was an article of faith among Canadians until well into the twentieth century."[33] Yet, while ethnologist Marius Barbeau and anthropologist Diamond Jenness concluded in the early 1930s that Amerindians and their distinct lifestyles were doomed, census results indicated rapid growth among Native populations beginning in the 1920s and continuing even today![34] Thus, while statistics and certainly some researchers recognized the continuing (and growing!) pulse of Amerindian nations, society at large continued for the most part to accept and expect their eclipse. Thus, after having "written off" the real Indian, an imaginary one could then be constructed (tailor-made), marketed and used to meet one's needs - as varied and as contradictory as they might be.[35]

Goldie describes multiple facets of the image of Natives, each with a positive and/or negative twist. Several examples are the Native as a child of nature, as a mystic, as a primitive, or as an orator/storyteller. In each case, the Amerindian represents some state or quality, usually of an evolutionary time gone by, for which Whites nostalgically yearn. Conversely, they symbolize some primeval stage beyond which White technology and civilization must forge.

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[33]Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 53.

[34]Ibid., 53-58.

[35]Ibid., chapters Five through Nine.

Industrialization and urbanization generated a similar view of the pastoral life; several movements, most notably the Luddites, valued the farming over the industrial life.

Neither Goldie, Berkhofer nor Francis dwells on several alternative perceptions of or relationships with Natives and their cultures that are unique to the Canadian context: those of the coureur de bois and the Métis. The role of the former in the fur trading business necessitated lengthy stays in and extensive travel through the wilds as well as close contact with Aborigines. The coureur de bois recognized that Natives had an extended history of successfully dealing with their environment and thus they adopted many Native ways in order to adapt to their new surroundings and to 'make a living.' Their pride in their physically demanding work, their enjoyment of a simple yet challenging life in the wilds, and their independent lifestyle live on in song and in legend, presenting a positive image of them and their ways - which were modelled after those of Natives.

The Métis, mixed blood descendants of Settlers (principally catholic French-Canadians and/or Scots) and Amerindians, have a distinct culture and lifestyle that reflects their dual heritage as well as their own particular context and concerns. While the coureur de bois as a breed have long vanished, the Métis live on. Interestingly enough, some could trace their

ancestry back to a coureur de bois from a bygone era.

Neither the attitudes of the coureur de bois or the Métis toward Natives nor their interactions with Natives fits the patterns presented by Goldie, Berkhofer and Francis. They co-exist with Amerindians - they do not attempt to overrun them. While some aspects of their lifestyle and condition mirror those of Amerindians, they represent themselves as distinct - they do not appropriate Native culture and identity. Both woodrunners and Métis view Amerindians in a positive light, accept their diverse cultures, and recognize them as living, rather than dying (or extinct) peoples. One could readily conclude that theirs is a much more realistic picture of Amerindians than the images that Goldie, Berkhofer and Francis present, as it was developed through close and ongoing contact.

Fortunately, the image of the stylized Indian is being shattered in the Canadian mind. Most thinking Canadians understand that Amerindians must no longer be blocked together, of one people, of one mind. It behooves us all to recognize and accept the diverse aboriginal interests, attitudes, philosophies, and cultures. Cooperatively, we can explore a more realistic and accurate vision of Aborigines - one that allows for the evolving (not static) nature of their communities, one that recognizes and faces claims to historic

lands that represented the basis of their different (yet valid) economies, and one that encourages their own progressive economic development. It is time for Canadian society to let the Indian in our mind's eye grow up and take ownership of his/her life. Canadians can only do so by letting go of the image and by listening, observing, and interacting with true-to-life Aborigines, who have long awaited and called for such a gesture.

The issue of cultural appropriation has elicited a strong response from representatives of Native communities. Speaking out, Janisse Browning (of Afro-American and Amerindian descent) seconds Loretta Todd's opinion that "cultural appropriation . . . is the inverse of cultural autonomy."[36] Browning laments **outsiders**' attempts to record and interpret "on behalf of" Blacks/Natives because they frequently reinforce "unidimensional stereotypes" of the heretofore peripheral groups - images of them as **exotic others**.[37] Furthermore, Browning equates such attempts with continued colonialism, as the dominant society refuses to recognize and rethink their privileged position.

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[36]Browning, Janisse, "Self-Determination & Cultural Appropriation: You can't serve them both on the same platter." Fuse (Fall, 1991), 31-35. See also Loretta Todd. "Notes on Appropriation." Parallelogramme 16.1 (Summer 1990), 24-32.

[37]Browning, "Self-Determination." Fuse.

Another angry voice is that of Marie Baker, of the Regina Aboriginal Writer's Group. She resents the "cultural theft" of Native stories by "patronizing" Canadians. Being marginalized, Native artists/writers/actors were not heard or seen until recently. It has been Canadians who have told Native stories "because the government outlawed Native language, and Native culture,"[38] effectively silencing Native voices.

Richard Hill similarly rejects having his own culture related to him by external authorities and experts who are "so secure in [their] power that [they] rarely recognize that [they] hold it."[39] However, Hill echoes other Native voices that affirm their willingness to share or to exchange their culture as long as there is respect for it in its integrity, that it is contextualized, and that the source is **valued**.

Undoubtedly, cultural plagiarism is intimately linked to economics. Joane Cardinal-Shubert makes it explicit: "The critical reason behind artists ripping off other cultures is based on money and achieved by access to information available

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[38]Baker, Marie. "Stealing Native Stories." Briarpatch (1990): 29.

[39]Hill, Richard. "One Part Per Million: White Appropriation and Native Voice." Fuse (Winter, 1992): 12-22.

through technology."[40] According to her, members of the dominant society pillage Native culture to sell "tobacco, oranges, medicines, motor oil, environmental conservation, and **escape-fantasy recreation for adults and children.**"[41] Shubert underlines the dilemma of Natives: they are an economic boon, but are denied recognition or compensation for it as they are persistently relegated to the edge of society.

There have, however, been several discordant voices. Native playwright Tomson Highway dislikes the imposition of cultural restrictions on artists, asserting the primacy of quality.[42] Similarly, Native author Thomas King allows that with care, Whites can successfully "handle Native material."[43]

The overall anger and frustration of many Natives are now abundantly apparent. Within the last decade, increasing numbers of Native artists, writers, and actors have moved from a marginalized to a more mainstream position in society. Through this new access to the **centre**, they have a much broader forum for their message. Natives view the expression

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[40]Cardinal-Shubert, Joane. "In the Red." Fuse (Fall, 1989): 20-28.

[41]Ibid. (My highlighting draws out the clear link to camp programs.)

[42]Johnson, Brian D. et al. "Tribal Tribulations: Debate Grows Over Who Owns Native Culture." in Maclean's 103.8, (1990): 52-54.

[43]Ibid.

of their opinions and stories as part of an empowerment process which will allow them to reclaim their culture and to affirm their survival. Larger society, in turn, is finally making room for their voices, and is beginning to hear and respond to their outcry in the face of cultural stereotyping, marginalization and appropriation.

The critical nature of the aboriginal voice has sounded an alarm. In response, many have accused the displeased Native voice of censorship, upholding the right to poetic licence. Numerous Canadians have protested that, with sensitivity, accuracy, and respect, one can cross cultural lines. Yielding with but one condition, Maria Campbell retorts that in order to write Native stories, one should "be prepared to live with us."[44] Lenore Keeshig-Tobias succinctly adds, "not just for a few months" and issues her own challenge: "Hear the voices of the Lubicon, the Innu. Be with the Teme-Augama Anishnabai on the Red Squirrel Road . . . . If you want these stories, fight for them. I dare you!"[45]

Some non-Natives have taken up this challenge, or did so long ago. Ernest Thompson Seton and Grey Owl both resided with and learned about Native cultures which they then interpreted to

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[44]Keeshig-Tobias, Lenore. "Stop Stealing Native Stories." Globe and Mail [Toronto] 26 Jan., 1990.

[45]Ibid.

Canadians, Americans and Britons.[46] They were motivated by a sincere respect for Amerindians and a genuine concern for their cultural integrity rather than by a desire for economic gain. Both were ardent activists who promoted Amerindian lifestyles and causes; one might even say that their ground-breaking efforts influenced the development of the debate on this and other fronts (i.e., environmentalism). It is only in light of the current thinking and controversy that one can see that, in spite of their exposure to the multi-dimensional reality of Native cultures, both held on somewhat to the romanticized Indian that they had grown up with, mixing elements of it with the more accurate details they shared. Considering their example, it might appear that we are condemned to an **insider/outsider** (or **self/other**) dialectic, to an inability to know, understand, and then share, another's culture. Yet there may be a more optimistic conclusion. Perhaps constant openness to and ongoing contact with the other, as well as continued questioning of one's own perceptions and interpretations can help resolve this cross-cultural impasse. Richard Wagamese promotes such inter-cultural understanding through dialogue and sharing in the closing lines of his novel Keeper 'n Me:

Be a storyteller, he told me. Talk about the **real** Indyuns. About what you learned, where you travelled, where you've been

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[46]Both, but more particularly Seton, significantly influenced camp culture with regard to Native and wilderness imagery and their impact continues even today. The role of Seton and Grey Owl will be further explored in this chapter.

> all this time. **Tell them.** Tell them stories on accounta **them** they all need guides too.[47]

Margaret Atwood also presents a middle ground, relating Jeanette Armstrong's contention that non-Natives should only retell Native stories if they understand them - thus knowledge and accuracy are of the utmost importance, rather than racial background.[48]

While some defend cross-cultural representation and others attempt cross-cultural awareness and exchange, yet other Canadians are uncomfortable, apologetic under the weight of collective guilt for a "shameful past," a past that has been denied and erased from the collective memory.[49]

In her recently released collection of short stories, Margaret Atwood thus describes the feeling:

> Looking back on this, Lois finds it disquieting. She knows too much about Indians: this is why. She knows . . .[that Indians] have enough worries without other people taking their names and dressing up as them. It has all been a form of

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[47]Wagamese, Keeper 'n Me, 214. (My highlighting underscores Wagamese's recognition of the **self/other** dilemma and its potential consequences - the presentation of stereotyped, rather than "real," Indians.)

[48]Atwood, Strange Things, 36.

[49]Lutz, Hartmut. "Cultural Appropriation as a Process of Displacing Peoples and History." Canadian Journal of Native Studies X,2 (1990): 167-182. See also Goldie, Fear and Temptation; Bordo, "Jack Pine." Journal of Canadian Studies; and Dee Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West. Toronto: Bantam, 1972 ed.

stealing.[50]

In the face of Canadian society's historical and contemporary dealings with Amerindians and their cultures, we are left with choices for the future only. We should not ignore the challenge to reflect seriously on attitudinal changes and then to act on those decisions with regard to on-going interrelationships between the various communities that make up the Canadian fabric. Neither should we move toward extremes as the pendulum changes direction.

Certainly, the past's injustices must not be repeated. Our society can no longer tolerate misguided, unconscious efforts that perpetuate colonialisms like appropriation, however innocent and well-intentioned. Neither does time stand still - as thoughts and perceptions evolve, so must our habits. The alarm has sounded; we cannot ignore its message. It is time to recognize and move on beyond the pioneering efforts at presenting a more understanding image of Amerindians. Canadian society must build cross-cultural bridges, encourage cultural exchange, and accept cultural differences as it strives to integrate and value each of its members. Native voices must have opportunities to express themselves before the rest of Canadian society. And society must, in turn, listen - though not unquestioningly. All must be able to

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[50]Atwood, Margaret. "Death by Landscape." Wilderness Tips (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), 117.

dispense constructive criticisms and interpretations once those concerned have shared their opinions. The right to cultural expression is essential, but equally significant is the right to respond. Each has its own value. This must, however, be accomplished through the inclusionary dialogue of exchange, rather than the exclusionary monologue of appropriation. Therefore, Canadians can and should express their views on Native culture. But, their stance or bias must be explicit. Their opinions can thus be juxtaposed with, and weighed against, Native perceptions which must be accorded equal time and respect.

There has long been discussion of stereotypes in the literary arena. Margaret Atwood contrasts the American and Canadian literary models in Survival. She describes the former as a Good Guy/Bad Guy (or Noble Savage/Depraved Savage) syndrome. Cooper's Leatherstocking romances typify the Good Guy; Hawthorne's The Scarlet Letter portrays the opposite. The Noble Savage is:

> more primitive than the white man, closer to Nature, and therefore to certain instincts and moral values that the white man lost: courage, loyalty, the ability to relate to his surroundings . . . .[51]

Next, Atwood distinguishes the Canadian literary dichotomy from the American model - labelling it a Victor/Victim struggle. She notes a third tendency where Amerindians "are

[51]Atwood, Survival, 91.

also a potential source of magic, of a knowledge about the natural [and] supernatural worlds which the white man renounced when he became civilized."[52] Thus, Aborigines are portrayed as:

> mediators between the Whites and a Nature which is life giving . . . . [They are] adopted as our ancestors . . . [and we] identify with [their] pride of place and sense of belonging and origin.[53]

The last sentence of this citation presents the crux of Goldie's argument: in order to root the **self** in the new land, the **self** takes the heritage of the **other** as his own so that he too might be **native** to that place. This effectively deals with the dilemma of being "homeless" within this land because it is not ours, because it contains "the gods of another race . . . [that] we cannot know."[54]

In Strange Things, Atwood revisits and develops the literary image of the Indian. Here, she notes that the Good/Bad Indian struggle was eventually won by the former: "the Romantic version gained ground as the actual Indians lost it."[55] She then speaks to another tendency, "The Grey Owl Syndrome," whereby non-Natives:

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[52]Ibid., 103.

[53]Ibid., 105.

[54]Grant, George. "In Defence of North America." Technology and Empire: Perspectives on North America (Toronto: Anansi, 1969), 17.

[55]Atwood, Strange Things, 39.

> live like the Natives in order to survive in the wilderness [during the colonial era . . . or, later, just] in order to survive . . . the advancing decadence, greed, and rapacious cruelty of white civilization.

Atwood cites the lives and work of Seton and Grey Owl, along with Richardson's Wacousta and Leacock's "Back to the Bush" in his Literary Lapses. She explores Grey Owl's fixation, and the ensuing fixation with Grey Owl as evidenced by Kroetsch's Gone Indian, M.T. Kelly's "Case Histories" in Breath Dances Between Them, and Gwendolyn MacEwan's "Grey Owl's Poem" in Afterworlds. Atwood concludes that this tendency to claim kinship with Amerindians stems from a:

> longing for unity with the land, [a] wish to claim it as a homeland, and [a] desire for cultural authenticity . . . [feelings which] are still very much with us.[56]

The American Noble Savage archetype and the Canadian literary models (particularly the latter presenting the Amerindian as our link to the land) bear significantly upon the image of Natives adopted by early Shield camps. The key figure responsible for this juxtaposition is Ernest Thompson Seton, through his Woodcraft Indian activities. Seton, a prolific writer, is the renowned author of Two Little Savages and Wild Animals I Have Known.

In 1866, yet a child, he emigrated with his parents to Canada from Britain. He spent his childhood in rural southern

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[56]Ibid., 58-59.

Ontario, near Lindsay, and also in Toronto. During this period, he cultivated a keen interest in nature and wild things, and was exposed to Cooper's "noble savage" through his readings of Leatherstocking's adventures.[57] Here was the model incarnate for the camps. Seton idolized the Amerindian, and even wished he had been born one of the peoples he so idealized as being at one with the forest.[58] Throughout his life, Seton concentrated his efforts on wilderness, animals, Natives, and children:

> His overriding concern [was] for the land itself. But, because the Indian was the physical embodiment of a spiritual union between man and land, [the Indian] . . . assumed a special place in Seton's value system.[59]

It was in 1902 that the prominent writer/artist/naturalist organized the Woodcraft or Seton Indians, a precursor to the Boy Scouts. Unfortunately for Seton, Baden-Powell preferred a military model to an Indian model, which was one of the factors leading to Seton's eventual alienation from the Boy Scouts movement in spite of his major contributions to its origins. The Seton Indian program entailed woodcraft (athletic interaction with the environment), woodlore (wilderness survival skills based on an aboriginal model), and

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[57]Redekop, Magdalene. Ernest Thompson Seton (Don Mills: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., 1979).

[58]Ibid., 5-6.

[59]Wadland, John Henry. Ernest Thompson Seton: Man in Nature and the Progressive Era 1880-1915 (New York: Arno P, 1978), 321.

nature study.[60] Seton adopted the name of "Black Wolf" and assumed the role of medicine man; he preferred a democratic approach and thus encouraged the boys to choose their chief from amongst their own ranks. Girls were welcomed as early as 1908; in 1915 the Woodcraft League became officially coeducational.[61]

While the romanticized Indian provided the inspiration for his efforts, Seton drew on contemporary studies of Amerindians and on his own extensive research and travel experiences among North American Aborigines to formulate this program. A central and historical figure he adopted was the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, as portrayed in Canadian Charles Mair's poem of the same title.[62] Margaret Atwood labels this a Victor/Victim drama, "where the Indian is seen as one of Nature's children, . . . carefree until the advent of the white man."[63] Tecumseh is also presented as a type of mediator, a spiritual link with nature. In The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore, Seton introduces and defends his vision of Natives, clearly stating that it is based on the idealized Indian of the American

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[60]Seton, Ernest Thompson. The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1912), 9-59.

[61]Anderson, H. Allen. The Chief: Ernest Thompson Seton and the Changing West (College Station: Texas A&M U P, 1986), 166, 187; Wadland, Ernest Thompson Seton, 461.

[62]Wadland, Ernest Thompson Seton, 325.

[63]Atwood, Survival, 92.

authors Cooper and Longfellow. This romantic image is of a pre-contact Native, seen as superior to the greedy and treacherous white man. He is glorified as having all the positive attributes lacking in modern, urban, industrial white society. After presenting this conceptual framework, Seton then details the activities, standards of achievement and an award system, all of which draw from authenticated sources on Native cultures.

It is important to underline here that one of late 19th-century society's principal visions of Indians considered them a dying race, sometimes seen as a once-glorious people contaminated by white society. From this point of view, the true Indian was a museum relic, a member of an extinct race:

> The only image of the Indian presented to non-Natives was therefore an historical one. The image could not be modernized. Indians were defined in relation to the past and in contradistinction to White society. To the degree that they changed, they were perceived to become less Indian . . . . They were fixed in a traditional mode and could not change without becoming something else, something not Indian. The Imaginary Indian, therefore, could never become modern.[64]

This is significant, for this perceived disappearance of the Indian gave free licence to others to play with, to use the idealized Indian as they saw fit.

Disillusioned with his own society, and yet caught somewhat within its vision of Natives, it is quite understandable that

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[64]Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 59.

Seton intertwined the idealized Indian with his own highly researched Amerindian for his boys (and girls) to model in order to address the perceived social ills. He wrote his own guidebook entitled How to Play Indian (renamed The Red Book and then The Birch Bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians). And, for the most part, it was Seton who introduced these program ideas to Ontarian camps.

Seton was a very significant visitor and staff member at one of the pioneering camps in the province. In 1922, Taylor Statten invited him to Camp Ahmek in Algonquin Park for Camp Tuxis III. Tuxis was a yearly leadership training camp, initiated by Statten in 1920, for those involved in boys' work. It strived to generate understanding of and appreciation for wilderness.[65] Unfortunately, Tuxis III had to be cancelled so Statten asked his star guest speaker to come on staff at Ahmek for the 10-day period with a per diem salary of $20. Seton instructed the boys in the ways of the Indian, following his own Woodcraft League methodology.[66] Like Seton, Statten was fascinated with Natives - he saw them in a positive and romantic light.

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[65] Edwards, Taylor Statten, 70.

[66] Ibid., 88.

Adele "Couchie"[67] Ebbs, Statten's daughter, remembers Seton as a "very imposing" man, who heavily influenced that part of the camp program.[68] To this day, the Seton cabin with its totem pole at the entrance figures prominently within the camp setting and maintains a high profile within Ahmek lore.

Possibly, another camp on the rugged terrain of the Canadian Shield welcomed Seton even earlier. The American-owned Camp Keewaydin on Lake Temagami was using Seton's works to develop an Indian lore program as early as 1910 when Archie Belaney (later the renowned Grey Owl) came on staff as a guide for two summers.[69]

Thus, the widespread presence of the Indian in camps is chiefly due to Seton's tireless efforts to expand upon and to share his love and knowledge of Indians. He accomplished this through his numerous publications, his extensive lecture tours in Britain and the U.S.A., and his dedicated involvement in

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[67]Ebb's nickname was Couchie, after Lake Couchiching where Statten directed a YMCA camp before opening his own private camp. Ebbs spent her childhood summers there (from Edwards, Taylor Statten).

[68]TUA, OCA Papers, taped interview with Adele Ebbs, May 1986.

[69]Smith, From the Land of Shadows, 43. Seton may have visited the camp. Alternatively, the director possibly attended one of Seton's 1908 New York City lectures explaining woodcraft activities or, more likely, was simply intrigued by the program after having read the popular Two Little Savages or Seton's Indian program manifesto How to Play Indian (both published in 1903). Smith underlines the use of Seton's books for Keewaydin's Indian program.

many youth/adult ventures (Woodcraft League, Boy Scouts, Tuxis, Camp of the Red Gods, College of Indian Wisdom, etc.). However, while Seton was certainly the key figure involved in the development, promotion and dissemination of Indian lore, he may not have been the sole person responsible for the introduction of the Indian to the camps. There are several examples of camps which may have welcomed the imaginary Indian into their midst through other means. Ross mentions the appearance around 1904 of Big and Little Chiefs as well as tribal names at YMCA camps in Canada.[70] Mary Edgar, founder of Glen Bernard, attended the National YWCA Training School in New York in 1914 and 1915; while there, "she met many people who gave her information about Indian traditions and customs."[71] Whether or not Seton was one of them, his ideas and materials were involved in the initial stages of most Indians programs, and he must be recognized as the Father of Indian lore for camps - and his works, as the bible for ideas

[70]Ross, The YMCA in Canada, 212. These themes were also being used in several early American YMCA camps at that time. Unfortunately, there is no mention of the source. However, in 1926 when the St. Louis YMCA created the first Y-Indian Guides, Seton's name is cited as a primary source of inspiration (as are his woodcraft books). YMCA, The Father and Son Y-Indian Guides, 17. Thus, Seton certainly influenced YMCA Indian lore as well as that of private camps.

[71]Palm, Legacy to a Camper, 52. "Many of the ideas implemented later in her own camp were a direct result of the influences of those who were **leading** or taking the courses" (p. 8). One can speculate that Seton may very well have been a speaker at one of the courses, or a source for ideas on Indian themes - he had numerous speaking engagements on that topic from as early as 1908. However, the fascination with Indians was widespread at the time - there were likely other speakers, authorities, etc.

on that same topic.

Thus it was with Seton that the Ontarian tradition of integrating aboriginal imagery into Shield camps began. His program ideas survived with only minor modifications as the basis for Indian lore activities in these camps almost right up to recent times.

What then were the intended goals of such programs and what values were they to transmit? We have already discussed the social gospel mandate of the YMCA, and recognized how logical a choice the Indian was as a positive role model given the late 19th century perception of pre-contact Amerindians: stoic, honourable, just, courageous, clean, obedient, honest, kind, reverent, in excellent physical form, highly skilled in outdoor living, and in touch or at peace or in harmony with their environment.[72] In the wilds of Ontario, young campers were to absorb these qualities of a time and a people gone by, and to apply them to their fast-paced, urban lives. Also, we must not overlook the popularity factor when studying the use of Amerindians in camps. People were seduced by the romantic image of the now-lost Indian. A 1961 Kilcoo brochure proclaims that "when the last tom-tom has stopped throbbing, the tribes gather round the dying campfire to listen enthralled to stories of Canada's early history and to old

[72] Seton, The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore, 9-59.

Indian legends."[73] The Indian is magical, exciting, and is a part of **our** past. Here again, this placement of the Indian as a part of our heritage justifies the use of him as we see fit. Paul Kane's paintings, poet Pauline Johnson's presentations, railway trips across the Prairies to see the dying race, Grey Owl's speaking tours - these and many other activities attest to the widespread fascination with the Amerindian.[74] In the early days of camping, participating in Indian Council Ring must have seemed like a chance to become a character from one of their most favoured readings for many campers!

Why then was the Indian introduced into the camps? He was considered a self-sufficient yet community-oriented denizen of the wilds, who lived harmoniously and intimately with nature. Incorporating him into camp programs represented a tribute to his lifestyle which was perceived to be superior and which camps attempted to emulate. It was also a means of honouring a romantic hero of the past, seen as dead now but forever living in our hearts and imaginations. And finally, camps could capitalize on a sure-sell but free endorsement of their product due to the extreme popularity in larger society of the idealized Indian that they presented in their brochures and their programs.

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[73]TUA, OCA Papers, 1961 Kilcoo brochure.

[74]For an in-depth look at the evolution of Canadian use of the Indian, see Francis, The Imaginary Indian.

It is important to note here the opposing circumstances of actual and the imaginary Indians. While the Indian of the mind's eye was glorified or vilified or cherished as an extinct race, Native Peoples lived on - and in most unenviable conditions. As mentioned earlier, the Dept. of Indian Affairs (principally under Duncan Campbell Scott) introduced residential schools, banned ceremonies, forced assimilation by removing the status of individuals, pushed aside land claims, and neglected treaty terms. Presently, all Canadians are aware of the disturbing consequences of these Indian policies. Yet, during that same time period, and in parallel to those unsettling events, the imaginary Indian evolved and rose to great heights of popularity. Thus, while non-Native policies assailed Native Peoples and their cultures, non-Native camps feted the imaginary Indian. Certainly, any criticisms of the imaginary Indian as presented in the camps must be tempered by these facts - even if camps presented a romanticized Indian, they at least generated a positive image of Natives, which cannot be said about the perception and treatment of actual Native Peoples within Canadian society.

What was and is the nature of this aboriginal content in the camps? Frequently, camps themselves have Amerindian names: Oconto, Tapawingo, Kawabi, Wabikon, . . . to list but a few. Cabin or section names often draw on Amerindian tribes as well. Mohawk, Ojibwa, Iroquois, and Algonquin are examples of

Ontarian bands whose names still adorn camp cabins. Section names such as Tuscarora and Kiawa originate in the southern States and yet appear in **Ontarian** camps. Camp directors are hailed as "Chief." Some might question the significance of a name or a nickname. However, names create an image in our mind's eye; it is part of our very nature to make associations and to think of relationships in response to such words.

How then and why have these aboriginal words and names been chosen? Sometimes, it is with full understanding of their native meaning and context, building on that significance. For example, Camp Ahmek's name was knowingly derived by Taylor Statten from the Ojibwa word for beaver. Statten himself was nicknamed Gitchiahmek or Great Beaver by Magistrate James Edmund Jones, who also gave Wapomeo its name - Bluebirds of Happiness. Considering the beach clean-ups and brush-clearings that Statten regularly imposed on campers in the early years, his sobriquet is ironically quite fitting! His wife was Tonakela meaning "You First."[75] Mary S. Edgar, founder of Camp Glen Bernard, was named Ogimagua (Children's Friend) by Ojibwa Chief Mudjeekwis of the Rice Lake reserve.[76] Barbara Gilchrist, who succeeded Edgar, was named Yeh-jenh-hi-yos-tah (One Who Keeps the Fire Burning) by Dawendine,

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[75]Edwards, Taylor Statten.

[76]Edgar, Mary S. Our Indebtedness to our Indian Friends (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1972), 3-4.

daughter of a Mohawk chief from the Six Nations' Reserve.[77] Bruno Morawetz of Ponacka selected Okimau, Algonkin for chief; and Gwen Morawetz became Okimakan (shortened to Oki), wife of chief.[78]

More frequently, the name is associated with a place, such as Camp Temagami on Lake Temagami, Camp Wanapitei which originally operated out of a site on the lake of the same name, or Camp Wanakita which was named after Wanakita Bay in Georgian Bay. Interestingly enough in the latter example, Camp Wanakita has just recently discovered that the name means "let's work" in Ojibwa and they have adopted this fitting slogan, modifying it to "let's work together." The name may also be a description of the place - Ponacka means "still or quiet waters" and Keewaydin is "the west wind." Camps often chose the names of First Nations associated with the local area for cabin names - such as Huron or Ottawa. Other times, however, a name was chosen merely because it was well-known (for example, Blackfoot) or had an appealing ring to it. Such was the case at Ahmek, where the section names Tuscarora and Cayawa were maintained because of their popularity with section leaders even after having been informed by "an authority on Native Peoples" that they did not reflect local

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[77]Ibid., 2-4.

[78]Morawetz wrote to the Royal Ontario Museum in order to get the names. [from Dan Currie, ed. Ponacka: The First 50 Years (Peterborough: Camp Ponacka Inc., 1996)].

cultures.[79]

What is the motivation for choosing aboriginal rather than English names? We have already spoken about the Indian being the model par excellence for the camps given their setting and mandate. These aboriginal names also have an earthy, back-to-nature connotation in and of themselves as a result of the stereotypical view of the Aborigine as eminently closer to the land than the non-Native. Furthermore, Aborigines are perceived to have a legitimate and historical tie to the land. Therefore, by associating them with camps, it evokes an image of the camps as long-established institutions. This is a subtle sales pitch: "We've been around for a long time; so you can count on our product." One must not forget that camps have to package their product in the most alluring manner possible in order to attract potential and return customers: campers and their parents.

So, it would seem that there are many conscious and unconscious reasons at play concerning the use of aboriginal names, from philosophical and symbolic to geographical and economic. This use of aboriginal names for and within camps continues today and merely reflects the fact that camps (in fact, we) are on lands that have a rich Amerindian history.

[79]From interview with Adele Ebbs conducted by H. Dunlop, Mar. 1992. The expert Ebbs referred to was Professor T.F. McIlwraith, an anthropologist at U of Toronto.

It is quite acceptable to use these aboriginal place names. On the other hand, the use of Amerindian tribal names (Huron, Mohawk, Cree, Ojibwa) to designate cabin or section groups is highly inappropriate. These camp groupings have nothing in common with the tribes they are named for. Their use belittles these Amerindian tribes or nations, or falsely implies that there are similarities between them. Fortunately, some camps have dropped Native cabin or section names and few Directors now have Indian nicknames - although the appellation "Chief" is still in current use for the person presiding over Council Ring in camps that continue to feature that event. The adoption of Native names is appropriative; however, those given the name by Natives can proudly accept the honour. These usually are accorded as a sign of friendship or as recognition of the genuine interest shown in Amerindians and their cultures by visiting Aborigines (who were invited as guest speakers or special workshop leaders) and should not be misinterpreted as a blanket stamp of approval for all the Indian lore present in the camp.[80] Most visiting Natives never saw Council Ring.[81]

Where else does the Indian appear in camps? Camp logos depict

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[80]For example, both Mary Edgar and Barbara Gilchrist, who succeeded her, received their Indian names from Native guest storytellers, as mentioned earlier; see footnotes 76 and 77.

[81]Most Directors confirmed this during interviews with H. Dunlop.

young braves/maidens paddling a canoe (Ahmek/Wapomeo). Photos highlighting totem poles, Amerindian drums, paddles decorated with native designs, council fires, stockades, and Indian Council Ring activities feature in many brochures, sometimes quite prominently.[82] These brochures play a key role in selling the camps. Obviously, like any other business, camps attempt to create an attractive and unique public image as part of their marketing strategies. How does the Indian factor into these equations? Apparently, some of the turn-of-the-century aura of mysticism surrounding the Amerindian still lingers in our mind's eye. The brochures infer that camps offer an encounter with that exotic Indian, which represents an irresistible thrill to campers, or at least a fun experience. In the 30s, 40s, and 50s, during the heyday of Indian Council Ring, camp brochures described in glamorous detail the activities as well as presenting captivating photos. A 1951 Kandalore brochure describes how on "Indian Day, all become a Tribe . . . (with costumes, war paint, tribal competitions, . . .)."[83] A 1981 Camp Tawingo brochure presents "Indian Lore (communication, dances, games, legends, philosophy)" as part of its program, highlighted with photos of teepees, campers in 'Indian' dress, and 'Indian'

[82]TUA, OCA Papers. Brochures from the 1940s to the 1960s contain many more written and photographic references to Indian lore programs than current brochures do.

[83]TUA, OCA Papers, 1951 Kandalore brochure.

ceremonies.[84] Currently, aboriginal content figures less prominently in brochures, limited to photos and the location of Indian Council Ring site on camp maps only[85], or is sometimes not depicted at all. This appears to be a response to the societal discomfort with the past image of Natives that began in the 1960s and 1970s and to the political correctness of more recent years.

Native American arts and crafts are sometimes incorporated into camp activities, rounding out the image. Campers make dreamcatchers, carve paddles and then paint Indian symbols on them, weave cloth, work leather, make headbands or rattles or costumes for Council Ring, do beadwork, carve and paint totem poles, and learn to paint in an Indian style. They also paint their faces and bodies with Indian designs in preparation for Indian Council. Some might have access to a sweatlodge.[86] They might have a chance to paddle in a replica birch bark canoe or in a larger war canoe decorated on bow and stern with Indian motifs.[87] If they're lucky, their camp might even have

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[84]TUA, OCA Papers, 1981 Camp Tawingo brochure.

[85]1992 brochures from Camps Ponacka, Kilcoo, and Ahmek/Wapomeo (mailed to H. Dunlop).

[86]Mors Kochanski outlines the creation of one, briefly states its spiritual significance to Natives, and then presents its suitability for camps in his article "The Wilderness Steambath." Canadian Camping Magazine Jan. 1976: 18-21.

[87]Ojibwa artist David Johnson painted the bow of Camp Wanakita's war canoe (from interviews with Steve Heming (Mar. 1992) and Charlie Hogg (July 1992) conducted by H. Dunlop). Also, 1992

a real birch bark canoe![88] Here again, these activities were more common during the "golden years" of Indian Council than they are in the more politically aware 90s. Some of these activities are acceptable; others are not. I see no problem with incorporating Native-style crafts into a camp program. Campers make dreamcatchers or carve paddles as a souvenir for themselves. They are not using Amerindian motifs to sell these objects. However, the use or abuse of spiritual images or objects and context-specific activities is totally unacceptable. Even with the best of intentions, taking these sacred icons (totem poles, sweatlodge, shaman rattles, body and facial painting) completely out of context is immensely disrespectful. Those who "borrow" ideas, images and objects from another culture must understand their significance and and must weigh the appropriateness of their actions in light of both past and present thought; in most cases, such spiritually significant symbols should not be taken and used by other cultures.

Further developing the Indian theme, many camps buy and display aboriginal artwork. Others bring in Native Peoples to demonstrate their craft. This is a different side of

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brochures from Ponacka and Ahmek/Wapomeo contain photos of campers paddling such large canoes.

[88]In his article, Claude Cousineau promotes the idea, referring camps to Chief William Commanda of Maniwaki Reserve who builds the heritage watercraft ("A Wigwas Teiman for your camp." Canadian Camping Magazine Fall 1972: 7.).

aboriginal content in camps - the camps pay for something authentically created by Amerindians in the former case and, in the latter, they bring in real, not imaginary, Amerindians who share their technique or specialty. This represents a genuine and honest transaction between camps and actual Aborigines. There is little room here for manipulation, misinterpretation, or misrepresentation of Aborigines. These are encouraging signs of a positive relationship between camps and Amerindians.

Another aspect of the aboriginal content in camps is the link with local bands. Here too is a link with an authentic Indian. There are several camps that have or have had Amerindians on staff. Unfortunately, they are usually more or less invisible to the campers. As a rule, they tend to be kitchen or maintenance staff, and have little program impact or intervention.[89] However, there have been some exceptions. Most significantly, at both Keewaydin and Wabun, all major canoe trips were guided by very visible aboriginal leaders for decades, beginning near the time of the camps' establishment.[90] Taylor Statten invited Golden Lake members to lead handcraft and woodcraft activities in Ahmek's early days, and had an

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[89]For example, Camps Wanapitei and Ahmek (from interviews with B.W. Hodgins, Adele Ebbs, and Taylor Statten III conducted by H. Dunlop, spring and summer 1992).

[90]From interviews with Dick Lewis and Bill Carpenter conducted by H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992.

Algonquin guide teach canoeing techniques.[91] Recently, both Wanakita and Ponacka have invited artist David Johnson from Curve Lake Reserve to lead craft sessions. Unfortunately, in both the past and the present, few camps develop and maintain on-going relationships in their programs with actual Natives.

Ironically (and yet somehow not surprisingly), the most heralded real Indians involved with camps were uncovered as fakes! Stories of the legendary Grey Owl continue to be a part of many camps' Indian programs. Grey Owl was in reality Archie Belaney, an Englishman who, in his late teens in 1906, emigrated to Canada. He, like Seton, had read Cooper's works and Longfellow's poem "Hiawatha", which is a tribute to the "noble red man." In fact, Belaney had read much of Seton's own work as well.[92] Both, from an early age, were disillusioned with their own society and fascinated by Natives; both desired and preferred a life in the wilds. However, it was Belaney who, consumed by this preoccupation which soon became an obsession, took it to its extreme, attempting to erase his own identity and to replace it with another of his own creation.

Shortly after his arrival in Canada, Belaney headed north to

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[91]From interview with A. Ebbs conducted by H. Dunlop, Mar. 1992. See also Lundell, Summer Camp.

[92]For his part, Seton "had read and admired the autobioraphy of Grey Owl." (Redekop, Ernest Thompson Seton, 62.)

the backwoods of the Temagami region. It was there that his transformation began as he familiarized himself with the rugged life of the woodsman, gradually perfecting his skills as a trapper, canoeist and guide through dogged perseverance and keen observation.[93] While he tended to be a loner amongst his own race, he actively sought out the local Natives, the Bear Island Teme-Augama Anishnabai. Mesmerized by them, he listened to and digested their stories, watched and mimicked their mannerisms, struggled to learn their language, questioned them about their ways and gradually adopted a Native lifestyle.

Belaney led a nomadic existence as a guide, fire ranger and trapper in Northeastern Ontario and Western Quebec. After three unsuccessful relationships, he eventually 'settled down' for a number of years with a young Iroquois woman. Anahareo, as she became known, went out on the trapline with Belaney and it was her horrified response to the fate of the trapped beaver that triggered a change of heart on his part. Shortly thereafter, he channelled all of his formidable efforts toward the preservation of the beaver, bringing them back virtually single-handedly from the brink of extinction. It was at this point also that Belaney seriously began his writing career which centred around "his message of conservation and respect

[93]He guided at Keewaydin during the summers of 1910 and 1911. From Smith, From the Land of Shadows, 42.

for wildlife"[94] and that he further developed his Indian image, adopting the Ojibwa name Wa-Sha-Quon-asin which he incorrectly translated as Grey Owl.

His work with beavers and his publications brought him public renown and led to films as well as national and international speaking engagements, providing yet another platform for Canada's first spokesman of the wilds. Grey Owl was considered a quintessential Amerindian, an eloquent representative of his race. So driven was he that by this point he had accomplished his goal, convincing himself and those around him that he was indeed Native, born of a Scots-American scout and an Apache mother. His fame opened the doors to senior politicians, whereby Grey Owl used his influence "to secure as much help as he could for the Indians" when speaking with the governor-general and the superintendent-general of Indian affairs.[95] Thus, through his own incredible efforts, Belaney's dream became a reality. Not only did he became the Indian Grey Owl, but he became the voice of Canada's Native peoples, its wildlife and the wildlands that sustained the two. Only upon his death was his true identity publicly discovered, and this led to a denouncement of him by many. However, while one frowns upon his fraudulent credentials, if one can go beyond them, one

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[94]Ibid., 121.

[95]Ibid., 163, 208.

cannot ignore his achievements in conservation and his genuine commitment to promoting Native lifestyles, particularly in regard to their land ethic. As Margaret Atwood states, "perhaps we should not become less like Grey Owl and Black Wolf, but more like them."[96]

Another case of a false Indian arose in the 1960s when Chief Kitpoo made appearances at Kirk Wipper's Camp Kandalore. James Raffan, on staff at that time, shares his impressions of Kitpoo in his book Summer North of Sixty, which is a chronicle of his canoe trip through the Barrens of the Northwest Territories. Kitpoo, who claimed to be half Indian, "wore leggings and a wolf head-dress, and had a broad-winged eagle tattoo across his chest."[97] Supposedly a tobacco industry representative, Kitpoo had photos of himself in Indian attire with the Queen, J.F. Kennedy, and other celebrities. Raffan states: "if he was a fake, he was an accomplished one . . ." and concludes that in spite of his questionable ancestry, Kitpoo taught the campers respect for nature and shared many fascinating stories and legends.[98] Raffan's parting words on the subject are highly significant: "Kitpoo was more Indian

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[96]Atwood, Strange Things, 60.

[97]Raffan, Summer North of Sixty, 183.

[98]Ibid., 183-184. Kirk Wipper eventually discovered that Kitpoo had no Native blood and was in fact Jim Mansell, the adopted son of the president of CIL in Montreal (from interview with H. Dunlop, conducted in Nov. 1995).

than anybody I'd ever met . . . ."[99] Like Grey Owl, Kitpoo fit the bill - he was the kind of Indian camps were seeking and that society in general was enamoured with - more Indian, perhaps, than a real Aborigine? Certain stereotypes persist even in the enlightened 1990s - people expect Aborigines to behave, dress, and live in a certain way. Disappointment and dissatisfaction with them when they do not gives way, in some people, to the assumption that they are somehow less 'Indian.' Fortunately, reflective and forward-looking people are making constant efforts to root out and discard such perceptions.

But by far the most common and the most developed use of Amerindian culture in camps is during Indian Council Ring. Presently, the Council Ring generally takes place once a month in camps that continue the tradition. Originally, it occurred every Saturday evening. The traditional Council Ring activities are based on Seton's model of "playing Indian" during a formalized ceremony. The director, or a senior staff member, and the campers dress up as stylized Amerindians. From buckskin outfits to burlap dresses and blanket robes to towel loincloths, the costumes vary from simple and everyday items to elaborate, unusual, and exotic articles. During Keewaydin's early years, "each [camper] wore Indian buckskin

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[99] Raffan, Summer North of Sixty, 183. Wipper also believed Kitpoo's story: "I feel a little stupid for having been taken in as long as I was, but he was a good con man" (from interview with H. Dunlop, conducted in Nov. 1995).

made and decorated by himself with his own special totem sign."[100] Participants may apply face and body paint, and don feathered head-dresses. The Chief and other key figures (shaman, heads of tribes, drummers) are in full regalia.[101]

One of the earliest Canadian publications on this subject is Jack Eastaugh's booklet Indian Council Ring.[102] Written in 1938 by a long-time staff member of Ahmek, it incorporates sample illustrations of Native gear that campers can construct, suggests materials, and provides directions for the creation of the necessary costumes, accessories and constructions. It details thoroughly the traditional Council Ring that several camps still feature with only few apparent modifications.[103]

Step by step, Eastaugh outlines how to organize and perform Council Ring activities, including a detailed timeline. His

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[100]Smith, From the Land of Shadows, 43 which cites "The Woodcraft Indians." The Keewaydin Kicker. 1911: 47.

[101]These details were gleaned from various sources, such as: TUA, OCA Papers, camp brochures; interviews of camp directors conducted by H. Dunlop; Eastaugh, Indian Council Ring; and H. Dunlop's visits to camps (including attendance at Council Rings at Ahmek/Wapomeo, Kilcoo, Tawingo and Ponacka during the summer of 1992).

[102]Eastaugh, Indian Council Ring.

[103]Ponacka, Ahmek/Wapomeo, Kilcoo and Tawingo maintain their traditional Council Ring activities. Tawingo is somewhat of an exception - the camp has made continued efforts to research and update their sources. This will be discussed in greater detail at a later point in this chapter.

booklet is a highly structured, methodical recipe for Council Ring success. According to him, the evening begins with a processional into the Stockade. This quiet and dignified march brings all to Council in an orderly fashion, setting the tone for the evening. Along the path, campers encounter live tableaux portraying everyday Indian activities, from bow-making, to carving arrowheads, to starting a fire by friction. A display of totem poles, rattles, shields, and scalps further enhances the ambience. Usually, tom-toms keep a rhythmic beat throughout the Council. The first activity is the lighting of the fire - by friction, by torch, or more glamorously, by flaming arrow or by magic.[104] The Chief, who is generally the camp director, then recognizes and thanks the spirit Wakonda for giving them fire and for being with them. The Chief performs the peace pipe ceremony, blowing prayers of smoke to Wakonda (the Great Spirit), Maka-Ina (Mother Earth), and to the four winds. The booklet describes in detail the accompanying "Indian" words and gestures.

So-called Indian games follow. Hand and leg wrestling, badger pull, cock fight, cat on the log, poison sheet, Pat and Mike,

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[104]The secret to this is a concealed wire or string that tips a bottle of sulphuric acid into an equal mixture of sugar and potassium chlorate, producing combustion in the firepit at the appropriate moment - as the chief or shaman appeals to the gods. No one is near the fire as it bursts into flames, so it achieves a maximum effect on spectators. Some camps have underground wires in order to prevent the misfortune of witnessing some brave trip over the string and set off the fire at the wrong moment (from Eastaugh, Indian Council Ring).

talk fest, and witches' ride are explained. Counsellors often lead or referee these games, challenging or overseeing braves from opposing cabins as they compete in friendly contests. This is a guaranteed crowd-pleaser and gets campers worked up and enthusiastic. A display is the next item on the agenda. This could be "Indian" dances learned or created by the campers, the telling of "Indian" legends or stories with a moral, or the blood brother ceremony. Then, ranger reports represent an opportunity for the "braves" to relate observed natural phenomena or wildlife behaviour sighted during hikes or canoe trips.[105]

For the closing activity, Eastaugh recommends Hiawatha's departure. In it, a pre-selected "Hiawatha" and his followers perform a play mourning the departure from the tribe of the beloved teacher Hiawatha and testing those who hope to replace him. Hiawatha sings his farewell: "Hiawatha's Departure." Then, after unsuccessful attempts by several "braves," a worthy replacement is found. The Chief in the play states: "Boy, that was a great deed and you have won much honour. But, boy, it is **heap** easy to do brave things in front of friends . . . It is not so easy when . . . only the great

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[105]A more recent publication with a similar content is Jack Pearse and Bryce Taylor. High Above the Thundercloud (Kitchener: Cober Printing Ltd., 1985). Its bibliography presents an extensive list of resources, much more detailed than Eastaugh's Indian Council Ring. It also suggests referring to museums and Native organizations to enrich one's information and knowledge base.

spirit is a witness . . . ."[106] Thus, the replacement's final test is to spend the night alone in the forest. To end the play the actors sing the "Omaha Tribal Prayer" as the replacement heads off for his last challenge. Somewhere off in the visible distance, campers see the light of a fire and hear the far-off voice of Hiawatha's replacement singing the same chant which says: "Father, a needy one stands before thee. I who pray, am he." To end the Council Ring hour, the Chief invites all to join in the solemn song. The "braves and maidens" then file out slowly and soberly.

Going over the material presented in Indian Council Ring, one rarely finds mention of the source of many of the words, gestures, and objects used. One can infer the diverse nature of some through common knowledge: totem poles coming from West Coast cultures, the "Omaha Tribal Prayer" obviously referring to the Amerindians from the mid-west USA. But, the majority of the information cannot readily be identified. It is difficult therefore to guarantee the accuracy of the material and to associate it with a time, a place, and a people. This is all quite disconcerting, considering the influence this booklet had in the early days. What is the link between Native cultures and games like Pat and Mike or witches' ride? This decontextualization is disturbing. The perpetuation of stereotypical phrases such as "ugh," "many

[106]Eastaugh, Indian Council Ring, 18.

moons," "how how," or "heap good" without any explanation of their significance or origin is also disheartening. Even the introduction and use of Amerindian words like "noon-way" for "amen" and "wah, wah" for "boo" or chants such as the "Zuni Call to Council" or the "Iroquois Lullaby" seems to be without context.[107] The many customs, objects, and phrases used in Council Ring are drawn from numerous different Amerindian peoples. However, the lines between nations are not distinguished in this ceremony, furthering the misconception that Amerindians are one people. Council Ring is taken from the Navajo of the southwestern States (although most Amerindian cultures have ceremonial circles), the totem poles from the West Coast Peoples (of British Columbia), the teepees and horses from the Plains Indians (mid-west States and Canadian Prairies), and the adopted tribes are generally from the Eastern Woodland Indians (Ontario and New York State). The Hiawatha story is part of Mohawk-Iroquois mythology. Most

[107]These very activities and words were used in most camps that offered Council Ring. Bruce Hodgins confirmed their use at his camp until the mid-1980s (from interview with H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992). During visits to camps where I attended Council Ring, I observed a completely unchanged traditional version at Ponacka and traditional versions without the stilted talk at Ahmek/Wapomeo, Tawingo and Kilcoo, although they continued to use the traditional 'Indian' phrases. Jack Pearse and Taylor Statten III 'translated' some of the phrases for the participants/spectators. However, Statten III was quite candid and admitted that he was not sure of their origin, if he was pronouncing them correctly, or if the original translations were ever correct (from interview with H. Dunlop, Mar. and July 1992). Similarly, David Latimer stated at the beginning of Council that while 'we' were unsure as to the authenticity of Council's events, 'we' were certain as to the goal of Council - to honour Native ways.

of the Council Ring activities are from the American southwest, not from Algonkian or other Ontarian regions. This represents a veritable melting pot of Native cultures! However, more important still is that dressing up as and play-acting Amerindians again take ceremonial clothes and activities out of context, leaving too much room for misinterpretation. Thus, Indian Council could easily be misconstrued, seen as mocking or making light of Amerindian customs and beliefs in spite of its genuine intentions.

Eastaugh himself attempts to address some of these concerns which led to serious debate within camps beginning in the 1970s. In a 1973 article, he argues the case for the maintenance of Council Ring within camp programming, stressing the need for a solemn tone, ceremonial pomp and the strict adherence to the formula rituals in order to "hit upon the very heart of the Indian heritage."[108] Ironically, Eastaugh then readily admits that:

> the purist can quite legitimately claim that Indian Lore in the summer camp is guilty of **ignoring cultural facts**. We have **not limited ourselves to archaeological truths.**[109]

And yet several lines later, he states that while:

> [camps] have **stolen** the tepee from the people of the plains,

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[108]Eastaugh, Jack. "Our Friends - The Indians." Canadian Camping Magazine Spring 1973: 5.

[109]Ibid., 5. My highlighting underscores Eastaugh's acknowledgement that not only do Indian Lore programs disregard Native cultural realities, but they expand upon or embellish or fictionalize historical details.

the grotesque and marvellously hideous masks of the Iroquois, the birch bark crafts of the Hurons and the rich and colourful designs of the West Coast Indians[,] there is nothing wrong with this practice as long as we recognize the source of our material and **make the facts known** to our campers.[110]

This is quite confusing! It is unclear to which "facts" Eastaugh is referring: the "cultural facts" and the "archaeological truths" that camps have "ignored," or the selected and imaginary "heritage" of Council Ring's primitive and mystic Indian. Certainly, in order to improve understanding of Native cultures, accuracy and realism are essential. However, while this camp Indian is not authentic, he is undeniably viewed in a positive light in comparison to the "cunning, scheming, unreliable, blood-thirsty savage" of movies and television or "the picture of Reserve Indians living in squalor and apparent listlessness."[111]

This detailed overview presents the **traditional** Indian Council Ring, as it was and as it still is in certain camps. There are many modern variations on this theme, depending on the director's or the senior administration's approach, philosophy, and level of awareness. There are still some camps which carry on with these kinds of aboriginal content unquestioningly, protesting that they are glorifying and never mocking Amerindians and their cultures. Surely, any ongoing

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[110]Ibid., 6. (my highlighting) Those involved in the appropriation debate would certainly find fuel for the fire here, particularly with regard to the word "stolen!"

[111]Ibid., 5.

effort to praise, honour or respect another's achievements or lifestyle must be based on a sound understanding of those very things rather than on the repetition of unfamiliar and unexplained formulas or embellished and intermixed cultural traits.

While most of the campers, staff and Directors recognize the intent to honour Native ways, many of those who observe and participate in Council's rituals are unaware of where these activities come from, who used them, when and why.[112] For them, Council Ring is considered an age-old camp tradition that campers expect and enjoy. As such, the camp image of an Amerindian takes on a life of its own, relatively frozen in time, space, and context with minimal verification of the past and present realities of Native cultures. It is cut off from any outside influences, both literally (because of the secluded setting of camps) and figuratively (through the dissociation of the imaginary camp Indian from any actual Amerindians). It is perceived as a part of camp culture, a

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[112]Certainly in the beginning, the Chiefs (Directors) were aware of the significance of the words and the origins of the activities - they brought in the program because they were fascinated with Natives and they wanted to learn as much as they could about them. Seton's highly-detailed work provided everything one needed - from the philosophical to the practical. There were also other sources available because of the high level of curiosity and interest about Natives in both the lay and professional communities at the turn of the century. However, later Directors who presented (or continue to present) "formula" Council Ring ceremonies without questioning the event or attempting to further their own knowledge on the subject have lost much of the meaning and understanding that some of their predecessors had.

myth or an image developed and maintained to suit camp needs. This can result in a resistance to change and a protective rather than an open attitude.[113]

In 1956, Taylor Statten wrote in the foreword of Jack Eastaugh's booklet Indian Council Ring that it was "the heritage of every North American boy and girl to thrill to the spell of the Red Man." This phrase seems to underline that era's perception that the image of Amerindians belongs to Canadians. This view has been commonly held over time in broader society.[114] From football teams to motor oil companies, organizations take and use Native names, capitalizing on the imagery they evoke: endurance, reliability, belonging to or being of this place. Such an

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[113]As an example, while I was readily invited to visit Glen Bernard and to conduct interviews, it became clear that I would not attend Council Ring. Also, Kirk Wipper conceded that the idea of native consultation or attendance "was tricky" with regard to Council. "The elders of tribes, although they appreciated what we were trying to do (show respect, reverence and some insight), were not fussy about White men trying to deal with things that were sacred to them. . . The interpretation of Native lore has to be done seriously and you have to develop a certain spirit, a certain attitude, toward [it]. Otherwise it's completely 'Mickey Mouse'. . . Council could be misunderstood, [so I did not bring in any Natives]" (from interview with H. Dunlop, Nov. 1995). During interviews other Directors expressed a similar squeamishness about Native involvement in Council Ring. This could be interpreted as the development of an **insider/outsider** dialectic which opposes those within the camp community and those outside of it who might miscontrue and frown upon their efforts. It is telling and ironic that Natives - who represent the very subject of Council - could become outsiders to a depiction of their very cultures.

[114]See the first section of Francis, The Imaginary Indian; also Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian.

attitude could then justify camps' use of that image as they see fit because it is considered a part of the collective culture and heritage. Other examples reflecting this same attitude are found throughout Eastaugh's booklet as the author provides hints on how to create a magical and mystical experience - recommending home-made teepees, animal skeletons, scalps, and going as far as to propose faking an on-site Indian burial ground to generate a more enthralling event.[115] Having thus taken the image as their own, cut off from any reality, camps have had no one to answer to but themselves and have used the imaginary Indian as they pleased, following in the footsteps of broader society.

But, as Bert Horwood clearly states in an article discussing "the misappropriation and trivialization of Native American ceremonies within outdoor education:"

> It is wrong for native ceremonies to be removed from their cultural context. Those cultures are much richer and stronger than is apparent to non-native observers. The surface of a ceremony hides lengthy and rigorous preparation not visible to outsiders. There is also a context of sacred mythology and cosmology which non-natives usually do not bring to the ceremony. Native ceremonies are part of the sacred spiritual life of the people who practice them and they don't transfer into the educational, often recreational, secular purposes of non-natives. There is a kind of dislocation of values which has potential to harm both the participants and the native

[115]Charlie Hogg recounts a prank played on a U of Wisconsin anthropologist. Wanakita staff created some "fake pot shards with Six Nations designs" which they buried in layers with "burnt pieces of corn and bone." The anthropologist, although surprised by the set up, was taken in and oversaw their archeological efforts (from interview with H. Dunlop, July 1992).

people whose rites are pre-empted.[116]

Horwood goes on to suggest several ways for "immigrants" (1st or 6th generation!) to "take responsibility for [their] own ceremonial life."[117] They can explore and sift through their own roots for rituals that celebrate a connection with the land, a relationship that is still valid in this (relatively) new land. They can listen and respond to their 'new' homeland, initiating their own rituals that follow their traditional patterns but that stem from their current context. Or, finally, they can "pay the spiritual and physical price" to have Natives teach them elements of aboriginal culture which are appropriate for them to learn and share.[118]

Alternatively, there are camps who have dealt with the controversy surrounding Native lore programs in their own way. High Above the Thundercloud, written in 1985 by Jack Pearse of Camp Tawingo and Bryce Taylor, provides far more detail as to the origins and make-up of Council activities than Eastaugh's booklet. Well-researched, it stresses the fact that Council should be an attempt to re-create Amerindian ways of life so that campers might become more resourceful, skillful in outdoor living, and understanding of other peoples. The first

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[116]Horwood, Bert. "The Ceremonial Elements of Non-native Cultures." Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Outdoor Education 8.3 (May 1995): 7.

[117]Ibid., 8.

[118]Ibid., 10.

chapter states another laudable purpose of the book: to increase awareness, appreciation, and understanding of Native contributions to our heritage.[119] Council is seen as an insight into the heritage of **our** Native Peoples, who should be portrayed as validly as possible. The reader is then urged to "try to imagine and portray what might have been" through role play rather than imitation of the Indian. However, the authors suggest substituting names and adapting the activities to fit the reader's locale.[120] Any link to an accurate context is thus shattered. The section concludes with:

> If the Peace Pipe Ceremony is not absolutely precise in its content, please know that it remains true to its intention. In the spirit of Native tradition and with the utmost admiration for our North American heritage, [this book] is offered. May it open our minds and our hearts to a greater understanding of all people.[121]

Here again, justified by good intentions, authenticity is sacrificed for theatrics and expedience.

The Camp Tawingo program presents Native dances, games, legends, communication, and philosophy. External experts

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[119]During the site visitation, I observed the highly choreographed and well rehearsed Indian Council Ring. En route to the stockade, there was a series of 'tableaux' - campers in Indian garb played lacrosse, lawn darts, jump-the-ball-on-a-string or made arrows. Surely, this sharing of Native contributions could be rounded out and made even more relevant to campers by incorporating the canoe, which is of great significance due to its central role in both Canada's early economic development and Shield camp programs.

[120]Pearse and Taylor, High Above the Thunderclouds, 2-3.

[121]Ibid., 3.

influence the program, and staff are also encouraged to up-date it. Current issues may arise and are discussed when they do. The camp attempts to underline the distinctiveness of the different Native cultures (southwest States, Woodland, Plains, West Coast), and to make explicit their geographical context.[122] While these efforts certainly appear to be progressive in comparison to the traditional Council Ring, the continued role-playing of pre-contact Aborigines is problematic. Could not or should not modern Amerindians be an integral part of any program, particularly to address the third goal of promoting a better understanding between peoples, and the need to authenticate the activities and materials? In view of the on-going questioning and re-interpretation of Native history, should not a more accurate Indian of both the past and present be drawn from the works of modern experts themselves (preferably, although not exclusively, Native)? Could not Natives be brought in to represent their own past and, more specifically, their response to and interactions with wild landscapes - which are of such interest and relevance to Shield camps?

Camp Quin-mo-lac offers another thought-provoking variation on Native programming. Native icons or symbols (such as the

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[122]From interviews with John Jorgenson conducted by H. Dunlop, Apr. & July 1992. Also, during the Council Ring I attended, the Shaman (John Jorgenson) shared a MicMac legend - making an explicit reference to their location.

totem pole, storytelling, the council fire, the sweatlodge) are presented and discussed, followed by a debriefing session that relates the symbols to the present-day context and draws out cross-cultural lessons and parallels as well as culture-specific characteristics. This is somewhat of an over-simplification, but it is rather like show and tell as opposed to Council Ring's role play. The Quin-mo-lac program attempts to go beyond the traditional camp and societal image of an "idyllic and mystical" people by discussing the functions and symbolism past and present of these icons. No one dresses up in costume. The presentation of aboriginal spirituality is a means of clarifying campers' own sense of self and of direction, or indeed, universal spiritual traits.[123]

This program seems to reflect serious consideration of the stereotypic, imaginary Indian versus actual Amerindians and to generate understanding and acceptance of other peoples in today's world.[124] However, the need for continual review and verification of the materials or interpretations being presented cannot be overstated. This can be achieved only through ongoing close links with members of the Native

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[123]As a source of ideas for their program, White cites Thom Henley. Rediscovery: Ancient Pathways - New Directions, A Guidebook to Outdoor Education (Vancouver: Western Canada Wilderness Committee, 1989) (from interview with H. Dunlop, July 1992).

[124]From interviews with Wendell White conducted by H. Dunlop, Apr. and July 1992. Also from site visit.

communities in question or with currently recognized experts, whose thought and ideas, in turn, should be continually questioned and revisited. While the Quin-mo-lac model seems to have avoided the pitfalls of appropriation, it requires some development and modification in order to suit the needs of Shield camps as they look to alternative Indian lore programs. Quin-mo-lac has no wilderness orientation, no canoe tripping program - it uses Native symbols and imagery for spiritual growth rather than for the development, enhancement and justification of a relationship and a sense of identification with wild landscapes. Yet, these are the key factors which set the stage for the introduction of the Indian to the camps. Possibly, the presentation of the canoe as icon could be seen as a move beyond the spiritual realm into the geo-historical context which is at the core of the Shield camp experience and its social objectives.

In a 1987 article, White expressed his concerns to the camping community about the tendency of "native programs [to] begin and end at the traditional level." He urged camps to "reveal the legitimate aspirations of native people, to lay a stone which will allow native people to step into the present [by] first inviting a native person to [their] training week to discuss nativeness [and secondly] by us[ing] native groups

[who] perform for the campers."[125] These recommendations, while apparently simple, are critical for camps. They do not call for the elimination of Native lore; rather, they provide an alternative to the Council Ring models.

The American camps Langskib/Northwaters have developed a unique program based on Native spirituality filtered through a Jungian perspective. Director David Knudsen stresses the importance of ritual and ceremony, presenting the canoe trip, the visionquest experience and, for older campers, the Native sweatlodge as moving and powerful rites of passage. These program activities encourage sober introspection and the development of sensitive bonds with natural landscapes. Knudsen maintains that these, in turn, lead to a true and profound sense of self. Knudsen learned about the sweatlodge and visionquest from the Lakota who "wanted to share Native paths so Whites and others could find **their own spiritual reality** and sense of the individual and community."[126] However, these comments should not be interpreted as an approval of the imitation of Native rituals and the use of Native names for such ceremonies. Rather, Native rites are shared as a model, a starting point for the development of rituals that fit with one's own cultural and spiritual

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[125]White, Wendell. "A Psalm of Praise." <u>Canadian Camping Magazine</u> 39.1 (Summer 1987): 24.

[126]From interview with David Knudsen conducted by H. Dunlop, Oct. 1995 (my highlighting).

realities. Significantly, Knudsen acknowledges that western cultures have the sauna, which is a similar but secular activity. Also, monastic retreats figure in many Western (and Eastern) religions. Yet, Knudsen chose to use the Native model at Langskib/Northwaters; perhaps because the imagery surrounding it is exotic, mystical, and romantic; and therefore much more appealing. Possibly, rather than drop its unique and successful Native program, Langskib could bring in (preferably local) Natives themselves to lead the activities which recreate elements of aboriginal spirituality.

There are other recent initiatives that are noteworthy. Wendell White and John Jorgenson spoke about camp use of Amerindian lore at the 1992 OCA Conference, underlining the need to authenticate and review programs in order to more accurately and sensitively portray Native cultures. Their session was well attended and seemed to provoke serious consideration of the matter. As a result of their presentation, David Latimer invited Wendell White to the 1992 pre-camp in an effort to re-evaluate Kilcoo's Indian Council. Later that summer, a senior staff member began efforts to research Native cultures and issues.[127] These steps should prepare for the remodelling of Kilcoo's Council Ring.

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[127]From interviews with David Latimer conducted by H. Dunlop, Mar. and July 1992 and from discussions with senior staff members during site visits.

During that same summer of 1992, Dave Johnson (a Curve Lake artist) led several art workshops at Ponacka and also spoke to campers about his lifestyle, underlining the need to dispell certain persistent myths about Natives. Anne Morawetz clearly stated that they "don't want to do anything inappropriate . . . and that [they] are interested in addressing anything that is wrong, insensitive, or lacking."[128] This attitude should now be applied to Ponacka's very traditional Council Ring, which would benefit from such a review. While it "has remained one of the most spectacular things we do at camp," it presents the numerous 'faux pas' of the 'imaginary Indian.'[129]

Similarly, Taylor Statten III affirmed that Ahmek was at a "crossroads about whether or not they should be doing" Council Ring.[130] Statten appears to be weighing the perception of Council Ring as an anticipated camp tradition with worthy goals against the view of Council as an outdated and inappropriate caricature of sorts. In 1993, a number of Ahmek staff attended a Native Pow-wow; this seems to indicate an interest in veritable Native culture. Also, Ahmek "hopes to bring Native kids to camp," which signals a certain

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[128]From interviews with Don Bocking and Anne Morawetz conducted by H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992.

[129]Ibid.

[130]From interview with Taylor Statten III conducted by H. Dunlop, Mar. 1992.

willingness to participate in cross-cultural exchange.[131] Most recently, Greg Padullo (a 12-year Ahmek veteran) became Native Heritage Floater with a mandate to rework Indian Council during the summer of 1996. He invited James Whetung (of Curve Lake) to speak about Native symbols, appropriation issues and the camp use of Indian lore and shared ideas from his Native Studies courses at Trent University. A number of senior staff, campers and parents were quite upset by the criticism of Council. Some reacted defensively, claiming that "too much meaning [was being] ascrib[ed] to [what is] just a camp tradition," while others responded with contrition and guilt.[132] Commendably, in spite of having some of its very roots shaken, Ahmek has not rejected change outright; some contemporary Native literature is on order and at least one senior staff member plans to continue efforts to replace the romanticized Indian.

While these examples of camp efforts to reconsider Native lore in general, and Indian Council in particular, reflect a certain openness to new ideas, an opposing resistance is also evident. Questioning long-standing 'traditions' is a difficult task; remodelling them is even more demanding. At times, the process of change can be slow, with few signs of

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[131]Lundell, Summer Camp, 106.

[132]From interview with Lexa Scully conducted by H. Dunlop, Apr. 1997 and from Greg Padullo's written record of the 1996 summer session.

encouragement and numerous setbacks. However, one of the most essential agents of change is open debate; thus, these and other camps which are allowing criticism of their programs should be recognized and supported.

Other camps have eliminated aboriginal content outright, because of the controversy associated with it. Staff members feel uneasy with the use, or misuse, of Amerindian culture. Some find it alarmingly inappropriate, particularly in light of the on-going aboriginal rights movement which, over the past 30 years, has brought past injustices into the public eye. Staff feel uncomfortable with the traditional Indian Council activities because they do not feel knowledgeable enough or qualified to set up and run a program based on Native cultures.[133] It seems rather unfortunate for camps to lose such a long-standing role model due to the serious misgivings brought on by the changing perceptions of Amerindians. Campers can continue to benefit from certain aspects of Native cultures, learning adaptation and survival techniques for the wild landcapes of the Canadian Shield as the pioneers and woodrunners did historically, or exploring alternative value systems and social philosophies as many

[133]From interviews with Steve Heming of Wanakita and Michael Moore of Kandalore conducted by H. Dunlop, Mar. and July 1992. Under their direction both camps dropped the Native content (Wanakita around 1970, Kandalore around 1990). Also from discussions with former Ahmek staff members, Professor Jonathan Bordo (Trent U) and Andrew Cooper.

contemporary groups and individuals are currently.

In spite of concerns about the outdated image of Amerindians and the appropriation and parody of Native cultures in camps, there remain several undeniable and most encouraging facts about the results of aboriginal content in camps. First, while the image of the Indian presented in camps has traditionally been highly romantic and quite stereotypic, it has always been positive. Secondly, one cannot forget that it was a product of its era. In contrast to the camps' idealized Indian, and during this same time period, Natives underwent serious socio-cultural upheaval in the broader Canadian community. Finally, many campers who experienced Council Ring sought to learn more about authentic Amerindians, and went on to become sympathetic to Native issues or proponents of aboriginal causes. While the nature of aboriginal content in camps can be criticized, one must allow that the goals of Indian programming have been realized to a great extent. Thus, camps which responded to the controversy surrounding Indian Council by erasing the Indian completely from the camp landscape have, in the same stroke, wiped out the source of these positive signs of inter-cultural interest and understanding.[134] Evidently then, the elimination of Indian lore is not the answer. What other options are there?

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[134]Ironically, this mirrors the actions of the Group of Seven who, in their efforts to respond to the Canada's wild landscapes, removed the Amerindian from those lands.

The common thread throughout traditional and modern Councils is the use of the pre-contact Amerindian. It is essential for today's camps to bring in contemporary Aborigines in order to complete the picture and to truly encourage tolerance. The cardboard, two-dimensional, idealized Indian may be presented and recognized for the socio-historical perception that it was, but it must be counterbalanced with the diversity of the flesh-and-blood, Native Peoples of today and with their present-day realities as well as with **their own versions of the past**. Interestingly enough, in discussing Native response to Council Ring, several reactions became apparent.[135] Certain Amerindians took offense at the perceived parody of their culture; others watched the spectacle and heralded it as a good show. Some of this latter group underlined that it was in no way a representation of their heritage or any Native culture they knew and therefore shrugged it off as a dramatic representation of some imaginary culture, apparently untouched by any intended parallels. Others still found the Council

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[135]For example, David Johnson attended Ponacka's Council Ring in 1992 and enjoyed the show. Tawingo invited a Curve Lake and a Parry Sound band member to observe and comment on aspects of their Indian program. Apparently, the response was quite encouraging. Several Golden Lake campers recently attended Ahmek's Council Ring and left after 5 minutes of uproarious laughter. These and other examples are from interviews with A. Ebbs, T. Statten, J. Jorgenson, and B. Hodgins conducted by H. Dunlop, spring and summer 1992; H. Dunlop's discussions with Native artist David Johnson (fall 1992); discussions with Steve Prysunka of YMCA Camp Chief Hector and with senior administrative staff from Camp Huron Rediscovery at Kumbayah Conference. International Camping Congress, 4-6 Mar. 1994; and from further interviews conducted by H. Dunlop with K. Wipper (Nov. 1995) and Lexa Scully (Apr. 1997).

rituals totally ridiculous (in comparison to the current reality they knew, one would assume).

Possibly, as well as being an age-old camping tradition, Indian Council Ring has been seen as a necessary rite of passage for campers. The books, brochures and directors all state that campers enjoyed these activities immensely. However, during my research, I spoke with campers from the 1940s through the 1990s. The majority talked of a heightened embarrassment as they matured, or of feeling uncomfortable with the dressing up and with other Indian Council activities. Did they sense something wrong? Did they conclude that no matter how well-intentioned, many Indian Council Ring activities are quite inappropriate given broader society's growing awareness of current issues, past abuses, and typecasting concerning Amerindians? Or, was it a response to activities that had become disconnected from their original context? Few were aware of Council's credible origins at Seton's hands. However, most sensed that the image was outdated. Even directors of camps that continue to stage (or those who just recently eliminated) Council Ring admit to frequent discussions with seasoned staff, dating back to the 1970s, where these same sentiments were raised. Obviously, as these and previous examples show, old habits die hard, particularly when supported by justifications that are believed to be infallible.

Nevertheless, something has been taken from Amerindians without their permission, modified, and **used**. Furthermore, the identities that are being (or were) taken and used are purportedly spiritual in nature. This verges on being sacrilegious with respect to other groups' sacred images. With this in mind, it is no wonder campers became increasingly uncomfortable with Indian Council over time.

There exists a disturbing analogy to this taking and using of a stereotypical image as a crowd-pleaser. The "Minstrel Shows" in the USA caricaturized the African-American. White men made themselves up as blacks to sing and perform antics before a bemused white crowd. This was done more or less in the presence of Blacks, with no qualms or uneasiness. This total lack of respect and regard for fellow human beings can possibly be explained by the white view of Blacks as inferior and subservient to Whites. However, today one finds it hard to excuse these abuses of the past, given the legacy of conflict between these races, and the current egalitarian philosophies. Minstrel shows parodied Afro-American culture; they most certainly did not glorify it. They were presented as a form of entertainment. In contrast, Council Ring offered a praiseworthy Indian who represented a link to the romanticized wildlands associated with the camps. However, in spite of the differing circumstances, there is a lesson here for the camps.

The camping community is a rather closed and isolated one. Those who have never been within it have little idea of what goes on there. For the most part, broader society, which includes Native societies, is unaware of camp activities. However, at Ahmek/Wapomeo during the 1970s, an Amerindian staff member from Curve Lake Reserve protested vigorously to her Director about what she saw as a mockery of Aborigines, a show with no solid basis in fact. In response, the administration stressed that there was never any thought of ridiculing Natives; that, in fact, they were glorifying them. After some discussion, senior staff decided to continue as before; considering their sincere intentions a justification for their program and the staff member's protests uncalled for and excessive.[136] This anecdote accentuates the different perceptions of the incorporation of Native cultures into camp programs. Possibly, it is also an example of the dominant society's denial of any wrongdoing toward a minority group within it. By rejecting or discrediting the other's dissent, the dominant group reinforces the idea that it is acceptable for them to take and use the other's culture.

Another telling Native reaction occurred at Wanapitei in the 1980s. A prominent Teme-Augama Anishnabai voiced his emphatic and to-the-point opinion of Indian Council Ring activities as

[136]From interviews with Adele Ebbs, Taylor Statten III, and Dr. Taylor Statten conducted by H. Dunlop, spring and summer 1992.

an order: "This has got to stop!"[137]

The message is clear. What is now left up to the camping community, and indeed to broader society in general, is deciding how to maintain a valid aboriginal program, for it would be a great loss to eliminate the Amerindian completely from the camp scene because of a pressing need to re-orient aboriginal content.

The reasons for incorporating Native lore into camps are numerous; they stem from a series of perceptions that begin with the land itself. As has already been discussed, the raison d'être for locating camps in wild landscapes was to contrast the nostalgic virtues associated with a life in the wilds and the perceived vices of a modern, industrialized and urban existence. Many believed that a wilderness sojourn, by its very nature, entailed purity, simplicity, and wholesomeness. This brief but reinvigorating tonic countered the undesirable but unavoidable ills of modern society. Contemporaneously, there existed an image of Amerindians as wholesome, pure beings interacting harmoniously with the land, existing simply within a more or less untouched wilderness. This surely made them an excellent role model for camps set in similar wild landscapes, for camps whose wilderness-oriented

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[137]From interview with Bruce Hodgins conducted by H. Dunlop, Aug. 1992.

programs assisted them in achieving their social objectives. As we have seen, Ernest Thompson Seton committed his life work to interrelating those perceptions and then to transforming them into a reality that individuals could experience; one of the end results was a tailor-made program for camps. The choice seems quite logical: the camps are set in the wilds . . . which is the home of the idealized noble savage . . . whose exemplary morals and lifestyle are at the very core of camps' social mandate.

For Ontarian Shield camps set in the bush, there was a further link between the land and the Indian - the canoe. The Indian had historic and romantic ties to both the wilds and the canoe, which they had evolved in response to their home landscape. The Shield dictated the use of the canoe; canoeing, and canoe tripping in particular, became one of Shield camps' core programs. Not only does the canoe represent a means of transportation, but it has proven to be the ultimate vehicle for the attainment of social and personal development goals. The canoe and its use continue to be novel. It introduces an element of adventure, an opportunity to explore the wilds in a simple yet challenging manner. The imagery associated with travel suits camp objectives - introspection, personal growth and self-sufficiency for the individual, and cooperation, citizenship and interdependence for the small group. Furthermore, the "adventures [of

tripping] sometimes seem like 'coming of age' experiences" or rituals.[138] The canoe allowed for a seemingly endless variety of new experiences, opening up the more remote areas of the Near North and the North. The canoe tied campers to the land; it helped them develop a sense of kinship with it. The canoe and the canoe trip offered campers the ultimate opportunity to emulate the historical Indian, and maybe, in their mind's eye, to become an aboriginal being themselves, a Native of this land.

The Amerindian's mythical and glorified way of life is considered part of **our** heritage. A 1930 brochure for the proposed Camp of the Red Gods proclaims: "The beauty and inspiration of the Council Ring . . . can **only** be known to those who have entered its magic."[139] Such words entice campers to become an initiate, to experience some of the "lore that has **come down to us** from the original Americans . . . ,"

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[138]Currie, Ponacka, 96. Also from interview with David Knudsen (Director of Langskib/Northwaters) conducted by H. Dunlop, Oct. 1995.

[139]TUA, OCA Papers, Camp of the Red Gods brochure, circa 1930. (My highlighting emphasizes the exclusive appeal of Council Ring.) Director Ellsworth Jaeger was "associated with the Woodcraft League for years." The names of the Board and senior staff members are a veritable who's who of naturalists, biologists, and associates of various Woodcraft Leagues of America. The name of Ernest Thompson Seton, who was a shareholder in the camp, figures prominently in sections on camp philosophy and activities. Unfortunately, Camp of the Red Gods went bankrupt before it welcomed its first adult campers. In 1932, Lillian Kates bought out the creditors and named it Arowhon, a coeducational camp now run by the third generation of that family (from Lundell, Summer Camp, 46).

as if Canadians were in some way their descendants.[140] In the short story "Death by Landscape," author Margaret Atwood describes how the campers became braves and were then told by the director to "follow in the paths of **their** ancestors . . ."[141] Yet, ironically enough, Native Peoples have generally been considered separate from the rest of Canadian society. Seemingly, this appropriation of Native cultures represents an attempt to re-establish a fundamental and nourishing relationship with nature and to generate a sense of home within Canada's rugged landscapes. It hinges on a romantic vision of Amerindians as a group embodying all the qualities necessary to do so. Atwood's narrator "wanted to be an Indian. She wanted to be adventurous and pure, and aboriginal."[142] By playing or becoming Indian, one could attain such a goal - of belonging to this place.

Could it be that fake or imaginary Indians are preferable, more realistic in our minds than the real thing? Twisted as this may sound, it does make sense. The fakes or the images are a familiar commodity. Generated by us, they meet our expectations concerning Indians and can present us with what

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[140]Ibid. My highlighting underscores the apparent appropriation of Amerindian heritage.

[141]Atwood, "Death by Landscape." Wilderness Tips, 118. My highlighting again underlines the suggested appropriation of Native ancestry.

[142]Ibid., 118.

we are looking for! The imaginary Indian is made to order, ready to please, a lofty ideal to strive toward. But what of authenticity in programming, the development of tolerance and understanding between peoples, and the integration of true Aborigines into camp activities so that they may tell their own stories, perform their own dances, sing their own chants, or simply present their current and past situations? Could not an up-dated Council feature Natives who explain themselves, their historic link to the land, and the significance of the canoe to them within this landscape? Could they not explore the pertinence of campers' links to these two elements of their heritage - the land and the canoe?

Appreciation, awareness, empathy, and a desire to become familiar or misinterpretations, stereotypes, fragmented customs, and lack of context - these are the contradictory legacies of the camp use of Native culture. Is there not a way to eliminate the negative consequences of this relationship? Could not this lack of verification, this absence of interaction between camps and Amerindians themselves (as well as current experts on aboriginal cultures) be addressed and remedied during program development, implementation, and review? These undesirable results stem from and are symptomatic of the misperceptions of society in general. Recognition of this issue brings with it a challenge to act that should not be ignored. Both camps and our society

as a whole are duty-bound to modernize and demystify views of Aborigines and "nativeness." The participation and consultation of Amerindians themselves are imperative for this process. A commitment to such efforts stems from an attitude that recognizes and values historical aboriginal ties to lands we view as wild, and one that also takes into account existing Amerindian realities and aspirations.

How can camps respond? The continuation of a program centred around decontextualized stereotypes can only be seen as regressive. Alternatives to the appropriation and the imaginary Indian models do exist and should be explored. Discussions of the origins, the goals, and the popularity of Indian programs could be a positive initial step toward improvement. The most promising and equitable options include involving Aborigines themselves in both program development and delivery. An acceptable alternative is aboriginal input through consultation or evaluation. The use of experts and authoritative documents should be contextualized, questioned, and frequently up-dated, acknowledging the possible limitations of bias. Over time, the views of former experts have been known to be revised or rejected! When "visiting" another's culture, one must continually question one's perceptions and interpretations in order to recognize and respond to one's own cultural perspective and to how it colours the picture one formulates of the other's culture.

In contrast, however, the complete exclusion of Aborigines perpetuates the error of omission. Amerindians are and have been intimately associated with most of the land we consider wild. This landscape is the heart of Shield youth camps and their programs. Therefore, the link between these camps, their environment, and Aborigines is justified. Furthermore, there are, and have been, positive results from this mixed marriage of sorts; Council Ring has awakened a curiosity about Natives amongst many campers which, when pursued, has led to increased support and understanding of Native issues.[143] Recognizing all this, it becomes evident that it is time for youth camps to get involved in the rehabilitation of the image of Aborigines. Only by discarding the regressive image can camps embrace and accept real Amerindians in their midst, Amerindians they can proudly present as a model to campers and society alike.

Individual camps can invite or visit local Amerindians for workshops on cultural activities, for discussions of current issues, for presentations of their real lifestyle, for comparisons of the imaginary and the real Indian. Canoe trips can be organized to include visits to Amerindian settlements where campers can learn about current Native lifestyles, goals and issues. Such stopovers in fairly remote, yet inhabited

[143]From interviews conducted by H. Dunlop with J. Bordo (Oct. 1995), Lexa Scully (Apr. 1997) and with Andrew Cooper, W. White, J. Jorgenson and Michael Bolt (July 1992).

locales (with a Native, non-Native or mixed population) can also help reform the image of wilderness, reintegrating the human element into the natural world. The Ontario Camping Association (OCA) or a committee within that organization can approach aboriginal umbrella groups to co-operatively develop more appropriate programs. There are, within the OCA, directors and staff who have acquired contacts, numerous materials, or a certain level of knowledge or expertise on the subject that can be seen as a starting point, an example, or a resource.

A greater understanding of other cultures can only help redefine one's own identity, context, and goals. A sharing of authentically portrayed aboriginal cultures can continue to enrich camp programs and our youth in another, more realistic manner. The diverse aboriginal and Canadian cultures are the heritage of this land. As such, they should be celebrated and appreciated. Finally, and most importantly for camps, it has been made clear here that camps do have a valid reason to incorporate Natives into their midst as they continue to represent models of learning that can assist camps in meeting their social, moral, and environmental mandates. Such interactions present the opportunity to build cross-cultural bridges as Natives and non-Natives share and showcase their identity and heritage. And certainly these efforts could only benefit the ongoing cultural development and (re)definition of

the diverse Canadian peoples.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

It has often been said that Canada's story has been, and continues to be, trying to make history out of geography. Our geography is predominantly wilderness; our history consists of struggles with, over, and for those wild landscapes as we have attempted to create and maintain a home, as well as a sense of home, for ourselves here on this land. Thus, wilderness has been a distinguishing feature of the Canadian reality; it is, and has always been, our destiny. In other words, it is only through a discovery of the land that we will find a map to the Canadian identity. We Canadians will truly be at home here when we come to terms with our wild landscapes, embracing them physically, emotionally, psychologically, spiritually and intellectually. Those wild landscapes are peopled with the ghosts of Natives, Métis, voyageurs, lumbermen and pioneers but also with living beings, both Native and Settler Canadians. The former group depended directly and visibly on the wilds; survival meant adapting to the land. The Amerindians had learned to do so through a lengthy and intimate relationship with their landscape; this they shared with the other immigrant inhabitants who evolved their own unique lifestyles. Contrastingly, the contemporary Canadians' dependence on wilderness is less apparent, even indirect in most cases. However, that link remains vital and must be recognized. Native communities continue to stress the

significance of those wild landscapes, and some groups within the broader Canadian community do so as well. However, there are many who have yet to acknowledge and then build on our fundamental ties to Canada's wildlands. It is this process that will give us a sense of place, rooting us in the land.

I believe that this research effort has effectively shown that wilderness is an equally critical element of the Shield camp identity and experience. At Shield camps, this essential interplay between campers and wild landscapes is certainly implicit (if not explicit) in much of their programming, but is, and has been, most apparent during canoe trips and Indian Council Ring. The former activity places campers in direct contact with wild landscapes, while the latter symbolically ties them to those lands and evokes an ethic to adopt toward them.

This relationship was initially established for a number of reasons. Exposure to a simple life in the wilds, best exemplified by canoe trips, contrasted with campers' urban existence. Through this rugged contact, camps strove to create upstanding individuals who were well equipped and willing to participate in modern society yet who had the strength of character to avoid any of its pitfalls. The Indian, emblematic of the wilds, was chosen as role model. In the public eye, the Indian was a 'shapeshifter'; thus, he/she

could be moulded according to camp needs into the ideal being - virtuous, self-reliant, community-oriented. Furthermore, through this association and the formal rituals of Council, the Indian became an ancestor whose shared blood gave campers a sense of belonging within those wild landscapes.

It is opportune to state here that the camp experience is frequently defined by campers as a watershed experience. Similarly, numerous campers maintain that they developed a sensitivity toward wilderness and Native issues, and that they went much further than the camp experience in their wilderness endeavours and support for Natives as a result of these programs. This fact should not be ignored or dismissed. However, this should not be interpreted as justification for the maintenance of such programs as they are. They, and indeed all programs, should be revisited regularly to review their value and appropriateness, and modified in response to current trends, knowledge and ideas.

Currently, this tripartite relationship is equally justifiable for camps. I believe that Shield camps can openly explore, develop and re-orient their relationships with the wilds and aboriginal culture in the fullest sense, incorporating the heritage of this land with its diverse human and natural communities as well as its contemporary context and its possible future(s) into their philosophy, discussions, and

more concretely, activities.

Whether it be in the name of social and moral adjustment or for the sake of the collective self-image, the experience of wilderness is relevant, if not essential, to Canadian society, and thus, to camps. Certainly, a wilderness sojourn provides the time, place and motivation for introspection and a re-evaluation of perspective. An intimate and well-developed rapport with wild landscapes will ground campers, not only linking them to this land, but to its heritage which somehow becomes theirs, and its to future, which also becomes theirs. The canoe and canoe tripping continue to be the ideal vehicle for this purpose. As John Wadland points out:

> the central informing symbol [of identity] . . . for interior Canada must surely be the canoe. This apparently simple technology was indigenous to the place, the product of thousands of years of evolution . . . The birch canoe engaged the French, and later the British, with the land, drawing them on [Northrop] Frye's journey without arrival. These voyageurs, like this country, were in a constant condition of becoming. Learning the language of the place from its own voices. The paddler and the river were joined by the paper thin bark of a tree . . . . The canoe: a domesticated tree.[1]

Not only is the canoe a vital link to the Canadian landscape, but it is also the product of the relationship between the land and its original inhabitants. Therefore, the canoe connects camps both to wilderness and to Aborigines. Herein

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[1]Wadland, John H. "Great Rivers, Small Boats: Landscape and Canadian Historical Culture." To be published in Changing Parks. John Marsh, Bruce W. Hodgins, and Kerry Cannon, eds.

lies the foundation for a revised Indian lore program. Ideally, camps should invite Natives in to explain their relationship with the land, as well as their use and vision of the canoe. This they may do through stories, legends, song, dance or other means. What is important is that whenever possible they represent themselves to us, rather than us attempting to share or interpret their culture - past or present. Such an approach would certainly promote cross-cultural interest and understanding. Furthermore, I believe that real aboriginal culture would be equally, and most likely much more, attractive and appealing than the fascinating and mystical Indian lore of Council Ring. This would also facilitate the transformation process of 'rehabilitating' the image of the Indian; while old habits die hard, they cede more readily in the face of intriguing and engaging alternatives. If direct Native involvement is impossible, I feel that the use of Native icons (particularly sacred symbols) and the role-playing of Indian ceremonies is inappropriate. Instead, their significance could be discussed and objects could be displayed. Another approach might be to take campers to the Natives in lieu of bringing in Amerindians. Attendance at a pow-wow or another aboriginal cultural event could be quite enriching and enlightening. Certainly there are other ideas already circulating within the camping community.

A final and critical point must be made. The ultimate goal of

this research effort is to encourage reflection on the role of wilderness and Native culture within camps and to provide assistance to camps in their ongoing efforts to offer quality programs that continue to meet campers' needs and expectations, and that are supported by a well defined ideological framework and carefully considered value systems. It is my hope that this work will set the stage for an open discussion and debate that will generate numerous renewal options. To this end, further research could expand upon the work presented here. This could include interviews with campers, counsellors and/or middle-level staff members or observations of the daily reality of these programs over several entire camp sessions.

I leave the final words to the camps themselves:

The key to [our] success has been our flexibility and openness to change.[2]

Camp is a unique experience because it offers opportunities that are not available anywhere else.[3]

Clean, clear lakes. Three miles of rugged shoreline . . . . The striking beauty of the Canadian Shield.[4]

A summer camp experience for young people has become a very vital part of our society, and the values assessed and gained are truly a significant step in a youth's growth.[5]

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[2]1996 Wanapitei brochure.

[3]1992 Glen Bernard brochure.

[4]1992 Pine Crest brochure.

[5]1992 Kilcoo brochure.

In order to learn from and with wilderness, we must pay attention to its [indigenous] inhabitants.[6]

[6]From interview with David Knudsen conducted by H. Dunlop, Oct. 1995.

APPENDIX 1: **INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DIRECTORS**

How would you group yourself within the selected camps & why (Ahmek/Wapomeo, Gay Venture, Glen Bernard, Kandalore, Keewaydin, Kilcoo, Langskib/Northwaters, Pine Crest, Ponacka, Quin-mo-lac, Tawingo, Temagami (closed), Wabikon, Wabun, Wanakita, Wanapitei, White Pine)?

How important is the wild-like setting of your camp/tripping destinations? What is the significance of wilderness for your programs & mandate? Would you consider wild landscapes the setting for some of your activities? Which ones? What attitudes, abilities & goals do you try to promote through your wilderness activities? Do you have any sense of how the camp wilderness experience has affected campers'/counsellors' aspirations or interests for their future? Do you see any patterns in terms of their career paths? Have there been any campers/counsellors who have gone on to become prominent/leaders in their field? Who? When? What field?

What is the nature, if any, of camp involvement in the environmental movement, specifically with regard to wildlands? Do you align yourself with preservationists or conservationists?

What is the nature of your wilderness program (trip destinations, duration, level, style, technical/historical content, goals)? On what/whose model is your wilderness program based? Who formulates/d it? How? At what stage would you consider it to be (abandoned, beginning, developing, advanced, renewed)?

How & why has the program changed over time? Whose input do you seek when deciding on the kinds of wilderness programs you will offer?

Has there been any sharing/alliances/cross-over between camps, or, is there a pattern in movement among the camps with regard to wilderness and/or Native lore programs (people, ideas, materials)?

What is the significance of Native lore for your camp? What attitudes, abilities & goals do you try to promote through it? Briefly describe it & compare it with any other heritage/historical content you offer. On what/whose models is your Native lore program based? Who formulates/d it? When? How? Describe its nature. Has it changed over time? How & why? Whose input do you seek when deciding on the kinds of Native lore programs you will offer? Have there been any Native staff/campers? Who? When? In what capacity? Has your camp/staff been involved in Native rights efforts? How?

Appendix 2: **SCHEMA FOR INTERPRETATION OF CAMP PERCEPTIONS OF WILD LANDSCAPES**

RELATIONSHIP WITH LANDSCAPE IGNORED	PHYSICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH LANDSCAPE	PSYCHOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH LANDSCAPE	EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH LANDSCAPE	INTELLECTUAL RELATIONSHIP WITH LANDSCAPE
wilderness is a resource, used as a backdrop, scenery, site for programs; canoe camping incidental or non-existent; land's heritage/ future generally disregarded	wilderness is a resource, used as a challenge, obstacle, thrill, adventure; canoe camping is a means to these recreational ends; consideration of land's heritage/ future generally incidental or superficial; adversarial or confrontational approach to wildlands	wilderness is a resource, used as a tool for personal growth/social development; canoe camping is a means to these educational ends; consideration of land's heritage/ future generally incidental or superficial	wilderness is a resource, used as a source of inspiration and spiritual uplifting; sensitive response to landscape; romanticized view of human-nature rapport both past and present; canoe camping or tripping is a means to these emotional ends; some consideration of land's heritage/ future - somewhat idealistic and generalized (rather than linked to this specific landscape)	wilderness is a source of meaning; recognition, respect and development of vital interactions between humankind and wilderness both past and present, reflective attitude toward all realities of landscape (homeland-especially for Native Peoples, resource, source, etc.); extensive wilderness tripping deepens involvement with wilderness, allows for introspection and profound consideration of this landscape's cultural and natural heritage/ future

Appendix 3: PLACEMENT OF CAMPS WITHIN SCHEMA

RELATION-SHIP WITH LANDSCAPE IGNORED	PHYSICAL RELATION-SHIP WITH LANDSCAPE	PSYCHO-LOGICAL RELATION-SHIP WITH LANDSCAPE	EMOTIONAL RELATION-SHIP WITH LANDSCAPE	INTELLEC-TUAL RELATION-SHIP WITH LANDSCAPE
Quin-mo-lac	Kandalore --- (Moore)	-------------	-------------	Kandalore (Wipper)
White Pine --	-------------	------------/		
/------------	-------------	-- Gay Venture		
	Keewaydin --- (Carpenter)	-------------	Keewaydin --- (Clarke)	--/
		Glen Bernard (Palm)	Glen Bernard (Edgar)	
	Wabun -------	-------------	-------------	--/
	/------------	Kilcoo ------	------------/	
	Wanapitei --- (Archibald)	-------------	-------------	Wanapitei (Hodgins)
		Langskib/ --- Northwaters	-------------	---/
	/------------	-------------	Ahmek/Wapomeo	
		Pine Crest---	-------------	--/
	/------------	-------------	Temagami ----	---/
	/------------	Ponacka		
/------------	-------------	Tawingo		
/------------	-------------	Wabikon		
/------------	------------	Wanakita		

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Wabun. 1 Aug. 1992.

Wanakita. 16 July 1992.

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IMAGE EVALUATION
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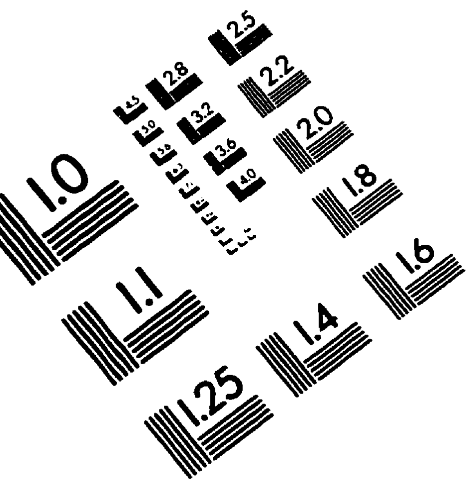
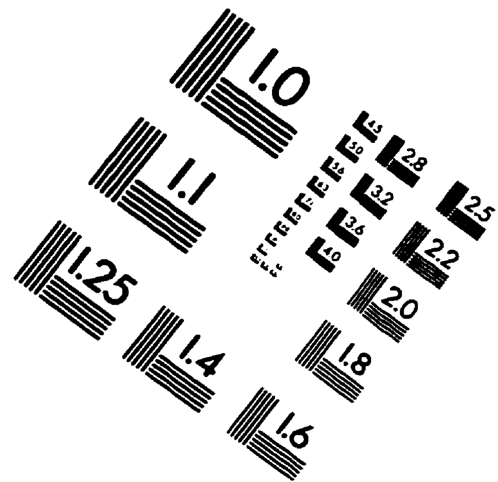
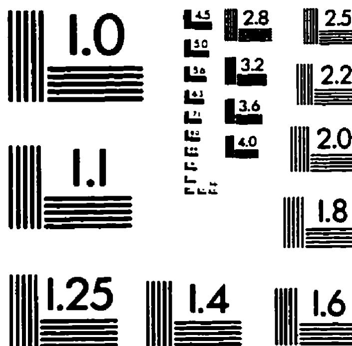
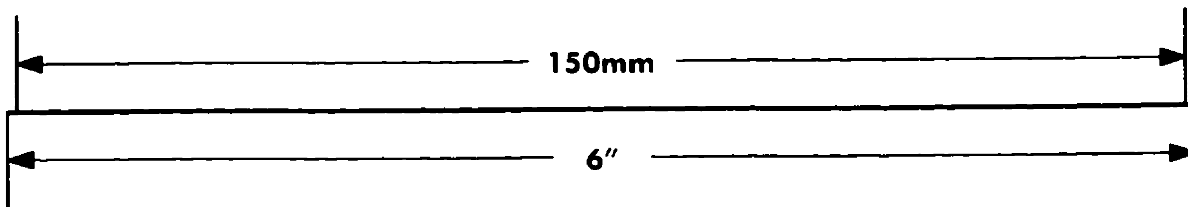

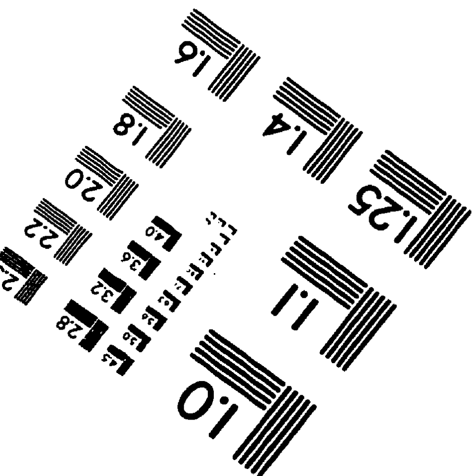
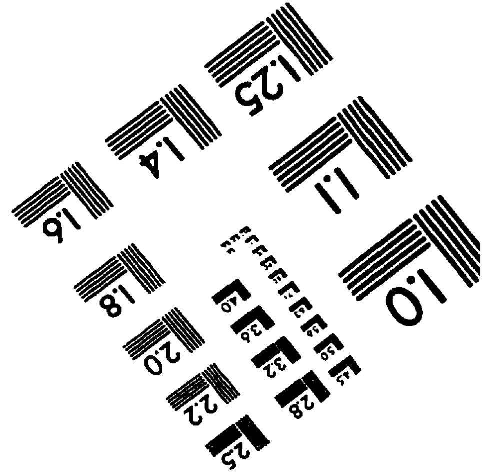

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1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
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Fax: 716/288-5989

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