



Heritage Inventory
Tourism Historic Context Statement
Kawartha Lakes Economic Development

Kawartha Lakes
Jump In 



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Tourism in Kawartha Lakes

The Tourism Historic Context Statement examines resources related to the tourism industry which began in the former Victoria County in the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, the arrival of tourists in Kawartha Lakes had a significant and profound impact on local economies and shaped a unique cottage culture that can still be found within the region. It had an important impact on local landscape with the growth of local cottage communities, camps, and resorts directly catering to the seasonal population and also directly related to the natural landscape of the area. These resources cover a wide time period, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century and continuing on to the present day, and includes a wide range of resources including cottages, resorts, businesses, and transport routes and relate directly to the region's seasonal population and indirectly to the local residents who supports and facilitated this economic driver.

Resources which relate to tourism in Kawartha Lakes are architectural and geographically diverse, but are primarily located in close proximity to waterbodies throughout the region. As tourism remains a key economic driver in Kawartha Lakes and is still centred on seasonal, recreational cottaging, many of these resources remain extant and still in their original use. The geographic range of these resources covers the entirety of the municipality but are more heavily focussed in the central and northern sections of the municipality and along its major waterbodies: Pigeon, Sturgeon, Cameron and Balsam Lakes and the Trent Severn Waterway. Beginning in the nineteenth century and continuing today, the area was generally identified as part of a broader tourist region not confined to municipal boundaries and including a large portion of northern Peterborough County due to the interconnectedness of the lake system and the growth of the Trent Severn Waterway. As a result, there may be key resources related to the tourism industry in Kawartha Lakes outside of its municipal boundaries, primarily in and around the other key waterbodies in the region which are mostly located in Peterborough County.

Context Summary

Summary Statement of Significance: Tourism began in Kawartha Lakes in the middle of the nineteenth century as urban dwellers arrived in the region to enjoy their leisure time in nature. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, the area increasingly drew more and more tourists to its many lakes as a new culture of visiting summer resorts and building summer cottages arose throughout Ontario. The arrival of seasonal visitors and residents had a significant impact on the local economy as it allowed new businesses, from transport to manufacturing, to form to cater to tourists and their needs. At the same time, a unique cottage culture emerged in the region with the growth of cottage communities with resources and activities devoted to summer leisure. Resources related to this theme include buildings, structures, and landscapes which support and facilitate outdoor recreation opportunities, and include elements of the natural landscape which were, and continue to be, the primary draw for visitors coming to the region.

This theme, although it has significant historic roots, continues to directly impact the development of Kawartha Lakes in the present day.

Primary Period of Significance: 1850 to present day

Period of Significance Justification: The first tourists arrived in Kawartha Lakes in the mid-nineteenth century to explore its lakes and rivers. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, the tourist industry grew exponentially with the establishment of recreational cottages, resorts and camps to serve urban dwellers looking to escape to nature. By the middle of the twentieth century, the growth of the road network throughout the region continued to open up the area for increased visitation. The tourist industry continues to be a primary economic driver in Kawartha Lakes in the present day and accounts for a wide array of built and natural resources throughout the municipality.

Geographic Location: Citywide, with a higher concentration of resources in the northern half of the municipality and in close proximity to waterbodies.

Context Statement

The Beginnings of Nature-Based Tourism in Canada

For over two centuries, tourism in Canada has largely centred around the exploration and enjoyment of nature. In 1913, Frank Yeigh wrote in his tourist manual, *Through the Heart of Canada*:

Nature has been truly prodigal in her good gifts to Canada as a land of scenery and resources. The Dominion is one vast playground. From the picturesque coves of Cape Breton, from the sylvan valleys of Nova Scotia, from the game haunted forests of northern New Brunswick and the sweeping wilds of Quebec, to the northland stretched of Ontario, the billowy plains of the West and the snow-crowned peaks of British Columbia, each province of Canada has its own charm of sea or lake or clear watered river, of hill or mountain, of rock-ribbed coast or smiling fertile valley. (Frank Yeigh, *Through the Heart of Canada* (Toronto: S.B. Grundy, 1913), 139).

Yeigh was writing at a time of massive growth for tourism in Canada – railways had opened new areas up for visiting and new wealth in urban centres vastly increased the number of people with the time and means to take holidays – but his ideas were not new. The portrayal of Canada as a natural playground ripe for tourists to experience had taken root over a century previously and profoundly shaped the growth of the tourist industry from the eighteenth century to the present day.

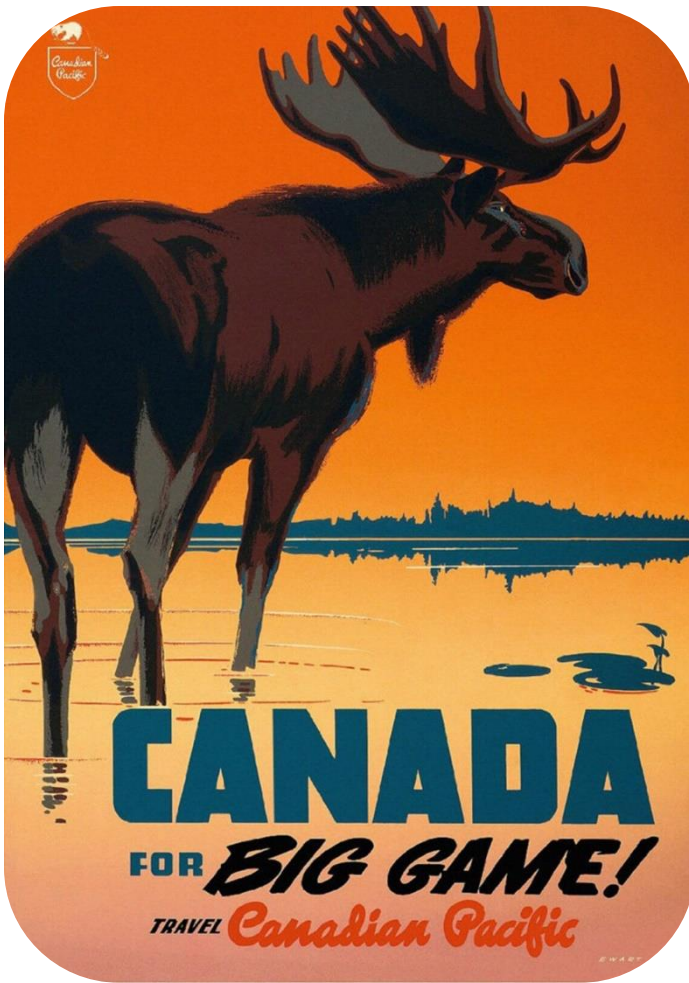
Nature-based tourism in Canada first arose near the end of the eighteenth century. It developed in conjunction with the romantic movement which emphasized the emotional impact of picturesque and sublime landscapes. Tourism and the promotion of destinations for visitors at this time began to emphasize the contrast between civilization and the wilderness and the experiential nature of being in natural settings. Nature was a place of adventure, beauty and romance and visitors wanted to experience these; this was particularly the case in Canada much which was seen as being



Victorian couple at Niagara Falls, n.d.

uninhabited and unexplored by non-indigenous people. In Ontario, the first manifestations of this desire to visit natural places came in the form of site seeing to places such as Niagara Falls where the natural beauty and awe-inspiring grandeur of the Falls drew in visitors for an experiential holiday. However, as the nineteenth century unfolded and different places in Canada became more and more accessible, the types of natural settings visited by tourists expanded to include different types of activities and places.

Beyond site seeing, early nature tourists also pursued recreational pursuits and relaxation. One of the earliest of these was hunting and fishing. The activity of hunting and fishing, at this time, fell primarily into two categories: that done by Indigenous people and rural settlers for subsistence and that done by upper and upper middle class people for recreation and sport. Canada, throughout the nineteenth and even into the early twentieth century, was seen as a wilderness to be tamed and, for the sportsman, a veritable paradise of untapped hunting and fishing opportunities with land untouched by human activity. The landscape and its fish, game and fowl, were regularly written about in these terms, attracting sportsmen – and they were mostly men – to Canada to hunt and fish. William Francis Butler, a nineteenth century British army officer and adventurer, wrote



CPR Travel Advertising, c. 20th century

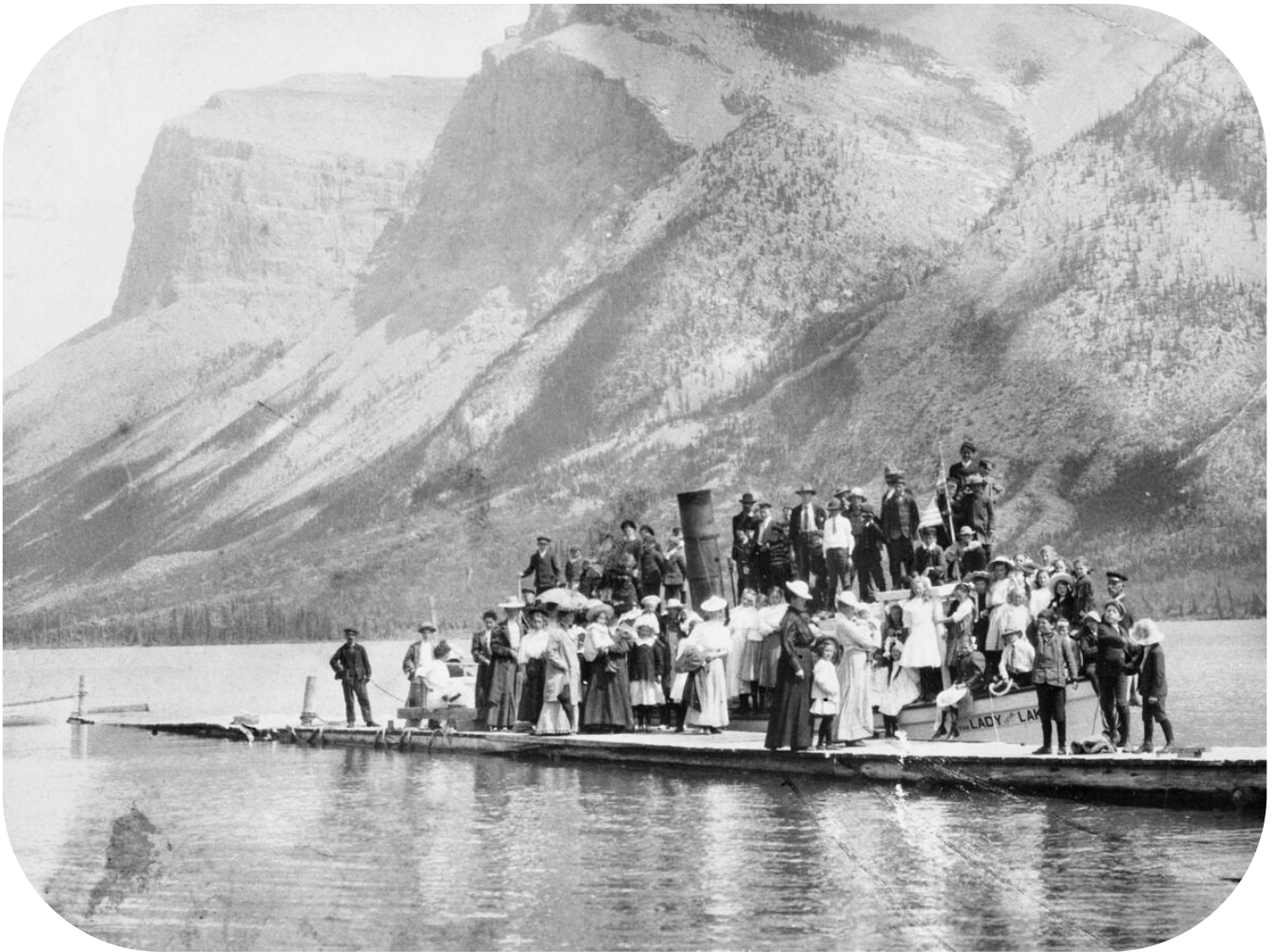
extensively about the abundance of game and the Eden-like qualities of the Canadian wilderness in his well-known 1874 publication, *The Wild North Land*, narrating his travels across western Canada. Of travelling west of Hudson's Hope along the Peace River, he recounted:

Game was abundant; the lower hills were thickly stocked with blue grouse – a noble bird, weighing between three and four pounds. The bays of the river held beaver, swimming through the driftwood, and ere we had reached the mountain gate, a moose had fallen to my trusty smooth-bore, in one of the grassy glens between the river and the snowy range. It was literally a hunter's paradise. (William Francis Butler, *The Wild North Land: Being the Storey of a Winter Journey, with Dogs, Across Northern North America* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1874), 264-265.)

The view displayed by Butler, and others like him, was, of course, a highly colonial mindset – Indigenous people had hunted and fished throughout Canada for thousands of years – but it

nevertheless drove an important sporting sector in the Canadian tourist economy throughout the nineteenth century and developed a culture of sport hunting and fishing that attracted sportsmen both from Canada's burgeoning urban centres eager to try their hand at hunting and fishing in the backwoods and from abroad, primarily from Britain and the United States.

Alongside hunting and fishing holidays, people increasingly wanted to participate in outdoor recreation pursuits, which ranged from the strenuous and dangerous to the pleasant and relaxing. Mountaineering, for example, did not arise as a recreational pursuit until the late eighteenth century with the ascent of peaks in the mid-European Alps, including Mont-Blanc in 1786 but, by the late nineteenth century, European mountaineers had turned their eye to the Canadian Rockies with landmark ascents of major western peaks such as Mount Sir Donald in 1890, Mount Temple in 1894 and Mount Assiniboine in 1901. The romanticism of the Canadian wilderness was on full display within this pursuit with James Outram, the British climber who along with Christian Hasler and Christian Bohren, reached the summit of Assiniboine in September 1901, noting that as he approached the ascent, "[h]ere for some moments I stood in solemn awe, perched like a statue in a lofty niche, cut in the topmost angle of a vast, titanic temple, with space in front, on either side,



Tourists at Lake Minnewanka, Banff National Park, 1907

above, below, the yawning depth lost in the wreathing mists that wrapped the mountain's base." (James Outram, *In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1906), 61.)

Most people, however, were not interested in dangerous and demanding activities in nature, and rather wanted to participate in activities that were enjoyable, safe and relaxing. This included a range of activities, largely dependant on location, such as gentle hikes and walks, swimming, boating, berry picking, picnicking, sketching, staying for a time at a lakeside cottage, or seeking out unique natural features such as hot springs. These were activities that were more accessible to people without specific training or equipment but also could accommodate families. At a time when the idea of leisure time was growing as an acceptable way to spend time, particularly amongst the upper and middle classes, spending that leisure time in nature participating in a variety of pursuits was extremely pervasive in the collective imagination, and led to a huge uptick in tourists in Canada's nature spaces, including the Rockies, the lakes and rivers of Central Canada, and the seashore of the East Coast. Transcending what activity tourists participated in and their location was a desire to escape to the countryside from their urban homes and play in and experience the Canadian wilderness in contrast to their every day lives in the city. A retreat to the countryside was certainly



Cottages in the Thousand Islands, near Gananoque, c.1880

not new; wealthy urban dwellers had travelled to their country homes in Europe for generations. However, in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canada, the rationale had changed with new emphasis on experiencing the natural world and its perceived primitive landscape, in contrast to the industrialized city. There was broad recognition that tourists did not have to participate in months-long expeditions to enjoy the natural world; as James Dickson, himself an experienced adventurer, noted in his 1886 book *Camping in the Muskoka Region*, that, even compared when compared to the experience of travelling to remote wilderness areas in the country, "there are scenes of equal, if not greater, beauty almost at our doors, where, though the extent of the county is not so vast nor the streams so majestic, there are many fairy nooks, lakes, and islands, rolling rivers, tumbling brooks, and wimpling burns, of pine-clad hills and lovely forest dells, which would task the powers of the most gifted pen to describe or pencil to illustrate. (James Dickson, *Camping in the Muskoka Region* (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1886), 15.)

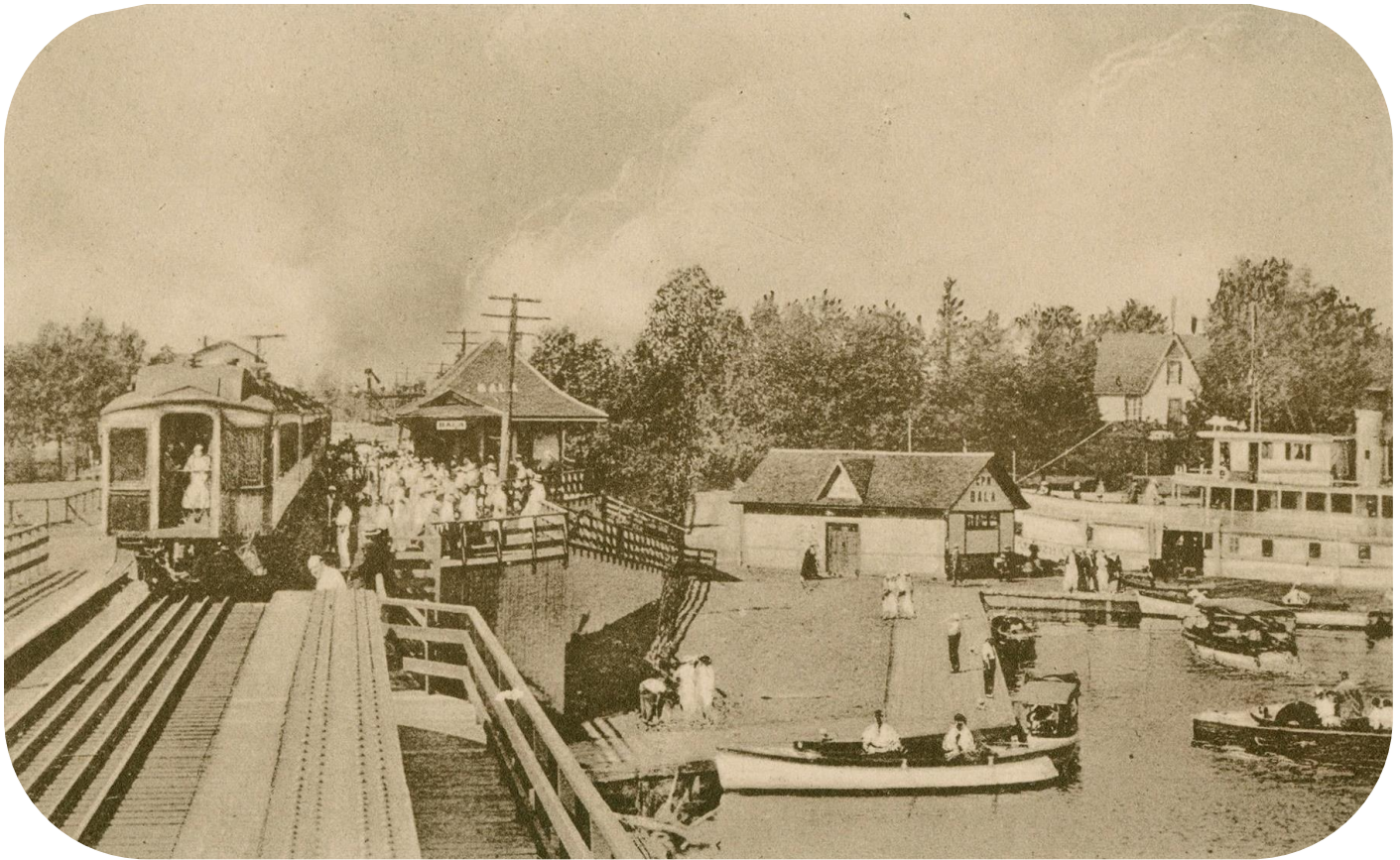
The desire to retreat to the countryside also aligned with new ideas regarding health and wellbeing in Victorian Canada. With more and more people living in urban areas, the countryside took on the role of somewhere that stressed and busy urbanites could come to rest, recuperate and relax while taking in the healthful benefits of exposure to nature. For many people, living in urban settings was seen as economically necessary, but unnatural and a return to an idealized countryside where there was pure air and clean water, away from the hustle and bustle of the city, was viewed as an important tonic. This was particularly the case for the business and professional classes who often viewed a holiday in

nature as the respite they needed from the office, and a reinvigorating break which would allow them to return to work refreshed and more productive. One turn of the century magazine dubbed the revitalizing power of the holiday in nature a “rest cure in a canoe.”

These holidays and their healthful benefits were highly gendered. For men, being in nature was an opportunity to reconnect and refocus on masculinity and what that meant in an urban environment; being in nature and participating in activities such as hunting, fishing and canoe tripping was viewed as a way to restore their toughness, virility and endurance, in contrast to their usual routine of sitting in an office. For women, especially married women, being in nature was an opportunity to step out of some of the expected societal norms for upper and middle class women and participate in physical and traditionally masculine activities, such as canoeing and camping, that would not have been seen as acceptable in an urban setting. Similarly, being in the countryside was also seen as being beneficial for perceived nineteenth century conditions such as anxiety and nerves which were generally viewed as being prevalent among upper and middle class women who were primarily operating within the domestic sphere at this time. These ideas were based heavily in nineteenth century gender roles, but both encouraged men and women to seek healthful benefits in nature.

The ability to participate in these activities was initially limited only to the upper classes and most tourists, particularly those who came to Canada from the United States and Europe, were of means. Travel, and the ability to not work for the time it took to travel in natural settings, required financial resources and was not accessible to the majority of people. However, as the nineteenth century progressed, the interest in and ability to participate in a wilderness holiday also expanded to include the middle and professional classes. With industrialization, more individuals and families were interested in escaping urban life for a retreat to the country and the experience of Canada’s natural assets while at the same time, having more disposable income to do so. Nevertheless, nature-based tourism remained largely out of means for most people who often did not have time off from their job, whether in a factory, on a farm or in a shop, to go on holiday at all nor the money required to purchase train tickets or stay at hotels.

Participation in nature-based pursuits was also divided along racial lines. The majority of people who participated in these types of activities were white and remained so, well into the twentieth century. Part of this was socio-economic: the majority of the people in Canada and international visitors with the means and time to climb mountains, take canoe trips or go to a cottage were wealthy white people from the business, professional, and political classes. Most non-white urban dwellers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century did not have the means to participate in these activities, but they were generally unwelcome in these spaces in any case. However, there was also a strong undercurrent of colonialism and the idea of the white man conquering the wilderness inherent in nineteenth and early twentieth century tourism in Canada’s natural spaces. Indigenous people, who had traditionally inhabited the spaces where now tourists were entering, were often viewed as part of the romanticized landscape and of the primitive experience of being in the wilderness. At the same time, Indigenous people provided invaluable to tourists as guides, notably in remote regions of northern Ontario such as Nipigon and Temagami, where they were often treated as both valuable for their wilderness skills, but also as employees and racially inferior in alignment with the broadly racist view of Indigenous people in Canada during this period.



Arrival of the Muskoka Express C.P.R. Train at Bala, c.1922

One of the attractions of Canada's wilderness landscape was their remoteness and distance from urban centres, but this presented the challenge of access across large spaces and challenging terrains. The ability to visit the countryside was facilitated, in large part, by the development of the railways, both throughout Canada and Ontario, in the second half of the nineteenth century. While early tourists used whatever means available to visit natural sites – whether that be canoe, steamer, horse, or cart – these were not efficient or easy. The advent of the railway, beginning around the middle of the century, opened up huge parts of the country to new visitors who simply had to hop on a train to at least travel the majority of the way to their destination with relative ease.

These trains were not constructed with tourists in mind. The vast majority of nineteenth century train lines in Canada were constructed primarily for the movement goods and resources, not people. However, rail companies were quick to realize that tourists were a lucrative secondary source of revenue and actively began to advertise the railway as a way to reach natural destinations across the country. As the century progressed, rail companies further increased their investment in promoting and supporting the growth of the tourist industry in Canada with investment in their lines, new stations suitable to tourist traffic and the construction of infrastructure such as railway hotels. By far the largest, most successful and most well known of these was the Canada Pacific Railway whose transcontinental line was used by tourists to visit flagship destinations, such as the new national park in Banff, established in 1885. However, regional railways, such as the Midland Railway which developed an extensive network throughout central Ontario, also got in on the tourist business, creating new marketing materials aimed at getting urbanites to come to the northern lakes and

forests for a visit. In many areas, the railways partnered with other transportation companies, particularly with steamship lines, to support and promote the growing tourism industry.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Canada and its natural features and landscapes were being actively promoted both locally and internationally as a tourist destination, and had been since the 1860s and 1870s. In particular, the railways, which were benefitting substantially from increasing interest in tourism and their place as the growing primary transportation method for tourists, took the lead in promoting different locations across the country. Railway companies produced pamphlets, booklets and posters for both the domestic and international market in an attempt to lure visitors to growing tourist destinations and, by extension, support their business and profits. These advertisements focussed on Canada's natural resources and landscapes and the ability of tourists to experience those, whether through a hunting or fishing expedition where men were taking on the wilderness or a stay in a genteel hotel to look at panoramic natural views, hotels that, increasingly, were constructed by railway and steamship companies to help expand the tourist trade. These advertisements showed Canada as a natural and untamed wilderness, in line with current thoughts around Canadian natural spaces, and promoted romantic views of the portions of the country outside of urban centres and agricultural areas, including both natural elements, such as mountain vistas, lakes and rivers, and animals, as well as human presence within it, including fashionable white people undertaking various outdoors activities and heavily stereotyped and romanticized depictions of Indigenous people.

Kawartha Lakes Tourism in the Nineteenth Century

When viewed in this context, Kawartha Lakes was a prime location for the growing interest in nature based tourism in the nineteenth century. In Ontario, the areas that were easiest access from major urban centres developed first as popular destinations. These included Muskoka and the Thousand Islands which were among the first areas to develop as tourist regions as affluent Canadians and Americans flocked to these areas to experience the lakes and rugged natural environment as early as the 1850s. Soon areas in Peterborough County and the former Victoria County were also becoming desirable as tourist destinations, particularly with the significant growth of the railway through the region in the 1870s. By the end of the century, these areas had become a summer playground for Ontario's urbanites, particularly from Toronto, where a return to nature was combined with summer fun and pleasure seeking. In fact, the name Kawartha, to refer to the lake country in what is now Kawartha Lakes and northern Peterborough County, was developed as a tourist marketing descriptor from Anishinaabemowin around 1900. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, these areas, and the chain of large lakes within them, was generally referred to and marketed together as the Kawartha lakes.

Kawartha Lakes' development as a late nineteenth and early twentieth century tourism spot was aided by a number of factors. Its natural landscape with a multitude of lakes and forest made it highly attractive, but other factors also drove its popularity. The first was its location. Unlike areas further to the north, such as Temagami, Kawartha Lakes, as part of the broader Kawartha region, was close to Toronto where the majority of Ontario's urban tourists came from and, due to its relatively early date of non-Indigenous settlement beginning in the 1820s, it had existing towns and communities that could provide services to tourists. It was also easy to access. The first railway



Fishing trip through the Kawartha lakes, early twentieth century

arrived in Lindsay in 1857 and the rail network throughout the nineteenth century grew from there. By the 1880s, Lindsay had become a major railway hub in central Ontario as the headquarters of the Midland Railway, later absorbed into the broader Grand Trunk System and which itself had absorbed several smaller regional railways including the Toronto and Nipissing and Victoria Railways, established in Kawartha Lakes before 1880. The abundance of railways in Kawartha Lakes, which were not intended as tourist lines, meant that many of its communities, even in more remote locations, were easy to get to by the standards of the day. At the same time, a robust and well-trafficked steamship network was growing in the region to transport people throughout the lakes, facilitated by the growing network of locks that would eventually be linked together to form the Trent-Severn Waterway. The first lock in this system was built in Bobcaygeon in 1833, not to facilitate tourism, but as a commercial venture to facilitate the transport of timber by water. By 1920, the entirety of the system had been developed as a through waterway, but it was the Kawartha sector that was completed first. Together, the railways and steam ships formed a transport network that allowed tourists to get into Kawartha Lakes and travel within it.

Kawartha Lakes' first tourists were not cottagers, but rather hunters and anglers. Upon arriving in Kawartha Lakes in the first half of the nineteenth century, early settlers had made note of the area's

abundant fish and game. Although most were hunting and fishing for subsistence, there was certainly a recognition of the ability to hunt and fish for sport. John Langton, an early settler in Verulam Township and later a prominent Canadian political figure, wrote extensively in his letters of the region's abundant game which he hunted both as a necessary food source, but also as a recreational pursuit. He noted in an 1833 letter:

Our fish are the bass, the maskinonge – a most excellent species of pike, as fat almost as an eel – and the eel itself; the sunfish I believe we have but I have never seen nor tasted any; the whitefish abound above and salmon trout below. The bass is our staple commodity and a most excellent one it is; if you are on the lake, tie a line, baited with a piece of red cloth, round your wrist and proceed on your journey, and it is ten to one that, before you have got a quarter of a mile, you will feel your prize....For game, we have an abundance of venison, which is becoming more plentiful as the clearings increase, affording them more food and driving off the wolves...Partridge and rabbit are pretty plentiful, but the former difficult to get without a dog. Ducks, in thousands and tens of thousands, frequent the rice beds at the moult of the Scugog. (John Langton, *Early Days in Upper Canada: The Letters of John Langton*, ed. W.A. Langton (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1896), 34-35.)

As accounts such as Langton's reached those outside of Kawartha Lakes, the region's potential as a hunting and fishing destination quickly became recognized and soon people, mostly men, were travelling to the region to camp, hunt and fish. By the second half of the nineteenth century, Kawartha Lakes, as part of the wider Kawartha region, was well-known both nationally and internationally as a destination for hunting and fishing. The large number of waterbodies which were slowly being connected by locks, meant that travel between the large lakes was easy and allowed for visitors to fish easily in prime locations. Similarly, the still remaining large tracts of forests that had not yet been cleared were particularly well suited for deer hunting, and ducks were also abundant, as Langton had promised in his correspondence.

Kawartha Lakes' reputation as a prime fishing destination was reinforced by marketing, particularly by railway companies. The Toronto and Nipissing Railway, for example, which reached Coboconk, its terminus, in 1872, published a tourist guide in 1874 which actively promoted the region as a destination for anglers. The guide stated:

The rivers and lakes abound in excellent fish – maskinonge, black bass, and trout being as numerous as minnows in a rivulet. The woods are well stocked with partridge and deer during the season; wild duck in flocks frequent the lakes and rivers. To those whose tastes lead them to enjoy the lonely forest in quest of game, or who love to linger along the shady and cool streams, sporting with the finny inhabitants of the clear waters, the route north of Coboconk combined every advantage with economy. It is easy of access, it affords excellent sport, and abounds in scenery sufficiently interest to the most romantic nature. (*The Nipissing Guide and Holiday Companion* (n.p.: 1874), 10.)



Deer hunting camp, early twentieth century

Hunting and fishing were primarily recreation activities undertaken by men during this time, although women did sometimes participate in fishing excursions. Early visitors lodged with local people or camped, but by the second half of the century, a range of hotels had developed to cater to visitors, including those who came specifically to hunt and fish. The Rockland House in Bobcaygeon, for example, was first built in the mid-nineteenth century and later, after the original hotel burned down replaced by an ornate Victorian structure in 1875; it was known as a prestige hotel for fishermen and patronized particularly by wealthy Americans who came to Bobcaygeon in large numbers throughout the second half of the nineteenth century specifically to fish. The sporting holiday continued to be an important driver of tourism in Kawartha Lakes throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century and sportsmen were served by a wide variety of accommodation. The 1889 publication *Guide to the Fishing and Hunting Resorts in the Vicinity of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada* advertised a wide array of hotels for hunter and anglers in Kawartha Lakes, including four hotels in Bobcaygeon, two in Coboconk and three in Kinmount, as well as the types of fish and game to be found in abundance, the names of guides, and availability of gear and transportation. This did not, however, mean that camping and canoeing was no longer part of the hunting and fishing vacation, but alternative accommodation became increasingly available for those who desired a more comfortable experience. In some areas, groups of hunters and fishermen established their own clubs and camps exclusive for



Hotel Kawartha, Fenelon Falls, c.1902

their use, including the Lakewood Club in Coboconk, the former house of local businessman and community leader Adam Carl that was purchased and turned into a summer residence by a group of American fishermen from Lakewood Ohio, and the Longford Reserve, where a group of American sportsmen purchased the majority of Longford Township in the mid-twentieth century for use as a private fish and game reserve.

However, while hunting and fishing trips provided a summer recreation escape for men, and would continue to do so throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, they did nothing to provide a getaway for women and children, who were also seen, in the context of broader nineteenth century thought surrounding the purity and virtue of the wilderness environment in contrast to the industrialized city, as needing a retreat and respite from everyday urban life. Some women accompanied their husbands, fathers and brothers on camping trips, but they were in the minority and it became difficult when also trying to accommodate children. Initially, some women travelled north from the city to Kawartha Lakes with their husbands and children to stay at hotels while the men canoed and camped. New hotels were constructed to help create a summer experience for those who were not intending on sleeping in a tent, including the Sturgeon Point Hotel, discussed in more detail below, and Hotel Kawartha, a renovated version of the older Clifton House Hotel, which opened in 1902 specifically to cater to tourists. Even with the development of private family cottages by the turn of the century, hotels continued to be well-trafficked by summer tourists, including both families and sportsmen. New hotels continued to open and be operated well into the twentieth century, such



Family at their cottage, early twentieth century

as Locust Lodge in Bobcaygeon which opened in 1924 and which remains in operation as the Bobcaygeon Inn. These hotels and resorts were by no means rustic; most summer resorts established throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in Kawartha Lakes and other summer tourist destinations including Muskoka, were well-appointed and intended primarily for an upper and upper middle class urban elite who sought comfort in the midst of a wilderness, whether real or imagine.

However, by the late decades of the nineteenth century, a new form of summer accommodation had emerged: the summer cottage. Beginning in the 1870s, private cottages began to be constructed, primarily by wealthy city dwellers; the earliest cottage in the region was constructed on Stoney Lake in the 1860s, with development slowly expanding westwards through Peterborough and then Victoria Counties. Looking for a more private, less communal experience than staying at a hotel or resort, the cottage was developed in the tradition of the summer house, but specifically with a rustic focus, where city dwellers could stay for the season and participate in nature-based activities, relaxation and leisure.

One of the challenges in establishing cottages around this time was access. Although there were train stations dotted throughout Kawartha Lakes by the final quarter of the nineteenth century that made accessing the region from larger urban centres fairly straightforward, getting further away from a



Steamer Lintonia at Thurstonia, n.d.

settlement site to a remote cottage was not feasible without some sort of additional mode of transportation. In nineteenth and early twentieth century Kawartha Lakes, the main mode of transport to cottaging areas was by steamship. The earliest steamships had appeared in the broader region in the 1830s and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century were developed primarily as a mode of transport for new settlers and for the transport of goods. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, steamships were firmly ensconced as part of the tourist economy; in a region with substantial waterways, steamships provided a key mode of transportation and connected Kawartha Lakes with the waterways throughout the broader region and were actively advertised at tourists and site seers. It was also at this time that the lock system was rapidly developing throughout the region, allowing for through navigation between many of the larger lakes along what would eventually become the Trent Severn Waterway. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a fleet of steamships, including well-known vessels such as the *Ogemah*, the *Esturion*, the *Manita*, and the *Kenosha*, plied the waters of Kawartha Lakes, taking day-trippers from towns across the lakes, organizing excursions and facilitating travel between towns. They also provided a vital service in establishing new cottage areas, particularly along Sturgeon Lake.

The limitations of using mass transportation to travel to a summer residence was that steamships could not stop at every dock and bay. As a result, early cottages developed accordingly and were primarily clustered in groups or subdivisions where steamships could access them. These cottage communities came to define the summer recreation experience of the late nineteenth century, with summer homes clustered together alongside amenities and recreation facilities to help provide an

enjoyable and convenient experience for families. The first of these is the broader Kawartha region was at Chemong Park, on Chemong Lake in Peterborough County, which developed as a recreational summer subdivision in the early 1880s around an existing hotel. Parallel developments were occurring throughout the 1870s and 1880s throughout Ontario's growing recreational zone, including Muskoka and the Thousand Islands where there was also existing access to areas suitable for cottaging by rail and steamship.

The earliest and most well-known of these communities in Kawartha Lakes is Sturgeon Point. The Point, as it is frequently referred to, was first used as a picnicking and day trip location as early as the 1830s and the first regatta was held here in 1838. Throughout the middle decades of the nineteenth century, it was regularly used, particularly by people from Lindsay, as a day tripping location and for camping. By 1876, 100 acres there were purchased by George Crandell, a shipbuilder and steamboat operator from Lindsay, who proceeded to build a three-storey forty room hotel for summer visitors. As with other summer hotels from this period, it offered a wide array of recreational activities for visitors, who came from both Lindsay and from urban centres further afield, including dances, picnics and boating regattas. Crandell, of course, served the burgeoning recreational destination with his own steamships, including the Vanderbilt, the largest ship in the broader Kawartha region in the late nineteenth century.

By the early 1880s, Crandell had begun to sell off individual lots at Sturgeon Point for cottages and the community rapidly developed into a vibrant summer settlement, attracting urban families, as well as those from Lindsay. By the turn of the twentieth century, the community boasted sixty-seven cottages with more constructed throughout the 1900s, 1910s, and 1920s. Cottages were constructed in a variety of sizes although some, particularly for wealthier residents, were very large, including that constructed for the Flavelle family along Lake Avenue. As cottages developed, so too did amenities, including a church and golf course, and community activities, including the boating regatta, provided community spirit and vibrancy to the summer community. The development of a cottage community around an early summer resort was not uncommon in late nineteenth century Ontario; a similar dynamic was playing out contemporaneously at Mount Julian on Stoney Lake where a resort was established in 1885 and, soon after, a cottage community grew up around the hotel.

At the cottage, families were given the opportunity to play at what was viewed as a more primitive life, away from the modern conveniences of the city. When viewed in contrast to the lives of Indigenous people or Kawartha Lakes' early settlers, the cottage experience was nothing of the sort, but it was certainly less regimented than late Victorian and Edwardian urban life, with fewer conveniences and access to activities in nature, including swimming, canoeing, and fishing. Often, the wife and children, and in many cases their servants, would come and stay for the entire summer while the husband would join them as his work schedule permitted. This was not immersion in the untamed wilderness by any means, with access to other families and transportation into town as required, but it certainly would have seemed so for many urban families who, even as wealthy members of society, would not have necessarily had access to the kind of environment they found at places like Sturgeon Point where they lived in rustic buildings with few modern amenities and took part in leisurely outdoor activities outside the social norms of urban Edwardian society. Dress was more casual and the social standards of Edwardian society relaxed. Days were filled with enjoyable,



Sturgeon Point Regatta, 1907

but respectable, activities, including visiting friends, picking berries, boating, and sketching. These activities were both family and community focussed, with the period of time at the cottage seen as a time to engage in enjoyable pursuits with family and friends and build those relationships between family members and with other cottagers in the context of nature.

By the early decades of the twentieth century, new cottage communities were developing as the desire for this type of summer recreational experience grew, with summer cottages established in places such as Pleasant Point on Sturgeon Lake and Long Point on Balsam Lake, where cottages grew up in close proximity to one another alongside recreational and service facilities intended to serve the cottagers throughout the summer months. The broader Kawartha region had become a well-known tourist destination and was actively promoted as such, particularly by the railway companies who increasingly relied on tourist traffic for their revenue, with a significant number of visitors from Toronto and from the United States who either purchased or rented cottages. A 1911 reference guide to the Trent system produced by the Department of Railways and Canals recognized the rapid pace of tourism development in the region stating:

The route of the Trent Canal consists of a chain of lakes and rivers unsurpassed on the Continent in their varied attractiveness as tourist resorts. It is only within recent years that these picturesque waters have been commercialized in the matter of being advertised as tourist resorts but to-day there is not one available point or island on the lakes and rivers throughout the entire system



Picnicking on Stoney Lake, early twentieth century

that is not dotted with pretty summer homes and comfortable hotels, maintained almost exclusively for the tourist traffic. The growth of the popularity of these waters, as an ideal spot to spend the summer months, has been really astonishing, and to-day they are receiving a degree of advertising by railway companies equal to that give to the much older established, but no more attractive resorts, such as the Thousand Islands or Muskoka. (Department of Railways and Canals, *Reference and Guide Book: The Trent Canal* (Peterborough: The Peterborough Examiner, 1911), 27.)

This period also saw the rise of summer camps as a recreational opportunity for children, particularly for young boys for whom the first summer camps were established in order to provide them with the moral and physical benefits of an extended block of time in the wilderness; girls camps were also established, but these were fewer in number. The oldest of these camps in Ontario was established



Swimming at Camp Kagawong, 1925

in 1894 in Temagami and others soon followed in rural areas of the province. In Kawartha Lakes, the oldest of these was Camp Kagawong, established in 1908, located on Balsam Lake; camps such as this were both established in Kawartha Lakes as permanent sites and the area was also used by other camps for trips travelling through the area, particularly on canoe trips. Camp Kagawog on Balsam Lake, along with many of the other original summer camps in Ontario, was advertised in the 1915 Grand Trunk Railway publication, *The Playgrounds of Canada*, which stated:

Camp Kagawong was organized with a definite aim, based on many years of successful work with boys. This aim is to provide a place where boys may lead a simple, manly, outdoor life, in which emphasis is placed upon clean, sturdy living upon reverence of manners, upon self-reliance, and physical accomplishments. (Grand Trunk Railway, *The Playgrounds of Canada* (1915), 54.)

As in other areas of tourism, summer camps were intended to immerse children in nature, not

just as a fun experience but also build character and experience the benefits of being in nature for an extended period of time. Children were also taught valuable life skills, from the practical to the intangible, emphasized through an outdoor recreation program. This was particularly the case for boys, for whom camps were seen to build a ruggedness and resilience that they would need in their adult life and which could only be found outside of an structured urban Edwardian childhood; as the Victorians viewed getting into nature as vital for men in building their masculine character, so too it was for boys attending summer camps where they were to have access to the perceived unspoilt wilderness. These clearly gendered views of childhood and growing up vitally shaped the camp experience and the development of boys camps and their activities, such as extended canoe trips, intended to build strength, teamwork, and manliness. There was also an underlying current of Christianity in most of these early summer camps, allied with the idea of muscular Christianity where moral and spiritual virtue was to be gained through outdoor physical pursuits. This included camps that were both explicitly associated with church groups – including the well-known Brotherhood of St. Andrew camp whose members were involved in a tragic canoeing accident on Balsam Lake in 1926 –

and those without specific religious affiliation where summer camp was seen as a method for supporting and promoting Christian leadership in what was, at the time, still largely a Christian country.

Despite the rise of more comfortable and permanent tourist accommodation, camping still remained an active pursuit, both for anglers travelling through the area in the summer and for families who could not afford a cottage or hotel stay. In the early twentieth century, it was not an uncommon sight to see the shores of the major lakes, including Balsam, Cameron, Pigeon and Sturgeon, dotted with tents. These campers were both from Kawartha Lakes' urban communities – primarily Lindsay – as well as from further afield, with campers reported as coming from the northern United States for a week or more of camping on the lake. As the *Lindsay Daily Post* reported in July 1907:

With the near approach of the hot season, the annual camper out is getting in readiness to enjoy the hot weather away from the busy towns and cities under canvas in the cool delight of the lake margin. Ever popular with the campers and tourists, the Kawartha lakes are already beginning to swarm with summer visitors. Sturgeon Point is now largely private property and offers little opportunities for the campers. There are number other pretty and inviting spots on Sturgeon Lake on which to pitch a tent and spend a few weeks or a month. Bobcaygeon offers attractive facilities for campers and the season there promises to be better than ever. Pigeon Lake, on the other side of 'Caygeon, is the rendezvous of hundreds of visitors yearly. Fenelon Falls, Rosedale, Coboconk and other points on the northern division of the Kawartha lakes hold first place in the hearts of many as ideal haunts in which to spend the summer. ("The Camping Season," *Lindsay Weekly Post*, July 12, 1907, 6.)

For local residents, the arrival of hunters, anglers, resort-based tourists and cottagers in the late nineteenth century had major economic impacts. Despite the fact that many urban dwellers who arrived to holiday at the lake saw the area as an empty and untapped wilderness, people lived there and non-Indigenous people had been settled in Kawartha Lakes since the 1820s. Although Kawartha itself was derived from an Anishinaabemowin word, there was limited recognition of the Indigenous presence on the land and, by this time, Indigenous people had primarily be pushed off their land and onto reserves at Curve Lake and Scugog Island. In the late nineteenth century, Kawartha Lakes' economy was primarily based around agriculture and the lumber industry, and this did not change until well into the twentieth century, but tourism became an increasingly important part of the local economy. While there may have been challenges accommodating increasing numbers of visitors, the arrival of seasonal residents brought money to the region, and had impacts on the development of businesses and employment for local people. The hotel businesses became a lucrative source of income and both large and small accommodations could be supported by the large number of visitors throughout the summer months. The produce served in hotels largely came from local farms and provided farmers with an additional source of income. Young men worked as guides and provided labour for cottagers, including construction, while young women could find work housekeeping and working in hotels. Businessmen like George Crandell made significant profit from transportation and



Grand Trunk Railway Travel Pamphlet, 1903

twentieth century were poor and had developed sporadically throughout the course of the period. Colonization roads, such as the Bobcaygeon Road, Monck Road, Cameron Road and Victoria Road, were cut from the forest in the 1840s and 1850s to assist new settlers travel north in the northern parts of Kawartha Lakes. These roads were of mixed quality and often no more than dirt tracks through the forest. As new communities developed and settlers established their farms, additional roads were created, but there was no overarching program of road building and most roads outside of towns and villages, even by the early twentieth century, were rough and even impassible.

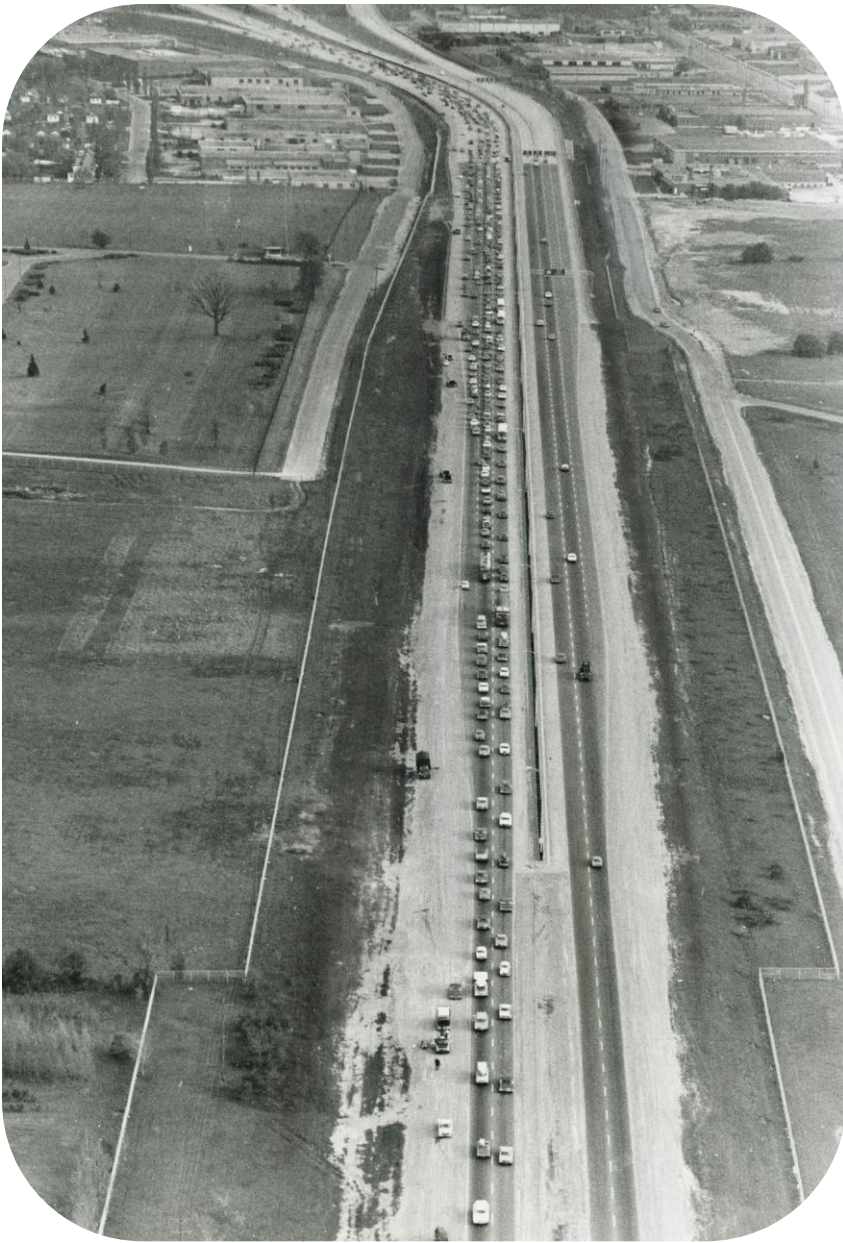
For late nineteenth and early twentieth century tourists, roads were not a good option to reach resorts and cottages because they were not good enough for sustained or expedient travel. For example, an early road trip by car taken by Lindsay dentist Dr. H. Irvine in 1911 between Lindsay and Minden – a trip of under 80 kilometres – included an overnight stay in Coboconk. Prior to the rise of the automobile, train and steamship travel did the job, but was not necessarily perfect or luxurious. Passengers were at the mercy of large corporations with fixed schedules and routes, and were subject to a range of inconveniences beyond the traveller's control. Similarly, while train lines existed to a large number of cottage country destinations, cottagers were often required to change trains or boats multiple time or take multiple forms of transportation. For Americans, who came to

land speculation and thus the summer recreation industry became integrated into Kawartha Lakes' broader economic fortunes.

Highway-Based Tourism

By the middle of the twentieth century, however, the recreational landscape in Kawartha Lakes was undergoing a major shift. This was due to the rise of the car as the primary transportation methods for getting to and from seasonal properties. With the growth of the road network and the increased mobility of visitors, the way in which visitors traveled, stayed and interacted with Kawartha Lakes underwent a significant change.

Roads in Kawartha Lakes in the late nineteenth and early



Highway 400 northbound traffic on the May long weekend, 1969

Kawartha Lakes in large numbers around the turn of the century, this was accentuated by the long distances and border crossing. However, even with the arrival of the automobile in the early twentieth century, car travel was slow to take off as a method of getting to and travelling around Kawartha Lakes as roads remained generally poor, and cars out of reach financially for the majority of people.

Throughout the first several decades of the twentieth century, road quality gradually improved and rates of car ownership slowly increased as they became more accessible for more families. In the interwar period, the provincial government embarked on a variety of infrastructure and road building projects, in response to the Great Depression and also to regularize the wide array of roads and highways across the province. In Kawartha Lakes and the surrounding area, the need for better roads came, in part, due to the recognition that they were required for the increasing number of tourists arriving by car. The Department of Highways, now MTO, assumed the Cameron Road from Lindsay to Fenelon Falls in 1931 and designated it as Highway 35; at the same time, the

province initiated a relief project constructing a road from Coboconk to Dwight, which would eventually form the northern section of the highway. Throughout the decade, the province gradually finished construction and assumed the entirety of what is now Highway 35. Paving began in the mid-1930s and continued throughout the 1940s and 1950s. A similarly process was occurring around this time with Highway 46 and 48, now Portage Road, which were absorbed into the provincial highway system in 1937, with paving taking place throughout the 1950s.

The shift to tourism driven by road-based transportation meant changes to the area's summer recreation culture. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and accelerating after the Second World War, the preference of summer visitors for their summer accommodation definitively shifted from luxurious resorts to family cottages. This change was already occurring by the turn of



Avery Point Cottages, Lake Dalrymple, early twentieth century

the century, but accelerated as the car became the preferred mode of transportation, as the convenience of the resort due to its proximity to, or even ownership by, railway and steamship companies, was surpassed by the ability of individual families to take themselves to their own cottages; it was also exacerbated by the Great Depression, which saw the definitive decline of the luxury resort and its replacement by modest and rustic summer homes. In fact, the impact of the growth of the car as the primary mode of transportation to the cottage in Ontario was the most marked in Kawartha Lakes and the surrounding region because of the collapse of the steamship companies in the core of the Trent system in the 1920s which forced holidaymakers to get to their cottages on their own.

The ability of people to transport themselves to their own cottages also impacts where those cottages were located. The necessity of using trains and steamships to reach cottages meant that many cottages were located either close to train stations or on major lakes where steamships travelled; many, as at Sturgeon Point, were clustered in small summer communities to help provide amenities nearby. However, cars allowed people to make their own way to their cottages and, as a result opened up large areas of Kawartha Lakes off the main travel routes and on smaller lakes where there had previously been no recreational properties. This can be seen most notably in the Kawartha Lakes in its northern lakes, such as Dalrymple, Four Mile and Head, which were not navigable from the Trent Severn system but were opened up for cottage construction in the middle of the twentieth century with the construction of new roads. The Department of Lands and Forests, which surveyed

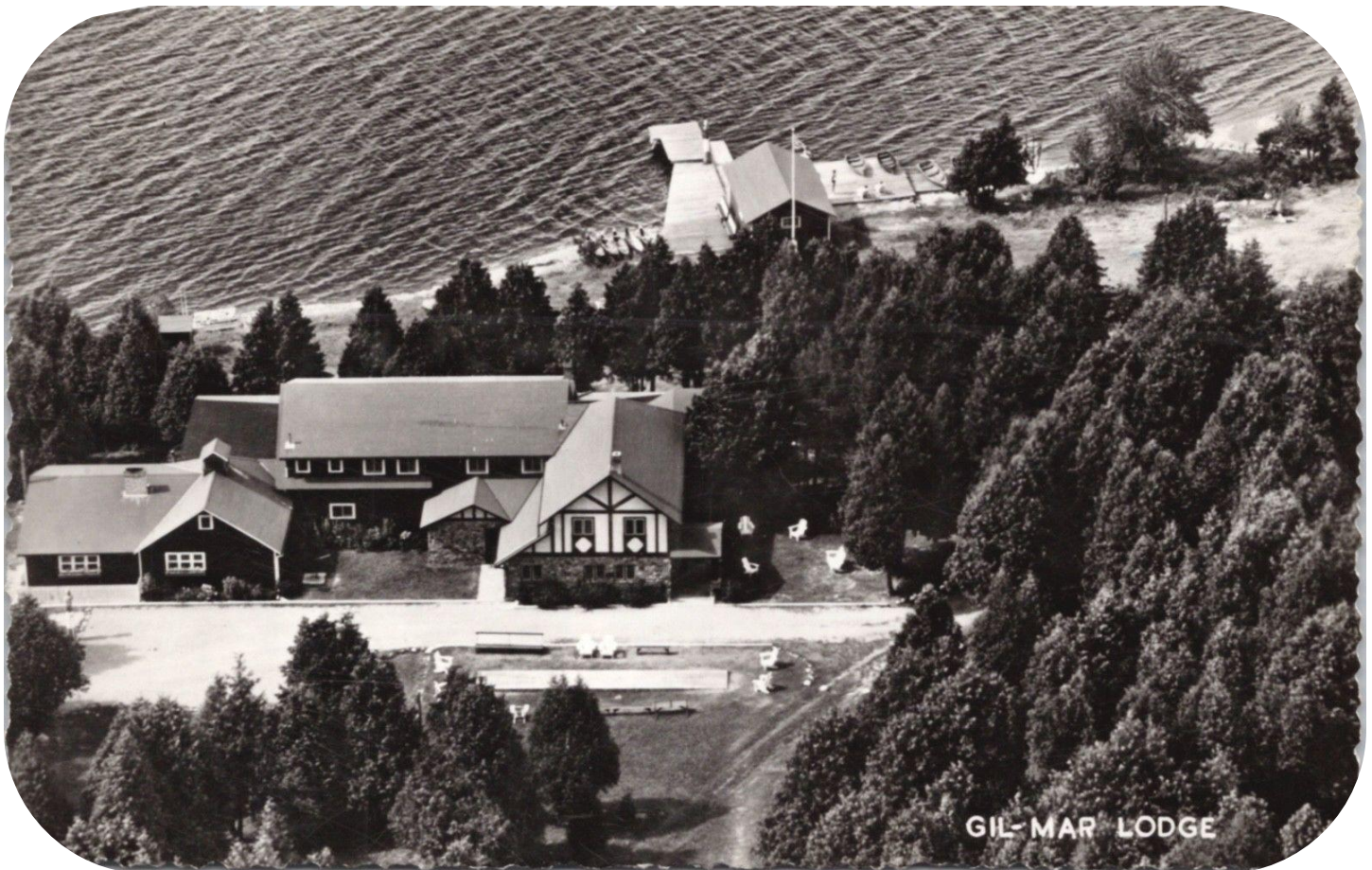


Aerial View of Emily Provincial Park, late 1950s

and sold most cottage lots in Ontario prior to the Second World War, made note of this change in their 1939 *Annual Report*, stating:

A remarkable increase in the number of interested inquiries for cottage sites has been the result of an opening of new roads into the watered areas of the North. A large number of these inquiries have been from American citizens which affords striking evidence that the buildings of roads in these areas has been justified. (Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, *Annual Report* (1939), 11.)

A knock-on effect of the car as the primary mode of transportation to recreational areas across the province, including Kawartha Lakes, was that more people visited them. As rates of car ownership increased, particularly among middle and working class people, the families that owned them increasingly used them to travel to holiday destinations. This also corresponded with the development of paid holidays for the majority of workers, particularly for working class people who generally did not have vacation time until after the First World War and, as such, no ability to take time off to travel to the countryside for a summer retreat. Kawartha Lakes, with its close proximity to the rapidly growing Greater Toronto Area was a popular destination for travellers and the rates of cottage ownership and visitation increased dramatically in the interwar period. Local newspapers



Gil-Mar Lodge, Sturgeon Lake, mid-twentieth century

reported record numbers of visitors by the end of the 1930s as motorists arrived in Kawartha Lakes. Owning a cottage, however, remained inaccessible for many families and many of these visitors spent their holidays at rented cottage resorts, lodges, private campsites and trailer parks or the two new provincial parks, Emily, established in 1957 and Balsam Lake, established in 1968.

New accommodation businesses, such as Gil-Mar Lodge on Sturgeon Lake which was founded in the 1930s, became new fixtures on the landscape and catered to a middle and working class clientele looking for an affordable and rustic holiday experience, as opposed to the higher end resorts of the late nineteenth century. Most of these resorts were comprised of a central lodge building and smaller rustic cottages where families could stay. Generally, they included recreational facilities, such as shuffleboards and tennis courts, gathering space and sometimes dining facilities in the main lodge building, and water access with docks and beaches for families to swim and boat. These resorts were extremely important in driving the growing tourist economy, allowing more people without the means to buy a cottage to visit Kawartha Lakes and take part in summer recreation activities. Many families came to the same cottage resort year after year, identifying it as their own cottage or resort and a core part of their family's summer traditions.

Although the mid-twentieth century saw the democratization of summer recreation in Kawartha Lakes with the middle and working classes able to take their vacations in the region, Ontario's tourism industry was not immune to discrimination. Cottage country visitors in the middle of the century were



Fenelon Falls Tourist Camp, Garnet Graham Park, c.1940

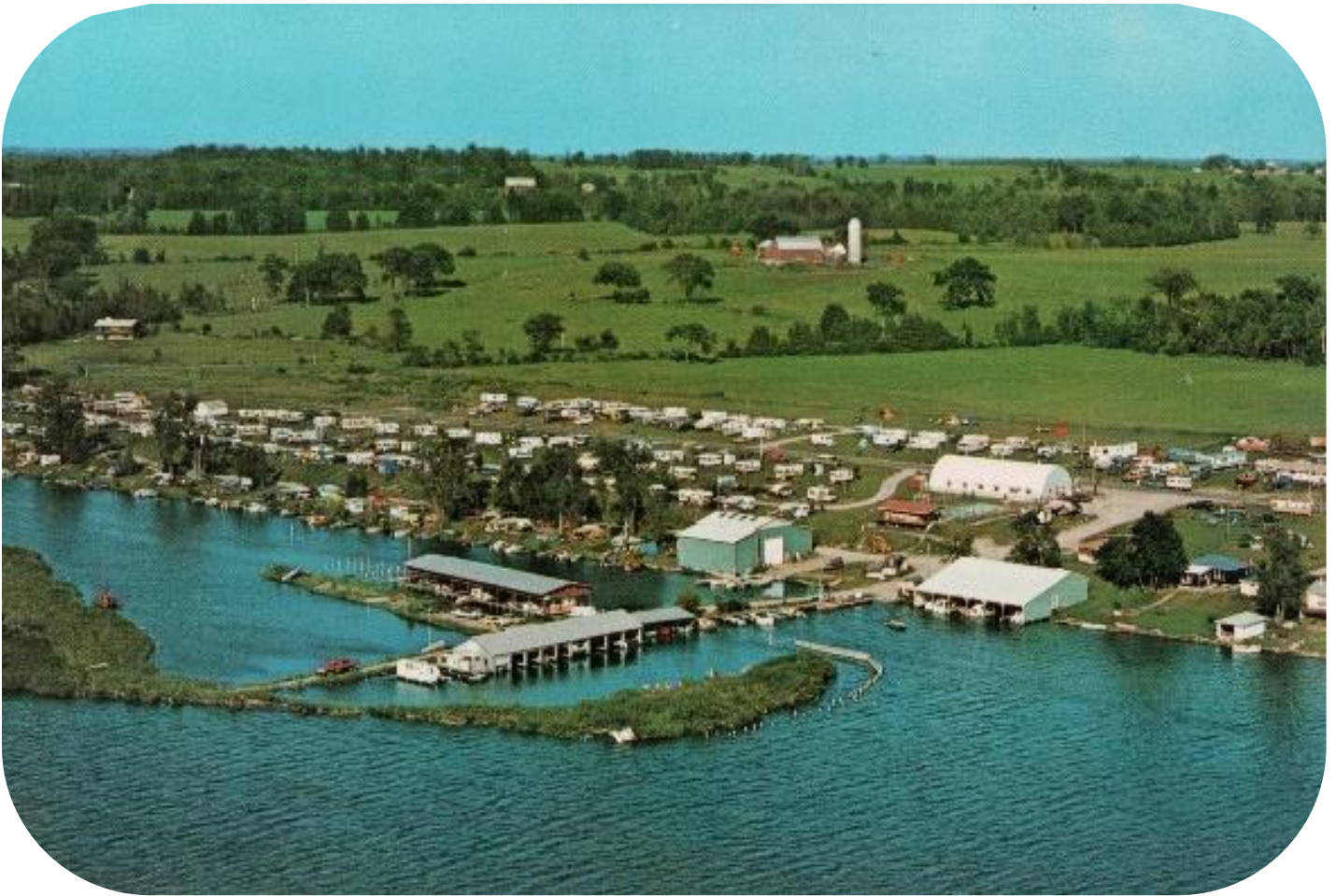
overwhelmingly white and Christian and many accommodations actively discriminated against non-white and non-Christian people, notably against Jews. By the middle decades of the twentieth century, Jews formed the largest ethno-cultural minority group in Toronto and many wanted to participate in the same summer recreation activities and holidays in cottage country as their non-Jewish neighbours but, at many resorts and cottage communities, they were not welcome as a result of the period's rampant anti-Semitism. In Kawartha Lakes, the response to this trend was the opening of a Jewish resort in Pontypool in the late 1910s which catered exclusively to working class Jewish families from Toronto. From its opening in 1916, it expanded from the hosting of other Jewish families at the Pontypool home of Polish-immigrant Moishe Bernstein to a community of nearly 50 cottages, a resort, and seasonal synagogue by the middle of the twentieth century. Resorts such as this, both in Kawartha Lakes and across Ontario, signalled the beginning of a shift in cottage country summer demographics. Whereas in the nineteenth century, participating in nature based recreation was defined very strongly along racial, religious and demographic lines, these boundaries had begun to loosen by the middle of the twentieth century to attract a more diverse tourist population, although it should be noted that, even by the late twentieth century, cottaging and its associated activities were still viewed very much as a holiday option undertaken primarily, but not exclusively, by white people.

For families coming up to cottage or stay at resorts, trailer parks or provincial parks, the activities they participated in were fairly continuous from the mid-nineteenth century. Activities such as



Boat in the Fenelon Falls Lock, 1975

swimming, canoeing and fishing retained consistent appeal, and some events, including the Sturgeon Point Regatta continued from their origins in the nineteenth century. The strong focus on family-focussed relaxation from early cottaging period also remained a consistent emphasis. However, some activities, particularly canoe tripping, waned in popularity with the increased development of the shoreline which did not allow for camping in non-designated locations or travelling out for the day and picnicking on points and islands, most of which were quickly being sold into private hands. Camping became highly reliant on serviced campgrounds, both private ones such as the campground opened at Log Chateau Park in 1967, those developed and operated by local municipalities including the Fenelon Falls Tourist Camp, and those at Emily and Balsam Lake Provincial Park and expanded to include caravans and trailers alongside tents, and provided amenities not found in nineteenth century ad hoc campsites such as electrical hook ups, fire pits, and tuck shops. These campgrounds were accessed by car and were a significantly different experience than their nineteenth century predecessors. However, with the decline of canoe tripping, came the rise of motor boating. The earliest private gasoline powered launch arrived in the region in 1898, but vessels such as this were not widespread or accessible to the majority of people until after the Second World War. With the proliferation of private motor boat ownership beginning in the 1950s and accelerating in the 1960s, recreational boating became a major aspect of the summer experience in Kawartha Lakes. The introduction of this new activity was aided by the widespread upgrade of the Trent-Severn locks and facilities at this time by the Ministry of Transport which increasingly recognized the value of the



Snug Harbour Marina and Campground, mid-twentieth century

system as a recreational resource throughout the second half of the twentieth century. This included upgrades to the locks themselves but also with the addition of new facilities, including washrooms and picnic areas, to cater to both day trippers and through boaters who began to form a greater number of visitors in the region in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The arrival of tourists in cars had a large effect on the economy, just as the arrival of the first tourists in the previous century had. Not only were more people able to access the region more easily, but new businesses sprung up to serve these arriving motorists. These included: services stations where travelers could have their cars repaired and purchase gas, snacks and other necessities for a long trip by road; roadside inns and motels for overnight accommodation; trailer parks, campsites, cottage resorts, and lodges for those who wanted to come to Kawartha Lakes but could not afford to purchase a cottage of their own; and restaurants, diners and snack bars to stop for food along the routes. Although these businesses also catered to local residents, a significant portion of their clientele were from other parts of the province, country or from the United States and tourism continued to form an increasing part of the area's economic backbone, particularly as other industries which drove the nineteenth century economy, such as the lumber industry and its associated businesses, declined throughout the twentieth century. Similarly, with increasing number of summer visitors, businesses also developed to serve their needs such as marinas for the serving and storage

of boats, gift and souvenir stores in communities, and construction businesses that built, repairs and looked after seasonal residences.

The arrival of more and more cottagers also had an impact on land division and the settlement land grants of the nineteenth century. Although southern Kawartha Lakes had proved a successful agricultural environment, large areas of northern Kawartha lakes were not, with poor or little soil, swamp and rocks making profitable agriculture extremely difficult. The increased demand for cottages meant that families with farms along waterways suddenly had a new source of income: either the creation of lodges to cater directly to new tourists, or the severing of cottage lots from their properties. Many farmers took this second option and were able to add to their income through land sales. Many also undertook work for the new cottagers, particularly through constructing the new cottages, as an added source of income, and maintenance when cottagers were away for the majority of the year. This new source of income was extremely important for many rural families and helped continue a shift away from resource extraction based economic activities to supporting the local tourism economy.

By the end of the twentieth century, tourism had become firmly entrenched as one of Kawartha Lakes' primary economic drivers. As in the nineteenth century, participation in nature based tourism and outdoor recreation remained the primary reasons tourists chose to come to the region, including some families who had been coming to the region since the early development of resorts and cottages in the late nineteenth century. Even as new tourist opportunities developed, particularly outside of the summer season, and the number of people coming to the area increased, cottaging and its associated activities, including boating, swimming, and other nature-based and family-focussed pursuits, remained core aspects of the reason tourists came to Kawartha Lakes centred on relaxing and resetting in nature.

Types of Heritage Resources

The types of heritage resources related to the development of recreational tourism in Kawartha Lakes encompasses built and natural resources dating from the mid-nineteenth century until the present day as this economic driver remains a key aspect of the Kawartha Lakes economy. Although many of these resources have been lost, there are a significant number of resources which remain extant and used for their original purpose. Most of these resources are related to or in close proximity to the wide range of waterbodies throughout Kawartha Lakes. They can be generally categorized into the following types of resources:

- Cottages
- Inns and tourist accommodation
- Camps, including both summer and hunt camps
- Boathouses and docking
- Commercial and institutional establishments related directly to providing services for tourists
- Industrial establishments related to products aimed at tourists (i.e. boatbuilding)

- Transportation routes and associated structures including roads, waterways, railways, and bridges
- Trails
- Recreational facilities
- Waterways and waterbodies
- Natural features

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