FOREST DEPENDENT COMMUNITIES IN CANADA

AN INTERPRETATIVE OVERVIEW AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1995-2
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1995
RDI Report Series 1995-2

The views contained herein are those of the author and do not necessarily represent
the views of any other organization or individual.
PREFACE

Often overlooked in our search for policies to improve economies and lifestyles of citizens is the essential role of past policies and cultures. Forestry has been an essential component in the fabric of Canadian living since early settlement. Whole communities and sub-cultures have developed around the industry and are part of the fact and fantasy of Canadian "bush" history.

Dr. Robert Robson has a keen interest in the history of forest dependent communities in Canada. This document traces the important phases of change in forest dependent communities from the Holistic Era through the Comprehensive Era to the decline management phase of recent decades. He also addresses the components of Native forestry, industrial restructuring, community forestry and current environmental management.

The author and editor wish to acknowledge the project funding provided by the Canadian Forest Service. Special thanks are extended to Ashwin Shingadia, Norma Burlington and David Boulter for assistance during the project. Partial funding for publication of this document was provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) through its Aid to Small Universities Grant to Brandon University. The Rural Development Institute receives funding from Brandon University and Manitoba Rural Development. Joan Rollheiser, Administrative Assistant of the Rural Development Institute, prepared the manuscript for publication.

Dr. R. C. Rounds, Series Editor
Director, The Rural Development Institute
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INTRODUCTION: FORESTRY AND THE FOREST DEPENDENT COMMUNITY

The forests of Canada have traditionally been one of the mainstays of the local economy. Whether in terms of the Aboriginal population who developed sophisticated patterns of forest use, the European colonizers who utilized the forests for building materials or the modern industrialists who not only processed the materials of the forests to produce the planks, boards and shingles so much in demand by contemporary society but also have attempted to regenerate forest stock, Canadian forests have and in many ways continue to be the catalysts of growth and development. The forests, however, provide more than just an economic basis for Canadian society. Indeed, the forests offer a continuum through which Canadian society can be defined. Very much a part of the staple tradition, forestry has, as H.A. Innis has argued, stamped its image on Canadian society.¹

Writing in the early twentieth century Canadian economic historians considered the staples’ all-inclusive impact on the Canadian community. Defined as a commodity with a high natural resource content, that requires little on-site processing and that lends itself well to export, the staple was seen to be integral to the well-being of the developing community.² Important to the discussion and perhaps best articulated by Innis, Canada’s foremost staple historian, was the evolutionary process of staples development. Innis maintained that there was a well-defined evolutionary line running from one primary product to the next and that each staple, through the process of development, left its indelible mark on the community. In this regard Innis and later historians, as well as economists such as A.R.M. Lower, D.G. Creighton, V.J. Fowke and most recently M.H. Watkins, argue that Canada’s economy is a staple-dependent economy.

The exploitation of each primary resource has not only provided for a unique form of community but also introduced a new staple to the equation.³ In its simplest form the argument suggests that fish introduced fur, which introduced forestry, which introduced agriculture, which introduced mining, which introduced hydro-electric power development. At each stage, the dominant commodity, whether the cod of Grand Banks, the white pine of the Miramichi or the nickel of the Sudbury nickel basin, redefined the evolving community. Not only did the economy adjust to the new staple but also the workforce, the political structure, systems of transportation, community infra-structure and even family relations.⁴

Long before the arrival of the European population in North America, Canada’s First Peoples were active forest users.⁵ Whether in terms of the Malecite population of the Atlantic region, Haida of the Pacific coast or the Chipewyan of the so-called arctic region, Canada’s indigenous population had developed a forest dependent economy. The forests provided subsistence, items of trade, methods of transportation, shelter,

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5 The best source on aboriginal forest users is still The Handbook of North American Indians as published by the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. Volumes 5 and 6, documenting the arctic and sub-arctic cultural groups, are the most useful.
fuel, clothing, tools and protection. In many areas the forest also offered the basis for nature spiritualism. To the Aboriginal population, the forests were more than simply day-to-day subsistence. The forest and the life of the forest were the essence of the community.

For the European settlers the forests were both a positive and a negative attribute of the new world. On the one hand the forests provided the materials necessary for subsistence; the logs and boards for the home, the shingles for the roof, the planks for the fence and the fuel for the fire. On the other hand, the forests were an obstacle to agriculture. The forests had to be cleared, the trees cut, the stumps removed and the land levelled before farming could be pursued.

There was apparently little market for the products of the North American forests until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. The French crown, which enjoyed the privileges of colonization in New France until the Seven Years War of 1756-1763, did little to encourage or promote forest development. While there is some evidence to suggest that the colony exported what Jamie Swift in Cut and Run has termed "huge sticks" of squared timber, it was seemingly not a major item of trade until long after the French crown had been forced to withdraw from North America. According to Fernand Ouellet in the Economic and Social History of Quebec, timber exports from Quebec did not begin to grow until 1808 and even then consistent growth was not achieved until 1816.7

Elsewhere in what would become Canada, (particularly in Nova Scotia), forestry was slowly becoming a dominant economic activity. According to Gillis and Roach in Lost Initiatives, by approximately 1780 North American timber was beginning to find a place in the world timber market. Atlantic timber became a much sought after commodity when several thousand United Empire Loyalists were relocated to what would become New Brunswick and international trade patterns changed (particularly the circumstances of Baltic timber). As suggested by Graeme Wynn in Timber Colony, this is reflected in timber export data which shows that for the years 1805-1812, New Brunswick timber exports multiplied almost twenty fold.8 Timber quickly "formed the basis of provincial trade" and further "built the towns of Saint John, Chatham, St. Andrews and Fredericton."9

In Upper Canada (Ontario), the settling population which arrived in the post - 1791 era took to forestry, but only as it augmented agricultural settlement. As Arthur Lower maintains in Settlement and the Forest Frontier, the first viable forest product exported from the interior was potash not timber.10 This, of course, was a direct by-product of the land clearing process.

Eventually, however, lumbermen would establish a forest interest. This was particularly true of the Ottawa Valley region where by as early as 1804, the Mears, the Hamiltons and even forestry legend Philemon Wright, had established lumbering operations. In many ways and as argued by Michael Cross in his dissertation "The Dark Druidical Grove," the Ottawa Valley lumber trade would come to typify the rough and ready nature of the forest frontier.11

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7 See: F. Ouellet, Economic and Social History of Quebec, 1760-1850, Ottawa, 1980.
10 Ibid., p. 34.
11 A.R.M. Lower, Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada, Toronto, p. 34.
From the Ottawa Valley, the lumber trade moved across the frontier stretching to the Kawartha’s, the Muskokas, the French River area, the Lake Nipissing district and into the Lake Superior region. Eventually the so-called “lumber barons” would come to dominate the Ontario lumber trade. Individuals such as J.R. Booth, the Gillies Brothers or E.H. Bronson would consolidate controlling interests of Ontario’s forest. As well and as has been suggested by H.V. Nelles in The Politics of Development, they would also come to consolidate control over the local legislature.

Towards the end of the century the expansion of the lumbering activity in Ontario also would see the expansion of American interests into the province. Culminating with the Dingley Tariff of 1897 and Ontario’s response with the so-called “manufacturing condition,” the continental circumstances of Ontario forestry would define a central place for government in the forestry sector. As has been articulated best by Richard Lambert and Paul Pross in Renewing Nature’s Wealth, government would become an increasingly active participant in forestry through the course of the twentieth century.

British Columbia forestry, like Ontario forestry, would experience rapid growth and expansion from the mid-nineteenth century onward. Although as suggested by Taylor in Timber: History of Forestry in British Columbia, there is some evidence to indicate that timber was exported as early as the 1780’s, the forest industry does not become well-established in British Columbia until the gold rushes of the 1850s and 1860s which brought about new demands for B.C. lumber. When combined with the British Admiralty’s newly expressed interest in B.C. lumber and the demands of the American west-coast market, this meant that attention was focussed on the potential of British Columbia’s forests. The Hastings Mill, the Moodyville Sawmill Company, and the British Columbia Mills, Timber and Trading Company all benefited from the new found interest in B.C. lumber. So too did J.H. Bloedal, A.S. Brooks, M.J. Scanlon and John Hendry, all of whom would loom large in the development of B.C. timber. Eventually with the rationalization of the forest sector, B.C. timber production would come to be dominated by the so-called big seven; MacMillan Bloedal, Crown Zellerbach, Rayonier, Canadian Forest Products, B.C. Forest Products, Northwood and Canadian Cellulose. As a result, forestry would also come to assume a significant place in the economy of the province. Indeed, as suggested by P. Marchak in Green Gold, the “commodity group” of lumber, pulp, newsprint, etc., comprised 69.5% of B.C. exports by 1980.

Prairie forestry unlike British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec or New Brunswick was slow to develop. In part because of the location of the prairie forests and in part owing to the natural obstacles encountered, forestry did not attract the same high level of interest in the prairie district as it did elsewhere. Indeed, as argued by W.A. Mackintosh in Prairie Settlement, “The continued possibilities of prairie settlement much outweighed the meagre attractions of wooded country.” As the frontier slowly progressed across the prairies, however, the wooded or forested area became a more viable settlement alternative. As a result, by the mid to late 1920s the Carrot River Valley, the Melfort district, the Prince Albert area, and the Peace River region all experienced

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15 Ibid., p. 104.
the expansion of the settlement frontier. The in-migrating population cleared the forests and prepared the land for cultivation. The timber was used for building purposes, fuel and on occasion for trade.

Eventually commercial timber operations developed in the prairie region. T.A. Burrows, for example, joined with Arthur Walkly in 1878 to begin sawmilling operations on the Fort Alexander Indian Reserve. By 1902, the Imperial Pulp Company controlled and operated several timber berths in the vicinity of Edmonton. In 1903 the Big River Lumber Company controlled approximately 250 square miles of timber land north of Prince Albert.

Whether in consideration of the Red Deer Lumber Company, the Manitoba Paper Company or the Sprague Lumber Company, prairie-based lumbering operations slowly moved into the forested area. Along the way Manitoba communities such as Grandview, Bowsman, Mafeking, Pine Falls, and Barrows would come to depend upon forestry activities for their livelihood. At Barrows, for example, as argued by G. Palmer and E. Dobbyn in their study of the Swan River Valley, the local population not only benefited from the income generated by the lumbering operation but also many of the local inhabitants enjoyed access to company housing. At Pine Falls, not only did community members have access to company housing but also as J.P. Mertz has shown in his paper "The Planning of Pine Falls," residents benefited from a Manitoba Paper Company sponsored community club and a company store. In the end, then, the prairie region like British Columbia, or New Brunswick, also gave rise to a vibrant forestry industry, complete with forest-based activities and forestry dependent communities.

DEFINING FOREST DEPENDENCY

Forest dependent communities depend upon the forestry sector for their continued vitality. They have been called either single industry or single enterprise communities. The former has been defined as a community "in which a large percentage of the basic labour force is involved in a dominant industrial activity" while the latter is a community in which the labour force is not only involved in a dominate industrial activity but in which the industrial activity is controlled by a single enterprise or industrial firm.

In the case of the forestry dependent community the dominant industrial activity is that of forestry. As argued by Nicole Pharand in her study, Forest Sector Dependent Communities in Canada and as developed by Statistics Canada's Standard Industrial Classification, there are at least four major activities associated with forest based industries.

First, the logging industries consist of enterprises "primarily engaged in producing roundwood." The various activities pursued by the logging industries range from the rafting and towing of wood through to the endeavours of the barking mills. Second, forest services industries include forestry patrol, fire fighting and reforestation or tree farming. Third, the wood industries group has six sub-groups: sawmill, planing mill and shingle mill industrial activities; veneer and plywood industries; sash door and other millwork industries;

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21 Ibid., p. 32.
22 Ibid., p. 32.
26 N. Pharand, Forest Sector - Dependent Communities in Canada: A Demographic Profile, Ottawa, 1988, pp. 58-59.
wooden box and pallet industries; coffin and casket industries; and, other "wood industries" such as wood treatment plants or the manufacturing of particle and wafer board. Finally, the paper and allied products industrial grouping includes four sub-group activities: pulp and paper industries (which in many regions has become the dominant forest related activity); the asphalt roofing industry; the paper box and bag industries; and the "other converted paper products industries."

The study of community dependency recently has become a topic of considerable discussion. Although it is for the most part a product of the post-1970 recessionary era, the discussion of community dependency is a topic that can be traced back to the early twentieth century. Indeed, work like A.K. Grimmer’s "The Development and Operation of a Company Owned Industrial Town," J.P. Mertz’s "The Planning of Pine Falls, Manitoba" or J.A. Walker's "Company Towns" are all early examples of the attempt to study the dependency relationship of single industry towns. Of the pre-1970 literature, however, there is little material published that establishes the parameters of the dependency relationship. While most authors maintain that the company or the industry dominates the activity of the community, they seldom attempt to analyze the degree or level of dependency. Even formative studies such as Single Enterprise Communities or Ira Robinson’s New Industrial Towns in Canada’s Resource Frontier, offer little in the way of a discussion of the dependency relationship.

Two of the first Canadian studies that attempted to establish a measure for dependency are H. Archer’s "A Classification of Single Enterprise Communities" and Rex Lucas’ often cited Minetown, Milltown, Raittown. Archer’s thesis develops a functional approach to the dependency question. The author uses what is called a "dominant function," which is defined as "The function which employs the highest percentage of the labour force," in an effort to identify single industry communities. Lucas, similarly, develops a minimum employment ratio in an effort to determine the dependency factor. In both cases, while the authors do well to consider the dependency issue, their attempts to offer a basis of analysis is both simplistic and lacking in depth.

From Archer and Lucas the study of dependency moves to the federal government’s Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE). In a 1977 publication entitled Single Industry Communities, and, in a follow-up publication entitled Single Sector Communities, in 1979, DREE presented the results of a nation-wide survey of single industry communities. Undertaken in an effort to both identify single industry communities and to provide a means for measuring dependency, these two studies have helped to establish the contemporary framework for dependency analysis.

The Department of Regional Economic Expansion’s work utilized two criteria in the measurement of dependency. The first was a modified employment classification system. Much like Archer and Lucas, the federal government established a minimum level of employment as the main criterion of dependency. Recognizing the problems of economies of scale, DREE then employed a declining ratio of dependency based upon total population. A community of 2,500, for example, was considered a single industry community if

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28 See: Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, a report prepared for Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation by the Institute of Local Government, Queen’s University, Kingston, 1953; and; I. Robinson, New Industrial Towns on Canada’s Resource Frontier, Chicago, 1962.


more than 60 percent of the labour force was employed in the dominant industrial activity, while for a community of 30,000 or more the ratio had to be more than 20 percent.

The second criterion was utilized in an effort to gauge economic diversity within the community. Using the Herfindahl index, DREE attempted to develop a specialization of industrial activity index to correct "for dispersion of other economic activity." By measuring employment and specialization the two studies defined new parameters for the discussion of dependency.

In 1986, W. White, B. Netzel, S. Carr, and G.A. Fraser in their study, *Forest Sector Dependence in Rural British Columbia*, built upon the methodology developed by the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in 1977 and 1979, to further refine the dependency equation. The authors in this case, however, attempted to incorporate a means for gauging the differing degrees of dependency. In the process, they developed a five-tiered approach to forestry dependency. Including forest dependent communities, dual communities with forestry and a second economic function as the dominant functions, diversified communities with a minimum of three dominant functions (including forestry), specialized non-forest communities that have retained a forest component and communities with little or no forest dependency, the various levels of dependency provide for the relative assessment of forest dependency within the local economy.

Two studies published by the Canadian Forestry Service in 1988 further attempt to refine the dependency equation. Nicole Pharand's *Forest Sector-Dependent Communities in Canada* is a national overview of forest dependent communities. The author develops a reasonable definition of forest dependency, a wide-ranging community typology and a rather lengthy list of dependent communities. In terms of defining forest dependency, Pharand employed a percentage of total employment relative to the total population as the means of measuring dependency. For communities of under 9,000 inhabitants, 30 percent of the population had to be employed in the forestry sector in order to be considered forestry dependent, while for communities between 10,000 and 29,000 inhabitants the ratio was 25 percent and for communities of 30,000 or more, 20 percent.

The second Canadian Forestry Service publication is that of T.W. Steele, D.M. Boylen and A. Baumgartner entitled *Saskatchewan's Forest Industry*. Focusing specifically on the province of Saskatchewan, the authors employed what they called "location quotients" to identify forestry dependent communities. This was determined by comparing forestry employment in a particular community with provincial forestry employment. In the end, Steele, et al., concluded that a community was forestry dependent if forestry employment was ten times more concentrated than the provincial average.

The most sophisticated method of measuring forest dependency and the most thorough analysis of the subject is Stephen Fletcher's thesis entitled "Economic Analysis of Forest Dependent Communities in the Prairie Provinces of Canada." Published in a slightly revised form in 1991 by Forestry Canada in conjunction with the Department of Rural Economy at the University of Alberta, as Stephen Fletcher, William White, William Phillips and Luis Constantino's *An Economic Analysis of Canadian Prairie Provinces’ Forest*

32 Single-Sector Communities, op. cit., p. 15.
34 N. Pharand, op. cit.
36 Ibid., p. 59.
Dependent Communities, this work not only offers a reasonable method for identifying forestry dependent communities but also provides a good literature review, an up-to-date list of prairie region forestry dependent communities and some data concerning recent trends in forest dependency. In the end the authors develop a forest dependency index (FDI) which measures "the degree of employment that the forest sector contributes to the base divided by total base employment."\textsuperscript{39}

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN FOREST DEPENDENCY

Central to the discussion of forestry dependent communities are the variety of issues that can be identified through the literature pertinent to community and community infrastructure. In general and while these issues are indeed wide ranging, a perusal of the relevant material suggests that there are four or five dominant themes. In other words, although labour turnover, gender relations and transportation are all significant in terms of the circumstances of the forestry dependent community, perhaps even more important are the particulars of government policy, industrial restructuring, Native forestry, community forestry and environmental management.

All five issues appear most readily to reflect the current circumstances of the forestry dependent community; a community that is very much in transition. The forestry dependent community is moving away from the tradition of government sponsored and/or encouraged industrial activity that provided little in the way of long-term economic stability, environmental protection or conservation and most significantly, community involvement. In its place, the contemporary forestry dependent community is rapidly becoming a locally directed, environmentally responsible, well-integrated, co-operative endeavour. Gone are the days when community stability meant a 10 or 15 year timber license. Now, community stability means a long term commitment to a community based, integrated or holistic, forest management initiative.

Government Policy

The study of government policy as related to forestry production and forestry dependent communities, would indicate that the government's role in the development of the sector has followed an evolutionary path. Initially government policy was intended as a means of facilitating resource development. It shifted from a development at all costs perspective to a forest management approach with a particular emphasis on the "proper utilization" of forest resources to the sustainable use of the forests with a long-term commitment to forest regeneration. Most recently, globalization has influenced Canadian forestry. Along the way, government policy at various times has encouraged the involvement of large multi-national forestry companies, the clear cutting of forested areas, the introduction of silviculture, conservation management and community forestry.

The historical assessment of government forestry policy offers a mostly negative appraisal of government activity. In general, the literature appears to suggest that government used forestry and forest development as a means of encouraging growth and expansion. Government for the most part adopted what Gillis and Roach in \textit{Lost Initiatives} have termed the "exploitive ethic" in the harvesting of timber resources.\textsuperscript{40} Policy, when articulated, provided for the ease of access to Canadian forest resources. As argued by H.V. Nelles in \textit{The Politics of Resource Development}, in many cases this policy actually was defined by the so-called "lumber barons."\textsuperscript{41} The Philemon Wrights or the J.R. Booths exercised tremendous influence in the decision

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item See: S. Fletcher, W. White, W. Phillips and Luis Constantino, \textit{An Economic Analysis of Canadian Prairie Provinces' Forest Dependent Communities}, Edmonton, 1991.
\item S.B. Fletcher, "Economic Analysis of Forest Dependent Communities in the Prairie Provinces of Canada", \textit{op. cit.}, p. 26.
\item R.P. Gillis and R.R. Roach, \textit{op. cit.}
\item H.V. Nelles, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 48.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
making process. Not that this was completely negative as, is maintained by Lambert and Pross in their study of Ontario's Department of Lands and Forest, the spinoffs or linkages were wide ranging, affecting everything from transportation infrastructure to community expansion. Nonetheless, there was actually little concern for anything beyond the productivity of the forests.

By approximately 1914, conservation management was introduced to the forest sector. In large part a product of the reform era, the "proper utilization" of forest resources slowly became the central thrust of government policy. Best typified through the activity of the federal government's Commission of Conservation, the newly articulated policy initiative coincided with the development of the notion of scientific forestry. Described by B.E. Fernow in a paper entitled, "Scientific Forestry," as being a "radical change in the attitude of our people and government from that of exploiters to that of managers," scientific forestry combined forest preservation with the scientific use of forest resources. Unfortunately, however, as is argued by Jamie Swift in Cut and Run, conservation management of forest resources still regularly deferred to the demands of the "exploiters."45

In the 1920s, the initial enthusiasm for conservation management declined dramatically and a more traditional, expansionary policy initiative took hold. Designed to encourage large scale investment with minimal government intervention, the expansionary thrust of forest policy was perhaps most notable in the pulp and paper industry, where firms such as Consolidated Paper, Abitibi Power and Paper or Canadian International Paper, consolidated their hold on newsprint production. The laissez-faire policy of government re-established the lumber interests as the decision making force in Canadian forestry policy.

The passive nature of government forest policy would remain in place until the Great Depression of the 1930s would force all levels of government to assume a more active role in directing the affairs of state. By approximately 1934, government had redefined forest policy in an effort to stimulate economic recovery. Through the reduction of timber dues or pulpwood tariffs, government in Canada once again sought to promote forest expansion. As is maintained by Lambert and Pross in Renewing Nature's Wealth, natural resources were viewed as the means to recovery and were fully exploited by government in an effort to encourage capital investment and further economic growth.47

The interventionism of the 1930s would be codified through the 1940s in a variety of different ways. By the early 1940s government had become a more than willing participant in the local economy. Keynesian economic theory provided for everything from government investment capital to void building schemes.

45 J. Swift, op. cit.
the forest sector, government adopted a holistic approach to the management of Canada’s forest resources. This more than anything else was intended to provide for a well-integrated and reasonably efficient, forest economy. The proper utilization of the forests once again echoed through the government decision making process.

Of particular importance to the new era of government intervention was the concept of sustained yield forest management. As is concluded in the Alberta report, Perspectives II: The Forestry Industry in Alberta, sustained yield management provided for permanent manufacturing facilities based upon the responsible management of forest resources.\textsuperscript{48} It was seen by government across Canada as the means of not only maintaining forest production but also ensuring forest preservation. At the same time and as suggested by the Royal Commission Report Timber Rights and Forest Policy, it also ensured an ongoing government presence in the forest sector.\textsuperscript{49} Critical to the participation of government was the evolving co-operative approach to forestry. Defined by the Standing Committee in Forestry and Fisheries as a "partnership in forest management," government was not only a participant in forest management but also a partner.\textsuperscript{50}

From sustained yield the policy initiative moved in the general direction of sustainable development. Perhaps best defined by Robert Weeden in the paper "An Exchange of Gifts," sustainable development is an activity that is economically feasible, environmentally sound and socially acceptable.\textsuperscript{51} In terms of the forest sector, sustainable development has meant everything from what J. Dufour has called "A New Silvicultural System," to British Columbia's Ministry of Forestry's notion of "enhanced stewardship."\textsuperscript{52} J.L. Bourdages describes the concept most succinctly as "nine strategic directions" of forest activity.\textsuperscript{53} Including forest stewardship, forest management, public participation, economic opportunities, forest research, the work force, Aboriginal people, private forests and the global community, sustainable forestry is a multi-faceted initiative that involves all the stakeholders in the forestry management program.

By 1991 sustainable forestry had evolved into the wide ranging program of holistic forest management. As articulated in the Forestry Canada report, The State of Canada's Forests, the new focus was on the "full range of economic, environmental and social values" of contemporary forestry.\textsuperscript{54} Very much a part of the federal government's "Green Plan," forestry policy reflected the environmental concerns of the community at large. It was, nonetheless a loosely defined policy initiative that without the dramatic "restructuring of the forest sector," would not fully impact on forest management.\textsuperscript{55} Indeed, as implied by G. Bull, forestry policy must not only address the contemporary issues of forest management but also the system of forest management.\textsuperscript{56}


\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
The holistic theme of forest management was broadened in 1992 by the Forest Sector Advisory Council when it published a "vision" statement on the future of Canadian Forestry. The report reaffirms the industry’s commitment to sustainable development but it does so in conjunction with the realities of the forest community. In this vein, the report not only comments on conservation strategies or reforestation programs, but also discusses retraining initiatives and labour adjustment programs.

While government policy continues to focus on sustainable forestry, there appears to be a new development in forestry management which maintains that sustainable forestry is too short sighted and, too simplistic to adequately deal with the contemporary issues of forestry management. As argued by J.H. Drielsma, J.A. Miller and W.R. Burch, sustainable forestry is not the panacea for the forest community. The concept as it has been applied, the authors maintain, downplays both the nuances of the global market place and the needs of the local population. Forestry and forestry dependency, according to Drielsma, et. al., is a much more complicated issue than is provided for by sustainable development.

Industrial Restructuring

As suggested in the study Canada’s Single Industry Communities, "Economic adjustments, technological changes and industrial restructuring," during the 1980s, and into the 1990s, has had a devastating impact on communities in Canada and more specifically on communities dependent upon a single industrial activity. Forestry dependent communities are no exception. Whether in Sooke, British Columbia, Terrace Bay, Ontario or The Pas, Manitoba, when the dominant forest industry is forced to re-tool, downsize or shut-down, so too must the community. Some communities such as Temagami, Quebec, respond to economic decline with resilience, while others such as Nanaimo, British Columbia, successfully make the transition away from forest dependency. Some, however, such as Ocean Falls, British Columbia find no alternative to closure and are forced to downsize and eventually decommission the community.

There are at least six major causes of industrial restructuring: 1) the exhaustion of the resource base, 2) market decline, 3) competition from other producers, 4) low profitability, 5) technological change and 6) public policy shifts. These various aspects of decline have had a major impact on forestry dependent communities. As has been suggested in the paper, "The Decline of Resource Towns," the post-1970 era is largely a period of "bust management." Whether in terms of job creation strategies or small business loans, the process is geared towards the maintenance or downsizing of faltering community infrastructure. The era is one of decline management concerned with problems of economic diversification, alternative employment opportunities, worker retraining programs, industrial re-tooling, relocation subsidies, property depreciation and even lost equity.

In large part facilitated by the two senior levels of government, the forest industry and a number of labour organizations, the decline orientation of the era is clearly reflected in the wide selection of programs made available. Ranging from the federal government’s Industry and Labour Adjustment Program (ILAP) to the Quebec Federation of Labour’s Solidarity Fund, the newly articulated program initiative was an attempt to offset the changing economic circumstances of resource dependent communities.

60 Ibid.
At the federal level, decline management has evolved under the direction of four government departments or agencies. At the center of change was the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC). In specialized areas or circumstances the Departments of Indian and Northern Affairs (INAC), Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) and Industry, Trade and Commerce (IT&C) have all, at various times, contributed programs to the maintenance initiative. In many regards, and particularly through the activity of CEIC, the federal government has come to dominate the wind-down process.

The Canada Employment and Immigration Commission has, at one time or another, offered four programs which have been applied as decline mechanisms. With varying degrees of success, the Manpower Consultation Service, the Work Sharing Initiative, the Industry and Labour Adjustment Program and the Job Strategy’s Innovation Program all have been incorporated into the decline management initiative. Most successful was the Job Strategy’s Program. Introduced in 1985 the program was designed to assist in the recovery process as well as to provide a vehicle for permanent economic restructuring. In suggesting that the program was “far more comprehensive and far more flexible” than any of the previous initiatives, one-time Minister of Employment and Immigration, Benoit Bouchard, clearly underscored the central place of the job strategy concept in the federal governments’ restructuring endeavours. Indeed, as maintained in the report Canada’s Single Industry Communities, many of the original federal government programs were actually absorbed by the Job Strategy’s initiative.

Of particular significance to the forestry dependent community was the Community Futures Program. When and if a community demonstrated the “potential for permanent growth and development” and further, a willingness “to mobilize its resources for recovery,” the Community Futures Program offered a variety of mechanisms for economic revitalization. Ranging in scope from the Self Employment Incentive Grant to the Community Initiative Fund to even the Relocation and Exploratory Assistance Program, the Community Futures initiative was very much a catch-all of support services.

The pertinent INAC programs that have applied most directly to the issues of crisis management were the subsidy programs intended to encourage the participation of Aboriginal peoples in the forest production process. While not exclusively decline oriented, programs such as INAC’s occupational training courses or the various relocation subsidies available through the department, have had some impact on the decline process.

The DREE programs that were made available to forestry dependent communities were a series of initiatives designed to provide industrial expansion for "slow-growth" areas. Very much attuned to the theme of economic diversification, the Department’s approach to crisis management centered on the incorporation of industrial incentives or subsidies as the main growth mechanism. Initiatives such as the Enterprise Development Program or the Federal Business Bank, for example, were both intended to encourage the industrialization of remote areas. Providing start-up capital and re-tooling funds, much of the DREE program was aimed at "productivity enhancement."

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62 See: Canada’s Single Industry Communities: A Proud Determination to Survive.
63 See: The Northern Time, 24 September 1986, p. 3.
66 Ibid.
The final component of the federal governments' wind-down thrust was the prerogative of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce. Similar to the activity of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, IT&C's focus was on the growth of small industry. Operating under the mandate of the Small Business Loans Act, IT&C offered loan guarantees to a variety of small business enterprises, many of which were located in forestry dependent communities.

While the federal government has appeared to play an inordinately large role in the provision of support services, several of the provinces also have designed and implemented crisis management programs. Ranging from New Brunswick's Employment Adjustment Centres to British Columbia's Commission of Critical Industries, the variety of programs offered by the various provincial governments have underscored the bust orientation of the era. Indeed, the Advisory Committee on Resource Communities in Northern Ontario, tabled its final report with this sense of pessimism when it suggested that "the outlook is not encouraging" and further that policy "should be directed to facilitating such downsizing with minimal social and economic adjustments." 67

The third component in the wind-down process is the forestry company itself. Although there is no prescribed method of re-tooling or downsizing, in many cases the company has assumed the lead role. This is particularly true where government legislation has forced the company to become an active participant in the wind-down program. Through government enforced indemnification payments, relocation subsidies and working retraining programs, the forest sector has become more and more responsive to the problems of closure.

In some cases such as the Crown Zellerbach closure at Ocean Falls, the company willingly participated in the Manpower Adjustment Committee or even instituted a buy-back scheme for privately owned dwelling units. 68 In other cases, such as the Churchill Forest's operation in The Pas, shut-down offered few, if any, alternatives to the working population. 69

Regardless, however, of the benevolence of the company, in most cases the wind-down strategy does little to re-establish the community. Indeed, as argued by T. Dunk and R. Nelson in a paper entitled "Relevance, Retrain, Readjustment," the opportunities offered by the Mainstream Access Job Program or the Industrial Adjustment Committee, only perpetuate the long-term dislocation of displaced workers. 70 These initiatives, Dunk and Nelson maintain, do not empower the unemployed but rather deskill, disempower and devalue the unemployed forest worker.

The final actors worth noting in the crisis management experience are the trade unions. Although worker's organizations have been active participants in decline management at communities such as Kapuskasing and Terrace Bay, it is in Quebec where labour has seemingly been most successful in providing for forest workers. Facilitated in large part by the Quebec Solidarity Fund, Quebec labour has come to play an important role in the diversification and job creation program. Perhaps best seen at Temiskaming, the Solidarity Fund has helped to provide for the employee takeover of the Canadian International Paper Company operations. 71 Re-established as the Tembec Company, the Quebec Federation of Labour in conjunction with the provincial

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68 See: Ocean Falls Normalization Program, British Columbia, Ministry of Economic Development (n.d.)
69 See: Manitoba, Commission of Inquiry into The Pas Forestry and Industrial Complex at The Pas, Manitoba, Report, Vols. 1-6, 1974.
government, has provided the mechanism necessary to permit the employee group to become a 45 percent shareholder in the pulp and paper activities of the Temiskaming region.

Native Forestry

Native based forestry operations have recently become a major issue in the forestry debate. Not only does it reflect many of the pressing concerns of contemporary forestry, but also speaks to the issue of the greater self-determination of Canada’s First Peoples. On the one hand, Native forestry is community based, responsive to the needs of local population and offers the opportunity for local economic development. It also helps to establish the framework for the greater empowerment of Aboriginal peoples. In many ways, Native forestry in conjunction with other resource management schemes, could be regarded as the way of the future for the Aboriginal community in Canada.

There is a long established, although often ignored, tradition of Native forestry in Canada. Extending well beyond the standard forest uses of house and home, the Aboriginal populations from the beginning of the industrialization of forestry have been active participants in the timber trade. Whether it was the Temagama Anishnabi people of central Ontario or the Ojibwa population of the Lakehead, Canada’s First Peoples recognized the timber value of Canada’s forested area and in many cases, attempted to capitalize on the same.72 The Garden River Band’s forestry operations in northwestern Ontario is a case in point. In work recently completed by Janet Chute, it is readily apparent that not only did the Garden River population develop the timber resources of the Lakehead Region but also became skilled and efficient forest workers.73 While the combined force of government and the forest industry eventually overwhelmed the forestry endeavour of the Garden River Band, the Native community at one time was the dominant group in Lakehead forestry.

It would appear as though the Aboriginal community is once again turning to the forests as the means of economic well-being. This is particularly true in British Columbia where as argued by A. Hopwood in The Social and Economic Returns from Investments in Forest Management Programs on Indian Lands, there is undoubtedly the most potential for Native based forestry operations.74 In specifically documenting the circumstances of the Stuart Trembleur Lake Band and the Coldwater Band, Hopwood offers an optimistic assessment of the potential for Native forestry. While each band has pursued a different method of forest management, each program has provided considerable opportunity for the local population.

A slightly different but equally as successful approach to Native forestry has been pursued by the Kluskus Band. According to Chief Roger Jimmie’s account in D.G. Brand’s Canada’s Timber Resources, the Kluskus population has established a productive as well as a profitable “wholistic tree farm.”75 This has provided the local population with not only employment opportunities but also the possibility of diversifying the local economy.

In 1990 the province of British Columbia created a Task Force on Native Forestry and charged it with the responsibility of investigating the circumstances of Native based forestry operations in the province. Reporting in the fall of 1990, the Task Force not only reviewed Native forestry practices but also made

73 See: J. Chute, op. cit.
recommendations intended to increase Native participation in the forest sector. Most notable in this regard was the emphasis that the report placed on community based forestry operations - particularly tree farming. With the apparent support of the Aboriginal community, the B.C. government is attempting to facilitate the growth of Native forestry.

While B.C. appears to be leading the way in terms of the development of Native forestry, in both Quebec and Alberta attempts have been made to encourage Native forestry practices. In Alberta, INAC’s efforts are specifically directed at the development of forest management procedures. In Quebec, considerable work has actually been done in the implementation of Native forestry programs. Operating through the Canada-Quebec Forestry Agreement, Forestry Canada has designed the Forest Management Program of Indian Lands as the delivery agent of the Native forestry initiative. Applied in 16 Native communities, this program has provided for not only Native forest management but also has created jobs and generated income. As is suggested in the Forestry Canada publication, Enhancing the Forests, however, the program more importantly has provided for the greater self-determination of the Aboriginal community.

Community Forestry

Community forestry is a pressing contemporary forestry issue. As suggested by W.F. Hydes in the paper "Social Forestry: A Working Definition," often referred to as "social forestry" or "agroforestry," community forestry is a fairly recent response to the community demands of the forest sector. Defined further by Duniker et al. in "Community Forestry" as "the management of forested lands directly or indirectly by representatives of local communities," community forestry provides for local input in the integration of forest based activities. In other words, it offers to the community the opportunity of controlling forest management with a view to integrating the forest resources into the local economy. Perhaps most pointedly, community forestry provides a "crucial core activity" essential to the well-being of the local population.

The best treatment of the community forestry phenomenon is Julian Dunster’s "Community Forestry: What Is It?" Originally presented at the Lakehead University Forestry Symposium in 1991, Dunster’s discussion is based upon his involvement in the Geraldton Community Forest project. The author develops ten "principles" of community forestry: 1) the land base must be controlled and managed by the community, 2) the forest land should be evaluated and designated as forest reserve land, 3) management should be controlled by a corporate entity, 4) the management program should be compatible with regional and provincial planning objectives, 5) the forest management plan should be integrated into a broader community development strategy, 6) the community forest should be self-sufficient, 7) staff of the project should be trained experts in their fields, 8) the project should operate at arms length from local politics, 9) the project should be environmentally sound and 10) that research and education should be important components of the

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76 See: "What We’ve Heard", Interim Findings of the Task Force on Native Forestry, 1990.
initiative. Dunster offers a step-by-step schedule for the implementation of a community forestry project. Critical to the success of the community forestry initiative, however, is local involvement at all stages.

The potential of both the Geraldton project and community forestry in northern Ontario generally is re-affirmed in two other studies. The paper "Geraldton: A Sustainable Community" published in Ontario Conservation News, discusses the wide array of outputs favourable to community forestry. Matakala and Duniker's study "Community Forestry as a Forest Land Option in Ontario" considers the necessary criteria for the successful implementation of community forestry. In both cases, the authors present the positive aspects of community forestry and further the benefits of integrated forestry.

While Ontario appears to have attracted the most interest in terms of the community forestry initiative, other provinces have undertaken local forestry projects. Both British Columbia and Newfoundland have been active in this regard. The two projects of North Cowichan and Mission, B.C. are described in P.N. Duniker, P.W. Matakala and D. Zhang's "Community Forestry." M.A. Roy in "Case Study: Towards Forestry in Newfoundland" not only discusses the particulars of the King's Cove Woodlot or the Portland Hill project but also develops the wide framework of the community forest initiative. Arguing that community forestry ties in directly with both regional and provincial development strategies, Roy makes a strong case for a provincially based community forest policy in Newfoundland.

Although the bulk of the literature dealing with the community forest concept is favourable in the assessment of the benefits of the initiative, there are some specific concerns with the wide ranging application of the community forest program. P. Berck et al. in the paper "Instability in Forestry and Forestry Communities," rightfully argue that community stability is more than just a reflection of forest production levels. Similarly, Pat Marchak in her paper, "Forest Industry Towns," maintains that community stability is not necessarily a by-product of community involvement in the local economy. In other words, both studies suggest that the community forestry initiative may be an overly simplistic response to local needs. Best put by Duniker, Matakala and Zhang, community forestry cannot be seen as a "panacea for the economic woes of every community." In the end, factors such as international business cycles, technological change and federal monetary policy, are probably even more important than forest management procedures in determining community well-being.

Environmental Management

In many ways, and as argued by Samuel Hay in his paper "Human Choice in the Great Lakes Wildlands," environmental management has become the cornerstone of modern forestry. Government, industry and the forestry communities all have come to recognize the inherent value of an environmentally sound forest management program. Evolving over a several year period, the environmental thrust of modern forestry is very much part of sustainable forestry. In the Alberta Environment Conservation Authority's study of the

86 See: P. Duniker, P. Matakala and D. Zhang, op. cit.
The Forestry Industry in the Peace River Region of Alberta, for example, watershed protection and wildlife habitat form the crux of the integrated land-use plan implemented in the Peace River district.\textsuperscript{87} Not only does the report focus on environmental concerns but also recommends that the economic benefits of forestry must be measured against the environmental impact of forestry production. In other words, successful forestry must both efficiently utilize forest resources and protect and preserve the local ecosystem.

Of particular interest in terms of the newly defined process of eco-forestry, is the attitude of the forest community towards the environment. Forest workers, mill workers and plant operators, have had to respond to the environmental issues of forestry production. In many ways the "jobs-versus-environment dichotomy" of forestry, as defined by Tom Dunk in his study "Talking About Trees," is one of the most pressing contemporary issues confronting the modern forest worker.\textsuperscript{88} Recognizing both the necessity of harvesting the forest and the importance of preserving the forest ecosystem, forest workers are valiantly attempting to balance the two initiatives. As Dunk's cutter maintains "without protecting the environment on a long-term basis we’re left with nothing."\textsuperscript{89}

While the environment is clearly an issue of concern to the forest community, it would appear as though the reality of the situation is quite a bit different than the rhetoric of the environmentalists. As argued in Flader's \textit{The Great Lakes Forest: An Environmental and Social History}, environmental protection is still of secondary importance to forestry production levels. The ongoing litany of aerial emissions, liquid effluents and destructive cutting practices, suggests that while the forestry industry may be cognizant of environmental issues, it is often less than willing to implement the measures necessary to ensure that environmentally sound forestry practices are actually applied. Both the Manitoba Clean Environment Commission and the Environment Council of Alberta, for example, in recent publications note the ongoing struggle to balance forestry production against forestry protection.\textsuperscript{91} In each case while the report is a mostly favourable account of forestry practices, the two studies do document continuing environmental abuses. In Manitoba's \textit{Report on Public Hearings} the emphasis appears to be on the impact of forestry on wildlife management while in Alberta's \textit{Our Dynamic Forests}, the environmental issue is the more general problem of the industrial by-product.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{90} See: S.L. Flader (ed.), \textit{The Great Lakes Forest: An Environmental and Social History}, Minneapolis, 1983.
FOREST DEPENDENT COMMUNITIES IN CANADA: AN
INTERPRETATIVE OVERVIEW

Introduction

Forest dependent communities "are communities that depend upon the forestry sector for their continued vitality". In other words, forest dependent communities are communities in which a large percentage of the economic activity is forestry based or forestry dependent. There are, according to Statistics Canada's Standard Industrial Classification, at least four types of forestry based economic activities: logging, forest services, wood industries and the paper and allied products industries. At various times and to one degree or another, each of the so-called "wood-based industries" have given rise to community and community infrastructure. Whether at Chatham, New Brunswick, Chandler, Quebec, Iroquois Falls, Ontario, Pine Falls, Manitoba or Ocean Falls, British Columbia, Canada's wood-based industries have not only facilitated community growth and expansion, and in many cases decline, but also the forestry industries have helped to provide the settlement framework for modern Canada. Indeed, as is suggested in the publication Single Sector Communities, roughly 25 percent of those Canadians that live outside of a major metropolitan area live in a community that is dependent upon resource production.

In general, the forestry dependent community typifies the metropolitan nature of the Canadian economy. The forestry town of the hinterland produces the raw or semi-processed material required by the metropolitan centre for the manufacturing establishments of the heartland. Defined by G.A. Stelter as

... entrepots collecting staples from their region for shipment to the metropolitan centre for final processing and, in turn, distributing the manufactured goods from the metropolis... the forestry town reinforces the colonial complexion of the Canadian economy. Discussed elsewhere in terms of "uneven development", "underdevelopment" or perhaps most succinctly as a "feudal" type of economy, the forestry town is clearly the product of an imbalanced trade relationship.

The historical evolution of the forestry community roughly corresponds to the pre-industrial and industrial eras of resource exploitation. Best articulated by the staple economists, the so-called "Great Divide" between the two periods is discerned by the degree and sophistication of industrial processing. When, for example, the sulphate process of pulp production was applied by the pulp and paper industry or when hydro-electric power was incorporated to run the machinery of the lumber mill, the forestry industries moved from the pre-industrial era of production to the more contemporary era of industrial production. In the process, not only did the various forestry industries adopt the newly developing technology of the era but also they were forced into a position where they, like other industries, had to adapt to the changing circumstances of the era.

93 N. Pharrand, Forest Sector Dependent Communities in Canada: A Demographic Profile, Ottawa, 1988, pp. 58-59.
94 Single Sector Communities, Ottawa, 1979, p. 59.
95 Single Sector Communities, op. cit., p. 1.
This, for example, meant that the forestry industries had to compete for labour, adjust to the increasing involvement of government as a regulatory agency, respond to changing societal demands and provide the infrastructure necessary to the modern era of forest exploitation.

The ramifications were wide ranging. Occupational structures within the forestry industry changed dramatically as did the required skills of the forestry workers. Cutting regulations, effluent controls and timber lease arrangements all forced the forest industries to become responsible forest-users. The demand for new products such as wafer board or newsprint, caused the industry to retool and recast existing plant facilities or construct completely new processing operations. Workers and workers’ families came to expect the provision of housing, schools, recreational facilities, hospitals and retail outlets as a pre-condition of employment. By the late-nineteenth century Canada’s forestry sector was clearly in a transitional stage.

The shift from the non-industrial to the industrial forestry base not only introduced new patterns of production to the Canadian economy but also forced a complete re-evaluation of the infrastructure necessary to the resource exploitation process. Although there was a continuing tradition of community which stretched from the shanties of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries to the modern towns of the twentieth century, the needs of the industrial society were far different from those of the previous era. Through the bush-related activities of various forestry industries, remnants of the camp environment existed well into the twentieth century. By the mid-late-1880s, however, forestry communities slowly began to resemble the contemporary “model town”. Just as the “bunk car” or “camoose” shanties were giving way to single family dwelling units, so too were the camps giving way to modern communities complete with large residential lots, wide winding streets, neighbourhood units and multi-use green space. The more contemporary the forestry dependent community the greater the effort to provide for the quality of life found therein.

This was, however, an evolutionary process which loosely coincided with three rather broad planning periods. Defined originally as the holistic and comprehensive planning eras, the periodization of the forestry town phenomenon now appears to include an era of decline management. When applied as a means of interpreting the process, the three periods help to underscore the nature of the shift from the frontier camp of old to the model towns of the present. They also demonstrate the growing importance of social design in the creation of the modern forestry dependent community.

The overall complexion of the post-1880 era is one of increasing cooperation between government and industry in the forestry sector. This was reflected in the creation of forestry dependent communities. With the growing acceptance of state intervention, most provincial governments and indeed even the federal government, eventually combined with the resource industries in an effort to provide adequate facilities in the forestry town. At the same time, however, community facilities were always secondary to industrial

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100 The term "model town" has been liberally applied by both town builders and commentators on the forestry town phenomenon. At various times communities such as Temiskaming, Iroquois Falls, Pine Falls, Ocean Falls and Gold River have all been designated as model towns.


facilities. While the forestry community eventually became a major variable in the process of resource exploitation, its final configuration was dictated by the prerequisites of the forestry industry.

Background

The pre-industrial era of forestry town development was dominated by the company initiative. The small localized townsites created during this period were simply adjuncts of the industrial complex. They generally give evidence of little pre-planning or, where planning did occur, the incorporation of an elementary gridiron design. The townsites of this era featured virtually no separation between industry and residential areas, a limited degree of housing segregation, almost no consideration of topographical contours and above all else, a propensity to expand community facilities in an ad hoc fashion. The forestry dependent community of the pre-1880 period was mostly a pragmatic response to community needs as created by industrial necessity. They were in effect communities by default, growing, or in some cases declining, as the industry grew and/or declined.

When and if an actual effort was made towards the designing of the community it was mostly directed at the industrial area. The plantsite, planned to maximize the potential for water power or transportation, often was located on the most attractive plot of land in the townsites. It generally dominated the townsites both in a physical sense and in a psychological sense. The non-industrial component of the townsite, whether residential, commercial or service was usually located in close proximity to the industrial plant which allowed for ease of access and the economical use of townsite property. At the same time, however, for workers/residents ease of access also reinforced the dominant position of the forestry company and in some cases created community based problems such as industrial wastes, air pollutants associated with the industrial process and the noise of forestry production. All of these normally would have been considered industrial as opposed to townsite problems.

The Holistic Era

The helter-skelter nature of the pre-industrial era eventually forced government in Canada to enact regulatory measures in an effort to control the circumstances surrounding the forestry town. The first efforts to legislate community affairs actually were applied in an attempt to control a crisis situation. This was most pronounced with fire control and public health legislation. Forest fire legislation which was prompted by railway development and townsites clearing, attempted to establish a system of regulatory control. The public health initiative derived from similar concerns. Typhoid, tuberculosis and influenza epidemics dramatically underscored the need for the greater regulation of townsites development. In Ontario, for example, the Ontario Associated Board of Trade demanded that the provincial government enforce public health standards within the resource communities. In 1912 the Board of Trade expressed their fears when they suggested that:

...due to the lack of municipal organization, Provincial or other control, these new settlements have frequently been located on unsuitable ground and built without...proper and sufficient control of the sanitary conditions...

In response to the problems of unregulated growth, government slowly implemented the corrective measures necessary for the orderly development of resource towns.

Much of the impetus for the greater regulation of forestry town development arose from the reform movement of the early twentieth century. Emphasizing themes such as efficiency, conservation management, orderly development and the proper utilization of resources, the reform movement had a dramatic impact on

all aspects of Canadian society. In the resource sector, conservation management had the greatest impact on the development of forestry dependent towns. While the public health crusade of the municipal reform movement (or even the City Beautiful Movement) effected the evolution of the forestry town, the major factor in its development was the Commission of Conservation.

Established in 1909, the Commission of Conservation was the federal government’s response to "the growing concern in North America over the management of natural resources". Its broad mandate gave it the responsibility to "take into consideration all questions which may be brought to its notice relating to the conservation and better utilization of the natural resources of Canada". In many regards it was the culmination of conservation activity in Canada. Through the course of its tenure from 1909-1921, the Commission focused on issues of conservation management with a special emphasis on housing and public health concerns. Town planning became its forte - particularly after 1914 when Thomas Adams joined the Commission’s full-time staff as Advisor on Town Planning.

Adams brought to the position a direct link with the Garden City movement then prevalent in Great Britain. He had worked closely with Ebenezer Howard in the foundation of the Garden City Association and was the former secretary manager of the Letchworth Garden City in England. In applying the Garden City approach to community planning in Canada, Adams emphasized the social and environmental issues of urban-rural planning. Stressing both the urban and rural quality of town planning, Adams combined features such as rural belt development with zoning controls in what was to become a uniquely Canadian approach to town planning.

Characterized by increased cooperation between industry and government, the holistic period witnessed the implementation of zoning schedules, land banking, greenbelt planning, the consideration of topographical contours, the application of curvilinear street design and the adoption of a primitive form of the neighbourhood unit concept. Although planning schedules generally became more holistic in design as the period progressed, the concept never was accepted totally or completely applied. In many ways the onus was still on the forestry industry to facilitate change in townsite development.

In spite of the fact that the concepts necessary for a well planned, efficient community were becoming widely accepted as the preferred planning practice and government legislative initiatives refined its approach to the forestry community, the responsibility for overseeing community affairs still remained largely with the forestry company. Eventually, the forestry sector also would come to appreciate the value of a well planned community. Not only would it attract a stable, familial population that would in turn provide the much needed permanent workforce, but also a well-planned community could be used as a show piece of company benevolence.

The community of Keewatin, located adjacent to the Town of Kenora in northwestern Ontario, is one of the first forest dependent communities in Canada to show evidence of a growing commitment to the concept of the holistically planned community. Although the region of northwestern Ontario has a long history of forest production which actually pre-dates European settlement, Keewatin’s forestry dependency can be traced to the early 1880s and the activity of the Keewatin Lumber and Manufacturing Company and its predecessor, the Mather family lumber company. The Keewatin Lumber and Manufacturing Company was one of the original timber lease holders in the Keewatin-Kenora region. Its forestry endeavours, however, were only moderately successful and in 1879 it sold its lease to a joint stock company headed by John Mather. The first timber produced by the Mather consortium was cut in the summer of 1880 and plans were made for the permanent configuration of both the community and the millsite. According to local history sources, the

105 Canada Statutes, 8-9 Ed. VII, c. 27, s. 10, "An Act Establishing the Commission of Conservation".
106 See for example; T. Adams, Rural Planning and Development. Ottawa: Commission of Conservation, 1917.
first two houses in the community were built by the Mather family on the peninsula opposite the developing millsite during the 1880 season. In general, Portage Bay provided a natural buffer between the industrial site and the residential area and the Mather towns site developed beyond the immediate confines of the lumber mill.

The original area developed by the Mather family eventually formed the central core of the community. Erecting housing only sufficient to meet their immediate needs, the Mather interests planned for housing types which reflected not only the influence of the frontier but also the firm’s Ottawa Valley heritage. The "pointed dormers, bay windows...and French Mansard roof types" are thus described as evidence of the shifting lumber frontier. The 1880-1886 period of community growth provided for little in the way of community facilities.

The site chosen by the Mather family to meet their accommodation needs eventually was incorporated into a towns site plan by the Lake of the Woods Milling Company. Having apparently purchased the timber lease in 1887, the Lake of the Woods Milling Company constructed mill facilities as well as subdivided a towns site on a section of the original land grant. Selecting the peninsula area developed by the Mather family in 1880 for towns site purposes, the company plotted a gridiron design which centered around open parkland. Confined by Lake of the Woods to the south and Portage Bay to the north, the configuration of the towns site provided for orderly community development while the natural boundaries prevented fringe settlement.

The towns site plan as laid out by the Lake of the Woods Milling Company was completed in 1888. The individual lots were sold by the Company to prospective inhabitants and the occupancy of the towns site began shortly thereafter. Most of the housing erected on the property apparently was owned privately, although the Lake of the Woods Company did construct what has been cited as the "Terrace Development". It is never entirely clear exactly what comprised the Terrace Development but it would seem as though the Company provided a limited number of houses for employee accommodation. Described as "the terrace type of doubling housing", the development apparently was constructed to conform to local topographical features.

The activity of the Lake of the Woods Milling Company in designing the towns site of Keewatin is one of the early examples of company initiated planning in the forestry sector. The gridiron pattern which provided for orderly development, the separation of industrial and residential areas which facilitated a functional form of land-use and the effort extended to plan for parkland space which was not only aesthetically pleasing but also met the leisure needs of the local population, all suggest that the community was created to provide for both the industrial needs of the milling company and the social needs of the resident group.

The community of Espanola, Ontario, like Keewatin, is an early example of a community created to meet the needs of the forestry sector. From the beginning the community had the benefit of pre-planning. The so-called "permanent nature" of the pulp and paper process had in fact precipitated the long commitment of the forestry industry to community development. The Espanola Agreement which was signed by the Spanish River Pulp and Paper Mills Company Ltd. and the provincial government in 1899, formed the basis of this commitment. The Company agreed to erect a pulp mill employing 250 workers, while the provincial government assigned a large concession of Crown land to the company for cutting purposes. Although a

112 A.R.M. Lower, Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. IX, 1936, p. 120.
payment of 20 cents a cord was to be conceded to the province, the feature of the agreement was the 21 year lease which provided for the permanence of the operation. In 1901 the Company began construction of the plant facilities and in 1903 had begun to erect community facilities.  

The main determinant of townsit location was water access for the industrial area. The site eventually selected for mill and townsit purposes fronted the Spanish River. Not only did this provide the much needed source of water for the pulping process, but also it meant that the reasonably flat flood plain would allow for fairly simple community design.

The site chosen by the Spanish River Company for both townsit and industrial development was a block of property consisting of approximately 600 acres. The design of the community followed a fairly standard gridiron pattern with little separation between industrial and residential areas. The completion of the town plan gave the impression that the community was intended to funnel towards the mill site. The mill was located in the north-west section of the plan with the townsit to the south of the plant facilities. Fairly strict boundaries were established for the townsit with the river forming the northern edge and two main thoroughfares the eastern and southern boundaries respectively. Although this helped to maintain the company perspective of the townsit, it also eventually encouraged the peripheral growth of a second residential area. Locally known as "Frenchtown", the fringe area which developed primarily after 1911, offered alternative housing with few of the restrictions applied in the company townsit.  

Typical of the resource town phenomenon, the first housing erected combined boarding-house facilities for single men with familied dwellings. Thirty-one six-room houses were constructed which, in conjunction with the boarding house, provided accommodation for Spanish River employees until 1907 when an increase in the size of the work force necessitated that the pulp company erect twenty-two "prefabricated cottages". At that point the Spanish River Company’s tenure in community affairs ended. Community facilities were always of secondary importance to the industrial facilities. Although the Spanish River Pulp and Paper Company did provide a minimum standard of accommodation, it did so begrudgingly.

In 1910 the Spanish River Pulp and Paper Company was reorganized into the Spanish River Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd. Four years later (1914) it was further reorganized after its amalgamation with the Lake Superior Paper Company. In 1928, the operation was again brought under new management when the Abitibi Power and Paper Company took over a controlling interest in both the pulp and paper plant and the community itself. By 1932, however, the questionable profitability of the Espanola operation finally forced the Abitibi company into receivership and the plant ceased production.  

From closure until 1943, when the Kalamazoo Vegetable Parchment Company (KVP) assumed ownership of the Espanola facility, the community floundered. According to the data collected by Eileen Goltz, approximately 85 percent of the total population was receiving some form of "relief payment" during the shut-down phase. With the KVP takeover Espanola blossomed as the plant was upgraded and once again

117 This is a very brief sketch of the history of ownership. For a more detailed account see; E. Goltz, "Espanola: The History of a Pulp and Paper Town", pp. 76-81.  
brought into production, and the community itself was revitalized under the mandate of the KVP owned and operated Espanola Development Corporation.

The Espanola Development Corporation was the driving force of community affairs from 1948 until the incorporation of the town in 1958. Its responsibilities ranged from lot leasing to housing rentals to electrical servicing. Typical of the more contemporary forestry dependent town, the forestry company established an arms-length subsidiary to not only maintain community facilities but also to deflect community based obligations.

The community of Iroquois Falls, which has been cited as "Northern Ontario’s Original Model Town", and which is located approximately 250 km north-east of Espanola, is another forestry dependent community that was created during the holistic period. Tracing its roots to 1912 when Shirley Ogilvie and Frank Anson were granted a pulpwood concession in the Abitibi River watershed, Iroquois Falls was planned as a "garden city" community from the outset. F.H. Anson, who retained control of the Abitibi Pulp and Paper Mills Company, deliberately sought to incorporate the latest town planning principles in the development of the community. According to the company journal, "Abitibi conceived the idea of building a Garden City for employees, replete with all modern conveniences with spacious parks, recreation grounds and boulevards".

With a large source of timber at its disposal and a fairly progressive commitment to community affairs, Abitibi Pulp and Paper initiated preliminary townsite investigations in 1913. The townsite location eventually selected by Abitibi essentially was dictated by a meander of the Abitibi River and the conformation of the local landscape. Chosen by mid-1913, the site was a low "rolling" plateau that was reasonably well sheltered in a right angle bend of the river. The location provided protection from river flooding, adequate land for a program of controlled land management and a special consideration of scenic beauty. In general, when the clearing process began in 1913, the initiative of F.H. Anson had already guaranteed the garden atmosphere of the community.

The original town plan was designed in Chicago by A.P. Melton. It apparently was reworked in application by H.S. Crabtree and G.F. Summers who, being local land surveyors, gave greater consideration to the topographical conformation of the property. While the "town planning expert" designed the general configuration of the community, the lot lines and street grades, almost as an afterthought, became the responsibility of experienced Ontario Land Surveyors. On-site planning, therefore, assumed a rather large role in the final shape of the community and in some respects reflected the growing significance of local surveyors in townsite design.

In the actual layout of the townsite there were two "controlling features" which influenced the final form of the community. The first concerned the incorporation of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway's facilities into the town plan. Because the railway provided the only means of access to the

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119 The title of the "Original Model Town" was coined apparently as a response to Kapuskasing's claim of "Model Company Town of the North". See the discussion in: "Model Company Town: Benevolent Landlord", Saturday Night, 3 November 1951, and: Brunetville, A Neighbourhood Reborn, Ontario, Department of Municipal Affairs, Community Planning Branch, March 1972.


123 "Planning the Town of Iroquois Falls", p. 636.
community, it was decided to centre the townsite on the railway facilities. In an effort to provide "a very pleasing 'First Impression' to passengers alighting from the trains", the community unfolded before the railway station. This, the vista perspective, also was central in the second controlling feature, which called for the development of a central core area. Highlighting the aesthetically pleasing aspects of the townsite, the central core formed the hub of the community from which the rest of the townsite evolved. In this regard, the core consisted of a "small park forming a sort of civic center and sufficient to contain all necessary public buildings".

The townsite itself was laid out on approximately 80 acres of the "rolling plateau" with provisions made for future expansion to almost 240 acres. The configuration of the plan predictably followed a gridiron pattern but also uniquely allowed for the incorporation of curvilinear streets where warranted by topographical features. In an effort "to get economical grades and at the same time utilize the maximum amount of the plateau", the town plan featured an early willingness to conform to topography.

Within the townsite plan a certain measure of primitive zoning also was enforced. The business district was confined to the vicinity of the civic center and was separated from the residential areas of the community by a greenbelt which provided a "screen" between the two zones. Within the business zone itself, further zoning distinguished between "the better classes of business buildings" which fronted the small park and those of lesser reputation which developed behind the more prestigious establishments. The residential area provided for both single family dwellings and rooming houses. It was surrounded by parkland which in theory was intended to discourage fringe settlement as well as provide a rural atmosphere to the community. The third and final zone included in the town plan was the recreational area. This was a 9 acre playground that centered on the school and was designated as a "public playground[s] and athletic park".

The building stage lasted from 1915-1919. This phase opened with the incorporation of the Town in June 1915 by the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board and closed with the initiation of a beautification program by F.H. Anson in 1919. In the interim, more than 200 dwellings, the town hall, hotel, sports complex, school and a variety of commercial establishments were erected. Also occurring during this period was the development of areas of fringe settlement. Two specific localities of largely francophone inhabitants appeared beyond the limits of municipal boundaries. Both the "Y" and the Montrock settlement were indicative of the inability of the Town to control peripheral growth. While the plan did provide for a greenbelt area to surround the community, it did not provide the necessary restrictions on settlement to prevent secondary growth.

In 1919, after the initial building program was mostly completed, the greening of the townsite was undertaken by Anson. In conjunction with L. Schleim, a landscape gardener hired specifically by him to improve the appearance of the community, Anson attempted to create what Mayor S.G. McCoubrey described

125 "Planning the Town of Iroquois Falls", p. 636.
126 "Planning the Town of Iroquois Falls", p. 636.
127 "Planning the Town of Iroquois Falls", p. 636.
128 "Planning the Town of Iroquois Falls", p. 636.
129 "Planning the Town of Iroquois Falls", p. 636.
130 "Planning the Town of Iroquois Falls", p. 637.
131 "Planning the Town of iroquois Falls", p. 636.
133 O. Saarinen, "The Influence of Thomas Adams". p. 281.
as a "Garden of Eden" atmosphere. A large percentage of the school ground property was set aside for garden use to demonstrate what produce might "be propagated in that far north climate and at the same time foster an interest in agriculture". Also included in the beautification program was the systematic planting of trees and shrubs as well as the enhancement of the streetscape with sloping lawns and the provision of sidewalks.

The position of the community was such that Abitibi Pulp and Paper had come to be the controlling interest in affairs. Initially, the provincial government had attempted to retain some form of authority within the townsite by retaining 25 percent of the municipal land as government property, but by 1919 most of this land had been turned over to local authorities. This in effect re-affirmed the local authority of the pulp company and meant that provincial government influence in townsite affairs was exercised only in an advisory capacity through either the Railway and Municipal Board or the Bureau of Municipal Affairs. L.R. Wilson, an Abitibi employee, described the position of the townsite when he stated that "everything in the town was owned and operated by the company with the exception of the Royal Bank". Although Abitibi attempted to implement garden city principles in the planning of the community, its retention of housing stock or the ownership of retailing facilities suggests that Iroquois Falls was by definition a company town.

The efforts taken by Abitibi Pulp and Paper, largely on the initiative of F.H. Anson, to create "one of the Wonder Towns of the Great North", is a pivotal step in the general acceptance of the pre-planned forestry dependent community. In particular, and through the use of elementary zoning practices, greenbelt areas and the consideration of topographical features, Iroquois Falls in many ways became the model for future forestry towns.

The community of Smooth Rock Falls, located approximately 80 kms north-west of Iroquois Falls, is another pulp and paper town that dates to the early twentieth century. In this case the community owes its existence to the activity of the Mattagami Pulp and Paper Company which, in 1913, secured a pulpwood limit of approximately 684 square miles in the vicinity of the present day community. Under the direction of Toronto entrepreneur Duncan Chisholm, the company, in 1914, proceeded to establish the facilities necessary to the exploitation of the region's timber wealth. Preliminary work included the construction of a 3.5 mile railway line from the Transcontinental main line. Also, an approximately one mile square area for both millsite and townsite was cleared and completed by the summer of 1916. The location of the townsite apparently was determined by the prerequisites of the millsite. In part, this meant that townsite facilities were secondary to production facilities and as a result there was little consideration given to the separation of industrial and residential areas.

The town plan also was finalized by the summer of 1916 and construction of the community began shortly thereafter. Designed by E.W. Neelands, the community of Smooth Rock Falls featured "fine residences, well-graded streets, sewers [and] water works." In an effort "to attract the best class of labour to the new industry", Mattagami sought to provide a reasonable level of community facilities. Smooth Rock Falls was

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135 "Planning the Town of Iroquois Falls", p. 636.
137 L.R. Wilson, A Few High Spots in the Life of L.R. Wilson, p.27, as cited in O. Saarinen, "Single Sector Communities", p. 24.
described as "an up-to-date example of what a large corporation can do" in terms of community development.\textsuperscript{140}

The involvement of Mattagami Pulp and Paper in the creation of the community was the overriding element in the growth of Smooth Rock Falls. Although the community was planned from the beginning, there was actually little evidence of the incorporation of holistic planning concepts. Laid out in a simple gridiron pattern with no consideration for fringe settlement, zoning concepts or topographical planning, Smooth Rock Falls was an example of the short term company perspective in community development. In meeting the immediate needs of its employees, the Mattagami Company gave little thought to the permanent configuration of the community. As a result, Smooth Rock Falls eventually required massive corrective measures in order to alleviate many of the problems associated with its initial planning. By 1952 the fringe area of Smooth Rock Falls was described by government officials as a "vast breeding ground for sickness" requiring the intervention of the Department of Planning and Development to implement remedial planning procedures.\textsuperscript{141}

While the Mattagami Pulp and Paper Company, the Kalamazoo Vegetable and Parchment Company, the Abitibi Pulp and Paper Company and even the Lake of the Woods Milling Company applied various aspects of the holistic model, the most often cited company in the application of the holistic initiative during this early period is the Riordan Pulp and Paper Company. Indeed, in the two forestry dependent communities of Hawkesbury and Temiskaming, the Riordan company not only applied holistic planning techniques but also attempted to establish a model for other forestry companies to follow in the creation of forestry towns.

The community of Hawkesbury, located on the Ottawa River, traces its roots to 1805 when one of the first lumber mills on the River was erected at the present day site of the community by David Pattee and Thomas Mears.\textsuperscript{142} Accompanying the building of the mill was a primitive shanty-town which met the immediate accommodation needs of the lumber population. In 1808 the facility was sold to William Hamilton and the so-called "Hamilton mill" became the focus of the community until 1898 when the entire operation was sold to Carl Riordan.\textsuperscript{143} The Riordan Pulp and Paper Company quickly dismantled the lumbering operation and established pulp and paper as the industrial basis of the community.\textsuperscript{144} Accompanying the change in production was also a change in the perception of the community. Hawkesbury demonstrated how pulp and paper towns tend to be more permanent and accommodating to their residents. With the conversion to the production of pulp and paper, Riordan Industries quickly sought to establish a reasonable standard of community which generally corresponded to a greater acceptance of holistic planning objectives.

In July of 1918, the Riordan Pulp and Paper Company wrote to the Ontario Housing Committee requesting assistance in the planning of community development. The communication in part read:

\begin{quote}
This Company finds it necessary to put up houses for their employees and if you have any information or literature bearing on the subject of industrial housing we would be very much pleased to have you send us some.\textsuperscript{145}
\end{quote}

While it is not clear what, if any literature the Housing Committee forwarded to the pulp and paper company, it is clear that the Committee recommended the services of H.B. Dunnington-Grubb to the company. Dunnington-Grubb, a planner who was described as being "of the English School [and] of the

\begin{itemize}
  \item O.A. Ministry of Municipal Affairs Collection, RG 19, Community Planning Branch-General Files, Series D-1, Box 147, "Single Industry Towns-General".
  \item A.R.M. Lower, Great Britain's Woodward, p. 177.
  \item Ontario Sessional Papers, Vol. LI, Part X, 1919, No. 65.
\end{itemize}
Adams type", was considered by government authorities to be one of the premier town planners of the period.\(^{146}\) On the basis of the provincial government's recommendation, Dunnington-Grubb was commissioned by the company to plan a subdivision for the accommodation of Riordan employees on a tract of land locally known as the Riordan Annex.

The plan for the subdivision, which was termed a "Workmen's Garden Village" by Dunnington-Grubb, initially was submitted through the Commission of Conservation to Thomas Adams for approval and comment.\(^{147}\) The greenbelt foundation of the scheme was very much in keeping with the tradition of Adams' city practical theme. Indeed, the central thrust of the plan appeared to be the incorporation of Adams' model industrial town theories, which is particularly evident in the allocation of parkland, the construction of low-density workmen's "cottages" and the separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic through a scheme of primary and secondary thoroughfares.\(^{148}\)

Construction of the Annex subdivision began in the spring of 1919 and was financed principally through the Dominion government's low-interest housing loan program. The loan which was initially estimated at $300,000 and later reduced to $150,000, was administered by the Bureau of Municipal Affairs.\(^{149}\) The actual building project was undertaken by the Riordan Housing Company which was formed specifically to manage the subdivision. By the fall of 1919, partial completion of the Annex subdivision encouraged early occupancy of worker's housing and by 1920 the majority of homes constructed were occupied.

The Hawkesbury experience of 1918-1920 was an unique example of progressive planning on the part of a forestry company. While not exceptional by Riordan standards, the Annex project was indeed unique in Ontario. It was the first example of a resource company co-ordinating community development in conjunction with the legislative authority of three levels of government. In this manner the Riordan Pulp and Paper Company utilized the funds of the federal government, administered through and with the approval of the provincial government, in cooperation with the municipality, to provide for the accommodation of its employees.

The second project of note undertaken by the Riordan company was that of Temiskaming. Located in northeastern Quebec on the shores of Lake Temiskaming, the community became the focal point of Riordan's expanding sulphite pulp industry in 1919. It also became the focal point of one of the most ambitious forestry town projects of the holistic era.

In 1917 the Riordan Pulp and Paper Company through its subsidiary, the Kipawa Fibre Company, approached the Commission of Conservation with a request to consider the possibility of participating in the development of a "model industrial community".\(^{150}\) Arguing that not only would the model town configuration "attract and hold the best class of men" but also that it would instill a sense of loyalty to the community, the Kipawa company convinced the Commission to become involved in the project.\(^{151}\) Under the supervision of Thomas Adams, the Commission of Conservation plotted street lines, defined land-use patterns, planned for green space areas and perhaps most importantly, set the standard for future towns to follow.

\(^{146}\) OA, Hearst Papers, MU 1407, Env.9, J.A. Ellis to William Hearst, 6 March 1919.
\(^{147}\) University of Guelph Archives, Dunnington-Grubb Collection, XL 3MS A00124 Ms11.
\(^{148}\) See a general description of the subdivision in Ontario Statutes, 10-11 Geo. V, c.125, as well as in what remains of Dunnington-Grubb's sketch plan in the University of Guelph Archives, Dunnington-Grubb Collection.
\(^{149}\) OA, Hearst Papers, MU 1307, Env. 12, Memorandum, J.A. Ellis to the Prime Minister, 12 June 1919.
The plan for Temiskaming apparently was designed in 1917 by Thomas Adams. According to the account prepared by Adams himself and published by the Commission, it was prepared "to secure the convenience of access between its different parts in order to achieve economical and healthy development". The so-called "controlling conditions" of the plan, however, were described by Town Department Director, A.K. Grimmer as:

- Geological Structure
- Topographical Conformation
- Proximity to Potable Water Supply
- Exposure to Sun and Prevailing Wind
- Proximity to Plant
- Available Building Material
- Natural Beauty.

Temiskaming was constructed by the company between 1917-1919, and consideration was given to geological structure, topographical conformation and the natural beauty of the area. The community was built on a rise overlooking picturesque Lake Temiskaming. As it evolved it appeared to unfold away from the lakeshore and wind its way into the woods of northern Quebec. Although the railway station would come to dominate the lakeside, the plan indicated that lake frontage was to be reserved for a common forest, park-space and a so-called "village green". At the top of the rise, the business or commercial section of the community was to be segregated along what appropriately was called main street. The residential component of the community, which stretched west from main street in funnel shape, consisted of four house types described by the Town Department as "officials, mechanics, mechanics helpers and labour houses". While the housing available may have resembled a model industrial town it also reinforced occupational hierarchy. The houses were placed on a series of wide, winding streets in the pattern of neighbourhood units that attempted to promote the rural-urban mix so integral to the garden city planning initiative.

While forestry companies orchestrated community development in communities like Temiskaming, Iroquois Falls and Espanola, in Kapuskasing community development was undertaken largely as a government initiative. The provincial government's central place in the creation of Kapuskasing was specifically related to the style of government introduced by E.C. Drury and the United Farmers of Ontario (UFO). Elected in 1919, the UFO government in assuming office not only attempted to regulate the powerful forestry lobby but also Drury himself spoke out against the company town phenomenon associated with forestry development. As well, it appears as though the UFO government also was attempting to create a "pilot study" necessary to the creation of future model industrial towns. In any event, when the provincial government passed "An Act to Improve the Town of Kapuskasing" in 1921, the government of Ontario committed itself to a controlling interest in the townsite affairs of the community.

156 Brantville: A Neighbourhood Reborn, Ontario, Department of Municipal Affairs, Community Planning Branch, March 1972, p. 6.
157 Ontario Statutes, 11 Geo. V, c.36, "An Act to Incorporate the Town of Kapuskasing".

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The Spruce Falls Pulp and Paper Company, a subsidiary of the Kimberly Clark Corporation, acquired the Kapuskasing Pulp limit in northern Ontario in July of 1920. After some preliminary investigation the company committed itself to developing the property and entered into an agreement with the provincial government to facilitate pulp production. While the company was responsible for the provision of electric power or building materials, the government agreed "to have such part of the said lands which are to comprise the said townsite surveyed and laid out as soon as possible as a model town". 158 The desire to create a model community was, in application, balanced against the more practical need to "create a new town on town planning lines with social development under the control of the bureau of municipal affairs". 159 Nonetheless, there was an experimental or utopian aura surrounding the Kapuskasing operation. This is perhaps best captured by Alfred Hall in a paper published in the journal Social Welfare, when he suggested that the project was undertaken in

...an effort on the part of the Provincial Government of Ontario to lead a movement for the better beginning of town building so that the economic waste of bad planning-needless subdivisions and scattered development followed by multiplication of costs of public services, civic debt and high taxes-may be avoided and the creation of squalid areas may be discouraged by the provision of something more intelligent as well as more efficient for everybody concerned. 160

The planning of the townsite was completed by June of 1920. By the summer of 1921 approximately 800 townsite lots had been laid out. 161 Conforming to a detailed zoning schedule, the townsite centered on a main and a secondary business area. Considerations in the location of the commercial zone included a Spruce Fall's commitment to bridge building which was intended to facilitate easy access, centrality to railway facilities and "the possibility of developing a dignified entrance in approaching the town from the station". 162 As the business area developed, however, a shift in emphasis occurred which saw the secondary area assume the role of the community's primary commercial district. A change in bridge building plans by Spruce Falls cancelled the proposed river crossing into the hub area and allowed the temporary business district to claim permanency. As a result the so-called "circle area" became the main business district. 163

The development of the residential area of the community followed the townsite plan. It was located near the secondary business area and was designed to be a "comparatively compact area for purposes of expenditure for local improvements". 164 According to government records, two classes of houses were erected: "one for the mechanics and better class employees at a cost of about $3,500 to $4,000 each, and the other for labourers at a cost of about $3,000". 165

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158 Ontario Statistics, 11 Geo. V, c. 36
159 "Planning a New Industrial Town-Kapuskasing", Journal of the Town Planning Institute, Vol. 1, No. 8 (February 1922), p.11.
164 A. Hall, "Considerations in the Lay-out of Kapuskasing", p. 10.
165 OA, Premier's Papers, RG 3, Drury Collection, Box 24, Kapuskasing Townsite, Memorandum, J.A. Ellis to E.C. Drury, March 3, 1921.
Beyond the residential and commercial zones, the townsite plan also called for the creation of an industrial zone. Although extremely vague in its configuration the industrial district was intended to occupy land adjacent to the railway station. In an effort to accommodate the anticipated needs of "warehouses, lumberyard and foundry industries", the townsite plan made allowances for the eventual development of an industrial zone by reserving property for specific industrial use. The growth of secondary industry, however, did not become a dominant feature of the community. In many respects the initial vagueness in the planning of an industrial zone, which was due to its questionable feasibility, was well founded.

The actual construction of community facilities proceeded at a much slower rate than provincial government officials had anticipated. Work was impeded on the one hand by fire which struck the vicinity in both 1923 and 1924, and on the other by the resistance of the Spruce Falls Company towards community. In any case, by 1926 when the Spruce Falls Company was re-organized under the New York Times-Kimberly Clark umbrella, its commitment to the community was dramatically enhanced. This was expressed through a variety of company co-ordinated building projects which included the construction of 160 houses, the Sensenbrenner Hospital, a company hotel and a recreation hall. With the increased pace of company participation, the administration of community growth passed directly from the provincial government to the industrial firm.

While the Spruce Falls Company consolidated its' control of community affairs in the post-1926 period, an alternative residential area evolved along the eastern boundary of Kapuskasing. Known locally as Brunetville, the fringe community, as is often the case in a company town situation, offered local residents a way of avoiding company authority. Approximately 1,000 individuals took advantage of the opportunity presented by the fringe area. The circumstances of community in Brunetville, however, were "chaotic" at best. Indeed, houses were "erected haphazardly" and the streets were little more than dirt lanes "bordered with littered yards". Eventually, in response to the less than favourable conditions encountered within the community, provincial government authorities were forced to introduce the "Brunetville Rehabilitation Programme". The remedial program which included the relocation of residents, the demolition of buildings, the construction of new structures and the servicing of the townsite, was a 6 year project, and was completed in 1970.

While the Kapuskasing experience gives evidence of both the good and the bad of the government-company initiative often associated with the forestry dependent town, Pine Falls, created during the same era, provides a more positive example of holistic planning. Located on the Winnipeg River approximately 120 kms north of Winnipeg, the community of Pine Falls traces its origins to 1926 and the timber stands of central Manitoba. Pine Falls became an orderly, well-designed, stable community largely because of the activity of the Manitoba Paper Company. Designed by I.E. Schleem of Montreal under the supervision of Manitoba Paper Company engineers, the community featured the separation of industrial and residential areas, a system of main and secondary thoroughfares, greenbelt areas, a curvilinear street pattern and the use of zoning techniques to maintain a functional land-use system.

166 A. Hall, "Considerations in the Lay-Out of the Town of Kapuskasing", p. 11.
167 In his autobiography Drury indicated that he was actually "relieved" when he received word that "fire had wiped the whole thing out ". See: E.C. Drury, Farmer Premier: Memoirs of E.C. Drury. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966, p. 132. As well, see the discussion of Spruce Falls' less than enthusiastic support of the townsite initiative in: OA, Premier's Papers, Memorandum, J.A. Ellis to E.C. Drury, June 20, 1921.
171 See the discussion of the rehabilitation program in Brunetville: A Neighbourhood Reborn. Department of Municipal Affairs, Toronto, 1972.
The layout of the town has been described as resembling "the back of a terrapin". Centering on a village green, the townsite fanned out in a semi-circular fashion away from the heart of the community. Located at the core were both park space and the commercial zone. In an effort to enhance the aesthetic value of the central area as well as to provide a common meeting place, the village common included tennis courts, a playground area and bowling facilities. Directly opposite the park area and intended to function as a downtown block was the commercial district. Focusing on the community club, the commercial complex of the downtown area reflected the private enterprise nature of the community. Consisting of a number of small shops, the commercial area was deemed adequate to meet the immediate needs of local residents. The street pattern echoed the semi-circular nature of the townsite plan. The community was serviced by two main arteries from which the "crescents and circles" of residential development evolved. The one major thoroughfare skirted the community and in fact was an extension of the highway to Winnipeg. It defined the outer limits of the townsite and in some respects helped to discourage peripheral growth. The second main artery or the "central boulevard" bisected the townsite and formed the community's main street. This was reinforced at the core with the development of a double boulevard roadway, consisting of two one way avenues and separated by a "planted island".

In designing the townsite, town planner J.P. Mertz said the company's main effort was to "adopt the English type of cottage to local conditions and group the various types in pleasing perspective". According to Mertz, the paper company readily incorporated British planning concepts in the styles of dwelling houses and also in the overall design of the townsite. As incorporated at Pine Falls, the "narrower roadway" was an admitted attempt to replicate the British village system. Indeed, the Manitoba Paper Company attempted to implement a number of British planning ideas in the design of the community.

The paper company in co-ordinating townsite development sought to provide community facilities geared to employee wages. In this fashion, and after a fairly extensive investigation of other mill towns, the Manitoba Paper Company selected 30 housing types of standard frame and stucco construction. For the most part the dwellings were of the 5 to 6 room type and ranged in cost from $2,500 for unskilled workmen to $5,500 for the skilled labourer. Two staff houses for unmarried personnel as well as a finer grade of dwelling for company superintendents also were provided by Manitoba Paper.

As is often the case in the forestry dependent town, utility services that were developed for the mill site were co-opted for the community at large. In this fashion, water, sewage disposal and hydro-electric power facilities all evolved from the industrial plant. Hydro-electric power, for example, ran from the mill sub-station directly to the individual housing units. These units were equipped with light, electric cooking ranges and hot water heaters. The company's benevolence went much further than cooking ranges as some of the more incidental services included lawn mowers, garden hoses and even neighbourhood "service stations". In all cases, however, whether it was garden hoses or electric lighting, the Manitoba Paper Company supplied a fairly wide range of services in order to guarantee the availability of a much needed labour force.

The model industrial town concept was very much a part of the paper company's plan for Pine Falls. It borrowed readily from the Garden City tradition of the rural community in order to provide a pleasant living

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environment. In doing so, however, the company was the sole authority for the development of the townsite plan. In many respects it was exceptional for its progressive approach to community development and while it did promote the model townsite, it did so on its own initiative.

The community of Marathon, located approximately midway between Sault Ste. Marie and Thunder Bay on the shores of Lake Superior, is one of the last forestry dependent communities that can be identified with the holistic era. Although the community was founded as the railway town of Peninsula Harbour in the early 1880s, like many of the other forestry towns it has a long association with timber exploitation. From the 1920s onward the region’s timber wealth has attracted the attention of a long list of lumber companies. Beginning with the Pigeon River Lumber Company and followed by the Ontario Paper Company, the General Timber Company and finally the Marathon Paper Mills of Canada Company, the cutting privileges of the Big Pic Watershed has passed from one firm to the next. When, however, in 1938 the General Timber Company acquired the timber lease with a proviso that included the eventual construction of milling facilities, Marathons’s timber orientation virtually was assured.181

The General Timber Company was a subsidiary firm of the Marathon Paper Mills Company of Rothschild, Wisconsin. Its involvement in the development of the region’s lumber potential was mostly as a precursor to the direct participation of the parent company. Indeed, the General Timber Company’s tenure as lease holder was so tenuous that it exported cut timber across Lake Superior to processing facilities at Ashland, Wisconsin.182 In 1943, when the parent company formed Marathon Paper Mills of Canada Ltd. to continue the lumbering, a definitive commitment was made to the provincial government concerning the erection of milling facilities. On this basis, a pulp mill was constructed during the 1943-1944 season and a start was made on townsite development.183

Selecting a site adjacent to the original community, company officials laid out the townsite plan for what would eventually become the community of Marathon.184 The first buildings erected were bunkhouse facilities to accommodate the 1300 men involved in the construction process. The bunkhouses were followed by the construction of row houses and then by a number of prefabricated aluminum houses intended for familial personnel. An elaborate point system was adopted for the allocation of housing which, after marriage, listed “war service, a man’s value on the job and his value to the community” as part of the so-called “priority system”.185 Largely because most of the housing remained the property of the Marathon company, the priority system was an effective method of maintaining a certain element of social control within the townsite.

The physical form of the community essentially was dictated by three over-riding local features.186 The townsite, which was selected primarily because of its proximity to both Lake Superior and the Canadian Pacific Railway line, conformed to the irregular triangle shape as outlined by two predisposing features. The third element affecting the layout of the community was a topographical consideration. In this regard, a large hill, located in the western section of the townsite, helped to dictate the configuration of the community. Although seemingly not incorporated into the town plan, the rise separated the commercial area from the main residential section of the community and generally encouraged the adoption of zoning practices. The

182 OA, Lands and Forests District History Series, #2, “Geraldton Forest District”, p. 28.
184 The company townsite was originally called Everest after Company president D.C. Everest. It was changed in 1944 to Marathon to avoid confusion with Everett, Ontario.
186 OA, Pamphlet Collection, No. 65, 1967, p. 112.
commercial area evolved north of the hill, while the residential section of the townsite was mostly restricted to the east of the rise.

Of some interest in the application of the town plan was the development of a permanent trailer park. Located in the southeastern section of the community, the trailer park was reasonably well isolated from the main townsite proper and tended to provide housing for what was regarded as a specific class of worker. Described some years later by Municipal Affairs officials as "Trailerites", trailer park inhabitants generally came to be thought of as a "liability to the municipality." In Marathon, however, because of the fact that the company maintained ownership of the permanent facilities, many of the problems associated with temporary trailers did not arise.

The major problem encountered in the Marathon townsite was land-use control. Because the community was not granted extensive land management privileges through improvement district legislation until 1946, the control of peripheral areas such as Peninsula or Heron Bay was, at best, difficult. The old townsite of Peninsula Harbour, located to the west of Marathon, provided a source of alternative housing with little or no company interference. When the Improvement District of Marathon was created in December of 1946, many of the problems associated with fringe settlement were alleviated as the District boundaries encompassed some 2,000 acres. Because of its dominant position within the townsite, the Marathon Company was allowed fairly extensive land management privileges and, as a result, control over municipal development.

The Comprehensive Era

The comprehensive era is largely a post-World War II phenomenon. It was a period of massive expansion in the resource sector. Well over 40 new resource towns were created and a large number of other communities were revitalized as a result of the new found interest in resource development. Many of these towns were forestry dependent communities.

While communities such as Terrace Bay or Gold River became newly planned forestry towns other communities such as Hinton or Sioux Lookout benefitted from the rekindled interest in forestry development. All of these communities reflected the sense of optimism prevalent in the postwar recovery years. The wide winding streets, intertwining neighbourhood units and massive town center complexes all captured the imagination of a war-weary society. Indeed, the argument has been that the post-war expansionary era was largely the product of "an after war feeling of needing to start anew to build a better world".

Central to the new found interest in the resource community were the expansionary policies pursued by the various levels of government. Focusing specifically on the untapped resources of the northern hinterland, the two senior governments attempted to ensure the profitable utilization of the country’s forest resources. Investing heavily in transportation, hydro-electric power development and eventually community infrastructure, not only did government encourage growth but also provided the means for expansion in many areas.

The dominant role of government in the forestry town process encouraged greater acceptance of "social and economic principles into the fabric of physical planning". This, the so-called comprehensive planning

187 See the discussion of the so-called "Trailerites" in OA, Ministry of Municipal Affairs, RG 19, Townsites-Manitouwadge, Box 15, "Manitouwadge Townsite #2" and the notion that trailer parks were a liability in OA, Ministry of Municipal Affairs, RG 19, Community Planning Branch, Series D-1, Box 171, "Townsites-Administrative Subcommittee on Townsites".


initiative, witnessed the application of land-use segregation, the use of greenbelts, the separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, environmental management and the neighbourhood unit concept.

Most provincial governments in Canada adopted the legislation necessary to provide for the comprehensive, forest dependent town in the immediate post-war era. Government attempted to plan for the forest towns through amendments to the Municipal Act in Ontario, the Local Government District Act in Manitoba, the New Towns Act in Alberta, and the Instant Towns legislation in British Columbia. Geared primarily towards the administration of previously unorganized territory, the legislative efforts attempted to provide for orderly growth. Local authority was encouraged and while this initially gave root to the local government district style of administration, eventually it led to programs directed specifically at the industrial townsite. Evolving from a supervisory capacity to that of a townsite developer, the role of the various provincial governments in developing Canada’s forest dependent towns became more and more pronounced with the passage of time.

Alberta’s New Towns Act of 1956, and its amended version of 1969, are perhaps the best examples of the changing government role in the development of resource towns. Cited by one source as the "most advanced" planning system in Canada, the Alberta approach to the new town was fashioned on the British New Town Act of 1947. Further described as the only province in Canada to have "established legislation to direct the planning of new towns", Alberta implemented a five phased program of community development. Commencing with site selection and followed by the scheduling of land acquisition, finances, townsite development and local government, the provincial government emphasized development control as the main focus of the legislation.

The willingness of government to intercede in the growth of forestry towns was slowly codified in a variety of government agencies geared to meet the needs of the one industry town. The Rural and Town Planning Branch of Alberta, the Community Planning Branch of Manitoba, and the two Cabinet Committees of the Ontario legislature were designed to contend with the problems of the resource town. The Cabinet Committee on Townsites and its Administrative Subcommittee as created in 1954 by the government of Ontario, for example, were to "formulate" and to "carry out policy" with respect to "new towns" in Ontario.

The post-war period also witnessed increasing cooperation between government and industry in the forestry sector. Although government established the parameters of the relationship, it did so in deference to the forestry industries. With the growing acceptance of state intervention, most provincial governments and indeed even the federal government, combined with the forestry industries to provide for the expansion of permanent, stable forestry dependent communities.

The community of Terrace Bay, Ontario, located approximately 225 kms east of Thunder Bay, is one of the first comprehensively planned forestry dependent communities in Canada. The town was created in 1946-1947 to accommodate the employees of the Long Lac Pulp and Paper Company sulphite pulp mill. It established certain planning prerequisites which in the post-World War II period became recognized as paramount in the designing of forestry towns. In this manner, the comprehensive planning schedule of Terrace Bay, as formulated by E.G. Faludi and Anthony Adamson, in many respects foreshadowed the design techniques incorporated in communities such as Gold River and Mackenzie.

194 OA, Ministry of Municipal Affairs, RG 19, Minister’s Office, Series A-3-B, Box 2, "Joint Meeting-Townsites".
Described as a "holiday greeting card town", Terrace Bay traces its roots to the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The site of the current townsites initially was developed as a small station stop on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Known locally as Black or Black Pit, the tiny village met the immediate housing needs of the railway company until such time as the region’s timber wealth encouraged expansion. By 1937, when the Kimberly-Clark Pulp and Paper Company Ltd., a subsidiary of the Kimberly-Clark Corporation of Neenah, Wisconsin, signed an agreement with the provincial government concerning the district’s timber lease, the central place of forestry in the local economy was virtually guaranteed. This is particularly true in consideration of the pulp company’s commitment to “build a mill and townsites” in order to facilitate the production of pulpwood. While this was apparently agreed to in 1937, little action was taken until 1945 when the Long Lac Pulp and Paper Company was formed by the parent company and investigation of mill and townsites potential was initiated.

In the fall of 1945 Kimberly-Clark engineers arrived in the vicinity of the Village of Black to determine the optimum location for the company’s project. Company personnel conducted preliminary surveys along the north shore of Lake Superior from Jackfish to Schreiber. Cognizant of the fact that the timber limits stretched some 120 kms north of Lake Superior and that the mill site would require water access to the timber stands, the investigations centered on an area surrounding the Aguasabon River. Contour mapping, soil typing and a variety of other tests were completed and a site approximately 11 kms east of Schreiber was selected during the winter months of 1945-1946.

The location chosen for the townsites was well-defined by the name Terrace Bay as the ground level elevation dropped in a series of ledges from 900 feet at what became the millsite to 603 feet at the Lake Superior shoreline. The planning of the townsites was co-ordinated entirely by "private initiative". From 1945 through to the creation of the Improvement District of Terrace Bay in September of 1947, the provincial government’s involvement in the development of the community was restricted to an advisory role. Although A.E.K. Bunnell of the Department of Planning and Development had been cited for providing "valuable assistance" and the Department itself provided assistance to a certain "extent", the project was the responsibility of the pulp and paper company. Based upon its activity at Kimberly and Niagara, Wisconsin as well as Kapuskasing, Ontario, the Kimberly-Clark Company recognized that:

... a well planned modern community at an isolated mill is worth its costs, because it attracts high-grade workers and helps to hold them.

In an effort to facilitate the development of a "well planned" community, therefore , Kimberly-Clark hired consultants such as E.G. Faludi and Anthony Adamson to work in conjunction with staff engineers such as Hamilton Craig. Craig became General Manager of Development and T.C. Epps, town planning consultant for Kimberly-Clark in the designing of the townsites.

The conceptual framework of the town plan was based upon several general planning "assumptions". As outlined by E.G. Faludi and Anthony Adamson, these included:

196 OA, Lands and Forest District History Series, #2, "Geraldton Forest District", p. 35.
200 "Timber Resources Basic in Establishing Terrace Bay", p. 2.
201 OA, Association of Ontario Land Surveyors Annual Reports, p. 129.
203 "Timber Resources Basic in Establishing Terrace Bay", p. 2.
1. All land and physical equipment of the town will be owned and operated by the company, and the final administration of the town decided by the Company at a later stage.

2. Favourable soil conditions exist in the site selected and its topography is suitable for economical, public utilities.

3. The maximum size necessary and expected is a town of 1,000 families, of which:
   a) A population of between 300 and 400 families, or a population of upwards of 1,200 people will have to be provided for immediately.
   b) A final population of between 800 and 1,000 families or a population of between 3,500 and 4,500 people may be attracted to the town by the company.
   c) A larger population than 5,000 may develop due to location of additional plants offering employment.

4. The greater portion of the population will be married and most of these will have children.

5. Housing and all community facilities will be developed and extended in accordance with the demands of the population growth.

6. The focal points, such as commercial and recreational areas will be so located as to serve the town at equal distances from the extreme position of the residential areas and railway station.\textsuperscript{205}

In terms of development strategy the most significant "assumption" detailed by Faludi and Adamson was the overriding authority of the pulp and paper company. Through its control of all aspects of townsite development, Kimberly-Clark attempted to facilitate the application of a "new town design" for Terrace Bay.\textsuperscript{206} The community was designed to be both "comprehensive and organic", featuring neighbourhood units, greenbelt areas, functional land-use patterns and contour maintenance.\textsuperscript{207}

The total townsite area which consisted of 350 acres, was divided carefully into land-use sections on the basis of extensive company investigation. Indeed, a most detailed analysis of the anticipated population structure of the community accompanied the townsite proposal. Found in the Third Interim Report on the Town of Terrace, the population studies conducted on behalf of Kimberly-Clark attempted to assess the complexion of the workforce in order to provide adequate community services commensurate with their needs.\textsuperscript{208} On this basis, data was assembled and projections made concerning potential inhabitants’ marital status and family composition, racial composition and religious affiliation. Of the three, marital status and family composition were the most fundamental to the planning of the community. This was particularly true in consideration of housing requirements, schooling facilities and shopping needs. In an effort to attract a stable, well-adjusted population to the community, and eliminate the problems of labour turnover, the issue of marital and family status was central to the design of the townsite.

The townsite plan called for the creation of eight neighbourhood units within "3 well defined areas."\textsuperscript{209} Simplified in terms of neighbourhood units located north-east, north-west and south of the Trans-Canada

\textsuperscript{206} National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC). E.G. Faludi Collection, MG 30, B136, Vol. 1, File 1-51.
\textsuperscript{207} NAC, E.G. Faludi Collection.
Highway, the residential districts were planned to accommodate a total of 612 dwellings. Special consideration was taken in each neighbourhood to preserve parkland as well as to maintain a greenbelt between neighbourhoods.

The recreational area of the townsite was designed for the center of the community so that equal access was provided to each neighbourhood unit. In addition to the recreational area which was to consist of primarily tennis courts and a football field, the town plan allocated space for secondary recreational use under the headings of "school playground", "playlots" and "wild state".110

The commercial district also was located at the hub of the community, immediately to the south of the recreational area. Separated from both the recreational and residential areas by greenbelt space, the shopping district was designed essentially for pedestrian use. In this manner an effort was made to discourage through traffic in favour of "a pleasant atmosphere" which allowed "for children to play".111 While access roads provided a connection to residential areas, the peripheral parking lots located adjacent to the shopping district would suggest a further effort on the part of the town planners to eliminate vehicular traffic.

Construction of the townsite began in 1946 with the erection of the "lower camp" to house the 2,000 workers involved in the building stage. The "big push" occurred in 1947-1948, and when the mill opened in November of 1948, several of the neighbourhood units were completed and others nearing completion.112 Eventually reaching a population of 1,453 in 1951, Terrace Bay epitomized the model town concepts inherent in the comprehensive planning period.113

While the community of Terrace Bay was an early example of the comprehensively planned forest town, Gold River located on Vancouver Island approximately 100 kms west of Campbell River, is a more contemporary example of the same phenomenon. Established during the "heavy Canadian pulp mill expansion of the 1960s" the community of Gold River was developed to meet the community needs of the Gold River Pulp Mills Ltd. Company.114 Constructed between 1965 and 1968, Gold River provides evidence of the contour planning, curvilinear streetscape, neighbourhood unit and greenbelt areas so typical of the era.

In 1965, when the Gold River Pulp Mills Ltd. Company (a subsidiary of Tahsis Company Ltd.) decided to pursue the construction of a kraft pulp mill on the northwest coast of Vancouver Island, a commitment also was made to create "an open, model community for the company's local personnel".115 A suitable location was found in the Gold River Valley at the confluence of the Gold and the Heber Rivers. The Company, in combination with the provincial government, began the process of designing and constructing a model community. Operating under the auspices of the Municipal Act, letters of patent were issued on August 26, 1965 incorporating the District of Gold River and a municipality of approximately 2,000 acres was created. The townsite itself was to be constructed on 800 acres of municipal land while the industrial area, including the mill site, was to encompass the remaining 1,200 acres.116 The so-called "buildable" townsite consisted of 600 acres of land that had previously belonged to the province and 200 acres that belonged to the Tahsis company.

Under the instant town legislation, townsite responsibilities were defined long before the actual construction phase commenced. The provincial government assumed a supervisory role as its responsibility was primarily to ensure the creation of an open, well-integrated community. The municipality, although only

112 "Timber Resources Basic in Establishing Terrace Bay on Lake Superior Shores", p. 2.
newly created, was responsible for the provision of water and sewage servicing. The pulp and paper company assumed the bulk of the responsibility for townsites development as it took on the tasks of surveying and clearing the townsites area, planning and subdividing streets and townsites lots, constructing the storm sewer system, installing the street lighting and underground cables for electrical, telephone and television servicing and the preservation of parkland space.

Considerable effort was expended by the Gold River Company in the pre-planning stage as the model town program clearly was intended to attract and retain a skilled workforce. Indeed, through the course of the company’s preliminary investigations it was determined that the model town initiative would provide for:

... lower production costs, less industrial accidents, elimination of continual subsidized room and board costs, individual municipal tax reductions and the attraction of a variety of commercial businesses.\(^{217}\)

Estimating a workforce population of 852 and a community population of 2,511, the Gold River Pulp Mills Company through its subsidiary, Uncona Holdings Ltd., undertook the development program.\(^{218}\)

Perhaps the greatest factor affecting the company in its attempt to create a model industrial community was the local topography. Described by Dietze as a "very rugged site" where a variation of approximately 200 feet in elevation occurred from one end of the townsites to the other, the local terrain forced the company to adopt a pragmatic planning agenda.\(^{219}\) The steep contours not only made it difficult to plan for a well-integrated community but also posed problems related to street grade, apartment location and even park space. In the end Gold River was planned as three constituent parts: the town center which was dominated by apartment structures, the northern residential area and the southern residential section which sloped towards the river.

The residential component, although located in two specific areas relative to the town center, actually consisted of five well-defined neighbourhoods. Designated as neighbourhoods A through E by the company’s consultants, each neighbourhood featured a selection of house types. Ranging from 1,200 square foot three bedroom bungalows, to two bedroom condominiums and so-called "garden apartments", the variety of house types made available suggests that the company attempted to ensure community satisfaction by meeting employees' housing needs.\(^{220}\) Through its real estate company, the Uncona Holdings Ltd., the Gold River Pulp Mills Company offered a variety of homeowner assistance programs which were intended to not only facilitate homeownership but also to help create a contented, permanent, family-based community.

The commercial-recreational needs of the community were provided for by a joint company-private initiative. Taking shape as a shopping center complex, the project, which featured 12 retail outlets and an indoor recreation building, was constructed by the Gold River Pulp Mills Company, operated by a management company and populated by private interests.\(^{221}\) Although both the commercial and the recreational facilities apparently were less than adequate for the growing community, the fact that Campbell River provided an alternative retail function and that outdoor recreational activities abounded, seemed to imply that the limited services available in the community did meet the needs of the local population.

\(^{218}\) The company actually estimated a townsites population of 241 single persons and 2,270 persons living in 611 families, for a total of 2,511 residents. For details see: S.H. Dietze, The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns, p. 9.
\(^{221}\) S.H. Dietze, The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns, p. 11.
Like Gold River, the community of Lebel-Sur-Quevillon, Quebec, located in the Abitibi region of northwestern Quebec, was a product of the 1960s pulp and paper boom. In the case of Lebel-Sur-Quevillon, the driving force behind the community initiative was Domtar Limited and the so-called "vast untapped forests of northwestern Quebec". When the Domtar company decided to pursue the construction of a $75 million pulp mill and chemical plant operation in 1964, it also committed itself to the creation of a town capable of accommodating approximately 4,000 residents. The end result was the forestry dependent community of Lebel-Sur-Quevillon nestled in the north woods on the shore of Lac Quevillon.

The initial approach of the Domtar company to the projected community needs of its workforce was to pursue the creation of "an open public town". Although it would appear as though the company was favourably disposed to the notion of an open town, its commitment to the same was apparently motivated more by financial constraints than by a set policy. According to one source, only a limited amount of capital had been budgeted for the townsite portion of project. As a result, it became necessary to "attract private builders, developers and investors" as a means of not only providing for community development but also as a means of defraying costs. Because of the location of the project, the high costs associated with construction, the timing of the initiative and the many site-related difficulties that were encountered, the private sector was slow to respond to the challenges of site development. Almost by default, Lebel-Sur-Quevillon became a Domtar orchestrated undertaking.

In August of 1965, as a first step towards community development, Lebel-Sur-Quevillon was incorporated as a municipal entity complete with an appointed council. According to the charter, the council, which was composed of Domtar executives, was given the authority to oversee the affairs of the community until October 1968. At that time a public election was to be held which would provide for the development of local institutions. From 1965 through 1968, Domtar exercised an inordinately dominant role in the development of the community of Lebel-Sur-Quevillon.

Eventually selecting a "dished peninsula" site of some 0.65 square miles located approximately 3 miles from the pulp mill as the optimum townsite location, Domtar hired outside consultants to prepare a town plan for the new community. At the same time the company also created a real-estate company called Quevillon Estates, to oversee lot development and house sales. Focusing on the dished area, 12 planning principles apparently dictated the nature of the undertaking. In attempting to adhere to the basic premise of creating a "model town", the planning prerequisites were defined as follows:

a) The "image" of the town should be one of permanence, stability and sociability.
b) It should make provisions for a maximum of recreational and social facilities, planned and run by the people concerned through inter-community organizations.
c) It should provide service facilities (stores, schools, hospitals) of highest quality without company control or involvement.
d) It should provide for maximum social contact of a neighbourhood by the close grouping of dwellings one with another and with the centre while preserving individual privacy.
e) The character of the town shall be urban, cohesive and integrated rather than suburban, and sprawling, and shall avoid monotony and repetition.
f) The town centre shall form the focal point of the development providing all social, recreational, service and administrative facilities at the "core" of the town.
g) Specific attention shall be paid to utilizing the site, building shapes and protective devices to protect against prevailing winds and retain the heat of the sun.

h) There shall be sufficient treed park space to provide buffer zones as well as recreational areas.

i) Special attention shall be paid to internal automobile traffic and street parking, considering a possible high car density.

j) Special consideration shall be given to the integration (double-use) of school, playground and recreational facilities.

k) Assuming a density of 25 people per acre (5 families) a total of 120 acres would be required for a population of 3,500 plus 40 acres for community facilities.

l) The initial town plan should give due consideration to the incorporation of a trailer park and camp housing into the town proper.\textsuperscript{227}

In application the town plan resulted in a "forceful architectural concept which nested small neighbourhoods (cells) around a town centre, sloping inward from the elongated dish".\textsuperscript{228} The focal point of the townsites was intended to be the town center which was to include all of the so-called "town facilities". Initially, however, the central area housed only the temporary shopping center and green space which was to be developed eventually into a recreational complex. By 1969 the hub area included a company financed 40,000 square foot shopping complex, an $800,000 company sponsored recreation center, a mixed residential area and park space.\textsuperscript{229}

As was often the case in forestry dependent communities, housing would come to be one of the most contentious components of community development. While on the one hand Domtar attempted to "avoid the atmosphere of a company town", on the other it clearly recognized the necessity of providing for the varied housing needs of potential residents.\textsuperscript{230} The company's early approach to the housing conundrum was undertaken in an effort to encourage the private sector to not only construct the necessary structures but also to manage housing delivery services. The builders' reticence to become involved in the resource development scheme forced the company to become an active participant in the housing program. Through Quevillon Estates Ltd., Domtar contracted for the delivery and assembly of 241 pre-fabricated single family dwelling units and four, 11-unit apartment buildings.\textsuperscript{231} Most of the single family units were sold through a variety of company assistance programs to Domtar employees. Beyond the houses and the apartments erected for Quevillon Estates, the company also made family accommodation available at two trailer parks where company owned trailers were rented to company personnel and, for single men, it offered accommodation in the "renovated construction camp" at the mill site.\textsuperscript{232}

Lebel-Sur-Quevillon, once an "architect's dream" rapidly degenerated into an "engineers nightmare" and an "administrators headache".\textsuperscript{233} Preliminary site investigation was incomplete, planning schedules were inappropriate for the location, project development was hurried, the company's laissez-faire attitude did little to encourage rational expansion, and government intervention was for the most part, non-existent. Whether it was poor quality housing, the lack of retail facilities or the seemingly reticent attitude of the company towards maintaining the site vegetation, the community did not fulfil the optimistic expectations first envisioned by the Domtar company.

While Lebel-Sur-Quevillon, Gold River and Terrace Bay were all part and parcel of the instant town phenomenon so typical of the comprehensive era, Hinton, Alberta and Sioux Lookout, Ontario were two of the many forestry dependent communities that experienced the renewed growth that can be associated with

\textsuperscript{227} S.H. Dietze, The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns, p. 34.

\textsuperscript{228} S.H. Dietze, The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns, p. 34.

\textsuperscript{229} S.H. Dietze, The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{230} S.H. Dietze, The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{231} S.H. Dietze, The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{232} S.H. Dietze, The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{233} S.H. Dietze, The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns, p. 36.
the comprehensive era. In both cases the communities, each of which had a long association with forestry production, became the focal point of post-war expansion.

The forestry boom of the post-war era not only impacted on the long-established community of Hinton, but perhaps more importantly, facilitated the development of what was locally known as "New Hinton". Located approximately 200 kms west of Edmonton in the foothills region of the Rocky Mountains, the community of Hinton experienced many of the positive and the negative aspects of the expansionary period.

In 1955 the North Western Pulp and Paper Company (NWPPC) acquired cutting rights to a 3,000 square mile timber lease in northwestern Alberta. Although there was apparently some initial doubt as to where the NWPPC would center its operation, the community of Hinton eventually was determined to be the optimal site as it provided the company with some of the infrastructure necessary to the pulping process and a potential labour force that was already reasonably familiar with the activity of the forestry sector.

Hinton underwent a period of massive growth. Anticipating a population increase of more than 5,000 as a result of the pulp and paper project, the NWPPC approached the provincial government to initiate a townsite development program. The Town and Rural Planning Branch of the Alberta provincial government was charged with the responsibility of investigating both the feasibility of the project and the potential for townsite development. Much of its effort focused on the established community as the government appeared to give first consideration to the expansion of the Hinton townsite. The early engineering reports, however, suggested that this was an unrealistic goal. Detailing soil composition, local topography and drainage problems, the preliminary surveys rejected the possibility of enlarging the established community. Opting instead for development of a new subdivision, the province authorized the creation of what became New Hinton.

The townsite plan designed by the provincial government focused on the central business district. Developed on the main thoroughfare, the commercial zone was located in the north-central section of the townsite. It was intended to function as a downtown area. Located to the southeast and southwest were the two major residential districts. Each neighbourhood included churches and schools and, although they were reasonably self-contained, they still centered on the business district. Allowance was made for the development of a small service industry zone.

The building of the new town between 1955-1957 was undertaken by a private contracting firm, the Athabaska Development Board. The workers employed in the construction of the townsite were housed in old Hinton, and as the new community took shape, the old townsite was revitalized by the construction boom. As a result, old Hinton continued to provide an alternative form of community for those who would not or could not relocate to the new townsite. In 1957 the provincial government amalgamated the two townsites and Hinton, at least in theory, combined the old with the new.

A similar situation occurred in northwestern Ontario. In August of 1955 the Cabinet Committee on Townsites received correspondence from the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company concerning the possibility of establishing a pulp and newsprint mill at Pelican Siding, approximately 9 kms west of Sioux Lookout. The company president estimated that the $50 million facility would employ approximately 500 men and would increase total local population by between 2500 and 4500 individuals. While all housing possibilities apparently were considered by Anglo-Newfoundland, the initial inquiry specifically queried the feasibility of erecting a townsite at Pelican Siding. Government policy as enunciated by the Cabinet

238 OA, Ministry of Municipal Affairs, RG 19, Community Planning Branch-General Files, Series D-1, Box 147, "Single Industry Towns-General".

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Committee was completely at odds with the creation of a separate townsit to serve the pulp and paper company. As a result, Anglo-Newfoundland was persuaded to focus its community endeavours in the small community of Sioux Lookout.

Decline Management

The development of Canadian forestry dependent communities has in recent years reached something of a watershed. Having evolved from the frontier camps of the pre-twentieth century to the comprehensively planned model towns of the post World War II era, the contemporary forestry town phenomenon is in a period of decline. Responding to increasing costs, uncertain global economic tendencies, the slow decline of the post-war expansion period, on-going labour strife and a shift in the overall strategy of government, the forest dependent community has become less and less of a viable community alternative. Not only is this reflected in the increasing acceptance of the "no-town" option but also is portrayed vividly through the variety of downsizing or diversification programs implemented in the forestry sector.239

The no-town alternative or the non-permanent community is largely the by-product of increasing government activity in the forestry sector. In an effort to alleviate the problems associated with the small scattered northern communities, government has discouraged the growth of newly established forestry dependent towns. No longer are communities created specifically to cater to the needs of the forestry industries. Instead, where warranted, facilities are established in either a non-permanent configuration or existing townsites are expanded in the tradition of the growth-center or target community.

The non-permanent community has for the most part taken the form of the short-term residency style community.240 The growth center approach, on the other hand, while not providing the same degree of flexibility, does allow for greater stability in the forestry sector.241 Focusing on one specific site as a host community, the growth-center alternative is a regional response to the forestry production process. In this regard the host community often becomes a reception area for several resource development schemes and as a consequence, offers a wide range of urban-like services to the inhabitants. With the greater acceptance of the growth-center concept and the continued development of non-permanent facilities, the era of the "instant town" may well be a thing of the past.

As the planning initiative shifts away from the creation of new forestry towns, the most pressing issue confronting the contemporary community is the question of continuing viability. Although there is a long tradition of boom and bust associated with the forestry town phenomenon, the recent downturn has forced government, industry and even labour to adopt a crisis management approach to the problems of the forest dependent community. In many ways a proactive response to the problems associated with recessionary times,


the crisis management approach appears to focus on the maintenance and/or downsizing of faltering community infrastructure.

On occasion, however, the process of decline management also has had to consider the complete decommissioning of the forestry dependent community. Communities such as Geraldton and Tache have responded to the contemporary circumstances of forest production with community forestry initiatives. Pine Falls or Temiskaming, on the other hand, have moved towards community ownership as the most viable method of maintaining the forestry dependent community. Other towns, such as Ocean Falls, saw no alternative to closure and have ceased to exist.

Community Forestry

Community forestry has taken a variety of forms in Canada. In British Columbia community forestry often means the development of a Community Forestry Board. In a First Nations community, community forestry might mean the implementation of an Aboriginal forestry program. In Newfoundland, community forestry can mean private woodlot management. In Ontario, community forestry is perhaps most often identified with the Geraldton community forestry project. The common denominator in all cases, however, is community control. As articulated by the Buckley Valley Community Resources Board in its terms of reference, the community forestry board is established to

...ensure all resource activities will be ecologically responsible (in order) to guarantee long-term resource sustainability and enable communities to maintain their quality of life without compromising the needs of future generations.

Although the discussion of community forestry could include a discussion of the Cariboo Indian Enterprise operation at Cariboo Lake, the Ehattesahlt Bands involvement in the Hectate Logging Company, the work of the Cortes Island Forest Committee, or even the Portland Hill project in Newfoundland, the best example of the initiative is the Geraldton community forest endeavour. Established in 1989, the Geraldton project has in many ways become the prototype for the community forest program.

Geraldton, located approximately 200 kms north-east of Thunder Bay, has a long association with resource development. At various times the community has been the focal point of both the forestry and the extractive industries. By the late 1980s, and in part as a response to the peaks and valleys of the resource production process and environmental concerns raised by the process of sustainable development, the community hired Professor Julian Dunster of Lakehead University to prepare a community forestry feasibility study. Completed in 1989, Dunster's report not only offered an overview assessment of the community forest phenomenon but also provided a step by step approach to implementation. Dunster's study itemized 12 so-called "principles for establishing a community forest". Including land administration, management

management control and the potential of the community forest as a research and development tool, Dunster's program as applied in Geraldton, provided the means and the vehicle for community vitality.

The Pine Falls and the Temiskaming experiences offer a slightly different perspective on the notion of community involvement. In both Pine Falls and Temiskaming the community actually undertook the task of industrial management. In Temiskaming when the Canadian International Paper Company (CIPC) decided to terminate the operations of the Temiskaming pulp and paper mill, the employees elected to form their own company and purchased the facilities through the Quebec Solidarity Fund. At Pine Falls there was a similar response to the restructuring program. In March of 1994 the employees of the Abitibi Price pulp mill finalized a buy out deal that not only saw the Abitibi Price facilities change hands but also witnessed the creation of the employee owned Pine Falls Paper Company. In both Temiskaming and Pine Falls community persistence was contingent upon the activity of the employee group.

Decommission and Forest Dependent Communities

Ocean Falls, located approximately 525 kms north of Vancouver, is one of the best examples of the decommissioning initiative of the decline era. Founded in 1906 when the Bella Coola Development Company erected sawmilling facilities on the site, the town had experienced a series of booms and busts. In 1972, then owner Crown Zellerbach announced the impending closure of the plant. Responding to rising costs, soft markets, obsolescent plant facilities and an expensive government enforced pollution abatement program, Crown Zellerbach shut down its operation at Ocean Falls on 29 March 1973.

At the time of the closure the community of Ocean Falls was almost entirely dependent upon the workings of Crown Zellerbach. Although, according to the 1971 census, the total population of the townsite had dropped from a high of 3,000 to 1,375, approximately 76 percent of the total workforce of 545 men and women were employed by the company. The population resided in two distinct areas. The so-called "Company Townsite" was the older of the two and consisted of 378 dwelling units. The second residential district, the Martin Valley subdivision, located 2.4 kms from the company townsite, was erected between 1952 and 1962 and consisted of 85 two and three bedroom homes. The majority of buildings in both areas were owned by the company. Including the 329 room Martin Hotel and the Ocean Falls Hospital, Ocean Falls was a reasonably well-established single enterprise community.

The shut-down phase of the Crown Zellerbach operation actually began in 1965. In both 1965 and 1966 the company terminated production in various aspects of the paper process. By 1967 it had completely shut-down the kraft and sulphite pulping process operation. A third paper making machine was phased out in 1971, and by 1972, when the decision was made to conclude production entirely, the writing had been on the wall for some time.

The imminent demise of the community was forestalled in late March of 1973 when the provincial government made the decision to take-over the remaining assets of both the mill and the townsite. Purchased for $1 million, less the liability for house mortgages of $210,048, the provincial government assumed control of the operation in an effort "to investigate the further potential of the town and its manufacturing facilities". The government's intention was articulated clearly by then Resource Minister Robert Williams who was quoted in *The Province* as saying:

"Economically we don't see this as a money-making operation. The Ocean Falls facility is undersized and inefficient. But we have a great deal of faith in the people and their ability to make it work."

Money-making or otherwise, the provincial government exercised its option in May of 1973 and the Crown Zellerbach operation was reorganized into two crown corporations: British Columbia Cellulose Company Limited, the holding company, and Ocean Falls Corporation, the operating company.

Assuming control on April 2, 1973, the provincial government pursued two redevelopment alternatives. The first, as outlined by Williams, was community diversification. Highlighting such potential uses for the townsite as a rehabilitation center, retirement village or a Native craft center, the province clearly recognized the uncertainty of the Ocean Falls conundrum.

A potentially more realistic assessment of the situation, however, was the second redevelopment alternative which considered "mill upgrading and modernization". Towards this end the province commissioned several feasibility studies. Eventually selecting two options for further study, the upgrading alternative appeared to capture the imagination of the decision makers. Varying in both scope and costs, the major redevelopment plan, valued at $500 million was rejected in favour of a more modest $120 million modernization program.

The modernization program as incorporated at Ocean Falls was a surprisingly optimistic appraisal of the potential for the community. Including construction of a new sawmill, the installation of new pulping facilities and the allocation of sufficiently large timber berths to provide a guaranteed source of both pulp and lumber, the program was a five-year plan of modernization. Pertinent to the schedule of development was the proposal for the creation of a new townsite at Roscoe Bay, 18 kms east of Ocean Falls. Arguing that the old townsite would not adequately meet the needs of a "modern community", the plan called for the development of 340 residential lots and a wide range of commercial facilities.

Between 1973 and 1979 slightly over $24 million was spent on the modernization program. A significantly less amount than was initially intended, the whole project had begun to fall into disfavour with the provincial government by 1976. Partially as a result of continuing losses, which for 1979 totalled $7.9

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million, and also due in part to changing political attitudes, Ocean Falls was heading towards its second serious shut-down by 1979.  

In March of 1980, Oceans Falls Corporation Chairman, Ray Williston, announced that both "the industrial operation and community of Ocean Falls" would be shut down for a second time. Laying-off over 400 workers, the move was intended to provide the corporation with the opportunity to streamline the production process. In this vein, Williston further indicated that during the shut-down the plant would be downsized to a sawmill and wood-chip operation. Costing in the neighbourhood of $9 million, the converted facility, when operational, would employ 100 people.  

The immediate consequence of the second shut-down and the restructuring process was that over 300 workers were thrown out of work. This in turn forced the Ocean Falls Corporation to finally deal with the problems of closure. With the assistance of the Manpower Consultative Service, a Manpower Adjustment Committee was formed and an Employment Center opened. The objective of the Adjustment Committee was to bring "employees and prospective employers together" in an effort to find suitable employment for displaced workers. At the same time, the Employment Center offered a wide range of services which included occupational consultation, relocation counselling and advise on benefit continuance, unemployment insurance and financial planning. Beyond the work of the Committee and the Employment Center, the corporation also instituted a buy-back scheme for privately owned dwellings and a system of severance pay for long-term employees, as part of its wind-down package.  

Between March and June of 1980 the community members slowly resigned themselves to the eventual demise of the town. While the prospect for revitalization through the sawmill and wood-chip operation still existed, little actual development had taken place. The overall feel of the community was summarized by the local union representative when in response to the lack of progress on the redevelopment scheme, Art Gruntman argued:

"I don’t believe that is going to come about. Our people have been led down the garden path".  

By June of 1980 the community was showing the visible signs of decay. The circumstances of the community were described in The Province in the following manner:

Several shops have been closed. The hospital has been demoted to a diagnostic center... 
By fall, windows and doors on corporation owned housing will be boarded up... Pipes will be drained...  

In the mean time and while the future continued to look dismal, the Ocean Falls Corporation toiled with the revitalization scheme. The proposal for the mill and wood chip plant had in fact been revised to the development of an oriented strand board plant. This, however, also remained on the drawing board as the so-called "economic downturn" which hit the forestry industry in 1982, put the whole project on hold.  

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262 "Axe Finally Falls at Ocean Falls", Vancouver Sun, March 7, 1980.  
264 "Residents of Ocean Falls are Unhappy with Settlement", Terrace-Kitimat Daily Herald, March 17, 1980.  
265 J. Thompson, "Few Remain as Ocean Falls Machines are Stilled", The Province, June 1, 1980.  
266 J. Thompson, "Few Remain as Ocean Falls Machines are Stilled", The Province, June 1, 1980.  
September of 1983 the uncertainty was finally resolved, when the provincial government passed legislation dissolving both the Ocean Falls Corporation and the British Columbia Cellulose Company.  

The third wind-down phase which began with the dissolution of the Ocean Falls Corporation was a Ministry of Industry and Small Business Development undertaking. Its mandate as defined by the provincial legislature, was to consider the options for the "disposal of the assets of these companies which include an industrial plant, hydro-electric power station and townsite". The alternatives available as they were presented in a 1984 Ministry of Municipal Affairs publication, *Ocean Falls: Community Development Options*, centered on four possible economic development strategies:

- Industrial Development: new industrial enterprises are secured for the townsite;
- No Industrial Development: industrial assets at Ocean Falls are liquidated either because efforts to attract new industrial development are not successful or the costs of doing so are not acceptable;
- Potential Industrial Development: Industrial development is not attractive. However, physical assets are maintained for potential future development.
- Abandonment: all assets from the site are removed and existing residents relocated.

Although the report considered a variety of both development and non-development options, the clearest statement of intent was the "Normalization Program" as announced in June of 1985. Working through a consultant, the government's program provided for the demolition of

1. ... all unsafe and unusable buildings in Ocean Falls townsite and millsite
2. arrange for the sale of machinery and equipment
3. identify which residential services warranted repair
4. prepare an update subdivision plan for Ocean Falls and
5. evaluate various development proposals for the Ocean Falls area.

With the beginning of the demolition program, the end was in sight. The estimated 60 inhabitants remaining in the community were offered little hope of community persistence.

In 1986 the provincial government issued what would be its final policy statement on the Ocean Falls situation. Appropriately titled "A New Beginning for Ocean Falls", the province proposed a three-pronged initiative that was intended to protect the remnants of community. Focusing on the enhancement of local autonomy through the creation of the Ocean Falls Improvement District, the agreement shifted the Ocean Falls debate to a more localized setting.

Also significant in terms of the future prospects of the community were two "important industrial initiatives" as outlined by the government. One program detailed the potential for hydro-electric power development while the other provided for bulk water export through the company, Western Canada Water Enterprises Incorporated. In both cases, employment opportunities were limited and the future of the

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268 *Ocean Falls Normalization Program*.
269 *Ocean Falls: Community Development Options*, p. 1.1.
270 *Ocean Falls: Community Development Options*, p. 3.1.
271 *Ocean Falls Normalization Program*.
272 *Ocean Falls: Community Development Options*, p. 2.3.
down-sized community still very much in doubt. Indeed, perhaps the best scenario was a late 1986 proposal for the development of a local aquaculture facility. At the same time, however, the continuing gravity of the situation was made abundantly clear when the local citizenry recommended the use of the townsite as a disposal site for nuclear wastes.275

Conclusion

Canadian forest dependent communities have evolved from the shanty towns of the pre-industrial era to the physically planned communities of the holistic period to the social, economic and physically designed towns of the comprehensive era through to the rationalized communities of the decline era. Along the way, town plans have been plotted, townsites cleared, streets laid out, houses constructed, town centers opened, recreational facilities expanded and industrial production commenced. Also along the way, houses have been vacated, shopping centers torn down, recreational equipment sold, services removed and production ended. Many communities have prospered and many others have faltered. Regardless, however, the forestry dependent community clearly reflects the reality of the forestry economy. There have been boom periods in which both the forestry economy and the forestry community have thrived and conversely, there have been bust periods during which both have declined rather dramatically.

The development of forestry dependent communities in Canada has loosely coincided with the evolution of three broad planning periods. Identified as the holistic, comprehensive and decline management eras of community planning, the three periods not only give evidence of changing strategies of community development but also highlight the general circumstances of the forestry dependent community. The holistically planned community of Temiskaming demonstrates both the Riordan Pulp and Paper Company’s commitment to community development and the various attributes of the holistically planned forestry dependent community, and the comprehensively planned community of Gold River is indicative of the Gold River Pulp Mills Company’s willingness to provide for the social needs of its workforce. Conversely, communities of the decline era such as Geraldton, Pine Falls or even Ocean Falls offer evidence of both the increasingly turbulent economic times confronting contemporary forestry and the wide variety of strategies employed in an attempt to ensure community persistence.

In the end, the future of Canada’s forestry dependent communities while uncertain, may not be all doom and gloom. Indeed, it may well be that the community initiative so obvious to the decline era, is the future of the forestry town. Whether this takes the form of Community Forestry Boards, First Nations forestry programs or employee ownership of the industrial endeavour, it is all part and parcel of the movement towards the local control/management of forest resources. Through all of this, the forestry dependent community may yet find its soul.

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275 Both of these development schemes were brought to light in a conversation with Derek Griffin, Economic and Industrial Branch.
FOREST DEPENDENT COMMUNITIES IN CANADA
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY


In a brief descriptive article on the townsite affairs of the Abitibi Power and Paper Company in northern Ontario, the author attempts to document the "model town" phenomenon as it evolved in the province. Arguing that "many" pulp and paper manufacturers had laid out model towns, the author suggests that the model town concept was the norm rather than the exception. Focusing specifically on the Iroquois Falls townsite the author describes in some detail the construction of worker's "cottages", the servicing of the townsite and the development of various "modern conveniences".


Arguing that over 2,000 people in the Peace River region are directly employed in the forest industry and that approximately as many are employed in winter harvesting and log hauling, this document concludes that "forestry is an extremely important component of the regional economy". Focusing more specifically on the four major forestry communities of Grande Prairie, High Prairie, Hines Creek and High Level, the report itemizes not only the employment opportunities created by the forest industry but also various indirect benefits such as municipal taxes, that are generated by the forestry sector. Important to the discussion as well are the environmental concerns that must be balanced against the economic benefits of the forest industry. Watershed protection, wildlife habitat and recreational land-use are all part and parcel of an "integrated" land-use plan intended to not only provide for the economic well-being of the Peace River region but also to protect and preserve the local eco-system.


Providing both a historical overview of forestry development in Alberta and a statistical synopsis of contemporary forestry activities, this publication offers considerable insight into Alberta's forestry industry. Of particular interest is the discussion of "timber disposal" and the role played by both the federal and the provincial governments in the management of the same. Although the report chronicles problems with overlapping jurisdictional authority, the clearcutting of accessible timber stands and the seemingly tardy response to inventory needs, it also underscores the importance of sustained yield forest management. Based on a system of forest management units, the sustained yield approach has provided for the growth of "permanent manufacturing facilities" which in turn have provided for "permanent communities".

In maintaining that communities across British Columbia "are realizing that the forest management objectives of the timber industry often neglect and conflict with the broader range of values and needs" of the public at large, Allin argues the case of the community forest board. In citing the examples of Buckley Valley, Cortes Island and West Chilcotin, the author attempts to show that not only does the community forest board provide for local control of forest use but also allows for the development of a well-integrated, stable, local economy. More importantly, however, according to Allin, the community forest board approach ensures that "resource activities will be ecologically responsible and enable communities to maintain their quality of life without compromising the needs of future generations".


Intended as a "Background Paper for Parliamentarians", this study offers a good-albeit somewhat dated, overview of forestry in Canada. Arguing for the perceptive use of forest resources, Amyot calls for the greater integration of forest management policies and programs. Indeed, in suggesting that Canada's forests are "on the edge of crisis", the author underscores the urgency of the forest dilemma. In the process, Amyot identifies issues of concern such as the need to diversify, to apply new technology, to renew forest stock and the necessity of long-term monitoring of both forest resources and harvesting techniques.


Consisting of fourteen edited papers and numerous summary reports of "round table discussions", this volume confronts the problems of rural development. With topics presented ranging from "Strengthening Municipal Assessment Bases" to "Social Restructuring in Resource Dependent Places", the collection offers a potpourri of rural development issues. Special consideration was given to forestry dependent communities as several authors addressed the unique problems of the same. Three papers of note are W. Phillip and W. White's "Measures of Dependency", B.Jean's "Toward A Sustainable Rural Development" and Wayne Jobb, Eric Jerrard and Hartmann Nagel's "Forestry Industry Collaboration With Agriculture and Commerce".


Relying heavily on the findings of E.C. Ulman and M. Dacey as well as J.W. Maxwell, Hilary Archer attempts to develop a comprehensive method of classifying Canadian single industry communities. Although not exclusive to forest dependent communities, by scrutinizing the "dominant function" of a community Archer is able to identify communities that are dependent upon the activity of a single industry. Defined further as "the function which employs the highest percentage of the basic labour force", the
dominant function has become a much utilized means of measuring community dependency.


Located in the Ontario Archives, the *Annual Reports* offer considerable insight into everything from township surveys in northern Ontario to the planning of pulp and paper townsites. Indeed whether in consideration of H.T. Routly's paper "The Development of Townsites in New Ontario", E.W. Neeland's essay "Smooth Rock Falls Power Development", T.C. Epps' contribution "Terrace Bay Townsite" or the more general "Minutes" discussion of the Kapuskasing or Iroquois Falls townsites, the collection provides detailed planning and construction information on a number of northern Ontario communities.


This book, which is a collection of reminiscences written by the men and women who at various times were active participants in the forestry industry of British Columbia, provides a detailed first-hand account of BC forestry. From Ermine Ramsay's discussion of the building of the community hall at Britain River to Evelyn Hobson's account of Sunday afternoon baseball at Youbou through to Murray Smith's memories of the log booms at Port Renfrew, the numerous contributions help to capture the sense of community as it evolved across the forestry frontier.


In studying forest dependent communities in the state of Oregon, the authors conclude that while forest dependent communities do indeed suffer large scale employment variation, the variations are not necessarily the result of changing forest policy. In other words, the authors maintain that "community stability" is much more than simply forest production levels. Citing factors such as international business cycles, technological change, federal monetary policy and even an aging workforce, Berck et al. clearly underscore the integrated nature of the forestry sector.


As articulated by the author, the purpose of this report was "to assess and describe various aspects relating to the production and consumption of forest products in the NWT." Analyzed in terms of resources available, employment opportunities and socio-economic linkages, Bohning underscores the critical place of forest resources in northern development. In the process he offers commentary on everything from Forest Management Units (FMU) to sawmill capacity. Of particular interest is the author's attempt to note and classify forest dependent communities in the NWT. Building upon the work of G. Hornberger, Bohning identifies five fully dependent communities and fourteen heavily dependent communities in the NWT.

Undertaken in an effort to review both the "new national forest strategy" as was articulated in the 1992 publication *Sustainable Forests: A Canadian Commitment*, and *The Canada Forest Accord*, this report offers brief commentary on contemporary forest policy. Focusing on the concept of sustainable forest development, Bourdages maintains that the current initiative revolves around "nine strategic directives". Including forest stewardship, forest management practices, public participation, economic opportunities, forest research, the workforce, Aboriginal people, private forests and the global perspective, the nine objectives form the framework of the federal government's new initiative. Important as well, however, is the fact that the newly defined strategy is a co-operative strategy-involving both government and the private sector in the process of forest management.


Bradbury's dissertation is a thorough discussion of British Columbia's "instant town" legislation and its impact on the provinces' resource communities. The author's analysis suggests that the legislative initiative was a less than appropriate response to the community needs of the resource sector. Indeed, the instant town legislation, by reaffirming the central place of corporate capitalism in the resource town process only served to reinforce the dependency inherent in the resource sector. The modern instant town, according to Bradbury, differed little from the company town of old.


John Bradbury, a one time leading authority on BC's resource towns, in this paper discusses the post-1960 "instant town" phenomenon as it evolved in British Columbia. While his focus is clearly government policy and the impact of provincial government legislation on the development BC's resource communities, Bradbury offers some intriguing insight into the development of communities such as Gold River, Mackenzie and Port Alice. In the end, he argues that the character of these towns must be viewed in the context of "international corporate capitalism" as opposed to the specifics of each individual resource development project.


Based on his doctoral dissertation which was submitted to Columbia University in 1928, Bradwin's *Bunkhouse Man* is one of the first scholarly studies of work and working conditions on the resource frontier. Bradwin's interpretation is based on his experiences as a labourer/teacher in the Frontier College Programme. Working and teaching in lumber, mining and railway construction camps across northern Ontario provided the author with the first hand experience necessary for the writing of a book of this nature. In describing bunkhouse configurations, daily menus, work rotations and equipment repairs, Bradwin provides a vivid sense of community as it existed on the resource frontier.

Held in Victoria, B.C. the national conference from which this volume emanates was convened to both review the circumstances of Canadian forestry and to make recommendations intended to provide for the sustainable development of the forest sector. Consisting of twenty-four papers grouped under section headings of Introduction, Forestry Inventory, Regeneration and Growth, Harvesting, Timber Losses, Changes in the Land Base and Forecast to 2050, this volume offers a wide ranging overview of the contemporary forestry scene. Whether through R.P. Gillis' biographical study of Ernest Herbert Finlayson who is described as the Canadian equivalent of Gifford Pinchot or C. Van Wagner's analysis of forest fire data, the authors develop a diversity of forest related topics. In terms of the community component, Chief Roger Jimmie of the Kluskus Indian Band's account of the "wholistic tree farm" approach to forestry offers what might be considered the most balanced overview.


The community of Hinton, Alberta, which Brown describes as a "dual town", is a good example of comprehensive planning gone astray. Redesigned in 1955 as a result of the activity of the North Western Pulp and Paper Company, the contemporary community consists of "new" and "old" Hinton. Through the duplication of service, the segregation of housing and other apparent problems it is obvious that the Town and Rural Planning Department of the provincial government miscalculated community needs.


Commissioned to enquire into the state of B.C. forests with a view to recommending methods of improving forest management, the Forest Resources Commission has compiled not only a detailed overview of B.C.'s forestry industry but also what the *Final Report* has dubbed a "Vision Statement" on the future of the forests. In this regard the report documents variables such as average stumpage payments and the employment impact of forestry as well as offering a vision of "enhanced stewardship" for the future of B.C. forestry. Arguing that forests in the future must provide for a "full range of values" extending beyond just the commercial component, the Commission underscores the increasingly important themes of environmental protection, recreational land-use and even the aesthetic value of forested land. Recognizing high rate forest dependency ratios in many B.C. communities-particularly Castlegar at 67 percent or Williams Lake at 55.6 percent, the Commission presents economic diversification as part and parcel of the new value system.

Nicholson, located in north-central Ontario, is the focus of this study of a forestry dependent community. Founded by the Austin and Nicholson Lumber Company in 1901, Nicholson at one time was the hub of a 5 sawmill, 60 bush camp operation. The community, which at its peak boasted a large bunkhouse, approximately 55 houses, a school, a theatre and a pool hall, largely was controlled by the lumber company. In 1934, however, after a devastating fire destroyed most of the structures in the town along with some 50 million board feet of lumber, the community based activity of the company was shifted to nearby Bertrand.


Arguing that forest resources have recently been subjected to an almost total re-evaluation, Bull attempts to assess the new value structure of forestry with a view to documenting government policy restructuring. Identifying themes such as biodiversity, air quality, wilderness protection and "cultural resource values", the author makes a good case for the reassessment of the forest sector. Included in the discussion is Bull's recognition of the increasing need for community based forestry. "Communities", he argues, are "Demanding more participation in forest land planning". This is particularly true of the one industry town and the native community which Bull suggests is perhaps the most significant from a policy development perspective.


In what is a regionally based discussion of the pulp and paper industry in northern Ontario, James Butcher provides a good overview of both the development of the industry and the economy of north-eastern Ontario. Focusing specifically on the community of Kapuskasing the author considers government policy, transportation, foreign ownership and community infrastructure as integral to the understanding of the pulp and paper process. Of particular importance was government policy which according to Butcher was not only used to orchestrate the Kapuskasing project but also was applied in an attempt to stimulate regional growth.


Responding to H.V. Nelles' The Politics of Development, Calnan in this thesis argues the case of the lumber community. Indeed, contrary to Nelles' conclusions, Calnan maintains that the lumber community was at the forefront of the conservation movement in Canada. At the same time, however, the author suggests that forest conservation as applied by Canada's lumber barons was pursued not so much to protect the forests but rather to promote the efficient use of forest resources. It was, according to Calnan, a means of sustaining maximum forest exploitation.

Responding to the issues associated with "a period of serious adjustment", the so-called "stakeholders" of the forestry industry published this document as a forward looking statement of purpose. The "visions" or plan includes a commitment to sustainable development, competitive access to financing, resource management and efficient and effective education and training. Although the report is written from a strong centralist perspective, recommendations are made encouraging the delivery of community based adjustment programs. This is particularly true of the labour adjustment initiatives, resource management schemes and the conservation orientation of the study.


Through the Canada-Quebec Forestry Agreement and in an effort to "promote Native autonomy in matters of land management", Forestry Canada in 1985 initiated the Forest Management Program of Indian Lands. With approximately 170,000 hectares of accessible forests located on Indian lands—much of which according to this document was in "poor condition", Forestry Canada identified an "urgent need" to facilitate a program of forest management. Including the inventory of forest stock, the development of management of plans, the implementation of silvicultural operations and the promotion of technology transfer, the program was not only intended to provide for the proper utilization of forest land but also the self-determination of Native peoples. Working with a population of approximately 18,900 in 16 communities the program has created the equivalent of 125 one-year jobs and generated direct earnings of $2.1 million. From Manouane to Waswanipi, it appears as though the Forest Management Program has had a mostly positive impact on the Native community.


Carson, in this paper, offers an illuminating perspective on the sense of community as it was found in the post-World War II lumber camps of northern Ontario. Focusing specifically on the permanently located camps of the Marathon Paper Company, the author provides detailed information on everything from bunkhouse size to water servicing. The camps, which were constructed to house between 160 and 190 men, were not only crucial to the production of pulpwood, but also the camp-like townsite helped to augment community infrastructure as it evolved in the northern forests.


Although this study does not focus exclusively on the issue of forestry, it does, nonetheless offer tremendous insight into the evolution of Native forestry. Arguing that BC's First Nations population has always played a role in the province's forestry industry, Cassidy and Dale make a strong case for the increasing involvement of Native peoples. Citing examples such as the Cariboo Indian Enterprise, the Hectate Logging Company, the Nazko Logging Company and the Nuu-chah-nulth forestry program, the authors maintain that Native forestry in BC is a valuable and logical method of forest manage-
ment. Crediting various federal government programs such as the Indian Forest Land Program or the Integrated Resource Management and Development Project, the authors describe the gradual shift of forest management to the bands and in the process, paint a fairly positive picture of the future of Native forestry.


S.D. Clark, a noted Canadian sociologist, in this study traces the evolution of the Canadian community. In the process he considers not only the development of community but also community typology, infrastructure, agents of socialization and relations within the evolving Canadian community. One aspect of Clark's analysis is the frontier community which the author most readily defines as the forestry or extractive community. In his discussion of forestry dependent communities such as Williams Creek or Cranbrook, Clark vividly captures the sense of community. Indeed, whether it is his portrayal of the gaming tables or the houses of ill-repute, Clark conjures a colourful image of the rough and ready nature of the forestry frontier.


Ken Collins, a one time logger in northwestern Ontario, in *Oatmeal and Eaton's Catalog* reminisces through his experiences of approximately 30 years in the lumber industry. From the bunkhouse to the mosquito invested timber lease, Collins paints a vivid picture of the lumber frontier. This is particularly true of his discussion of the Indian Lake Lumber Company operation at Osaquan. Described by the author as a "company town", Osquan housed the roughly 250 employees of the Indian Lake Company and their families. It was also described by Collins as a community where residents had "their lives directed by company policies."


Responding to a *Financial Post* suggestion that the "Company town idea is disappearing from B.C.'s industrial scene", this short but intriguing piece considers the circumstances of Ocean Falls as an example of the new age "model town". Arguing further that the Martin Valley subdivision as was constructed by the Pacific Mills Company in the early 1950s, is evidence of a newly defined company town initiative, the author maintains that not only did the layout of the subdivision reflect changing company policy but also the concept itself was indicative of a policy shift.

Caribou Indian Enterprises (CIE) is described by the author as a "small Company that was established in the 1960s to harvest and manage the timber on band reserves and on a large local federal property". Owned and operated by 15 bands in the Caribou region of British Columbia, CIE is a "positive example of Indian forestry". Nonetheless, according to the author, to remain prosperous the operation requires a greater commitment on the part of both senior governments to the notion of First Nations forestry.


Tracing the history of lumbering in Upper Canada from the conclusion of the War of 1812 through to Confederation in 1867, Cross provides a good foundation for the study of contemporary forestry in the province of Ontario. This is particularly true of the impact of the United States which Cross describes as integral to post-1835 lumbering in the province. Whether in terms of capital investment or market demand, the U.S. exercised tremendous influence in the early years of Ontario forestry. Also of interest is Cross' discussion of the Ottawa Valley lumber community. Indeed, it is through the author's analysis of lumbering in the valley that a sense of community is gleaned. Including everything from the establishment of Hawkesbury to the so-called "Shiners War", Cross offers valuable insight into the lumber community.


Focusing on the Kawartha district of south central Ontario, Chris Curtis in this article analyzes the material culture of both the lumber industry and the working population involved in the production process. It is a thorough, fascinating account of a much neglected area of research. Through the assessment of work tools, equipment and clothing, Curtis provides an interpretation that not only emphasizes the dominant place of forestry in the local economy but also its central place in the day-to-day activities of the resident population.


Following in the tradition of the formative study Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, this Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation sponsored work establishes the basis for contemporary resource town analysis. In maintaining that Canada lacks a "social tradition" for the development of single industry towns, Dietze provides a backdrop for the evolution of such a tradition. His appraisal which includes categories such as "Policy Background", "Geographic Determinants" and "The Town Plan", provides a nation-wide perspective to the single industry town. Specific references to communities like Gold River or Lebel-sur-Querillon, help to underscore the author's findings.

In what might be described as a post-sustainable development interpretation of forest management, the authors offer a new vision of the present-day social realities of forest dependent communities. Although their study focuses on the American example, the authors develop a number of issues that are important to the Canadian forest sector. This is particularly true of the global market place which according to the authors often works in direct opposition to the notion of sustainability and the local population which in many cases demands more than slow growth. Community stability, they conclude, is a much larger and a considerably more complicated issue than sustainability.


Arguing for "A New Silviculture System", Dufour maintains that the "Wastes, exclusive use, imbalance, overharvesting" of Canada's forests "can no longer be tolerated". Citing the 1986 Quebec Forest Act as an example of the new silvicultural system, Dufour presents a case for the cooperative management of forest resources. The so-called timber supply and forest management agreements as introduced by the legislation offers the Quebec forestry industry the opportunity to become responsible forest managers. According to the author, this will in turn initiate a "new code of ethics" which recognizes not only other forest uses but also wildlife habitats. In the end, sustainable forest development will result in both the regeneration of the forest and its continued exploitation.


Defined as the "management of forested lands directly or indirectly by representatives of local communities", community forestry is presented by the authors as a "promising" means of providing forest-based communities with a "reasonable degree of control" over their "socio-economic destinies". This is particularly true of single-industry towns when, in dealing with problems of economic decline, community forestry offers a possible method of economic diversification. Citing the municipally run forest projects of North Cowichan and the Municipality of Mission, Duniker et al. argue for the selected use of community forestry in northern Ontario. Further suggesting that community forestry must not be seen as a "panacea for the economic woes of every community ", the authors maintain that with the proper resources and commitment on the part of all participants, community forestry is a worthwhile response to the diversification needs of many communities.

Responding to the on-going restructuring of the forest industry in northwestern Ontario, the authors offer a critical assessment of the so-called "Three R's of the New Economic Reality in Resource Hinterlands". Indeed, in suggesting that "industrial adjustments" in the single sector economy of many northern communities foreshadows the "death of the community", Dunk and Nelson call for the complete re-orientation of decline management. Focusing on the closure of the Abitibi-Price newsprint mill in Thunder Bay and the consequent dislocation of mill workers, the authors further argue that retraining programs available such as through the Mainstream Access Job Opportunity or the Industrial Adjustment Committee, only perpetuates the long-term dislocation of displaced workers. Citing Harley Dickman, they maintain that the programs do not empower the unemployed but rather deskill, disempower and devalue the unemployed mill workers.


Focusing on northwestern Ontario’s forestry dependent communities, Dunk depicts forest worker culture as a delicate balance between forestry practices and community stability. The so-called "jobs-versus-environment dichotomy" of the forestry sector is described by the author as one of the most pressing contemporary forestry issues confronted by the modern forest worker. Arguing that the sense of community is based not only upon the harvesting of forests but also upon "living in a forested region", Dunk further maintains that the working population is cognizant of the need to facilitate environmental management. Indeed, the sense of urgency is clearly captured by one of Dunk’s informants (a 34 year old cutter) when he suggests that, "without protecting the environment on a long term basis we’re left with nothing".


Using Geraldton as his case study, Dunster in this presentation, offers a detailed overview of the community forest experience. Including a definition of terms, a discussion of the historical roots of community forestry, some comparative examples of forest management in other parts of the world and an itemized list of the so-called "Principles for Establishing a Community Forest", Dunster's overview is very much a "how-to" of community forestry. Of particular importance in this regard are the 11 principles identified by the author as integral to the community forestry process. Ranging from land administration to the creation of an administrative board Dunster's principles reflect not only the success of the Geraldton project but also the potential for community forestry in Canada.

In suggesting that the idea of using Environmental Impact Assessment techniques in forestry matters has become increasingly more acceptable in Canadian forestry management, Dunster attempts to assess the application of the same. Focusing his analysis on the federal government’s Environmental Assessment Review Process and Ontario’s Environmental Assessment Act, the author comes to the conclusion that EIA techniques provide for not only "a well defined planning methodology based on acceptable scientific techniques" but also a mechanism by which society in general can participate in the planning process.


In what might well be the most detailed published account of the planning initiative for a forestry dependent community in Canada, "Designing New Communities" offers a stage by stage assessment of the Terrace Bay experience. From "Factors Determining the Town Pattern" to "Residential Areas and Housing Accommodation", Faludi gives the reader a first hand perspective on the planning process. Of particular interest to the project was the neighbourhood unit approach adopted by Faludi, the effort that was made to retain green space within the townite, the residential mix and the land-use schedule adopted which emphasized functional, land-use segregation.


Originally presented at the symposium on Environmental Change in the Great Lakes Forest, the 18 papers included in this volume offer wide ranging commentary on the forestry industry of the upper Great Lakes region. Described as the northern parts of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota as well as the adjacent areas of Ontario, the upper Great Lakes region has been, according to contributing authors Shok and Buckman, "defined on the basis of its forest characteristics". The papers, organized under the five headings of forest ecosystems, the Indian experience, a century of change in the institutional and social environment, status and prospects and perceptions and values, denote the special place of forestry in both the past and the future of the upper Great Lakes region. Of particular interest is section three, a century of change in the institutional and social environment, in which R. Barlowe discusses "Changing Land Use and Policies", R. Burgur looks at "Forest Land-Use Evolution" and H. Reinhardt considers the topic "Social Adjustments to a Changing Environment".


Undertaken in an effort to identify forest dependent communities of the Prairie Region as well as to "evaluate the effect that dependency has on a community's economic welfare", this thesis offers a wide ranging discussion of forest dependency. While the major component of the study is the development of a methodology for identifying forest dependent communities, its value lies in its use of the "equilibrium model" to determine the so-called "welfare impacts" that effect a forest dependent community. Arguing that
the welfare impact from such occurrences as changing world prices or the rise and/or fall of timber supply are significant to community well-being, Fletcher concludes that the fortunes of the forest dependent community are directly related to the degree of forest dependency.


Undertaken in an effort to identify forest dependent communities of the Prairie Region and to investigate the so-called "welfare implications of that dependency", this report offers a good overview of the Prairie Region's forest based communities. Integral to the study, as well as to future studies of dependency relationships, is the methodology employed by the authors to measure dependency. Utilizing "bench mark employment figures", regional productivity data and census information on employment by industry, the authors develop a feasible means of gauging dependency ratios. This further allows the authors to conclude that there are few Prairie communities totally dependent on the forestry industry but many communities which benefit from forestry production.


Charged with the responsibility of assessing "the federal role in achieving sustainable development for Canada's forests" the Standing Committee on Forestry and Fisheries in this Report offers a detailed overview of the federal government's forest policy. In the process the authors call for not only a renewed federal-provincial partnership in forest management but also an expanded or strengthened role for the Department of Forestry itself. At the same time, the Report underscores the significance of various other federal government agencies or departments-particularly the Departments of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Environment and Energy, Mines and Resources, in the new forest management agenda. This agenda which is perhaps best described as the sustainable development or the stewardship of Canada's forest resources, clearly was intended to be of the co-operative genre.


In a rather emotional discussion of the contemporary circumstances of British Columbia forestry, Gallagher paints a gloomy picture of foreign ownership. Focusing specifically on the Louisiana Pacific Corporation's operation at Dawson Creek, the author maintains that the American-based forest company's agenda does not necessarily meet with the realities of the Canadian economy. Indeed when threatened with the possibility of unionization within the wafer board plant at Dawson Creek it came as no surprise, according to Gallagher, that the "third largest US forest company" would simply pull up stakes and go home. The end result was some 150 people without jobs and a local economy in disarray.

Reprinted as the Executive Summary of a report entitled "Establishing the Geraldton Community Forest: Phase 1 Concepts and Background Information", this brief study offers an overview of the potential for a Geraldton Community Forest project. Arguing the case of local control, sustainability and a diversified economy, the authors maintain that a community forest initiative would "produce a wide array" of outputs favourable to the well-being of the local population. Ranging from enhanced recreational opportunities through to the research potential of the community forests, the so-called "outputs" are all described as positive characteristics of the community forest project. Indeed, in the end, the scheme is presented as holding "considerable promise as a means of providing a crucial core activity in the area".


"From Coal to Forest Products" traces the pattern of resource dependency in the single industry town of Nanaimo. In the process Gidney offers an intriguing account of one community’s attempt to diversify its’ local economy and provide for economic stability. Beginning as a Hudson’s Bay Company coal town, Nanaimo by 1947 had shifted its’ resource base to forestry and the operations of the MacMillan Bloedel Company. In the post-1947 era the pulp and sawmilling activities of MacMillan Bloedel came to dominate the local economy. At the same time, however, and as argued by Gidney, forestry "has had a minimal impact upon physical development in Nanaimo".


Clearly intended as a reference directory, this publication lists the various primary wood-using industries active in Manitoba in 1991. Itemizing everything from sawmill-planing complexes through to wood-treating plants, the directory identifies 182 enterprises and classifies them under eight industrial activities. Alphabetically organized by industrial activity, a detailed account of each enterprise is provided. This includes products by grade, species utilized, average employment, energy supply, equipment and even market breakdown. Although the directory offers no analysis of the wood-using industries it does provide a wealth of information.


Gillies, in this study, "analyses the ideas and actions" of lumber operators in the City of Ottawa from approximately 1880-1914. Specifically focusing on the theme of conservation management, the author argues that Ottawa’s turn of the century lumber barons lead the way towards efficient forest management in Canada. While conservation may have been the end product of the lumber barons activity it was, according to Gillies, undertaken in an effort to "rationalize business conditions". Important to the rationalization of business was the increasingly evident cooperative management of forest resources.

*Lost Initiatives* is both a thorough and a fascinating account of the development of Canadian forestry policy. Beginning with the British North American forestry industries, the authors trace the history of the various private/public initiatives intended to facilitate the growth and expansion of a local forestry industry. Concluding with what they call "The Modern Era", Gillis and Roach paint a rather gloomy picture of the "exploitative ethic in timber harvesting". Along the way they highlight jurisdictional conflict, forest mismanagement, wasteful resource use and even inadequate program capitalization as being the major obstacles to a well-reasoned, properly articulated, forest policy.


Gilmore, in this thesis, documents the evolution of the pulp and paper industry in northern Ontario. In the process, the author provides not only a thorough overview of pulp and paper expansion across the north but also detailed information on the specifics of the industry. In this fashion, for example, Gilmore considers everything from the three "locational requirements" of site selection to the organization of the Sturgeon Falls Pulp Company. In terms of community and community infrastructure, the author is also very thorough. This is particularly true of his analysis of Kapuskasing where he includes data on "town construction costs" as well as company sponsored recreation programmes and health care.


Tracing the history of the community of Espanola, Ontario from approximately 1903-1958, Eileen Goltz provides a good overview of the single industry town experience. A pulp and paper town located some 48 miles west of Sudbury, Espanola gives evidence of four distinct phases of growth and/ or decline that loosely corresponds to four different eras of company involvement. Nonetheless, and regardless of whether it was the Spanish River Pulp and Paper Company or the Abitibi Power and Paper Company, Espanola was clearly a company town dependent upon the continued operations of the pulp and paper enterprise.


Gould, in *British Columbia's Logging History*, offers a popular account of British Columbia's forest industry. He traces the history of forestry as it evolved over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and provides a useful, albeit descriptive, overview of the same. The focus of the study, however, appears to be the logging process itself as the camp-community life of the working population is given only passing commentary.

This study, which was undertaken in an effort to evaluate the role of forestry and the forestry industry in the Newfoundland economy, offers both a good overview and an interesting perspective on the future of forestry in Newfoundland. In describing the province's forest industries of logging, sawmills and planing mills, pulp and paper mills and "other wood industries" the author delineates the central place of the forest sector in the provincial economy. Further, by developing themes such as changing forestry policy or the integrated utilization of forest resources, Gray addresses many of the on-going problems confronting the forestry industry in Canada. Although Gray does not deal with the specifics of the forestry community his discussion of labour force activity, mill capacity and even market conditions, can be tied directly into the continuing viability of community. This is particularly true of the Bowater operation at Corner Brook and the Linerboard mill at Stephenville.


Similar to H.V. Nelles' findings in *The Politics of Development*, Gray concludes that public resource management in British Columbia had by the 1920s become the prerogative of the resource industries. Arguing that in the case of forestry, the timbermen had "succeeded in penetrating the administrative process in order to shape public policy", the author maintains that it was Pacific Mills or Powell River Pulp and Paper Company that defined government strategy. In analyzing four specific areas of forestry activity, forest protection, log exports, timber allocations and royalties, the author suggests that there was actually little room for a "people's share" of BC's forest resources.


A.K. Grimmer, one-time Director of the Riordin Pulp and Paper Company's Town Department, in his discussion of the "Industrial Town", provides valuable insight into the Temiskaming experience. This is particularly true of what the author terms the "controlling considerations" of townsite development. Cited further as geological structure, topographical conformation, proximity to potable water, exposure to sun and prevailing wind, available building material and natural beauty, Grimmer clearly articulates the model industrial town strategy pursued by the pulp and paper company.


Although Gung's focus of analysis is the community of Gold River, most of the discussion revolves around changing government policy. In this fashion, for example, the author spends considerable time tracing the evolution of settlement form in light of various government policy shifts. From the sleep camp, to the company town and the so-called "new town" Gung maintains that the single constant factor in the development of community and community infrastructure was government. At Gold River, he argues
further, this resulted in the creation of a model new town which was the product of cooperative planning on the part of the main participants.


Responding to the BC Forest Resources Commission Report, Haley and Leitch, offer a descriptive overview of the Commission's work. In the process, the authors highlight the Commission's findings with the notation that "it is time for fundamental changes in forest policy". Maintaining that the Commission readily recognized the "environmental and social conflict" inherent in contemporary forestry, Haley and Leitch place special emphasis on the Commission's recommendation of "integrated management for multiple resource values through enhanced stewardship and public participation in decision making".


In discussing the early planning and construction phase of the Kapuskasing townsite, Hall notes that the government/company initiative was undertaken "in the hope that the result might serve as a model to be followed by other districts". Indeed, it would appear as though the major impetus for the cooperative endeavour was the expressed sentiment on the part of both the provincial government and the Spruce Falls Company to avoid at all costs the "company town" syndrome. Strict land-use controls, zoning regulations and building by-laws were the means by which Kapuskasing was intended to fulfil the commitment to the development of a model pulp and paper town.


Alfred Hall, one time Consulting Town Planner with the Ontario Bureau of Municipal Affairs, provides a detailed first hand account of the planning process initiated for the Kapuskasing townsite. Facilitated by an agreement signed between the Spruce Falls Company Limited and the government of the Province of Ontario, the townsite was from the beginning intended to be a "model" industrial town. In his discussion Hall describes the basis of the agreement, the preliminary planning stages, the site selection process, subdivision planning and even the well-defined system of zoning regulations.

Harrison, P.H., "Life in a Logging Camp", BC Studies, No. 54 (Summer 1982).

Peter Harrison, a one time teacher-labourer with Frontier College in northern British Columbia, undertook this study in an effort to examine the "social life of the bunkhouse". His conclusions, which appear to support the argument that the cultural beliefs of industrial workers are directly related to occupational structure, define a well-established group culture within the logging camp. The five dominant "social groups" that collectively form the subculture of the camp are described by the author as the traditional logger group, chokerman group, grade crew group, engineers group and mechanics group. Each group, according to Harrison, showed considerable cohesion with similarities found in
patterns of speech, topics of conversation, place of residence, job type and job performance.


In a short but provocative essay, American historian Samuel Hays identifies one of the most important and pressing issues associated with modern forestry. Community perceptions and/or attitudes towards the forest and perhaps more pointedly, forest management, has come to form the crux of contemporary forestry policy. Tracing the evolution of the same, Hays focuses on the post World War II era as the period of dramatic transition, where communities move away from the exclusive explosion of forest resources to the greater protection of the forest environment. Along the way, issues such as sustainable growth or environmental management become the cornerstone of the modern era.


Written in an effort to define an "appropriate system of forest property rights" for the Yukon, Heartwell's study offers a good comparative overview of forest tenure systems used in Canada and Alaska. Identifying 45 major tenure systems, the author groups the various practices into three main forms of forest holdings; forest management, forest licenses and timber permits. Arguing that the Yukon falls to provide for an adequate system of forest licenses, Heartwell suggests that the failure to do so precludes the development of "reasonable tenure arrangements for small and intermediate sized firms". This, of course, is critical to the maintenance of a stable, well-established local economy. Indeed, in underscoring the significance of the timber license system, Hartwell suggests that the forest license allows smaller firms or communities the "right of access to the forest resource" and the basis of economic well-being.


In this short, descriptive piece, Hillis recounts his experiences with the Boyd and Caldwell Lumber Company in the township of Levant, Ontario. Although his reminiscing deals with everything from work schedules to equipment maintenance, the greatest value of "Life in the Lumber Camps" is its discussion of the day-to-day camp routine of the lumber workers. Here, Hillis describes in minute detail, menus, bunkhouse stories and the wide variety of leisure activities pursued by the lumber workers such as "hit ass" and "pulling the stick".


Focusing on the Temagami Forest Reserve, Hodgkins and Bendickson provide a fascinating account of one of Canada's earliest forest use conflicts. At various times involving the "Temagami Ojibwa", several railway magnates, outdoor enthusiasts, lumber barons such as J.R. Booth and Alex Lumsden, pulp and paper operators like the Sturgeon Falls Pulp Company and numerous mining companies associated with the Cobalt-Timmins-Kirkland Lake mineral fields, the land-use issue was much more than a forestry issue.
Indeed when the provincial government, through the Forest Reserves Act, finally created the Temagami Forest Reserve in 1898 it was apparent that Temagami would evolve as "an active multi-use area" as opposed to a single resource area.


Temagami, described as "the best pinery" in central Canada offers the backdrop for this detailed case-study of Canadian forestry. Located approximately 500 kms north of Toronto, the Temagami Forest Reserve, as created in 1901, has come to form what the authors describe as the "centrepiece" of Ontario's forest-management system. It would not, however, ever realize the potential of sustained-yield forest management. Indeed, as argued by Hodgins and Benidickson, Temagami was, and is, wrought with conflicting agendas. From the provincial government's on again-off again commitment to sustained-yield management to the extractive industries efforts to exploit the regions mineral wealth to the Temagami Lakes Association's summering movement through to the Tememaugama Anishinabai's concern for their traditional homeland, Temagami perhaps more than anything else is a good example of land-use conflict in a forest reserve.


In this paper Allen Hopwood, Forestry Adviser to the Canadian Forestry Service, introduces "an exciting new proposal for the development of Indian forestry lands in Canada". Unveiled as A Comprehensive Indian Forestry Program, the initiative was intended to provide First Nations Peoples with a "comprehensive and intensive forest land management program which would generate immense and overdue social, economic, and environmental benefits for Canada's Native people". Funded by a proposed financial expenditure of $ 375 million the plan included everything from forest inventories to training programs.


This report is a summary report of the larger study *The Social and Economic Returns from Investments in Forest Management Programs on Indian Lands in Canada - Two Case Studies*. Focusing on the forestry activity and further, the forestry potential of the Stuart Trembleur Lake Band and the Coldwater Band, the study attempts to "evaluate and analyze the social and economic returns from Indian forestry programs". The former with a total on-reserve population of 703 and the latter with 261, provide a good, wide-ranging, understanding of both the Native community and Aboriginal forestry programs. The Stuart Trembleur Lake Band has undertaken a forest management program through the band based Tanizeil Timber Co. The Coldwater Band has developed forest management in a regionally integrated, co-operative fashion, through the Nicola Valley Indian Administration. In both cases, the programs pursued have offered not only employment, job training and a variety of spin-off services, also the opportunity for greater self-determination of the local population.
Hutton, J., "How to Divy up the Trees", Western Report, Vol. 8, No. 1, February 1, 1993.

Written in response to the Louisiana Pacific Corporation's announcement that it planned to build a $60 million oriented strand board plant near Grande Prairie, this short article attempts to document both the positive and the negative impact of the operation. While on one hand the new plant is described as potentially providing employment for approximately 500 workers, on the other hand, the involvement of the large multi-national company is seen to further exclude the local population from the decision making process when it comes to forest use. Hutton concludes with a quotation from John McInnis, NDP Forestry Critic, that maintains that the "small, independent operators actually produce more jobs" and a further suggestion that community forestry is the best way to not only regulate but to maximize forest use.


Defined as the "local use of trees and forests for domestic consumption", social forestry is presented as a means of rural development. Further described as "community forestry" or "agroforestry", Hyde maintains that social forestry is "forestry for local use in rural development". Although the discussion focuses most pointedly on forestry in the developing world- particularly India, Thailand and the Philippines, the author highlights the rural component of the phenomenon, underscoring its applicability for most rural settings. Whether in terms of fuelwood production or sawn lumber, the author argues that social forestry provides for both the efficient use of local resources and income distribution.


In this brief but interesting discussion of coastal lumbering operations, Powell River becomes the case study of analysis. Indeed, in arguing that Powell River is an example of the "successful marriage of industry and humanity", the author presents the community as more than just a case study in that it is viewed as a precedent setting case study. The Powell River Company, according to the author, must be credited with not only establishing the industrial apparatus necessary to the pulping process but also the community facilities necessary for the accommodation of the industrial workers.


In a brief journalistic essay, Ingram looks at the pulp and paper activity of the Procter and Gamble Company. The author focuses on the issue of environmental protection, arguing that the company itself has assumed the position of environmentalist. The inference in the essay, however, is that the company has assumed this position out of political expediency rather than out of a genuine concern for environmental protection. Indeed, in citing the "political tangles" of the Alberta Pacific Forest company in its attempt to construct a $1.3 billion plant on the Athabaska River, Ingram equates political expediency with economic expediency.

John, President of the Tanzil Timber Company Ltd., in this brief presentation describes the formation, operation and the philosophy of the Tanzil Timber Company. Incorporated in 1981, the company is wholly owned by the Stuart Tremblleur Band. It was created in large part to provide for the greater self-determination of the local population and, according to the company president, it has exceeded even the most optimistic expectations. The company's operations include an annual allowable cut, log marketing, harvesting through contractors and reforestation. In its' first year alone the total income of the Tanzil company was in the neighbourhood of $2 million.


A condensed version of a 1946 study under the same title, this work in many ways is the formative study of American forest dependent communities. Focusing on the two forest dependent communities of Libby and Troy, located in northwestern Montana, the authors develop not only a methodology for the discussion of forest dependency but also a reasonable case study approach to the subject matter. Emphasizing the theme of "democratic planning", the Kaufmans' underscore the importance of community involvement in maintaining community viability. Indeed, in arguing further for "co-operative action" the authors identify several community stability projects. Including greater public participation in determining forest policy, adequate leadership in community affairs and the development of a "forest-centered tradition", the so-called stability projects clearly place the onus for community well-being on the local population.


Although passing reference is made by the authors to communities such as "Temiscaminque" and Kapuskasing, most of the discussion in New Towns deals with the various issues associated with policy development and program application. Arguing that "the responsibility for new town development in Canada is fragmented", Keilhofer and Parlour from the outset identify one of the major problems of the "new town" phenomenon. In the end, by calling for the greater involvement of the federal government as responsible authority, the authors attempt to provide the basis for the rationalization of the new town process.
Kirkconnell, W., "Kapuskasing- An Historical Sketch", Bulletin of the Departments of History and Political Science, Queen's University, No. 38 (January 1921).

In this well-written historical account of northern Ontario, Watson Kirkconnell attempts to document the beginnings of "New Ontario". In the process he considers everything from the building of the Transcontinental Railway to the provincial government's experimental farms. Central to his discussion are the initial efforts of the provincial government to harness the pulp and paper wealth of northeastern Ontario. Ranging from the forced bush-work of internment camp prisoners to the volunteer labour of the soldiers re-settlement scheme, Kapuskasing has a history of forest dependency that pre-dates the activity of the Spruce Falls Pulp and Paper Company.


Kloppenborg's study of the new frontier towns is a good contemporary account of the single industry town phenomenon. Concentrating primarily on the post-1950 era, the author discusses everything from windscreening to "cabin fever" in an effort to assess the future of the one industry community. Her conclusions indicate that a feasible alternative to community development can be found in the limited term sleep camp.


Tracing the history of reforestation in British Columbia over a 100 year period, Knight provides a valuable overview of the various policies and programs intended to address the issue of reforestation. His discussion discerns four eras or "distinct stages" of reforestation activity. Defined further as the "pioneer period" (pre-1912), a transitional period (1912-1947), the era of sustained yield regulation (1947-1979) and the modern era (post-1979), reforestation in BC has slowly become a government-industry-community undertaking. Knight's interpretation, however, while recognizing the cooperative spirit of reforestation, appears to discount the role played by both industry and the forestry community.


In a class-based analysis of Chandler's evolving social structure, Kremenliev offers a provocative assessment of community well-being. Arguing that occupational hierarchy as was defined within the pulp and paper plant carried over to community hierarchy, the author traces the development of Chandler's so-called "stratified class structure". The community, according to the author, like other single industry towns was predisposed to conflict because of the inherent nature of the class struggle.
Kumar, P., "The Practice of Forestry on Alberta’s Indian Reserves", Environmental Conservation, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Autumn 1987)

Arguing that scientific "forestry on Alberta’s Indian lands has been neglected for decades" Kumar, Regional Resource Management Officer of the Department of Indian Affairs, calls for a greater commitment on the part of both the indigenous population and the federal government to the goals of forestry management. Given the fact that Alberta’s total "Indian forest land is estimated at 240,000 ha", the author not only underscores the need for forestry management, but also stresses the urgency of the same. Focusing specifically on environmental programs, silvicultural activity, forest management planning and various training courses, Kumar maintains that Alberta’s Native forest tract may yet constitute a "self-contained woodlot".


Prepared as a centennial history of Ontario’s Department of Lands and Forests, this volume not only offers valuable insight into the process of government, particularly in terms of land management, but also documents the development of Ontario’s forests. From the early timber trade of the eighteenth century through to the modern planning initiatives of the 1960’s, Lambert and Pross provide a tremendously detailed account of forest use in Ontario. While the study clearly focuses on government, the authors do consider all aspects of the forest equation. In this regard, for example, the authors discuss the importance of the 1849 Timber Act, the impact of the Dingley Tariff, the growth of scientific forestry, the role of conservation management and even the notion of sustained-yield.


In a paper presented at the Annual General and Professional Meeting of the Engineering Institute of Canada, Lash discusses "the principles involved in building new towns". Suggesting that the new town is essentially a product of the Garden City phenomenon, Lash describes the formative principles of new town design in terms of "use and density, zoning, a form of ward or neighbourhood planning, employment of an agricultural green-belt to control urban size". Citing examples such as Hinton, Alberta, the author provides a most thorough analysis of the Canadian new town.


Legendre’s thesis offers a good overview of Quebec’s evolving pulp and paper industry. The focus of the study is the impact of technological change on the industry. Not only does the author consider the ramifications of technological change on the industry but also attempts to document the impact of technological change on society. In terms of Quebec’s forestry dependent communities there is little discussion of forestry towns but the author does go into considerable detail on the topic of "camp facilities and services".

In what is a thorough account of the expansion path of the lumber industry in nineteenth century central Canada, Arthur Lower in *Great Britain's Woodyard* develops the theme of resource dependency as it relates to lumbering. It is particularly obvious, as Lower demonstrates, through the analysis of Canada’s trade relationship with Great Britain. Although the author’s focus is the colonial basis of Canada’s lumber trade, Lower does provide some discussion on the evolving lumber community. Included here is a portrait of the Ottawa Valley lumber barons, a brief summary of the incorporation of the International Paper Company and some detail on the early years of Hawkesbury.


Arthur Lower, a respected Canadian social historian, in this volume traces the expanding forest frontier across eastern and central Canada. His main focus is the economy of forestry production, but at various points Lower considers the socioeconomic circumstances of the forestry community. In keeping with the staples approach to the study of Canadian history, the author uses the primary product as the vehicle for analysis. In the end, he argues that all aspects of the local community were shaped by the resource exploitation process.


Focusing on the provincial government’s planning initiative as it evolved through the course of the Gold River project, Lozovsky provides not only a thorough assessment of government policy but also an interesting case study of a pulp and paper town. Arguing that it was largely because of BC’s Instant Town Legislation that the Gold River project was so successful, the author concludes that the community sets the standard for the "modern company town". Of particular interest to the Gold River case study was the cooperative basis of the under-taking which at various times witnessed the involvement of BC Hydro, Lands and Forests, the Department of Highways and the Tahsis Company.


Often cited as the formative work in the analysis of the single industry community phenomenon, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown* is a sociological study of the character of the community. Relying heavily on survey questionnaires, Lucas has determined that the dominant role of the industrial enterprise pervades all aspects of community life. Indeed, through the study of well over 600 single industry towns, the author concludes that towns of this nature are "fundamentally different" from the Canadian norm because of the single industry factor.

Although in many respects a popularized account of the forestry community, MacKay’s study of the lumberjack experience provides tremendous insight into the sense of community as it evolved over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The author not only documents, for example, the work process at the Bowman and Gilmore operation on the Lièvre River and the organization of the Industrial Woodworkers of America, but also spends considerable time discussing the legend of Joe Montferrand and leisure activities such as "Sauter le Cheval Blanc" and "Jack in the Dark". It is through the authors colourful description of events like the "buck set" or the tradition of the "Hockey Night in Canada" broadcast that one does indeed get a feel for the trials and the tribulations of the early forestry community in Canada.


In response to the posting of Abitibi-Price’s Operating and Renewal Plan, the Department of Natural Resources initiated public hearings through the Clean Environment Commission, in an effort to review the Five Year Forest Management License. The license and the proposed activity of Abitibi-Price was, as a result, subjected to extensive investigation by the provincial government agency. This *Report* is a summary report of the Commission’s findings. It documents everything from regional forestry history through to wildlife management endeavors. Critical to the findings were the "socioeconomic impacts" of the renewal proposal. Identified further as the "local economic uses (formal and informal) of the forest, local infrastructure, community values and employment opportunities", the socioeconomic impacts were particularly important to the three reserve communities, eight non-reserve communities, the Local Government District of Alexander and the Rural Municipality of Lac du Bonnet. Whether through road construction, employment opportunities or health concerns, Abitibi-Price was seen to be an integral participant in the local economy.


Established to investigate the circumstances of The Pas Forestry Complex, the Commission offers a detailed overview of the forest industry in northern Manitoba. In the process, it documents everything from the historical tradition of forestry in the province to the community impact of the forestry industry. Of particular interest and as noted by the then Mayor of The Pas, Mr. Trager, are employment opportunities, population increases, expanded services, residential development and even mill rate increases. The closure of the Churchill Forests operation and the ensuing investigation of which this report is but one component, provides the opportunity for the detailed analysis of forest dependency.

Patricia Marchak, who has written extensively on British Columbia's forestry industries, discusses the contemporary circumstances of B.C.'s forest dependent communities. Through her analysis of communities such as Mackenzie, Ocean Falls and Terrace, Professor Marchak concludes that community stability is more than simply community participation in the local economy. Not only does the author recognize the wide range of variables impacting on the forest dependent community, but also equates community stability with regional development strategies. Community well-being, according to Marchak, is predicated on favourable market conditions as well as regionally based economic strategies.


Marchak's study is a tremendously detailed account of the forest industry in British Columbia. The author touches on everything from resource development theory to community infrastructure. Maintaining that a "stable and self-sufficient economy" cannot be created by the continued dependence on forest exports, Marchak argues the case of economic diversification. She does so, however, with the clear understanding that the British Columbia economy may well be caught in a staple trap which would preclude economic diversification. Staple theory aside, Marchak offers considerable insight into forest dependency at both the provincial and community level. Her case study of Mackenzie and Terrace, as typical forestry dependent communities, highlights important local concerns such as labour turnover, income, power relations and the place of Aboriginal peoples in the forest industry.


Focusing her analysis on the three "forest towns" of Mackenzie, Terrace and Campbell River, Marchak attempts to assess the impact of British Columbia's post-World War II forestry policy. Maintaining that the immediate post-World War II era was one of tremendous expansion, the author argues that government strengthened its control over provincial forest resources and further, because of its development strategy, reinforced the central place of capital in the exploitation of BC's forests. Sustained yield management, allowable annual cuts and timber quotas all worked towards the advantage of the large, well-financed, multi-national forest companies.


Marsh's often cited Communities in Canada provides a good overview of the urban process as it evolved in Canada. Although not specifically concerned with single industry or forestry dependent communities, the study does touch on the topics. The work in this regard is particularly important for the community inventory that Marsh has developed. Including what the author defines as pulp and paper manufacturing towns, pulpwod processing towns, pulp logging towns, lumber milling towns and pulpwod logging towns, Marsh's inventory is a fairly thorough assessment of forestry dependent com-
munities in Canada. From Tee Lake in Quebec to Pine Falls in Manitoba, the author has attempted to itemize the various forestry dependent communities on the basis of function.


Joe Mason in this autobiography documents his lumbering experiences on the French River in central Ontario through the depression era. He recounts tales of the work experience, the leisure activities of the working population, the circumstances of management-labour relations and the tradition of the end of season, out-of-camp-migration. It is a useful study as it does indeed provide a first hand account of the logging process from a loggers perspective. Of particular interest is Mason's description of the day-to-day routine of the bunkhouse which gives the reader tremendous insight into the lives of the resident population.


Arguing that community forestry "should not be seen as a panacea for the economic woes of resource dependent communities", Matakala and Duinker attempt to identify the socio-economic variables necessary to the successful implementation of a community forest initiative. Ranging from unemployment levels to forest areas by age class distribution, the authors note 15 criteria essential to a successful community forest project. They then apply the 15 variables to 22 communities in the Lakehead region of northern Ontario in an effort to determine which communities would be suitable for a community forest initiative. The results, they argue, show that Nipigon, Geraldton, Hearst, Wawa, and Marathon offer the best opportunity for successful implementation.


In what is perhaps one of the most thorough discussions of the resource town phenomenon, Larry McCann in this paper not only develops a good conceptual framework for the resource town process but also details the circumstances of specific resource dependent communities. Of particular interest in this regard is his discussion of the "Areal Expansion of the Forestry Town Pattern". Tracing the pattern of development from the nineteenth century to the late twentieth century, McCann documents the community experience of towns such as La Tuque, Sturgeon Falls and Mackenzie. Along the way he considers everything from the local economy to spatial arrangements.

Focusing specifically on changing planning theory and its application in the Canadian resource town, McCann in this essay defines three eras of resource town expansion. Cited as the additive pre-World War I era, the holistic interwar period and the post-World War II comprehensive phase, McCann uses the periodization formula in an effort to delineate trends and/or patterns of development. Although little detail is offered on the additive community, the author presents forest dependent communities such as Temiskaming and Kapuskasing as examples of the holistically planned resource community and Terrace Bay and Gold River as examples of the comprehensively planned community.


McFarland discusses the unique quality of Alberta's new town legislation. He describes the program as the only one of its kind in Canada where the provincial government has "enacted a single comprehensive piece of legislation" to co-ordinate the growth of new communities. In this regard, the New Towns Act which received royal assent in March of 1956, encouraged the provincial government to "co-operate" with the resource industries in the development of well-ordered, single industry towns.


Consisting of 12 papers, all of which were originally presented at the British Columbia Institute for Economic Policy Analysis' timber policy symposium, this volume attempts to address both the present and the future direction of B.C. timber policy. The essays which range from J. Juhasz's "Methods of Crown Timber Appraisal" to J. Kimmins' "How to Provide for Environmental Protection" are grouped into three thematic areas: Goals, Conflicts and Opportunities; Perspectives in Resource Administration, and; Determining Management Priorities. Two concluding sections, Comments and Viewpoints and Proceedings of the Final Seminar, provide for symposium participants. One of the more interesting papers included in the volume is William McKillop's "Analytical Techniques and Social Constraints in Policy Formation". McKillop, a professor of forestry at the University of California, in scrutinizing the social goals of forest policy, argues that the term stability is not synonymous with the term rigidity and further that forest dependency is a dynamic phenomenon.


Undertaken in an effort to determine the "attitudes and activities of landowners regarding private woodlot management" in Manitoba, this study analyzes private woodlot practices in the four regions of Piney, Rhineland, Turtle Mountain and Minitonas. Using a mail-out questionnaire, the authors attempted to measure everything from the demographics of the woodlot owning population to the marketing opportunities of each district. With 87 "usable" surveys returned from landowners with more than forty acres of mature forest and 210 from landowners with less than 40 acres, the authors collected a reasonable
cross-section of survey results. Perhaps the most notable finding was the central place of woodlot production in the local economy. Whether for personal consumption (i.e. fuelwood) or for the market place (i.e. Christmas trees or posts and rails), it would appear as though woodlot production offered the local population an important form of sustenance.


Mertz discusses the growth of what he terms a "model industrial town". Developed at the initiative of the Manitoba Paper Company, Pine Falls as described by the author bares a close resemblance to the British new town. The benevolent attitude of the paper company towards the community and community development is reflected in the appearance of the towns site. Described by Mertz as "a picture of attractive cottages in a parklike setting" Pine Falls is a good example of company planning at its best.


In discussing the economic history of northwestern Ontario Mitchell focuses her analysis on the resource basis of the local economy. Including agricultural, mineral, and forest production, the author offers both a historical and a contemporary overview of the staple economy. Forestry is clearly presented as the dominant industry of the region. In terms of forestry, Mitchell considers everything from the impact of the "manufacturing condition" on turn of the century forestry to the recommendations of the post-World War II Kennedy Commission in the *Report of the Ontario Royal Commission on Forestry*. Perhaps most significant, however, is the inclusion of community profiles of forestry dependent communities. Whether in consideration of the activity of the Ontario-Minnesota Power and Paper Company at Fort Francis or the Kimberly Clark Pulp and Paper operation at Terrace Bay, Mitchell documents the central place of forestry in selected northern communities.


In a very short, booster like article, this *Saturday Night* piece describes the various virtues of "Northern Ontario's Original Model Town". Whether it is the "neat stuccoed company houses" or the "company built high school", Iroquois Falls is presented as a utopian community. Indeed in arguing that the pulp and paper town of some 1,300 residents "is a town of many benefits and few problems" the article reads as though it is promotional literature prepared by the local chamber of commerce.

Moore's thesis offers a sociological discussion of both community well-being and residents' perception of community well-being. Perhaps most importantly, the author's findings suggest that the perception of well-being, which is defined by Moore as community contentment, is an integral component of community stability. In the forestry dependent Town of Mackenzie, for example, residents indicated that they were not particularly satisfied with the circumstances of community and that if and when the opportunity arose for relocation, they would readily consider an alternative community. This less than favourable perception of Mackenzie is, according to Moore, directly related to the "instant" town status of the community.

National Archives, E.G. Faludi Collection, MG 30 B136, Volumes 1-12.

Faludi, one of Canada's recognized community planners, was actively involved in the development of a number of Canadian communities. His work included the first Master Plan of the City of Toronto, the Thorncrest Village Plan and urban renewal studies of Sault Ste. Marie, Timmins and Welland. He also produced a number of technical studies on the development of "New Towns" or "New Canadian Communities". His papers, however, are most useful because of the volume of material collected pertinent to the Terrace Bay project. In Volumes 1 through 12 Faludi documents the planning process as undertaken for the "holiday greeting card town" of Terrace Bay.


Concentrating specifically on the Alberta Forest Service's "Green Area", Ondro and Williamson offer detailed analysis of Alberta's forestry industry. Utilizing both survey responses and provincial and federal government generated reports, the authors document everything from revenue and expenditures through to stock inventory. Central to their discussion, however, is the socio-economic impact of the forestry industry in Alberta. This is viewed by the authors primarily in terms of local employment opportunities. Isolating factors such as employment by industry group, employment status, employment wages and employment multipliers, Ondro and Williamson clearly attempt to place forestry at the center of the local economy. This is particularly true of the 26 municipalities that the authors identify as forestry dependent communities and somewhat less true of the 11 heavily dependent communities.


Although somewhat dated, this report "provides detailed statistics on commercial utilization of the forest resource in Manitoba". Topics discussed range from capital stock in the forestry industry through to market opportunities. The socio-economic impact of the forest industry on the Province of Manitoba is discussed throughout the study. This is particularly true of the employment opportunity offered to Manitobans by the forestry sector. Efforts also were made by the authors to relate employment opportunity to community stability. Identifying communities that were considered dependent, heavily
dependent and marginally dependent on the forestry industry, Ondro and Williamson argue that community stability declines relative to increasing dependency.


Similar in style to both the Manitoba and the Alberta forest industry reports as compiled by Ondro and Williamson, this study of the Saskatchewan forestry industry offers an overview analysis of "capital, employment impact, capacity and production, markets, annual revenues and expenditures, and socioeconomic impact" of the forestry sector. Of particular interest is the regional complexion of forestry in Saskatchewan, as the three central forest regions of Prince Albert, Hudson Bay and Meadow Lake clearly dominate forestry production. Also of interest is the fact that the vast majority of the 18 dependent, heavily dependent or marginally dependent forestry communities identified by the authors are located in this central forest region.

Ontario Archives, Department of Municipal Affairs, RG 19, Minister's Office, Deputy Minister's Office, Community Planning Branch-General Files, Townsite Files (Selected Records).

Considerable detail on Ontario's forestry communities can be gleaned from archival sources. The Department of Municipal Affairs records as housed in the Ontario Archives is a case in point. In the Minister's papers information can be found on the townsite activity of the Ontario Paper Company at Manitouwadge, in the Deputy Minister's papers the role of the Mathieu Lumber Company in the community affairs of the townsite of Sapawe are documented, and in the Townsite Files there are a variety of references to the Marathon Paper Company's community endeavours in the Lake Superior district. All in all the record group is a valuable source of information on government/company cooperation in the forest sector.

Ontario Archives, Gillies Brothers Lumber Company Records, MU 3272-MU 3572 (Selected Records).

The Gillies Brothers Lumber Company, which was particularly active in turn of the century northeastern Ontario lumbering, played a significant role in not only the expansion of the lumber industry but also in the early community affairs of many northern communities. The record collection as housed in the Ontario Archives includes everything from Letter Books to account ledgers. Although there is only passing reference to community and community affairs, the collection because of its extensive nature, offers valuable insight into the day-to-day operations of a lumber company.

Ontario Archives, Hawkesbury Lumber Company Records, Mu 1227-Mu 1283 (Selected Records).

A one-time active force in the Ottawa valley lumber trade, the Hawkesbury Lumber Company was one of several companies that spearheaded the lumber industry’s march north along the river valley in the mid-to late nineteenth century. This collection, although in many ways sketchy, offers some detail into the early history of lumbering in Ontario. There is limited information on the community based activities of the company at the townsite of Hawkesbury within the collection, but there is considerable material in the
Letter Books on policy development which indirectly relates to the community endeavours of the company.

Ontario Archives, Pamphlet Collection, No. 17, 1933-No. 107, 1967 (Selected Copies).

Housed in the Ontario Archives, the so-called "Pamphlet Collection" is very much a catch-all of Ontario history. This is also true of Ontario's forestry industry. The collection, for example, includes a Kimberly-Clark publication entitled "Four Men and a Machine", Jean Boulette's *Pic, Pulp and People: A History of the Marathon District* and the *Dryden Observer's* "Dryden: Its Environment". In each case the pamphlet provides valuable information on some aspect of the forestry dependent community. In this regard, again for example, the Kimberly-Clark publication develops important parallels between the American and the Canadian pulp and paper town in the discussion of Niagara, Wisconsin and Terrace Bay, Ontario.

Ontario Archives, Premiers Papers, RG 3, Drury Collection, Boxes 24-88 (Selected Records).

E.C. Drury, one time Premier of the province of Ontario, was in many regards the driving force behind the model town schedule that was designed and implemented for the Spruce Falls Company at Kapuskasing. This collection, found in the Premiers Papers, offers valuable insight into the provincial government's role in the Kapuskasing project. Detail, for example, is available on the original agreement, rights and responsibilities of the various participants, zoning procedures, street clearing and even house size. Perhaps the most notable aspect of the collection is the fact that the documents show Drury to be adamantly opposed to the creation of a "company town".

Ontario Archives, Royal Commission Collection, RG 18, B-102, Royal Commission Inquiry Into the Affairs of the Abitibi Power And Paper Company Limited.

In this 1941 Royal Commission investigation into the activity of the Abitibi Power and Paper Company, the various business, industrial and townsites operations of the power and paper company were closely scrutinized by the provincial government authority. The company which owned newsprint and/or pulpwood mills at Iroquois Falls, Sault Ste. Marie, Espanola, Sturgeon Falls, Smooth Rock Falls, Fort William, Ste. Anne and Pine Falls, was probed on everything from tax schedules to the modernization of plant facilities. In particular reference to the pulp and paper towns of Iroquois Falls, Espanola, Smooth Rock Falls and Pine Falls, the Commission's findings clearly indicate that the company was a less than willing participant in townsites affairs. Indeed, in a brief presented before the Commission by company manager G.T. Clarkson it was argued, for example, that at Espanola "it would be inadvisable for Abitibi or anybody to spend any money on the property" or that at Iroquois Falls there was approximately $1,335,000 of "deferred maintenance".

Located at the Ontario Archives, the *District History Series* offers a tremendously detailed description of each of Ontario’s Forest Districts. Of particular interest in this regard is the Kapuskasing Forest District, the Geraldton Forest District, the Gogama Forest District, the Chapleau Forest District, the Sault Ste. Marie Forest District and the Sudbury Forest District. Included in the district studies are forest inventories, forest fire information, transportation linkages and community profiles. Of particular interest are the community profiles which provide information on community size, services, dwelling units and in some cases even labour force data.


Prepared as a "sectoral discussion" paper, this document attempts to describe current forest management techniques, land-use conflict and the seemingly on-going quest for "the sustainable use of Alberta’s forests". Arguing that "Alberta has already made progress toward sustained yield, multiple use, and good overall forest management", the authors offer a mostly positive assessment of the provinces’ forest sector. At the same time, however, through the documentation of aerial emissions, liquid effluents and even job loss per unit of production, it would appear as though Alberta forestry still has serious problems to overcome.


Typical of local histories, this volume includes a wide range of historical sketches, reminiscences and local story telling. With the comment that "Lumbering has always been an important industry in the Swan River area", however, the editors provide valuable insight into the local economy. This is particularly true of the discussion of the Red Deer Lumber Company and the Burrows Lumber Company. The former developed a settlement at Barrows complete with company housing and a company-owned and operated store while the latter, described as the "largest lumber enterprise in the Valley", was owned and operated by T.A. Burrows, a one time member of the legislative assembly. Some detail as well is provided on smaller operations such as the McCutcheon Lumber Company or Caverly and Sons. Of particular interest is the discussion of Camp 12 and the employment of German prisoners of war in the lumber industry.


Sponsored in part by the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee (CPPC), this thesis offers a thorough, albeit now dated, overview of the settlement process in the Swan River Valley of north-central Manitoba. With the intended goal of discovering "what progress the settlers had been able to make", Parker makes good use of both census data and survey information collected by the CPPC. In this regard the author notes everything from changing farm size to levels of income. Although brush and timber clearing were apparently a critical first step in the farming enterprise, it was according to Parker, only
in the Birch River settlement an on-going endeavour. Here the author notes, sawmilling activity, pulp wood production and the seemingly continuous supply of firewood, as important sources of "outside" income.


Written from a community planning perspective, this essay attempts to identify "Patterns of Change" in the evolution of Canada's resource towns. In the process the authors consider such variables as the demographic, economic, social and geographic characteristics of community and the impact that the same has had on the planning process. Pressman and Lauder do, however, offer some insight into the circumstances of selected communities. Mackenzie, BC, for example, is presented as a forestry dependent community that rallied against the controlling influence of the forestry company.


Utilizing 1981 census data, Pharand attempts to identify "forest sector dependent communities" and to provide a selected data profile of the same. Communities were considered forestry dependent if the percentage of the labour force involved in forest sector activities (logging, forestry services, wood industry, paper and allied industry) was greater than 30 percent in the case of communities with less that 9999 inhabitants, or 25 percent for communities with a population between 10,000 and 29,999, or 20 percent for communities with populations of more than 30,000. The communities identified range from Badger, Newfoundland to Cumberland, British Columbia. The profile material collected by Pharand is fourfold: demographic; level of educational attainment; employment/unemployment, and housing. Of interest here, are the differences the author notes between the various forest sector communities with, for example, logging and forestry communities showing a larger number of university educated residents than wood or paper communities.


In a brief and mostly descriptive account of community development, this essay documents the activity of the Lake St. John Power and Paper Company in the Lac Ste. Jean district of central Quebec. Focusing specifically on the community of Dolbeau, the author develops the early history of a pulp and paper town. Not only are community facilities described but also the author provides some detail on the industrial facilities erected by the Power and Paper Company.

Sub-titled "An Industrial Centre Without Any of the Usual Objectionable Features", this brief descriptive paper presents a mostly positive overview of the Iroquois Falls experience. Indeed in arguing that the Abitibi Power and Paper Company’s objective in laying out the townsite was to provide for the "health, culture, refinement and pleasure of their people", the author conjures up images of company paternalism that far exceeds the norm. While the interpretation may lack the objectivity of a non-biased appraisal, the discussion offers detail on everything from playground facilities to street grades. Of particular interest is the townsite map which vividly captures the sense of the community in the location of the children’s gardens, public playground, civic centre and the outdoor gymnasiums.


Although Power’s study does not focus exclusively on northern Ontario’s pulp and paper communities, it does nonetheless offer a reasonable assessment of the process of pulp and paper expansion in northern Ontario. In this regard, not only does the author consider factors such as routes of access, timber limits and vegetation type as critical to the expansion path of the pulp and paper industry but also placed expansion within the context of an evolving resource based economy. Power, in a limited way, also attempts to place communities such as Smooth Rock Falls, Iroquois Falls and Kapuskasing into the equation.

"Productive Conservation", *The Quarterly*, No. 21 (June, 1951).

Published by the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, this brief paper provides an overview of Ontario’s pulp and paper industry and a more detailed account of Abitibi Power and Paper Company’s activity at Iroquois Falls. Maintaining that the Abitibi operation typifies the so-called "Productive Conservation" of Ontario’s pulp and paper industry, the article presents a mostly positive assessment of the Iroquois Falls endeavour. This is particularly true of the community itself which is described as the "hallmark of Canada’s greatest industry".


The development of the "professional foresters" in Ontario has, according to the author, had dramatic ramifications for the province’s forestry industry. As the group evolved over the course of the twentieth century not only did they become an influential force in the decision making process but also helped to introduce a wide range of innovative forestry procedures. Perhaps best typified by B.E. Fernow who would come to head the Faculty of Forestry at the University of Toronto, the professional forester was described by Pross as an "agent of the state" who brought about the "scientific management of the public forests".

Focusing specifically on the Canadian Shield area of northern Ontario, Ian Radforth’s *Bushworkers and Bosses*, studies the forestry industry from the worker or working perspective. Tracing the process of forestry work from the seasonal bushworkers of the early twentieth century through to woodworkers of the 1970’s, Radforth paints a clear picture of the evolution of Ontario’s forestry industry. Along the way he offers commentary on everything from foreign ownership to mechanization to health and safety in the forestry sector. In the process, the author provides tremendous insight into the community of forest workers. Included is not only an assessment of Boise Cascade’s activity in Fort Frances or Kimberly-Clark’s role in Kapuskasing, but also analysis of forestry culture as it developed through the activities of the forest workers.


In assessing the impact of the so-called "dramatic technological changes" that were introduced in Ontario’s pulpwood logging industry during the 1950s and the 1960s, Radforth depicts an industry in transition. Indeed in discussing the move from small scale, labour intensive logging to what he defines as "the modern science based industry" of present day, Radforth summarizes much of what has recently occurred in Canadian forestry. The impact, however, extends well beyond the introduction of newly tool ed equipment or modern management techniques. According to the author the rationalization of pulpwood logging effected everything from community well-being to transportation routing.


Concentrating specifically on central Canada, Roberge documents the rise and fall of the newsprint industry of Ontario and Quebec. His purpose it appears is to determine what, if any, patterns of success are discernable. Utilizing factors such as wood reserves, market potential, location and ownership, the author argues that the "single establishment firm" and particularly a firm that is American owned, shows the best chance for growth and/or expansion. While government policy, age of operation, accessibility, etc. are all variables in the success or failure equation, in the end the most important consideration, according to Roberge’s findings, is the firms willingness to be innovative.


Although Roberge discusses the circumstances of communities such as Sault Ste. Marie, Iroquois Falls, Smooth Rock Falls and Dryden, his analysis offers little more than an overview appraisal of the post-1860 expansion of the pulp and paper industry. In the process it focuses almost exclusively on Ontario and most particularly on the operations of F.H. Clergue at Sault Ste. Marie. Nonetheless, Clergue and his industrial enterprise at the Soo provides valuable insight into not only the era of expansion but also into the activity of a resource based entrepreneur.

At one time considered the formative source on Canada's resource towns, this book still offers valuable insight into the phenomenon. Whether it is through Robinson's case study discussions of Elliot Lake or Schefferville or his definitions of "combine towns" and "satellite" communities or his more general commentary on government policy, Professor Robinson in *New Industrial Towns* provides for a comprehensive understanding of the resource town experience.


Robinson, one of Canada's leading authorities on the resource community experience, provides in this paper not only a good overview of the phenomenon but also some well thought out recommendations for the future of the resource town process. From "sleep camps" to "municipal company towns" the author traces the history of the resource town as it evolved in Canada. In the end, however, Robinson argues the case of the no-town option. Presenting two possible alternatives in the way of the "non-permanent settlement" and the growth centre, Robinson suggests that the planning and construction of new resource towns is a less than viable proposition.


Arguing that the "contemporary resource town is in a period of decline", the author attempts to document the process of decline management as it has evolved in the post-1972 era. Presenting strategies such the Quebec Federation of Labour's Solidarity fund or the federal government's Community Futures Programme as examples of the contemporary orientation of resource town planning, Robson captures the sense of the downsizing initiative so prevalent in the modern era. Although various examples are cited by the author, perhaps the most interesting case study presented in the paper is the Ocean Falls experience.


This report offers not only a thematic overview of the circumstances of the Canadian resource town but also provides an annotated bibliography of approximately 250 pertinent publications. Divided into seven topical chapters the various themes considered by the author range from policy procedures in the development of resource communities to the wide array of quality of life issues associated with single industry towns. Also included in the report are several towns site maps of communities such as Keewatin, Iroquois Falls, Kapuskasing and Terrace Bay.

Roy, Director of the Centre for Forestry and Environmental Studies at the Fisher Institute of Applied Arts and Technology in Corner Brook, presents a strong case for the greater application of community forestry in Newfoundland. Indeed, not only does Roy promote the notion of community forestry as a means of economic stabilization for Newfoundland’s turbulent economy, but also defines a central role for the Fisher Institute in the implementation of an integrated land management program. Roy’s paper, as well, offers a thorough overview of Newfoundland forestry practices, concluding with a discussion of the post-1950 community forestry program. Whether through the King’s Cove Woodlot experiment or the Portland Hill pilot project, Roy maintains that not only does community forestry provide for employment, integrated land-use management and increased community responsibility, but also that it benefits the "wider community".


Although focusing on the activity of Thomas Adams and the Commission of Conservation, Saarinen’s discussion provides valuable insight into the early history of the resource town phenomenon. Adams, who joined the Commission of Conservation in 1914 as town planning advisor, brought to Canada a direct link with the Garden City movement. The low density housing, provision for green space and wide winding streetscapes, all of which were characteristics of the Garden City planning initiative, as a result became well-accepted Canadian planning practises. Saarinen readily shows the incorporation of Garden City planning techniques by the Abitibi Pulp and Paper Company in the community of Iroquois Falls. Further, the author argues that Iroquois Falls established a precedent in the planning and construction of resource towns.


Saarinen, a geographer who has extensively studied the resource town phenomenon, in this paper looks at both the historical tradition of community planning in a pulp and paper town as well as the more contemporary round of remedial planning as was undertaken in the post-1960 era. Kapuskasing is a good case study for both. One of Ontario’s first "model settlements", Kapuskasing was designed in the early 1920s to meet the community needs of the Spruce Falls Pulp and Paper Company. As the community evolved, however, it gave rise to a fringe settlement known locally as Brunetville. In the early 1960s Brunetville became the focus of the region’s second major planning initiative when the provincial government began, what Saarinen has termed "a major experiment in neighbourhood rehabilitation".

Building on the tradition established by L.D. McCann in the paper "Canadian Resource Towns", Saarinen offers a most detailed account of the additive, holistic and comprehensive planning initiatives as they came to be applied in the Ontario resource town. In the process, not only does he consider the circumstances of communities such as Iroquois Falls and Terrace Bay, but also documents the development of the resource based economy of northern Ontario. In this fashion Saarinen ties community infrastructure directly to the infrastructure necessary to the exploitation of the provinces natural resources. Railways, road building and hydro-electric power production were integral to the development of Ontario’s resource communities.


In discussing the history of the community of Keewatin, Shaw provides a reasonable overview of lumbering and lumber related activities in northwestern Ontario. In the process, the author documents everything from the 1879 timber lease agreement which established the Lake of the Woods Milling Company through to milling activity of the Keewatin Lumbering and Manufacturing Company. In terms of community and community related issues, Shaw offers some insight into the town planning activities of the Lake of the Woods Milling Company, the "Terrace Development" of the Keewatin district and the "Carpenter Gothic" architectural style of the early builders in the community.


In this paper Sinclair considers one of the most pressing issues confronting the pulp and paper industry in Canada, that of effluent discharge. In maintaining that there are approximately 122 "direct discharge mills" in Canada or perhaps more pointedly, that roughly 65 percent of all producing mills in the country are direct discharge mills, the author clearly underscores the serious nature of the problem. While the focus of the paper appears to be the discussion of the various efforts of government to control the discharge of "total suspended solids", Sinclair nicely balances the environmental issues against the economic issues. Indeed, in arguing that somewhere in the neighbourhood of 175 communities with a resident population of 250,000 people are dependent upon the pulp and paper industry for their livelihood, the author more than adequately summarizes the pulp and paper conundrum.


Prepared by the Institute of Local Government at Queen’s University, Single Enterprise Communities is the most detailed analysis of the single industry community available in Canada. Although in some respects it is slightly out-dated, particularly in terms of its recommendations, it still remains the formative study of the phenomenon. Citing 155 communities of the single industry variety with total inhabitants in excess of 189,000
persons, the study’s value lies both in its interpretation and the fact that it has established
the framework for future analysis.

**Single Industry Communities.** Ottawa: Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1977.

One of the first efforts by the federal government to measure single industry communities,
this volume identifies a total of 811 Canadian single industry communities. Defined as a
community "in which there exists a single dominant economic activity and which is not
within commuting distance of another area offering alternative employment oppor-
tunities", single industry communities as discussed by this report range from fishing
outports to forestry dependent communities. Not only does this volume attempt to identify
single industry communities, but also provides a foundation of sorts for future analysis
of the phenomenon.

**Single-Sector Communities.** Ottawa: Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1979.

Published as a follow-up document to the 1977 publication **Single Industry Communities,**
this volume helps to refine and slightly revise the government’s interpretation of the
single industry town. Most important in this regard is the regional focus given to the one
industry town. Bringer into play regional employment opportunities and various
regional linkages, this document shows a greater appreciation of the realities of the
resource based economy.

Smith P. and G. Whitmore (eds.), **Community Forestry,** Proceedings of the Lakehead University Forestry
Association 23rd Annual Symposium, Occasional Paper #8, Centre for Northern Studies, Lakehead Uni-

In suggesting that community forestry offers valuable solutions to the problems of the
boom and bust cycles of the forestry industry, the Lakehead University Forestry Associa-
tion Symposium Committee organized the Community Forestry Symposium with a view
to providing a forum for the discussion of the benefits of community forestry. The
proceedings which includes edited versions of five presented papers, discussion sum-
maries, workshop findings and symposium survey results, develop an overview of the
community forestry program. This is particularly true of Julian Dunster’s paper "Com-
munity Forestry: What Is It?". Dunster not only offers a reasonable definition and
historical background for the understanding of the community forestry phenomenon, but
also provides a "list of principles" necessary for the creation and maintenance of a
community forest initiative.

Smyth, J.H., M. Rodrigue and N. Pharand, **Single-industry Forestry Communities: A National and Regional

Originally presented at the Forestry and Rural Development in Industrialized Countries
Conference in Garpenberg, Sweden, in 1988, this report offers a "socioeconomic profile"
of forestry dependent communities. Arguing that 900 communities in Canada are either
totally or partially dependent on forestry based activities, the authors attempt to construct
a "national aggregated profile" of forestry dependent communities. Isolating characteristics such as income, age distribution, educational levels and unemployment rates,
Smyth et al. develop a reasonable, albeit somewhat superficial, profile of the typical forestry dependent community. They conclude their discussion with a brief case-study of Espanola, Ontario and the recommendation that the future of the community is dependent not so much on forestry but rather on its ability to diversify its economic base.


In what is an extremely technical paper, the author traces the early history of the Spruce Falls-Kimberly Clark operation at Kapuskasing from approximately 1926 to 1929. Roughly 20 pages, complete with pictures and diagrams, is devoted to the mechanics of the pulp and paper plant. While there is some discussion of the "extensive housing facilities" erected for company employees and limited discussion of the "modern hotel" and hospital, for the most part, the industrial component of the project overshadows the community end of the operation.


Defined as "any community whose economic base depends mainly on resource extraction or processing", Stelter and Artibise offer a thorough discussion of the Canadian resource experience. In the process the authors provide not only a reasonable introduction to the resource town but also considerable insight into the evolution of the same. Whether it is the discussion of Nanaimo's changing resource dependency or Temiskaming's model town configuration or Kapuskasing's government controlled townsite, forestry dependent communities form an integral part of the analysis.

Swift, J., "All is Not Well in the Woods", Canadian Dimension, Vol. 21, No. 7 (November-December 1987).

In a scathing review of contemporary forestry practises, Swift in this paper attempts to document what he defines as the "wood supply crisis". Although the author recognizes, for example, the problems associated with the "over use" of herbicides, and while he acknowledges the many issues of the clear cutting debate, it is the over cutting of Canada's forests that Swift identifies as the number one problem confronting forest users. Defined further as "agro-forestry", Swift maintains the "giant fibre farm" approach to forestry as currently practised in Canada will eventually mean that Canada will "run out of raw materials".


Jamie Swift's Cut and Run is a well-written historical overview of Canada's forestry industry. The author traces the use of Canada's forests from the pre-contact days of Canada's First Nations through to the more contemporary era of Consolidated-Bathurst or MacMillan-Bloedel. Along the way Swift offers commentary on everything from clearcutting to community forests through to the so-called "poison mist" (chemical spraying). The central theme of the study is the on-going negative impact of forest use. The improper utilization of forest resources has, according to Swift, left Canadian forestry in a precarious position. The author convincingly argues that co-operative forestry
management is the best way to ensure the long term viability of Canada's forest as well as a continuing livelihood for those who depend on the forests.


In documenting the opening of Terrace Bay's recreation centre, this brief article clearly makes the connection between company benevolence and community facilities. In maintaining that the centre was "easily one of the finest" in northern Ontario and further, "one of the best for a town of its size in Canada", the author paints a mostly positive picture of the pulp and paper town experience. Built at a cost of $500,000 by the Longlac Pulp and Paper Company and willingly turned over to the Town's Board of Trustees for management purposes, the Terrace Bay Recreation Centre reflects the community commitment of the Long Lac Company.


Focusing on employment and community stability this document is primarily concerned with "local initiative and self-reliance" in the "development" of Canada's forest resources. While it argues the case for greater government support mechanisms through the implementation of resource management programs or training vehicles, it does so in conjunction with the perceived needs of "small-scale forestry". The report is divided into two parts; the first a Canadian Council on Rural Development overview of the forest sector, and, the second, five background papers dealing with issues such as forest management or current policies and programs.


Submitted as the second annual report on the state of Canada's forests, this document was intended to address "the full range of economic, environmental and social values" of Canada's forest resources. Cited further as a holistic approach to the question of sustainable forestry, *The State of Canada's Forests* offers wide ranging commentary on everything from environmental protection to public involvement. Very much a part of the federal government's "Green Plan", the study is an optimistic appraisal of the future of forestry in Canada. Nonetheless, it does offer valuable insight into such issues as sustainable economic benefits, employment and community stability, and even recycling and/or de-inking initiatives.

Developed by the Long Lac Pulp and Paper Company, Terrace Bay is depicted in this mostly favourable assessment of the Town as a "model one-industry community". The author further alludes to the "holiday greeting card town" appearance of the community in the discussion of "shady winding streets", the "park-like atmosphere", the "honeymoon cottages" available to young couples and the "garage compounds". Although the interpretation appears to be quite subjective, this brief descriptive account of community well-being provides considerable insight into one of Ontario’s first comprehensively designed resource towns.


Appointed to "inquire into, formulate recommendations, and report on all matters relating to the disposition of rights by the Crown to harvest timber and to occupy forested land", the Royal Commission on Forest Resources undertook to prepare this report as the introductory volume of its two volume forestry report. Hearing briefs from 194 interested parties, the Commission sifted through some 10,000 pages of transcripts, orchestrated its own schedule of research and travelled extensively from one forest district to the next, all in an effort to document the circumstances of the forestry sector. This volume reflects the magnitude of the undertaking. Its findings deal mostly with the policy issues of forest management but it also considers forest related issues such as road access, taxation and export controls. Of particular interest in terms of forest management procedures is the emphasis the Commission places on regional management units.


Although it does not touch on the problems of the forestry dependent community, this report offers a tremendously detailed account of the British Columbia forestry industry. Topics presented range from the evolution of forest tenure policy through to the regulation of forest harvest. Central to the discussion is the on-going involvement of the provincial government in all aspects of the forestry sector. Indeed, by highlighting government activity in areas such as sustained yield or cut control, the authors are clearly supportive of a continued government presence. The so-called "Policy Legacy" is a "steadily more rigorous and sensitive" approach to forest management.


Located in southeastern Manitoba, the present day Local Government Districts (LGD) of Stuartburn and Piney, while agriculturally based, also have provided an important forestry function to the development of western Canada. This is particularly true of the LGD of Piney. From approximately 1876 through to the early 1970’s timber production has been an important component of the local economy. Unfortunately, beyond passing
references to approximately 19 log drives or the Sprague Lumber Company, the author tends to concentrate his analysis on the agricultural community.


Walker, who co-ordinated the Queen’s University study Canadian Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, in this essay offers a summary of the larger work. Although there are passing references to communities such as Terrace Bay, Ocean Falls and Holberg, this paper offers more of a general overview of the resource town experience than detailed analysis of the same. Walker does, however, through his assessment of "recent trends" paint a fairly positive picture of the post-World War II co-operative planning initiative. Terrace Bay, for example, is described by the author as a "model planned industrial town" largely because of the progressive planning under-taken by the combined force of the Province of Ontario and Kimberly-Clark.


Arguing that the contemporary forestry sector’s approach to forest policy focuses on "efficiency issues" to the detriment of the "distributional consequences" of forestry, Wear and Hyde offer a re-assessment of forest management. In the process the authors examine two issues; community stability and forestry policy. Although the examples cited are American and the policy initiatives considered both federal and state based, the discussion is relevant to Canadian forestry. This is particularly true of the author’s discussion of community stability. Where at one time, community stability was specifically concerned with employment opportunities, Wear and Hyde maintain that current applications suggest an expanded definition. Arguing the case of a rural development model which more appropriately addresses the "broader web of interactions", the authors focus their attention on holistic, regional development strategies.


Established in September of 1990, the Task Force on Native Forestry was charged with the responsibility of reviewing Native forestry practises and recommending ways of "increasing Native participation in the forestry sector". This interim report of the Task Force’s findings was prepared in an effort to consolidate and summarize the submissions reviewed by the Task Force. Commenting on everything from forest tenure on Crown Land to employment in the forestry sector, this document offers a good first hand overview of the circumstances of Native forestry in British Columbia. In this regard, for example, several tribal councils bemoaned the fact that there was only one Native Tree Farm Licence in the province while others recommended that a School of Native Forestry be established in association with the University of Northern B.C. Of particular interest in terms of the report findings is the notion that greater community economic self-sufficiency is attainable through integrated resource management.

This report was prepared by the Master of Natural Resources Management Program at Simon Fraser University, and attempts to assess "the economic costs of wilderness preservation for British Columbia's forest industry". In particular, the study gauges the potential impact of the "system of protected lands" as was proposed by the 1988 Valhalla Wilderness Society's "British Columbia's Endangered Wilderness". The report's findings indicate that expanded wilderness designations are not only compatible with the more traditional forest uses but that through recognizing the importance of wilderness preservation forest management techniques would more readily reflect changing forest values.


Arguing the case of decentralized forest management, Wilson maintains that forest conservation should be the prerogative of the forest community. Indeed, in citing the Slocan Valley Community Forest Management Project Final Report as the "most comprehensive and influential manifesto for decentralization", Wilson calls for the wide spread creation of "resource committees" as envisioned in the report to oversee the conservation-decentralization initiative. According to the author, it is at the community level that worker satisfaction, environmental integrity, long-term economic vitality and community stability can best be guaranteed.


Focusing on the post-1980 era of cooperative forestry, Wylynko offers a refreshingly objective appraisal of Canada's reforestation initiative. In the process he documents the success rate of programs such as the joint federal-provincial seedling project and the Canadian Pacific Forest Products fertilization program. The author also provides some insight into the "environmentalist" perspective when consideration is given to the forestry activity of Greenpeace and/or BC's Valhalla Wilderness Society. In the end Wylynko concludes with the suggestion that "holistic forestry" may offer the best solutions to the problems of modern forestry.